Counterculture Journalism: The Legacy of the *Berkeley Barb*

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Introduction

The tumultuous decade of the 1960s was an era of heightened political activism. In *Uncovering the Sixties*, Abe Peck states blacks were the first dissidents during that time period. They protested the racial discrimination they faced from a system controlled by whites. As the years transpired, they began to rebel against specific, white-controlled establishments, including the segregated education system in America (Peck, xiii). However, blacks were not the only group of individuals who engaged in activism during this decade. By 1964, white middle class college-aged students began to take radical stances on certain issues. They rebelled within their own communities; both on and off college campuses; and in large cities. For them, the escalating war in Vietnam caused

them to become activists. They protested President Lyndon Johnson's decision to order U.S. troops to war by engaging in rebellious behaviors. Some of these behaviors included smoking marijuana, taking LSD and dropping out of school (Peck, xiii).

As more U.S. soldiers were shot and killed in Vietnam, these students began to take radical stances on other issues in American society. Some of these concerns included racism, class, nationalism, the environment, sexuality, nature of consciousness, culture, work, and lifestyle. "As the years went by, New York's Saint Mark's Place, Berkeley's Telegraph Avenue, Los Angeles' Sunset Strip, San Francisco's Haight, Chicago's Wells, and Madison's Mifflin streets turned into enclaves as well as addresses" (Peck, xiii) for white middle-class young adult rebels.

As these white middle class college students challenged various tenets of American society, they created a counterculture. Within the counterculture, students began to form various factions dedicated to certain issues. The hippies, for example, were one faction that formed. They were mostly apolitical radicals, known for advocating love and peace.

These factions were not the only organizations that formed during the counterculture. A series of newspapers, known as the underground press, was also established. Political radicals created the underground press because they felt the mainstream media distorted the events of the Movement. These individuals had links to socialism or the Beatniks (Peck, 38). The Beatniks, better known as the Beats, were a group of pre-hippie individuals, as well as students at Columbia Univeristy in the 1940s that started a literary movement. They generally wrote about how adolescents should find themselves.

In addition, the political radicals that created the underground press were more involved with the New Left, as opposed to the Old Left. People of the New Left were considered the hippies and radicals of the 1960s. Those of the Old Left were the leading liberals of the 1950s. They were all men born around the time that World War 1 took place. They entered politics during the New Deal in the 1930s, a time period during the Great Depression when President Franklin Delano Roosevelt created many programs to give relief, create jobs, and stimulate economic recovery in the United States. During the New Deal Era, the Old Leftists believed in a Welfare State and protection for the weak against the corporate rich. They wanted capitalism without its injustices. The New Left activists who created these alternative publications felt that since mainly white middle-class editors and writers wrote the stories for the daily newspapers, the stories did not accurately reflect this counterculture (Peck, xiv).

In *The New Journalism,* Michael Johnson explains how the underground press represented an educative and informative voice for the activities of the counterculture. This voice would reflect both its own people in the counterculture and those beyond its community. They hoped the people outside the community would understand and sympathize with its goals (Johnson, 11). Therefore, the stories in the alternative press engaged in propaganda because they "sprang up to mirror, spark, express, organize, advocate, and hype the strands of protest (Peck, xiv).

Because the underground press was created as an informative voice to represent the counterculture, it exemplified a new relationship between politics and the press. The Movement became dependent on the media and vice versa. In *America in Our Time* Godfrey Hodgson discusses this new correlation between politics and the press. He said

that between the years of 1965 to 1968, “those who lived in all the little communities of dissent still felt that they also lived in a larger community. Those who went to rock concerts and bought waterbeds also wanted to know what was ‘really’ happening in Vietnam and in South America and in Washington.” He added that this exhilaration was prevalent in the work of underground journalists. “It was as if they were digging up a mint-new world that had been hidden by the world they told you about in sociology class and on the nightly news.” (Hodgson, 345).

The underground press fostered a new type of journalism. The reporters, mainly white-male college dropouts and inexperienced journalists (Peck, 38), practiced new journalistic values composed of honest subjectivity, political muckraking and participatory journalism. These values were present in an article’s content and headline. In *The Underground Press in America,* Robert Glessing notes the reporters displayed an honest subjectivity in their articles because their “writing would be poetic, personal, frank, free-form, and above all, creative.” Since most of the underground editors assume that the traditional media was incapable of telling the truth about anything important, they reasoned that there was no point to objectivity (Glessing, 6).

Many writers also engaged in political muckraking. In *Discovering the News,* Michael Shudson notes that while a muckraking tradition had long been honored in the press, actual muckraking has always been exceptional. But he argues the 1960s was the decade when underground journalists partook in a new kind of muckraking. Before the 1960s, muckrakers focused on the hypocrisies and corruptions of government, but during this decade, they examined the underlying assumptions or structures of power in

American society. In turn, they wrote about all the fallacies of the power structures in America (Schudson, 180).

The reporters of the underground press also displayed these new journalistic values when they participated in the events they covered. In *A Trumpet to Arms*, David Armstrong argues that the underground press "was a participatory medium. It was an unabashedly partisan press, given to the glories of subjectivity and outright propaganda, an advocacy press that revealed its biases and invited the reader to join in. The objective was nothing less than changing the world" (Armstrong, 32).

Aside from these new journalistic values of honest subjectivity, political muckraking and participatory journalism seen in an article's content and headline, the advertisements in the underground press also reflected this radical movement. The newspapers "sold rolling papers, LPs, and jeans, even as they criticized the money economy" (Peck, xiv). In addition, many were sex-oriented, showing pictures of fully naked women in announcements for massage parlors.

The underground press writers also displayed journalistic practices never seen by the mainstream media when they went to cover events. While daily reporters carried police press cards or press passes to enter events, marches, concerts or demonstrations, underground ones tried to cover events with phony press passes or no press passes at all (Peck, xv). Underground reporters made it their obligation not to carry press passes, as a symbol of the counterculture. They felt that if they had them, then they would not be considered underground reporters anymore.

Eventually, there was an entire campaign of violence against the underground press as its circulation increased nationwide. Citizens living in the countercultural

communities who were not part of the counterculture, along with government agencies, participated in action against the alternative press. In "The Underground Press and Its Cave-In," by Todd Gitlin, which appears in *The Campaign Against the Underground Press* by Geoffery Rips, Gitlin explains that the underground press' weaknesses and inanities allowed the State to make infiltration and repression against them. Actions ranged from throwing bricks to bombing offices to eventually forcing some underground papers to shut down (Gitlin, 20-21).

Rips argues that intelligence agencies stopped the undergrounds from free expression. "When writers and intellectuals came out against the war, and when alternative journalism began to have a political clout, intelligence agencies responded with a comprehensive program to put the lid on free expression. This meant surveillance, illegal covert action, intimidation, and harassment at federal, state, and local levels." He notes that the FBI viewed underground writing in the 1960s and 1970s as one part of a concentrated political movement threatening the security of this country. He argues that the CIA devised special programs, with code names like Operation Chaos and project Resistance, to move against all segments of the counterculture. It trained local and state agents in spying techniques and offered them surveillance equipment. It unlawfully invaded the lives of writers and editors. Presidents Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon allowed the CIA to undertake secret, illegal action against these underground dissidents (Rips, 52-74).

The *Berkeley Barb* was one of these alternative papers established in response to the fervor of the counterculture. This underground paper illustrated the new type of journalism and was founded by Max Scherr in August of 1965. In *The Berkeley Barb:*

Social Control of an Underground Newsroom Arthur Seeger gives explicit details of Scherr's personal life, political affiliation, and professional endeavors. Scherr was in his mid-50s during the inception of the *Berkeley Barb.* Originally, though, he was considered part of the Old Left. He was born in Baltimore and was the son of a pants manufacturer. Despite the fact that his family suffered through the Great Depression in the late 1930s, he lived a happy childhood. He first showed interest in newspaper journalism through participation on his high school newspaper. However, he did not return to journalism until he founded the *Berkeley Barb* approximately three decades later (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 35-36).

In the interim, he graduated from law school and briefly practiced law in Baltimore as a labor lawyer. However, his career as a lawyer was short-lived and afterwards, he entered military service and saw combat in Europe in World War II as an infantryman. After the war, he spent some time as a free-lance writer in Mexico. Then, he came to Berkeley in the late 1940s and remained there until he founded the *Berkeley Barb* (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 36).

When he came to Berkeley, he never practiced law, but he was a researcher for a law textbook publishing firm. In addition, he studied sociology at the University of California, where he met Bennett Berger, one of the directors of the Communal Child Rearing Project, a project where Berger conducted research at eight rural hippie communes in California (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 36)

After Scherr assisted Berger on this project for a short while, he was forced to drop out of graduate school when he refused to sign a loyalty oath and lost this research assistantship. As a graduate school dropout, he drove a taxicab and helped organize a

drivers' union in Oakland, and he attributed his understanding of local geography and subcultures to that experience (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 36).

Scherr's last occupation before becoming publisher of the *Berkeley Barb* was the founding of the Steppenwolf tavern in the late 1950s. During this occupation, he was becoming a beatnik "with student-age reinforcements coming in the wake of the civil-rights movement, and the Free Speech Movement of 1964 in Berkeley" (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 36). The Free Speech Movement of 1964 was when University of California-Berkeley student and political radical Mario Savio led other activists to contest the rules established by University President, Clark Kerr. Some of these rules included that student demonstrations must take place off-campus and that if students happened to engage in activism on campus, they would be punished. Savio discovered that Kerr, along with other campus authorities, declared that civil rights activists and other protestors were not allowed to advocate their causes on the Berkeley campus or throughout the city of Berkeley. Savio rebelled against this policy because he argued that this community had always been accepted as a place where students could openly display their political beliefs through petitioning, handing out pamphlets, or asking people to be part of their organizations. Berkeley authorities during the early 1960s saw this activity as a form of discrimination. They thought such action disrespected conservative university administration, as well as those in the city of Berkeley. Therefore, these conservatives forced the University administration to restrict the campus and the city from being a recruiting ground for activists.

This ban set off a firestorm. University activists still set up tables promoting their causes, both within and outside their campus, even though authorities told them not to.

As a consequence, university officials took the names of several protestors and told them to appear for hearings. However, instead of these few students showing up for their assigned hearing, five hundred students, led by Mario Savio, marched to Sproul Hall, the University of California-Berkeley administration building, and demanded that they be punished too.

Instead, this event turned into rebellion, when various activist organizations set up solicitation tables in front of Sproul Hall. This rebellion led to the inception of a new organization, called the Free Speech Movement. This coalition formed in response to the fact that the administration was not dealing with the students in good faith. The Free Speech Movement proposed that the freedom defined in the First Amendment be considered the only guide to political activity on campus. On November 9, 1964, Savio and his allies once again set up literature and tables to solicit their causes. Even though this student movement had antagonized not only the administration and many of the more conservative student groups, it was gaining support among graduate students, many of whom were poorly paid, overworked teaching assistants. The graduate student organization declared that it would preside over tables. Many undergraduates, deciding that the administration was choosing to pick only on the weak, shifted back to the FSM. In the end, this incident revealed that even though the university was essentially liberal in structure, students who were also teachers could undermine administrative authority.

Scherr "funded the first *Barb* issues with money received from the sale of his Steppenwolf bar in Berkeley" (Glessing, 21). He served as the *Berkeley Barb's* publisher from its inception until October of 1973. During that year he had a heart attack and was no longer physically able to run the paper. He sold the paper but stayed on as editor

emeritus until 1978. Then, two years later, in 1980, the *Barb* folded, after years of decline. On July 4, 1980, Barb number 735, the last issue, showed Don Quixote slumped over a horse, with his lance in his back. The headline read 'Barb Bows Out' (Peck, 333).

The *Berkeley Barb* was located in the San Francisco Bay Area. The Bay Area was considered the epicenter of the counterculture. The paper "was just across from the San Francisco Bay, from the first and more famous counterculture territory, the Haight-Ashbury district" (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 3). It:

> was also centrally located with regard to outlying rural communes and other population groupings of hippies in the Santa Cruz Mountains to the south, the foothills of the Sierra Nevada Range on the east, and the denser hip settlements northward in the Sonoma Valley and on the Mendocino Country coastline. Thus, it would seem the *Barb's* located was ideal for communication with its presumed constituency (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 3).

In keeping with the underground press's tradition of activist journalism, Scherr saw the *Berkeley Barb* as a propaganda vehicle and organizing tool. For example, he would plant small ads in the issues of the papers displaying rumors of events happening at certain times and places. Therefore, people would read such notes in the paper and show up to see what would happen. If nothing were happening, someone would suggest to all the people there that they close off part of Telegraph Avenue, and start a protest (Armstrong, 46).

The paper reached its pinnacle of participatory journalism during the "People's Park" incident. In April of 1969, an empty lot in Berkeley became a People's Park. One activist in the Bay Area, Frank Bardacke, went to the library and did some research on the history of "People's Park." He published a broadside, called "Who Owns the Park" that the underground press soon picked up (Peck, 157).

This broadside accused rich white men, who directed California's education system, of purchasing stolen land. Bardacke said this land was ripped off from the Indians who once resided there. There was a month-long battle deciding who owns the land. During this conflict, scores were shot, and a sheriff killed a white bystander named James Rector. The city of Berkeley became a combat zone, with street-fighting, curfews, States of Disaster and States of Emergency. When the month was over, police came to settle the issue of who owns the land (Peck, 158).

When the fighting was done, this incident was significant from the standpoint of the *Barb* because it represented a major joining of the hippie and militant political forces in a confrontation over the land (Seeger, 13). Since the dailies in the Bay Area, including *The Berkeley Gazette* and *The Oakland Tribune*, denounced this incident as a theft of property and violence, Max Scherr called Berkeley to rise up and decide who owns the land. As a result of Scherr's announcement, circulation of the *Barb* rose significantly that year (Peck, 158).

This new journalistic value system composed of honest subjectivity, political muckraking and participatory journalism that the *Berkeley Barb* employed makes other aspects of the paper worthy of examining. Chapter 1 will discuss the type of journalist that worked for the newspaper. The majority of regular and occasional contributors to this dissident publication were white males. In 1970, "42 persons were connected with editorial tasks, such as reporting, writing, editing, and photography. All but 13 were in their twenties, and all but four were male" (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 26).

As a result of the male domination in the *Barb's* newsroom, the few women reporters at the *Barb* were infuriated by this staff composition, especially when the

Feminist Movement was in full swing by 1968. One female reporter known as "The Therapist," the only woman to stay around the *Barb* city room for any length of time, "broke through the barrier of subjecting her copy to editing by 'male chauvinist' editors and became an asset to the staff." [1]She covered everything, not just women's news, but was most valuable in having entrée where male reporters, especially when those from the *Barb* were not welcome (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 34).

The team members of the *Barb* were considered cultural radicals with hip-hedonistic attitudes (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 82). They were not only considered participatory journalists by being part of the protests and events they covered. In addition, they were participants within the Bay Area at-large, working directly with clinics or shelters in the Bay Area to improve life for the less fortunate individuals.

The typical *Berkeley Barb* reporter incorporated his or her political beliefs within the articles. Within the news stories, for example, "the *Barb's* coverage of the apolitical flower children was "liberal" news coverage-and especially so in the many cases in which the hippies were in conflict with the police or other authorities, or when they took part in one of the frequent anti-war demonstrations" (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 12).

The journalists also incorporated their political beliefs, reflective of the counterculture, in the production schedule of the paper. Unwilling to take anything seriously they waited to do everything until Wednesday night, the night when the paper went to press each week. By waiting until the last minute, they celebrated "their utter

[1] In the articles of the *Barb*, some bylines had the first and last name of the reporter. Others had only the first name or a nickname. Arthur Seeger, during his observation in the newsroom, gave the reporters additional nicknames not prevalent in the bylines.

hipness, their radicalism, and their final unwillingness to take anything with real seriousness" (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 99-100).

However, despite the physical paper's hedonistic environment, there was lack of expressiveness of the hippie culture in the *Barb's* office. This dearth of hippie culture in the physical environment of the paper was seen as an underground "auxiliary status attribute," meaning that if writers sympathized with the counterculture, they did not feel it was necessary to publicly display symbols of it on their home territory. The only remnants symbolic of the counterculture were the posters. The counterculture produced a wealth of posters and other graphics. In the *Berkeley Barb* office, there was a parody of the Marlboro cigarette package with marijuana substituted for tobacco; a 'rock pyramid' of cartoon representations of leading stars; and a sex calendar depicting various positions of intercourse for the different astrological signs (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 20).

In addition to the bigger posters that took up the walls of the office, there was a wide assortment of handbills announcing demonstrations and musical events. There were also noncommercial displays, which had significance for the staff. One of the main ones was a blown up photograph of the Battle of People's Park, showing the hippies and National Guardsmen linked arm-in-arm (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 20).

Chapter 2 will discuss how the *Berkeley Barb* deviated from the confines of American society and the standards of professional journalism. First, Scherr's editorial policies rebelled against these ideals. For one thing, many times, writers would not run their story ideas by him. In addition, he would not give the reporters a word count or a specific angle for a story he assigned to them. Finally, he would never edit copy, making substantial changes because he felt that editing derailed from freedom of speech.

The *Barb* staffers deviated from the standards of professional journalism. First, when writers chose to write about an event or a demonstration, sometimes they did not even physically attend. In addition, their interview tactics strayed from the confines of professional journalism because they often did not contact their sources ahead of time and set up interview appointments. They also rebelled against Scherr's production schedule, often waiting until the last minute to do their articles. Scherr had a weekly schedule set in mind, extending from the weekend until Wednesday evening. But, most of the news staff did not abide by his set schedule. For them, the workweek did not begin until Monday or Tuesday night (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 74-75).

There can be many explanations for why the *Barb* reporters waited until the last minute to write their stories. The main reason was perhaps that they were getting paid meager salaries. "Scherr was reputedly stingy with his staff. His top editors got only nominal weekly wages while most staffers were paid the minimum $1.65 per hour or $.25 a column inch" (Glessing, 84). In response to the frugal salaries they received, many *Barb* reporters left and formed started their own rival paper, called the *Berkeley Tribe* in 1969 (Seeger, Berkeley Barb, 15). Many of the former staff writers said they felt they were exploited (Chapter 2 will discuss this).

Through the *Berkeley Barb's* editorial policies, the paper was able to interpret news of the counterculture better than the way the mainstream media did. In the book *Pig Paper: A Case Study of Social Control in the Newsroom of a Controversial Underground Newspaper,* Seeger claims that the *Berkeley Barb* saw underground communities in more specific lights than the dailies. The *Berkeley Barb* saw these salient segments of the

community in two distinct categories: hippie ones and political ones. The mainstream papers were not able to make this distinction (Seeger, Pig Paper 48).

The *Berkeley Barb,* in turn, was able to report on many events of the counterculture that the mainstream media ignored. There can be many possible reasons why the mainstream media ignored the events of the counterculture. First, the counterculture issues did not fit into symbols of the nation that mainstream news characterizes. Second, the mainstream publications give most of their coverage to the most visible people in America such as the President and highly influential politicians. The editors at mainstream publications did not think the protestors of the New Left were highly influential. Third, the mainstream publications focus on news of all parts of the political spectrum. Fourth, the major publications did not deem the countercultural events newsworthy. Finally, the mainstream press generally ignored the counterculture because it was considered a new lifestyle. When reporters are assigned to write about a new lifestyle, sometimes they are not sure which sources to contact (Gans, 9-125).

The Women's Liberation, movement, however, was an exception and the mainstream media reported on that from all different angles. In the book *Where the Girls Are,* Susan Douglas discusses this. There can be many explanations for why the mainstream media gave extensive coverage to the Feminist Movement. First, there is the notion that sex sells. Because many of the women journalists at mainstream publications had feminist beliefs, if their male co-workers and editors did not allow coverage of the movement, it would have possibly forced publications to lose female reporters. Another reason why the mainstream media did not ignore feminists was because it segued from the anti-war protestors that burnt their draft cards. Specifically, the news media equated

the women that burnt their bras with the protestors that burnt their draft cards (Douglas, 60-159). Throughout the *Barb's* legacy, there were many articles that sympathized with the Women's Liberation Movement or women's issues in general.

The mainstream media, during the *Barb's* years in existence occasionally reported on this underground publication. The *NY Times* had approximately 10 articles mentioning the *Barb.* In addition, *Time* had one and the *Library Journal* had one.

Finally, the *Berkeley Barb* illustrated these new journalistic values of the underground press through its relationship to the community it served. Its primary community was the counterculture in the Bay Area. Chapter 3 will discuss the ways in which the *Barb* reflected the community it served. First, it served as a mirror to its community through its illustrative colorful advertisements, mainly dealing with sex. Secondary to the sex ones, there were also those for drugs such as marijuana and LSD, poetry readings and coffee house performances. These, as well, echoed the counterculture. Also, just as massage parlors sprang up in Berkeley, the *Barb* began running ads for them (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 135). However, at the end of the decade, the primary advertisements dealing with sex dropped significantly when the Women's Liberation Movement took off. Radical women began protesting the provocative ads of naked women they saw in the paper week after week.

