

*The* **1960s**  
*And Their Aftermath*

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From Peaceful  
Protest to  
Guerrilla Warfare

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*From Peaceful Protest to Guerrilla Warfare*

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## **Introduction**

*In many essential respects the 1960s differed markedly from previous ages of social protest and agitation. It was a period of economic prosperity, not decline and depression. The agents of rebellion were youthful, finding their own path and ignoring the past. "Never trust anyone over 30" was a slogan because this new generation rejected tradition, and older people had been immersed in it, drawing their values from a great body of established thought, their emotions from the rich heritage of Western culture. The 1960s showed what the first generation raised on TV was like, what it would seek, how it would act. The rebellion was world wide, but from out of its incubation in the United States the manifestations were first, strongest, and most lasting. Here, in a selection of material from the Labadie Collection, are the paper witnesses to that era.*

*Edward C. Weber*

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## ***Case 1: Civil Rights Movement***

Only a month had elapsed when the dramatic sit-ins showed the trend of the 1960s: public protests against established laws and traditional ways. On February 1, 1960, in Greensboro, North Carolina, a group of black students sat down at a “whites only” lunch counter in Woolworth’s and refused to leave until arrested. During the 1950s desegregation had stalled, with only minor changes being experienced in some border-state schools. Now it began again. Students of all races, South and North, kindled to support the sit-in protesters. By April black student leaders met to form the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, pledged to the pacifist principles of Martin Luther King, Jr. The Congress of Racial Equality, active in small northern chapters, came in to lend assistance. The backing of King’s Southern Christian Leadership Council gave still further momentum to the civil rights movement, which moved from sit-ins to freedom rides in segregated bus travel, and to voter registration in Southern counties where African-Americans had hardly dared to raise their voices. In August, 1963, the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, which brought together 200,000 advocates, was galvanized by King’s eloquent “I Have a Dream” speech and remained a high mark of the struggle. That same year international approval brought King the Nobel Peace Prize. Legal segregation was ended by the Civil Rights Act (July 1964) and the Voting Rights Act (August 1965). No other protest movement of the 1960s accomplished such concrete programs for sweeping changes in our national life.

### **Sit-Ins**

After the 1954 Supreme Court decision striking down segregated education, integration moved at a very deliberate speed indeed. Liberals were heartened by the successful 1955-56 bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, which brought Martin Luther King, Jr., to

national prominence. The next great step came suddenly on February 1, 1960, in Greensboro, North Carolina, where a group of determined black college students refused to leave a Woolworth lunch counter until they had been served. They were carted off to jail, but a movement was born. Sit-ins erupted throughout the South, with ardent national support, and by April a new organization devoted to direct action, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was formed to discuss strategies and continue civil disobedience until all legal segregation would be abolished. "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive — but to be young was very heaven." (Wordsworth)

McDonald, Jimmie, ed.

*Sit-in Songs*. New York: Congress of Racial Equality, [no date].

Peck, Jim, ed.

*Sit-Ins: the Students Report*. New York: Congress of Racial Equality, [no date].

*The Picketer: Newsletter of the Ann Arbor Direct Action Committee*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Ann Arbor Direct Action Committee, Number 1, 1960.

## **Congress of Racial Equality**

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) was founded in 1942 by conscientious objectors aware of the irony that the United States, ostensibly fighting a war for democracy, actually legitimized racial segregation and oppression. While small in numbers, CORE's chapters succeeded in integrating restaurants and recreational facilities in the North; efforts to secure employment for blacks were less successful. In 1947 a CORE group of eight blacks and eight whites attempted to integrate interstate bus travel in the upper South, where they had to deal with mob violence, arrests, and sentences served on the road gang. For this reason, CORE's seasoned stalwarts were designated to direct the Freedom Ride of 1961 into the Deep South. The mobbings of the riders, setting fire to the loaded bus, arrests and imprisonments, the beatings inflicted on

men who had vowed not to retaliate, all aroused intense sympathy for the Freedom Riders and finally compelled the Interstate Commerce Commission on September 22, 1961, to prohibit all Jim Crow facilities in interstate travel. Testing this rule brought even more beatings and arrests in the ensuing two years, but by 1963 this particular issue appeared victorious.

Aptheker, Herbert; and James E. Jackson.

*Riding to Freedom*. New York: New Century Publishers, 1961.

Brown, Robert McAfee; and Frank Randall.

*The Freedom Riders: A Clergyman's View, An Historian's View*. New York: Congress of Racial Equality, [circa 1961].

