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University of California
Berkeley, California

Art and Jackie Goldberg
Free Speech Movement Oral History Project

Interview conducted by
Lisa Rubens
in 1999

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[Interview 1; August 8, 1999]

[Tape 1]

Rubens: [Interview begins after some informal conversation about the oral history project] I wanted to say to you is that the smallest amount of money that's been given, of course, is for the oral histories, and it's really relatively a cost per hour high ticket item. So we first wanted to map the story and find out where the holes are. Particularly what I want to say to you is that I know that you do speak quite a bit about the FSM, and, of course, you're in the film Berkeley in the Sixties, and so what we're hoping to do is pull apart some of the pieces to get at a little richer, deeper, nuanced look at a couple of areas. But you had suggestions for us, too, which is what we also want to pursue.

I'd like to discuss, both your observation about southern California culture as well as if and to what extent and how a distinctly Jewish style—whether it was Jewish culture, per se—but anyway, ethnic background and New York cultural styles had some kind of way of shaping this movement: to what extent were you aware of these regional and ethnic differences. There have been claims—which pop all up all the time—that it was a Jewish movement.

J. Goldberg: No. Jewish and Catholic. I didn't meet a Protestant the entire time. Everybody was either Catholic or Jewish.

Rubens: And we could almost dismiss that. I don't know how much there is to say about it, but—

J. Goldberg: We all observed it at the time.

Rubens: How so?

J. Goldberg: Well, you know, people talk about all kinds of things. Religion is certainly one of them. I would say very few of us were observant in either Catholicism or Judaism, but all of us I think had our values and our histories formed by those experiences as kids. And we thought we were grown; we were not too much more than kids at the time, so I think it did have its effect, but I don't know—

Rubens: If you could just make a couple of comments on that. We don't know much about your background, and we should have just the tiniest sense of what kind of household were the two of you raised in.

- J. Goldberg: Well, we always have this ongoing joke. My brother was raised in a working-class home, and I was raised in a middle-class home, actually.
- Rubens: When did the divide take place?
- J. Goldberg: It never did. It never did. It's just perceptions. Actually, both are probably true. By virtue of both our parents working, we lived much more of a white-collar existence than a blue-collar existence. Although my dad nominally owned his business, he was a slave to it and it was he alone doing it. Occasionally a partner, usually who ripped him off.
- He was in the industrial laundry business. He would pick up rags from mostly the aerospace industry but also bakeries, machine shops and so forth. He had a small laundry and would launder them and return them. And he had a panel truck that he picked it all up in. He from time to time had a partner in order to try to not work fifty-two weeks a year. Rarely had anyone work for him, as the perfect example of not all Jewish businessmen are successful.
- Rubens: What was your father's name?
- J. Goldberg: Our father's name was Edward.
- A. Goldberg: We had different fathers.
- J. Goldberg: And we lived in Inglewood, which at the time was a lot of blue collar, a lot of people aspiring to middle class, a lot of people working in the aerospace industry, in El Segundo. There was a little bit in Inglewood. Santa Monica, El Segundo, Manhattan Beach, Westchester, and then some were out in Downy. There were a lot of aerospace industry. Then there was a small kind of upper middle class of beginning doctors, lawyers. We didn't live in that part of the area; we lived in the Morningside Park area, which was aspiring to middle class, definitely.
- Rubens: Your high school was?
- J. Goldberg: Morningside High School.
- A. Goldberg: Different high schools.
- J. Goldberg: I had wanted to go to a different high school.
- Rubens: What did you want?
- J. Goldberg: Anyplace where he wasn't.

- A. Goldberg: That's right.
- J. Goldberg: I just followed after him, and I would come into class—
- A. Goldberg: I was a complete fuck-up, and she was a good student.
- J. Goldberg: And I would come into class, and the teachers would look at me and say, "Oh, you're not Art Goldberg's sister, are you?"
- Rubens: How many years apart in school?
- J. Goldberg: Two.
- A. Goldberg: Two and a half years in age, but two years in school. I was a little slower, so she always got ahead.
- J. Goldberg: Yeah, yeah, yeah.
- Rubens: Did you get along as kids at home?
- A. Goldberg: A few years, yes. A few years, absolutely not. There was a teasing period that was really bad.
- J. Goldberg: It lasted only most of my life.
- A. Goldberg: No, no. I see it very differently.
- J. Goldberg: I understand.
- A. Goldberg: No, I would say by the high school years we did get along. That's my perception. I would think junior high and, for about three or four years in late elementary school and junior high, no. But in high school, there wasn't teasing going on in high school.
- Rubens: But seems to have only gotten better because we're trying to eventually get to your defense—
- A. Goldberg: It has gotten better recently, a lot better. And it was not very good for most of our life.
- Rubens: So was FSM an exception? That's what we want to get to.
- J. Goldberg: It was on several levels. There was the level of the personal stuff, and then there's a level of the political stuff, and the political stuff we've been in concert pretty much along the way.

- A. Goldberg: I wasn't talking about that. I was talking about personally.
- J. Goldberg: On the personal level, we've had—
- A. Goldberg: [laughs] Rough times.
- J. Goldberg: A rough time.
- A. Goldberg: To put it mildly. And it's a good time for you to talk to us because—
- J. Goldberg: —we're in a good place.
- A. Goldberg: We're in the best place, I think, we've been in, in years.
- Rubens: Great. Well, let me get to there very quickly. I don't want to leave your mother out of this, so let's just talk about your mom. What was her name?
- J. Goldberg: Mom was a very important influence in both of our lives. She's still alive. Her name is Rose Margolis Goldberg.
- Rubens: Oh, is she related to Benjamin Margolis?
- J. Goldberg: No, no. Actually, we haven't found a Margolis except her own family that she's related to.
- J. Goldberg: And I ask everybody—
- A. Goldberg: And many of the Margolises are now Margolieses or something.
- J. Goldberg: Or something, yes.
- Rubens: Are there other children?
- J. Goldberg: No, just the two of us.
- A. Goldberg: There may be, but we don't know.
- Rubens: Were you both born here? Were they transplants here?
- J. Goldberg: No, my mother was actually born in Los Angeles in 1911, and our father was born in New Bedford, Massachusetts, but was brought here before he was two years old.
- J. Goldberg: So we definitely are second generation.

- A. Goldberg: And our family came here in the late 1860s, a great-great-great-uncle.
- Rubens: You can trace it.
- A. Goldberg: Yes, in was the late 1860s.
- J. Goldberg: Yes, Harry's dad.
- Rubens: And without detail, but you were a culturally Jewish family?
- J. Goldberg: Absolutely, religiously Jewish.
- A. Goldberg: Well—
- J. Goldberg: We weren't Orthodox, but we were Conservative. We were related to a temple.
- A. Goldberg: When I asked both Mom and Dad early on, "Do you believe in God?" and I either got "No" or—
- J. Goldberg: But that's—
- A. Goldberg: That's right.
- J. Goldberg: Yes, it was definitely cultural. There's no doubt about that—
- Rubens: You knew you were Jewish—
- J. Goldberg: Also we both went to Sunday school, we both were confirmed, I was Bas Mitzvahed—
- A. Goldberg: First one.
- J. Goldberg: —he was Bar Mitzvahed. I mean—
- Rubens: It's very early.
- J. Goldberg: Yes.
- A. Goldberg: It was one of the first.
- J. Goldberg: It was one of the first.
- A. Goldberg: And my parents were president of the temple.

- J. Goldberg: We were very involved in the temple.
- A. Goldberg: A Jewish life, living in a non-Jewish neighborhood, was totally important to them, and I know we passed that on, too, to our kids.
- J. Goldberg: Right. And it had very little to do with faith in God and had everything to do with family and culture.
- A. Goldberg: And identity, yes.
- J. Goldberg: And identity. And my mother's father was a rabbi. Though, he never had a congregation, but he was a kosher meat cutter. I think he was the first kosher meat cutter in L.A., as a matter of fact.
- Rubens: His name was?
- J. Goldberg: Harris Margolis.
- A. Goldberg: I didn't even remember his name. Harris Margolis.
- J. Goldberg: Yes. Well, that's all right. That's what you have me for.
- Rubens: And how come they moved to Inglewood?
- J. Goldberg: They didn't like ghettos.
- A. Goldberg: One hundred percent correct.
- J. Goldberg: Totally did not like ghettos, didn't believe in ghettos, didn't think they were healthy.
- A. Goldberg: Yes.
- J. Goldberg: It wasn't a real world.
- A. Goldberg: They were the generation of Jews, I never forgot my mother saying this, and I never agreed with her: "Wouldn't it be great if there were no religious differences?" Do you know that line? Just sort of one worldists, UN-ists.
- J. Goldberg: One world.
- A. Goldberg: And I said, "Who wants to give up a groovy culture? These other people, a lot of them are assholes. I don't want to assimilate."

- J. Goldberg: He also was quoted saying, "I'll always believe in God."
- A. Goldberg: I never said that.
- J. Goldberg: You did, too. You said it to Barbara Rhine. I have a witness. Barbara went to Morningside High School. We all grew up together.
- Rubens: So you knew her then.
- J. Goldberg: Oh, yes.
- A. Goldberg: She really knew her.
- Rubens: Barbara's the younger one, right?
- J. Goldberg: Jenny is the older one. Barbara is one of my closest friends to this day.
- A. Goldberg: I occasionally see her, but Jackie is really—
- J. Goldberg: You said that. I heard you say it; she heard you say it; we've both talked about it. You said it.
- A. Goldberg: I don't remember a time in my life I believed in God.
- J. Goldberg: I know you don't remember.
- Rubens: But you said it.
- J. Goldberg: But you said it.
- Rubens: [laughs] This is quite an aside, but speaking of God. I do have a couple of questions about Charlie Powell later on. But am I wrong? I have not found this in the papers yet. Didn't Charlie Powell find God in the middle of FSM, that next spring?
- A. Goldberg: Charlie Powell?
- Rubens: The ASUC president.
- J. Goldberg: Oh, I don't know.
- A. Goldberg: If he did, he never became a—no. See, we left. We don't know what happened. I was there another semester to be kicked out. But did you leave right away, or did you—

- J. Goldberg: No, I graduated in '65.
- A. Goldberg: Oh, so you were there—
- J. Goldberg: I was there the whole year.
- A. Goldberg: I didn't know that.
- Rubens: That was such an aside that I don't want to—
- A. Goldberg: I never heard of that.
- Rubens: So your mother and father were clear about not living in a ghetto.
- J. Goldberg: My mother was an elementary school teacher at a time when elementary school teachers made less than secondary teachers. But together their income made us pretty close to middle class.
- A. Goldberg: Yes, it did, although my father worked only for minimum wage.
- J. Goldberg: He had his own business theoretically, but—
- A. Goldberg: Did you know that? I didn't know that until years later.
- J. Goldberg: I think it was more than minimum wage.
- A. Goldberg: No.
- J. Goldberg: He didn't do well.
- A. Goldberg: If it was, it was like a quarter over.
- J. Goldberg: He didn't do well.
- A. Goldberg: It was terrible.
- Rubens: So he's not so interested in money. And finally, politically were they particularly active politically?
- J. Goldberg: No. They voted religiously. My mother admired Eleanor Roosevelt, which she passed on to me. Both of them I'm sure voted for Stevenson.
- A. Goldberg: They were liberal Democrats.
- J. Goldberg: They were liberal Democrats, New Deal Democrats.

- A. Goldberg: My father once told me he thought socialism was good.
- J. Goldberg: Yes.
- A. Goldberg: Although he was only semi-literate.
- J. Goldberg: Right.
- Rubens: Really?
- J. Goldberg: He never finished high school.
- Rubens: I was going to ask about college.
- A. Goldberg: The only books we ever had in our house was Reader's Digest.
- Rubens: And what about your mother? Had she gone to college?
- J. Goldberg: Oh, yes, yes. She went to UCLA.
- A. Goldberg: Yes, but that doesn't mean that she was—
- J. Goldberg: She was the first of her family to graduate from college.
- A. Goldberg: No, no. Amy went to pharmacy school.
- J. Goldberg: Yes, but—
- A. Goldberg: It was later?
- J. Goldberg: It was a trade type thing in those days.
- A. Goldberg: Oh, I didn't know that!
- J. Goldberg: Not a university thing. It was not a university thing. And my mother grew up pretty poor. My father's dad was a shoemaker, and they were more closer to middle class. There were only two children in my father's family. My mother's family, there were seven, and she was the youngest of seven. They were poor.
- Rubens: And was there any question that you would go to college?
- J. Goldberg: No.
- Rubens: You first and then—

- J. Goldberg: Art.
- Rubens: Any question that you would go anywhere but Berkeley. I mean, you wanted to get away from home?
- J. Goldberg: No, no. I started—I did my first year at SC. I tried to go to the University of Chicago, which is where Barbara went, but I didn't get enough money to go. I got in, but I didn't get enough money to go. So Berkeley was actually my second choice.
- Rubens: And why USC?
- J. Goldberg: Oh, USC just got me out of high school. I couldn't stand it another year, so I went to a residence high school for high school seniors.
- A. Goldberg: And I loved high school.
- J. Goldberg: And I didn't go my senior year to high school. I just went—
- Rubens: The question I had asked was there any doubt but that you would go to college.
- A. Goldberg: With me there was.
- J. Goldberg: Not philosophically, though. There was only doubt whether you could pull yourself together.
- A. Goldberg: Oh, yes. Oh, I wanted to go to college, but I was told by a teacher I really admired, Miss French, who was my senior teacher, that there was no way in the world that I could ever make it in college, so why should I even try. So I had a terribly low skill level. I couldn't write a paragraph when I graduated from high school. Yes. And I got an F in algebra. And only because of Barbara and Jackie and there was this other guy who I saw recently, and I forgot his name—
- J. Goldberg: Jay, uh—
- A. Goldberg: It was some guy. He's a lawyer.
- J. Goldberg: Yes, Jay something.
- A. Goldberg: He went to Harvard or something. Anyway, they got me through. I was flunking.
- J. Goldberg: We taught him a year of algebra—

- A. Goldberg: In about a month.
- J. Goldberg: Five weeks.
- Rubens: To graduate high school.
- J. Goldberg: No, to get a high enough grade to get into UCLA.
- A. Goldberg: See, in those days, I had a 2.8 or a 2.9. That's what it took to go to Berkeley then. That was the old days.
- J. Goldberg: It was round the clock for five weeks. We would take turns.
- Rubens: And so the first choice was UCLA?
- A. Goldberg: My first choice was anything.
- Rubens: [laughs]
- A. Goldberg: Oh, yes. I would never have had the emotional guts to leave anywhere out of L.A. area. I was too undeveloped emotionally. I couldn't take that risk.
- Rubens: You were aware of that. You knew you wanted to live at home?
- A. Goldberg: No, I lived at the dorm, but I would come home for the first year almost every weekend, because I had no emotional skills.
- J. Goldberg: I, on the other hand, had only one requirement, and that was I was not going to go to school where he was going. [laughter]
- A. Goldberg: I didn't know that. That was really true?
- J. Goldberg: Well—
- Rubens: So who goes to Berkeley first?
- J. Goldberg: I did.
- A. Goldberg: She does, and then I followed her!
- J. Goldberg: Ay, yi, yi, that's for sure.
- Rubens: And did you talk it up, or was it just coincidence?
- J. Goldberg: I didn't talk it up. It was the last thing in the world I wanted.