The *Berkeley Barb* also reflected the community when reporters participated in counterculture community events and protests. To make it on the paper, Scherr said that one had to fulfill more than his minimal criteria for acceptability. One had to have something to show. For Scherr, this meant that *Berkeley Barb* journalists had to emphasize their commitment to various causes deemed radical. He needed real radicals

on his staff, particularly those who had ties to some local countercultural community group (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 81). For example, one reporter labeled by Seeger "The Reverend Jefferson Fuck Poland" who was a minister in the Universal Life Church, used sex as a political weapon to undermine the bourgeois society. He had been arrested and jailed several times for demonstrations. During these demonstrations, he disrobed in public, which called for his frequent arrests (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 29).

The paper reflected its community because it was in the epicenter of the Movement. Generally, one would think that this would seem advantageous to having immediate and easy access to events and news sources. But, the majority of the time, it actually proved rather challenging to contact sources. "The *Barb* was experiencing difficulty in obtaining news from its major sources, with large sections of the countercultural community seemingly disenchanted with their famous, or notorious newspaper, and attempting to control it in an imaginative variety of ways" (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 4). The Barb reporters often experienced poor treatment from conventional news sources because they had no press pass to get through the police or fire lines at demonstrations. Often, one could not persuade city officials to provide information regarding management of the counterculture by authorities. They also experienced negative attitudes from their readership due to the plethora of sex advertisements.

The *Berkeley Barb* was an underground publication that was born in 1965 and employed a new type of journalism composed of honest subjectivity, participatory journalism, and political muckraking. This innovative style of journalism was a response to the fervor of the counterculture and was inherently sympathetic to it. This thesis will

explore two main relationships: 1) that between the *Berkeley Barb* and the counterculture in the San Francisco Bay Area and 2) that between the *Berkeley Barb* and mainstream journalism. The legacy of the *Berkeley Barb* has significance because even though this underground publication was put to rest in 1980, a few years after the activities of the counterculture calmed down, its legacy still lives on. Its dedication to honest subjectivity, participatory journalism, and political muckraking is still prevalent in the alternative journalism in the San Francisco Bay Area. The publications of the *San Francisco Bay Guardian,* the *San Francisco Weekly* and the *East Bay Express* all speak to the legacy of the *Berkeley Barb.*

Chapter 1-The *Barb* staff and their political beliefs

Composition of the *Barb* Staff

The *Berkeley Barb* staff was mainly comprised of white males. In the year 1970, precisely 42 people had editorial tasks, including reporting, writing, editing and photography. All these people that worked for this dissident publication were in his or her twenties. Only about a dozen of them were either a little younger or a little older than their twenties. In addition, during this year, there were only four females and three black people on the staff (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 26).

However, even though 42 people had editorial tasks, only 17 of them were reliable and regular journalists. But, even so, Seeger said these 17 people only displayed "the minimum of requisite journalistic competence and a minimum degree of

commitment to the paper. These staffers were the paper's workhorses and given sufficient time and a differing orientation on part of the publisher, they would have become the ruling oligarchy on the *Barb"* (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 26). The other 25 occasional *Berkeley Barb* staffers would send in contributions from time to time, "put in a night's work on the telephones and typewriters, or simply provide the paper with otherwise unobtainable inside information about community events" (27). The fact that the approximately 17 reliable reporters only did the minimum amount of work for this paper clearly reflected the values of the counterculture. The white middle-class individuals and college dropouts in their twenties who comprised the counterculture were known for being rebellious and did not like to do things that would benefit higher authorities. One of the landmarks of the counterculture was to contest authority.

In addition to the team members of the *Berkeley Barb* mirroring the counterculture by being rebellious, they also shadowed the Movement because they were considered cultural radicals with hip-hedonistic attitudes (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 82). For example, one "Regular" reporter, given the nickname "Harmony" by Seeger, constantly experimented with psychedelic drugs and was considered a Bay Area hippie (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 28). "Harmony" embodied this countercultural behavior because the hippies of the counterculture were known for experimenting with psychedelic drugs such as marijuana and LSD. In addition, another "Regular" reporter given the pseudonym "Sergeant Pepper" by Seeger was considered a genuine Old Left representative and was the *Berkeley Barb's* link to the Movement (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 31).

In addition, some of the reporters Seeger labeled "Occasionals," were a direct reflection of the counterculture. For example, one journalist, who was a contributing

reporter with the label "Groupie," "refused assignments or took them and did little or nothing, until asked to leave by Scherr … useless as a reporter" (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 32). "Groupie" was directly correlated to this youth culture and brought these countercultural and political beliefs to the newsroom of the *Berkeley Barb* by being a rebel and contesting authority.

The Feminist Movement Springs to the *Barb*

As a result of the male domination in the *Berkeley Barb's* newsroom, the few women reporters at the *Barb* were infuriated by this staff composition, especially when the Feminist Movement was in full swing by 1968. During the Feminist Movement, females became activists because they protested male domination in the newsroom (Berkeley Barb 34). (Chapter 3 will discuss how the *Barb* women reporters became infuriated with the sex advertisements displaying naked women.)

Explanations for the *Barb's* lack of diversity

Perhaps the main reason for *Berkeley Barb* staff's lack of diversity in only employing three black people was because the black activists had their own underground publications. "Johannes" was considered the main black reporter on the staff. "The closest the paper could come to a black editorial staffer was this photographer from the *Daily Cal,* the campus paper, who was politically radical but not a ghetto-reared 'brother of the block.' Rather, he was the son of an Ethiopian coffee planter" (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 34). Here, the issue of class is prevalent because the only black on the *Barb* staff was middle-to-upper class just like the white staffers.

To combat this issue of class distinction between blacks and whites, the Black Panther Party, a black activist organization that arose in response to the discrimination

blacks faced, had its own dissident publications. The Black Panther Party, founded by Huey Newton, established a variety of free social service programs for blacks that still remain today. *The Black Panther* was the prime underground publication that their organization established. The first issue appeared on April 27, 1967, and was a muckraking tool for the injustice of racial inequality that blacks experienced during the 1960s. Two Black Panther Party members in Oakland, California, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, created this publication. Glessing described this newspaper as "the main organ for the Black Panther Party in America" and was "dedicated to gaining equality for black or oppressed people the world over" (Glessing, 25).

The Black Panther was a 24-page tabloid weekly. All of the members of the editorial staff used their power to help black and third world people fight oppression. Malcolm X, Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver were considered the paper's heroes. Any racist member of what they called "white America" or "THE MAN" were considered the paper's enemies. Just as the editorial staffers on the *Berkeley Barb* partook in activism in their own countercultural community, the *Black Panther* journalists did as well. They conducted many projects in the black community. Their main one, the "Free Breakfast Program" was considered a "model of self-help for peoples elsewhere" (Glessing, 27). "Their education program in black ghettos is both personal and effective compared to many government-sponsored poverty programs," Glessing concludes, (27).

A ten-point program outlining the purpose of the party and paper appeared in the June 7, 1969 issue. These points included:

> "1. *We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.*
> *2. We want full employment for our people.*
> *3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our*

Black Community.
4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.
6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.
7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER *of black people.*
8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.
9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny" (Glessing, 25-26).

These black activists were restricted to working only for their own underground publication. The leaders of the Black Panther Party established rules prohibiting blacks from working on any publication besides their own. Therefore, Scherr assumed that all the black dissidents wanted to work on papers to serve their specific countercultural community (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 26).

Aside from the fact that the blacks were restricted to working for their own underground publications, another explanation for the *Berkeley Barb' s* lack of diversity was that white males were the main people that were interested in writing for the paper. Former *Barb* writer David Haldane, who worked at the paper in 1973 and 1974, explained this. "I think it was just because those were the people that gravitated towards the *Barb* … That (time period) was before anyone thought of diversity in a conscious way … I think the white male group that gravitated toward the *Barb* was a result of the culture that Max Scherr created … He was in some ways … like a 'good ole-boy.' He

spent time with white males. He took me out for drinks. I don't ever remember him doing that with a woman or non-white" (Haldane). Another reason why the *Barb* lacked diversity in the newsroom was because that was not an important concept back in the 1960s. John Jekabson, who began at the *Berkeley Barb* as Scherr's right-hand man, without getting paid, said that diversity in the newsroom was not a main concern. "Diversity was not a word of use" (Jekabson).

Perhaps an explanation why there were not many women on the *Barb* was that women were afraid to write for a long time. Kate Coleman, who worked at the *Barb* in 1973, asserted this. "Women for a long time were afraid to write." "Women took a long time to come to the front of the pack … there were women who wrote for the *Barb* at different times. Max was also a paternalist" (Coleman). Former Barb writer, Richard Denner, who was considered "The Poet" of the paper, was there during its inception in 1965, also said he felt Scherr was a paternalist. Denner wrote the first article for the paper, and he was the first person that Scherr assigned an article to. He said he wrote an article titled, "What About The Citizen?" because he said that 'The Citizen' was a paper that tried to establish itself to compete with the *Berkeley Gazette,* Berkeley's mainstream newspaper with a conservative slant (Denner). In reference to why he thought the *Barb* newsroom lacked diversity, he said "everything in those days was pretty chauvinistic. We were still living in a patriarchy. Max was a patriarch" (Denner).

Barb journalists incorporate their political beliefs in the content of articles

The typical *Barb* reporter incorporated his or her political beliefs within the content of the articles. Within the news stories, for example, "the *Barb's* coverage of the apolitical flower children was "liberal" news coverage-and especially so in the many

cases in which the hippies were in conflict with the police or other authorities, or when they took part in one of the frequent anti-war demonstrations" (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 12). Through the incorporation of political beliefs in the articles, their writing gave rise to the new journalistic values comprised of honest subjectivity, participatory journalism and political muckraking.

There were several articles in the *Berkeley Barb* that embodied the new journalistic value of honest subjectivity. In the September 10, 1965 edition of the newspaper, there was an article titled, "Race Bias in Berkeley Jobs? We'll See-Says C-of-C," by Al Young. This story revealed how the Berkeley Chamber of Commerce's Bi-Racial Committee on Employment was doing research to see trends in minority employment in the Berkeley area. The main thrust of the research was to see what kind of businesses were attracted to Berkeley; what skills were required to partake in such businesses and how the Committee would set up a program to train unemployed minorities to fill such positions. Mr. William Haigwood, the Vice President of the Chamber of Commerce, told Young that Berkeley merchants had been accused of racial discrimination when hiring people to fill such positions. Haigwood said perhaps the reason for this was that hiring minorities for employment has been something relatively new (Young).

In this article, Young clearly embodied the notion of honest subjectivity with his personal writing style. Even though reporters are to write down what their sources tell them during an interview, in the content of the article, they do not have to emphasize that they conducted an interview. Young, however, did this in his article when he said that "Mr. William Haigwood, vice president of the Chamber of Commerce, told me the whole

story and I jotted it all down but, just now, reading it back, noticed I'd recorded packagey little phrases such as: 'short of qualifications,' 'employable skills,' 'trainability.'" In addition, towards the end of the article, Young implemented the new journalistic value of honest subjectivity when he wrote, "I asked Mr. Haigwood if the Committee would work very closely with the Economic Opportunities Council" (Young).

Since Young asked Haigwood this question, Young's political beliefs were prevalent because he clearly felt that the Chamber of Commerce's Biracial Committee should make an effort to enforce that minorities should be given equal employment opportunities. Furthermore, Young was clearly an advocate of the counterculture because the advocates of the counterculture sympathized with the minorities. Especially during 1965 when blacks protested the racial discrimination they experienced, Young wanted to bring to attention that such behavior is intolerable.

Honest subjectivity continued throughout the life of the *Berkeley Barb.* An anonymous reporter incorporated his or her political beliefs of the counterculture in an article titled, "Leaving home for fun and profit," which appeared in the January 8th, 1971 issue of the *Berkeley Barb*. This journalist gave the correct steps of how to be a hippie and survive on the road or in a temporary hippie commune. Some of these directions included the necessary clothes to bring and the right food to eat. Specifically, the journalist wrote that runaways needed to bring three changes of clothing. As far as food, the reporter said that since parents of hippies cook mainly unhealthy food, the hippies would have to change their eating habits while on the road or living in communes.

This article encompasses the new journalistic value of honest subjectivity because his or her writing was personal and sincere and directly addresses the audience. It was

personal and sincere because the writing was free form when the writer illustrated the type of clothes hippies should carry with them and the type of food they should eat. First, the reporter said that in regard to clothing, "three changes of clothes is a good supply if you wear each set for a few days. For some reason, people expect to be given three-dozen bars of deodorant soap because they wear their clothes more than half a day. They shouldn't hold their breath waiting for the soap" ("Leaving home for fun and profit"). The writer also employed this personal style of honest subjectivity when he or she detailed the food the hippies should eat.

> "Most of the food you eat at home is not nutritious … you just eat so much that you keep on living. You'll have to change your eating habits a little bit when you split so you can eat fairly cheap. Whole wheat bread, fresh fruits, fresh vegetables, and nuts (already got the berries) are fairly cheap and are enough to live on for the rest of your life. As a rule, canned food is not very nutritious. The same goes for white bread, so stay away from them" ("Leaving home for fun and profit").

Articles during the final years of the *Berkeley Barb* also displayed the journalistic value of honesty subjectivity. In the January 31st, 1980, edition of the paper, the paper's last year in existence, Michael Castleman incorporated this journalistic value. In his article, "The Rubber Snaps Back," Castleman implemented a creative writing style to illustrate about the rebirth of the condom. First, he implemented honest subjectivity, by directly addressing the audience when he wrote about how people during the 1920s and 1930s prevented unwanted pregnancies. "How did lovers prevent unwanted pregnancies before the Pill and IUD? Many used rubbers- the humble contraceptive that ranked second-after male withdrawal-as the most popular contraceptive of the 1920s and 1930s" (Castleman).

When he illustrated the history of birth control methods, he explained that pill arrived in the mid-1960s, people stopped using condoms. However, the side effects of the pill forced people to revert back to condoms, even though people generally did not like using them. In this part of the article, he also employed this journalistic value when he wrote "it's fine to dislike condoms. But many men who put them down have never put one on. Some, who tried them years ago in the back seat on the family sedan, rejected them before they got used to them. It takes time to feel at ease with rubbers, just as it takes time to feel relaxed with a new lover" (Castleman).

In the final part of this report, writing about what happens if a condom breaks, he also used honest subjectivity through his frank and personal journalistic style. He described that if a condom breaks, "don't panic. Pregnancy, of course, occurs only during ovulation, but be prepared at all times. To reduce risk keep some foam on hand, whether or not you use it with a condom … Report the broken condom to the FDA. Complaints may help keep faulty products off the market" (Castleman).

Aside from the new journalistic value of honest subjectivity, there were also many reports in this alternative publication that embodied the notion of participatory journalism. One instance of the *Berkeley Barb* reporters acting like participatory journalists was in their coverage of "People's Park." In the story titled "After the Fire," which appeared in the May 16th, 1969 issue of the newspaper, Tari acted like a participant journalist because she was wrote what was going on as she participated in the revolt. She wrote about the anger and frustration she felt when tyrannies were pushing her around. She also described how she was in the middle of two hundred armed troops extinguishing the fire burning at the park, while yelling at the people there for committing treason.

"You've forgotten one thing-remember the tyranny trip? You talk about it in your history books. We believed those books, and we still believe that when an institution doesn't act in the interest of the people, it must be destroyed" (Tari).

Throughout this article, Tari acted as a participant journalist when she said "you pushed us into a square block area called PEOPLES PARK. It was the last thing we had to defend, this square block of sanity amidst all of your madness" (Tari). Finally, she behaved as a participant when she concluded this report with the words

> "People will still gather around the primordial fire of PEOPLES PARK, tabernacle of the Word, to laugh and sing after a day spent together. And the bitter, the disgusted, the sick, and the wretched will still huddle together on that square block of land behind the Med and the Forum, along Telegraph Avenue. And if in passing you should happen to peek at us through the bushes, you will find us still … smiling" (Tari).

Aside from the "People's Park" battle, other articles later on in the *Berkeley Barb* embodied the new journalistic value of participatory journalism. The article titled "They Lied About Laguna," which appeared in the January 8th, 1971 issue of the *Berkeley Barb,* also employed the practice of participatory journalism. Journalist Day Star clearly incorporated his political beliefs. He wrote about how the hippies met with the landowner of Laguna Beach, a seaside town in southern California. The hippies wanted to meet with him because they had hoped to be granted permission by the owner so that they would be able to have a Love-in and rock concert festival there. The owner agreed to it. However, when the day of the event transpired, police blocked the hippies from entering the site. Star wrote, "Lots of major groups were trying to get in but the police wouldn't let any of them in. We were being sealed off from the world" (Star).

Because Star wrote, “we were being sealed off from the world,” he can be considered a participant journalist. He took part in participatory journalism because he wrote how he tried to enter the event, but the police blocked him, along with the other hippies. He also was part of the event he covered when he described how he spent several days at this festival. “On the third night of the festival we received a message from the city fathers that no one else could come in … This meant that we couldn’t get food, water, medical help or sanitation facilities” (Star).

The last years of the *Berkeley Barb* also incorporated participatory journalism. In the article “I was a cog in a pod factory,” in the December 21st, 1978 edition Shelley Fem implemented this journalistic value. Fem wrote about her experience waiting in a warehouse to be an extra in the remake for the movie, “Invasion of the Body Snatchers.” This film is about a group of people in San Francisco who discover that the human race was being replaced one by one with clones lacking emotion. Even though Fem incorporated quotes from other peoples’ experiences waiting in line to be an extra in this film, he also acted as a participant journalist. She wrote how he was part of the scene, waiting online to be called to be an extra in this film. “And cogs we were – herded about, lined up, arbitrarily divided into roles and paid $2.50 an hour to shiver through the cold December night in the pod factory” (Fem).

Aside from the *Berkeley Barb* employing the new journalistic values of honest subjectivity and participatory journalism, there were several articles during the paper’s run that can be characterized as political muckraking. Political muckraking in the 1960s signified those journalists investigated the underlying assumptions about the power structures in America and revealed their fallacies. This type of muckraking was also

motivated by political goals. In the article, "Negro Leader Knocks School Desegregation," in the September 10th, 1965 *Barb*, Mario Steinkellner wrote about the tension between the police and blacks in Berkeley. Steinkellner was acting like a political muckraker because he felt that Don Warden, attorney and leader of the Afro-American Association, was racist.

There are many instances throughout this article when Steinkellner could be seen as a political muckraker because he wanted to make the counterculture community aware that racism is intolerable. The first instance was in the lead of the article when he quotes Warden saying that integration is wrong. "'School desegregation is a waste of time,' according to Don Warden, attorney and leader of the Afro-American Association." This quote addresses power structures in society because the journalist of this article feels that the white-supremacists more control over American society. As a result, he feels that they are treating blacks unfairly. Another instance where Steinkeller exposes that racism is not okay is when he writes Warden saying that integration is wrong. "Warden stressed the importance of motivation in school children. 'At this point, he said, 'there is very little value in integrating schools and most of this effort should be placed in motivation'" (Steinkellner).

Aside from Steinkellner acting like a political muckraker in the realm of school desegregation, he also can be seen as one in addressing the relations between the blacks and the police in Berkeley. He wanted to raise the conscience of readers that blacks are disrespected in the first few statements of interaction between the police and Negroes. "Warden said this was 'The biggest problem is a feeling on the part of the Negro community that Negroes are not being respected, and this is largely due to the tone of

voice used by the police." Later in the article, he acted like a muckraker when he illustrated that there was no need for such a conflict in the Berkeley community. "Both of these situations could be improved, Warden said, by some effort on the part of the police and Negroes. 'There is nothing inherent in the police or in the community which necessitates eternal conflict'" (Steinkellner). In the later parts of the article, Steinkellner heavily emphasizes what Warden is saying as a possible way for the white-controlled America to realize that authority such as policemen need to be more tolerant towards blacks and treat them equally.

In addition to this value political muckraking, which was prevalent during the inception of the *Berkeley Barb,* this legacy remained a few years later in the newspaper. In the article that appeared in the December 23rd, 1968 issue of the *Berkeley Barb,* titled "My Lai Was Just One Incident," Tom Marlowe employs this journalistic value. He wrote about Lieutenant William Calley's court martial. Calley was accused of murdering at least 102 Vietnamese people in the hamlet of My Lai in March of 1968. Marlowe wrote an article anticipating what would happen if Calley was found guilty. Marlowe clearly incorporated his anti-war political beliefs in this article when he felt that the United States was not completely indifferent to the killing of civilians in Vietnam.