*CORE-lator*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Ann Arbor CORE, November 17, 1965.

Hamilton, Mary; Louise Inghram; etc.

*Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves*. Detroit: News & Letters, 1961.

Kaufman, Dorothy B.

*The First Freedom Ride: The Walter Bergman Story*. [Detroit?]: ACLU Fund Press, 1989.

Selections on CORE from the Labadie Collection files.

## **Case 2: Civil Rights Movement (continued)**

### **SNCC**

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee provided the shock troops for the black revolution in the American South. Organized in April, 1960, to bring together information and support for the spreading sit-ins, SNCC developed a program whereby field secretaries were sent to cities, towns, and rural areas throughout the South. Challenging segregation in all its forms proved, as expected, a dangerous effort, but most so for voter registration, which could topple the entrenched Dixiecrats. Field reports and news releases from SNCC evidence the steady courage with which

the workers, bolstered by the nonviolent philosophy, met threats, beatings, and jailings. Pacifism, however, came under attack when SNCC chairman John Lewis, after winning re-election in 1965, was displaced through backstage maneuvers of Stokely Carmichael and James Forman. Although Carmichael's call for "Black Power" resounded through the nation, bitterness and recrimination brought about the end of SNCC. Within a year the staff dropped by an estimated 90%; Carmichael's efforts to forge an alliance of his remnants with the Black Panthers failed when the Panthers drew their guns at the meeting.

Miller, Dorothy.

*Danville, Virginia*. Atlanta: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 1963.

Selections on SNCC from the Labadie Collection files.

*Speeches by the Leaders: The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom*. New York: The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, [circa 1963].

### **Council of Federated Organizations**

*The Deep South Says Never* was the title of a 1957 book predicting massive resistance of the white South to any changes in its segregated institutions. Nothing better epitomized this intransigency than the state of Mississippi, with its dominant White Citizens Councils. Blacks attempting to organize or vote had been assassinated or forced to leave the state; the Freedom Rides had been halted by arrests in Jackson. In 1964, Freedom Summer was launched to force a showdown with Mississippi's bastions of segregation. In June, three volunteers were lynched in Neshoba County, but hundreds more poured in from the North to teach in Freedom Schools, desegregate facilities, and register voters, often in rural sections previously untouched by civil rights activists. The Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) organized the Freedom Summer campaigns, with ardent local support from the young.

Selections on COFO from the Labadie Collection files.

### **Case 3: Leaders of the Civil Rights Movement and the Vietnam War**

#### **Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Council**

Thrown into national prominence by his successful leadership in the 1955-56 Montgomery bus boycott, Martin Luther King, Jr., founded the Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC) in 1957 to continue the work in desegregation. SCLC gave firm backing to the sit-ins, freedom rides, marches, and voter registration. Weathering the strife over the Vietnam War, the Council was temporarily devastated by King's assassination in 1968, but has continued its work of education and reform to the present day.

King, Martin Luther, Jr.

*"Letter From a Birmingham Jail" and "I Have a Dream."* Atlanta: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, [circa 1963].

Selections on SCLC from the Labadie Collection files.

#### **Malcolm X**

To millions of Americans Malcolm X is a more potent symbol than Washington or Lincoln. Born in poverty, succumbing to the heady temptations of the ghetto, Malcolm was converted in prison to the ardent gospel and earnest life of the Black Muslims, becoming after his release their most fiery speaker and compelling presence. He stressed the need for self-defense and openly showed his contempt for Martin Luther King, Jr., whose nonviolent message ran against the grain and strain of ghetto life. Trips to Arabia and Africa weaned Malcolm from his allegiance to strict black nationalism and led to his break with the Black Muslims. Shortly thereafter, he was assassinated in the Harlem Ballroom by adherents of that sect. The posthumous *Autobiography*, edited by Alex Haley, became a best seller and was and was the basis for the recent film by Spike Lee. Bruce Perry's biography *Malcolm: The Life of a Man who Changed Black America* (1991) attempts to separate legend from fact.

Malcolm X's fledgling Organization of Afro-American Unity, inherited by his sister Ella, did not long survive. Claimants to his heritage are numerous and conflicting.

Books by Malcolm X:

*Two Speeches by Malcom X*. New York: Pioneer Publishers, 1965.

*The Man and his Ideas*. New York: Pioneer Publishers, 1965.

*Malcolm X on Afro-American History*. New York: Merit Publishers, 1967.

