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*The Sixties
[Myths, False Endings and the 1970s?]*

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I. Introduction

I.1. Background and Objectives

The Sixties era (often confused with the shorter 1960s decade) was a time of rebellion, and hope for positive change, throughout many parts of the world. In the United States, it is most often remembered for the following: the African-American civil rights movement, student anti-war activism, and the hippie sub-culture (and thus my main focus in this dissertation). Eventually, all three of these groups were joined, more or less, together in a new type of “counter-cultural” community (often referred to as the “Movement”) that challenged the status quo in matters ranging from new sexual mores to power politics.¹ Hippie fashions and values often had a major effect on all segments of the youth culture.² Unfortunately, there has been a problem of not understanding the Sixties era holistically, meaning in its interconnected and contrary entirety. Instead of seeing all the favorable and unfavorable happenings of the time as being part of the Sixties era, the Altamont rock festival (and other events) have often been designated as the era’s end point because of the dissension, despair, hard drug usage, and violence that took place there (and the fact that it was held in December of 1969).³ The result has been that the Sixties era has been shortened; the early and mid-1970s have been cut off.

The Sixties era, like many other periods, has been chopped up and forced to conform into the concept of decades, which usually do not automatically coincide with their particular designations. In other words, history has frequently been simplified (to its detriment) and narrowed down to fit the particular decades of the calendar.⁴ Consequently, the most common form of justification (I claim) for shortening the Sixties era is one that is based upon a moral binary code of right or wrong. All Sixties-era events, developments, and incidents are judged (and filtered through) this dualistic perception, to see if they truly fit into our ingrained, Western, religious and philosophically preconceived, absolutist values.⁵ Subsequently, most liberal, left-leaning historians (especially those older who have

¹ Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 42.

² *Ibid.*, 56.

³ Ethan A. Russell, *Let It Bleed: The Rolling Stones, Altamont, and the End of the Sixties* (New York: Springboard Press, 2009), 225.

⁴ Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c. 1958-c. 1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 3.

⁵ Peter Gelderloos, *How Non-violence Protects the State* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: South End Press, 2007), 3.

dominated Sixties scholarship until recently) tend to see the essence of the Sixties as a movement that was in the right (meaning on the side of good and what was needed).⁶ However, I claim that because of their deep-seated Western moral dualism, they tend to want to frame all relevant matters in an overly positive light. (I will not deal with conservative historians, or the very youngest, as the former view the entire Sixties with overt monolithic hostility, and the later, born after the era was over, never accepted many of the most cherished myths from the start). Nonetheless, the more progressive define the Movement as having had high ethical integrity, and the right moral standards of action on the part of its participants; this has had the unintended result of making it more difficult for them to accept (or add) the more negative elements of the era into their own discourse. To them, the Sixties were a magnificent time when there was great hope among many for their ability to change the world by various sorts of righteous, unified, non-violent direct actions. In this view, true Sixties activism has to uphold these high standards or be cast aside. As a result, all unpleasant personalities, events, or incidents that occurred are seen by such historians to be only aberrations, or blemishes of imperfection. Moreover, the antagonistic incidences that they do recognize almost certainly stem, as they see it, from those who opposed the Movement, i.e., the government, police, or the Ku Klux Klan.

On the other hand, these historians are not completely misguided, as the philosophy of adhering to absolute moralistic (basically Christian) standards was quite pervasive during the early portion of the Movement, i.e., reverend Martin Luther King within the African-American civil rights movement, many of the early student anti-war activists who always followed the trends of the black community, and even the hippies with their firm ethos of “peace and love.” However, what many scholars fail to take into account, first of all, is how the nature of ideals can never be lived up to—things are just never perfect. Secondly, not everyone within the Movement agreed on all the Sixties assumptions from the beginning, for example, the principle of non-violence. When asked about pacifism, Malcolm X, the influential Black Muslim minister (who followed the teachings of the Koran and not the Christian Bible) said, “I don’t mean go out and get violent; but at the same time you should never be non-violent unless you run into some non-violence. I’m non-violent with those who are non-violent with me. But when you drop that violence on me, then you’ve made me go insane, and I’m not responsible for what I

⁶ Rick Perlstein, “Who Owns the Sixties? The Opening of a Scholarly Generation Gap,” *LinguaFranca* 6, no. 4 (May/June 1996), <http://linguafranca.mirror.theinfo.org/9605/sixties.html>. Accessed May 27, 2014.

do.”⁷ After all is said and done, when examining the Sixties narrative, there must come a time for all historians when the opposite forces of despair, fragmentation and violence must be acknowledged, primarily because they had always existed within the Movement, and secondarily because it was an increasing trend. Nonetheless, the mistake most scholars make is to use their own subjective tipping point (on how negativity had gained a significant momentum in the Movement) and to then proclaim it (whenever that may be) as the juncture in which the Sixties era had ended. In other words, since the Sixties are seen as good, positive, and non-violent, any large measures of negativity generated by the Movement must be looked upon as the era’s end. Interestingly, these death of the Sixties declarations often seems to be based on the incessant need to close out the Sixties era by the end of the 1960s decade (most often the specific incident chosen is Altamont, but some writers use earlier events such as the break-up of SDS in June 1969). I claim that in order to draw this line at (or towards) the end of 1969, most who write the history of the Sixties do so by setting up the 1960s decade in direct binary opposition to the 1970s decade. As a result, the 1960s are considered “good,” while the 1970s are considered “bad.” Or perhaps more accurately, what is considered to belong to the Sixties is “good,” and what does not (or should not) belong to the Sixties is “bad.” To elaborate, the 1960s are seen as a time of hope, unity, and non-violence, while the 1970s (or the late 1960s) are seen as a time of despair, fragmentation, and violence. Although little had changed in 1970, as compared to 1969, the change of decades was treated as something oppositional to what had been happening. Thus, the last year of the 1960s and the first year of the 1970s were separated, and the latter strictly redefined in terms of emphasizing the negative over the positive. In other words, everything that happened during the actual 1960s decade is held up to a standard that is based on an overly positive myth regarding both individual and group actions, the tactics used, and the perceived outcomes. Contrarily, because of this imposed ethical dualism, all conflicting behavior, opposing forces, and so-called negative contradictions are not accepted into the normal Sixties-era discourse, except as signposts for its ending. Instead of seeing and acknowledging all behavior differences as being part of a greater whole, what we find describing the progression of the Sixties era is an unfinished two-part dialectic, starting from an asserted positive beginning, and shifting to its opposite negative conclusion. As a result, we find over-idealization, positive illusions, and wishful thinking applied to events during the early days, and overblown feelings of

⁷ “Malcolm X, “Violence, Non-violence, Self-Defense,” <http://www.malcolm-x.org/quotes.htm>. Accessed May 17, 2014.

devastation, demonization, and bubbles bursting associated with events of just a few years later. As the story goes, what was at first all rosy and innocent soon became dreadful and flawed at Altamont.⁸ This interpretation of history is much too simplistic, and just not true. The problem is that there is no third step in the dialectic, no Hegelian-type synthesis of the contradictions. There is no going beyond the dualism, of seeing portions of the Sixties era as being neither overly positive nor overly negative. The complete picture must continually include both opposites: good and bad, positive and negative, non-violence and violence, hope and despair. If we weed out and disown what we call the negative from the early years of the era or fail to see the good during the later years, we distort the Sixties era not only by dismembering the early and mid-1970s, but by deceiving ourselves on how perfect the first few years of the Movement really were.

I.2. Literature Survey

While the beginning and the peak of the Sixties counter-cultural Movement is well documented by many articles, books, and movies, the post-peak and the last years are nearly always neglected (or even denied to have existed in terms of being a real part of the Movement). For example, many university courses, such as “The Sixties” at Sonoma State University in California, begin with the post-Second World War period of the late 1940s and end with Woodstock during the summer of 1969.⁹ In fact, it is very popular with most publications about the counter-culture to end with 1969, usually with the Altamont festival and the Charles Manson family killings in December (e.g., David Dalton’s “Altamont: End of the Sixties Or Big Mix-Up in the Middle of Nowhere?,” 1999).¹⁰ I claim that this is a distortion of the Sixties era, resulting in a peculiar predicament of often ending the Sixties storyline shortly after discussing its peak at the Woodstock festival (see Rob Kirkpatrick, 1969/2009, or Robert Santelli, *Aquarius Rising: The Rock Festival Years*, 1980).^{11 12} The significance is that many years of the Sixties era are excluded. Indeed, one of my major goals is to reassemble this greatly neglected part of history, the forgotten years of 1970 to 1976, and to show that, as every time period has a beginning and a build-up, it too must

⁸ Russell, *Let It Bleed*, 216.

⁹ The Sixties (Course syllabus, Liberal Studies 320, Sonoma State University, Fall 1987).

¹⁰ David Dalton, “Altamont: End of the Sixties: Or Big Mix-Up in the Middle of Nowhere?” *Gadfly* (Nov./Dec. 1999), <http://www.gadflyonline.com/archive/NovDec99/archive-altamont.html>. Accessed May 21, 2014.

¹¹ Rob Kirkpatrick, *1969* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2009), 264-265.

¹² Robert Santelli, *Aquarius Rising: The Rock Festival Years* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1980), 162.

also have a decline and an end (William Strauss and Neil Howe, *The Fourth Turning*, 1997).¹³ Additionally, even if some publications or university courses do mention the 1970s, they usually merely touch upon either the first year of 1970 (Chapman University), or the first few years very superficially (University of Washington).^{14 15} Another important contribution I assert is to show how, in order for historians to fit the Sixties era into the 1960s decade, the Sixties are in a sense whitewashed of their inherent and underlining more negative features, at least until the authors find it useful to end it. The technique used to justify this sort of downplaying of flaws or failures consists of painting a very positive picture of the Movement throughout most of the sixties decade (as best as they can) until the dam bursts and the overwhelming negativity cannot be concealed anymore. I state that this awakening to Sixties negativity occurs arbitrarily at different moments in time for the various writers (some examples include Gene Anthony, *The Summer of Love*, 1980, alleging 1967 as the end of the hippie movement, Robert Houriet, *Getting Back Together*, 1972, declaring 1968 as the end of hope in the political activist movement; and Alexander Bloom and Wini Breines (eds.), “Takin’ it to the streets,” 2003, maintaining 1968 as the end of the African-American civil rights movement for most people).^{16 17 18} Nevertheless, when the dam breaks, watch out, as the rosy myth of the early years of the 1960s turns often quite suddenly, and dramatically, to its opposite characterizations. Whereas everything was unified, hopeful, and non-violent, it turns to fragmentation, despair and violence (see Ethan A. Russell, *Let It Bleed*, 2009).¹⁹ The end result of this binary dualism is to ignore everything that is after the cut-off line (usually after 1969). This is an error, as the early and middle 1970s was an extension of a period of time that must be called the Sixties, as it still consisted of the war in Vietnam, anti-war protests, hippie communes, rock festivals, and African-American and other peoples of color fighting for their liberation.

¹³ William Strauss and Neil Howe, *An American Prophecy: The Fourth Turning: What the Cycles of History Tell Us About America’s Next Rendezvous with Destiny* (New York: Broadway Books, 1997), 28-33.

¹⁴ Chapman University Catalog 2012-2013. “Department of History,” <https://www.chapman.edu/catalog/oc/current/ug/content/4036.htm>. Accessed May 20, 2014.

¹⁵ “College of Arts & Sciences History: History of North America (USA & Canada),” University of Washington Course Descriptions, <http://www.washington.edu/students/crsdesc/histam.html>. Accessed May 20, 2014.

¹⁶ Gene Anthony, *The Summer of Love: Haight-Ashbury at Its Highest* (Millbrae, California: Celestial Arts, 1980), 175.

¹⁷ Robert Houriet, *Getting Back Together* (New York: Avon Books, 1972), 16-20.

¹⁸ Alexander Bloom and Wini Breines (eds.), “Takin’ It to the Streets” (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 132.

¹⁹ Russell, *Let It Bleed*, 184.

Not only are there many theories on when the overall Sixties era ended, but there are many on when each of the various aspects of the Movement concluded. Certainly one of the most popular explanations on the demise of the Sixties hippie movement derives from the horrible tale of Altamont. In Russell's *Let It Bleed*, the Altamont festival was foreseen as being the next higher step after Woodstock, which had always up to this time gotten bigger and better. Nonetheless, here the love generation degenerated into an orgy of violence, murder, hard drugs, and insanity.²⁰ As the story goes, youth after Altamont woke up for the first time and realized that they had lost it, that they were no better than anyone else, and had no chance (or ability) of changing the world. Altamont was so much of an opposite of Woodstock, just so devastating, that naïve hippie idealism ended right there and then. For Todd Gitlin in *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage*, the dream of Aquarius was lost and "cracked into thousands of shards."²¹ The problem with this celebrated version of history espoused by Russell and Gitlin (and countless others) is that it is caught up in this sudden negative turn of events as if it were something new. As I claim, these negative circumstances did not emerge at Altamont; they had always been part of the hippie scene. That goes for the Manson family hippie killers too. Way before the December 12, 1969 issue of *Life Magazine* (titled "The Love and Terror Cult"), those who were part of the scene (and would admit it) knew of the "dark edge of hippie life" (Curt Rowlett).²² Nonetheless, though usually swept under the rug, repugnant facts were reported early on by such authors as Lewis Yablonsky in his *The Hippie Trip* book from 1968. In his first-hand experiences from 1967, Yablonsky describes the new hippie subculture as already immersed in bitterness, disillusionment, hard drugs, hostility, violence, theft, rape, and even murder.²³

A typical timeline narrative for the African-American civil rights part of the Movement closely resembles that of Tom Head's, *History of the Civil Rights Era (1954-1968)*, written in 2009: Brown v. Board of Education (1954); Rosa Parks and the Montgomery bus boycott lead by Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (1955-56); desegregation of Little Rock Central High (1957); Greensboro lunch counter sit-ins (1960); the Freedom Rides (1961); James Meredith admitted to the University of Mississippi (1962); the March on Washington for Jobs and

²⁰ Ibid., 184-225.

²¹ Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam Books, 1993), 406.

²² Curt Rowlett, "The Summer of Love Breeds a Season of Hate: The Effects of the Manson Murders on Public Perceptions of the Hippie Lifestyle," *Steamshovel* (2008), <http://www.steamshovelpress.com/fromeditor48.html>. Accessed May 23, 2014.

²³ Lewis Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip* (New York: toExcel, 1968), 348-366.

Freedom, “I have a dream” (1963); Freedom Summer in Mississippi (1964); the Civil Rights Act (1964); the Voting Rights Act (1965); the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. (1968); and ending with the Civil Rights Act (1968).²⁴ Indeed, the most common opinion held by historians conclude that the civil rights era ended with the murder of Martin Luther King on April 4, the riots in more than 100 cities that followed, and finally the passage of the 1968 Civil Rights Act on April 11. The rationale for this closure is said to be based on the truly great impact the loss of Martin Luther King had on the Movement. King, according to Andrew Gavin Marshall in *The American Oligarchy, Civil Rights and the Murder of Martin Luther King*, was “without a doubt the leader of the Civil Rights movement,” and was still in his last year steering it against poverty and empire.²⁵ His death created a vacuum for strong national leadership, which, together with an already declining organizational strength, facilitated a weakening of the overall civil rights movement (Doug Mcadam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*, 1982).²⁶ Moreover, by losing the biggest champion for non-violent direct action, the Movement quickened on its path towards a revolutionary struggle (which many historians such as Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward in *Poor People’s Movements*, 1977, do not include within the civil rights discussion). Instead, most historians, like Farber, agree with Martin Luther King (and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference) that upholding the principal of non-violence was essential for the survival of the black cause (as millions of whites angrily turned against the civil rights movement when black radicals began to riot).²⁷ Martin Luther King (who after all was a Baptist minister) believed that any form of violence was incompatible with the Christian faith; however, with him now gone, there was much less debate on the matter. In fact, after King’s assassination, Stokely Carmichael (an “Honorary Prime Minister” of the Black Panther Party) proclaimed, “White America killed Dr. King last night. She made a whole lot easier for a whole lot of black people today. There no longer needs to be intellectual discussions, black people know that they

²⁴ Tom Head. “History of the Civil Rights Era (1954-1968),” Gallery Index, <http://civilliberty.about.com/od/raceequality/ig/History-of-Black-Civil-Rights/Civil-Rights-Era--1954-1968-.htm>. Accessed May 24, 2014.

²⁵ Andrew Gavin Marshall. “The American Oligarchy, Civil Rights and the Murder of Martin Luther King,” *Global Research* (November 30, 2010), <http://www.globalresearch.ca/the-american-oligarchy-civil-rights-and-the-murder-of-martin-luther-king/22168>. Accessed May 24, 2014.

²⁶ Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 182-186.

²⁷ David Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams: America in the 1960s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994), 116.

have to get guns.”²⁸ Thus, the purpose of civil rights struggle underwent a radical change, “from a peaceful reworking of social stratification into a forceful and violent destruction of white culture and the establishment of black power as dominant.”²⁹ Nonetheless, these various forms of Black Power (black nationalism and black separatism) that were very popular in 1968/69 did not start then; in fact, many of the young and the more radical began entertaining these ideas (in full force) by the middle of the 1960s decade. Indeed, what set the Black Power movement apart from the earlier integrationist types was the notion of using violence (either in self-defense or as an offensive tactic). My question is, if black militant groups like the Black Panthers were already forming in 1966, and the Deacons of Self Defense existed as early as 1964, then how can we not include the 1970s black revolutionary struggles into the Sixties historical discourse on liberation? I claim that we can! Surely, violence was not new to African-Americans, as urban ghetto riots began in 1963 and increased throughout the 1960s decade. The great ideals and ethical standards of the non-violent strategy went out the door during these uprisings, “reason was gone and looting, arson, and terror took over.”³⁰

Those many commentators who focus more on the student anti-war (and other various political) aspects of the Movement end the history of the Sixties anywhere from the middle of 1968 to the end of 1969. For Terry H. Anderson, in his 1995 book called *The Movement and the Sixties*, the era ends in November of 1968 with the election of President Nixon, as it is seen as the victory for those who oppose the hippies, anti-war protesters, and black rioters—and the whole liberal agenda which the average man felt it had all emerged from.³¹ Similarly, the 2002 book called *Imagine Nation* (edited by Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle) states that Nixon’s election to the presidency (on a anti-counterculture platform) gave such a harsh dose of reality to the Movement that it caused severe discouragement and soon fragmentation.³² In “Takin’ it to the Streets,” Bloom and Breines make a case for the Sixties slowly ending in 1968, with a “decline in the quality of

²⁸ “Martin Luther King Assassination: 1968 Year in Review,” Online audio (1968), <http://www.upi.com/Archives/Audio/Events-of-1968/Martin-Luther-King-Assassination/>. Accessed May 24, 2014.

²⁹ Nicholas Katers, “Analysis of Martin Luther King and the Civil Rights Movement,” *Voices* (April 4, 2006), <http://voices.yahoo.com/analysis-martin-luther-king-civil-rights-30075.html>. Accessed May 24, 2014.

³⁰ “Martin Luther King Assassination: 1968 Year in Review,” Online audio, 1968, <http://www.upi.com/Archives/Audio/Events-of-1968/Martin-Luther-King-Assassination/>. Accessed May 24, 2014.

³¹ Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties: Protest in America from Greensboro to Wounded Knee* (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1995), 293.

³² Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle (eds.), *Imagine Nation* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 12.

concepts, and morality” starting in that year, and followed by bitter infighting by 1969.³³ While James Miller in *Democracy Is in the Streets: From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago*, 1994, places the end after the split of SDS in June of 1969.³⁴ For Godfrey Hodgson in his *America in Our Time*, written in 1976, the end of the Sixties was a twofold process. First, on November 3, 1969, Nixon went on air and gave his famous “silent majority” speech, declaring that it was time for the majority of the people to regain its voice and “not permit U.S. policy to be ‘dictated’ by a minority staging ‘demonstrations in the streets.’”³⁵ Secondly, twelve days later, on November 15, because of intense pressure from the Nixon administration, no live coverage was given by any of the television networks during the largest anti-war demonstration in history; this “convinced the American people that the peace movement was dead.”³⁶ In other words, according to Hodgson, there was a deliberate attempt by Nixon (and many of the elite) to get the media to shift “away from emphasis on the militant Left . . . and toward the center and the Right.”³⁷ Not surprisingly then is columnist Nicholas von Hoffman being quoted in IRWIN and Debi Unger’s 1998 edited book, *The Times Were a Changin’*, who called the huge November 1969 Moratorium protest the last big one (discounting the ones in the 1970s) “It was the best, it was the biggest, it was the last of the anti-war (mass) demonstrations.”³⁸ The problem with all the above authors is that they focus their attention on perhaps the beginning of the end of the Sixties, and not on the true end of the era. The Sixties era was far from over, even if there was a concerted effort to squash it. Although some of the above scholars do admit to various actions and activities still existing into the 1970s, they are either barely mentioned (Bloom and Breines), quickly skimmed through (Gitlin) or treated as belonging to a different time period, i.e., the 1970s (Unger and Unger). On the other hand, Anderson and Hodgson focus too much on the perception of mainstream America of the Movement during the 1970s, and not on the actual movement itself (I argue that nobody had truly filled in as thoroughly as I do on what was going on inside the Movement during the early and middle 1970s). While Braunstein and Doyle think too much in terms of the 1970s being nothing but competing small movements opposing each other, they lose

³³ Bloom and Breines, (eds.), “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 532-533.

³⁴ James Miller, *Democracy Is in the Streets: From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1994), 350-390.

³⁵ Godfrey Hodgson, *America in Our Time* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1976), 377-389.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 382.

³⁸ Irwin Unger and Debi Unger (eds.), *The Times Were a Changin’: The Sixties Reader* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1998), 297.

the thread of seeing how all these various interest groups within the Movement still belonged to a greater whole.

Finally, there are those who do put the end of the political as well other aspects of the Sixties into the 1970s decade. For example, Gitlin called the Greenwich Village townhouse explosion that occurred on March 6, 1970, the end of the Sixties student movement. It was caused by the premature detonation of a bomb being built by members of the radical Weather Underground; three members died instantly. Wrote Gitlin, “What Altamont was for the (hippie) counterculture, the townhouse was for the student movement, the splattering rage of the ‘death culture.’”³⁹ For David Farber, in his *The Age of Great Dreams* from 1994, the Sixties narrative actually keeps on going until around the Vietnam War ceasefire in January 1973.⁴⁰ While in Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin’s *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s*, 2011, the Sixties only end with the resignation of President Nixon on August 9, 1974 (I claim that even this is too early).⁴¹ Nonetheless, even authors who do place the end of the Sixties era into the 1970s decade, while putting tremendous emphasis on events that happened during the 1960s decade, only give trivial space to the 1970s decade. For example, Farber wrote over two hundred pages covering the years 1960 to 1969, and a mere seven pages about the 1970-1973 period. Gitlin wrote nearly four hundred pages covering the 1960s decade and less than thirty on the 1970s decade. Moreover, Isserman and Kazin similarly write only twenty pages on the five years of the 1970s that they claim as being properly part of the Sixties, after writing nearly three-hundred pages on the previous decade. It’s really the same story on the part of everyone, unless the book is specifically about the Seventies, in which case, the first half of the decade is skimmed through and the last half is thoroughly covered. In other words, the first six years or so of the 1970s always seems to be neglected. My dissertation is meant to fill in the blanks and show what was going on in the Sixties movement during its final years that spanned more than half of the 1970s decade.

Overall, there are three ways that most historians try to structure the American Sixties in order to resolve the problem of integrating the negative features of the era into its narrative. The first, which I have already covered (and which is the most common) begins brightly with the election of John F. Kennedy as President in 1960, continues hopefully during the early years of the Johnson administration (peak of civil rights success), and

³⁹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 408.

⁴⁰ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 263.

⁴¹ Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 269-300.

fades out somewhere in the late 1960s as the Movement turns increasingly negative (or non-Sixtyish). The second scheme divides the 1960s decade into two sections, labeling them as “good” or “bad.” The third arrangement, perhaps least often used, is called the “long Sixties,” which allows for the continuation of the Sixties era into the 1970s. My dissertation speaks out mainly against the first two methods.

The second method, I assert, is more extreme than the first. It not only separates the first years of the 1970s decade from the Sixties era (like the first method), but splits into two parts, distinguishing the 1960s decade in order for the Sixties to retain its alleged ethical and moral purity. Here, the line of where to end the Sixties era is moved back from 1968/69 to somewhere in the middle 1960s. In other words, more of the 1960s decade is not considered the Sixties (or the real Sixties). The “good Sixties” now refers to approximately the first half of the 1960s decade. An example of this is Gitlin, who separates the Movement into what was constructive and valuable from that which was unproductive and harmful. He considers the “good Sixties” to include the civil rights movement and the early stages of the student and anti-war movements (1960-1966), while the “bad Sixties” encompassed the formation of radical underground groups such as the Weather Underground and the Black Guerrilla Family, which focused on bombings and “armed struggle (1967-1969/70).”⁴² Similarly, Paul Goodman, the famous American novelist and social critic of the time, considered the first half of the Sixties as worthwhile and important. He approved of the 1964 Free Speech Movement in Berkeley and said it was “making a lot of sense.”⁴³ However, he too became disappointed with the loss of “moral integrity” and “political concreteness” that he saw in 1962 and 1963. By the late 1960s, Goodman, the intellectual, felt disconnected from hippie youth, urban riots, and the “bravado, into increasingly empty—or violent—talk of revolution.”⁴⁴ Goodman, like many others, makes a clear distinction: SDS at Port Huron in 1962 is good, while Yippies in Chicago in 1968 are bad; Civil Rights movement is good, Black Power movement is bad; SNCC invites white youth to Mississippi in 1964 is good, SNCC kicks whites out of the organization in 1966 is bad; New York folk music and early Bob Dylan is good, San Francisco psychedelic rock is bad.⁴⁵ Finally, Bernard Von Bothmer recently added a new dimension to this topic (a combination of methods two and three) into his book, *Framing*

⁴² Dan Bacher, “A Much-Needed Balance Sheet,” *Because People Matter* (January-February 2003), <http://www.revolutionintheair.com/reviews/becausepeople.html>. Accessed May 27, 2014.

⁴³ Roger Smith, “Good Sixties/Bad Sixties? (part 1),” Review of “Paul Goodman Changed My Life” (June 17, 2011), <http://www.paulgoodmanfilm.com/good-sixties-bad-sixties-part-1/>. Accessed May 27, 2014.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

the Sixties: The Use and Abuse of a Decade from Ronald Reagan to George W. Bush, 2010.⁴⁶ He states that politicians of today use the “good Sixties” and the “bad Sixties” concept for their own political gain. Allegedly, they too consider the 1960s decade to have consisted of two parts, the supposed idealistic early years when the Movement upheld its principles and was seen positively (or what we call the Sixties), and the despair, chaos, and violence that followed (or what we disown as not the Sixties).⁴⁷ As a result, American politicians have begun to play a game of claiming the “good Sixties” for their own political party, and pinning the “bad Sixties” onto the opposition. Wrote Bothmer, “What conservatives do is identify liberals with the bad Sixties. And what liberals try to do is identify themselves with the good Sixties.”⁴⁸ Indeed, the Democratic party (the more or less liberal party) claims the Sixties (1960-1965) for itself, as it was the Democrats who controlled the executive branch from January 1961 to January 1969. For them, the Sixties consisted of John F. Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, the Peace Corps, Martin Luther King, the integrationists, the civil rights movement, the March on Washington in 1963, the Civil Rights Act, and the Voting Rights Act.⁴⁹ The Republicans, on the other hand, conjure up images of the “bad Sixties” to use against them. The picture they hold up consists of different years, not of the early 1960s (which they claim as part of the Fifties) but actions and incidences that occurred not only in the late 1960s, but even up to 1974 (the Republicans like to disown these years as it was they—Nixon—that held the office of the presidency from 1969 to August of 1974).⁵⁰ In the end, the only real debate between the three authors is where to draw the line that separates the “good Sixties” from the “bad Sixties. For Goodman and Bothmer, the “bad Sixties” begin a little earlier (1965 vs. 1967), while for Gitlin, they include the whole escalation of the Vietnam War and its corresponding anti-war protests. Goodman and Bothmer do not make a distinction between the more peaceful demonstrations of the middle 1960s from the more violent, anti-American and pro-Viet Cong protests in later years, as does Gitlin. One note of interest is how Bothmer describes how Republicans use the first five years of the 1970s in the Sixties debate. According to him, the pinpointing of when the Sixties actually took place has more to do with the ideologies one holds than to “specifics.”⁵¹ Nevertheless, the problem with

⁴⁶ Bernard Von Bothmer, *Framing the Sixties: The Use and Abuse of a Decade from Ronald Reagan to George W. Bush* (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010), 11-16.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Bothmer, *Framing the Sixties*, 12.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

this “good Sixties” verses “bad Sixties” conceptual model is that it continues to separate the positive from the negative. To not admit that the Sixties era was always a mixed bag of good and bad, right and wrong, hope and despair, and non-violence and violence only leads to continually shrinking the Sixties era even further, and not stretching it out as is needed.

The third method, called the “long Sixties,” does allow and include the continuation of the Sixties era into the 1970s (my dissertation is in this tradition, but with differences that I will mention later). The idea that the Sixties lingered into the next decade is not a new idea, but has been more or less a problem that many historians needed to solve. In fact, those using the first and second methods of shortening the Sixties have on occasion also admitted to certain Sixties themes remaining after 1969, but they either limited their work to a few pages attached to the end, or used the “good Sixties” and “bad Sixties” model in order to prove that those years were not really the Sixties anymore. In contrast, those who argue for a “long Sixties,” as I have done, do so in spite of the growing negativity and degeneration that was affecting the Movement (there were many positive things too) during the 1970s; however, I and others clearly see this only as a continuation of the trend that started in the 1960s decade. Moreover, if one stops and thinks, the first several years of the 1970s look identical to the late 1960s. The same issues and activities continued, for example: the war in Vietnam, the military draft, anti-war protests, black power, hippies, communes, and rock festivals. For Mark Hamilton Lytle, author of *America’s Uncivil Wars: The Sixties Era from Elvis to the Fall of Richard Nixon*, 2006, the Sixties not only continue after 1969, but start before 1960.⁵² Diverging from most historians, Lytle treats the roughly twenty years from the rise of Elvis Presley to the fall of Richard Nixon as one era. He identifies three distinct phases: the “cultural ferment” of the 1950s ending with the 1963 assassination of John F. Kennedy; the 1964-1968 “uncivil” wars with the rise of the Vietnam War, protests, hippies and racial violence; and finally the Richard Nixon years of “new value and identity movements,” including those of environmentalists, consumer advocates, feminists, gay, Latino, and Native American activists. My dissertation takes a different approach (besides not dealing with when the Sixties started), as I do not waver from my original three Movement groups: African-American liberation, student anti-war, and the hippies. I do not shift to newer groups during the 1970s, as is so common. Instead, I continue to follow my three original concerns, documenting their activities, while also incorporating the newer groups into this

⁵² Mark Hamilton Lytle, *America’s Uncivil Wars: The Sixties Era from Elvis to the Fall of Richard Nixon* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 3-10 .

ongoing alternative Sixties network. Perhaps of all the literature that I have read, Anderson, in *The Movement and the Sixties*, 1995, explains the Sixties era in a way in which I can agree with the most. He arranges the Sixties era in two parts: the First Wave called the Surge (1960 to 1968), and the Second Wave called the Crest (1968 to 1973).⁵³ First of all, unlike historians that use the second method of structuring the American Sixties, Anderson does not try to label one part of the 1960s as “good Sixties” or another as “bad Sixties.” Although he divides the Sixties into two parts, he does not try to end the Sixties in the middle of the 1960s decade. Secondly, Anderson also does not look to cut off the first years of the 1970s, as do those who use the first method. In fact, Anderson calls the 1969 to 1973 years as the peak of the Sixties era! He states that although the Movement is seemingly fragmented into many smaller parts (i.e., environmental concerns, consumer issues, women’s issues, gay rights), the fact not to miss was that the Movement was still “expanding.”⁵⁴ There were more people involved in the Movement during the early 1970s than ever before, as the younger part of the baby boomers were just coming of age.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, I believe that both Lytle and Anderson end the “long Sixties” too early. For Anderson, the Sixties end in 1973 with the Vietnam War ceasefire in late January, noting that there was “no outpouring of support, no mass marches, no bus brigades heading for Wounded Knee” (during the American Indian Movement’s long standoff against the American government from February to May of that year).⁵⁶ As for Lytle, he continues to call the 1970s the Sixties until the resignation of President Nixon in August of 1974. In my dissertation I make a case for ending the Sixties sometime during the latter part of 1976. Indeed, I believe that the most important part of my contribution to studying the history of the American Sixties era is the uncovering of historical events of the Movement that have been long lost to historians and lay persons alike. For example, I can prove with my work that Anderson is not correct in his claim about Wounded Knee. I discovered that there were marches and bus brigades that headed to Wounded Knee; in fact, one person who was shot by federal marshals was a member of the counter-culture who came to help. To conclude, I chronicle in great detail seven years (1970-1976) of countercultural Movement events and other activity. I feel that the further I researched into the 1970s, the more I realized that nobody has ever done what I have done. Thus I spent ever more time on the middle 1970s.

⁵³ Anderson, *The Movement*, 41.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 345.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 346.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 408-409.

I.3. Methodology

My dissertation consists of two major objectives: to prove that the Sixties era continued well into the 1970s decade, and to show how the various justifications for limiting the Sixties era within the 1960s decade are mistaken.

My research methodology consisted of the following steps:

1. A. To first determine why the Sixties era was cut short by so many writers of history, usually ending around late 1969.

B. My conclusion was that there were several events (including the Altamont rock festival) that occurred during the later part of the 1960s that in some ways symbolized the opposite of what the Sixties supposedly represented.

2. A. To examine what happened at Altamont that made it perhaps the most common end point for terminating the Sixties.

B. My conclusion was that three important ideals of the Sixties Movement were not present at the Altamont festival (which was supposed to be even “higher” than the Woodstock festival): unity, hope, and non-violence. A fourth factor that I include to a lesser degree (and only when analyzing the hippies) is that of drug abuse.

3. A. To determine when the lack of unity, hope, and non-violence began to creep into the Sixties Movement on the part of the participants.

B. My conclusion was that the lack of unity, hope, and non-violence (in other words, the presence of dissension, despair and violence) had always been part of the Sixties Movement, but did continually increase with each passing year.

4. A. In order to show that dissension, despair, and violence had always been part of the Sixties Movement, in some degree, notable incidences were documented from 1960 to 1969.

5. A. Lastly, I turned to the 1970s in order to find out if the Sixties Movement had continued to exist after 1969.

B. My conclusion was that the countercultural Movement, in all its aspects, not only still existed, but thrived in most cases (this I document in my 1970s part III section).

In part III, I traced the Movement occurrences chronologically for seven years after Altamont, especially relying on articles written on the day particular events occurred. I extensively used the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *Berkeley Barb* newspapers to collect my information, and several others to a lesser extent. My major focus centered around the greater San Francisco Bay Area, as that is where various aspects of the Sixties

counterculture seemed to have started, first gained national attention, or were the strongest. This would include the student Free Speech and anti-war movements at the University of California at Berkeley, beat and hippie movements in the North Beach and Haight-Ashbury districts of San Francisco, and the Black Power movement of the Black Panthers from Oakland. The *San Francisco Chronicle* newspaper (also the *New York Times*, *Newsweek Magazine*, and others) provided me with the establishment's mainstream perspective of events, while the *Berkeley Barb* (also the *Aquarian*, *White Lightning*, *Worker's Power*, the *Yipster Times*, and others) gave me the underground movement's point of view.

Overall, I surveyed all the issues of *The Aquarian* from October to December 1976; the *Berkeley Barb* from August 13, 1965 to July 3, 1980; the *San Francisco Chronicle* from January 1, 1965 to July 3, 1980; all 12 issues of the *San Francisco Oracle* (the psychedelic newspaper of the Haight Ashbury district) from September 20, 1966 to February 1968; *White Lightning* from February 1972 to December 1973; *The Workers' Power* from December 1974 to January 1975; and the *Yipster Times* from January 1973 to December 1976.

II. The 1960s

II.1. Introduction

Many history books state that the Sixties counterculture ended at the failed Altamont Speedway Free Festival on December 6, 1969.⁵⁷ It was supposed to be a day of peace and love—a "Woodstock West," patterned after the hugely successful Bethel, New York festival held four months earlier in August 1969.⁵⁸ The Altamont concert was a one-day event held in northern California, between Tracy and Livermore. It featured bands such as Santana, Jefferson Airplane, The Flying Burrito Brothers, and Crosby, Stills & Nash, and culminated in a performance by The Rolling Stones.⁵⁹ Unfortunately, the concert is remembered more for its violence than for the music. Three people died accidentally, a six-months pregnant woman suffered a skull fracture when an empty beer bottle flew out of nowhere and hit her in the head, and a Hells Angel motorcycle club member fatally

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 225.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 269.

stabbed 18-year-old Meredith Hunter after he pulled a gun and pointed it at the stage.⁶⁰ The Grateful Dead, who helped organize the festival and were also scheduled to perform, declined to play due to the increasing fear and tension at the venue.⁶¹

According to Sixties pundits, Altamont signaled the end of an era, because it shattered the countercultural dream of creating a better world. The violence showed that those who appeared devoted to the dream were no better than anyone else.⁶² The Altamont concert was supposed to be the next upward event of the youth explosion, “a steady, ascendant line from the early 1960s to this moment . . . always gotten bigger, always gotten better, and always gotten higher.”⁶³ Instead, the Age of Aquarius was “befouled with murder.”⁶⁴ This supposedly burst the Sixties Movement’s bubble about itself permanently. It is said that “if Woodstock was the dream, Altamont was the nightmare!”⁶⁵ The media quickly contrasted Altamont with Woodstock and created a myth of good versus bad, and a peak versus an ending. Woodstock, which had its own share of disasters, forever represented “peace and love” and the triumph of the counterculture, while Altamont came to be viewed as all evil and mayhem, the end of the hippie era, and the “de facto conclusion of late-1960s American youth culture.”⁶⁶ Nevertheless, one could also explain this part of history in another manner. More accurately, both events as portrayed were but symbols for the extremes within the same movement. There was plenty of youthful exuberance clamoring for peaceful change, but with it there were volatile emotions turning easily to frustration, anger, and destruction. This is not to mention that some within the Movement (from anti-war protesters, Diggers, and Yippies to various black liberation/revolutionary groups) openly supported the strategy of violence to achieve their aims. In reality, Woodstock was no more peace and love than Altamont was, as there were many of the same festival-goers, bands, stage manager, producer, and leaders of the counterculture at both events.⁶⁷ This media-generated parable of “light ending in darkness” was but an easy way to end an era. Altamont conveniently took place in the last days of the

⁶⁰ “Gimme Shelter and the Rolling Stones’ Nightmare at Altamont” (October 2009), <http://sixties-l.blogspot.com/2009/10/gimme-shelter-and-rolling-stones-at.html>. Accessed September 25, 2011.

⁶¹ “The Day the Music Died,” Squidoo (December 6, 1969), <http://www.squidoo.com/altamont-speedway-free-festival-1969>. Accessed 23 July 2011.

⁶² Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 406.

⁶³ Russell, *Let It Bleed*, 169.

⁶⁴ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 156.

⁶⁵ David Dalton, “Altamont: End of the Sixties: Or Big Mix-up in the Middle of Nowhere?” Gadfly (Nov./Dec. 1999), <http://www.gadflyonline.com/archive/NovDec99/archive-altamont.html>. Accessed May 21, 2014.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 173.

1960s decade. No matter how one wants to read the events and effects of Altamont, one thing is certain: rock festivals, communes, hippies, black power, and the anti-war movement (and the rest of the counterculture) continued for many more years, which I will document in the last part of my dissertation. In other words, the Sixties did not end in late 1969 but continued well into the 1970s. First, however, I will show how the various Sixties movements were far from their mythic ideal, and always contained their opposite (negative) characterizations/realities. Hence, I will explore the themes of dissension, despair, and violence (and to a lesser extent, drug abuse) within the hippie, African-American, and student movements. Secondly, I will explore why the Altamont festival was such a failure. And finally, I will examine the erroneous belief that the Hells Angels were somehow part of the same subculture as the hippies, and thus could have ended the Sixties era solely by their behavior.

II. 2. Hippies:

The Myth of Peace, Love, and the Sanctity of Drugs

To start, I will explore the hippie movement, which more than anywhere, emerged out of the Haight-Ashbury District of San Francisco in the middle 1960s. Contrary to legend, the hippie scene did experience, from its inception, the same negative problems that the Altamont festival would be associated with a few years later, namely: dissension, despair, drug abuse, and violence. Thus, the hopeful and magical years of 1966 and 1967 will be given extra attention here because of the misconception most people have about the purity of the Movement at this early stage in time. Only by filling in the missing information can we finally go beyond the myth of Altamont and see the festival for what it was, not as an ending to something, but as an example of the dark side of the Sixties era.

The first theme that I will explore will be that of dissension. One of the most basic myths of the hippie movement was that it consisted of a monolithic unity, that everybody who first came to Haight-Ashbury, or later to other similar bohemian enclaves, was on the same psychedelic trip of self-discovery and that their personal revelations and interactions were the basis for a new sociocultural model for the entire “straight” world to follow.⁶⁸ However, there were problems with these presumptions, as not all of those who came to

⁶⁸ Anthony, *The Summer of Love*, 156.

the Haight were there to transform the world and themselves.⁶⁹ Moreover, the hippie scene consisted of several subgroups with differing ideas on how to implement change.⁷⁰ Finally, the nature of psychedelic drugs tended to suppress the mind's ability to discriminate, giving perhaps a false sense of hope for those who took them.⁷¹

The Sixties-era counter-cultural road to Altamont was said to have started during the summer of 1965, when a small community of "new beatniks" began to form in the Haight.⁷² Many had recently left the original beatnik area of North Beach because it had become too commercialized. Nonetheless, while they were rooted in the post-World War II beat movement, times were changing: the Vietnam war started in earnest; rock music was replacing both folk and jazz as the music for the young "hip" underground; LSD was increasingly used to explore one's mind; and by September the word "hippie" was first used to refer to these new generation of beatniks.⁷³ While there were many differences early on, they were usually ignored, or thought unimportant, because of how fast the population was growing.⁷⁴

In the beginning, unlike Altamont, all differences seemed to fade from view in the excitement of the community's growth. The Haight-Ashbury sub-culture exploded in size from about 800 people in early 1966 to 15,000 by the end of the year.⁷⁵ Throughout the spring and summer there were at least two rock dance concerts each weekend night, all marked by the same accepting spirit that presumed that anyone who came was "hip" to psychedelic drugs, and probably on them. The experience of being immersed in a sea of hundreds of like-minded people produced an intoxicating feeling of optimism.⁷⁶ With the growing movement, there became a vision of destiny about changing the world radically. In fact, by the summer of 1966, the Haight-Ashbury type counter-culture was already beginning to spread around the world, as witnessed by the English folk rock star Donovan

⁶⁹ David E. Smith, M.D., M.S., "Runaways and Their Health Problems in Haight-Ashbury During the Summer of 1967," *American Journal of Public Health Nations Health* (November 1969), <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1226768/>. Accessed March 12, 2010.

⁷⁰ Mark Harris, "The Flowering of the Hippies," *The Atlantic* (September 1967), <http://www.theatlantic.com/past/docs/issues/67sep/harris.htm>. Accessed June 6, 2010.

⁷¹ Sidney Cohen and A.E. Edwards, "LSD and Organic Brain Impairment," http://www.reachinformation.com/define/Lysergic_acid_diethylamide.aspx. Accessed November 12, 2010.

⁷² Anthony, *The Summer of Love*, 11.

⁷³ Michael Fallon, "A New Paradise for Beatniks," *San Francisco Examiner*, September 5, 1965, 5.

⁷⁴ Hunter S. Thompson, "The Hippies," *Hippie History: The Making of the Counterculture*, <http://www.lovehaight.org/history/counterculture.html>. Accessed November 10, 2010.

⁷⁵ "Haight-Ashbury," *St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture Summary*, <http://booksrags.com/research/haight-ashbury-sjpc-02/>. Accessed November 13, 2009.

⁷⁶ Martin A. Lee and Bruce Shlain, *Acid Dreams: The Complete Social History of LSD: The CIA, the Sixties, and Beyond* (New York: Grove Press, 1985), 142.

singing about the hippie scene in one of his songs.⁷⁷ The emphasis was not to pay attention to differences, as the world was thought to be close to an evolutionary breakthrough in consciousness, and besides, psychedelics had shown that all distinctions were illusory anyway.⁷⁸

The press had a great part in the growth of the hippie scene. It advertised “free love, free lunch in the Panhandle, tolerance for the crazy and the outcast, and a New Age governed by the power of love and innocence.”⁷⁹ However, it brought in not only “visionaries” but all types of young people, some insecure and unable to find a place for themselves, others who wanted to drop out of society and saw the Haight-Ashbury as an easy place to survive on only the basics of life.⁸⁰ Furthermore, many of the new arrivals had some sort of psychological problems, or were actual criminals that came to prey upon the young and the naive.⁸¹ One example of the latter was Charles Manson, who would later emerge as an infamous “hippie mass murderer” shortly before Altamont.⁸² While things on the surface seemed homogeneous, there were basic differences, and what had seemed infinitesimally small to the hippie community was waiting to explode. According to a 1967 questionnaire by sociologist Lewis Yablonsky, out of 436 hippies who responded, 87 had been locked up in mental hospitals and 270 had been in jail before arriving to the San Francisco hippie center.⁸³

The community in the Haight-Ashbury had tried from the beginning to practice absolute tolerance and non-exclusiveness. As a result, a wide variety of groups could be found living there: psychedelic Christians, mystical surrealists, Krishna devotees, new leftists, teeny boppers, HIP merchants, Diggers, Pranksters, Satanists, weekend hippies, and plan old druggies.⁸⁴ With this type of a hodgepodge, it would not be surprising that disagreements simmered underneath the surface. An initial example of discord was related to economics. The hip shop owners and merchants believed in making money for themselves, while the Diggers (an anarchist guerilla street theater group) believed that everything should be free, and eventually started free stores in which everything was free.⁸⁵

⁷⁷ Kin Bentley, “Global Rock Legends of the 60s & 70s: Donovan,” (November 2, 2009), <http://www.globalrocklegends.blogspot.com/2009/11/donovan.html>. Accessed October 10, 2010.

⁷⁸ Anthony, *The Summer of Love*, 156.

⁷⁹ Charles Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury: A History* (New York: Random House, 1984), 164.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 164.

⁸¹ Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, 103.

⁸² Lee and Shlain, *Acid Dreams*, 185-186.

⁸³ Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, 348.

⁸⁴ Jacob Brackman, “The Underground Press,” *Playboy*, August 1967, 83.

⁸⁵ “Overview: Who Were (Are) The Diggers?” The Digger Archives, <http://www.diggers.org/overview.htm>. Accessed March 19, 2010.

Nevertheless, people in the Haight felt they did not have the time to spell out the differences among themselves, or to reporters, insisting on “not getting hung up on words.”⁸⁶ The point was that anybody who was in the Haight was surely searching for the same things: keys to world peace, or peace of mind. The thought that someone might only be there among them to only find friends didn’t much matter either; somehow it was explained away as being the same thing in the end.⁸⁷ Moreover, superficially, it became even harder to see contradictions as the newcomers were eager to conform to ready-made models of what it was to be a hippie, and quickly adopted the same dress and lingo of the “old timers.”⁸⁸ Nevertheless, the old time hippies (those who had joined the scene only some months before) discounted the inexperience of the newcomers, as they felt that if the new people also took LSD, they must be on the “same trip” as themselves; in other words, they were going through the same experiences and were thus just like them.⁸⁹

Hippies considered LSD a positive drug, a “deconditioning agent” suitable for “destroying the roots of war, racism, fascism, and all other evils based on narrow mindedness and repression.”⁹⁰ It was considered a sacrament of the highest order; the key to understanding the new reality of which they were creating.⁹¹ Nonetheless, the nature of the psychedelic experience could create confusion, too. Experiences from drugs like LSD and mescaline caused one to focus too intensely on certain things, while ignoring many other details.⁹² Moreover, after a couple of hours, dissolution of boundaries occurred in which the nature of the self and all of reality became as one being.⁹³ LSD users often described the trip in positive terms relating to “lack of individualization and discord”: peace, love, oneness, harmony, beauty, bliss, and freedom.⁹⁴ The drug allegedly opened one up to the vastness of ultimate reality, “all the way to the white light in which the individual was no more.”⁹⁵ This was essentially a religious experience that bordered on

⁸⁶ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 163.

⁸⁷ Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, 29.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁹⁰ “The Psychedelic Movement,” zaxistv, <http://www.zaxistv.com/sociology/1960s/psychedelic.htm>. Accessed October 28, 2010.

⁹¹ Anthony, *The Summer of Love*, 130.

⁹² Sidney Cohen and A. E. Edwards. “LSD and Organic Brain Impairment,” http://www.reachinformation.com/define/Lysergic_acid_diethylamide.aspx. Accessed November 12, 2010.

⁹³ Timothy Leary, Ralph Metzner, and Richard Alpert, *The Psychedelic Experience: A Manual Based on the Tibet Book of the Dead* (New York: Citadel Press, 2007), 24 .

⁹⁴ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 161.

⁹⁵ Leary, *The Psychedelic Experience*, 24.

either pantheism or solipsism.⁹⁶ (Pantheism is a belief in which God and the universe are the same thing, and is present in all natural forms. Solipsism is a system of thought that admits only the Self as something existing or knowable). After such a profound LSD experience, earthly problems were seen as a “come down” and something to be avoided.⁹⁷ Hippies would rather sing, “We are one in harmony living in celebration” then to deal with real existing problems.⁹⁸ Being all part of Oneness, somehow everything would work out by itself. Nonetheless, most hippies soon realized that the earthly realm also existed, and differences that had been suppressed began quickly to be ever more pronounced throughout the years leading up to Altamont.

The following is a brief chronology of incidents that expose the lack of unity within the early Haight-Ashbury hippie community, and between other parts of the wider San Francisco Bay Area Sixties-era movement and beyond.

- Fall of 1965 - The new left political activist types, from across the bay in Berkeley, thought of psychedelic drugs as “just another thrill.” Haight-Ashbury to them was either an example of “bourgeois self-indulgence” or a “plot to keep American youth from studying Marxism-Leninism.”⁹⁹
- October 16, 1965 - Sonny Barger, president of the large Oakland chapter of the Hells Angels (who created most of the violence at Altamont four years later), decided to not only oppose the peace march that they had initially supported, but attacked it physically. The Angels formed a solid wall that stopped the marchers at the Oakland city line.¹⁰⁰ Ken Kesey, and his bus full of people, could not even get close enough to the Angels to talk to them. Kesey, who was the leader of the Merry Pranksters, was the man most responsible for bringing the bikers into the budding psychedelic movement. The whole movement was thrown into confusion by this turn of events. “The Angels were the biggest villains in California, but here they were defending the city of Oakland from the bearded Vietnicks of Berkeley.”¹⁰¹ In other words, they switched sides, at least momentarily, and the hippie/anti-war

⁹⁶ Walter N. Pahnke, “The Psychedelic Mystical Experience in the Human Encounter With Death,” *Psychedelic Review* 11 (1971), <http://www.psychedelic-library.org/Pahnke2.htm>. Accessed November 4, 2010.

⁹⁷ Dr. Richard Alpert, *Remember Be Here Now* (New York: Crown Publishing, 1971), 15.

⁹⁸ “Welcome Home,” Rainbow Family of Living Light Unofficial Home Page (2010), http://www.starsrainbowrideboard.org/welcomehome_mirror/rainbow/. Accessed October 6 2010.

⁹⁹ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 160.

¹⁰⁰ Angela Dellaporta and Joann Steck, *Best of Berkeley: The Daily Californian's* (Berkeley: Independent Berkeley Student Publishing Company, Inc., 1980), 23.

¹⁰¹ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 20.

movement became their enemy. The following month Sonny Barger offered President Johnson the Hells Angels' services as a "crack troop of trained gorillas" in Vietnam.¹⁰²

- January 3, 1966 - The Psychedelic Shop opened as a store that would sell everything an "acid head" might be interested in, but on opening day, an anonymous note was slipped under their door denouncing them for selling out the psychedelic revolution.¹⁰³
- January 21 - 23, 1966 - Acid Test and Trips Festival, one of the first major hippie happenings, was a success. However, there were already tensions between the three main organizers: Bill Graham (former manager of the political satire theatre group the San Francisco Mime Troupe), Ken Kesey and his Merry Pranksters, and Stewart Brand (later of the *Whole Earth Catalog* fame). Graham exploded in anger at Kesey for letting in people free, while Brand and his partner squabbled with Kesey about not writing on the overhead projector.¹⁰⁴
- Early spring of 1966 - The San Francisco Mime Troupe experienced great polarization, and split into two parts after a serious political rap session. Known for having open factionalism, one part started to refer to itself as the Diggers.¹⁰⁵
- September of 1966 - Haight-Ashbury hippies demonstrated outside the Park Police Station over a recent drug bust by carrying signs reading "Blue Fascism."¹⁰⁶ Other hippies (led by *Oracle* editors Allen Cohen and Michael Bowen) condemned this approach by stating that if this kind of confrontation continued, the new community would be trapped in "old forms," in which the police always held the physical advantage.¹⁰⁷ Instead, they began to plan a celebration, a "Love Pageant Rally" rather than a protest for October 6.
- October of 1966 - The Diggers, led by Emmett Grogan, began to attack the psychedelic *Oracle* newspaper, in return, for being too otherworldly.¹⁰⁸ The Diggers addressed a sense of dissatisfaction that some had with the psychedelic lifestyle, based on the observation that religious visions were no cure to worldly

¹⁰² Peter Carlson. "Hells Aging Angel," *Washington Post* (August 9, 2000), <http://www.reocities.com/soho/lofts/1242/badboys.html>. Accessed November 2, 2010.

¹⁰³ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 266.

¹⁰⁴ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 33.

¹⁰⁵ The Digger Archives, "The Diggers Take The Stage," http://www.diggers.org/cavallo_pt_1.htm. Accessed March 19, 2010.

¹⁰⁶ "Anti-Fascist Rally and March," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 17, 1966, 9.

¹⁰⁷ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 62.

¹⁰⁸ Lee and Shlain, *Acid Dreams*, 173.

problems.¹⁰⁹ Richard Alpert called this problem “how to come down from an LSD trip.”¹¹⁰ The Diggers’ philosophy was that “after getting stoned and walking in the woods, we have to return to the world of society and its competitive games.”¹¹¹ Unlike the *Oracle* group, which concerned itself with esoteric things, to them the social and the political did count. In fact, Diggers believed that the hippies who only believed in living in the psychedelic realm were the enemy. The Diggers called the *Oracle* an “old cut rag of misinformation, outdated news, psychedelic bullshit art, and premasticated verbal masturbation about what we already know.”¹¹² It challenged the paper to report instead upon “the high incidences of police arrests for nonexistent charges” and exorbitant rents that had been starting to skyrocket in the past year.¹¹³ On the other hand, they thought the hip stores were essentially no different from General Motors. The continued believing in handing out free food, “not because it’s charity, but because it’s yours.”¹¹⁴

- January 14, 1967 - The First Human Be-In was held at Golden Gate Park in San Francisco. This event really made America and the world conscious of the existence of a hippie movement. Two days after this momentous event of unity, the Diggers and the Hare Krishnas were on bad terms. Both groups were recruiting in the Haight, and both were offering free food. However, the real conflict was philosophical, as the Diggers were “pro senses,” the opposite of the Krishnas’ sense denial.¹¹⁵
- January 26, 1967 - The *Berkeley Barb* denounced Dr. Timothy Leary’s Psychedelic Celebration, which had received “glowing reviews in the East Coast.”¹¹⁶ They called Leary “a self-appointed leader of the psychedelic revolution” who “suggested dropping some acid in an unguarded coffee cup to turn on straight people.”¹¹⁷ His message was supposedly a little too positive for the rest of the

¹⁰⁹ The Digger Archives, “Uncle Tim’s Children,” <http://www.diggers.org/comco/ccpaps2b.html>. Accessed November 20, 2010.

¹¹⁰ Dr. Richard Alpert, Sidney Cohen, and Lawrence Schiller, *LSD* (New York: New American Library, 1966), 38.

¹¹¹ “In Search of a Frame,” *Berkeley Barb*, November 25, 1966, 6.

¹¹² Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 72.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 59.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ “Human Be-In’s, Aftermath,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 16, 1967, 3.

¹¹⁶ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 217.

¹¹⁷ Perry, 84.

Movement people, in that it created a “too reassuring picture of harmless hippies doing no wrong.”¹¹⁸

- February 8, 1967 - There were great uncomfortable tensions between hip merchants and the Diggers, who threatened to dynamite the stores if they did not convert into nonprofit cooperatives.¹¹⁹ Diggers warned that the merchants had to get serious about their responsibilities to the psychedelic community. After being accused of being “rich exploiters,” the merchants started to put up signs in their windows showing their balance sheets.¹²⁰ They revealed all their gross income, all the way down to covering losses to shoplifters. On the other hand, some of the merchants began to claim that the Straight Theater was a “Mafia front” while the Straight crowd suspected the Diggers of being a “Mafia theft ring.”¹²¹ The Diggers also accused another hippie group, the Love Conspiracy, of being part of “some type of Mob.”¹²²
- Mid - February of 1967 - *Ramparts*, a political radical newspaper, put the Haight-Ashbury down by linking hippies with young Republicans and the John Birch Society and fascism.¹²³ The Second Annual Tribal Stomp was held for the first anniversary of Chet Helms’s Family Dog productions. It was said that the party spirit of the old time Dog Dances were supposedly being “diluted by nonparticipants.”¹²⁴
- March 3, 1967 - First Annual Love Circus brought down the wrath of those Diggers who had not left town to live out in the country. They charged that the dance promoters, the Love Conspiracy Commune and High Society Family, were charging an exorbitant rate at \$3.50 and they called for picketers.¹²⁵ Shortly afterwards, the residents at a Digger crash pad in the Haight charged that a group of people from the Love Conspiracy Commune broke into their place and threatened violence if the Diggers picketed.¹²⁶ Later it became known that the Chapel Hill Mafia, a group of drug dealers from the University of North Carolina, financed the

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ “Haight-Ashbury Revisited,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 30, 1967, 1.

¹²⁰ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 87.

¹²¹ Ibid., 94

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Peter Richardson, *A Bomb in Every Issue: How the Short, Unruly Life of Ramparts Magazine Changed America* (New York: The New Press, 2009), 140.

¹²⁴ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 91.

¹²⁵ “Love Conspiracy Clash,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 10, 1967, 1.

¹²⁶ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 94.

Love Conspiracy Commune.¹²⁷ The Diggers' public image had changed a lot in the last six months since so-called "counterfeit Diggers" appeared.¹²⁸ Now, there were several groups calling themselves Diggers. One such group with 150 members did picket against the Love Circus. In a leaflet that they passed out while picketing outside Winterland, they stated that all hippie events had been free (or had asked for donations) and that this event was a sellout. It read: "Whose trip are you paying for? How long will you tolerate people (straight or hip) transforming your trip into cash? Your style is being sold back to you. New style, same shuck, new style, same shuck, new style, same shuck. The Diggers will not pay for this trip. As you buy a ticket, you kill the Digger in yourself—yourself."¹²⁹ Both sides took their quarrel to the pages of the *Berkeley Barb*.¹³⁰

- March 15, 1967 - Diggers organized a picket line against the psychedelic rock bands that are now starting to get rich.¹³¹
- April of 1967 - The formation of the Summer of Love council began. Huge crowds of newcomers were coming thick and fast. The media-fueled hysteria created an invasion of those who believed the Haight to be a "New Jerusalem" of sorts.¹³² These "Johnny-come-lately types" wore clothes to match what they saw in national news media photos.¹³³ However, the newcomers could never feel the same ease about their membership into this hip community, as they were joining something that had been established before their arrival; a division between the original hippies and these new ones emerged. One way they thought to combat elitism was to take more drugs than anybody ever did before them. Hippie styles were becoming diluted.¹³⁴ Revered Indian holy man Meher Baba wrote against LSD as being a "false religion."¹³⁵ Hopi Indians were not interested in a "Grand Be-In" with hippies who made a bad impression.¹³⁶ There was disharmony at the gathering

¹²⁷ "Moby Grape Performance History January – June 1967 (Moby Grape II)," rockprosopography (December 2009), <http://rockprosopography101.blogspot.com/2009/12/moby-grape-performance-history--january.html>. Accessed November 3, 2010.

¹²⁸ The Diggers Archives, "The San Francisco Diggers Have Split," <http://www.diggers.com/diggers/digart1.html>. Accessed November 12, 2010.

¹²⁹ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 94.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ "Love Conspiracy Clash," *Berkeley Barb*, March 10, 1967, 1.

¹³² "Good Hippies' Summer Plans," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 6, 1967, 3.

¹³³ Lee and Shain, *Acid Dreams*, 175-176.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Meher Baba, "Excerpts from God in a Pill?" Sufism Reoriented (1966), <http://www.avatarmeherbaba.org/erics/godpill.html>. Accessed October 7, 2010.

¹³⁶ Emmett Grogan, *Ringolevio: A Life Played for Keeps* (New York: A Citadel Press Book, 1972), 381.

of the four elder statesmen of psychedelia: Timothy Leary, Alan Watts, Gary Snyder, and Allen Ginsberg.¹³⁷ Famous folk rock protest band Country Joe and the Fish could not get a concert gig in San Francisco because they were from Berkeley.¹³⁸ Psychedelic guru Richard Alpert spoke out against the Diggers' aggressive anarchism. He said that focusing on police brutality is not the individual human being arising above it all, "reality is a bring down man."¹³⁹

- April 15, 1967 - The leadership of Mobe (National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam) was bitterly divided on the issue of allowing marchers to carry pro-Vietcong banners and signs. Hippies criticized the anti-war movement for "talking about peace instead of being peace" (like themselves), while the Diggers were "gnashing their teeth at the politicians."¹⁴⁰
- May 2, 1967 - There was a debate as to whether the most popular psychedelic rock band, the Jefferson Airplane, was "merchandising love" by singing "Somebody to Love," which had just become one of the top songs in the country.¹⁴¹
- May 13, 1967 – "San Francisco (Be Sure to Wear Flowers in Your Hair)" was released on this day. It was a song written by John Phillips of the Mamas & the Papas and sung by Scott McKenzie. It became an instant hit, reaching #4 on the Billboard Hot 100 in the United States and #1 in the United Kingdom and most of Europe.¹⁴² The song is credited with bringing thousands of young people to the "Summer of Love" in San Francisco. Meanwhile, the Diggers' scornful response was "wear a flower in your hair and if San Francisco doesn't work out we can always do it in London."¹⁴³
- June 10, 1967 - There was a music festival on Mount Tamalpais. "Old time hippies" criticized how "hardly anyone danced."¹⁴⁴ There was already an attitude of comparing new events to the past and noting that the new ones were not measuring up.

¹³⁷ Braunstein and Doyle (eds.), *Imagine Nation*, 258-259.

¹³⁸ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 115.

¹³⁹ Alpert, *Remember Be Here Now*, 28.

¹⁴⁰ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 220.

¹⁴¹ The Diggers Archives, "The Early Digger Papers: Let Me Live in a World Pure" (Fall 1966), http://www.diggers.org/digger_sheets.htm. Accessed November 15, 2010.

¹⁴² "Welcome to the John McKenzie Web Site," <http://www.johnmckenzie.info/home.html>. Accessed October 11, 2010.

¹⁴³ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 125.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

- June 20, 1967 - The Diggers announce that the Be-In had been a “shuck,” slang for worthless.¹⁴⁵
- June 26, 1967 - Two people quit the council for the “Summer of Love” accusing it of being “establishment.” The council was composed of The Family Dog, The Straight Theatre, The Diggers, The *San Francisco Oracle*, and approximately twenty-five other people.¹⁴⁶
- July 2, 1967 - There was “paranoia” among shop owners in the Haight over theft and violence.¹⁴⁷
- August 7, 1967 – There was a large meeting on the Hippie Hill part of the Golden Gate Park. It ended like other sporadic public meetings that had occurred since spring; it quickly got “bogged down in an inconclusive exchange of irreconcilable viewpoints.”¹⁴⁸
- September 11, 1967 - The Summer of Love was ending. For a week, there had been “throng[s] of hitchhikers at the Oak Street Freeway on ramp.”¹⁴⁹ Counter to the myth, most original Haight-Ashbury hippies, if still living there at all, were not sad that the “spare change panhandlers” were disappearing from Haight Street along with the tourists.¹⁵⁰ They said yes to “fewer grimy lost looking teenagers huddled in doorways clutching lost looking puppies or kittens.”¹⁵¹
- October 6, 1967 - The Death of the Hippie mock funeral began with services at sunrise in Buena Vista Park. Later there was a procession that went down Haight Street with “pallbearers carrying a trinket filled casket,” ending at the Golden Gate Park Panhandle.¹⁵² The event was in part a Digger theater show aimed at regaining what was “lost to the hordes of people” who started coming during the months leading up to the Summer of Love.¹⁵³ Nonetheless, after the funeral was over, the Haight continued along the path it was already on, drawing in new residents as it grew steadily uninhabitable. The Death of Hippie press release showed a huge effort to “save the psychedelic dream from its publicity,” but not everyone joined

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 129.

¹⁴⁶ “Summer of Love,” Canada Space, <http://reference.canadaspace.com/search/summer%20of%20Love/>. Accessed October 28, 2010.

¹⁴⁷ Leslie Iversen, *Speed, Ecstasy, Ritalin: The Science of Amphetamines* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 145.

¹⁴⁸ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 138.

¹⁴⁹ “The Hippie Debris Lingers On,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 17, 1967, 4.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 143.

¹⁵² “Death of Hippie Parade,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 7, 1967, 2.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

the project.¹⁵⁴ Some openly doubted that hippies were actually going to “tear off their beads” as the Death of Hippie rhetoric suggested, and would become something called “the Free Man.”¹⁵⁵ The I and Thou coffee shop people ridiculed the project of “declaring the hippies dead,” especially since new hippies were still arriving into the Haight every day.¹⁵⁶

- December of 1967 - The Yippies (Youth International Party), a politically radical hippie organization, started at the end of the year. They later became famous for fighting the police in the streets of Chicago during the Democratic National Convention in August of 1968. The Yippies grew out of the Digger archetype (in fact calling themselves the East coast Diggers) that had always tried to bridge the gap between the more esoteric, otherworldly sorts of hippies and the political anti-war activist types.¹⁵⁷ While the Diggers were famous for handing out free food at the Golden Gate panhandle from 1966 to 1968, a less known fact was that many of them began to own guns by early 1967.¹⁵⁸
- Summer of 1968 - The Haight-Ashbury District was still attracting hundreds of runaways every week, but it was a changed neighborhood. The mood was darker; hard drugs continued to increase, and violence exploded. The old Fillmore dance hall was also closed in favor of the less personable Fillmore West.¹⁵⁹
- August 22-24, 1969 - The summer of 1969 was the summer of rock festivals. Woodstock, often considered the peak of the Sixties, was by far the biggest and the most famous, but every region had a major event of some kind or another. Ironically, San Francisco, where the 1967 Human Be-In had given birth to the idea of outdoor festival celebrations, did not have one because their giant event was canceled at the last moment. The three-day rock festival called the Wild West Show would have been held only a week after Woodstock, featuring the same bands. The reason for the cancellation was debate of over “community representation and control,” which had long cursed other hippie endeavors such as the Straight Theater and the Family Dog.¹⁶⁰ The Wild West Festival failed because of the insistence on

¹⁵⁴ “Decline and Fall of Hippieland,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 5, 1967, 1.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 147.

¹⁵⁷ The Diggers Archives, “Staging the Revolution: Guerilla Theater as a Countercultural Practice 1965-1968,” http://www.diggers.org/guerilla_theater.htm. Accessed May 15, 2010.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ “Rocks and Bottles Fly on Haight,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 17, 1968, 1.

¹⁶⁰ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 193.

the part of many hippie and radical types that it should be put on free. On the other hand, organizers such as Bill Graham pointed out that the sound system, lights, and security were not at all free.¹⁶¹ When it all collapsed, in part due to repeated threats of violence, there was a wave of public hostility throughout the San Francisco hip community. Graham publicly threatened to close his Fillmore West concert hall and quit the rock business altogether.¹⁶² With the Wild West Festival not happening, Woodstock in New York State remained the crowning achievement of the hippie gatherings. Thus, Altamont was an effort to wrest back the title to the San Francisco Bay Area, where the Movement had begun.

The second theme that I will explore will be that of drug use and abuse. Another basic myth of the Sixties era was that hippies used mainly psychedelic drugs (DMT, DOM - known as STP, LSD, marijuana, mescaline, and psilocybin), which resulted in usually positive experiences; and that hard drugs (amphetamines - known as speed, barbiturates - known as downers, cocaine, heroin, methedrine, morphine) came later (as in Altamont) and likewise signaled the end of the era.¹⁶³ During the optimistic early years, while Timothy Leary (and other acid gurus) talked enthusiastically about the benefits of LSD, they usually neglected to mention the potential hazards associated with its usage.¹⁶⁴ As mentioned before, the hippie counter-culture considered psychedelic drugs as being good because of the possible great knowledge that could be derived from them. The focus was primarily on how psychedelics could reveal ultimate truth to humanity and forever end all wars, inequalities, and other injustices.¹⁶⁵ On the other hand, as the so-called psychedelic revolution continued to grow, so did the increase in drug casualties. The unspoken reality was that increasing numbers of people were having problems with these drugs; things were not just rosy.¹⁶⁶ Some individuals incurred actual physical injuries during their psychedelic experiences, while others had difficult psychological encounters (or bad trips).¹⁶⁷ As it turned out, LSD's psychological effects could vary greatly from person to person and from one session to another. For a psychedelic trip to go well, it depended on several factors,

¹⁶¹ "August 22-23-24, 1969 Fillmore West/Family Dog, San Francisco – Wild West 'Make up' Shows," Rock Prosopography 101 (September 12, 2010), <http://rockprosopography101.blogspot.com/2010/02/august-22-23-24-1969-fillmore.html>. Accessed September 12, 2010.

¹⁶² Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 193.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 170-171.

¹⁶⁴ Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, 266.

¹⁶⁵ Lee and Shlain, *Acid Dreams*, 162.

¹⁶⁶ David E. Smith, "Runaways and Their Health Problems in Haight-Ashbury During the Summer of 1967," *American Journal of Public Health Nations Health* (November 1969), <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1226768/>. Accessed March 12, 2010.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

including state of mental and emotional readiness and the dose strength.¹⁶⁸ A list of potential dangers consisted of the following: being susceptible to accidents; adverse reactions from mixing drugs; panic and anxiety attacks; temporary or permanent psychosis; and flashbacks.¹⁶⁹ Besides psychedelics, the reality was that hard drugs were much more prevalent in Haight-Ashbury than is commonly remembered. Contrarily to legend, a large number of hippies tried every type of drug known to man, from amphetamines to heroin.¹⁷⁰ The story of how the hippies at Altamont were suddenly seen to be strange, damaged, unbalanced, and spaced out was merely a shift in perception, and not of reality.¹⁷¹ Hard drugs and drug burnouts had always been part of the countercultural scene from the beginning. By the end of 1969, drug problems had not only been acknowledged, but overly exaggerated.

While there had been no documented deaths from LSD overdose, many who had taken LSD died from accidents or suicides. LSD could temporarily impair the ability to make sound judgments and understand common dangers leading to personal injury.¹⁷² One infamous example occurred on October 4 1969, when radio and television personality Art Linkletter's daughter, Diane, allegedly jumped out of her sixth-floor kitchen window while on LSD.¹⁷³ Moreover, increasing the risk of harm was the mixing of psychedelics with certain classes of antidepressants (such as lithium and tricyclics) that triggered a "dissociative fugue state" in which individuals wandered around aimlessly without being aware of their actions.¹⁷⁴ Perhaps LSD could open an individual to transpersonal states of consciousness, but it was equally possible that the same person would not see a car coming, or even be aware that he or she was standing in the middle of a road.

Sandoz laboratories of Switzerland introduced LSD as a psychiatric drug in 1947.¹⁷⁵ By the 1950s and the 1960s it was used in American psychiatry to enhance psychotherapy. Some psychiatrists believed LSD was especially useful at helping patients

¹⁶⁸ Edward M. Brecher, "The Consumers Union Report on Licit and Illicit Drugs," *Consumer Reports Magazine*, 1972, <http://www.druglibrary.org/schaffer/Library/studies/cu/CU51.html>. Accessed October 29, 2009.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, 23.

¹⁷¹ Russell, *Let It Bleed*, 184.

¹⁷² Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, 248.

¹⁷³ Arnold Mann, "Achievers: Preacher's Kid," *Time Magazine*, November 11, 2002, 16.

¹⁷⁴ Mike Brown, "Interactions between LSD and Antidepressants," The Vaults of EROID (2010), http://www.erowid.org/chemicals/lsd/lsd_health3.shtml. Accessed October 15, 2010.

¹⁷⁵ Albert Hofmann, *LSD: My Problem Child* (McGraw-Hill Book Company New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 63.

“unblock their repressed subconscious minds.”¹⁷⁶ However, this was all done under a professionally controlled and supervised environment. In the book *The Psychedelic Experience*, precautions for taking and preparing for an LSD trip were carefully explained: “[LSD] acts as a chemical key – it opens the mind, frees the nervous system of its ordinary patterns and structures. The nature of the experience depends almost entirely on set and setting. Set denotes the preparation of the individual, including his personality structure and his mood at the time. Setting is physical – the weather, the room’s atmosphere; social – feelings of persons present towards one another; and cultural – prevailing views as to what is real.”¹⁷⁷ In the Haight-Ashbury, young people took LSD without any guidance or care, which often resulted in negative trips. Disturbing experiences ranged from feelings of vague anxiety and alienation to profoundly disturbing states of unrelieved terror.¹⁷⁸ Without a guide, users could be overwhelmed with fear that they were going insane and would never return to reality. In extreme cases, the individuals would attempt to harm themselves or others around them.¹⁷⁹ There were some cases of LSD inducing a psychosis in people who appeared to be healthy, but the psychosis-like reactions were usually short in duration.¹⁸⁰ For those that developed long-term psychosis, it was not known whether the LSD itself induced these reactions, or if it had triggered a latent condition that would have eventually manifested.¹⁸¹ Finally, many people reported “flashbacks.” In these phenomena, a psychedelic trip-like experience was re-lived by the person weeks or even months after last taking the drug. Things like alcohol, cannabis, and stress triggered the flashbacks or sleepiness; however, no definitive explanation has ever been worked out on why this happens.¹⁸²

Parts of the hippie counterculture were very critical of hard drugs, especially amphetamines that had been around for many years previous to the hippie era. Even the Beat Generation writers had used amphetamines.¹⁸³ Jack Kerouac was a particularly avid user of this drug because it was said to have provided him with the stamina needed to work

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Leary, *The Psychedelic Experience*, 3.

¹⁷⁸ Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, 263.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 307.

¹⁸⁰ Edward M. Brecher, “The Consumers Union Report on Licit and Illicit Drugs,” *Consumer Reports Magazine*, 1972, <http://www.druglibrary.org/schaffer/Library/studies/cu/CU51.html>. Accessed October 29, 2009.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Allen Ginsberg and Anonymous. “A 19-Year-Old-Girl and Poet Allen Ginsberg Talk about Speed,” Do It Now Foundation (1969), <http://www.doitnow.org/pages/ginsberg.html>. Accessed November 20, 2010.

on his novels like *On the Road* for extended periods of time.¹⁸⁴ The most commonly reported drug effects were a sense of well-being, feeling of exhilaration, self-confidence, and lessened fatigue in reaction to work.¹⁸⁵ However, the psychological effects could also include increased irritability, aggression, grandiosity, anxiety, excessive feelings of power and invincibility, repetitive and obsessive behaviors, paranoia, and with chronic and/or high doses, amphetamine psychosis could occur.¹⁸⁶ In an interview with the *Los Angeles Free Press* in 1965, beat writer (and one of the first hippies) Allen Ginsberg commented early on (as Haight-Ashbury was just starting out) that “speed is antisocial, paranoid making, it’s a drag . . . all the nice gentle dope fiends are getting screwed up by the real horror monster Frankenstein speed freaks who are going round stealing and bad-mouthing everybody.”¹⁸⁷ This trend continued to grow during San Francisco’s 1967 Summer of Love as thousands of young people poured in, not always for love and mind-expansion, but for drug “kicks.”¹⁸⁸ Marijuana and LSD faded somewhat into the background as speed took over. By September 1967, one-third of the residents who took the survey in the Haight-Ashbury area had already injected amphetamines intravenously at least once.¹⁸⁹ Another 1967 questionnaire sampled several major hippie centers (San Francisco’s Haight-Ashbury, New York’s East Village, and the Los Angeles areas of Venice, Fairfax, and Sunset Strip) and found that 57% used amphetamines at least sometimes and 46% used methedrine at least sometimes. Heroin was at this point only reported as being used by 2.8%, but quickly rising.¹⁹⁰ However, other surveys revealed that one in four had tried heroin too by now. In addition, marijuana use was reported by 96%; LSD and other psychedelics by 87%; amphetamines (speed) by 76%, opium by 58%, and cocaine by 36%.¹⁹¹

The following is a brief chronology of incidents that expose the use and abuse of drugs (and the related result of lack of hygiene and disease) within the early Haight-

¹⁸⁴ Attila Gyenis, “Forty Years of *On the Road* 1957-1997,” <http://web.archives.org/web/20080214171739/http://wordsareimportant.com/ontheroad.htm>. Accessed July 20, 2010.

¹⁸⁵ David E. Smith, “Runaways and Their Health Problems in Haight-Ashbury During the Summer of 1967,” *American Journal of Public Health Nations Health*, November 1969, <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1226768/>. Accessed March 12, 2010.

¹⁸⁶ Iversen, *Speed, Ecstasy, Ritalin*, 144.

¹⁸⁷ “Allen Ginsberg interview with Art Kunkin,” *Los Angeles Free Press*, December 1965, 2.

¹⁸⁸ Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, 34.

¹⁸⁹ Roger C. Smith, “U.S. Marijuana Legislation and the Creation of a Social Problem,” *Journal of Psychedelic Drugs* 11(1) (1968): 52.

¹⁹⁰ Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, 346.

¹⁹¹ J. Fred, E. Shick, David E. Smith, Frederick H. Meyers, *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs: Use of Marijuana in the Haight-Ashbury Subculture* (San Francisco: Haight Ashbury Publications, 1968), 3.

Ashbury hippie community, and between other parts of the wider San Francisco Bay Area Sixties-era movement and beyond.

- 1965 and 1966 - During these years, the modern world for many young people seemed like a “meaningless menacing place of atomic war and harsh competition where it was too hard to find peace.”¹⁹² Instead, those who became “hippies” tried to follow the ways of the American Indian with his “stone age ways and peyote worship.”¹⁹³ Dealing marijuana was the economic base of the early Haight-Ashbury hippie community; nearly everyone sold a little grass.¹⁹⁴ However, some became larger dealers who were expected to handle a full line of drugs, especially as the Haight-Ashbury grew and became a central drug market. It was said that amphetamines remained big until late in 1965, and reemerged in 1967, if they every went away.¹⁹⁵
- November 27, 1965 - The first Acid Test was held in Santa Cruz, California, a town 115km south of San Francisco. It was the first of a series of public parties put on by Ken Kesey and his Merry Pranksters that were centered entirely on the experimentation with LSD, also known as acid. Musical performances by the Grateful Dead were commonplace (starting with the second Acid Test) along with black lights, strobe lights, and fluorescent paint. The Acid Tests were notable for their influence on the new LSD-based counterculture in Haight-Ashbury; it became the subsequent ingredient for the transition from the beat generation to the hippie movement. These were no spiritual type events per se, as Kesey tried to make everybody’s trip as “strange and weird” as possible.¹⁹⁶ For example, Kesey and the Pranksters would take turns yelling into the microphone, saying things like “The room is a spaceship and the captain has lost his mind.”¹⁹⁷ The whole event was sheer madness that tested the boundaries of sanity, not unlike something out of Kesey’s 1962 novel called *One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest*.
- December 4, 1965 - The second Acid Test was held in San Jose, California at a private house. Leaflets advertising the event read, “Can You Pass the Acid

¹⁹² Norman Podhoretz, *Ex Friends: Falling Out with Allen Ginsberg, Lionel and Diana Trilling, Lillian Hellman, Hannah Arendt, and Norman Mailer* (New York: Encounter Books, 2000), 10.

¹⁹³ “What the Hippies Are Really Like,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 19, 1967, 2.

¹⁹⁴ Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, 128.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 207.

¹⁹⁶ “The Acid Files: Kesey’s Acid Tests,” http://obie1.homesite.net/deadcd/acid_test_files.htm. Accessed November 3, 2010.

¹⁹⁷ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 24.

Test”?¹⁹⁸ With a crowd of four hundred people, the Pranksters played their “mind games” on more people than ever before.¹⁹⁹ It was said to be huge, warm, crowded, intense, and confused scene.

- December 17, 1965 – The Fourth Acid Test was held at Muir Beach Lodge at another summer home encampment in Marin County north of San Francisco. Owsley Stanley, who supplied the LSD, started “freaking-out” and screamed at Kesey, accusing him of “draining his acid and his money.”²⁰⁰ He sent a chair screeching across the floor before leaving the log cabin, only to crash his car on the side of the road. The Test was so scary that it brought back all the old rumors about how Kesey’s scene created “hospitalizations and potential suicides”!²⁰¹
- January 23-24, 1966 - The seventh Acid Test was called the Trips Festival, the only one that lasted two days. However, on the part of many who had already experienced a lot of acid, there surfaced a disappointment of realizing that the LSD trip wasn’t the “one true reality itself” that some had proclaimed it to be.²⁰² The user always had to come back down afterwards. The belief that an individual could escape this mundane reality through a “chemical door” and “stay high forever in a Garden of Eden” was now seen by most as not being true.²⁰³ Instead, LSD only allowed one to glimpse the higher realms, which then needed to be integrated into one’s ordinary life. Many hippies felt cheated and rebelled at this cosmic dualism. As early as 1966, some began to turn to either Satanism or hard drugs like heroin. The attitude was, “If you can’t win, you might as well sell out big, to the very ruler of this evil universe.”²⁰⁴ Heroin made one feel “contentment, giddiness, and detachment,” in a sense numbing the pain of mundane existence.²⁰⁵
- February 12, 1966 – The Los Angeles Acid Test held on this date did not work out too well. “There were lines of frightened people at every pay phone calling their friends or doctors.”²⁰⁶ Out in the middle of the floor a young woman sat for hours screaming, “Who cares? Who cares?” and the Pranksters amplified her voice

¹⁹⁸ “The Acid Files: Kesey’s Acid Tests,” http://obie1.homesite.net/deadcd/acid_test_files.htm. Accessed November 3, 2010.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 27.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Alpert, Cohen, and Schiller, *LSD*, 90.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 168.

²⁰⁵ William S. Burroughs, *Junkie* (New York: Penguin Books, 1953), 134.

²⁰⁶ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 39.

throughout the hall on loudspeakers.²⁰⁷ By the end of the night, seven people were committed to hospitals. For once, the Pranksters had been unable to save a “ticklish situation,” and so they split up, with some heading for Mexico.²⁰⁸

- March of 1966 – Confirming that amphetamines were indeed being used by the early hippie community, an article appeared in the San Francisco newspaper stating that twenty-four people were arrested at a “party pad” for using not only marijuana, but methedrine.²⁰⁹
- Spring of 1966 - Owsley Stanley, the first producer of large quantities of LSD, moved back up to Berkeley from Los Angeles. He at first had put a little methedrine into his early LSD, because acid guru Timothy Leary claimed that “amphetamines added clarity to an acid trip.”²¹⁰ Nevertheless, soon Owsley turned against amphetamines in any form.²¹¹
- Late May 1966 - The Velvet Underground rock group from the avant-garde part of New York City played in San Francisco. Many thought their performance “wasn’t too high,” as they sang only about heroin addiction, perversion, and vanity.²¹²
- June 10, 1966 - Janis Joplin, described as “a moody little speed freak,” joined the local San Francisco band called Big Brother and the Holding Company.²¹³
- February of 1967 - San Francisco General Hospital reported an average of four victims of bad LSD trips a day (85% coming from the Haight). More police drug raids began in the Haight.²¹⁴
- February 26, 1967 – A nineteen-year old girl fell to her death from her third-floor apartment in the Haight, “stark naked and holding a tube of toothpaste in her mouth.”²¹⁵ She had left behind an incomprehensible note in her typewriter that read as if she had been striking keys at random.²¹⁶
- March 16, 1967 - Fear passed through the psychedelic community when an article in *Science* magazine claimed that LSD-dosed rats suffered chromosomal changes.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ “Party Pad Raid – 24 Hauled Off,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 15, 1966, 1.

²¹⁰ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 52.

²¹¹ “Interview with an Alchemist: Bear: Owsley, LSD Chemist Extraordinaire in Conversation with Bruce Eisner,” Island, <http://www.Island.org/news/Owsleyinterview3.pdf>. Accessed November 20, 2010.

²¹² George Starostin, “The Velvet Underground,” George Starostin Reviews, <http://starling.rinet.ru/music/velvets.htm>. Accessed September 20, 2010.

²¹³ “Janis Joplin Biography,” Spiritus-temporis, <http://www.spiritus-temporis.com/janis-joplin/>. Accessed September 15, 2010.

²¹⁴ “Hallinan’s Hippies and ‘Gestapo,’” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 11, 1966, 4.

²¹⁵ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 92.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

The research implied that the use of LSD “could lead to retardation and other abnormalities” in the unborn.²¹⁷

- March 24 1967 - San Francisco’s city health director announced that he would order intensive health inspections in the Haight-Ashbury. Hepatitis and gonorrhea were already reported in the neighborhood, and epidemic meningitis and the bubonic plague were possibilities as well resulting from drug use and lack of hygiene.²¹⁸
- March 27, 1967 – Eight teams of health inspectors descended on the Haight, visiting 691 buildings. They issued five-day warnings for sanitary repair to 39 buildings. The Digger place got fifteen citations for violations ranging from absence of doors on bedrooms to dog shit on the floor. The health inspectors caught a twenty-eight year old named Spider “butchering a deer in one of the houses.”²¹⁹
- April of 1967 - Down in Big Sur, California police were knocking down lean-tos, abandoned cabins, and other potential shelters to keep Diggers and other Haight-Ashbury emigrants from establishing whole camps of “half-naked flute players in the canyons.”²²⁰ Big Sur officials cited the danger of hepatitis, lice, and scabies.²²¹
- April 19, 1967 - New Jersey Representative Frank Thompson, Jr., proposed two new acts to Congress aimed at “those banana-smoking beatniks who seek a make-believe land.”²²²
- January to May 1967 - The city had already removed six times as much refuse and garbage from the panhandle of the Golden Gate park in Haight-Ashbury as in all of 1966.²²³
- May of 1967 - Marijuana supply was drying up in the Haight, “a mysterious grass shortage,” and the use of amphetamines was on the rise.²²⁴ Amphetamines were popular because they guaranteed a positive mood and “enough aggressiveness to deal with any amount of hassle on the crowded street.”²²⁵ The result was to make the neighborhood even more tense and hassled: “The more people took speed to

²¹⁷ “Bogus Science: LSD and Chromosome Damage,” Earth Erowidv (October 1, 2002), http://www.erowid.org/chemicals/lsd/lsd_health4.shtml. Accessed October 6, 2010.

²¹⁸ “Hippies: A ‘Cleanup’ Crusade,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 25, 1967, 5.

²¹⁹ “Health Department Raid: Inside Hippies’ Pads,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 28, 1967.

²²⁰ “A Drive to Evict Hippies in Monterey,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 24, 1967, 6.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² “Solon Faces Banana Treat,” *Berkeley Barb*, May 12-18, 1967, 2.

²²³ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 120.

²²⁴ Lee and Shlain, *Acid Dreams*, 186.

²²⁵ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 122.

deal with the street, the more crazy speed freaks there were on the street.”²²⁶ Some of the hip shop owners began to close early because “there were too many manic weirdoes at large after 8 pm.”²²⁷

- May 3, 1967 - Eight persons associated with the Love Conspiracy Commune were arrested for the sale of methedrine. The lab also manufactured DMT, a strong psychedelic drug whose effects lasted but half an hour.²²⁸
- June 8, 1967 - The cops in Marin County busted a mescaline factory.²²⁹
- June 9, 1967 - The Haight-Ashbury Free Clinic was established to help the thousands of young people on the streets in the Haight-Ashbury District whose lives were affected by “drug and alcohol abuse, mental and physical problems.”²³⁰
- June 11, 1967 – The hippie magazine called *Inner Space* praised STP as “pure molecular energy, beyond mysticism, beyond love, beyond Maya: IT.”²³¹ However, this strong psychedelic was known to “making the vocal chords vibrate manically and causing the body to arrange itself into spontaneous yoga postures.”²³² The bad trip percentage was said to be 60 percent.²³³
- June 26, 1967 - There were scare stories about STP, 10,000 doses of which were said to have been distributed free.²³⁴ The danger was that convulsions could result if the tranquilizer thiorazine were taken together with STP. Hippies during 1967 were reportedly already carrying LSD in one pocket and thiorazine in the other for bad trips.²³⁵
- June 30, 1967 –There appeared a new drug on Haight Street, an animal tranquilizer named phencyclidine or PCP.²³⁶
- July 4 1967 - After the Santa Rosa, California *Press-Democrat* published a series of articles on Morning Star Ranch commune, it was greeted with a lot of local

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Alexander T. Shulgin, “Profiles of Psychedelic Drugs: DMT,” *Journal of Psychedelic Drugs* 8 (1976): 167-168, <http://www.lycaem.org/nepenthes/Drugs/DMT/dmt.shulgin.html>. Accessed October 8, 2010.

²²⁹ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 123.

²³⁰ David E. Smith and John Luce, *Love Needs Care: A History of San Francisco’s Haight-Ashbury’s Free Medical Clinic and Its Pioneer Role in Treating Drug-Abuse Problems* (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1971), 6.

²³¹ Patrick Lundborg, “Innerspace: Presented for Your Edification,” *Feed Your Head* (2008), <http://www.lysergia.com/FeedYourHead/Innerspace/Innerspace.htm>. Accessed November 26, 2009.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Kenn Thomas, *ACID: A New Secret History of LSD* (London: Vision Paperbacks, 1998), 115.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Lee and Shlain, *Acid Dreams*, 187-188.