- A. Goldberg: I know how I got there. I went to a SLATE summer convention.
- J. Goldberg: That's exactly how you got there.
- A. Goldberg: No, I really remember that, and I was just thrilled. The other way, if you see Berkeley in the sixties I got there was that I saw the Operation Abolition.
- J. Goldberg: Operation Abolition, right.
- A. Goldberg: —in the basement of Dykstra Hall on the UCLA campus.
Jackie's one of the narrators.
- Rubens: Of the spoof on Operation—
- A. Goldberg: Oh, no, no, no.
- Rubens: There was a spoof that was done—
- J. Goldberg: Operation Correction and Operation—
- Rubens: Yes. I think Mike Tigar had been the narrator of that. I was very surprised.
- J. Goldberg: I didn't know.
- Rubens: So you SLATE summer convention?
- A. Goldberg: In '62, I think, or something like that.
- Rubens: Does this mean that SLATE had a branch at UCLA?
- A. Goldberg: No, it hadn't, but there was a group there called Platform, but like most things at UCLA, it was pathetic. You know, it never had any long history of—. And I was ready emotionally then to take the leap.
- Rubens: Yes, good. Okay, so you're at a SLATE convention through Platform.
- A. Goldberg: I must have seen something through Platform or something.
- Rubens: Okay. So did you go there the following year, '63?
- A. Goldberg: Yes, it was '63.

- J. Goldberg: I went in '62.
- Rubens: Okay. Let's just get the narrative now that we've got you there. You go there because?
- J. Goldberg: It's not UCLA. And also I had visited it when I was looking at schools.
- A. Goldberg: Oh, you did?
- J. Goldberg: I had visited it. I was very impressed with it. It looked really neat. It looked like a college town, and it was very attractive.
- A. Goldberg: Very different than UCLA, which is nobody lives around campus, there's no student ghetto, commuters—always been a commuter school.
- J. Goldberg: Even though it has dorms and stuff.
- A. Goldberg: Yes, it's the feel of—
- J. Goldberg: Right. And actually, what I found out later was that Berkeley had been like that, too.
- A. Goldberg: Is that right?
- J. Goldberg: It was a fairly mid-sixties development.
- A. Goldberg: I didn't know that. I just assumed it always had the student community.
- J. Goldberg: No.
- A. Goldberg: On the south side was the student ghetto.
- Rubens: No, it wasn't because I've done a history of the Berkeley City Women's Club.
- J. Goldberg: I didn't know that because it had just happened as we were arriving.
- Rubens: Late fifties and early sixties.
- J. Goldberg: I would assume that it had been that way always, but—
- Rubens: The north side actually was a little more—
- A. Goldberg: Yes, the north side was more the—then that shifted to be graduate students.

J. Goldberg: Right.

Rubens: So you go, and what is your major?

J. Goldberg: I was a social science.

Rubens: That's right. And you, I see—but I'll pick that up later, with education. There's something specific—

A. Goldberg: I was a history major, but I wanted to be a teacher.

J. Goldberg: And I wanted to be a teacher.

A. Goldberg: [laughs]

J. Goldberg: Neither of us influenced by our mother.

Rubens: Not at all. And finally, specifically why you joined a sorority.

J. Goldberg: Didn't get housing.

Rubens: Ah! That's very important to say.

J. Goldberg: No, no, no. I had no interest in joining a sorority at all.

Rubens: Mother put a spin on it.

J. Goldberg: Well, you know, she wanted me to date. I might meet—

A. Goldberg: Yes, Mr. All American.

J. Goldberg: —Mr. Right.

A. Goldberg: Or Mr. Right.

Rubens: So there were three Jewish sororities at the time.

J. Goldberg: Right.

Rubens: Which one were you in?

J. Goldberg: I was in Delta Phi Epsilon.

Rubens: D Phi E, okay. Did you have to pledge an all that to be a member?

- J. Goldberg: Oh, yes.
- A. Goldberg: You were active—
- J. Goldberg: I was very active because it turned out that we had an alcoholic house manager, house mother, whom we never saw, and so the seventy-eight of us ran this place.
- A. Goldberg: Oh, really? I didn't realize that.
- J. Goldberg: And it was wonderful. We had a wonderful cook, and we ran the place, and I became the treasurer right after I became an active member instead of a pledge. And they reduced my bill—and I did all the bills, all the house bills. And it reduced my—I lived very cheaply because—
- A. Goldberg: In a period where it was dirt cheap to live.
- J. Goldberg: Right.
- A. Goldberg: It cost nothing! Fifty-four dollars a semester!
- Rubens: But this was not particularly a difficulty for you? It was not your first choice, but you didn't have housing.
- J. Goldberg: No, I was really unhappy about going into a sorority.
- A. Goldberg: Oh, you really were?
- J. Goldberg: Oh, yes. See, I had been a part of this group of people who made fun of the sororities and fraternities.
- A. Goldberg: Oh, oh, oh.
- J. Goldberg: Tri-Sig, Sigma Sigma Sigma, we called ourselves, in the dorms. We called ourselves Sig Sig Sig.
- A. Goldberg: Oh, really?
- J. Goldberg: Yes.
- Rubens: You lived in a dorm at SC?
- J. Goldberg: Yes, it was required for the program I was in. And I had—no, I was definitely anti-Greek. And, boy, rush would make you more anti-Greek if you weren't anti-Greek to begin with because first of all, all the San

Francisco young women were "legacies," something I never even heard of. Their mothers, their sisters, they had all gone to Berkeley, and they had all been in these houses. And there were twenty-eight sororities, and on the first day I was dropped from all but three of them.

A. Goldberg: [laughs]

J. Goldberg: I knew that there could be no way in the world I could screw up that badly in twenty-five of the twenty-eight of them.

Rubens: Is that when you realized there was a Jewish—

J. Goldberg: Oh, I knew it. But, see, I happened to—you know how you get assigned to a dorm when you rush.

Rubens: Okay.

J. Goldberg: And my roommate was one of the San Francisco elite.

Rubens: Non-Jewish.

J. Goldberg: Jeannie Kirkwood, right. Her father was state controller at the time, Republican. And so I bet Jeannie Kirkwood that on the first day I would be dropped. I thought all but five. And that she would not be dropped by anybody. And I bet her a significant sum of money because I knew I was going to win. And she believed that there was no anti-Semitism. She just couldn't believe it. She absolutely didn't believe it. And, of course, I paid for most of my expenses for the first month out of what I won from her on the number of houses I was dropped from.

A. Goldberg: That shows you the period of history we lived in because good people like her—many of them, even though they came from strict backgrounds, were politicized in the sixties. They believed that, and when she saw it, she was a good person, she would get angry.

J. Goldberg: And even more that bothered her was her best friend, who was from the same elite that she was but who was not physically attractive, was dropped near the end from the houses that they were destined for.

Rubens: Tri-Delt was one of them.

J. Goldberg: I think they were Kappa Kappa Gamma.

J. Goldberg: We're talking really, really elite.

- Rubens: That's really elite, okay.
- J. Goldberg: The Thetas and the Kappas were the elite
- A. Goldberg: I went to the Kappa Kappa Gamma formal, or whatever it was.
- Rubens: Jackie, I just want to ask you one other thing. I mean—
- J. Goldberg: When her friend was dropped, she was devastated because she couldn't believe it. We all spent the whole rush together, but—so in fact, we even—because this was on the first day—we staged—Jeannie and I staged a pillow fight in one of the houses that neither of us were interested in, and I knew—we did this together. There was a person rushing us, and Jeannie was there and I was there, and I picked up one of the little pillows that we were sitting on the coach, and I tossed it at her, and I said, "That's for not inviting me to your house this weekend." And then she picked it up and she whacked it back at me. And this woman was just sitting there—young woman—sitting horrified, between us, not knowing what to do. And Jeannie gets invited back and, of course, I get dropped. And I collected on that too.
- A. Goldberg: I never knew any of this stuff.
- J. Goldberg: So I made a fortune off of all those San Francisco girls because I kept betting them on what the system was like. I only did this because I knew I was not mature enough for an apartment. I had applied to the co-op, I had applied to the dorms, and I didn't get any of them. I was on a wait list for both. So my game plan was I would go in for a semester, try to grow up so I could get an apartment, find someone to get an apartment with, and then by the—but it turned out that I was in this free-wheeling place, with a lot of nice people, some of whom are still my friends—not many, but some—and it was so easy. I didn't have to cook, I didn't have to clean, I didn't have to shop, and it was cheap because I was doing the house bills.
- And we had a wonderful system. If you didn't want to socialize with the fraternity boys, you paid a fine. Well, I was in charge of collecting the fines, so this was not a bad system. And so I just didn't go to the beer busts. And it was wonderful. I stayed all three years. I had no desire to leave.
- Rubens: Oh, you did?
- J. Goldberg: Absolutely. I was pledge mother.

- Rubens: Yes, during FSM. I know you were, but I didn't realize you stayed the following year.
- J. Goldberg: Yes. No, that was my senior year. FSM was my senior year. So I had no desire to leave at all. It was very protective, very sheltered. Particularly when the intensity of the politics got humongous, it was a great refuge. And there were nice people in it—including Assembly member [Dion Ahrener?] and Assembly member Susan Davis. We were all three there together at the same time. They were my roommates.
- Rubens: I wanted to ask what kind of support did you feel you got from the sorority as an FSM-er.
- J. Goldberg: Pretty good, pretty good. There were about four or five women from the house who got involved in some fashion or another.
- Rubens: Was Dion involved?
- J. Goldberg: Dion was involved. Not heavily, but yes. About four or five were involved. Carol Gershwin—there were about four or five who were involved. None heavily, but none of them gave me a hard time about it. The only hard time I had was the previous year, because I was an officer. I was the treasurer of the house. I was paid all the house bills. So we had a visit from our national, and I had just gotten arrested at the Sheraton Palace, and I was out on bail. And the president of the house pulled me aside and said, "Whatever you do, please God, do not bring this up." And I said, "Hey, what do I need to bring it up for? Of course not."
- So we're out to lunch at the Rathskeller, which is national—just the president, I think, of the national. And she says, in the middle of lunch, "Well, did anybody get arrested in the Sheraton Palace last night?" And the president just turns orange and purple, and she asked me this! I don't know why she asked me. I hadn't said anything. I hadn't alluded anything. And I said, "Well, I think maybe one."
- Rubens: [laughs]
- J. Goldberg: She said, "Oh, good!"
- Rubens: Oh, wonderful!
- J. Goldberg: And I said, "Well, it was actually me." And she hugged me. It turned out her father had been in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and she was a lefty pinko beyond anything I was in that day. Well, that's because our sorority

started at New York University Law School, unlike most of them that were from the South and then these ante-bellum South kind of environment.

A. Goldberg: I didn't know that.

Rubens: A great story.

J. Goldberg: Yes! [laughs] So suddenly there was no longer a problem for anyone. [laughs]

Rubens: That's a great story. I wanted to just not leave off one other thing, because we'll pick it up later in terms of just if there was a Jewish character or a Jewish background. Were you aware of any particular protest that there was discrimination?

J. Goldberg: Yes. In the sororities, you mean?

Rubens: Yes.

J. Goldberg: I actually engineered the signing by all of these sororities—that's how I met [Catherine Towle?].

Rubens: Okay.

J. Goldberg: I was the Pan-Hellenic representative, and I engineered with her, with Dean Towle, we cooked this up in her office, getting all the sororities to sign the non-discrimination pledge, when they weren't going to. And they weren't going to not basically because of the women there but because their national controlled this decision. And she and I said, well, these young women like to think of themselves as liberals, as not racists. Why don't we let them see the face of racism? And so we invited their national leaders to have a forum at Pan-Hellenic.