*Malcolm X Talks to Young People*. New York: Young Socialist, 1965.

*OAAU Newsletter*. New York: Organization of Afro-American Unity, Vol 1: No. 3, 1964.

## The Vietnam War

The first, relatively muted opposition to American involvement in Southeast Asia came from individuals who believed the United States was foolish to consider itself a determining power in Asia, as well as from the proponents of the Communist regimes in China, Asiatic Russia, and North Vietnam. As more and more American aid, and then armed forces, were sent to prop up the beleaguered government of South Vietnam, opposition deepened. With college students organized to oppose the Establishment on the domestic fronts, Students for a Democratic Society seized the opportunity to rally youth threatened by the draft to fight a faraway war which did not concern America's safety or real interests. Teach-ins (the first at the University of Michigan in March 1965), rallies, sit-ins at draft headquarters, and marches to prevent munitions manufacture and shipment became a powerful force as many more citizens began to question the validity of American warfare in Southeast Asia. The strong grassroots opposition to a war waged by the United States was a previously unimagined phenomenon. The bitterness was not mitigated by the eagerness of the New Left to believe everything

said in arguments against American policy. To the student radicals Uncle Ho (Ho Chi Minh) was as popular and genial a figure as had been Uncle Joe (Joseph Stalin) during the Thirties and Forties. Some opponents of government policy had very early feared national division in the face of what appeared extremely probable defeat for America in Vietnam, but few could have foreseen the festering angers that have endured through the following decades.

Ackland, Len.

*Credibility Gap: A Digest of the Pentagon Papers*. Philadelphia: National Peace Literature Service, 1972.

*The Fort Hood Three: The Case of the Three G.I.'s who Said "No" To the War in Vietnam*. New York: Fort Hood Three Defence Committee, 1966.

*Is the War Winding Down?: The Answer is No!* Washington, D.C.: National Peace Action Coalition, 1971.

Jones, Junebug Jabo.

*The New Action Army*. [No location]: Student Voice, [no date].

Selections on Pacifism and the Vietnam War from the Labadie Collection files.

*The Unspeakable War*. New York: Labor Committee for Peace in Vietnam, [no date].

## Case 4: SDS and Movements of the West Coast

### SDS

Students for a Democratic Society originated in 1959 as a reorganization of the youth branch of the venerable socialist League for Industrial Democracy. Restive because the civil rights movement was making progress, angry with such fossils as the House Un-American Activities Committee, the students were ripe for action and gradually severed their connection with the LID. The Port Huron Statement of 1962 proclaimed their ideals for social, eco-

nomic, and racial democracy in the United States. As the civil rights leaders gained their legislative ends, SDS marshaled trenchant opposition to American involvement in the Vietnam War. With more than 300 chapters and thousands of adherents, SDS achieved maximum effect through marches, demonstrations, and battles with police. Disregard for reasoned dissent and emphasis on extreme militancy led to the disintegration of SDS. As older stalwarts withdrew or watched, the 1969 convention brought on a final internecine battle for control over the dwindling organization among the Progressive Labor Party, the Revolutionary Youth Movement, and the Weathermen.

Movement for a Democratic Society.

*Consumption: Domestic Imperialism.* Boston: New England Free Press, [no date].

Oglesby, Carl.

*Trapped in a System.* Ann Arbor, Mich.: Radical Education Project, [circa 1966].

Simpson, Charlie.

*Kennedy's Cultural Center is a Leopard-Skin Pillbox Hat.* Ann Arbor, Mich.: Radical Education Project, [circa 1968].

Students for a Democratic Society.

*Constitution.* New York: Students for a Democratic Society, June, 1962.

Students for a Democratic Society.

*SDS Ledger.* Ann Arbor, Mich.: Students for a Democratic Society, Vol I: No. 1, 1960.

Students for a Democratic Society.

*The Port Huron Statement.* New York: Students for a Democratic Society, 1964.

Selections on SDS from the Labadie Collection files.

## Movements of the West Coast

A haven for the Beat Generation preaching alienation in the Fifties, the West Coast Bay Area was the fertile ground for radical action in the next decade. In May, 1960, the traveling show of the House Un-American Activities Committee was taken aback when, rather than bullying nervous, tight-lipped witnesses, it faced a riot of largely student protesters, 68 of whom were arrested. From this groundswell of disaffection and rebellion came the 1964 Free Speech Fight at the University of California-Berkeley; the emergence of the first major counterculture paper, *The Berkeley Barb*; the long, bitter, ultimately unsuccessful battle to take over San Francisco State University; exploitation of the black ghetto for potential revolution; and the seizure of public property for the homeless or for people's parks.