> If Calley, who is accused of murdering at least 102 Vietnamese people in the hamlet of My Lai in March of 1968, is found guilty and subsequently punished, the fact will be evidence that the U.S. is not totally indifferent to the needless killing of civilians in Vietnam, as hard as that may be to believe (Marlowe).

He also incorporated his anti-war political beliefs when he said:

> that no immediate effort was made to bring Calley to trial is now sad, past history. In fact, the massacre was repeatedly denied, both by the U.S. and South Vietnamese authorities

> and it wasn't until Life magazine published the shocking pictures of the slaughter that the army finally admitted the incident 'may have taken place' (Marlowe).

These two sentences from the article clearly displayed the new journalistic value prevalent in the 1960s of political muckraking. In that article, Marlowe alluded to this concept of political muckraking when he said that the truth was evident that a countless number of civilians were dying in Vietnam. Because he said that, he can perhaps be seen as a political muckraker through this conscious-raising tactic. He hoped that through writing this article, it would make the United States withdraw their troops from the villages of Vietnam. Because he felt bad for all the innocent Vietnamese civilians that were constantly being killed, he hoped that the United States government would feel the same way. If they felt the same way, Marlowe would hope that such feelings would cause them to withdraw the troops from this Southeast Asian country. "Too many have been killed in Vietnam because they have made good targets. If Calley was indifferent and cold to the helplessness of his victims, he was not alone in his indifference. It is spread throughout the American army" (Marlowe). Marlowe perhaps decided to include such statements in the article as a muckraking tool to make the audience aware of the problems in society and in turn, force them, along with the government to respond.

The final years of the *Berkeley Barb* also evidenced political muckraking. In the January 31st, 1980 *Barb*, there is an article, titled "Carter pushes pollution on Pacific paradises," in which Ian Lind embodies the value of political muckraking. Lind writes about how United States President Jimmy Carter wanted to establish a nuclear waste site on the islands in the Pacific. In this report, Lind clearly acts as a political muckraker because he wants to make people aware that nuclear testing facilities should not impede

on the beauty of the Pacific Islands. “The island nations of the Pacific, usually associated in our minds with rolling surf and white sand beaches, are now being swept by growing waves of anti-nuclear protest” (Lind). He hopes that writing this article will make people take action to prevent Carter’s move. The fact that he wrote “although relatively unnoticed compared to the massive civil disobedience campaigns in the U.S. and Western Europe, actions aimed at stopping the spread of nuclear power and nuclear weapons have spread across this vast ocean area” (Lind) reveals that he wants people in other regions of the world to be conscious of this effort and start their own campaigns to protest Carter’s move.

Barb reporters discuss their journalistic values

After interviewing several former *Berkeley Barb* reporters, asking them if they incorporated these new journalistic values of honest subjectivity, participatory journalism and political muckraking in their articles, they all had different things to say. When asking Richard Denner if he incorporated his political beliefs in this article, he said that because of his involvement in SLATE, along with other organizations in the New Left, “all of these things made me write with a political view.” He said SLATE was a student organization founded in 1958 whose members helped organize the House of Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) protests. The HUAC protests were in response to the hearings in which various University of California-Berkeley students faced hostile questions about Communist activities. He also attributed his incorporation of political beliefs to Scherr. “Max gave us leeway to write from the angle that we were investigating. There was plenty there to investigate.” He also said, “Max was of the opinion that of writing the story, they should be trying to tell the truth of what we’re

seeing." "I don't remember him having any questions of there being too much bias to anything. I think he encouraged bias, as long as it was anti-Establishment. Everyone in the counterculture was feeling threatened to the established direction" (Denner).

He was an inexperienced journalist. "Many of us were not trained as journalists. In my sense, I was unable to write a complete sentence … At best, I was learning to be a creative writer on my own. As a writer, I was not very confident, I was confused about the world and about what was going on" (Denner). His experience gave Scherr leeway to mold Denner's stories with the appropriate slant. Denner said this is probably what happened with his story on "The Citizen" in the midst of trying to reach his Friday, August, 13th deadline:

> Trying to reach Friday, the 13th deadline, probably I was trying to get this thing written by the 12th. I wasn't a competent writer. I was trying to follow the basic objective journalist thing. I had little interview notes written on envelopes, on little scraps of notebooks … I came to Max with my little scraps of notes and Max managed to make something of that, a little article in the *Barb* that said 'The Citizen' hadn't made it and the *Berkeley Barb* was there (Denner).

David Haldane said that he incorporated his political and countercultural beliefs into his articles by being a participant. "I definitely was a participant … political muckraking, much less so." He said he never saw himself as a political muckraker:

> I never saw myself as a muckraker, more as a participant and explorer of the new world and new age that was being born … I was part of the counterculture and had been active in the anti-war movement and shared the political beliefs of that time, but I wasn't writing about politics. I was more interested in exploring the 'new ideas,' the gurus, 'the world is changing,' 'the old-world is dying,' 'something new is being born' … I did a lot of features about lifestyles and I would go and hang out with these guys for a week and be part of their thing. I would stay long enough to see the world through their eyes. They would forget I was a journalist and so would I … I would write a

story and it was first-person (Haldane).

Stew Albert, who started writing for the *Barb* at its inception in 1965, also agreed that he was a participant journalist. “Participant journalism … that was the journalism of the *Berkeley Barb.*” He said “most of the people that wrote for the *Barb* were movement activists. They were involved in the demonstrations and wrote about and saw what they did. They wrote about it from the point of view of being a demonstrator” (Stew Albert).

Kate Coleman said she employed these new journalistic values. First, she said she encompassed honest subjectivity by writing in the first-person. “Everything I wrote was first-person. One (story) was on penis envy. I wrote ‘I admit it. I have penis envy.” “First person was the style of gonzo journalism at the time.” Hunter S. Thompson describes gonzo journalism as “a rambling rolling style of writing that sucks in the audience and makes the reader feel as if he or she is actually experiencing the action” (What is Gonzo Journalism?) She said that aside from incorporating honest subjectivity in her articles through the use of first-person, she also said she used two voices in her articles. “I have been writing in two voices … outrageous fun and an investigative tone.” In addition to using the new value of honest subjectivity in her articles, she said she was clearly a participant journalist. “I’ve done (participant journalism) a lot … I was considered at that time a participatory journalist” (Coleman).

John Jekabson also said he incorporated many of these new journalistic values. First, he said he was a participant journalist. “We were all participants. We’d write in first-person. If they were demonstrations, I would say, ‘I saw this.’” He also described how the *Barb* embodied the notion of honest subjectivity. “We had a lot of first-hand

reports of what was going on in the street." "We used street language … that would not appear in the regular press, including swear words" (Jekabson).

The Office Environment of the *Berkeley Barb*

Despite the physical paper's hip hedonistic image, the *Berkeley Barb's* office was a bland place. "It occupied an area of perhaps 15 feet square, partially enclosed by the front office partition on one side and the editorial cell at the rear, and there was nothing offensive in view except advertisements in process of being composed and pasted onto flats for the next issue." Clearly, there was lack of expressiveness of the hippie culture in the *Berkeley Barb's* office. "The expressive elements of the paper's interior were relatively apolitical, and without any evidence of revolutionary 'consciousness,' they were also free of pornographic matter, and in that, quite different from the paper's hedonistic image" (Seeger, Pig Papers 26-30).

This came as a surprise to Seeger who said that "one would expect the headquarters of one of the more colorful underground publications to express its personality in a less conventional location and in a display of symbolic decorations of its headquarters, but the *Barb* did neither" (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 18). "When I first saw the office, I was only able to identify it by a collection of picket signs outside, left by former staffers who had demonstrated there earlier in the day" (Seeger, Pig Papers 23). Richard Denner, during his year at the *Barb* in 1965, agreed with Seeger's observation, with only "things left from an old beatnik" (Denner).

The only consistent symbolic elements of the counterculture were the posters on the walls. The counterculture produced a wealth of posters and other graphics. There were even a few revolutionary ones. The most famous revolutionary poster was a five-

foot blowup of a Bank of America ‘scenic check’ with a red-and-yellow photograph of the branch bank, which student demonstrators set afire at Isla Visa, near the University of California-Santa Barbara. However, very few of these strikingly revolutionary posters were to be found hanging on the walls of the *Berkeley Barb’s* office (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 20). Instead, a “random assortment of hip-commercial takeoffs, which were mailed out by record promoters and other unconventional business entrepreneurs was on display” (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 20). David Haldane also said he remembered the posters. “There were psychedelic posters all over the place … It all looked like it was going to fall down” (Haldane). Stew Albert also said he recalled the posters. “There were standard posters. It had the atmosphere of the Movement place” (Stew Albert).

In addition to the bigger posters that took up the walls of the office, there was a wide assortment of handbills announcing demonstrations and musical events. There were also noncommercial displays, which had significance for the staff. One of the main ones was a blown up photograph of the Battle of People’s Park, showing the hippies and National Guardsmen linked arm-in-arm. Aside from the photograph of the Battle of People’s Park, there was a picture of a football program depicting an onrushing ballcarrier. This was considered a “token of the big game which had been infiltrated by a *Barb* staffer who handed out marijuana cigarettes to raise consciousness of the spectators” (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 20).

There can be many reasons why there was a lack of expressiveness of hippie culture in the *Berkeley Barb’s* office. First, perhaps this shortage of expression relayed the message that those who are dedicated to cultural and political change did not feel it necessary to display this dedication in an overt manner (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 20).

In addition, the *Berkeley Barb* staff probably did not feel it necessary to display the hippie counterculture in their office because they did not regard it as their home territory.

> What is the significance of the fact that the paper, source for years of the countercultural message, had less of it on display in its home territory than might have been encountered in many small apartments in Berkeley of that period? The general message was that the players on the *Barb* team no longer regarded it as their own home territory, rather than the alternative interpretation that the staff was not committed to hippie, or political matters (Seeger, Pig Papers 27).

The layout, for example, took place outside of the office, and additionally outside the underground community. The printing plant that the *Berkeley Barb* used since its beginning in 1965 was located in one of San Francisco's industrial slums, "a territory very remote from a very alien to the ambiance of Berkeley's Telegraph Avenue" (Seeger, Pig Papers 110).

The staff of the *Barb* was composed of mainly young, inexperienced journalists who advocated for liberal movements. However, they were mainly all white male college dropouts. As a result, the few females on the paper were outraged, especially at the end of the 1960s when the Feminist Movement was at its pinnacle. Scherr perhaps justified the paper's lack of diversity because the blacks had their own underground paper called the *Black Panther*. The *Barb* reporters incorporated the journalistic values of honest subjectivity, participatory journalism and political muckraking in the contents of their articles. But, despite the counterculture elements in the contents of the papers, the office was a bland place. Because these journalists facilitated these elements of honest subjectivity, participatory journalism and political muckraking, they deviated from the standards of professional journalism.

Chapter 2-The *Barb's* rebellious attitude

The journalistic values that the *Berkeley Barb* depicted were in opposition to American Society, the standards of professional journalism and the mainstream media newspapers. The *Berkeley Barb* deviated from these things through its editorial policies. Their editorial policies clearly resembled the counterculture because the journalists did not consider themselves professional reporters. "We weren't newspaper people. We were just artists," Richard Denner remembered. Perhaps because Scherr did not give Denner guidelines, that is why Denner said he did not act professionally even though "on one hand, I was thinking of myself as a professional. I called my mom telling her I was an international correspondent for the *Berkeley Barb*" (Denner).

Scherr's Editorial Policies

Scherr's policies specifically reflected the counterculture and deviated from the standards of professional journalism in many ways. First, many times, he would not assign the reporters stories. "On a big story, he would assign a few people" (Stew Albert). Most of the time, the journalists would have to think of their own stories. "Sometimes they would assign me a story, but often I would just come up with it myself. That was far too structured for the *Barb*" (Haldane). Kate Coleman just wrote a weekly column with the name "Where Angels Fear to Tread." Every week she wrote on a different topic.

Many times, the writers would not even run their ideas by the editors. "I wouldn't even run (my ideas) by the editors … sometimes they wouldn't even know what I was working on until I brought it in … they were so hungry for copy that whatever

(journalists) brought would get it," David Haldane said. Richard Denner said that after he left the *Barb* to go to Alaska, he would still send Scherr poems he wrote and some of them appeared in the paper in 1966. "Scherr had about six or eight of these I made for him, and he said to me, 'Richard, you are the poet of the *Berkeley Barb.*'" "To me, it was like strong juice when you are young and trying to get some acknowledgement" (Denner).

Also, Scherr would not give his writers a specific angle for a story or sit down with them before even though most of them were inexperienced journalists. "They would never give me a suggestion about what the angle should be, or when they wanted (the story)" (Haldane). Kate Coleman also agreed. "There was a lot of freedom. If it was a column, I was supposed to write a column length of about 800 words" (Coleman). However, there were exceptions. "What was good in my relationship with him was not so much when he was assigning the story, because also sometimes, I would tell him I was going to do a story" (Stew Albert). As far as a word-count, John Jekabson said "if it was an important story, he wouldn't give you any limit." In reference to Scherr sitting down with reporters to go over their stories, Jekabson said if "people were too objective … we'd change it to make it sound more unreasonable" (Jekabson).

Ken Kelley, however, who was Managing Editor of the *Barb* for one year in 1973, did assign stories to writers. He told his writers, "Writer's block is not allowed here." Kelley also said that he bought old copies of Strunk and Wright's book *Elements of Style* to give to his writers. He said this book teaches people how to write. He also sat down with his writers and dictated to them specific journalistic rules. "I said 'I like it when you start with a quote.' It's a nice easy thing to do. It summarizes everything …

otherwise, they wouldn't have any take on it." "I encouraged them to be ironic or slightly sardonic" (Kelley).

Finally, Scherr never edited the copy with substantial changes. "I don't think I ever remember an editor suggesting changes … I don't even know what the editors did … (The editors) had this countercultural attitude about editing and they thought editing was censorship" (Haldane). However, Stew Albert felt that he learned something from even the slightest edits Scherr made. "When I bring my article into the paper … it was interesting when he would read it over and make some changes. I actually learned something about writing from those changes" (Stew Albert).

Scherr's editorial decisions clearly rebelled against the confines of professional journalism. Especially since he did not sit down with writers and assign them stories, a specific angle or a word-count, his policies did not reflect professional journalism. In *Deciding What's News*, Herbert Gans discusses how at mainstream weekly magazines, publishers and editors sit down with writers and give them guidelines for each story before letting them loose out on assignment. Before writers begin to work on their stories, they discuss with the senior editor such aspects as the angle of the story, word count, and which sources to contact. Once the senior editor gives the journalist a word count, the writer tries to abide by that length. Sometimes, however, the writer may chose to exceed the prescribed length, and if the senior editor thinks their story is good enough, they will accommodate the extra words (Gans, 101).

Scherr's failure to establish a professional relationship with his writers also deviated from the standards of professional journalism because at mainstream publications, the publishers and editors have at least some kind of professional

relationship with their reporters. There are several magnitudes to the relationships publishers and editors can have with their writers. Some senior editors "virtually dictate the story to the writer, particularly if he or she is a novice." Others leave the story entirely to the discretion of the reporter, and most offer suggestions about the organization of the story and a possible lead. Finally, journalists who are considered "star writers" are "treated as respectfully as bestselling or prestigious novelists, discussing the story with the senior editor only if they want guidance." Most of the time, however, "senior writers are equally free, except when they are writing lead or cover stories; on the other hand, junior writers must earn individual autonomy by their performance" (Gans, 101). Because most of the *Berkeley Barb* writers were novices and inexperienced journalists, if Scherr wanted to abide by the journalistic values at mainstream papers, he would have sat down and dictated the stories to his writers and taught them proper journalistic skills to follow when they were out on assignment.

Scherr's production schedule also deviated from the standards of professional journalism. His production schedule did not shadow that of mainstream publications because at mainstream publications, every section works on a different schedule. But everyone on the *Berkeley Barb* worked on the same schedule, whether they were a news writer, an arts reviewer or an opinion writer.

In mainstream weekly magazines, there is a set routine everyday of each production week. "In the domestic sections, some files have already come in by Day 3; and by noon of Day 4, reporters are expected to have sent in enough of their files so that writers can meet with their senior editor to discuss story content and length." Once the writers have decided whether they can meet the agreed-on story length, senior editors

start to ponder the section's final story list and their total page requirements. "Should the number of pages assigned earlier in the week be insufficient, they can appeal to the top editor for more, and appeals from the front of the book are usually granted. This means cutting or killing more sections in the back of the book." Then, on Day 4, senior editors start to plan their stories they have selected for that week's issue. They decide the order of their stories, and determine, with the consent of top editors, which stories will be accompanied by color photographs or black-and-white photographs. These plans are preliminary since the final decisions concerning the order of stories are made by top editors, and "in the front of-the-book sections, by the flow of events" (Gans, 113-114). In these sections, story lists are updated until the publication goes to press.

At the end of the fourth day, the stories arrive to the editors, as the writers are fighting the clocks, sometimes working until long after midnight. The writer's finished product goes to the senior editor and researcher. "Senior editors make some changes in almost all the stories. Once a senior editor reads the story, it is passed onto the top editor, who normally suggests only minor revisions. The cover stories, however, are an exception to this process because in regular circumstances, they are rewritten several times by the initial reporter, along with various editors (Gans, 114).

Finally, Day 5 is considered the cleanup day. On this day, copy is "'cleaned up' and final changes required by top editors, researchers, reporters – or by late events –are made." On this day, the office ambiance is more informal than at the beginning of the work-week but the cleanup can last late into the night. For example, the cover-story writer can possibly still be working on the last draft of the article, while the other writers sit and wait for the cover story to be complete. They must wait because depending on the

length of the cover-story, they might need to tailor their previously written articles to accommodate the length of the lead story. Also, while the cover-story writer is completing the final draft of the report, senior editors start to take care of administrative chores and begin to think about next week's story lists, as suggestions for reports have already arrived from wires services, press releases or other news bureaus (Gans, 114).

Then, late at night on Day 5, the two-day weekend break begins for the majority of reporters and editors, except for the small weekend crew. This group includes a top editor, who is responsible for last-minute corrections or additions. However, if a story that needs to be added is rather important, then more editors and reporters might have to return to the office on Day 6 to ensure that the writer or writers of this breaking story will still meet the week's deadline (Gans, 115).

The fact that the *Berkeley Barb* was not divided into organized sections, with specific beat writers for each one of these sections also deviated from the ethics of professional journalism. This lack of organization in the newspaper resembled the counterculture because the counterculture signified a lack of order and organization. In the book *Manufacturing the News* Mark Fishman notes that "the beat system of news coverage is so widespread among established newspapers that *not* using beats is a distinctive feature of being an experimental, alternative, or underground newspaper" (Fishman, 27).

Throughout the *Berkeley Barb's* legacy, there was no real organization to the paper, lacking a table of contents. In the September 10, 1965 issue, there were a bunch of stories pasted up on the front page. One story was about Negro desegregation, another story was a review of the Beatles, while another story dealt with Vietnam (Berkeley Barb,

September 10, 1965). Usually, the front pages of mainstream newspapers have the hard news on the front page, and arts reviews in a separate Arts and Entertainment Section of the paper. Then, on the second page of this issue, there was a music review and a book review, with a half-page picture of naked women engaging in a sex orgy. Finally, the last two pages of this issue were continuations of stories from the front page and small advertisements for movies, coffee houses, and bookstore specials (Berkeley Barb). Usually in mainstream media papers, the listings for movie show times and arts performances are in the Arts and Entertainment Section of the paper, not at the bottom of pages composed of hard news stories alongside film reviews.

This legacy of disorganization in the *Barb* was also prevalent in issues about nine years after its inception. In the December 24th, 1974, *Barb*, there was an article about student strikes on the same page as a poetry slam review. Then, later in the paper, there was an article about a guitarist above a book review.

However, even though the paper did not have organized sections during the final year in its existence, there was more organization during this year than there was at the beginning of the paper. Starting at the end of 1976 and the beginning of 1977, the paper's organization layout transformed. This took place in the December 31, 1976, issue, where there were headings for "Film," "Television," and "Books." All the reviews and news about these respective subjects went under these headings. However, as far as hard-news articles, organized sections still lacked. An article about prostitutes was right above one about mandatory school testing. In addition, a report about Gays in San Francisco ready to win public office was next to one about prisons being lawless institutions.

This organizational structure carried out until the Barb's death. For example, in the January 31st, 1980 edition, all of the music reviews were listed under a section called "Music," all of the book critiques were listed under a section called "Books." However, there were still articles about international news on the same pages as articles with national news or even local news. For example, there was an article about The Shah on the same page as Carter's domestic policies.

Aside from the fact that Scherr's production schedule also deviated from the standards of professional journalism because all parts of this alternative newspaper went to press the same day, whether they were black-and-white or color ones. Scherr decided to include a plethora of psychedelic colorful images in the paper to reflect the counterculture. Sending all parts of the newspaper to press the same day, whether color or black-and-white, deviated from the standards of professional journalism at mainstream publications because at mainstream weeklies, color pages go to press a day earlier than black ones (Gans, 110).