Rubens: Now, this was before the Sheraton Palace.

J. Goldberg: Oh, yes. We had them all come, and these Southern white women just horrified these young girls by talking about their rights to pick their friends and their rights to pick whom they associate with.

Rubens: Now, again, is the presumption that we're opening it up to blacks, or is it also—

J. Goldberg: No, I don't think they were black. They didn't say anything.

- A. Goldberg: There were hardly any blacks at this time.
- Rubens: I understand that.
- J. Goldberg: [imitating a Southern accent]: "We have nothin' against anybody." And every one of the sororities signed after those women left. They just didn't want to have anything to do with that.
- Rubens: So they did all sign.
- J. Goldberg: They all signed. Every last one of them. Catherine Towle and I—we did this together in her office.
- Rubens: And why Towle? Where did the idea really come from.
- J. Goldberg: Because Dean Towle and I had always gotten along. I got to know her through Pan-Hellenic because she was the person who rented the Pan-Hellenic from the university, and I had some trouble transferring my units, and so I had gotten to know her just talking to her about things. And then we hatched this plot, and it worked so well. It took us three or four months to put this together.
- Rubens: What was the personal drive for you?
- J. Goldberg: Art was very much more political than I was at a young age. I grew into this in stages. I was more afraid than he was.
- Rubens: You were a good girl!
- J. Goldberg: Well, we grew up in McCarthyism. I didn't want anything screwing up my ability to teach, and I was afraid.
- Rubens: Had your parents warned you not to sign a petition?
- J. Goldberg: Well, somewhat, yes. But that was the least of their worries, it turns out.

But I had always been involved in civil rights because Barbara Rhine got me into that in high school. We had nearly gotten arrested a couple of times in high school. One time we didn't get arrested because he was driving and we got lost, and the arrest was over by the time we got there [laughs]. And that was when Home Savings in Torrance was opening segregated housing about a quarter of a mile away from integrated housing. "Integrated" was the code word for all black, and "segregated" was all white. We protested that altogether, saying, "Uh-uh, it should be one housing tract. Everybody should be welcome, none of this bullshit."

There were arrests, but we didn't [laughs] get there on time! [laughs heartily]

Rubens: How did you get involved in Women for Peace?

J. Goldberg: I was at SC, so that was 1961, '62, and the first one-day Women's Strike for Peace was November the 1st, 1961, and I had seen a leaflet on a pole near the campus, and I went to it, on the steps of City Hall, and I met people who really did influence my life really forever: Mary Clark and all of the incredible women of the Women's Strike for Peace in L.A. They took me under their wing. They really were a big part of my political education. They took me with them to Moscow, to the World Congress of Women in 1963. I was nineteen years old. The next person in age to me, from nineteen—the next person closest in age was about forty-five, and it was up from there. They did not treat me like a kid—

World Congress of Women, from the Women's International Democratic Federation, which was a group of liberal, left, and Communist women's organizations that began at the close of World War II to deal with the refugee question and then expanded into other areas.

Rubens: Did you know Jean Wilkinson down here?

J. Goldberg: Yes.

Rubens: Was she involved in that?

J. Goldberg: No.

Rubens: She was not.

J. Goldberg: She was in housing and she was into other things.

Rubens: That must have been amazing.

J. Goldberg: But that for me was a life-altering experience. Even though I started first in civil rights, I spent a good part of my student years in peace and anti-violence and anti-war kinds of things, in terms of more time there than in even civil rights because I was just captivated by these women, and they were so dynamic, and they knew so much, and they were so well-traveled, and they understood the world. And yet—and this is the most phenomenal thing—they never told me what to think. They answered my questions, they gave me books to read, they talked with me, they would talk with me seriously even though I knew nothing about anything. So it was really

remarkable. It was like a mentorship that every young person should have.

Rubens: And you had no other young person going through this with you. You had met them at SC, you joined some of their activities up in Berkeley.

J. Goldberg: Well, we started the campus Women for Peace group on the campus, so there was some of that, but I really related much more to the L.A. women. Every time I came home I saw them. I became a draft counselor with them when I finished school.

Rubens: Any other names you can think of?

J. Goldberg: Oh, sure. [Gale Ebie?]-who else?-God, I can see all their faces. [Miriam Wendorf?]. No, that was in Chicago. That was only in Chicago. But she was in Women for Peace. [Jo Friedman?] in Chicago—

Rubens: But that's Chicago. I was just trying to get the L.A. We can come back to that at some point. But you had an unusual experience before FSM. You were at this World Congress.

J. Goldberg: Oh, it was—and I came home and started telling everybody there was a war going on in Vietnam and they all looked at me like I was nuts. But I had met the Vietnamese women. I knew there was a war going on.

J. Goldberg: (To Art) You were there and just back from this congress?

A. Goldberg: Yes, I was only there about a year, a year and a half.

J. Goldberg: You had an apartment, right?

Rubens: The meeting was dismissed, and they went back to Art's apartment to strategize. Now, that's what I wanted to get at, the strategy.

A. Goldberg: Well—because it was like a SLATE house. We had these incredible parties, where hundreds of people would jam into this—

J. Goldberg: And the next morning, in addition to all the cups, there were several people there.

A. Goldberg: Yes, the people that were lost.

Rubens: [laughs] Say a couple more words about the parties. This is things people want to know. What kind of music were you listening to?

- A. Goldberg: There was no different—there wasn't, like, underground and above-ground; there was only the—
- Rubens: Rock 'n' roll.
- A. Goldberg: Yes. There was total unanimity on music. There was no discussion—
- Rubens: Some people were a little more into the black blues.
- A. Goldberg: That was part of it, too. I mean, there was no contradiction between rhythm and blues and rock 'n' roll. Maybe they were hardcore either way, but this was a total cross-over of—
- J. Goldberg: And Red Mountain wine.
- A. Goldberg: Yes.
- Rubens: What were they drinking?
- A. Goldberg: Red Mountain wine, and if you left it open, by the end of the evening it was vinegar.
- Rubens: People were not really smoking dope at this point.
- A. Goldberg: No, not yet.
- J. Goldberg: Not at these parties.
- A. Goldberg: No, no. That's true.
- Rubens: And are these mostly talking parties? Do people dance?
- A. Goldberg: Talking parties?
- J. Goldberg: We didn't talk.
- A. Goldberg: Sweating, jammed, dancing, fighting—lots of fights.
- Rubens: Drunken brawl kind of?
- A. Goldberg: No, no. That's a little overstated. Occasionally. But there was tensions. It was like a typical—you know, I hate to say this in these days, Berkeley was working class at one point, and the people that were active and their friends who came in from Oakland—a lot of black kids came—

- J. Goldberg: And also some kids from State, from San Francisco.
- A. Goldberg: Yes. That's true. San Francisco State. You know, it was really a totally different class thing.
- J. Goldberg: It wasn't rich.
- Rubens: Yes, yes, yes, yes. It wasn't elite.
- J. Goldberg: It was elite academically.
- A. Goldberg: Academically, yes. These were really working-class intellectuals. And, again, sixty-four dollars or whatever it was.
- J. Goldberg: Sixty-two fifty a semester.
- A. Goldberg: Whatever it was, it's a very cheap price. In fact, one of my good friends went to Berkeley and on the weekends he was a guard at San Quentin. That was not that unusual. Another guy we had we called The Worker. He would go to school, and then he would build houses all the time. I mean, people really were working class, not like today where, I'm sure, it's the top of the top because—
- A. Goldberg: Yes, yes. It's not quite that, but—
- J. Goldberg: It's pretty bad. I went into a couple of stores the last time I was in Berkeley, and I couldn't afford anything.
- A. Goldberg: Yes, yes. So it was heaven. If you were a radical—
- J. Goldberg: Even if you weren't.
- A. Goldberg: —a politically active person—even if you weren't—but it was ecstasy.
- Rubens: Now, you come in already knowing about Slate. You're already involved in politics more than Jackie?
- A. Goldberg: No, no, no.
- J. Goldberg: Oh, yes.
- A. Goldberg: I wasn't involved more than you. You were doing all this drop bomb shit.
- J. Goldberg: The fallout shelter [...].

- Rubens: Were you doing any civil rights stuff here in L.A.?
- A. Goldberg: Yes, I was some, yes. In fact, I learned my politics when this guy, who's still around, Woodrow Coleman, who is very active now in the bus riders union, which is a big thing in L.A. One of the biggest movements in L.A. is the bus riders union? They have big sit-ins and stuff to get better transportation. They forced the federal courts to try to get more money. They still haven't bought the buses, but he's—
- Rubens: And he's active in this?
- J. Goldberg: Yes. We met him in high school. Yes, he was in the CORE-NVAC [pronounced EN-vak] split. Remember when CORE split into the non-violent action committee
- A. Goldberg: Yes.
- J. Goldberg: And he took us along out of CORE with him into NVAC.
- A. Goldberg: Right.
- J. Goldberg: NVAC, the Non-Violent Action Committee. It was the folks who thought that CORE was—I don't even remember what the [story was about that?], but it was some split—I don't know. We followed him because we trusted Woody.
- Rubens: How old was he, about, compared to you?
- A. Goldberg: He was about ten years older, ten or fifteen. And the irony, the great irony is that my kids are friends—
- J. Goldberg: And my son.
- A. Goldberg: And Jackie's son are friends with his kid.
- J. Goldberg: His kid and my kid were for the first seven years of their lives in a babysitting co-op together.
- A. Goldberg: And they went to Santa Cruz together and were roommates, one of my sons. But then they had a falling out. It's better now. I never understood what that falling out was.
- J. Goldberg: I don't know.

- Rubens: So you have a mentor in a situation that sort of doesn't form you but gives you an opportunity to start thinking out your politics as Jackie did with Women for Peace?
- A. Goldberg: Yes, I had Woodrow, Woodrow Coleman. And every day I would go, in the summer—I think it was '62—to Torrance, where they had the [Delamel?] housing project, which would not sell to blacks, so I picketed them almost every day.
- J. Goldberg: I told her about the time you and I almost got arrested, but we got lost going there. Barbara had told us to come.
- A. Goldberg: Well, the first year—I think the first thing I ever did was with [D...ing?]. He was really a political activist at one time. It was a [Scribner's?] [drive-in?]. It was a protest about not hiring blacks. I think that was in '61 in L.A.
- J. Goldberg: That was with Woody, too.
- A. Goldberg: Was he there, too?
- J. Goldberg: Yes, he was involved.
- Rubens: Scribner's is the name?
- A. Goldberg: That was a big thing in L.A. because on [KRLA?], which was the black radio station, was Johnny Otis and all of them used to tell everyone—and there was this disk jockey who I can't remember—always go to Scribner's drive-in. Dinner, you know. So this was a hard thing for me to go picket, this restaurant.
- Rubens: I wonder why Johnny Otis would say—I mean—
- J. Goldberg: They were reading a script. They didn't know about what was going on
- A. Goldberg: They weren't promoting it for consciously bad reasons.
- J. Goldberg: Reading a script. You know how radio advertising is. You get a script; you read it into the microphone
- Rubens: Well, you don't ask her, "Is this okay?" You end up at Berkeley, and there you are.
- J. Goldberg: Oh, I was horrified.

- Rubens: Were you?
- J. Goldberg: [laughs] I was absolutely horrified. I said, "Oh, Jesus."
- Rubens: And you go—one more question about why you go. Why history? What drew you particularly?
- A. Goldberg: I think if you're a radical, history is a good subject. You get to read about all this stuff.
- Rubens: Were there any—[Ken Stamp?]-I don't know if there was anybody in particular there—
- A. Goldberg: I didn't have enough consciousness intellectually—
- Rubens: Okay.
- J. Goldberg: —to name you a single person.
- Rubens: But you knew you wanted to be a teacher.
- A. Goldberg: Yes, that was my first choice, and my second choice was a lawyer.
- Rubens: Okay, okay. I thought you were an ed major.
- A. Goldberg: At the very end, the last year. I never got beyond a couple of weeks at one time.
- Rubens: Because one of the things that doesn't bear on our talk here, but I'm interested—I said that, you know, doing these oral histories to really get at some of the eddies that have never been filled in. And one of them is the ongoing discourse about educational reform. There was a lot already going on, and I just wondered if you had any people in the ed department.
- A. Goldberg: I was the last person in the world that was interested in education reform. I thought this was heaven. I could never understand why people didn't want to go to a class with five hundred to a thousand people—
- Rubens: I understand that.
- A. Goldberg: —because you could get up and give little political raps. You know, it was so much easier to organize a big factory than a little factory. And all these little factories —fucking elite. They sit around and intellectually masturbate, reading books and writing papers. Oh! I thought Berkeley was just great because it had thousands of people streaming through

Sather Gate. I would be in awe that these people were ripe to be organized. So that's my feeling about education reform.

The last—Jackie was—because Jackie was more interested in school. I mean in the sense of traditionally more interested. I liked the ideas, and I would sit on the terrace with all the people like Jackie and my other friends. But they usually read the shit, and I would learn it from them by bullshitting with them.

Rubens: All right. So shall we just jump ahead? Because I want to promise that I move you ahead.

[Tape Interruption]

A. Goldberg: Everything was just beginning to percolate a bit.

Person B: I'm curious as to how you maneuvered there. I mean, who did you meet? How did you get involved?