## Free Speech Movement

In the fall of 1964, University of California administrators, for reasons still unclear, banned student fund-raising for off-campus causes. The resultant strong protest enlisted support from groups as disparate as the Young Republicans and Communist Party Youth. After three dramatic months of rallies, marches, sit-ins, and occasional brushes with the police, the Free Speech Movement on the Berkeley Campus, with thousands of supporters, occupied Sproul Hall. When the university administration again called in the police, a student strike and faculty walkout made the "multiversity" capitulate to complete freedom of political activity on campus. For a multiplicity of reasons, student strikes and takeovers became a feature of the ensuing years.

Aptheker, Bettina.

*FSM: The Free Speech Movement at Berkeley.* San Francisco: W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America, 1965.

Draper, Hal.

*Behind the Battle of Berkeley: the Mind of Clark Kerr.* Berkeley, Calif.: The Independent Socialist Club, 1964.



Dunayevskaya, Raya; Mario Savio; and Eugene Walker.  
*The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution*. Detroit:  
News & Letters, 1965.

*FSM: Free Speech Newsletter*. Berkeley, Calif.: 1964.

*San Francisco and the Un-American Activities Committee*. San  
Francisco: Americans for Democratic Action, [no date].

Walter, Robert H. K.  
*The Sounds of Protest*. Berkeley, Calif.: SLATE, [circa 1960].

### San Francisco State College Crisis

During 1968-69, San Francisco State College was the scene of the most protracted, bitter, and violent attempt of radical students to take over higher education. The ten demands of the Black Students Union and the five of the Third World Liberation Front were non-negotiable, not open to discussion or compromise. The campus became a battleground, with students and faculty lining up on both sides. For several months hundreds of police kept the campus open; 731 arrests were made; more than 80 students and 30 police reported injuries; scores of small fires and a major one in the vice-president's office were set; more than a dozen bombs were planted. Formerly known as a writer on effective language, Acting President S. I. Hayakawa became a national figure by showing determination equal to that of the radicalized students and finally beating them down; this ensured his later election to the U.S. Senate.

Concerned Citizens of Northern California, ed.  
*Black Strike: Shut it Down!* [San Francisco?]: Concerned Citizens of  
Northern California, [1969].

Orrick, William H., Jr.  
*College in Crisis*. Nashville, Tenn.: Aurora Publishers, 1970.

### Case 5: Alternative Lifestyles and Youth Movements

#### Hippies

*Webster's New World Dictionary* (second college edition, 1980) defines a hippie as "any of the young people of the 1960s, who, in their alienation from conventional society, have turned variously to mysticism, psychedelic drugs, communal living, avant-garde arts, etc." *Webster's* does not mention the long hair, which was a badge of males. Conspicuous by their dress, grooming, and behavior, the hippies soon became a part of the language as well as national and international symbols of rebellion.

Cavan, Sherri.  
*Hippies of the Haight*. St. Louis, Mo.: New Critics Press, 1972.

*Haight-Ashbury, San Francisco Hippieville, USA, Guide and Map*.  
Sausalito, Calif.: W. T. Samhill, 1967.

*Hip Pocket Directory*. Highland Park, Mich.: October Company,  
1970.

Holmquist, Anders.  
*The Free People*. New York: Outerbridge & Dienstfrey, 1969.

McNeill, Don.  
*Moving Through Here*. Introduction by Allen Ginsberg. New York:  
Alfred A. Knopf, 1970.

Rabbit, Peter.  
*Drop City*. New York: Olympia Press, 1971.

Romney, Hugh.  
*The Hog Farm and Friends*. By Wavy Gravy as told to Hugh Romney and vice versa. New York: Links Books, 1974.

Silber, Irwin.  
*The Cultural Revolution: A Marxist Analysis*. New York: Times  
Change Press, 1970.

## Eastern Religion

Eastern thought has had a great influence in California — among transplanted English intellectuals like Aldous Huxley, Gerald Heard, and Christopher Isherwood, and with the Beat Generation. It then spread by way of the Hippies to become a significant source of values for the 1960s generation.

Alpert, Richard (Baba Ram Dass).  
*Be Here Now*. San Cristobal, N.M.: Lama Foundation, 1971. (Lent anonymously.)