²³⁶ Ibid.

hostility. Lou Gottlieb was given a “cease and desist order” by the health department.²³⁷ It gave him twenty-four hours to cease operations as an “organized camp.”²³⁸

- July 16, 1967 - There were three Free Buses (including a yellow-painted Digger Bus) running up and down Haight Street. One of the drivers told the *San Francisco Chronicle* that there were “as much as five hundred meth freaks in the Haight who’ll get on the bus going anywhere.”²³⁹
- August of 1967 - Marijuana was still in short supply, and there was more LSD than anybody wanted. Haight Street became “Speed Street now” with half the hippies in the neighborhood shooting methedrine.²⁴⁰ One out of five had tried heroin, which they used as freely as tranquilizers or barbiturates to overcome the feeling of depression that followed week long sleepless “speed runs” of methedrine-fueled activity.²⁴¹ If they became junkies they became thieves, but as speeders, they could be physically dangerous. After a couple of days without sleep, they started to “space,” to fall into moments of unconsciousness while remaining physiologically awake.²⁴² Speed freaks developed hallucinations as if the mind were struggling to dream in the absence of sleep. Often these hallucinations tended to be paranoid and violent.²⁴³
- August 2, 1967 - The *Berkeley Barb* reported that LSD Rescue, a “bum-trip talk down service” that had claimed to have talked down four hundred people a week in December of 1966, had now been revived.²⁴⁴
- August 3, 1967 - Dr. Ellis D. Sox pronounced Haight-Ashbury restaurants the “likeliest in town to have hair or bacteria in their food.”²⁴⁵
- August 12, 1967 – A hippie came into the Haight-Ashbury Free Clinic and stole penicillin tablets, disposable syringes, and a bottle of tablets used to test urine samples for sugar. Later he was seen passing everything out in the streets, including

²³⁷ “Haight-Ashbury Revisited,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 30, 1967, 1

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 134.

²⁴⁰ Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, 243.

²⁴¹ Eric C. Schneider, *Smack: Heroin and the American City* (Philadelphia: University Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 152.

²⁴² Iversen, *Speed, Ecstasy, Ritalin*, 144.

²⁴³ “Unsafe at Any Speed,” *Time Magazine*, October 27, 1967, 54-56.

²⁴⁴ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 137.

²⁴⁵ “Haight-Ashbury Revisited,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 30, 1967, 1.

the urine tablets that contained a highly poisonous mixture of copper sulfide and caustic soda.²⁴⁶

- August 20, 1967 - San Francisco General Hospital reported that the number of drug abuse victims went up from 150 in February to 750 in July of 1967.²⁴⁷
- August 27, 1967 - Beatles manager Brian Epstein overdosed on drugs and died.²⁴⁸
- October 4, 1967 - Only 40 percent of the drug busts in the Haight were for marijuana; most were for speed and heroin.²⁴⁹ The drug most despised by psychedelic believers was really coming on by the summer of 1967 when people like Emmett Grogan of the Diggers started using it. At first, it was initially used as a ready antidote for the depression that followed a couple days of shooting amphetamines.²⁵⁰ Quickly it turned into a habit, as it became cool to be high on heroin. Timothy Leary himself spoke of “all drugs as yoga’s.”²⁵¹
- Summer of 1969 - The Haight seemed to hit rock bottom. Thirty-six storefronts were vacant and the remaining eighteen or so had metal gratings or boards over their windows. Needle freaks, speeders, and junkies were allegedly hunting cats for food. There were hard drugs, hustlers, murder, rape, and satanic cult groups.²⁵² Besides the so-called positive psychedelic drugs, more than 33 percent of the hippies now shot heroin, or methedrine.²⁵³ Haight Street was unpleasant and dangerous even by noontime. Jerry “Blind Jerry” Sealund ran his health food store on Page Street until 1969, but moved out after being robbed twelve times in eleven months.²⁵⁴ After a brief spurt of positive energy between 1966-1968, the Haight neighborhood soon became as bad as a neighborhood can get, “a heroin infested slum where somebody could get knifed for a bag of groceries.”²⁵⁵ Meanwhile, the

²⁴⁶ Iversen, *Speed, Ecstasy, Ritalin*, 149.

²⁴⁷ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 140.

²⁴⁸ “The Beatles Bible: Not Quite as Popular as Jesus,” *People*, August 27, 1967, <http://www.beatlesbible.com/1967/08/27/brian-epstein-dies/>. Accessed October 20, 2010.

²⁴⁹ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 147.

²⁵⁰ Schneider, *Smack: Heroin and the American City*, 60.

²⁵¹ Leary, *The Psychedelic Experience*.

²⁵² Lee and Shlain, *Acid Dreams*, 186-187.

²⁵³ Edward M. Brecher, “The Consumers Union Report on Licit and Illicit Drugs,” *Consumer Reports Magazine* (1972), <http://www.druglibrary.org/schaffer/Library/studies/cu/CU51.html>. Accessed October 29, 2009.

²⁵⁴ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 178.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 180.

Hells Angels made a lot of money from the dope trade. A few years later, in 1972, the California Attorney General called them “a massive dope ring.”²⁵⁶

The third theme that I will explore will be that of violence. Another basic myth of the 1960s states that the hippie counterculture was solely tranquil. The famous slogans were “peace and love” and “make love not war,” while the symbol of a two-fingered “peace sign” was a common sight.²⁵⁷ At the Altamont festival there was a lot of turmoil involving mostly the Hells Angels and the audience fighting each other near the stage. The Angels, who had been hired to be security, claimed to be justified in their actions, including the stabbing death of a black man waving a gun nearby as the Rolling Stones played.²⁵⁸ A big deal was made of the violence in the media and many since then have called it the end of the Sixties. However, Altamont was far from being the first incidence of agitation in the hip community; like dissension and drugs, it had a long dark history from the start. Perhaps it stemmed from a subconscious attitude of members of the community seeing themselves as victims, “full of fear and resentment” towards the squares.”²⁵⁹ Moreover, the counterculture also had a basic worldview that they described as killing the intellectual and the white man in themselves.²⁶⁰ They identified much more with the poor minorities of the world than with their own Caucasian middle class.²⁶¹ While many in the hip counterculture were against overt political protest, still they managed to demonstrate their dissatisfaction in ever more confrontational ways. The two seemingly opposite poles of the Sixties movement were the hippies and the political activists types; however, there was a mixing from the start. Eventually, the hatred towards the Vietnam War became a justification for everything from pornography to terrorist bombs.²⁶²

The following is a brief chronology of incidents that expose all sorts of disturbances, confrontations, and violence within the early Haight-Ashbury hippie community, and between other parts of the wider San Francisco Bay Area movements and

²⁵⁶ “Motorcycle Menace: Chapter Three: News Stand Menace,” Morningside, <http://webs.morningside.edu/masscomm/DrRoss/Chapter3.html>, Accessed November 15, 2010.

²⁵⁷ Curt Rowlett, “The Summer of Love Breeds a Season of Hate: The Effects of the Manson Murders on Public Perceptions of the Hippie Lifestyle,” Steamshovel (2008), <http://www.steamshovelpress.com/fromeditor48.html>, Accessed May 23, 2014.

²⁵⁸ Kirkpatrick, 1969, 262-263.

²⁵⁹ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 151.

²⁶⁰ Rachel Donadio, “1958: The War of the Intellectuals,” nytimes.com (May 11, 2008), <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/5/11/books/review/Donadio-t.html?pagewanted=all>. Accessed October 16, 2010.

²⁶¹ Gary T. Marx, “The White Negro and the Negro White,” <http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/whitenegro.html>, Accessed November 1, 2010.

²⁶² Braunstein and Doyle, eds, *Imagine Nation*, 312-313.

beyond. The perception that all the young people who first gathered in Haight-Ashbury were nice, sensitive people that would never hurt anyone is not the whole story.

- June of 1965 - Ken Kesey invited the Hells Angels to his private La Honda, California acid party, right after several of them were arrested on gang-rape charges.²⁶³
- August of 1965 - In Virginia City, Nevada, a couple of new-generation bohemians (with ties to the San Francisco Bay Area) open an Old West bar with folk music called the Red Dog Saloon. It became a hangout for a “colony of exotic people” soon to be called hippies, whose “fancy for guns” led to trouble.²⁶⁴
- September 25, 1965 – The song “Eve of Destruction” became the number-one song on the pop charts in the United States. Contrary to the 1960s myth of youth optimism, this top song contained lyrics that gave warning of imminent apocalypse.²⁶⁵
- November of 1965 - The third Family Dog dance, called The Appeal, turned “edgy and unpleasant.”²⁶⁶ Hostile teenagers from all over San Francisco had heard about these early psychedelic dance benefits being held at a loft on Howard Street to help the Mime Troupe raise money. There were fistfights in the parking lot and in the hall itself. One of the plate-glass doors was smashed.²⁶⁷
- January 17, 1966 – Ken Kesey scuffled with police before being arrested on drug charges and possessing drugs while in the company of a minor.²⁶⁸
- July and August of 1966 - Gangs of Haight-Ashbury neighborhood kids occasionally made trouble for the hippies, as did the Hells Angels who had started hanging out there.²⁶⁹
- Mid-October of 1966 – Ken Kesey was out on bail planning his last acid test called “LSD Graduation Ceremony” for Halloween night.²⁷⁰ Rumors about Kesey began to circulate about his “supposed dark plans” at the California Democrats State

²⁶³ Hunter S. Thompson, *Hells Angels: A Strange and Terrible Saga* (New York: Random House, 1966), 230.

²⁶⁴ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 13.

²⁶⁵ “The Hot 100 - 1965 Archive,” Billboard Charts Archive, <http://www.billboard.com/archive/charts/1965/hot-100>. Accessed October 2, 2014.

²⁶⁶ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 23.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

²⁶⁸ Ken Kesey, *Kesey's Jail Journal* (New York: Viking Adult, 2003), 10.

²⁶⁹ The Digger Archives, “The Free-Fall Chronicles: Crossing The Free Frame of Reference,” <http://www.diggers.org/freefall/freefram.html>. Accessed 29 October 2010.

²⁷⁰ “Acid Test Graduation,” *The Acid Test Chronicles* (October 31, 1966), <http://www.postertrip.com/public/5588.cfm>. Accessed November 3, 2010.

Convention to elect the California governor.²⁷¹ Ever since the beginning of the Pranksters, Kesey had “an aura of danger about him” and his acid parties.²⁷² The story was that he now was going to get the Democrats stoned by putting LSD in the plumbing or leaving things painted with LSD so that it would go through the skin. Some people were irritated that Kesey might bring down retaliation onto the hip community.²⁷³

- October 31, 1966 – On this day there was also a Diggers event called a “Full Moon Public Celebration,” which was an “experiment in psychedelico-political theater and provocation.”²⁷⁴ The leaflets had announced an “intersection game” that would teach the “Digger theory of ownership of the streets.”²⁷⁵ It consisted of walking across the intersection in different directions to form various “polygons,” relying on the pedestrian’s right of way over automobiles.²⁷⁶ Tying up traffic was a modification of the civil rights sit-in technique directed against automobiles. The Diggers claimed that the “streets are public” and the “streets are free.”²⁷⁷ Police responded to the traffic jam and several people were arrested, while two-hundred more booed and chanted “Public, public.”²⁷⁸
- January 14, 1967 – The day of the First Human Be-In, it was announced that the Hells Angels were guarding the generators. At the edges of the Be-In a few “knots of hostile teenagers” from Mission High School and Polytechnic High (Latino and blacks) got into confrontations with hippies.²⁷⁹ Haight Street that evening was less mellow than the Be-In. Around nine at night, a crowd of hippies obstructed traffic and a surprisingly swift police raid followed; nearly fifty people were arrested.²⁸⁰
- February of 1967 - Black teenagers had discovered that hippies were easy to push around.²⁸¹ Moreover, the realization that most black people who “should be our brothers but come after us with big muscles, hard fists, and clever knives” probably

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ “Diggers New Game; The Frame,” *Berkeley Barb*, November 4, 1966.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Braunstein and Doyle, *Imagine Nation*, 83

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 83.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 84

²⁷⁹ “Hippies’ Love and Activism,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 15, 1967, 1.

²⁸⁰ “Human Be-In’s’ Aftermath,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 16, 1967, 1.

²⁸¹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 219.

resented them for abandoning exactly what they themselves would have liked to obtain.²⁸²

- March of 1967 - Confrontation was in the air as the Communication Company passed out a leaflet asking people in the Haight to “devise violent but harmless activities to cool out those among their new tribal brothers who didn’t happen to be non-violent.”²⁸³ The Diggers and a civil rights activist close to the Diggers, called Roy Ballard, planned a “Black Man’s Free Store” for the Fillmore ghetto bordering the Haight-Ashbury District.²⁸⁴ Nonetheless, Ballard delivered a fearful warning: “If the Diggers do not receive the help they are asking for, in advance, as far as the black community is concerned, there will be no riot this summer – there will be war.”²⁸⁵
- April 2, 1967 – There was another “walk-in” on Haight Street, with traffic again being tied up. Hippies and Krishna devotees walking in the crosswalks chanting, “Streets are for people, Haight is love” and “We are free.”²⁸⁶ The Diggers, who had published an earlier flier reading, “Haight Street is ours to play on till we feel it beautiful to stop,” planned this disturbance.²⁸⁷ With the streets again immobilized by a traffic jam, the police appeared. The crowd first took off towards the Golden Gate Park, and then continued to go another mile and a half towards San Francisco’s main city artery with chants of “We want Market Street” and “Mayor Shelley’s house.”²⁸⁸ Forty riot-squad police appeared with a hundred police officers and five paddy wagons. While some hippies threw firecrackers, the police started beating them with nightsticks and arrested thirty-two people.²⁸⁹ Meanwhile, in the Haight-Ashbury, unknown parties who “spilled paint cans and broke doors and furniture” vandalized several Digger pads.²⁹⁰
- April 22, 1967 - The Communication Company printed the following in their newsletter: “Pretty little sixteen-year-old middle-class chick comes to the Haight to

²⁸² Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 87.

²⁸³ Ibid., 103.

²⁸⁴ Alex Forman, “San Francisco Style: The Diggers and the Love Revolution,” The Digger Archives (July, 1967), <http://www.diggers.org/diggers/anarch1.html>. Accessed November 6, 2010.

²⁸⁵ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 99.

²⁸⁶ The Diggers Archives, “The Intersection Game,” http://www.diggers.org/intersection_game.htm, Accessed November 20, 2010.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 105.

²⁸⁹ The Diggers Archives, “Spread Your Legs,” http://www.diggers.org/com_co_biblio.asp, Accessed November 21, 2010.

²⁹⁰ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 105.

see what it's all about & gets picked up by a seventeen-year-old street dealer who spends all day shooting her full of speed again & again, then feeds her 3000 mikes [micrograms of LSD, 12 times the standard dose] & raffles off her temporarily unemployed body for the biggest Haight Street gang bang since the night before last. Rape is as common as bullshit on Haight Street."²⁹¹ Just three months after the Be-In, Haight-Ashbury was already described as a "ghastly trap with no escape," a place "as bad as the squares say it is with drug burns and beatings."²⁹² Emmett Grogan, meanwhile, one of the main leaders of the Diggers, was accused by other Diggers of "lusting for publicity and of being on a violence trip."²⁹³ Additional original hippies began thinking about moving out to the country, as they could no longer ignore the "presence of evil in the psychedelic swarm."²⁹⁴

- April 23, 1967 - When the police arrived to unplug an impromptu "Rain Festival" on the sidewalk, on the corner of Haight and Ashbury, the crowd pelted them with vegetables and raw eggs. The cops retaliated with a sweep of the street, arresting fifty people. The crowd then cut the valve stems of three tires of the lead police paddy wagon, delaying the transportation of those arrested.²⁹⁵
- May 13, 1967 – The San Francisco police arrested two hippies for indecent exposure, and one for spitting on an officer. However, the cops were busy elsewhere in the city as there was a riot with "race-war overtones" at a beach amusement park.²⁹⁶ Peter Cohen spoke at the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood council, stating, "The hippies are the fruit of the middle class and they are telling the middle class they don't like what's been given them. As things are shaping up now, we are really heading toward a revolution of violence."²⁹⁷
- Late May of 1967 – The Diggers charged that the promoters of the soon-to-be-legendary Monterey Pop Festival were "scheming to get them for riot control purposes," saying that the event would be a "rich man's festival" and not a true

²⁹¹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 219.

²⁹² Schneider, *Smack*, 152.

²⁹³ Grogan, *Ringolevio*, 65.

²⁹⁴ The Diggers Archives, "The Diggers and the Haight-Ashbury Exit the Stage,"

http://diggers.org/cavallo_pt_5.htm. Accessed November 19, 2010.

²⁹⁵ The Diggers Archives, "Witnesses to the Bust on Haight St. on Sunday April 23,"

http://www.diggers.org/com_co_biblio.asp. Accessed November 21, 2010.

²⁹⁶ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 119.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 119-120.

countercultural event.²⁹⁸ Moreover, the Diggers announced that they would continue to put on free events, and start donating free printing for the Black Panther Party. The Communication Company published a broadside reading, “An Armed Man Is a Free Man.”²⁹⁹ The Diggers, like a number of people in the Haight by spring, had started carrying guns!³⁰⁰

- June 8, 1967 – The Diggers for the third time commandeered the Gray Line bus. Hippies climbed aboard and forcefully took over, telling the passengers that, “You’re all free.”³⁰¹
- June 16, 1967 - Today was the first day of the three-day Monterey Pop Festival, touching off the legendary Summer of Love. Behind the scenes, however, there were worries and prophecies of riots and catastrophes if something was not done with both crowd control and creating camping space for 100,000 people.³⁰² On the last day, with the crowds evermore menacing, master of ceremonies Peter Tork nervously asked that the gates be opened to let in the huge mass of people from outside the stadium, thus averting the possible ruin of this highly regarded first large festival of love.³⁰³ Many claimed that the Monterey Pop Festival was similarly peaceful to the Be-In, or the Fantasy Fair & Magic Mountain Music Festival held the week before.³⁰⁴ Others, however, pointed to a “heavier vibrations” that included security precautions that needed to be doubled around the stage, Pete Townshend’s ritual destruction of his guitars, followed by Jimi Hendrix’s kneeling down in front of his guitar and setting it on fire.³⁰⁵
- June & July of 1967 – “Fun loving hippies” were calling in false fire alarms almost daily.³⁰⁶ A new drug called PCP, an animal tranquilizer that induced violence, made its appearance in Haight-Ashbury.³⁰⁷
- July 9, 1967 – A major riot in Haight-Ashbury exploded as tourists’ presence was making life even more difficult for hippies, as some tourists came to “gawk at what

²⁹⁸ Robert Christgau, “Anatomy of a Love Festival,” *Esquire*, January 1968,

<http://www.robertchristgau.com/xg/music/monterey-69.php>. Accessed October 28, 2010.

²⁹⁹ The Digger Archives, “The Free-Fall Chronicles: Crossing the Free Frame of Reference,” <http://www.diggers.org/freefall/freefram.html>. Accessed October 29, 2010.

³⁰⁰ Bloom and Breines, eds. “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 273.

³⁰¹ Peter Coyote, *Sleeping Where I Fall: A Chronicle* (Berkeley: Counterpoint, 1998), 97.

³⁰² Robert Christgau “Anatomy of a Love Festival,” *Esquire*, January 1968,

<http://www.robertchristgau.com/xg/music/monterey-69.php>. Accessed October 28, 2010.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁴ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 21.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 54.

³⁰⁶ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 132.

³⁰⁷ Lee and Shlain, *Acid Dreams*, 187-188.

they despised.”³⁰⁸ Some would get out of their cars and walk around insulting people, and the hip merchandise in the stores. Crowds of hippies retaliated, in an ugly mood; they cornered the tourists, “trying to tear off their neckties.”³⁰⁹ Around 7:30 p.m. there was a second attempt by the hippies to stop traffic. This time they drove a couple of cars onto Haight Street, stopping them and getting out. Other hippies then goofed around among the stalled tourists’ cars, jumping on the bumpers and pretending to take photographs. When the police showed up, somebody threw a bottle that missed the police and hit a hippie girl. Shouts of “fascist bastards” and “police brutality” could be heard.³¹⁰ Twenty police patrol cars arrived, and during an hour-long melee, nine people were arrested and four badly injured. The police broke the jaw of a girl who had shouted “Revolution, revolution, get the cops.”³¹¹

- July 17, 1967 - During race riots in Newark, New Jersey, the Fillmore District near the Haight threatened to erupt. People in the Haight debated whether to “stay indoors when the riot came or whether to get guns and stand their ground.”³¹²
- July 26, 1967 - Emmett Grogan, of the Diggers, addressed “the Congress of the Dialectics of Liberation” in London. The aim of the congress was to “create a genuine revolutionary consciousness by fusing ideology and action.”³¹³ In San Francisco, there were firebombings in the Fillmore District, and rumors that riots would start in the Haight at 6:30 that evening. Bikers passed the word that as far as they were concerned, “nobody had better make trouble.”³¹⁴ Many stores in the Haight removed their window displays just in case. On the other hand, stoned hippies hoping to watch a riot took LSD to “get the most out of the experience.”³¹⁵ In the end, while firebombs were thrown as close as Haight and Fillmore (nine blocks east of Haight and Ashbury), the awaited “apocalyptic race war” did not erupt.³¹⁶

³⁰⁸ The Digger Archives, “The Setting,” http://www.diggers.org/cavallo_pt_2.htm. Accessed November 3, 2010.

³⁰⁹ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 133.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Nadya Zimmerman, *Counterculture Kaleidoscope: Musical and Cultural Perspectives on Late Sixties San Francisco* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2008), 65.

³¹² Ibid., 70.

³¹³ Grogan, *Ringolevio*, 427.

³¹⁴ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 135.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

- July 27, 1967 - Stokely Carmichael, the former leader of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), called for a “Vietnam type war of resistance in the black ghettos.”³¹⁷
- August 3, 1967 – John Kent Carter, known as Jacob King or Shob, one of the best-known acid dealers in the Haight-Ashbury, was found dead. He had been stabbed twelve times, once through the heart. His right arm had been cut off cleanly above the elbow and removed. No matter who did it, the main idea was that “somebody had been killed in the Haight.”³¹⁸ As would happen at the Altamont festival more than two years later, murder reared its ugly head and created disillusionment.
- August 6, 1967 – Just three days later, Superspade, another famous Haight-Ashbury acid dealer, was found murdered, this time near the Point Reyes Lighthouse. He had been shot in the head and stabbed in the left chest.³¹⁹
- August 7, 1967 – Eric Frank Dahlstrom told police he had killed Shob Carter in self-defense “during an argument over bad LSD” that he had bought from Carter.³²⁰ The next day his lawyer entered a plea of innocent, on the ground that “Dahlstrom had lost his mind on LSD.”³²¹
- Early August 1967 – The disharmony between vision and reality had become clear for still more hippies. Many asked if acid dealers killing each other were “what the New Age promised.”³²² The early positive vision now seemed to contain its negative opposite. Ecstasy turning to horror, good changing to evil, perhaps they were two sides of the same coin. For those of the original psychedelic community, the question turned to wondering “if their experiment would fail.”³²³ However, much of the original Haight crowd was already in Sonoma County or northern New Mexico. For those who remained, the question turned to wondering if “perhaps it was time to get a gun of your own.”³²⁴

³¹⁷ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 155-156.

³¹⁸ “Crime Ring Muscling In, S.F. Hippies Say,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 9, 1967, 1.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ “Hippie Murders Raise Fears of ‘The Syndicate,’” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 8, 1967, 1.

³²¹ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 138.

³²² Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 175.

³²³ “Changes of Love in An Uptight Haight,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 30, 1968, 3.

³²⁴ The Diggers Archives, “Ring Compilation,”

http://www.diggers.org/ring_compilation/ring_compilation_444_498.htm. Accessed November 20, 2010.

- August 12, 1967 – The Morning Star Ranch commune called Sonoma County sheriffs to deal with a “biker problem,” as a group of Gypsy Jokers had moved onto the ranch and had ordered everybody out of the big, shared communal house.³²⁵
- August 28, 1967 - In Golden Gate Park, “riotous behavior” exploded at Chocolate George’s funeral on the part of several motorcycle gangs, including Hells Angels, Gypsy Jokers, Nomads, Vagabonds, Satan’s Slaves, Cossacks, Misfits, and Saints Executioners. Hippies stayed away until the music started to play; however, by the end “four hippies were stomped” by the bikers.³²⁶
- September 2, 1967 - Police stopped a Jefferson Airplane concert in Bakersfield, California despite guitarist Paul Kanter attempting to arouse the audience by shouting, “Come on, there’s only five of them and five thousand of you.”³²⁷
- September 7, 1967 - Gunfire was reported at Morning Star Ranch commune due to a rivalry over a seventeen-year-old hippie girl.³²⁸
- September 21, 1967 – During the night, there was an event honoring the birthday of “English Satanist” Aleister Crowley. The event was called “Invocation of My Demon Brother” after “Lucifer Rising,” a work in progress of the satanist filmmaker Kenneth Anger. Anger and his “shadowy” “Brotherhood of Lucifer” rented the Straight Theater on Haight Street for a guarantee of 700 dollars, and built a satanic altar on the floor. The event did not draw a large crowd but the “satanic mood was beyond dispute.”³²⁹
- Late September of 1967 – Although the Summer of Love was over, “peace and love” did not return to the “battered neighborhood.”³³⁰ On the contrary, amphetamines and heroin were bigger problems than ever. The Haight had become a restless, fearful place. Page Street east of Masonic had always been considered rough, but as the nights grew longer, “an aura of strong arm crime seemed to seep out of it into the rest of the neighborhood.”³³¹

³²⁵ The Diggers Archives, “Home Free Home: A History of Two Open-Door California Communes,” http://www.diggers.org/homefree/hfh_06.html. Accessed November 15, 2010.

³²⁶ Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, 203-205.

³²⁷ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 142.

³²⁸ The Diggers Archives, “Home Free Home: A History of Two Open-Door California Communes,” http://www.diggers.org/homefree/hfh_06.html. Accessed November 15, 2010.

³²⁹ Gary Lachman, *Turn Off Your Mind: The Mystic Sixties and the Dark Side of the Age of Aquarius* (New York: The Disinformation Company, Ltd., 2001), 340.

³³⁰ “The Hippie Debris Lingers On,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 17, 1967, 4.

³³¹ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 144.

- September 29, 1967 - The free city collective (the new name for the Diggers) published the first issue of *Free City Newsletter*, which included instructions on “how to build a firebomb.”³³²
- October 6, 1967 – Today was the first anniversary of the anti-LSD law. There was a Death of the Hippie funeral procession, which was about “the feeling that the Movement had gone wrong and needed to be cleansed.”³³³ That afternoon the police began regular daily sweeps on Haight Street to pick up runaways and draft evaders. The Free Clinic and the Free Store were burglarized.³³⁴
- October 8, 1967 - Two girls from the East Bay testified that when they ran away to the Haight a man “imprisoned them” and allowed his friends to “rape them” and also tried to “turn them out on the street as prostitutes.”³³⁵
- October 9, 1967 - In New York City two young hippies, named Groovy and Linda, were found murdered in an East Village crash pad run by a “quasi-Digger” named Galahad.³³⁶
- End of 1967 – Haight-Ashbury proprietor Don McCoy began a commune near Novato, California, in Marin County. By 1968 there were two arrests, a fire, and two drownings.³³⁷
- February of 1968 - There were riots between hippies and the police Tactical Squad. The optimism about creating a new community based on love began to disappear. The hippie capital began to experience hand-to-hand combat with police cars and buildings burning. Dr. Smith of the Free Clinic reported that he saw the police continue to beat a young man who was already unconscious. When Smith ran out into the street to give first aid, he himself was attacked with a riot stick.³³⁸
- April of 1968 - After a white man assassinated Martin Luther King, hope for peaceful race relations in the Haight was shattered along with every store window on the street. The atmosphere of violent crime that spread over the Haight-Ashbury had multiple roots, including “the presence of naive potential victims and population pressure of blacks being forced out of the Fillmore District by a

³³² The Diggers Archives, “Free City Communiqués,” http://www.diggers.org/free_city_set.htm. Accessed October 28, 2010.

³³³ “Death of the Hippies,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 7, 1967, 2.

³³⁴ “A Violent Clash in the Haight,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 31, 1967, 1.

³³⁵ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 148.

³³⁶ Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, 100.

³³⁷ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 179.

³³⁸ “Police Action in S.F. Hippie Row Assailed,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 20, 1968, 26.

redevelopment project.”³³⁹ The Straight Theater folded after one and half years, and so did Free City and other neighborhood groups. With the passing of time more merchants began to move out, and the positive term “flower children” had already changed to a more derogatory term “street people.”³⁴⁰

- December 1, 1969 – During the same week as the Altamont rock festival, investigations into a one-time Haight-Ashbury resident named Charlie Manson had begun in connection with a series of ritual murders. A Manson associate, Bobby Beausoleil (who had been a bouzouki player for the Diggers band called Orkustra), was already in jail for murder.³⁴¹
- December 6, 1969 – Finally, the Altamont festival, which was expected to be the West Coast answer to the Woodstock rock festival in August, turned into a day of nasty atmosphere of panic and hostility near the stage, and finally the stabbing death of a black man with a gun.³⁴² *Ramparts* and *Rolling Stone* magazines helped label this event as a symbolic end of the 1960s, by describing it as “Dance of Death,” something out of the “Dark Ages.”³⁴³ However, after documenting the dark side of the hippie movement from its beginnings, can we truly call Altamont the end of an era? Did something new actually occur there or was it what it always had been, a mixture of beautiful dreams and occasional ugly realities?

II.3. African American Freedom Movement:

The Myth of Non-violence and Consensus

As the story or myth goes, what made the Sixties movements special, in the first place, was their strict adherence to the concepts of non-violence.³⁴⁴ The only right way to live and change things, it was believed, was through peaceful methods. Some expected that the social movements would only take the moral high road, and not emulate the war-like behaviors of the “establishment” that they were trying to transform.³⁴⁵ It did not matter if the reaction on the part of the government or other members of reactionary society was

³³⁹ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 171.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 172.

³⁴¹ Bobby Beausoleil, “The Orkustra: Light Shows for the Blind,” wizard, <http://www.beausoleil.net/wizard/index.html>. Accessed November 20, 2010.

³⁴² Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 176-177.

³⁴³ Kirkpatrick, *1969*, 264.

³⁴⁴ Bloom and Breines, eds., “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 50.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

often brutal; they would keep to their pacifistic ideologies. Moreover, they would overcome and be victorious, because history was on their side.³⁴⁶ However, after many years of frustration and disappointment, we are told, things began to shift. Finally, at decade's end, when the non-violent call for change of the early idealistic 1960s had turned towards a violent confrontation with the state, and movement people were turning upon other movement people, the individual movements disintegrated, thus ending the Sixties era conveniently around 1969.³⁴⁷

Indeed, most history books do follow this commonly stated trajectory of non-violence turning suddenly violent at decade's end. For the anti-war movement, the peaceful demonstrations of the mid-1960s are shown to have devolved into police and military confrontations in just a few a short years.³⁴⁸ The tranquil hippie counter-culture of its innocent early days transformed to "nasty, mean stoned people" by the end of the decade,³⁴⁹ while the African American civil rights movement, based on Martin Luther King's famous non-violent direct action, metamorphosed into black power and revolution.³⁵⁰

In this section, I will use the African American freedom movement (a broader term that I will use interchangeably with the civil rights movement) as an example, to illustrate how this popular perception of the Sixties is not completely accurate, and thus distorts when the Sixties era truly ended. While I concede that there was an overall general trend from an espousal of non-violence towards ever more violence throughout the American 1960s decade, I will present information showing that there were already inherent violent tendencies, beliefs, and incidents within the wider African American freedom movement from its inception.³⁵¹ This was true even before the rise of the black power movement in the mid-1960s. Indeed, not everyone agreed with Martin Luther King's strict Gandhian and integrationist idealism of non-violent direct action.³⁵² In fact, the early modern civil rights/freedom movement was less unified than is commonly portrayed. There were many disagreements based on religious moral values, tactics, strategies, "bargaining

³⁴⁶ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 129.

³⁴⁷ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 388-389.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 410.

³⁴⁹ Russell, *Let It Bleed*, 184.

³⁵⁰ Unger and Unger, *The Times Were a Changin'*, 142-143.

³⁵¹ Lance Hill, *The Deacons for Defense: Armed Resistance and the Civil Rights Movement* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 2-3.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, 3.

flexibilities,” and even ultimate goals within the Movement.³⁵³ In actuality, there were numerous individuals and groups who were less inspired by King’s suffering without fighting back and more inspired by aggressive liberation movements of decolonization and separatist philosophies of Pan-Africanism, Black nationalism, and the beliefs of Black Muslims.³⁵⁴ These latter ideas were much more prevalent than is normally acknowledged in poor American black working-class neighborhoods or ghettos.³⁵⁵ What is often not told is that the masses simply thought and acted differently than what was envisioned for them by famous and acceptable, mainstream civil rights leaders. Often the organizations led by these leaders were funded by white Christian liberals, and not by the black community itself.³⁵⁶ Finally, counter to the non-violent ethos, I will argue that those more radical also contributed to the civil rights/liberation cause by creating what sociologist Herbert H. Haines calls a “positive radical flank effect” on political affairs.³⁵⁷ This means that the black radicals made the more moderate civil rights groups much more appealing to politicians who were deliberating particular legislative agendas. My goal here is to re-integrate, and thus give understanding and legitimacy, to those important currents of thought and action outside the non-violent framework of the African American freedom movement: the right to self-defense, and the right to assert offensive militant violence in the name of throwing off oppression.

For most people, the Movement towards African American freedom (or the civil rights movement) was considered to have started with the Montgomery bus boycott on the first of December, 1955, when Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on the still-segregated public bus.³⁵⁸ The protest campaign lasted a little over a year and was ultimately successful, when the United States Supreme Court decision declared the Alabama and Montgomery laws requiring segregated buses to be unconstitutional. Thrust into the spotlight, Martin Luther King, Jr., a learned minister with advanced degrees in theology and philosophy, led the boycott and immediately helped found the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in early 1957.³⁵⁹ The SCLC was quickly formed by 60

³⁵³ Devashree Gupta, “Radical Flank Effects: The Effect of Radical – Moderate Splits in Regional Nationalists Movements,” Cornell, <http://falcon.arts.cornell.edu/sqt2/pscp/documents/RFEgupta.pdf>. Accessed May 8, 2010.

³⁵⁴ Robert F. Williams, *Negroes with Guns* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998), xii.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 78.

³⁵⁶ Hill, *The Deacons for Defense*, 2-3.

³⁵⁷ John Lofland, *Social Movement Organizations: Guide to Research on Insurgent Realities* (Hawthorne, NY: Aldine De Gruyter, 1996), 294.

³⁵⁸ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 4.

³⁵⁹ Unger and Unger, *The Times Were a Changin’*, 117.

black ministers and leaders who sought to direct the moral authority and organizing power of the black Christian churches towards conducting protests for civil rights reform. As there were many different divergent ideas in the black community on how to achieve results, the formation of the SCLC had an important role in welding the civil rights movement to the moral belief in non-violence.³⁶⁰ Nonetheless, in a short time, it was openly criticized for its lack of militancy and integrationist approach by both Black Muslims and younger activists in such groups as the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) (in 1960 and 1961, these younger activists would start the mass sit-ins and Freedom Rides throughout the South).³⁶¹ Although most visible in the media, King and his SCLC represented just one faction of the larger African American freedom movement.

Martin Luther King's belief in non-violent activism stemmed from his early mentor and civil rights leader, theologian, and educator Howard Thurman.³⁶² A classmate of King's father at Morehouse college, he had personally met and conferred with Mahatma Gandhi while doing Christian missionary work in India. Martin Luther King was so inspired by Gandhi's teachings, and the success of India gaining independence from Great Britain, that he visited Gandhi's birthplace in 1959.³⁶³ The trip affected King in a profound way, deepening his own understanding of non-violent resistance. In a radio address made during his final evening in India, King reflected, "Since being in India, I am more convinced than ever before that the method of non-violent resistance is the most potent weapon available to oppressed people in their struggle for justice and human dignity. In a real sense, Mahatma Gandhi embodied in his life certain universal principles that are inherent in the structure of the universe, and these principles are as inescapable as the law of gravitation."³⁶⁴ Afterwards, King and SCLC became evermore convinced that this strategy of non-violent protests would succeed in the U.S. too, that it would be similarly effective against the Southern segregation laws known as Jim Crow laws. The idea was

³⁶⁰ Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954-63* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988), 276.

³⁶¹ Jerome H. Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest: A Task Force Report Submitted to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1969), 132.

³⁶² Howard Thurman, *With Head and Heart: The Autobiography of Howard Thurman* (New York: Harcourt, 1979), 254.

³⁶³ Martin Luther King, Jr., Clayborne Carson and Peter Holloran, *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1992), 3.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 135-136.

that non-violent direct action would garner support and sympathy from the majority of Americans, much as Gandhi had altered British public opinion.³⁶⁵

The wide appeal of Martin Luther King was his mainstream values concerning non-violence. For most pacifists, Christian or otherwise, violence was to be opposed on both moral and practical grounds. But what usually inspires pacifists to become pacifists is the ethical or religious principles stating that killing is inherently immoral (evil) and that life should never be violated.³⁶⁶ Martin Luther King's conviction came from the Christian Bible, "No murderer hath eternal life abiding within him" (1 John 3:15), while Mahatma Gandhi's outlook stemmed from the Hindu law of karma.³⁶⁷ Nonetheless, King and Gandhi were both joined by their belief in absolute, fixed, and immutable moral laws and structures built into the universe. However, their views faced ready challenges from critics. They proposed the question, for example, "If human life has such important value, then should it not be defended when necessary?"³⁶⁸ In other words, if violence is inherently evil, as is often pointed out, then it would be an evil act to kill one person to prevent that person from killing ten or a thousand persons. The limitation of non-violent absolutism for many seems to be that it assumes that a violent act can be judged apart from its circumstances, intentions, and consequences.³⁶⁹ Paradoxically, however, the practitioners of non-violent direct action ran the risk of provoking violence towards themselves.

The key to the non-violent strategy was to stay non-violent in the face of mass arrest, police brutality, and white citizen backlash. The hope was that these direct actions would produce a crisis situation that would lead to extensive media coverage, and the understanding that there needed to be changes.³⁷⁰ The belief that daily televised footage depicting deprivation and indignities suffered by southern blacks, and the harassment of civil rights workers and marchers at the hands of segregationists, would affect the moral consciences of the majority in society.³⁷¹ In many respects, the strategy worked as far as desegregation and gaining voting rights in the American South. However, the cost was high, as African Americans suffered great physical and emotional humiliation. From police dogs sinking their teeth into unarmed, non-violent protesters to jeering and hostile mobs,

³⁶⁵ Gregg Blakely. "The Formative Influences on Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.," *Peace Magazine*. Apr-Jun 2001. <http://www.peacemagazine.org/archive/v17n2p21.htm>. Accessed June 2, 2010.

³⁶⁶ Howard Ryan, "Critique of Non-violent Politics: From Mahatma Gandhi to the Anti-Nuclear Movement," 2002, <http://www.uow.edu.au/~bmartin/pubs/peace/02Ryan.pdf>. Accessed June 18, 2010.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 9.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

³⁷⁰ Unger and Unger, *The Times Were a Changin'*, 130.

³⁷¹ Hill, *The Deacons for Defense*, 6-7.

there was just so much that even the most disciplined and dedicated non-violent activist could take.³⁷² “Even some of King’s oldest followers were tired of going to jail, being abused and shot.”³⁷³ Ultimately, these non-violent direct actions created an enormous reaction, lead most infamously by such groups as the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council.³⁷⁴ Unfortunately, the revulsion towards desegregation involved the average person as well. Response varied from economic reprisals to outright terrorism towards the civil rights movement.³⁷⁵

Martin Luther King was aware of the building tensions, pent-up resentments, and frustrations (on both sides) that were close to exploding.³⁷⁶ However, as a Christian minister, he took the examples of Jesus, and Gandhi, and continued to preach that non-violence was the only way.³⁷⁷ Furthermore, he called it the path of self-purification. “We will match your capacity to inflict suffering,” he stated, “with our capacity to endure suffering. We will meet your physical force with soul force. We will not hate you, but we will not obey your evil laws. We will soon wear you down by pure capacity to suffer.”³⁷⁸ Additionally, he tried to channel the impatience and the anger, on the part of the activists, and mold it into a morally inspiring demand for justice that would uplift each human personality, positively declaring “that non-violence demands that the means we use must be as pure as the ends we seek.”³⁷⁹ Nonetheless, in 1963 he warned that “I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is the force of complacency, made up in part of negroes who, as a result of long years of oppression, are so drained of self respect and a sense of ‘somebodiness’ that they have adjusted to segregation The other force is one of bitterness and hatred, and it comes perilously close to advocating violence . . . this movement is made up of people who have lost faith in America, who have absolutely repudiated Christianity, and who have concluded that the white man is an incorrigible ‘devil.’”³⁸⁰

³⁷² Unger and Unger, *The Times Were a Changin’*, 134.

³⁷³ Howard Ryan, “Critique of Non-violent Politics: From Mahatma Gandhi to the Anti-Nuclear Movement,” 2002, <http://www.uow.edu.au/~bmartin/pubs/peace/02Ryan.pdf>. Accessed June 18, 2010.

³⁷⁴ Unger and Unger, *The Times Were a Changin’*, 116.

³⁷⁵ Williams, *Negroes with Guns*, 13-14.

³⁷⁶ Unger and Unger, *The Times Were a Changin’*, 133.

³⁷⁷ “Martin Luther King Speech - Where do we go from here?” <http://www.famous-speeches-and-speech-topics.info/martin-luther-king-speeches/ma>. Accessed June 5, 2010.

³⁷⁸ “Martin Luther King - Quotes,” http://www.great-quotes.com/quotes/author/martin_luther_king.htm. Accessed June 5, 2010.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

³⁸⁰ Unger and Unger, *The Times Were a Changin’*, 133.

Indeed, many African Americans in the civil rights movement never had the patient humility, nor the desire, for King's Gandhian methods. Instead, they took their inspirations from the successes of the decolonization efforts raging around the world at the time.³⁸¹ Not surprisingly, what was happening in mother Africa, starting in especially the 1950's, did not go unnoticed. These triumphs of black liberation affected the racial dignity and pride of African Americans.³⁸² While the emancipation of India from British rule was very encouraging, its so-called non-violent approach was not the norm.³⁸³ What happened in India during the 1940s was more of an exception, and may have involved much more violence than is normally admitted.³⁸⁴ Instead, it was the frequently violent revolutionary armed struggles of African decolonization, and elsewhere, that gave both hope and concrete examples of how to achieve liberation for the African race in America.³⁸⁵ Seeing victory by force (or at least force as an option) happening within one former colony after another against their former white European oppressors gave much contextual credibility to the ideas of Malcolm X, a member of the Black Muslims in America. He famously affirmed, "We declare our right on this earth . . . to be a human being, to be respected as a human being, to be given the rights of a human being, in this society, on this earth, in this day, which we intend to bring into existence by ANY MEANS NECESSARY."³⁸⁶ There was no begging and crawling for Malcolm X. He and others influenced by Pan-Africanism and black nationalism were exceedingly aware of what was going on in the black world. He cautioned, "The white man knows what a revolution is. He knows that the Black Revolution is worldwide in scope and in nature. The Black Revolution is sweeping Asia, is sweeping Africa, is rearing its head in Latin America. The Cuban Revolution - that's a revolution. They overturned the system. Revolution is in Asia, revolution is in Africa, and the white man is screaming because he sees revolution in Latin America. How do you think he'll react to you when you learn what a real revolution is?"³⁸⁷

The history of this non-white decolonization can in a sense be said to have started in 1941, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill met to discuss the postwar world. The result was the Atlantic Charter, one of provisions of which stated that, "all peoples had a right to self-

³⁸¹ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 144.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, xxii.

³⁸³ Gelderloos, *How Non-violence Protects the State*, 24.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

³⁸⁵ Ward Churchill, *Pacifism as Pathology: Reflections on the Role of Armed Struggle in North America* (Oakland, California: AK Press, 2007), 79.

³⁸⁶ "Malcolm-X Quotes," Malcolm-x.org. <http://www.malcolm-x.org/quotes.htm>. Accessed May 30, 2010.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

determination.”³⁸⁸ Though Britain and the Empire emerged victorious from the Second World War, the effects of the conflict were profound. Much of Europe, which had dominated the world for several centuries, was now in ruins. Moreover, Britain was left virtually bankrupt.³⁸⁹ At the same time, anti-colonial movements were on the rise in the colonies of all the European nations. The Winds of Change speech by British Prime Minister Harold MacMillan on the third of February, 1960 restarted the policy of decolonization for Britain and speeded up its disengagement.³⁹⁰ In the speech he said, “The wind of change is blowing through this continent (Africa). Whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact.”³⁹¹ After World War II, finally, the old movements of black nationalism and Pan-Africanism were gaining strength and success.

Decolonization was a political process that frequently involved violence. Even Martin Luther King said, “We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor, it must be demanded by the oppressed.”³⁹² Indeed, the process of decolonization was difficult; in extreme circumstances, there was a war of independence, sometimes following a revolution.³⁹³ More often there was a dynamic cycle where negotiations failed, then minor disturbances ensued, resulting in suppression by the police and military forces, escalating into more violent revolts that led to further negotiations until independence was granted (a process many not involved in the non-violent movement in America could easily envision). Thus the days of imperialism and Empire began to crumble as (at the very least) boycotts, strikes, civil disobedience, and rioting began in many colonies at approximately the same time.³⁹⁴

On the whole, Britain adopted a policy of relative peaceful disengagement, in contrast to other European powers such as France in Algeria (1954-1962), or Portugal in Guinea-Bissau (1963-1974), Mozambique (1964-1974), and Angola (1961-1975), which waged costly and ultimately unsuccessful wars to keep their empires intact.³⁹⁵ British exceptions included Southern Cameroon (1960-1961) and Kenya (1952-1960). The worst violence in Kenya was perhaps in 1956, when 50,000 British soldiers fought against the

³⁸⁸ David Birmingham, *Decolonization of Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1995), 6.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

³⁹⁰ “Harold Macmillan’s ‘Winds of Change’ speech,”

http://africanhistory.about.com/od/eraindependence/p/wind_of_change2.htm. Accessed June 9 2010.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*

³⁹² Unger and Unger, *The Times Were a Changin’*, 130.

³⁹³ Nuno R. Garoupa and João E. Gata, “War and Peace: The European Decolonization process,”

<http://www.polarizationandconflict.org/papers/garoupa.pdf>. Accessed June 9, 2010.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

³⁹⁵ Danielle Costa, “Decolonization and French Society,” *University of London: History of Europe Since 1945*. (May 1999), <http://www.indyflicks.com/danielle/papers/paper06.htm>. Accessed June 9, 2010.

Kikuyu political group, called Mau Mau, killing 12,000 Africans and imprisoning 100,000.³⁹⁶ Other important decolonization movements around the world involved the French in Vietnam (1946-1954) and Madagascar (1947-1948).

It is not a coincidence that the timeline for African decolonization closely parallels that of the African American civil rights/liberation movement. Indeed, the two must be seen as part of a larger world-wide clamor for black separation and liberation, involving both non-violence and violence.³⁹⁷ Both movements were inspired and linked to each other. The main world-wide thrust was not integration into white society (i.e., Martin Luther King), but to push away from white exploitation and towards economic and political self-sufficiency – key objectives of both black nationalism and Pan-Africanism.³⁹⁸

The following is a list of African countries in order of the date they received their independence from colonialism, and their yearly correspondence to the African American civil rights movement: 1951 - Libya; 1953 - Egypt; 1956 (the year of Montgomery bus boycott) - Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco; 1957 (SCLC formed) - Ghana; 1958 (NAACP Youth Council conduct the largest successful sit-in to this date on drug store lunch-counter) - Guinea; 1960 (the year civil rights movement really gets going with the Woolworth's lunch counter sit-ins) - Cameroon, Senegal, Togo, Mali, Madagascar, DR Congo, Somalia, Benin, Niger, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Chad, Central African Republic, Congo, Gabon, Nigeria, Mauritania; 1961 (start of the Freedom Riders to integrate interstate buses) - Sierra Leone, Tanzania, South Africa; 1962 (Albany Movement to register black voters in Georgia) - Rwanda, Burundi, Algeria, Uganda; 1963 (March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom) - Kenya; 1964 (Mississippi Freedom Summer voter registration) - Malawi, Zambia; 1965 (Selma to Montgomery marches) - Gambia; 1966 (James Meredith March Against Fear) - Botswana, Lesotho; 1968 (Poor People's Campaign) - Mauritius, Equatorial Guinea; 1973 (Combahee River Collective, a Black feminist group established) - Guinea Bissau; 1975 (African American boss of white Americans for the first time on TV) - Mozambique, Cape Verde, Comoros, Sao Tome and Principe, Angola; 1976 (Black History Month founded) - Seychelles.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁶ "Kikuyu-The Mau Mau Uprising and Independence," Jens Finke (2000), <http://www.bluegecko.org/kenya/tribes/kikuyu/maumau.htm>. Accessed June 7, 2010.

³⁹⁷ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 141.

³⁹⁸ Gelderloos, *How Non-violence Protects the State*, 10-11.

³⁹⁹ "A Chronological List of Independence Dates for Africa," African History, <http://africanhistory.about.com/library/timelines/blIndependenceTime.htm>. Accessed June 5, 2010.

Keeping an eye on Africa has had a long history for African Americans.⁴⁰⁰ In fact, W. E. B. Du Bois (1868-1963), an American civil rights activist (co-founder of the NAACP in 1909), sociologist, historian, author, and editor, was considered the father of Pan-Africanism (circa 1900), and an active member in the black nationalism movement.⁴⁰¹ The social-political world view of Pan-Africanism seeks to unify native Africans and those of African heritage into a “global African community.”⁴⁰² A related movement, black nationalism tries to unite all blacks in their own country and/or to form eventually their own independent country.⁴⁰³ However, Pan-Africanism calls for the political unity of all of Africa, not as separate black countries, but as one country. While black nationalism advocates a black national identity (as opposed to the multiculturalism of someone like Martin Luther King) in their own country, the future of Africa is seen as being central to their ambitions too, although some in America believe in the creation of a separate black American nation in the deep South.⁴⁰⁴ Pan-Africanism as an ethical system traces its origins from ancient times, and promotes values that are the product of African civilization and the struggles against slavery, racism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism.⁴⁰⁵ Black nationalism stresses the need to separate from whites (not integrate) and build separate communities that promote strong racial pride and also to collectivize resources (i.e., Black Muslims).⁴⁰⁶ Finally, Pan-Africanism is usually seen as a product of the European slave trade. Enslaved Africans, no matter their origins, set aside cultural differences to assert the principality of their common experience of being exploited. With a large number of violent slave insurrections, by the end of the eighteenth century, a political movement developed across Americas, Europe, and Africa to create solidarity and put an end to the oppression of blacks.⁴⁰⁷ Thus most Pan-Africanist are also black nationalists and must be seen together as an emergence of black consciousness, pride, and affirmative identity.⁴⁰⁸

The most successful organization for African unity was the OAU, the Organization of African Unity. It was established 25th of May 1963 (and disbanded on July 9, 2002). It

⁴⁰⁰ Unger and Unger, *The Times Were a Changin'*, 142-143.

⁴⁰¹ Arnold Rampersad, “W.E.B. Du Bois, Race, and the Making of American Studies,” in *W.E.B. Du Bois on Race, and Culture*, Bernard W. Bell, Emily R. Grosholz and James B. Stewart, eds. (New York: Routledge, 1996), 296.

⁴⁰² P. Olanwuche Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement, 1776-1991*, second edition (Washington. D.C.: Howard University Press, 1994), 3.

⁴⁰³ Dean E. Robinson, *Black Nationalism: In American Politics and Thought* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 75.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁴⁰⁵ Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism*, 5.

⁴⁰⁶ Robinson, *Black Nationalism*, 36.

⁴⁰⁷ Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism*, 8.

⁴⁰⁸ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, xxii.

had two primary aims: to promote the unity and solidarity of the African states and act as a collective voice for the African continent, and to eradicate all forms of colonialism.⁴⁰⁹

There were two blocks or groups with different opinions on how best to achieve more unity. The Casablanca bloc, led by Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, wanted a federation of all African countries. Aside from Ghana, it was comprised of Algeria, Guinea, Morocco, Egypt, Mali and Libya. The Monrovia bloc, led by Senghor of Senegal, felt that unity should be achieved gradually, through economic cooperation. It did not support the notion of a political federation. Its other members were Nigeria, Liberia, Ethiopia, and most of the former French colonies.⁴¹⁰

Total Pan-African unity was difficult to achieve, as the former French colonies were still dependent on France, while other countries supported either the USA or the USSR. However, the Organization of African Unity did play a pivotal role in eradicating colonialism and minority rule in Africa. For example, it gave weapons, training, and military bases to colonized nations fighting for independence or majority rule. They gave aid to groups such as the ANC and PAC, fighting apartheid, and ZANU and ZAPU, fighting for the independence of Southern Rhodesia.⁴¹¹

Perhaps the most influential Pan Africanist/black nationalist ever to reside in the USA (for at least part of his life) was Marcus Garvey (1887-1940).⁴¹² He was a publisher, journalist, entrepreneur, and orator. Born and raised in Jamaica, he founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League (UNIA-ACL).⁴¹³ He too advocated the involvement of the African diaspora in African affairs, starting a global mass movement called Garveyism. He influenced African Americans to connect with their roots in Africa. Promoted by the UNIA as a movement of African Redemption, Garveyism would eventually inspire many groups, ranging from the Nation of Islam (Malcolm X) to the Rastafarian movement (which proclaims Garvey as a prophet).⁴¹⁴ The goal of the Movement was for those of African ancestry to “redeem” Africa and for the European

⁴⁰⁹ James O. C. Jonah, “The OAU: Peace Keeping and Conflict Resolution,” in *The Organization of African Unity After Thirty Years*, Yassin El-Ayouty, ed. (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1994), 3.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁴¹¹ “Organisation of African Unity,” SAHO, <http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/africa/african-union/index.htm>. Accessed June 17, 2010.

⁴¹² “Marcus Garvey,” Black Unification Network, May 18, 2004, <http://www.marcusgarvey.net/information/history.htm>. Accessed June 19, 2010.

⁴¹³ Marcus Garvey, “Aims and Objectives of the U.N.I.A.” In *Message to the People: The Course of African Philosophy*, Tony Martin, ed. (Dover, Massachusetts: The Majority Press, 1986), 28.

⁴¹⁴ Horace Campbell, *Rasta and Resistance: From Marcus Garvey to Walter Rodney* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press Inc., 1987), 43.

colonial powers to leave it. The purpose was to unite all people of African ancestry of the world to establish a country with a government of their own.⁴¹⁵

In 1916 Garvey went to the United States and undertook a 38-state speaking tour promoting social, political, and economic freedom for blacks. He stayed in America for the next 11 years, moving to New York City, where he formed the first UNIA division outside of Jamaica in 1917.⁴¹⁶ Publishing a newspaper called *Negro World*, by 1919, Garvey's organization claimed over four million members. In August of 1920 the International Convention of the UNIA was held. With delegates from all over the world in attendance, over 25,000 people filled Madison Square Garden on the first of August to hear Garvey speak.⁴¹⁷ Convinced that blacks should have a permanent homeland in Africa, he sought to develop Liberia (which was founded and colonized by freed American slaves with the help of a private organization called the American Colonization Society in 1821-1822, on the premise that former American slaves would have greater freedom and equality there).⁴¹⁸ That year he launched the Liberia program, where he intended to build colleges, universities, industrial plants, and railroads as part of an industrial base from which to operate. In essence the UNIA was the largest Pan-African movement at the time.⁴¹⁹ Unfortunately, Garvey was considered "an undesirable alien" and charged by special assistant to the attorney general and head of the General Intelligence Division (or "anti-radical division") of the Bureau of Investigation or BOI (name later changed to FBI) J. Edgar Hoover with mail fraud, and sent to jail for five years.⁴²⁰ Upon release he was immediately deported back to Jamaica; nonetheless, Garvey's place in black history is well known. In June of 1965, even an integrationist like Martin Luther King, and his wife

⁴¹⁵ Marcus Garvey, "Shall the Negro Be Exterminated?" in *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, or, Africa for the Africans*, Amy Jacques Garvey, ed. (Dover, Massachusetts: The Majority Press Inc., 1986), 163.

⁴¹⁶ "Marcus Garvey Timeline," American Experience (1999), <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/garvey/timeline/index.html>. Accessed June 19, 2010.

⁴¹⁷ "People & Events: The 1920 Convention of the Universal Negro Improvement Association," American Experience, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/garvey/peopleevents/e_convention.html. Accessed June 19, 2010.

⁴¹⁸ Marcus Garvey, "UNIA Colonization Program," Marcus Garvey Tribute, <http://www.marcusgarvey.com/wmvien.php?ArtID-84>. Accessed June 19, 2010.

⁴¹⁹ "Marcus Garvey, Jr Speaks on the 112th Anniversary of the Birth of His Father," *Democracy Now*, August 17, 1999, http://www.democracynow.org/1999/8/17/marcus_garvey_jr_speaks_on_the. Accessed June 19 2010.

⁴²⁰ Theodore Kornweibel, Jr., "*Seeing Red: Federal Campaigns against Black Militancy, 1919-1925*" (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998), 101-102.

Coretta, visited his shrine in Jamaica, where he spoke of the passing of a old colonial order, and the need for a worldwide brotherhood to fight injustice.⁴²¹

Marcus Garvey's Pan-African and black national influence was passed directly to Malcolm X, and the modern civil rights era, as Malcolm X's parents met at a UNIA convention in Montreal.⁴²² Malcolm Little's (1925-1965) father Earl was the president of the UNIA division in Omaha, Nebraska, and sold the *Negro World* newspaper. His mother Louise was a contributor to the same publication. Malcolm X was an African American Muslim minister, public speaker, and human rights activist. Those who admired him were most likely, at least, somewhat influenced by either black nationalism or Pan-Africanism. To them he was a courageous advocate for the rights of African Americans. Others who were more identified with Martin Luther King and non-violence accused him of preaching racism, black supremacy, anti-Semitism, and violence.⁴²³ Either way, he has been described as one of the greatest and most influential African Americans in history, and in a sense, the polar opposite of King.⁴²⁴

While serving a sentence of eight to ten years in jail for larceny and breaking and entering, in 1946 Malcolm X joined the Nation of Islam. The Nation is considered one of the most important expressions of separatist impulse in twentieth century America, though it has also been accused of black supremacy.⁴²⁵ Others have described the Black Muslims as the African Americans' alternative to pacifist Eurocentric Christianity.⁴²⁶ Mainstream Muslims, moreover, consider the Nation of Islam to be a separate non-Islamic independent religion that has adopted Islamic terminology, but has different beliefs about God, race, and prophecy.⁴²⁷ Founded in Detroit in 1930 by Wallace D. Fard Muhammad, it set out with the goal of improving the spiritual, mental, social, and economic condition of African men and women of America.⁴²⁸

⁴²¹ Rebecca Tortello, "June 20, 1965: Martin Luther King, Jr. Visits Jamaica," *Pieces of the Past* (2001), <http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/pages/history/story003.html>. Accessed June 19, 2010.

⁴²² Bruce Perry, *Malcolm: The Life of a Man Who Changed Black America* (Barrytown, New York: Station Hill Press, Inc., 1992), 3.

⁴²³ "Races: The Black Supremacists," *Time Magazine*, August 10, 1959, <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,811191-1,00.html>. Accessed June 19, 2010.

⁴²⁴ Molefi Kete Asante, *100 Greatest African Americans: A Biographical Encyclopedia* (Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 2002), 333.

⁴²⁵ Perry, *Malcolm: The Life of a Man Who Changed Black America*, 111.

⁴²⁶ Jeff Baird, "Islam in Prisons," *redcounty* (February 2009), <http://www.redcounty.com/sarasota/2009/02/islam-in-america-prisons/>. Accessed June 18, 2010.

⁴²⁷ Abraham Sarker, *Understand My Muslim People* (Newberg: Barclay Press, 2004), 90.

⁴²⁸ Adam Edgerly and Carl Ellis, "The Emergence of Islam in the African-American Community," *islamfortoday*, <http://www.islamfortoday.com/african-american02.htm>. Accessed June 17, 2010.

Malcolm X, after his parole in 1952, became one of the Nation's leaders and chief spokesmen. For nearly twelve years he became the public face of the Nation of Islam (until tension arose between him and Nation of Islam leader Elijah Muhammad in 1964).⁴²⁹ He taught the beliefs and theologies of the Black Muslims, which said that black people were the original people of the world, and that white people were a race of devils.⁴³⁰ In his speeches, Malcolm X said that black people were superior to white people and that the demise of the white race was imminent.⁴³¹ While Martin Luther King's part of the civil rights movement fought against racial segregation, he advocated the complete separation of African Americans from white people. In black nationalist fashion, he proposed the establishment of a separate country for black people, until African Americans could return to Africa. Finally, Malcolm X also rejected the civil rights movement's strategy of non-violence, advocating instead that all black people use any necessary means of self-defense to protect themselves from attack, as they did in Africa.⁴³²

Malcolm X had a powerful effect on the average black person, especially those living in the Northern and Western American cities who were tired of being told to wait (and suffer) for freedom, justice, equality, and respect.⁴³³ Many blacks felt that he, and the Nation, articulated their complaints better than the mainstream Christian civil rights leadership did.⁴³⁴ They could relate to Malcolm X's criticism of the civil rights movement's ideology of non-violence. Many agreed when Malcolm X said, "I believe it's a crime for anyone being brutalized to continue to accept that brutality without doing something to defend himself."⁴³⁵ Moreover, he described non-violent civil rights leaders as "stooges" for the white establishment and said that Martin Luther King was a "chump."⁴³⁶ Speaking sarcastically in 1963 after the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, he said, "Who ever heard of angry revolutionists all harmonizing 'We shall overcome . . . Suum Day' . . . while tripping and swaying along arm-in-arm with the very people they were supposed to be angrily revolting against? Who ever heard of angry revolutionists swinging their bare feet together with their oppressor in lily-pad park pools, with gospels,

⁴²⁹ Perry, *Malcolm: The Life of a Man Who Changed Black America*, 314.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, 115.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, 116.

⁴³² Louis E. Lomax, *When the Word Is Given: A Report on Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X, and the Black Muslim World* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., 1979), 173-174.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, 79-80.

⁴³⁴ James H. Cone, *Martin & Malcolm & America: A Dream or a Nightmare* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2001), 99-100.

⁴³⁵ Malcolm X and Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (New York: The Ballantine Publishing Group, 1964), 366.

⁴³⁶ Perry, *Malcolm: The Life of a Man Who Changed Black America*, 203.

and guitars and 'I have a dream' speeches? And the black masses in America were - and still are - having a nightmare."⁴³⁷

The differences between Martin Luther King and Malcolm X can be seen in the context of religion. There are vast distinctions between Christian and Muslim ethics.⁴³⁸ The New Testament teaches that Christians are morally forbidden from using violence or force. They are told to "turn the other cheek" when smitten (Matt. 5:39).⁴³⁹ That is why Martin Luther King always preached the values of non-violence and integration (integration being connected to brotherly love).⁴⁴⁰ Muslims, on the other hand, have no such pacifistic rules. The Qu'ran says that it's better to forgive than to attack another; however, it does allow violence in cases of defending one's religion, one's life, and one's property. Complicating it more, there is still much interpretive debate about when to forgive and when to aggressively attack or defend.⁴⁴¹ That is why Malcolm X could declare, "If ballots won't work, bullets will" without breaking any moral Islamic laws.⁴⁴² The justification was that the violent attack would be carried out in defense of one's way of life, or in retaking what belonged to the attackers that had been stolen.

Though Islam was the religion for only 20% of all slaves brought over from Africa during the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, the Nation of Islam has taught that it is the only true religion for all black man.⁴⁴³ It has pointed out how "Christianity teaches the white Jesus, white Virgin, and the white angel, but the black devil."⁴⁴⁴ Whereas the mainstream civil rights movement was based on Christian principles such as love and forgiveness, the Black Muslims were mostly angry and revengeful.⁴⁴⁵ For them to forgive without requiring the other to change was considered not only self-destructive, but ensured that a dysfunctional relationship would remain. It was felt that allowing mistreatment would only keep the old inequalities in place. However, Nation of Islam leader Elijah

⁴³⁷ "Malcolm-X Quotes," Malcolm-x.org, <http://www.malcolm-x.org/quotes.htm>. Accessed May 30, 2010.

⁴³⁸ "Endless Jihad: The Truth about Islam and Violence," Catholic Library, <http://www.catholic.com/library/endless-jihad.asp>. Accessed June 15, 2010.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁰ Howard Ryan, "Critique of Non-violent Politics: From Mahatma Gandhi to the Anti-Nuclear Movement" (2002), <http://www.uow.edu.au/~bmartin/pubs/peace/02Ryan.pdf>. Accessed 18, June 2010.

⁴⁴¹ "Endless Jihad: The Truth about Islam and Violence," Catholic Library, <http://www.catholic.com/library/endless-jihad.asp>. Accessed June 15, 2010.

⁴⁴² "Black Nationalism and Black Power," http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID-370. Accessed June 16, 2010.

⁴⁴³ Adam Edgerly and Carl Ellis, "The Emergence of Islam in the African-American Community," islamfortoday, <http://www.islamfortoday.com/african-american02.htm>. Accessed June 17, 2010.

⁴⁴⁴ "Malcolm X - Black Man's History - Speech," http://www.malcolm-x.org/speeches/spc_12_62.htm. Accessed June 15, 2010.

⁴⁴⁵ Diane S. Dew, "Islam and Christianity: The Koran vs. The Bible," (2001), <http://www.dianedew.com/islam.htm>. Accessed June 15, 2010.

Muhammad took this position to still another level by stating that “the white devil’s day is over, he was given six thousand years to rule. . . . He’s already used up most trappings and murdering the black nations by the hundreds of thousands. Now he’s worried, worried about the black man getting his revenge.” He continued later to say that unless the white man gave Muslims separate territory for themselves, Muhammad had said, “Your entire race will be destroyed and removed from this earth by Almighty God. And those black men who are still trying to integrate will inevitably be destroyed along with the whites.”⁴⁴⁶ Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam gained wide support among those segments of the black community that no one else had represented: the Northern, urban, lower classes.⁴⁴⁷

Another early African American believer in armed black self-defense (but not a Black Muslim) was Robert F. Williams (1925-1996). He was more representational of the small-town Southern black. He was a civil rights leader, author, and the president of the Monroe, North Carolina National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) chapter in the 1950s and early 1960s. Williams called himself a “black internationalist.”⁴⁴⁸ He traveled north for work during World War II and witnessed the huge race riots of 1943 in Detroit. Drafted in 1944, he served for a year and a half in the segregated services before joining the U.S. Marine Corps. His story really begins in 1955 when he returned home to his home town of Monroe, and joined the local chapter of the NAACP. In 1956, the triumph of the Montgomery Bus Boycott provoked Ku Klux Klan rallies of crowds of 15,000 all through the South. “The echo of shots and dynamite blasts,” reported the *Southern Patriot* newspaper in 1957, “has been almost continuous throughout the South.”⁴⁴⁹ The KKK and the White Citizens Council made it their business to locate any NAACP chapters in their vicinity and find out who their members were. Threats of violence and economic sanctions were applied to make sure people would withdraw their membership. The Monroe NAACP dwindled to six members who then contemplated disbanding. When Williams, the newest member, objected, they elected him president before they all left. Finding himself alone as a one-man NAACP chapter, he first turned to

⁴⁴⁶ “Black Nationalism and Black Power,”

http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID-370. Accessed June 16, 2010.

⁴⁴⁷ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 131.

⁴⁴⁸ Williams, *Negroes with Guns*, 81-82.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, xix.

the 40 black veterans with whom he had once stood up against the Klan with rifles at a funeral in 1946.⁴⁵⁰

In less than a year, Robert F. Williams built his NAACP chapter to 200 members, and launched a campaign to desegregate the local country club, which had barred black kids from swimming at the pool. Quickly, the Ku Klux Klan jumped into action, blaming the new chapter vice president, Dr. Albert E. Perry, for the resurgent black activism in town. However, when the Klan attacked his house with a heavily-armed motorcade, Williams's black veterans greeted the nightriders with sandbag fortifications and a hail of disciplined gunfire.⁴⁵¹ Afterwards, the Monroe city board immediately passed an ordinance banning KKK motorcades, a measure they had refused to consider prior to the gun battle. Williams stated in 1957 "that since the city officials wouldn't stop the Klan, we decided to stop the Klan ourselves. We started this action out of the need for defense because law and order had completely vanished."⁴⁵² Indeed, Williams had already started the Black Armed Guard with the National Rifle Association's blessings, to defend the local black community.⁴⁵³

In 1958, Williams became friends with Malcolm X, who invited him to speak at Harlem's Black Muslim Temple Number 7, the purpose being to raise money to buy military weapons for the Monroe NAACP.⁴⁵⁴ Despite the official adherence to the philosophy of non-violence, many blacks had taken upon themselves to defend their lives and their property with whatever weapons they could muster. Not striking back while participating in a public protest was quite different from not defending one's home, church, or community center from imminent attack.⁴⁵⁵ In the late spring of 1959, two incidents raised the anger of even normally non-violent blacks throughout the South: a lynching of a man in Mississippi, an ordeal at Florida A&M, involving four black college students in which two 18-year-old black men were forced to kneel at gunpoint while their girlfriends were undressed, then later kidnaped and gang raped by four white gunmen.⁴⁵⁶ In the wake of these notorious outrages, Mississippi NAACP field secretary Medgar Evers told his

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 14.

⁴⁵¹ Timothy B. Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 30.

⁴⁵² Williams, *Negroes with Guns*, 17.

⁴⁵³ Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 35.

⁴⁵⁴ Williams, *Negroes with Guns*, xxii.

⁴⁵⁵ Curtis J. Austin, "On Violence and Non-violence: The Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi," Mississippi History Now (2000), <http://mshistory.k12.ms.us/articles/62/the-civil-rights-movement-in-mississippi-on-violence-and-non-violence>. Accessed June 18, 2010.

⁴⁵⁶ Maxwell Stanford, Jr., *We Will Return in the Whirlwind: Black Radical Organizations 1960-1975* (Chicago, IL: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, 2007), 32.

wife, “I’d like to get a gun and start shooting.”⁴⁵⁷ NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins conceded that, “I know the thought of violence has been much in the minds of Negroes.”⁴⁵⁸ Williams told wire service reporters that it was time to “meet violence with violence . . . since the federal government will not stop lynching and since the so-called courts lynch our people legally.”⁴⁵⁹ The next day, banner headlines screamed that there was, “a new militancy among young Negroes of the South.”⁴⁶⁰ Thus in 1959, before the 1960s decade of non-violence had even begun, militancy was said to be on the rise.

Indeed, the Sixties had not yet begun, yet in 1959, the greatest debate in the civil rights movement that year was “the question of violence vs. non-violence as instruments of change.”⁴⁶¹ In a series of public debates, Williams faced Martin Luther King, A. J. Muste, Bayard Rustin, David Dellinger, and others. He drew large audiences to his debates with the pacifists. While espousing the case for flexibility, he said, “Non-violence is a very potent weapon when the opponent is civilized, but non-violence is no repellent for a sadist.” Furthermore, he pointed out, “nowhere in the annals of history does the record show a people delivered from bondage by patience alone.”⁴⁶² Martin Luther King conceded that white violence had brought the Movement to “a stage of profound crisis.”⁴⁶³

In February of 1960, the civil rights movement received new energy with a student sit-in at a Woolworth’s store in Greensboro, North Carolina. Four students sat down at a segregated lunch counter to protest Woolworth’s policy of excluding African Americans. As students across the South began to “sit-in” at lunch counters, parks, beaches, libraries, theaters, museums, and other public places, local authority figures sometimes used brute force to physically escort the demonstrators away.⁴⁶⁴ In April, the student activists who led the first sit-ins held a conference at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, which led to the formation of the first student civil rights organization, called Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).⁴⁶⁵ The following year they took these tactics of non-

⁴⁵⁷ Williams, *Negroes with Guns*, xxii.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, xxiii.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, xxiv.

⁴⁶⁰ “A New Militancy among Young Negroes of the South,” *New York Times*, May 7, 1959, http://spidebites.nytimes.com/pay-1959/articles_1959_05_00001.html. Accessed June 21, 2010.

⁴⁶¹ Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 146.

⁴⁶² Stanford, *We Will Return in the Whirlwind*, 16.

⁴⁶³ “Martin Luther King: Letter from a Birmingham Jail,”

http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Letter_Birmingham.html. Accessed June 5, 2010.

⁴⁶⁴ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 132.

⁴⁶⁵ “Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Founded April,” Civil Rights Movement Veterans, <http://www.crmvet.org/tim/timhis60.htm#1960sncc>. Accessed June 3, 2010.

violent confrontation further, to help start the so-called Freedom Rides. Six years later they would drop the “non-violent” part of their name altogether.⁴⁶⁶

The Freedom Rides were journeys by civil rights activists on interstate buses into the segregated southern United States to test the United States Supreme Court decision that had ended segregation for passengers engaged in inter-state travel. The first Freedom Rides left Washington D.C. on May 4, 1961, and were scheduled to arrive in New Orleans on May 17. The goal of the activists was to travel through the Deep South and integrate seating patterns and desegregate bus terminals, including restrooms and water fountains.⁴⁶⁷ It proved to be a dangerous mission. In Anniston, Alabama, one bus was fire bombed. In Birmingham, Alabama, the Public Safety Commissioner allowed the Ku Klux Klan members fifteen minutes to attack and severely beat any incoming group of Freedom Riders before providing police protection for them.⁴⁶⁸

During the summer of 1961, Reverend Paul Brooks, employed by King’s Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and James Forman, soon to become president of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, came to Monroe in the company of 17 Freedom Riders fresh out of jail in Jackson, Mississippi. The young activists came to Monroe to launch a non-violent campaign against segregation in Robert Williams’s home town. It was never admitted by the leadership why they came there, but one of the activists proclaimed later that, “If the fight for civil rights is to remain non-violent, we must be successful in Monroe.”⁴⁶⁹ Williams took this as a challenge and an opportunity to show that what King and other non-violent pacifists were preaching was “bullshit.”⁴⁷⁰ After two weeks of picketing at the Union County Courthouse, things got dangerous for the non-violent Freedom Riders. On August 28, crowds of hostile white onlookers grew larger and larger, until 5,000 angry white people attacked the 30 demonstrators, badly injuring many. The non-violent campaign deteriorated into mob gun battles. Afterwards, Williams and his family fled first to Canada, then on to Cuba.⁴⁷¹

The highlights for the Civil Rights Movement, in 1962, were the Albany movement and the desegregation of the University of Mississippi. On October 1, 1962, James H. Meredith became the first black student at the University of Mississippi. His enrollment

⁴⁶⁶ Churchill, *Pacifism as Pathology*, 55-56.

⁴⁶⁷ Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960's* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1981), 32.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁴⁶⁹ Williams, *Negroes with Guns*, xxviii.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, xxviii

⁴⁷¹ “Special Robert F. Williams Series (part 2 – intro by T. B. Tyson),” Sons of Malcolm, http://sonsofmalcolm.blogspot.hu/2007_06_01_archive.html. Accessed January 26, 2015.

was firmly opposed by Governor Ross Barnett, and many others. Federal U.S. marshals and federal U.S. Army military police were sent in stop the rioting in which two people died.⁴⁷² In Albany, Georgia, Martin Luther King and a desegregation coalition had relatively little success against a police strategy of mass arrests, but no dramatic violent incidents that always attracted the national media. Frustrations grew as few concessions were achieved from the city, even though thousands of black citizens were mobilized.⁴⁷³ In Birmingham the following year, there was no such problem, as thousands of bystanders began to throw rocks and bottles at the police.⁴⁷⁴

On May 5, 1963, in Birmingham, Alabama, non-violence was abandoned for the first time at a Martin Luther King non-violent direct action.⁴⁷⁵ Signaling a dramatic change in the “rules of the game” in race relations, non-violent direct action became harder to sustain for the national leaders.⁴⁷⁶ There were 2,543 demonstrators arrested on that day. Then on May 11, after 2 bombings of black organizers’ homes, 2,500 more blacks rioted. ACMHR vice president Abraham Woods claimed later that the rioting in Birmingham set a precedent for “Burn, baby, burn,” a cry used in later civic unrest throughout the country.⁴⁷⁷ In fact, days later, a string of riots and incidents exploded in Cambridge, Maryland, the worst day occurring on June 14.⁴⁷⁸ So in fact, just the fourth year into the sixties, the secret had come out into the open that, if things would not change for the African Americans, then at least some were willing to play the game in other ways.

With the rise of armed self-defense units such as the Deacons for Defense and Justice (1964), the Black Panthers (1966), the Black Guerrilla Family, and riots, from here on in things would be different.⁴⁷⁹ And for many years to come, each summer would signal the beginning of another round of violent hot summers filled with inner city rioting – the following is but a partial list:

1964 - July 18-23, Harlem riot, New York City, New York

1964 - July 24-25, Rochester, New York

1964 - August 2-4, Jersey City, New Jersey

⁴⁷² Carson, *In Struggle*, 58.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁴⁷⁴ Gelderloos, *How Non-violence Protects the State*, 12.

⁴⁷⁵ Diane McWhorter, *Carry Me Home: Birmingham, Alabama: The Climactic Battle of the Civil Rights Revolution* (New York: Touchstone, 2001), 370-374.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 376.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 437.

⁴⁷⁸ “Keep on Movin’ Toward Freedom: The ‘Free’ State’s Struggle with Equality,” Annie E. Casey Foundation, (2005), <http://mdcivilrights.org/Timeline.html>. Accessed June 18, 2010.

⁴⁷⁹ Kwame Ture and Charles Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1967), 155.

1964 - August 11-13, Paterson, New Jersey
1964 - August 11-13, Elizabeth, New Jersey
1964 - August 16-17, Chicago, Illinois
1964 - August 28-30, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
1965 - August, Watts riot, Los Angeles, California
1966 - July 18-24, Hough riots, Cleveland, Ohio
1967 - July 12-17, Newark, New Jersey
1967 - July 14-21, Plainfield, New Jersey
1967 - July 24, Cambridge, Maryland
1967 - July 23-29, Detroit, Michigan
1968 - March 28, Memphis, Tennessee
1968 - April, Wilmington, Delaware
1968 - April 4-8, Washington, D.C.
1968 - April 6-12, Baltimore, Maryland
1969 - July, York, Pennsylvania

In the United States there has been a myth called peaceful progress. The idea is that political violence has always been rare, unnecessary, and irrational.⁴⁸⁰ The myth of peaceful progress offers intellectual support for existing political arrangements and validates the suppression of protest. It also serves to conceal the role of official violence.⁴⁸¹ If the Sixties era was considered over when violence first emerged (during some protest action), then perhaps that era never happened. The reality is that from the beginning of the modern civil rights movement, there were always those like Malcolm X and Robert F. Williams who did whatever needed to be done in the name of equal rights, freedom, and liberation. Even before the 1960s decade started, not everyone agreed with non-violence. In fact, the idea of violent resistance is not foreign to African Americans. African American history is filled with numerous slave (or otherwise) uprisings and revolts. According to one source, there were some four hundred slave uprisings during the period between 1750 and 1850, often with plans to kill all men, women, and children.⁴⁸² Royan Burris, an early civil rights leader, advised, “I said anybody hit you, hit back. Anybody step on your feet, step back. Anybody spit on you, spit back.”⁴⁸³

⁴⁸⁰ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 15.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁴⁸² Dick Gregory, *No More Lies: The Myth and the Reality of American History* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 160-161.

⁴⁸³ Hill, *The Deacons for Defense*, 1.

II.4. Student/Anti-War Movement

The Myth of Unity, Hope, and Pacifism

The student and the anti-war/peace movements of the 1960s (like those of the hippie counter-culture and the African-American social movements) often too were filled with dissension, despair, and violence since at least close to their beginnings (contrary to the overly positive Sixties myth of unity, hope, and non-violence throughout the 1960s decade).

As mentioned previously, the politically active white students often mirrored (and some even participated) in the ongoing African American civil rights movement no matter the type of strategies used.⁴⁸⁴ Therefore, not surprisingly, during the height of Martin Luther King's popularity in the early and up to the mid-1960s, most white student politicians professed his "non-violent civil disobedience" tactics.⁴⁸⁵ However, especially by 1966, "black power" had begun to replace King's non-violence with militancy, "incendiary rhetoric," and "nihilistic" violence; impulses that were not new but now more common.⁴⁸⁶ Therefore, as the years passed and frustration and rage grew within the African American civil rights movement, so too did the student anti-war movements become increasingly radicalized. As within the civil rights movement and the hippie counter-culture, explosive and destructive forces (based in large portion on fluctuating hope) gradually increased. Violence and other negative attributes did not just suddenly appear at the end of 1969 to "end the Sixties dream"; they were always inherently part of these social movements.⁴⁸⁷ They were in reality always present to a greater or smaller degree (even according to the U.S. government's own initiated "Task Force Report" on the "causes and prevention of violence") as shown by the very fact that the idea of "peaceful progress" in the United States was a myth.⁴⁸⁸ This report stated that those in power do not easily share or turn over power to "powerless outsiders as the myth of peaceful progress suggests."⁴⁸⁹ Therefore, the report suggested that an escalation of violence was normal and that throughout history

⁴⁸⁴ Bernardine Dohrn, Bill Ayers, and Jeff Jones, eds., *Sing a Battle Song: The Revolutionary Poetry, Statements, and Communiqués of the Weather Underground 1970-1974* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2006), 8.

⁴⁸⁵ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 75.

⁴⁸⁶ Unger and Unger, *The Times Were a Changin'*, 118.

⁴⁸⁷ Marwick, Arthur, "Was There a Cultural Revolution c.1958-c.1974?" *New York Times*, November 8, 1998, <http://www.nytimes.com/books/first/m/marwick-sixties.html>. Accessed October 17, 2012.

⁴⁸⁸ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 15.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 16.

social revolution usually “turns from peaceful reform to violence when it encounters brutal, mindless resistance to change.”⁴⁹⁰

Student dissent, like most of the other aspects of the Sixties movement, had its modern roots in the 1950s. The new left, the ideological driving force behind much of the student movement (with its 1962 “Port Huron Statement”), had its basis in what it saw as failures of the pre-war leftist parties to present a unified response to the de-Stalinization of the Soviet Union and the invasion of Hungary in 1956.⁴⁹¹ Many young Marxists, who were opposed to centralization and authoritarianism, began to develop a more democratic approach to politics, often called “democratic socialism” or “social democracy.”⁴⁹² The term “new left” was popularized by sociologist C. Wright Mills in an open letter written in 1960 entitled “Letter to the New Left,” claiming that “the proletariat were no longer the revolutionary force; the new agent of revolutionary change were young intellectuals [i.e., including the students] around the world.”⁴⁹³ One of the earliest, and by far the largest and arguably the most important new left organization was the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) (who wrote the “Port Huron Statement”). They in essence started in January 1960, after changing their name from the Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID), the youth branch of a long-time socialist educational organization called the League for Industrial Democracy (LID). The SDS, in its statement, called for the young generation (referred to as “maybe the last generation in the experiment with living”) to struggle against what they saw as intertwining matters of “racial bigotry” and the nuclear “bomb” (others quickly linked civil rights, disarmament, and poverty into a new doctrine of radicalism).^{494 495}

Indeed, by 1962, university students had begun to take an active role in both the civil rights movement and the anti-nuclear/peace issue (and as time went, on the student movement began to increasingly blend with both the counter-culture and the African-American black power movements). But first, in February 1960, sit-ins against segregation started at “dime-store lunch counters” in North Carolina by “negro students” and spread throughout many southern states to include public libraries, public parks, and public

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., xi.

⁴⁹¹ “A Brief History of the New Left Review 1960-2010,” *New Left Review*, <http://newleftreview.org/history>. Accessed October 3, 2014.

⁴⁹² Elbaum, Max, “Chronology Part One, 1954-1966,” Chronology of Political Events, 1954-1992, <http://www.revolutionintheair.com/chron/chron1.html>. Accessed October 9, 2012.

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁴ “Port Huron Statement of the Students for a Democratic Society, 1962,” <http://coursesa.matrix.msu.edu/~hst306/documents/huron.html>. Accessed October 7, 2012.

⁴⁹⁵ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 89.

swimming pools.⁴⁹⁶ No matter the violence, these actions created sympathetic reactions in white Northern students, who started picketing and boycotting Northern branches of Woolworth's and Kresge's.⁴⁹⁷ By April of 1960, one of the first student-led civil rights organizations called the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was formed by 126 student delegates from "58 sit-in centers in 12 states," delegates from 19 northern white colleges, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), the National Student Association (NSA), and the SDS.⁴⁹⁸ Although SNCC started as a non-violent civil rights group (which played a major role in voter registration drives, sit-ins, the 1961 Freedom Rides, the 1963 March on Washington, the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer, and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party), as early as 1965 SNCC executive secretary James Forman said he didn't know "how much longer we can stay non-violent."⁴⁹⁹ Many in SNCC had "grown skeptical" about the tactics of non-violence over the preceding years (as optimism for real change faded) and had already split on the issue after the Democratic National Convention of 1964. By June of 1966, Stokely Carmichael, the new head of SNCC, declared "black power" and began to move towards "revolutionary ideologies," expelling all whites from the organization and officially dropping the "non-violent" from its name (changing it to the Student National Coordinating Committee) in 1969.⁵⁰⁰ H. Rap Brown, who succeeded Carmichael, stated, "I say violence is necessary. It is as American as cherry pie," and "If America don't come around, we're gonna burn it down."⁵⁰¹ Thus SNCC, the largest and most influential student civil rights organization, fragmented and turned to "using any force necessary" by the mid-1960s, which contributed to its rapid decline.⁵⁰² The white students, on the other hand, increasingly turned their attention to the issue of war and peace, especially after Vietnam escalated into a full-blown war in early 1965 (for blacks, Vietnam became more of an issue a few years later).

⁴⁹⁶ Carl, Earl Lawrence. "Reflections on the Sit-Ins," *Cornell Law Review* 46(3): 444. Accessed October 3, 2014.

⁴⁹⁷ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 88.

⁴⁹⁸ "Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Founded April," Civil Rights Movement Veterans, <http://www.crmvet.org/tim/timhis60.htm#1960sncc>. Accessed June 3, 2010.

⁴⁹⁹ "Topic - Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee," *The Washington Times*, <http://www.washingtontimes.com/topics/student-non-violent-coordinating-committee/>. Accessed October 3, 2014.

⁵⁰⁰ Department of Defense, "Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)," (1967), http://www.aavw.org/protest/carmichael_sncc_abstract06_full.html. Accessed October 10, 2012.

⁵⁰¹ "H. Rap Brown Quotes," Brainy Quotes, <http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/h/hrapbrown166743.html>. Accessed November 29, 2012.

⁵⁰² Department of Defense, "Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)," (1967), http://www.aavw.org/protest/carmichael_sncc_abstract06_full.html. Accessed October 10, 2012.

In the meantime, students had already begun to organize protests against the nuclear arms race, nuclear testing, and civil defense.⁵⁰³ Here again, during the early 1960s, it was not SDS per se that led the way (although their presence was felt and their leadership would emerge in earnest in 1965), but another nationwide student organization called the Student Peace Union (SPU). The SPU was more liberal than socialist, but had many members who joined from the Young People's Socialist League, who (like SDS) tried to give it a "third camp" direction, rejecting both Western capitalism and Soviet communism as equally imperialist. The SPU was active from 1959 to 1964, and was considered the largest student activist group during those years (ten times larger than the SDS in 1962).⁵⁰⁴ The SPU took the lead, in late 1961, in organizing protests in Washington D.C. and indeed "consciously" used early civil rights techniques of non-violent direct action.⁵⁰⁵ During the first protest of its kind, in November, President Kennedy sent his "disarmament advisers" to meet with the "picket leaders" (who handed them their petitions), raising optimism briefly within the student ranks that some sort of influence and accomplishment could be achieved by them when dealing with the government. These anti-nuclear protests culminated in the "Washington Peace March" of February 1962 (the first national student demonstration in several decades).⁵⁰⁶ However, marchers were already disappointed with the hostile response of many of the Congressmen who rejected their efforts to elicit a "meaningful dialogue."⁵⁰⁷ They were amazed at how some of the Congressmen reacted "almost violently" to their eight-page "policy pamphlet," which spelled out a program of "unilateral initiatives for a stable peace which would not threaten the nation's deterrent."⁵⁰⁸ Although 5,000 students attended the Washington Peace March (which was co-sponsored by TOCSIN (an affiliate of the SPU), Student SANE, the American Friends Service Committee, and the SDS) many left with their hopes dashed, and began to wake up to their earlier held naivety in thinking that they could influence those in power by talking to them rationally.⁵⁰⁹ Nonetheless, the SPU continued its protests against nuclear testing in the spring of 1962, but this time engaging in the "first confrontation between police and anti-

⁵⁰³ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 88.

⁵⁰⁴ "Student Peace Union Records, 1959-1967," Swarthmore College Peace Collection (November 19, 2013), <http://www.swarthmore.edu/library/peace/DG051-099/dg065spu.html>. Accessed October 3, 2014.

⁵⁰⁵ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 88.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁷ Parker Donham, "SDS Washington March Stresses Protest; Lacks Policy Program of 1962 Project," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 23, 1965, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1965/4/23/sds-washington-march-stresses-protest-lacks/>. Accessed October 10, 2012.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid.

war protesters of the decade in New York.”⁵¹⁰ During the “Cuban Missile Crisis” in October of 1962, the SPU sponsored demonstrations across the country, including “a march in front of the White House that drew 2,000 people,” but were deemed “isolated” after the president handled the crisis successfully (although coming dangerously close to a nuclear war). However, the goal of limiting nuclear testing was achieved, as the “Nuclear Test Ban Treaty” was signed into law in August of 1963. Nevertheless, because of “factional struggles” within the SPU (concerning whether to enter into the Democratic party as socialists, or some sort of labor party, to merge with Student SANE, or to support peace candidates and questions over foreign policy), the largest student peace activist organization dissolved during the spring of 1964.⁵¹¹

Interestingly, counter to Sixties mythology, the summer of 1963 (only the fourth year into the 1960s decade) was said to have been the “high point of optimism” for the student movement (as it was for the civil rights movement) in regards to “the responsiveness of authorities” towards real change.⁵¹² Undoubtedly, it was a good moment in history, not only because the nuclear test ban treaty had been signed, but because on August 28, 250,000 to 300,000 people attended the huge civil rights “March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom,” where Martin Luther King delivered his inspiring “I Have a Dream” speech calling for racial equality and an end to discrimination. While the treaty prohibited nuclear weapons tests under water, in the atmosphere, or in outer space (and pledged to work towards ending the armaments race), the march was widely credited with helping to pass the “Civil Rights Act of 1964” (banning discrimination in employment and public accommodations) and the “Voting Rights Act of 1965.”⁵¹³ Moreover, also in the summer of 1963, the SDS began to mobilize students for community organizing in poor white and minority neighborhoods to fight poverty and unemployment, which helped influence President Johnson’s “Great Society” program of eliminating poverty the following year (all these above mentioned legislations and programs were first proposed by the Kennedy administration in 1963).⁵¹⁴ Nevertheless, cracks in optimism began to noticeably emerge, first in May 1963 with riots in Birmingham, Alabama (where non-violence was abandoned for the first time at a Martin Luther King non-violent direct

⁵¹⁰ Maurice Isserman, *If I Had a Hammer* (New York: Basic Books, 1987) 195-199.

⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*

⁵¹² Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 91.

⁵¹³ “March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom,” Stanford, http://mlkpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/encyclopedia/enc_march_on_washington_for_jobs_and_freedom/. Accessed October 3, 2014.

⁵¹⁴ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 91.

action), and then again with race riots in Cambridge, Maryland the following month.⁵¹⁵ However, it was after the assassination of President Kennedy, in November 1963, that hopefulness began to “wane.”⁵¹⁶ No matter Kennedy’s shortcomings, he seemed to be leading the country in the right direction. JFK was described as “the voice of hope, opportunity, and the future, uplift towards a better America.”⁵¹⁷ The news of his assassination shocked the nation; “It was a death that touched everyone instantly and directly; rare was the person who did not cry that long weekend.”⁵¹⁸ However, shortly after the initial mournful trauma had begun to wear off, the “brightest and best” being lost, the sense that a gloomy “sinister conspiracy” had occurred began quickly to take hold among a growing minority (many of which were students).⁵¹⁹

A large percentage of people had a sense of doubt and confusion concerning the assassination from the start. One reason was that initially there were many radio and TV reports on how the president had been shot in the head (“the back of Kennedy’s head was blown away”) from the front (including statements from doctors who examined Kennedy’s body).⁵²⁰ These widely broadcast reports disappeared from the news within 24 hours even though over 50 witnesses had stated that at least one bullet was fired from behind the picket fence, which was up on the grassy knoll (and on the front and side of the president).⁵²¹ In fact, all information that contradicted the immediately constructed official story (of a lone gunman firing three bullets from the Texas School Book Depository building located behind the President) was suppressed.⁵²² Then exactly 48 hours later, on national television, 75 million people (many in disbelief) watched Lee Harvey Oswald (the alleged killer of the president) get shot and killed by Jack Ruby while in the police station, conveniently eliminating a trial in which “potentially explosive information might have come to light.”⁵²³ Not surprisingly, with the passage of time (and rational thought on the matter), more and more people refused to believe what they felt were government lies, and

⁵¹⁵ McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 437.

⁵¹⁶ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 91.

⁵¹⁷ Nigel Turner (Producer and Director), *The Men Who Killed Kennedy* (DVD) (1988), England: Central Television Network.

⁵¹⁸ Roger Mudd, *The Place to Be: Washington, CBS, and the Glory Days of Television News* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2008), 133.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁰ Don Cordell, “Now about Trusting Our Government,”

<http://www.doncordellforpresident.com/JFKMurder.htm>. Accessed October 14, 2012.

⁵²¹ Nigel Turner (Producer and Director). (1988). *The Men Who Killed Kennedy* (DVD). England: Central Television Network.

⁵²² *Ibid.*

⁵²³ Scott M. Deitche, “Jack Ruby,” netplaces, <http://www.netplaces.com/mafia/did-the-mafia-kill-kennedy/jack-ruby.htm>. Accessed October 14, 2012.

began to lose respect towards their government. Infuriated, many students began to think along the lines that if “the Presidency of the United States is being decided by bullets fired by rifles rather than ballots casted by citizens we have indeed been taken over by a whole new form of government.”⁵²⁴ This distrust of the government was reinforced once again, in late September of 1964, with the release of the government-authorized 889-page “Warren Commission” report, which concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald acted alone in killing Kennedy and wounding Texas Governor John Connally and that Jack Ruby also acted alone when he killed Oswald a few days later. Warren Commission conclusions were based on obvious fabrications, misrepresentations, distortions, deletions and unbelievable assertions such as there being a “magic bullet.”⁵²⁵ The effect of the Warren commission report was said to of been one of “disenchantment and disillusionment of that college generation” that came of age during the mid-1960s.⁵²⁶

The Warren Commission, established by President Johnson, on November 29, 1963, was bent on formulating a theory of a “lone gunman,” instead of seeking the truth on what had taken place.⁵²⁷ In order to help explain how a single bullet could cause the non-fatal wound to the president and all the wounds to Governor Connally (seven wounds in total), Arlen Specter, the staff attorney for the Warren Commission, invented the so-called “magic bullet.”⁵²⁸ Michael T. Griffith described the magic bullet theory in his article from 2000: “The theory says that a bullet, known officially as CE 399, struck Kennedy in the back, transited his neck without leaving any metal fragments whatsoever, exited his neck, hit Governor John Connally near his right armpit, tore through his chest, smashing rib bone in the process, exited his chest, struck his right wrist and shattered a tough radius bone in the wrist, exited the wrist, and then stuck itself halfway into Connally’s left thigh. Yet, amazingly, after supposedly doing all this damage, CE 399 emerged with its lands and grooves intact, with no damage whatsoever to its nose, and with no more than 3-4 grains lost from its substance. The only damage to the bullet is at its base, where there is deformation that is not even visible unless viewed from certain angles.”⁵²⁹ Other

⁵²⁴ Nigel Turner (Producer and Director), *The Men Who Killed Kennedy* (DVD) (1988), England: Central Television Network.

⁵²⁵ “The Warren (C)om(m)ission,” jfk murdersolved, (2003), <http://jfkmurdersolved.com/warren.htm>. Accessed October 14, 2012.

⁵²⁶ Nigel Turner (Producer and Director), *The Men Who Killed Kennedy* (DVD) (1988), England: Central Television Network.

⁵²⁷ “Ten Reasons I Reject the Single-Bullet Theory,” http://www.kenrahn.com/JFK/Issues_and_evidence/Single-Bullet_theory/Ten_reasons.html. Accessed October 15, 2012.

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

knowledgeable people later pointed out that it was a group of lawyers (headed by Specter) and not ballistic experts who came up with the single-bullet theory in the first place, which could never be replicated when tested by “experienced and qualified ballistic experts.”⁵³⁰ Just to name a few of the endless shortcomings (and outright lies) of the Warren Commission report: there was no investigation into the background of Oswald (who was portrayed as a lone nut but in fact was some sort of government informant, agent, or spy); distorted information, for example, when commission member (and later President) Gerald Ford moved Kennedy’s back wound (in the “Ida Dox illustration (F-20)” to the back of the neck (to make the single-bullet theory more believable); the forging of a paper trail that would show Oswald buying the murder weapon; no examination of why the secret service protecting the president violated its own protection codes before and during the motorcade (and covered up key evidence afterwards); and failure to explain why their own unpublished records were sealed for 75 years –why there was a need to conceal and classify tremendous amounts of documents in the name of “National Security concerning various evidence.”⁵³¹ It was not surprising that students and adults alike became skeptical and suspicious of a government that closed the book on the assassination of their beloved president based on fictitious and illogical nonsense. The only conclusion drawn by many was that there had been a conspiracy perpetrated by the highest level of government.⁵³² Young people interviewed years later said, “that’s when they stopped being young,” or that’s when they lost their idealistic belief that “one could make changes politically,” and that’s when “hope was taken away.”⁵³³ As stated before, the summer of 1963 was seen as the height of optimism in the student (and civil rights) movements; afterwards it continually experienced ups-and-downs with increasing amounts of turmoil and resistance.⁵³⁴

It was during this period, somewhere after the Kennedy assassination, that social critics such as Paul Goodman later divided the 1960s decade into “the good sixties and the bad sixties.”⁵³⁵ In 1970, he wrote how as the decade proceeded both the new left and the

⁵³⁰ George W. Bailey, “Ten Reasons Why the Warren Commission Failed,” *Oswald’s Mother* (February 19, 2012), <http://oswaldsmother.blogspot.hu/2012/02/ten-reasons-why-warren-commission.html>. Accessed October 15, 2012.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*

⁵³² Nigel Turner (Producer and Director), *The Men Who Killed Kennedy* (DVD) (1988), England: Central Television Network.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁴ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 3.

⁵³⁵ Roger Smith, “Good Sixties/Bad Sixties? (part 1),” *Paul Goodman Changed My Life* (June 17, 2011), <http://www.paulgoodmanfilm.com/good-sixties-bad-sixties-part-1/>. Accessed May 27, 2014.

Movement as a whole gradually lost its “moral integrity” and descended into destructive “fits of rage, seduced by grandiose notions of revolution.” Increasingly losing faith in the system, by the second half of the 1960s decade, young people began to either drop out (as in the counter-culture) or fight back. Ironically, many who write too optimistically about the Sixties only begin their narrative with the first student “uprising,” which took place at the University of California at Berkeley during the Fall of 1964, in what became known as the “Free Speech Movement (FSM).”^{536 537} Seen as a bridge between the civil rights movement and the anti-war crusade, the FSM started when UC Berkeley Dean Katherine Towle announced, on September 14, that existing university regulations “prohibiting advocacy of political causes or candidates, outside political speakers, recruitment of members, and fundraising by student organizations at the intersection of Bancroft and Telegraph Avenues (bordering school property) would be strictly enforced.”⁵³⁸ The reason for this announcement was that student activists who had traveled to Mississippi during the summer to register African American voters in the “Freedom Summer” project had set up information tables on the Berkeley campus and were soliciting donations for civil rights causes. On September 30, 1964, after five students were requested to appear for disciplinary action, over 500 students held a sit-in and encircled the Dean of Students’ office in protest.⁵³⁹ One possible reason for this passionate show of force stemmed from the eye-opening experience some students had gone through in Mississippi as civil rights volunteers that summer. Well over 1,000 mostly white, out-of-state students had participated and witnessed the injustice and brutality in which four young civil rights workers were killed (including James Chaney, a black CORE activist from Mississippi, white CORE organizer Michael Schwerner, and white summer volunteer Andrew Goodman (the last two from New York), at least three Mississippi blacks were murdered and four critically wounded because of their support for the civil rights movement, eighty Freedom Summer workers were beaten, 1,062 people were arrested (many of them volunteers), and thirty-seven black churches and thirty black homes or businesses were bombed or burned.⁵⁴⁰ When the next day, October 1, UC Berkeley campus police arrested former graduate student Jack Weinberg (sitting at the CORE table) for refusing to show his

⁵³⁶ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 59.

⁵³⁷ Unger and Unger, *The Times Were a Changin’*, 73.

⁵³⁸ Terry F. Lunsford, *The “Free Speech” Crises at Berkeley, 1964-1965: Some Issues for Social and Legal Research* (Berkeley: University of California, 1965), 4.

⁵³⁹ “Free Speech Movement Chronology,” *California Monthly*, February, 1965, <http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/FSM/chron.html>. Accessed October 17, 2012.

⁵⁴⁰ Doug McAdam, *Freedom Summer* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 96-101.

identification, all bottled-up fury exploded. Spontaneously about 100 and later up to 3,000 students surrounded and trapped the police car (with Weinberg inside) for 32 hours.⁵⁴¹ The car was used as a speaker's podium starting with protest leader Mario Savio "removing his shoes and climbing on top," followed later by the student senate (ASUC) President Charles Powell (who dropped out of the protest several hours later after disagreements over strategy).⁵⁴² Meanwhile, continuous pressure on the part of the students continued from 11:45 a.m., all day, all night, and most of the next day until the charges against Weinberg were dropped (although the university agreed not to press charges, he was still later booked by the police for trespassing). Confrontational highlights included Savio and Powell negotiating many hours for Weinberg's release (and the termination of several other student suspensions), and after their failure, at 4:00 p.m., 400 students blocked the door of the Dean's office, not allowing anyone out; at 6:15 p.m. a violent encounter took place at Sproul Hall between 100 angry students and police ("two police officers were pulled to the floor," one bitten on the leg) touching off a near riot; at 11:15 p.m. another faction of students, about 2,500 "anti-demonstration demonstrators," confronted the FSM demonstrators, causing a near free-for-all between the two sides, which "degenerated into a shouting, singing, swearing and egg throwing contest. The demonstrators sang 'We Shall Overcome!' The anti-demonstration forces shouted 'Mickey Mouse!'"⁵⁴³ By 1:30 a.m., only UC Berkeley's resident Catholic priest, Father James Fisher, could stop this other near riot from exploding, he too having to mount the police car. Soon things quieted and an "all-night vigil" began with the entire area filled with sleeping bags, blankets, and even a "pup tent."⁵⁴⁴ All next day various students spoke from atop of the now "sagging" police car until evening, when negotiations concluded between University President Clark Kerr, Chancellor Edward W. Strong, members of an informal faculty group, student leaders, and nine demonstrations spokesmen.⁵⁴⁵ At 7:30 p.m., October 2, Savio climbed the "flattened" police car one last time and announced the end of the demonstration. By this time, 7,000 onlookers had gathered, and 500 policemen had assembled, called in to start arresting

⁵⁴¹ Jo Freeman, "The Berkeley Free Speech Movement," *Encyclopedia of American Social Movements* (2004), <http://www.jofreeman.com/sixtiesprotest/berkeley.htm>. Accessed November 13, 2012.

⁵⁴² "Free Speech Movement Chronology," *California Monthly*, February, 1965, <http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/FSM/chron.html>. Accessed October 17, 2012.

⁵⁴³ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁵ Terry F. Lunsford, "The 'Free Speech' Crises at Berkeley, 1964-1965: Some Issues for Social and Legal Research," (December 1965), http://content.cdlib.org/view?docId-kt9r29p975&brand-calisphere&doc.view-entire_text. Accessed November 13, 2012.

everyone if negotiations had failed.⁵⁴⁶ At the end of the day, though, the students had won little with Jack Weinberg taken by police, all suspended students remained suspended, and the University rules remaining unchanged.⁵⁴⁷ However, the Free Speech issue on the right to conduct political activity on college campuses was far from over; the Free Speech Movement continued.

On October 5, 1964, approximately 1000 students gathered in the mall between Sproul Hall and the Student Union to listen to the protest speakers, including Mario Savio, who explained that “although the whole war is far from over, we have won the biggest battle” by gaining “jurisdictional recognition” from the university president to negotiate for “free speech.”⁵⁴⁸ On November 9, the FSM issued a statement saying that its “self-imposed moratorium” (since early October) on further activity would end the next day, seeing that the “Campus Committee on Political Activity” (created by the university after the October 1-2 protests) was “deadlocked over the issue of political advocacy.”⁵⁴⁹ Indeed, the following day 200 students participated in a demonstration after FSM and eight other off-campus organizations set up tables with “donation cups and sign-up sheets” in violation of university regulations.⁵⁵⁰ On November 20, a mass student rally of more than 3,000 people was lead by folk singer Joan Baez, as FSM leaders Arthur Goldberg and Mario Savio were placed on probation for the rest of the semester.⁵⁵¹ Otherwise, while there was another mass rally in Berkeley on November 23, by the following week (November 30) the free speech demonstrations had spread to several other universities throughout California (including Santa Barbara, UCLA, and Davis).⁵⁵² Finally, December 2-3 turned out to be the climax of the Movement, as 1,000 persons (including some faculty members and non-students) packed into Sproul Hall after a huge rally for an all night sit-in occupation. At the

⁵⁴⁶ “Free Speech Movement Chronology,” *California Monthly*, February, 1965

<http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/FSM/chron.html>. Accessed October 17, 2012.

⁵⁴⁷ Terry F. Lunsford, “The ‘Free Speech’ Crises at Berkeley, 1964-1965: Some Issues for Social and Legal Research,” (December 1965), http://content.cdlib.org/view?docId-kt9r29p975&brand-calisphere&doc.view-entire_text. Accessed November 13, 2012.

⁵⁴⁸ “Free Speech Movement Chronology,” *California Monthly*, February, 1965,

<http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/FSM/chron.html>. Accessed October 17, 2012.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁰ Terry F. Lunsford, “The ‘Free Speech’ Crises at Berkeley, 1964-1965: Some Issues for Social and Legal Research,” (December 1965), http://content.cdlib.org/view?docId-kt9r29p975&brand-calisphere&doc.view-entire_text. Accessed November 13, 2012.

⁵⁵¹ “Free Speech Photographs, 1964,” Calisphere - University of California (2011), <http://content.cdlib.org/view?docId-kt896nb2pw;NAAN-13030&doc.view-frames&chunk.id-div00003&toc.id-div00003&brand-calisphere>. Accessed November 13, 2012.

⁵⁵² Ruth Rosen, “The Summer When Everything Changed: The Momentous Events of the Summer of 1964; Forty Years Ago; Created Many of Our Current Cultural, Social and Political Divisions,” AlterNet (August 23, 2004), http://www.alternet.org/story/19641/the_summer_when_everything_changed. Accessed November 13, 2012.

December 2 rally, Mario Savio gave his legendary speech, in which he said: “There is a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart, that you can’t take part; you can’t even tacitly take part, and you’ve got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus and you’ve got to make it stop. And you’ve got to indicate to the people who run it, to the people who own it, that unless you’re free, the machines will be prevented from working at all.”⁵⁵³ Afterwards Baez told the demonstrators to take over Sproul Hall “with love in your hearts,” and began to sing the famous civil rights song “We Shall Overcome.”⁵⁵⁴ Before sunrise the following day 635 police officers started clearing the building, which took 12 hours, arresting 768 demonstrators who had gone “limp” and had to be dragged out.⁵⁵⁵ On December 4, the third day of the “student strike,” 5,000 people attended a huge rally next to Sproul Hall to hear protest leaders and faculty members “condemn Governor Brown, the Regents, President Kerr, Chancellor Strong and the police.”⁵⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the Free Speech Movement had more or less won. On December 7, 16,000 students and faculty members gathered to hear University President Clark Kerr speak about the “new liberalized political action rules” (details voted on later that day and thus not fully known to the students until the next day), which stated: “The content of speech or advocacy should not be restricted by the university. Off-campus political activities shall not be subject to university regulation. On-campus advocacy or organization of such activities shall be subject only to such limitations as may be imposed under Section 2”⁵⁵⁷ (meaning “the time, place, and manner of conducting political activity on the campus shall be subject to reasonable regulations to prevent interference with the normal functions of the university”).⁵⁵⁸ Professor Joseph Tussman summarized the new resolution: “Anything that is illegal in the community at large is still illegal on the campus. The question is: Should

⁵⁵³ “Mario Savio - Sit-in Address on the Steps of Sproul Hall” (delivered December 2, 1964, the University of California at Berkeley), American Rhetoric Top 100 Speeches, <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mariosaviosproulhallsitin.htm>. Accessed November 13, 2012.

⁵⁵⁴ “Free Speech Movement Chronology,” *California Monthly*, February, 1965, <http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/FSM/chron.html>. Accessed October 17, 2012.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁷ “Car Top Rally, October 2, 1964 (Part 1),” Free Speech Movement, UC Berkeley Online Audio Recordings – Transcripts, <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/MRC/FSM/fsmtranscripts.html>. Accessed November 13, 2012.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid.

the university impose more restrictions on its students in the area of political activity than exist in the community at large? The Senate said: No.”⁵⁵⁹

Seen as a victory for student ability to protest various issues, the Free Speech Movement helped open the door for the soon-to-follow anti-war confrontations against the Vietnam War. Nevertheless, contrary to Sixties myth, not all politically active students, and surely not all the other students at Berkeley or other universities, supported the Free Speech Movement, or if they did, they did not necessarily support their tactics. Many student groups disagreed with FSM’s leftwing political ideology, others with its methods in creating change. Students from various parts of the political spectrum (i.e., liberal, middle of the road, and conservative) saw FSM as a “tool of the communist left”; others did not like how the student protests “all but shut down the university.”⁵⁶⁰ ASUC President Powell denounced FSM’s “insatiable hunger for full capitulation,” which he called “needless” since the Regents had already basically “granted the FSM the privileges it requested.”⁵⁶¹ The university “Young Republicans” formally withdrew from the Free Speech Movement, stating, “What the FSM is asking, in effect, is that the administration cease to be an administration.”⁵⁶² The California Alumni Association issued a statement on how the FSM represented only a fraction of the students, saying that “the overwhelming law-abiding majority of students, faculty and alumni have privately deplored the threatened state of anarchy sought to be imposed on a great university by relatively few agitators and malcontents and their misguided sympathizers.”⁵⁶³ In the end, even members of the Free Speech Movement were not unified in their beliefs regarding what had transpired, if it had been a success or not, or what their future direction would be. On January 4, 1965, the Free Speech Movement held its “first legal rally”; nonetheless, folk singer Joan Baez and various FSM spokesmen still expressed dissatisfaction and, among other things, denounced the new rules for campus political activity for not going far enough.⁵⁶⁴ Divided, the FSM soon started to fall apart. In April of 1965, Mario Savio, the leader of the Free Speech Movement, himself quit, saying that “he was disappointed with the growing gap between

⁵⁵⁹ “Free Speech Movement Chronology,” *California Monthly*, February 1965, <http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/FSM/chron.html>. Accessed October 17, 2012.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid.

⁵⁶² Ibid.

⁵⁶³ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid.

the leadership of the FSM, and the students themselves.”⁵⁶⁵ The FSM disbanded two days after Savio left.⁵⁶⁶

Just as the Free Speech Movement disintegrated, the “Vietnam Day Committee (VDC)” took its place in Berkeley (while the SDS rose in prominence nationally) and was seen as one of the major starting points for the anti-Vietnam war movement (and in many accounts the start of what is now called the Sixties). Indeed, by the spring of 1965, the feeling of being “misled” and “betrayed” by President Johnson was very much on the minds of many students. Both the old and new left had actively supported Lyndon Johnson in his 1964 presidential campaign against Barry Goldwater, because he had positioned himself as the “candidate of peace.”⁵⁶⁷ Moreover, following Johnson’s victory in November, students had even refrained from any anti-war rhetoric to “avoid alienating the president and possibly endangering the social programs of the Great Society.”⁵⁶⁸ Nevertheless, in a little over two weeks after being sworn into office (on January 20, 1965), Johnson began the bombardment of North Vietnam on February 7 in what was called “Operation Flaming Dart”; on March 8, 3,500 U.S. Marines landed to begin the American ground war.⁵⁶⁹ All this happened on the heels of Kennedy’s assassination, which occurred just after he had signed (October 11, 1963) a new directive called NSAM 263 to withdraw 1,000 troops a month from Vietnam, and 17,000 out by the end of 1964 (and all troops out by 1965).⁵⁷⁰ Instead, only four days after Kennedy’s death (and one day after his burial) Johnson reversed Kennedy’s Vietnam disengagement policy (on November 26, 1963) with his NSAM 273 to expand the war, increasing troop strength to over 550,000 by 1968 (before 1965 Vietnam had been a CIA-run covert war, only turning into the “bigger war” when handed to the military in 1965).⁵⁷¹

⁵⁶⁵ “Stirring Up a Generation: Mario Savio’s Passionate Speeches and Mesmerizing Delivery Became Synon,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 8, 1996, 1/Z3.

⁵⁶⁶ “SLATE: the Beginning of the New Left UC Berkeley 1950s / 1960s,” SLATE Archives Committee (2003), <http://slatearchives.org/chronology.htm>. Accessed November 19, 2012.

⁵⁶⁷ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 37.

⁵⁶⁸ Mark Barringer, “The Anti-War Movement in the United States,” *Modern American Poetry* (1999), <http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/vietnam/anti-war.html>. Accessed November 14, 2012.

⁵⁶⁹ “Vietnam War Timeline: 1965,” VietnamGear (2005), <http://www.vietnamgear.com/war1965.aspx>. Accessed November 14, 2012.

⁵⁷⁰ “President Kennedy Issues NSAM 263, Ordering the Withdrawal of 1,000 Military Personnel from Vietnam by the End of 1963,” WHP (October 11, 1963), <http://timelines.com/1963/10/11/president-kennedy-issues-nsam-263-ordering-the-withdrawl-of-1-000-military-personnel-from-vietnam-by-the-end-of-1963>. Accessed November 14, 2012.

⁵⁷¹ Fletcher L. Prouty, “A Few Excerpts of the Book JFK- The CIA, Vietnam, and the Plot to Assassinate John F. Kennedy” Mae Brussell (1992), <http://www.maebrussell.com/Prouty/JFK%20by%20Fletcher%20Prouty%20excerpts.html>. Accessed October 22, 2012.

Years later, some would speculate that if Kennedy had not been killed, there most likely would not have been a war in Vietnam. On the other hand, others argued that since the United States (with Kennedy's approval) had participated in the overthrow of the South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem on November 2, 1963, it had already committed itself into a deeper involvement, especially since afterwards the following military juntas were ineffectual in fighting the war against the North.⁵⁷² Either way, the road towards a seemingly needless war was set, as Johnson only two days after becoming President had already pledged his support for the Vietnamese conflict stating, "The battle against communism . . . must be joined . . . with strength and determination."⁵⁷³ On August 4, 1964, President Johnson went in front of the American people to report "renewed hostile actions" by North Vietnam (in two separate Gulf of Tonkin incidents), and to "immediately request the Congress to pass a resolution," which it did three days later.⁵⁷⁴ The facts that Johnson failed to mention were that the U.S. had spied on, sabotaged, and attacked North Vietnam for years, and that the second of the so-called Gulf of Tonkin incidents never even happened (questioned by "influential" journalist I. F. Stone in a matter of weeks, it was confirmed by National Security Agency declassified documents in December of 2005 that no second attack occurred on August 4 and that the August 2 attack took place "under questionable circumstances").⁵⁷⁵ ⁵⁷⁶ Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon described the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution: "It's a resolution which seeks to give the President of the United States the power to make war without a declaration of war."⁵⁷⁷ ⁵⁷⁸ But still, Johnson's presidential campaign of 1964 implied that if people didn't vote for him, his Republican Party

⁵⁷² John Prados, "JFK and the Diem Coup," The National Security Archive (November 5, 2003), <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB101/index.htm>. Accessed October 23, 2012.

⁵⁷³ "The Domino Theory - Future presidents speak," New American Nation, <http://www.americanforeignrelations.com/A-D/The-Domino-Theory-Future-presidents-speak.html>. Accessed November 14, 2012.

⁵⁷⁴ "President's Message To Congress, August 5, 1964," <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/tonkinsp.htm>. Accessed November 14, 2012.

⁵⁷⁵ "I. F. Stone's Weekly Was a Journalistic Triumph of the 20th Century," I. F. Stone, <http://www.ifstone.org/>. Accessed November 4, 2012.

⁵⁷⁶ "Tonkin Gulf Intelligence 'Skewed' According to Official History and Intercepts: Newly Declassified National Security Agency Documents Show Analysts Made 'SIGINT fit the claim' of North Vietnamese Attack," National Security Archive (December 1, 2005), <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB132/press20051201.htm>. Accessed November 4, 2012.

⁵⁷⁷ Mcamericanpresident, dir., "Lyndon Johnson - Report on the Gulf of Tonkin Incident" (June 13, 2008), <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dx8-ffiYyzA>. Accessed October 25, 2012.

⁵⁷⁸ "Gulf of Tonkin Was A Staged False Flag Event," Theupliftingcrane (July 16, 2010), <http://theupliftingcrane.wordpress.com/2010/07/16/gulf-of-tonkin-was-a-staged-false-flag-event/>. Accessed October 25, 2012.

opponent Barry Goldwater would be much worse; he in fact might cause a nuclear war.⁵⁷⁹ In his famous “Daisy Girl” TV attack ad airing September 7, Johnson tried to capitalize on comments made by Goldwater about the possibility of using nuclear weapons in Vietnam.⁵⁸⁰ As a nuclear firestorm raged in the advertisement, a voiceover from Johnson stated, “These are the stakes! To make a world in which all of God’s children can live, or to go into the dark. We must either love each other, or we must die.”⁵⁸¹ All-out war erupting in early 1965 helped exacerbate a “deep personal bitterness” within many young people.⁵⁸²

In 1965, the handful of protests against the budding war in the previous year quickened immediately, starting in February and March as the war heated up and the SDS organized marches on the Oakland Army Terminal (the departure point for many troops bound for Southeast Asia).⁵⁸³ Moreover, on March 24-25 at the University of Michigan, the first “teach-ins” were held to “educate large segments of the student population about both the moral and political foundations of U.S. involvement.”⁵⁸⁴ The event was attended by about 3,500 people including Michigan faculty members Anatol Rapoport and Charles Tilly. This particular format spread to other campuses around the country, bringing faculty members into increasing anti-war participation.⁵⁸⁵

On April 17 the first of several national anti-war marches (sponsored by both the SDS and the SNCC) were held in Washington, D.C., with a “surprising large turnout” of 15,000 to 25,000 protesters.⁵⁸⁶ In a speech at the rally, Paul Potter, the president of the SDS, said that “something had gone very wrong with America,” that the war in Vietnam was a “sign of the failure of democracy.”⁵⁸⁷ Moreover, he stated that the “last vestiges of illusion” concerning morality and democracy as the guiding principles of American foreign policy had ended. Potter named this failure as stemming from an interlocking “financial,

⁵⁷⁹ Trevor Parry-Giles, “1964-Three Ads from LBJ-Taylor Sachs,” Presidential Campaign Rhetoric (April 22, 2011), <http://campaignrhetoric.wordpress.com/2011/04/22/1964-three-ads-from-lbj-taylor-sachs/>. Accessed November 14, 2012.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁸¹ “Famous ‘Daisy’ Attack Ad from 1964 Presidential Election,” online video clip, Youtube (October 30, 2010), <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dDTBnsqxZ3k>. Accessed October 3, 2014.

⁵⁸² Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 37.

⁵⁸³ Mark Barringer, “The Anti-War Movement in the United States,” *Modern American Poetry* (1999), <http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/vietnam/anti-war.html>. Accessed November 14, 2012.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁵ David L. Anderson, *The Human Tradition in the Vietnam Era* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000), 183.

⁵⁸⁶ Mark Barringer, “The Anti-War Movement in the United States,” *Modern American Poetry* (1999), <http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/vietnam/anti-war.html>. Accessed November 14, 2012.

⁵⁸⁷ Paul Potter, “‘Naming the System’ Speech,” Document Library, http://www.antiauthoritarian.net/sds_wuo/sds_documents/paul_potter.html. Accessed March 18, 2013.

technocratic, and military elite” he called “the system.”⁵⁸⁸ And it was time to “challenge” this “military-industrial complex,” as former President Eisenhower had called it in his farewell address.⁵⁸⁹ Some would comment that Potter’s “name the system” speech encouraged a “darker impulse” within the Movement that helped weakened and even destroy both “cultural authority and political legitimacy.”⁵⁹⁰ From this time on, a still small but rapidly growing radical element (separating the world into “bad elites” and “good people”) began profoundly to affect and divide the anti-war movement.⁵⁹¹

Contrary to Sixties myth, the anti-war movement (like the aforementioned movements) was never unified, although a number of groups attempted to organize and lead a national movement. As historian Charles DeBenedetti said, “No one was in control of the anti-war movement” because of its diverse elements.⁵⁹² At its core, the organized anti-war movement clustered around two poles, the liberal and radical camps. The liberal side consisted of organizations such as the Fellowship for Reconciliation, the American Friends Service Committee, Americans for Democratic Action, the *Catholic Worker*, the Committee for Non-violent Action, the Women’s Strike for Peace, and SANE.⁵⁹³ They generally opposed the escalation of war on moral grounds and advocated some sort of cease-fire and negotiation. However, most liberals supported the continuation of the strategy of containment in stopping the spread of communism.⁵⁹⁴ Moreover, SANE leaders stressed responsible criticism that would enlist broad support and were eager to express the fact that they were not aligned with Soviet Russia or any other communists. Liberal tactics included the “teach-ins,” public education, petitions, lobbying, and electoral politics. On the other hand, the radical side (who for the most part identified themselves as constituents of the new left) advocated “Out Now.” It included organizations such as the SNCC, the May 2nd Movement, the Progressive Labor Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the Northern Student Movement, W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, the Vietnam Day Committee, and the SDS. For the radicals, the Vietnam War was seen as another example of American imperialism. Their approach consisted of creating political confrontation using tactics such as large-scale demonstrations, draft resistance, and civil disobedience. These methods,

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁹ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 139.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid., 140.

⁵⁹² Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 145-146.

⁵⁹³ Ibid., 146.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid.

moreover, attracted many within the budding hippie counter-culture, which resulted in a media coverage that largely stereotyped the whole movement in their image.⁵⁹⁵

Thus from the beginning of the escalation of the war there already existed a great division within the anti-war movement. Even before the first really large demonstration of April 17 (the day before Easter), liberal anti-war leaders A. J. Muste, Norman Thomas, and Bayard Rustin already issued a statement calling for “an independent peace movement, not drawing inspiration or direction from the foreign policy of any government”⁵⁹⁶ The *New York Post* added that there would be “no justification for transforming the march into a frenzied, one-sided, anti-American show.”⁵⁹⁷ The SDS and SANE argued over the participation of members viewed as Vietcong sympathizers or communists, with SANE eventually refusing to sponsor the demonstration.⁵⁹⁸ Potter, like many radical leaders, however, assumed that the Vietnamese revolutionaries were a “more victimized and better organized version” of themselves.⁵⁹⁹ The new left increasingly began to believe that there was one all-encompassing system behind the “establishment” that aimed to dominate the world, and that this unified oppression could be resisted by a single world-wide revolution to overthrow bourgeois capitalism and create a classless and stateless society (socialism).⁶⁰⁰ For these radicals, the ideological foundation from which the system was to be confronted was very clear, and it was not liberalism but resistance (and later the overthrow) of that system.

Nonetheless, the April 17, 1965 protest not only ignited hope and enthusiasm in the new left for the possibility of radical change in America (by splitting from the liberals), it also caused an eventual disagreement between older and newer radicals as (clearly seen at the June SDS convention).⁶⁰¹ The SDS had already experienced a break at their summer convention in 1964 between those who were “campus-oriented” and those who supported working in the ghettos through their “Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP).”⁶⁰² In 1964, “old guard” Paul Potter was elected SDS president; however, with the emergence of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement in the fall, it became clear to many in the Movement that the “truth of American society” and with it the university “did not live up

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid., 147.

⁵⁹⁹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 185-186.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid., 188-189.

⁶⁰² Kirkpatrick Sale, *SDS: The Rise and Development of the Students for a Democratic Society* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), 87 .

to its claims.”⁶⁰³ Potter, who himself allegedly did not believe in militancy, nonetheless opened the door towards more aggressive and drastic tactics against the U.S. government because of his speech, creating “reformist/radical disagreements.”⁶⁰⁴ This later division especially involved the emerging baby boom generation who were just coming of age (first entering university during the fall of 1964).⁶⁰⁵ These latest young student demonstrators (born after World War II) first of all opposed liberal protesters (like all radicals) with their fierce disapproval of “the Establishment,” which for them consisted of “President Johnson, his advisors, the Pentagon, Washington bureaucrats, and weapons manufacturers.”⁶⁰⁶ Secondly, although inspired by the historic April “March on Washington,” they however did not passively join the SDS but instead began to pressure the original members towards an increased identification with ever more confrontational tactics that Potter had alluded to.⁶⁰⁷

These new recruits who joined the SDS (and other student protest groups), for the most part, did not come from the traditional Eastern, urban, professional, Jewish, intellectual, professional classes that had been drawn to protest groups early on.⁶⁰⁸ Their family backgrounds (pointed out protest veterans) consisted of little past political involvement, and thus they tended to be not only ignorant of the history of the left but “downright uninterested.”⁶⁰⁹ Instead, they were more likely to come from working-class families who were “less intellectual and less articulate,” growing up in either the Midwest or other “frontier country.”⁶¹⁰ The new young students, instead of dressing in nice jackets and slacks, wore blue work shirts, denim jackets, and cowboy boots and they tended to be “more violent, more individualistic, more bare-knuckled and callus-handed, than . . . the early SDSers.”⁶¹¹ In a further example of this dichotomy, it was clear that the original SDS had believed in the tactic of non-violence as written in their 1962 Port Huron Statement manifesto. It stated that “we find violence to be abhorrent because it requires generally the transformation of the target, be it a human being or a community of people, into a depersonalized object of hate. It is imperative that the means of violence be abolished and

⁶⁰³ Ibid., 99.

⁶⁰⁴ Drury, Jeffrey P., “Paul Potter: ‘The Incredible War’ (April 17, 1965),” Central Michigan University, <http://archive.vod.umd.edu/warpeace/potter1965int.htm>. Accessed March 11, 2013.

⁶⁰⁵ Strauss and Howe, *An American Prophecy*, 189-190.

⁶⁰⁶ “The Vietnam War: The Jungle War 1965-1968,” The History Place, (1999), <http://www.historyplace.com/unitedstates/vietnam/index-1965.html>. Accessed March 4, 2013.

⁶⁰⁷ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 186.

⁶⁰⁸ Sale, *SDS*, 137-138.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹¹ Ibid.

the institutions – local, national, international – that encourage non-violence as a condition of conflict be developed.”⁶¹² The new members, however, did not always hold these views so strictly, as they saw the hypocrisy of justifying the violence used by third-world liberation forces while condemning any sort of violence in their own movement at home.⁶¹³ As a result, not only was there an ideological split, but a serious generational chasm opened up within the student movement as early as the spring of 1965. Moreover, perhaps impossible because of the enormous cultural differences, the “old guard” itself did not help their situation when they “failed to take these prairie peoples into their old-boys networks,” which eventually lead to their own marginalization, or in some cases their own transformation towards accepting certain forms of upheaval.⁶¹⁴

The overly positive Sixties myth of unity, hope, and non-violence pervading the overall movement during these early days is false, as the Movement was already seeded with dissension, despair, and violent tendencies. Not only were there the above-mentioned chasms, but deep feelings of resignation and frustration permeated the anti-war movement, which was still haunted by the 1963 Kennedy assassination.⁶¹⁵ The discouragement and anguish of many protesters in 1965 involved to no small part the diversion of Great Society funds into war spending.⁶¹⁶ Then, after years of social injustice and the sense that their cause was taking a back seat to the war, blacks in the cities began to explode in violent riots (while the Black Liberation Front, caught on February 16, plotted to bomb the Liberty Bell, the Statue of Liberty, and the Washington Monument), helping to push the anti-war movement also towards the edge of desperation and alienation.⁶¹⁷ Finally, when 22,200 American troops invaded the Dominican Republic on April 28, even “old guard” Todd Gitlin (the former SDS president from 1963-1964) said that it was from this point on that he felt a part of a resistance in which he belonged to a “we.” Gitlin wrote, “The U.S. was throwing its armed might against us. I felt for the first time that I belonged to a ‘we’ that had no choice but to fight against America’s armed power.”⁶¹⁸ Contrary to myth, the

⁶¹² “Port Huron Statement of the Students for a Democratic Society, 1962,”

<http://coursesa.matrix.msu.edu/~hst306/documents/huron.html>. Accessed October 7, 2012.

⁶¹³ Lew Jones, “Part I. The Anti-war Strategy of the SWP and the YSA: A Reply to a Criticism of Our Anti-war Policy,” Encyclopedia of Trotskyism On-Line—Socialist Workers Party [US] Education for Socialist Bulletins (March 12, 1967), <http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/document/swp-us/education/anti-war/part4.htm>. Accessed March 12, 2013.

⁶¹⁴ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 186.

⁶¹⁵ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 57.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid.

⁶¹⁷ “New York: The Monumental Plot,” *Time Magazine*, February 26, 1965,

<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,833472,00.html>. Accessed June 1, 2013.

⁶¹⁸ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 187.

“obstructionist action” on the part of pacifists was already plentiful by this time.⁶¹⁹

Continuing, Gitlin said, “The United States started acting like an empire and that fraternity with revolutionaries abroad had become compelling for a growing faction of the budding anti-war movement.”⁶²⁰ Thus, throughout the year, the pessimism that grew over the expanding war and the possibility of genuine social reform in the university and society as a whole became uncertain helped fuel the tactics of confrontation.⁶²¹

In the month of May, meanwhile, major anti-war activity led by the VDC erupted in Berkeley, California. The VDC was formed by local Berkeley activists Jerry Rubin, Paul Montauk, Abbie Hoffman, and Stew Albert (all but Montauk were latter founding members of the “outrageously” radical Yippies).⁶²² They were a wide-ranging coalition made up of left-wing political groups, student groups, labor organizations, and pacifist religions. In one of their first agitations, the VDC on May 5, 1965 marched several hundred students from the university on to the Berkeley Draft Board, where the staff was given a black coffin as a gift, and a number of students set alight their draft cards. Soon, from May 14-22, the VDC organized the “National Vietnam Week,” held at UC Berkeley, which included a 35-hour protest involving 35,000 people held May 21-22.⁶²³ Among those who gave speeches at this huge rally included novelist Norman Mailer, socialist leader Norman Thomas, philosopher Alan Watts, civil rights activist Bob Moses, and former Free Speech Movement leader Mario Savio.⁶²⁴ At the conclusion of this event (a little after midnight on early May 22), the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) led a sizable group of people to once again confront the Berkeley draft board and provocatively hang the effigy of President Lyndon Johnson while burning 19 draft cards.⁶²⁵

In June, only four months after the start of the war (and the start-up of protests), the SDS held its annual conference near Kewadin, Michigan, resulting in the previously mentioned conflict between the old guard (veterans of Port Huron) and the “prairie power”

⁶¹⁹ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 66.

⁶²⁰ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 187.

⁶²¹ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, xxi.

⁶²² Elaine Woo, “Stew Albert; was Cofounder of the Yippie Movement; 66,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 3, 2006,

http://www.boston.com/news/globe/obituaries/articles/2006/02/03/stew_albert_was_cofounder_of_the_yippie_movement_66/. Accessed March 15, 2013.

⁶²³ “Vietnam Day Committee: OCT. 15-16 International Days of Protest,” The Regents of the University of California (2011), <http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/kt3h4n99mj/?&query->. Accessed March 27, 2013.

⁶²⁴ “The Vietnam War,” Shmoop University, <http://www.shmoop.com/vietnam-war/timeline.html>. Accessed March 15, 2013.

⁶²⁵ W. J. Rorabaugh, *Kennedy and the Promise of the Sixties* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 92.

group.⁶²⁶ At the convention, 500 members clashed, with the new mid-western types charging the original members (with among other things) of “elitism” and the lack of democracy.⁶²⁷ Another disagreement was between the new members wanting “to build a movement solely around the Vietnam War” versus the old guard who wanted to build a movement around “interracial organization of the poor directed toward basic social change.”⁶²⁸ While Potter wanted the SDS to return to its original spirit of dealing with domestic change, nonetheless, with all the new members streaming into the organization, the conference fell into disarray and in preference elected Carl Oglesby, an angry, persuasive radical, as their new president.⁶²⁹ Split in different directions, “the thrust of anti-war activity was left unorganized” as the SDS was unable to focus on a policy that might mobilize the massive numbers of college students.⁶³⁰ Since the SDS was credited with organizing the most demonstrations throughout the country, the result was that the entire anti-war movement remained a disorderly coalition of numerous groups (the same situation that many historians use to proclaim that the sixties were over after 1969). On a practical level, the Kewadin convention failed to provide for any cohesive national program, which forced each chapter to rely on local initiatives, resulting in the national office’s leadership falling into “ineffectual chaos.”⁶³¹ SDS activist Paul Booth later recounted the opportunity to make SDS the “organizational vehicle of the anti-war movement,” but they “really screwed up,” and “defaulted on Vietnam.”⁶³² Instead, because of “prairie” members’ obsessive “anti-centralism,” it became harder to carry out serious political discussion and decision making on “what was to be done” because of anti-hierarchical pressures that culminated in the motion for the abolishment of the SDS offices of president and vice president (which was seriously if inexplicably brought up for consideration).⁶³³

The old guard point to the June 1965 convention as marking the SDS’s “long march away from its origins.”⁶³⁴ They called it a “loony” convention, in which many began to smoke marijuana, focus on the talk of “morals and values, honesty and courage, action not

⁶²⁶ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 148.

⁶²⁷ Ibid.

⁶²⁸ Ibid.

⁶²⁹ Godfrey Hodgson, “Carl Oglesby Obituary: Angry, Radical and Persuasive Leader of the American Left during the 1960s,” *The Guardian*, September 16, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/sep/16/carl-oglesby-obituary>. Accessed March 17, 2013.

⁶³⁰ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 148-149.

⁶³¹ Cathy Wilkerson, *Flying Close to the Sun* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2007), 83-84.

⁶³² Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 148-149.

⁶³³ Ibid.

⁶³⁴ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 188-189.

ideology.”⁶³⁵ They were angered by the war and had “rage and disillusionment” and a moral impulse to create something better, but these new SDS members were less into theories than the founders had been, and more into the act of confrontation.⁶³⁶ For the older members, everything seemed to have been up for modification as the new constituents of the SDS began to increase their confused vehement support for all foreign revolutions and revolutionaries. While not believing in any definite political framework, the new arrivals changed the SDS’s membership provision by “striking out the anti-communist exclusion clauses from its constitution,” and paradoxically welcomed in all kinds of “disciplined cadre organizations” like the Progressive Labor Party (the “old guard” had originally aimed to create a new left “untethered to either Marxist ideology or the labor union politics”).⁶³⁷ ⁶³⁸ On October 4, 1965, these changes severed the relationship between SDS and its parent organization LID (who though only nominally sponsoring them gave tax exemption) once and for all.⁶³⁹ The emergence of this new trend within the student activist community was critically examined in the summer of 1965 issue of *Dissent* magazine. An article entitled “New Styles in Leftism” described the “New Left in revolt” as having “an extreme sometimes unwarranted hostility toward liberalism . . . an impatience with the old debates about Stalinism . . . a vicarious indulgence in violence . . . unconsidered enmity toward a vaguely defined establishment . . . an unreflective belief in the decline of the West . . . a crude unqualified anti-Americanism . . . and an increasing identification with that sector of third world in which radical nationalism and communist authoritarianism merge.”⁶⁴⁰

By 1965, furthermore, the Martin Luther King-led early civil rights movement belief in the “pure Gandhian theory of non-violence,” of “loving your enemy while suffering his violence,” was clearly fading in popularity with the focus now on fighting the “Establishment.”⁶⁴¹ The anti-war movement also became more confrontational with the war makers by this early date. Protesters from the beginning burned their draft cards, challenged draft boards, and blocked troop trains.⁶⁴² Still, to add to the confusion (and contrary to the myth of homogeneity), great differences and divisions in both ideology and strategy continued to persist and co-existed within anti-war groups (throughout the

⁶³⁵ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 149.

⁶³⁶ Ibid.

⁶³⁷ Sale, *SDS*, 138.

⁶³⁸ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 191.

⁶³⁹ Sale, *SDS*, 157.

⁶⁴⁰ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 176.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid., 173-176.

⁶⁴² Unger and Unger, *The Times Were a Changin'*, 284.

Vietnam War era). Another example of this was the June 3, 1965 anti-war rally at New York City's Madison Square Garden, where SANE and SDS clashed repeatedly. While liberal speakers Wayne Morse, Benjamin Spock, and Norman Thomas labeled President Johnson's "policy of escalation" as mistaken and called for negotiations, radical spokesman Clark Kissinger vehemently disagreed, stating that the president's actions were not blunders, but an established interventionist type foreign policy.⁶⁴³ He also added that "our problem is in America, not in Vietnam."⁶⁴⁴ Contrary to the other myth of the Sixties ending because of the anti-war movement fragmenting in 1969, the fact of the matter was that the anti-war movement was already fragmented in many different ways in as early as 1965 (the first real year of the war). In reality, the Movement always consisted of a number of independent interests, "often only vaguely allied and contesting each other on many issues, united only in opposition to the Vietnam War."⁶⁴⁵ Stated in another way, "its members could agree only that the war was bad and that the U.S. should withdraw if possible."⁶⁴⁶ However, the real trend towards increasing violence did serve to add still another point of contention within both the black civil rights movement and the white student/anti-war movements.

During the mid-1960s, as the over-all direction in the struggles of blacks metamorphosed into radical militancy (as stated before), this militancy began to influence the attitudes and strategies of the anti-war movement and white student behavior in general (this did not start in 1969/1970, as the end of the Sixties myth suggests). Foremost, it was the black youths that increasingly rejected their "elders' moderate path of cooperation, racial integration and assimilation" with each occurrence of police brutality watched on television. For example, millions witnessed "Bloody Sunday" in Selma, Alabama, on March 7, 1965, as state troopers and local law enforcement officers attacked peaceful demonstrators with "billy clubs, tear gas, rubber tubes wrapped in barbed wire, and bull whips." Such inhuman incidences especially galvanized impatient young blacks (and whites) to shun the notion of "appealing to the public's conscience" or following any other of Martin Luther King's Christian religious creeds. Instead, the young began to adhere more to the teachings of Nation of Islam minister Malcolm X (who was assassinated on

⁶⁴³ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 146-147.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁵ Mark Barringer, "The Anti-War Movement in the United States," *Modern American Poetry* (1999), <http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/vietnam/anti-war.html>. Accessed November 14, 2012.

⁶⁴⁶ Parker Donham, "SDS Washington March Stresses Protest; Lacks Policy Program of 1962 Project," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 23, 1965, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1965/4/23/sds-washington-march-stresses-protest-lacks/>. Accessed October 10, 2012.

February 21, 1965), and/or the famous nineteenth-century black abolitionist Frederick Douglass, who said that “power concedes nothing without demand, it never did and it never will.”⁶⁴⁷ Douglass further wrote: “Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet depreciate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters.”⁶⁴⁸ Similarly, Malcolm X had argued that the non-violent tactics of King were not feasible options for black people, and said “I am for violence if non-violence means we continue postponing a solution to the American black man’s problem just to avoid violence.”⁶⁴⁹ Concerning the war in Vietnam he stated, “If violence is wrong in America, violence is wrong abroad. If it is wrong to be violent defending black women and black children and black babies and black men, then it is wrong for America to draft us, and make us violent abroad in defense of her. And if it is right for America to draft us, and teach us how to be violent in defense of her, then it is right for you and me to do whatever is necessary to defend our own people right here in this country.”⁶⁵⁰ Before long, white student activists increasingly incorporated these more assertive ideas from black leaders into their own anti-war cause.

On August 11, 1965 (just days after President Johnson signed the 1965 Voting Rights Act), the second worst riot in United States history erupted in Watts, the black ghetto of Los Angeles.⁶⁵¹ The six-day uprising resulted in 34 deaths, 1,032 injuries, 3,438 arrests, and over \$40 million in property damage.⁶⁵² United States Attorney General Ramsey Clark stated at the time that “the days of ‘We Shall Overcome’ were over.”⁶⁵³ This and other similar ghetto rebellions greatly affected not only the civil rights movement, but the anti-war student movements as well. With fires burning out of control and blacks in the streets chanting “Burn, baby, burn,” a great sense of hopelessness and bitterness helped

⁶⁴⁷ “Frederick Douglass Quotes,” Brainy Quotes,

http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/authors/f/frederick_douglass.html. Accessed March 17, 2013.

⁶⁴⁸ Kim Bobo, Jackie Kendall, and Steve Max, *Organizing for Social Change: A Manual for Activists in the 1990s* (Washington, D.C.: Seven Locks Press, 1991), 15.

⁶⁴⁹ Malcolm X, “I am for violence if non-violence means we continue postponing a solution,” Brainy Quote, <http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/m/malcolmx393537.html>. Accessed March 22, 2013.

⁶⁵⁰ “Malcolm-X Quotes,” Malcolm-x.org, <http://www.malcolm-x.org/quotes.htm>. Accessed May 30, 2010.

⁶⁵¹ “10 Worst Riots in American History,” Forensic Colleges (May 11, 2010), <http://www.forensiccolleges.net/blog/2010/10-worst-riots-in-american-history/>. Accessed March 17, 2013.

⁶⁵² “Watts Rebellion (Los Angeles, 1965),” Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Global Freedom Struggle, http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/encyclopedia/enc_watts_rebellion_los_angeles_1965/. Accessed October 3, 2014.

⁶⁵³ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 132.

fuel the escalation towards violence.⁶⁵⁴ Black people were now more than ever willing to confront a system that had oppressed them, even to the point of exchanging gunfire with over 15,000 military troops and police.⁶⁵⁵ As it was impossible to separate the anti-war movement from the student movement, it was inescapable for young white activists to not be influenced by the civil rights movement's turn towards "black power" by its younger members. The SNCC justified this new attitude by stating that "racist people had no qualms about the use of violence against black people in the U.S. who would not 'stay in their place,' and 'accommodationist' civil rights strategies had failed to secure sufficient concessions for black people."⁶⁵⁶ As the battle raged in Watts during the week of August 11 to 17, white folk-rocker Barry McGuire's song "Eve of Destruction" entered the top 40 sales charts, a pessimistic tune prophesying a possible upcoming apocalypse⁶⁵⁷ It was a stark contrast to the "bouncy" top 1964 hits such as the Shangri Las' "Leader of the Pack," the Beach Boys' "Deuce Coupe" and "California Girls," the Supremes' "Baby Love," and the Beatles' "A Hard Day's Night."⁶⁵⁸ The bitter, brooding hopelessness of "Eve of Destruction" resonated with a great many teenagers of the day, contrasting with the Sixties myth of high optimism; its popularity was not by accident. The lyrics were the following:

The eastern world, it is exploding
 Violence flarin', bullets loadin'
 You're old enough to kill, but not for votin'
 You don't believe in war, but what's that gun you're totin'
 And even the Jordan River has bodies floatin'

But you tell me
 Over and over and over again, my friend
 Ah, you don't believe
 We're on the eve
 of destruction.

Don't you understand what I'm tryin' to say
 Can't you feel the fears I'm feelin' today?
 If the button is pushed, there's no runnin' away
 There'll be no one to save, with the world in a grave
 [Take a look around ya boy, it's bound to scare ya boy]

And you tell me

⁶⁵⁴ Bryce Zabel, "Watts Riots: Burn, Baby, Burn," *Cyber Blaze* (August 11, 2005), http://bztv.typepad.com/newsviews/2005/08/40_years_ago_to.html. Accessed March 17, 2013.

⁶⁵⁵ Situationist International, "The Decline and Fall of the Spectacle-Commodity Economy," *Bureau of Public Secrets* (December 1965), <http://www.bopsecrets.org/SI/10.Watts.htm>. Accessed March 17, 2013.

⁶⁵⁶ "Black Muslims, Black Power, and the Black Panther Party," *Violent Black Movements*, <http://carre.pascale.free.fr/EURO/Black%20Muslims.htm>. Accessed October 3, 2014.

⁶⁵⁷ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 195.

⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 196.

Over and over and over again, my friend
Ah, you don't believe
We're on the eve
of destruction.

Yeah, my blood's so mad feels like coagulating
I'm sitting here just contemplating
I can't twist the truth, it knows no regulation.
Handful of senators don't pass legislation
And marches alone can't bring integration
When human respect is disintegrating
This whole crazy world is just too frustrating

And you tell me
Over and over and over again, my friend
Ah, you don't believe
We're on the eve
of destruction.

Think of all the hate there is in Red China
Then take a look around to Selma, Alabama
You may leave here for 4 days in space
But when you return, it's the same old place
The pounding of the drums, the pride and disgrace
You can bury your dead, but don't leave a trace
Hate your next-door neighbor, but don't forget to say grace
And, tell me over and over and over and over again, my friend
You don't believe
We're on the eve
Of destruction
Mm, no no, you don't believe
We're on the eve
of destruction.⁶⁵⁹

During the fall of 1965 it was clear that the anti-war movement was experiencing the same phenomenon that was occurring in the civil rights movement, the ever continuing and widening split between liberal and radical groups having the same goals but advocating different methods. An example of division occurred in Berkeley, involving over two dozen prominent faculty members writing an open letter in opposition to what they saw as Vietnam Day Committee's "indiscriminate resort to extravagant tactics and the use of simplistic and violent slogans."⁶⁶⁰ While the liberal professors stated their beliefs that the attempt by the VDC to end the war by stopping troop trains hurt the reputation of the university, many new radicals counterattacked with ridicule. Max Scherr, editor and

⁶⁵⁹ "Barry McGuire: Eve of Destruction Lyrics," <http://artists.letsingit.com/barry-mcguire-eve-of-destruction-s1m88lj#axzz2Csxkr78O>. Accessed November 21, 2012.

⁶⁶⁰ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 150.

publisher of the new underground newspaper the *Berkeley Barb*, tauntingly printed an old quote from New York reporter Lincoln Steffens: “A liberal is a person whose mind is so wide open all his brains have fallen out.”⁶⁶¹ Moreover, many radicals throughout the Bay Area began to voice the opinion that one could not trust these “liberal compromisers.”⁶⁶² Moreover, the conflict within the anti-war movement seemed to “boost radical bravado.”⁶⁶³ Jerry Rubin of the VDC later bragged, “We were fucking obnoxious, and dug every moment of it.”⁶⁶⁴ This mindset was a far cry from what Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. taught in 1958 when he said, “Hate begets hate; violence begets violence; toughness begets a greater toughness.”⁶⁶⁵

On October 15 and 16, 1965, approximately 100,000 activists in 60 cities participated in the Vietnam Day Committee’s call for an “International Days of Protest” against the war.⁶⁶⁶ The newly formed umbrella group called the “National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam” (located in Madison, Wisconsin) coordinated the worldwide demonstrations held in cities such as Ann Arbor, Atlanta, Berkeley, Boston, Buenos Aires, Chicago, Detroit, London, Los Angeles, Madison, Mexico City, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Montevideo, New Haven, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Portland, St. Paul, Tokyo, and Vancouver.⁶⁶⁷ In New York City, 20,000 people marched down Fifth Avenue in a “Peace Parade to the U.N. Plaza,” while in Berkeley the VDC held a teach-in of over 10,000 people, who afterwards left the campus and marched towards the Oakland Army Terminal in hopes of handing out leaflets to the soldiers, but were blocked by 400 riot police (as the Hells Angels attacked the demonstrators).⁶⁶⁸ In the meantime, the National Coordinating Committee (who emerged from the May 21-22 VDC organized teach-in) immediately proceeded to determine the “priorities for the peace movement,” which were comprised of militant direct action, including the use of civil disobedience.⁶⁶⁹ Nonetheless, not everyone agreed even at the rally, as emerging counter-culture spokesman

⁶⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶⁶² Ibid.

⁶⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁵ “Struggle for Equality: Quotes From Martin Luther King Jr.,”

<http://www.scholastic.com/teachers/article/struggle-equality-quotes-martin-luther-king-jr>. Accessed March 27, 2013.

⁶⁶⁶ Paul D’Amato, “The Struggle that Stopped the Vietnam War: The Making of the Movement,” *Socialist Worker*, May 27, 2005, http://socialistworker.org/2005-1/545/545_06_Movement.shtml. Accessed March 27, 2013.

⁶⁶⁷ “Vietnam Day Committee: OCT. 15-16 International Days of Protest,” The Regents of the University of California (2011), <http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/kt3h4n99mj/?&query->. Accessed March 27, 2013.

⁶⁶⁸ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 141.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid.

Ken Kesey irritated many Berkeley activists by telling the anti-war movement to “just look at it, look at the war, and turn your backs and say . . . fuck it.”⁶⁷⁰ At odds with these early hippie types, Jerry Rubin said, “It’s gotta be more fun to be in the revolution than out of it.”⁶⁷¹ In 1965 Berkeley activists wanted to “organize, to demonstrate, to fight and change America,” to the horror of the masses and disgust of the just emerging bohemian subculture.⁶⁷² However, the question of whether larger protests themselves were effective at all continued to emerge, pushed by liberal organizations.

An example in the ongoing battle between liberals and radicals, Richard Fernandez (director of the Northwest Interfaith Movement) argued that large rallies favored by radicals rarely brought in new people; they were “kind of an ecumenical service where the already committed came.”⁶⁷³ He claimed that “local protests” were more important than national mobilizations, and that the Movement’s main focus should actually be lobbying Congress in order to convince enough lawmakers to “withdraw authorization for the war budget.”⁶⁷⁴ On the other radical side, Carl Oglesby (the new president of the SDS), who also spoke at the October 15-16 protests in Washington D.C., named the system (which former SDS president first suggested) that “creates and sustains the war in Vietnam.”⁶⁷⁵ For Oglesby, American liberalism itself was proclaimed the culprit since it was liberal presidents who made the original commitment in Vietnam (Truman), seconded it (Eisenhower), and intensified it (Kennedy).⁶⁷⁶ Furthermore, he said, “Think of the men who now engineer that war – those who study the maps, give the commands, push the buttons, and tally the dead: Bundy, McNamara, Rusk, Lodge, Goldberg, the President himself (Johnson). . . . They are all liberals.”⁶⁷⁷ Finally, Oglesby exposed American foreign policy as a “systematic foreign intervention run by liberals whose interests were corporate profits.”⁶⁷⁸ In other words, although there were many liberals who opposed the war, according to radicals, liberalism itself was the problem, in fact the enemy. Instead of petitioning the government, radicals began to focus instead on organizing a string of

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid., 142.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid.

⁶⁷² Ibid.

⁶⁷³ Paul D’Amato, “The Struggle that Stopped the Vietnam War: The Making of the Movement,” *Socialist Worker*, May 27, 2005, http://socialistworker.org/2005-1/545/545_06_Movement.shtml. Accessed March 27, 2013.

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁵ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 178.

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid., 179.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid., 178.

protests against military recruiters and the draft, while encouraging students to opt for conscientious objector draft status.

Nevertheless, no matter how fast the anti-war movement was growing (120 colleges and universities had held teach-ins by the last part of the year), contrary to the myth of generational solidarity, less than one-tenth of 1 percent of the population had participated in anti-war demonstrations by the autumn of 1965. Instead, university students overwhelmingly supported American policy in Vietnam, at this stage, with dozens of pro-war marches held in institutions like Purdue, Cornell, Pittsburgh, and Brigham Young.⁶⁷⁹ In October, large crowds in Cleveland, Ohio attacked anti-war marchers, with fighting erupting as “peace banners were burned.” Meanwhile, in Austin, Texas students threw water balloons at anti-war protesters, as 200 counter-demonstrators ripped apart an anti-war float in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Later in the month, in Washington, D.C. war supporters held signs such as “Burn the Teach-in Professors” and “More Police Brutality.”⁶⁸⁰ In addition, in New York City hundreds of war supporters chanted, “Give us joy; bomb Hanoi,” while waving signs, “Burn Yourself, Not Your Cards!”⁶⁸¹ Throughout the country, during the first year of the war, the anti-war protesters were often “outnumbered and outshouted by supporters of their nation’s foreign policy.”

On November 27, 1965, SANE (with the help of the SDS, the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and Women Strike for Peace) led another “March on Washington for Peace in Vietnam,” attended by 20,000 to 35,000 people.⁶⁸² Oglesby, in another noteworthy speech, seemingly justified the recent destructive Watts uprising, saying that it was an incident engendered by “social desperation done as a last attempt and with little hope of success which makes good men violent both here and abroad.”⁶⁸³ ⁶⁸⁴ He added that if “Americans who can understand why the Negroes of Watts can rebel should understand too why Vietnamese can rebel.” Oglesby said he understood the need to discharge violence: “Letting loose of outrages pent up sometimes over centuries. But the more brutal and longer-lasting the suppression of this energy all the

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid., 145.

⁶⁸⁰ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 144.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid.

⁶⁸² William Conrad Gibbons, *The U.S. Government and the Vietnam War: Executive and Legislative Roles and Relationships, Part IV: July 1965-January 1968* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995), 95.

⁶⁸³ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 183.

⁶⁸⁴ “Students for a Democratic Society,” Texas Wesleyan University (September 2003), <http://faculty.txwes.edu/csmeller/Human-Prospect/ProData09/03WW2CulMatrix/Weather/SDS/SDS.htm>. Accessed March 26, 2013.

more ferocious will be its explosive release.”⁶⁸⁵ As the war went on, student protesters also increasingly insisted that to make their anti-war message heard (amid general student apathy) they had to “shout” and they had to “disrupt.”⁶⁸⁶ The SNCC added that the U.S. talk of preserving freedom in the world was but a “hypocritical mask behind which it squashes liberation movements,” such as that in Vietnam, and that they too belonged to this larger picture.⁶⁸⁷ Thus, all these rationalizations for the need to agitate increasingly led towards an escalation of violent confrontation throughout the remainder of the 1960s decade.⁶⁸⁸ At the same time, however, solidarity was sorely lacking. According to former SDS president Gitlin, “SDS’s last serious effort to clarify what it stood for” in December of 1965 “failed badly.”⁶⁸⁹ Instead of “education and articulateness,” he said, the student anti-war movement took the path into the future that continued to splinter because of its unwillingness to pin itself to any particular “policies” or “formal authority.”⁶⁹⁰

The trends of division, fluctuations of hope, and increased violence in the anti-war movement continued throughout 1966. Similarly to the civil rights movement, it too found itself in a state of disorganization. While the civil rights struggle argued about “tactics and location” (whether to continue to concentrate on the rural South or shift to the ghettos of the North), the anti-war movement also was in a state of disarray with “hundreds of ad hoc groups springing up in response to specific issues, with endless formation and disbanding of coalitions, and with perpetual doubts as to where things are headed and whether the effort is worthwhile at all.”⁶⁹¹ ⁶⁹² Another diverging factor developing in 1966 was the emergence of the hippie counter-culture in low-rent bohemian sections of big American cities. Young “refugees” from white suburbia called “flower children” were gathering to live in “tribes” to “make love, not war” and take “mind-altering drugs.”⁶⁹³ While taking part in anti-war protest marches, “hippies” had “not necessarily become political yet,” declared Jerry Rubin (during the formation of his hippie “political wing,” called the

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid., 182.

⁶⁸⁶ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 159.

⁶⁸⁷ “Students for a Democratic Society,” Texas Wesleyan University, September 2003, <http://faculty.txwes.edu/csmeller/Human-Prospect/ProData09/03WW2CulMatrix/Weather/SDS/SDS.htm>. Accessed March 26, 2013.

⁶⁸⁸ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 158.

⁶⁸⁹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 258.

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁹¹ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 151.

⁶⁹² Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 30.

⁶⁹³ Unger and Unger, *The Times Were a Changin’*, 6.

Yippies, in late 1967).⁶⁹⁴ Rubin added, “They mostly prefer to be stoned, but most of them want peace, and they want an end to this stuff.”⁶⁹⁵ At the hippie counter-cultural “Trips Festival,” held on January 21-23 in San Francisco, 400 people drank LSD-spiked punch, attempting to demonstrate a “world without rules” in which the old “control systems of science and reason” would square off against the “direct spinal language of magic and mysticism.”⁶⁹⁶ Incredulous, the organized left considered hippies “unserious” for the most part and had even hesitated to join them during the fight for “People’s Park” in May of 1969 (when hippies in Berkeley rose up to defend against the university reasserting its control over an empty piece of land that had been claimed by the counter-culture and developed into an unofficial park).⁶⁹⁷ Notwithstanding, most politicians including Marxist radicals, other leftist groups, and liberals disdained the hippie counter-culture, viewing them as representing “middle-class escapism that both estranged the working class from any potential worker-student alliance and siphoned energy away from pressing political tasks.”⁶⁹⁸

The increasing disillusionment and frustration that persisted throughout 1965 continued into 1966. News of further escalations of the war blunted the optimism engendered by the fact that more people were now participating in the more publicized anti-war marches. In general, however, the anti-war campus and street demonstrations “slumped” in 1966.⁶⁹⁹ For example, the VDC-led “Second National Days of Protests,” held on March 26, attracted only 20,000 people versus 100,000 in October of 1965.⁷⁰⁰ It led *Newsweek* magazine to write that “student activism maybe on the wane particularly in regard to national issues such as civil rights and Vietnam.”⁷⁰¹ *Time* magazine noted that protesters had “begun to lose heart.”⁷⁰² In Berkeley, an anti-war organizer griped, “More and more students would rather smoke pot than march in a Vietnam parade. We’re going back to the 1950s,”⁷⁰³ while another “disgruntled” protester wrote that the “peace movement in the United States hardly amounts to a hill of beans.”⁷⁰⁴ Further reason for

⁶⁹⁴ Bobby Seale, *Seize the Time: The Story of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton* (Baltimore, Maryland: Black Classic Press, 1991), 350.

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁶ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 181

⁶⁹⁷ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 356.

⁶⁹⁸ Braunstein and Doyle, *Imagine Nation*, 101.

⁶⁹⁹ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 151.

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰¹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰² *Ibid.*

⁷⁰³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

pessimism (and a heightened urgency on the part of a minority) was the awareness that the rising costs of the war had “hampered domestic reform programs” such as the “war on poverty.”⁷⁰⁵ Moreover, despondency increasingly turned into radical anger as American war policies escalated the attacks on Vietnamese civilian centers, bombing peasant villages and destroying the environment with the use of herbicides to defoliate the jungles, which forced resettlements resulting in the depopulation of whole areas.⁷⁰⁶ Thomas O. Perry of Harvard University Forest referred to the “scorched-earth” operations “going beyond mere genocide to biocide.”⁷⁰⁷ Perhaps most discouraging was that throughout 1966, most Americans were still unwaveringly supportive of President Johnson’s war policies, which was perhaps most exemplified by the famous quote (by an unidentified U.S. military official) stating that “we had to destroy the city in order to save it.”⁷⁰⁸ Moreover, in their zealotry to show their patriotism, supporters of the war continued to exhibit extreme hostility toward both anti-war demonstrators and anti-war organizations. Several violent examples from 1966 include the Newark SDS office being ransacked, the office of the Vietnam Day Committee in Berkeley being bombed, the shooting of an activist ten times “in the back” in Richmond, California, the shooting of three people (one killed) in Detroit at the Socialist Workers Party office, and in Rochester, New York, the beating to death of an anti-war demonstrator for expressing his views about being against the war in Vietnam.⁷⁰⁹

Consequently, in 1966, confrontational incidents intensified in both the streets and on nearly every campus in America.⁷¹⁰ On March 15, there was another riot in Watts, this one leaving two dead and twenty-five injured.⁷¹¹ Soon afterwards, in later spring, it was announced that the student military draft deferments would be cancelled “for those whose class standings were poor.”⁷¹² This caused great anxiety and sharp immediate reactions throughout the nation’s universities. As a result, at several schools, SDS chapters undertook direct actions that demanded that the schools stop submitting grades for “Selective Service purposes.”⁷¹³ At the University of Chicago, five hundred students staged

⁷⁰⁵ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 95.

⁷⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 50-51.

⁷⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 52-53.

⁷⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁷⁰⁹ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 151.

⁷¹⁰ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 158.

⁷¹¹ “New York: The Monumental Plot,” *Time Magazine*, February 26, 1965, <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,833472,00.html>. Accessed June 1, 2013.

⁷¹² Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 95.

⁷¹³ *Ibid.*

a sit-in and later seized control of the administration building for three and one-half days. Similar takeovers and sit-ins occurred in Madison, Wisconsin, City College of New York, and Oberlin College, to name of few.⁷¹⁴ In other happenings, students at Columbia University provoked violence after forming “a human chain” to stop the “Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps” from having their “final review” (Reserve Officer Training was still compulsory at many colleges at the time).⁷¹⁵

Then in early June, the still relatively lethargic anti-war and civil rights struggles suddenly gained new momentum during a James Meredith-initiated protest walk against racism.⁷¹⁶ On June 6, Meredith (the first black student to attend the University of Mississippi in 1962, after federal courts ruled that he could not be denied admission) started a one man “March Against Fear,” but was shot and injured by a gunman soon after starting.⁷¹⁷ Upon hearing the news, several civil rights leaders (including the SCLC’s Martin Luther King and the SNCC’s Stokely Carmichael) came down to continue the march, inviting “freedom-loving people from all over the country to join them.”⁷¹⁸ For almost three weeks, anywhere from two-hundred to two-thousand people walked the 220 miles from Memphis, Tennessee, to Jackson, Mississippi.⁷¹⁹ On June 26, an estimated 15,000 people victoriously walked the last stretch. Nonetheless, what is most remembered about the action was how Carmichael (not yet 25 years old) delivered his “Black Power” speech midway through the march, revealing, once and for all, that the civil rights movement (like the anti-war movement) was also divided between old and new guards (“SNCC’s ‘Black Power’ was now competing with SCLC’s ‘Freedom Now’ slogan”).⁷²⁰ Carmichael (who was arrested briefly during the march) voiced his anger, saying, “This is the twenty-seventh time I have been arrested and I ain’t going to jail no more! The only way we gonna stop them white men from whuppin’ us is to take over. What we gonna start sayin’ now is Black Power!”⁷²¹ Speaking for many in the Movement, he voiced his frustration by saying, “We been saying freedom for six years and we ain’t got nothing.”⁷²²

⁷¹⁴ Ibid., 96.

⁷¹⁵ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 160.

⁷¹⁶ Ibid., 151.

⁷¹⁷ Jo Freeman, “The Meredith Mississippi March-June 1966,” The Civil Rights Movement, <http://www.jofreeman.com/photos/meredith.html>. Accessed June 20, 2013.

⁷¹⁸ Ibid.

⁷¹⁹ Ibid.

⁷²⁰ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 151.

⁷²¹ “Stokely Carmichael – Part 9: Carmichael proclaims ‘Black Power’ during Mississippi March against Fear,” Change Direction-Time’s Up! June 28, 2009, <http://stokely-carmichael.com/stokely-carmichael-part-9-carmichael-proclaims-black-power-during-mississippi-march-against-fear/>. Accessed June 20, 2013.

⁷²² Ibid.

Thus the civil rights optimism emerging from the 1950s from a decade of successes also “began to wane in the middle 1960s.”⁷²³ Dissatisfaction started to grow initially out of the failure of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party to win its challenge at the 1964 Democratic National Convention, and continued as the national focus turned away from civil rights issues to the Vietnam War (especially by mid-1965). With most African Americans finding little improvement in their own situation, many increasingly turned to the idea of “black power,” and Malcolm X’s message of “black nationalism” and how “self-defense should replace non-violent resistance.”⁷²⁴ Indeed, “black power” (as previously mentioned) was much more in the vein of the late Malcolm X, and the opposite of Martin Luther King’s “turn the other cheek” philosophy.⁷²⁵ Malcolm, who had in fact ridiculed King’s non-violent activism, once asked rhetorically if he would “bleed non-violently.”⁷²⁶ He had declared, “We’re non-violent with people who are non-violent with us. But we are not non-violent with anyone who is violent with us.”⁷²⁷ However, not everyone agreed, and moderate blacks were alarmed. Roy Wilkins the executive secretary of the NAACP, said that “black power means anti-white power” and it is the “father of hatred and the mother of violence.”⁷²⁸ Martin Luther King also was aroused, responding in a speech in front of an audience, “Some people are telling us to be like our oppressor, who has a history of using Molotov cocktails, who has a history of dropping the atomic bomb, who has a history of lynching Negroes. Now people are telling me to stoop down to that level. I’m sick and tired of violence!”⁷²⁹ Notwithstanding, Stokely Carmichael, a voice of the new generation, countered, “The only time I hear people talk about non-violence is when black people move to defend themselves against white people. Black people cut themselves every night in the ghetto – Don’t anybody talk about non-violence. Lyndon Baines Johnson is busy bombing the hell of out Vietnam – Don’t nobody talk about non-violence. White people beat up black people every day – Don’t nobody talk about non-violence. But as soon as black people start to move, the double standard comes into

⁷²³ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 103.

⁷²⁴ Ibid.

⁷²⁵ Placido P. D’Souza, “Commemorating Martin Luther King Jr./Gandhi’s influence on King,” SFGate (January 20, 2003), <http://www.sfgate.com/opinion/openforum/article/COMMEMORATING-MARTIN-LUTHER-KING-JR-GANDHI-S-2640319.php>. Accessed June 21, 2013.

⁷²⁶ “The Time Has Come (1964-1966),” Eyes on the Prize: America’s Civil Rights Movement 1954-1985, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/eyesontheprize/about/pt_201.html. Accessed June 21, 2013.

⁷²⁷ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 153.

⁷²⁸ Ibid. 155.

⁷²⁹ Ibid.

being.”⁷³⁰ Basically, at what was still only the midpoint of the 1960s decade, the trend of the previous two years clearly showed that many activists increasingly questioned the tactics of peaceful civil disobedience – there was no turning back.⁷³¹

What was true of the civil rights movement was always true of the anti-war movement; disgruntled white students to a greater extent now began to question the function of peace marches. The marches appeared, as one protester challenged, to “maintain America’s image as a democratic society permitting dissent so that the war effort could continue.”⁷³² The turn to combativeness stemmed from desperation, a growing sense of frustration, anguish, and alienation as people began realizing that one could not expect to stop the war and change society through normal political channels.⁷³³ Once again, this direction did not suddenly emerge in late 1969; it was already the reality. In 1966 SDS leader Carl Davidson said, “Something is afoot on the nation’s campuses,” as students increasingly believed that if they truly wanted to transform society and liberate humanity, they had to “make a revolution.”⁷³⁴ There was a feeling on the part of students that they had to “scream and cry out and make a lot of noise” in order for their ideas to gain attention.⁷³⁵ As the youth movement grew, so did the idea of “fighting back against the state” in perhaps an apocalyptic “confrontation between the forces of light and the forces of darkness.”⁷³⁶

As always, the black struggle took the lead, as some forty-three urban ghettos (including Chicago, Cleveland, Ohio, Atlanta, Georgia, and San Francisco) experienced riots in the summer of 1966.⁷³⁷ The violence during the summer totaled 11 deaths, more than 400 injured and 3,000 arrests.⁷³⁸ Despite the destruction, some black leaders saw the riots “as necessary and even useful,” and “enjoyed” the feeling of the “strong sense of brotherhood and sisterhood and a sense of camaraderie in the community” that had emerged.⁷³⁹ The SNCC happily saw the riots as a “sign that the days of peaceful protests in

⁷³⁰ “Stokely Carmichael: Black Power Address at UC Berkeley,” online audio delivered October 1966, <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stokelycarmichaelblackpower.html>. Accessed June 21, 2013.

⁷³¹ Unger and Unger, *The Times Were a Changin’*, 5.

⁷³² Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 95.

⁷³³ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁷³⁴ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 101-102.

⁷³⁵ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 159.

⁷³⁶ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 243.

⁷³⁷ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 115.

⁷³⁸ “Worst Race Riots in US History,” AFP (2001), <http://www.thebirdman.org/Index/Others/Others-Doc-Blacks/+Doc-Blacks-Destructive&Dangerous/ListOfRecentAmericanRaceRiots.htm>. Accessed June 21, 2013.

⁷³⁹ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 115.

hopes of racial integration were dead.”⁷⁴⁰ They and others saw this turn to fighting back as being positive, representing a “new spirit of resistance in the black community” which they did their best to encourage to “fan the flames of violent anger.”⁷⁴¹ As more African-Americans turned militant, they also increasingly connected with international struggles, enabling many to identify with the Vietnamese people whose homes and lives the Americans armies were destroying. Young black militants began to pay more attention to the Vietnam War, demanding to know, for example, why the Selective Service drafted poor blacks from the ghettos while giving hardship deferments to rich white kids. While in the beginning of the war, many civil rights leaders did not want to join the anti-war movement out of loyalty to President Johnson for pushing civil rights legislation, the perceived social injustice of the draft changed things.⁷⁴² In time, organizations such as the “Black Anti-Draft Union” and “Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam” started up as many African-Americans believed that black soldiers accounted for a disproportionate number of those drafted and killed.⁷⁴³ At the same time, millions of white people turned away from the fragmenting civil rights movement as a result of the ongoing riots, the advocacy of violence on the part of black radical leaders, and the Movement’s overall failure to condemn the rioters.⁷⁴⁴

At the same time, in June, the SDS held its annual national convention, now run largely by people without ties to its original founders. The leaders of the new “prairie” generation adopted a more confrontational plan of action involving “student power.”⁷⁴⁵ They believed that large sit-ins and reaching as many uncommitted students as possible to build “class-consciousness” was the key to success.⁷⁴⁶ For this reason pushing issues that would concern the average student was promoted, for example, the “liberalization of dormitory rules and grading system and free speech.”⁷⁴⁷ But all was not harmonious at the SDS conference; for example, when female activists demanded a policy position concerning women’s liberation, “men pelted them with tomatoes, provoking the females to wonder whether they were included in ‘participatory democracy.’”⁷⁴⁸

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid.

⁷⁴² Melvin Small, *Anti-warriors: The Vietnam War and the Battle for America’s Hearts and Minds* (Washington, D.C.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 57-60.

⁷⁴³ Jill K. Gill, *Embattled Ecumenism: The National Council of Churches, the Vietnam War, and the Trials of the Protestant Left* (DeKalb, Illinois: NIU Press, 2011), 188.

⁷⁴⁴ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 116.

⁷⁴⁵ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 97.

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁸ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 313.

In October, the emotional issue of the use of napalm by the U.S. military in Vietnam erupted on college campuses. Dow Chemical, which was responsible for the manufacture of the horrible chemical agent, experienced (during the fall semester) 64 demonstrations directed at it, beginning with the first one at Berkeley on Oct. 10.⁷⁴⁹ Nevertheless, Dow stubbornly continued their program of recruiting at universities even in the face of much harassment.⁷⁵⁰ To the anti-war movement, napalm (and Agent Orange) represented all that was horrible about the war in Vietnam. As C. B. Cowan, chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of All People Against War, pointed out, “The U.S. is using napalm as a tactical weapon against personnel including non-participants in the war such as Vietnamese women and children.”⁷⁵¹ Indeed, images of napalm igniting in jungles, in villages, and on the people of Vietnam were on the nightly news. Napalm and Agent Orange were the weapons that most exemplified America’s cruelty and immorality of action, forever captured in the famous photo of “a young girl running with a group of other victims, skin peeling off in layers, after her village was doused with napalm.”⁷⁵² As nearly 400,000 tons of napalm were dropped on targets in Vietnam, the indignation on the part of activists continued to escalate from “protest to resistance.”⁷⁵³ Many felt exhausted from endless “normal channels of dialogue and petition” and felt that they must take a personal stance of noncompliance by refusing to pay taxes, burning draft cards, and aiding draft resisters.⁷⁵⁴

On October 15 a black militant revolutionary group formed in Oakland, California, calling itself the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. Started by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, it believed in taking “black control of the black community of every aspect of its politics and economy.”⁷⁵⁵ Taking inspiration from Malcolm X’s doctrine of community self-defense, the Black Panthers “utilized armed self-defense in a bid to stop racist police brutality and assaults on African Americans by white people.”⁷⁵⁶ They began to appear in the streets wearing their “intimidating uniform” consisting of black berets, black leather

⁷⁴⁹ “Protesting Napalm,” *Time Magazine*, January 5, 1968, <http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/PVCC/mbase/docs/napalm.html>. Accessed April 8, 2013.

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁵¹ Ibid.

⁷⁵² “Napalm in War,” Global Security (July 7, 2011), <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/systems/munitions/napalm-war.htm>. Accessed June 22, 2013.

⁷⁵³ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁴ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 72-73.

⁷⁵⁵ “The Black Panther Party for Self Defense,” Libcom (September 17, 2006), <http://libcom.org/library/the-black-panther-party-for-self-defense>. Accessed June 22, 2013.

⁷⁵⁶ “Malcolm X’s Influence on the Black Panther Party’s Philosophy,” Black History (June 15, 2012), <http://www.historyinanehour.com/2012/06/15/malcolm-x-black-panthers/>. Accessed June 22, 2013.

jackets, and to the dismay of the police, “often openly displayed weapons.”⁷⁵⁷ Their tactic was to follow and taunt the police, in some cases carrying rifles and chanting “The Revoltion has co-ome, it’s time to pick up the gu-un.”⁷⁵⁸ (The Black Panther “Police Patrols” rushed to the scene of an arrest, not only with “loaded weapons,” but with “law books” to “inform the person being arrested of their constitutional rights.”)⁷⁵⁹ Attracted by the talk of “offing the pigs,” the Panthers gained widespread support from not only the young urban blacks, but also white students, as both groups progressively radicalized.⁷⁶⁰ As the 1960s decade continued there was somewhat of a convergence between the anti-war movement and the black liberation movement, as black groups such as the Panthers opened up to white participation (“however minimal”).⁷⁶¹ Increasingly, white radicals assisted in “setting up speeches and demonstrations, helped to pay for the distribution of their paper and other publications.”⁷⁶² Nevertheless, when Newton was asked in 1967 what white people could do to support the Black Panthers, he still expressed his earlier black nationalistic position, and said that they could form a separate “White Panther Party” (which John Sinclair and others did in Detroit by 1968).⁷⁶³ Supporting this policy of segregation, the SDS leadership voiced in unison that “we owe SNCC,” first of all, “a deep debt of gratitude for having slapped us brutally in the face with the slogan of ‘Black Power,’ a slogan which said to white radicals: ‘Go home and organize in white America which is your reality and which only you are equipped to engage.’”⁷⁶⁴

In December, a massive sit-in and student strike erupted after Berkeley protesters “tried to set up an anti-draft literature table next to a Navy recruiting table in the Student Union,” and police with the school administration intervened.⁷⁶⁵ Later at a large gathering to discuss the strike, a well-publicized hullabaloo was made of the brief joining together of “freaks and politicians” when they all sang the Beatles’ “Yellow Submarine,” after few

⁷⁵⁷ Clayborne Carson and David Malcolm Carson, “Black Panther Party,” *Encyclopedia of the American Left* (1990), http://www.stanford.edu/~ccarson/articles/am_left.htm. Accessed June 22, 2013.

⁷⁵⁸ “History of the Black Panther Party and their Fight against White Extremist Movements including the Notorious Ku Klux Klan,” *Crime Through Time Collection* (March 8, 2012), <http://crimethoughtimecollection.wordpress.com/2012/03/08/black-panthers/>. Accessed June 22, 2013.

⁷⁵⁹ “A Huey P. Newton Story: State Capitol March,” online audio, May 2, 1967, http://www.pbs.org/hueypnewton/actions/actions_capitolmarch.html. Accessed June 25, 2013.

⁷⁶⁰ Jane Duran, “Black/White Radical Alliances in the 1960s,” *Monthly Review* (October 2011), <http://monthlyreview.org/2011/10/01/blackwhite-radical-alliances-in-the-1960s>. Accessed June 22, 2013.

⁷⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶² *Ibid.*

⁷⁶³ “BBC.Motor.Citys.Burning.Detroit.from.Motown.to.The.Stooges,” online video clip, Youtube, June 28, 2010, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Et8VXb9pv1c>. Accessed October 8, 2014.

⁷⁶⁴ Greg Calvert, “In White America: Liberal Conscience vs. Radical Consciousness,” *SDS* (February 1967), <http://www.sds-1960s.org/documents.htm>. Accessed June 24, 2013.

⁷⁶⁵ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 98.

remembered the lyrics to the old union song “Solidarity Forever.” There were those like Free Speech Movement veteran Michael Rossman who immediately took it as a possible sign that new beat/hippies and activists could unite into a “single-hearted community.”⁷⁶⁶ Still, other politicians were “edgy” that the counterculture “would short-circuit American youth’s still tenuous sense of moral obligation to the world’s oppressed.” Moreover, many activists thought the “drug thing” and the hippie credo of “love” was perhaps something of which one “should feel ashamed . . . when founded on privilege,” as most were from middle-class families.⁷⁶⁷ Yet, the “Hippie Curfew Riot” on November 12, 1966 (better known as the first of the “Sunset Strip riots” in Los Angeles) showed that the hippie counter-culture itself could get involved in violent confrontation if something infringed on their immediate lifestyle.⁷⁶⁸ The uprising (consisting of 1,000 hippie-type youths) occurred after strict (10:00 p.m.) curfew and loitering laws were passed in order to reduce the crowds in front of various psychedelic night clubs, such as the legendary “Whisky a Go Go.”⁷⁶⁹ Though often mistaken for an anti-war song, The Buffalo Springfield hit entitled “For What It’s Worth” was inspired by the event. Released on January 9, 1967, it reached number seven on the Billboard Hot 100 charts. The following were the lyrics:

There’s something happening here
But what it is ain’t exactly clear
There’s a man with a gun over there
Telling me I got to beware

I think it’s time we stop
Children, what’s that sound?
Everybody look - what’s going down?

There’s battle lines being drawn
Nobody’s right if everybody’s wrong
Young people speaking’ their minds
Getting so much resistance from behind

It’s time we stop
Hey, what’s that sound?
Everybody look - what’s going down?

What a field day for the heat
A thousand people in the street

⁷⁶⁶ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 209-210.

⁷⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 212.

⁷⁶⁸ Nicholas Pell, “Riot on Sunset Strip: The 1966 Hippie Curfew Riots,” Examiner.com (September 28, 2010), <http://www.examiner.com/article/riot-on-sunset-strip-the-1966-hippie-curfew-riots>. Accessed June 24, 2013.

⁷⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

Singing songs and carrying signs
Mostly saying, "hooray for our side"

It's time we stop
Hey, what's that sound?
Everybody look - what's going down?

Paranoia strikes deep
Into your life it will creep
It starts when you're always afraid
Step out of line, the men come and take you away

We better stop
Hey, what's that sound?
Everybody look - what's going down?⁷⁷⁰

As 1967 began, and the counterculture exploded into mainstream news, tensions deepened between the radical activists' belief in political strategy "with discipline, organization, commitment to results out there at a distance" and the hippie idea of "living life to the fullest right here for oneself or for the part of the universe embodied in oneself, or for the community of the enlightened who were capable of loving one another and the rest of the world be damned (which it was already)."⁷⁷¹ Thus, radicalism's tradition was "change the world" while for the hippie counterculture it was "change consciousness, change life." Despite these disagreements, those looking for unity imagined the two movements to be the "yin and yang of the same epochal transformation."⁷⁷² However there were many differences that masked, not only the new left and the hippie counterculture, but also the liberal reformers from the more general youth culture. As Gitlin wrote, "In all the excitement, the rush of millenarian hopes, profound tensions were obscured." For example, on the subject of who the "enemy" was for the Movement, there was a lot of divergence. The new left said it was the "political and social system, and or the dominant institutions"; for the hippie counterculture the enemy was the "established culture or civilization itself"; for liberal reformers it was "particular policies"; and finally to the general youth culture the enemy was "adults, their institutions, and culture."⁷⁷³ Perhaps from a distance, one could see the upheaval of "young whites smoking grass and students burning draft cards and blacks burning storefronts" as different parts in a common battle,

⁷⁷⁰ "Buffalo Springfield: For What It's Worth Lyrics,"

<http://www.azlyrics.com/lyrics/buffalospingfield/forwhatitworth.html>. Accessed June 24, 2013.

⁷⁷¹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 213.

⁷⁷² *Ibid.*, 214.