A. Goldberg: Well, there was a group called SLATE. I went to the first meeting of SLATE, and within two—it was, like, forty-five or fifty people then. The vote was, like, twenty-five to twenty-two to continue SLATE. They were going to vote itself—I said, "Oh, fuck! I come all the way here," and I fanatically threw myself in. I said, "I'll sit at a table every noon. I'll recruit people," you know? I was—the terminology today: I was down! We didn't use that then. But I was down!

Rubens: Boy, I don't know that history. Was it that close a vote?

A. Goldberg: Oh, yes! And I said, "Oh, please!" I got up and said, "Here. You tell me what you want to do. Just don't vote yourself out of existence!"

Rubens: I guess they had gone through some pretty hard times.

A. Goldberg: Yes. That was actually—when they voted—this vote took place a little bit before that, but Ken Cloak was god to me, when he got kicked out, that was a crusher to me.

Oh, I saw these old Slate-ites, and I was this total neophyte. I said, "That's Ken Cloak!" And then later this book scandal. Oh, God. I can't tell you how excited I was to be there. This is every—you know, what a period of history! We could change the world, and I knew—I intuitively knew that if we could find the right issue at the right time, we could get lots more people to be involved. It was just in the air.

- Rubens: And your issue came.
- A. Goldberg: Oh! Without the administration, none of us would be here. Thank God. If we had paid them—they were so incompetent! You know, years later Governor Brown told me—Pat Brown—that the reason they arrested us at Sproul Hall was they had totally erroneous information—he did—and he apologized for the arrests because they were told that we were looting the files.
- He said that was one of the biggest mistakes of his life, and I said, "Pat, dude," and I gave him a kiss. I did. I said, "Thank you. You'll never know how you changed history. You played a great role. You should not feel bad about that at all. Without you getting the wrong information and ordering the troops in, who knows what would have happened?"
- Rubens: You know, you've been reading Clark Kerr's memoirs?
- J. Goldberg: I finished it.
- Rubens: It's going to quite—
- J. Goldberg: It's unbelievable. It's just Strong's fault. Everything is Strong's fault! "I didn't do any of this!" And the other thing is that he just completely apologizes for all of the mistakes he made. "I should have taken the decision out of Strong's hands. I shouldn't have gone along with it." You know, I mean, he's just so remorseful.
- A. Goldberg: Whoever fucked up, you can never thank them enough.
- J. Goldberg: It was really painful to read it. It was so filled with remorse.
- Rubens: I've been working with the woman who was really helping him get it together, and so I ask that question constantly. You know, who really called the police? Not that it matters, in a certain sense, but—
- A. Goldberg: Brown says he ordered it.
- Rubens: But Strong asked him to.
- A. Goldberg: I'm not saying that. But Brown says that he was called at night, and this is from his lips. He said—he sought me out at a party—
- J. Goldberg: I think it was our cousin's party.

A. Goldberg: Yes, yes. He was apologizing, and I said, "No, no." And he said, "And I got this information." And I said, "Okay, you can go ahead and arrest." I said, "Oh, my God!"

Rubens: Okay. Well, what we wanted to get to is some of those early days. He was saying he just thought the time was ripe.

A. Goldberg: Potentially ripe.

J. Goldberg: Well, there was no way in the world we would have ever organized that many people into doing anything without the help of the university. We were virtually not anywhere near good enough.

Rubens: Well, they played their role perfectly.

What happened when you got that letter? Who made the first move to get people—

J. Goldberg: We did. We divided the list up. He took the left, and I took the right because I was in a sorority.

A. Goldberg: I don't remember any of this. I trust her, because I have no memory. It's not because I smoked that much dope. I just don't have that memory

Rubens: So you just made a list—

[cross-talk]

J. Goldberg: That's exactly what happened. We divided it up. He took all the left, and I took all the right, at which time we had the meeting at your house.

A. Goldberg: Yes, yes. About 80 percent of the people came.

J. Goldberg: Pretty much all came, because we were all in the same boat. See, the one thing that we were never in was the same boat.

Some of us were legit Democrat, Republican Party affiliates. Some of us were a little further out liberals, Women for Peace maybe. What's wrong with peace? What's wrong with women? And then the DeBois Club Socialist, Communist whatever. And the very far right. We had nothing in common except that we were all political. They gave us the reason to be in common. They said, "You're extinct. You're gone. You're outta here." Not just me, but "all of you."

Rubens: Made you a club.

- J. Goldberg: They made us a club, exactly.
- Rubens: So you had this first meeting at his apartment.
- A. Goldberg: I have no memory of about 90 percent of this. Really, I have no memory.
- Rubens: And so what happened? Did you—
- J. Goldberg: Well, it was a very intense and long meeting because these were not people who liked being in the same room together. And I was chosen to be the first spokesperson, and I was chosen because I was in a sorority. I mean, people were real clear. We couldn't be all bad because I was in a sorority, and I was wearing a dress, and I was wearing nylons then.
- Rubens: You couldn't be all bad, the thought was—
- J. Goldberg: Thought the right wing. The left wing, of course, never trusted me at all. But at the time what we needed was the right wing. So grudgingly the left agreed, thinking well, maybe, as Art's sister he would have influence over me.
- A. Goldberg: Do you think that was true?
- J. Goldberg: Oh, absolutely. I mean, take a look at the three women who were in the leadership. There was Herb Aptheker's daughter, there was Mario Savio's girlfriend—And there was Art Goldberg's sister. We all had male credentials. There was not a single woman in the leadership who didn't have male credentials.
- Rubens: Is she there in the beginning, Suzanne?
- A. Goldberg: I don't know—
- Rubens: I didn't think so.
- J. Goldberg: No, no, no, no. She comes in much later.
- Rubens: I want to know when you first see her.
- J. Goldberg: I'm saying, we were the three women in the leadership, and we had credentials.
- Rubens: Of course. One other question: No thought ever of going through ASUC?
- J. Goldberg: No.

- A. Goldberg: Because at that time it was very conservative. There was this guy named, who later became congressperson?
- J. Goldberg: Mel Levine.
- A. Goldberg: Who I used to have these terrible fights with. He was kind of a moderate to conservative Republican.
- J. Goldberg: No, he was a Democrat.
- A. Goldberg: No, he wasn't then, Jackie. I'm 90 percent sure.
- J. Goldberg: Always a Democrat.
- A. Goldberg: Really?
- J. Goldberg: He was maybe a conservative Democrat.
- A. Goldberg: Anyway, so we used to have these fights all the time. So it was useless to deal with him.
- J. Goldberg: None of us ever thought.
- Rubens: No. The thing that's kind of interesting—I mean, it speaks to that SLATE was coming to an end, because the year before they were still trying to take—
- A. Goldberg: Well, we still ran candidates. I agree with that.
- Rubens: I understand.
- A. Goldberg: And we won bigger than we ever did, the semester—
- Rubens: —of FSM, yes.
- A. Goldberg: No, no. I think you have a too dichotomized approach or whatever. You agitate outside, and you run candidates to build a mass base inside. I don't think that's a contradiction.
- J. Goldberg: I ran for sorority rep once.
- A. Goldberg: And you still were running.
- J. Goldberg: I didn't win, but it was a lot of fun, yes. [laughs]

- A. Goldberg: The only story I can tell you about running for office is really interesting, is the semester before Free Speech Movement, SLATE did terrible, had one of its worst things. And one of the big debates in Slate was whether Bettina Aptheker should run, and I said, "Absolutely. Who gives a shit?" You know? And she got killed.
- Rubens: Was she red baited?
- A. Goldberg: Oh, yes, she was red baited, yes. And it hurt SLATE generally. But, that's life in urban areas.
- J. Goldberg: And I don't remember this.
- A. Goldberg: I do, yes. That's one of the instances I remember because there was a real division in SLATE over that. Not real, but it was—You know who was on the other side of all these issues, was this guy that owns Rolling Stone, [Jan Winter?].
- Rubens: Yes, Jan Winter.
- A. Goldberg: He was active in the more conservative part of SLATE at that time. Yes. So anyway, I don't know if he's active in this exact issue, but he was one of the more moderate Slate members. So SLATE and politics on campus was very low the semester of the Free Speech Movement.
- It was like it wasn't sure all the sit-ins were going, and there was—I think it had come to a dead end partly—
- J. Goldberg: Well, there was a lot of energy around civil rights.
- Rubens: You guys didn't go South that summer, right?
- A. Goldberg: Never went South.
- J. Goldberg: I started to go.
- A. Goldberg: Did you?
- J. Goldberg: Yes, I did. I started to go, but I was too young.
- Rubens: I was going to say. My parents wouldn't let me go.
- J. Goldberg: No, we didn't ask our parents.
- Rubens: [laughs]

- J. Goldberg: But I got rejected.
- Rubens: They rejected you.
- J. Goldberg: Well, they said that if—remember, twenty-one was majority, and I wasn't twenty-one, and they said, "Juvenile Hall, we can't bail you out if you get arrested."
- Rubens: So you wanted to go, and you—
- A. Goldberg: Never seriously thought of it because I was selling SLATE supplement ads and organizing for the next semester. I felt there was a lot of work that had to be done—I always felt that, by the way.
- Rubens: Yes.
- A. Goldberg: I'm just saying—
- J. Goldberg: I got captivated. I wanted to go.
- A. Goldberg: No, I'm not putting that down.
- J. Goldberg: No, but I'm saying—
- A. Goldberg: Wendell went, Wendell [Gruber?] went. One of my roommates went.
- Rubens: Was he your roommate?
- A. Goldberg: Yes. Yes, Wendell was my roommate, at our house in Berkeley.
- Rubens: So there we are in the first meeting, back to the first meeting. Now, that's one of our questions. I mean, were you aware of women in the support leadership?
- J. Goldberg: Oh, yes. Oh, yes.
- A. Goldberg: The women did all the shit work. They ran the bureaucracy. A lot of it, not all of it, but at least 50 percent of it. And they had no status as speakers.
- J. Goldberg: It was a lot more than fifty. Seventy-five percent.
- Rubens: One of the exciting things that we just come upon are both the surveys that were given to all the arrestees and then—

- J. Goldberg: John Legett surveys?
- Rubens: Yes.
- J. Goldberg: See, that's how I paid for my last year. I coded those [laughs].
- Rubens: Oh, you did? And then [Cathy Frank?], who was—Cathy Frank just donated those to the—
- J. Goldberg: That's great.
- Rubens: I'm the head of the Free Speech Movement project.
- A. Goldberg: Oh, that new thing on campus?
- Rubens: Yes.
- A. Goldberg: Far out! That's great.
- Rubens: And she's doing oral histories for the project.
- A. Goldberg: Oh, that's great.
- Rubens: And I am an historian. Anyway, but, I mean, I think we're really doing a good job of really trying to uncover stuff and really get stuff.
- A. Goldberg: Sounds like you're doing a good job.
- J. Goldberg: I was selected to be the first spokesperson for two reasons: One, the right wing thought I maybe wouldn't be terrible, and because of Art, the left was grudgingly willing to go along, and I knew Dean Catherine Towle. It was her signature, though she—from the first moment I got the letter, I called her immediately, and she said, "This is the worst thing I've ever had to do. I wish had retired last year. I never wanted any part of this. There's absolutely no excuse for ending the free speech tradition at Bancroft and Telegraph. I was told that if I didn't sign the letter by Strong that I would be fired immediately. And I have one more year before I retire, and so I signed it, and I regret it." And she came and testified at my sentencing hearing.
- A. Goldberg: Oh, wow.
- J. Goldberg: We were friends.
- A. Goldberg: That's great.

J. Goldberg: We are friends. In fact, throughout most of the Free Speech Movement, she told me what they were planning, and I never divulged that she—

A. Goldberg: She was Deep Throat.

J. Goldberg: She was Deep Throat. I never told what my sources were, but I got the information from somebody about what they were planning, because she had always developed a relationship with students, always. And she really hated it.

So I went to see her on behalf of them. That was my job was to do. And she privately told me all of this and then publicly had to say, "Well, this is the rule and you've got to obey it."

The earliest days, the biggest job was keeping us together. And I'm trying to think of the sort of centrist liberal Republican who really did the best job at the right wing, and I'm blanking on his name, but he was wonderful. He really was wonderful. He kept the conservatives in the longest of anybody. There was a split finally around the police car. This one guy denounced us in front of Clark Kerr.

A. Goldberg: It was after the negotiations? See, I didn't know any of the negotiation stuff.

J. Goldberg: Just terrible.

Rubens: Now, did he represent a group?

J. Goldberg: Yes, he was the Californians for [Barry] Goldwater. He was just terrible. But there was a guy who was in the more moderate wing, the Young Republicans, I think it was. He was fantastic. He managed to keep the coalition whole for longer than I would have thought possible, by talking to people individually, by telling them how important this was to all of us. He would argue that you couldn't let the left be the only people who cared about these things. You know? He had a different argument for each person that he had to talk to. He was really brilliant. And I can't think of his name. He was really something. I was really impressed with him.

Rubens: When were you aware of Mario? When did Mario start?

J. Goldberg: The first time he opens his mouth.

A. Goldberg: Yes.

Rubens: And is it at your house? Is it that early?