## Abbie Hoffman and the Yippies

The Yippies (Youth International Party) were a creation of Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman, clowns of the left, following the October, 1967, March on the Pentagon. Like the hippies, the Yippies were basically anarchist but wished to make dramatically active protests against the Establishment. During the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago the Yippies were colorfully prominent with their Festival of Life. They nominated Pegasus, a hog, for President and greatly enjoyed singing songs and otherwise mocking judicial procedures during their appearances in court. Because of Hoffman's advice, *Steal This Book* is uncommon in libraries.

*Blacklisted News, Secret History: From Chicago, '68 to 1984*. [New York?]: Bleecker Publishing, 1983.

Hoffman, Abbie.  
*Steal This Book*. [New York]: Pirate Editions, 1971.

Hoffman, Abbie.  
*Woodstock Nation: A Talk-Rock Album*. New York: Vintage Books, 1969.

Rubin, Jerry.  
*Do it: Scenarios of the Revolution*. Introduction by Eldridge Cleaver. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970.

## Case 6: The Black Panthers

### Black Panthers

The Black Panthers made a dramatic debut, appearing at the state capital building in Sacramento, wearing uniforms and carrying rifles. Formed as a black confrontation group by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, they silenced a previous Northern California group which had adopted the Black Panther name and with vigorous recruiting gathered a considerable number of adherents who swore not only to follow but to memorize the 20 point Panther code and to observe military discipline, with physical punishments for infractions. The radicals embraced the Black Panthers enthusiastically, for they appeared a model of militancy and a preview of the awaited guerrilla warfare in the streets. To others they were viewed as strutting trigger-happy thugs who saw the black ghetto as their preserve and who camouflaged murder and extortion with Marxist phrases and dubious community welfare programs. With their slogan of "Offing the pig" the Panthers ignited the hostility of the police and were prime targets of J. Edgar Hoover, who encouraged crackdowns and utilized misinformation. Panther attorney Charles Garry received nation-wide attention with his declaration that 28 Panthers had been murdered by police. Like McCarthy with his list of Communists in the State Department, Garry refused to enumerate the instances; the number was strongly challenged because it seemed to include Panthers killed in robberies, as well as those murdered by Ron Karenga's US group in the struggle for control of UCLA's Black Studies Department.

Even had they been less conspicuous, the Black Panthers would be remembered for engendering strong counter-reactions. Leonard Bernstein's benefit party for the Panthers, attended by many celebrities, prompted Tom Wolfe to write his seminal essay, "Radical Chic." After initial worship of the Black Panthers, radicals like Peter Collier and David Horowitz felt such revulsion toward Newton and his circle that they started down the road to the safe havens of neo-conservatism. Recent autobiographies by David Hilliard and Elaine Brown give some candid glimpses into the daily life of the Black Panther Party.

Cannon, Terry.

*All Power to the People: The Story of the Black Panther Party.* San Francisco: People's Press, 1970.

*The Genius of Huey P. Newton: Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party.* Introduction by Eldridge Cleaver. [No publisher]. [circa 1969].

*Hands Off Aaron Dixon: Captain, Seattle Black Panther Party.* Seattle, Wash.: Aaron Dixon Defense Fund, 1968.

Iman, Kasisi Yusef.

*The Weusi Alfabeti.* New York: Distributed by Uhuru Sasa School, [1972?].

The John Brown Society.

*An Introduction to the Black Panther Party.* Edited by the Radical Education Project. Berkeley, Calif.: The John Brown Society, 1969.

*Justice for Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party.* Oakland, Calif.: Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton, [circa 1974].

Mann, Eric.

*Comrade George: An Investigation into the Official Story of His Assassination, His Work for the People and Their Response to His Death.* Cambridge, Mass.: Red Prison Movement, 1972.

Newton, Huey P.

*Essays from the Minister of Defense.* [No publisher], [circa 1968].

*The Original Vision of the Black Panther Party.* [No publisher], [no date].