⁷⁷³ *Ibid.*, 220-221.

but in 1967 the Diggers (a branch of the hippie movement) still viewed the new left as “square, hypocritical and middle-class kids,” and vice-versa.⁷⁷⁴

On January 14, “The First Human Be-In” (or the “Gathering of the Tribes”) was held in Golden Gate Park in San Francisco. It was designed to bring together “political radicals” and “acid devotees” to celebrate what the underground San Francisco *Oracle* newspaper called “a union of love and activism previously separated by categorical dogma and label mongering.”⁷⁷⁵ However, this union was not easy to accomplish, because behind the rose-colored “new age” talk, “a fierce competition was shaping up between the radicals and the hippie-gurus, jealous-eyed world-savers, each eyeing the young unplugging from school and job and flag, jamming into the Haight-Ashbury, as up for grabs.”⁷⁷⁶ Moreover, the belief that all hippies or politicians were alike was not true either; there were many divisions and many types. First of all, the old beat-turned-hippie veterans like Allen Ginsberg and Gary Snyder did believe in some sort of “confluence of politics . . . and . . . psychedelia.”⁷⁷⁷ On the other hand, the hippie Haight-Ashbury merchants, dope dealers, and “rock impresarios” were “anti-political purists.”⁷⁷⁸ For LSD gurus Timothy Leary and Richard Alpert, “all political systems were equal oppressors and power-trippers.”⁷⁷⁹ On the contrary, there were “political purists” who called drugs “bourgeois self-indulgences” and “distraction from discipline.” Other political radicals (especially in Berkeley) thought that while there was a danger that drugs “divorced the will from political action” they were “stunned by the wonders of marijuana and LSD.”⁷⁸⁰ In the end, as the more drug experimenting East Bay activist types joined the “grooving” crowds at “the concerts at the Fillmore and Avalon ballrooms” in San Francisco, they too began to resemble beatnik/hippies, at least in appearance.⁷⁸¹ Thus, as the saying went since the days of the Free Speech Movement, “as Berkeley went today, so would the rest of America go tomorrow.”⁷⁸² In fact, by 1969 (especially as more hippies talked of the need for a revolution), it was hard sometimes to distinguish between who was a cultural rebel and who was a political activist.

⁷⁷⁴ Ibid. 225.

⁷⁷⁵ Ibid., 208.

⁷⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid., 209.

⁷⁸¹ Ibid.

⁷⁸² Ibid.

Nevertheless, differences and complications of all sorts persisted in 1967, not the least between liberals and radicals. In February, at a rally at Princeton, Greg Calvert (the National Secretary of SDS from 1966-67) described the philosophical differences between the two political world views. He said, “Liberal consciousness is conscience translated into action for others,” while “radical or revolutionary consciousness . . . is the perception of oneself as un-free, as oppressed – and . . . leads to the struggle for one’s own freedom in unity with others who share the burden of oppression.”⁷⁸³ Of the liberal reformist, Calvert said, “His struggle is involved in relieving the tension produced by the contradictions between his own existence and life-style, his self-image, and the conditions of existence and life-style of those who do not share his privileged, unearned status.”⁷⁸⁴ On the possibility of developing radical or revolutionary consciousness, Calvert stated that the immediate undertaking “at this stage” was for people to break out of the “myth of the great American middle class” and to see that they were in fact the “new working class,”⁷⁸⁵ that only the “new level of technological development” has occurred but it was the same “exploitive system.”⁷⁸⁶ Yet, the radical student leaders were for the most part “coming from the ranks of sociologists and English majors, not engineers” which made them the next “managers or well-paid professionals” in a few years.⁷⁸⁷ The problem of building “a revolutionary consciousness” thus developed into the dilemma of who was going to make the revolution, as “students did not suffice.”⁷⁸⁸ They were either “born into privilege or schooled to believe they were entitled to it . . . other forces were needed.”⁷⁸⁹ Calvert added, “I am not overflowing with optimism regarding the possibility of building such a movement.”⁷⁹⁰ In the midst of much confusion, in a little over two years, the SDS would fracture, with all the factions claiming to be the “self-appointed vanguards” of the revolution.⁷⁹¹

During the early spring of 1967, many demonstrations occurred “protesting the presence of military, CIA, and Dow recruiters on campus.”⁷⁹² Similarly to Brown

⁷⁸³ Ibid., 384.

⁷⁸⁴ Greg Calvert, “In White America: Liberal Conscience vs. Radical Consciousness,” SDS (February 1967), <http://www.sds-1960s.org/documents.htm>. Accessed June 24, 2013.

⁷⁸⁵ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 99.

⁷⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁷ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 384.

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁰ Greg Calvert, “In White America: Liberal Conscience vs. Radical Consciousness,” SDS (February 1967), <http://www.sds-1960s.org/documents.htm>. Accessed June 24, 2013.

⁷⁹¹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 384.

⁷⁹² Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 98.

University's protest in January (against Dow Chemical Company recruiters), Columbia University SDS engaged in "physical battle with other students" as a result of their sit-ins against Marine recruiters.⁷⁹³ A divided student population raised a core question for radical leaders: what if "the student movement was too small to remake America roots and branch?"⁷⁹⁴ Many "full time activists" were already beginning to feel tired of the "often compulsive concern with ideology, the desperate attachment to militant tactics."⁷⁹⁵ Much frustration, pessimism and despair was in the air.

On April 15, anti-war rallies in San Francisco and New York City attracted a combined quarter of a million people. Organized by the "Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam," the goal was to "emulate" the successful 1963 civil rights "March on Washington."⁷⁹⁶ Nonetheless, while the turn-out was favorable, the average "American citizen" was "left stunned" as an American flag burned in New York City, and "an unruly mob waving flags of the Vietcong" raised "large portraits of Ho Chi Minh."⁷⁹⁷ A large segment of the U.S. population was turned off; they saw the massive protest as a rally in "support for a Communist victory in Vietnam."⁷⁹⁸ The anti-war demonstrators seemed traitorous as they burned their draft cards and screamed hysterically from loudspeakers in support of the "Communist aggressors."⁷⁹⁹ Moreover, a planned "nationwide student strike" was aborted as factionalism, involving continuous "individual power plays for the claim of leadership," proved too much to overcome.⁸⁰⁰ The competing organizations included "several Communist splinter new left and "peace" groups."⁸⁰¹

On May 2, twenty-six Black Panther members walked into the California State Legislature in Sacramento "carrying loaded guns" to protest the proposed "Mulford Bill" and to read a political statement.⁸⁰² The bill repealed the law that "permitted citizens to carry loaded weapons in public places so long as the weapons were openly displayed."⁸⁰³ Indeed, the Mulford law, "tagged the 'Panther Bill,'" was passed in order to eliminate the

⁷⁹³ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁴ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 384.

⁷⁹⁵ Greg Calvert, "In White America: Liberal Conscience vs. Radical Consciousness," SDS (February 1967), <http://www.sds-1960s.org/documents.htm>. Accessed June 24, 2013.

⁷⁹⁶ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 163.

⁷⁹⁷ Bloom and Breines, "Takin' It to the Streets," 308.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁹ Ibid., 309.

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁰¹ Ibid.

⁸⁰² "New York: The Monumental Plot," *Time Magazine*, February 26, 1965, <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,833472,00.html>. Accessed June 1, 2013.

⁸⁰³ "A Huey P. Newton Story: State Capitol March," online audio, May 2, 1967, http://www.pbs.org/hueypnewton/actions/actions_capitolmarch.html. Accessed June 25, 2013.

Black Panther Police Patrols.⁸⁰⁴ This occurrence put the Panthers into the spot light, attracting many recruits but also the attention of the FBI (who on September 8, 1968 called the Black Panthers “the greatest threat to the internal security of the country.”)⁸⁰⁵

One of the defining myths of the Sixties has been to call the summer of 1967 the “Summer of Love,” because for most of the country it was more like the “Summer of Discontent.”⁸⁰⁶ The expression itself pertained to how around 75,000 young people came to the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco to experience/join the fast-emerging hippie counter-culture community that (especially since the “First Human Be-In” gathering in January) was now very much in the public awareness.⁸⁰⁷ In fact, the fourth most popular song at the time in the U.S. (and number one in the United Kingdom and most of Europe) was “San Francisco (Be Sure to Wear Flowers in Your Hair),” a Scott McKenzie song that meant to profit from the sensationalized “Summer of Love” hippie phenomenon.⁸⁰⁸ While the “Summer of Love” did prove successful in popularizing the alternative lifestyle to the nation’s youth (characterized by long hair, brightly colored clothes, communal living, free sex, psychedelic drug use, and the anti-war belief in peace and love), by the fall of 1967, increased incidents of crime, hard drugs, health/hygiene issues, police hassles, and lost runaway minors begging for money signaled a change for the worse for even the hippie movement.⁸⁰⁹ Overwhelmed by the sheer numbers of young people searching for a utopian community, “vibes” quickly turned negative as “chaos, poverty, and violence” began to dominate “much of the scene” (not only in San Francisco, but in other hippie enclaves as well.)⁸¹⁰ Symbolic of the shift away from its original vision of psychic-spiritual exploration/transformation and creativity, some hippies in San Francisco (lead by the Diggers) proclaimed their own death on October 6, 1967, with the “Death of Hip” ceremony.⁸¹¹ Hundreds of “flower folk” celebrated by burning a coffin labeled the “Summer of Love,” acknowledging that the overexposure by the mass media had

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁵ Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *The COINTELPRO Papers: Documents from the FBI’s Secret Wars Against Dissent in the United States* (New York: South End Press, 1990), 123.

⁸⁰⁶ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 170.

⁸⁰⁷ “Suddenly That Summer,” *Vanity Fair*, July 2012, <http://www.vanityfair.com/culture/2012/07/lsd-drugs-summer-of-love-sixtie>. Accessed June 25, 2013.

⁸⁰⁸ Official Information on the Single “San Francisco,” <http://www.scottmckenzie.info/san-francisco.html>. Accessed October 3, 2014.

⁸⁰⁹ “Summer of Love and Woodstock,” The Cold War Museum, <http://www.coldwar.org/articles/60s/summeroflove.asp>. Accessed June 25, 2013.

⁸¹⁰ Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, 162.

⁸¹¹ “Summer of Love and Woodstock,” The Cold War Museum, <http://www.coldwar.org/articles/60s/summeroflove.asp>. Accessed June 25, 2013.

transformed their counter-culture “into something more sinister than ‘flower power.’”^{812 813} In reality, however, the change away from peaceful protest had been underway for many participants even before the “Summer of Love.” At the same time, the Diggers, who believed that people should have complete freedom to “act according to their consciences,” were distraught at how new members of the counter-culture were boxing themselves into ready-made stereotypic behavior.⁸¹⁴ For them, “personal authenticity and fidelity to inner directives and impulses” were of paramount importance; in other words, what was important was to be a “free man,” in whichever form it took.⁸¹⁵ The Diggers wrote on the day of the death march, “Do not be created. This is your land, your city. No one can portion it out to you. The H/Ashbury was portioned to us by Media-Police and the tourists came to the Zoo to see the captive animals and we growled fiercely behind the bars we accepted and now we are no longer hippies and never were and the City is ours to create from, to be in. It is our tool, part of the first creation which the FREE MAN creates his new world from.”⁸¹⁶ Meanwhile, *Time Magazine* ran a cover story entitled, “The Hippies: The Philosophy of a Subculture,” in which it described the guidelines for being a hippie: “Do your own thing, wherever you have to do and whenever you want.”⁸¹⁷ Unbeknownst to most was how this attitude could and would lead some to justify violence. Two extreme examples that illustrate this point, were the brutal murders (by “a 26-year-old Black Nationalist”) in October of 1967 of two young hippies (Linda and Groovy) in New York City after a “wild acid party,” and the murder spree committed by the Manson family in August of 1969.⁸¹⁸ In the October 30, 1967 issue of *Newsweek* magazine, an article entitled “Trouble in Hippieland” declared that most flower children were “seriously disturbed youngsters.”⁸¹⁹ As Professor of Sociology Lewis Yablonsky wrote in late 1967, “The popular image of the loving ‘flower children’ projected and ‘sold’ by America’s mass

⁸¹² Anthony, *The Summer of Love*, 175.

⁸¹³ “Summer of Love and Woodstock,” The Cold War Museum, <http://www.coldwar.org/articles/60s/summeroflove.asp>. Accessed June 25, 2013.

⁸¹⁴ Coyote, *Sleeping Where I Fall*, 68.

⁸¹⁵ “The Death of Hippie,” Red House Books: Galleries: Dispatches from the Haight, 1966-67 (October 1967), <http://www.redhousebooks.com/galleries/haight/death.htm>. Accessed June 25, 2013.

⁸¹⁶ Ibid.

⁸¹⁷ “The 1960’s Hippie Counter Culture Movement,” Mortal Journey (March 2011), <http://www.mortaljourney.com/2011/03/1960-trends/hippie-counter-culture-movement>. Accessed June 27, 2013.

⁸¹⁸ “Killer Prophet,” trutv, http://www.trutv.com/library/crime/notorious_murders/mass/john_frazier/index.html. Accessed June 27, 2013.

⁸¹⁹ “Remembering Groovy, the Murdered Hippie,” *The Village Voice*, March 2010, http://blogs.villagevoice.com/runninscared/2010/03/remembering_gro.php. Accessed July 30, 2013.

media was a gross misconception and distortion of the truth.”⁸²⁰ Continued Yablonsky, the focus of the mass media from “love-ins and gay happy flower-children” to “violence and death” belied the fact that both “have always been part of the scene since the inception of the Movement.”⁸²¹ Even during the “Summer of Love,” some of the flower children were already “toughening up.”⁸²² Perhaps this was because the Diggers were influenced by the Black Panthers when they helped with the printing of the first two issues of the Black Panther Party newspaper.⁸²³ Either way, the reality was that the Haight-Ashbury district bordered the Fillmore (the black ghetto of San Francisco), and the word was out “that some Diggers in New York and San Francisco carry guns – and intend to use them.”⁸²⁴

In June, in an incident that showed how large the chasm was between political and cultural radicals, a group of Diggers drove from California to Michigan to disrupt an SDS conference called “Back to the Drawing Boards.”⁸²⁵ The assemblage consisted of mostly a couple of hundred SDS alumni, the “old guard,” exactly five years since Port Huron. They were there to try to figure out what they wanted to do, since most were no longer in school, to get into “electoral politics” or create some sort of “post-student organization.”⁸²⁶ While Tom Hayden was giving the opening speech, a mixture of “militant rhetoric and reform goals,” the Diggers interrupted and began their madness.⁸²⁷ First, Emmett Grogan ripped a “fat guy from his seat and forcibly led him outside.” Another Digger, called Hun, jumped onto the speaker’s platform and “pushed Hayden out of his way” and began a “ramble-rap” that included how SDS should not organize the schools but “burn them down” and urging people to “drop out of the system.”⁸²⁸ Afterwards, a third Digger called Billy Landout walked over and sat onto the speakers’ table and began to play his flute while in a lotus position.⁸²⁹ After a long debate ensued between the two groups, on the topic of what was the best way to change things, Grogan went crazy, “knocking down girls, punching cats in the face, slapping the older SDSers left and right and all over the fucking place, screaming

⁸²⁰ Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, 116.

⁸²¹ *Ibid.*, 333.

⁸²² “Remembering Groovy, the Murdered Hippie,” *The Village Voice*, March 2010, http://blogs.villagevoice.com/runninscared/2010/03/remembering_gro.php. Accessed July 30, 2013.

⁸²³ Coyote, *Sleeping Where I Fall*, 89.

⁸²⁴ “Remembering Groovy, the Murdered Hippie,” *The Village Voice*, March 2010, http://blogs.villagevoice.com/runninscared/2010/03/remembering_gro.php. Accessed July 30, 2013.

⁸²⁵ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 226-227.

⁸²⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸²⁸ Grogan, *Ringolevio*, 394-395.

⁸²⁹ *Ibid.*, 396.

that they were all ‘Cowardly ugly.’”⁸³⁰ Continuing, he screamed, “Faggots! Fags! Take off your ties; they are chains around your necks. You haven’t got the balls to go mad. You’re gonna make a revolution? You’ll piss in your pants when the violence erupts. You, spade – you’re a nigger, what are you doing here? Your people need you. There’s a war on. They got fuckin’ concentration camps ready; the world’s going to end any day.”⁸³¹ Grogan proudly wrote sometime afterwards, “The Diggers are an avant-garde gang of a new kind of status-free people! Basically young, hip, ageless, street-wise-savvy, ballsy, macho, righteous, with chutzpah, flexible in that we can do almost everything to the degree that we are capable of doing anything, resourceful, beautiful, courageous heroes of history.”⁸³² However, Bob Ross, an ex-SDSer, disagreed, and yelled at Grogan during the encounter, “If the CIA wanted to disrupt this meeting, they couldn’t have done it any better than by sending you.”⁸³³ Although the Diggers left the next day, the conference “never gathered momentum, never broke out of the Diggers’ gravitational field.”⁸³⁴ Nonetheless, the whole episode showed how the new left had drifted too far away from “conventional ideas of legitimate authority” and was now in danger of being “out of control.” The Diggers, it was said, “reflected the anti-leader countercultural mood that had taken over SDS,” and with no clear authority principle to mobilize against the Diggers’ takeover, it left the Diggers to do what they wanted.⁸³⁵ As more members of the new left thought the concept of leadership to be illegitimate, and the leaders themselves denied being leaders, the SDS and other student organizations began the process of dissolution (well before 1969/1970).

As the “Summer of Love” wore on, hippie enclaves began even more to express the volatile energies surrounding them from the outside world. With black militants shouting “black power” and the new left screaming “out now.” *Newsweek* magazine began referring to the summer as the “Summer of Discontent.”⁸³⁶ “Desperation and bravado . . . rippled through radical circles across the country” as various activists threatened to “firebomb” and use tactics like “cutting power lines.”⁸³⁷ After white racists shot at several black homes in Alabama, SNCC chairman H. Rap Brown said “We will no longer sit back and let black people be killed. . . . We are calling on full retaliation.”⁸³⁸ SDS President Carl Oglesby said

⁸³⁰ Ibid., 402.

⁸³¹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 228.

⁸³² Grogan, *Ringolevio*, 403.

⁸³³ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 228.

⁸³⁴ Ibid.

⁸³⁵ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 229-230.

⁸³⁶ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 170.

⁸³⁷ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 244.

⁸³⁸ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 177.

more had to be done as the anti-war movement was becoming a “wilderness of warmed-over speeches and increasingly irrelevant demonstrations.”⁸³⁹ As if in response, the “National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (Mobe)” announced “Stop the Draft Week” for October with the aim to “confront the war makers” to disrupt the war machine.”⁸⁴⁰ Then SDS old guard Tom Hayden called for “a legion of ‘urban guerrillas’ to change America,” so to create a “strategy of confrontation and disruption” that would “raise the internal cost” to such a high level that those decision-makers will have to get out of Vietnam.⁸⁴¹ Gitlin of the SDS wrote of this period that it was the “end of the Movement and the beginning of revolution,” and now it was time to “wear a flower in your gun belt.”⁸⁴²

As the “season of rage” arrived, and especially after the summer of riots ended, black militancy would hold “the new left in thrall.”⁸⁴³ During the month of June, and just as the “Summer of Love” was beginning in San Francisco, race riots erupted in Atlanta, Boston, Buffalo, Cincinnati, and in Tampa, Florida.⁸⁴⁴ In July, in what was referred to by now as the “long hot summer,” there were riots in Birmingham, Chicago, Detroit, Michigan, New York, Newark, New Jersey, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New Britain, Conn., Rochester, N.Y., and in Plainfield, New Jersey.⁸⁴⁵ Of the 159 race riots that took place in 1967, the two most serious were in Newark, New Jersey, and Detroit, Michigan. The black rebellion in Newark occurred between July 12 and July 17, leaving 26 dead, 725 people injured, nearly 1,500 arrested, and property damage exceeding \$10 million.⁸⁴⁶ Detroit, on the other hand, experienced rioting from July 23 to July 29 resulting in 43 dead, 467 injured, over 7,200 arrests, and more than 2,000 buildings destroyed with Army troops needed to end the violence.⁸⁴⁷ With black power leading the Movement ever deeper into violence, white radicals talked of meeting the challenge of doing “whatever it takes.”⁸⁴⁸ However, many activists were not so optimistic about their ability to meet the problem of increased violent escalation, as their numbers were too few, and many would not partake in

⁸³⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁴¹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 289.

⁸⁴² Ibid., 244.

⁸⁴³ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 245-246.

⁸⁴⁴ Paul Gilje, *Rioting in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 87-89.

⁸⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁴⁶ “1967 Newark, N.J. Rebellion, A Documentary Film,” online video clip, Youtube, April 23, 2014.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fQRgW36ZkLY>. Accessed October 3, 2014.

⁸⁴⁷ “The 1967 Detroit Riots,” online video clip, Youtube, May 10, 2013, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MnrJR9KSJYk>. Accessed May 21, 2013.

⁸⁴⁸ Gitlin, *The Sixties* 246.

this type of “risk-taking.”⁸⁴⁹ As a result, gloomy articles already appeared in 1967 reflecting this concern of a dead end. The *New York Review of Books* stated, “To be white and a radical in America this summer is to see horror and feel impotence.”⁸⁵⁰ In another publication, Berkeley radical Frank Bardacke agreed, writing, “Despair became a cliché among young white radicals,” many of which increasingly talked of “political impotence.”⁸⁵¹ Finally, Herbert Marcuse in his “One-Dimensional Man” (though published three years earlier) discouragingly wrote about the idea of revolution, stating that the “working class was neutered by material goods and technology,” and that a great radical change, though “deeply necessary,” might be “impossible.”⁸⁵² If there was any doubt of there being a relationship between black power radicals and ghetto uprisings, it ended with the Cambridge, Maryland riots in August. Right before the rebellion broke out, new SNCC chair H. Rap Brown told a crowd to “Burn this town down,” and when talking about whites, to “Don’t love him to death, shoot him to death.”⁸⁵³ At the same time, a black nationalist writer and activist named Amiri Baraka (formerly known as LeRoi Jones) urged blacks to “smash the windows . . . take the shit you want. Take their lives if need be.”⁸⁵⁴

By September, the new left withdrew into a mode of “self-rectification,” as political alliances between black and white radicals continued to be tentative.⁸⁵⁵ At the same time, black nationalists, ever more strongly, argued that since blacks had been “oppressed as a caste,” they now needed to articulate their oppression in terms of their own racial experiences.⁸⁵⁶ Thus, identity politics became a major concern for black radicals, who forcefully pushed their own agendas to the fore. During the Labor Day weekend, things turned chaotic at the “National Conference for New Politics” in Chicago, as three hundred blacks (out of approximately three thousand activists) won every demand for all the convention resolutions passed because of “white guilt.”⁸⁵⁷ A former SDS president wrote that after the summer riots, “there was no chance for a genuine alliance of equals” between black and white radicals.⁸⁵⁸ On one hand, white radicals needed acceptance and forgiveness as a result of collective guilt for the past and present treatment of people of

⁸⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁵¹ Ibid.

⁸⁵² Ibid.

⁸⁵³ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 206.

⁸⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁵ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 245

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁸ Ibid., 246.

color by whites, and on the other hand, third world guerrilla units from all around the world were now viewed as the vanguard of the revolution, and in America that meant following black power groups (and soon Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American, and other groups). White revolutionaries, like those in the ghetto riots, were inspired in part by the Black Panthers, who refused to be scared and “carried guns, following the police” and like SNCC had abandoned non-violence.⁸⁵⁹ Thus, for white revolutionaries to be taken serious by blacks, they too had to follow this same path of insisting of their own “right to defend themselves.”⁸⁶⁰ With “conventional channels” seemingly blocked, many turned their faith to “powers of the will,” believing that perhaps with the right amount of “sheer audacity,” the Movement could “bull” its way “past the apparent obstacles.”⁸⁶¹ During this time of desperate futility, the new left began to toy with the idea of forming “small bands of revolutionaries” that would act as “the ‘small motor’ that sets the ‘big motor’ of the masses in motion.”⁸⁶² The focus increasingly fixated on (“at least symbolically”) on the importance on acquiring “the right guerrilla boots than to debate the right book.”⁸⁶³ Meaning, as Fidel Castro had said, “The duty of the revolutionary is to make the revolution.”⁸⁶⁴ While the Movement against the war had grown tremendously over the past two years, it seemed “ineffectual,” and even hippies looked “scared, lonely, and frantic,” with many “playing with guns as a way to forget their own hopelessness.”⁸⁶⁵ Not surprisingly, imitating Black Power groups as usual, the SDS for the first time, in September, started calling the authorities “pigs” in their *New Left Notes* newspaper.⁸⁶⁶ With white revolutionaries talking increasingly of sabotage and “running guns to the ghetto,” some members of SDS’s old guard called it a “complete fantasy” of those who “could not admit that we actually had nothing to offer the people in Detroit.”⁸⁶⁷ Moreover, the whole “nonsense” made it clear that the serious, constructive SDS-style community organizing of the past was at a “dead end.”⁸⁶⁸

⁸⁵⁹ Ibid., 248.

⁸⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁶¹ Ibid., 247.

⁸⁶² Ibid., 246.

⁸⁶³ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁴ Ibid., 247.

⁸⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁶ Ibid., 246.

⁸⁶⁷ Ibid., 247.

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid.

Meanwhile, at the “Death of the Hippie” mock funeral on October 6, a sign was put up that said, “Stay where you are! Bring the revolution to where you live.”⁸⁶⁹ The message alluded to the overexposure of Haight-Ashbury and other bohemian places that reached their “creative peak before people anywhere else were able to learn what was going on,” before the summer of 1967.⁸⁷⁰ Following a trend that began during the over-attended “Summer of Love,” Haight-Ashbury within a year was referred to as a “violent, animalized slum, awash with hard-drug pushers, old junkies and . . . disillusioned young runaways who hadn’t gotten the word before they left home that this was no longer the ‘love capital of the world,’ and who still felt obliged, therefore, to wander the streets trying sadly to generate something colorful, or at least suitably eccentric.”⁸⁷¹ During the fall of 1967 the *New York Times* proclaimed in their headline story that “Love Is Dead,” and that “the hippie movement is over,” as hippie stories faded first into “the back pages,” and then “out of the public eye altogether.”⁸⁷² Incredibly, while the established media proclaimed the hippie movement dead (a huge aspect of the Sixties era), “hip communes of every genre imaginable were silently cropping out the earth by the hundreds” during the late 1960s.⁸⁷³ Nonetheless, the “back to the land” exodus from places like the Haight-Ashbury symbolized for some that “many of the grander utopian visions of the counterculture had given way to smaller dreams,”⁸⁷⁴ implying that this exodus reflected a sort of a downgrading from the hope to change/turn on the world. Perhaps another indicator was that the hippie movement increasingly turned towards a philosophy of “doom-ridden, claustrophobic, paranoiac, occult” beliefs of avoiding the “apocalypse,” and being one of God’s chosen few who would start the world again.⁸⁷⁵ Unfortunately, most communes did not survive for more than one year; instead, most people wandered from one to another “searching for just the right one.”⁸⁷⁶

By October of 1967 it wasn’t only the hippies who spoke in the language of the apocalypse, but a large part of the overall movement. It was at this time that “resistance became the official watchword of the anti-war movement,” as the urge for confrontation

⁸⁶⁹ “The Year of the Hippie,” American Experience (2013), <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/love/sfeature/timeline.html>. Accessed April 26, 2013.

⁸⁷⁰ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 283.

⁸⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 284.

⁸⁷² *Ibid.*

⁸⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 283.

⁸⁷⁵ Tim Cahill, “Granby Colorado, 1972: Armageddon Postponed,” *Rolling Stone*, August 3, 1972, <http://www.welcomehome.org/rainbow/hipstory/first-one.html>. Accessed July 7, 2013.

⁸⁷⁶ Timothy Miller, *The 60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 183.

arose from the steadily growing “militant sector” with the “desperate feeling of having exhausted the procedures of conventional politics.”⁸⁷⁷ The “rhetoric of showdown,” in which the state would smash the Movement, or vice-versa, was heard everywhere.⁸⁷⁸ There was talk of “impending doom” or “salvation,” and a “shootout,” a “faceoff,” with “heroism, tragedy, and cataclysm.”⁸⁷⁹ Moreover, with the student politicians and the counter-culture beginning to intersect, convictions became more dramatized and thus more prone to mood swings. Borrowing from the hippies, judging the success of individual political actions was now based on whether or not they made one “feel good” (“highs”), and conversely, “not so good” (“bummers”).⁸⁸⁰ However, this type of appraisal of anti-war achievements, based on subjective perceptions, often led to irrational over-emotionalism that included both an extreme fury against the war when the protest was deemed a failure, and a “frantic joy” in being part of something that was based on “the mirage of ‘the revolution,’” if successful.⁸⁸¹ Overall, there was already a fear that the prophesied world changes would not be delivered, and that the promised beginning of world harmony, or at least radical changes within society, would go unfulfilled.⁸⁸² There was a sense that “everything could be lost,” or “everything could be gained,” and as Jim Morrison of the Doors sang; during the moment of truth, the end was always near.⁸⁸³

In October, on the Lower East Side of New York City, a new group emerged called the “Up Against the Wall, Motherfucker,” taken from a line in a poem by black nationalist LeRoi Jones.⁸⁸⁴ The group’s theoretical inspiration was part “European anarchism” and part “Marxism of the Frankfurt School,” the most famous representative of which was Herbert Marcuse.⁸⁸⁵ For them, the core idea was to form affinity groups, a “street gang with an analysis,” whose purpose was to function as “fighting units in the midst of riots” and hopefully as the actual “armed cadres” when the revolution broke out.⁸⁸⁶ They were more aggressive and hostile than the Diggers, who learned martial arts and “urged hippies to interfere with police (already “pigs”) trying to make busts.”⁸⁸⁷ The Motherfuckers, like the Diggers, “held milky student politics in contempt,” but went further in disrupting them;

⁸⁷⁷ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 285.

⁸⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 287.

⁸⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 286.

⁸⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸² *Ibid.*, 286-287.

⁸⁸³ *Ibid.*, 287.

⁸⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 239.

⁸⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 240.

they joined them and became the Lower East Side chapter of the SDS (as “no applicants for an SDS charter were ever refused”).⁸⁸⁸ In other instances of making chaos, they “barged into the office of underground papers” and give orders on how things should be, and what they needed.⁸⁸⁹ Contrary to the myth of everyone working together harmoniously within the Movement, they successfully intimidated the underground newspaper *The Rat*, which allowed the Motherfuckers to lay out several of their own full-page advertisements calling for “Armed Love,” their slogan.⁸⁹⁰

Columbia University, in October, started a new phase in movement tactics, changing from “overnight occupation of buildings to permanent occupation, from mill-ins to the creation of revolutionary committees, from symbolic civil disobedience, to barricaded resistance.”⁸⁹¹ Other campuses not only soon followed, but surpassed them with even more militant strategies. Tom Hayden predicted that soon students will “threaten the destruction of buildings” and make “raids on the offices of professors doing weapons research.”⁸⁹² Indeed, during the fall, the anti-Dow demonstrations at Columbia, and elsewhere, turned increasingly militant against their universities’ involvement with military agencies such as the “Institute for Defense Analyses.”⁸⁹³ University affiliations with the U.S. Department of Defense were not known to the public until Columbia SDS member Bob Feldman discovered documents in the International Law Library in March of 1967.⁸⁹⁴ This connection between the schools and the military became the central focus for SDS, during the academic school year of 1967-1968, opposing imperialism and the “military-industrial complex” that ran their schools.⁸⁹⁵ The slogan, “Bringing the war home,” became a dominant idea (a full two years before it is normally recognized as having come to the fore) as 300 students imprisoned a recruiter from Dow Chemical (a manufacturer of napalm for use in Vietnam) for several hours at the University of Wisconsin.⁸⁹⁶ It was this encounter that started large demonstrations against the military and Dow recruiters at forty

⁸⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁹¹ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 334

⁸⁹² Ibid.

⁸⁹³ “1968 Columbia University Protest (1969 Documentary Film),” online video clip, Youtube, August 15, 2012, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BUcYLuGiL_s. Accessed October 3, 2014.

⁸⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁵ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 335.

⁸⁹⁶ Jean E. Engelmayer and Melissa I. Weissberg, “Reflecting on the 1969 Student Strike,” *The Harvard Crimson*, April 9, 1984, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1984/4/9/reflecting-on-the-1969-student-strike/>. Accessed April 28, 2013.

campuses.⁸⁹⁷ Nearly everywhere, students fought back. In Wisconsin, thousands of students surrounded the police and “freed the demonstrators from their grip.”⁸⁹⁸ They “let the air out of paddy-wagon tires” and threw bricks and rocks, “sending seven policemen to the hospital along with sixty-five students.”⁸⁹⁹

In Oakland, California from October 16-20, 1967 the “Stop the Draft Week” resulted in major clashes at the military induction center after organizers could not agree on which tactics to use in order to shut it down.⁹⁰⁰ On the first day, there were peaceful pickets, the returning of draft cards by registrants to the Justice Department (throughout the country), and pacifist types who sat in the doorway and “allowed themselves to be peaceably arrested.”⁹⁰¹ When these non-violent “conventional civil rights tactics” seemed to have not succeeded in doing anything, the strategy led by militants turned to hit-and-run skirmishes with the police after they blocked the arrival of busloads of inductees.⁹⁰² Then a back-and-forth battle commenced with cops attacking demonstrators with “clubs, tear gas, boots,” and protesters retaliating by throwing “cans, bottles, and smoke bombs.”⁹⁰³ When the police periodically “pulled back to redeploy,” the crowds would retake the intersections and stop traffic.⁹⁰⁴ Before long, the protesters began to push parked cars into the streets, disabling them by “disconnecting their distributors” and letting the air out of their tires by puncturing them.⁹⁰⁵ Moreover, anything else that could be moved was hauled into the streets, for example, “benches, newspaper racks, parking meters, garbage cans, trees in concrete pots.”⁹⁰⁶ Nonetheless, not everyone was impressed, as some demonstrators were put off by all the violence. For instance, according to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, a “bearded youth” yelled out at the people dragging a car into the street, saying, “Don’t you understand you’re defeating the whole movement? You’re going to kill us with the public!”⁹⁰⁷ Blacks from the Oakland ghettos also scorned the actions, as they were leery of the “‘white’ confrontation tactics” that would lead them into a bloody showdown with the local police “with whom they were already well acquainted.”⁹⁰⁸ As a result, the anti-war

⁸⁹⁷ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 254.

⁸⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁰ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 69.

⁹⁰¹ Ibid.

⁹⁰² Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 250.

⁹⁰³ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁴ Ibid., 251.

⁹⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁸ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 62-63.

movement failed to “enlist blacks on a mass basis” (as they had hoped and planned for), as African-Americans ended up having their own separate protest rally that avoided confrontation.⁹⁰⁹

By 1967, a declaration on the part of many in the anti-war movement had stated openly their aim to confront the Selective Service System, announcing that they had gone beyond the “We Won’t Go” pronouncements to “forcing an immediate confrontation by practicing total noncooperation with the military establishment.”⁹¹⁰ However, even radicals were still naïve about how their actions could bring on such brutal repercussions from the authorities when they tried to shut down the “smooth running of the draft machine.”⁹¹¹ Indeed, it was during the “Stop the Draft Week” that radical organizers, in reaction, began to call their actions “militant self-defense” and to call themselves “political outlaws” who now believed in “insurrection.”⁹¹² As protest shifted to resistance, it quickly became clear that the ramifications of this change in tactic would one day include somebody getting killed.⁹¹³ Often beginning as cohesive units, though, these opponents of the draft soon degenerated in a chaotic fashion as “ordinary students without a signal from leaders” would begin to barricade intersections and liberate territory during protests.⁹¹⁴ Moreover, the “surge in militancy” received added stimulus, according to former SDS old guard Todd Gitlin, from LSD and other drugs, as they began to emerge and “percolate throughout the New Left” at the same time, perhaps helping some to ward off fear during confrontations, and increase a sense of unreality.⁹¹⁵ Then the “willful suspension of disbelief” became the “spiritual heart of the new militancy,” as “grandiose hopes” to “make a difference” from the beginning of the decade already at times “felt extreme” because of the pressure to succeed, and the “cost of failing.”⁹¹⁶ The suspending of disbelief was also a way to try to ward off the sense that the young anti-war generation was not “stretching to the outer rim” of what was possible to accomplish by itself in the U.S. without the help of older generations.⁹¹⁷ This refusal on the part of the Movement to see its predicament led to an oscillation between “extremities of hope” and “extremities of despair,” which “fogged” its

⁹⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁹¹⁰ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 196.

⁹¹¹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 253.

⁹¹² Ibid., 252.

⁹¹³ Ibid., 256.

⁹¹⁴ Ibid., 252.

⁹¹⁵ Ibid., 253.

⁹¹⁶ Ibid.

⁹¹⁷ Ibid., 254.

“vision.”⁹¹⁸ Gitlin stated, “That is why perceptions could shift so radically from one moment to the next.”⁹¹⁹ But the Movement was still far from a unified community, as draft resister Michael Ferber pointed out in his speech in Boston: “To be honest we have to admit that we in the Resistance still disagree about a great many things, whether we speak out about them or not.”⁹²⁰ Moreover, not being too optimistic either, he continued by saying the Movement must keep a level head in expectations and must not “dwell too much on the possibilities of an Apocalypse happening or a Utopian Society,” as the reality was that they consisted of “only a few hundred people with very little power.” Towards the end of his address, Ferber despairingly told his audience, “But let us not be deceived. The sun will rise tomorrow as it does every day, and when we get out of bed the world will be in pretty much the same mess it is in today.”⁹²¹ Indeed, in October of 1967 two hopeful symbols of the 1960s rebellion were eliminated (one permanently). First, on October 10, guerrilla leader Che Guevara was first reported captured and killed, making the idea of revolution “more vulnerable than the Left wanted to think.”⁹²² Secondly, on October 28, Black Panther leader Huey Newton was wounded in a shootout with police and eventually went to prison for killing a police officer (his sentence was overturned and eventually released on August 5, 1970).⁹²³ At the same time, on October 20, on the other end of the anti-war spectrum, Minnesota Senator Eugene McCarty announced his presidential candidacy to fight the “sense of political hopelessness” of many young people who were frustrated and discontent over the Vietnam War, and aspired to turn the anti-war students away from “extralegal if not illegal actions” and restore their faith in the political process.”⁹²⁴

Just a day after the “Stop the Draft Week” ended, on October 21, Mobe (the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam) organized the large “March on the Pentagon” demonstration in Washington D.C. as a culmination to these anti-draft protests.⁹²⁵ While about 100,000 people rallied peacefully near the Lincoln Memorial, 35,000 marched afterwards to the steps of the Pentagon to do civil disobedience and as a

⁹¹⁸ Ibid.

⁹¹⁹ Ibid.

⁹²⁰ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 198.

⁹²¹ Ibid. 199.

⁹²² Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 249.

⁹²³ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 207.

⁹²⁴ Ibid., 213.

⁹²⁵ “The Vietnam Protests: When Worlds Collided,” Washington Post (2000), <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/local/2000/vietnam092799.htm>. Accessed July 29, 2013.

“few dozen radicals attacked.”⁹²⁶ Here more than 2,500 Army troops protected the Pentagon as 650 people were arrested, including novelist Norman Mailer who wrote about his experiences in the book *The Armies of the Night*.⁹²⁷ Although the most famous image of the whole encounter was that of a hippie placing a flower in the rifle barrel of a soldier, it was called “the bloodiest clash in the nation’s capital since General MacArthur’s troops routed the Bonus Army at Anacostia Flats in 1932.”⁹²⁸ While radicals came to “fight,” the hippie counterculture attempted to “exorcise demons” by “chanting ‘Om’ and levitating the Pentagon.”⁹²⁹ The differing of intentions (and possibly the dilution in effectiveness) derived from the fact that, for the first time, a significant number of hippies “with long hair and fanciful garb” took part in an anti-war demonstration.⁹³⁰ Abbie Hoffman “donned beads and an Uncle Sam hat” as many showed off their humor by holding up signs such as “LBJ, Pull Out Now, Like Your Father Should Have Done.”⁹³¹ At times the protest had a “festival atmosphere” where hippies yelled out to the troops chanting “Join us,” and “We love you,” or “We’d love to turn you on,” but around midnight “paratroopers of the 82nd Division replaced the MPs on the line” and attacked, clubbing “non-resisting girls” who were young enough to be their daughters.⁹³² Many demonstrators afterwards felt that the “tactic of sitting down and taking the beating was getting old.”⁹³³ Adding that “Saturday night’s confrontation at the Pentagon was a last sit-down for us,” the question many asked during the coming days was “Why the passivity?”⁹³⁴ Even long-time pacifist David Dellinger announced that the “March on the Pentagon” was the end of peaceful protest: “This is the beginning of a new stage in the American peace movement in which the cutting edge becomes active resistance.”⁹³⁵ Jerry Rubin said that this Pentagon protests created a new type of protester who (like him) “didn’t feel at home in SDS” and “wasn’t a flower-power hippie, or a campus intellectual,” but instead was a “stoned politico . . . A street-fighting freak, a dropout, who carries a gun

⁹²⁶ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 178.

⁹²⁷ “History - U.S. Marshals and the Pentagon Riot of October 21, 1967,” U.S. Marshals Service, <http://www.usmarshals.gov/history/civilian/1967a.htm>. Accessed October 4, 2014.

⁹²⁸ “The March on the Pentagon,” *The Harvard Crimson*, October 24, 1967, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1967/10/24/the-march-on-the-pentagon-ptthis/>. Accessed July 29, 2013.

⁹²⁹ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 178.

⁹³⁰ “The Vietnam Protests: When Worlds Collided,” Washington Post (2000), <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/local/2000/vietnam092799.htm>. Accessed July 29, 2013.

⁹³¹ Ibid.

⁹³² Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 179.

⁹³³ Ibid.

⁹³⁴ Ibid.

⁹³⁵ Ibid., 178.

at his hip.”⁹³⁶ Rubin had boasted during the “March on the Pentagon” that “crazy revolutionaries . . . are ready to burn the whole motherfucker down.”⁹³⁷ When a newspaper reporter asked SNCC’s Rap Brown if he would bring a gun to the Pentagon protests, he had answered, “I’d be unwise to say I’m going with a gun because you all took my gun last time. I may bring a bomb, sucker.”⁹³⁸ Hoffman and Rubin would soon emerge as part of the newly formed Yippies, who in some ways emulated the Diggers, but who were criticized by their forerunners as “fraudulent” because of how they handled the media. The Diggers were not happy with the new group because they believed that they should remain anonymous to expose the media as deceitful, while “Abbie and Jerry wanted to go through the channels and use them for good ends and ‘take the theater to the enemy camp.’”⁹³⁹ Nonetheless, the most effective groups in organizing mass protest in late 1967 remained Mobe and the SDS, both regrettably with “extremely fluid membership” and “virtually no national control over their membership’s behavior.”⁹⁴⁰

By late October, the repressive policies of the U.S. government pushed ever more young men into open resistance (and others out of the country) as the Selective Service “recommended that local draft boards issue punitive reclassifications to unruly peace demonstrators,” and in early 1968 cancelled most draft deferments, making “noncooperation inescapable for large numbers of youths who opposed the war.”⁹⁴¹ As a result, a move to “more aggressive and clandestine actions against property” began, not only by young people, but from all walks of life.⁹⁴² On October 27, the “Baltimore Four” occupied the Selective Service Board in Baltimore and poured blood on the draft records. The members were religious activists that included two Roman Catholics (Phillip Berrigan, a priest, and artist Tom Lewis) and two Protestants (writer David Eberhardt and the Rev. James L. Mengel).⁹⁴³ Upping the ante in taking radical steps to bring attention to the anti-war effort, they performed the sacrificial, blood-pouring protest as a statement that the U.S. forces had “killed and maimed not only humans, but animals and vegetation” throughout Indochina.⁹⁴⁴ Six months later, while Berrigan was out on bail, he repeated the protest, this

⁹³⁶ Ibid., 235.

⁹³⁷ Ibid., 202.

⁹³⁸ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 234.

⁹³⁹ Ibid., 235.

⁹⁴⁰ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 33.

⁹⁴¹ Ibid., 49.

⁹⁴² Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 292.

⁹⁴³ Sharon Erickson Nepstad, *Religion and War Resistance in the Plowshares Movement* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 48.

⁹⁴⁴ William Strabala and Michael Palecek, *Prophets Without Honor: A Requiem For Moral Patriotism* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2002), 57-61.

time with his Jesuit brother Daniel and seven others, later known as the “Catonsville Nine.” This time, using homemade napalm, they walked into a draft board in Maryland and after removing 600 draft records (and the files of Dow Chemical and General Electric), they burnt them in an empty lot outside of the building.⁹⁴⁵ Afterwards the following statement was issued: “We confront the Roman Catholic Church, other Christian bodies, and the synagogues of America with their silence and cowardice in the face of our country’s crimes. We are convinced that the religious bureaucracy in this country is racist, is an accomplice in this war, and is hostile to the poor.”⁹⁴⁶

Protests continued during the latter part of autumn. From November 4-9, 1967, demonstrations again erupted at the University of Wisconsin against Dow Chemical and against the CIA for its alleged war crimes. The Student Life and Interest Committee (SLIC) formally requested that the use of UWM facilities by both Dow and CIA, in their recruitment efforts, be denied.⁹⁴⁷ Despite years of angry protests, Dow continued its manufacture of the napalm B compound (even as all other manufactures discontinued their production), frustrating many at the slow pace of change. Regardless of the negative publicity and harassment, Dow stated that “its first obligation was to the government” as the U.S. continued to drop napalm on the North Vietnamese until 1973.⁹⁴⁸ In New York City, on November 14, the SDS disrupted a peaceful demonstration of 5,000 protesters by attacking the limousines of foreign policy elites gathering to hear the Secretary of State Dean Rusk at a banquet. The militant action involved “hooting, throwing bottles, bags of paint and cow’s blood,” and continued as they “dumped trash baskets, [while] dented fancy cars swarmed through intersections” and handed out leaflets saying “the Revolution Begins at 5:30”⁹⁴⁹ In early December, again in New York City, in an effort to “seal off the induction center,” two clashing philosophies battled for supremacy. The first one tried to win the soldiers over to the anti-war side by chanting “Cross the lines and join us” and “We love you,” and sang “Yellow Submarine” while sticking flowers in the barrels of their

⁹⁴⁵ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 292.

⁹⁴⁶ Nepstad, *Religion and War Resistance in the Plowshares Movement*, 48.

⁹⁴⁷ “Beginnings, ‘Bitch-Ins,’ and Dow Chemical, 1966-1968,” Vietnam War Protests at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries: Archives Dept., <http://guides.library.uwm.edu/content.php?pid-85020&sid-633106>. Accessed April 8, 2013.

⁹⁴⁸ “Protesting Napalm,” *Time Magazine*, January 5, 1968, <http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/PVCC/mbase/docs/napalm.html>. Accessed April 8, 2013.

⁹⁴⁹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 254.

rifles.⁹⁵⁰ The second strategy consisted of “staying loose in the streets,” to taunt and elude the “armed antagonists,” while turning up the heat by fighting back.⁹⁵¹

By the end of 1967, the “relative optimism and hope” felt during the summer of 1965 had turned to “crisis and gloom,” according to many major newspapers.⁹⁵² Anti-war protesters who hounded President Johnson “at his every public appearance” were bitter and frustrated by their inability to impel their government towards ending the war, and thus began to move from protest to resistance.⁹⁵³ On the other hand, the average person was perturbed by all the disturbances and disorder and the violent, militant direction symbolized by some protesters marching with the “black flag of anarchy, the red flag of revolt of revolution, to the flags of enemies engaged in killing young Americans – the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong.”⁹⁵⁴ Discouragingly for the anti-war movement, 60 percent of all the U.S. citizens still “favored increasing military pressure against the enemy,” while 70 percent disliked anti-war demonstrations and felt that they “were acts of disloyalty and three-quarters stating that protests only encouraged the Communists.”⁹⁵⁵

The year 1968 continued the same trend of “periods of optimism followed by periods of despair and disillusion.”⁹⁵⁶ At times, movement leaders felt that their anti-war message was “penetrating mainstream America” and that “the political tide was turning.”⁹⁵⁷ Nonetheless, these exhilarating moments were too often “followed by tragedy, defeat, and pessimism.”⁹⁵⁸ Contrary to the Sixties myth of unity, optimism and non-violence, from the fall of 1967 to the end of 1969 America continually “reeled from its tragedies, its disillusionments, and its internal rifts.”⁹⁵⁹ Meanwhile, by 1968, both the new left student movement and the African-American movement for social justice had “lost faith in the American political and judicial system” and now fully embraced a revolutionary political stance, saying “yes to revolt.”⁹⁶⁰ Obsessed with passion, desperation often spoke louder than logic as the Movement was in a “combat mood” and learned to swallow its fear. Nevertheless, there was a sharp line between the planners of the confrontations and those “troops” who would have to do the sacrificing when facing the

⁹⁵⁰ Ibid., 255

⁹⁵¹ Ibid.

⁹⁵² Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 182.

⁹⁵³ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 165.

⁹⁵⁴ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 298.

⁹⁵⁵ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 181.

⁹⁵⁶ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 331.

⁹⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁶⁰ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 190.

police or the National Guard.⁹⁶¹ SDS, the “most visible white radical organization,” had gone over to “the other side” and embraced revolutionary ideology.⁹⁶² Young anti-war protesters were now rebelling not only against their government’s policies in Vietnam, but against their society’s established values as the “lines separating the anti-war movement and the hippie counter-culture had blurred.”⁹⁶³ Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman, seeing this tendency, started the Yippies (Youth International Party) on December 31, 1967. It was an organization dedicated to “convincing turned-on youth that only through radical politics would the freedoms inherent in sex and drugs and rock in roll be fully realized.”⁹⁶⁴

However, mainstream media continued to paint the counterculture in ever more sinister tones, with the *Reader’s Digest* (with 28 million readers) writing in early 1968 of the dark side of the hippie movement, emphasizing “murder, rape, disease, and suicide” and claiming that even the leaders of the hippie movement said that “the Movement has gone sour” (once again, way before Altamont in December 1969).⁹⁶⁵

On January 5, 1968 *Time* magazine’s cover story was “Protesting Napalm,” which dealt with the continued anti-war grievance on the use of the chemical.⁹⁶⁶ In the article, it quoted C. B. Cowan, the chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of All People Against War, on why they were protesting against Dow Chemical: “The U.S. is using napalm as a tactical weapon against personnel including non-participants in the war such as Vietnamese women and children, and Dow is the basic manufacturer of napalm. Dow is no more guilty than other manufacturers of goods, but napalm is the best weapon that exemplifies the U.S.’s immoral actions, and napalm is the best subject that lends itself to controversy about the war.”⁹⁶⁷ However, after years of protesting Dow and “begging their elected leaders to take mercy on the people of Vietnam,” ever increasing numbers of protesters began to “rethink the question of violence versus non-violence,” with some even being to flirt with the idea of terrorism.⁹⁶⁸ The growing desperation on the part of the anti-war movement arose as a result of its failure to influence government to stop the war, and the bitterness led to growing violence throughout the world, with paralyzing student strikes in Brazil,

⁹⁶¹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 290.

⁹⁶² Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 190.

⁹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 220.

⁹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 221.

⁹⁶⁵ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 218.

⁹⁶⁶ “Protesting Napalm,” *Time Magazine*, January 5, 1968.

<http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/PVCC/mbase/docs/napalm.html>. Accessed April 8, 2013.

⁹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶⁸ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 76-77.

Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, Japan, Mexico, and West Germany.⁹⁶⁹ The rise of the revolutionary student movement, with its militant hostility towards established authority and institutions, did not proceed without difficulty, however, as it lacked discipline, which it sacrificed “in exchange for spontaneity and political autonomy.”⁹⁷⁰ Particularly in organizations such as the SDS, “party discipline” disappeared with the surge in “participatory style of decision-making,” which undermined its “leadership structure.”⁹⁷¹ According to the Task Force Report on violence, organizational leadership for many anti-war organizations by 1968 had been reduced to “applying for permits, holding press conferences, announcing the time and place of demonstrations, and mailing appeals for funds”; furthermore, any sort of ideology had been subordinated to a collation of tactics.⁹⁷² On the other hand, groups that did have “long-range purposes” and “articulated leftist ideologies” were usually not very influential and had to merge (at least on paper) with larger organizations and/or coalitions (such as the National Mobilization Committee and the Student Mobilization Committee) in order to “get their names associated with large and dramatic rallies.”⁹⁷³ As far as anti-war coordinating coalitions went, they in fact had no real membership at all; they were a “coalition of ‘leaders’ from various smaller groups” who would clash with one another “on a number of fundamental points,” but were willing to come together in the same demonstration or protest march.⁹⁷⁴ The lack of agreement within the overall movement forfeited the control over those who were bent on provoking the greatest amount of violence.⁹⁷⁵

By February 1968, with the rise of street battles, “the rank-and file devotees to non-violence were defecting in droves.”⁹⁷⁶ On February 8, violence on the part of students resulted in death at the South Carolina State University in Orangeburg. After trying to desegregate a downtown Orangeburg bowling alley, the youth lit a large bonfire at the edge of campus.⁹⁷⁷ When firemen moved in to put out the fire, students threw a banister, wounding a highway trooper.⁹⁷⁸ Soon afterwards the police fired upon the students, killing

⁹⁶⁹ Ibid., 80-81.

⁹⁷⁰ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 34-35.

⁹⁷¹ Ibid., 34.

⁹⁷² Ibid.

⁹⁷³ Ibid.

⁹⁷⁴ Ibid., 33.

⁹⁷⁵ Ibid., 34-35.

⁹⁷⁶ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 314.

⁹⁷⁷ “The 1968 Orangeburg Massacre in South Carolina,” SCIWAY, <http://www.sciway.net/afam/orangeburg-massacre.html>. Accessed August 3, 2013.

⁹⁷⁸ Ibid.

three and wounding thirty-three others.⁹⁷⁹ Elsewhere, the police in Haight-Ashbury were now “routinely macing and clubbing” hippies, whose use of drugs perhaps “inflated the spirit of Armageddon,” and the “Summer of Love” of five months earlier was but a distant dream of a long ago paradise.⁹⁸⁰ However, it was the Viet Cong and North Vietnam launching of the “Tet Offensive,” on January 30 (and lasting throughout February), that most affected both the general public and the anti-war activists. The well-coordinated attack by Communist troops struck more than 100 towns and cities, by far the largest military offensive by either side up to that point in the war.⁹⁸¹ Although the offensive was called a military defeat for the communists, it created a “credibility gap” among the public, who had been led to believe that the war was being won and that the enemy was incapable of launching such a massive effort.⁹⁸² Some in the anti-war movement, such as Dennis Sweeney, became even more radicalized and adopted even more radical tactics to stop the war, including sabotage.⁹⁸³ In February, Sweeney and a few others in the Bay Area attacked and burned down an ROTC clubhouse with gasoline.⁹⁸⁴ At the same time, however, more young people suddenly turned to mainstream politics and joined the anti-war presidential campaign of Senator Eugene McCarthy for President (refuting the Sixties myth that working for the anti-war presidential campaign of Senator George McGovern in 1972 somehow symbolized the end of an era and the selling out of the revolution).⁹⁸⁵ McCarthy, who had criticized LBJ’s war throughout 1967, in November of that year announced his bid for the nomination. He also pessimistically spoke on the state of affairs, saying, “In 1960 we started to get America moving again. Today, eight years later, the fabric of the great achievement is unraveling.”⁹⁸⁶

McCarthy’s supporters were not from the radical new left, but instead consisted of the more moderate liberal wing of the Movement.⁹⁸⁷ His idealistic “army of volunteers” was made up of students who might perhaps “romanticize popular revolutionaries such as Malcolm X or Che Guevara, but still remained optimistic about the nation.”⁹⁸⁸ While against the war and the draft, they were also against the anti-Americanism of the new left

⁹⁷⁹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 313.

⁹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 314.

⁹⁸¹ Stephen Weiss and Clark Dougan, *Nineteen Sixty-Eight (Vietnam Experience)* (New York: Time Life Education, 1983), 8.

⁹⁸² Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 184.

⁹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 186.

⁹⁸⁴ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 186.

⁹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 188

⁹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 187.

⁹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

and “believed that America could be beautiful – if it would live up to its own principles.”⁹⁸⁹ Unlike the radicals of 1968, they still flashed the anti-war V sign while revolutionaries had moved on to clenching their fists.⁹⁹⁰ Moreover, to support a fashion that was called “Clean for Gene,” men with long hair or beards were “asked to see the free barber,” and females wearing miniskirts switched to “more traditional outfits” in order to present a more moderate image while campaigning door-to-door for McCarthy.⁹⁹¹ Unlike radicals, they were willing to be “polite and patient” in order to work for change, with the “hairier ones” staying back at the campaign headquarters stuffing envelopes (again similar to the 1972 McGovern campaign).⁹⁹²

On March 12, 1968 McCarthy came in a close second to President Johnson in the first presidential primary, in New Hampshire, signaling the possibility of defeating the president. As a result, four days later Senator Robert Kennedy entered the race, further dividing the anti-war movement; many saw him as a “stronger candidate than McCarthy,” causing many to switch allegiances.⁹⁹³ While McCarthy was much more radical than Kennedy in his “bold statements” about how he would “fire Secretary of State Rusk, Selective Service Director Hershey, and FBI Director Hoover,” Kennedy “seemed more radical” on his campaign trail as he went into ghettos and barrios and gave colorful speeches filled with “rhetorical flourishes.”⁹⁹⁴ As a result, RFK also attracted many movement people (including some from the new left) such as Cesar Chavez, Tom Hayden, Abbie Hoffman, John Lewis, Carl Oglesby, and Robert Scheer. Both candidates brought many alienated students “back into the traditional framework of American politics. That is, off the streets and into the electoral process.”⁹⁹⁵ Moreover, with the March 31 surprise announcement by President Johnson that he would not seek reelection, and furthermore, of his plan for halting “of bombing above the 20th parallel” in Vietnam (and the turning down of the military’s request for 206,000 more American troops), many anti-war leaders began to feel that they were finally having some effect.⁹⁹⁶ On the other hand, the optimism was cautious as many in the Movement began to worry about “how the news would affect the prospects for future demonstrations.” They wondered if the bombing pause signaled the beginning of the end of the war, or if it was “a trick to build the case for a subsequent

⁹⁸⁹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 295.

⁹⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹⁹¹ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 187.

⁹⁹² Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 297.

⁹⁹³ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 189.

⁹⁹⁴ Ibid., 205.

⁹⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁹⁶ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 331-332.

escalation.”⁹⁹⁷ Already a feeling that the “movement would collapse without the presence of a worsening military situation” immediately gained credence, as protests slackened after President Johnson’s March 31 speech, and as many young people continued their absorption with “straight” politics during the McCarthy and Kennedy campaigns.⁹⁹⁸ Even at such an early date, many felt despondent about the future, fearing that all could fall apart if the issues become less immediate and dramatic.⁹⁹⁹ Furthermore, many radicals scorned the enthusiasm and energy of those college protesters who joined the “Children’s Crusade” of the McCarthy campaign, which renewed at least temporarily “the traditional tendency of dissent to express itself through established channels,” versus their increasingly confrontational tactics (which once again showed that the Movement turning to McGovern in 1972 was not a mellowing of the anti-war movement or ending of the Sixties, as is so often portrayed).¹⁰⁰⁰

Elsewhere in late March, combative impulses and disorganization reigned within the Movement. In Chicago, 6000 people showed up for a Yippie celebration of the spring equinox.¹⁰⁰¹ Although the idea was for the attendees to “play with balloons” and yell “Yippie!” in unison, not everyone felt inclined to celebrate the “natural cycle of the seasons.”¹⁰⁰² Some young people climbed onto the roof of the information booth to lead provocative chants such as “Long Hot Summer,” “Burn Baby Burn,” and “Up Against the Wall Mother Fucker.” Others “tore off the hands” from a clock, as two “cherry bombs” were thrown, inciting the police to charge into the crowd, “smashing people with nightsticks.”¹⁰⁰³ In Lexington, Kentucky, members of the Motherfuckers, at an SDS National Council meeting, showed off how aggressive and tough they were as “two of them held up a brick wrapped in gold foil,” while a third person “smashed it in half with a karate chop,” making it clear how they were “going to smash capitalism, smash the state, just like that.”¹⁰⁰⁴ At a movement conference near Chicago, Tom Hayden and Rennie Davis presented their ideas on creating an “Election Year Offensive,” but couldn’t agree on what to do. An idea of not having “a national spectacle” such as the “Festival of Life” in Chicago was voted on in favor of a strategy of “creating local groups.”¹⁰⁰⁵ Nonetheless,

⁹⁹⁷ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 304.

⁹⁹⁸ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 31-33

⁹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 65.

¹⁰⁰¹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 237-238.

¹⁰⁰² *Ibid.*, 238.

¹⁰⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 240.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 321.

towards near the end of the gathering, to the dismay of the “straight left,” a bunch of Yippies (which included Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin) arrived to present their “Yippie platform” of “abolition of pay toilets” and other nonsense, putting the meeting into confusion and leaving it without a plan for the summer.¹⁰⁰⁶ Then in Memphis, Martin Luther King’s last march, on March 28, ended in a violent riot as protesters threw Molotov cocktails at police, who opened fire on them. By the spring of 1968 it was difficult for even the leader of non-violence to prevent his demonstrators from smashing shop windows and fighting back (his attempt to lead a second march in Memphis, on April 3, ended with his murder at the Lorraine Motel, where he was staying).¹⁰⁰⁷ In spite of all the above, at the end of March, activists were ecstatic with President Johnson’s announcement that after bombing North Vietnam for over three years, there would be a “limited halt.”¹⁰⁰⁸ Most people in the Movement felt that this was a positive step, and were optimistic that “peace would break out, perhaps later in 1968.”¹⁰⁰⁹ McCarthy workers cheered on March 31, shouting, “We did it.”¹⁰¹⁰ Students left dorms and apartments at many college campuses, marching and chanting, “The hawk is dead” and singing “We have overcome.”¹⁰¹¹ While it appeared that the Movement again was having an impact in changing America, and that the “spirit of the sixties seemed to be relit by the New Hampshire primary and LBJ’s dramatic announcement,” the “flickering” optimism faded quickly again with the assassination of Martin Luther King four days later.¹⁰¹²

The assassination of King on April 4, 1968, set off days of urban rebellion in over a hundred cities.¹⁰¹³ ¹⁰¹⁴ Riots exploded across America, with fires set, windows broken, Molotov cocktails and dynamite thrown, and a total of thirty-seven people killed.¹⁰¹⁵ His death led to a venting of frustration that turned into “an orgy of destruction.”¹⁰¹⁶ Major riots occurred in Baltimore, Chicago, Kansas City, Missouri, Washington, D.C., and other cities, which contributed to the month of April of 1968 experiencing more disorders than the “entire year of 1967.”¹⁰¹⁷ Black activist Julius Lester wrote afterwards, “We had a

¹⁰⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 362.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 190.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰¹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹¹ Ibid., 190-191.

¹⁰¹² Ibid., 191.

¹⁰¹³ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 332.

¹⁰¹⁴ Unger and Unger, *The Times Were a Changin’*, 9.

¹⁰¹⁵ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 363.

¹⁰¹⁶ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 209.

¹⁰¹⁷ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 172.

dream and we are losing it. . . . In the beginning it was easy to maintain the dream . . . without the dream, there is no revolution.”¹⁰¹⁸ Stokely Carmichael added, “When white America killed Dr. King, she declared war on us.”¹⁰¹⁹ As rioting swept the nation, activist Alex Rodriguez threatened, “White America killed Martin, and goddamit, you’re gonna pay for this.”¹⁰²⁰ King’s death shocked the nation and marked another turning point in the Movement.¹⁰²¹ Todd Gitlin proclaimed, “When he was murdered, it seemed that non-violence went to the grave with him, and the Movement was ‘free at last’ from restraint” (again, well before December of 1969).¹⁰²² A few radicals felt that with King dead, “the Panthers and the other militants would have a clear field to lead the revolution.”¹⁰²³ However, movement leaders such as Mexican American organizer Cesar Chavez still believed in non-violence and wrote a message to Mrs. King shortly after his death, saying, “It is my belief that much of the courage which we have found in our struggle for justice in the fields has had its roots in the example set by your husband and by those multitudes who followed his non-violent leadership.”¹⁰²⁴ Nonetheless, the SDS started “ripping signs and getting really out of hand,” trashing a jewelry store in New York; as one of its leaders, Bernardine Dohrn, said, they “really dug it.”¹⁰²⁵ Dohrn further explained that after SDS members came back from a really “pissed off” demonstration of “black kids and white radicals,” they had “a long talk about urban guerrilla warfare and what had to be done now – by any means necessary.”¹⁰²⁶

Despite victories in the political arena (Johnson quitting the presidential race and the campaigns of McCarthy and Kennedy), college students overall continued to grow increasingly more militant on campuses across the country in the spring of 1968, as one college after another erupted over mainly anti-war and racial issues.¹⁰²⁷ At Columbia University, on April 23, students began an occupation of buildings over the two issues of the university’s sponsorship of war-related research and its plans to build a gymnasium with a separate entrance for the ghetto.¹⁰²⁸ At first, approximately 500 mostly SDS and

¹⁰¹⁸ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 467.

¹⁰¹⁹ “Dream Deferred,” PBS (2002), <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/historyofus/web15/segment8.html>. Accessed August 18, 2013.

¹⁰²⁰ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 192.

¹⁰²¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰²² Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 305-306.

¹⁰²³ *Ibid.*, 306.

¹⁰²⁴ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 193.

¹⁰²⁵ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 306

¹⁰²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰²⁷ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 332.

¹⁰²⁸ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 306.

Students Afro-American Society activists charged toward Low Library after holding a rally. When they were “repulsed” by the “more conservative Students for a Free Campus,” the radicals marched to the proposed gym site, “tore down a fence and fought with police.”¹⁰²⁹ Next they seized Hamilton Hall, took a dean hostage, and proceeded to proclaim their demands.¹⁰³⁰ All was not unified, however, as black and white students argued, with black militants telling the white radicals in the middle of the night to “find their own building.”¹⁰³¹ Forced out of Hamilton Hall, whites broke into Low Library, where they occupied school President Grayson Kirk’s office, at which point they sat at his desk, smoked his cigars, drank his sherry, searched through his files, and “urinated in a wastebasket.”¹⁰³² During the next two days a thousand more students joined the protest, occupying three more buildings, barricading themselves inside, desecrating the symbols of authority, and smuggling “liberated” documents to the underground newspaper called *The Rat*.¹⁰³³ After a week of futile negotiations between the occupiers and the administration (mediated by an “Ad hoc faculty group”), police were ordered in on April 30.¹⁰³⁴ In some occupied buildings the students gave up peacefully, but in others they yelled “Up Against the Wall Mother-Fucker” and fought back as police entered and began to pound their heads, and drag or walk them outside into paddy wagons or ambulances with faces bleeding.¹⁰³⁵ In total, a hundred activists were injured and over 700 arrested, “a tenth of the student body.”¹⁰³⁶ *Fortune* magazine wrote that “the students were ‘acting out a revolution – not a protest, and not a rebellion, but an honest-to-God revolution.’”¹⁰³⁷ *Barron* business journal wrote about the students’ tactics, saying that they “represented the latest assault by a revolutionary movement which aims to seize first the universities and then the industries of America.”¹⁰³⁸ Many students agreeing with the above assessment realized during the Columbia rebellion that barricades were only the beginning of what they increasingly referred to as “bringing the war home.”¹⁰³⁹ Tom Hayden wrote that Columbia represented new tactics for the Movement, “from the overnight occupation of buildings to permanent occupations.” The goal turned to creating a large crisis that would be “too massive for

¹⁰²⁹ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 195.

¹⁰³⁰ *Ibid.*, 196.

¹⁰³¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰³² *Ibid.*, 196-199.

¹⁰³³ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 307.

¹⁰³⁴ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 197.

¹⁰³⁵ *Ibid.*, 198.

¹⁰³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰³⁷ *Ibid.*, 199.

¹⁰³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰³⁹ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 335.

police to handle.”¹⁰⁴⁰ The purpose of protests for many radicals had by now turned to bringing about a “confrontation with authority.”¹⁰⁴¹ Hayden spoke of the Movement: “We are moving toward power – the power to stop the machine if it cannot be made to serve humane ends.”¹⁰⁴² That is why his stated his goal was to “create two, three, many Columbia’s.”¹⁰⁴³ The radical vision involved expanded strikes nationwide, so that the “U.S. must either change or send its troops to occupy American campuses.”¹⁰⁴⁴ The hope was that the student rebellion would spread to the cities and spark a broad revolution to bring down the system. On the other hand, according to a poll taken by *Spectator* magazine, while there was broad support for the aims of the occupation at Columbia, most were against the “tactics of the radicals.”¹⁰⁴⁵ While three out of every four students wanted to end construction of the gym and all ties with the Institute for Defense Analysis, by the same margin, they denounced the “infringing the rights of other students by shutting down the university.”¹⁰⁴⁶

Other incident around the country in April included thirteen Black Panthers (led by Eldridge Cleaver) ambushing an Oakland police car, resulting in the serious wounding of two police officers.¹⁰⁴⁷ The impetus for the attack on the police was the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., two days before. The assault consisted of the Panthers firing off 157 shots; this was responsible for a shoot-out 90 minutes later that led to the death of Bobby Hutton (treasurer and first recruit to join the Black Panther Party in 1966). Cleaver finally admitted in 1980 that the Panther story of how they had reacted in self-defense was not true, and that their goal was to clear the streets of the Oakland police.¹⁰⁴⁸ A few days afterwards, students at Trinity College held the board of trustees captive until their demands were met.¹⁰⁴⁹ Then on April 26, a national student strike sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee took place with up to a million college and high school students taking part.¹⁰⁵⁰ Nonetheless, instead of seeing the large turn-out positively, those more radical in the Movement viewed the peaceful demonstrations with disdain. The SDS called

¹⁰⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴¹ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 201.

¹⁰⁴² Ibid.

¹⁰⁴³ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 308.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 334.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 203.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Kate Coleman, “Souled Out: Eldridge Cleaver Admits He Ambushed Those Cops,” *New West*, May 19, 1980, <http://colemantruth.net/kate1.pdf>. Accessed August 19, 2013.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴⁹ William W. Scranton, *The Report of the President’s Commission on Campus Unrest* (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1970), 36.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 293.

the marchers “peace creeps” who were “losing wagers” on their hope that “normal politics might still matter.”¹⁰⁵¹ To them, any efforts at peaceful protest were to be looked upon as something that “had been done” and were now but “wilderness of warmed-over speeches and increasingly irrelevant demonstrations.”¹⁰⁵² The next day, April 27, nationwide protests continued, but this time with the goal of creating “mass disruptive actions” designed to “benefit the North Vietnamese enemy and the world Communist movement,” according to critics.¹⁰⁵³ In Chicago (as part of these protests), a violent confrontation occurred at the anti-war march that would later be viewed as a “precursor to the police riots later that year at the Democratic Convention.”¹⁰⁵⁴ There was already much confusion with Johnson dropping out of the presidential race; this in itself had almost killed plans to stage the much anticipated “Festival of Life” demonstrations in Chicago in August. Then, as a consequence of Mayor Daley’s “shoot to kill” orders after King’s death, and the attack on protesters on April 27, most people, including “rock stars and counterculture heroes” chose not to flock to the proposed festival, nearly cancelling it.¹⁰⁵⁵ Although successful, the late April student strike ended in disagreement as a coalition of Communist Party and pacifist elements initiated a split within the SMC, breaking with the perspective of mass anti-war demonstrations; when they were unable to “capture the SMC,” they left the now badly divided anti-war organization.¹⁰⁵⁶ Overall, during the spring semester, approximately 40,000 activists conducted over 200 demonstrations at over 100 campuses, some held in sympathy of Columbia.¹⁰⁵⁷

Still, in May of 1968, the anti-war movement “struggled to maintain its pressure on the Johnson administration” to end the war, as the Movement was filled with strife. On one hand, most “moderate” movement people had continued to adopt a “wait-and-see attitude” ever since Johnson decided not to seek reelection and partially halted the bombing in Vietnam.¹⁰⁵⁸ Radicals, on the contrary, were furious at the McCarthy and Kennedy campaigns for siphoning off many of their fellow activists, as they yelled, “The war is not

¹⁰⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵² Ibid.

¹⁰⁵³ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 309.

¹⁰⁵⁴ David L. Anderson and John Ernst, *The War that Never Ends : New Perspectives on the Vietnam War* (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2007), 219–243.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 321.

¹⁰⁵⁶ “The American Anti-war Movement: Resolution of 23rd National Convention New York, Labor Day Weekend 1969,” Socialist Workers Party (November-December 1969),

<http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/isr/vol30/no06/anti-war.htm>. Accessed May 14, 2013.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 203.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 219.

over!”¹⁰⁵⁹ Tom Hayden confronted a McCarthy activist, asking, “Why are you a whore for McCarthy?”¹⁰⁶⁰ Other radicals declared that pacifists and liberals against the war should be “destroyed.”¹⁰⁶¹ Yet radicals too began arguing among themselves, drifting increasingly into sectarianism.¹⁰⁶² Anyone holding a contrary idea was denounced as a “revisionist” and called an enemy, in fact, became the “most vicious of enemies.”¹⁰⁶³ Antagonistic “name-calling” turned to hatred and then to “degenerate abuse” towards anyone who deviated from the party line.¹⁰⁶⁴ As many radicals became demoralized by the bickering, others turned to more violent methods to get their point across; for example, at Stanford University the new Naval ROTC building on campus was destroyed by an arson fire.¹⁰⁶⁵

As mentioned earlier, on May 17, nine Catholic anti-war activists, called “The Catonsville Nine,” broke into the Catonsville, Maryland draft board, taking out 378 draft files into the parking lot and poured home-made napalm over them, and set them on fire (Philip Berrigan and Tom Lewis had previously poured blood on draft records as part of “The Baltimore Four”).¹⁰⁶⁶ From May 17 to 22 a much more violent “second round” of protests erupted at Columbia University. After the school suspended the radical leaders of the April protests, a second occupation of Hamilton Hall were the result.¹⁰⁶⁷ Flyers distributed by students asked: “Can an administration, which helps make weapons for Vietnam, steals people’s land and homes discipline anyone?”¹⁰⁶⁸ However, as the more radical among the protesters set fire to parts of the campus and “hurled bricks through windows and glass doors,” the administration wasted no time to crush this new revolt.¹⁰⁶⁹ Again, a thousand police officers, not “in the mood to be pushed around by rowdy college students” throwing bricks, rocks, and bottles at them, brutally confronted them.¹⁰⁷⁰ Two

¹⁰⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 201.

¹⁰⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶² Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 388-389

¹⁰⁶³ Ibid., 389.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Ibid., 388-389.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Ryan Mac, “Stanford Considers Bringing R.O.T.C. Back,” *The New York Times*, March 5, 2010, <http://bayarea.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/03/05/stanford-considers-inviting-the-rotc-back-on-campus-after-nearly-40-years/>. Accessed May 3, 2013.

¹⁰⁶⁶ “Catonsville Nine,” online video clip, Youtube, May 17, 2006, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=13SHRc-NTrk>. Accessed October 4, 2014.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 198.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Bonnie K. Goodman, “April 23-30, 1968: Columbia University Students Stage a Strike,” History Editor (April 29, 2008), <http://bonniekaryn.wordpress.com/2008/04/29/april-23-30-1968-columbia-university-students-stage-a-strike/>. Accessed August 19, 2013.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 199.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Bonnie K. Goodman, “April 23-30, 1968: Columbia University Students Stage a Strike,” History Editor (April 29, 2008), <http://bonniekaryn.wordpress.com/2008/04/29/april-23-30-1968-columbia-university-students-stage-a-strike/>. Accessed August 19, 2013.

hundred students were arrested in “a bloody, wild fight.”¹⁰⁷¹ Afterwards, news reporters from the underground called Columbia University the new “Berkeley East,” and a sign that the revolution was spreading.¹⁰⁷² Student activists increasingly dressed in “work shirts and army surplus jackets,” and “read Mao’s mottos in his Little Red Book.”¹⁰⁷³ Even some members of the SDS’s old guard had changed their opinion about violence, saying that it “could not be ignored as an option” anymore.¹⁰⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the Movement could not rise above its confusion. The diversity of opinions created activity, but no clear idea on tactics or how to solve the “nation’s ills.”¹⁰⁷⁵ Frustrated, some shouted “Revolution” or talked about violence, but knew that the police were stronger and better armed.¹⁰⁷⁶

On June 5, Robert Kennedy won a narrow victory against Eugene McCarthy in the California Democratic Party primary, but after addressing his supporters he was fatally shot, and died the next day. In his short speech he had called for an end to violence and division, saying, “We can start to work together. We are a great country, and a compassionate country. I intend to make that my basis for running.”¹⁰⁷⁷ Before RFK was murdered, a growing part of the Movement was once again beginning to feel optimistic that it was “going to change America.”¹⁰⁷⁸ Richard Goodwin, a speech writer for both RFK and JFK, wrote about how “the sixties came to an end in a Los Angeles hospital on June 6, 1968.”¹⁰⁷⁹ To many more moderate activists, especially those who had joined the Movement during the early 1960s, RFK was the last hope.¹⁰⁸⁰ Others more radical did not want to mourn a liberal.¹⁰⁸¹ Nonetheless, only eight weeks after the death of Martin Luther King, there was “a stunned, morbid silence.”¹⁰⁸² Hayden referred to “feelings of loss and despair and grim, grim days ahead.” Former SDS leader Carl Oglesby explained that after the murders of MLK and RFK, even more people turned to the talk of revolution as reform seemed to them “a dead-end street.”¹⁰⁸³ The system had failed and “was even worse in terms of the opportunities for peaceful change.”¹⁰⁸⁴ As far as any hope was presented by

¹⁰⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷² Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 200.

¹⁰⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Ibid., 201.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Ibid., 202.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Ibid., 206.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Ibid., 207.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸¹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 310.

¹⁰⁸² Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 207.

¹⁰⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 311.

McCarthy (the Movement's last hope after the murder of RFK), while his momentum grew during the summer of 1968, his campaign ultimately faltered as he "was not up to the task."¹⁰⁸⁵ The 1960s were fast becoming the decade of frustration, as Robert Kennedy had been seen by many as the one who was going to "relight the torch" of "magic and vision" that was put out by the murder of his brother in 1963.¹⁰⁸⁶ For activists, the 1960s seemed like a slow defeat of their dream to transforming America, "the assassinations of Kennedy in 1963, and King and Kennedy in 1968 were like stations in one protracted murder of hope."¹⁰⁸⁷ It was said that the 1963 Kennedy assassination felt like the "tragedy of innocence," in which "everything was possible," by end of the decade flipping over to "nothing was" (once again showing that the end of the Sixties and hope did not happen magically at the end of the decade but was an ongoing process throughout the years).¹⁰⁸⁸

As a consequence, the planned Chicago protest regaining some of its rationale and momentum, even though some movement leaders hinted of using "self-defense" and violent confrontation, while other organizers within the Mobe told demonstrators that they "would not be welcome unless they were willing to be non-violent."¹⁰⁸⁹ The Yippie agenda, however, verged on the absurd with plans of "faking delegates cards, setting off smoke bombs in the convention hall, fucking in the parks and on the beaches, floating nude, a mass of flesh, in Lake Michigan; releasing greased pigs; planting Yippie agents in hotel and restaurant kitchens and drugging the delegates' food; painting cars to look like taxis and kidnaping delegates to Wisconsin; getting female Yippies to pose as prostitutes and dose the delegates' drinks with LSD; getting 'hyper potent' male Yippies to seduce the delegates' wives, daughters and girlfriends (the great majority of delegates being male); walking the streets dressed as Vietcong; burning draft cards en masse with the flames spelling out "Beat Army."¹⁰⁹⁰ The Yippies, however, were not just pointlessly instigating chaos; instead, they (like many in the Movement) were provoking the authorities as a calculation. The belief that the "movement cannot grow without repression" was by now quite popular.¹⁰⁹¹ Jerry Rubin said, "The Left needs an attack from the Right and the

¹⁰⁸⁵ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 210

¹⁰⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 207.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 311.

¹⁰⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 312.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 321-322.

¹⁰⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 322.

¹⁰⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 289.

Center. Life is theater, and we are the guerrillas attacking the shrines of authority, from the priests and the holy dollar to the two-party system.”¹⁰⁹²

Later in June, the SDS held its annual national convention, which was increasingly fraught with disunity, as various groups of “Trotskyists, Communists, and Maoists – Marxist-Leninists of several kinds” joined the organization and fought for power.¹⁰⁹³ A further fragmentation involved black militants and activist women declaring their independence of white male radicals, “cutting sharply into the SDS leadership’s confidence and moral authority.”¹⁰⁹⁴ Meanwhile, those more influenced by the hippie culture “mocked the ‘square’ attitudes of SDS” and political radicals in general.¹⁰⁹⁵ At the convention, the Up Against the Wall Motherfuckers dressed in black, gave “outlandish anti-PL speeches,” and waved their “black flag of anarchism” as “straight SDSers” waved red flags.¹⁰⁹⁶ On the other hand, many SDSers “were thrilled with these new tough hippies” joining SDS.¹⁰⁹⁷ By the summer of 1968 the “hip-radical identity coalesced,” and so did rock throwing, the trashing of windows, and fighting back against the police and “Amerika.”¹⁰⁹⁸

At the end of June, in support of the Paris insurrection, the Trotskyist Young Socialist Alliance held a rally in Berkeley in which barricades were put up by protesters for the first time. With signs of “two, three, many Vietnams, and “two, three, many Columbias,” bottles, rock, and bricks were thrown and bonfires lit before the police charged.¹⁰⁹⁹ The following night protests continued as someone threw a Molotov cocktail and thirty-one demonstrators were hospitalized along with a dozen police including a highway patrolman who had caught fire.¹¹⁰⁰ As summer progressed, the new left had passed into seeing itself as having “outlaws identity,” as violence became ever more the “harsh currency of the twentieth century,” filled with assassinations, riots, and war.¹¹⁰¹ Movies such as 1967’s *Bonnie and Clyde* gave a romantic feel to “doomed killers” and “sudden death,” threatening to submerge the whole movement into violent and even

¹⁰⁹² Ibid.

¹⁰⁹³ Unger and Unger, *The Times Were a Changin’*, 84.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 240.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Ibid., 288.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Ibid., 315.

¹¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹¹⁰¹ Ibid., 316.

terroristic behavior.¹¹⁰² Violence of picking up stones or guns became the “movement’s fantasy life,” which was “endlessly talked about, feared, skirted, flirted with.”¹¹⁰³

On August 23 the long-awaited movement showdown began in Chicago at the Democratic National Convention, lasting a week. The “mobilization” of 100,000 “revolutionary troops” fell incredibly short though.¹¹⁰⁴ There were no more than 10,000 activists at one time in Chicago, and 5,000 of those came to see McCarthy arrive on August 25, the day before the official start of the convention.¹¹⁰⁵ Moreover, according to the “Walker Report,” the remaining 5000 young people were from the Chicago area, and only 500 came from out of town, resulting in a major failure for the Movement (interestingly, when the same low turnout occurred at the Miami Republican National Convention in 1972, it was portrayed as an example of the Movement fading or as a further example of the end of the Sixties).^{1106 1107}

The reasons for the disappointing turn of events in Chicago included both the dissension between those organizing the protests (and other groups within the Movement) and people warning that the “Festival of Life” could end up as the “Festival of Blood.”¹¹⁰⁸ As far as the latter point, Mobe, the main co-organizers, worried throughout the summer that some of the Movement leaders (such as Tom Hayden and Rennie Davis) actually wanted violence, and thus “made little effort to bring thousands to Chicago until a month beforehand, and by then it was too late.”¹¹⁰⁹ Moreover, underground magazines such as Chicago’s *Seed* turned against the Yippie “Festival of Life,” telling people not to come because “many people are into confrontation,” including the authorities.¹¹¹⁰ The *Express Times* wrote, “If you’re going to Chicago, be sure to wear some armor in your hair,” featuring a photo of a hippie wearing a hardhat.¹¹¹¹ Then, just a day before the first official Yippie protest, a Sioux teenager was killed by Chicago police near where the Festival of Life was to be held.¹¹¹² Also, McCarthy himself urged his followers to stay at home, as he sensed the threat of bloodshed, and other liberal moderates began to lose interest in him

¹¹⁰² Ibid.

¹¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁴ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 366.

¹¹⁰⁵ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 215.

¹¹⁰⁶ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 366.

¹¹⁰⁷ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 215.

¹¹⁰⁸ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 324.

¹¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 323-324.

¹¹¹⁰ Ibid., 324.

¹¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹¹² Ibid., 325.

anyway for having little chance of winning.¹¹¹³ Nonetheless, not to be overlooked was the lack of unity in the Movement, which continued to be divided into factions that bickered with each other. The Chicago chapter of the SDS announced “that it was not interested in demonstrating with liberals and did not want to be aligned with the ‘McCarthy kids.’”¹¹¹⁴ Likewise, the McCarty people made an effort to keep away from the radicals and held their own peaceful protests.¹¹¹⁵ Many young people who came to Chicago wanted change, but were not dedicated revolutionaries. They still believed that the system could be salvaged, but there was a sense that “the Chicago convention was its last chance.”¹¹¹⁶ Others who came thought that violence in the end might be the only way.¹¹¹⁷ The Chicago Area Draft Resisters stated that they were “too individual” to partake in any mass mobilizations.¹¹¹⁸ As far as blacks went, only a few members of the “Poor People’s Campaign” came to Chicago, but they held their own march; most African-Americans “showed little interest in what they called ‘white man’s politics.’”¹¹¹⁹ Additionally, many activists disliked the Yippies, as they were seen as “apolitical, irrational, freaks,” while others viewed them as “provocative radical New Yorkers on an ego trip.”¹¹²⁰ For sure, Yippie slogans such as “We will burn Chicago to the ground,” “We will fuck on the beaches,” “Kill the pigs,” and “Your wife sucks cock” only helped create intense anger in both the average person and the police.¹¹²¹ Finally, the Progressive Labor Party did not believe in “the gospel of the youth revolution” at all and instead preferred working with blue-collar workers, based on “sacrifice, not fun.”¹¹²² To them, Chicago was not the way towards revolution; they saw it as a debacle that had “alienated the working class.”¹¹²³

The Democratic National Convention became “a theatre of protest and rage” as Vice-President Hubert Humphrey’s nomination reaffirmed Johnson’s Vietnam policies, and many delegates and demonstrators voiced their disappointment and anger at seeing their “party of reform and peaceful social change” unravel.¹¹²⁴ Outside the halls, shattered glass, tear gas, and blood filled the parks and streets, symbolizing the disillusionment with the

¹¹¹³ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 215.

¹¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 220.

¹¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 215.

¹¹¹⁶ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 367.

¹¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹⁸ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 220.

¹¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹²¹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 326.

¹¹²² *Ibid.*, 237.

¹¹²³ *Ibid.*, 336.

¹¹²⁴ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 332.

Democratic process.¹¹²⁵ However, a part of the new left actually had wanted a riot, or at least the disruption of the convention, as organizers talked about “forcing it to a halt unless it voted to stop the war.”¹¹²⁶ Meanwhile, the city of Chicago, with its law enforcement, surely helped create violence too by denying “all parade permits, and arming themselves with riot-control weapons, armored vehicles, and bringing in 7,500 members of the Illinois National Guard to reinforce its 12,000 police officers.”^{1127 1128} Clearing Lincoln Park, on August 25, of 1,500 to 2,000 demonstrators was an example of police-induced violence as it forced protesters into the streets to find a place to stay (including sleep).¹¹²⁹ Notwithstanding, the extra tension also stemmed in part from some of the activists making threats to the police, who in turn were concerned about facing protesters armed with unknown weapons and unknown intentions. At around 9 p.m., after police ordered the campers to leave, a part of the crowd began to heckle and taunt the police, which made them charge into the park “swinging their batons,” initially scattering everyone, but starting a running battle throughout the night.¹¹³⁰ Yippie organizer Jerry Rubin, quite pleased with the situation, enthusiastically told a friend, “This is fantastic and it’s only Sunday night. They might declare martial law in this town.”¹¹³¹ When 7,000 protesters were denied their request to march to the convention hall the next day, the activists blocked Michigan Avenue and began to throw rocks and “bags of shit,” and shouted obscenities at the police, who “went berserk and physically expressed the rage millions of Americans had built up against America’s dissidents.”^{1132 1133} Before the police exploded into the crowd clubbing people senseless, the marchers had chanted “Fuck You, LBJ,” “Hell no, we won’t go,” “Fuck the pigs.”¹¹³⁴ However, the brutal behavior on the part of the police only “shifted many toward more militancy, toward more violent rhetoric and behavior.”¹¹³⁵ As Yippie Stew Albert said, “Chicago was ‘a revolutionary wet dream come true,’” as repression only further radicalized the youth.¹¹³⁶ The goal of provocative tactics on the part

¹¹²⁵ Unger and Unger, *The Times Were a Changin’*, 10.

¹¹²⁶ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 320.

¹¹²⁷ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 332.

¹¹²⁸ Jo Freeman, “Confrontation at the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago,” <http://www.jofreeman.com/photos/convention68.html>. Accessed August 30, 2013.

¹¹²⁹ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 68.

¹¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹³² Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 223.

¹¹³³ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 327.

¹¹³⁴ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 223.

¹¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 225.

¹¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 224-225.

of some demonstrators was to “expose the inhumanity, injustice, prejudice, hypocrisy, or militaristic repression of the society.”¹¹³⁷

The convention protests even further split the anti-war movement, as some strengthened their belief that “only through violent confrontation and even revolution could the country be directed to a more just and democratic path.”¹¹³⁸ For others (who still held on to hope after the assassination of RFK), the violence in Chicago signaled for them the end of the Sixties. The two broad tactical groupings of the anti-war movement had always been built on the following principals: 1. pacifists – for whom “tactics are chiefly a moral question,” and 2. non-pacifists – whose tactics are “means to political ends.” After Chicago, the latter belief gained increasing currency as more protesters were more interested in “impeding the war than in achieving a correct moral posture,” and using tactics that would “hurt the enemy.”¹¹³⁹ Even long-time pacifist David Dellinger, who witnessed the growing militancy at the convention, now said that the “movement had to accept more confrontational tactics” and hold a “more openly pro-Vietcong position” in order to stop the war.¹¹⁴⁰ The direction of the peace movement turned towards bitter militancy as the mood of disenchantment “spread into new segments of the American public.”¹¹⁴¹ Yet Dellinger wrote, “We will come closer to achieving our goals . . . when we conduct teach-ins for the police and soldiers, and fraternize with them rather than insulting them by calling them ‘pigs,’ or raising their wrath by stoning them.”¹¹⁴² Along those lines, both Mobe and even the Yippies tried at times to calm things down a little during the convention riots, but found that they had lost control. Protesters, many of whom were very young (some only in their early teens) and new to the Movement, did not listen to anyone and instead turned against the organizers, yelling “Fuck the marshals!” and “Marshals are pigs.”¹¹⁴³ These youngsters “played out the logic of juvenile delinquency,” and the idea that there was some sort of authoritarian hierarchy governing the Movement, to which they had to listen, seemed “laughable to them.”¹¹⁴⁴ On the other hand, “old-timers” themselves rushed towards embracing this ever-increasing militancy on the part of its newest members, out of fear of being isolated or being seen as passé to the Movement. Thus often the “leaders” at the chaotic Democratic National Convention protests found that they were

¹¹³⁷ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 67.

¹¹³⁸ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 224.

¹¹³⁹ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 68.

¹¹⁴⁰ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 222.

¹¹⁴¹ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 78.