- J. Goldberg: No. On Sproul Hall steps.
- A. Goldberg: Early on, he became active, yes. I don't remember the first day, but—
- J. Goldberg: I don't think we met the first day.
- A. Goldberg: Maybe he wasn't.
- J. Goldberg: I think he wasn't back from the South. Remember, this all happened before school that term.
- Rubens: September. All right.
- A. Goldberg: Yes. But as soon as he became active, he really was—
- J. Goldberg: An extraordinary speaker.
- A. Goldberg: And a character, too.
- J. Goldberg: Yes. But he was an extraordinary speaker.
- Rubens: When did it fall apart? What were the first signs that this nice Republican man wasn't going to be able to—
- J. Goldberg: It was the police car. It was the police car.
- A. Goldberg: How do you remember all of this?
- J. Goldberg: Well, because—and actually we kept a remarkable amount of the groups in, all the way to the arrests.
- A. Goldberg: I thought we did.
- J. Goldberg: No, there was a small group of the most reactionary—
- A. Goldberg: Oh, who left. But the moderates—
- J. Goldberg: Everybody else stayed.
- A. Goldberg: Yes.
- Rubens: But in the meantime—I thought this was what you were getting at—in the meantime, there was some shifting in terms of who would be on the steering committee.

- J. Goldberg: Oh, yes. I got purged right after the police car.
- A. Goldberg: But I got purged later.
- A. Goldberg: And then was reinstated, due to popular demand.
- Rubens: Now, she was not reinstated, and this was one of the stories we wanted to get at. You were the one who posed it, particularly. Didn't you threaten that if she wasn't reinstated you would—
- J. Goldberg: Pull SLATE out.
- A. Goldberg: And also physically threatened two or three.
- J. Goldberg: Yes! [Laughs]
- A. Goldberg: I was going to beat the shit out of—[laughs].
- Rubens: Tell me about—
- Rubens: Speak a little more to that, especially why were you purged?
- J. Goldberg: I was purged because I won the debate in the negotiations with Clark Kerr. Mario and a couple of others were really unhappy that I won. I won because up till then we had been five hundred people—
- A. Goldberg: At the most.
- J. Goldberg: —at the most. That's probably too high an estimate.
- A. Goldberg: Yes.
- J. Goldberg: But let's say five hundred. Now there were, like, five or six thousand people, and I kept saying over and over again, We don't know who these people are. We don't necessarily represent them. This is the Oakland Police. We've been in here for forty-two hours. People did not understand civil disobedience. They don't know how to protect their heads. They don't know how to protect themselves. Someone could die here. And we had one ultra-leftist in the group who I now think was a cop and whose name I can't remember, who kept saying, "A martyr is good for the movement," and I said, "You go be the martyr, but I feel responsible for these folks out here, and if Kerr has offered us a way to leave"—we didn't know there was no faculty committee on student conduct, but he thought there was. We thought there was. And I really felt a responsibility. I said, "If we have guns and they have guns and people die, I understand

this, but we're just going to get slaughtered out in this open pavement by people who have absolutely no concern for our well-being whatsoever." They had a phalanx of motorcycles. They were going to just drive over us. I think somebody would have been seriously hurt, if not killed. I didn't feel like those folks sitting there had made that kind of commitment.

[Tape 2]

- Rubens: We might seal this part of the interview, just for the next few years.
- A. Goldberg: I'm serious, because Jackie had done great work in organizing people. She was always there. And I can honestly—now that I hear your analysis, I may have disagreed with some of it, but who cares?
- Rubens: Yes. We're not doing analysis.
- J. Goldberg: The charge wasn't that I was wrong.
- A. Goldberg: Yes, that you were a sell-out.
- J. Goldberg: The charge was I was specifically ingratiating myself to the president of the university.
- Rubens: Who makes this charge?
- J. Goldberg: Mario Savio.
- Rubens: Mario.
- A. Goldberg: Oh, yes. Mario and Jack Weinberg
- Rubens: Apologetically?
- J. Goldberg: No.
- A. Goldberg: Weinberg didn't?
- J. Goldberg: Weinberg wasn't there. He was in the police car. He did not come after me.
- A. Goldberg: No, no. I meant at the meeting afterwards.
- J. Goldberg: At the meeting it was Mario—
- A. Goldberg: Who else?

- J. Goldberg: I think it was Sid Stapelton
- A. Goldberg: Really? Sid? God!
- J. Goldberg: Sid thought that—he didn't say I had ingratiated myself—He didn't say it. The only person who said I ingratiated myself was Mario.
- A. Goldberg: Yes, yes.
- J. Goldberg: Other people thought I was not in tune enough with the program. There were different reasons for different people.
- Rubens: Bettina. Did she say something particularly?
- J. Goldberg: Bettina never—didn't speak up on this.
- Rubens: Suzanne. Was she around at that point?
- J. Goldberg: Suzanne was just coming in—
- Rubens: I thought she was just coming around, yes.
- A. Goldberg: See, what really happened to me here: it was the end of me, too, in a sense because I would never trust them again. They obviously didn't trust me, even though I was a very known person.
- J. Goldberg: I'd go a little further than that. If you had pulled out publicly, there wouldn't have been a Free Speech Movement.
- A. Goldberg: Well, I don't know about that.
- J. Goldberg: I believe that, because SLATE—not because you personally—SLATE would have followed you.
- A. Goldberg: Yes, yes.
- J. Goldberg: And SLATE was absolutely essential to this, absolutely. We're talking about October.
- Rubens: Were there women in SLATE at all?
- A. Goldberg: Oh, yes.
- J. Goldberg: Yes, sure.

A. Goldberg: There was a woman chairperson at SLATE.

J. Goldberg: Sure.

[Cross-talk]

A. Goldberg: This is what drove me absolutely crazy. What happened during this, and I'm sure it happens in every movement and especially in the middle to the later stages, is that people became politicized. They became sort of like super militants. And nothing—I was more intolerant of that kind of personality thing than ever. They really would say at meetings, before I was purged, during the time I was going—you know, they had these meetings at four o'clock in the morning. How could you be a student? I said, "What are you people doing? You have nothing else to do in your life but to meet about bullshit things?" Well anyway, that didn't win me over, either. But they would come in there, and near the end, too, the last things—they were revolutionaries, and they thought that they were in a revolutionary—

J. Goldberg: This was the revolution.

A. Goldberg: —and I said, "Does this mean that the army or navy is coming over to our side first? I mean, I want to know. If it's the navy, we're near the Bay Area"—

Rubens: Did Mario really identify himself as a revolutionary?

A. Goldberg: I'm going to tell you the total truth. Maybe I shouldn't because I don't want it to be—well this is all part of the public record now. It was not evident to a lot of people then.

It was more and more evident to me. I liked him. I had been friends with him before in SLATE. And tragically it became more clear because he was back at UCLA in the most serious mental ward years later.

J. Goldberg: He showed up on my doorstep.

A. Goldberg: Yes.

J. Goldberg: And I took him in.

A. Goldberg: So this was the first sign. And people around him could use that in a way because he was the most charismatic person. You know, it's not like a revolution, but I guess it probably would happen in the Soviet Union, you know? Because he was ultra-Democratic and totally fair, even though he

had these emotional problems. But he was fed, and certainly about me, after Jackie went, that I was out to get him, that "Don't trust Art at all"—whatever reasons—and the more tensions and pressure, being in the middle of this—people were threatening to kill him. This is a period—I don't know if you people—you, probably, because you've been studying it—but they did a poll. Ninety-five percent of the state was against anything in the Free Speech Movement. And so there was an enormous amount of shit going on, and it played out to the psychiatric problems that were just beginning to show up.

J. Goldberg: And we were followed. And our phones were tapped.

A. Goldberg: Yes.

Rubens: Have you ever written away, by the way—this is parenthetically—for your—

J. Goldberg: Yes.

Rubens: Have you gotten them?

J. Goldberg: Yes.

Rubens: Okay. It's a story I'll tell you about later.

A. Goldberg: Anyway, so this was going on, and I felt utterly depressed. I had an intuitive sense of that, and I would take—

Rubens: Is there a little compelling nature to someone? I mean, I'm projecting now, so stop me if I'm wrong. But when you're around people that you just know are slightly fragile and there's something—you've got this intuitive sense—they have an extra power, and the power isn't just because they're articulate?

A. Goldberg: Yes, they do with me, because I was so hurt and so devastated emotionally about being purged that any of my intuitive sense went away. I always felt my world had come to an end when I was purged later on. I went to a meeting, and they announced at the meeting—because I didn't go to these meetings on time or stay to the end—and there was all this group of people who had only suddenly become active in the last period of time, and they announced that you were voted off at the steering committee meeting when you weren't there! So I wasn't really like—I was fighting angry with Jackie. I was manically depressed when I was purged.

So at that point, I was so hurt and so angry at this shit that it was hard for me to be compassionate. It was only later, when I had more distance, that I became compassionate.

Rubens: I'm not speaking about compassion. I'm speaking about a kind of lack of awareness that there might be this fragility, that other people also—

J. Goldberg: Did other people know that Mario was unbalanced?

A. Goldberg: No, I don't think so.

J. Goldberg: There was a hero worship.

Rubens: And sometimes those cults are born of a kind of power and radiance that got behind it, a mania.

J. Goldberg: But there was a hero worship about most of the men.

Rubens: Well, that's what I want to get to.

J. Goldberg: It wasn't just Mario. You had your little groupies. I mean, they—

A. Goldberg: After years, when I knew he had psychiatric problems, people would ask me, "How is Mario Savio doing?" and I would say, "Well, I think he's dropped out for a while. He's getting some kind of credential." Because I still felt—

J. Goldberg: We were all protective.

A. Goldberg: —a loyalty to him.

A. Goldberg: But I didn't at the moment of being purged.

Rubens: Of course not.

You're just right at the beginning of a topic I want to explore a little more, but I want to just give you equal time. Now, are you as emotionally hurt? You're certainly upset that you're purged.

J. Goldberg: I think I was less upset about being purged than being accused of being a sell-out.

Rubens: And did you have your defenders?

J. Goldberg: I had defenders, but I asked them not to defend me.

- Rubens: And why?
- J. Goldberg: I thought we were at a very fragile time, and I wanted to do living group speaking, which is what I did for most of the rest of the time, and we never made public that I was purged.
- I didn't want it public. I didn't want to have a fight over it. I never brought it to the executive committee. I just became an executive committee member. It was a conscious decision. And this was the value of being in the sorority because I had a place to go and people to be with—and it was not the only people I had. And I also had inspired the people that—I also had spider magazine,
- A. Goldberg: Good friends.
- Rubens: Now, is this when he's threatening, though, to—
- J. Goldberg: Yes.
- Rubens: And so what went on? Just say a little something about it.
- J. Goldberg: And I said to you that I didn't want you to—
- A. Goldberg: I don't remember all the dynamics. I just remember the emotional stuff.
- J. Goldberg: No, I remember. You were fighting mad.
- A. Goldberg: That I remember.
- J. Goldberg: And I said to you that this was more important than that, and it was okay, that we would find a way to fix it later. I wasn't going to forget about they called me a sell-out. And you apologized. I got the letter, one of the four letters. He said—"You ingratiated yourself. You did a piss poor job." So [laughs], I guess I was wrong.
- A. Goldberg: The good thing about Mario: even during this little unbalanced period, if you could get him alone—
- J. Goldberg: Yes, it never happened.
- A. Goldberg: I remember during the fuck thing, when I said, "Fuck." He was in jail, because he was in contempt of court, and the first thing he said to me, even though we hadn't talked for a long time because of this bitterness over all this stuff, he said, "Damn, Art, I'm really pissed off. If I was there, I would have loved to say, 'fuck this,' just scream and get arrested

with you,' and I was in jail at the time. So that was his strength. He was such an open—

J. Goldberg: Yes, he was a good guy.

A. Goldberg: —good person. It's when he went into this other world, which was really—it wasn't like he was really at an uncontrollable psychiatric place then, but if you looked at him, you could see he had the potential for moving to that place, and I was never shocked—well, he had some other terrible events in his life that also probably pushed him along the edge.

J. Goldberg: His son.

A. Goldberg: But that was the beginning of that kind of just not that he was there, but you could see the vibes that it was possible.

Rubens: So this is exactly the word I want to stay with, vibes and groupies and social power that is born of something that isn't so easy to identify. This is right what—when you said he had his groupies, everyone has their groupies.

J. Goldberg: Not the women.

Rubens: Right. I was going to ask, did any of the women? Now, Mike Rossman had his groupies.

A. Goldberg: Yes.

Rubens: Brad Cleaveland had his groupies. Brad Cleaveland and Mike Rossman seemed to be quite at odds with each other, and they have different stories about the same thing. The truth of that doesn't matter as much as that it's a portrait into something. At some point—

A. Goldberg: David Goines had his groupies?

J. Goldberg: No. In the first draft of his book, he put me as one of them. [laughter] I had to tell him that that wasn't true.

A. Goldberg: Yes, I never read anything on the Free Speech Movement.

Rubens: But tell me a little bit about these groupies.

A. Goldberg: What do you mean by groupies?

J. Goldberg: Well, the men became heroes.

Rubens: Of course.

A. Goldberg: That's true.

J. Goldberg: They became media heroes. They became media stars.

A. Goldberg: That's true. That's true. That part's true.

J. Goldberg: Their social lives went off the charts.

A. Goldberg: That's true.

Rubens: Girls are after them.

A. Goldberg: That's true. The groupies, I thought, meant a certain group specifically.

J. Goldberg: No, no, no. A group of women—

A. Goldberg: The modern definition of that I agree with.

Rubens: It is a rock 'n' roll cultural definition, not an ideological one.

A. Goldberg: I define it as that we became the star quarterback.

J. Goldberg: Exactly.

A. Goldberg: That's exactly right. Ironically—

J. Goldberg: Big Men on Campus.

A. Goldberg: Because I played football with Larry Baliette [sp?] who really helped us, was one of the—I played with them at Morningside High School.