## Eldridge Cleaver

The acclaimed writer of the Black Panther Party was Eldridge Cleaver, who, even before his release from prison, was nurtured by the Catholic or ex-Catholic radicals of the magazine *Ramparts*. *Soul on Ice* received almost universally laudatory reviews, perhaps because the critics did not read the essays carefully. No reservations were expressed about Cleaver's describing rape, which he

practiced first in the black ghetto, as an "insurrectionary act," nor about his dismissals of lesbians as "frozen cunts, with a warp and a crack in the wall of ice." Assailing James Baldwin for betraying his race by his homosexuality, Cleaver went to paranoid lengths by inventing episodes that did not exist in Baldwin's novel, *Another Country*. With his bent for violence and his sexual confusions, Cleaver was a strange choice for the 1968 presidential candidate of the Peace and Freedom party. Facing charges of parole violation after a Panther shoot-out with police, Cleaver fled to Cuba and Algeria, while his anti-Newton faction split the Black Panther Party. On his return from exile, Cleaver was a changed man in his allegiances, though hardly different in his extravagant language and posturing. Among his quirks was a passion for bizarre fashion design, but "cleavers" trousers, designed to reveal what they concealed, did not win commercial success despite the ardent advocacy of their creator. Cleaver is still in the public eye; now he fulminates as a born-again Christian and stalwart of the political Right.

Books by Eldridge Cleaver:

*On the Ideology of the Black Panther Party.* Part I. [No location]: Black Panther Party, [circa 1966].

*Revolution and Education.* [No publisher], [no date].

*Soul on Ice.* With an introduction by Maxwell Geismar. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968.

## Case 7: Liberation Movements and the Aftermath of the 1960s

### Gay Liberation

Removal of legal penalties for consensual homosexuality and the creation of an atmosphere for societal acceptance occupied the efforts of the early gay organizations after World War II — the Mattachine Society, One, and the Daughters of Bilitis. Progress on both fronts was halting or futile until the Stonewall Riots of June, 1969,

galvanized a new generation. In a watershed for direct action, gays took to the streets and organized publicly. If the nation was astonished to find gay men battling police in Greenwich Village, it was because the pent-up resentment for arbitrary arrests, vice squad entrapments, invasion of privacy, prison sentences, termination of employment, and social stigmatization were blind spots to those who had never experienced them, so effective had been the conspiracy of silence. Undoubtedly the atmosphere of youthful rebellion in the 1960s and especially the example of the civil rights movement catalyzed the Stonewall Riots. Since that time, as in the struggles by African-Americans and Hispanics, the forces have divided between those advocating education and working with legislators and those supporting various confrontational groups (ACT-UP, Queer Nation).

*In the Spirit of Stonewall.* New York: World View Publishers, 1979.

*The Ladder.* San Francisco: The Daughters of Bilitis, Vol. 14: No. 1+2, October/November 1969.

*Mattachine Review.* New York: Arno Press, Vol. 6: No 8, August 1960.

*One Institute Quarterly.* Los Angeles: One Institute Quarterly of Homophile Studies, No. 9, Spring 1960.

## Women's Liberation and Feminism

In no way a new movement and not particularly stressed as such in the Sixties, feminism really flowered in the ensuing two decades. Shulamith Firestone's *The Dialectic of Sex* was a pioneer work of the new groundswell of women's liberation, which not only demanded equal opportunity in all areas of life, but challenged traditional assumptions of gender roles and influence in Western society.

Firestone, Shulamith.

*The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution.* New York: Bantam Books, 1970. (Lent anonymously.)

## Weather Underground

The exaltation of mindless militancy ruptured SDS, as it had many other radical protest groups in the course of the decade. The Weatherman faction believed that only armed struggle would produce a mass revolutionary movement capable of overthrowing the Establishment and joining its "brave brothers and sisters" engaged in eradicating colonialism in the Third World. After the October, 1969, "Days of Rage" in Chicago failed to bring about the hoped-for guerrilla warfare in the streets, the Weathermen proclaimed SDS at an end, ignoring the Progressive Labor Party's rump movement, and declared its intention to go underground.

When the political passions have faded, the adventures of the Weather Underground will be viewed sheerly as drama and become mythic. Their expertise in obtaining false identifications, their system of safe houses, the ease with which they perpetrated robberies and bombings without leaving betraying traces show how futile, unsophisticated, and bumbling the FBI really was under the parochial, paranoid, and fuming J. Edgar Hoover. In the late 1970s and 1980s members of the Weather Underground gradually surfaced, unrepentant, from their own hermetic world.

*Michigan Free Press.* Ann Arbor, Mich.: [no publisher], No. 29-30, [circa 1974]. Special double issue: *Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism: Political Statement of the Weather Underground.*

*Osawatomie.* [No location]: Weather Underground Organization, No. 3, Autumn 1975.

*Outlaws of Amerika: Communiques from the Weather Underground.* New York: The Liberated Guardian, 1971.

*Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism.* San Francisco: Communications Co., 1974.