¹¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴³ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 328.

¹¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

leading no one, but perhaps instead following.¹¹⁴⁵ Just as the SDS's "prairie people" (1965-1968) had gone beyond the "old guard" (1960-1965), now the new revolutionary "park people" (1968 onwards into the 1970s) went beyond the prairie people.¹¹⁴⁶ When the police attacked the protesters, it was mostly the "park people" who led the retaliation, throwing gas canisters back and blocking the streets with trash cans; they "trashed police-car windows with bricks and rocks, rocked police cars and paddy wagons and tried to overturn them," and punched police officers when they could.¹¹⁴⁷ Moreover, they let air out of police tires, "threw rocks and slabs of sidewalks at the police hoping to provoke reprisals."¹¹⁴⁸ Some even went so far as to pull up "the slats of park benches and hammered nails into their ends," while shifting chants away from "Hell no, we won't go and "Peace now," to "Pigs are whores" and "Pigs eat shit."¹¹⁴⁹ As an indication that the anti-war (anti-establishment) movement was broadening, many of these "park people" were not from the middle-class, but instead, "greasers, motorcycle toughs, no nonsense Chicago working-class teenagers."¹¹⁵⁰ These members of the working class were immediately looked upon by many radicals as being "romantic heroes," and "a sign that the white movement was getting 'serious'" about revolution.¹¹⁵¹ After several days of bloody combat (peaking on August 28), most militant of movement leaders left Chicago convinced that "armed revolt was both necessary and possible."¹¹⁵² Even though "kids with the McCarthy buttons" still had outnumbered everyone at the Convention, their voices were "muffled."¹¹⁵³ Moreover, most political commentators agreed later that the brutal confrontations between the protesters and police (with law enforcement losing control in a "police riot") was the catalyst that "radicalized" youth as a whole in the U.S., which now meant "the abandonment of politics in favor of violence."¹¹⁵⁴ ¹¹⁵⁵ While some SDS members were said to be "high from the violence," author and political activist Arthur Waskow spoke for those still more moderate: "We must invent a political course of action, not street tactics."¹¹⁵⁶ Thus, those not agreeing with the "violence-prone radicals" began to work towards the

¹¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 329.

¹¹⁴⁸ Ibid. 330.

¹¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 332.

¹¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 329.

¹¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹¹⁵² Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 224.

¹¹⁵³ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 329.

¹¹⁵⁴ Bloom and Breines, "Takin' It to the Streets," 369-370.

¹¹⁵⁵ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 329.

¹¹⁵⁶ Bloom and Breines, "Takin' It to the Streets," 369.

mobilization of hundreds of thousands of people, which led to the Moratorium demonstrations of October and November in 1969.¹¹⁵⁷ Radicals, on the other hand, were fueled further when (on March 20, 1969) eight movement leaders who had been in Chicago (Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, David Dellinger, Tom Hayden, Rennie Davis, John Froines, Lee Weiner, and Bobby Seale) were first indicted and then put on trial for “conspiracy to incite a riot” (known as “the Chicago 8” and later “the Chicago 7” as Seale was later tried separately).¹¹⁵⁸ Meanwhile, the Rolling Stones’ new song “Street Fighting Man” (which called for revolution) was released on August 31, only three days after the bloodiest day at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. Its lyrics:

“Everywhere I hear the sound of marching, charging feet, boy,
 ‘Cause summer’s here and the time is right for fighting in the street, boy”
 “Hey! think the time is right for a palace revolution,
 but where I live the game to play is compromise solution. ”
 “Hey, said my name is called Disturbance;
 I’ll shout and scream, I’ll kill the King, I’ll rail at all his servants”
 “Well now what can a poor boy do, Except to sing for a rock & roll band?
 Cause in sleepy London Town there’s just no place for a street fighting man, no.”¹¹⁵⁹

In September, after Chicago and the start of a new academic year, the SDS boomed with at least 100 new chapters starting up out of only 350 to 400 existing nationwide at the time.¹¹⁶⁰ However, the discussion occurring within SDS about its future direction was forcibly “warped into simplistic formulas,” not open to debate.¹¹⁶¹ First of all, any member who “worried about the new turn” within the SDS and did not agree with the talk of rebellion was met with abrasive words, and felt that they “couldn’t see how to get a word in edgewise.”¹¹⁶² On the other hand, those in the SDS who believed in starting a revolution were split into two groups: the Progressive Labor bloc and the anti-PL National Office group (or Revolutionary Youth Movement). Progressive Labor (as mentioned before) thought the protests at the Democratic National Convention “had alienated the working class,” as they continued to push for “base-building,” arguing for “worker-student alliances.”¹¹⁶³ The National Office group believed that their strategy of “resistance” had been “vindicated” in Chicago, and that the working class toughs (the “park people”) were “the vanguard of the developing revolutionary forces” (in many ways the same type of

¹¹⁵⁷ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 224.

¹¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁵⁹ “The Rolling Stones: Street Fighting Man Lyrics,” <http://www.songlyrics.com/the-rolling-stones/street-fighting-man-lyrics/>. Accessed October 4, 2014.

¹¹⁶⁰ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 336.

¹¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹¹⁶² Ibid.

¹¹⁶³ Ibid.

hoodlums that caused the trouble at Altamont).¹¹⁶⁴ Meanwhile, many of those not allowed a voice were the old guard “who abhorred the street fighting turn while also thinking PL’s fetishism of the working class romantic nonsense.”¹¹⁶⁵ However, groups like the Motherfuckers “growled at” anyone who would dare raise questions, and those who did were put down for “discrediting the righteous tactics of righteous brothers.”¹¹⁶⁶ To those readying to fight for the revolution, the old guard was seen as a “watery holdover from the discredited old New Left, dangerously soft on liberals, undermining the toughness” that they were trying to establish “for the coming struggle.”¹¹⁶⁷ According to an old guard, what the SDS didn’t have (by the summer of 1968) was enough “clarity” and “political discipline” in order to “know what you want to do, and then you have solid ground to refuse to follow people who take you where you don’t want to go.”¹¹⁶⁸ As a result, after Chicago, the Movement’s reply to all contentions was an overly simplified credo to “abandon the institutions,” “decide to possess power,” and “make the revolution.”¹¹⁶⁹

In other news for September (and into the autumn), Hubert Humphrey, after winning the Democratic Party nomination in August, toured the country “declaring his liberal agenda” as “young hecklers chanted “Shame, Shame, Shame,” and “Bull Shit, Bull Shit, Bull Shit.”¹¹⁷⁰ However, after he “began to distance himself from the Johnson administration” and declared that “if elected” he would work towards “an immediate cease-fire” in Vietnam, “McCarthy’s kids” began to help his campaign against Richard Nixon.¹¹⁷¹ Meanwhile, another chasm arose in the Movement, this time between “white middle-class radicals and the black poor” during a New York City teachers’ strike (lasting from September 9 to November 17).¹¹⁷² The confrontation was between the relatively new community-controlled school board in a largely black section of Brooklyn and New York City’s United Federation of Teachers. The rift was a result of mostly white (and some black activists) supporting the teachers’ union, while blacks wanted to maintain their “community control” of their schools.¹¹⁷³ The strike was seen as a battle between local

¹¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 337.

¹¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 338.

¹¹⁷⁰ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 233.

¹¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹¹⁷² Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 351.

¹¹⁷³ Ibid., 352.

rights of self-determination and “teachers’ universal rights as workers.”¹¹⁷⁴ The UFT opposed among other things the involuntary assignment of experienced teachers to poor schools, while the community-controlled school board opposed the ability of teachers to have children removed from classrooms and placed in special schools when deemed incorrigible (blacks saw this as “the system’s overall racism”).¹¹⁷⁵ At one point the black-controlled school board dismissed 83 white and mostly Jewish teachers and administrators, causing the “whole alliance of liberals, blacks and Jews” to break apart on this issue.¹¹⁷⁶ The conflict was seen as a turning point, and as an example of how “groups, previously allied in the struggle for civil rights and the labor movement” began to clash with one another; race came to eclipse class as the main axis of social conflict.¹¹⁷⁷ The once-popular “Freedom Now” slogan of the civil rights movement was now seen as unable to settle the conflict of interest questions such as the “righteous demands of black parents and white teachers all at once.”¹¹⁷⁸ Some in the SDS resolved these types of problems by using the formula of “Black Skin Good, White Skin Bad”; however, many were not so sure and “wondered just which power rightly belonged to just which people.”¹¹⁷⁹ Concurrently, from September 16 to October 15, out of the 216 incidents of protests reported by the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, 35% involved violence as the anti-war protests continued to grow.¹¹⁸⁰ On September 24, 1968, fourteen people, including five priests and a minister (called “The Milwaukee Four”) removed approximately 10,000 draft files from Milwaukee’s Selective Service office “and burned them with home-made napalm.”¹¹⁸¹ In October, at San Francisco State University, a hundred blacks converged on the administration building during a demonstration and chanted, “Revolution has come. Off the pig. Time to pick up the gun,” as a general strike from classes was announced starting in November.¹¹⁸² At the same time, the “Yippie Manifesto” was distributed nationwide encouraging everyone to take over the streets and boycott the November 5 elections. The following was but a small excerpt from the long declaration:

¹¹⁷⁴ Philip Green, “Power and Community: Dissenting Essays in Political Science” *The Massachusetts Review* 11(3) (Summer, 1970): 415-441.

¹¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁷⁸ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 352.

¹¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 352-353.

¹¹⁸⁰ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 3.

¹¹⁸¹ “Milwaukee 14 Today,” Non-violent Cow, <http://www.non-violentworm.org/Milwaukee14Today/HomePage>. Accessed April 8, 2013.

¹¹⁸² Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 296.

“Don’t vote in a jackass-elephant-cracker circus. Let’s vote for ourselves. Me for President. We are the revolution. We will strike and boycott the election and create our own reality.

“Can you dig it: in every metropolis and hamlet of America boycotts, strikes, sit-ins, pickets, lie-ins, pray-ins, feel-ins, piss-ins at the polling places.

“Nobody goes to work. Nobody goes to school. Nobody votes. Everyone becomes a life actor of the street doing his thing, making the revolution by freeing himself and fucking up the system.”¹¹⁸³

But as always, not everyone supported or agreed with Yippie tactics and philosophy; as Yippie leader Jerry Rubin said, “The left immediately attacked us as apolitical, irrational, acidhead freaks who were channeling the ‘political rebellion of youth’ into dope, rock music and be-ins. The hippies saw us as Marxists in psychedelic clothes using dope, rock music and be-ins to radicalize youth politically at the end of a policemen club”¹¹⁸⁴ Added Rubin, “The hippies see us as politicos and the politicos see us as hippies.”¹¹⁸⁵

On November 5, 1968 Republican Richard M. Nixon won the presidential election, which for much of the anti-war movement “confirmed the disillusionment” with the political process to change the course of U.S. foreign policy i.e., stopping the war in Vietnam.¹¹⁸⁶ For large numbers who had agitated for change over the years, “the election signaled the end of the Movement and the Sixties” (one again), as activists knew that Nixon’s policies would continue the war for years, and unleash massive police power to contain it.¹¹⁸⁷ Many in the Movement also discerned “the end of poverty programs and the struggle for equality.”¹¹⁸⁸ Nixon, who positioned himself as “the champion of the silent majority” and emphasized “law and order,” was seen as coming to power as a result of a great backlash against the Movement. Depressingly for countless who had demonstrated for years it appeared that “what began in Greensboro in 1960 seemed to die at the polls in 1968.”¹¹⁸⁹ Journalist and founding member of the SDS Jack Newfield wrote how his age group felt after the election of Nixon, saying that they now believed “that we shall not overcome,” and that “things would get worse,” and that there was no hope (interestingly,

¹¹⁸³ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 278-279.

¹¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 280.

¹¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 332.

¹¹⁸⁷ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 235.

¹¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 236.

¹¹⁸⁹ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 236.

four years later (1972) during another Nixon presidential election victory, many political radicals went through the same feelings of despair, defeat, and claims of the Sixties just ending).^{1190 1191} For a good many, The Doors' song "Waiting for the Sun" epitomized the frustration felt over the state of the Movement by late 1968, wondering if "the Movement had failed, whether the New Left was dead, whether the sixties were over."¹¹⁹² Although "Waiting for the Sun" was not released until Feb. 1, 1970, work began on the song in March of 1968). The following were some of the lyrics:

"At the first flash of freedom
we raced down to the sea,
standing there on freedom shore
waiting for the sun...
Waiting for you to hear my song,
waiting for you to come along,
waiting for you to tell me what went wrong."¹¹⁹³

Another example of both doubt and defeat creeping into the Movement was said to have been the moment when "Captain Billy America," the main character in the 1969 counter-cultural movie *Easy Rider*, stated near the end of the film, "We blew it"; this statement was viewed as conceivably an "epitaph for the Movement and the sixties" as a whole.¹¹⁹⁴ Nonetheless, others disagreed with such pessimistic hysteria, and saw things quite differently. To them, while perhaps many older "first-wave activists" (the "old guard" from the early 1960s civil rights era) were now "too angry to carry on," and the second-wave activists (the "prairie people" who joined the Movement in the middle of the decade as the Vietnam War started in earnest) were "looking forward to graduation – and to the draft" and thus too busy, there was still the newest wave of "younger brothers and sisters" (born in the early-mid 1950s) who were only now joining the Movement and just starting to fight.¹¹⁹⁵ Moreover, the idea that the Movement failed because of a defeat at a national election was considered by others as, at most, a "dangerous half-truth," or completely absurd, as the Movement consisted of only a small minority of people who could not possibly be expected to pick a president.¹¹⁹⁶ Likewise, the future of the Sixties movement could not be possibly measured by the fate of "the older wave of activists, many

¹¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹⁹¹ Jon Wiener, *Come Together: John Lennon in His Time* (London: Faber and Faber, 1990), 253.

¹¹⁹² Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 236.

¹¹⁹³ "The Doors: Waiting For The Sun Lyrics," <http://www.metrolyrics.com/waiting-for-the-sun-lyrics-the-doors.html>. Accessed October 5, 2014.

¹¹⁹⁴ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 236.

¹¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 237.

¹¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

of whom retired from demonstrating and turned to other pursuits.”¹¹⁹⁷ Finally, it seemed that every year one group of activists would burn out and get disillusioned, only to be replaced by a younger, newer group filled with optimism, only to also fall into despair and in turn be replaced. Peculiarly, each disappointed wave would then proclaim the Movement and the Sixties era over.¹¹⁹⁸

The reason many historians choose to close the Sixties with the election of Nixon (and not later) was because it “is a convenient break and because the focus to the Movement blurred.”¹¹⁹⁹ Some have theorized that until 1968 there was an awareness that people belonged to a “single movement”; however, starting around 1968, “it should be understood as referring to a set of movements, some overlapping, some mutually exclusive, many hostile to one another”¹²⁰⁰ For example, one division within the Movement was between feminist groups and various black and white revolutionaries (including the new left) over the issue of needing first to focus on destroying the state, then later dealing with the issue of equality for women.¹²⁰¹ Another point of contention involved whether “ethnic nationalism among oppressed minorities was ultimately reactionary,” as progressive labor claimed starting in 1969 (more on this later).¹²⁰² Others, on the other hand, pointed out that there had been splits between various movement factions throughout the 1960s. No matter, there is no doubt that the Movement was still growing in numbers during the late 1960s and early 1970s, although as it expanded it became more difficult to define.¹²⁰³ Millions of young “baby boomers” came of age, attending universities, taking to the streets, and “advocating a myriad of causes” (some political commentators would later claim that the media lost interest in the Movement for just this reason: too much diversity and fragmentation).¹²⁰⁴ Either way, as “the Movement evolved into many different shapes and forms,” some continued to search for ways to explain the Movement’s overall focus, and came up with the following two entwined goals: “To build new things good for our own heads and to work equally hard toward making a more humane and non-oppressive

¹¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 294.

¹¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 293.

¹²⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹²⁰¹ Dohrn, *Sing a Battle Song*, 202.

¹²⁰² Progressive Labor Party, “Revolutionaries Must Fight Nationalism,” *PL Magazine*, August 1969, <https://archive.org/details/RevolutionariesMustFightNationalism>. Accessed October 5, 2014.

¹²⁰³ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 294.

¹²⁰⁴ Ibid.

society.” Or simply put, the revolution was now both a “personal liberation” (inside) and a “political empowerment” (outside).¹²⁰⁵

Although many activists had felt defeated in late 1968, others were transformed into complete militants. After years of ghetto uprisings, the murders of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy, the failure of the War on Poverty, and the rise black power ideology, it “all fused to create an apocalyptic mood” among student radicals, ready for “a final conflict.”^{1206 1207} The SDS by this time considered themselves as “revolutionary communists” whose goals were the “destruction of American liberal capitalism” and its replacement by an “ill-defined Marxist utopia.”¹²⁰⁸ Believing that the organizing since the early 1960s had failed to accomplish anything, what was needed now to change the system was perhaps something drastic; some even called for “violence that was going to end all violence.”¹²⁰⁹ It was the ever increasing hatred felt towards America’s imperialistic wars in Indochina that accelerated the Movement’s attraction towards the writings of Marx (and other communists) concerning the willingness to participate in a violent struggle. The cynical pessimism and spiteful revenge of radicals against the establishment was so intense that the urge was to “blindly destroy it.”¹²¹⁰ While debates raged about (among other things) the need to build a broad-based communist party first “before the revolution” (versus during and after it) and with what segment of the population, the new left incorporated a Maoist type anti-revisionist form of Marxism-Leninism, assuring that violence at some point would surely be needed to overthrow the ruling class. Marx in many of his writings did seem to justify violence as a “legitimate revolutionary instrument,” and wrote in 1848: “There is only one way in which the murderous death agonies of the old society and the bloody birth throes of the new society can be shortened, simplified and concentrated, and that way is revolutionary terror.”¹²¹¹ Not surprising, by the end of 1968 the SDS wrote that a key element of “bringing the war home” would be guerrilla warfare tactics, and said, “We are working to build a guerrilla force in an urban environment” and fight to overthrow existing society.¹²¹²

¹²⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁰⁶ Unger and Unger, *The Times Were a Changin'*, 78.

¹²⁰⁷ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 237.

¹²⁰⁸ Unger and Unger, *The Times Were a Changin'*, 78.

¹²⁰⁹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 341.

¹²¹⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹¹ Roberta C. Bondi, “Marx and Christ: The Question of Violence,” *Christian Century*, January 23, 1974, <http://www.religion-online.org/showarticle.asp?title=1579>. Accessed July 9, 2013.

¹²¹² John Edgar Hoover, “A Study in Marxist Revolutionary Violence: Students for a Democratic Society, 1962-1969,” *Fordham Law Review* 38(2) (1969): 289-306, <http://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/flr/vol38/iss2/5/>. Accessed September 5, 2013.

The path taken by the new left towards insurrection, some would argue, had its beginnings already in the creation of the 1962 Port Huron Manifesto itself (and not the end of the 1960s decade). Already at the Port Huron conference, democratic socialists like Michael Harrington (who was a staff-person of the SDS's mother organization LID) clashed with the SDS over (amongst other things) how the final draft was "insufficiently anti-Communist," and for allowing a delegate of the Communist Progressive Youth Organizing Committee to attend the conference as an observer. Notwithstanding, the SDS from its conception rejected the American left's anti-communism, seeing it as an "obstruction to democracy."¹²¹³ In 1965, the SDS took another step; it voted to remove from its constitution the "exclusion clause" banning membership of communists, allowing "disciplined cadre" organizations to infiltrate.¹²¹⁴ Soon afterwards, the progressive labor movement (later party), a militant communist (Maoist) group, dissolved its M2M organization and "entered SDS, working vigorously to attract supporters and to form party clubs on campuses."¹²¹⁵ The PL faction of SDS then began to advocate a "fight directly for communism" rejecting the concept of a gradual "socialist economic transition-stage," viewing it as an error of the "old movement."¹²¹⁶ Originally the new left had advocated for a type of "participatory democracy," and a tactic of "non-violent civil disobedience," in order to bring forth social justice and reform the system. During the early 1960s, the SDS still viewed the negative social conditions in capitalist societies as "problems" to be solved in order "to fulfill the promises - liberty, equality, fraternity - of the bourgeois revolution of the eighteenth century."¹²¹⁷ However, as various communists groups joined the SDS, it gradually evolved from its reformist type democratic socialist world view to a Leninist "vanguard" of "professional revolutionaries" approach, and finally to Mao's "every Communist must grasp the truth 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun'" position.¹²¹⁸

¹²¹³ Tom Hayden and Dick Flacks, "The Port Huron Statement at 40," *The Nation*, August 5, 2002, <http://www.thenation.com/article/port-huron-statement-40#>. Accessed October 5, 2014.

¹²¹⁴ Ibid.

¹²¹⁵ Max Elbaum, "Maoism in the United States," Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism On-Line (1998), <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-1/maoism-us.htm>. Accessed September 6, 2013.

¹²¹⁶ "Road to Revolution IV: A Communist Manifesto (1982)," Progressive Labor Party (February 24, 2010), <http://www.plp.org/key-documents/2010/2/24/road-to-revolution-iv-a-communist-manifesto-1982.html>. Accessed October 5, 2014.

¹²¹⁷ "Old Left, New Left, What's Left?" *Root & Branch: A Libertarian Socialist Journal* 1 (1970): 8, <http://libcom.org/library/old-left-new-left-whats-left>. Accessed September 6, 2013.

¹²¹⁸ "Classes and Class Struggle," Marxists Internet Archive, <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/red-book/ch02.htm>. Accessed September 6, 2013.

It was not long after the new left had disavowed the Soviet Union as the “world center for proletarian revolution” that the Vietnam War began (and the civil rights movement was at its height), finding in Mao Zedong a new compelling brand of Marxism-Leninism. “Maoism,” as it became known, offered an analysis of race and war that in the 1960s decade seemed to apply to much of the world, “linking interventionist war and domestic injustice to the economic imperatives of monopoly capitalism.”¹²¹⁹ As Maoist China presented itself as “the main champion of the Third World national liberation movements,” Mao specifically taught that the struggle for communism would begin “with the peasant and working classes of the lesser developed countries,” thus putting the third world revolutionaries into the vanguard.¹²²⁰ Not surprisingly, white radicals in the U.S. also elevated the importance of American minority “third world” groups, expecting them to take the lead in the revolution, and though they embraced Maoism, they also mixed together various other radical ideas of the time. It was the Black Panther Party that early on sold “copies of Mao’s little red book,” in order “to raise money to buy their first guns.”¹²²¹ Soon other nationalist groups followed including: the Young Lords (a Puerto Rican group), the Brown Berets (a Chicano/Mexican American organization), and the American Indian Movement. The appeal of Maoism had a lot to do with the notion of bringing the war home by imitating the “heroic armed bands of Red army fighters waging a war against imperialism in its very heartland.”¹²²² By the fall of 1968, both of the two main groups within SDS were now Maoist: the PL and the Revolutionary Youth Movement. The difference between the two stemmed from the fact that the PL was already moving away from “mainstream Maoist positions,” for example, when attacking “the Vietnamese communists for ‘selling out’ and the Black Panther Party for ‘anti-working class nationalism.’”¹²²³ The RYM, on the other hand, believed in the right of self-determination for oppressed nations and ethnic groups. Either way, the underlining justification for the use of violence within the Movement had a lot to do with the adopting of the political philosophy of Marxism-Leninism over the years, especially Maoism. The Bay Area

¹²¹⁹ Dylan Matthews, “The Washington Post Picked Its Top American Communists. Wonkblog Begg to Differ,” *The Washington Post*, September 26, 2013, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/wonkblog/wp/2013/09/26/the-washington-post-picked-its-top-american-communists-wonkblog-begs-to-differ/>. Accessed October 5, 2014.

¹²²⁰ Max Elbaum, “Maoism in the United States,” *Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism On-Line* (1998), <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-1/maoism-us.htm>. Accessed September 6, 2013.

¹²²¹ “Maoism in East and West,” *Marxist Theory*, <http://marxisttheory.org/maoism-in-east-and-west/>. Accessed September 3, 2013.

¹²²² *Ibid.*

¹²²³ Max Elbaum, “Maoism in the United States,” *Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism On-Line* (1998), <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-1/maoism-us.htm>. Accessed September 6, 2013.

Revolutionary Union wrote, in its Red Papers 1: “It is the task of the revolutionary party of the working class, guided by Marxism-Leninism, to lead the people to victory. The organized repressive violence of the state must be met with the organized revolutionary violence of the people. Power to the People.”¹²²⁴ Mao was clear about using revolutionary violence; he wrote in his Little Red Book, “A revolution is not a dinner party . . . [it] is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another.”¹²²⁵ In another quote, Mao stated, “Communism is not love. Communism is a hammer which we use to crush the enemy.”¹²²⁶ Notwithstanding, even with all the revolutionary fervor escalating in 1968 within the U.S., the acts of violence were still most often perpetrated by police provocateurs that would “mingle among the demonstrators and incite their fellow officers to violence.”¹²²⁷ However, violence in the name of starting a revolution was just as real, when for example in early November, the school officials of San Fernando State College were held at knife point by students.¹²²⁸ Soon the RYM would divide into RYM I (the Weathermen), who began preparations for “immediate armed struggle in the U.S.,” and RYM II, who still advocated the need to build a new revolutionary vanguard party instead.¹²²⁹

On November 6, the longest student strike in U.S. history erupted at San Francisco State College, lasting until March 20, 1969.¹²³⁰ The strike was led by the Black Student Union and the Third World Liberation Front, and it demanded, among other things, an ethnic studies program and an end to the Vietnam War. The catalyst for the strike was the suspension of an African-American English instructor (and Black Panther Minister of Education) George Mason Murray on November 1.¹²³¹ Murray was stopped from teaching as a result of his various violent comments. At a Fresno State College rally, for example, he asserted, “We are slaves, and the only way to become free is to kill all the slave

¹²²⁴ “Bay Area Revolutionary Union: Red Papers 1,” Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism On-Line, <http://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-1/red-papers-1/statement.htm>. Accessed September 9, 2013.

¹²²⁵ Mao Tse Tung, “Classes and Class Struggle,” Quotations from Mao Tse Tung, <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/red-book/ch02.htm>. Accessed September 9, 2013.

¹²²⁶ “Mao Zedong Quotes,” LifeQuotesLib.com (2011), http://www.lifequoteslib.com/authors/mao_zedong.html. Accessed September 9, 2013.

¹²²⁷ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 67.

¹²²⁸ Scranton, *The Report of the President’s Commission on Campus Unrest*, 52.

¹²²⁹ “Maoism in East and West,” Marxist Theory, <http://marxisttheory.org/maoism-in-east-and-west/>. Accessed September 3, 2013.

¹²³⁰ “A History of SF State, San Francisco State University 1899-1999,” (March 2009), <http://www.sfsu.edu/~100years/history/long.htm#6769>. Accessed May 12, 2013.

¹²³¹ Helene Whitson, “Introductory Essay,” The San Francisco State College Strike Collection, <http://www.library.sfsu.edu/about/collections/strike/essay.html>. Accessed May 12, 2013.

masters.”¹²³² At San Francisco State College, he declared that “black students should bring guns to campus to protect themselves from white racist administrators.”¹²³³ Astonishingly, with the strike beginning in earnest just the day after Richard Nixon defeated Hubert Humphrey in the presidential elections, not one speaker at the rally mentioned Nixon’s victory. It was seemingly shrugged off in “despair and fatalism” just as the social reform programs of President Johnson’s Great Society (of eliminating poverty and racial injustice) “expired without a tear from the New Left,” as the goal now was total revolution and not compromised solutions.¹²³⁴ Stokely Carmichael, who spoke on campus early on during the strike, told the students to struggle for true control: “We want the power to pick, to hire, and to fire.”¹²³⁵ As far as tactics, Carmichael spoke of confrontation and possibly having to kill and die, concluding his November speech by saying, “Then we prepare for the confrontation so that when the confrontation does come we become victorious. It is easy to die for one’s people. It is much more difficult to live, to work, and to kill for one’s people” (“The audience stood up, applauding,” as killing was now acceptable for many in the Movement).¹²³⁶ Not surprisingly, the strike quickly turned violent as black radicals began to roam the campus, “disrupting classes, shouting that faculty who continued teaching were racists,” which irritated many of the other students wanting to study.¹²³⁷ Radicals also “stormed department offices, turning over files, setting small fires, and breaking windows in front of frightened secretaries.”¹²³⁸

Tension resulting from some sort of agitation continued daily at SFSC. On December 2, after radical students broke a ban on using microphones while giving speeches, university President S. I. Hayakawa “stunned demonstrators by climbing on their truck and pulling the wires out of their amplifier.”¹²³⁹ This, however, accomplished little as pushing ensued, and in a little while students began to throw rocks, breaking windows, and police chased them all over campus.¹²⁴⁰ The next day, at a still larger rally, students shouted outside of Hayakawa’s office, “Up against the wall . . . this is no longer a school, it’s an armed camp,” at which point the school president began playing the radio using

¹²³² Ibid.

¹²³³ Ibid.

¹²³⁴ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 340.

¹²³⁵ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 296.

¹²³⁶ Ibid.

¹²³⁷ Ibid.

¹²³⁸ Ibid.

¹²³⁹ Ibid., 297.

¹²⁴⁰ Ibid.

loudspeakers to “drown out the strikers.”¹²⁴¹ As frustrated radicals began to provoke the police by “hurling stones and bricks” at them, 300 police marched into the crowd arresting and beating many students, knocking them unconscious.¹²⁴² In January of 1969, the San Francisco State strike continued with 450 students and professors jailed, taking its toll on protest efforts as “posting bail demoralized radicals,” and so did the fact that the school faculty was increasingly interested in “compromising with the administration.”¹²⁴³ On March 20 the school strike finally ended but not before a student was critically injured while attempting to bomb a San Francisco State College classroom.¹²⁴⁴ An agreement was made that the administration would retain control of hiring and admissions, but that a “School of Ethnic Studies” would be created, and that “admission requirements” would be waived, which would allow more “third world students into the school.”¹²⁴⁵ In a nearly five-month period, the police had continuously occupied the campus, over 700 people had been arrested, about two dozen faculty members had been fired, and student classroom attendance fell to only 20 percent and “only about a third of scheduled classes met.”^{1246 1247} San Francisco State inspired more minority student militancy throughout 1969 as they began to advocate for a “third world revolution” against the white college establishment.¹²⁴⁸ Following the lead of African-Americans, Asian Americans, Chicanos, Native Americans, and others began demanding classes on their own history and culture. During the spring of 1969, protests exploded (sometimes violently) at 230 colleges across the country with major riots at Wisconsin and Berkeley “forcing governors to call the National Guard to occupy the campuses.”¹²⁴⁹

For some members of the Movement, by early 1969, the optimism of the early sixties, which “had erupted periodically in 1968,” had faded.¹²⁵⁰ Others, on the other hand, especially after Chicago, saw it otherwise; they were now enthusiastically focused on confronting those in power to “unmask illegitimate authority,” and to take the Movement to its “final showdown of good and evil, order and chaos.”¹²⁵¹ Not only had massive

¹²⁴¹ Ibid.

¹²⁴² Ibid.

¹²⁴³ Ibid., 298.

¹²⁴⁴ Scranton, *The Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest*, 54.

¹²⁴⁵ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 299.

¹²⁴⁶ Ibid., 298.

¹²⁴⁷ Helene Whitson, “Introductory Essay,” The San Francisco State College Strike Collection, <http://www.library.sfsu.edu/about/collections/strike/essay.html>. Accessed May 12, 2013.

¹²⁴⁸ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 299.

¹²⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁵⁰ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin' It to the Streets*,” 333.

¹²⁵¹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 341-342.

student demonstrations become a familiar sight, but an escalation of violent student tactics was matched by authorities sending “bayonet-wielding” troops.¹²⁵² By the beginning of 1969, even those who had usually denounced violence began to seize and vandalize buildings while the more radical had already moved on, bombing of draft boards, ROTC buildings, and other things. Protests that had been limited to certain colleges up until then expanded rapidly to include a “wider range of campuses,” involving a widely differing types of students, including the previously mentioned “third world students.”¹²⁵³ A growing number of activists were moreover in “open revolt” against what they considered “the American way of life.”¹²⁵⁴ They had become “long hair freaks and hippies who experimented with illegal drugs and counterculture lifestyles,” and who wanted to “kill the white man, the American,” inside them.¹²⁵⁵ On the other hand, those activists now still organizing large anti-war demonstrations (with the goal of attracting the maximum amount of people) were seen by radicals as being uninterested in broader issues of social change.¹²⁵⁶

On January 17, 1969, the ever-growing tendencies within the Movement towards dissension and violence helped lead to the shooting death of two students at the University of California at Los Angeles. The incident involved two black power groups “jockeying for control”: the Black Panther Party and the rival United Slaves (US) Organization.¹²⁵⁷ Both students killed were influential members of the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panthers, and had just attended a meeting “to determine the leadership of UCLA’s newly created Afro-American Program.”¹²⁵⁸ ¹²⁵⁹ While the United Slaves had lobbied for their “preferred candidate without a student vote,” the Black Student Union (now the Afrikan Student Union) asked the Panthers to help them maintain student control over the selection process.¹²⁶⁰ ¹²⁶¹ The meeting was peaceful, but after most students had already left the

¹²⁵² Unger and Unger, *The Times Were a Changin’*, 79.

¹²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹²⁵⁴ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 168.

¹²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 171.

¹²⁵⁶ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 379.

¹²⁵⁷ Bob Pool, “Witness to ‘69 UCLA Shootings Speaks Out,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 18, 2008, http://www.sheldensays.com/Bunchy_Carter_killing.htm. Accessed September 14, 2013.

¹²⁵⁸ “Another Side of the Sixties: Black Panthers at UCLA,” Huffington Post (May, 2010), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/devon-mcreynolds/another-side-of-the-sixti_b_589322.html. Accessed May 14, 2013.

¹²⁵⁹ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 325.

¹²⁶⁰ Bob Pool. “Witness to ‘69 UCLA Shootings Speaks Out,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 18, 2008. http://www.sheldensays.com/Bunchy_Carter_killing.htm. Accessed September 14, 2013.

¹²⁶¹ “Remembering Bunchy Carter and John Huggins,” liwi68 (January 2012), <http://www.liwi68.com/2012/01/remembering-bunchy-carter-and-john-huggins/>. Accessed September 14, 2013.

room, Black Panther John J. Huggins, Jr. got into a fight with US member Harold “Tuwala” Jones, which ended with another US member, Claude “Chuchessa” Hubert, killing both Higgins and fellow Black Panther Apprentice “Bunchy” Carter.¹²⁶² While rivalry and animosity between the two groups played a major role in the murders, the 1975 Church Committee Hearings revealed that the FBI had created hostility between the two organizations, playing a part in “orchestrating the shootings” and possibly helping Hubert and Jones flee” (they were never apprehended).^{1263 1264} Meanwhile, two bombings occurred at two different greater Los Angeles colleges the following month.¹²⁶⁵ On February 26, explosions went off approximately at the same time in Pomona College and Scripps College, both schools located in Claremont (32.5 miles east of downtown Los Angeles).¹²⁶⁶ At Pomona College a mail bomb went off in the Politics Department in Carnegie Hall, seriously injuring the department secretary, Mary Ann Keatley (“she lost part of her right hand and suffered severe eye injuries”).¹²⁶⁷ Another bomb exploded in the women’s bathroom at Scripps College with no injuries. Both incidents took place during anti-war protests and the demand for ethnic study program at the schools.¹²⁶⁸

By the spring semester of 1969 many university officials began reporting “attempted arson and bombings” by students on campus.¹²⁶⁹ At the same time, the “National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence” warned of the “escalating risk of assassination,” and declared that “political violence was ‘more intense that it has been since the turn of the century.’”¹²⁷⁰ Meanwhile, the U.S. Justice Department reported a dramatic increase in bombings, and an “unprecedented” amount of bombing threats reaching some 35,000 in 1969 alone.¹²⁷¹ While the most militant increasingly advocated the use of bombs, “trashing,” or vandalizing public buildings, was by far the most popular method used to try to get the government to change its foreign policy and for

¹²⁶² Bob Pool, “Witness to ‘69 UCLA Shootings Speaks Out,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 18, 2008, http://www.sheldensays.com/Bunchy_Carter_killing.htm. Accessed September 14, 2013.

¹²⁶³ “Remembering Bunchy Carter and John Huggins,” liwi68 (January 2012), <http://www.liwi68.com/2012/01/remembering-bunchy-carter-and-john-huggins/>. Accessed September 14, 2013.

¹²⁶⁴ Bob Pool, “Witness to ‘69 UCLA Shootings Speaks Out,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 18, 2008, http://www.sheldensays.com/Bunchy_Carter_killing.htm. Accessed September 14, 2013.

¹²⁶⁵ Scranton, *The Report of the President’s Commission on Campus Unrest*, 58.

¹²⁶⁶ “Campus: Bombing of Carnegie,” Pomona College: Timeline (19690), <http://www.pomona.edu/timeline/1960s/1969.aspx>. Accessed September 15, 2013.

¹²⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁶⁹ Anderson, *The Movement and The Sixties*, 325.

¹²⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹²⁷¹ Ibid.

“stopping business as usual.”¹²⁷² Nonetheless, many in the Movement did turn to more drastic measures. In Denver an activist was charged with setting a series of explosions that destroyed electric transmission towers of the Colorado Public Service Company, while in New York City a group called the “Revolutionary Force 9” claimed responsibility for bombing the headquarters of IBM, General Telephone & Electronics, and Mobil Oil.¹²⁷³ *Time* magazine deliberated on whether the U.S. was heading towards a “Guerrilla Summer” consisting of resistance fighters.¹²⁷⁴ On March 22, in Washington D.C., nine anti-war activists invaded Dow Chemical’s office, “spilling human blood and destroying files and office equipment” in protest of the company’s manufacture of napalm.¹²⁷⁵ In an open letter to the corporations of America, the “DC 9” wrote that they who kill the poor and powerless in the third world would not be tolerated anymore, and had lost their right to exist.¹²⁷⁶ On April 2, New York District Attorney Hogan announced on TV that 21 Black Panthers had been arrested by the FBI for “conspiring” to blow up “various police stations, school buildings, a railroad yard, and the Bronx Botanical Gardens.”¹²⁷⁷ The alleged plot by the Black Panthers included the plan to kill police officers and to “dynamite five mid-town department stores, a police precinct, six railroad rights-of-way and the New York botanical gardens.”¹²⁷⁸ The “Panther 21” trial (consisting of only 13 defendants) lasted from September 8, 1970 to May 13, 1971 and ended with the jury acquitting the defendants on all counts (they had always maintained their innocence).¹²⁷⁹ ¹²⁸⁰

On April 6, 1969 hundreds of thousands took to the streets throughout the U.S. for the “first major anti-war demonstration during the Nixon administration.”¹²⁸¹ Thousands took to the streets in Atlanta, Austin, Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Washington D.C.¹²⁸² The lull in massive national anti-war demonstrations was the result of

¹²⁷² Ibid.

¹²⁷³ Ibid.

¹²⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁷⁵ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 201.

¹²⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷⁷ Murray Kempton, *The Briar Patch: The Trial of the Panther 21* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Da Capo Press, 1997), 26.

¹²⁷⁸ Annete T. Rubinstein, “The Black Panther Party and the Case of the New York 21,” (1970 pamphlet) (February 10, 2013), <http://www.scribd.com/doc/124724929/The-Black-Panther-Party-and-the-Case-of-the-New-York-21>. Accessed May 12, 2013.

¹²⁷⁹ “Panther 21 Trial: Another Chicago,” The Harold Weisberg Archive, http://search.yahoo.com/search;_ylt=AirE74CjULg4XAF3sEQL3oqbvZx4?p=when+was+the+the+trial+of+the+Black+Panther+21&toggle=1&cop-mss&ei=UTF-8&fr-yfp-t-900-1. Accessed May 12, 2013.

¹²⁸⁰ “Obituary: Sanford M. Katz; Lawyer in Panther 21 Trial,” Union Tribe, http://www.utsandiego.com/uniontrib/20051017/news_1m17katz.html. Accessed May 12, 2012.

¹²⁸¹ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 323.

¹²⁸² Ibid.

granting “the customary period of little or no criticism” for a new president, and not because the Sixties were ending or fading.¹²⁸³ It was Nixon’s clever propaganda campaign concerning his efforts at ending the war that “temporarily dampened the explosive potential of anti-war sentiment in the United States.”¹²⁸⁴ Nonetheless, the continuing war in Vietnam made it clear to many that “Nixon was continuing Johnson’s fundamental policies in Vietnam.”¹²⁸⁵ The “scope and size” of these April demonstrations signified that “much of the disorientation within the anti-war movement had dissipated,” and “anti-war coalitions were rebuilt.”¹²⁸⁶ While groups such as SDS were squabbling in sectarianism, the Student Mobilization Committee was reemerging as “the authoritative national organization of anti-war youth and the major organizer of demonstrations on a national scale.”¹²⁸⁷ Far from the Sixties being over in 1969, the protests “involved a higher percentage of youth than ever before, showing a marked increase in the numbers of high-school youth.”¹²⁸⁸ Furthermore, the possibilities for organizing high-school anti-war actions were seen as “extremely favorable,” as these youths had “grown to political consciousness in an atmosphere dominated by a war which they have rejected out of hand.”¹²⁸⁹ Another source of growth within the anti-war movement in the past year had been the “decided increase in anti-war activity by GIs.”¹²⁹⁰

From April 9 to 17, Harvard University, one of Americas most prestigious universities, erupted in protests over the Vietnam War and other social and political issues (revealing that anti-establishment feelings could occur no matter how distinguished the school). Opposed to the continuing war in Vietnam, anti-war activists demanded that Harvard end its Reserve Officers’ Training Corps, or ROTC, program.¹²⁹¹ On April 9, around noon, students entered University Hall and “ejected all administrators and staff from the building,” with at least one dean being carried out physically by students.¹²⁹² As word spread of the takeover, students and faculty gathered outside, while those inside the occupied administration building “chained the doors shut, raised the red and black SDS

¹²⁸³ “The American Anti-war Movement: Resolution of 23rd National Convention New York, Labor Day Weekend 1969,” Socialist Workers Party (November-December 1969), <http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/isr/vol30/no06/anti-war.htm>. Accessed May 14, 2013.

¹²⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹²⁹¹ “Harvard Students Occupy University Hall April 9, 1969,” Mass Moments, <http://www.massmoments.org/moment.cfm?mid-108>. Accessed April 28, 2013.

¹²⁹² Ibid.

flag outside.”¹²⁹³ At 3 a.m. on April 10, the university administrators “made the unprecedented decision to call in city and state police”¹²⁹⁴ Using “billy clubs and mace,” 400 officers arrested more than 100 protesters who had formed a “non-violent” human chain across the doorway.”¹²⁹⁵ The use of force unified the various student divisions that had been growing within the Harvard protest community and led to a boycott of classes for a week.¹²⁹⁶ A poster created by Harvard University students spelled out the reasons to strike, they included: “You hate cops, your roommate was clubbed, seize control of your life, and to smash the corporation.”¹²⁹⁷

On April 19, problems arose at Cornell University, another Ivy League school known for its outstanding reputation and social elitism. In December of 1968, the school’s “Afro-American Society” had demanded a “black studies” program and began agitating, charging that the curriculum at the university was “white, middle-class, and racist.”¹²⁹⁸ In April of 1969, when school officials granted funding for a center of Afro-American studies, some resentful “white fraternity men” (only 250 out of 14,000 students were black) burned a cross, set off fire alarms, and made two bomb threats,” against the African-American students.¹²⁹⁹ In response, blacks seized the student union building for 36 hours until the school administration acquiesced to all their demands (that no charges would be pressed against activists in this and an earlier demonstration, and that they would support the Afro-American center). However, it was the images of the black militants marching out of the building after negotiations, “armed with shotguns and rifles,” that shocked the nation.¹³⁰⁰ It was disturbing for many to see “black students waving shotguns at an elite white university – confronting white authorities.”¹³⁰¹ The militants proclaimed that they had to defend themselves (which included “armed self-defense”), and as H. Rap Brown declared, “If America chooses to play Nazis; black folks ain’t going to play Jews.”¹³⁰² Cornell demonstrated once again that the idea of “third world liberation” was truly sweeping across the nation, as Chicano awareness “started to get as militant as the blacks,”

¹²⁹³ Ibid.

¹²⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁹⁶ Jean E. Engelmayer and Melissa I. Weissberg, S. “Reflecting on the 1969 Student Strike,” *The Harvard Crimson*, April 9, 1984, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1984/4/9/reflecting-on-the-1969-student-strike/>. Accessed April 28, 2013.

¹²⁹⁷ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 341.

¹²⁹⁸ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 300.

¹²⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹³⁰¹ Ibid.

¹³⁰² Ibid.

as they occupied the president's office at the University of California at Berkeley a few days later.¹³⁰³ Nonetheless, just like the civil rights and the white student movements, there was a rising generational conflict and a "rift between moderates and militants."¹³⁰⁴

In Berkeley, on May 15, 1969, a long-simmering conflict over a University of California owned property erupted in violent protests, street fighting, vandalism, injuries and death. On April 20, after the university had run out of developmental funds for over a year, hippies and political activists illegally took over the piece of land and began to build their "People's Park," a free speech area for radicals and a space for the hippie counterculture to gather (where free food was also handed-out). Notwithstanding, because Governor Ronald Reagan considered the creation of the park "a direct leftist challenge to the property rights of the university," at 4:30 a.m. on May 15, he sent 300 police officers to takeover People's Park.¹³⁰⁵ After the police cleared an eight-block area around the park, destroying the trees, grass, flowers and shrubs planted in the park, an eight-foot tall "perimeter chain-link wire fence was installed" to keep people out.¹³⁰⁶ Following a noon rally at the university, about 3,000 people marched the three blocks down to People's Park chanting, "We want the park," and proceeded to attack the police.¹³⁰⁷ Street fighting ensued as the activists began throwing rocks and bottles (some attempted to tear down the fence), while the police fired tear gas and then "buckshot into the crowds, ripping flesh."¹³⁰⁸ By nightfall, "all hell broke loose" as 20 police officers and 100 activists were injured and 30 protesters had been shot, one fatally (James Rector).¹³⁰⁹ With a Bank of America window smashed, a fire hydrant opened, and hand-to-hand combat between protestors and cops, Governor Reagan sent the National Guard in full battle gear to establish martial law and occupy the campus.¹³¹⁰ For the first time, the hippie counterculture and the radical left had fought to defend something that was "physically, touchably, verifiably there."¹³¹¹ For the "Telegraph Avenue revolutionaries," the taking and defending of the land was a step in creating a "new society in the womb (or ashes) of the old," and they were willing to be combative.¹³¹² The violent confrontation left (for the

¹³⁰³ Ibid., 306.

¹³⁰⁴ Ibid., 310.

¹³⁰⁵ John H. Schaar and Sheldon S. Wolin, *The Berkeley Rebellion and Beyond; Essays on Politics and Education in the Technological Society* (New York: New York Review, 1970), 20.

¹³⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁰⁸ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 326.

¹³⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹³¹⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹¹ Bloom and Breines, "Takin' It to the Streets," 468.

¹³¹² Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 354.

first time) a white person shot and killed, and another permanently blind (Alan Blanchard).^{1313 1314} Reagan said afterwards, “If it takes a bloodbath, let’s get it over with. No more appeasement.”¹³¹⁵ At first most of the organized left did not take the park issue seriously, as it sounded “unserious, hippy-dippy,” and they did not understand how “planting tomatoes have to do with the working class or the Vietnam war,” but other politicians had suspected trouble and “savored the possibility of a head-on collision with the university,” many wanting a riot.¹³¹⁶

The talk within the Movement had become “revolution,” but the question remained individually to what extent, as most people were still new to violence and only intermittently were “ready to go down for each other.”¹³¹⁷ The dedication to the revolution was tested on May 22 in Berkeley when nearly 500 people were herded into a parking lot, arrested and “subjected to incredible humiliations” at the Santa Rita Jail.¹³¹⁸ However, daily confrontations throughout Berkeley quieted by the time of the big Memorial Day march on May 26, when 30,000 people gathered expecting “a massacre,” but only witnessed the barbed wire closing of Telegraph Avenue and machine guns on the top of roofs.¹³¹⁹ On the same day of the march, however, “a 13-point ‘Berkeley Liberation Program’” appeared in the radical underground newspaper the *Berkeley Barb* (the article was called a “declaration of war” by the conservative *Berkeley Gazette*).¹³²⁰ Amongst other things, radicals called for an “open war” against the university, an alliance with the Black Panther Party and “all Third World Liberation movements,” and a commitment to not backing down “against law and order.”¹³²¹ It seemed to recommend for those participating in the revolutionary movement to learn the art of self-defense and combat, and be equipped with suitable weapons.¹³²² Point 10 of the declaration stated: “America’s rulers, faced with the erosion of their authority in Berkeley, begin to take on the grotesque qualities of a dictatorship based on pure police power. We shall abolish the tyrannical police forces not chosen by the people. States of emergency, martial law, conspiracy charges and all legalistic measures used to crush our movement will be resisted by any means necessary –

¹³¹³ Ibid., 342.

¹³¹⁴ Ibid., 357.

¹³¹⁵ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 327.

¹³¹⁶ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 356.

¹³¹⁷ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 471.

¹³¹⁸ Ibid.

¹³¹⁹ Ibid.

¹³²⁰ Ibid. 472.

¹³²¹ Ibid.

¹³²² Ibid.

from courtroom to armed struggle. The people of Berkeley must arm themselves and learn the basic skills and tactics of self-defense and street fighting. All oppressed people in jail are political prisoners and must be set free. We shall make Berkeley a sanctuary for rebels, outcasts and revolutionary fugitives. We shall attempt to bring the real criminals to trial; where this is impossible we shall implement revolutionary justice.”¹³²³ Finally, on May 30, when twenty-five thousand people again marched peacefully past People’s Park (and the National Guard), it was a sign that radicals had “lost control to liberals and pacifists” concerning the park and immediate revolutionary activity.¹³²⁴ Nevertheless, the revolutionaries who wanted to attack and tear down the fence during the latest protest began to approach local Vietnam veterans in hopes of finding out what kinds of guns were needed to shoot down the police helicopter flying overhead.¹³²⁵ “Movement heavies” began to buy handguns to “keep at home,” envisioning the “preliminary stages of guerrilla war.”¹³²⁶ In late May, the *Berkeley Tribe* underground newspaper (like many others) began to call for “paramilitary training.”¹³²⁷ Under the headline of “Join the New Action Army,” it ran a cover photo of “a hip young couple in the woods, she carrying a baby and a gun, he pointing a rifle.”¹³²⁸ This question of “whether to learn to shoot” began to split even radical movement groups during the coming months.¹³²⁹ But even hip underground films began to show how it was time to “pick up the gun” as there was an impending revolution ready to occur.¹³³⁰ However, not all were hopeful about the future. There were those who had dreamed that the battle for People’s Park would “fuse” the counterculture with the political revolutionaries, but instead perceived it to have driven “a wedge between them.”¹³³¹ Others saw People’s Park as the “last glimmering hope in which constructiveness and combativeness occurred all at once.”¹³³² Stew Albert, of the Yippies, went so far as to proclaim People’s Park as the end of the Sixties (once again). Albert said, “People’s Park ended the Movement really,” because “the repression was so brutal.”¹³³³ Added Gitlin,

¹³²³ “The Berkeley Liberation Program 1969” - List of Demands, Hippyland Archives, <http://www.hippy.com/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=194>. Accessed April 30, 2013.

¹³²⁴ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 358.

¹³²⁵ Ibid.

¹³²⁶ Ibid., 359.

¹³²⁷ Ibid., 360.

¹³²⁸ Ibid.

¹³²⁹ Ibid.

¹³³⁰ Ibid.

¹³³¹ Ibid. 361.

¹³³² Ibid.

¹³³³ Ibid.

“There was more repression than revolution, more fear than ebullience.”¹³³⁴ Not able to build allies in the name of “world revolution,” there was much despair within the Movement, and talk of “impending fascism.”¹³³⁵

Beyond the pessimism on the part of some long-time activists, the revolutionary movement and the anti-war movement as a whole was unquestionably continuing to grow. By the end of the 1968-1969 school year, there had been “well over a hundred politically inspired campus bombings, attempted bombings, and incidents of arson nationwide, aimed at ROTC buildings and other campus and government buildings, high schools, even electrical towers.”¹³³⁶ During the spring of 1969, three hundred colleges and universities experienced “sizable demonstrations,” many involving strikes, building takeovers, disruption of classes and administration, bombs, arson, or the trashing of property.¹³³⁷ High school students also took part in these activities, often leaving school to join the various parts of the Movement. For example, at the Bronx High School of Science in New York City, “as many as fifty seniors dropped out to do politics or to live in communes” during the school year of 1968-1969.¹³³⁸ However, many activities continued to take place outside the school setting. For instance, on May 20, 1969, three people invaded an induction center in Pasadena, California and took 600 “1-a files” and burned them in a field.¹³³⁹ The next day, on May 21, in Silver Spring, Maryland, three anti-war protesters invaded a draft board and threw paint on the files and destroyed equipment.¹³⁴⁰ Then on May 25, in Chicago, 15 individuals invaded a draft board and took files and burned them.¹³⁴¹

Revolutionary violence continued to intensify in June as a “gunfight” ensued between the Black Panther Party and the police in Sacramento, California. Thirteen policemen were injured on June 1 as they tried to enter the Panther headquarters.¹³⁴² As the belief in violent revolution continued to grow, unbeknown to them was President Nixon’s secret plan to slow down or fragment the anti-war movement. The strategy consisted of a “three-pronged project,” the first being the “Vietnamization” of the war.¹³⁴³ The slow and continual pullout of U.S. military (and handing over of ground combat to South

¹³³⁴ Ibid.

¹³³⁵ Ibid.

¹³³⁶ Ibid. 342.

¹³³⁷ Ibid., 342-343.

¹³³⁸ Ibid., 343.

¹³³⁹ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 200.

¹³⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹³⁴¹ Ibid.

¹³⁴² “New York: The Monumental Plot,” *Time Magazine*, February 26, 1965,

<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,833472,00.html>. Accessed 1 June 2013.

¹³⁴³ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 377.

Vietnamese troops) began with the announcement on June 8 that 25,000 troops would be withdrawn, while another 60,000 would leave in December.¹³⁴⁴ ¹³⁴⁵ Creating the illusion that the war was gradually winding down, the second course of action consisted of dramatically accelerating the bombing of North Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Nixon thought that he could “bomb his way to victory,” while concealing the war from the public as American servicemen and casualties decreased.¹³⁴⁶ The third aim was to “crush” the anti-war movement by intensifying the use of the FBI and CIA (beyond what President Johnson had done).¹³⁴⁷ Activists were monitored, jailed, and killed (especially black militants). CIA’s Operation CHAOS, which was established in 1967 on orders from Johnson, had the original goal of unmasking possible foreign influences on the student anti-war movement. Nonetheless, surveillance quickly expanded to using informants as agents provocateur, with the idea that “the more destructive the protest, the easier it was to discredit.”¹³⁴⁸ Others on the hit-list were those in the news media who were too sympathetic to the protests; they were put on an “enemies list” and intimidated.¹³⁴⁹ During 1969, the question, as in past years, remained whether to “widen or intensify the protest.”¹³⁵⁰ Moderates continued to argue for the need to “galvanize supporters in Congress and the media” for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.¹³⁵¹ They forged ahead with lobbying, campaigning, writing letters, and marching, to seemingly no avail. While the anti-war movement’s long-time organizers “felt burned out by frustration and factionalism,” those younger and more radical impatiently pushed towards revolutionary struggle.¹³⁵² After years of beating their heads against a wall, there was a feeling that more and more of the Movement was giving into bitterness and rage. Many in the SDS (since the summer of 1968) even stopped calling themselves the “new left,” and instead began to think that “there was something to be said for ‘turning to dynamite.’”¹³⁵³ Some were

¹³⁴⁴ “1969: An Eventful Summer,” CNN (August 9, 2009),

<http://edition.cnn.com/2009/US/08/09/summer.1969.timeline/index.html>. Accessed May 31, 2013.

¹³⁴⁵ John Simkin, “Vietnamization,” Spartacus Educational (September 1997),

<http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/VNvietnamization.htm>. Accessed September 18, 2013.

¹³⁴⁶ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 378.

¹³⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁴⁸ “The Weather Underground,” online video clip, Youtube, October 31, 2013,

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GUTrk3tFx4>. Accessed October 8, 2014.

¹³⁴⁹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 378.

¹³⁵⁰ Ibid., 379.

¹³⁵¹ Ibid.

¹³⁵² Ibid.

¹³⁵³ Ibid., 380.

oblivious of the role played by the U.S. government in encouraging this turn toward all-out confrontation.¹³⁵⁴

Even without government manipulation, the anti-war movement had throughout the decade taken the path of increased violence and bickering. From June 18-June 22, 1969, the SDS held its last National Convention in Chicago, where the group preceded to fragment into two main factions: the Worker Student Alliance (of the Progressive Labor Party), and the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM). At the convention, both PL and RYM were supported by a third of the fifteen hundred delegates, with the remaining third made up of small groups from the Independent Socialist Club (ISC) caucus and the Joe Hill caucus from San Francisco, but mostly “baffled newcomers” (and tens of thousands of national members staying away perhaps not agreeing with any of the groups).¹³⁵⁵ ¹³⁵⁶ While there had been a long “tradition” of disgruntlement within SDS, it had been acted out creatively; for example, at the 1968 SDS convention, “a Motherfucker nominated a garbage can to run against one of the national office’s slate of ponderous leftists” and almost won.¹³⁵⁷ Nonetheless, by June of 1969 it was much more serious, as the various points of disagreement broke the SDS (the largest student activist organization) apart at the height of its membership.¹³⁵⁸ Irreconcilable disputes arose over the role of students in the revolution. RYM believed that students were workers “gaining skills prior to employment,” contrasting the PL position that viewed students as being in a separate category from workers (they “could ally, but should not jointly organize”).¹³⁵⁹ Another point of contention involved the previously mentioned issue of nationalism in the revolutionary communist struggle. PL’s rejection of nationalism was seen by RYM as positioning itself against the third world groups like the Black Panther Party, which was their role model in many ways, as they increasingly saw white people as being “bought off and therefore likely to be in the enemy camp.”¹³⁶⁰ Finally, PL who believed in “base-building” and “worker-student alliance” (wearing their hair short and avoiding rock ‘n’ roll

¹³⁵⁴ “Mark Rudd’s ‘Underground,’ and the 1969 SDS Split,” (May 2009), <http://sixties-l.blogspot.hu/2009/05/mark-rudds-underground-and-1969-sds.html>. Accessed September 22, 2013.

¹³⁵⁵ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 387.

¹³⁵⁶ Mary-Alice Waters, “The Split at the SDS National Convention,” First Published: *The Militant*, 33(27) (July 4, 1969), Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism On-Line, <http://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-1/militant-sds.htm>. Accessed September 20, 2013.

¹³⁵⁷ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 387.

¹³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 388.

¹³⁵⁹ Harold Jacobs (ed.), “*Weatherman*,” Ramparts Press (1970), https://archive.org/stream/Weatherman_52/weatherman_djvu.txt. Accessed October 6, 2014.

¹³⁶⁰ Mary-Alice Waters, “The Split at the SDS National Convention,” First Published: *The Militant*, 33(27) (July 4, 1969), Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism On-Line, <http://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-1/militant-sds.htm>. Accessed September 20, 2013.

music to avoid offending the workers) opposed the ever-increasing rhetoric to do violence (such as bombing and terrorism) which the soon to be Weathermen part of RYM supported.¹³⁶¹

During the third day of the convention, when the RYM-controlled national leadership realized “that PL might be able to win a majority of the delegates on some of the key resolutions and perhaps even win the leadership,” they walked out of the assembly (the first of two times) with hundreds following them to debate whether or not to expel the PL from the SDS.¹³⁶² Those who remained with PL’s WSA caucus “held general workshops and waited to see if the others would ‘return to SDS.’”¹³⁶³ Right before RYM’s exit (to meet at the other wing of the Chicago Coliseum), Bobby Rush of the Black Panthers spoke, bitterly attacking the PL “for its refusal to support the black liberation struggle in practice.”¹³⁶⁴ He stated that he was speaking on behalf of the national organizations of the Black Panthers, the Brown Berets and the Young Lords, and that PL had been “deviating from the Marxist-Leninist position on the right to self-determination of peoples,” and made it known that “they will be considered as counterrevolutionary traitors” if they didn’t change their ways.¹³⁶⁵ RYM had hoped that Rush would “produce an anti-PL stampede in the convention,” but he failed to do so as he and his Panthers had “seriously discredit[ed] themselves and had been literally booed” the night before for making “male-chauvinist” remarks about “pussy power.”¹³⁶⁶ Women were greatly offended when Rush told them, “You sisters have a strategic position for the revolution . . . prone” (meaning a sexual pose in which one lies with the front or face downward).¹³⁶⁷ As the convention neared pandemonium, Jeff Gordon of PL took the floor to defend PL’s views, denouncing the SDS leadership for “trying to use the Panthers as a club against the WSA caucus and for their inability to carry out a political debate themselves.”¹³⁶⁸ It was then, in response, that SDS leaders declared it “impossible to remain in the same organization with people who opposed self-determination in practice and demanded an immediate split,” and then proceeded to walk out for the first time.¹³⁶⁹

¹³⁶¹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 382

¹³⁶² Mary-Alice Waters, “The Split at the SDS National Convention,” First Published in *The Militant*, 33(27) (July 4, 1969), Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism On-Line, <http://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-1/militant-sds.htm>. Accessed September 20, 2013.

¹³⁶³ Ibid.

¹³⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁶⁹ Ibid.

When the final decision (with a vote of approximate 85%) was reached to expel PL, the RYM faction returned to the convention hall the next day and read a statement pronouncing two principles which from that point onward would be the criteria for membership in SDS (admitting the following day that they had forgotten to read a couple other additional points). The first declaration stated: “We support the struggle of the black and Latin colonies within the U. S. for national liberation and we recognize those nations’ rights to self-determination (including the right to political secession if they desire it).”¹³⁷⁰ The second declaration read: “We support the struggle for national liberation of the people of South Vietnam, led by the National Liberation Front and Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. We also support the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, led by President Ho Chi Minh, as well as the People’s Republic of China, the People’s Democratic Republics of Korea and Albania, and the Republic of Cuba, all waging fierce struggles against U.S. imperialism. We support the right of all people to pick up the gun to free themselves from the brutal rule of U. S. imperialism.”¹³⁷¹ The statements spelled out that “all people who do not accept the above two principles are no longer members of SDS.”¹³⁷² The next day, Bob Avakian (running for national secretary) announced that if elected “he would work to exclude members of the Independent Socialist Club” for not supporting all the governments listed in the second declaration.¹³⁷³ After Avakian’s statement, screams of “bullshit” and “shame” erupted as RYM leaders and supporters “filed out of the hall” for the second and last time.¹³⁷⁴ Less than two weeks after the debacle in Chicago, Mary-Alice Waters in *The Militant* summarized what had taken place: “In short, a minority of the SDS convention, in a caucus which excluded those to be expelled, voted to expel what might have been the majority of the convention.”¹³⁷⁵

By Sunday afternoon, the last day of the SDS convention, the two factions were meeting on different sides of the city (with many others drifting off). In the Coliseum remained the PL-WSA caucus of around four or five hundred people who tried to become (or stay as) SDS.¹³⁷⁶ Instead of appealing to the tens of thousands of SDS members who were not at the convention against its undemocratic expulsion, the WSA went ahead and “passed its resolutions, elected its officers, and scheduled a press conference to declare

¹³⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹³⁷¹ Ibid.

¹³⁷² Ibid.

¹³⁷³ Ibid.

¹³⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁷⁶ Ibid.

itself the SDS and to denounce the ‘splinter leadership’ for ‘anti-working-class politics and practices.’”¹³⁷⁷ Across town, RYM gathered with some 700-800 members and supporters to decide what form the SDS would continue in.¹³⁷⁸ While initially here the general mood was one of great satisfaction at getting rid of PL, very quickly political differences arose within the RYM faction itself. In a matter of several weeks it divided into RYM-1 (which included most of the SDS national leadership that became the Weathermen and conducted a campaign of bombings), and RYM-2 (who rejected the immediate armed struggle of the Weathermen, and instead advocated the building of a new revolutionary vanguard party). Furthermore, RYM II itself fragmented and quickly gave way to various new revolutionary organizations collectively known as the New Communist Movement, the most important being the Communist League (CL), the Revolutionary Union (RU), and the October League (ML) (OL).¹³⁷⁹ Thus once again, many social commentators found an event to mark the end to the Sixties, this time with the fragmentation of the SDS – but things did continue.

After the convention the Weatherman faction of RYM (who controlled the SDS National Office) sent a letter to everyone in the organization that began: “By now the news of the Chicago convention has probably reached most of you. This letter is to let you know that despite any news you may hear to the contrary, SDS still lives and the national office is functioning as usual. New national officers have been elected, a program of mass action through the summer and fall has been planned. There is one important thing that has changed. The Progressive Labor Party faction (PLP) has been kicked out of SDS.”¹³⁸⁰ This was then elaborated on at length. Meanwhile, on September 12 to 14, 1969 two-hundred SDS activists gathered from all over the country in Detroit for a national meeting of the RYM-2 caucus.¹³⁸¹ The conference discussed the upcoming controversial October 8-11 SDS anti-war actions planned for Chicago by the RYM-1 (Weathermen). The original SDS plan of a “broad-based, mass and militant action centering on making the demand, ‘U.S. get out of Vietnam now,’” was changed to direct actions of “vandalizing homes,

¹³⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁷⁹ “The New Communist Movement: The Early Groups, 1969-1974,” Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism On-Line, <http://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-1/index.htm>. Accessed September 19, 2013.

¹³⁸⁰ Mark Rudd, Jeff Jones, Bill Ayers, Michael Klonsky, and Bernardine Dohrn, “Letter from S.D.S. Leadership (June 23, 1969),” Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism On-Line, originally published in *The Black Panther*, July 5, 1969, <http://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-1/sds-bpp.htm>. Accessed September 19, 2013.

¹³⁸¹ “RYM-2 meets,” Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism On-Line, first published in *The Guardian*, September 27, 1969, <http://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-1/rym2-meets.htm>. Accessed September 19, 2013.

businesses, and automobiles as well as assaulting police officers.”¹³⁸² RYM-2 denounced the Weathermen’s new plans as “adventurist and attacks on the people.” Therefore RYM-2 made plans for separate actions in Chicago “consistent with the original SDS resolution.”^{1383 1384}

Meanwhile, in July, the Black Panthers called for a “United Front Against Fascism” and predicted that 1970 would be the year of the “Revolution.”¹³⁸⁵ By the summer of 1969 the Movement had begun to believe that the Revolution was a certainty, and that it was already unfolding.¹³⁸⁶ Even Lenny Heller wrote a “fantasy novel” about how white revolutionaries would take their guns onto the streets in Berkeley on July 4.¹³⁸⁷ In reality, students and their allies were far from pulling off a true revolution due to the lack of support from “larger sections of society.”¹³⁸⁸ Nevertheless, because the new left was originally inspired by the civil rights movement, much of it still “extended moral title to black leadership,” even after the rise of Black Power and as some “were shooting down, or being shot down in gun battles with police and being convicted of murder.”¹³⁸⁹ Moreover, with the turn towards revolution, the new leaders of the Movement over the years had evolved to include such groups as the Black Panthers, Hells Angels, Diggers, and Motherfuckers, all whom Marvin Garson (underground newspaper editor of the San Francisco *Express Times*) described as “young, tough, crime-seared ‘brothers on the block’ with their militaristic drills.”¹³⁹⁰ Movement news during the summer of 1969 included five people invading a Rockefeller Center draft board in New York City on the fourth of July, who “shredded 6,500 1-5 files, damaged 1-A keys on typewriters and destroyed cross-reference books.”¹³⁹¹ On July 27, Sam Melville, Jane Alpert, and others (with ties to the Weathermen and the Black Panthers) bombed the United Fruit Company-owned Grace Pier in New York City.¹³⁹² Then on August 2 and 15, the New York 8 invaded draft boards and

¹³⁸² Ibid.

¹³⁸³ Ibid.

¹³⁸⁴ Mike Klonsky and Noel Ignatin, “A Call to All Proletarian Youth and Proletarian Organizations,” Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism On-Line, originally published in *The Revolutionary Youth Movement* newspaper, 1969, <http://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-1/a-call-to-all.htm>. Accessed September 19 2013.

¹³⁸⁵ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 345.

¹³⁸⁶ Ibid., 347.

¹³⁸⁷ Ibid., 316.

¹³⁸⁸ Ibid., 346.

¹³⁸⁹ Ibid., 348-349.

¹³⁹⁰ Ibid., 350.

¹³⁹¹ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 200.

¹³⁹² Christopher Hewitt, *Political Violence and Terrorism in Modern America: A Chronology* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2005), 46.

damaged records in the Bronx, and in the Jamaica, Long Island, part of New York City.¹³⁹³ On August 20, Sam Melville and others bombed the Marine Midland Building in New York City, resulting in 20 injuries.¹³⁹⁴

Then on the night of August 8, “Manson family hippie crazies” brutally murdered actress Sharon Tate (wife of famed director Roman Polanski), her eight-and-a-half-month unborn baby, and four others in her home.¹³⁹⁵ The following night they also savagely murdered supermarket executive Leno LaBianca and his wife Rosemary, and once again used the victims’ blood to write revolutionary slogans such as “Rise” and “Death to Pigs” on the living room walls.¹³⁹⁶ According to Vincent Bugliosi, the Los Angeles County deputy district attorney (who successfully prosecuted Charles Manson and several other members of his “family”), the crimes were committed because of Charles Manson’s Helter-skelter/Armageddon theory of igniting a race war. His plan was to carry out murders that would be blamed on Black Power groups, which according to design would “force a police crackdown on the blacks who would retaliate with war against the whites. The blacks would win. Then Manson and his band would emerge from their magical cave under Death Valley and ‘lead’ (i.e., re-enslave) the victors.”¹³⁹⁷ What made the news of the murders so shocking, besides their brutality (in the Tate murders, the victims received 169 stab wounds and seven gunshot wounds), was that the killers were young (mostly female) “flower children.”¹³⁹⁸ ¹³⁹⁹ However, this remained unknown till December 1, when the Los Angeles Police Department gave a press conference announcing that the case had been solved.¹⁴⁰⁰ Even so, the Manson family had started during the Summer of Love in Haight-Ashbury, which made them very much a part of the counter-cultural hippie movement, except for Charlie, their guru-type leader, who had been a career criminal all his life.¹⁴⁰¹ Manson taught his twisted ideas to his young followers, one “a theory of opposites,

¹³⁹³ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 200.

¹³⁹⁴ “Blast Rips Bank in Financial Area; 20 Hurt at Marine Midland -- ‘Device’ is Blamed,” *New York Times*, August 21, 1969, A47.

¹³⁹⁵ Vincent Bugliosi and Curt Gentry, *Helter Skelter: The True Story of the Manson Murders* (New York City: W.W. Norton & Company, 1994), 28-38.

¹³⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 176-184.

¹³⁹⁷ William Crawford Woods, “From the Stacks: ‘Demon in the Counterculture,’” *New Republic*, January 4, 1975, <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/114233/stacks-charles-manson-helter-skelter-and-counterculture>. Accessed September 22, 2013.

¹³⁹⁸ “The Manson Murders at 40 [Bugliosi interview],” *The Sixties*, <http://sixties-l.blogspot.hu/2009/08/manson-murders-at-40-bugliosi-interview.html>. Accessed September 22, 2013.

¹³⁹⁹ Murray Whyte. “Charles Manson was the Real Face of 1969,” *Toronto Star*, August 8, 2009, <http://sixties-l.blogspot.hu/2009/08/charles-manson-was-real-face-of-1969.html>. Accessed September 22, 2013.

¹⁴⁰⁰ “Timeline 1969,” <http://www.charliemanson.com/timeline-1969.htm>. Accessed September 23, 2013.

¹⁴⁰¹ “The Manson Murders at 40 [Bugliosi interview],” *The Sixties*, <http://sixties-l.blogspot.hu/2009/08/manson-murders-at-40-bugliosi-interview.html>. Accessed September 22, 2013.

involving a 'love' that called for killing (Susan Atkins would say she had to love Sharon Tate a lot to kill her with the relish she felt).¹⁴⁰² The atrocious nature of the crimes made many people, such as author Joan Didion, write afterwards that what had taken place signaled (once again) an end to the Sixties era, as it "sent shock waves through the country."¹⁴⁰³ During the summer and fall of 1969, hippies still overall had a reputation for peaceful and loving behavior; the murders by the Manson family changed this perception – now there were hippie killers?¹⁴⁰⁴ On the other hand, violence-bent revolutionary organizations such as the Weathermen and the Yippies cheered and celebrated what Manson and his family had done. The murders were considered "an exemplary political act," in which the victims were simply "pigs," and "their murder was a triumph of the revolutionary will."¹⁴⁰⁵ In a speech during the December 1969 Flint, Michigan "War Council" meeting, organized by the Weathermen, Bernardine Dohrn (one of its leaders) said, "First they killed those pigs, then they ate dinner in the same room with them, then they even shoved a fork into the pig Tate's stomach! Wild!"¹⁴⁰⁶ Moreover, many of the delegates at the war council, when greeting each other, often spread their fingers to signify the fork.¹⁴⁰⁷ Yippie Jerry Rubin declared, "I fell in love with Charlie Manson the first time I saw his cherub face and sparkling eyes on TV"¹⁴⁰⁸ In his book *We Are Everywhere*, Rubin later wrote, "His words and courage inspired us."¹⁴⁰⁹

On August 15-18, 1969, the Woodstock Music & Art Fair (or informally, the Woodstock Festival) was held at Max Yasgur's 600-acre dairy farm near Bethel, New York. One of the largest rock festivals in history, over 500,000 young people gathered to enjoy and meet fellow hippies and/or to listen to 32 of some of the most famous rock bands at the time.¹⁴¹⁰ It was the most talked-about counter-cultural event, not only during 1969,

¹⁴⁰² William Crawford Woods, "From the Stacks: 'Demon in the Counterculture,'" *New Republic*, January 4, 1975, <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/114233/stacks-charles-manson-helter-skelter-and-counterculture>. Accessed September 22, 2013.

¹⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰⁴ Murray Whyte. "Charles Manson was the Real Face of 1969," *Toronto Star*, August 8, 2009, <http://sixties-1.blogspot.hu/2009/08/charles-manson-was-real-face-of-1969.html>. Accessed September 22, 2013.

¹⁴⁰⁵ William Crawford Woods, "From the Stacks: 'Demon in the Counterculture,'" *New Republic*, January 4, 1975, <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/114233/stacks-charles-manson-helter-skelter-and-counterculture>. Accessed September 22, 2013

¹⁴⁰⁶ Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2004), 160.

¹⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰⁸ Erika Berg, "Manson: The Man vs. the Myth," *Reel American History*, http://digital.lib.lehigh.edu/trial/reels/films/list/0_12_9. Accessed September 23, 2013.

¹⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹⁰ "State Investigating Handling of Tickets at Woodstock Fair," *New York Times*, August 27, 1969, A45.

but perhaps ever.¹⁴¹¹ For many people it symbolized the cosmic beginnings of the Age of Aquarius.¹⁴¹² For others it represented the peak of the hippie movement that had first exploded into mass consciousness awareness two years earlier, during the Summer of Love in San Francisco.¹⁴¹³ Yet, in complete contradiction, others called it “the death throes of the counterculture,” or the end (at least the beginning of the end) of the Sixties.¹⁴¹⁴ One thing was certain, however: the overly positive portrayal of the rock festival in the documentary film entitled *Woodstock* (released on March 26, 1970) transformed and elevated the event into some sort of a spiritual epic awakening.¹⁴¹⁵ Woodstock became the emblem for the whole idealized notion of creating a new world of peace, love, and togetherness. Nonetheless, similar to the myth of the Sixties in general, the reality behind the legendary rock festival was much more complicated – it was not all optimism, unity, and peace.¹⁴¹⁶

Certainly, in some sense, the Woodstock festival was a success as it averted any number of major disasters that easily could have occurred (not to speak of producing some truly loving magical vibes and connections between individuals and their sense of taking part in a now-huge counter-cultural movement and community). Max Yasgur famously told the audience (on August 17) how they were an example to the whole world, of showing that even in not very ideal conditions people could have “three days of fun and music and nothing but fun and music.”¹⁴¹⁷ Perhaps this favorable portrayal of what had occurred rang true overall, but beneath the surface not all was running smoothly or harmoniously. In fact, Woodstock teetered on catastrophe throughout the whole ordeal. It could have ended on a much sourer note (like Altamont a few months later) with just a little less luck. Moreover, Woodstock was more the exception than the norm of how most rock festivals turned out during the Sixties era, as Newport ‘69 and Denver Pop Festival (both held in June) had experienced “large-scale violence” and “gate-crashing” only weeks before.¹⁴¹⁸

¹⁴¹¹ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 2.

¹⁴¹² “An Aquarian Exposition At Woodstock 1969,” Woodstock Story (2009), <http://www.woodstockstory.com/aquarianexposition.html>. Accessed October 9, 2013.

¹⁴¹³ “Hippie History,” oldhippie, <http://oldhippie.jimgreenlee.com/hiphistory.html>. Accessed October 9, 2013.

¹⁴¹⁴ Deanna D. Daley, “Woodstock, End of an Era,” Stevens Henager College (November 2012), <http://www.studymode.com/essays/Woodstock-End-Of-An-Era-1225657.html>. Accessed October 9, 2013.

¹⁴¹⁵ “40 Years After... The Great Woodstock Myth (Dedicated with love to Wavy Gravy . . . It’s a Joke Man),” The Truth About Woodstock, http://www.areuonsomething.com/features_woodstock.html. Accessed October 9, 2013.

¹⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴¹⁷ “Statement on the Historical and Cultural Significance of the 1969 Woodstock Festival Site,” Woodstock - Preservation Archives (March 5, 2002), <http://www.woodstockpreservation.org/SignificanceStatement.htm>. Accessed September 25, 2013.

¹⁴¹⁸ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 93.

The promoters of Woodstock experienced problems from the start, first and foremost in their difficulty in finding a location for the festival, as local people in several New York towns blocked their plans (especially at Wallkill, where the town voted legally through the Zoning Board of Appeals to stop them).¹⁴¹⁹ After leasing Max Yasgur's farm for 50,000 dollars just a month before the scheduled date, there was little time for properly planning certain facilities.¹⁴²⁰ Compounding the problem was the fact that hundreds of thousands of more people began to show up than was expected. This deluge caused severe shortages of food, water, medical supplies, and sanitation facilities, to the degree that Sullivan County had to declare a state of emergency (and much-needed supplies were dropped from helicopters).¹⁴²¹ One saving grace that helped avert total disaster was the invitation given to Wavy Gravy and his communal Hog Farm to act as security and all-around helpers. They first of all kept the crowds fairly mellow (as there was an undercurrent of restlessness and frustration), acting as a "Please Force" and not as a police force.¹⁴²² With the use of their non-intrusive methods (controlling things with expressions such as "Please don't do that, please do this instead") they lessened the chance for major violence to occur.¹⁴²³ The decision to make the festival free also helped reduce tensions, as the fence surrounding the concert to keep non-paying people out had already been torn down by concert-goers the night before the first officially scheduled day (assuring that the festival would be a financial failure).¹⁴²⁴ With no way to control the crowds coming in, the talk of adding more security to protect the perimeter or cancelling the festival, was quickly voted down (mostly over the apprehension that the hordes would turn angry and "tear the stage down," if not "murder you").¹⁴²⁵ Meanwhile, threats coming from the radical hip underground were still very much a possibility. First of all, Abbie Hoffman of the Yippies demanded \$10,000 from the Woodstock promoters, threatening them by saying, "We're going to bring this whole thing down around your ears and if you don't want us to do that you'll write a check."¹⁴²⁶ Another problem arose when the Up Against the Wall Motherfuckers radical group announced that they were going to Woodstock to confront the

¹⁴¹⁹ Jennifer Rosenberg, "The Woodstock Festival of 1969," About, <http://history1900s.about.com/od/1960s/p/woodstock.htm>. Accessed October 20, 2013.

¹⁴²⁰ Joel Makower, *Woodstock: The Oral History 40th Anniversary Edition* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2009), 1.

¹⁴²¹ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 127.

¹⁴²² Wavy Gravy, *The Hog Farm and Friends* (New York: Links Press, 1992), 72-74.

¹⁴²³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴²⁴ Makower, *Woodstock*, 202.

¹⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*, 179.

¹⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*, 109.

police. On their leaflets it said, “Let’s all go to Woodstock and greet the New York fuzz, who will be up there unarmed. Let’s give them a real warm welcome.”¹⁴²⁷ As a result, the New York Police Commissioner issued a memorandum forbidding his men to go up to Woodstock “where they may be subjected to the threat of a mob.”¹⁴²⁸ Other threats of violence came from various motorcycle clubs who always seemed to act threateningly and violently towards the counter-culture “milking the community and the kids for all they could get out of it.”¹⁴²⁹ Another possibility of bloodshed arose from New York Governor Rockefeller’s intention of sending 10,000 National Guard troops to “remove everyone” at this “illegal gathering” (which he was talked out of doing).^{1430 1431} Potential violence also revolved around the issue of food. Right before the start of the festival, all the “legitimate” vendor people “pulled out” leaving only the unknown “Food for Love” people in charge, who then threatened to “cause mischief” if their financial demands were not met.¹⁴³² Then during the festival many concert-goers got angry at being sold “five-dollar hot dogs,” and at one point a group of these “outraged consumers with torches burning” marched towards the “Food for Love encampment” and threatened “to burn them out” (luckily enough they soon ran out of food and also the Hog Farm distributed free food, which helped diffuse things).¹⁴³³

In reality, the Woodstock festival was a far cry from offering a pure vision of how humanity should live “to save the planet.”¹⁴³⁴ There were plenty of incidents of violence, dissension, and other overall negative occurrences before, during and after the event. As at other rock festivals, there were near riots during times of music delays. Woodstock artist coordinator Bill Belmont stated, “I know crowds turn ugly especially when things don’t go the way they’re supposed to. . . . The whole concept of peace and love was a state of mind. It was not a reality. Crowds are always crowds.”¹⁴³⁵ Additionally, a near riot occurred when hungry people started pushing to get to the food dropped by a military helicopter.¹⁴³⁶ Meanwhile, there were some people seen with guns and knives at Woodstock.¹⁴³⁷ In town,

¹⁴²⁷ Ibid., 153.

¹⁴²⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴²⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴³⁰ Ibid., 271.

¹⁴³¹ Ibid., 247.

¹⁴³² Ibid., 206.

¹⁴³³ Ibid.

¹⁴³⁴ Ibid., 272.

¹⁴³⁵ Ibid., 180.

¹⁴³⁶ Ibid., 213.

¹⁴³⁷ Ibid., 203.

a fight at the grocery store ended up with a guy holding a knife to another one's throat.¹⁴³⁸ Abbie Hoffman warned Woodstock co-producer Michael Lang that "somebody's got a knife" in front of the stage, and "we've got to get him."¹⁴³⁹ Biker guards from the "Queens" were ready to "clear some bodies."¹⁴⁴⁰ Production coordinator for Woodstock John Morris grabbed Sly Stone before he performed on stage and "slammed him into the side of the trailer" during an altercation.¹⁴⁴¹ In additionally, many people were seen fighting with each other while freaking out on drugs.¹⁴⁴² Some people also taunted the greatly outnumbered police by blowing marijuana smoke in their faces; others were "gassed."^{1443 1444} As far as unity was concerned, it wasn't always the case, either. For example, there was a special "Movement City" set up for political groups who ran booths and the underground press and had their own music and entertainment but were separated by woods from the main music and camping area of Woodstock, and made little effort to attract people "either by action or signs."¹⁴⁴⁵ While most festival-goers suffered from severe lack of basic necessities, performers were completely unconscious as to what was going on "out here," as they were helicoptered to and from the concert site, ate the finest foods, slept in fancy hotels, and were protected by body guards.¹⁴⁴⁶ A heated argument erupted during a helicopter shuttle over whether or not the first priority was to transport cases of champagne for the musicians or stretchers and plasma for the injured. Abbie Hoffman, representing the sick, expressed himself forcefully: "There are goddamned people needing blood transfusions and you're shipping up grapes and foie gras and champagne for the goddamned singers. You want this goddamned music played to dead people or what?"¹⁴⁴⁷ Meanwhile legendary rock promoter Bill Graham was seen arguing with everyone from a helicopter pilot to the producers of Woodstock; according to Frank Fava (a member of the "'black shirt' heavy security" team at Woodstock), Graham "really detested Michael Lang."¹⁴⁴⁸ Moreover, main organizers themselves were heard having "heated discussions" with plenty of loud "Fuck you's," and a lot of other cursing during

¹⁴³⁸ Ibid., 219.

¹⁴³⁹ Ibid., 236.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., 207.

¹⁴⁴¹ Ibid., 195.

¹⁴⁴² Ibid., 209.

¹⁴⁴³ Ibid., 232.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., 155.

¹⁴⁴⁵ "The Woodstock Experience (1969)," HipChat (November 14, 2007),

<http://hippy.com/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=341>. Accessed October 21, 2013.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Makower, *Woodstock*, 261.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., 262.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., 224.

the crisis-filled festival.¹⁴⁴⁹ Other bickering involved situations dealing with money. Bands like the Grateful Dead and The Who refused to play unless they were paid in cash (fearing that Woodstock promoters would not have the money afterwards). They forced the promoters to come up with the money in the middle of the night, which they did out of fear that the crowd would tear the place apart in a riot if they found out that these popular bands would not be playing.¹⁴⁵⁰ Other incidents included Abbie Hoffman being hit in the head by The Who guitarist Peter Townshend while trying to say something about White Panther Party leader John Sinclair getting a ten-year prison sentence for one marijuana cigarette. Many thought it was “uncool,” “bad vibes,” and an “insult” to knock Hoffman off the front of the stage, as what he had to say was just as important as MC Chip Monck telling the crowd that “Mary, meet Adam at the green tent.”¹⁴⁵¹ Besides, many people (including folk singer Joan Baez) did not think that Woodstock was “political enough”; plenty had wanted to make political statements but didn’t feel they had the chance.^{1452 1453} As a result, some at Woodstock printed “anti-Woodstock literature” with their printing press right there in the woods at “Movement City.”¹⁴⁵⁴ Finally, Woodstock had a lot of other unfavorable aspects to it. According to the state Health Department report released October 4, 1969, there were 5,162 medical cases reported at Woodstock, out of which 797 were drug-abuse related (one of which resulted in a drug overdose death; another death resulted from a health condition).¹⁴⁵⁵ Lots of people were seen “freaking out on drugs” at the festival.¹⁴⁵⁶ According to some, a lot of “crazy flip-outs” from LSD occurred after it was announced from the stage that there was “bad acid” going around, and many got paranoid.¹⁴⁵⁷ Others had bad drug trips from mescaline, methadone, marijuana, amphetamines, or by taking various other types of pills or tablets.¹⁴⁵⁸ “Acid casualties were sent to the ‘freak out center.’”¹⁴⁵⁹ One guy there on amphetamines had to be talked down carefully as he had a knife and “he was going to use it if anybody got near him.”¹⁴⁶⁰ The Hog Farm helped out tremendously, calming down the many people who were having bad acid trips resulting

¹⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., 207.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 242.

¹⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 236-238.

¹⁴⁵² Ibid., 194.

¹⁴⁵³ Ibid., 273.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., 155.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Ryan Kent, “There Were Drugs at Woodstock!?” Lehigh University (May 2000), <http://www.lehigh.edu/~ineng/jac/jac-ryan4.htm>. Accessed October 19, 2013.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Makower, *Woodstock*, 209.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., 263.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., 254-257.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., 260.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., 268.

from some sort of “brown acid” that was circulating at the festival.¹⁴⁶¹ However, what made things into a near “medical disaster” was not only the lack of nurses and doctors, but the lack of antibiotics and anti-convulsant medications for sewing up the small lacerations resulting from “stepping on wire or glass barefoot.”¹⁴⁶² The small medical crew was overwhelmed by the thousands of cases of accidents, injuries, and sickness (such as hepatitis), often going without much sleep, food, or water.¹⁴⁶³ Other problems stemmed from the weather. Tornado-type storms hit the festival, especially on Sunday, with fifty- and sixty-mile-an-hour winds.¹⁴⁶⁴ Spotlight towers began to sway dangerously, and with people climbing on top of them to get a better view of the music, there was a real threat of disaster for those on the towers and those people who were underneath. As the rains and lightening came, so did the fear of having people hit by lightning, and the destruction of the “billion volts of equipment,” which was shut down as fast as possible. Another problem at first was that not all the sound system and stage light wires were buried.¹⁴⁶⁵ According to John Morris, just as the bad weather hit, he experienced one of his worst moments in life with Joan Baez having a miscarriage, his wife Annie falling down and breaking her ankle, his dog disappearing, and hearing that there was a guy in the audience with a gun (there was also a fire, but that was the day before).¹⁴⁶⁶ ¹⁴⁶⁷ A lot of Sunday was without music because of the rains and by evening many people began to leave the festival site.¹⁴⁶⁸ But for a good three days, the “kids were essentially in control, and it was lawless” as there were “ten square miles where no traffic moved and all the arteries were clogged,” with little law enforcement.¹⁴⁶⁹ But this clout was not necessarily congenial, as Leon Greenberg (president of the Monticello Raceway) described how “these kids were dressed in bizarre fashion and no respect for any other’s property. They just would walk onto your property as if they owned it.”¹⁴⁷⁰ After it was all over, people left behind a foot deep of debris in front of the store in Bethel.¹⁴⁷¹ They also left “soggy wet sleeping bags and cardboard boxes and newspapers and picnic wrappers and just a sea of junk all sunk in the mud” at

¹⁴⁶¹ “Brown Acid Warning,” hark, <http://www.hark.com/clips/ygmhswswk-brown-acid-warning>. Accessed October 19, 2013.

¹⁴⁶² Makower, *Woodstock*, 254-257.

¹⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 278-279.

¹⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 277.

¹⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 278-279.

¹⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 182.

¹⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 275-276.

¹⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 247.

¹⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 226.