Barb Staffers do not behave like professional journalists

In addition to the publisher's editorial policies deviating from the standards of professional journalism, the *Berkeley Barb* staffers did not act like professional journalists. This happened in many ways. First, when some writers chose to write about a demonstration or a meeting, they did not feel the necessity to physically attend. Stew Albert recalled that he wrote about the Oakland Seven Trial, a group of seven student radical students on trial for organizing demonstrations in an attempt to prevent the Oakland Army Induction Center from functioning during the Vietnam War. Albert was not able to attend this event he covered because the police attacked him. "I was attacked

by the police by covering the opening of the Oakland Seven Trial. I was hit on the head by a sheriff's deputy … I picked up a few wounds along the way. It was like being a war correspondent in a way" (Stew Albert).

Also, their interview tactics deviated from professional journalism because they did not contact their sources ahead of time. "I told them to make more than one phone call," (Kelley). Ken Kelley said that it was usually the case that the writer would generally know someone to call if they needed to get a hold of a source. Richard Denner said that when interviewing his sources, "I just walked in on people and started asking questions. I just didn't know any better. I just talked to them. I just had to try to get a quote together. I was learning to think on my feet … to form a thought was pretty hard when you were stoned" (Denner). David Haldane said he also agreed that sometimes, he would just walk in. "I would try to call them if I could to set something up. If I couldn't get a hold of them … I would probably just walk in" (Haldane). Stew Albert also agreed. "When I was interviewing somebody, I wouldn't just barge in on them … unless I happened to know at a certain time where they were, I would not contact them. I would just go and ask them if I can do an interview at that time" (Stew Albert). Stew Albert said however, most of the stories he wrote did not require him to set up interviews. "A lot of the stories I wrote, I was the source. But some of the articles I did about the Black Panther Party, I would call up" (Stew Albert).

In addition the *Berkeley Barb* staffers did not act professional because they rebelled against Scherr's production schedule. He had a weekly schedule set in mind, extending from the weekend until Wednesday evening. But, most of the news staff did not abide by it. For them, the workweek did not begin until Monday or Tuesday night, the

night before the paper went to press (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 74-75). John Jekabson also described the workweek. “I’d come in on Monday and make an assignment list. I’ve story calling people … start assigning them stories. I would ask them if they had their own ideas” (Jekabson).

Inherently, the reporters waited until the last minute. “I always waited until the last minute,” Kate Coleman said. “I was pretty much unaware of time. I would go into the office early in the week, hang out and see what was going on … I would go off and spend a few days hanging out, and at some point, later in the week, I would write the story in my room or write it in a coffee house,” David Haldane said. “There were always deadline problems and sometimes substitute stories had to be put in,” Stew Albert said. “I don’t even remember there being deadlines … I think the paper came out on Fridays and the deadline was Thursday and that was pretty much all I knew. I felt that if I didn’t make this issue, I would make the next one,” Haldane said. Jekabson said that as far as deadlines, since “if (the reporters) did (have problems), we didn’t use their stories, but if it was an important story, (Max or I) would just write what we knew and put our story in.”

Almost every week, when a reporter was supposed to be covering late-breaking news during production night, he or she also had to worry about these older assignments from the beginning of the production week. “I would usually pick my stories in a timely way, but sometimes there would be a fast-breaking story coming in near the deadline and I jumped on that and tried to get it together for the paper” (Stew Albert).

Perhaps an explanation for not meeting deadlines was because Scherr did not enforce them. “They said ‘Do the story and come give it to us when it’s done’”

(Haldane). Scherr may have though that because writers were paid by the column inch, there was no need for strict deadlines. “The writers got paid by the column inch. You didn’t have to meet deadline, but you wouldn’t get paid until your story was in the paper” (Haldane). This is different from mainstream journalism because for the most part at mainstream publications, reporters earn a set salary every week regardless of the number of articles they write per week.

Judy Albert, Stew’s wife, who also wrote for the *Barb,* said “given that it was the 60s, we were relatively disciplined about getting the paper to bed.” However, she said that given the inexperience of young journalists, waiting until the last minute was normal. “Given that we were young, of course we waited until the last minute” (Judy Albert).

Failure to meet deadlines does not conform to the standards of professional journalism at mainstream publications. Professional journalism emphasizes the importance of deadlines. If a reporter misses a deadline, the editors will be late in passing the story onto the typesetters. This means that if one typesetter works overtime, according to the news organization’s laws, each typesetter gets paid time and a half, as well as the compositors and printers held past their shift. In turn, this delay also delays the trucks who must bring the newspapers to the newsstands and home subscribers. “Readers may discover they prefer the competitor’s product. Circulation and advertising revenue may drop.” “Missed deadlines *do* potentially cost money-and newspaper copy does pass sequentially through many hands before it reaches the reader” (Tuchman, 72-73). If the *Berkeley Barb* reporters were able to make their deadlines, then they wouldn’t have had to pull all-nighters during production night each week.

Also, reporters at mainstream weekly publications abide by their production schedule instated by their editor or publisher. Every day of each workweek, journalists are required to complete certain tasks to ensure their given publications would get to press on deadline. During Days 2 and 3 of each work week, "while reporters work on their files, writers and researchers keep busy with background reading for their assigned stories; senior editors continue to work on their story lists, for in the front of the book, these lists are revised and updated daily." Since mainstream writers actually begin their work on their assigned schedule each workweek, the final production stage is longer and less hectic for everyone (Gans, 113).

If the *Berkeley Barb* reporters began their work early in the week, then they would have been like journalists at mainstream publications with a less hectic production stage. Instead, since they didn't, their final production stage was rather hectic, as they had to fight the clock to finish stories at the last minute, which were originally assigned early in the week. Those stories assigned early in a production week would have been done before the deadline night at mainstream publications.

Explanation why *Barb* reporters did not act professional

Perhaps, the *Berkeley Barb* journalists' decisions to not act like professional journalists had more of an explanation than simply reflecting the counterculture. Because they were getting paid such meager salaries, and Scherr was taking most of the money, they felt that their frugal earnings deterred them from working hard every week or making a conscious effort to meet their deadlines. "In June 1969 Scherr's staff came upon information from a satirical sheet, *The Berkeley Fascist,* suggesting Scherr had been netting a profit of $5,000 a week from their efforts" (Glessing, 20). The *Berkeley Fascist*

was Berkeley's "people's paper," "a two-in-one short-lived satirical newspaper published by Allan Coult, the Anthropology professor who purchased the *Barb* from founder Max Scherr" (Glessing, 84). "Max was becoming a capitalist … A young generation that had their ideals felt they were being used, so they co-opted the paper" (Denner).

John Jekabson even admitted Scherr was frugal. "(Max) was very frugal ... At first, he didn't pay anybody. It was for the cause because you believed in it" (Jekabson). "A couple of times if a guy did a really good story, Max would just add a bunch of inches" (Jekabson) worth in payment to the writer.

Many women on the *Barb* truly felt that Scherr was exploiting them. Judy Albert also agreed that in addition to Scherr being a capitalist, he was a sexist. That is why men got the stories, so they would get the money. "Max was a true sexist … So the men got the stories. Money was a big issue because Max was also a true miser … Max paid 25 cents a column inch" (Judy Albert). Kate Coleman also said she agreed. "Max was a son-of-a-bitch on money matters … he was a terrible exploiter because he made tons of money." "There was nothing worse than an ex-Marxist than an entrepreneur" (Coleman).

The meager salaries given to the *Barb* journalists was perhaps the main reason why the Round Mountain Tribe started a rival underground paper called the *Berkeley Tribe.* Stew Albert said the Round Mountain Tribe was the name given to the group of *Barb* journalists who protested the low salaries, and in response, started the *Tribe*. The main article in the first issue was called "The Barb on Strike." This article detailed how the some *Barb* reporters went on strike because they weren't getting paid enough money. "I was part of the Round Mountain Tribe, and we didn't protest against Max Scherr being editor, but we felt we were grossly underpaid. We couldn't negotiate a union agreement

with him, so we started our own newspaper." In essence, he said that "we were underpaid. We got paid 25 cents a column inch. When the paper was hitting its peak of circulation was making thousands of dollars. I was just paid 25 cents a column inch" (Stew Albert).

However, David Haldane felt that Scherr was not exploiting him. "I remember hearing rumors that he was getting rich. I don't remember ever really feeling concerned about that." "When I first started, I got paid 50 cents a column inch and then I got a raise to 75 cents a column inch." "I got about 50 or 60 dollars a week and that was enough to live." Haldane said during that decade, money was not his priority.

> At that time of my life, money was unreal to me. I didn't care about money … I wasn't doing it for the money. I did it for the passion. I loved to write. I loved the counterculture … Money was part of the old capitalist system we were opposed to and that is why it made Max exploit money … Max was probably more of a capitalist (Haldane).

Kate Coleman agreed that she wasn't working for the *Barb* for the money. "If I were in it for the money, I was misinformed." "Ken Kelley was so nice to me … and I wanted to write for him. I didn't write for the money. I wrote for praise and exposure" (Coleman). Richard Denner also said he agreed. He said that not getting paid did not bother him that much. "In the beginning there was no offer for money, just the honor, I guess, of submitting some writing that would see the light of day. At least there was what I felt. I suppose some would say Max was taking advantage of a young, aspiring poet, but, hell, I thought the chance of getting published was pretty heady, an ego trip of sorts." He was not mad at Scherr for not paying him. "As for being mad at Max, no, I still think fondly of him. Again, I was there at the inception of a great enterprise … If Max later capitalized on the Barb, I'm sure he was called to task, and some people probably still have

resentment, but I don't. I see him as a mentor who helped me become a writer and a printer" (Denner).

Why mainstream media ignored most events of the counterculture

The *Berkeley Barb,* in turn, was able to report on events that the mainstream media ignored. There can be many possible reasons why the mainstream media ignored most of the events of the counterculture. First, Gans argues that mainstream journalism simplifies counterculture reporting by using stereotypes. Some of the symbols the mainstream media characterizes include government, business, sports, arts and entertainment, law and science. But, the symbols of the counterculture included peace, activism, rebellion, protests, strikes, hippies, women's liberation and drugs. These could not automatically fit directly into one section of a traditional mainstream publication. Therefore, perhaps such publications had to classify the symbols of the counterculture into separate issues (Gans, 19).

Aside from the fact that sections of a traditional publication did not easily allot for reporting on the symbols of the counterculture, the mainstream newspapers give most of their coverage to known people in the news. "In American news, as in the news of all modern nations, the people who appear most frequently in the news are Knowns, and for the most part, those in official positions" (Gans, 9). There are five types of Knowns that dominate the domestic news. These include incumbent presidents; presidential candidates; leading federal officials; state and local officials; and alleged and actual violators of the laws and mores (Gans, 9-11). The *Berkeley Barb* did not report on the majority of these five types of "Knowns" that the mainstream media chooses to depict. Information regarding President Johnson was the only information the *Barb* depicted

regarding the "Knowns." Instead of reporting on mainly the "Knowns," this underground paper chose to give most of their coverage to the countercultural activists such as protestors. These included the Free Speech Movement Activists, the anti-war protestors, the hippies, the feminists, and student liberals and radicals.

The mainstream media did not think these protestors of the New Left fit into any of the five categories of "Knowns" in the news. They were considered "Unknowns," and the mainstream publications do not report on "Unknowns" nearly as much as they write about "Knowns." The "Unknowns" are "ordinary people prototypical of the group of aggregates that make up the nation." These protestors were one of the five types of Unknowns. The other four types of Unknowns include victims; alleged and actual violators of the laws and mores; participants in unusual activities; and voters, survey respondents or other aggregates (Gans, 8-15).

Since the mainstream media focuses on their five categories of "Knowns," they inherently report mainly on middle-aged people. Because the protestors and anti-war strikers were not middle-aged, the mainstream publications did not give them the same light as they do with adult public officials. "With most public officials middle-aged or older, and with most ordinary people involved in crime or protest either adolescent or young adult, the majority of news stories are about these groups" (Gans, 29).

Aside from the fact that the mainstream media did not report on the liberals of the New Left because they were not middle-aged adults, the daily and weekly professional publications did not report on the events of the counterculture because these events were solely liberal politically. Since mainstream publications must adhere to the professional journalistic values of objectivity, accuracy, and balance, they must cater to all the

different parts of the political spectrum. For example, if they decided to report on the liberals of the counterculture who protested the Vietnam War, they would also have to give the same amount of coverage to people that supported the Vietnam War. Gans describes that the mainstream news has the habit to incorporate seven ideological positions. On the Far Left are the "radicals." Then, there are the "'left leaning' liberals, After all the groups leaning towards the left, the news also incorporates people whose political views are in the center. The media labels these individuals as "moderates" (Gans, 30). Finally, the mainstream news incorporates groups leaning toward the Right of the political spectrum. They label these people as "Conservatives." Then, more to the Right of Conservatives, the news media devotes attention to the group of people they label "Ultraconservatives." Finally, further to the right of "Ultraconservatives" are "Right wing Extremists." The news media reserves this term for American Nazi parties and the Ku Klux Klan (Gans, 30). Because the *Berkeley Barb* did not give much attention to all seven sides of the political spectrum, rarely reporting on Richard Nixon or Ronald Reagan, and mainly devoting its pages to the activities and events of the activists on the New Left, the paper deviated from the standards of professional journalism.

Aside from the fact that the mainstream media has the journalistic obligation to balance by reporting on all sides of the political spectrum, another reason why such publications chose not to report on some of the protests or demonstrations of the New Left was because they simply did not consider them newsworthy. Perhaps, the editors and reporters sought their events were created solely for media coverage. Therefore, journalists did not think such media events were deemed newsworthy. "Not all media events are newsworthy; in addition, journalists object to being 'used' by sources. If they

suspect that an event is being staged for their benefit, they may refuse to cover it" (Gans, 122-123).

Many *Berkeley Barb* journalists clearly felt this was the case and therefore, they had to compensate for the fact that the mainstream media did not cover the counterculture as in-depth as this underground publication. "We would write about things and then the mainstream media would pick them up and write about the same thing weeks later and the *Barb* wouldn't credit us. That made me crazy" (Haldane). "The *Barb* definitely presented a point of view that wasn't being presented in the *San Francisco Chronicle* or the *Berkeley Gazette*. A lot of people that read the (*Barb)* tried to get the full picture of what was going on" (Stew Albert).

Another reason why reporters in the mainstream media had difficulty covering the counterculture was because it was considered a new lifestyle. When reporters are assigned to write a story on a new lifestyle, they do not automatically know which sources to contact that will give them their news peg. Therefore, they must ask other journalists or editors in the newsroom to guide them to find the right contacts. If they are not able to help them, then, they must contact their friends or family members, asking them if they know anyone in particular who is partaking in this new lifestyle. "Reporters assigned to cover a new social problem or lifestyle often begin by calling up friends, asking them for the names of friends and acquaintances who can serve as sources" (Gans, 125).

Women's Liberation Movement an Exception

However, even though the mainstream media publications ignored many of the events of the counterculture for various reasons, it reported on the Feminist Movement,

which the counterculture was sympathetic to because the *Barb* gave extensive coverage to it. Susan Douglas said that mainstream media gave extensive coverage to the Women's Movement. In 1962, the *NY Times* had a front-page article saying how professional women were fed up with their second-class salaries and in turn, they urged President John F. Kennedy's administration to rectify this situation. The *U.S. News and World Report* in 1962 also detailed the ways in which "women were discriminated against and underrepresented in American business and political institutions, and it noted that sociologists 'warn that the U.S. may be building up a new generation of 'unhappy women.'" *Time* reported on the folk singer Joan Baez. "In a little hatchet-job piece called 'Sibyl with Guitar,' *Time* described Baez as a 'otherworldly beatnik' with a 'remote manner, long hair, bare feet and burlap wardrobe' who was often contemptuous of her audience." In this report, *Time* was clearly antagonistic to how Baez resembled a new feminist. "What *Time* couldn't get over the most was the fact that Baez, who was young and beautiful, absolutely refused to buy into existing gender norms about proper female behavior and appearance, and was hugely successful anyway" (Douglas, 124-147).

1970 was a big year for the news media to give coverage to the Women's Movement. On August 26, 1970, there was the Women's Strike for Equality, to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. Many mainstream publications reported on it all from various angles. *Newsweek* said that this strike was a "'shaky coalition of disparate groups.'" *Time* said that "'Women's Liberation has to be terribly conscious about the danger of provoking men to kill

women.'" The *New York Times* reported how the traditional women were opposed to the Women's Liberation Movement (Douglas, 177- 181).

Through the mainstream media's coverage, the media managed to make the Women's Movement a legitimate form of feminism. For example, the media "legitimized middle-class liberal feminism and applauded legalistic reform." The media also "reinforced the message that women had every right to expect to be treated as equal citizens, with the same rights, responsibilities and opportunities as men." However, at the same time, the media mocked feminist activities (Douglas, 187-189).

However, when feminist Gloria Steinem came to the spotlight, the media gave a whole new angle to the Feminist Movement. Before, the media emphasized that most feminists were ugly because they weren't wearing makeup, but with her, there was an article in *Newsweek* that emphasized her beauty. There was a paragraph that read, "'her long, blond-streaked hair falling just so above each breast' and her 'most incredibly perfect body.' Steinem was something most feminists allegedly weren't: sexy and extremely attractive to men" (Douglas, 227).

Explanations why mainstream media gave extensive coverage to Women's News

There can be many reasons why the Women's Liberation Movement was quite prevalent during the 1960's decade. First, there is the idea that sex sells. Perhaps the mainstream press thought feminism correlated with the sexual revolution. "Publishers and editors discovered that sex helped sell magazines-even newsmagazines. They greatly exaggerated the speed and scope of the Sexual Revolution, suggesting that young people, especially young women, all over the country were shedding their virginity en masse"

(Douglas, 65). For example, when women engaged in burning their bras, the media said this was a way to attract men (Douglas, 160).

Because many of the women journalists at mainstream publications had feminist beliefs, if their male co-workers and editors did not allow coverage of the movement, it would have possibly forced publications to lose female reporters. In the 1960s at newsrooms, "women journalists were confined to writing about spring hats and thirty-one new ways to cook squash, or they were researchers for male reporters" (Douglas, 157). For example, at a Kennedy administration press conference, "journalist May Craig stood up and asked the president what he was doing for women. Kennedy quipped that he was sure that, whatever it was, it wasn't enough, implying that women were *never satisfied*, and shared a big laugh with the predominantly male press corps" (Douglas, 124). In 1970, women journalists at *Newsweek* charged the magazine "with sex discrimination in hiring and promotion, and their sisters at the competition filed a similar suit with the New York State Division of Human Rights against Time Inc." (Douglas, 166).

The media also reported on the Women's Liberation Movement extensively was because they thought their demonstrations were dangerous and they wanted to make the public aware of this. "The media also paid inordinate attention to the way feminists violated physical and social boundaries, and suggested that, by doing so, they were making spectacles of themselves" (Douglas, 156).

The press also covered the Feminist Movement because it was segued from the anti-war protestors. For example, during the Feminist Movement, women were burning their bras, but a few years before that, anti-war demonstrators were burning their draft cards. Therefore, the news media equated bra-burning with draft-card burning. "Bra

burning had become the news peg for media coverage of the women's movement, a metaphor that trivialized feminists and titillated the audience at the same time. For the press, burning bras was a natural segue from burning draft cards. It fit into the dominant media frame about women's liberation" (Douglas, 159).

However, even though there was extensive coverage of the Women's Liberation Movement, many of the news stories had biases due to male domination in the newsrooms. "These biases, of course, were reinforced by the structures of news organizations themselves, which were rigidly hierarchical and male-dominated" (Douglas, 157).

***Barb's* coverage of women**

The *Berkeley Barb* gave adequate coverage to females, even before the Women's Liberation Movement. In the November 12th, 1965 issue of the paper, there was an article, titled, "Women for Peace Seek 100,000 Xmas Cards for LBJ." In this article, an anonymous writer detailed that the Berkeley Women for Peace Organization wanted to initiate a nationwide campaign to send 100,000 Christmas cards to President Johnson. This writer is clearly sympathetic to the women's causes because if he or she was not, they would write an article with the slant that this project would never be successful. However, the journalist's slant makes it seem like this project is positive. "As envisioned, 100 mothers of draft age sons will take the cards in hospital litters to the White House on the appointed day. The message varying with supporting Women for Peace groups will say essentially that mothers want peace talks, not casualties, in Vietnam this Christmas" ("Women for Peace Seek 100,000 Xmas Cards for LBJ"). Also, at the end, this writer clearly advocated this women's project when he wrote, "There are nearly 900 groups of

Women for Peace in the United States. Any person desiring to participate in the Christmas Card project is urged to contact Women for Peace, P.O. Box 944, Berkeley California" ("Women for Peace Seek 100,000 Xmas Cards for LBJ").