Rubens: And who's Larry?

A. Goldberg: He didn't play any role in this; he just helped us the night that the fraternities came, to attack the cars, because I knew those people. I went out and negotiated with them eventually to go home.

Rubens: I thought you were the one who did that.

A. Goldberg: Yes.

Rubens: Did you know Mike Smith?

- A. Goldberg: Oh, yes, yes. But so I'm just saying—and the head cheerleader. What was his name?
- J. Goldberg: Oh, I can't remember.
- A. Goldberg: At Berkeley was also—and I worked out where we would do on Fridays, before the Cal games, we would do the cheers for the Cal football team, and he would lead the cheers for the Free Speech Movement.
- J. Goldberg: We were all going to the football games during all of this.
- Rubens: You were all going?
- A. Goldberg: I didn't go. She went to more than—I went to some.
- Rubens: Why?
- J. Goldberg: Because I lived near the bowl.
- Rubens: Why did you go?
- J. Goldberg: I like football.
- A. Goldberg: We grew up watching lots. And she still watches it.
- J. Goldberg: I'm still a football fan.
- Rubens: And are you saying that there were people at Berkeley who were on the football team that you knew from Morningside?
- A. Goldberg: I knew one. It was Larry Baliette, who was became All-Pac Eight defensive—you know—
- J. Goldberg: He wasn't the quarterback though.
- A. Goldberg: No, he wasn't. He was supposed to be. It was that guy, Billy Kilmer or something, who became one of the greatest foot—but he was recruited the first quarterback.
- Rubens: So was this a political strategy on your part?
- J. Goldberg: No. Just a good time.
- A. Goldberg: Just friendships. He would introduce me to other people.

- Rubens: These social networks. That's why I asked about Suzanne. I mean, I've had this sense that she waited to see who was the leader, and then that's when she came in.
- A. Goldberg: Do you think that's really true? I don't know.
- Rubens: I don't know. I wasn't there.
- J. Goldberg: I don't know.
- Rubens: It's something that I heard; it could have been malicious gossip.
- [Cross-talk]
- J. Goldberg: Our press was absolutely confused.
- Rubens: The press was confused.
- J. Goldberg: Because they thought that Suzanne Goldberg and Jackie Goldberg were the same person or a different people or maybe they weren't or maybe they were, and when Mario married her, they published it in the Chronicle that Suzanne Goldberg, comma, "Art's sister," married Mario Savio. Ah, jeez, I got all these letters and phone calls.
- Rubens: Now, one other thing about these social networks. Were you aware of women throwing themselves at Mario before her?
- J. Goldberg: Sure.
- Rubens: This was happening all along?
- J. Goldberg: Sure.
- Rubens: Desirable.
- J. Goldberg: They were All Stars. Twenty years later, Bettina and I talked about how the women were basically neutered.
- Rubens: Let's restate that.
- J. Goldberg: If they were in the leadership. We weren't the men, and we weren't the women.
- Rubens: You were neutered.

- J. Goldberg: And we both gave speeches about this, separate from each other, and didn't know it until we sat down and talked one evening. And both of us were using the same language and had the same experience and described it in the same way.
- Rubens: I think this is an important part. And if you don't mind me asking you some of these questions—I mean, were you interested in dating at that time?
- J. Goldberg: Oh, of course.
- Rubens: And were you doing—were there people that you dated?
- J. Goldberg: No. I had never had a great social life, but it went to zero when I became involved at the level of leadership of the Free Speech Movement.
- Rubens: Indeed you were neutered.
- J. Goldberg: It went to zero. It went from not great but occasional, to nothing—absolutely nothing.
- A. Goldberg: And I don't think Bettina had much of a social life.
- J. Goldberg: Well, she was married.
- A. Goldberg: Oh, she was married?
- Rubens: Was she married already?
- A. Goldberg: Boy, it shows you how sensitive I was!
- J. Goldberg: But she had the same response to her as a female, though.
- A. Goldberg: That's what I thought. Jack—
- J. Goldberg: Kurzweil
- Rubens: Jack the Red, we used to call him.
- A. Goldberg: Did you know him? Were you there?
- Rubens: Well, I was a fresh-person that year.
- A. Goldberg: Oh, a fresh-person. Oh, yes, right.

- Rubens: This is the non-sexist language now, rather than a freshman. That was why some of the things that I know about you I related to. I was only in the crowd. But, you know, I came from L.A., and I always—
- A. Goldberg: Oh, you came from L.A.? Everyone came from L.A., by the way. An enormous amount of the leadership, and everything was from L.A.
- Rubens: Say something more about that.
- A. Goldberg: Well, that's because what you did—
- Rubens: You got away from home.
- A. Goldberg: Some people went directly, who had more social confidence, and others went to UCLA for a couple of years because unlike, I understand, the UC system today, you can't just hop around. Once you're in one place, you can't go—in those days, you just transferred wherever you wanted to go to. There weren't the elite—it's terrible, when you think how bad it's become.
- Rubens: Well, there are other things, too. As outspoken and sort of independent as you seemed, it's interesting to hear you say that well, you weren't quite ready to get away from home that far.
- J. Goldberg: I was ready to go far away.
- Rubens: But no—, to live, I mean.
- A. Goldberg: But still, that's another stage.
- Rubens: There were strict rules if you were in a sorority or a dorm, you had to be in at eleven o'clock. There was lock-out.
- J. Goldberg: Well, if you didn't climb in the window. I lived on the fire escape. I learned that in my first year at SC. I lived on the fire escape.
- Rubens: There was a claim, at least by one of my interviewees, that a lot of the leadership was East Coast and Jewish.
- A. Goldberg: Well, I think there was more from L.A., at least the rank and file, and even some of the leadership. L.A.—this was when L.A. was really beginning to boom, too, so—
- J. Goldberg: I think it was much more L.A.

- A. Goldberg: Yes.
- J. Goldberg: And I said I thought everybody was either Catholic or Jewish. I didn't remember a Protestant the whole time.
- A. Goldberg: Yes, that's true. Most people were—
- Rubens: Kate Coleman has this great line, "I was Jewish, but I never used my hands and talked with that idiom until I got into the Free Speech Movement. That's when I learned how to be Jewish." [laughs] And, again, we're not talking about God or religion, but a cultural style.
- Is there anything else to say about the groupies? I mean, this is when birth control is not available. This is when kids are going to—
- J. Goldberg: Birth control was available.
- Rubens: Not easily.
- J. Goldberg: You could get it at Cowell Hospital.
- Rubens: Tell me about it.
- J. Goldberg: Let me tell you, I know you could because I was on it.
- Rubens: Pills.
- J. Goldberg: You could get birth control—
- Rubens: In '63, '64?
- J. Goldberg: You could get birth control pills.
- Rubens: And you know that for a fact.
- J. Goldberg: I know that for a fact.
- Rubens: I always thought women had to go to Planned Parenthood.
- J. Goldberg: Not if you were a student at Berkeley. You could get it at Cowell Hospital. Absolutely. I did. I know for a fact you could. Anyway, no, it wasn't a conscious decision. The problem was what category are you in? I mean, the women made the Kool-Aid, they handed out the leaflets, they ran everything in terms of all of the shit work, and they slept with the guys, okay? That's what a woman was, okay? The guys were the stars.

And so what's a woman in the leadership? She's not a guy, and she's not the girls.

Rubens: She's an anomaly.

J. Goldberg: You're just sort of there. And you got certainly a lot more respect when you spoke at an executive committee meeting. I mean, otherwise, we did skits for years after that about how a woman would make a suggestion at two o'clock in the afternoon on Saturday at a meeting, and four hours later a man would make the same suggestion and somebody finally heard it, you know. But if you were one of the leadership, you were heard the first time you said it, so there was some status associated with it. You got to know what was going on in a way they didn't. People took your ideas seriously, so there was that. But it cost you. The cost was you weren't one of the boys, and you weren't one of the girls. That was a big cost. Big cost. For me. It drove me out of Berkeley. I didn't apply to Berkeley for graduate school.

A. Goldberg: Oh, really? Is that the reason?

J. Goldberg: Yes. I wanted out. I figured I'd never have a social life again if I stayed in Berkeley.

Rubens: I wanted to know if there also was some homophobia. Were there charges, whispers?

J. Goldberg: I wasn't a lesbian. Neither was Bettina.

A. Goldberg: And even with Suzanne. So it wasn't—I think—

J. Goldberg: Was Suzanne a lesbian?

A. Goldberg: No, no, no, she isn't, no. Yes, but what I'm saying to you—I think—in order to be homophobic, you have to have consciousness about what homophobic means. This is pre—

J. Goldberg: If somebody who knew they were gay or lesbian, they—

Rubens: Never would mention it.

J. Goldberg: Nobody knew who they—

A. Goldberg: That's right. So you have—that assumes—

J. Goldberg: There was no homophobia.

- A. Goldberg: That assumes—
- J. Goldberg: No, this was strictly gender stuff
- A. Goldberg: I would have said, homophobic? What was that?
- J. Goldberg: This was strictly gender stuff. No, but you did a paper in high school on homosexuality.
- A. Goldberg: I did?
- J. Goldberg: Yes, you did.
- Rubens: Why?
- J. Goldberg: I don't know.
- A. Goldberg: I have no memory whatsoever. Maybe I—
- J. Goldberg: It was the first time I'd ever heard of the subject when I was editing your paper. That's what I did.
- Rubens: Why did he do it?
- J. Goldberg: I have no idea. It was an interesting paper.
- A. Goldberg: God! Isn't that an incredible? It's a good thing you have someone to keep your history for you.
- J. Goldberg: Yes!
- Rubens: I wonder if he had a good history teacher.
- J. Goldberg: No, it was for his English class.
- A. Goldberg: No, that was the woman who told me I would never—
- J. Goldberg: That was for French.
- A. Goldberg: Yes. She was a hippie.
- J. Goldberg: I think you did it as a challenge.
- A. Goldberg: You do?

- J. Goldberg: Yes.
- A. Goldberg: Since I have no memory of these events. But anyway, generally—
- J. Goldberg: We also had no sense of the feminist movement.
- Rubens: Or particularly of race issues. There were so few—
- J. Goldberg: There were much more issues, much more consciousness around race.
- Rubens: Yes, but were you looking for a black to promote as a leader or an Hispanic to bring in?
- A. Goldberg: No. No, because there weren't any blacks or Hispanics.
- J. Goldberg: I think I knew all the African Americans.
- A. Goldberg: There was fourteen blacks and Hispanics total. Any blacks that were there, I knew.
- J. Goldberg: Yes, I think we both—I think there was a James Reston, but that's not— Not the journalist James Reston. But I think that he was African American, yes. There were only about fourteen.
- A. Goldberg: You would know every black person. It was the simplest thing in the world.
- J. Goldberg: Yes, I think I knew every African American. I don't remember any Latinos. There were a couple of Asians.
- A. Goldberg: Yes, there were Asians.
- J. Goldberg: Patty Iiyama was a dear friend of mine, a dear friend of mine. In fact, I'd like to know where she is today. I've lost track of her.
- Rubens: If I find her, I'll give it to you her contact information.
- J. Goldberg: Oh, please.
- A. Goldberg: She was always in YSA [Young Socialist Alliance], wasn't she?
- J. Goldberg: No, she wasn't. She was—no, she was not YSA. No, that's Sid Stapleton.
- Rubens: She was an ASUC Senator.

- J. Goldberg: I know it wasn't YSA because she used to fight with the YSA.
- Rubens: I want to ask more about this groupie phenomena, and I want to ask also about how your activism effected your experience in classes and your relationship with professors.
- J. Goldberg: It cost me a lot with that. Because I was supposed to be—I was in honors thesis class, and I dropped out of it because my thesis advisor was the guy who called me a brown-shirted youth.
- Rubens: Who was that?
- J. Goldberg: Nathan Glazer.
- Rubens: Nathan Glazer. Oh, well, he ended up being—I mean, he was one of the most—
- J. Goldberg: He and Seymour Fascist, that's what we called Seymour Martin Lipset.
- A. Goldberg: We thought they were social Fascists. Bullshit.
- J. Goldberg: I used to call him Seymour Fascist.
- A. Goldberg: I called him a Social Fascist.
- J. Goldberg: I used to call him Mr. Lipshit to his face. Behind his—yes! He would correct me, and I would say, "I'm sorry, Lipsit." I'd always do it kind of like I didn't know what it was. But we used to call him Seymour Fascist Lipshit. That's what we called him.
- And Nathan Glazer was my thesis advisor, and I was in a senior honors seminar—
- Rubens: And he had supported you at some point or been some—
- J. Goldberg: We had gotten along very well.
- Rubens: He had been supportive of the civil rights efforts, the pickets at the Sheraton Palace, I think.
- J. Goldberg: Yes. Oh, yes.
- A. Goldberg: He would always be pro that.