¹⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 219.

the festival site.¹⁴⁷² Moreover, abandoned broken chairs and tents, “all knocked down and trampled on” were left rotting away in the fields.¹⁴⁷³ A mound of clothes and trash created an “incredible stench” until it was hauled away days and weeks later.¹⁴⁷⁴ Most members of the Woodstock clean-up crew fully expected to find dead bodies of drug overdosed hippies in the garbage and in the surrounding woods (one body of a dead 16-year-old who was run over by a tractor while sleeping was found during the festival).¹⁴⁷⁵ In the end, thirty cars were stolen at Woodstock, and the Hog Farm was accused of stealing everything that wasn’t nailed down.¹⁴⁷⁶ One could say that it wasn’t exactly the awakened state of consciousness required for starting a new world of universal brotherhood (three days is not a really big test, anyway, for creating a new world). A *New York Times* editorial headline called Woodstock a “Nightmare in the Catskills,” writing about “the lowest state to which youth had fallen.”¹⁴⁷⁷ While most who organized Woodstock would not go that far, most saw the Woodstock festival as a failure and were not very happy about how it turned out (the myth over the years changed many of their perspectives, though). Wavy Gravy tried to give it a positive spin saying, “There is always a little bit of heaven in a disaster area.”¹⁴⁷⁸ The mystique of Woodstock was said to have been that people were forced to “not freak out” and thus “stay together,” to overcome the mud and all the discomfort, which brought people together in a Woodstock Nation.^{1479 1480 1481} Ultimately, those who view Woodstock as more of an end of the Sixties than a peak of a movement (or the beginning of a new Age of Aquarius to come), base their perspective on seeing the festival in all its imperfections, but they tend to over-idealize of what occurred during the several years leading up to the summer of 1969. Those who see Woodstock as a symbol of a New Age are in denial of both the negative aspects of the festival and anything contradicting their overly positive account of the early years (and the then-present state) of the counter-cultural movement.

Throughout September, the Weathermen organized into “squads” and illegally broke into mostly white “blue-collar” high schools, during class hours, to create chaos and

¹⁴⁷² Ibid., 289.

¹⁴⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., 295.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 299.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., 297-299.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., 228.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., 272.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., 155.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., 259.

¹⁴⁸¹ Ibid., 281.

inspire the teenagers to join them for their upcoming “Days of Rage” protests planned in Chicago and for the coming revolution in general.¹⁴⁸² In various cities (including Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, and Boston), they began “pushing teachers around, binding and gagging them, delivering revolutionary homilies,” and screaming “Jailbreak.”¹⁴⁸³ In Pittsburgh, on September 3, about seventy-five Weatherwomen carrying a Vietcong flag marched into South Hills High School and began to distribute leaflets and spray paint “Ho Lives” (in reference to North Vietnam leader Ho Chi Minh, who had recently died) and “Free Huey” (the Black Panther Party leader who had recently been arrested after a gunfight that left a police officer dead) onto the school’s main entrance doors.¹⁴⁸⁴ They also interrupted classes, telling the students that what they were being taught “was false information,” and they needed to participate in a “jailbreak.”¹⁴⁸⁵ As some students followed them outside, a fight erupted between the protesters and a group of construction workers. Twenty-six Weatherwomen were arrested and charged with “rioting, inciting a riot, and disorderly conduct” (some reports claimed that “the women ran through the school topless”).¹⁴⁸⁶ The end result was not a unified youth. In fact, only a handful of students “joined up for the chance to vent some class spleen,” and the majority instead turned on the radicals and “threw punches at them,” and in some places literally chased them out of their neighborhoods.¹⁴⁸⁷ Moreover, the Weathermen invaded colleges too in September. At Harvard, twenty Weathermen marched on the school’s Center for International Affairs (known for counterinsurgency research) and “smashed windows, yanked out phones, shoved secretaries and beat three professors.”¹⁴⁸⁸ It was at this point that the RYM II began to view the Weathermen as violent “maniacs.”¹⁴⁸⁹ They quickly distanced themselves, and then completely broke off their alliance to “find their own working-class base.”¹⁴⁹⁰

¹⁴⁸² Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 391.

¹⁴⁸³ Thai Jones, *A Radical Line: From the Labor Movement to the Weather Underground, One Family’s Century of Conscience* (New York: Free Press, 2004), 199.

¹⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 200.

¹⁴⁸⁵ “Long Live Ho Chi Minh,” *Guardian*, September 13, 1969, Sec. 2.1.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Jones, *A Radical Line*, 201.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 391.

¹⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

In other news, on September 16, thousands of students throughout the Southwest skipped high schools in what was the “First National Chicano Boycott.”¹⁴⁹¹ The rise of the “Chicano Power Movement” consisted of rejecting not only the political mainstream, but also the “white-dominated student Left” for “initially marginalized people of color.”¹⁴⁹² Their goal became “cultural regeneration, the negation of assimilation into the dominant society, and Chicano self-determination” (similarly to all the other third world groups).¹⁴⁹³ However, some white student activists increasingly felt that the third world emphasis on “cultural nationalism” fragmented their efforts in sustaining a unified revolutionary movement, and now marginalized them - forcing them out of leadership positions.¹⁴⁹⁴ The only choice for whites now seemed “to either join in the world revolution led by the blacks, the yellows, and the browns, or being put down as U.S. imperialist pigs by the people of the Third World.”¹⁴⁹⁵ Another point of contention continued to be the use of explosives as a protest tactic by radical groups, as 1969 saw a dramatic jump in the assault of the symbols of power. A striking example was the September 19 bombing of the offices of the Department of Commerce and the Army Inspector General in New York City, carried out by Sam Melville and his group.¹⁴⁹⁶ On October 7 they struck again, this time bombing the Army Induction Center on Whitehall Street in New York City.¹⁴⁹⁷ A letter sent to the *New York Times* by the bombers read: “The Establishment is in for some big surprises if it thinks that kangaroo courts and death sentences can arrest a revolution.”¹⁴⁹⁸ In the meantime, on September 24, the Chicago Seven trial began by charging the defendants - Abbie Hoffman (Yippies), Jerry Rubin (Yippies), David Dellinger, Tom Hayden (SDS), Rennie Davis (SDS), John Froines, and Lee Weiner – of crossing state lines to incite a riot, to teach the making of an incendiary device, and to commit acts to impede law enforcement officers in their lawful duties related to the countercultural protests that took place in Chicago, Illinois, on the occasion of the 1968 Democratic National

¹⁴⁹¹ Oscar Rosales Castañeda, “The Chicano Movement in Washington State 1967-2006 : Part 1- Political Activism,” Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project (2006), http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/Chicanomovement_part1.htm. Accessed October 25, 2013.

¹⁴⁹² Ibid.

¹⁴⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Mort Scheer, “Nationalism Divides Workers – Don’t Be a Sucker for the Bosses [PL Replies to Its Critics],” *Progressive Labor* 7(3) (November 1969), <http://www.marxists.org/history/erol/1960-1970/plreplytocritics.htm>. Accessed October 27, 2013.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 391.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Hewitt, *Political Violence and Terrorism in Modern America*, 47.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Ibid. 48.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Allyn, Bobby, “1969, a Year of Bombings,” *The New York Times*, August 27, 2009, http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/08/27/1969-a-year-of-bombings/?_r=0 Accessed October 27, 2013.

Convention.¹⁴⁹⁹ On October 9, the United States National Guard was called in for crowd control as demonstrations grew outside the courtroom (the trial extended for months with many celebrated figures from the American left and counterculture called to testify, including folk singers Phil Ochs, Judy Collins, and Arlo Guthrie, writer Norman Mailer, LSD advocate Timothy Leary, and Reverend Jesse Jackson).¹⁵⁰⁰

From October 8 to 11 the Weathermen held their “Days of Rage” protests in Chicago, against the war in Vietnam that was “killing two thousand innocent people a day.”¹⁵⁰¹ They decided on a series of violent direct actions around the theme of “bring the war home,” which meant the Weathermen would “bring to American streets the taste of the violence which they saw the U.S. delivering in Vietnam.”¹⁵⁰² During all four days they vandalized businesses, homes, and automobiles as well as assaulted police officers, resulting in dozens of injuries and at least 280 members of the Weather Underground being arrested.¹⁵⁰³ Moreover, as a warm up to the planned confrontations, on October 6, the statue commemorating the policemen killed in the 1886 Haymarket affair in Chicago was blown up, during which time it was predicted that “20,000 angry youths would come to ‘pig city,’” to help ignite an “all-out civil war.”¹⁵⁰⁴ Nonetheless, despite major efforts in recruiting youth for the riots, only about 800 Weatherman members showed up to face 2000 police officers.¹⁵⁰⁵ The hoped-for vision was to destroy the American imperialist and racist society with trained “fighters” that would be a “first step in building a new Communist Party and a Red Army.”¹⁵⁰⁶ However, the disappointing turnout for the “Days of Rage” showed that most student radicals were still unwilling to take the next step of joining violent groups of “anti-imperialist fighters” that were “willing to die in battle.”¹⁵⁰⁷

Nonetheless, on October 8, the Weathermen, while waiting for more people to arrive, met in Lincoln Park and began chanting, “Revolution’s begun! Off the pig! Pick up

¹⁴⁹⁹ “Indictment in the Chicago Seven Conspiracy Trial,” United States District Court Northern District of Illinois Eastern Division, <http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/Chicago7/indictment.html>. Accessed September 4, 2011.

¹⁵⁰⁰ Douglas O. Linder, “The Chicago Seven Conspiracy Trial,” Famous Trials, <http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/Chicago7/Account.html>. Accessed September 25, 2011.

¹⁵⁰¹ “Days of Rage 1969,” online video clip, Youtube, May 3, 2012, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y8AnF2RkMV8>. Accessed October 29, 2013.

¹⁵⁰² Ibid.

¹⁵⁰³ “FBI Documents on the WUO, Part 1a, Chicago Field Office, 1976,” FBI, <http://foia.fbi.gov/foiaindex/weather.htm>. Accessed October 7, 2013.

¹⁵⁰⁴ “Statue Honoring Police Is Blown Up in Chicago,” *New York Times*, October 8, 1969, A4.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Harold Jacobs, ed., *Weatherman* (Berkeley, California: Ramparts Press, 1970), 86.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 392.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Ibid., 391.

the gun!¹⁵⁰⁸ That evening, John Jacobs of the Weathermen stood on the pedestal of the bombed Haymarket policemen's statue and declared: "We'll probably lose people today. . . . We don't really have to win here . . . just the fact that we are willing to fight the police is a political victory."¹⁵⁰⁹ The goal for the "Days of Rage," according to Jacobs, was as follows: "Weathermen would shove the war down their [the government's] dumb, fascist throats and show them, while we were at it, how much better we were than them, both tactically and strategically, as a people. In an all-out civil war over Vietnam and other fascist U.S. imperialism, we were going to bring the war home. 'Turn the imperialists' war into a civil war,' in Lenin's words. And we were going to kick ass."¹⁵¹⁰ At 10:25 p.m., 350 people, many of them wearing motorcycle or football helmets and carrying steel pipes, chains, sling shots, and baseball bats, began to "charge south through the city toward the Drake Hotel and the exceptionally affluent Gold Coast neighborhood, smashing windows in automobiles and buildings as they went."¹⁵¹¹ The protesters attacked "ordinary cars, a barber shop . . . and the windows of lower-middle-class homes, as well as police cars and luxury businesses."¹⁵¹² When they met up with the police, they began to assault them too, but quickly lost the hand-to-hand combat as the officers were better trained and armed, using their nightsticks to aim at the "necks, legs and groins" of the young rioters.¹⁵¹³ Moreover, large amounts of tear gas were used on the rioters. Hastily, an "unmarked" police car also arrived "firing revolvers," while two regular police cars ran "full speed" into the crowds.¹⁵¹⁴ This first round of combat ended after only a half an hour, with a total of "28 policemen injured (none seriously), six Weathermen were shot and an unknown number injured, and 68 protesters were arrested."¹⁵¹⁵

The next day, a "Women's Militia" of seventy or so female Weatherman members were "overpowered by police" at Grant Park before they could set out to "raid a draft board office."¹⁵¹⁶ Afterwards, the Weathermen cancelled their evening protests as Illinois Governor Richard Ogilvie announced that he had requested that 2,500 National Guardsmen

¹⁵⁰⁸ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 328.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Bill Ayers, *Fugitive Days: A Memoir* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001), 173.

¹⁵¹⁰ "The Last Radical," *Vancouver Magazine*, November 1998.

¹⁵¹¹ "Days of Rage 1969," online video clip, Youtube, May 3, 2012, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y8AnF2RkMV8>. Accessed October 29, 2013.

¹⁵¹² Jeremy Varon, "Between Revolution 9 and Thesis 11: Or, Will We Learn (Again) to Start Worrying and Change the World?" In *The New Left Revisited: Critical Perspectives on the Past*, John McMillian and Paul Buhle, editors (Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press, 2002), 80.

¹⁵¹³ Sale, *SDS*, 425.

¹⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.* 427.

¹⁵¹⁶ Varon, "Between Revolution 9 and Thesis 11: Or, Will We Learn (Again) to Start Worrying and Change the World?" 81.

come and “protect Chicago.”¹⁵¹⁷ Notwithstanding, for the next three days banks and other businesses were attacked in Chicago by roaming groups of radicals, with a final assault to “reignite the revolution” occurring on October 11.¹⁵¹⁸ This concluding attempt at disorder consisted of about 300 protesters marching through Chicago’s main business district; they successfully broke through police lines and again went on a rampage of smashing windows of cars and stores.¹⁵¹⁹ However, once again the police retook control of the situation, arresting more than half of the crowd, but not before Richard Elrod, a city attorney, was paralyzed after he attempted to tackle a Weatherman member but hit a concrete wall (or as a result of receiving several blows to the neck, as he claimed).¹⁵²⁰ Feeling no sympathy for the critically injured, “the Weathermen later produced a song mocking Elrod, a parody of Bob Dylan’s ‘Lay Lady Lay,’ including the lines Lay, Elrod, lay || Lay in the street for a while || Stay, Elrod, stay || Stay in your bed for a while.”¹⁵²¹ The Weathermen had also uncovered a police informant amongst them and severely beaten him.¹⁵²²

With much less publicity, other groups also protested during the “Days of Rage,” but peacefully. RYM II held rallies almost every day, consisting of “several hundred people” in front of the federal courthouse, an International Harvester factory, and the Cook County Hospital.¹⁵²³ At the October 9 RYM II rally (at the courthouse), Black Panther leader Fred Hampton disassociated his group from the Weathermen, saying, “We do not support people who are anarchistic, opportunistic, adventuristic, and Custeristic” (as he knocked Weatherman Mark Rudd down on the ground, calling him “a motherfucking masochist.”)¹⁵²⁴ Moreover, he said that the actions of the Weathermen could “alienate potential allies and invite an escalation of police oppression” and “bring down the wrath of the police on the ghetto.”¹⁵²⁵ Indeed, the “Days of Rage” tactic of using violence to open up “another front against imperialism right here in America” split the Movement even further apart; it “permanently damaged the relationship between Weatherman, SDS and the

¹⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵¹⁸ “Days of Rage 1969,” online video clip, Youtube, May 3, 2012, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v-Y8AnF2RkMV8>. Accessed October 29, 2013.

¹⁵¹⁹ Sale, *SDS*, 427.

¹⁵²⁰ “Days of Rage 1969,” online video clip, Youtube, May 3, 2012, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v-Y8AnF2RkMV8>. Accessed October 29, 2013.

¹⁵²¹ “Bernardine Dohrn,” <http://www.discoverthenetworks.org/individualProfile.asp?indid-2190>. Accessed October 8, 2014.

¹⁵²² Cliff Kinkaid, “The Park Police Station Bombing Case,” *America’s Survival* (1970), <http://www.usasurvival.org/home/docs/bombing.case.pdf>. Accessed October 8, 2014.

¹⁵²³ Sale, *SDS*, 426.

¹⁵²⁴ “The Weather Underground,” online video clip, Youtube, October 31, 2013, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v-GUTrk3tcFx4>. Accessed October 8 2014.

¹⁵²⁵ Ibid.

Black Panther Party.”¹⁵²⁶ The Weathermen turned against the other fragments of SDS (RYM II and PL) now in disarray since June, calling them “wimpy,” as their new goal was bringing in and training working-class street toughs in order to achieve “a life-or-death revolutionary struggle for power.”¹⁵²⁷ Nevertheless, the largest event of the “Days of Rage” occurred on October 10, when RYM II led a peaceful “interracial march of 2,000 people through a Spanish-speaking part of Chicago.”¹⁵²⁸ In the aftermath, the Weathermen, “shaken by casualties and defections,” wrote that “mass street action is a necessary, but a losing tactic.”¹⁵²⁹ Soon they went underground and conducted a campaign of bombings through the mid-1970s.¹⁵³⁰

On October 15, 1969 the more moderate types in the anti-war movement staged a successful national mass protest called the Vietnam Moratorium. It was a one-day pause, a moratorium in business as usual involving for the first time America’s middle class and middle-aged in large numbers.¹⁵³¹ An estimated 10 million people took part in what was the “largest public protest ever held in America.”¹⁵³² People participated in “teach-ins, vigils, rallies, boycotted classes, wore black armbands symbolizing peace, etc.”¹⁵³³ Moreover, 600,000 activists converged in Washington, D.C., in what the *Boston Globe* newspaper described as “Political Woodstock.”¹⁵³⁴ While things were mostly peaceful, outside the White House there were “scuffles” and several people were arrested after the police “clamped down on black activists.”¹⁵³⁵ Moreover, in Portland, Oregon, 400 protesters clashed with police after they attempted to prevent conscripts from entering an army induction center.¹⁵³⁶ The supporters of the war made their views known in various ways.¹⁵³⁷ However, contrary to political analysts who claimed that the anti-war movement

¹⁵²⁶ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 381.

¹⁵²⁷ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 392-393.

¹⁵²⁸ Ron Jacobs, *The Way the Wind Blew: A History of the Weather Underground* (Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 1997), 52.

¹⁵²⁹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 394.

¹⁵³⁰ “The Weather Underground,” online video clip, Youtube, October 31, 2013,

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GUTrk3tcFx4>. Accessed October 8 2014.

¹⁵³¹ “1969: Millions March in US Vietnam Moratorium,” BBC (2008),

http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/october/15/newsid_2533000/2533131.stm. Accessed October 29, 2013.

¹⁵³² Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 330.

¹⁵³³ Ibid.

¹⁵³⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵³⁵ “1969: Millions March in US Vietnam Moratorium,” BBC (2008),

http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/october/15/newsid_2533000/2533131.stm. Accessed October 29, 2013.

¹⁵³⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵³⁷ Ibid.

was on the decline in 1969, the first of many major national demonstrations against the Nixon administration's handling of the war were just beginning.

By the late 1960s the divisions within the Movement included dissent between black versus white women, and revolutionary women versus the mostly white feminist women. All revolutionary women disagreed with the "white" women's fight for "equal rights" and the "right to work," the "right to organize for equal pay, promotions, better conditions," while they and everyone else was "trying to destroy imperialism."¹⁵³⁸ Black and revolutionary women saw the white feminist movement "as racist," and part of the ruling class, as they were willing to fight for "a few more crumbs," but not with men to fight against "pig Amerika," the true source of oppression.¹⁵³⁹ Their liberation, they said, came from the "political power" that grew "out of the barrel of a gun."¹⁵⁴⁰ Revolutionary women saw the need to change themselves and break out of their "passivity" and "inexperience" and "destroy the pigs."¹⁵⁴¹ The women from the Weathermen organization wrote, "Our victory will be political and military – so we must pick up the gun and use it until this system is dead."¹⁵⁴²

Actions to destroy the U.S. ability to wage war in Vietnam continued during the fall as draft board records were set on fire in mid-October in Akron, Ohio.¹⁵⁴³ On October 31, the "Beaver 55" (consisting of only 8 people) shredded records of 44 Indianapolis draft boards, stopping "any possible induction, from these local boards for up to a year."¹⁵⁴⁴ On November 7, Washington Dow Chemical offices were hit again with "files strewn and ink and chemicals splashed around."¹⁵⁴⁵ Also, on the same day, the "Boston 8" entered four Boston locations that housed eight draft boards and shredded files.¹⁵⁴⁶ Still another action on this day consisted of the "Beaver 55" invading Dow Chemical's center in Midland, Michigan, and erasing magnetic tapes "filled with biological and chemical research."¹⁵⁴⁷ Then on November 11, the Silver Spring draft board was again invaded and "draft files were taken and left on a railroad track."¹⁵⁴⁸ Also on this day, Sam Melville, assisted by Jane Alpert and others, carried out bombings in three places in New York City: Chase

¹⁵³⁸ Bloom and Breines, "*Takin' It to the Streets*," 383.

¹⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, 384.

¹⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, 385.

¹⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*, 200.

¹⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 202.

¹⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 201.

¹⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

Manhattan Bank headquarters offices, the General Motors Building, and the Standard Oil offices in the RCA Building, as they became increasingly involved with the Weather Underground and the Black Panther Party.¹⁵⁴⁹ Then on November 12, Melville and his group bombed the New York City Criminal Courts Building on Center Street, where the Panther 21 trial was being held.¹⁵⁵⁰ Hours after the Courts Building bombing, however, the police arrested Melville as he and an FBI informant “placed dynamite charges in National Guard trucks parked outside the 69th Regimental Armory at 26th Street and Lexington Avenue.”¹⁵⁵¹

On November 15, 1969, somewhere around 500,000 people attended a second Moratorium demonstration against the war in Washington D.C., while smaller demonstrations also were held in a many other cities and towns throughout the country.¹⁵⁵² In the capitol, the rally featured speeches by anti-war politicians, which included Eugene McCarthy, George McGovern, and Charles Goodell. There were also musical performances by protest favorites Peter, Paul and Mary, Arlo Guthrie, and Pete Seeger (who led the crowd in the singing of John Lennon’s new song “Give Peace a Chance”).¹⁵⁵³ The crowd, according to the *New York Times*, was “predominantly youthful” and a “mass gathering of the moderate and radical Left . . . old-style liberals; Communists and pacifists and a sprinkling of the violent New Left.”¹⁵⁵⁴ While once again the overall Moratorium demonstrations went relatively peacefully, this second one in the District of Columbia did turn violent near the end. According to Mobe, the co-organizers of the event, the violence that erupted was “deliberately provoked by zealots and crazies.”¹⁵⁵⁵ The Weathermen led a “splinter march” on the South Vietnamese embassy, where they fought with the police and trashed store windows.¹⁵⁵⁶ Another militant splinter group marched on the Justice Department led by Yippie leaders Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman (then on trial as part of the Chicago 8). They threw smoke bombs, rocks, and bottles, built barricades, set fires, and took down the “Amerikan” flag and put up the NLF flag as police sprayed them with tear gas.¹⁵⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴⁹ Jacobs, *The Way the Wind Blew*, 144.

¹⁵⁵⁰ “Court Building Bombed; F.B.I. Seizes 2 at Armory,” *New York Times*, November 13, 1969, A3.

¹⁵⁵¹ “F.B.I. Charges 4 With 8 Bombings Here Since July,” *New York Times*, November 14, 1969, A2.

¹⁵⁵² The Learning Network, “Nov. 15, 1969 | Anti-Vietnam War Demonstration Held,” *New York Times*, November 15, 2011, http://learning.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/11/15/nov-15-1969-anti-vietnam-war-demonstration-held/?_r=0. Accessed October 30, 2013.

¹⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵⁵ Unger and Unger, *The Times Were a Changin'*, 297.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 394.

¹⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

After the November Moratorium (called the “largest single demonstration in American history” with some claiming up to 750,000 in attendance) the great divisions within the anti-war movement not only persisted, but accelerated.¹⁵⁵⁸ First, radicals asserted that afterwards the moderates went into a “hiatus,” not knowing “what to do for an encore.”¹⁵⁵⁹ Meanwhile, they, the new left, continued in the direction of “growing militancy” and “growing commitment to the Revolution,” which moderates claimed would lead the radicals to “growing isolation” from the rest of the Movement and society as a whole.¹⁵⁶⁰ Moreover, instead of having a united front, the revolutionary groups continued to fragment into factions and grow in their hatred towards each other, as they had “competing imaginations” on what to do.¹⁵⁶¹ Also, the “old new left” began to drop out, especially after SDS splintered in June, “demoralized, gazing in fascinated horror” on how their organization had moved from “echoing Albert Camus and C. Wright Mills” to chanting either “Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win,” or “Mao, Mao, Mao Tse-tung.”¹⁵⁶² Nonetheless, while many students were calling themselves revolutionaries by the end of 1969, they were still in the minority, and only “three-quarters of a million students out of more than 7 million identified themselves as ‘radical or far left.’”¹⁵⁶³ No matter, the growing desire for an open revolt fogged the understanding of many on how difficult it would be to stage a real revolution, as the “radicals for most part were from the privileged class and the working class were conservatives.”¹⁵⁶⁴ Unfazed and “unwilling to give up the revolutionary dream,” some in the SDS came to conclude that since the working class in the U.S. was “hopelessly integrated into capitalism,” to use terror was therefore legitimate.¹⁵⁶⁵

Then on November 20, American Indian protesters, or “Red Power,” landed and took over Alcatraz Island (in San Francisco Bay), the prison facility that the federal government had abandoned in 1963.¹⁵⁶⁶ Despite an attempt by the U.S. Coast Guard to create a blockade, a group of 89 Indians led by Richard Oakes claimed the island. Describing themselves as “Indians of All Tribes,” these mostly college students (but also

¹⁵⁵⁸ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 332.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 379.

¹⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 381.

¹⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶³ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 191.

¹⁵⁶⁴ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 381.

¹⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 382.

¹⁵⁶⁶ “1969 Occupation of Alcatraz,” nativevillage, http://www.nativevillage.org/Inspiration-/Occupation%20of%20Alcatraz%20and%20the%20Alcatraz%20Proclamation%20alcatraz_proclamation.htm. Accessed November 6, 2013.

married couples and children), declared that an 1868 U.S. treaty with the Sioux gave “Indians rights to unused federal property on Indian land.”¹⁵⁶⁷ A few days later, on Thanksgiving Day, 300 people were on the island celebrating, and announcing their first of many demands: to receive federal funding to turn Alcatraz into a “Native American Studies center, spiritual center, an ecology center, and an American Indian Museum.”¹⁵⁶⁸ While the U.S. government had given the Indians 24 hours to leave the island, the occupiers gave the U. S. government “two weeks to surrender the facility” to them, as “Keep Off U.S. Property” signs were repainted “Keep Off Indian Property.”¹⁵⁶⁹ Although the protesters eventually failed to achieve their specific goals, they helped catalyze the Indian community into activism, which had a direct positive effect on federal Indian policy, resulting in major benefits for American Indians.¹⁵⁷⁰ Moreover, the occupation of Alcatraz was an enormous symbol that helped “restore the dignity of the more than 554 American Indian nations in the United States.”¹⁵⁷¹ American Indians, like other “people of color,” were fed up with making only “one-fourth the national average” in earnings, and having a life expectancy of only 44 compared with 65 for white Americans at the time.¹⁵⁷² By the late 1960s, not only Blacks, but Chicanos, Asians, and now Native Americans had taken to the streets in protest of discrimination and inequality. During the 19-month takeover, many activists, including the American Indian Movement (AIM) and numerous tribes (over 5,600 American Indians in total) joined the occupation, some for the whole duration, others “for just part of a day.”¹⁵⁷³ During the first days of the takeover, the occupiers sent the following note to the San Francisco Department of the Interior: “We invite the United States to acknowledge the justice of our claim. The choice now lies with the leaders of the American government - to use violence upon us as before to remove us from our Great Spirit’s land, or to institute a real change in its dealing with the American Indian. We do not fear your threat to charge us with crimes on our land. We and all other oppressed peoples would welcome spectacle

¹⁵⁶⁷ “Native American Occupation of Alcatraz Island (November 21, 1969),” online video clip, Youtube, November 23, 2013, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ugGWu-bZ9P4>. Accessed October 8, 2014.

¹⁵⁶⁸ “1969 Occupation of Alcatraz,” nativevillage, http://www.nativevillage.org/Inspiration-/Occupation%20of%20Alcatraz%20and%20the%20Alcatraz%20Proclamation%20alcatraz_proclamation.htm. Accessed November 6, 2013.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 333-334.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Ben Winton, “Alcatraz, Indian Land,” *Native Peoples Magazine*, Fall 1999, 2, http://www.siouxme.com/lodge/alcatraz_np.html. Accessed November 6, 2013.

¹⁵⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷² Ibid.

¹⁵⁷³ Ibid.

of proof before the world of your title by genocide. Nevertheless, we seek peace.”¹⁵⁷⁴ Fearing that the occupation “could be mishandled and violence would ensue.” President Nixon’s Special Counsel Leonard Garment took over negotiations with the Indians, as John Trudell (one of the occupiers) began daily radio broadcasts from the island in December and others began publishing a newsletter in January of 1970.¹⁵⁷⁵ However, once again, even during the Alcatraz actions division and chaos with some violence occurred. Soon after the initial success of the takeover, other “new occupiers” came to the island. Many of these were hippie drug users or other types of drug addicts and their presence resulted in the prohibition of non-Indians from staying overnight.¹⁵⁷⁶ Then on January 3, 1970, Oakes’s 13-year old stepdaughter “fell onto a concrete slab” on Alcatraz and died. A few days later, Oakes and his family left the island for good, “creating a leadership void and a power struggle among the remaining occupiers.”¹⁵⁷⁷ Nevertheless, things had already begun to turn for the worse as early as December 4, when all electrical power and telephone service was cut by the government.¹⁵⁷⁸ Moreover, the primary water main and the fuel line began to leak, and as many of the original occupiers went back to college, the newer ones were “less idealistic” and had an assortment of disorders.¹⁵⁷⁹ Stories of beatings and assaults on the island were reported. Some activist groups had resented the media attention that Oakes received from the beginning. The situation at Alcatraz continued to deteriorate throughout 1970, as a fire destroyed many buildings in June, with the Indians blaming the whites who might have “slipped past their security after dark and set the fire.”¹⁵⁸⁰ Not having electricity meant that “the lighthouse and fog signals were inoperable,” which created concerns about “navigation safety.”¹⁵⁸¹ However, when the Coast Guard went to restore the “navigational aids,” they were met by the island occupiers with weapons. Public opinion began to turn in earnest when a “crowded excursion boat” was fired on and hit by a “two and a half foot long arrow with a metal tip,” and the Alcatraz protesters were now seen to be “potentially violent.”¹⁵⁸² Support for the occupiers

¹⁵⁷⁴ “1969 Occupation of Alcatraz,” nativevillage, http://www.nativevillage.org/Inspiration-/Occupation%20of%20Alcatraz%20and%20the%20Alcatraz%20Proclamation%20alcatraz_proclamation.htm. Accessed November 6, 2013.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷⁷ “Alcatraz Is Not an Island,” PBS (2002), <http://www.pbs.org/itvs/alcatrazisnotanisland/occupation.html>. Accessed November 6 2013.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸² Ibid.

eroded even further in January of 1971 when “two supertankers collided near the Golden Gate Bridge, dumping 800,000 gallons of crude oil into the ocean,” and the media falsely blamed the broken lighthouse for the accident.¹⁵⁸³ It all ended finally, on June 11, 1971, when a large force of federal marshals, GSA Special Forces, Coast Guard, and FBI agents removed the 15 remaining people from Alcatraz, who gave no resistance.¹⁵⁸⁴

Finally, December of 1969 arrived, and so did the so-called end of the Sixties era alleged by many authors. The high ideals of the 1960s decade, they claimed, had degenerated into destructiveness.¹⁵⁸⁵ It was true that an ever-growing part of the Movement was saturated in violence, dissension, and pessimism by this time, as witnessed by the December 4 Chicago police attack on a local Black Panther headquarter (a shoot-out that left four Panthers wounded and two dead).¹⁵⁸⁶ Both the Movement’s turn to the idea of revolution and the government’s response to it were factors that led to evermore bloodshed and destructiveness over the years. On the other hand, the government from the beginning of the decade onward had tried to suppress all the various aspects of the Movement that could lead to social change, which created ever increasing frustration and bitterness in the first place. Over time, the FBI intensified its nationwide secret COINTELPRO program of “surveying, infiltrating, discrediting, and disrupting domestic political organizations.”¹⁵⁸⁷ Groups such as the Black Panthers and AIM were especially targeted, with raids that seemed to want to “exterminate” them (28 Panthers were killed as a result of COINTELPRO).¹⁵⁸⁸ In fact, the Illinois Panther leader Fred Hampton was assassinated while sleeping in his apartment.¹⁵⁸⁹

The reality was that the Movement had for years turned progressively ugly. By December 25, 1969, when the Weathermen held their “National War Council” in Flint, Michigan, rage had turned into near insanity. At the entrance of their meeting place hung from the ceiling a cardboard machine gun, and on the walls hung slogan such as “Piece Now,” “Sirhan Sirhan Power,” and “Red Army Power.”¹⁵⁹⁰ Weathermen spokespersons predicted a successful revolution, as youth would move away from passivity and apathy and “toward a new high-energy culture of ‘repersonalization’ brought about by drugs, sex,

¹⁵⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 400.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Kirkpatrick, *1969*, 226.

¹⁵⁸⁷ “A Break-in to End all Break-ins; In 1971, Stolen FBI Files Exposed the Government’s Domestic Spying Program,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 8, 2006, A8.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 327.

¹⁵⁸⁹ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 405.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Ibid., 399.

and armed revolution.”¹⁵⁹¹ Mark Rudd said, “It’s a wonderful feeling to hit a pig. It must be a really wonderful feeling to kill a pig, or blow up a building.”¹⁵⁹² John Jacobs followed, saying, “We’re against everything that’s ‘good and decent’ in honky America. We will burn and loot and destroy. We are the incubation of your mother’s nightmare.”¹⁵⁹³ Finally, Ted Gold declared, “Well if it will take fascism we’ll have to have fascism” to change things.¹⁵⁹⁴ Nevertheless, more than anything else, it was the dual events in early December, we are told, that allegedly spelled the end of the Sixties era: the revelation that the Tate-LaBianca murders were committed by hippie killers, and the disaster at the Altamont rock festival (Woodstock West), which included the stabbing death of someone in the audience. While the Tate-LaBianca slayings were committed by the Manson family and written about here in the August 1969 section when the butchering occurred, now it is time for an indepth look at what really happened at Altamont, and why the actions of the Hells Angels motorcycle gang could never have ended the Sixties era counter-culture.

II. 5. The Altamont Rock Festival:

The Myth that Hells Angels Were Part of the Movement

The 1969 Altamont Rock Festival has been called the event that signaled the end of the countercultural sixties area in America. The hippie (and the new left) dream of creating a better world supposedly got shattered because of the havoc caused by the Hells Angels motorcycle club who had been hired to guard the stage.¹⁵⁹⁵ The Angels beat up concert-goers throughout the day and stabbed to death one person who had a gun, this all at a gathering of thousands who saw themselves “as harbingers of a new age based on peaceful coexistence.”¹⁵⁹⁶ Many historians seem to agree with author Todd Gitlin’s statements that Altamont “burst the bubble of youth culture’s illusions about itself” and “had witnessed the famous collectivity of a generation cracking into thousands of shards.”¹⁵⁹⁷ The fact that young idealists emphasizing peace and love of one’s brother came to realize that there were both good and bad in and around their movement (to change the world and liberate

¹⁵⁹¹ “The Weather Underground,” online video clip, Youtube, October 31, 2013, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GUTrk3tcFx4>. Accessed October 8, 2014.

¹⁵⁹² Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 399.

¹⁵⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹⁵ Coyote, *Sleeping Where I Fall*, 124.

¹⁵⁹⁶ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 406.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Ibid., 406.

themselves) seemed like a startling new discovery.¹⁵⁹⁸ Nonetheless, the notion that the sixties counterculture “really” ended at Altamont is a myth. While Altamont did signify, for some, a sort of awakening to the fact that their youth culture was not made of perfect people (and that there were severe differences of opinion), one could argue that this was nothing new and that there had been a continual awakening or disillusionment over the years for those involved.¹⁵⁹⁹ As for the fragmentation of the sixties generation (leaving out the enormous fact that those who made up the counterculture were but a small part of their own generation), one must question if the term “counterculture” (as popularly used) was ever in reality meant to signify such a broad term that could include both hippies and bikers. To make such an assertion, one would have to claim, for example, that the Hells Angels (who caused most of the problems at Altamont) and the “hippies” in the audience were like-minded. This of course could not be further from the truth. While the Angels had indeed hung around the hippie scene for several years, and both groups were attracted to each other for various reasons, they represented very different worlds holding diametrically opposing views concerning hierarchy, rules, discipline, the Vietnam War, racism, sexism, and violence.¹⁶⁰⁰ The hippie youth culture believed in creating a world of peace, love, and no war. This contrasted with the Hells Angels belief in the necessity of physical, brutal retaliation and confrontation to make right some supposed wrongs.¹⁶⁰¹ For the Hells Angels, beating people bloody was a frequent reality.¹⁶⁰² As a result, the Altamont rock festival can in no way symbolize the end of the sixties based on the Hells Angels’ behavior on that day, because they who created the violence did not believe in the Age of Aquarius philosophy of peace.¹⁶⁰³ The truth was that the Hells Angels were not really part of the counterculture – they were part of a totally different subculture.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 182.

¹⁵⁹⁹ “Bernardine Dohrn: Four Myths of the 60s,” *Dialogic* (March 30, 2006), <http://dialogic.blogspot.com/2006/03/bernardine-dohrn-four-myths-of-60s.html>. Accessed September 25, 2011.

¹⁶⁰⁰ “Hells Angels - Sex Drugs & Crime – Documentary,” online video clip, Youtube, April 20, 2014, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v-eT8T7KvD_Co. Accessed October 14, 2014.

¹⁶⁰¹ “Hells Fury - Threat of Gang Retaliation Passes, Outlaw Bikers Expand Presence in Foothills,” *Hells Angels MC Baltimore* (March 6, 2008), http://www.hellsangelsbaltimore.com/news/read_article.asp?Id-228&PageNo-1. Accessed April 3, 2011.

¹⁶⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰³ “Charlie Watts & Mick Jagger Listen to an Altamont Hells-Angel,” online video clip, Youtube, January 16, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v-a4OUEZSg8xY>. Accessed March 10, 2011.

The Hells Angels, to begin with, predated the sixties hippie counterculture by many years, first forming in Fontana and San Bernardino, California in 1948.¹⁶⁰⁴ The outlaw motorcyclist phenomenon in general had existed on the American landscape at least since the end of WW II, getting their first taste of national recognition in Hollister, California in 1947 with the Fourth of July celebrations and motorcycle hill climb that attracted cyclists and clubs from all over the state.¹⁶⁰⁵ The event turned into “40 hours of lawlessness and a drunken take-over of the town by rowdy motorcyclists,” and was the inspiration for the Marlon Brando/Lee Marvin film *The Wild One* (1953).¹⁶⁰⁶ Unlike the later more docile hippies, the growing “outlaw” motorcycle club subculture throughout the 1950s and early 1960s engaged in violent incidents in various California towns involving clashes with townspeople and law enforcement.¹⁶⁰⁷ The “1%er” patch worn by Hells Angels (as legend has it) was inspired by the American Motorcycle Association (AMA) claims that 99% of motorcycle riders were law-abiding citizens, and so they identified themselves as the other 1%, who disregarded the law.¹⁶⁰⁸ Eventually, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Canadian Security Intelligence Services classified the Angels as one of the “big four” motorcycle gangs, contending that members carried out widespread violence, drug dealing, trafficking in stolen goods, and extortion (and later murder).¹⁶⁰⁹

The name “Hells Angels” (as opposed to the more positive hippie names such as heaven, bliss, love, beauty, earth, truth, etc.) was believed to have been inspired by the common historical practice, in both world wars, of naming squadrons or other fighting groups with death-defying names.¹⁶¹⁰ Born of war instead of peace, one American squadron of P-40s in Burma and China, in fact, did call themselves the “Hells Angels.”¹⁶¹¹ While the notion that former pilots, bored with middle-class life, made up the original motorcycle club seems not to be true, some cite returning wartime bike-riding veterans as

¹⁶⁰⁴ “The History of the Hells Angels: 60 Years of Raising Hell,”

http://www.associatedcontent.com/article/643217/the_history_of_the_hells_angels_60_pg2.html?cat-27.

Accessed March 2, 2011.

¹⁶⁰⁵ Mark E. Gardiner, “The Real ‘Wild Ones’ The 1947 Hollister Motorcycle Riot,” *Classic Bike* (1998), http://www.salinaramblersmc.org/History/Classic_Bike_Article.htm. Accessed March 2, 2011.

¹⁶⁰⁶ “The 1% - Outlaw Riders – ‘60s Style,” *Bad Mags* (2004), <http://www.badmags.com/bmoutlaws.html>. Accessed March 2, 2011.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 31.

¹⁶⁰⁸ “AMA and 1%,” Motorcycle Club Riding Club Education (November 13, 2008), <http://rcvsmc.net/id13.html>. Accessed March 20, 2011.

¹⁶⁰⁹ “Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs,” *cisc* (2004), http://www.cisc.gc.ca/annual_reports/annual_report_2004/outlaw_2004_e.html. Accessed March 22, 2011.

¹⁶¹⁰ Randy James, “A Brief History of the Hells Angels,” *Time Magazine*, August 3, 2009, 12.

¹⁶¹¹ “Hells Angels - The Hardest Gangs,” online video clip, Youtube, February 24, 2014, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eGUaXZQMwPM>. Accessed October 8, 2014.

the beginning of “outlaw motorcycle types” during the late 1940s.¹⁶¹² After WWII, both the aggressive spirit of war and combat and the look – leather bomber jackets, flight goggles, and long scarves – remained.¹⁶¹³ Not surprisingly, the Hells Angels over the years (again contrary to the hippie anti-war counterculture) very much did support the military efforts of the United States government, including the Vietnam War.¹⁶¹⁴

The two Hells Angels chapters most associated with the Altamont rock festival fiasco both started out in the 1950s in San Francisco and Oakland, California.¹⁶¹⁵ At first, they were told by existing chapters in other cities about how a motorcycle club should and should not be. Procedures, many borrowed from the Army, were set-up: meetings, dues, rules and regulations.¹⁶¹⁶ Unlike hippies, the Hells Angels were not very inclusive regarding who could join them, nor very accepting of other motorcycle clubs in the area. One group that was violently run out of California after a nasty turf war was a motorcycle club called the Gypsy Jokers.¹⁶¹⁷ Similarly, another motorcycle club, called the Diablos, disbanded after the Angels terrorized them in a series of stomping, beatings, and chain-whippings.¹⁶¹⁸ The Hells Angels, showing no signs of brotherly love, hunted them down one by one and “did them in.”¹⁶¹⁹ In complete opposition to the hippie counterculture, they were young toughs loving a street-fight, swinging chains and big wrenches, using knives, and displaying no mercy.¹⁶²⁰ The Hells Angels motorcycle club gained mass notoriety by the mid-1960s due to their involvement in many highly publicized run-ins with the law and rival biker gangs. Sensational articles began to appear about motorcycle gangs over-running California with names such as Coffin Cheaters, Comancheros, Galloping Gooses, Gomorrah, Iron Horsemen, Nightriders, Presidents, Question Marks, Road Rats, Satan’s Slaves, Stray Satans. No matter, according to town folk throughout the state, the most hard core and “rottenest motorcycle gang in the whole history of Christendom” were these Hells

¹⁶¹² Ralph “Sonny” Barger, *Hells Angel: The Life and Times of Sonny Barger and the Hells Angels Motorcycle Club* (New York: Harper, 2001), 29.

¹⁶¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹⁴ “Hells Angels – A Strange and Terrible Saga of the Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs,” naderlibrary, <http://naderlibrary.com/huntert.hellsangels21.htm>. Accessed March 4, 2011.

¹⁶¹⁵ Tom Curran, “Ralph “Sonny” Barger: An Outlaw’s Tale of Harleys, Highways & Hell,” ignitionnation, <http://www.ignitionnation.com/profiles/blogs/ralph-sonny-barger-an-outlaws>. Accessed March 23, 2011.

¹⁶¹⁶ Barger, *Hells Angel*, 31.

¹⁶¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 35.

¹⁶¹⁸ “Hells Angels,” enotes, http://www.enotes.com/topic/Hells_Angels#History. Accessed April 3, 2011.

¹⁶¹⁹ Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 10.

¹⁶²⁰ *Ibid.*, 106.

Angels.¹⁶²¹ Almost all of its members had long police records including offenses such as vehicle theft, assault and battery, burglary, rape, narcotics, and public cunnilingus.¹⁶²²

By late 1964, California Attorney General Thomas C. Lynch began an investigation concerning the Hells Angels motorcycle gang, after public outcry following a notorious Monterey incident allegedly involving the rape of minors (described later).¹⁶²³ A fifteen-page report released in March, 1965, profiled their activities over the previous ten years. From 104 California sheriffs, district attorneys, and chiefs of police, Lynch amassed a mountain of evidence against the Hells Angels, the thrust of which showed that the group had more than lived up to its “sinister moniker” of being angels from hell.¹⁶²⁴ The “bikers” described as being tough, mean, and “potentially as dangerous as a pack of wild boars.”¹⁶²⁵ According to 1965 figures, the police counted 463 Hells Angels: 205 around Los Angeles and 233 in the San Francisco-Oakland area. Among them, they boasted 874 felony arrests, 300 felony convictions, 1,682 misdemeanor arrests, and 1,023 misdemeanor convictions.¹⁶²⁶

In the section of the Lynch report entitled “Hoodlum Activities,” the following instance provides just one example of how the Hells Angels’ belief in total retaliation had made them both a terrifying law unto themselves and a far cry from the spirit of peace and harmony of the hippies. As told, on November 4, 1961, “a San Francisco resident driving through the town of Rodeo, struck a motorcycle belonging to a Hells Angel parked outside a bar. A group of Angels pursued the vehicle, pulled the driver from the car and attempted to demolish the rather expensive vehicle. The bartender claimed he had seen nothing, but a cocktail waitress in the bar furnished identification to the police concerning some of those responsible for the assault. The next day it was reported to officers that a member of the Hells Angels gang had threatened the life of this waitress as well as another woman waitress. A male witness who definitely identified five participants in the assault including the president of Vallejo Hells Angels and the Vallejo Road Rats told officers that because of his fear of retaliation by club members he would refuse to testify to the facts he had previously furnished.”¹⁶²⁷ While the Angels often claimed that they don’t start trouble, their idea of provocation was dangerously broad, and their biggest problem was that

¹⁶²¹ Ibid., 5.

¹⁶²² Ibid., 7.

¹⁶²³ Barger, *Hells Angel*, 101.

¹⁶²⁴ “California: The Wilder Ones,” *Time Magazine*, March 26, 1965, 10.

¹⁶²⁵ “The Motorcycle Gangs,” *The Nation*, May, 17, 1965, 26.

¹⁶²⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶²⁷ Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 69.

nobody else seemed to understand it, leading to incidents like Altamont, where they got into fistfights all day.¹⁶²⁸ When anyone got into an argument with the Hells Angels, one could generally count that person's chances of emerging unscathed to be small. In that 1961 incident, one of the Angels declared, "I smashed his face, he got wise. He called me a punk. He must have been stupid."¹⁶²⁹ Even dealing with them personally, on the friendliest terms, wrote Hunter S. Thompson, you could "sense their hair-trigger readiness to retaliate."¹⁶³⁰

According to the Lynch report, the favorite activity of the Hells Angels seemed at times to include terrorizing whole towns.¹⁶³¹ One story in the report described what happened in the town of Porterville, California (pop. 7,991) in September of 1963 after the Hells Angels roared in on their "chopped hogs" (customized Harley-Davidson machines). By Saturday evening they had assembled in the center of the city. Most of them started to drink in the local bars and became obnoxious and vulgar. They stood in the middle of the street, where they stopped vehicles, opened car doors, and attempted to pet and paw female passengers in the automobiles. The women who accompanied the group lay in the middle of the street, where they went through suggestive motions. At about this time, some half-dozen motorcyclists invaded a bar and brutally beat an old man and attempted to abduct the barmaid. Shortly thereafter some dozen motorcyclists went to the local hospital, where they pushed in every door of the hospital looking for the victim of the beating.¹⁶³²

While the sexually lewd conduct of the Hells Angels might not seem that different from that of the hippies, the ethic of vengeance was diametrically opposite. For example, on September 19, 1964, a large group of Hells Angels converged on a bar in the South Gate (Los Angeles County), "parking their motorcycles and cars in the street in such a fashion as to block one-half of the roadway. They told police later that three members of the club had been recently asked to stay out of the bar and that they had come to tear it down."¹⁶³³ Upon their approach the bar owner locked the doors and turned off the lights, and while they did not enter, the Angels demolished a cement block fence outside. After the police arrived, the Hells Angels reluctantly left the city after being ordered to do so. Nonetheless, as they were leaving, several threatened to come back and obliterate the bar. The ethic of total retaliation once again contrasted completely with the hippie

¹⁶²⁸ Kirkpatrick, 1969, 260.

¹⁶²⁹ Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 67.

¹⁶³⁰ "The Motorcycle Gangs," *The Nation*, May 17, 1965, 67.

¹⁶³¹ "California: The Wilder Ones," *Time Magazine*, 10.

¹⁶³² Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 23.

¹⁶³³ *Ibid.*, 69-70.

countercultural ideals of peace, love, understanding, and forgiveness. One member of the Angels stated that, “If you’re asked to stay out of a bar, you don’t just punch the owner; you come back with your army and destroy the whole edifice.”¹⁶³⁴ Similar patterns of destructive behavior, along with rape complaints and assaults on citizens who dared to talk back, made up the bulk of the Lynch report.¹⁶³⁵

More than any event, however, it was the previously mentioned Monterey motorcycle run incident, during the 1964 Labor Day weekend, marred by violence and rape charges that transformed the Hells Angels image to menacing savages, and made them known to a wider audience.¹⁶³⁶ The Labor Day weekend newspapers all over California gave front-page reports of a “heinous gang rape in the moonlit sand dunes” near the town of Seaside on the Monterey Peninsula.¹⁶³⁷ Two girls, aged 14 and 15, were allegedly taken (charges were dropped for lack of evidence) from their dates by a “gang of filthy, frenzied, boozed-up motorcycle hoodlums called Hells Angels,” and dragged off to be “repeatedly assaulted.”¹⁶³⁸ A deputy sheriff, summoned by one of the dates, said he “arrived at the beach and saw a huge bonfire surrounded by cyclists of both sexes. Then the two sobbing, near-hysterical girls staggered out of the darkness, begging for help. One was completely nude and the other had on only a “torn sweater.”¹⁶³⁹ What happened that weekend would make the group notorious for being “rumbling barbarians looking for young woman to gang bang, and scores to settle.”¹⁶⁴⁰ These stories, exaggerated or not, got the Hells Angels publicity, and put them into the limelight.

On March 15, 1965, the releasing of the Lynch report marked the end to anonymity for the Hells Angels and other outlaw clubs collectively.¹⁶⁴¹ The Attorney General’s report became the basis of most of the initial information that the press had to go on concerning the clubs, as can be seen in many of the magazine articles released during that time, which quote and cite Lynch’s report. The May 17, 1965 issue of *The Nation* in which Hunter S. Thompson’s influential article called “The Motorcycle Gangs, Losers and Outsiders” appeared only two months later, and combined with the Lynch report, started the ball

¹⁶³⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶³⁵ Leo E. Litwalk, “Hells Angels,” *New York Times*, January 29, 1967, 20.

¹⁶³⁶ Lachman, *Turn Off Your Mind*, 307.

¹⁶³⁷ Barger, *Hells Angel*, 100.

¹⁶³⁸ Hunter S. Thompson, “Motorcycle Gangs: Losers and Outsiders,” *The Nation*, May 17, 1965, 1.

¹⁶³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴¹ “Hells Angels - Research Article,” St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture (2005), <http://www.bookrags.com/research/hells-angels-sjpc-02/>. Accessed April 15, 2011.

rolling as far as national attention.¹⁶⁴² Quickly, another incident kept the cyclists' subculture in the news, the Weirs Beach riot in Laconia, New Hampshire. It took place on June 19 and 20th, 1965, during the 44th Annual New England Tour and Rally, and this too made the headlines in national publications, including *Life* magazine.¹⁶⁴³ On that occasion, thirty-four cyclists were arrested, while 70 people were injured fighting the police.¹⁶⁴⁴ Until then the outlaw motorcycle clubs had been a West Coast phenomenon, but by 1966 they had reached the peak of their media coverage, and had become rebel antiheroes to some all across the country.¹⁶⁴⁵ In effect, the onslaught of numerous magazine and newspaper articles put the images of outlaw motorcyclists like the Hells Angels in the forefront of popular culture, and imagination of the then-budding youth counterculture.

For some who would later make up the sixties counterculture, as children, their initial views about Hells Angel types were already being shaped by 1950s pop culture.¹⁶⁴⁶ A biker archetypal image portrayed them as individualistic heroes, which incorrectly linked them with other early countercultural rudimentary elements of the period.¹⁶⁴⁷ Through *The Wild One*, the future members of the counterculture were duped into believing that all bikers were fashioned from the same mold as Marion Brando's hip character Johnny, a sullen individualist who bucks the ultra-conformity of 1950s America.¹⁶⁴⁸ It would take several negative encounters with the Hells Angels in the 1960s for the hippie counterculture to understand that this assumption was very incorrect. One striking example of the linking of the two groups comes in the form of a scene from *The Wild One* in which members of a biker gang called the Black Rebels converse with an elderly bar owner. The bikers confuse the old man with an array of slang meant to evoke the language of the jazz musicians and the Beat poets of the era.¹⁶⁴⁹ While a case can be made for the Beats being the originators of what would later be called the counterculture, they were in no way connected to the outlaw bikers of the 1950s, and outlaw bikers almost definitely did not speak in this type of lingo.¹⁶⁵⁰ A different type of example of linking

¹⁶⁴² Ibid.

¹⁶⁴³ "10,000 in Beach Riot in New Hampshire," *New York Times*, June 19, 1965, 1.

¹⁶⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴⁵ "The 1% - Outlaw Riders - '60s Style," Bad Mags (2004), <http://www.badmags.com/bmoutlaws.html>. Accessed March 2, 2011.

¹⁶⁴⁶ Mike Brake, *Sociology of Youth Culture and Subcultures: Sex, Drugs and Rock 'n' Roll?* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan, 1980), 12.

¹⁶⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴⁸ John Wood, "Hells Angels and the Illusion of the Counterculture," *Journal of Popular Culture*, November 1, 2007, 1.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵⁰ Tom Reynolds, *Wild Ride* (Seattle: TV Books Inc., 2001), 69.

bikers with the Beats comes from rock 'n roll musicians like Gene Vincent (1956 top ten hit "Be Bop A Lula") and even early Bob Dylan (before being famous), who performed in black leather in an effort to mimic the image of a biker inspired by *The Wild One* movie.¹⁶⁵¹

Another inaccurate depiction of bikers as heroes against the establishment had to do with imagining them as being some sort of modern Wild West outlaws.¹⁶⁵² The 1950s was the heyday for movies about the old American wild West. A later-day president of the Ventura Hells Angels, George Christie, explained the romanticism of the Angels as the "desire for non-bikers, hippie or otherwise, to recreate such nonconforming western outlaws as Jesse James, Billy the Kid, and Doc Holiday."¹⁶⁵³ Throughout the 1960s, the counterculture, with the rest of America, was fed the image of the biker as the new American outlaw through dozens of so-called biker movies. These movies had the same misleading effect on the counterculture as *The Wild One* did in the 1950s when they were children, but unlike the bikers in *The Wild One*, the bikers in these movies were portrayed usually as Hells Angels. These films, often set in the deserts of the American southwest, relied so heavily on the image of the frontier and the outlaw figures of the "old West" that they called these movies "biker-westerns."¹⁶⁵⁴ These low-budget films held religiously to a standard plot revolving around the plight of an individualist biker who (like the hippies and student radicals) battles against conformity and modern society.¹⁶⁵⁵

Not surprisingly then, starting in the mid-1960s, both California hippie flower children and student intellectuals saw the Hells Angels and other bikers as fellow rebels against the establishment, and allowed them to "hang-out" with them at such early countercultural events as Ken Kesey's "acid tests" and the Human Be-In.¹⁶⁵⁶ Many members of the counterculture, who saw the Angels as being similar to the "violent and independent yet goodhearted bikers romanticized in *The Wild One*," envisioned the Angels as their protectors from the establishment.¹⁶⁵⁷ Sixties popular culture continually fueled the counterculture's belief in the supposed link between the Angels and themselves with

¹⁶⁵¹ John Wood, "Hells Angels and the Illusion of the Counterculture," *Journal of Popular Culture*, November 1, 2007, 1.

¹⁶⁵² Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 64.

¹⁶⁵³ "Gangland: Hells Angels," History (2011), <http://www.history.com/shows/gangland/articles/hells-angels>. Accessed April 10, 2011.

¹⁶⁵⁴ Reynolds, *Wild Ride*, 46.

¹⁶⁵⁵ John Wood, "Hells Angels and the Illusion of the Counterculture," *Journal of Popular Culture*, November 1, 2007, 1.

¹⁶⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

movies such as 1969s *Easy Rider*, which portrayed bikers as little more than “motorized hippies.”¹⁶⁵⁸ Yet it was Kesey, more than anyone, who first got the Hells Angels to associate with the counterculture by inviting them to his LSD parties.

The invite was during the summer of 1965, the year that the sixties counterculture began to emerge in earnest. It was the first big year of the Vietnam War, folkies were turning electric, younger “new beatniks” (soon to be called hippies) were beginning to gather in Haight-Ashbury part of San Francisco, and the Hells Angels at their “notorious all-time high” were celebrities in California.¹⁶⁵⁹ As mentioned, intellectuals around San Francisco, particularly in Berkeley at the University of California, were including the Hells Angels into the equation of “alienation” and “a generation in revolt.”¹⁶⁶⁰ While this idea of motorcycle outlaws was not consistent with reality, and the Angels themselves “did not understand their own new image of being symbolic heroes to people with whom they had almost nothing in common,” they were eager to gain access to a “whole new reservoir of women, booze, and drugs.”¹⁶⁶¹ At Ken Kesey’s Merry Pranksters hideout, there were plenty of all three!

Freelance Journalist Hunter S. Thompson introduced Kesey to a group of Hells Angels in July of 1965. The Hells Angels were said to be “as impressed with Kesey as he was with them,” and in August were invited to Kesey’s first ever “Acid Test,” which was held at his home in La Honda, California.¹⁶⁶² Nobody knew what to expect, and Thompson thought it might be a disastrous mix since the Hells Angels had never tried LSD.¹⁶⁶³ Kesey posted a sign on his gate saying “The Merry Pranksters welcome The Hells Angels,” which surprised the Angels as it was perhaps the first time that anyone had wanted to befriend them.¹⁶⁶⁴ The party was wild and loud with people dancing half-naked to “rock-’n-roll sounds piped out through the trees from massive amplifiers, reeling and stumbling in a maze of psychedelic lights.”¹⁶⁶⁵ Many of the Angels were posturing and defensive until they got drunk, while some never got over the idea that they were “going to be challenged

¹⁶⁵⁸ “American Politics & Pop Culture,” *Easy Rider* (April 21, 2008), http://blog.lib.umn.edu/arrig002/politicsandpopculture/10_easy_rider_counterculture_and_subculture. Accessed May 3, 2011.

¹⁶⁵⁹ Randy D. McBee, “A ‘Potential Common Front’: Hunter Thompson, the Hells Angels, and Race in 1960s America,” Roundtable (July 2005), http://ijms.nova.edu/July2005/IJMS_RT.McBee.html. Accessed April 30, 2011.

¹⁶⁶⁰ Tom Wolfe, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux, 1969), 169.

¹⁶⁶¹ Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 218-219.

¹⁶⁶² Wolfe, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, 169.

¹⁶⁶³ Miller, *The 60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond*, 19.

¹⁶⁶⁴ Lee and Shlain, *Acid Dreams*, 126.

¹⁶⁶⁵ Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 221.

and whipped on at any moment.”¹⁶⁶⁶ As a group, the Hells Angels eventually realized that most people at the party were too “stoned out of their heads” on LSD to be much concerned about the Angels.¹⁶⁶⁷ This lack of spotlight put them at first a bit off balance, and rendered them a little less confident, and mellower.

The parties usually went for two days and two nights. There was little optimism, at first, on the part of many about these “LSD orgies”; some worried about what might happen when the “violence and rape worshipping, and swastikas wearing Hells Angels would mix with a crowd of intellectual hipsters, Marxist radicals and pacifist peace marchers.”¹⁶⁶⁸ Indeed many who came to these parties were “made fearful” and they never came back.¹⁶⁶⁹ Even the Pranksters were uncertain about the Angels at the first party and had noticeably less LSD. Then, once the “threat of violence seemed to fade,” there was acid in great abundance.¹⁶⁷⁰ The Hells Angels used it cautiously at first, but after several Kesey parties they began to eat LSD as often as they could get their hands on it.¹⁶⁷¹ Contrary to expectations, most of the Angels became peaceful on acid.¹⁶⁷² With a few exceptions, it made them much easier to get along with than they were normally. The acid dissolved many of their conditioned reflexes. There was less of the readiness to fight that usually pervaded their attitude towards strangers. For a while, the aggressiveness went out of them; they lost the quality of “wild animals sensing a snare.”¹⁶⁷³ Some went into “long fits of crying and wailing, babbling incoherent requests to people nobody else could see.”¹⁶⁷⁴ Others fell into “catatonic slumps” and said nothing for hours at a time, “then sprang to life again with tales of traveling to distant lands and seeing incredible sights, or went off into the woods and became panic-stricken screaming for help until somebody led him back to the light.”¹⁶⁷⁵ Yet some had an uneasy feeling that it was a “lull before the storm,” that sooner or later, the whole party would be “razed by some kind of hellish delayed reaction.”¹⁶⁷⁶ One Hells Angel did try to strangle his “old lady” on Kesey’s front porch.¹⁶⁷⁷ While the philosophy of the Acid Tests was that of “We are all One,” implying

¹⁶⁶⁶ Ibid., 222.

¹⁶⁶⁷ Wolfe, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, 170.

¹⁶⁶⁸ Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 225.

¹⁶⁶⁹ Wolfe, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, 171.

¹⁶⁷⁰ Lee and Shlain, *Acid Dreams*, 126.

¹⁶⁷¹ Barger, *Hells Angel*, 129.

¹⁶⁷² Lee and Shlain, *Acid Dreams*, 126.

¹⁶⁷³ Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 226.

¹⁶⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷⁷ Ibid., 227.

that everyone could and should hang out together in these altered states of awareness, “dropping acid with the Angels was an adventure.”¹⁶⁷⁸ Keeping company with an Angel lent a feeling of menace, similar to being with a tiger and not knowing when it will strike. After three or four months of “chronic overindulgence on acid,” most of the Hells Angels began to taper off the drug, or had quit completely.¹⁶⁷⁹ Nonetheless, quickly finding their own sources of LSD, they would soon sell it to Ken Kesey.¹⁶⁸⁰ In the meantime, Kesey, after several highly publicized public Acid Tests (from the fall of 1965 to the spring of 1966) held in various places around California, served time in prison for the possession of marijuana (which for the Angels was a badge of honor and made them respect Kesey even more).¹⁶⁸¹

Throughout 1966, and peaking during the summer of 1967, the new hippie counterculture began to gather and grow dramatically in the Haight Ashbury district of San Francisco.¹⁶⁸² The Hells Angels, thanks to Kesey, were already familiar with this new scene. Always on the lookout for new action, they began to linger around the hippie flower children, which became the hippest place to be for the whole nation’s young. Accepted in the environment of “do your own thing,” the Angels became fixtures, playing the role of “another heavy fraternity,” similar to the more politically minded anarchist group the Diggers.¹⁶⁸³ The slang “heavy” was not in the least positive, as it meant to be “troublesome or threatening.”¹⁶⁸⁴ Nonetheless, the Hells Angels during this period seemed to have been around all of the most influential counterculture leaders and events. Some of the Hells Angels would drop by at Michael Bowen’s place, the renowned artist who co-founded the underground newspaper the *San Francisco Oracle* and was the primary organizer for the first Human Be-In.¹⁶⁸⁵ They were friends with beatnik-hippie poet Michael McClure.¹⁶⁸⁶ Although not allowed to wear their colors, they attended the legendary concerts at Bill Graham’s Fillmore Auditorium.¹⁶⁸⁷ In the streets, they often participated in parades, guerrilla theaters, and riots. During the “death of money now” party, notorious Hells Angel Hairy Henry Kot (recently released from San Quentin prison) was arrested with fellow

¹⁶⁷⁸ Wolfe, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, 172.

¹⁶⁷⁹ Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 228.

¹⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 225.

¹⁶⁸¹ Kesey, *Kesey’s Jail Journal*, 7.

¹⁶⁸² Anthony, *The Summer of Love*, 11.

¹⁶⁸³ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁶⁸⁴ “Heavy,” *The American Heritage* (2002), <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/heavy?qsrc=2446>. Accessed June 10, 2011.

¹⁶⁸⁵ Anthony, *The Summer of Love*, 16.

¹⁶⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 92.

¹⁶⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 81.

Angel Chocolate George Hendricks for disturbing the peace.¹⁶⁸⁸ In this case, the hippies marched to the Park Police Station chanting, “Free the Angels – Free the Angels” to demand their release.¹⁶⁸⁹ The president of the San Francisco chapter of the Hells Angels, Angel Pete, reciprocated by putting on a free New Year’s Day party to bring in 1967.¹⁶⁹⁰

On the other hand, the reality between the hippies, student activists, and the Hells Angels in Haight-Ashbury and other places was not always harmonious or integrated. While most of the counterculture believed in love, compassion, and equality, the Hells Angels in many cases did not see hippies and others as equals in return, and often would judge those whom they did not like and push them around. There were many incidents, even during the 1967 Summer of Love, in which the Hells Angels would brutally beat those they did not fancy, including peace marchers.¹⁶⁹¹ The relationship between the Hells Angels and the counterculture always seemed unstable. While the hippies at times had a softening effect on the Angels, they too often would revert to their primary instincts of violence. Moreover, the strict membership requirements always separated the Hells Angels from other rebellious elements. To them, all comparisons to other groups were either presumptuous or insulting. “There’s only two kinds of people in the world,” explained the Hells Angels, “Angels, and people who wish they were Angels.”¹⁶⁹²

A first shocking incident (and an early reality check concerning the Hells Angels’ relationship with the counterculture) was during an early anti-war peace march in 1965. On October 15, after a teach-in at the UC Berkeley campus, around 15,000 mostly students (but also a busload of Ken Kesey and his Merry Pranksters) attempted to march to the Army induction center in neighboring Oakland, California.¹⁶⁹³ At the city line, the protesters could see about 400 Oakland police in riot gear blocking the way. After negotiation, the march proceeded to Oakland Civic Center Park instead, where the teach-in was continued and another march called for the next day.¹⁶⁹⁴ The following day, between two and five thousand marchers returned (about 100 had remained in the park overnight) but were stopped at the Oakland City line by the police. The police asked the protestors to sit down in the street to avoid violent confrontations. Just when Beat poet Allen Ginsberg began chanting “Hare Krishna” at the front of the march, the Hells Angels motorcycle gang

¹⁶⁸⁸ Ibid., 141.

¹⁶⁸⁹ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 73.

¹⁶⁹⁰ Ibid., 74.

¹⁶⁹¹ Coyote, *Sleeping Where I Fall*, 97.

¹⁶⁹² Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 247.

¹⁶⁹³ Dellaporta and Steck, *Best of Berkeley*, 23.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Fred Halstead, *Out Now: A Participant’s Account of the Movement in the United States Against the Vietnam War* (Centennial, Colorado: Pathfinder, 1991), 87.

appeared, and began ripping down banners, attacking protestors, yelling, “Go back to Russia you fucking communists!”¹⁶⁹⁵ When the Angels threatened to attack the next peace march scheduled for mid-November, Ginsberg, Kesey, and Kesey’s Pranksters quickly visited the home of Oakland Hells Angels president Sonny Barger to discuss the situation and share some LSD with Barger and his friends.¹⁶⁹⁶ According to hipster legend, “by dawn the two groups had chanted together” and all was all right.¹⁶⁹⁷ Nonetheless, after the LSD had worn off, the Hells Angels were already changing their minds.

During the coming weeks, Neal Cassidy, Ginsberg, Kesey, and others spent much time trying to persuade Barger and his people not to attack the marchers. The hipster leaders tried to explain to the Angels that that cops were just using them, and that the “secret Right Wing money” given to them had “temporarily turned their heads.”¹⁶⁹⁸ They wanted to persuade them that the Hells Angels beating peace demonstrators was just a misunderstanding, and that they would “adjust their allegiance just as soon as they knew the score.”¹⁶⁹⁹ On the Wednesday before the march, another meeting took place, where “a lot of LSD was taken, and foolish political discussion was resolved by phonograph voices of Joan Baez and Bob Dylan, all concluding with the whole group chanting the text of the Prajnaparamita Sutra, the Buddhist Highest, Perfect Wisdom Sermon.”¹⁷⁰⁰ The outlaws had never met anyone quite like Ginsberg, who they considered otherworldly. “Man, you shoulda been there when he told Sonny he loved him,” said Terry one of the Angels, “Sonny didn’t know what the hell to say.”¹⁷⁰¹ The Angels never really understood what Ginsberg meant, but his “unnerving frankness,” and the fact that Kesey liked him, gave them second thoughts about attacking a march that he obviously considered a right thing to do.¹⁷⁰² Nevertheless, the Angels remained ambivalent. Despite Ginsberg’s pleas, Sonny Barger was still telling others about how he was going to meet the peace march with “the biggest bunch of outlaw bikes anybody ever saw in California.”¹⁷⁰³ Allen and his friends

¹⁶⁹⁵ “October 15-16, 1965: A Busy Time For Country Joe McDonald,” Berkeley in the Sixties (September 15, 2009), <http://berkeleyfolk.blogspot.com/2009/09/october-15-16-1965-busy-time-for.html>. Accessed April 23, 2011.

¹⁶⁹⁶ Barger, *Hells Angel*, 124-125.

¹⁶⁹⁷ “Intrepid Trips: Allen,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 17, 1965, B6.

¹⁶⁹⁸ Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 237.

¹⁶⁹⁹ “Hells Angels – A Strange and Terrible Saga of the Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs,” naderlibrary, <http://naderlibrary.com/hunterhellangels21.htm>. Accessed March 4, 2011.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 237.

¹⁷⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 238.

¹⁷⁰² Barger, *Hells Angel*, 124-125.

¹⁷⁰³ Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 244.

meant well, he said, but they just “didn’t know what was happening.”¹⁷⁰⁴ So it came as somewhat of a surprise when, on November 19 – the day before the march – the Angels called a press conference to announce that they would not show up the next day. Their explanation was written in a mimeographed press release. “Although we have stated our intention to counter demonstrate at this despicable, un-American activity, we believe that in the interest of public safety and the protection of the good name of Oakland, we should not justify the Vietnam Day Committee by our presence – because our patriotic concern for what these people are doing to our great nation may provoke us to violent acts and that any physical encounter would only produce sympathy for this mob of traitors.”¹⁷⁰⁵

The goal of bringing the Hells Angels and other motorcycle gangs into the counterculture was from the beginning a lot more complicated than the hipsters realized. The idealistic honeymoon lasted about three months, after which “the existential heroes” who had passed the joint with Berkeley liberals at Kesey’s parties suddenly turned into a “venomous beast,” assaulting the same liberals with fists and shouts of “Traitors,” “Communists,” “Beatniks!”¹⁷⁰⁶ When push came to shove, the Hells Angels lined up with the enemies of the counterculture: “the cops, the Pentagon and the John Birch Society.”¹⁷⁰⁷ Moreover, the attack was an awful shock to those who had seen the Hells Angels as “pioneers of the human spirit,” but to anyone who knew them it was entirely logical.¹⁷⁰⁸ The Angels’ collective viewpoint had always been fascist, not really in doctrine but in attitude and mannerism. Their wearing of swastikas was very symbolic, and perhaps more than just a “gimmick to bug the squares.”¹⁷⁰⁹ During the numerous meetings between the anti-war brain trust and the Hells Angels, Barger would sit in his living room and listen patiently to everything the Vietnam Day Committee had to say, afterwards brushing it all aside. The Berkeley anti-war people argued long and well, but they never understood that they were talking on a different frequency. “It didn’t matter how many beards, busts or acid caps they could muster; Sonny considered them all chicken shit – and that was that.”

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¹⁷⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰⁵ Tom Curran “Ralph ‘Sonny’ Barger: An Outlaw’s Tale of Harleys, Highways & Hell” ignitionnation <http://www.ignitionnation.com/profiles/blogs/ralph-sonny-barger-an-outlaws>. Accessed March 23, 2011.

¹⁷⁰⁶ Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 236.

¹⁷⁰⁷ “The War - Anti-War/Political Activism,” The Pacifica Radio/UC Berkeley Social Activism Sound Recording Project: Anti-Vietnam War protests in the San Francisco Bay Area & Beyond, (1960-1975), <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/MRC/pacificviet.html>. Accessed March 19, 2011.

¹⁷⁰⁸ Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 236.

¹⁷⁰⁹ Paul Derienzo, “Sonny Barger Interview,” autono, <http://pdr.autono.net/SonnyBarger.html>. Accessed May 30, 2011.

¹⁷¹⁰ Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 237.

The Angels, like all other motorcycle outlaws, were rigidly anti-communist. Their political views were limited to the same kind of “retrograde patriotism” that motivated the John Birch Society, the Ku Klux Klan, and the American Nazi Party.¹⁷¹¹ They were blind to the irony of their role, “knight errants of a faith from which they have already been excommunicated.”¹⁷¹² The Angels would be among the first to be locked up or killed if the politicians they thought they agreed with ever come to power.

The highlight of the November 1965 press conference was the reading, by Barger, of a telegram he had already sent to the President of the United States:

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON
1600 Penn. Ave.
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of myself and my associates I volunteer a group of loyal Americans for behind the lines duty in Viet Nam. We feel that a crack group of trained gorrillas [sic] would demoralize the Viet Cong and advance the cause of freedom. We are available for training and duty immediately.

Sincerely

RALPH BARGER JR.
Oakland, California
President of Hells Angels¹⁷¹³

For reasons never divulged, President Johnson was slow to capitalize on Barger’s offer and the Angels never went to Vietnam. However, they did not bust up the November 20 protest march either, and some people said this meant the outlaws were coming around to their side, and getting hip to things, and so they should be given another chance.¹⁷¹⁴

From the summer of 1965 onward, the new beatnik hippies and the political radicals both claimed the Hells Angels as their own. As mentioned before, both parts of the counterculture were enamored with the Angels, and envisioned them as an important element of the Movement. For many, old hopes died hard, especially as the Movement for change met resistance, and things became bitterer. Underneath the counterculture’s philosophical facade of peace and non-violence, there existed an undercurrent of entertaining the role of violence in bringing about change, especially as the 1960s decade progressed. The Hells Angels fit the old radical dream of making contact with delinquent

¹⁷¹¹ Ibid.

¹⁷¹² Ibid.

¹⁷¹³ Ibid., 245.

¹⁷¹⁴ Russell, *Let It Bleed*, 187-188.

gangs, theorizing about “our violent brothers” and their role in the coming revolution.¹⁷¹⁵ The peaceful hippies, on the other hand, had fantasies about “Angelic Barbarians” protecting them from straight society, the police, and the neighboring ghettos.¹⁷¹⁶ Indeed, during the first Human Be-In gathering, in San Francisco’s Golden Gate Park (on January 14, 1967), the Hells Angels volunteered and guarded the sound system’s generators from neighborhood teenage punks who tried to disrupt the event. Although there were fights throughout the day, and knots of violence, nobody came close to the generators, not wanting to take on the Angels.¹⁷¹⁷ The Hells Angels also warned San Francisco’s Fillmore ghetto, in July of 1967, that their force would meet any black uprisings spilling over into the Haight-Ashbury.¹⁷¹⁸ Indeed, by the fall of 1967, it looked as if there would be a race war between “longhaired, shaggie honkies” led by the San Francisco Hells Angels on one side, against the “back-stabbin, women-killin niggers” from the Fillmore.¹⁷¹⁹

When put in a situation of protecting generators and such (in contrast to Altamont, their role was usually off to the side of the stage) the Angels and other gangs usually did quite well. However, to share a living space with bikers, in either a commune or a neighborhood, was another matter. On August 12, 1967, a biker gang called the Gypsy Jokers took over Morning Star Ranch commune in Sonoma County California.¹⁷²⁰ The commune was a so-called free land sanctuary for anyone who needed a place to live. It was where the Diggers grew food to help supply their free meals that were passed out every day at Golden Gate Park Panhandle, next to the Haight-Ashbury.¹⁷²¹ After sheriffs had roused the Jokers for camping on public land, they moved to Morning Star, where the rule was that nobody could be kicked out. The bikers moved onto the ranch and ordered everybody out of the Big House and took it for themselves, while everyone else was forced into shanties and the surrounding sheds. Unable to share and live as equals with the hippies, the bikers forced the Sonoma County sheriffs to deal with the problem, but not before gunfire erupted on September 7 due to a rivalry over a seventeen-year-old girl.¹⁷²²

In the Haight-Ashbury, sharing the same main street was often a problem too. The south side of Haight Street on which the bikers hung out had a reputation for having many

¹⁷¹⁵ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 20.

¹⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁷¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 78-80.

¹⁷¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 135.

¹⁷¹⁹ Grogan, *Ringolevio*, 446.

¹⁷²⁰ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 140.

¹⁷²¹ *Ibid.*, 126.

¹⁷²² *Ibid.*, 143.

more “eerie” things occurring.¹⁷²³ Those who did not respect the bikers enough could be beaten or humiliated in other ways. Those with guitars and other musical instruments were often forced to play for hours against their wishes.¹⁷²⁴ Cute girls would often be sexually harassed (usually aggressively grabbed and kissed) and at times, more seriously molested.¹⁷²⁵ Some had to share whatever they had beyond normal expectations even for hippies, while others were simply robbed.¹⁷²⁶ Refusing to give money was not an option. On August 24, 1967, Chocolate George, one of the Hells Angels most popular with the hippies, died after an automobile collided with his motorcycle at the corner of Haight and Shrader. On August 28, some 1,500 people attended a wild wake after the funeral services in Lindley Meadow part of the Golden Gate Park. There were many bands such as the Grateful Dead and the Big Brother and the Holding Company playing music, and various motorcycle clubs joining the Hells Angels.¹⁷²⁷ The event turned into a drunken riot as the motorcycle gangs beat up several hippies for fun! Some hippies would be stomped for disobeying orders such as, “Get me six cans of beer and get it in a hurry.”¹⁷²⁸ Most hippies would jump at the command, but not all. However when a “Negro hippie” refused to follow orders, he was chased through the crowd by the Hells Angels and kicked repeatedly till his “face was cut open and blood spurted out.”¹⁷²⁹

Still the Hells Angels were an accepted part of the Haight-Ashbury street scene. Most of the time they would sit on or near their bikes stoned on drugs and alcohol. The hippies usually sanctioned the Hells Angels, who according to hippie beliefs were only “doing their thing.”¹⁷³⁰ Somehow ignored was how the Angels behavior contradicted the counterculture principles of love and peace. While some of the Angels, over time, began to act as if they loved and were protectors of the hippies, this so-called love would often erratically change to violence.¹⁷³¹ At almost any time, and often for unknown reasons, they would go on violent rampages that involved blood flowing, and fists and boots stomping on someone. As mentioned before, often the Hells Angels ruled many hippies who came near them by inflicting subtle terror. The Angels commandeered whatever they wanted;

¹⁷²³ “Haight-Ashbury: The Spare Change Tour,” San Francisco Travel, <http://www.sftravel.com/haightashburysanfrancisco.html>. Accessed June 10, 2011.

¹⁷²⁴ Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, 205.

¹⁷²⁵ *Ibid.*, 204.

¹⁷²⁶ “San Francisco’s Haight Ashbury-District,” Going to San Francisco, <http://www.cromwell-intl.com/travel/usa/san-francisco>. Accessed June 5, 2011.

¹⁷²⁷ Perry, *Haight-Ashbury*, 141-142.

¹⁷²⁸ Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, 203.

¹⁷²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷³⁰ Anthony, *The Summer of Love*, 27.

¹⁷³¹ Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, 204.

they considered themselves elite people.¹⁷³² Perhaps for these two reasons, the anarchist improvisational group, the Diggers, was attracted to them.

The Diggers were a radical countercultural group of community activists and actors operating from 1966-68 in the Haight-Ashbury.¹⁷³³ They were often referred to as the conscience of the hippie counterculture.¹⁷³⁴ Like the Hells Angels, they too called themselves 1%-ers, suggesting that free people were the minority, and inciting others to step up and help. The group sought to create a mini-society free of money and capitalism.¹⁷³⁵ The Diggers provided a free food service every day at 4 p.m., generally feeding (often with stolen food) over 200 people who had no other source of food.¹⁷³⁶ They opened numerous Free Stores in which all items (frequently shoplifted) were free for the taking or giving.¹⁷³⁷ The stores offered items that even if discarded were still in usable condition. Moreover, they also arranged free “crashpads” for homeless youth drawn to the Haight-Ashbury area.¹⁷³⁸ Being more aggressive and closer in temperament than the spaced-out, spiritual hippies, several amongst the Diggers tried to form closer connections to the Hells Angels, not always ending well.¹⁷³⁹

For example, during the summer of 1968, one of the founding members of the Diggers called Peter Coyote moved into a house shared by a Hells Angels named Pete Knell. Knell helped Coyote get a motorcycle together, and had interesting talks about current events, and politics in general. However, wrote Coyote, “The time I spent at Peter Knell’s was unnerving and stressful. Having to be preternaturally alert all the time around the Angels was exhausting and required even more self-medication.”¹⁷⁴⁰ He continued to relate how his status at Pete’s house was curious, because he was not a “Prospect” seeking admission to the Hells Angels but was there often at the start of “club business,” which he was not privy to know.¹⁷⁴¹ When three or four Angels would congregate in his living room and the “wooden soup bowl of pills were passed around,” it was never long before someone “wheeled around demanding to know just what the fuck I was doing there.”¹⁷⁴²

¹⁷³² Barger, *Hells Angel*, 41.

¹⁷³³ The Diggers Archives, “San Francisco Diggers (1966-68...and Beyond),” <http://www.diggers.org>. Accessed March 1, 2011.

¹⁷³⁴ Coyote, *Sleeping Where I Fall*, 98.

¹⁷³⁵ “American Experience: The Summer of Love,” Dir. Gail Dolgin and Vicente Franco, DVD, PBS, 2007.

¹⁷³⁶ Grogan, *Ringolevio*, 247-249.

¹⁷³⁷ *Ibid.*, 249.

¹⁷³⁸ Coyote, *Sleeping Where I Fall*, 80.

¹⁷³⁹ Anthony, *The Summer of Love*, 27.

¹⁷⁴⁰ Coyote, *Sleeping Where I Fall*, 110.

¹⁷⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴² *Ibid.*

He learned quickly when to “get lost.”¹⁷⁴³ Emmett Grogan, another founder of the Diggers, would also come over and hang out with the Angels; it was sort of a test to pass, “a way of measuring our courage, as well as forging an alliance that supported our social agenda.”¹⁷⁴⁴ One night several members decided to give Emmett a beating, “as a warning to the rest of us about getting too close.”¹⁷⁴⁵ Even so, by the late 1960s, many in the counterculture began to ride motorcycles and wore leather. A few even became full members of various motorcycle clubs.¹⁷⁴⁶ However, the Hells Angels (and the other gangs) never knew what to think of most hippies and student radicals. In their eyes, they were a combination of friends, pretenders, and potential adversaries.¹⁷⁴⁷

What set the Hells Angels apart especially from the hippies, more than anything, was the built-in structure of bylaws and hierarchy. The Angels were a very secretive group and it took a long time to get in. To protect their activities, the Hells Angels maintained strict discipline over their members. While anyone could be a hippie, there were stringent rules, requirements, and systematic stages that applied to those who could be a Hells Angel. As mentioned, the Hells Angels hung around hippies for many reasons: because of potential sex with loose hippie girls, a good setting to buy and sell illegal drugs, the exciting music scene, but perhaps most importantly, to find either Angels sympathizers or recruits. The bottom level of the Angels hierarchy consisted of the Hang around, the Associate, and the Prospects.¹⁷⁴⁸

The Haight-Ashbury hippie neighborhood was a good place for finding people who were useful for the Hells Angels. Either these folks were general supporters, or they wanted to join; these were called the Hang around. Both types were people who thought of themselves as allies, and could be counted on to help during an emergency: to give a place to sleep, tools, money, food, etc.¹⁷⁴⁹ In exchange, a Hang around would be allowed to mingle with the Angels and attend some club events.¹⁷⁵⁰ A fair number of hippies during the late sixties did indeed become sort of Hang arounds. Moreover, if some Hells Angels

¹⁷⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Grogan, *Ringolevio*, 489.

¹⁷⁴⁷ Coyote, *Sleeping Where I Fall*, 111.

¹⁷⁴⁸ “Behind the Patch: Angels ABCs: The Club’s Roots Go Back to the Late ’40s: Its Hierarchy Resembles a Paramilitary Organization,” *The Vancouver Sun*, <http://www.canada.com/vancouversun/news/story.html?id=2e614f75-9caf-4865-a76b-7b54fbb46590>. Accessed April 30, 2011.

¹⁷⁴⁹ “Life as a Hells Angels Prospect,” *The Vancouver Province*, September 17, 2008, <http://www.canada.com/theprovince/news/story.html?id=5b78bc4c-31b7-48ec-bc19-5a1751b8d6ce>. Accessed April 30, 2011.

¹⁷⁵⁰ Akweli Parker, “How the Hells Angels Motorcycle Club Works,” *howstuffworks*, <http://auto.howstuffworks.com/hells-angels2.htm>. Accessed April 5, 2011.

members took a deeper liking and interest in a Hang-around, an Associate status could be given to him.¹⁷⁵¹ However, to be offered this higher status, or that of a Prospect, one had to fit the following instructions:

- Be a motorcycle enthusiast who uses a motorcycle as a primary means of transportation.
- Ride an average of 20,000 miles (32,000 km) a year. As the Hells Angels brochure said, “this means [in] rain, snow, or sunshine.”
- Never have applied to be a police officer or prison guard.¹⁷⁵²
- Be a male and not gay.
- Be white, since the Angels have had alliances with such groups as the Aryan Brotherhood and its fondness for Nazi symbolism.¹⁷⁵³

To become a Prospect, on the other hand, was a full acknowledgement that an individual was in the “pipeline” for consideration to join their group. These persons could participate in all club activities but had no club voting privileges.¹⁷⁵⁴ But both Hang arounds and Prospects were expected to do chores, which included things that needed to be done around the clubhouse, “like fixing the dishwasher, repositioning the television satellite, cleaning out the bathroom cupboards, power washing the deck, cleaning the coffee machine, ice bins and gym, and to ‘pledge’ the wood.”¹⁷⁵⁵ However, sometimes the Hells Angels would turn against and abuse both Hang arounds and Prospects, at any time, when they were not satisfied. Thus, the road to Full membership was not easy for wannabes, and the process could last years.¹⁷⁵⁶

Successful Prospects graduated to Full member or Full-patch status. The step of attaining Full membership was referred to as “being patched.”¹⁷⁵⁷ To become a Full member, the Prospect had to be voted in by the rest of the Full club members. Prior to votes being cast, a Prospect usually had to travel to every chapter in the sponsoring chapter’s geographic jurisdiction (city/county/state) and introduce himself to every Full-

¹⁷⁵¹ Coyote, *Sleeping Where I Fall*, 118.

¹⁷⁵² “How to Join the Hells Angels,” ehow, http://www.ehow.com/how_2066987_join-hells-angels.html. Accessed April 6, 2011.

¹⁷⁵³ Akweli Parker, “How the Hells Angels Motorcycle Club Works,” howstuffworks, <http://auto.howstuffworks.com/hells-angels2.htm>. Accessed April 5, 2011.

¹⁷⁵⁴ “The Biker Code,” angelfire, <http://www.angelfire.com/mn/thetrioproject/bikercod.html>. Accessed May 2, 2011.

¹⁷⁵⁵ “Life as a Hells Angels Prospect,” *The Vancouver Province*, September 17, 2008, <http://www.canada.com/theprovince/news/story.html?id=5b78bc4c-31b7-48ec-bc19-5a1751b8d6ce>. Accessed April 30, 2011.

¹⁷⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵⁷ Barger, *Hells Angel*, 43.

Patch. This process allowed each voting member to become familiar with the subject and to ask any questions of concern prior to the vote. Successful admission usually required more than a simple majority, and some clubs rejected a Prospect by a single dissenting vote. Some form of formal induction followed, wherein the Prospect affirmed his loyalty to the club and its members at an initiation ceremony.¹⁷⁵⁸ Furthermore, the Full-Patch, or “being patched,” referred to the fact that the member now had the right to wear all the sanctioned jacket patches, including the Hells Angel “death head” logo, the words “Hells Angels” on the top patch panel (called a rocker), and the club location on the lower rocker.¹⁷⁵⁹ These patches were sewn on the back of a usually sleeveless denim or leather jacket. In addition, some members wore various types of Luftwaffe insignia and reproductions of German iron crosses for mostly decorative and shock effect.¹⁷⁶⁰ Others had badges reading 1%-er, or the number 13, which represented the letter M, the 13th letter of the alphabet, and indicated that the wearer was a user of marijuana.¹⁷⁶¹ No matter what, after becoming a Full member, there was no let up; each member had to continue to maintain a stringent behavioral code at all times.

Hells Angels members and prospects followed strict rules that lent to their mystique and gave them some security. Part of that security meant that rank-and-file members (as opposed to the leadership) could not talk to the media and could never talk to the public about their codes or other members.¹⁷⁶² In addition, if one Hells Angels member was pulled over by law enforcement officers, the entire group traveling with him would also pull over, making it less likely that it would happen.¹⁷⁶³ The Hells Angels would never go out together without their “colors” – the winged death’s-head patch on the back of their leather vest or jacket. Even after a member was patched-in, the patches themselves remained the property of the Hells Angels Motorcycle Club rather than the individual members.¹⁷⁶⁴ It was easy to know who were Prospects and who were Full members because the word “Prospect” was stitched on the front of their vests while the backs of

¹⁷⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵⁹ “Drugs and Crime Outlaw Motorcycle Gang Profile: U.S. Department of Justice: Hells Angels Motorcycle Club,” <http://www.justice.gov/criminal/ocgs/gangs/motorcycle.html>. Accessed June 17, 2011.

¹⁷⁶⁰ Barger, *Hells Angel*, 38-39.

¹⁷⁶¹ “What Is the Meaning of Biker Patches,” Shane Hall (2011),

http://www.ehow.com/about_5095582_meaning-biker-patches_.html. Accessed May 11, 2011.

¹⁷⁶² “Exclusive: Rochester Hells Angels President Talks: ‘We’re Being Steam Rolled Over,’” whec, <http://www.whec.com/news/stories/S2119034.shtml?cat-566>. Accessed June 1, 2011.

¹⁷⁶³ Sharon Smith, “Biker riding rules of the road - how to ride in a pack,” examiner.com, <http://www.examiner.com/motorcycle-lifestyle-in-dallas/biker-riding-rules-of-the-road-how-to-ride-a-pac>. Accessed June 5, 2011.