*Sing a Battle Song: Poems by Women in the Weather Underground Organization.* [Oakland, Calif.]: Inkworks, 1975.

## **Symbionese Liberation Army**

The most bizarre left-wing outlaw group, few will dispute, was the Symbionese Liberation Army, an offshoot of the Maoist Venceremos organization, itself a splinter group from the Revolutionary Union. In accordance with ideology, the SLA had to be headed by a black, Cinque (Donald De Freese), who claimed to be in touch with a War Council. The SLA first made headlines by assassinating Dr. Marcus Foster, Oakland's African-American superintendent of schools, who had been convicted as a race traitor by a "Court of the People" for the crime of introducing security precautions in the schools. National attention was gripped when the SLA kidnapped Patricia Hearst, daughter of Randolph, the publisher of the *San Francisco Examiner*, and granddaughter of William Randolph Hearst, from the apartment she rented in Berkeley as a sophomore at the University of California. Distribution of more than \$250,000,000 of food to the poor was demanded as a preliminary good faith gesture before any negotiations for Patty Hearst's release could commence. Startling and almost incredible was the transformation of Patty into Tania, who, armed with a rifle, assisted the SLA in a series of bank robberies. Having been locked for weeks in a small closet (the SLA's interpretation of the Geneva Convention for humane treatment of prisoners of war), the sensory-deprived Hearst listened to doctrine and after falling in love with Cujo (Willy Wolfe) became a fervent adherent of the gang. When police pursuit indicated that SLA members should go in different directions, six, including Cinque and Cujo, perished in a Los Angeles conflagration during a shoot-out with police. More than a year and a half later, the remaining confederates were apprehended by the FBI in San Francisco. In the police station, filling out the form for occupation, Patty Hearst described herself as "urban guerrilla." Shortly reconciled to her appalled family, Hearst received a seven year sentence for bank robbery; after various legal maneuvers the term was commuted by President Carter in 1979. The remaining members of the SLA, serving long prison sentences, have remained obdurately faithful to their revolutionary ideology.

*The Last SLA Statement: an Interview with Russ, Joe, Bill & Emily.* Berkeley, Calif.: Bay Area Research Collective, 1976.

*The Trial of Patty Hearst.* San Francisco: The Great Fidelity Press, 1976.

*Wanted by the FBI: William Taylor Harris, Emily Montague Harris, and Patricia Campbell Hearst* [poster]. Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Justice, 1974.

## **Wall Case I: Hippie Comic books**

Thumb-raising adventures and escapades, including such titles as *American Splendor*, *The Fabulous Furry Freak Brothers*, *Fat Freddy's Cat*, *The Forty Year Old Hippie*, *Gay Comix*, *Mr. Natural*, and *Wimmen's Comix*.

## **Wall Case II: Signs of the Times 1**

Selected posters from the 1960s in the Labadie Collection.

*Yipster Times.* New York: Youth International Party, June/July 1976.

## **Wall Case III: The Underground Press**

In the mid-1960s a new form of journalism, mirroring the interests and the aspirations of this generation, sprang up and spread from the metropolises to any area where fellow souls were gathered. Very shortly the "Underground Press," so-called for their ties to the counter-culture and not from government suppression, became the prime source of news for revolt and quite displaced the papers run by political party factions. Nothing better expresses the alienation of the 1960s. Marijuana was the socially accepted drug, rather than alcohol; some young people followed Timothy Leary into LSD, with the injunction to "Turn on, tune in, drop out." The legal prohibition against narcotics inspired a vast contempt for and defiance of the law.

Paramount also in the Underground was sexual freedom, a complete rejection of the conventional norms. Dr. Hip Pocrates

offered prescriptions for new needs, and various love-and-advice columnists held broader views than Ann Landers and Abigail Van Buren. Reviews of folk, acid rock, heavy metal, and jazz music were featured rather than the classics of concert halls, operas, and former popular music. Movies from the Third World countries, radical documentaries, and experimental films received favorable attention; commercialized Hollywood was despised. New comic strips reflected the counterculture and were gathered into cherished books. Directories of the Underground Press ran to hundreds of titles, still insufficiently studied as barometers of culture and protest.

*The Ann Arbor Argus*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: [no publisher], [circa April, 1971].

*The Berkeley Barb*. Berkeley, Calif.: International News Keyus, Vol. 13: No. 17, November 5-11, 1971.

*Georgia Straight*. Vancouver: Georgia Straight Publishers, Vol. 105: No. 197, August 31-September 1, 1971.