John Jekabson recalled that before the Women's Liberation Movement was in full swing, Scherr "was always a big believer in sexual freedom, but he also had this idea that things shouldn't be taken too seriously … He started poking fun at the (Women's) Liberation Movement." For example, Jekabson remarked that during the meetings in the earliest years of the Feminist Movement, Scherr would constantly disrupt the meetings that took place among the feminists in the Bay Area (Jekabson). Therefore, just like the mainstream media made fun of feminists, so did Scherr.

However, despite Scherr's disturbances at the feminist conferences, the *Barb* still held this social movement in the utmost respect. In the August 27, 1969 issue of the paper, there was an article called "Women FSM Jailees' 5 Days in 'Solitary'" by George Kauffman. In this article, Kauffman wrote about how three females who participated in the Free Speech Movement spent their last five days at Santa Rita prison. Then, one of these women, Barbara Garson, told Kauffman her story about her experience in jail. In this article, Kauffman clearly sympathized with the causes of women during this decade because it was evident that he felt Garson did not belong in jail. He incorporated a quote from Garson, in which she said, "'We put up signs in our windows to show our spirits were high. Each sign cost us one meal. After the deputies would tear them down, we put up another. The girls outside would tape messages of support on our door. It was magnificent!'" He did not have to choose to put that quote in the article, but since he decided to incorporate it at the beginning, it made the writer come off as favoring the

feminist activities. He also is sympathetic to her cause when he writes, “They were denied the right to go to church. The only reading material was the Bible and the Oakland Tribune. The official prison chaplain visited them one day with the curt announcement, ‘I don’t want any arguments. I just want to say a few prayers,’ according to Mrs. Garson” (Kauffman).

In the December 27th, 1974 issue of the *Barb,* there was an article with the headline “Women Write Their Own History” by Avis Worthington. In this article, Worthington wrote a book review of a book called “What Have Women Done?” put out by the San Francisco Women’s History Group. The idea of the book came from various slide presentations they San Francisco Women’s History Group showed to the community to educate it about women and how they can make a difference. In this article, Worthington is clearly sympathetic to the Women’s Liberation Movement when she describes the book. “Women are not only making their own history these days, but they’re writing it too” (Worthington).

Even after the prime years of the Women’s Liberation Movement, the *Barb* still deemed women’s activities important. In the February 21st, 1980 issue of the paper, there was an article, titled, “Activist Woman Victim of Brutality in Guatemala.” In this article, Erica Livingston detailed how when Guatemalan President Lucas Garcia took over the government in July of 1978, he imposed strong controls through uses of violence against labor leaders, their legal advisors and union members. In response, many of these workers peacefully occupied the Calvario Church, a Catholic Church. Through this occupation, these employers hoped that the church would represent and protect them from Guatemalan officials. Instead, Archbishop Mario Casareigo brought in the officials

and police jailed and tortured many of the laborers. In response, Yolandita de la Luz Urizar de Aguilar, who was 16 years old, felt an obligation to eliminate such conditions. Therefore, she started to pass out leaflets to other workers, condemning the brutality of authorities. However, they were arrested by police for doing this and experienced much torture (Livingston).

Livingston clearly sympathized with women who were activists. Because of this, she can be seen as a political muckraker. In this story, she wants to make people aware that the Guatemalan government is acting brutal towards its citizens. She wants to use Yolandita as an example of a person that should speak out against something they deem unlawful. "Yolandita has since been released. She is now blind as a result of the tortures she suffered while detained" (Livingston).

An issue later, there was also positive coverage given to women. In the article, "Bay Area gears up for Women's Day," which appeared in the February 28th,1980 edition of the paper, Shannon Bryony wrote about how various women in the Bay Area were gearing up to celebrate International Women's Day. Bryony clearly incorporated her feminist beliefs, especially in the lead of the story when she quoted Diane Speece of the San Francisco chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW). "'Lots of people are realizing that women haven't come as far as we think we have,'" (Bryony).

Mainstream media's coverage of the *Berkeley Barb*

Although there was a lack of coverage in the mainstream media of the counterculture and although the mainstream media did not see the Movement fervor in distinct lights like the underground press did, it still managed to report on the *Berkeley Barb* a couple of times during this underground's fifteen-year legacy. According to the

Reader's Guide of Periodical Literature, the *Berkeley Barb* was mentioned in the *New York Times, Time,* and the *Library Journal.* The *New York Times* had approximately ten stories, which reported news on this alternative newspaper. However, when the *New York Times* reported on the *Barb,* the writers abided by the standards of professional journalism. Specifically, they all provided objective accounts and stuck to the facts. They did not engage in honest subjectivity, participatory journalism or political muckraking.The first objective account that mentioned the *Berkeley Barb* appeared in the August 1st, 1966 issue of the *New York Times.* Titled "Bohemian Newspapers Spread Across the Country," Peter Bart describes the underground newspapers. He says "these new journals, are, in a sense, community newspapers, but their communities are socio-political rather than geographic." He also describes how they reflect the expansion of liberal-minded professional and Bohemian communities is several major cities in the United States. Still, he explains how the young newspaper publishers at these underground newspapers challenge the established conservative metropolitan newspapers. Although all these alternative papers have different formats and content, he states that they all oppose the war in Vietnam and promote politics of the New Left. After Bart's description of underground newspapers, he specifically talks about the *Berkeley Barb.* First, he makes a reference to Scherr and the *Berkeley Barb's* readership. "Max Scherr, bearded-editor and publisher of The Berkeley Barb, describes his readership as representing 'the hip left'" (Bart).

"Politics Now the Focus of the Underground Press," by John Leo, which appeared in the September 4th, 1968 edition of the *New York Times,* is the second article that gave mention to the *Berkeley Barb.* Here, Leo describes how the underground press was

created to report on and reflect the lifestyle of hippies and dropouts, and has taken a turn to reflect their radical politics. Then, he specifically explains how the *Berkeley Barb* exemplified this trend. "Like many editors, Max Scherr of The Berkeley Barb believes that police 'harassment' is the largest single factor in politicizing the alienated audience for underground newspapers" (Leo). Then, after he describes how the *Berkeley Barb* spoke to the tradition of underground newspapers in the 1960s, he said that other newer undergrounds, which were born after the *Berkeley Barb,* have followed in its footsteps. "Since the first of the year, the few older political papers, such as the Barb … have been joined by some 30 new radical underground papers, most of them heavily influenced by the leftist Students for a Democratic Society. Many of them, like S.D.S., consider American society hopelessly corrupt and advocate disruption of 'the system.'"

It was not until 1969 when the 1960s became more militant, that the *New York Times* covered the *Berkeley Barb,* specifically for covering the *Barb* itself, not in relation to the rise of the underground press. The first article that specifically described an aspect of the *Berkeley Barb* was by Eric Berne, which appeared in the February 16th, 1969 edition of the *New York Times.* Titled "Dr. Hip Pocrates," Berne writes about how the *Berkeley Barb* has a syndicated weekly medical column called "Dr. Hip Pocrates" from M.D. Eugene Schoenfeld about what the hippies and radicals should know about being healthy. Specifically, he writes about what types of protection they should use when having sex or how to deal with STDS. Berne writes, "Dr. Hip Pocrates is Eugence Schoenfeld. M.D., who writes a medical column for the queen of the 'underground press,' the weekly Berkeley Barb." Then, he also alludes to the fact that during 1969, the *Barb* became more militant. He writes that "(The Barb is also harder now. It has changed

from a hippy joy-journal into an organ of the black militants, and the sex want ads have moved further out to include more like 'the leather cowboy slave' and the 'groovy young many who wants to [kiss] your feet.')" (Berne). Here, Berne is reporting objectively by describing the truth of the *Berkeley Barb.* First, he is objective when he describes how the paper has a syndicated medical column every week. He does not give his opinion of the column. Then, he is also objective when he explains how during 1969, the paper became more militant.

The second story in the *New York Times,* which referenced the *Berkeley Barb* during its militant phase was called "Earth House Hold" by Nancy Wilson Ross. In the May 11 th, 1969 edition, Ross describes the atmosphere in Union Square, San Francisco on a windy day in early January 1969. She writes how many students with beards and beads were selling their own *Berkeley Barb.* She describes how this issue of the paper set itself apart from the others when one of the headlines in the paper read "The Return of Japhy Ryder." Then, she explains in her article that anyone that followed the history of the Beats and in particular, the writing of Jack Kerouac, who was their most faithful chronicler, said that this headline could "only refer to the return of Gary Snyder, poet, essayist and anthropologists, after 10 years' residence in Japan." She then confirms that "it is generally accepted that Japhy Ryder, the hero of Kerouac's 1958 novel, 'The Dharma Bums'-mountain climber, woodsman, part-time seaman and fire-lookout, student of Oriental philosophy and American-Indian mythology, self-taught Zen Buddhist, ardent ecologist and prodigious sexual athlete- was closely modeled after Gary Snyder." She reference the importance of the *Berkeley Barb's* coverage of this when she says that:

> the Barb credited Snyder with being one of the most important 'seminal figures in the development of the American subculture.'

> It also asserted that his manner of living during the early fifties in the Bay Area had anticipated by more than a decade the little life of the Diggers, that particular splinter of the varied Hippie world which patterns its collective behavior on a total communal sharing (Ross).

A third *New York Times* article that was written in 1969, giving reference to the *Berkeley Barb* was titled, "Berkeley Barb Paper Struck by Staff." Here, Wallace Turner, in the July 13th, 1969 edition of the *New York Times,* describes how the *Berkeley Barb* was engaged in a dispute with some of its staff and free-lance writers. The argument started when some staff members wanted to buy out Scherr. Also, Turner describes how this was also a publication day for the *Barb* and writes that in this issue of the *Barb,* there was a supplement issue to it. This supplement issue, called "The Barb on Strike" claimed a bigger press run of 60,500 than the Barb's usual run of 55,000. Turner says that Steve Haines, who worked for the *Barb,* wrote the article on the dispute for "The Barb on Strike." Turner incorporated parts from "The Barb on Strike" article into his *New York Times* piece. He wrote "'Capitalist pig Max Scherr has locked us, some 40 members of The Berkeley Barb staff out of our office and fired us for trying to turn the Barb into a model of the people's revolution'" (Turner).

Here, Turner is just incorporating the objective facts of what happened when the *Barb* went on strike, even though Haines is incorporating the underground press value of participatory journalism. He implemented this alternative press standard when he wrote that he was one of the *Berkeley Barb* staff writers that was locked out of the office and was fired for transforming the Barb into a model of the people's revolution.

Turner also writes how Haines implemented participatory journalism when Haines describes how their meager salaries were barely able to pay for their life

necessities, such as food and rent. In addition, Turner incorporates how Haines complained that Scherr did not pay for legal or medical expenses for Barb staffers. In addition to Turner incorporating Haines's words of participatory journalism, he also incorporates Haine's words of another alternative press journalistic standard of political muckraking in his article on "The Barb on Strike."

> About a month ago people began to want more money. Mr. Haines, on the Barb on Strike account, put it this way: 'For us, the staff, we wanted enough bread to pay our rent and groceries. We wanted Max to pay medical or legal expenses for a Barb staffer hurt or arrested while on assignment,' 'Most of use could not live on the 65 cents an hour or 25 cents per column inch which Max has typically been paying (Turner).

Turner writes about how the *Barb's* actual issue that day had an editorial about the staff striking its own paper. He writes how in the front-page editorial, "Scherr said, 'it may be that one man cannot resist a gang determined to destroy him. It may be that you, the public, will never hear this small voice except when it is too late for you to come to the aid of the true Barb.'" He then described how the editorial was signed "'Max the Pig'" (Turner).

The "Barb on Strike" issue was published on July 11, 1969. There were a couple of articles that explained the reasoning for going on strike. On article called "The Barb on Strike," by Steve Haines described how Scherr locked approximately 40 staffers out of the office for turning the "Barb into a model of the people's revolution." Haines asserted that the reason for this revolt was due to their meager wages when they knew that Scherr was making $300,000 a year. After several years that the staff bargained with him, Scherr said that they could form a union. But, instead, they formed the Red Mountain Tribe and produced a paper called the *Tribe.* Their first issue of the *Tribe* was called "Barb on

Strike." In this article, Haines was a participant journalist when he wrote "Instead, we formed the Red Mountain Tribe." He acted as a participant throughout when he explained the main reason why the Red Mountain Tribe formed. "Most of us could not live on 65 cents an hour or 25 cents per column inch which Max has typically been paying. We didn't want to argue for three days over buying a pencil sharpener or typewriter ribbons" (Haines).

In addition, in the "Barb on Strike" issue, there was an article, called "Diatribe" by Tari, which explained the significance of this special edition of the paper. "This strike edition of the *Barb* is brought to you compliments of one of those pigs. Max Scherr. You are reading this Red Mountain Tribe paper because of Max's lack of responsibility to the ideals of the *Barb* and his exploitation of the Movement" (Tari).

At the same time that the first issue of the *Tribe* came out to talk about how the members of Red Mountain Tribe formed this rival paper, the July 11, 1969 issue of the *Barb* had a front page editorial called "Max is a Pig." This editorial said that the Red Mountain Tribe has admitted in print that it was trying to take over the *Barb.* In addition, it was "trying to force the *Barb's* owner to sign a contract to sell the *Barb* to them-a contract unlike the one negotiated for 10 days but never signed by them. They presented their contract not for negotiation but as an ultimatum." The editorial was signed "Max the Pig" ("Max is a Pig").

The only other real story in this issue was called "Confessions of a Kosher Pig" by Max Scherr. In this article, Scherr first alluded to the fact that Haines's article is destroying the *Barb.* Then, he discussed a history of the *Barb*: when and how it was founded. Afterwards, he described who comprised the Red Mountain Tribe. He wrote

how since the Red Mountain Tribe did not agree to bargain with Scherr for salaries, Scherr gave them the ultimatum that if the Red Mountain Tribe were to strike, he would not open the door for them to the office. And they did, they engaged in a strike by starting the *Tribe.* He ended this article with a lesson that should be learned from this revolt: to trust one another. He said that he doesn't hate these people who started the *Tribe* and simply felt that they were caught up in rhetoric (Scherr).

A fourth article from the *New York Times* in 1969 referencing the *Berkeley Barb* was called, "Two Dispute Sale of Radical Paper." In the July 19th, 1969 edition of the *New York Times,* Turner wrote how a professor, named Dr. Allan Coult, specializing in psychedelic anthropology, bought the *Berkeley Barb* on that day for $200,000 and intended to run it. However, Turner wrote that this purchase came after much dispute with former editor Scherr, who was no longer able to operate the paper due to his heart attack. Scherr was mad that Dr. Coult's initial payment of $5,000 came a day late. Turner also illustrates in this article how Scherr was unwilling to speak for an interview of this story. "Mr. Scherr would not speak for publication. Sources close to him said that he believed he still owned the paper and that while he wanted to sell it, he would not sell it to Dr. Coult" (Turner).

From 1969 to 1974, the *New York Times* failed to report on the *Berkeley Barb.* The first article in the *New York Times* that appeared after this break, which mentioned the *Berkeley Barb* was on August 7th, 1975. Wallace Turner writes how there was a court battle regarding the ownership of the *Berkeley Barb.* The fight was between Max Scherr and Beatrice Jane Peters, who was the paper's business manager for years. Turner writes about the lawsuit and then deviates from describing this court case. Turner gives this

issue a more sensationalist twist when he writes about the personal life of Miss Peters with her scandals. “Miss Peters is the mother of two of Mr. Scherr’s children, Dove Sholom Scherr, 14, and Appollinaire Scherr, 11. While Miss Peters has used the name ‘Scherr’ as her own, even in filing court papers against Mr. Scherr, they were never married in the 10 years they lived together” (Turner).

Turner writes about a court case concerning the issue of ownership for this underground paper. “Records on file show Mr. Scherr contracted to give the Wright trust of $250,000. In return, he was to be paid $2000 a month for the rest of his life.” The Wright trust was a charitable trust of which the trustee is John E. Thorne, a San Jose lawyer who was prominent in the radical movement in the 1960s. He also describes a description of this transaction: “The Barb was passed by the Wright Trust to the Presentaciones Musicales, S.A., a Panamanian corporation formed in 1960 as a device to help the late Nat King Cole, the singer, avoid paying Federal income taxes on his earnings from overseas tours to Europe, the Orient, Canada and Australia” (Turner). Finally, Turner concludes the scandal of the *Barb’s* ownership by saying that David Armstrong, a new editor, was hired in June of 1975 by lawyers to run the paper.

That was the only mention of the *Berkeley Barb* in 1975 in the *New York Times.* One year later, on February 15th, 1976, Stephen Schlesinger in his article titled “Other cities, other weeklies,” writes a brief synopsis of the prevalence of underground newspapers. This is how he describes the *Berkeley Barb:* He said in 1969, the *Barb’s* staff discovered that Scherr was making a lot more money than they realized. In response, many of them quit. Because of Scherr’s behavior, Schlesinger writes “Rolling Stone lured

away The Barb's music advertising. In 1975, The Barb went through more than half a dozen editors and business managers" (Schlesinger).

Then, three years later in 1979, the *New York Times* reported on the *Berkeley Barb* again. The *New York Times* clearly made a transition on its reporting coverage of this underground publication because at first, they portrayed Scherr in a bad light. However, in this article, which was in the February 11th, 1979 issue of the *New York Times,* titled, "Berkeley Newspaper Gaining Respectability and Readers" the writer puts the *Barb* in a more positive light, especially in the lead. "The Berkeley Barb, possibly the nation's oldest surviving underground newspaper, is seeking respectability and its quest is paying off."

The reporter also puts the *Berkeley Barb* in a positive light when he says that a new editor, 29-year-old Mark Powelson was hired and clearly he gives Powelson a better image than the *New York Times* gave Scherr. "The Barb's new editor, 29-year-old Mark Powelson, who was hired last August, said that both political and economic considerations had contributed to the decision to sanitize the publication, because the sex ads had not only undercut editorial credibility but alienated readers and legitimate advertisers" ("Berkeley Newspaper Gaining Respectability and Readers"). Finally, the writer in this article scorns the advertisements, which were prevalent during the early years of the *Barb.* "The advertisements for prostitution that filled the paper for 13 years have been eliminated, at least from The Barb's own pages; they still run in an affiliated publication." The final article the *New York Times* wrote on the *Berkeley Barb* was on July 6th, 1980 titled, "Berkeley Barb Ceases Publication After a Bid for Respectability Fails." Here, the writer says "the Berkeley Barb, a leading underground newspaper that

tried to become respectable by eliminating sex advertisements from its pages ceased publication."

Godfrey Hodgson affirms this point that the underground papers would not be able to survive without revenue from the sex advertisements. He claims that this was evident for the *Free Press,* the alternative newspaper in Los Angeles during the counterculture. "It was plain that a very substantial portion of the *Free Press's* revenue was derived not just from sex, which would perhaps have been compatible with its original ideals of liberation, but from the marketing expenditures of the commercial sex industry." This also proved true for the *Barb,* along with the *Boston Phoenix,* the current alternative newspaper for Boston. "The *Barb,* the *Boston Phoenix,* and many other surviving underground papers, in becoming dependent on this type of advertising, in effect made themselves cogs in the pornography industry. From 1969 on, control of the *Free Press* slipped gradually into the hands of one of the two biggest pornography tycoons in Los Angeles" (Hodgson, 349).

The writer then abides by the professional standards of journalism when he or she says that all the sex advertisements, which once filled the pages of the *Berkeley Barb* went to *The Spectator*. "The sex advertisements were moved to The Spectator because they were incompatible with The Barb's leftist editorial policy. Since the split … the paper had lost at least $150,000 but The Spectator made enough to subsidize the losses." The reporter describes *The Spectator* as a weekly tabloid that ran sex ads. The writer concludes the article by laying out the controversy of why the *Berkeley Barb* folded. He describes that Mark. K. Powelson, who was editor of the paper from August 1978 to the folding of the *Barb,* "when asked to resign said 'I reject the explanation that the death of

The Barb was because the 60s were over' … He said the paper needed a new image and a larger capital investment. Its owners, he added, 'just wanted to make money without putting money into it.'"

The *New York Times* was not the only mainstream publication that covered the *Berkeley Barb*. *Time* covered the *Berkeley Barb* one time during this underground's run. In the July 18th, 1969 issue of the magazine, there was an editorial, called "The Tribe is Restless." This editorial argued how Scherr was seen as a capitalist.

> He owned the Steppenwolf bar in Berkeley for seven years but, so the story goes, the toilet in the men's room broke one day in 1965, and rather than lay out the money to fix it, Max simply sold the place and started an underground newspaper, the *Berkeley Barb*. Max, it seems, has this thing about money; he refuses to spend it, on himself or anyone else. Featuring sex, rebellion and kinky ads, the *Barb* grew into a going enterprise with a circulation of 86,000 ad rates of $450 a page and a net profit of about $130,000 annually. But Max still refused to spread the bread further than the nearest bank. This time the toilet held out, but the staff's patience broke under the poverty ("The Tribe is Restless").