¹⁷⁶⁴ Barger, *Hells Angel*, 43.

their jackets were missing the words “Hells Angels” and the flying skull – the full colors for the gang.¹⁷⁶⁵ Once someone was a Full member, nonmembers would not dare touch the vest of a Hells Angel unless allowed. Getting colors on your vest was so sacred that often if one of the Angels was arrested, he would try to give their jacket to another member to take for safekeeping.¹⁷⁶⁶ They were sensitive to any so-called desecrations of their symbols. Nevertheless, on leaving the Hells Angels, or being ejected from the group, everything had to be returned to the club.¹⁷⁶⁷ Even though a person was voted in as Full member, and got a jacket with an mc (motorcycle club) patch on it, he could keep it only as long as he was a Hells Angel in good standing. If a person got on the bad side of the Angels, the club would come and take the patches from the individual. People kicked out of the club with a Hells Angels tattoo on their body would have them cut and burned out with no anesthesia.¹⁷⁶⁸

The various Hells Angel’s rules and codes were enforced by strict discipline, which included beatings and sometimes expulsion. For each chapter, there were weekly meetings called “church” by some members.¹⁷⁶⁹ Whether an applicant would get into the Hells Angels or not was debated at this time. Minutes of each meeting, for all the chapters, are gathered together as information for the particular regional Hells Angels executive body.¹⁷⁷⁰ While the Hells Angels had no national or international hierarchy, chapters were grouped into regions, which monitor both individual and even chapter behavior. At the regional level, business decisions were made, for example, on which new chapters were accepted, falling out of favor, below expectations, or who should get new favors.¹⁷⁷¹ Moreover, at these assemblies, new rules were established, information was shared, and all individual chapters disciplined and maintained through a rigid power structure. The overall arrangement was very similar to that of the military because of its top-down approach.

The following is the hierarchy for each Hells Angels chapter, from the highest to the least important: President, Vice President, Sergeant at Arms, Intelligence Officer, Road

¹⁷⁶⁵ “Hells Angels Motorcycle Club World,” <http://www.hells-angels.com/?HA-faq>. Accessed May 23, 2011.

¹⁷⁶⁶ Barger, *Hells Angel*, 46.

¹⁷⁶⁷ George Wethern and Vincent Colnett, *A Wayward Angel: The Full Story of the Hells Angels* (Guilford, Connecticut: Globe Pequot Press, 2008), 126.

¹⁷⁶⁸ Jana Hollingsworth and Brandon Stahl. “Hells Angels Members Live by the Code,” *Duluth News Tribune* (2010), <http://www.juliansher.com/books/angels/interviews/duluth.htm>. Accessed May 10, 2011.

¹⁷⁶⁹ Barger, *Hells Angel*, 42.

¹⁷⁷⁰ “Hells Angels and Outlaws Questions,” Kawasaki Motorcycle Forums (July 21, 2008), <http://www.kawasakimotorcycle.org/forum/kawasaki-cruisers/82231-hells-angels-outlaws-question.html>. Accessed June 1, 2011.

¹⁷⁷¹ “Drugs and Crime Outlaw Motorcycle Gang Profile: U.S. Department of Justice: Hells Angels Motorcycle Club,” <http://www.justice.gov/criminal/ocgs/gangs/motorcycle.html>. Accessed June 17, 2011.

Captain, general Club members, Prospects, Associates, Hang arounds.¹⁷⁷² Under the chapter power structure, the president was the absolute leader and had veto power over decisions made by members. The vice-president replaced the president in his absence. The sergeant at arms was responsible for discipline at club meetings, funerals, and special events. The secretary-treasurer kept minutes of club meetings and managed the club's finances, including member dues, fines, and paying club bills and expenses. He also sometimes acted as an intelligence officer, gathering information about police and rivals. The road captain was in charge of organizing mandatory club runs, including the destination and stops for food and gas.¹⁷⁷³ Moreover, the order of rank also included riding formations. When the Angels would go out for a group ride, they had set positions for the different members in the group. In the pole position was the road captain. He had the responsibility of making sure that the group got where it intended to go. Spaced out 10 to thirty feet (roughly 3 to 9 meters) behind the road captain was the president of the chapter, then the sergeant at arms, followed by the vice president. Following them were the rest of the members with the Prospects and finally the Hanger arounds of the club bringing up the rear. In the case of a major ride, a scout might be riding five to ten miles (8 to 16 km) ahead of the main pack to warn of any roadblocks or other obstacles.¹⁷⁷⁴ They would all pull over together to avoid disrupting the order.¹⁷⁷⁵

By the time of the Altamont festival, the Hells Angels and the hippies had coexisted for over four years. Altamont was a free concert put on by the Rolling Stones near the San Francisco Bay Area on December 6, 1969. It came on the heels of the legendary Woodstock music festival held during August, which had captivated the entire country with 400,000 to 500,000 youthful "hippies" and its "three days of peace and love."¹⁷⁷⁶

During the fall, the media were ablaze with stories of the hopefulness of a New Age dawning.¹⁷⁷⁷ Altamont was supposed to be the West coast version of Woodstock, but perhaps even better.¹⁷⁷⁸ The Altamont concert was simply the next logical upward tick of the "youth explosion" that had already risen in a steady, ascendant line from the early

¹⁷⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷⁷³ "Behind the Patch: Angels ABCs: The Club's Roots Go Back to the Late '40s: Its Hierarchy Resembles a Paramilitary Organization," *The Vancouver Sun*, <http://www.canada.com/vancouversun/news/story.html?id=2e614f75-9caf-4865-a76b-7b54fbb46590>. Accessed April 30, 2011.

¹⁷⁷⁴ Sharon Smith, "Biker Riding Rules of the Road - How to Ride in a Pack," *examiner.com*, <http://www.examiner.com/motorcycle-lifestyle-in-dallas/biker-riding-rules-of-the-road-how-to-ride-a-pack>. Accessed June 5, 2011.

¹⁷⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷⁶ Makower, *Woodstock*, 238.

¹⁷⁷⁷ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 151.

¹⁷⁷⁸ Russell, *Let It Bleed*, 168.

1960s (arguably since the mid-1950s) to December of 1969.¹⁷⁷⁹ It had always (at least in myth) seemingly gotten bigger, always gotten better, always gotten loftier.

The original idea for the free Rolling Stones concert stemmed from the Stones' successful free concert in London's Hyde Park in July 1969.¹⁷⁸⁰ In early November, the Stones began their first U.S. tour in more than three years. The first concert was in Los Angeles, and the last would be the free one in San Francisco a month later.¹⁷⁸¹ The plan was to have the free concert in the Golden Gate Park, next to the Haight Ashbury district where the hippie movement had started from a few years earlier. The Hells Angels, at the suggestion of Emmett Grogan, would escort the band in and out of the park. "We'll have one hundred Hells Angels on their hogs escort the Stones . . . nobody will come near the Angels, man. They wouldn't dare."¹⁷⁸² However, this did not happen, as the San Francisco City Parks and Recreation Department turned down the application for the event on November 30.¹⁷⁸³

Next, Sears Point Raceway in Sonoma County became the alternative site. Chip Monck (who was also the stage manager at Woodstock) was in the process of building the stage with his crew when things hit a snag again. A disagreement concerning the ownership of film rights forced the concert to move once again, this time only two days before the concert date.¹⁷⁸⁴ With less than 48 hours and still no location, Dick Carter came through with his Altamont Speedway, in the desolate brown hills near Livermore.¹⁷⁸⁵ Still, the sound system, the lights, the partially built stage, everything was all driven down eighty miles (129 km) to the southeast in time for the event. Nevertheless, the Altamont rock festival should not have taken place because of the lack of time for needed preparation for such a large event. Most rock festivals took months of planning, and even then they were usually not "hassle free."¹⁷⁸⁶

The Altamont rock festival ultimately ended in disaster, but Woodstock (after the fact considered the peak of the counterculture) and other rock festivals too barely avoided this same fate.¹⁷⁸⁷ It had nothing to do with the end of the Sixties, or it being the end of the 1960s decade, nor was Altamont predestined to fail. The role of the Hells Angels would

¹⁷⁷⁹ Ibid., 169.

¹⁷⁸⁰ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 162.

¹⁷⁸¹ Ibid., 163.

¹⁷⁸² Barger, *Hells Angel*, 160.

¹⁷⁸³ Grogan, *Ringolevio*, 490.

¹⁷⁸⁴ Ibid., 491.

¹⁷⁸⁵ Russell, *Let It Bleed*, 168.

¹⁷⁸⁶ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 170.

¹⁷⁸⁷ Kirkpatrick, *1969*, 265.

have been different also if the stage had been built higher. Indeed, one of the biggest reasons that things went wrong at Altamont was that the stage was less than a meter in height.¹⁷⁸⁸ At Sears Point (where it was originally constructed) it would have been sufficient, because there was a ten-foot drop in front of the stage, so no one could have gotten onto it.¹⁷⁸⁹ Unfortunately, the organizers took that same stage to Altamont and compounded the problem by placing it in the foot of a hill in the neck of a valley, or as some called it, “in the bottom of a bowl.”¹⁷⁹⁰ Either way, its location was the worst possible for a concert of 400,000 people eager to get close to the stage.¹⁷⁹¹ Thus, the stage at Altamont was in need of protection from the huge crowd, especially in light of the hysteria usually generated by Mick Jagger and the Rolling Stones. As a result, Monck decided to build a barricade of cars and trucks to shield the back area from the throngs.¹⁷⁹² The Hells Angels, on the other hand, were to expand their role and take care of the front of the stage. While the Grateful Dead had used the Angels for security in the past without incident, and the Stones themselves had used the British arm of the Hells Angels for an “honor guard” earlier that year at their Hyde Park memorial show for Brian Jones, this was a different set of circumstances.¹⁷⁹³ For perhaps the first time, the Hells Angels received center stage authority, and were placed in a difficult situation.¹⁷⁹⁴

The Rolling Stones allegedly hired the Hells Angels as security for \$500 worth of beer. The deal was simple: the Oakland and Frisco Angels would sit up on the stage, watch the crowd, and drink free beer.¹⁷⁹⁵ Soon enough, though, the Stones would find out that California Hells Angels were different from their English counterparts. As Rolling Stones guitarist Mick Taylor would say, “These guys in California are the real thing. They’re very violent.”¹⁷⁹⁶ With hundreds of thousands of optimistic and excited people arriving already the day before, it was a beautiful start to the festival. The Rolling Stones’ other guitarist Keith Richards helped inspire the workers building the stage by his presence as he

¹⁷⁸⁸ Benjy Eisen, “Sam Cutler on Altamont Fiasco: Rolling Stones Tour Manager Sam Cutler Finally Tells His Side of the Altamont Fiasco,” *Spinner* (March 29, 2010), <http://www.spinner.com/2010/03/29/sam-cutler-rolling-stones-altamont>. Accessed April 3, 2011.

¹⁷⁸⁹ Russell, *Let It Bleed*, 170.

¹⁷⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 170-171.

¹⁷⁹¹ “Rolling Stones Tour Manager Recounts Altamont Disaster in New Book,” *Spinner* (March 29, 2010), <http://www.spinner.com/2010/03/29/rolling-stones-tour-manager-sam-cutler-altamont-book-you-cant-always-get-what-you-want/>. Accessed April 22, 2011.

¹⁷⁹² “Altamont Speedway Free Festival 1969,” Squidoo, <http://www.squidoo.com/altamont-speedway-free-festival-1969>. Accessed May 8, 2011.

¹⁷⁹³ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 162.

¹⁷⁹⁴ “Rolling Stones Photo Galleries Hells Angels at Altamont, December 6, 1969,” *Morethings*, http://www.morethings.com/music/rolling_stones/images/hells_angels/index.html. Accessed April 22, 2011.

¹⁷⁹⁵ Barger, *Hells Angel*, 160.

¹⁷⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

wandered around through the crowd.¹⁷⁹⁷ “The night before the concert was just mystical . . . it was nice and laid-back and beautiful, sitting around the campfire, drinking wine, everybody talking . . . a great prelude to what we all thought was going to happen”¹⁷⁹⁸ Then came the next day, with the Hells Angels deciding to show everyone who was in charge by going right through the crowd of thousands on their motorcycles to park in front of the stage.¹⁷⁹⁹ It is said that the beauty of the festival began to end when the power-tripping Hells Angels showed up carrying sawed-off pool cues. Their idea was to intimidate people, and to have everyone see them as cops carrying nightsticks.¹⁸⁰⁰ As far as the real cops went, there were perhaps only a half a dozen near the stage and at the whole festival. They said that they did not come because of how spontaneously the festival was organized; there was no time for arrangements.¹⁸⁰¹ Unlike the other rock festivals, such as Woodstock, they irresponsibly did not show up to help (control the crowd and the Angels). The Hells Angels, on the other hand, untrained in crowd control and having free reign, acted like the thugs that they were.

The first hint of violence to come occurred sometime after 11:30 a.m. Down by the stage someone allegedly insulted a Hells Angel and was punched and kicked by several bikers until he fell on the ground and “begged for mercy.”¹⁸⁰² Another fight broke out some thirty yards away when an Angel rode over a blanket of food with his motorcycle. When the person objected to this rude act, he was hit across the legs with a “rusty chain.”¹⁸⁰³ Santana was the first band to perform on the Altamont stage, and played the same songs as they had at Woodstock a few months before. The quick tempo and energy of the music, however, fed the hostility of the Hells Angels.¹⁸⁰⁴ Santana’s set was marred twice by violence, as Angels battled with ecstatic fans who attempted to climb onto the stage. During the second incident, Carlos Santana made his band stop playing. He pleaded in vain with the people up front not to come near, but the temptation was too strong. As soon as the Santana band began to play their music, excited fans rushed to the front of the stage again. When they realized how easy it was to climb on, some of them tried to do just

¹⁷⁹⁷ Russell, *Let It Bleed*, 171.

¹⁷⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹⁹ “Rock Concert Death 69,” online video clip, Youtube, June 19, 2009, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LKFcdBZBg-w>. Accessed May 3, 2011.

¹⁸⁰⁰ Lachman, *Turn Off Your Mind*, 306.

¹⁸⁰¹ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 170.

¹⁸⁰² Ibid., 172.

¹⁸⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰⁴ Ibid., 173.

that.¹⁸⁰⁵ The Hells Angels, in the meantime, acting on emotion and pride, used brutal force in often-uncontrollable fashion. As the day went on, the Hells Angels began to attack the crowd for the sheer pleasure of beating people up.¹⁸⁰⁶

Santana had intended on playing for more than forty-five minutes, but cut their set short because of the fighting.¹⁸⁰⁷ The next band to perform was the Jefferson Airplane, who met with the same fate. The Airplane deliberately started with the song “We Can Be Together” in hopes of toning the mood down.¹⁸⁰⁸ While it seemed to work briefly, the crowd got on its feet and pushed towards the stage during the next song. Two Hells Angels were pushed, one briefly to the ground. Fellow members quickly retaliated by jumping on whoever was closest and “hammering them with punches and kicks.”¹⁸⁰⁹ Marty Balin, one of the singers of the band, jumped off stage to stop further beatings of the crowd. The Angels did not care who he was and punched him in the head and groin, knocking him unconscious.¹⁸¹⁰ Bill Thompson, the Airplane’s manager, had to come down from the stage and assist Balin to his feet. Guitarist Paul Kanter quickly motioned for the Airplane to stop playing. Like Carlos Santana before him, he pleaded with the Angels to cease their brutality, but a Hells Angel confiscated his microphone. Then another Angel walked up to Kanter and nearly punched him.¹⁸¹¹ After about ten minutes, the Angels cleared the stage and allowed the Airplane to finish their set, which consisted of another three songs, including, “Somebody to Love.” Later, when Thompson asked why they attacked Balin, the answer was that, “He spoke disrespectful to an Angel.” He supposedly said, “fuck you” to a Hells Angels named Animal who was beating on a black kid.¹⁸¹² However, some had the feeling that it went deeper, that the Angels resented these original psychedelic Haight-Ashbury hippie longhaired musicians singing about peace and love, during a time when “communists in Vietnam needed killing.”¹⁸¹³

The third group to play at Altamont was the Flying Burrito Brothers. They quickly went on to play for fear that any long pause in the music might allow the Hells Angels to grow restless and provide their own entertainment of choosing people to punish.¹⁸¹⁴ The

¹⁸⁰⁵ Kirkpatrick, 1969, 259.

¹⁸⁰⁶ Lachman, *Turn Off Your Mind*, 345.

¹⁸⁰⁷ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 174.

¹⁸⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 175.

¹⁸⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹⁰ Barger, *Hells Angel*, 162.

¹⁸¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹² *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹³ “Rolling Stones Photo Galleries Hells Angels at Altamont, December 6, 1969,” Morethings, http://www.morethings.com/music/rolling_stones/images/hells_angels/index.html. Accessed April 22, 2011.

¹⁸¹⁴ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 175.

Burritos played a type of country rock style that was much more mellow and soothing than that of the previous two bands. Their mild sound temporarily soothed emotions, and no fights erupted during their performance.¹⁸¹⁵ They were careful not to play anything that would instigate a surge by the crowd toward the stage. For a while, it seemed as though the remainder of the festival would be free of conflict, but hope was short-lived as the Hells Angels began a new series of assaults.¹⁸¹⁶

Not long after the fourth band, Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young, began to play, a young man under the influence of either alcohol or LSD walked up to an Angel's bike that was parked alongside the stage and kicked it.¹⁸¹⁷ Perhaps the person was angry over the way the Angels had been treating the crowd; nevertheless, a group of Angels sitting on the side of the stage jumped and kicked him until it looked as if he might be dead. The Angels looked down at him, convinced that he had received his rightful punishment, then went back to sit on the stage.¹⁸¹⁸ A little later, another round of violence occurred when the Angels decided to beat an obese young man who had taken all his clothes off. To some of the Hells Angels, he was simply too ugly to be naked and they set about clubbing him just for that fact.¹⁸¹⁹ The Grateful Dead were to follow Crosby, Stills Nash and Young, but decided not to go on because of all the violence.¹⁸²⁰ Thus, all the opening bands had finished playing, the sun was still out and it was time for the Rolling Stones to come out to play, but they made the crowd wait till it got dark and cold.¹⁸²¹

Wintertime in California, especially during the night, can be quite nippy. The crowd had waited all day to see the Stones perform, and was getting restless and angry. Meanwhile, the Stones, "acting like prima donnas," stayed in their trailers, wanting the crowd to get more and more agitated and frenzied before they came out on stage.¹⁸²² This strategy worked, and as they finally began to play the crowd went wild and crazy. While the Hells Angels had eventually succeeded in creating a buffered roped-in area around the stage with their motorcycles by late afternoon, people rushed back in, trying to jump on the stage. In response, the Angels began pushing people off and beating those who they saw "messing with our bikes."¹⁸²³ At one point, smoke was seen coming out around the battery

¹⁸¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸¹⁶ Kirkpatrick, 1969, 261.

¹⁸¹⁷ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 184.

¹⁸¹⁸ Ibid., 177.

¹⁸¹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸²⁰ Michael Lydon, "An Evening with the Grateful Dead," *Rolling Stone*, September 17, 1970.

¹⁸²¹ Barger, *Hells Angel*, 163.

¹⁸²² Ibid.

¹⁸²³ Ibid., 164.

of one of the motorcycles. Some fan kneeling on the seat had caused contact with his weight between the springs and the electrical storage unit, shorting out the bike.¹⁸²⁴ A number of Hells Angels jumped down from the stage and pushed their way through the crowd to get to the burning motorcycle. This incident ignited even more tension between the Angels and the crowd, as many people were hit and shoved. Many hippies began to retaliate by throwing bottles and smashing the motorcycle. That was a big mistake, according to Oakland Hells Angels leader Sonny Barger: “That’s when we entered the crowd and grabbed some of the assholes vandalizing our bikes and beat the fuck out of them.”¹⁸²⁵

The Hells Angels really hated hippie talk of peace and love. Now that the situation had totally spun out of control at Altamont, the Rolling Stones began to talk of “brothers and sisters type of hippie shit.”¹⁸²⁶ This they considered an insult, as they blamed most of the problems on the Stones. Everyone who tried to rush the stage was thrown off to protect what the Angels called “a bunch of sissy, marble-mouthed prima donnas.”¹⁸²⁷ One such person was a big fat topless girl who was trying to climb up; a Hells Angels simply kicked her in the head, and she fell off.¹⁸²⁸ Keith Richards told the Angels that they were not going to play anymore until they stopped the violence. “Either these cats cool it, man, or we don’t play.” Mick Jagger announced to the crowd.¹⁸²⁹ Barger replied by sticking a pistol into Richards’s side and told him to play or he was dead!¹⁸³⁰ Wave after wave of violence swept through the crowd causing people to be jammed against each other. There was some sort of commotion halfway through every song, it seemed. There was no space, but the crowd would suddenly open and six or seven Angels would be seen whacking people with pool cues.¹⁸³¹ During one of these episodes, a young black man pulled out a gun and was promptly stabbed to death by the Hells Angels.¹⁸³² It was argued that one could not fault the Angels for killing a person with a gun in his hand. Moreover, he allegedly took a shot in the direction of the stage, and supposedly grazed an Angel with a bullet.¹⁸³³ Nonetheless, as seen on photos and on a video, these Angels seem to rather have enjoyed the ghastly

¹⁸²⁴ Kirkpatrick, *1969*, 262.

¹⁸²⁵ Barger, *Hells Angel*, 164.

¹⁸²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸²⁷ *Ibid.*, 163.

¹⁸²⁸ *Ibid.*, 164.

¹⁸²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸³¹ Russell, *Let It Bleed*, 212.

¹⁸³² Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 406.

¹⁸³³ Coyote, *Sleeping Where I Fall*, 123.

encounter. A couple of minutes afterwards their faces seem to reveal a state of celebration and ecstasy in some sort of “death ritual.”¹⁸³⁴ Afterwards, Barger wrote in his book, “I didn’t feel too bummed about what had happened at the concert. It was another day in the life of a Hells Angel.”¹⁸³⁵ Basic physical intimidation and a natural inclination the bust the heads of people who as much looked at them funny was just natural behavior for the Hells Angels.

Ever since the end of World War II, wild men on motorcycles had strangely plagued California. They usually traveled in groups of ten to thirty, booming along the highways and stopping here or there to get drunk and raise hell. There was plenty of mad action, senseless destruction, orgies, brawls, perversions, and many innocent victims.¹⁸³⁶ Nevertheless, their outlaw attitude elicited a certain popular appeal in California and elsewhere in the West where the outlaw tradition was still honored. “We’re bastards to the world and they’re bastards to us,” one of the Oakland Hells Angels told a newspaper reporter. “We are complete social outcasts – outsiders against society.”¹⁸³⁷ Nonetheless, their attitude and conduct was not the type conducive to creating a better world based on peace, love, justice, and equality as espoused by the counterculture. The Hells Angels, though outsiders to the rest of society, were not the visionaries that the hippies and the student activists had hoped they would be.

The Hells Angels’ massive publicity in 1964 and 1965 came right after the widely publicized student Free Speech rebellion at the University of California in Berkeley. The liberal-radical-intellectual circles mistakenly thought that there was a natural alliance between them and the bikers. The Angels’ aggressive, antisocial stance, their perceived alienation, had a tremendous appeal for the more passive Berkeley temperament. “Students who could barely get up the nerve to sign a petition or to shoplift a candy bar were fascinated by tales of the Hells Angels ripping up towns and taking whatever they wanted.”¹⁸³⁸ Most importantly, the Angels had a reputation for defying police, for successfully opposing authority, and to the frustrated student radicals this was a powerful image indeed.¹⁸³⁹ “The Angels didn’t masturbate, they raped. They didn’t come on with

¹⁸³⁴ “Rolling Stones Photo Galleries Hells Angels at Altamont, December 6, 1969,” Morethings, http://www.morethings.com/music/rolling_stones/images/hells_angels/index.html. Accessed April 22, 2011.

¹⁸³⁵ Barger, *Hells Angel*, 166.

¹⁸³⁶ Daniel R. Wolf, *The Rebels: A Brotherhood of Outlaw Bikers* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 4.

¹⁸³⁷ Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 109.

¹⁸³⁸ *Ibid.*, 235.

¹⁸³⁹ *Ibid.*

theories and songs and quotations, but with noise and muscle and sheer balls.”¹⁸⁴⁰ In spite of that, what the counterculture came to realize was that Angels were not “some romantic leftover from the American individualist tradition,” but perhaps the “first wave of a future of losers, dropouts, failures and malcontents.”¹⁸⁴¹ With the vast majority of motorcycle outlaws being uneducated, unskilled men between 20 and 30, they came from a vastly different economic background than themselves. While the majority of the counterculture came from upper-middle class or middle class environments, the door to financial prosperity was still open to them if needed.¹⁸⁴² The Hells Angels, on the other hand, were mostly from working-class families rendered useless in a highly technical economy. They were part of a fast-growing group of young unemployables whose untapped energy was beginning to find some kind of destructive outlet (the same type of youths joined the Punk movement just a few years later).¹⁸⁴³

For the outlaw bikers their lifestyle reflected more than a wistful yearning for acceptance in a world they had never made it in; their real motivation was an instinctive certainty as to what the reality was. “They are out of the ball game and they know it – and that is their meaning; for unlike most losers in today’s society, the Hells Angels not only know but spitefully proclaim exactly where they stand.”¹⁸⁴⁴ The paradox for these outlaws was that after a man blew all his options, he could not afford the luxury of changing his ways. However, instead of losing quietly, one by one, they banded together with a fierce loyalty, creating strength in unity.¹⁸⁴⁵ The Hells Angels’ view of humanity was completely different from that of those in the counterculture. Their feeling of society screwing them led to an ethic of total retaliation, or “at least the kind of random revenge that comes with outraging the public decency.”¹⁸⁴⁶ They were rejects looking for a way to get even with a world by causing problems, not by building a new and better one.

On the other hand, the Hells Angels were not very political, to the disappointment of the political left. This was especially true before the Angels got all their publicity. As late as early 1965, they seemed to have had no interest in what was happening during the Free Speech movement on the Berkeley campus, CORE’S civil rights picket lines in Jack London Square in the middle of downtown Oakland, or the first Get Out of Vietnam

¹⁸⁴⁰ Ibid. 236.

¹⁸⁴¹ Ibid. 246.

¹⁸⁴² Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, 345.

¹⁸⁴³ Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 246.

¹⁸⁴⁴ Leo E. Litwak, “Hells Angels,” *New York Times*, January 29, 1967, 30.

¹⁸⁴⁵ Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 253.

¹⁸⁴⁶ Ibid., 109.

demonstrations.¹⁸⁴⁷ However, the responsibilities of fame made the Hells Angels very conscious of their image, and as they dealt more and more with the press, they commented on the issues of the day. “Tell me, Sonny, do the Hells Angels have any position on the war in Vietnam?”¹⁸⁴⁸ Other questions would include, “How do you feel about the civil rights movement, Tiny?”¹⁸⁴⁹ As it turns out, the Hells Angels supported social political positions in opposition to the counterculture. Most of them, or at least not enough of them, simply just did not care.¹⁸⁵⁰ “But if Sonny had a beef with some pinko demonstrators, then by God, they all had a beef. And that was the way it went.”¹⁸⁵¹ Group loyalty was one consistent, and it often got them in trouble as a fellow Angel was always right when dealing with outsiders.¹⁸⁵² This sort of reasoning made a group of offended Hells Angels nearly impossible to deal with.

Finally, at Altamont, all the differences between the counterculture and the Hells Angels became clear. Their behavior shocked even the most permissive supporters. Even those in the counterculture with the most liberal views of accommodating all types of behavior had to acknowledge the limits to their beliefs. While they seemed to pop up wherever anything significant was happening, the Hells Angels instilled fear in anyone who crossed their path.¹⁸⁵³ A black-sheep counterpoint to the hippie movement, they became increasingly less appealing after Altamont.¹⁸⁵⁴ The disillusionment was surprising only because it took so long to occur. Disregarding the beards and long hair, the Hells Angels were from the beginning a motorcycle gang, a group of criminals who progressively committed more beatings, drug distributions, racketeerings, rapes, riots, stabbings, eventually fatal shootings and fire bombings.¹⁸⁵⁵ Instead of living in togetherness as the hippies believed, they escalated turf wars between themselves and their rivals such as the Pagans, Outlaws, Bandidos, and the Los Angeles-based Mongols.¹⁸⁵⁶ Even thus, the counterculture graciously tried to create a role for the Hells Angels, and other bikers, within their countercultural movement. That is why at Altamont, Grace Slick

¹⁸⁴⁷ Barger, *Hells Angel*, 119.

¹⁸⁴⁸ Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 249.

¹⁸⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵⁰ Coyote, *Sleeping Where I Fall*, 112.

¹⁸⁵¹ Thompson, *Hells Angels*, 250.

¹⁸⁵² “Hells Angels,” <http://web.pdx.edu/~abanas/HELLS%20ANGELS.html>. Accessed April 26, 2011.

¹⁸⁵³ Russell, *Let It Bleed*, 184.

¹⁸⁵⁴ Skip Stone, “Landmark Hippy Events,” Hip Chat (2011), <http://hippy.com/modules.php?name-News&file-article&sid-201>. Accessed April 13, 2011.

¹⁸⁵⁵ Randy James, “A Brief History of the Hells Angels,” *Time Magazine*, August 3, 2009, 12.

¹⁸⁵⁶ “Biker Gangs Unite in Turf Wars against Hells Angels,” highbeam, <http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-157564185.html>. Accessed May 30, 2011.

(on stage with the Jefferson Airplane just a couple of minutes after the Angels had knocked out her band mate) could say, “People get weird, and you need people like the Angels to keep people in line. But the Angels also – you know, you don’t bust people in the head for nothing. So both sides are fucking up temporarily. Let’s not keep fucking up.”¹⁸⁵⁷

To claim that the actions of the Hells Angels biker gang had showed, at Altamont, that the counterculture did not work (and thus the Sixties had ended) would be like saying the same if the FBI, the U.S. Army, or the KKK had been entrusted in that same role. In other words, these groups were not, and never had been, part of the counterculture. Though the counterculture had embraced various biker gangs during the 1960s, put simply, the Hells Angels were neither hippies nor student protesters. They were around the counterculture (as were criminal drug addicts, mainstream and religious cult groups, social scientists, and curious tourists) but not truly part of it.¹⁸⁵⁸ Instead, they were an outlaw syndicate that, in numerous ways, mimicked many of the values of mainstream American society that they, the counterculture, had opposed: discipline, hierarchy, patriotism, rules, and violence.¹⁸⁵⁹ As a result, it is contradictory to claim that the Sixties counterculture ended because of the actions of some group that was not really a part of it in essence! The Altamont rock festival did not mark the disintegration of the sixties hippie/anti-war counterculture; instead, it once again showed the reality that not all subcultural groups were the same, and thus were not truly united to each other in the first place. Finally, Sonny Barger of the Angels said it clearly (the next day on the radio) when describing why they beat hippies at the festival: “I am not no peace freak by any sense of the word.”¹⁸⁶⁰

II.6. Conclusions on the 1960s

As we examined the history of the Movement during the 1960s decade, it became obvious that it was consistently filled with an undercurrent of dissension, despair, and violence. These negative features of the Movement did not begin in 1969. On the other

¹⁸⁵⁷ “The Rolling Stones’ Altamont Music Festival, December 6, 1969: The Anti-Woodstock,” <http://blogcritics.org/video/article/the-rolling-stones-altamont-music-festival/page-5>. Accessed June 15, 2011.

¹⁸⁵⁸ Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, 35.

¹⁸⁵⁹ “Hells Angels – A Strange and Terrible Saga of the Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs,” naderlibrary, <http://naderlibrary.com/huntert.hellsangels21.htm>. Accessed March 4, 2011.

¹⁸⁶⁰ “Charlie Watts & Mick Jagger Listen to an Altamont Hells-Angel,” online video clip, Youtube, January 16, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a4OUEZSg8xY>. Accessed March 10, 2011.

hand, the unfavorable characteristics, while inherent from the start, did increase in intensity throughout the years. At first, the high moral rhetoric of the African-American civil rights movement outshone the likes of Robert F. William and others who espoused meeting “violence with violence.”¹⁸⁶¹ Similarly, the early student and anti-war activists, who believed America to be a benign country – which merely needed a little positive pressure to stop the war – greatly outnumbered the more radical types who wanted to tear down “pig” Amerika from the start. Likewise, early hippies who espoused the taking of LSD as beneficial for the new Aquarian consciousness (to see how they were One in “the unity of mankind, the wholeness of being”), ignored how many among them were but plain drug addicts, criminals, or crazy individuals.¹⁸⁶² Over time, however, all three aspects of the Movement grew increasingly frustrated and bitter, as accomplishing their goal of changing the world hit a wall. More and more individuals began to think that additional aggressive actions were needed. For some members of the Movement these feelings of discouragement led to a skepticism that questioned the entire validity or value of what they were doing. When this self-criticism reached a tipping point, what originally seemed great now shifted to its opposite. For example, being “spaced out” for the hippies was first considered very positive; it meant being aware of higher consciousness, i.e., beyond that of the material world. Yet, after an individual had shifted his/her point of view, “spaced out” became a derogatory term for someone unbalanced, bizarre, or mentally ill (or at the very least impractical). Those writing the history of the Sixties also fell/fall into this trap of initially seeing the Movement as idyllic, then later jumping to opposite conclusions when negative circumstances reared their ugly head. Nevertheless, this about-face is not the ordinary waking up to Movement defects, but is an abandoning of the ship, a complete giving up on the Movement. Music critic Robert Christgau wrote, “Writers focus on Altamont not because it brought on the end of an era but because it provided such a complex metaphor for the way an era ended.”¹⁸⁶³ For Christgau the “good sixties” had shifted into something wrong/not good. However, although he does admit that the Altamont festival did not literally end the Sixties era, he still upholds the myth that something uniquely bad had occurred there that symbolized the conclusion of the Sixties. I disagree with this celebrated Altamont metaphor for the following three reasons. First of all, none of those negative things that occurred at the rock festival were terribly new: not

¹⁸⁶¹ Williams, *Negroes with Guns*, xxiv.

¹⁸⁶² Anthony, *The Summer of Love*, 54.

¹⁸⁶³ Robert Christgau, “The Rolling Stones: Can’t Get No Satisfaction,” *Newsday*, July, 1972, <http://www.robertchristgau.com/xg/bk-aow/altamont.php>. Accessed May 31, 2014.

drugged-out hippies, not fighting, not even the murder. Secondly, the chaos at Altamont fit right into the above-mentioned overall trend towards ever-increasing unruliness (on the other hand, there continued to be many positive rock festivals and protest rallies for years to come). Finally, the Sixties era could not have ended at Altamont because those who created the violence were not part of the Sixties-era Movement. The Hells Angels had no part in trying to create a better world; instead they were (and still are) a vicious and criminal motorcycle gang that, it so happens, were given ultimate police authority over thousands of counter-culture people. It is just as likely that if there had been a proper amount of time devoted to preparing the site (build the stage higher), and the police and not the Angels had been in charge of crowd control, Altamont would have been remembered as something similar to, or even greater, than Woodstock.

Instead of seeing the Altamont rock festival as that event that suddenly shocked everyone into the awareness that the Sixties had ended, a better way to describe the process of what happened throughout the 1960s decade was that the various social movements had always encompassed both the positive and the negative; only the degree had changed.¹⁸⁶⁴ From the beginning, the Movement contained unity and division, optimism and pessimism, non-violence and violence, even though overall it did gradually and continually shift more toward the negative side of the spectrum. Nonetheless, this unfavorable turn did not mean that the Sixties era really ended at the end of the 1960s decade (it did not); instead, the 1970s only continued the trend towards ever greater violence and splintering of groups that started nearly ten years earlier within the anti-war and other social movements, and which kept going for many more years. While it is true that the peak in the activities of violent revolution vanguard groups was in the early and middle 1970s, this again did not signal a new era (it was the continuation of the Sixties era). The roots of resorting to violence, in fact, went back to the beginning of the (mid-1950s) civil rights movement, to those who opposed Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "non-violent direct action."¹⁸⁶⁵ According to the 1963 Louis Harris poll, 22 percent of "black respondents" believed that change would only come through a violent "showdown with whites."¹⁸⁶⁶ On the other hand, the following decade was far from consisting of only negativity; the 1970s had a lot of positive too (as contradictions persisted as well). While there was a lot of division during the 1970s, there still existed an overarching unity of purpose to stop the war and to create a more just world

¹⁸⁶⁴ Bloom and Breines, "*Takin' It to the Streets*," 2.

¹⁸⁶⁵ Hill, *The Deacons for Defense*, 3.

¹⁸⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

(even if tactics differed). Also, though the inclination of the vanguard was to continue with ever more violent revolutionary actions (from January 1, 1969 to April 15, 1970 there were 8200 total bombings, attempted bombings, and bomb threats), a majority of people still believed in non-violence.¹⁸⁶⁷ Far from feeling pessimistic, many of the individuals who believed in violent revolution were actually optimistic too, seeing themselves as realists. Jane Alpert (a secret member of a freelance bombing collective) wrote, “The real division is not between people who support bombings and people who don’t, but between people who will do them and people who are too hung up on their own privileges and security to take those risks.”¹⁸⁶⁸ Finally, the flames of hope were still shining in many quarters, well into the 1970s, as the end of the Vietnam War and the resignation of President Nixon over Watergate were seen as positive events, in fact victories that would lead towards a larger future victory or change (there was a feeling by many in the Movement that they had won and it was only a matter of time before they would take over).

In this 1960s section, I demonstrated how the Movement was always more fraught with division and violent tendencies than is normally acknowledged. The question of when the Sixties era ended is perhaps confusing because for most people, the criteria used in order to judge is based on violence/loss of hope reaching a certain threshold – which is arbitrarily selectable according to one’s own inner myth-making about the 1960s decade. So when was there a large enough discouraging event to justify the claim of an end to the era (for those who believed that non-violence was a necessity)? As I have mentioned, a good many claim that it was the Altamont rock festival and the Manson family murders, both conveniently occurring (or coming to the public’s attention) in December of 1969.¹⁸⁶⁹ However, as we have seen in this segment, for others the Sixties had ended even earlier, for example: SDS fragmenting in June 1969, the election of Nixon in November 1968, the Chicago Democratic National Convention protests in August 1968, the assassination of Robert Kennedy in June of 1968, the assassination of Martin Luther King in April 1968, the Pentagon Protests and the Death to the Hippie in October 1967, the civil rights movement pronounced dead or dying as early as 1965 after the Selma, Alabama marches (and every year afterwards), and so forth.¹⁸⁷⁰ Various activists and authors have pronounced each of these above events (and others) at various times as that which sealed

¹⁸⁶⁷ Scranton, *The Report of the President’s Commission on Campus Unrest*, 49.

¹⁸⁶⁸ Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 401.

¹⁸⁶⁹ “The Manson Murders and the End of the Flower Children Era,” Charles Manson and the Manson Family Murders, <http://www.exampleessays.com/viewpaper/43619.html>. Accessed September 25, 2011.

¹⁸⁷⁰ Civil Rights Movement – Definition, http://www.wordiq.com/definition/Civil_Rights_Movement. Accessed September 25, 2011.

the end of the Sixties era.¹⁸⁷¹ As I demonstrated, optimism within the Movement was continually ebbing and flowing depending on the particular circumstances throughout the decade (the *San Francisco Chronicle*, in mid-December 1969, wrote to reassure, “Despite a spate of East Coast doomsaying in the past week, indications here are that the Vietnam peace movement is alive and well but shifting its focus to the West Coast”).¹⁸⁷² The fact was that there were major losses of hope going back to the earlier 1960s as well, for example: the Great Society programs relegated to the dust bin because of the Vietnam War in 1966, President Johnson lying about not starting a war in Vietnam in February 1965, the ridiculous Warren Commission report of September 1964, and the assassination of President Kennedy in November 1963.¹⁸⁷³ Indeed, many people who were part of the early civil rights movement claim that the Sixties already began to go downhill as a result of the great loss of hope after Kennedy’s murder (less than four years into the 1960s decade); if so, the 1970s only continued this discouraging overall feeling that had permeated most of the 1960s decade since Kennedy’s assassination. Nonetheless, surely, we cannot claim that the Sixties ended in November of 1963?

Perhaps the construction of the Sixties myth (of equating the 1960s as good and the 1970s as bad) needs to be better evaluated. Conceivably, the misconception on how to judge the progress of the Movement stems from the sudden burst of “rising hope” and expectation that emerged during the late 1950s/early 1960s, and how it at first overwhelmed the awareness of the negative aspects of the struggle. Many in the Movement suppressed their feelings of the possibilities of failure, and continued to conceal their “undertow fury at the denial of hope,” as the Movement began to experience more resistance from the establishment.¹⁸⁷⁴ It was easier to see everything with rose-colored glasses during the early part of the 1960s decade as the Movement was still very new, experiencing great exuberance with every protest and demand. However, things were never all positive within the Movement, and believing so became less possible, as there were many major contradictions throughout the 1960s decade. While the hippie counterculture and the anti-war movement (both emerging in the mid-1960s) focused on love and peace, there was an intense anger over war, the assassinations, and disillusionment over

¹⁸⁷¹ “Bernardine Dohrn: Four Myths of the 60s,” *Dialogic* (March 30, 2006), <http://dialogic.blogspot.com/2006/03/bernardine-dohrn-four-myths-of-60s.html>. Accessed September 25, 2011.

¹⁸⁷² “New Life for the Peace Movement,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 12, 1969, A2.

¹⁸⁷³ Ellen Fitzpatrick, “Letters to Jackie: Kennedy Condolence Letters Shed Light on an Era of Hope,” *Huffington Post* (June 6, 2010), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/ellen-fitzpatrick/letters-to-jackie-kennedy_b_544721.html. Accessed September 25, 2011.

¹⁸⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 256.

liberalism. It was not all “We Shall Overcome,” as the Movement was filled with bickering, division, and discontent, on college campuses and in the streets, and as enthusiasm was coupled with hostility as well as optimism “jumbled” with a view of “quasi-fascist ‘Amerika.’”¹⁸⁷⁵ Thus the negativities concerning Altamont and the Manson crimes at the end of the decade (or the SDS’s last National Convention and the violence between rival black power groups) did not just happen out of the blue. Youth culture’s “illusions about itself” continually (and ever more frequently throughout the decade) met with a dose of reality concerning how righteous and pure their movement was. The dark side of increased hatred and violence towards the “pigs,” LSD casualties, drug murders, and the raping of teenage runaway hippie girls (even before and during the Summer of Love) was overlooked or rationalized away. For the counterculture, the Woodstock and Altamont rock festivals (both in 1969) symbolized the ongoing dynamics of the polar opposites in attitudes and actions that existed within the Movement during the Sixties era: unity/division, hope/despair, and non-violence/violence.¹⁸⁷⁶ However, the question arises, can one truly divide reality so definitively?

In a sense, the Sixties era is mythological, built from a static dream, a concept, and state of mind based on perfection that bursts over time. The absolute idealism of how the world should be, and the mode of action for getting there, simply met the reality of an imperfect world and flawed individuals. As the Movement experienced increasing resistance and significant change seemed blocked, the turning away from Martin Luther King’s non-violent action (vision) was assured (but how and why would this turning away end the Sixties)? Even President Kennedy said, “Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable.”¹⁸⁷⁷ However, not fitting into the myth was that even before the 1960s decade began (in late 1959), Civil Rights leader Robert F. Williams debated Martin Luther King about the question of violence vs. non-violence as an instrument of change. In other words, there never was a unified agreement on this and other questions. Williams argued, “Where law and order have broken down . . . only self-defense can prevent murder by armed zealots” (he also advocated warfare if need be).¹⁸⁷⁸ Critics all along argued that non-violence was an attempt to “impose the morals of the bourgeoisie upon the proletariat, [and] that violence is a necessary accompaniment to

¹⁸⁷⁵ Bloom and Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*,” 2.

¹⁸⁷⁶ Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*, 466.

¹⁸⁷⁷ “John F. Kennedy Quote,” iz quotes, <http://izquotes.com/quote/100760>. Accessed November 16, 2013.

¹⁸⁷⁸ Williams, *Negroes with Guns*, xxvi.

revolutionary change, or that the right to self-defense is fundamental.”¹⁸⁷⁹ While most activists wanted to change things peacefully, as time went on many became open to the possibility of fighting back and even taking the offensive (as in guerilla war). Militants stated that the creation of confrontation was a good strategy that could arouse even the “moderates into action.”¹⁸⁸⁰ It was common to hear people talk of peace and love, but also of violent revolution in the same breath. Perhaps some in the Movement’s early years (i.e., MLK) envisioned a set of ideals for social change that was humanly unattainable; if so, should we judge the 1960s and 1970s decades on how purely the Movement upheld its own conceptualized ethics? If we try, we fall short, because ideals stand for perfection, with their “shoulds and should-nots,” and their fulfillment never truly exists.¹⁸⁸¹ Thus, if one begins to look beyond the contradictions of the Movement, one sees grey ethical areas that go beyond the rigid boundaries of right or wrong actions. In other words, the Sixties era begins to expand well into the next decade, clearly seen if the criterion used is that of concrete events (the end to the wars in Indochina, military draft, anti-war demonstrations, rock festivals, etc.).

III. The 1970s

III.1. Introduction to the 1970s

To state that the Sixties era movements ended in December 1969 completely ignores the reality of the large part of the next decade. While many history books paint an image of the seventies as being exclusively concerned with disco music and fashions, self-absorption, and of an overall sense of it being a “me” decade, this did not truly begin till the latter part of the decade. In fact, the term “me decade” was not even coined by novelist Tom Wolfe until August of 1976, when his article appeared in *New York* magazine describing the “new American preoccupation with self-awareness and the collective retreat from history, community, and human reciprocity.”¹⁸⁸² Moreover, the film *Saturday Night Fever*, which significantly helped to popularize disco music, dancing, and the disco look (with three-piece suits for men and rayon or jersey wrap dresses for women) was not

¹⁸⁷⁹ George Jackson, *Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson* (New York: Bantam, 1970), 128.

¹⁸⁸⁰ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 107.

¹⁸⁸¹ “Osho on Ideals,” <http://ultrafeel.tv/osho-ideals/>. Accessed November 14, 2013.

¹⁸⁸² “Me Decade,” What Were the Most Influential Social Movements and Trends in the U.S. during the 1970s? <http://www.enotes.com/1970-lifestyles-social-trends-american-decades/me-decade>. Accessed August 28, 2011.

released until December of 1977.¹⁸⁸³ Instead, the unquestionable reality was that the seventies decade began with a continuation of the hippie/radical mentality and look from the late 1960s. Both men and women wore long hair, jeans remained frayed, and tie dye shirts and Mexican peasant blouses were still popular for many years to come.¹⁸⁸⁴ Music well into the middle 1970s, moreover, included many hippie-type folk rock artists such as Canned Heat, Cat Stevens, Crosby Stills Nash and Young, the Doobie Brothers, the Grateful Dead, Joni Mitchell, Melanie Safka, Seals and Crofts, and many others. On the other hand, harder or more progressive rock bands were also favorites among the counterculture during this period, such as Aerosmith, Black Sabbath, Deep Purple, Jefferson Airplane/Starship, Led Zeppelin, Pink Floyd, Rush, The Who, and Yes. Nonetheless, it was not only fashions and music that showed that the Sixties era had not yet ended; more importantly, it was the continuation of the Vietnam War and the fight for peace, justice, equality, and the vision to transform society, the world, and themselves.

On the anti-war front, the Vietnam War not only extended into the 1970s but the fighting expanded into Cambodia in 1970 and Laos in 1971. Moreover, 1972 saw the heaviest U.S. bombing of North Vietnam during the war, while 1973 had the heaviest bombing of Cambodia (as the war simmered on until May of 1975).¹⁸⁸⁵ Anti-war protest activity always picked up during these new developments (to a lesser extent in 1973 because it was kept mostly a secret).¹⁸⁸⁶ The continuation of military conscription also kept the young people agitated, with the last ones reporting for duty in June 1973. In March 1973, 1974, and 1975, the Selective Service assigned draft priority numbers for all men born in 1954, 1955, and 1956, in case conscription was extended, but it never was as draft registration ended in late January 1976.¹⁸⁸⁷

In the realm of minority rights, liberation and other radical left groups/movements, they too continued strong for many years into the 1970s decade. While the Black Panther Party did experience a split in 1971, and many chapters were closed in 1972, it remained

¹⁸⁸³ Box Office Mojo, "Saturday Night Fever," 1977, <http://boxofficemojo.com/movies/?id-saturdaynightfever.htm>. Accessed October 9, 2014.

¹⁸⁸⁴ Paper Past Year Book, "1960s Fashion and More," http://www.paperpast.com/html/1970_fashion.html. Accessed August 28, 2011.

¹⁸⁸⁵ "The Vietnam War: The Bitter End 1969 - 1975," The History Place (1999), <http://www.historyplace.com/unitedstates/vietnam/index-1969.html>. Accessed November 26, 2014.

¹⁸⁸⁶ Taylor Owen and Ben Kiernan, "Bombs Over Cambodia," The Walrus (October 2006), http://www.yale.edu/cgp/Walrus_CambodiaBombing_OCT06.pdf. Accessed January 27, 2012.

¹⁸⁸⁷ "The Vietnam Lotteries," National Archives & Records Administration (2009), <https://www.sss.gov/lotter1.htm>. Accessed November 26, 2014.

strong, especially in Oakland, California until 1977.¹⁸⁸⁸ The same was true for the Chicano Movement, the Puerto Rican Liberation Movement, and the American Indian Movement (AIM). In the example of AIM, the 1969 Alcatraz island takeover did not end until 1971, the cross-country protest known as the “Trail of Broken Treaties” occurred throughout 1972, the Wounded Knee armed standoff with federal forces in 1973, and the shootout with armed government forces (also on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation) happened in 1975.¹⁸⁸⁹ The Yippies, meanwhile, carried on their antics also, invading Disneyland in Los Angeles and the U.S. border town of Blaine, Washington (in protest of Richard Nixon’s invasion of Cambodia and the shooting of students at Kent State) in 1970. Moreover, they were part of the coalition of anti-Vietnam War activists who tried to shut down the U.S. government in Washington D.C. in 1971, were charged with inciting riots in Columbus, Ohio (in response to Nixon’s mining of North Vietnam’s Haiphong harbor) and at the Republican Presidential National Convention in Miami in 1972, led many taunting rallies against Nixon during Watergate during 1973 and 1974, and conducted harassing demonstrations against President Ford in 1975. Moreover, starting in 1970, the Yippies began their yearly Smoke-In demonstrations for the legalization of marijuana, which were very popular throughout the decade.¹⁸⁹⁰ Finally, there were many other radical left-wing organizations also carrying on the revolution, who went beyond demonstrating and vandalizing to arson, bombing, and even kidnapping. To name a few of these hard core groups, they included the Black Guerilla Family, Black Liberation Army, Brown Berets, FALN (Frente Americano para la Liberación Nacional), New World Liberation Front (NWLFF), Red Guerrilla Family, Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA), and the Weathermen/Weather Underground Organization (WUO). Examples of bombing by the WUO in 1970 include the San Francisco Police Department, the New York house of Judge Murtagh (who was presiding over the Panther 21 trial), the National Guard Association of the United States building in Washington, D.C., the New York City Police headquarters, the United States Army base at the Presidio in San Francisco, the Marin County courthouse in California, and the Bank of America headquarters in New York City; in 1971 examples included, the United States Capitol Building (to protest the invasion of Laos), the Office of California Prisons in Sacramento and San Francisco (in retaliation for the killing of George

¹⁸⁸⁸ Michael X. Delli Carpini, “Black Panther Party: 1966-1982,” University of Pennsylvania (2000), http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1004&context=asc_papers. Accessed November 26, 2014.

¹⁸⁸⁹ “American Indian Movement: Past, Present & Future,” A.I.M. Interpretive Center (2014), <http://www.aim-ic.com/AIM-PastPresentFuture.pdf>. Accessed November 26, 2014.

¹⁸⁹⁰ Beal, *Blacklisted News*, 5-6.

Jackson of the Black Panthers), the New York Department of Corrections in Albany, New York (to protest the killing of 29 inmates at Attica State Penitentiary), and William Bundy's office in the MIT research center in Cambridge, Massachusetts; in 1972 examples included, the Pentagon (in retaliation for the U.S. bombing raid in Hanoi); in 1973, the 103rd Police Precinct and the ITT headquarters in New York (in response to ITT's role in the Chilean coup) was bombed; in 1974 examples of bombing included, the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare offices in San Francisco, the Office of the California Attorney General (in response to the killing of six members of the Symbionese Liberation Army), Gulf Oil's Pittsburgh headquarters (to protest the company's actions in Angola, Vietnam, and elsewhere), and the Anaconda Corporation (in retribution for Anaconda's involvement in the Chilean coup the previous year); in 1975 examples included, the State Department (in response to escalation in Vietnam), the Offices of Department of Defense in Oakland (related to the Vietnam war), the Banco de Ponce (a Puerto Rican bank) in New York (in solidarity with striking Puerto Rican cement workers), and the Kennecott Corporation in South Jordan, Utah (in retribution for Kennecott's involvement in the Chilean coup two years prior).¹⁸⁹¹

The hippie movement with its communes and rock festivals also kept going well into the 1970s decade. In fact, the trend of building intentional communities in the countryside, which exploded at the end of 1960s decade, progressively increased until around 1975. Famous communes that started after 1969 include the Lichen Community in Oregon and The Farm in Tennessee in 1971; Flying Frog Farm in Kentucky and the High Valley Farm in Washington in 1972; East Wind Community in Missouri and the Stelle community in Illinois in 1973; Cerro Gordo in Oregon and Four Winds Farm in 1974; The Abode of the Message in New York in 1975; the Adelphi Community in Texas in 1976.¹⁸⁹² As far as rock festivals, they too remained very popular into the middle 1970s, often attracting hundreds of thousands of young people to a single one. Some famous American rock festivals after 1969 include the Atlanta International Pop Festival, Goose Lake International Music Festival, Powder Ridge Rock Festival, and Vortex I in 1970; Celebration of Life in 1971; Concert 10 /Mt. Pocono Rock Festival, Erie Canal Soda Pop Festival, and Mar Y Sol Pop Festival in 1972; Summer Jam at Watkins Glen (the largest

¹⁸⁹¹ Dohrn, *Sing a Battle Song*, 51-66.

¹⁸⁹² Miller, *The 60s Communes*, 249-286.

festival of the 1960s/1970s decades) in 1973; California Jam I, and the Ozark Music Festival in 1974 (there was also California Jam II in 1978).¹⁸⁹³

Although not part of my main focus, there were many other facets of the Movement that began during the decade of the 1960s (or earlier), and continued to grow in strength throughout the next decade. The following were just some of these social movements: alternative medicine, anti-nuclear, consumer, disability rights, environmental, gay rights, organic foods, and women's rights. The following is a brief sketch outlining the achievements of the environmental movement during the 1970s: in 1970, the First Earth Day (on April 22), the Clean Air Act, and the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency; in 1971, founding of Greenpeace; in 1972, the Marine Mammal Protection Act, Clean Water Act, and the banning of DDT; in 1973, the Endangered Species Act; in 1974, the Safe Drinking Water Act and the Energy Supply and Environmental Coordination Act; in 1975, the Eastern Wilderness Areas Act; in 1976, the Toxic Substances Control Act and the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act.¹⁸⁹⁴ A brief timeline concerning the women's movement includes a U.S. Court of Appeals ruling in *Schultz v. Wheaton Glass Co.* that jobs held by men and women need to be "substantially equal" but not "identical" to fall under the protection of the Equal Pay Act (an employer cannot, for example, change the job titles of women workers in order to pay them less than men) in 1970; *Ms. Magazine* is first published in 1971; the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) is passed by Congress (but fails to achieve ratification and the bill dies in 1982), the Supreme Court rules in *Eisenstadt v. Baird* that the right to privacy includes an unmarried person's right to use contraceptives and Title IX of the Education Amendment bans sex discrimination in schools in 1972; in *Roe v. Wade*, the Supreme Court establishes a woman's right to safe and legal abortion (overriding the anti-abortion laws of many states) in 1973; the Equal Credit Opportunity Act and the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Corning Glass Works v. Brennan* that employers cannot justify paying women lower wages (because that is what they traditionally received) in 1974; the first marital rape law is enacted in Nebraska (making it illegal for a husband to rape his wife) in 1976; and the Pregnancy Discrimination Act bans employment discrimination against pregnant women in 1978.¹⁸⁹⁵

¹⁸⁹³ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 270-275.

¹⁸⁹⁴ "Timeline: The Modern Environmental Movement," PBS (1996), <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/timeline/earthdays/>. Accessed November 26, 2014.

¹⁸⁹⁵ Ann-Marie Imbornoni, "Women's Rights Movement in the U.S.: Timeline of Key Events in the American Women's Rights Movement 1921-1979," Infoplease (2007), <http://www.infoplease.com/spot/womenstimeline2.html>. Accessed November 26, 2014.

My goal in this part of my work is to present the 1970s in a condensed form, as they happened, in order for one to clearly see and get a feel for how the first years of the 1970s decade truly were. Reading the summaries of each year from 1970 to 1976 will be like viewing a short film or reading only the headlines of a newspaper. The intention, as I have repeatedly stated, is to present how the Sixties era did not end with the turn of the calendar from 1969 to 1970. In fact, my claim is that the peak years for the revolutionary countercultural movements were in the early 1970s, they were very strong in the middle 1970s, and they were still very much alive at the end of the 1970s. Yet the news media began to report anti-war demonstrations, protests of any sort, and counter-cultural activities and events less and less.¹⁸⁹⁶ In a sense, the downfall of the Sixties era could be viewed as stemming from the fact that the Movement was dependent on the capitalist news media for publicizing their actions (underground media was much too small and not on TV), and when the news media cut back, much of that movement became isolated and out of public view.¹⁸⁹⁷ Moreover, powerful interests in control of the mass media used propaganda (especially effective after the 1973 ceasefire in Vietnam) to manipulate the youth movement into believing that the Sixties were over, and that it was time to come back into the system and conform (which most did). Powerful elites in the Trilateral Commission even published a report stating how they must push back against this display of “access of democracy.”¹⁸⁹⁸ Thus much information about what happened during the 1970s has been dropped from the official historical narrative. This distortion of history has the effect, on many, of causing them to perceive the 1960s social and cultural upheavals as if they were but a fad, instead of the peak of an ongoing and recurring cycle of history that concerns itself with trying to make the world a better place to live in.¹⁸⁹⁹

¹⁸⁹⁶ Beal, *Blacklisted News*, 5-6.

¹⁸⁹⁷ “The Rise and Fall of the Anti-Vietnam War Movement in the U.S.,” Progressive Labor Party (1991), <http://msuweb.montclair.edu/~furg/Vietnam/riseandfall.html>. Accessed April 2, 2014.

¹⁸⁹⁸ Holly Sklar, ed. *Trilateralism: The Trilateral Commission and Elite Planning for World Management* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1980), 83-89.

¹⁸⁹⁹ Strauss, *An American Prophecy*, 3.

III. 2. Summary of 1970:

War Expands to Cambodia, Kent State Killings, and the National Student Strike

On the anti-war front, major actions not only continued throughout 1970, but increased in their intensity. Anti-war moratoriums (held on October 15 and November 15, 1969) continued in January of 1970, as twenty-eight cities around the country held protests.¹⁹⁰⁰ On February 16, a police station was bombed in San Francisco, followed by three major riots later that month in a college town near Santa Barbara, California.¹⁹⁰¹ On February 18, major protest rallies and riots in Berkeley, Chicago, and Seattle after the Chicago Seven verdict convicted five defendants of crossing state lines with the intent to incite a riot, and each was fined \$5,000 and sentenced to five years in prison (reversed by and appeals court on November 21, 1972).¹⁹⁰² ¹⁹⁰³ On March 19, New Mobe marched on the military draft board in San Francisco,¹⁹⁰⁴ and on April 15, New Mobe organized anti-war protesters across the nation to rally against the use of tax dollars to finance the war (fires were set in several cities, windows were smashed, and battles with police ensued).¹⁹⁰⁵ After President Nixon announced the invasion of Cambodia on the last day of April, violent protests erupted all over the country.¹⁹⁰⁶ After four students were killed (and nine others wounded) by the National Guardsmen at Kent State University in Ohio on May 4, more than 450 universities, colleges, and high school campuses were shut down by a national student strike involving more than 4 million students (in the only nationwide student strike in U.S. history).¹⁹⁰⁷ On May 9, up to 100,000 young people converged in Washington, D.C., to protest the continuing war and the killings.¹⁹⁰⁸ May 14-15 witnessed more killings of student protesters, this time at Jackson State College, where city and state police shot 14 students, two of whom died.¹⁹⁰⁹ In August, a few days after a draft office in Baltimore, Maryland was bombed (destroying some records of draftees), an anti-war

¹⁹⁰⁰ "New Mobe Sets Protest Day," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 10, 1970, A6.

¹⁹⁰¹ "S.F. Police Station Bombed---6 hurt," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 17, 1970, A1.

¹⁹⁰² "Protesting and the Chicago Seven," delivered 1970, online audio, <http://www.upi.com/Archives/Audio/Events-of-1970/Protesting-and-the-Chicago-Seven/?spt-nil&d-n>. Accessed September 4, 2011.

¹⁹⁰³ "30 Arrested in Protest of Chicago," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 18, 1970, A4.

¹⁹⁰⁴ "New Mobe March on Draft Board," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 18, 1970, A5.

¹⁹⁰⁵ "The War Protests Across the Nation," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 16, 1970, A2.

¹⁹⁰⁶ "Protests Across U.S.," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 2, 1970, A1.

¹⁹⁰⁷ "410 Schools Are Closed: Fast-Growing College Protests," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 9, 1970, A4

¹⁹⁰⁸ "Huge Peace Rally -- Then Capital Violence," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 10, 1970, A1.

¹⁹⁰⁹ "Two Killed at Jackson State," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 16, 1970, A4.

bombing at the University of Wisconsin–Madison campus resulted in the death of a university physics researcher and injuries to three others.^{1910 1911} On August 29, the police killed three demonstrators at the Chicano Moratorium, including Ruben Salazar, a Chicano television broadcaster and columnist for the *Los Angeles Times*.¹⁹¹² On October 31 the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) held demonstrations in forty-one cities across the country.¹⁹¹³ Movement violence in 1970 included hundreds of bombings by left-wing revolutionary groups, three members of the Weathermen blowing themselves up in a “bomb factory” in New York City, a death of four in a failed kidnap attempt of a Superior Court judge in California, committed in order to negotiate the freedom for the radical African American Soledad Brothers, and six African-American students being shot in the back for looting by police following civil rights demonstrations.^{1914 1915}

The hippie counter-culture also thrived in 1970 with many new communes and music festivals springing up throughout the country. Contrary to myth, not all hippies abandoned San Francisco’s Haight-Ashbury district after the “Summer of Love” in 1967.¹⁹¹⁶ Many events such as the March 21-22 “Instant Karma Be-In” on “Hippie Hill” (a part of Golden Gate Park) were attended by hundreds to celebrate the vernal equinox.¹⁹¹⁷ Other group of hippies enjoyed taking over San Francisco cable cars in the nude, as stripping in public became an increasingly popular pastime.¹⁹¹⁸ On April 22, the first “Earth Day” demonstrations/celebrations were held all over the country in protest of spreading pollution.¹⁹¹⁹ While on July Fourth, the first annual national smoke-in was held in Washington, D.C., with Yippie organizers advertising how one million free marijuana joints would be distributed to demonstrate for legalization.¹⁹²⁰ In August, a hundred Yippies managed to shut down Disneyland in California in what they called their “Yippie invasion.”^{1921 1922} In September, LSD guru Timothy Leary escaped from federal prison with the help of the radical Weatherman, creating a merger between “dope and dynamite,

¹⁹¹⁰ “Draft Office Bombing Probe,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 9, 1970, A2.

¹⁹¹¹ “FBI Hunts 4 in Wisconsin Campus Blast,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 3, 1970, A1.

¹⁹¹² “Mexican Independence Day in LA: Another Barrio Brutality Victim,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 11-17, 1970, 7.

¹⁹¹³ “National Peace Action in SF,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 23-29, 1970, 4.

¹⁹¹⁴ Varon, *Bringing the War Home*, 173.

¹⁹¹⁵ “Marin Shootout’s Aftermath,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 9, 1970, A1.

¹⁹¹⁶ “Flowers Still Have Power in Sober ‘70,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 13-19, 1970, 4.

¹⁹¹⁷ “Equinox!,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 20-26, 1970.

¹⁹¹⁸ “Strip-In Gripoff?,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 17-23, 1970, 7.

¹⁹¹⁹ “Peaceful Protests: Earth Has Its Day,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 23, 1970, A2.

¹⁹²⁰ “Million-Joint DC Smoke-In,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 3-9, 1970, 4.

¹⁹²¹ “Yippie Troubles: Hairy Rules at Disneyland,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 8, 1970, A4.

¹⁹²² “‘Mickey Mouse’ Sung: Disneyland Shut—Yippies Invade,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 7, 1970, A3.

flowers and flames.”¹⁹²³ Major music festivals in 1970 (similar to Woodstock in 1969) included the “Kickapoo Creek” Music Festival held in late May in Illinois, the second Atlanta International Pop Festival in early July with 350,000 people, which was, like Woodstock, promoted as “three days of peace, love and music,” and the August 7-9 Goose Lake International Music Festival in Jackson, Michigan attracting over 200,000 fans.¹⁹²⁴ The July 31-August 2 Powder Ridge Rock Festival near Middlefield, Connecticut, was cancelled as a result of a legal injunction; however up to 50,000 youths arrived anyway, to create a “people’s free festival of life.”¹⁹²⁵ Last but not least, a late summer “Biodegradable Festival of Life, or Vortex I” was put on in part to avoid another violent type “Chicago” 1968 confrontation in Portland, Oregon at a National American Legion Convention; out of Vortex I evolved the still ongoing counter-cultural Rainbow Gatherings.¹⁹²⁶

III.3 Summary of 1971:

Invasion of Laos, May Day Protests, and the Pentagon Papers

On the anti-war front, violence erupted at Stanford University on February 7 as student demonstrators reacted to the report of the start of Laos’s invasion.¹⁹²⁷ Seeing the invasion as further escalation of the war, in the coming days thousands of anti-war protesters fought in the streets with police in several cities throughout the country.¹⁹²⁸ On February 28, the Weather Underground bombed the U.S. Capitol Building in “response to the expansion of the Vietnam War into Laos.”¹⁹²⁹ In Washington D.C., on April 24, between 200,000 and 300,000 protesters took part in one of the largest anti-war demonstration in history of the United States.¹⁹³⁰ On the same day in San Francisco, anywhere from 150,000 to 300,000 protested against the war.¹⁹³¹ Then on May 3, in Washington, D.C., 7000 anti-war demonstrators were arrested in the largest mass direct action in U.S. history under the slogan, “If the government won’t stop the war, we’ll stop

¹⁹²³ “Wedding of Dope and Dynamite,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 18-24, 1970, 2-3.

¹⁹²⁴ “What a Splash: Recalling Georgia’s ‘Woodstock,’” *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, July 4, 1995, E7.

¹⁹²⁵ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 198.

¹⁹²⁶ “Portland Vortex Sutra – Kopulation As Ko-Optation,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 4-10, 1970, 2-3.

¹⁹²⁷ “News on Laos Spurs Violence at Stanford,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 8, 1971, A1.

¹⁹²⁸ “A Schizoid Mood: Chaos Over Laos,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 12-18, 1971, 3.

¹⁹²⁹ “Anti-War Warning on Blast at Capitol,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 2, 1971, A1.

¹⁹³⁰ “Capitol Hill Jammed: GIs Lead D.C. Peace March,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 25, 1971, A1.

¹⁹³¹ “Militants Cut Peace Rally Short Here: A Throng Marches in Parade,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 25, 1971, A1.

the government.”¹⁹³² The next day another 2680 protesters were arrested, pushing the two-day total to 10,810.¹⁹³³ On June 13, the *New York Times* began front-page articles on secret United States Department of Defense history involvement in Vietnam from 1945 to 1967 in what would be known as the Pentagon Papers. The Papers provided evidence that the anti-war movement was right in their claim that the “Vietnam War was no mistake; rather it was a deliberate calculated maneuver to assure U.S. hegemony in Southeast Asia and the Asian Pacific.”¹⁹³⁴ Thus, anti-war rallies continued throughout the year, including the moderately large November 6 demonstrations held in 17 cities, of which San Francisco’s, with an estimated 35,000 attendees, was the largest.¹⁹³⁵ ¹⁹³⁶ During a four-day series of Vietnam Veterans Against the War meetings in Kansas City, Missouri in mid-November, it was proposed that the powerful opponents of the anti-war movement should be assassinated, including members of United States Congress.¹⁹³⁷

In other politically related activities, rallies were held throughout the country all year in support of various American Indian tribes in their quest to take over land that was once taken from them many years before. On June 11, the Native American “Indians of All Tribes” occupation of Alcatraz Island ended after nearly one and a half years (as the Richmond Police and regular U.S. Army troops arrested the last remaining activists).¹⁹³⁸ In Berkeley, peaceful protest concerning “People’s Park” turned to violent confrontations with the police on May 15 (exactly two years after the “Bloody Thursday” battle in 1969 with the National Guard).¹⁹³⁹ Solidarity rallies for Angela Davis, who had been in prison for the last nine months, continued to grow during the summer.¹⁹⁴⁰ ¹⁹⁴¹ ¹⁹⁴² On August 21 San Quentin prison guards killed Black Panther Party Field Marshall and the co-founder of the Black Guerrilla Family prison gang, George Jackson.¹⁹⁴³ From September 9 to 13, a prison rebellion in Attica, New York, ended with New York state troopers killing 39 people (ten guards and twenty-nine prisoners) including revolutionary Samuel Joseph

¹⁹³² “7000 Arrests in the Capital During Anti-War Skirmishes,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 4, 1971, A1.

¹⁹³³ “Arrests in Washington Top 10,000,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 5, 1971, A1.

¹⁹³⁴ “All About Ellsberg,” *Berkeley Barb*, 23-29 July 1971, 3.

¹⁹³⁵ “New High Good Vibes Freak Out Hexes War,” *Berkeley Barb*, November 12-18, 1971, 7.

¹⁹³⁶ “The S.F. War Protest: It’s Young and Small,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 7, 1971, A4.

¹⁹³⁷ Rebecca Brown, “Scott Camil and the Gainesville Eight – Oral History Analysis,” *Free Republic* (March 15, 2004), <http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/1098113/replies?c-46>. Accessed October 9, 2014.

¹⁹³⁸ “Indians Removed from Alcatraz Part 1,” Occupation of Alcatraz Collection, <https://diva.sfsu.edu/collections/sfbatv/2589>. Accessed November 29, 2011.

¹⁹³⁹ “People’s Park Battle No. 2 in Streets & in Chambers,” *Berkeley Barb*, May 21-27, 1971, 2.

¹⁹⁴⁰ “Solidarity Rally,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 9-15, 1971, 3.

¹⁹⁴¹ “Angela March,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 25-August 5, 1971, 3.

¹⁹⁴² “March For Sister Angela,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 6-13, 1971, 5.

¹⁹⁴³ Dan Berger, *Outlaws of America: The Weather Underground and the Politics of Solidarity* (Oakland, CA.: AK Press, 2005), 328.

Melville, who had bombed eight government and commercial office buildings in New York City in his opposition to the Vietnam War and U.S. imperialism in 1969.¹⁹⁴⁴ Bombings of government buildings, corporate headquarters, banks, and police stations continued to increase dramatically this year.

In the world of hippiedom, twenty-eight people were arrested at the Good Earth Commune in San Francisco in early January, continuing the trend of police harassment. Three carloads of “pigs” kicked the door in and tore the place up allegedly finding “cocaine, acid, hash and grass.”¹⁹⁴⁵ March 19-21 saw the grand opening for the One World Family commune’s natural foods restaurant and entertainment center at the corner of Telegraph and Haste streets in Berkeley.¹⁹⁴⁶ On March 22, John Lennon released his “Power to the People” single record calling for revolution.¹⁹⁴⁷ In Washington, D.C., on May 2, more than 2600 police cleared 45,000 demonstrators out of Potomac Park “in an attempt to derail the protesters’ plans to bring government operations to a halt.”¹⁹⁴⁸ ¹⁹⁴⁹ At dawn, the park had nearly 50,000 dancing, smiling, hippies “making love, drinking wine and smoking pot.”¹⁹⁵⁰ On May 11, in Sonoma County, California, the government bulldozed the hippie commune called Morningstar Ranch for the fourth time, leaving 35 people homeless.¹⁹⁵¹ The Green Earth Ecology Festival on June 6, in Los Banos, California, attracted between 30,000 to 50,000 people, after announcing that the event would feature B. B. King, Chuck Berry, Elvin Bishop, Cold Blood, Blues Image, Tower of Power, Joy of Cooking, Loading Zone, and Bola Sete.¹⁹⁵² The chaotic Celebration of Life rock festival in McCrea, Louisiana, was held from June 21-28 with 50,000 in attendance. Performers included Amboy Dukes, Chuck Berry, Bloodrock, Country Joe McDonald, It’s a Beautiful Day, Melanie, John Sebastian, Steven Stills, Stoneground, War, and a few local groups.¹⁹⁵³ On August 1, two benefit concerts for Bangladesh attracted 40,000 people at Madison Square Garden in New York City. George Harrison and Ravi Shankar organized the event to fund a relief effort for refugees from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) following the

¹⁹⁴⁴ New York State Special Commission on Attica, *Attica: The Official Report of the New York State Special Commission on Attica* (New York: Praeger, 1972), x1.

¹⁹⁴⁵ “Alioto Foes Goes...28 Busted in Commune,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 8-14, 1971, 5.

¹⁹⁴⁶ “Galactic Liberation Front?,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 19-25, 1971, 6.

¹⁹⁴⁷ “John Lennon: Power to the People Lyrics,” <http://www.metrolyrics.com/power-to-the-people-lyrics-john-lennon.html>. Accessed October 9, 2014.

¹⁹⁴⁸ “The War of Numbers vs. The War in the Streets,” *Berkeley Barb*, May 7-13, 1971, 2.

¹⁹⁴⁹ “45,000 Surprised: D.C. Police Clear Park of Protesters: Washington Braces for Clash Today,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 3, 1971, A1.

¹⁹⁵⁰ “How the Police Ended Peace City,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 3, 1971, A1.

¹⁹⁵¹ “Morningstar Dozed,” *Berkeley Barb*, May 14-20, 1971, 4.

¹⁹⁵² “Summer’s First Big Shuck?,” *Berkeley Barb*, June 4-10, 1971, 9.

¹⁹⁵³ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 270.

Bangladesh Liberation War. It featured a supergroup of performers that included Ravi Shankar, Bob Dylan, Eric Clapton, George Harrison, Billy Preston, Leon Russell, Badfinger, and Ringo Starr.¹⁹⁵⁴ Moreover, in September, John Lennon released his song “Imagine,” a plea for world peace, as the “people’s music” movement continued to grow, consisting of underground counterculture musicians, sometimes bands from hippie communes that self-produced their own records and printed a “people’s financial reports” on the album jacket.¹⁹⁵⁵ At the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, Michigan, many famous musicians and important movement activists joined 15,000 others at the John Sinclair Freedom Rally.¹⁹⁵⁶ ¹⁹⁵⁷ As far as books go, perhaps the most famous was Abbie Hoffman’s *Steal This Book*, about how to grow cannabis, start your own pirate radio station, live in a commune, steal food, shoplift, steal credit cards, prepare a legal defense, make pipe bombs, and obtain a free buffalo from the Department of the Interior.¹⁹⁵⁸

III.4. Summary of 1972:

Nixon’s Escalations of the Air War, U.S. Mining of North Vietnam Harbors, and the Miami Presidential Conventions

On the anti-war front, as the number of U.S. ground troops decreased, the focus of the anti-war movement increasingly turned to protesting against the “air war,” which had escalated against North Vietnam. On February 23, an anti-war demonstration targeted the Air Force recruiting office in Oakland, California.¹⁹⁵⁹ Nonetheless, the spring’s first major protest was held on April 1 in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where 10,000 people gathered to demonstrate against the war and support the Harrisburg 7 then on trial.¹⁹⁶⁰ Then on April 11 and 16, the first of many protests against “Nixon’s latest escalations of the air war in Southeast Asia” began in San Francisco.¹⁹⁶¹ ¹⁹⁶² By April 17, the anti-war protests spread across the country, ignited by the American bombing of Haiphong and Hanoi. Student

¹⁹⁵⁴ Colin Jacobson, “George Harrison and Friends: The Concert for Bangladesh (1971),” DVD Movie Guide (September 21, 2005), <http://www.dvdmg.com/concertforbangladesh.shtml>. Accessed December 16, 2011.

¹⁹⁵⁵ “John Lennon: Imagine Lyrics,” <http://www.azlyrics.com/lyrics/johnlennon/imagine.html>. Accessed October 9, 2014.

¹⁹⁵⁶ “The John and Leni Sinclair Papers, 1957-1999,” Bentley Historical Library University of Michigan (October 11, 2007), <http://bentley.umich.edu/exhibits/sinclair/>. Accessed October 9, 2014.

¹⁹⁵⁷ “Rubin Rapping—How 15,000 Freed John,” *Berkeley Barb*, December 24-30, 1971, 4-5.

¹⁹⁵⁸ Abbie Hoffman, *Steal This Book* (New York: Pirate Editions/Grove Press, 1971).

¹⁹⁵⁹ “Air Force Office Is Target,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 18-24, 1972, 13.

¹⁹⁶⁰ “Harrisburg Demo: 10,000 Flood Street,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 14-20, 1972, 6-7.

¹⁹⁶¹ “Peace Rain,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 14-20, 1972, 7.

¹⁹⁶² “Haiphong Bombing Protests,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 17, 1972, A5.

leaders called for a nationwide campus strike as demonstrations took place at colleges that included Amherst, Columbia, Colgate in New York, Grinnell in Iowa, the University of Florida, and the University of Illinois.¹⁹⁶³ At Holy Cross College in Massachusetts, they firebombed the ROTC building.¹⁹⁶⁴ In the Bay Area, 41 people were arrested at the Alameda Naval Air Station after the demonstrators attempted to block an intersection.¹⁹⁶⁵ In San Francisco, 1500 protested at the old Federal Building, setting a Navy car on fire, with several smaller protests around the city.¹⁹⁶⁶ Hundreds of students at both San Francisco State and Stanford universities held demonstrations, those at the latter turning violent.¹⁹⁶⁸ Violent and non-violent anti-war protests continued daily for weeks across the country. By April 22, 100 university campuses coordinated student anti-war strikes as huge rallies exploded simultaneously in many cities around the country (including Chicago, Los Angeles, New York City, and San Francisco).¹⁹⁶⁹ ¹⁹⁷⁰ May 9 was the start for what was considered the most “turbulent” anti-war outburst since May of 1970 (and arguably, since the anti-war movement began).¹⁹⁷¹ Throughout the country, thousands of students on countless campuses rallied, marched, staged sit-ins and sit-downs, or violently vented their unhappiness over the U.S. mining of North Vietnam harbors. “Protesters across the nation blocked highways, besieged government buildings, and battled police.”¹⁹⁷² Next day the intense anti-war protests continued throughout the nation as thousands clashed with police on college campuses and in the streets. On May 11, protesters demonstrated, blocked trains and major roadways, besieged government installations, and battled with police (in Germany, the “Red Army Faction” a revolutionary guerilla unit, bombed a United States Army barracks, killing a U.S. officer and injuring 13 others in protest of the “mining of the harbors of North Vietnam and the continued U.S. presence in Viet Nam”).¹⁹⁷³ May 12 saw still another day of nationwide anti-war protests, pushing arrest totals since May 8 to over 2,500.¹⁹⁷⁴ Some of the most violent anti-war protests ever held continued at various

¹⁹⁶³ “Student Strike Call: Anti-war Protests in Several Cities,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 18, 1972, A1.

¹⁹⁶⁴ “National Strike,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 21-27, 1972, 6.

¹⁹⁶⁵ “200 Against the Bombing: Alameda Air Station Protests,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 18, 1972, A14.

¹⁹⁶⁶ “SF Cops Zap Anti-Bombers: Blue Goons Riot,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 21-27, 1972, 2.

¹⁹⁶⁷ “1500 in S.F. Protest the Bombing,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 18, 1972, A1.

¹⁹⁶⁸ “S.F. Protest,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 18, 1972, A10.

¹⁹⁶⁹ “NPAC Stand on POW’s,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 24-30, 1972, 7.

¹⁹⁷⁰ “Thousands Join in Anti-War Rallies,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 23, 1972, A11.

¹⁹⁷¹ “Thousands of Students in Protests Across the U.S.,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 10, 1972, A1.

¹⁹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷³ “New U.S. Protests: Trains and highways Blocked,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 12, 1972, A1.

¹⁹⁷⁴ “Protests Go On: U.S. Anti-War Violence Down,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 13, 1972, A7.

universities, including one at Princeton on May 15.¹⁹⁷⁵ Bombings continued, including one at the Wells Fargo Bank at UC Santa Cruz in California, as Arthur Bremer shot Presidential candidate George Wallace five times, paralyzing him for life.¹⁹⁷⁶ On May 17, anti-war protesters tried to shut down the Army terminal shipping area in Oakland, California by setting bridges on fire and blocking intersections.^{1977 1978} On May 19, the Weather Underground bombed the Air Force section of the Pentagon in Washington, D.C.¹⁹⁷⁹ The Black Panther Party, on June 24, organized the first-ever black organized anti-war rally, handing out 10,000 bags of free groceries and 2,500 pairs of “rubber sandals.”¹⁹⁸⁰ July 9, Florida police broke up a demonstration at the Democratic National Convention sponsored by the Students for the Democratic Society (who according to Sixties myth did not exist after June of 1969).¹⁹⁸¹ Several protests were held on July 11 at the Democratic National Convention, including one in front of the Convention Hall, one at Senator George McGovern’s Doral Hotel headquarters, and one at the Americana Hotel, where the Florida governor’s wife held a fashion show and reception.^{1982 1983} While the SDS chanted, “The poor need jobs, the poor need clothes, what do we get? Fashion shows,” two young women staged a “counter-culture” fashion show inside the ballroom before police hauled them off. On July 12, “hostile” anti-war demonstrators heckled, chanted, and drowned out McGovern as he tried to answer some of their questions about why he had pledged to “keep some U.S. forces in Southeast Asia until all prisoners of war come home.”¹⁹⁸⁴ In the meantime, actress Jane Fonda broadcasted an anti-war plea to American pilots and soldiers over “Voice of Vietnam Radio” during her visit to North Vietnam.¹⁹⁸⁵ On July 31, a new anti-war group called “Americong” exploded a bomb outside the Air Force Academy in Denver, Colorado, as the FBI announced that 145 bombing incidents had occurred in June and 973 bombings had occurred during the first six months of 1972.¹⁹⁸⁶ The Republican National Convention protests began in Miami Beach, Florida on August 20 as 500 anti-war demonstrators blocked a main thoroughfare

¹⁹⁷⁵ “More Anti-War Protesters Jailed,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 16, 1972, A3.

¹⁹⁷⁶ “Secret Service: The Fantasy of Protection,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 21, 1972, A1.

¹⁹⁷⁷ “Brief Traffic Tieup: Oakland War Protest,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 18, 1972, A4.

¹⁹⁷⁸ “Terminal Success,” *Berkeley Barb*, May 19-25, 1972, 2.

¹⁹⁷⁹ Dohrn, *Sing a Battle Song*, 147.

¹⁹⁸⁰ “First Black Anti-War Meet,” *Berkeley Barb*, 23-29 June 1972, 10.

¹⁹⁸¹ “The Opening Round at Miami Beach,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 10, 1972, 9.

¹⁹⁸² “Varied Protests on the Outside,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 12, 1972, A6.

¹⁹⁸³ “SDS Protest at a Fashion Show,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 12, 1972, A6.

¹⁹⁸⁴ “Anti-war Youths Boo McGovern,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 13, 1972, A1.

¹⁹⁸⁵ “Jane Fonda’s Plea, from Hanoi,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 15, 1972, A 14.

¹⁹⁸⁶ “Communique: We Bombed Air Force Academy,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 4-10, 1972, 3.

and “roughed up some Republican delegates arriving for a \$500-a-plate convention eve party.”¹⁹⁸⁷ Fights broke out outside the Republican National Convention as anti-war protestors “massed peacefully” outside the hall on August 21.¹⁹⁸⁸ On August 22, police arrested 212 protesters as anti-war groups clashed “sporadically” with police.¹⁹⁸⁹ During the last day of the Republican National Convention on August 23, police arrested about 1,000 anti-war protesters who caused havoc as they broke up into roving bands that blocked streets, damaged vehicles, and smashed windows throughout the night.¹⁹⁹⁰ “It was at this point,” wrote arrested *Berkeley Barb* correspondent Bill Freedman, “that it could be veritably said that Miami had indeed turned into Chicago (1968 Chicago Democratic National Convention).”¹⁹⁹¹ At the Alameda Naval Station in California, on September 12, anti-war protesters attempted to block the world’s largest war ship from leaving to Vietnam.¹⁹⁹² On October 14, the last major anti-war demonstrations before the November presidential elections were held in Los Angeles, New York, Seattle, and 17 or 18 other cities throughout the country.^{1993 1994 1995} On November 4, three days before voting, nearly 5,000 people demonstrated against the war in New York City.¹⁹⁹⁶ The day after the elections, November 8, 200 demonstrators attended the “De-Elect the President Rally” held at noon on the U.C. Berkeley campus.¹⁹⁹⁷ On November 16, two students were killed and 23 wounded at a “peaceful” protest at Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana.¹⁹⁹⁸ Violence broke out “after several hundred students seized the main administration building and took over the office of the president.”¹⁹⁹⁹ The police, National Guard, state troopers, and sheriff’s deputies charged the students using tear gas, and apparently some fired buckshot. Calls for a nationwide boycott of the educational system of America, similarly to that after the Kent State and Jackson State student killings in 1970, were made on November 24.²⁰⁰⁰ In the meantime, on November 18, anti-war demonstrations were held in 20 cities throughout the country, sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition “to

¹⁹⁸⁷ “500 Youths Harass GOP Delegates,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 21, 1972, A1.

¹⁹⁸⁸ “A Peaceful Protest at Convention,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 22, 1972, A1.

¹⁹⁸⁹ “Mass Miami Arrest of Protesters,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 23, 1972, A1.

¹⁹⁹⁰ “Hundreds of Protesters Arrested,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 24, 1972, A1.

¹⁹⁹¹ “Miami? Chicago? Barb Man Busted,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 25-31, 1972, 3.

¹⁹⁹² “Resist Free Enterprise, Dunk For Peace,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 15-21, 1972, 9.

¹⁹⁹³ “Last Rally: Organizers Hit Phony SF Stalls,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 6-12, 1972, 5.

¹⁹⁹⁴ “March Org urges—Turn Out For This’n’,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 13-19, 1972, 3.

¹⁹⁹⁵ “October 14, Spirits Undamped,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 20-26, 1972, 7.

¹⁹⁹⁶ “5,000 Demonstrate, Nov. 4th,” *White Lightning*, December, 1972, 13.

¹⁹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹⁸ “Southern U. Outrage, National Strike Call,” *Berkeley Barb*, November 24-30, 1972, 3.

¹⁹⁹⁹ “Blacks Shot as Police Rush Sit-in,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 17, 1972, A1.

²⁰⁰⁰ “Southern U. Outrage, National Strike Call,” *Berkeley Barb*, November 24-30, 1972, 3.

protest America's continued involvement in Vietnam."²⁰⁰¹ ²⁰⁰² Finally, from December 18 to 29, Nixon re-escalated the Vietnam War with an aerial bombing campaign called Operation Linebacker II, nicknamed the "Christmas Bombings." The bombings against targets in North Vietnam were the largest "heavy bomber strikes launched by the U.S. Air Force since the end of World War II."²⁰⁰³ Many claimed that it was the "heaviest bombing in human history."²⁰⁰⁴ Anti-war demonstrations were quickly organized to protest the unexpected re-start of bombing of North Vietnam.²⁰⁰⁵

In other activist news, on March 24, Indians of California occupied the Mission San Antonio de Padua in Monterey County as part of a plan to retake all mission property throughout the state of California.²⁰⁰⁶ From March 29 to 31, three Black Panther Survival meetings were held in three various places in Oakland, California concerning free clothing, shoes, plumbing, and prison visitation.²⁰⁰⁷ ²⁰⁰⁸ Thousands turned out for the May 27 "African Liberation Day" marches and rallies held in both Washington, D.C, and San Francisco to protest U.S. military involvement in Africa, in particular, Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea Bissau.²⁰⁰⁹ From November 1-9, led by AIM (American Indian Movement), over 1,000 Native Americans (representing 250 tribes) arrived in Washington, D.C., after caravanning across the country in what they called "Trail of Broken Treaties" with a series of 20 demands. On November 2, after feeling "double crossed" (BIA officials would not talk to them or give them a place to stay), the Native Americans took over the Bureau of Indian Affairs building and occupied it for a week.²⁰¹⁰ They had arrived at the BIA to negotiate for better living standards and treaty rights. When the police ordered the Indians to leave, they refused, and after "scattered fighting," they managed to barricade themselves in and "lock all the pigs out."²⁰¹¹ After the government agreed not to prosecute the Indians for occupying the building, they left, leaving an estimated \$700,000 in damages and stealing many Bureau of Indian Affairs official records.²⁰¹²

²⁰⁰¹ "A 'Peace Day' March and Rally Here Tomorrow," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 17, 1972, A1.

²⁰⁰² "War Protest Dwindles in U.S. Capital," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 19, 1972, A1.

²⁰⁰³ Marshall L. Mitchell III, *Clashes: Air Combat Over North Vietnam, 1965-1972* (Annapolis, Maryland, Naval Institute Press, 2007), 271-273.

²⁰⁰⁴ "Bombs Fall on Vietnam, Lies Fall on America," *White Lightning*, January, 1973, 13.

²⁰⁰⁵ "Dreary Peace Rally," *Berkeley Barb*, December 29, 1972-January 4, 1973, 2-3.

²⁰⁰⁶ "Indians Occupy Mission," *Berkeley Barb*, March 24-30, 1972, 7.

²⁰⁰⁷ "A Visit From Bobby: Panther Chief Up Front," *Berkeley Barb*, March 24-30, 1972, 3.

²⁰⁰⁸ "Chicken in Every Bag: Panthers Get It Down," March 31-April 6, 1972, 6-7.

²⁰⁰⁹ "African Freedom: Blacks March 4000 Strong in Solidarity," *Berkeley Barb*, June 2-8, 1972, 5.

²⁰¹⁰ "Bureau Takeover: Indians Return Trinkets, Charge Fraud 'n Split," *Berkeley Barb*, November 24-30, 1972, 5.

²⁰¹¹ "Indians Show Unit in D.C.," *White Lightning*, December, 1972, 12.

²⁰¹² "Amnesty Denied to Indians," *Washington Post*, November 10, 1972.