- J. Goldberg: That's it, but that was it. He called me brown-shirted Nazi Youth, and I quit.
- Rubens: So that did cost you a lot.
- J. Goldberg: I said, "That's it. I'm outta here." I mean, we fought every time we saw each other, which was frequent, since he was my advisor! And I just said, "I don't need this."
- Rubens: Do you remember teachers that you particularly liked or TAs?
- J. Goldberg: Well, the person I got close to during this period was John Leggett, who I just admired tremendously and thought the world of. He ended up going to McGill [University], I think, after that.
- A. Goldberg: Yes, he went to Canada.
- J. Goldberg: Yes, yes. But he was really wonderful, and he was trying to show that we were not the dregs of the earth but the best and the brightest, which he kept calling us, you know. So he did a lot of research, and then he hired me when I was broke to do a lot of the coding for his study, which was all done—
- A. Goldberg: There was Peter Dale Scott. He was in the speech department. So I was good friends with him.
- J. Goldberg: We both like [Jacobus] ten Broek
- A. Goldberg: Yes, but I didn't know him, but I knew Scott.
- Rubens: When Roger Heyns became chancellor, that was a turning point, when—
- A. Goldberg: He kicked me out of school.
- J. Goldberg: I never liked him.
- Rubens: Then there is Michael Heyman, who chaired the Ad Hoc Academic Senate Committee on Student Suspensions. The Heyman Report was turned down by Kerr—I mean, that led to that first sit-in. I just wondered if you particularly liked Heyman.
- [Cross-talk]
- J. Goldberg: He was a cold fish. I never liked Strong, either.

- A. Goldberg: They were all Social Democrats.
- J. Goldberg: But until I read Kerr's book, I thought Strong was like Towle, because I knew Towle was being forced, and I thought Strong was being forced. I had no idea that he absolutely was loving this punitive attitude that he was doing. I just assumed. I didn't know him, so I just assumed that if Towle was being forced, he was being forced.
- A. Goldberg: The guy I knew well, was Arleigh Williams, the Dean of Men. He was a nice guy. He would not tell me inside stuff, so much about their strategy; he would tell me when I was going to get arrested: they got a warrant for my arrest. He would tell me to leave campus or go—you know—so I thought he was a nice person.
- Rubens: There's a nice oral history of him.
- A. Goldberg: Also, I liked 90 percent of the campus police—
- J. Goldberg: Yes, we got along really well.
- A. Goldberg: —who were really very favorable to a lot of us, but, again, if they thought the Alameda police or something were going to arrest us, they would often tell me, you know, "Don't come to campus today" or stuff. Not all of them, but there was enough of them who really—because in those days it was before them being police-police.
- J. Goldberg: Yes, campus cops were really friendly.
- A. Goldberg: They just worried if you were skateboarding or playing frisbee.
- J. Goldberg: Yes, right. Too close to—
- Rubens: I have heard that if you were found drunk, rather than citing you they would actually accompany you back to your room.
- A. Goldberg: That's right.
- A. Goldberg: Yes, that's right. Later, the campus police became like police-police.
- J. Goldberg: Right. They weren't Alameda County sheriffs or the city police.
- Rubens: We know there was a police rep from the city of Berkeley that was keeping notes, but I don't think we found those notes.

- J. Goldberg: Oh, he would come—they knew who he was. I mean, he would just stand—
- A. Goldberg: The Red Squad guy. He seemed to be at every meeting.
- Rubens: Yes, we haven't tracked—
- A. Goldberg: We used to talk to him. I'd say, "How are you doing?" And he would follow you wherever you were.
- J. Goldberg: The FBI came at some point, too, somewhere along—
- Rubens: There's no question that people like Max Rafferty and Ronald Reagan, and there were plenty of others, who believe the Communists were real a threat.
- A. Goldberg: But let me tell you, their strategy was perfect. They won. Reagan won. Reagan had it figured out. Maybe not him. He's not probably bright enough. But people around him said, "Go and attack the hippies at Berkeley." Do you know about one of the famous meetings? I don't know if you knew some of the later—well, this is not Free Speech Movement—
- Rubens: That's all right.
- J. Goldberg: This is more People's Park. During People's Park, they came to Ronald Dellums, and then John George, with whom I was really tight personally with—
- A. Goldberg: Forever. He was my lawyer, one of the worst lawyers in the world.
- Rubens: He wasn't a great supervisor, either, but he was a good guy!
- A. Goldberg: He was the sweetest—I used to go to the black meetings and stuff, so I'd hear these guys forever. They went—the administration went to the black community during People's Park—this shows you how the Bay Area is so groovy. Right. It's so political. And it got all the black leaders together and said—and this is really true—"We are going to pave People's Park" or whatever, "and we'll give you the revenue, like, for the parking if you"—I don't think they even asked them to denounce People's Park and basically the white kids, but "if you don't support them"—
- Rubens: Who's initiating this?
- A. Goldberg: The administration.

—you've got discrimination.

J. Goldberg: Right, sure.

A. Goldberg: Because the level of class consciousness—

Rubens: There was Tracy Sims, who was involved in the Auto Row demonstration; a leader of the Sheraton Palace sit-in the Spring before FSM.

J. Goldberg: She was one of my early heroes.

A. Goldberg: I would be shocked—I hope I'm wrong.

Rubens: That she's alive?

A. Goldberg: She was thought to be a heroin addict.

[Cross-talk]

J. Goldberg: She was great in jail.

A. Goldberg: So anyway, I don't know how we got off on that, but that was—

Rubens: Because I was talking about the Red Squad, the papers from—

A. Goldberg: Yes. I didn't care who followed us. Because we had a base, so let them come and follow us every day. We weren't [...] the L.A. people. We were mass organizers.

Rubens: And similarly, there were only a few known Communists who were active. And we thought the Communists were a little too much to the right anyway. It was hard to distinguish them from the Democratic party.

[Cross-talk]

A. Goldberg: I spent ninety days in jail basically because of the Communist Party. I was ready to join the DuBois Club. It was during 1964, after the Republican convention which we disrupted in San Francisco. We took on William Knowland because they hired no blacks. I and five or six other people jumped over the fence and got arrested early on, and we had been in this whole campaign against the Oakland trade union as racist. And the CP cut off the demonstrations and left us dangling because they didn't want to hurt [Lyndon B.] Johnson's chances against Goldwater.

J. Goldberg: I know. That's why we never joined the Party.

- A. Goldberg: And that was it for me. I wanted to join the Party.
- Rubens: Because you wanted to belong to an organization?
- A. Goldberg: I wanted to also because I liked their idea that they did mass work.
- J. Goldberg: Yes, yes, I liked that, too.
- A. Goldberg: But—and this one, guy, Myerson—
- Rubens: Mike Myerson.
- A. Goldberg: Yes. I said, "How can you do this?" Without batting an eye, they cut off the Ad Hoc Committee Against Discrimination. They in essence ended it.
- J. Goldberg: And it was wildly, widely successful.
- A. Goldberg: Wildly successful.
- J. Goldberg: It had local African American leaders.
- A. Goldberg: Yes. Really good leadership. And do nothing to encourage—
- J. Goldberg: Really good leadership.
- Rubens: I wondered why that just suddenly stopped.
- J. Goldberg: Yes.
- A. Goldberg: That's right. That was it.
- J. Goldberg: After Sheraton I and II and the demonstrations at the auto row and all—
- A. Goldberg: Oh, it was on a roll.
- J. Goldberg: On a roll, yes. And then suddenly it disappeared. And that was it.
- A. Goldberg: That was it. So that ended my—
- J. Goldberg: Me, too.
- A. Goldberg: It probably ended me forever wanting to belong to any left party.
- J. Goldberg: Yes, neither of us did.

- Rubens: Well, you see, that's what's so extraordinary about that whole movement, that it had that inchoate consensus, New Left dimension to it.
- J. Goldberg: It wasn't New Left in the sense that it repudiated leadership. It did not repudiate leadership.
- A. Goldberg: That's true. That's absolutely correct. That was later, when—
- [cross-talk]
- Rubens: Speak to that a little bit.
- J. Goldberg: Well, I think part of what the New Left did that made me always distance myself in part from it was that it said that leadership in essence was always elitist, and we grew up with—
- Rubens: Who was making that charge?
- J. Goldberg: SDS [Students for a Democratic Society], primarily. Our mother to this day believes leadership is everything.
- A. Goldberg: I agree with that.
- J. Goldberg: And I agree with that.
- A. Goldberg: And, boy, you ask anyone in education—and Jackie one of my kids is now teaching and has a great principal. If you have a great principal—
- J. Goldberg: Everything is going to be fine.
- A. Goldberg: Everything's going to be fine at your school.
- J. Goldberg: Yes, leadership is everything.
- Rubens: That's what we're saying. Thank God for Kerr.
- [Cross-talk]
- J. Goldberg: There's a difference between someone being in charge and thinking they're a king or a queen—
- A. Goldberg: That's correct.
- J. Goldberg: And that's not good leadership at all.

- A. Goldberg: Yes, yes.
- J. Goldberg: That's just power. But leadership is essential, and that's why I never joined SDS. And it was big in Chicago when I went.
- A. Goldberg: Oh, that's right. It was never big in Berkeley.
- J. Goldberg: Really big in Chicago. When I went to Chicago after this, it was huge, and—
- Rubens: How did you get to Chicago?
- J. Goldberg: I picked the school I didn't think he could get into.
- A. Goldberg: No, you're kidding.
- J. Goldberg: It's absolutely true.
- A. Goldberg: You really just—no, come on!
- J. Goldberg: Let me tell you. The Filthy Speech stuff made me want to get away.
- A. Goldberg: It really did.
- J. Goldberg: Because what you said when I got you out of jail was, "Why didn't you stop me?"
- A. Goldberg: I did?
- J. Goldberg: Yes. And I thought: I don't want to be in charge of your life.
- A. Goldberg: But I also know that I felt terrible.
- J. Goldberg: You did, of course.
- A. Goldberg: Oh.
- J. Goldberg: And I wouldn't have stopped you if you had asked.
- A. Goldberg: So stupid.
- J. Goldberg: I wouldn't have stopped you.
- A. Goldberg: —this guy holding up a little sign.

- J. Goldberg: It said, "FUCK."
- A. Goldberg: It said, "FUCK," and I was pissed off they arrested him.
- J. Goldberg: Yes, yes.
- [Cross-talk]
- A. Goldberg: But then everyone accused me of destroying the Free Speech Movement.
- J. Goldberg: I didn't. I didn't.
- A. Goldberg: I know. Not everyone.
- J. Goldberg: It was stupid, but—
- A. Goldberg: No, not everyone. But a lot of people, especially the liberal faculty. Oh, God!
- J. Goldberg: I also wanted to go to a school where I was—
- A. Goldberg: They thought this was the worst—I could have blown up buildings, and they would have been more happy than saying "fuck." Isn't that interesting?
- Rubens: Who comes to mind when you—
- A. Goldberg: All of them!
- J. Goldberg: Yes. And interestingly enough, you know why he did it, don't you?
- A. Goldberg: Why?
- J. Goldberg: Because the fraternities, in order to raise money for Cal Camp, which is the—
- A. Goldberg: John Thompson did this?
- J. Goldberg: Yes.
- A. Goldberg: I had no idea.
- J. Goldberg: I talked to him about it.
- A. Goldberg: [laughs]

J. Goldberg: The fraternities have these jars. Then you put a penny in, and each penny was a vote, and that's how they raised money for Cal Camp, and they all had these fictitious candidates for the ugliest man on campus, okay? It was an ugly man contest, is what it was called. And one of the fraternities, because [the movie] Goldfinger had just come out, had as their ugly man, Pussy Galore. And they were selling buttons that said, "I Like Pussy." And John Thompson said, "This is—"

Rubens: Obscene.

J. Goldberg: —"obscene," yes. I could still hear them raise more of a stir for a little sign that said "FUCK" on it, and no one is going to bother these guys selling the—

[Cross-talk]

J. Goldberg: They arrested him for the obscenity charge and whooshed him away. That's why I said—you know, I didn't want to get up and say "fuck," but I would probably have given a speech defending him.

A. Goldberg: Yes.

J. Goldberg: But that's what happened. That's what happened. And I thought what you did was quite right. I just wouldn't have used the word again after they arrested him for it. I would have given a speech defending him.

A. Goldberg: I believe before I gave the speech that they en masse begged me—I almost didn't do it. I came really close. Because I realized that it would be such a divisive thing. And for the life of me, I couldn't figure out why this was such a heavy thing, how this one word—I got ninety days for that!

Rubens: But, you know, the thing was, though, that in many ways that particular word made more of an impact on the sixties than free speech—

[cross-talk]

J. Goldberg: By far and away. By far and away. You were in the vanguard.

A. Goldberg: I thought I was in the—

J. Goldberg: And then the funniest story about that—because they took him, and we didn't know where.

A. Goldberg: Yes, they, like, kidnapped me, the police.

- J. Goldberg: The police took him. We could not find him. And you had to bail someone out with only cash, okay? So Sandor—I told you this story, didn't I?—Sander and I go down to the ASUC check-cashing service, and we both cashed whatever the limit was to get cash, and we were getting other people to do that, to get cash, and he hands her his check, and his name—he's Hungarian—is Sandor Fuchs. And she looks at it and said, "I don't think that's a bit funny right now." [laughter] And she would not cash his damn check! He had all his ID—
- A. Goldberg: Is that right?
- J. Goldberg: —to show who he was, and she would not cash his check! She said, "I don't think that's a bit funny, young man." [laughter]
- A. Goldberg: Well, I'll tell you how another—how relationships work to save you. They took me to Santa Rita, not to the local jail, because they—I don't know if they were going to beat me up or whatever. They had all of these police out there.
- Rubens: During the Filthy Speech.
- A. Goldberg: Yes. At night, they arrested me and took me—thought I was an international terror! This is unbelievable. [laughter] See, this is a younger generation. They can't believe this. Anyway, so then I go there, and, you know, I'm really getting scared because nobody knows where I am.
- J. Goldberg: We couldn't find him.
- A. Goldberg: So—
- J. Goldberg: We had looked everywhere.
- A. Goldberg: —as I walk in, there's only one or two black bail persons, and one of them did it for the AFL-CIO, and I knew him, and he sees me go in, and he knows something's up. He bailed me out instantly. He wrote a bond there, so I never got beyond immediately being processed. And he drove me home.
- J. Goldberg: And, see, we don't know this, so we're now going from jail to jail to jail to jail.
- Rubens: How did you know him?