*The Great Speckled Bird*. Atlanta: Atlanta Cooperative News Project, Vol. 4: no. 44, November 1, 1971.

*Oracle*. Los Angeles: Oracle of Southern California, No. 8, December 1967.

*Seed*. Chicago: Seed Publishing Co., Vol 6: No. 8, [no date].

### **Wall Case IV: Signs of the Times 2**

Selected posters from the 1960s in the Labadie Collection.

### **John Sinclair**

One of the renowned Michigan radicals of the 1960s, John Sinclair was highly influential on the cultural front, and somewhat extravagantly described as a "psychedelic revolutionary gangster." His heightened presence as manager of the Motor City Five (MC5), an important rock-and-roll band, did not preclude his organizing polit-

ically a group devoted to "total assault on the culture," the corrupt and oppressive system of American society. Lost in admiration for the street battles of Huey Newton and his followers, Sinclair and his fellow worker "Pun" Plamondon christened their entourage the White Panther Party, later the Rainbow People's Party; but it was in no way the disciplined organization of the Black Panthers and did not spread with chapters across the country. In vain the Ann Arbor police closely monitored the Hill Street headquarters of John Sinclair, who was finally seized, not for any criminal act, but for possession of two marijuana cigarettes, and given a draconic sentence of ten years in prison. International clamor finally brought about his release in 1971, and he resumed with lessened attention his assaults on smug convention. Sinclair is one of the most colorful figures of the period.

Grimshaw, Gary.

*John Sinclair Freedom Rally*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Friends of the Rainbow People, 1971.

MC5.

*Kick Out the Jams*. [Sound recording]. New York: Electra Records, 1969.

### **Wall Case V: University of Michigan Alums**

#### **Marge Piercy**

Marge Piercy graduated from the University of Michigan, won awards while a student in both poetry and fiction in the Hopwood Awards contests of 1956 and 1957, and is today one of Michigan's most distinguished alumnae. The Library is honored to serve as the repository of her papers, which include manuscripts, letters, and documents that reveal her artistry, her creative process, and her hard work.

*Vida*, Piercy's sixth novel completed in 1979, focuses on the revolutionary anti-war movement of the Sixties and Seventies. *Braided Lives*, her next work, tells the story of two young women coming of age in Ann Arbor during the early 1960s. Both served to

further her identity as a radical, writing political novels featuring female characters. On display are the book jackets and pages from the final draft of *Vida*, marked up for the printer. Preliminary titles for this novel were *Out of Bounds*, *A Book of Matches*, and *A Common Act of War*.

Books by Marge Piercy:

· *Braided Lives*. New York: Summit Books, 1982.

*Vida*. New York: Summit Books, 1980.

Marge Piercy Papers (195? – present).

Piercy, Marge.

Manuscript of final draft for *Vida*. Circa 1980.

## Tom Hayden

Of the movers and shakers in Students for a Democratic Society Tom Hayden stands out not only because of his great influence in the early spread of the organization but also his prominence as a prime figure in the opposition to the Vietnam War and later as a spokesman for the liberal Left in the California Democratic Party. His 1960-61 editorship of the *Michigan Daily* made it a campus crusading force. To Hayden is attributed the main authorship of the 1962 Port Huron Statement, the manifesto of the New Left. The federal government charged him and seven others with conspiracy in the famous abortive 1969 Chicago trial. With his former wife, Jane Fonda, he remains an icon of the turbulent Sixties and early Seventies.

*Campus Voice*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: VOICE (U of M Chapter of SDS), Vol. 4: No. 1, October 3, 1963.

*Membership Bulletin*. New York, Students for a Democratic Society, No. 1, 1962-3.

Books by Tom Hayden:

*Rebellion and Repression*. Cleveland, Ohio: Meridian Books, 1969.

*Reunion: A Memoir*. New York: Random House, 1988.

*Student Social Action: a Speech delivered at Challenge, University of Michigan, March 1962*. New York, Students for a Democratic Society, 1962.

Tom Hayden Papers (1956 – 1964).

Hayden, Tom.

Manuscript letter (typed) to Marv Rich of CORE, with hand-written notes. [No date].

## Wall Case VI: The Black Panthers

These Black Panther greeting cards were produced and sold by the Black Panthers. Most were designed by Emory, the Minister of Culture for the Black Panther Party. Also exhibited is the Black Panther *Black Community News Service Manifesto*.

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The University of Michigan Library  
711 Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library  
Ann Arbor, Michigan