The article then illustrates that because he was keeping all the money, many of the staffers, who called themselves the Red Mountain Tribe, and started their own rival underground paper called the *Berkeley Tribe.* This opinion piece said that the *Tribe's* first edition would be called "The Barb on Strike" to protest the fact that Scherr was a capitalist. All in all, this column was clearly sympathetic to the *Barb* journalists that stated the *Tribe* and is imitating the irreverent writing style of the *Barb* writers. "The moral of the story, as Max should have known after studying the contradictions of capitalism, is that any journalist denied access to a pencil sharpener will surely find another way to get the lead out" ("The Tribe is Restless").

The *Library Journal* also covered the *Berkeley Barb* one time during this underground's legacy. In the article, which appeared in the *Library Journal* on December 15th, 1971, "Iowa Council Ends Sub to 'Berkeley Barb,'" the writer illustrated that the Iowa Executive Council made a decision to terminate the State Traveling Library's $6 subscription to the *Berkeley Barb* because many groups of people in Iowa protested thought it caused too much controversy. Some of these groups of people included library officials, the Iowa Library Association, the Iowa Civil Liberties Union, and private citizens ("Iowa Council Ends Sub to 'Berkeley Barb'").

The *Barb* deviated from professional journalism in many ways. First, Scherr's editorial policies did not conform to those of an editor at a mainstream newspaper. Also, the paper itself did not resemble that of a mainstream one because it lacked organized sections and beat writers. The reporters themselves also did not behave as professionals. The main explanation for their immaturity was because they were earning meager salaries while Scherr was taking away most of the profits. Even though this underground paper regarded the counterculture activities newsworthy, the mainstream media didn't. As a result, they neglected most of these New Left activities. But, the Women's Liberation Movement was an exception. The Feminist Movement was not the only countercultural theme that the mainstream covered. During the *Barb's* legacy, there were several articles from the *New York Times*, as well as a few magazines that deemed this alternative paper newsworthy. The *New York Times* and national magazines perhaps reported on this underground because they have the journalistic obligation to reflect their respective communities. For this national newspaper and these magazines, they reflect their communities by reporting on the main national news in America and international news

in the world. But, for the *Barb,* reflecting its community meant catering to a different crowd.

Chapter 3- The *Berkeley Barb* and its relationship to the community

The *Berkeley Barb* illustrated the new journalistic values of the underground press through its relationship to its community. Its primary community was the counterculture in the Bay Area. Even though the paper displayed new journalistic values, which challenged many of the standards of professional journalism, it still managed to follow the basic function of professional journalism by reflecting the community it served. It even went as far as challenging some of its community's values. In *The Elements of Journalism,* Bill Kovach and Tom Rosensteil explain that a newspaper has an obligation to accurately reflect the community it serves, while at the same time, challenge some of its community's values. They cite Jack Fuller, president of the Tribune Publishing Company, who said that the tension for any newspaper is that:

> a newspaper that fails to reflect its community deeply will not succeed. But a newspaper that does not challenge its community's values and preconceptions will lose respect for failing to provide the honesty and leadership that newspapers are expected to offer… It is a challenge that can be met by accepting the obligation to provide the members of the community not only with the knowledge and insights they need but with the forum within which to engage in building a community (Kovach and Rosensteil, 143).

Berkeley Barb's Forum

Throughout the *Berkeley Barb's* existence, there was a place where people could write letters to the editor, opinions, or editorials. In every issue, there was a section called "Dear Barb," where people wrote letters to the editor. Mainly people from the San Francisco Bay Area wrote letters to the *Barb,* based on articles they read in the paper.

Less often, people from outside the Bay Area would also contribute input to the paper. These letters were clearly a supplement to the journalism of the *Barb* because it was mainly feedback from the subjects of the counterculture the *Barb* reported on. Most of the letters were direct responses to articles written about the counterculture in the Bay Area. Others dealt with national and international issues such as the scare of Communism.

As an example of a typical *Barb* forum in the paper's early years, in the August 11th, 1965 issue, there were three letters. One was by Peter B. Jansen, titled, "Mr. President, Take Back Your Medals." Jansen expressed his reluctance of President Johnson's move to send U.S. troops to Vietnam. Another letter was called "Mandel to Weiss," where William Mandel is comparing the anti-Soviet Union mass demonstrations by Jewish agencies to the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam. He said Johnson's decision was probably organized though his "unofficial Minister for Jewish Affairs, with the purpose of causing Americans to believe that our war is essential to protect the world from the horrors of communism" (Mandel). The last letter in this issue is called the "Fear of Censure Is the Real Death" by Julie Finley. In this letter, Finley discussed how throughout American history, Americans have faced a long string of crises. She specifically mentioned the attempts to protest a war, battles for civil rights and university demonstrations. She said that her fear of getting blamed by governmental authority was preventing her from attending protests (Finley).

This format of a forum section remained into the 1970s. In the December 27th, 1974 through January 2nd, 1975 issue, there was an addition to the forum section with a regular column called Hip Pocrates where Dr. Eugene Schoenfeld would write columns

about health issues in the counterculture, such as forms of sex protection, pregnancy and STDs.

Three years later, in 1978, the letters to the editor part of the paper had the heading "Barbwires" with letters to the *Barb.* Also, in addition to putting the name of the person who submitted the letter, underneath the name was their city of residence. Their city of residence was usually Berkeley, San Francisco, or a town within either of those cities. In the issue from December 21st, 1978 there were precisely six letters submitted. One letter by Buck Bagot from San Francisco called "Kazin's mixed bag," wrote a letter congratulating the *Barb* on its new appearance, without the sex advertisements. He said that the paper is more tasteful without them. He also lauded individual pieces he read in the *Barb* that week (Bagot).

During the last year of the paper's existence, the forum section changed significantly. There were no opinion pieces or letters to editors. However, there were cartoons. For example, in the January 31st, 1979 issue of the paper, there was an editorial cartoon about boycotting the Olympics. Also, in the July 3, 1980 issue of the paper there was a cartoon about pollution and trying to use natural resources.

How the *Barb* reflected its countercultural community

This dissident paper reflected its countercultural community in three ways: through its advertisements, by the *Berkeley Barb* reporters being participants in the counterculture events, and by the publication being in the epicenter of the counterculture. Specifically, the paper was in the epicenter of the counterculture with a location just "more than half a mile from the hippie shops on Telegraph Avenue south of the University of California." "The *Barb,* and the motion picture theater next door, a second

run house, were the most active establishments in a drab block." This street block also contained "a carpet store, a sewing-machine shop, a workingmen's tavern, a stationery shop, a non-hip leathercraft hobbyist's shop, a tobacco store, a Laundromat, and a number of run-down hotels and rooming houses." Half a block away from the *Barb's* office was a "bank, a department store, a combination pharmacy and a supermarket, and a candy shop" (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 18).

Advertisements

First, the *Berkeley Barb* echoed the counterculture in the Bay Area through its illustrative colorful advertisements, mainly dealing with sex. For example, pictures of naked women predominantly filled pages upon pages of advertisements in this underground publication (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 135). Judy Albert said that she started out at the *Barb* doing sex ads. "I remember the sex ads and the clients coming up to the office with their chains rattling on top of their black leather jackets ... I was the one who dealt with the customers who were placing the ads and then made sure the ads got into the paper the way the customer wanted it. I coordinated only personal ads, not display ads" (Judy Albert).

For example, even though the Feminist Movement was in full swing during this year, after the People's Park incident in 1969, sex advertisements began to reach their pinnacle. In the January 1st issue of the paper, there was a whole page of sex ads. One was for free surprise sex products for people of any sexuality. Another was for people if they wanted to increase their genital size. Still, there was one called "Erotic Sex Acts," where people could send away for that film (Berkeley Barb). Also, in the January 2nd,

1970 edition of the paper had an ad called, “Sex in ’69,” which was for a complete catalog on sex books.

The advertisements for massage parlors were the main type of sex ads. Just as massage parlors sprang up in Berkeley beginning in the late-1960s, the *Berkeley Barb* began running ads for them (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 135). Along the same year as the sex advertisements, there was massage parlor ones. In the January 1st, 1971 issue of the paper, there was an announcement for a place called “Bay Area Massage Service” on Channing Way in Berkeley. In this edition of the paper, there was also one for the “Wolf’s Den” with a picture of a blonde naked woman. There was also one, which displayed a naked woman spread across the page for Dolce Vita Massage Parlor and Bocaccio Massage Parlor.

In the December 24th, 1974 edition there were also a plethora of advertisements for massage parlors. There was one page that house two half-page massage parlor ads. One was for massage adult parlors, which portrayed two women dressed up as warriors. The other was for the massage parlor called “California girls,” which listed that this place has the “prettiest masseuses,” “nicest facilities,” “lowest prices,” and “positively no ripoffs.” There was also an ad for “Eve’s Massage Studio” on the next page of this issue, which had the slogan “try the naughty daughters of eve,” accompanied by various headshots of different women. On the bottom of the ad for “Eve’s Massage Studio,” there was one for “Venus Massage,” which had the slogan, “enjoy your love goddesses.”

However, during the mid-1970’s, when the Women’s Liberation Movement was in full swing, the feminists opposed the paper due to these advertisements. “As the women’s movement grew through 1968 and 1969, the ads became more and more

controversial" (Judy Albert). Kate Coleman also recalled that even the political men scorned these ads. "I think that political men looked down on them as well because there were many men buying into revolution as part of the Women's Liberation … It was exploitative. There were many men that understood that" (Coleman).

The enterprises that supported the paper during its first years did not continue to support it anymore. "The *Barb* later had so much sex and sleeze ads that it lost respect" (Coleman). In response, Scherr was forced to cut these sex advertisements from the *Berkeley Barb*, which proved to be his main source of revenue (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 140-141).

Explanations for Plethora of Sex Advertisements

There can be many possible explanations for the large abundance of sex advertisements in the pages of the *Berkeley Barb* during its inception. The first reason is that Scherr wanted to increase his revenue of the paper. His practical reasoning for choosing to portray pictures of naked women in the pages of the *Berkeley Barb* is sex sells. He clearly abided by that slogan. John Jekabson reaffirmed that Scherr abided by this slogan. "(Scherr) always wanted to have nudity in there too, so he thought combining that with politics would sell (the paper) better" (Jekabson).

Since any newspaper depends on advertisements as their main source of economic revenue, Scherr thought the *Berkeley Barb* would profit most by displaying sex advertisements, portraying bodies of naked women. Coleman reaffirmed this. "That's what he needed to survive. If they could have gotten better ads, they would have" (Coleman). By "sex sells," Scherr not only meant the *Berkeley Barb* itself profiting from the advertisement revenues. For David Haldane, he felt sex did sell. "I loved the sex ads.

I got a lot of story ideas from the sex ads. I wrote stories about strippers. I did a story about nude encounters. The *Barb* paid me to talk to a naked woman" (Haldane). Haldane described that nude encounters was when a person pays a certain amount per hour to talk to a naked woman.

Another reason can possibly be that Scherr wanted all parts of his newspaper to be an accurate reflection of the countercultural community the paper served. Just like the content of the articles, headlines, photos, and cartoons aimed to shadow the messages and themes of the activities of the Movement, Scherr wanted his main source of economic revenue to have the same goals as well. For example, just as many articles in the newspaper illustrated an honest subjectivity of a commitment to the hippie ideology, free love, psychadelic drugs, and rock music, Scherr thought these advertisements of naked women would reveal this same dedication to the various aspects of the New Left.

> The advertisements were then seen as part of the underground image, appropriate to a press which was then largely a *hippie* institution, ideologically committed to free love along with the various other hedonistic planks in the countercultural platform-psychadelic drugs, rock music, colorful clothing, and the like. The underground press, before the emergence of the women's liberation movement, considered these advertisements to be as relevant to the scene as any editorial matter (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 131).

Richard Denner also agreed with Scherr's intention of reflecting the counterculture. "Max made certain compromises … running ads from porno houses down in Oakland. Max looked at it as freedom of speech to be honest. He needed an influx of cash and there was a sexual revolution during this time" (Denner).

In addition, perhaps Scherr, who had complete control over the content and choice of advertisements in the *Berkeley Barb*, thought that these advertisements would increase

the sales of this dissident underground paper in the general public. For example, he hoped that these countless provocative sex advertisements would increase the sales of the *Berkeley Barb* in areas where newspapers generally are sold, such as stores and newsstands. These advertisements would especially help drive sales at places where newspapers are sold within the countercultural establishments such as hippie coffee shops, bookstores, and the newsstands along the streets of the Haight-Ashbury district in San Francisco.

> The *Barb* profited from inclusion of sexually oriented matter, both directly from advertising revenue and indirectly from increased newsstand sales created by sex-oriented news and photographs. Over and above these benefits, the paper achieved fame, or notoriety, based on the salacious content which contributed in ways not measurable but purely significant to its popularity and financial well-being (Seeger 136).

This constant process of the *Berkeley Barb* making a great deal of profits from these sex advertisements by exploiting pictures of naked women in order for individuals in the counterculture to buy this underground paper for ten cents reveals something about the overall intention of the paper itself.

> The *Barb* was 'being piggish,' that it had taken in vast amounts of 'dirty money' from the 'community,' and that it had exploited women's bodies in the process. In the words of one critic of the alternative press, writing in a newsmagazine, the *Barb*, was truly, 'Growing Rich on the Hippies' (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 136).

The fact that the paper can be seen as being piggish is contradictory because one of the primary goals of the counterculture starting in the late 1960s was to promote women's liberation. However, these advertisements did not portray women's liberation. They exploited women. Stew Albert recalled this contradiction. "There was some good writing about the Women's Movement in the *Barb*, but then there were some sex ads and

massage parlor ads, which went against what the *Barb* stood for … there was a contradiction between the business part and the Women's Movement" (Stew Albert). Haldane also remarked upon it. In reference to the sex ads, "Max Scherr was very criticized by the counterculture for that … It became the major source of income for the *Barb.* He was criticized by feminists and everybody for the sex ads, but he rationalized it, saying it was part of the revolution" (Haldane).

Perhaps these prevalent sex advertisements, which appeared in every issue of the *Berkeley Barb* portrayed a bigger picture than the goal of the paper itself to reflect the countercultural community by revealing it was okay for women to liberate themselves. And, they portrayed a greater picture than bringing in economic revenue. These sex advertisements were seen as a method of attracting a wide range of men in American society who all had different political beliefs and ideologies. Therefore, they attracted people both within and outside the counterculture. Within the counterculture, they guaranteed a large audience of hippies. The hippies looked at these advertisements as a sign that these underground papers were their own papers. In addition, outside the counterculture, they attracted a working class. Stew Albert described how these sex advertisements attracted two communities. According to Stew Albert, the sex ads helped to sell the paper to tourists and others in the San Francisco Bay Area who might have not ordinarily read the paper (Stew Albert).

Possible reasons for the elimination of Sex Advertisements

Just as there were many possible explanations for why Scherr chose to allow such a plethora of sex advertisements to appear in the *Berkeley Barb,* there were also various justifications for why the vast pages of these same sex advertisements had to be

eliminated from this dissident paper at the end of the decade. Aside from the fact that the *Berkeley Barb* had to eliminate most advertisements depicting naked women due to the voices of opposition from radical feminists, there can be other possible explanations for why such a reduction in its advertisements transpired. The first explanation is that through these pictures of naked women, the *Berkeley Barb* was not representing the themes of the counterculture because exploiting women is not the same as the Women's Liberation Movement. The male domination of the newspaper, with a male publisher, and almost all white male journalists, did not give the few women journalists on the *Berkeley Barb* equal opportunities. When the few female *Barb* reporters, who were all radical feminists, saw these advertisements of naked women, they viewed them as an exploitation of the female body. Perhaps, this is why the Underground Press Service (UPS), a wire service for all the underground newspapers that the *Barb* was part of, was forced to eliminate male supremacy in the undergrounds and prohibit the use of women's naked bodies to sell products or papers. "Before the police raided the UPS media conference and searched the women attending it, a series of resolutions had been adopted. Male supremacy was to be eliminated from the papers. Women's bodies weren't to be used to sell products or papers" (Peck, 207). This reveals that the *Barb* liberated and repressed women at the same time.

Aside from the fact that there was opposition from the UPS, which then forced various alternative newspapers to eliminate their sex advertisements, another possible explanation for why the *Berkeley Barb's* main source of revenue was eliminated was due to the nature of the later years of the 1960s. During this, the *Berkeley Barb* itself became more militant. It became more militant when the "Weatherman" faction of the Students

for a Democratic Society (SDS) had attempted to push the paper further toward militancy. However, Scherr was unwilling to make this transition. In *The Whole World is Watching,* Todd Gitlin gives a description of SDS. SDS, which first became public in 1965, "was the central student organization in a rising New Left." However, it began in 1960 "as a small network of radical and left-liberal students." "It had helped coordinate support activity on Northern campuses for the Southern Civil Rights movement." Then, two years later in 1962, "it had promulgated a statement of principles and politics, the Port Huron Statement, which gained a significant degree of respect among activists on campuses throughout the country" (Gitlin, 21-32)

The Weathermen faction of SDS, which began to take over the SDS in 1969 fostered an environment for the *Barb* to become more militant in its coverage. Mark Rudd, head of the SDS Columbia chapter, ran for National Secretary on the Weathermen ticket at SDS's last convention in 1969. He won this election after the Weathermen and SDS split in two groups. Rudd, and other Weathermen led in the transformation from the non-violent student movement into one of revolutionary violence (Gitlin, 150-151).

Many *Barb* writers had personal ties or sympathies to the Weathermen and tried to sway their views toward Scherr. However, he did not let them cross that line (Seeger, Pig Papers 21). Therefore, Scherr felt that these sex advertisements, which once reflected the hippie culture, would no longer reflect the new message of militancy that the *Berkeley Barb* was trying to portray at the end of the decade. "The Barb also 'cleaned up its act' to a less extent, at the same time that it became somewhat more militant in its coverage and format" (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 135).

There were several articles in the *Barb* during the mid 1970s up until the paper's last year in existence that demonstrated the militant coverage. In the December 22nd, 1974 edition, there was an article with the headline "Pentagon Into Domestic Spying," which also catered to the journalistic value of investigative muckraking. The article described how a retired Admiral Eugene Larocque was charging that the Pentagon set up a domestic security operation "that potentially could become the military verion of the White House 'plumbers' unit." Laroque said that the name of the military security network is "Defense Investigative Services" and the goal of it was to conduct security background checks on persons working for the defense departments or military contractors requiring military clearances ("Pentagon Into Domestic Spying").

In the December 30th, 1977 edition of the *Barb*, there was an article with the headline, "24 Nuke Explosions," which discussed how the Nuclear Regulatory Commission has admitted that the radioactive explosion, which hospitalized a worker at the Millstone nuclear plant in Connecticut was similar to those explosions which closed or damaged at least 20 previous occasions. The Millstone worker, who was 30 years old, was hospitalized after radioactive gases contaminated him when a hydrogen explosion occurred in a smokestack ("24 Nuke Explosions").

Finally, in the January 31st, 1980 edition of the paper, there was an article, titled "National rallies hope to stop selective service," in which the article described how President Carter's decision to revitalize the selective service system was deemed unpopular by various organizations. The Washington D.C. based students for a liberation society held a week of anti-draft protests, which included rallies, teach-ins and speaking tours. Students for a Libertarian Society, in conjunction with the Committee Against

Registration and the Draft marched on Washington. Finally, the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, with its headquarters in Philadelphia, launched a campaign to inform draft-age individuals of possible alternatives they can take aside from serving in the military ("National rallies hope to stop selective service").

Perhaps a final possible explanation for the depletion of sex advertisements at the end of the 1960s can be seen as a method of political protest on behalf of the advertisers who paid the *Berkeley Barb* every week to display their non-sex-oriented ads. Specifically, "the small hip merchants and other quasi-bohemian entrepreneurs- sandal makers, coffee houses, delicatessens, bookstores, art galleries, boutiques, restaurants, taverns and the like" (Seeger, Pig Papers 179) that once paid the *Berkeley Barb* large sums of money every week to put their non-sex advertisements in the paper stopped paying it to continue with this source of revenue. This move can be seen as a method as political protest because they did not like the plethora of advertisements seen in the paper of naked women. In addition, this decision also meant that such enterprises wanted to protect their image from contamination by such provocative displays of naked women. "These enterprises, many of which had supported the paper with advertising in the early days, had ceased to use its columns, either as a political protest or simply as a matter of protecting their image from contamination by the tasteless display sex advertisements" (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 140).