A. Goldberg: Because I had met him before. He did political—you know, he was kind of a political person. And actually, he probably knew me more at this point than I knew him. And he just said to me, "What's going on?" I said, "This arrest." He said, "You don't want to be here." And he just went up and told them, "I'm bailing him out." What a coincidence! Because he was bailing someone else out on a regular bail bond thing, and I said, "I can't—." He said, "Don't worry, I'll drive you home."

So that's those great relationships in the Bay Area, which you do not have in L.A.

J. Goldberg: Right.

A. Goldberg: A little bit it's starting in L.A., but it's so different. So that's when I tell people the difference between the Bay Area and L.A.

J. Goldberg: It's smaller.

Rubens: Now, let me throw out a couple of things. I don't know him at all, but one of my friend's good friends is [Tuttle?], who's the comptroller here, [Rick Tuttle?]. Now, apparently he knows—my friend is talking about this project, and he says he has all these stories to tell about UCLA and how they joined in.

[Cross-talk]

A. Goldberg: He's a nice guy.

Rubens: Is he?

A. Goldberg: Yes, Jackie knows him really well.

J. Goldberg: Just the other day, I found the list of people who were involved in UCLA's Free Speech Movement.

A. Goldberg: Oh, really?

J. Goldberg: I was looking for something else, but I found that, and saw Rick's name on it, Howard Berman's name—

Rubens: Howard Berman. Would you mind—

A. Goldberg: He's our cousin. [An influential Los Angeles Assemblyman and Congressional Representative] But he's moved a little to the right since then.

Rubens: Is that where you met him? I was going to ask where you met Pat Brown.

A. Goldberg: Jerry Margolis's.

J. Goldberg: Yes, at Jerry Margolis's.

Rubens: Would you mind making that list—if you can find it—

J. Goldberg: If I—yes.

Rubens: [...] the names [...].

J. Goldberg: Yes, but I just found—

Rubens: But Rick Tuttle seems like—

A. Goldberg: He's a nice guy.

J. Goldberg: He's a nice guy.

Rubens: And I was going to ask you earlier—I mean, I suppose—

J. Goldberg: And I have this list because when I came to L.A., we were organizing support from L.A. for Berkeley, and I found that there was a Free Speech Movement at UCLA, so I was calling all of them.

Rubens: Did you travel anywhere else around the country?

J. Goldberg: No. There were those squads—

A. Goldberg: By that time, the squads were only the insiders, only the trusted—

J. Goldberg: Yes, I was already purged.

A. Goldberg: I was purged and returned, but even though I returned, there was—

Rubens: In name only.

A. Goldberg: That's right. I was never in the real deep, deep inner circles. I was allowed to appear in public, in a sense, to show that there was still unity—

Rubens: Would you be able to characterize that next set of leadership? It doesn't have to be by name. I don't think it would even fit particularly to say "more radical."

- J. Goldberg: No.
- Rubens: But there is something. There are words that describe—another in group?
- A. Goldberg: No, no. I was in the in group until the group; then I was supposedly in the in group after the purge, but by this time it became more and more insular, the real in group. There was six, seven, eight—maybe eight people, who really ran everything. So even though I could, quote, "go to these meetings," I really had no role to play.
- Rubens: Rossman was not one of those people at that point.
- A. Goldberg: I never knew—I can't—see, I never—
- J. Goldberg: It was Jack and Mario and Bettina—
- A. Goldberg: Yes, and Suzanne.
- J. Goldberg: And Suzanne.
- A. Goldberg: And there were some of these IS people, who I never knew who they were. There was about four or five I.S. [International Socialist] people.
- J. Goldberg: Brian Turner?
- A. Goldberg: No.
- J. Goldberg: He wasn't IS.
- A. Goldberg: No.
- Rubens: Was he still in it, Brian Turner, though?
- A. Goldberg: I don't think he was in the real—
- Rubens: Do we know where Brian Turner is?
- J. Goldberg: He was never really—
- Rubens: I didn't think he was ever really—
- A. Goldberg: But anyway, so even though I could go to these meetings, I was never asked to give speeches anymore.
- J. Goldberg: Right.

- A. Goldberg: Although I ended up being in charge of a [floor? board?], which was not supposed to happen, probably—
- J. Goldberg: I know.
- A. Goldberg: —but just I was on the floor, and everyone just assumed—
- J. Goldberg: That he was in charge.
- A. Goldberg: —I was in charge. So that made no difference what they said—
- J. Goldberg: In the sit-in.
- A. Goldberg: Yes, in the sit-in.
- Rubens: What do these guys have? What held them together?
- A. Goldberg: They had Mario.
- J. Goldberg: They had Mario.
- A. Goldberg: Mario was the center. And this is when, I told you, Mario became more and more isolated and more and more paranoid.
- J. Goldberg: Right, right. And the media had a lot to do with it.
- A. Goldberg: Yes.
- J. Goldberg: Because the media from the beginning was looking for a leader, the leader.
- Rubens: Okay. That's good.
- J. Goldberg: And they were looking for the outside agitator angle, and since Mario had come from being in the South—
- [cross-talk]
- Rubens: And he looked different.
- J. Goldberg: They wanted him to be—
- A. Goldberg: He was a student, Jackie.

J. Goldberg: I don't—believe me—they played up this other stuff, going South, all the time. They tried to make him appear to be outside—same thing they did with Jack Weinberg.

A. Goldberg: Yes, yes. But Jack wasn't a student, was he?

[Cross-talk]

A. Goldberg: Yes, he was not a student then—

J. Goldberg: And he was also working there on campus.

A. Goldberg: Yes, that's true.

J. Goldberg: He was working in the math department.

There were people connected to what was going on, but they were always looking for this out—and I did a lot of press relations at the beginning. They were always looking for this outside agitator story.

Rubens: This is also what Brad Cleaveland claims about when—is it Look? followed Rossman around, that they followed him around because he was just so charming and—

A. Goldberg: Rossman I never in a million years could figure out what his attraction was.

Rubens: Well, Cleaveland claims—I'm just telling you one of the sources—I speak a lot to Cleaveland—Cleaveland claims—

A. Goldberg: Tell him hello from me.

Rubens: I will be glad to.

A. Goldberg: No, he's in this picture here. It was the *SLATE Supplement*

Rubens: I've got to let you guys go.

J. Goldberg: It was just whether or not to put this rhetoric in or some other rhetoric in, you know.

Rubens: Was there any question about it being so long and dense?

J. Goldberg: Yes, there was.

- J. Goldberg: And it took a lot of pages—
- A. Goldberg: Who cares? He was a nice guy.
- J. Goldberg: He claims that he felt he was an outsider because he was not Jewish. He said that Michael Lerner came up to him and said, "It's people like you"—
- Rubens: I want to throw out a couple of names—but you must be very tired; this has been intense. Sandor Fuchs, was he one of that inner sanctum people?
- J. Goldberg: He was in the inner sanctum of Spider, but—
- Rubens: Jo Freedman? She was alleged to have led the coup, supposedly, against Mario and—
- A. Goldberg: She wasn't involved in the Free Speech Movement that much after that.
- J. Goldberg: She was much more involved in the feminist stuff that came later.
- Rubens: She was supposed to have made a back-door deal with the administration.
- A. Goldberg: Oh, yes, people attacked her. They went to Clark Kerr. I was supposedly—I was attacked me for being in that meeting, and in fact, the only time I talked about the history of that, David Goines first told me that I was at the meeting. I said, "David, far out." I was never—but if it makes you feel good, then groovy. Then he talked to me just before he published the book. [*The Free Speech Movement*] "Art, I want you to know you weren't at the meeting." [laughter] I said, "Oh, shit, thanks, Dave." [laughter]
- J. Goldberg: I told him you weren't at the meeting, too.
- A. Goldberg: No, but he went around and— So I said, "You know, I feel a lot better. I thought maybe I was so unconscious that I went to this meeting."
- J. Goldberg: That you were double-dealing and you didn't even know.
- Rubens: Mark Bravo and Don Hatch? Do you know what happened to them? They were two of the original eight who were suspended. I think that some of the people who were in at the very beginning were not necessarily the people around at the very end.
- A. Goldberg: Oh, that's true, yes.

[Greets and introduces his mother-in-law, and extraneous discussion ensues.]

- Rubens: Mike Rossman, Kate Coleman.
- J. Goldberg: Kate Coleman's story is probably the funniest story in the history of all of them.
- Rubens: Which story? There are many Kate Coleman stories.
- J. Goldberg: The Kate Coleman story about her parents' having everybody over in their town in New York?
- Rubens: No. Really sounds like a good one, though! I just was on the phone with Kate before I came down here because I said I was going to interview you guys—
- J. Goldberg: At the end of the FSM, there was some major network—I think it was CBS that did this big program and she was one of the people interviewed.
- Rubens: Yes. Well, she interrupted Carl Schorske's class. I was in the class. She was just outrageous.
- J. Goldberg: Her father and mother—she tells that she's going to be on television. Her father and mother, who are straight-laced, invite the entire small town that they're from, get eighty-seven televisions, invite everybody they know over, and in the middle of this interview, she looks at the screen and says, "Well, I've been living and sleeping with my boyfriend, and my parents don't know anything about this." [laughs] And they moved out of the town! [laughter] They left the town! They were so mortified. Now, you can check with her—but this is the story as it was told to me. I don't know this for a fact.
- Rubens: Let's just put it this way: It's a good thing that they didn't know her journalism piece where she's at the Sexual Freedom League, down on her knees, interviewing couples having sex.. That's one of the most amazing things in journalism.
- Just comment on Rossman. What was your point about—
- A. Goldberg: I never could figure—God, he was so dense and so—
- Rubens: Cleaveland claims that he was a media darling; the media was looking for someone who was unusual, that he was just trippy and quoted [Garcia] Lorca and—
- J. Goldberg: No, no, no. Rossman likes attention. I like Michael. We're friends.

- A. Goldberg: I can't say I know him at all. I can't say if I like him or dislike him. I really don't know him at all. I mean, I've seen him, and I
- J. Goldberg: He did that Rossman Report, which was—
- Rubens: Yes. So do you want to steer me to other people to talk to?
- A. Goldberg: Mike Kogan was a real activist, not in the real leadership but day-to-day.
- Rubens: That's what we want. That's what we want.
- A. Goldberg: Rick Nanas.
- J. Goldberg: Oh, yes, absolutely.
- A. Goldberg: He lives in Santa Cruz. And there was Jim Prickett, yes, yes.
- You know who they should talk to? Joe Picarillo—he was during the People's Park. That was later.
- J. Goldberg: Janice Cohen-Milch was another person to talk to.
- Rubens: Janice Cohen?
- J. Goldberg: Hyphen Milch, M-i-l-c-h. I don't have her current number—She is probably in Pasadena or San Marino. Her husband's name is Mario, Mario Milch. She was a rank and file-er, but she was very active.
- [tape interruption]
- Rubens: Jackie, after Berkeley you went to Chicago—
- J. Goldberg: Because I really was tired of having no social life. I was really tired of being followed all the time. I wanted out. I actually wanted, as the old saying goes, "to dye my hair and change my name and get out of politics." That lasted four or five minutes. Ended up having—well, Barbara Lang was still there. She was in her senior year when I did my first graduate year.
- Rubens: In education in Chicago?
- J. Goldberg: Yes. I was in the M.A.T. program. I didn't get in anywhere. The FBI took care of that. Even though I had great grades, a great GREs—
- Rubens: You did have good grades.

J. Goldberg: And great GREs, and I didn't get in anywhere. So I decided that I wanted to go to the University of Chicago. Barbara was there. I'd wanted to go as an undergraduate—

Rubens: Right.

J. Goldberg: —so I wrote them a letter and said, "Well, here are my grades. Here's my GREs. I didn't know that your school was quite that exclusive as to the Graduate School of Education, but I'm going to apply every year until I get in, so will you tell me what I'm deficient in?" I just found them, just yesterday. I was looking for something from this archive I have at home on the feminist stuff because a friend of mine is doing some research on the feminist stuff in the seventies. I was giving her my stuff, and I was going through all of this stuff. I found a letter back from them, saying: "Can't imagine how you thought you weren't accepted. Of course you've been admitted. Letter of award follows." And I know I was not accepted. I have the rejection letter. I know I was not accepted. But I think they were afraid that I would sue or something, because it would be pretty difficult to explain to me on what basis they were not letting me come in other than I had been in trouble out here and that the FBI was—

The FBI followed me for quite a long time, at every employer, everywhere I went. I got both of my teaching jobs—the first one back in Illinois and the second one out here in Compton—on the day school started, after having spent months and months and months looking for jobs, and during a teacher shortage. Because they just wouldn't hire me. And nobody would tell me. And it turned out that the guy—the woman who was in charge of personnel in Compton was out ill, and the man who was the assistant looked at my—and I put "yes" when they asked have you been arrested. I didn't want to get started and then get fired for lying. So I put "yes." And he said, "Who was your lawyer in Berkeley?" And I mentioned a couple of people, and I said, "And one of them was John George." John George and he had gone to school together. And I was hired on the spot.

Rubens: Very, very nice. There's so much more we could talk about. Thank you.

[End of Interview]