Barb journalists have personal attachments to the counterculture

The *Berkeley Barb* also reflected the community when reporters participated in counterculture community events and protests. There were several reporters on the *Berkeley Barb's* staff who had personal ties to the counterculture. One female reporter,

given the title "Venus" by Seeger worked at and helped support the local Free Clinic (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 33). Also, "Egghead," considered a "real Jewish intellectual," was known around the office as one of the "Regular" staffers who displayed a high commitment to cultural and political radicalism (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 30). "Zapata," a student at San Francisco State College and known as an "honorary Chicano" around the office of the *Barb,* had strong ties to "Los Siete," the defendants in a major trial over the slaying of policemen (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 30). Coleman said that she was part of the Free Speech Movement (Coleman).

Although many of the *Berkeley Barb* journalists before joining the paper were part of radical or liberal organizations, they continued to remain on them once joining the paper. Aside from the People's Park incident, which revealed their personal sentiments toward the counterculture. The Bay-Area exclusive film showing "Woodstock" was one instance where the *Berkeley Barb* journalists clearly showed that they had personal attachments to the counterculture. When the Woodstock Rock Festival occurred, a film, called "Woodstock" debuted in the movie theaters to depict the music festival. The theater next door to the *Berkeley Barb's* office was charging $3.50 for each movie ticket, and during the 1960s, this price was unheard of. The *Berkeley Barb* journalists physically joined in the picketing outside the theater for the next several days. Then, the paper ran a number of articles warning against rip-off entrance prices. One headline included, "Stop the Woodstock" (Seeger, Pig Papers 151).

Even Scherr and his staff writer Michael Kepp founded the "Committee for Homosexual Freedom" in 1969 in San Francisco. This organization was created in response to the fact that when U.S. Soldiers returned from fighting in World War II, they

would return to the United States via San Francisco. Many of these military personnel were homosexual. They decided to stay in San Francisco upon returning from the battlefields. Since many of these soldiers were gay, they established their own community in the suburbs of San Francisco. They started their own gay political protest movement. In response, the state of California gave birth to two gay organizations for gay rights: the Mattachine Society, founded in 1951 by Henry Hay in Los Angeles; and the Daughters of Bilitis, a lesbian organization founded in 1955 in San Francisco. Then Scherr created the "Committee for Homosexual Freedom."

The "Committee for Homosexual Freedom" and other gay organizations in the Bay Area would provide information on demonstrations that the *Berkeley Barb* should know about. Many of these marches and events had the prime purpose of protesting "heterosexual chauvinism." Kepp would attend them as a protestor, and then write stories about such instances. In the articles, he gave these events a "cosmopolitan flavor" and illustrated ways to stop homosexual persecution (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 50).

Because Kepp founded this committee, he lost his job as a television news editor. He was considered one of the oldest members of the *Berkeley Barb.* When he was 35, he had a non-radical past. He was a Protestant minister and a sportswriter before he came to the San Francisco Bay Area from the Midwest. He claimed himself a Republican until past age 30. Then, in his mid-30s, he partook in activism by advocating rights for homosexuals. Since the *Berkeley Barb* was on good terms with the homosexual community, Kepp wrote about it (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 31).

In the February 21st, 1980 edition of the paper, there was an article titled "Gays Gang up on 'Crusing.'" Kepp reported that over 200 gays were outside the St. Francis

Theatre, picketing there because they felt that the movie "Cruising" displayed homophobic messages. In response to this movie, a group formed, called "Stop the Movie Cruising Committee" (STMCC). The purpose of this group was to educate members about gay lifestyles (Kepp). Kepp was clearly empathetic in this article because he acted as a political muckraker to raise awareness of people outside the gay community that they should not be homophobic.

In the February 25th, 1980 edition of the paper, Kepp wrote an article called "Sex Discrimination case against LBL goes to court." Kepp wrote that Molly Gleiser, who worked as a chemist at Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory (LBL) at the University of California-Berkeley, has been fired from her job because she was a lesbian. Kepp described how Gleiser reapplied to this lab several times after she was ousted from her position. The article then stated that the administration and labs at the University had a history of not practicing affirmative action. The article then said that under Title VII, which prohibits sex discrimination in employment, Geiser demanded that she get the money back she did not earn in the time period she was not working. Kepp wrote that a court-case would determine if she would be allowed to work at the Lab again (Kepp). Kepp was empathetic in this article because he kept incorporating all the legislation, such as Title VII, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Act, in order to raise awareness to the countercultural community and even the city of Berkeley, parts of which were Conservative, that companies should not practice sex discrimination in hiring.

Berkeley Barb **located in the epicenter of the counterculture**

Aside from the *Berkeley Barb* reflecting its community through its advertisements and through their journalists being participants in the events of the counterculture, a final

way this dissident paper mirrored the counterculture in the Bay Area was by being in the epicenter of the activities of this student movement. This aspect distinguished the *Berkeley Barb* from other undergrounds in the United States of America outside the Bay Area. Other underground publications were forced to engage in local means of reporting on the thrust of this political radicalism. One option was to send their reporters to the Bay Area. Another alternative was to run stories in their papers from the Underground Press Service (UPS), a wire service for underground newspapers all over the country. Still, another means of the reporters outside Berkeley accessing information on the home of the counterculture was to call the leading radicals and interview them over the phone.

Generally, one would think that since the *Berkeley Barb* was situated in the front of the Movement, the reporters had more of an advantage than other dissident journalists in having immediate and easy access to events and news sources. However, the majority of the time, it actually proved rather challenging for these journalists to contact sources in order to write their articles or even meet their weekly deadlines.

Why *Berkeley Barb* journalists had a hard time contacting sources

There could be several explanations why these *Berkeley Barb* journalists generally had a hard time contacting sources. First, perhaps the countercultural community activists in the Bay Area did not think that the *Berkeley Barb* gave them fair coverage of their events. Therefore, in response to this notion, these activists did not want to speak to the paper in fear that it would misrepresent them. “The *Barb* was experiencing difficulty in obtaining news from its major sources, with large sections of the countercultural community seemingly disenchanted with their famous, or notorious newspaper, and attempting to control it in an imaginative variety of ways” (Seeger,

Berkeley Barb 4). Therefore, the underground community labeled the *Berkeley Barb* journalists in this community deviant because this community felt that the paper was not accurately reflecting their community. "The *Barb* and its staff had been labeled deviant by the local underground community; that community, presumably was revealing its normative boundaries in the course of sanctioning the *Barb* and its staff" (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 4).

Another possible explanation for why the *Berkeley Barb* reporters had a hard time contacting sources despite the fact that they were in the epicenter of the counterculture was because they experienced poor treatment from conventional news sources. In some cases, the reporters were participants in the demonstrations. But in other cases, since the *Berkeley Barb* journalists had no press pass to get through the police or fire lines at demonstrations, city officials would not allow them to enter many of the counterculture events, marches and demonstrations. Often, perhaps because the *Berkeley Barb* reporters were inexperienced journalists, they were not able to persuade city officials to provide information regarding management of the counterculture by authorities (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 24). The *Berkeley Barb* was no exception to this mass movement of poor treatment on behalf of city officials against the underground press. At least one *Barb* reporter nicknamed "Egghead," was found under arrest for not leaving a courtroom when all but the mainstream press had been ordered out.

Perhaps *Berkeley Barb* journalists not having a press pass to get into the events and protests of the counterculture clearly had a symbolic meaning. Not having press passes to cover events had a direct correlation to the counterculture or to the notion of the underground press. Scherr said that if the underground journalists had press passes to

events, then they would not be considered dissidents anymore. He thought that because this paper was anti-Establishment, only media outlets that follow the Establishment would abide by the standards of journalism and present press passes to cover events. “It also had symbolic compensations; as Scherr often declared, ‘When they give you press passes, you aren’t underground anymore’” (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 24).

Another explanation why the *Berkeley Barb* journalists had a hard time contacting sources was perhaps because some people did not want to talk to these reporters. Perhaps they did not trust this paper and their journalists. “This ‘reaching’ for news in the underground is a significant indication of one of the central features of the late phase of the counterculture” (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 72). For example, Scherr would plant ads in the paper saying that people should be at Telegraph Avenue a certain time because something would happen. People would show up, anticipating a protest, and if nothing was happening, the journalist at Telegraph Avenue would tell the people to start a protest and then write an article based on activities solely created for media coverage.

Perhaps this explains why the *Berkeley Barb’s* assignment sheet was composed of mainly of items from other underground newspapers. Scherr thought to himself, “Why should the Berkeley Barb make up assignments every week when it can simply fill the pages by making other journalists do the work?” Therefore, he thought it was easier if this underground publication simply relied more heavily on other undergrounds so that he would not have his own reporters constantly miss their deadlines, giving the excuse that they were not able to contact their sources. In essence, then, Scherr plagiarized ideas from others.

> The sources of this assignment sheet's 100-odd items were primarily other underground newspapers, particularly the Tribe and Good Times, but also including most of the leading alternative papers which came into the Barb office each week via the Underground Press Syndicate's subscriptions-exchange arrangement. Such sources were particularly useful to the *Barb*, since the items had been pre-selected and processed to fit the constellation of interests of countercultural audiences (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 71).

However, perhaps this whole idea of relying on other undergrounds to fill the pages of the *Barb* could have had consequences for Scherr. First, some of these stories may not have been what the goal of the *Barb* was: to present accurately the countercultural community in the Bay Area through the journalistic values of honest subjectivity, participatory journalism and political muckraking. Also, with the reliance on other alternative newspapers, Scherr still did end up having to hear the excuse that the *Berkeley Barb* reporters had a hard time contacting sources if they were obligated to write follow-up stories on the news articles originally taken from other underground newspapers.

> Accompanying these advantages were corresponding disadvantages, either short-run or long-term; the items might be spurious, 'media hype' in the underground argot, or they might simply be unresearchable by reporters from the unpopular *Barb* who attempted the required follow-up story (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 71).

The *Barb* was unpopular to several people who lived in the epicenter of the counterculture. Overall, Conservatives in the Bay Area were displeased with it because it depicted a radical lifestyle of the New Left that they did not advocate. More specifically, the city officials of Berkeley and at the University did not support it because the city of Berkeley was Conservative and the officers did not want a bunch of radical students being disturbances to the city.

Yet even though the *Berkeley Barb* reflected its community in three succinct ways, through its advertisements, by journalists being participants in the events of the counterculture and by being in the epicenter of the Movement, it also fulfilled Fuller's other goal of newspapers. That was, the *Berkeley Barb* also challenged its community's values. "The underground press slowly changed from a reflection of the isolated hippie phenomenon into the self-conscious agent of radical politics" (Glessing 60).

Local Mainstream Media coverage of counterculture

In *At Berkeley in the Sixties,* Jo Freeman describes how the local mainstream media covered the counterculture. Freeman argues that the mainstream press in the Bay Area did not cover the counterculture particularly well, and conservative papers like the *Oakland Tribune, San Francisco Chronicle, San Francisco Examiner* and *Berkeley Gazette* were openly hostile to it. Therefore, the *Barb* can be seen as filling a niche that was lacking in the mainstream media. For instance, Freeman describes how the Committee of Racial Equality (CORE) in 1964 organized shop-ins at Lucky's supermarkets in San Francisco, where CORE members would go grocery shopping, piling their carts with food and then changed their minds last minute at the counter telling the cashier they did not want to buy any of this food. This was considered non-violent disturbance as a way to protest the fact that Lucky's was not hiring Negroes (Freeman, 94-95).

In response to these shop-ins, John Shelley, the mayor of San Francisco, negotiated an agreement with Lucky's to hire at least sixty Negroes. However, Lucky's closed and the blacks thought that if they engaged in another method of protest, they would find more job opportunities. Therefore, they decided to go to the most elegant

hotels in the city: the Sheraton, the Mark Hopkins, and the Fairmont, in hope that these hotels would hire Negroes. The Negroes met with the Sheraton management on December 11, 1964 to ask for racial composition of the employees that worked there and only 19 out of the 550 employees were Negroes. However, since the Sheraton did not accommodate the Negro demands and hire more employees, the Negroes began picketing and in response, the Sheraton filed a $50,000 lawsuit against them. The lawsuit warranted a demonstration where a group of Negroes began picketing the hotel, making noise and occupying the lobby chairs. The court issued a warning, limiting the number of pickets to nine, down from approximately one hundred. However, this just resulted in more protest from the Negroes and an increase in number of people arrested totaled about 123 (Freeman, 95-96).

This group of Negroes then continued passing out pamphlets on local campuses, to join in their picketing. However, the police arrested them and they went to jail. In total, there were 127 men, thirty-four women, and six juveniles that were arrested. The *San Francisco Chronicle* called the local police station to acquire every person's name, address, age and occupation of the individuals arrested and printed this information in its pages. This instance revealed that the mainstream media in the Bay Area treated social activists like criminals. The *Berkeley Daily Gazette* did the same thing. However, when the trials came for these people, the tone of coverage changed. Tracy Sims, one of the women who picketed the Sheraton Hotel, was sentenced to 90 days in jail and fined $200. "Even the *San Francisco Examiner* was distressed by this. It editorialized against the singling out of Miss Sims' because 'it was not right to pick on defendant and make her a symbol of the guilt of all'" (Freeman, 98-112).

The Sheraton protests were not the only thing that the mainstream media covered. The mainstream media covered the activities of SLATE, a student organization formed in 1958 whose members had helped organize the HUAC protests. The approximate 800 students who joined SLATE at one time formed the core of Berkeley political activists in the late 1950s to early 1960s. The *Oakland Tribune* was clearly unsympathetic to their activities and had a history of being this way in covering the counterculture. "The previous spring, the Tribune had called for the suspension of students who had been arrested at the civil rights demonstrations" (Freeman, 151). The *SLATE Supplements,* the publication for SLATE, published a leaflet in the paper, announcing a demonstration at the *Tribune* (Freeman, 152). The *Tribune* was also seen as unsympathetic to the counterculture because it endorsed Republican Presidential Candidate Barry Goldwater. It also reported on how university students at Berkeley were supporting one of Goldwater's liberal opponents, William Scranton. However, the *Tribune* never realized that there was a split in political ideologies between the city of Berkeley and the students at the University. Therefore, it never ran this story (Freeman, 152).

However, perhaps because of this realization from the *Tribune,* it became more sympathetic to understanding the tension between the activists and the city officials in Berkeley. Specifically, the Free Speech Movement Activists and the University administration experienced tension because the activists did not view the administration as role models and the administration did not think such behavior was constructive. There were a couple of deans, however, at the school, who were sympathetic to the students in the Free Speech Movement. Freeman said that regarding this issue, "there was no

pressure from the *Oakland Tribune* or the politicians to put a lid on student political activity" (Freeman, 195).

Later many of the mainstream newspapers classified the Free Speech Movement Activists as Communists. In the *San Francisco Examiner,* there was a headline, "Reds of Campus-UC's Kerr." Some of the article read "University of California President Clark Kerr yesterday declared flatly that a hard core of 'Castro-Mao Tse-tung line' Communists were in the crowd of demonstrators gathered in front of Sproul Hall on the Berkeley campus." However, the coverage in the *San Francisco Chronicle* was more restrained.

> 'Some of them are just back from Alabama and Mississippi,' he said, 'and full of ideas of direct action, and that you only get somewhere by direct action.' 'I am also sorry to say that some elements have been impressed with the tactics of Fidel Castro and Mao Tse-tung. There are very few of these, but there are some' (Freeman, 197).

When the Free Speech Movement was in full swing, the *San Francisco Chronicle* was unsympathetic to it. Mona Hutchin, the Republican member of the FSM Steering Committee, mounted the running board of the outside of a San Francisco cable car, where only men were allowed to ride the running boards. She said she did this as a method of equal rights for men and women. The police lectured her and let her go. "The next day, Mona's 'Cable Car Battle' was on the front page of the *San Francisco Chronicle* (Freeman, 228).

The *Barb* reflected its community in three distinct ways: through its advertisements, by the reporters participating in the events they covered and through its location in the epicenter of the counterculture. Just as the counterculture emphasized the sexual revolution, this underground paper attempted to do that through its advertisements for massage parlors, displaying pictures of nude women. However, this motive was

unsuccessful because the feminists did not support this method of sexual liberation and in time, these sex ads were cut, which were the main source of profit for the paper. As a result, the paper could not afford to keep going to press. Journalists as participants in the counterculture were another way that this alternative paper reflected its community. Many of the reporters advocated and participated in liberal causes. Finally, through its location in the epicenter, generally, one would think it would be easier for them to access sources, but in general, their community was disenchanted with the paper mainly because of the sex ads. Therefore, they neglected it. The local mainstream media were openly hostile to this paper, as well as the countercultural activity. As the counterculture moved out of the Bay Area, the *Barb* would no longer be able to continue what it originally advocated for, and as a result, it folded in 1980.

Conclusion- How the *Barb's* legacy continues

Where are the former *Barb* reporters today?

Even though the *Berkeley Barb* "folded in 1980, after years of decline" (Seeger, Berkeley Barb 157), its legacy still exists in the current alternative journalism in the Bay Area. Many of the newspaper's former journalists have taken various paths in life, and all had differing opinions on how the legacy of the *Barb* still lives on in the alternative newspapers today.

Richard Denner, who left the *Berkeley Barb* shortly after its inception, decided to flee from the epicenter of the counterculture, even though he was raised in Berkeley and Oakland. He lived in Alaska and Washington state. In Alaska, he graduated from the University of Alaska, Fairbanks in 1972. Then, he continued printing while working at Queen Anne News in Seattle before moving to Ellensburg, Washington. In Ellensburg, he owned a bookstore and café, called Four Winds Bookstore and Café. Shortly after, he gave his institution over to his son and came in contact with Tara Mandala, a Buddhist Retreat Center in Colorado. He stayed there until he was called back to the Bay Area, where he had to care for his elderly parents. Currently, he lives in the Sebastopol, California, in the North Bay Area, where he publishes chapbooks under the dPress logo. He teaches poetry at a Waldorf School right near his home. He is also training to be a California Poet (Denner).

Denner said he felt he was not that familiar with the contemporary alternative newspapers in the Bay Area. However, he recalled that there is a weekly tabloid called *The Bohemian*, which he considers countercultural. "What the alternative paper is doing is simply covering cultural activities and publishing articles with liberal views, they are pretty slick compared to the papers of yore. The *Bohemian* is free, supported by advertisements." He said "for the truly far out politically dissident voice, I go to the Internet" (Denner).

David Haldane, since leaving the *Berkeley Barb* in 1974 continued his career in writing and journalism. "The Barb was really the beginning of my career in journalism" (Haldane). After the *Barb,* he went down to Mexico and completed some graduate work in writing. Then, he was a freelance magazine writer for several years for *Penthouse* and

the *LA Free Press.* Several years later, he engaged in newspaper journalism, writing for several publications in Southern California, including the *Riverside Press Enterprise.* Currently, Haldane is a staff writer at the *Los Angeles Times,* where he has been since 1985. He is a General Assignment Reporter, even though he had various beats including the Environment, Health, Asian Culture and Religion. In addition to working at the *Los Angeles Times,* he is a freelance writer for several magazines. He recently published a book, called *Berkeley Days: The Uncensored Memoires of an Underground Journalist,* which illustrates his years at the *Berkeley Barb* (Haldane).

As for whether Haldane thought the *Barb* influenced other current alternative journalism in the Bay Area, he said "I don't live in the Bay Area anymore, but I would say that the *Barb* had affected all alternative media, not only in the Bay Area, but everywhere." He made an additional comment about the *Barb's* legacy. "That was the voice of the people. You didn't have to be a journalist … that is why there was no editing … How can you tamper with the voice of the people?" (Haldane).

John Jekabson, who worked at the *Barb* from its inception in 1965 as Scherr's right-hand man, also decided to continue in the field of journalism. He earned a degree in journalism at University of California-Berkeley, was a freelance, and a teacher in the Peace Corps. Currently, he lives in Oakland, California, and is editing various Union Publications and travels to Eastern Europe to write articles for the *San Francisco Chronicle* (Jekabson). Jekabson gave his interpretation of how the *Barb's* legacy has influenced other current alternative publications in the Bay Area. "The want ads are what keeps a lot of those papers going" (Jekabson).

Stew Albert currently lives in Portland, Oregon. Since leaving the *Barb,* he has edited a book called *The Sixties Papers,* an anthology of writing from the 60s decade. He also has been in freelance journalism, contributing articles to the *Los Angeles Times* and other more radical publications. He recently published a memoir book called *Who the Hell is Stew Albert*. "My book just came out, so I will be working on promoting that." Stew Albert said that as for the whether or not the *Barb's* legacy still lives on today, he said "you don't have an ongoing radical protest movement in the Bay Area. There are some similarities. I think some of the papers today are influenced by the *Barb*." "The nearest thing to the underground press is the websites and alternative newsgroups online" (Stew Albert).

Judy Albert, Stew Albert's wife, currently lives in Portland, Oregon. Since she strayed from the *Barb* in 1970, she was a college professor of Women's Studies. Then, she was a fundraiser. Currently, she is the Vice President of Development of Planned Parenthood of the Columbia/Willamette, which expands access to sexual and reproductive healthcare in Oregon and Southwest Washington. She has been there for almost nine years. She raises "approximately 1.5 to 2 million dollars annually in Oregon and South West Washington for reproductive healthcare, sexuality education and first term abortion care." Judy Albert said she was not familiar enough with the current alternative journalism in the Bay Area to say whether or not the *Barb's* legacy is prevalent in it. "I'm not familiar enough with what's there to comment. Everything seems a lot more mainstream though" (Judy Albert).

Since she left the *Berkeley Barb* in 1974, Kate Coleman has continued her career in journalism. Right after she contributed her column to the paper for about a year, she

left Berkeley and went to work at *Newsweek* in New York. After a few years at *Newsweek,* she returned to Berkeley, where she has lived ever since. Aside from working for *Newsweek,* she also did some freelance journalism for newspapers, radio and television. She also taught journalism classes at University of California-Santa Cruz. She just finished writing a political biography, called *The Secret Wars of Judi Bari*. Judi Bari was the leader of Earth First, a radical environmental action group, who was car bombed in Oakland in 1990. This book will be published in June. She still also continues freelance writing. If Coleman sees any of the *Barb's* legacy in the alternative journalism today, she said "there is some … a lot of the alternative media in San Francisco is much more political and better-written." "All of the underground press had a huge influence on the overground press" (Coleman).

Ken Kelley currently lives in San Francisco, California. After working at the *Barb* for one year in 1973, decided to continue his career in journalism. He currently does freelance journalism for various publications. Some of them include *TV Guide*, the *New York Times, Rolling Stone* and *Vogue.* He is also a painter and makes film. His latest film project included making three baseball documentaries. Kelley said "the last remaining bastion of independent journalism is the *East Bay Express*" (Kelley).

Current Alternative Newspapers in the Bay Area

Even though the *Berkeley Barb* folded in 1980, the legacy of the paper still lives on. Its dedication to honest subjectivity, participatory journalism, and political muckraking is still prevalent in the alternative journalism in the San Francisco Bay Area. The publications of the *San Francisco Bay Guardian,* the *San Francisco Weekly* and the *East Bay Express Times* all implement these new journalistic values in the articles. In

addition, their advertisements also echo those that made the *Barb* a best-selling underground during the counterculture.

San Francisco Bay Guardian

The *San Francisco Bay Guardian* is one current alternative paper in the Bay Area that speaks to the legacy of the *Berkeley Barb.* Many of the articles in this current alternative paper demonstrate some of these journalistic values.

The article titled "Which way to the hospital? Patients, staffers, and neighbors wrangle over the fate of S.F. General Hospital" by Tali Woodward in the January 21st, 2004 edition of the *San Francisco Bay Guardian* speaks to the *Berkeley Barb's* legacy of participatory journalism. In this article, Woodward writes how according to seismic experts, the San Francisco General Hospital, the city's sole public hospital, is prone to collapse if a major earthquake transpires in the city. She describes that one of the city's plans is to relocate the hospital to the Mission Bay Area of San Francisco. She then writes how the hospital's chief of medical services, Dr. Talmadge King said that this new possible location would be convenient for people living in places, such as Bayview. Woodward acts as participant journalist when she writes "But King told us the medical leadership may reconsider its pro-move position now that the city, due to concerns about debt load, plans to draft a bond for only $550 million. That's one-third of the amount originally estimated for a comprehensive, state-of-the-art facility at Mission Bay" (Woodward).

Woodward is also acting like a participant journalist when she describes how residents in Mission Bay are concerned about what will be done with the old hospital and how this will affect their property tax rates. She quotes Ed Kinchley, a social worker in

the San Francisco General Emergency Room who said that this move would cost a lot of money and that if Mission Bay was not in full support, the residents would not vote in favor of it (San Francisco Bay Guardian). Woodward is acting like a participant journalist when she writes "Kanaley told us that more than 39,000 flyers about the community input process were recently mailed to residents of the Mission, the Bayview, and Potrero Hill" (Woodward).

The article, called "Immigration Boondoggle: Special registration continues – and remains loaded with traps" by *Bay Guardian* journalist Camille T. Taiara, which appeared in the December 17th, 2003 edition of this alternative paper demonstrates the journalistic value of political muckraking. Taiara writes about how the National Security Entry/Exit Registration System was established to screen men from Arab or Muslim countries. After screening them approximately 14,000 of them had to face deportation hearings, while approximately 3,000 others had to be detained (Taiara)

Taiara is clearly acting like a political muckraker because she wants to bring to attention the fact that there is discrimination against Arabs and Muslims in the country. "In its first year, the National Security Entry/Exit Registration System caused 13,799 men from predominantly Arab or Muslim countries to face deportation hearings and 2,870 to be detained – mostly based on minor immigration infractions. Yet the program didn't net a single al-Qaeda operative" (Taiara). This echoes the political muckraking *Berkeley Barb* journalists did when they wanted to bring to attention the American system that was capitalist and in turn, oppressing the countercultural activists that wanted to make change.

In addition to articles in the *San Francisco Bay Guardian* speaking to the legacy of the *Berkeley Barb*, its relationship to the community also echoes that of the *Berkeley*

Barb. First, its advertisements are a direct reflection of those, which once attracted individuals in the counterculture to buy copies of the *Berkeley Barb* every week. Currently, a vast number of sex, massage and drug advertisements fill the pages of the *San Francisco Bay Guardian*. In the December 17th, 2003 edition of the *San Francisco Bay Guardian,* there was a sex advertisement titled, "The Ultimate Guide to Anal Sex for Women Edge Play." Also, in this issue, there were several advertisements for nude beaches in California. There was also an advertisement, called "Blow Jobs," with the slogan "Slippery Nipples, Screaming Orgasms and 159 other great cocktails (San Francisco Bay Guardian).

There was also a plethora of advertisements for massage parlors in the Bay Area, especially in the December 17th, 2003 issue. One advertisement, titled "#1 French Woman's Massage" had the description "Gives you Strength, Serenity & Happiness. Body Shampoo Available." Another massage parlor announcement, titled "Exqueeze Me!" had the description "Have you ever felt my hands on your body? They bring you the ultimate friendship between your body & your mind" (San Francisco Bay Guardian).

The *San Francisco Bay Guardian* also portrays drug advertisements, just like the *Berkeley Barb* did. One specifically in the December 17th through 23rd edition of the paper was called "Marijuana Gifts." It then said "T-Shirts *String Lights *Novelties Under One Leaf.com" (San Francisco Bay Guardian).

Current *Bay Guardian* staffer Matt Hirsch described his notions of how his current paper embodies any values of the *Berkeley Barb*. In terms of incorporating his political beliefs in his articles, he said "writing for the *Guardian* is a very countercultural experience, so I think just having my byline in the paper is something of a political

statement. I honestly don't know how I would handle writing for the *Guardian* if my politics were more mainstream or conservative" (Hirsch).

He also considered himself a participant journalist in one case.

> I've never spoken at a public hearing I was covering for a newspaper, and I don't write about in which I'm involved. But I think coverage of war protests and demonstrations against global trade talks are an interesting exception. The police in Miami, Florida probably considered me a protestor last November at the Free Trade Area of the Americas simply because I was out in the streets that weekend. Am I participating in a mass demonstration if I am standing with protestors who have been cordoned off by police? If the answer is yes, then I'm guilty as charged (Hirsch).

He also said that just like the *Barb* covered news differently than the mainstream media, he said the *Guardian* reflects this notion as well.

> I think I report on news very differently than how it is done in the mainstream press, because my newspaper, the *San Francisco Bay Guardian,* is part of the 'alternative' press, but more so because the *Guardian* is a weekly paper. You have to approach news differently when you are not traditionally breaking news, but that means think a lot about what the daily papers are not writing. I try to write stories that have some practical value, stories that justify using the paper they are printed on, and so I try to steer clear of flaky topics like Janet Jackson's breasts. I also like the style of writing we employ at the *Guardian,* advocacy journalism. It's a recognition that there's no such thing as objective journalism or an unbiased reporter. Advocacy journalism is heavily frowned upon in the mainstream press (Hirsch).

He also described his freedom in writing stories and direction he receives from his editor.

> I talk with the editors about my stories when I've got a pitch, and they usually suggest an angle if I haven't already come up with one. Word count is also somewhat negotiable … if the story turns out to be more significant than it appeared when I first pitched it I can get more space. And if I push the deadline sometimes I can expect less space (Hirsch).

Just like the *Barb* journalists had a hard time meeting deadlines, he also said that was his biggest challenge. “So my biggest challenge is making deadlines every week, which for me is harder than it ought to be” (Hirsch).

Hirsch also agreed that the advertisements in the *Guardian* reflect those of the Barb. “Toward the front of the paper are the full-page ads (national brand marketers, big local gyms, occasional political ads). There are a lot of restaurant and small business ads in the middle of the book. Classifieds toward the back, and mostly sex ads on the back cover” (Hirsch).

Finally, Hirsch’s response as to whether or not the *San Francisco Bay Guardian* speaks to the legacy of the *Barb,* he said

> I’ve heard a few stories about the *Berkeley Barb* and I have been meaning to find out more about it, but until I do I can’t say it it’s legacy survives in the *Guardian.* I think the *Guardian* carries very much of its own legacy as an alternative paper that has been around 38 years (longer than every other alternative paper I can think of). The *Guardian* retains a lot of values from the 60s-and it tries to relive the 60s every now and then. But we are constantly aware that we’re living in a completely different time, the era of high-speed communications, of bloggers, the increasing consolidation of the mainstream press and the corporatization of the alternative press. And we are trying to adapt (Hirsch).

San Francisco Weekly

The *San Francisco Weekly* is another alternative newspaper that speaks to the legacy of the *Barb,* with its dedication to honest subjectivity, participatory journalism, and political muckraking. However, its relationship to the community differs from that of the *Barb* because it does not display sex, massage parlor, or drug advertisements.

The journalistic value of honest subjectivity is prevalent in the *San Francisco Weekly* in the article by Silke Tudor, titled “Mark Brecke photographs the worst of the

world's conflicts in his own way, and for his own reasons," which appeared in the March 12, 2004 edition of the newspaper. In this article, Tudor discusses how photographer Mark Brecke is a war and wedding photographer.

There are many places throughout this article that embody the notion of honest subjectivity when Tudor talks about Brecke. First, it is prevalent in the lead through his word-choice. "There is nothing about the man-with-the-questionable-cullions to set him apart from the crowd, except that he is slightly apart, leaning against a wall, quietly sipping his beer, seemingly alone in a room droning with humanity" (Tudor).

Tudor also implements honest subjectivity when he discusses that when Brecke goes to unsafe places in the world, whereas most western journalists are under the auspices of security, Brecke goes to them alone. Here, Tudor also implements a casual writing style. "Unlike most Westerners who enter these regions with camera equipment, Brecke does not travel under the auspices of some global network like **CNN**. Brecke moves into the center of world conflicts under no one's gumption but his own. He may indeed have balls of steel" (Tudor).

Finally, toward the end of the article, Tudor implements the journalistic value of honest subjectivity through the use of the personal I. "But I wonder. What of the times Brecke has hit the dirt while wandering through South Park on his way to get a cup of coffee, just because a car backfired? What of the culture shock and social disconnect he must feel being shot at one day and standing in a crowded nightclub, sipping microbrew, the next?" (Tudor).

Honest subjectivity is not the only journalistic value from the *Barb* prevalent in the *San Francisco Weekly*. The notion of participatory journalism is also widespread. In

the article “Floating into the Netherworld,” Silke Tudor writes about a kayaking adventure he took. In this article, Tudor clearly acts like a participant journalist when he describes how he puts his paddle against his thighs and then discusses what he sees when he runs his hands in the water of the San Francisco Bay. “I rest the paddle against my thighs and run a gloved hand across the surface of the water, watching the firefly reflections of a dozen city lights scatter beneath my palm. I lift my dripping hand to my hot cheeks, vaguely aware that the cold does not penetrate my skin.” This is not the only instance where Tudor acts like a participant journalist. He also seems like a participant when he describes how he keeps hearing noises while he continues to kayak. “We inch forward, watching the ghostly ripples of illumination our pin lights cast on the murky water below, listening to the strange, hollow groaning noises created by pockets of air and unseen machinery working somewhere above. I waggle my fingers in front of my face, but they seem as substantial as moths” (Tudor).

The journalistic value of political muckraking is also prevalent in the *San Francisco Weekly.* In the article called “Bugging Out,” Ron Russell embodies this notion. This article discusses how the U.S. Department of Energy delayed plans to open up a biodefense lab at Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico. Opening up this lab has been a topic of controversy because the main focus of the lab is to experiment with anthrax, bubonic plague and other deadly pathogens. Many watchdog groups have sued to prevent such labs from experimenting such lethal diseases because they claim such research deviates from environmental law policy (Russell).

The advertisements in the *San Francisco Weekly* also reflect those of the *Barb.* In the February 11th, 2004 edition of the paper, there were approximately 36 advertisements

for massage parlors. One of them read " 'Intimate Moments' Beautiful Young Masseuses, Classy, Sexy, Seductive, Clean, discreet. Appointments in advance are greatly appreciated. No restricted calls, please!! (San Francisco Bay Guardian).

Two current journalists from the *San Francisco Weekly* gave their views on how their paper speaks to the legacy of the *Barb*. First, Matt Smith said this paper does speak to the legacy of the *Barb* in that just like many of the *Barb* writers generated their own story ideas, Smith said that he does as well. But, when asked if the legacy of the *Barb* is still carried out in the *San Francisco Weekly*, he said "no. This is a different sort of publication" (Smith).

Tommy Craggs also gave some feedback. He said that just as the *Barb* was anti-establishment, the *San Francisco Weekly* articles clearly advocate certain political beliefs. "They are very politically engaged and they operate from a lefty mission." However, unlike the *Barb* staffs that had trouble meeting their deadlines or contacting sources, Craggs said this was not the case. "In terms of problems, all the writers work on 5-week cycles. We have to produce a cover story every 5 weeks." He said "the only problems I find is that a lot of people don't like us in the city." As what had happened with the *Barb* journalists, "A lot of times I've approached someone in the City and they don't want me to write about them" (Craggs).

As far as direction from the editor, Craggs said that the paper operates like the *Berkeley Barb*. "Staff writers generate their own ideas and pitch it to the editor." However, when it comes to word-count, "cover stories range from 3000 to 5000 words"(Craggs).

Craggs also explained the ads in the paper. Just like the abundance of sex ads in the *Barb,* there are many in the *San Francisco Weekly.* "It is basically accepted that if you look at any alternative weekly now, that is where you make your money. I've never seen an alternative weekly that doesn't run sex ads" (Craggs).

Finally, when asked if he feels that the overall legacy of the *Barb* is still prevalent in the *San Francisco Weekly,* he said he felt some parts of it still existed.

> When you talk about legacy, the 60s was the height of new journalism, and there obviously was an audience for that, and the writing style reflected the times, and now when you see that thing, it doesn't fit. And you don't see any of that in the alternative weeklies these days. I think there are still a lot of elements in muckraking. I think a lot of what we do stems from that. A lot of the journalism now is more … like what you see in the *New Yorker.* A lot of that has to do with newspapers becoming more adventurous (Craggs).

East Bay Express

Finally, the *East Bay Express* speaks to the legacy of the *Berkeley Barb* with its commitment to honest subjectivity, participatory journalism and political muckraking. It also reflects the *Barb* through its abundance of sex ads.

Honest subjectivity is prevalent in this alternative newspaper in the article titled, "Jack be Nimble" by Will Harper. In this article, Harper reports on the prevalence of E. coli at fast-food restaurants. In many instances in this report, he embodies this journalistic value. First, it is prevalent when he describes how E. coli destroyed the Jack in the Box fast-food chain. "The potentially deadly bacteria nearly destroyed the Jack in the Box franchise after undercooked beef patties allegedly killed four customers, made hundreds of others sick, and spawned a thousand tasteless jokes" (Harper).

Honest subjectivity is also pervasive when Harper reports on how a Krispy Kreme store was shut down due to a lack of hot water. The owners said this, along with other things required them to do a health inspection of the store. When he describes how shutting down the store was a tragedy for people who like to eat doughnuts, he clearly embodies the notion of honest subjectivity. He uses a personal style through his cynicism. "The real tragedy for Homer Simpson types is that the Concord store had to throw away nearly ten thousand delicious doughnuts made earlier that day" (Harper).

Aside from honest subjectivity, the *East Bay Express* also speaks to the legacy of the Berkeley Barb with its dedication to participatory journalism. In the article by Justin Berton, which appeared in the February 24th, 2004 edition of the paper, there was an article titled "Cinema therapy is coming soon to an analyst's couch near you. We got an exclusive sneak preview." This article depicts the journalistic value of participatory journalism in many ways. Berton describes how one time when he was sitting in a Berkeley bakery one day last summer, he came across a flier which said something along the lines of people experiencing certain emotions after leaving a movie theater and that cinema therapy can help people deal with these feelings.

In the lead, he clearly acts like a participant journalist. "Sitting in a Berkeley bakery one morning last summer, I came across a flier: 'Have you ever left a movie theater full of emotions, insights or inspiration?' it asked. 'Did you want to share your impressions and feelings right away? Did the movie make you reflect on your own life experiences?'" (Berton).

He also embodies this journalistic notion later in the article when he describes the little details of what he did while he was reading this flier. "I chewed on my muffin and

read on." Still, he also incorporates this journalistic value when he writes what really startled him about reading this flier. "What really got me was the notion of a licensed therapist sending real-life patients with real-life problems to search for real-life solutions at a Tom Cruise matinee." Furthermore, he implemented participatory journalism when he said that "Later that day I called around and found that cinema therapy had been in practice for about fifteen years, and that Birgit Wolz was the Bay Area's go-to film shrink" (Berton).

Finally, the *East Bay Express* incorporates the journalistic value of political muckraking. In the article called "What happens when folks bail on jury duty? Not much. And if they crib from Express theater reviews? Um, not much" in the February 18, 2004 edition of the paper, Will Harper embodies the journalistic value of political muckraking. In this article, there are many instances when he acts like a political muckraker. First, he can be seen as a muckraker when he discusses how its not okay that people skip out on jury duty. "Skipping out on jury duty: It's as American as not voting or cheating on your taxes. A 2002 study of California juries showed that 17 percent of those summoned in a one-year period completely ignored their civic burden" (Harper).

Harper also is muckraking when he think it is unfair that there have never been any consequences for people not completing their civic duty. "As anyone who has ever flaked out on a summons can attest, there are practically no consequences for missing jury duty. Okay, you might get a sternly worded letter warning of a big fine or jail time for contempt of court. But court officials concede that a warning is usually all you'll get." Furthermore he acts like a muckraker when he talks about the importance of legislation. He wrote that the Judicial Council of California on January 1, 2004, established a new

law that makes it easier to punish people who do not show up for jury duty. Courts in California now impose fines on these individuals. Before imposing these fines, the courts would just conduct hearings for these people who failed to show up. Here, Harper is acting like a muckraker because he said that two counties in California, Alameda and Contra Costa, have not abided by this new legislation (Harper).

In reference to advertisements in this paper, like the *Berkeley Barb,* the *East Bay Express* also displays sex advertisements, specifically for massage parlors, in its pages. In the February 11th, 2004 *East Bay Express* issue, the adult massage parlor advertisements were the exact same as those which appeared in the *San Francisco Weekly* on February 11th, 2004.

Current journalist for the *East Bay Express* Will Harper interpreted how his publication relates to the *Barb.* First, he said that the alternative media reports different things than the mainstream media.

> The alternative media does cover things differently than the mainstream press. Alternative writers, on the whole, tend to question the idea of objective journalism and are more free to inject their own point of view into the stories. We do have 'participatory' stories at the *Express*, a couple of which are in the pipeline right now. I've done them before, but haven't for awhile (Harper).

As for the *Barb,* he said he doesn't know that much about it. "I don't know a lot about the *Barb.* I do know that is used to sell sex ads, which all alternative weeklies do now, but stopped doing so after getting too many complaints. The sex ad controversy let to a spinoff, the Spectator, which still exists today."

> My impression is that it was one of the original 'underground' papers in America. The alternative press of today is by no means underground. Alternative weeklies are a big business. You can find one practically in every town with the same basic format-

> news in front, sex ads in the back, listings in the middle. I think the *Barb* pioneered the use of sex ads, although it was perhaps too ahead of its time (Harper).

In many ways, the legacy of the *Berkeley Barb* still is evident in the current alternative journalism today in the San Francisco Bay Area. The current undergrounds adhere to the new journalism of the 1960s with an emphasis on honest subjectivity, participatory journalism and political muckraking. They also ensure their economic revenue through displaying sex advertisements. In addition, the writers come up with their own story ideas. As these current undergrounds eventually fold, and others are born, perhaps the legacy of the *Barb* will still influence these later undergrounds.

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