In hippie counter-cultural news, the California Marijuana Initiative announced plans, on February 11, to open offices in various cities and on college campuses around the state to coordinate a drive to obtain more than 300,000 voter signatures necessary to get a legalization initiative on the ballot in November.²⁰¹³ On February 14-18, John Lennon and Yoko Ono co-hosted the Mike Douglas TV show, bringing on guests from the radical counter-culture such as Jerry Rubin of the Yippies and Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party.²⁰¹⁴ Bread and Soup Line demonstrations began in Berkeley on March 10, against the new food stamp regulations to “prohibit food stamps assistance to communal families of un-related individuals.”²⁰¹⁵ ²⁰¹⁶ March 24 saw the Sacred Free Love Om Commune return to Berkeley. The leader of the commune, Richard Thorne (now known as Om), had founded the Sexual Freedom League in 1966. In 1972, he called his new religion the OM United New World Crusade.²⁰¹⁷ Two thousand hippies showed up for the April 2nd Easter Sunday rock festival held on Venice beach, California.²⁰¹⁸ On April 8, the Mar y Sol Rock Festival was held in Baja, Puerto Rico (a territory of the United States). Thirty thousand people listened to the music of the Allman Brothers Band, Emerson, Lake and Palmer, B. B. King, John McLaughlin and Mahavishnu Orchestra, Alice Cooper, Black Sabbath, Bloodrock, Rod Stewart, and many other well-known bands.²⁰¹⁹ An April 9, a hippie happening held on Telegraph Avenue in Berkeley, with “guitars, flutes, bells, Guerilla Theater, anti-war displays, children, crafts, and . . . soup” turned into a police confrontation with fires set and arrests made.²⁰²⁰ ²⁰²¹ April 11 saw three young political radicals gain control of the five-member Cotati, California City Council. Cotati, a small college town in Sonoma County, had a large hippie counter-culture population.²⁰²² President Nixon believed that John Lennon’s anti-war activities (including possibly playing at the upcoming Republican National Convention) and successful anti-war songs such as “Give Peace a Chance” and “Happy Xmas (War Is Over),” could cost him his re-election, and tried to

²⁰¹³ “Free Dope,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 11-17, 1972, 6.

²⁰¹⁴ “The Mike Douglas Show (John & Yoko) 2/14/72 part 1,” online video clip, Youtube, March 5, 2010, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aJcbUTfcLwI&list=PLC381B9CCDD0708D6&index=3>. Accessed 9 October 2014.

²⁰¹⁵ “Freeks Facing Famine,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 3-9, 1972, 5.

²⁰¹⁶ “Stamp Battle: Food Famine Fighters Pull Out All Stops,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 10-16, 1972, 6.

²⁰¹⁷ “OM Love,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 24-30, 1972, 12.

²⁰¹⁸ “Rock Fest, Telling It Like It Is Is Not Easy,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 21-27, 1972, 10-11.

²⁰¹⁹ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 271.

²⁰²⁰ “April 9 What,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 7-13, 1972, 5.

²⁰²¹ “Cool Heads Blocking Telly Tied The Block,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 14-20, 1972, 3.

²⁰²² “Cotati Counts: Radicals Take Town As Peef Makes History,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 14-20, 1972, 2.

have him deported.²⁰²³ A major victory for the counter-culture occurred on May 8-9, when the People's Park fence in Berkeley was torn down after a three-year battle with the university in which one person died and another was blinded in May of 1969.²⁰²⁴ Nevertheless, the Good Earth Commune, in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district, was raided again for political purposes by "federal agents, U.S. marshalls, and 42 San Francisco police officers."²⁰²⁵ On May 31, Yippies announced plans for a "Woodstock with politics" at the Democratic National convention in Miami Beach, Florida for July 8-13.²⁰²⁶ Yippie leader Jerry Rubin revealed plans for over 100,000 youths to show up to demonstrate. "The theme for the two conventions festivals (Democratic and the Republican) will be 'A Celebration of Change, Ten Days to Change the World.'"²⁰²⁷ On June 4, an anti-war "Nude-In" was held at People's Park in Berkeley.^{2028 2029} People stripped naked to "celebrate life and protest the war."²⁰³⁰ Participants brought "food, wine, Frisbees, and drums."²⁰³¹ After a brief chanting of "OM" people danced, sunbathed, and picnicked; "fucking was discouraged."²⁰³² June 18, 1972 – Berkeley's first "Pagan festival" happened in Provo Park sponsored by Jefferson Fuck Poland and the Kali Church. Poland and several others "sat nude in the Park their bodies painted with astrological signs and Kali Church symbols."²⁰³³ Afterwards, all participants at the event were invited to the first Rainbow Gathering in Colorado on July 1.²⁰³⁴ A hippie caravan left Berkeley June 29, heading to Rocky Mountain National Park in Colorado for the first ever Rainbow Gathering. "The Gathering of the Tribes is a whole earth type of religious celebration for all races, tribes, communes, men, women, children, individuals – out of love."²⁰³⁵ The caravan was sponsored by the "Psychedelic Venus Church," while the gathering was coordinated by the Rainbow Family of Living Light of Eugene, Oregon. From July 1 through 4, 1972, the first Rainbow Gathering of the Tribes was held, a four-day event in Colorado held by the hippie counterculture "tribes" based in Northern California and the Pacific Northwest. Twenty thousand people faced police roadblocks, threatened civil disobedience, and were allowed

²⁰²³ "Haven Here For John and Yoko," *Berkeley Barb*, April 28-May 4, 1972, 6.

²⁰²⁴ "People's Park Freed," *Berkeley Barb*, May 12-18, 1972, 2.

²⁰²⁵ "SF Gestapo Moves: Hits Good Earth," *Berkeley Barb*, May 19-25, 1972, 7.

²⁰²⁶ "Jerry Yip Phones: Miami's Where To Be," *Berkeley Barb*, June 2-8, 1972, 3.

²⁰²⁷ "Miami Calling: To Change the World," *Berkeley Barb*, June 9-15, 1972, 7.

²⁰²⁸ "Nude-In Set For People's Park Sunday," *Berkeley Barb*, June 2-8, 1972, 10.

²⁰²⁹ "Peoples Park Packed: Mini Nude-In Bustless," *Berkeley Barb*, June 9-15, 1972, 3.

²⁰³⁰ "Peoples Park Nude-In," *Berkeley Barb*, May 26-June 1, 1972, 8.

²⁰³¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰³² *Ibid.*

²⁰³³ "First Pagan Fest Here," *Berkeley Barb*, June 23-29, 1972, 11.

²⁰³⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰³⁵ "Tribal Trek," *Berkeley Barb*, June 23-29, 1972, 6.

onto National Forest land.²⁰³⁶ On July 5, John Lennon released his “Sometime in New York City” album with many political songs. According to the music newspaper *Melody Maker*, “They contain the strongest, most heartfelt, sincere comments I think we’ve ever heard on record.”²⁰³⁷ The Pocono International Speedway Rock Festival was held in Long Pond, Pennsylvania on July 8-9. Two-hundred thousand people listened to performers such as Emerson, Lake and Palmer, Three Dog Night, Rod Stewart with the Faces, Edgar Winter, Humble Pie, and other famous bands.^{2038 2039} At the same time, there was a Pot Smoke-In protest to legalize marijuana held at Flaming Park in Miami Beach during the Democratic National Convention. The Yippies first opposed the protest, than later “consented” to the Zippie event. One sign at the event read, “We like pot a lot, Drop seeds, not bombs.”²⁰⁴⁰ On July 21, F. T. A. Released a documentary film starring Jane Fonda and Donald Sutherland and directed by Francine Parker. The movie filmed the touring anti-war satirical revue, which performed at coffeehouses near American army bases for G.I.s opposing the war in Vietnam.²⁰⁴¹ In Berkeley, by August, the newly liberated People’s Park saw its population of hippies grow to an estimated 75 living in tents or other structures.²⁰⁴² The Erie Canal “Soda” Pop Festival (or “Bull Island” Festival) was held on September 1-3 in the state of Illinois. The three-day music event was billed as the “Woodstock of the Midwest” with a crowd of 275,000 to 300,000, a “sea of dope smoking, music-loving, long-haired hippies.”^{2043 2044} Promoter spokesman Paul Loria stated, “It’s a mellow, beautiful crowd. This is better than Woodstock.”²⁰⁴⁵ On October 13, the “Naked Crusade,” a new group to legalize nudity in public places, was founded in San Francisco. “All over the world, people are discarding their former fears of themselves and each other to go naked in public.”²⁰⁴⁶

²⁰³⁶ “Peace and Religious Festival Begins in Colorado,” *New York Times*, July 2, 1972.

²⁰³⁷ “The People’s Album,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 21-27, 1972, 8.

²⁰³⁸ SANTELLI: *Aquarius Rising*, 271-272.

²⁰³⁹ Quiet Exodus: Huge Rock Fest Ends Peacefully,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 10, 1972, A10.

²⁰⁴⁰ “Join the Smack Attack: The Pot Smoke-In,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 10, 1972, A8.

²⁰⁴¹ “FTA Takes It Away,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 21-27, 1972, 4-5.

²⁰⁴² “Population, That Is – People Explosion,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 11-17, 1972, 11.

²⁰⁴³ “275,000 Fans: Joyful Rock Fest on Illinois Island,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 4, 1972, A2.

²⁰⁴⁴ “Erie Canal ‘Soda’ Pop Festival,” <http://www.billbloodworth.com/html/bullisland.html>. Accessed January 19, 2012.

²⁰⁴⁵ “275,000 Fans: Joyful Rock Fest on Illinois Island,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 4, 1972, A2.

²⁰⁴⁶ “Coming Soon: Naked Crusade,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 13-19, 1972, 7.

III.5. Summary of 1973

Heaviest U.S. Bombings of the War Continue Even after the Ceasefire, Wounded Knee Occupation, and Watergate

On the anti-war front, the heaviest U.S. bombings of the war continued throughout the first seven and a half months of the year, even after a ceasefire was signed in late January. Before the truce, folk singer Joan Baez led several anti-war rallies around the San Francisco Bay Area, including one at Stanford University on the 11th, Palo Alto on the 12th, and Berkeley on the 15th.²⁰⁴⁷ ²⁰⁴⁸ In Washington, D.C., on January 20, three different anti-war rallies were held during President Nixon's inauguration day. The largest protest consisted of 100,000 people marching from the Lincoln Memorial to the Washington Monument.²⁰⁴⁹ Anti-war demonstrations were also held in Chicago, Illinois, Topeka, Kansas, Montgomery, Alabama, Bridgeport, Connecticut, Honolulu, Hawaii, and many more cities.²⁰⁵⁰ In San Francisco, there were three different anti-war rallies, one sponsored by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) with the theme, "Stop the U.S. government racism and genocide."²⁰⁵¹ ²⁰⁵² ²⁰⁵³ Yet no celebrations occurred on January 23 after President Nixon announced that a peace agreement had been reached concerning Vietnam. In a sampling of comments, most people were skeptical that the war would really end.²⁰⁵⁴ ²⁰⁵⁵ Indeed, on January 26, the Pentagon indicated that the U.S. military would continue to have around "500 bombers, fighter bombers, and gunships" based in next door Thailand, "ready to carry on military operations."²⁰⁵⁶ On January 27, the Vietnam War cease-fire began at 4 p.m. (Pacific Standard Time); however, the war did not end, with "widespread" fighting reported in the central highlands, along the central coast, and around Saigon. Several hours after the supposed end to fighting, two American helicopter crewmen were wounded by ground fire, and two American planes were shot down with four airmen listed as missing.²⁰⁵⁷ On the other hand, the military draft ended except

²⁰⁴⁷ "Baez Leads Palo Alto Peace Rally," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 13, 1973, A3.

²⁰⁴⁸ "Baez Biggest Rally," *Berkeley Barb*, January 19-25, 1973, 2.

²⁰⁴⁹ "Some Minor Clashes: Anti-War Rallies Throughout D.C.," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 21, 1973, Sec. A page D.

²⁰⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵¹ "Split Peace Groups – Hotter than Paris," *Berkeley Barb*, January 12-18, 1973, 7.

²⁰⁵² "3 Anti-War Marches on January 20," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 13, 1973, A3.

²⁰⁵³ "Split Peace Groups – Hotter than Paris," *Berkeley Barb*, January 12-18, 1973, 7.

²⁰⁵⁴ "Streets of S.F.: No Wild Reaction," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 24, 1973, A1.

²⁰⁵⁵ "Cease-Fire: A Broadway Flop," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 24, 1973, A1.

²⁰⁵⁶ "U.S. May Keep bombing Trails," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 27, 1973, A5.

²⁰⁵⁷ "Vietnam Fighting Goes on after Cease-Fire Starts," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 28, 1973, A1.

possibly for a few doctors and dentists. Nonetheless, men would still be required to register (in case the draft returned) 30 days before and after their 18th birthdays, and draft lotteries too would continue with “pre-induction physicals.”²⁰⁵⁸ January 28, the day after the supposed “cease-fire,” the fighting and “dying” went on in Vietnam. “At least three major battles . . . occurred since the cease-fire officially began.”²⁰⁵⁹ On January 29, helicopter pilot Dal Pozzo, age 21, was the first American killed in Vietnam after the cease-fire started two days earlier.²⁰⁶⁰ Meanwhile in Berkeley, on January 31, nine hundred anti-war activists met to discuss what to do now that the war was seemingly over.²⁰⁶¹ A thirty-five mile long peace march, from Port Chicago Naval Weapons Station to Alameda, from February 4-10, marked the “first major post-peace peace action.”²⁰⁶² On February 9, the San Francisco Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom and 25 other organizations of Northern California combined to protest President Nixon’s budget plans of increasing military spending while cutting welfare and other public services.²⁰⁶³ On February 13, it was reported that during the 16 days since the peace treaty was signed, the American-supported South Vietnamese government conducted “328 attacks with infantry and tanks” and “213 air attacks and 281 shellings.”²⁰⁶⁴ On February 23, an anti-war demonstration was held in Washington, D.C., against the continued bombing of Cambodia, four weeks after the cease-fire in Vietnam.²⁰⁶⁵ Thousands of tons of bombs were dropped on Cambodia in only the first month after the end of the war.²⁰⁶⁶ Moreover, the thousands of “civilian advisors” left in South Vietnam (and sent after January of 1973) were in fact military advisors.²⁰⁶⁷ On March 9, an anti-war protest was held at the Alameda Naval Air Station against sending the aircraft carrier USS *Coral Sea* to Vietnam, pointing out that there were now five carriers there, two more than during the “so-called height of the war.”²⁰⁶⁸ A new law was passed on March 28 in Canada forcing many of the 100,000 draft evaders back to the U.S., putting them in danger of prosecution, as draft indictments

²⁰⁵⁸ “5 Months Before Deadline: Peace Bonus—Draft Ended,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 28, 1973, A1.

²⁰⁵⁹ “The Dying Goes On,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 29, 1973, A1.

²⁰⁶⁰ “1st American to Die After Cease-Fire,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 30, 1973, A2.

²⁰⁶¹ “Beyond Victory: Anti-war Meet Wonders What without A War,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 2-8, 1973, 2.

²⁰⁶² “Week-Long Walk,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 2-8, 1973, 9.

²⁰⁶³ “Women vs. Nixon,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 9-25, 1973, 3.

²⁰⁶⁴ “Peace Breaches,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 23-March 1, 1973, 9.

²⁰⁶⁵ “American Legion Russ Vet Confab,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 23-March 1, 1973, 9.

²⁰⁶⁶ Taylor Owen and Ben Kiernan, “Bombs Over Cambodia,” *The Walrus* (October 2006), http://www.yale.edu/cgp/Walrus_CambodiaBombing_OCT06.pdf. Accessed January 27, 2012.

²⁰⁶⁷ “Pepper, Please,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 23-March 1, 1973, 8.

²⁰⁶⁸ “Vigil Now,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 9-15, 1973, 11.

climbed from “4000 in 1972, to 6000 in 1973, and 8000 in 1974.”²⁰⁶⁹ On March 29, the so-called last U.S. troops departed South Vietnam, under the provisions of the Paris Peace Accords signed on January 27, 1973. Only a Defense Attaché Office and a few Marine guards at the Saigon American Embassy remained, although roughly 8,500 U.S. civilians (military) advisors stayed on to help the South Vietnamese.²⁰⁷⁰ On April 2, an anti-war demonstration in San Francisco protested the visit of South Vietnam President Nguyen Van Thieu to the United States.²⁰⁷¹ On April 20, reports of imminent landing of Marines in Cambodia stirred the anti-war movement, as did the Pentagon suggesting to Congress the “possibility of bombing North Vietnam again.”^{2072 2073} On May 2, more than three months after the Vietnam War cease-fire, the U.S. continued to bomb Laos and Cambodia with over 250 air raids daily.²⁰⁷⁴ On May 13, two U.S. F-4 Phantom jet fighters bombed South Vietnam, killing 34 people; according to the Viet Cong, it was the second such bombing in the so-called cease-fire zone by the American air force in the last two days.²⁰⁷⁵ On June 8, the “East Bay Women for Peace” started a campaign to repeal the Selective Service Act, or the “president will again have unlimited power to call up our sons.”²⁰⁷⁶ In Cambodia, June 30 marked the 116th consecutive day of U.S. warplanes bombing communist troops.²⁰⁷⁷ Mostly hidden from public knowledge, there were more bombs dropped on Cambodia from January to August than during all of the previous four years.²⁰⁷⁸ On the other hand, Nixon and the U.S. Congress agreed on a compromise of bombing Cambodia only until August 15, unless Congress approved otherwise.²⁰⁷⁹ On July 20, an anti-bombing demonstration was held in San Francisco calling for an immediate halt to U.S. bombing of Cambodia.²⁰⁸⁰ On August 15, the U.S. officially ended its bombing of Cambodia, ending nearly twelve years of bombing in Indochina. President Nixon warned North Vietnam that it would be an error on their part if they mistook the bombing halt as an “invitation to fresh aggression or

²⁰⁶⁹ “Without Amnesty, Peace Is a Lie: Bring the Boys Home,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 9-15, 1973, 5.

²⁰⁷⁰ Randy Roberts, “March 29, 1973: Last U.S. troops depart South Vietnam,” This Day in History (March 29, 2009), <http://randyroberts.wordpress.com/2009/03/29/on-this-day-march-29-us-troops-leave-vietnam/>. Accessed January 29, 2012.

²⁰⁷¹ “Protest Thieu, Too,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 30-April 5, 1973, 6.

²⁰⁷² “Pepper Sees—Nixon Nixed,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 27-May 3, 1973, 3.

²⁰⁷³ “POW’s: The U.S. is Bombing Cambodia & Hinting at Renewed Bombing of North Vietnam. There’s a Chance of More War and More POW’s, Because Nixon’s ‘Peace With Honor’ Is a Farce,” *White Lightning*, April, 1973, 15.

²⁰⁷⁴ “Cambodian War,” *White Lightning*, May, 1973, 12.

²⁰⁷⁵ “Viet Cong Say 34 Killed in New U.S. Air Attacks,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 14, 1973, A13.

²⁰⁷⁶ “Wire Em: Tell ‘M to Stop Draft,” *Berkeley Barb*, June 8-14, 1973, 9.

²⁰⁷⁷ “Cambodia Ferry Battle,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 1, 1973, A17.

²⁰⁷⁸ Kali Tal (ed.), *The Future of the Past – Revisionism and Vietnam* (New Haven, Connecticut: Vietnam Generation, Inc., 1988), 6.

²⁰⁷⁹ “Combat Cutoff Aug. 15,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 1, 1973, A1.

²⁰⁸⁰ “An Anti-Bombing Protest in S.F.,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 19, 1973, A9.

further violations of the Paris agreements.”²⁰⁸¹ ²⁰⁸² Under the cessation orders by Congress, “unarmed reconnaissance flights and noncombat flights to deliver military supplies” and the continuation of military aid to Cambodia and Laos would be permitted. On September 7, two articles written by journalists visiting South Vietnam stated that everyone in Vietnam had agreed that the war was not over, as U.S. helicopters and B-52 bombers flew overhead and a struggle between the National Liberation Front and the Thieu regime continued.²⁰⁸³ ²⁰⁸⁴ On December 14, it was reported that \$275 million had been budgeted by the Pentagon “for the resumption of bombing in Indochina through June 1974.”²⁰⁸⁵ The real possibility of a renewed “large-scale war” involving the use of U.S. air, sea, and land forces was still conceivable as the war continued to escalate in Vietnam again.²⁰⁸⁶

In other protest actions, from February 27 to May 5, two hundred (later four hundred) armed Oglala Lakota and followers of the American Indian Movement (AIM) seized and occupied the town of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.²⁰⁸⁷ Oglala and AIM activists controlled the town for 71 days, while FBI agents and United States marshals surrounded the area. Both sides were armed and shooting was frequent, with four deaths (an FBI agent, an Indian, a hippie, and a white civil rights activist, the latter two of whom had joined the protesters several weeks after it started).²⁰⁸⁸ In the meantime, on March 21, Vietnam Veterans Against the War “burned their discharges,” at a demonstration in New York City to protest “lack of jobs & lack of concern shown for vets by the Veterans Administration.”²⁰⁸⁹ On April 28-29, there was a drive in Berkeley and Sacramento to help the peoples of Angola and Mozambique fighting for freedom against colonial rule. Donated were “blankets, towels, strong clothing, and vitamins” (perhaps the largest demonstration concerning the war in Angola was on November 4 held at the Berkeley campus).²⁰⁹⁰ ²⁰⁹¹ Also on April 28, in San Francisco, the Labor Action Committee organized a demonstration against “high prices and

²⁰⁸¹ “12 Years of Bombs,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 15, 1973, A1.

²⁰⁸² “Highlights of Nixon’s Speech,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 16, 1973, A1.

²⁰⁸³ “3 Weeks in Free ‘Nam: Not All Over Yet,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 7-13, 1973, 7.

²⁰⁸⁴ “Soured in Saigon: All Is Not So Well,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 7-13, 1973, 7.

²⁰⁸⁵ “Thieu Steps Up War to Cling To Power,” *Berkeley Barb*, December 14-20, 1973, 2.

²⁰⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸⁷ “Wounded Knee Uprising,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 1, 1973, A1.

²⁰⁸⁸ “We Shall Remain, Episode 5 Wounded Knee Part 7,” online video clip, Youtube, November 14, 2010, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vdQHju4Q2R8>. Accessed October 9, 2014.

²⁰⁸⁹ “VVAW Protests,” *White Lightning*, April, 1973, 3.

²⁰⁹⁰ “How to Help Rebels,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 17-May 3, 1973, 5.

²⁰⁹¹ “UC Angola Protest,” *Berkeley Barb*, November 2-8, 1973, 12.

unemployment.”²⁰⁹² On June 1, in response to the loss of 250,000 jobs in New York City in the past three years, the revolutionary newspaper *White Lightning* demanded full employment and socialism.²⁰⁹³

As the U.S. went into a recession and the war in Vietnam was supposedly over, more protests concerning the economy increased. In showing worker solidarity, the SDS, the Black Panther Party and others organized pickets and boycotts of stores that did not support the United Farm Workers. On the other hand, some protest groups began to combine economic issues with that of war, and the sentiments toward impeachment of President Nixon as the Watergate scandal continued to grow throughout the year. On June 2, the first Bay Area Impeach Nixon march was held in Berkeley by the “people’s movement,” sponsored by the Committee to De-elect the President and the Berkeley Marijuana Initiative.²⁰⁹⁴ Two hundred freaks chanted, “Four more weeks – four more days – four more hours – four more seconds.”²⁰⁹⁵ On June 16, the Impeach Nixon march in Washington, D.C., organized by the People’s Coalition for Peace and Justice, demanded that “Nixon cut military spending, increase funds for social welfare programs, end U.S. intervention in Indochina, and stop the bombing of Cambodia” (other notable Impeach Nixon protests and demonstrations occurred on August 7 and August 31 in Washington, D.C., and October 27 and December 1 in San Francisco).^{2096 2097} On July 28, in Dallas, Texas, 10,000 people demonstrated opposing police brutality against Chicanos after still another police murder of a Chicano youth.²⁰⁹⁸ There was also continued union organizing, as in August 14, for the third time in three weeks, radicals shut down a Chrysler auto plant in Detroit as the revolutionary union movement spread.²⁰⁹⁹ The news of CIA covert intervention in Chile (resulting in the violent overthrow of the democratically elected Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende) was met with immediate protests on September 11 in San Francisco.²¹⁰⁰ Other notable demonstrations were held on September 15, 19, and 23 throughout the Bay Area.^{2101 2102 2103} In New York City on September 28,

²⁰⁹² “Price Protest,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 17-May 3, 1973, 5.

²⁰⁹³ “Job Hunt Is On: New York Has Lost a Quarter-Million Jobs in the Last Three Years (U.S. Labor Statistics Bureau),” *White Lightning*, June, 1973, 9.

²⁰⁹⁴ “Impeach Nixon March Saturday,” *Berkeley Barb*, June 1-7, 1973, 5.

²⁰⁹⁵ “Nixon Ouster Movement Off Ground in Berkeley,” *Berkeley Barb*, June 8-14, 1973, 11.

²⁰⁹⁶ “Impeach Nixon March,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 8-14, 1973, 11.

²⁰⁹⁷ “Rivergate: Blows It,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 13-September 6, 1973: 3.

²⁰⁹⁸ “They Can Kill Our Young Rebels But They Can’t Kill Our Revolution,” *Yipster Times*, August-September 1973, 10.

²⁰⁹⁹ “Defiant Workers Seize Auto Plant,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 15, 1973, A1.

²¹⁰⁰ “Demos,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 14-20, 1973, 3.

²¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

the Weather Underground bombed the ITT Latin American Headquarters for its support of the military coup in Chile.^{2104 2105} On November 28, in Santa Clara, California, a 60,000-volt PG&E transformer was bombed by a group called the “Americans for Justice,” who wrote that “if there is an energy crisis all of American should cooperate. We see no reason why we the people should tighten our belts while big business gets fatter off us” (bombings and shootouts by revolutionary groups continued to increase as the August Seventh Guerrilla Movement [ASGM] even shot down a police helicopter).²¹⁰⁶ By December 3, the first “trucker” road blockade to protest the energy crisis and “government lies” occurred on Interstate 80 near Blakeslee, Pennsylvania.²¹⁰⁷

The youth counter-cultural movement continued to grow even as the anti-war movement began to wind down. One very visible form of counter-culture activity was “hanging out” in the streets talking (even on the coldest nights), “brothers and sisters” listening to music, sharing information, smoking marijuana, and drinking alcohol, turning each other on “to the revolution.”²¹⁰⁸ A February 16 article about the popularity of “Glamour rock” (male musicians putting on lipstick and eye shadow, etc.) appeared in the *Berkeley Barb*, stating that “there were drag queens in 1967 and there are Flower Children right now – it’s merely a matter of who the mass media chooses to cast a spotlight on.”²¹⁰⁹ On the other hand, the recent emergence of reggae music was seen in a highly favorable light as Jamaican music of blacks escaping “from their economic bondage.”²¹¹⁰ Still, the “hardcore stuff heard in Jamaican clubs” had not been released in the U.S., as of yet, with only a few American bands incorporating some of their rhythms. On March 13, the trial of LSD guru Timothy Leary began in San Luis Obispo, California. Leary asked many counter-cultural figures to testify, including Jerry Rubin, Dennis Hopper, and even the Rolling Stones rock band.²¹¹¹ According to a March 16 report, many activists since the reelection of Nixon on November 7, 1972, and the Vietnam War cease-fire on January 27, 1973, began to turn to religion.²¹¹² On the other hand, gurus and religious cult groups had been a part of the hippie movement since the beginning. On March 27, 1973, Marlon

²¹⁰² “Chile Rally Hits Confab At Fairmont,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 28-October 4, 1973, 5.

²¹⁰³ “Joan Sings,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 28-October 4, 1973, 5.

²¹⁰⁴ “Bomb Hits ITT’s N.Y. Building,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 29, 1973, A2.

²¹⁰⁵ Dohrn, *Sing a Battle Song*, 210.

²¹⁰⁶ “Energy Crisis Bombed,” *Berkeley Barb*, November 30-December 6, 1973, 2.

²¹⁰⁷ “Irate Truckers Threaten Big New Shut-Down,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 11-17, 1974, 3.

²¹⁰⁸ “Hangin’ Out: It’s a People’s Thing,” *White Lightning*, January, 1973, 11.

²¹⁰⁹ “COQ ROQ, TOO: Drag Rock Drags,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 16-22, 1973, 7.

²¹¹⁰ “Reggae Hits Rock,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 16-22, 1973, 8.

²¹¹¹ “Leary’s Lover Vows Fast to Death,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 9-15, 1973, 3.

²¹¹² “The Instant Immortality Racket,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 16-22, 1973, 9.

Brando, who had won the Oscar for his role in the film “The Godfather,” refused to accept it because of “the treatment of the American Indians by the movies and on television.”²¹¹³ April 1 brought a hippie Fools’ Day celebration in Berkeley.²¹¹⁴ Also on April 1, John Lennon and Yoko Ono announced the “birth of a new nation” in response to weeks of legal battles involving Lennon’s “right to remain in the U.S. as a permanent resident.”²¹¹⁵ He stated that, “Nutopia has no land, no boundaries, no passports, only people.”²¹¹⁶ Moreover, “Nutopia has no laws, other than cosmic. All people of Nutopia are ambassadors of the country. As two ambassadors of Nutopia, we ask for diplomatic immunity and recognition in the United Nations of our country and its people.”²¹¹⁷ At the press conference, John Lennon and Yoko Ono waved a Nutopian white flag saying, “We surrender to peace and love.”²¹¹⁸ April 6, 1973, Jimi Hendrix’s “Rainbow Bridge,” movie was released, calling for the psychic coming together of Indian, Black, Chicano, and counter-culture revolutionaries.²¹¹⁹ On April 11, “Godspell,” the movie version of the Jesus freak hit stage play, opened at movie theaters. In “Godspell,” Jesus gathered a diverse band of youthful hippie type disciples to follow him.²¹²⁰ There were also very positive reviews for Franco Zeffirelli’s new film called “Brother Sun, Sister Moon.” The movie successfully drew parallels between the philosophy of Saint Francis and the ideology of the hippie countercultural movement.²¹²¹ On April 23, Stephen Stills released his second and last album with his band Manassas. It included the anti-war song called “Isn’t It About Time.”²¹²² On May 1, 1973, tens of thousands participated in demonstrations held all over the country for the legalization of marijuana, sponsored by the Yippies.^{2123 2124} On June 2, the British rock group Led Zeppelin drew 50,000 people at Kezar Stadium in San Francisco, playing their hippie type hard rock songs: “Celebration Day,” “Over the Hills and Far Away,” “Misty Mountain Hop,” “No Quarter,” “The Song Remains the Same,” “Rain Song,” “Dazed and Confused (incl. San Francisco),” “Stairway to Heaven,” and

²¹¹³ “Brando a Winner,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 30-April 1, 1973, 2.

²¹¹⁴ “April Fools’ Day,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 30-April 1, 1973, 5.

²¹¹⁵ “Nutopia: John ’n Yoko and Birth of a Nation,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 13-19, 1973, 9.

²¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

²¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹¹⁹ “Rainbow Bridge to An Indian,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 6-12, 1973, 15.

²¹²⁰ “Godspell: The Gospel According to Today,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 23-29, 1973, 14.

²¹²¹ “D N Brother Sun, Sister,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 20-26, 1973, 13.

²¹²² “Stephen Stills – Isn’t It About Time Lyrics,”

http://www.lyricsmode.com/lyrics/s/stephen_stills/isnt_it_about_time.html. Accessed June 12, 2014.

²¹²³ “Pennsylvania Smoke-In Draws, 5,000,” *Yipster Times*, June, 1973, 5.

²¹²⁴ “National Marijuana Day,” *Yipster Times*, March, 1973, 3.

“The Ocean.”²¹²⁵ The second annual Rainbow Gathering was held at the Shoshone National Forest in Wyoming on July 1-7; 20,000 hippies showed up.²¹²⁶ On July 4, 10,000 hippies attended a Marijuana Smoke-In & Impeach Nixon march at the Washington Monument in D.C. sponsored by the Yippies.²¹²⁷ On July 27-29, billed as “Woodstock revisited, only better,” the largest rock festival ever held occurred at Watkins Glen Grand Prix Raceway outside of Watkins Glen, New York, with an estimated 600,000 people in attendance.²¹²⁸ On August 3, Stevie Wonder released his “Innervisions” album, which included an angry social political song called “Living for the City.”²¹²⁹ On August 7, “Freelandia” hippie airlines received its license to operate from the FAA.²¹³⁰ The atmosphere on board Freelandia’s jet was very different from regular airlines; it was more like a “tribal celebration.”²¹³¹ On August 24, an article on street people appeared in the *Berkeley Barb*, writing about how the elite street people are the ones who live in the streets all year around, and many had been living in the streets since the “Summer of Love” of 1967.²¹³² On August 31, the Rolling Stones released their “Goat’s Head Soup” album.²¹³³ The Midwest Monster Peace Jubilee and Musical Festival scheduled for September 1-2, 1973 in Benton, Tennessee was cancelled.²¹³⁴ On October 12, Allen Noonan, the founder of the One World Family Commune, published his first book called *To the Youth of the World*. The book wrote of a “World Master Plan” for bringing about a free giving and receiving, a sharing economy that would bring heaven on earth.²¹³⁵ ²¹³⁶ According to an October 19 article, the Haight-Ashbury district (overrun by 100,000 young people during the “Summer of Love” in 1967) was once again home to the gentler hippie types.²¹³⁷ On November 2, John Lennon released his “Mind Games” album with several political songs including “Bring On The Lucie (Freeda People),” “Only People,” the three-second silent

²¹²⁵ “Led Zepplin Timeline - June 2, 1973 San Francisco, CA US Kezar Stadium,” Led Zepplin.com, <http://ledzeppelin.com/show/june-2-1973>. Accessed February 3, 2012.

²¹²⁶ Jodey Bateman. “Wherever Two Are Gathered...the Beginnings of the Rainbow Family,” All Ways Free (Winter 1988), <http://www.welcomehome.org/rainbow/hipstory/jody.html>. Accessed February 5, 2012.

²¹²⁷ Beal, *Blacklisted News*, 463.

²¹²⁸ “Rock Festival Ends,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 30, 1973, A1.

²¹²⁹ “It’s a Wonder: From Motown to New Tamala,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 7-13, 15.

²¹³⁰ “Freelandia Hippie Airline,” *Berkeley Barb*, November 16-22, 1973, 6.

²¹³¹ Sarah K. Lynch, “Flying High on Air Freelandia,” *Harvard Crimson*, February 27, 1974, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1974/2/27/flying-high-on-air-freelandia-pvoyages/>. Accessed February 12, 2012.

²¹³² “Strata on the Streets: Meet Street Elite,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 24-30, 1973, 16.

²¹³³ “Stones Drop in Goat’s Head Soup,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 28-October 4, 1973, 12.

²¹³⁴ “Uptight on Giant Rock,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 24-30, 1973, 19.

²¹³⁵ “Whose UFO Are You Fo,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 26-November 1, 1973, 2.

²¹³⁶ “The Role of the New World Comforter,” *Galactic Messenger*, <http://galacticmessenger.com/gmm/?p-412>. Accessed February 11, 2012.

²¹³⁷ “The Haight Is Back,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 19-25, 1973, 2.

“Nutopian International Anthem,” and his hippie type song entitled “Mind Games” (chanting the mantra, “Peace on earth”).²¹³⁸ On November 8-10, the Divine Light Mission (DLM) held a three-day festival called Millennium ‘73 at the Astrodome in Houston, Texas. It featured Guru Maharaj Ji, a 15-year-old guru and the leader of a fast-growing new religious movement that many in the hippie circles joined.²¹³⁹ ²¹⁴⁰ On December 1, Graham Nash released his “Wild Tales” solo album, which included the anti-war song “Oh! Camil (The Winter Soldier),” a tribute to Scott Camil, who testified in the Winter Soldier Investigation and was a defendant in the Gainesville 8 trial.²¹⁴¹ On December 28, Comet Kohoutek, first sighted on March 7, attained its peak, falling short of expectations, and evoking predictions of the beginning of either a New Age or the end of the world.²¹⁴²

III.6. Summary of 1974

U.S. Continues the War Turning It Over to the CIA, SLA Kidnaps Patty Hearst, and President Nixon Resigns

On the anti-war front, on January 9, not one year after the cease-fire agreement, Wisconsin Congressman Les Aspin reported that the Pentagon was continuing to fight the Indochina war by “removing it from the military and turning it over to the CIA instead.”²¹⁴³ It was reported on January 26 that during the first year of peace, President Nguyen Van Thieu had received \$1.3 billion in military aid from the U.S. and more than 60,000 Vietnamese had been killed.²¹⁴⁴ On February 6, Don Luce, a freelance journalist who had just returned from South Vietnam, spoke in Berkeley about how the U.S. still had 24,600 men in Vietnam classified as “observers” and “advisers” for a “war Nixon keeps saying is all over.”²¹⁴⁵ In late February, in Washington, D.C., Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden continued their efforts of lobbying congress to cut off economic aid to the Thieu regime in South Vietnam, as over 100 daily “enemy violations of the cease-fire accord” occurred.²¹⁴⁶

²¹³⁸ “John Lennon: Mind Games Lyrics,” <http://www.sing365.com/music/Lyric.nsf/Mind-Games-lyrics-John-Lennon/8BC6A933577F16B148256BCA00080390>. Accessed December 15, 2011.

²¹³⁹ Marxist-Guruist Rennie Davis, Tells Barb: God Am a Fat Kid,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 26-November 1, 1973, 3.

²¹⁴⁰ “Whose UFO Are You Fo,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 26-November 1, 1973, 2.

²¹⁴¹ Rebecca Brown, “Scott Camil and the Gainesville Eight – Oral History Analysis,” Free Republic (March 15, 2004), <http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/1098113/replies?c-46>. Accessed October 9, 2014.

²¹⁴² “Making Waves: Comet Coming—Cosmic Or Comic,” *Berkeley Barb*, November 2-8, 1973, 6.

²¹⁴³ “Vietnam War Put in CIA Hands,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 18-24, 1974, 7.

²¹⁴⁴ “Bloody Year of ‘Peace’ in Vietnam,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 25-31, 1974, 6.

²¹⁴⁵ “Thieu Pushes US: Bomb the Nam by April,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 8-14, 7.

²¹⁴⁶ “Bomb Blast in Vietnam Marketplace,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 25, 1974, A13.

While in Cambodia, more than 2,000 government troops launched a major operation to “clear rebel forces from Phnom Penh.”²¹⁴⁷ On March 3, the Weather Underground published a poem about how revolutionary groups who try to stop imperialist aggression are called terrorist by governments who kill millions in wars,²¹⁴⁸ while the General Accounting Office (GAO) reported that the Pentagon has been hiding from the Congress the amounts of money it still spent to support South Vietnam.²¹⁴⁹ On April 5, according to a member of the House Armed Services Committee, the *Washington Post*, and former Indochina veterans, the United States in violation of a 1970 Act of Congress was still “advising or supporting ground troops in Cambodia.”²¹⁵⁰ On April 9, three demonstrators were arrested at an anti-war protest in San Francisco concerning the continuation of U.S. involvement in South Vietnam.²¹⁵¹ According to an April 12 report, the U.S. was preparing to “land a force of 5,000 Marines in Cambodia if the Phnom Penh government falls to the insurgents.”²¹⁵² On April 18, 1974, the U.S. Senate and House Armed Services Committees allowed South Vietnam to receive \$266 million more military aid by June 30 than had been authorized by Congress because of a “Pentagon accounting error.”²¹⁵³ Several anti-war protests were held from July 1-4, in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Many of the protests turned violent as police confronted the veterans, injuring 25 at one demonstration, some sustaining “broken arms, broken heads, and cracked jaws.”²¹⁵⁴ The demonstrations focused on five demands that included “universal and unconditional amnesty for all military resisters, an end to all aid for the regimes of Nguyen Van Thieu in South Vietnam and Lon Nol in Cambodia, and better benefits for all veterans.”²¹⁵⁵ Another overall purpose was to keep the anti-war movement alive to combat the “continuing U.S. imperialism.”²¹⁵⁶ On July 9, in San Francisco, folk legend Joan Baez and her sister Mimi Farina played at a demonstration to demand that Vietnam veterans receive “preferential treatment” when businesses like the Bank of America were hiring.²¹⁵⁷ One hundred veterans and supporters attended the rally sponsored by a new organization called the Veterans Job Committee. On August 28, the Vietnam Veterans Against the

²¹⁴⁷ “Vietnam Talks on POWs Bugged Down,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 26, 1974, A17.

²¹⁴⁸ “Weather Poem for the SLA,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 5-11, 1974, 12.

²¹⁴⁹ “GAO Charge: Pentagon ‘Hid’ Aid to Saigon,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 7, 1974, A12.

²¹⁵⁰ “Pentagon’s Cambodia War Funds Revealed,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 5-11, 1974, 9.

²¹⁵¹ “Three Busted for Tiger Cage Protest on City Sidewalk,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 12-18, 1974, 3.

²¹⁵² “U.S. Plans Cambodia Invasion If Rebels Take Phnom Penh,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 12-18, 1974, 17.

²¹⁵³ “Pentagon Gives Thieu \$266 m. By Error,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 26-May 2, 1974, 5.

²¹⁵⁴ “Winter Soldiers: Vets Hit Washington,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 12-18, 1974, 5.

²¹⁵⁵ “Vets Call For DC Protests,” *Berkeley Barb*, June 7-13, 1974, 3.

²¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹⁵⁷ “Johnny on the Spot,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 12-18, 1974, 2.

War/Winter Soldier Organization picketed in front of the Veterans Administration building in Washington, D.C., to reject President Ford's "amnesty proposal" for military draft evaders, which they called "inadequate" because it was not universal and unconditional.²¹⁵⁸ In San Francisco from September 29 to October 6, anti-war groups sponsored a week of discussions, films, seminars and teach-ins as part of the "International Days of Concern for Vietnam."²¹⁵⁹ According to the Indochina Peace Campaign, the U.S. was still very involved in South Vietnam, paying for over "three-fourths of the costs of running the Thieu government"; moreover, Congress had just passed legislation for another "\$700 million in military aid for Indochina for the upcoming year."²¹⁶⁰ Meanwhile, the Ford administration had so far continued Nixon's Vietnam War policies, with reports of "American pilots flying support mission in the South" and "reconnaissance flights over the North," and 10,000 military "advisors" remaining in South Vietnam.²¹⁶¹ Finally, during only the first year after the January 1973 "peace agreement," 80,000 Vietnamese died in the ongoing war.²¹⁶² On November 21, 1974 in Berkeley, a new Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden anti-war film screened for two showings at Wheeler Auditorium (scheduled for release in January of 1975). The purpose of the film was to depict the Vietnamese as ordinary people and not enemies to hate. It was made for the Indochina Peace Campaign (IPC), an anti-war group working "to cut U.S. aid to the Thieu regime in South Vietnam, free the thousands of political prisoners, and press for implementation of the January, 1973 Paris peace agreement."²¹⁶³ Fonda and Hayden at the screening told that since the war officially ended, "100,000 Vietnamese have died . . . and perhaps a million more have been made homeless."²¹⁶⁴

In other protest actions, a demonstration was held in San Francisco on January 8 to protest "the legal massacre of the Wounded Knee defendants" and the continued abuse by the U.S. government.²¹⁶⁵ Since the Wounded Knee Incident had ended on May 5, 1973, many American Indian Movement (AIM) members or supporters had been murdered.²¹⁶⁶ In Oakland on January 10, a police shoot-out with two Symbionese Liberation Army

²¹⁵⁸ "VVAW Rejects Ford Amnesty," *Berkeley Barb*, August 30-September 5, 1974, 2.

²¹⁵⁹ "Days of Concern Focus on Vietnam Plight," *Berkeley Barb*, October 4-10, 1974, 2.

²¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶¹ "In Vietnam, a Slow Process of Decay," *Berkeley Barb*, October 4-10, 1974, 10.

²¹⁶² "Days of Concern Focus on Vietnam Plight," *Berkeley Barb*, October 4-10, 1974, 2.

²¹⁶³ "A Look at the Enemy," *Berkeley Barb*, November 29-December 5, 1974, 2.

²¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶⁵ "Pow Wow," *Berkeley Barb*, January 4-10, 1974, 2.

²¹⁶⁶ "We Shall Remain, Episode 5 Wounded Knee Part 8," online video clip, Youtube, November 14, 2010, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZbKoMvsxLII>. Accessed October 9, 2014.

(SLA) members (Joseph Remiro and Russell Little) turned up a lot of incriminating information on both the assassination of Oakland Superintendent of Schools Marcus A. Foster, on November 6, 1973, and the SLA headquarters and links to other radical organizations.²¹⁶⁷ On February 1, the August Seventh Guerrilla Movement revealed that they had fired on (and hit) two “light” planes in Ramon Valley on January 17.²¹⁶⁸ The National Campaign to impeach Nixon (NCIN) held a “Lobby-In” in Washington, D.C. from February 4-8. In addition to meeting with Congressional representatives, there was a march and a “radical tour” to notable protest areas around the city.²¹⁶⁹ On February 7, 1974, the Symbionese Liberation Army released their Communique # 3 admitting that they had kidnapped *San Francisco Examiner* newspaper heiress Patricia Hearst on February 4.^{2170 2171} A ten-day long anti-energy crisis and anti-inflation truckers’ strike ended on February 10 after President Nixon made an appeal on nationwide radio saying it was essential “to provide food, fuel and other supplies to all Americans.”²¹⁷² The strike had created “crippling industrial shortages” and a lot of violence.²¹⁷³ On February 15, the SLA demanded that if William Randolph Hearst, Jr. wanted to see his daughter alive, he would have to give free food worth millions of dollars to various disadvantaged people.²¹⁷⁴ Ongoing “mass” demonstrations were held in Puerto Rico on February 15 for independence from U.S. colonization.²¹⁷⁵ On February 21, in a new taped message, the SLA demanded that six million dollars worth of food be given to disadvantaged people, and listed several food distribution points, including “East and West Oakland, East Palo Alto “Nairobi,” Hunters Point and Chinatown, San Francisco.”²¹⁷⁶ On February 28, the SLA-forced free food program resumed at ten Bay Area locations, handing out 30,000 bags of groceries filled with meat, fresh vegetables and fruit.^{2177 2178} There were no problems as there had been on the first day (February 22), only happy “beaming” faces with “armloads

²¹⁶⁷ “Cops, Press Smell Blood: Things Look Bad For Assassination Suspects,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 18-24, 1974, 3.

²¹⁶⁸ “Guerrillas Send New Communique,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 1-7, 1974, 2.

²¹⁶⁹ “Impeach Group’s Lobby-in,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 18-24, 1974, 2.

²¹⁷⁰ “Terror Group Claims It Has the Hearst Girl,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 8, 1974, A1.

²¹⁷¹ “To Be Unharmd – Or Executed: SLA Has Her: The Communique,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 8-24, 1974, 3.

²¹⁷² “Get Trucks Back on Road—Nixon,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 10, 1974, A1.

²¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

²¹⁷⁴ “Gesture of Good Faith,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 15-21, 1974, 2.

²¹⁷⁵ “Puerto Ricans Fight Colonial Exploitation,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 15-21, 1974, 1974, 7.

²¹⁷⁶ “SLA Demands \$6m For Free Food Program,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 22-28, 1974, 1.

²¹⁷⁷ “Hearst food Giveaway Set Today,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 28, 1974, A1.

²¹⁷⁸ “Hearst’s Latest Giveaway—30,000 Bags of Food,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 1, 1974, A1.

of groceries.”²¹⁷⁹ A third food giveaway was held on March 5 at 12 sites, and a fourth on March 8th.²¹⁸⁰ ²¹⁸¹ Meanwhile, there were two bombings by revolutionary groups in the Bay Area on March 7, one of which was the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare being bombed by the “Women’s Collective of the Weather Underground,” and the other a bombing of a Shell service station in Los Altos, California, the next day by a revolutionary group called Americans for Justice.²¹⁸² ²¹⁸³ They warned that Shell Oil Company had only “24 hours remaining” to halt gasoline price increases.²¹⁸⁴ Moreover, 125 people protested (including a half dozen streakers) against Vice President Gerald Ford’s visit to Tampa, Florida, as anti-Watergate demonstrations continued throughout the country.²¹⁸⁵ On April 3, Patty Hearst, who 58 days earlier had been kidnapped by the Symbionese Liberation Army, announced on an audiotape that she had joined the SLA and assumed the name “Tania.”²¹⁸⁶ On April 15, Hearst took part in a bank robbery in San Francisco; she was photographed wielding an “M1 carbine.”²¹⁸⁷ On April 26, the Black Liberation Army called for “a united front of all underground guerrilla groups.”²¹⁸⁸ On May 4, an Impeach Nixon demonstration was held in Washington, D.C., organized by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), which at the time was transforming itself from its former incarnation, the SDS-Worker-Student Alliance (SDS-WSA).²¹⁸⁹ The protest, unlike the week before, aimed at “bringing the system down” rather than just focusing on President Nixon.²¹⁹⁰ Other impeach protests took place in Spokane, Washington and Ann Arbor, Michigan. On May 17, a Symbionese Liberation Army shoot-out with the police and FBI, in Los Angeles, ended with six SLA members dead. Patty Hearst, the kidnapped heiress turned SLA member, was not among them.²¹⁹¹ Two hundred people watched the gun battle in person, while millions viewed it on live TV because of new technology just developed.²¹⁹² As a result, according to some, it was as if the television showed the

²¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁸⁰ “Another Food Giveaway,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 6, 1974, A1.

²¹⁸¹ “People in Need: 35,000 Get Free Groceries,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 9, 1974, A3.

²¹⁸² “Building Bombed Here—Women’s Message,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 7, 1974, A3.

²¹⁸³ “Protest Groups: Bombings Hit San Jose, S.F.,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 8, 1974, A2.

²¹⁸⁴ “National Jobless Rate Unchanged in February,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 9, 1974, A8.

²¹⁸⁵ “Tearing Around Tampa: Ford Just Misses the Streakers,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 9, 1974, A4.

²¹⁸⁶ “Patty Hearst Free, Stays and Fights,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 5-11, 1974, 3.

²¹⁸⁷ “Two Shot in S.F. Bank Raid Patricia Hearst in Photos,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 16, 1974, A1.

²¹⁸⁸ “Looks Serious: Guerrillas in United Front,” *Berkeley Barb*, April-May 2, 1974, 2.

²¹⁸⁹ “Big Protest Demo to Throw the Bum Out,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 19-25, 1974, 6.

²¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

²¹⁹¹ Clinique Reported among Victims: Police Trap Terrorists in Second L.A. Hideout,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 18, 1974, A1.

²¹⁹² Ibid.

revolution in progress, the revolution televised!²¹⁹³ On May 31, in Berkeley, 4,000 students marched and chanted, “Power to the People” in a protest over the possible elimination of the “School of Criminology and the Ethnic Studies Program.”²¹⁹⁴ Country Joe MacDonald sang his legendary “A-Fixin-To-Die-Rag,” and Bobby Seale of the Black Panthers spoke on how “the student movement was alive and well.”²¹⁹⁵ Seale said that the media had created a myth that “students have gone back to moderate, more traditional pursuits.”²¹⁹⁶ On June 15-17, the Marxist-Leninist student organization called the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) was founded by “450 students from 80 campuses.”²¹⁹⁷ RSB formed out of the Attica Brigade, which was an anti-imperialist student organization, and “one grouping that can be traced to the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) split in 1969.”²¹⁹⁸ The Revolutionary Student Brigade, like the Attica Brigade, aimed to fill the vacuum of left wing activism on campuses after the Students for a Democratic Society fragmented.²¹⁹⁹ In Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on June 17, Gulf Oil Company’s headquarters was bombed by the Weather Underground Organization, in protest of the company’s actions in Angola, Vietnam, and elsewhere.²²⁰⁰ In July, former Woodstock MC Wavy Gravy started a new group to feed the people of Africa called “Relief for Africans in Need in the Sahel” (RAIN).²²⁰¹ On July 12, 1974 in the Haight-Ashbury part of San Francisco, hundreds of riot police attacked a radical White Panther house and burned it down.^{2202 2203} A Haight community group, the “Four-O-Nine House,” said the incident was “just part of an emerging pattern of police shoot-out/burn-out mentality.”²²⁰⁴ On August 8, a wild celebration (and near riot) shut down Telegraph Avenue for several hours in Berkeley, after President Nixon announced his resignation effective next day.^{2205 2206} In Madison, Wisconsin, on August 24, an “anti-Rocky” demonstration was held against the nomination

²¹⁹³ Paul Farhi, “Going Live: The Transition from Film to Videotape Wasn’t Just about Technology. It Altered the Style, Pace and Content of TV News,” *AJR* (November 2002), <http://www.ajr.org/article.asp?id=2685>. Accessed March 6, 2012.

²¹⁹⁴ “Uncertainty, Cynicism, on Campus,” *Berkeley Barb*, June 7-13, 1974, 3.

²¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹⁷ “Surreally Political,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 16-22, 1974, 6.

²¹⁹⁸ “Revolutionary Student Brigade,” *Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism On-Line* (1974-75), <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-1/rsb/index.htm>. Accessed October 9, 2014.

²¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²²⁰⁰ “The Weather Underground,” online video clip, Youtube, October 31, 2013, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GUTrk3tcFx4>. Accessed October 8, 2014.

²²⁰¹ “The Life and Times of Wavy Gravy,” *Berkeley Barb*, June 28-July 4, 1974, 15.

²²⁰² “Panthers Ponder,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 26-August 1, 1974, 2.

²²⁰³ “Flare-Up in the Haight,” *Yipster Times*, August, 1974, 2.

²²⁰⁴ “West Bay Beat: Haight Folk Bitter over Cop Attack,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 19-25, 1974, 7.

²²⁰⁵ “Seeing the Bum Off: Avenue Erupts in Great Rejoicing,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 16-22, 1974, 3.

²²⁰⁶ “There Was Dancing in Streets of Berkeley,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 9, 1974, B5.

of Nelson Rockefeller as the new vice president. Protesters took over the statehouse.²²⁰⁷ On September 3, the New World Liberation Front exploded a bomb in San Francisco; it was the first of many that would be exploded for more than three years.^{2208 2209} The radical community was shocked and angry at President Ford's decision, on September 8, to grant Richard Nixon "full, free and absolute pardon for any federal crimes committed by him during his terms in the White House."²²¹⁰ Nevertheless, even without Nixon going to trial, the ongoing Watergate Seven (consisting of his advisors and aides) trial continued. On September 9, 2,000 people, led by the Yippies, rallied and surrounded the State Capitol building in Madison, Wisconsin, to protest President Ford's pardoning of Nixon.²²¹¹ In Oakland, on September 11, the Anaconda Corporation (part of the Rockefeller Corporation) was bombed by the Weather Underground. The bombing occurred on the first anniversary of the Pinochet coup in Chile; Anaconda was targeted for its involvement.²²¹² In San Francisco, three-hundred people demonstrated at the Chilean consulate in support of the murdered Marxist President Allende.²²¹³ While the mass media tried to convince the people that "apathy is overtaking us," events in San Francisco proved otherwise as bombings, "strikes, demonstrations and rallies flared throughout the city."²²¹⁴ On September 16, in San Francisco, two-hundred people demonstrated as President Ford issued a proclamation that offered conditional amnesty to those who evaded the draft during the Vietnam War; anti-war people were not happy, calling instead for a "universal, unconditional amnesty," or pardon, such as what Ford had given to Nixon just eight days before.^{2215 2216} In Washington, D.C. on September 28, demonstrators protested the pardoning of Nixon by President Ford, and called for a "new election."²²¹⁷ On October 1, California Attorney General Evelle Younger told the "Senate Internal Security Subcommittee" that revolutionary groups within the United States were planning to "mark the nation's bicentennial birthday" in 1976 with "an era of super violence."²²¹⁸ On October

²²⁰⁷ "Madison Mash," *Yipster Times*, September 26-November 10, 1974, 3.

²²⁰⁸ "Bombing at Dean Witter—No Injuries," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 4, 1974, A32.

²²⁰⁹ "NWLFF Communique Text: Brokers Bombed," *Berkeley Barb*, September 6-12, 1974, 1.

²²¹⁰ "Words Could Not Describe It," *Berkeley Barb*, September 13-19, 1974, 7.

²²¹¹ "Madison Mash," *Yipster Times*, September 26-November 10, 1974, 3.

²²¹² "The Weather Underground," online video clip, Youtube, October 31, 2013,

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GUTrk3tcFx4>. Accessed October 8, 2014.

²²¹³ "Protest For Chile," *Berkeley Barb*, September 20-26, 1974, 2.

²²¹⁴ "Revolting Week in the City," *Berkeley Barb*, September 20-26, 1974, 2.

²²¹⁵ "Vets Spit on Amnesty," *Berkeley Barb*, September 20-26, 1974, 2.

²²¹⁶ "US Anti-War Heroes Sneer At Ford's Sick Joke," *Berkeley Barb*, September 20-26, 1974, 8.

²²¹⁷ "The New Cover-Up Is a Crime: Demand Equal Justice and a New Election: Come to Washington, Sat., Sept. 28," *Yipster Times*, September 26-November 10, 1974, 24.

²²¹⁸ "Guerrillas 'Planning a Violent Birthday' in 1976," *Berkeley Barb*, October 4-10, 1974, 5.

4, in the Bay Area, five-hundred people demonstrated against Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller, chanting “Kick Rocky in the ass, for his crimes and for his class.”²²¹⁹ Several groups protested for various different reasons including the “Attica Prison massacre for “unconditional amnesty for war resisters and against high inflation and unemployment.”²²²⁰ In New York City, in October 27, there was a huge protest rally in support of Puerto Rican independence, sponsored by the “Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee.”²²²¹ In Los Altos Hills, California, on October 30, the New World Liberation Front bombed the “gatepost” of the home of Robert Hallock, the former president of ITT-Jennings of San Jose, “a subsidiary of the giant ITT multinational conglomerate for its role in the Chilean coup the year before.”²²²² On November 23, in San Francisco, a protest was held at the Civic Center against the “appalling conditions in San Quentin and other state prisons.”²²²³ Then on December 14, in Boston, over 20,000 demonstrators marched to protest “institutional racism, racist violence against the black community and the segregationist policies of the Boston School Committee.”²²²⁴ And finally, on December 19, the Watergate scandal neared its end as chief trial prosecutor James F. Neal began his summation concerning the remaining five members of the original “Watergate Seven” for their role in the cover-up.²²²⁵

In hippie counter-cultural news, Bob Dylan, an early voice of the Movement, returned to live touring for the first time since 1966.²²²⁶ On January 18, Berkeley’s “Housing Committee of the Planning Commission” released its report stating that there were over 16,000 young non-students living in Berkeley, many of whom were from the counter-culture.²²²⁷ A Comet Kohoutek “consciousness exploration” Celebration was held in San Francisco from January 26-27.²²²⁸ On the other hand, a report from January 30 told how many leaders of the psychedelic counter-culture were being “slammed behind bars.”²²²⁹ On February 7, ABC canceled a Dick Cavett TV show featuring a discussion with four movement radicals: Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, Tom Hayden, and Rennie

²²¹⁹ “Folks Say Stop the Rock,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 4-10, 1974, 3.

²²²⁰ *Ibid.*

²²²¹ “Puerto Rico Rally Meets Dirty Tricks in New York,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 11-17, 1974, 5.

²²²² “Behind NWLF Bombing,” *Berkeley Barb*, November 8-14, 1974, 3.

²²²³ “UPU Plans Big Demo,” *Berkeley Barb*, November 8-14, 1974, 6.

²²²⁴ “20,000 March Against Racism in Boston: Demonstration a Massive Blow to Racist Forces,” *Worker’s Power*, December 26, 1974-January 15, 1975, 3.

²²²⁵ “Watergate Trial Summation Begins,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 20, 1974, A8.

²²²⁶ “Dylan tours US of A,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 11-17, 1974, 23.

²²²⁷ “Propose Final Solution Freaks, Single Mothers Unwelcome in Berkeley,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 18-24, 1974, 5.

²²²⁸ “Kohoutek Mind-blow Meeting,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 11-17, 1974, 9.

²²²⁹ “Psychedelic Chemists Come Down in Court,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 8-14, 1974, 5.

Davis.²²³⁰ An article on February 8 stated that the “Gray Rabbit” alternative hippie bus service was still the best way to get around the country (on land), especially for members of the counter-culture.²²³¹ On February 27, in the Delaware River valley in Pennsylvania, near Tocks Island, U.S. marshalls with guns kicked out hippie squatters and bulldozed 21 of their primitive living structures; many had lived there since the late 1960s.²²³² According to a *San Francisco Chronicle* article, streaking (the act of running nude through a public place) had exploded on college campuses throughout the country, and affected high schools as well.²²³³ A reporter had popularized the term “streaking” in 1973 when he saw 533 University of Maryland students run nude around campus.²²³⁴ By the beginning of March 1974, students had streaked at Baylor, North Carolina State, Pembroke State College, Rice, Stanford, Southwest Texas State University, Texas A&M, Texas Tech., University of Maine, University of South Florida, and the University of Tennessee campus in Knoxville.²²³⁵ On March 11, Cat Stevens released his “Oh Very Young” song about changing the world into something more positive before the “young generation” gets old.²²³⁶ A Natural Energy Fair was held at the University of California at Berkeley March 21-22, put on by long time counter-culture leader Stewart Brand, who started out as a Ken Kesey Merry Prankster, a Trips Festival co-producer, and later an editor of the *Whole Earth Catalog*.²²³⁷ On April 6, 250,000 people attended the “California Jam” rock festival held at the Ontario Motor Speedway in Ontario, California. Bands that performed at the festival included Black Oak Arkansas, Black Sabbath, Deep Purple, the Eagles, Earth, Wind & Fire, Emerson, Lake & Palmer, Rare Earth, and Seals & Crofts.²²³⁸ On the same day, in Madison, Wisconsin, 10,000 freaky people turned out for the Yippie Smoke-In to hear bands play and smoke marijuana.²²³⁹ According to a Department of Agriculture report, on April 26, more young Americans were continuing to go back to the land to live

²²³⁰ “Week of February 1-11,1974,” Mr. Pop History (February 11, 1974), <http://mrpopculture.com/files/html/feb01-1974/>. Accessed February 26, 2012.

²²³¹ “Folkswagon,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 8-14, 1974, 14.

²²³² “Bulldozers Rout Squatters,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 28, 1974, 2.

²²³³ “The Streakers Take Off,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 2, 1974, A2.

²²³⁴ “Streaking,” *Newsweek*, March 13, 1974, 42.

²²³⁵ “The Streakers Take Off,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 2, 1974, A2.

²²³⁶ “Cat Stevens: Oh Very Young Lyrics,” <http://www.metrolyrics.com/oh-very-young-lyrics-cat-stevens.html>. Accessed October 14, 2014.

²²³⁷ “Sucking The Wind,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 29-April 4, 1974, 7.

²²³⁸ “California Jam TV intro 1974 Deep Purple Black Sabbath ELP Rare Earth,” online video clip, Youtube, November 15, 2007, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rioFsHkVpdE&list=PL5EAF8C0748DB6E3C>. Accessed October 9, 2014.

²²³⁹ “Massacred in Madison,” *Yipster Times*, August, 1974, 3.

in rural communes, or just to farm.²²⁴⁰ On April 27, 10,000 “freaks” showed for the Impeach Nixon demonstration held in Washington, D.C.^{2241 2242} Similar demonstrations were held in several other cities throughout the country, included Chicago, Key Biscayne, Los Angeles, and San Clemente.²²⁴³ On the same day, the Paper Lace released an anti-war pop song called “Billy Don’t Be a Hero.”²²⁴⁴ In Dayton, Ohio on May 1, Yippies sponsored a “Freak Streak” to protest a proposed “anti-cannabis bill” and to demand President Nixon’s resignation. “Maniac Yippies” streaked across Wright State University yelling, “We are the naked truth.”²²⁴⁵ They also left a “trail of pre-rolled joints with messages inscribed: Fuck Nixon Screw the System.”²²⁴⁶ In Mendocino County California, on May 3, hippie back-to-the-landers began to face harassment from health and sanitation officials.²²⁴⁷ Also on this day, Ken Kesey started a new counter-cultural magazine called *Split In The Ocean*, or S.I.T.O.²²⁴⁸ In New York City, on May 9, there was a “Friends of Chile Benefit Concert” with Phil Ochs, Pete Seeger, Arlo Guthrie, and others.^{2249 2250} In Berkeley, on May 18, Jefferson Clitlick (Jefferson Fuck Poland), the “militant nudist” and long-time “nude-in” veteran, was arrested for “streaking” on the day the song called “The Streak” by Ray Stevens hit #1 on the music charts.^{2251 2252} On May 26, in Spokane, Washington, the Yippies held their second annual Smoke-In near the ongoing Expo 74.²²⁵³ On June 8, in Oakland, the first of two “Day on the Green” rock festivals was held at the Oakland Coliseum Stadium (the second was held July 13-14).²²⁵⁴ On June 22, three thousand people attended the largest “open-air” Golden Gate Park Panhandle concert since

²²⁴⁰ “More Young Americans Going Back to the Soil,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 26-May 2, 1974, 14.

²²⁴¹ “Big Protest Demo to Throw the Bum Out,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 19-25, 1974, 6.

²²⁴² “Impeachment Rally Chants ‘Jail to Chief,’” *Yipster Times*, August, 1974, 6.

²²⁴³ “Big Protest Demo to Throw the Bum Out,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 19-25, 1974, 6.

²²⁴⁴ “Paper Lace: Billy, Don’t Be a Hero Lyrics,”

<http://www.stlyrics.com/lyrics/theadventuresofpriscillaqueenofthedesert/billydontbeahero.htm>. Accessed March 28, 2012.

²²⁴⁵ “Dayton Freekstreak,” *Yipster Times*, August, 1974, 7.

²²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

²²⁴⁷ “Backwoods Folks in Trouble,” *Berkeley Barb*, May 3-9, 1974, 20.

²²⁴⁸ “Kesey Spits in the Ocean,” *Berkeley Barb*, May 3-9, 1974, 19.

²²⁴⁹ “Weirdness Back East,” *Berkeley Barb*, May 24-30, 1974, 2.

²²⁵⁰ “The Clock That Went Backwards Again,” musictravellers (September 2009),

<http://musictravellerstwo.blogspot.com/2009/09/friends-of-chile-benefit-1974-05-09-new.html>. Accessed March 6, 2012.

²²⁵¹ “Streaking’s Rude, Not Lewd,” *Berkeley Barb*, May 24-30, 1974, 2.

²²⁵² “Timeline 1974,” Timelines of History, <http://timelines.ws/20thcent/1974.HTML>. Accessed March 6, 2012.

²²⁵³ “Exploit 74,” *Yipster Times*, August 1974, 8-9.

²²⁵⁴ “June 8, 1974 Oakland Coliseum Stadium, Oakland, CA: Grateful Dead/Beach Boys/New Riders of the Purple Sage/Commander Cody and His Lost Planet Airmen,” <http://lostlivedead.blogspot.hu/2011/05/june-8-1974-oakland-coliseum-stadium.html>. Accessed October 9, 2014.

the 1967 “Summer of Love.”²²⁵⁵ On June 24, the song “Sweet Home Alabama” was released by Lynyrd Skynyrd and quickly reached #8 on the U.S. music charts.²²⁵⁶ It was the only top hit to mention the Watergate scandal.²²⁵⁷ In Berkeley, on June 30, an estimated 5,000 people attended a Farm Workers benefit concert at the Greek Theater.²²⁵⁸ Also in Berkeley, on July 3, over 1,000 attended a “Veterans Bonus March” benefit concert held at the Berkeley Community Theater.²²⁵⁹ In Spokane, Washington, on July 4, the Yippies held their first “West Coast International Smoke-In” as a “fringe function to the Expo ‘74 World’s Fair.”²²⁶⁰ They also continued to have an ongoing “counter festival” called “Exploit ‘74” downriver from the Expo at High Bridge Park.²²⁶¹ Hippies from the Rainbow Tribe helped “initiate a free food trip with two free meals served a day.”²²⁶² This year’s Rainbow Gathering was in Utah in the Dixie National Forest on its usual dates of July 1-7.²²⁶³ From July 4-7, the “First Annual Counter-Culture Convention and Freak Fair” was held at Shorebird Park in Berkeley.²²⁶⁴ On July 19-21, the Ozark Music Festival was held on the Missouri State Fairgrounds in Sedalia, Missouri.²²⁶⁵ Crowd estimates ranged from 180,000 to 350,000 and it was considered one of the last Woodstock-type rock festivals of the era.²²⁶⁶ On July 25, the Weather Underground Organization (WUO) released their 154-page book “*Prairie Fire* “to selected bookstores”; in the book, they sought to “explain the changes in U.S. and world conditions since the Vietnam ceasefire.”^{2267 2268} They wrote about the “urgent need” for “concrete analysis and the creation of correct strategies and ideologies to win people over to the revolution. In San Francisco, on August 10 (as well as August 31-September 2), there were more People’s Ballroom-produced outdoor concerts, this time in Marx Meadows in Golden Gate Park.^{2269 2270 2271} According to an August 30

²²⁵⁵ “People’s Ballroom Rolls in the Haight,” *Berkeley Barb*, June 28-July 4, 1974, 2.

²²⁵⁶ “Sweet Home Alabama by Lynyrd Skynyrd,” Songfacts, <http://www.songfacts.com/detail.php?id=1702>. Accessed October 9, 2014.

²²⁵⁷ “Lynyrd Skynyrd: Sweet Home Alabama Lyrics,” <http://www.metrolyrics.com/sweet-home-alabama-lyrics-lynyrd-skynyrd.html>. Accessed October 9, 2014.

²²⁵⁸ “Rockin’ Benefits,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 12-18, 1974, 22.

²²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²²⁶⁰ “Yippies Fringe A Fair,” *Berkeley Barb*, June 7-13, 1974, 7.

²²⁶¹ “Berkeley Guerrilla Theater Gets Around,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 9-15, 1974, 24.

²²⁶² “Exploit 74,” *Yipster Times*, August, 1974, 8-9.

²²⁶³ “Listing of North American Annual Sites,” <http://www.welcomehome.org/rainbow/index.html>. Accessed 11 October 2014.

²²⁶⁴ “A Mellow Day at the Freak Fair,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 12-18, 1974, 3.

²²⁶⁵ “Bad Medicine at Ozark Music Festival,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 22, 1974, A38.

²²⁶⁶ “Ozark Music Festival Trailer,” online video clip, Youtube, September 29, 2009, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IWM51kGIKo&list=PL152AB309650FCB0E&index=3>. Accessed October 9, 2014.

²²⁶⁷ Dohrn, *Sing a Battle Song*, 233-234.

²²⁶⁸ “Prairie Fire Maps Long-Range Plan for Revolution,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 2-8, 1974, 10.

²²⁶⁹ “Hassles Continue over Concerts in Panhandle,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 16-22, 1974, 2.

report, the trend towards communal living was still on the upswing in Berkeley.²²⁷² By September 13, approximately, 20,000 copies of the Weather Underground book *Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism* had been printed and distributed nationally.²²⁷³ In San Francisco, on September 18, a press conference was held by many of the leaders of the counter-culture (including Jerry Rubin, Allen Ginsberg, and Ram Dass) to get the facts straight about Timothy Leary, if he was “finking” on the entire movement.²²⁷⁴ A group calling itself “People Investigating Leary’s Lies, or PILL” sponsored the conference.²²⁷⁵ An article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb* on September 20 regarding the difficulties experienced by the back-to-the-land movement over the past several years. The story began with the counter-culture leaving for the country, as a “rebellion against an increasingly cybernetic society . . . (causing) young people to begin looking for more “natural ways of doing things especially after the “Summer of Love” in 1967.”²²⁷⁶ However, moving to the countryside and to small towns had often turned out to be not the “idyllic, trouble-free Shangri Las that dreamers imagine[d] them to be.”²²⁷⁷ First there was often a lot of trouble with the locals who lived there, who were worrying about the “hippies” invading. Other problems stemmed from lack of jobs, lack of intellectual stimulation, the lack of something entertaining to do, and often the fact that “country living is hard work.”²²⁷⁸ On September 28, the first People’s Ballroom counter-culture indoor rock concert was held in Berkeley, put on by a People’s Ballroom Collective consisting of Earth People’s Park commune, the Berkeley White Panther Party and the Hog Farm commune with Wavy Gravy. The goal was to fulfill the needs of the community like, “need for quality rock ‘n’ Roll music at a cheap price.”²²⁷⁹ From October 4-13, in both San Francisco and Berkeley, there was a ten-day “Dharma Festival a mixture of eastern gurus and counter-cultural leaders such as Allen Ginsberg and Michael McClure, focusing on spiritual teachings of Buddhism.”²²⁸⁰ On October 11, hundreds of hippies in rural Mendocino County California banded together to pressure the county to change its health

²²⁷⁰ “People’s Rock All Weekend,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 30-September 5, 1974, 2.

²²⁷¹ “Garcia Returns to Marx Meadows,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 6-12, 1974, 2.

²²⁷² “Communal Karma,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 30-September 5, 1974, 15.

²²⁷³ “Prairie Fire Now for Sale at Bookshops,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 13-19, 1974, 4.

²²⁷⁴ “The Bitter Pill,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 20-26, 1974, 3.

²²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

²²⁷⁶ “Small Town Refuge,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 20-26, 1974, 17.

²²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

²²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁷⁹ “Berkeley Gets People’s Rock,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 20-26 1974, 7.

²²⁸⁰ “Working with American Karma Dharma Proclaimed,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 11-17, 1974, 23.

and building codes, after the county threatened to destroy their self-built homes.²²⁸¹ On October 18, a “secret inter-office memo” was leaked about the plans to use the 200th anniversary of the American Revolution as a propaganda tool. The memo stated, “The Bicentennial is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to promote the virtues of the domestic status quo in an atmosphere supercharged with emotional patriotism.”²²⁸² Moreover, the plan leading up to July 4, 1976 would consist of “the greatest single peacetime public opinion mobilization effort in our nation’s history.”²²⁸³ In other words, it was a great opportunity to end the Sixties Era with flag waving, blind nationalism! On the cultural level, the mass media was already on a propaganda campaign (especially since the Vietnam War cease-fire) claiming that shorter hair for men was the new style (distorting the fact that long hair was a sign of protest and not a fad), to manipulate and form reality to their own interest and liking. On the other hand, many in the counter-culture wished and hoped that 1976 would be the year in which the New Age arrived.²²⁸⁴ On December 13, the progressive rock band Yes released their seventh studio album called “Relayer which featured a 22-minute three-part song called “The Gates of Delirium” and “Soon,” a “very gentle, soothing prayer for peace and hope which represents the aftermath of the battle to establish a New Age on Earth.”²²⁸⁵ ²²⁸⁶ Finally, on December 27, a new book on the Weather Underground called *The Weather Eye* appeared consisting of all their “significant” communiques from May 1970 to May 1974.²²⁸⁷ ²²⁸⁸

III.7. Summary of 1975:

The Watergate Trials End, Saigon Falls to End the Vietnam War, and the “End of War” Rally Held in New York

On the anti-war front, the war and the protest movement continued until spring, after which the U.S. finally withdrew from most of Indochina. In the meantime, in San Francisco on January 27, a demonstration on the second anniversary of the signing of the Paris Peace Agreements turned violent as police beat demonstrators, arresting eighteen

²²⁸¹ “Holding Out in Mendocino,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 11-17, 1974, 13.

²²⁸² “In Less than Two Years,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 18-24, 1974, 11.

²²⁸³ *Ibid.*

²²⁸⁴ “Galactic Interlude on Telegraph,” *Berkeley Barb*, November 29-December 5, 1974, 4.

²²⁸⁵ “Yes: The Gates of Delirium Lyrics,” <http://www.metrolyrics.com/the-gates-of-delirium-lyrics-yes.html>. Accessed October 10, 2014.

²²⁸⁶ “Yes: Soon Lyrics,” <http://www.metrolyrics.com/soon-lyrics-yes.html>. Accessed 10 October 10, 2014.

²²⁸⁷ “Eyeing the Weather,” *Berkeley Barb*, December 27-January 2, 1975, 12.

²²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

persons.²²⁸⁹ On January 28, the New World Liberation Front bombed the Pillar Point Air Force Radar Station, 15 miles south of San Francisco; it was the second bombing by NWLF in two days against the continuing war.²²⁹⁰ On February 2, an anti-war group called the “Indochina Resource Center” blamed the U.S. and South Vietnamese governments for the ongoing war. It stated that the Saigon regime “added 770 hamlets to its control” in the one year after the January 1973 cease-fire agreement.²²⁹¹ In Oakland, on February 24, there was an anti-war demonstration against “US support of the Lon Nol dictatorship in Cambodia.”²²⁹² The rally protested “Bird Air Company which under “civilian” contract ferried “arms and ammunition” to Cambodia in violation of the 1973 Paris Peace Agreement.²²⁹³ In San Francisco, an anti-war protest on March 22 started in Dolores Park and marched to Union Square to rally against the “\$10 million-a-day war in Indochina.”²²⁹⁴ In Oakland on March 29, an anti-war protest was held in front of the “Bird Air” company, the suppliers of “arms and ammunition” to the Lon Nol government of Cambodia.^{2295 2296} On March 31, President Ford’s military draft evasion “clemency” program expired with 93,000 out of 117,000 men eligible rejecting it, most of whom had refused to serve in Vietnam because they felt in the right for refusing to participate in an unjust war.²²⁹⁷ April 2, 1975, Press Secretary Ron Nessen announced that President Ford would not use U.S. air power to help the “beleaguered” South Vietnam. This announcement was in response to what Defense Secretary James Schlesinger said the day before about how he could not rule out the possibility there might be a “recommendation to use American air power in South Vietnam.”²²⁹⁸ Nonetheless, the previous week the U.S. had sent South Vietnam another \$700 million in military aid, and sold another \$1 billion in military arms.²²⁹⁹ On April 5, former White House adviser Walt Rostow told CBS morning news that the U.S. should occupy part of North Vietnam with two Marine divisions “to force the communists to honor the 1973 peace agreement.”²³⁰⁰ On April 12, in San Francisco, four hundred anti-war demonstrators protested the “babylifts” from Vietnam. A leaflet at the rally said,

²²⁸⁹ “How a Routine Protest Became a Scramble with the Police Talk,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 2, 1975, 3.

²²⁹⁰ “NWLF Claims More Bombings,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 7-13, 1975, 3.

²²⁹¹ “Anti-War Groups Hits U.S. and Saigon,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 3, 1975, A15.

²²⁹² “A Conference on the Hard Times,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 21-27, 1975, 2.

²²⁹³ *Ibid.*

²²⁹⁴ “More Demos Against War in Indochina,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 21-27, 1975, 3.

²²⁹⁵ “Falling Puppets of Phnom Penh,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 14-20, 1975, 4.

²²⁹⁶ “More Demos Against War in Indochina,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 21-27, 1975, 3.

²²⁹⁷ “Ford’s Clemency Buried,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 4-10, 1975, 9.

²²⁹⁸ “Nessen Says Ford Plans No Bombing,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 3, 1975, A1.

²²⁹⁹ “Facts about Power: The Real Goliath in Vietnam,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 28, 1975, A8.

²³⁰⁰ “Rostow’s Option for Vietnam,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 5, 1975, A4.

“Removing these children from their own people and their homeland is not adoption: it is kidnapping.”²³⁰¹ The demonstration also called for the “end to all aid to the Thieu Government and the implementation of the Paris Peace Agreement” of 1973.²³⁰² On April 17, the Lon Nol government in Phnom Penh surrendered just five days after the U.S. evacuated the last 82 Americans from Cambodia.²³⁰³ The Communist troops had launched an offensive on New Year’s Day 1975, and after 117 days of the “hardest fighting of the war the Khmer Republic collapsed.”²³⁰⁴ President Ford considered landing 40,000 U.S. soldiers in Vietnam on April 18 to “carve a corridor through which 6,000 Americans and as many as 400,000 Vietnamese collaborators of the Americans” could be safely evacuated.²³⁰⁵ On April 30, with the last South Vietnamese and American personnel evacuated from Saigon, U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War officially ended. On this last day, two U.S. Marines were killed, as 6,500 persons were rescued, of which 1,373 were Americans.^{2306 2307 2308 2309} In Berkeley, 1,500 “ecstatic chanting marchers” celebrated, seeing the end of the war as “victory of the Vietnamese people” and a victory for themselves.²³¹⁰ While it was the last anti-war march against U.S. involvement in Vietnam, most were sure that it would not be the last anti-war march against “American imperialism.”²³¹¹ In San Francisco, many celebrated, including “40 youths of high school age” who gathered outside the South Vietnamese consulate and chanted “No More War and “Long Live Vietnam . . . Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh, the NLF has won.”²³¹² On May 1, U.S. Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger announced that the Navy ships that had been picking up refugees fleeing Vietnam in small boats had pulled back from the coast and into international waters.²³¹³ Meanwhile, around 350 U.S. military aircraft (including 17 B52 bombers), a “secret communications base” with a 700 man “advisory force and 25,000 other American soldiers remained on four military bases in Thailand.”²³¹⁴ In a May 3

²³⁰¹ “Protesting ‘Babylifts,’” *Berkeley Barb*, April 18-24, 1975, 3.

²³⁰² *Ibid.*

²³⁰³ “History Is Burying USA,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 18-24, 1975, 7.

²³⁰⁴ “War Times in Cambodia,” The Kingdom of Cambodia, <http://cambodiainfo101.weebly.com/war-times.html>. Accessed October 10, 2014.

²³⁰⁵ “Kennedy Ignores Imperialism’s Defeat,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 18-24, 1975, 6.

²³⁰⁶ “Ford Urges U.S. to ‘Close Ranks,’” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 30, 1975, A1.

²³⁰⁷ “Navy Still Rescuing Refugees,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 1, 1975, A1.

²³⁰⁸ “Dead in South Vietnam,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 30, 1975, A1.

²³⁰⁹ “Corporal Charles McMahan Jr., USMC,” Chaddock Enterprises (1998), <http://www.chaddock.com/ymarines/pow-mia/bios/m902.htm>. Accessed April 27, 2012.

²³¹⁰ “The War Is Won,” *Berkeley Barb*, May 2-8, 1975, 3.

²³¹¹ *Ibid.*

²³¹² “Cheers for Surrender in Berkeley,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 30, 1975, A1.

²³¹³ “Evacuation Fleet Pulls Out,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 2, 1975, A1.

²³¹⁴ “Thailand—’Enormous’ U.S. Pullout,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 2, 1975, A1.

interview, folk singer and political activist Joan Baez commented, “Although the Vietnam War is over there is still work to be done.”²³¹⁵ She told that it was discouraging that it took people “ten years to make it impossible for the administration to continue the war.”²³¹⁶ On May 7, President Ford “formally declared” the end of “the Vietnam era” in a “proclamation ending wartime veterans benefits for new military recruits.”²³¹⁷ Ford said, in a statement issued at the White House, “America is no longer at war.”²³¹⁸ The declared formality ended benefits such as “burial allowances and death pensions for individuals enlisting in the armed services” after this time.²³¹⁹ On May 11, thousands of people attended the “End-of-War Rally” in New York City, filled with “balloons, flags and peace signs.”²³²⁰ Nonetheless, on May 12, a Cambodian gunboat “fired on and sized” a U.S. merchant ship called the *Mayaguez* in the Gulf of Thailand.²³²¹ The next day 800 U.S. Marines landed in Thailand (over the objections of the Thai government) in preparation for winning the release of the American boat.²³²² In Cambodia, on May 14, hundreds of U.S. Marines landed to fight in their first combat role since “U.S. forces withdrew from Vietnam in 1973.”²³²³ The Marines met strong resistance, forcing the U.S. to send reinforcements and air strikes against the Cambodians. Meanwhile, fighter-bombers sank three Cambodian gunboats out at sea. By the end of the day (or according to U.S. time zones, May 15), the Khmer Rouge government of Cambodia had surrendered the 40 American freighter crewmembers captured three days before, according to initial statements, with at least two Marines reported killed.²³²⁴ The “*Mayaguez* incident called the “last official battle of the Vietnam War ended with 41 U.S. troops killed in the operation (including 23 Air Force personnel who died in a helicopter crash and three Marines inadvertently left behind, who were later captured and executed).²³²⁵ ²³²⁶ Those members of the U.S. military killed during the *Mayaguez* rescue were the last names added to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial

²³¹⁵ “Joan Baez: ‘Back to Go,’” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 4, 1975, A29.

²³¹⁶ *Ibid.*

²³¹⁷ “Ford Proclaims End of Viet Era,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 8, 1975, A1.

²³¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²³¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²³²⁰ “End-of-War Rally in New York,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 12, 1975, A1.

²³²¹ “Act of Piracy,’ Ford Says,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 13, 1975, A1.

²³²² “U.S. Show of Force in Cambodia Ship Seizure,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 14, 1975, A1.

²³²³ “Two Marines Reported Killed – U.S. Bombers Attack the Mainland,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 15, 1975, A1.

²³²⁴ *Ibid.*

²³²⁵ Ralph Wetterhahn, *The Last Battle: The Mayaguez Incident and the End of the Vietnam War* (New York: Plume, 2002), 313.

²³²⁶ “23 Indirect Casualties of Mayaguez Incident,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 22, 1975, A1.

in Washington, D.C.²³²⁷ According to an article in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the Cambodian mainland received “extra bombing on May 15, hours after the *Mayaguez* rescue was over.”²³²⁸ In Vancouver, British Columbia, on May 17, a “historic meeting” was held involving representatives of U.S. and Canadian anti-war groups and the recently victorious Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.²³²⁹ With the war finally and completely over, the last major question would be that of Vietnam War draft evaders and military deserters. At Stanford University, on September 21, loud protesters drowned out President Ford’s speech with chants such as, “Free our brothers, free our sisters, amnesty for war resisters.”²³³⁰ Then on November 10, demonstrations were held in forty-two cities throughout the country protesting the refusal of the U.S. Treasury Department to “grant licenses for shipping humanitarian aid to Vietnam.”²³³¹ Forbidden items included yarn for clothing, fishnets, and rototillers, all aimed to help “war-ravaged people back to economic independence.”²³³² In San Francisco, more than 4,000 people took part in the protest.²³³³ On November 24, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger told the “Economic Club of Detroit” how “the United States cannot remain indifferent to Soviet and Cuban intervention in Angola.”²³³⁴ According to many in the Movement, they had to remain vigilant or else Angola would become “if not another Vietnam, at least another Laos.”²³³⁵ As a result, in San Francisco, on December 13, a demonstration was held in support of the Portuguese Revolution, and to protest against U.S. involvement in Angola. Recent revelations indicated CIA activities of providing “extensive military aid including arms shipments and efforts to recruit mercenaries.”²³³⁶ Sponsored by the “Coalition to Defend the Portuguese Revolution,” the demonstration’s goal was to “prevent a Chile or Vietnam type solution.”²³³⁷ Although the war in Indochina was over, the anti-war movement against U.S. imperialism was not. Moreover, witnessed by the growing number of radical groups and their increasing activity, the goal of revolution was very much alive even after the fall of Saigon!

²³²⁷ Tim Trask. “Edges of the Wall,” *vietvet* (1995), <http://www.vietvet.org/edgewall.htm>. Accessed October 10, 2014.

²³²⁸ “Cambodia Got ‘Extra’ Bombing,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 17, 1975, A1.

²³²⁹ “Common Victory,” *Berkeley Barb*, May 23-29, 1975, 8.

²³³⁰ “Few Able to Hear Ford’s Speech,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 22, 1975, 4.

²³³¹ “Trading with the Enemy,” *Berkeley Barb*, November 14-20, 1975, 3.

²³³² *Ibid.*

²³³³ *Ibid.*

²³³⁴ “U.S. Maneuvering in Angolan Civil War,” *Berkeley Barb*, November 28-December 4, 1975, 5.

²³³⁵ *Ibid.*

²³³⁶ “Portugal Demo Saturday,” *Berkeley Barb*, December 12-18, 1975, 4.

²³³⁷ *Ibid.*

In other political situations and protest actions, on January 1, in the Watergate trial, three of the “most powerful men” in the Nixon administration were convicted for “conspiracy and obstruction of justice” in trying to cover up the Watergate scandal.²³³⁸ Found guilty were former attorney general and re-election campaign manager John Mitchell, former chief of staff H. R. Haldeman, and former domestic counselor John D. Ehrlichman.²³³⁹ In other Watergate-related news, special prosecutor Henry Ruth made it known that although the cover-up part of Watergate affair was over, there were many “cases being prepared for trial or still under investigation.”²³⁴⁰ At San Jose University on January 3, President John Bunzel continued his attempt to fire most of the faculty of the Economics Department, accusing them of “sowing the seeds of discontent among the students.”²³⁴¹ In the meantime, the students had successfully boycotted classes, forcing five classes to cancel. On January 17, the ongoing Mohawk Indian occupation of a 612-acre tract of land in upstate New York neared its apex.²³⁴² According to a Liberation News Service article, on January 22, the “entire” Los Angeles Police Department was training for possible “labor strikes, food riots, student protests, and other demonstrations that they say might occur during the current recession.”²³⁴³ A bombing occurred in New York City on January 24, by the Puerto Rican Liberation group FALN, and four were killed.²³⁴⁴ In San Jose, on January 27, the New World Liberation Front bombed the “Golden Pacific Center,” which housed several corporations including Pacific Telephone, General Motors, and Acceptance Corp.²³⁴⁵ On February 1, there were marches held in both San Francisco and Berkeley to “feed the world’s hungry.”²³⁴⁶ In San Francisco, a demonstration on February 5 was held in support of the “Menominee” Indians, who had ended their month-long occupation of a “vacant abbey” in Gresham, Wisconsin.²³⁴⁷ On February 6, in San Francisco, the New World Liberation Front bombed television station KRON-TV, channel 5; it was the fourth bombing of the week by the NWLF.²³⁴⁸ Between February 15 and 16 in Los Angeles, the first West Coast regional conference was held by “the Revolutionary

²³³⁸ “Mitchell, Ehrlichman, Haldeman Convicted in Coverup Conspiracy,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 2, 1975, 1.

²³³⁹ Ibid.

²³⁴⁰ “Watergate Isn’t Over,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 2, 1975, 7.

²³⁴¹ “Political College Firings,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 3-9, 1975, 5.

²³⁴² “Indians Hold Out,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 17-23, 1975, 9.

²³⁴³ “Ready for Riots,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 21-27, 1975, 5.

²³⁴⁴ Max Elbaum. “Chronology Part Four, 1975-1980,” Chronology of Political Events, 1954-1992, <http://www.revolutionintheair.com/chron/chron4.html>. Accessed March 31, 2012.

²³⁴⁵ “NWLF Claims More Bombings,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 7-13, 1975, 3.

²³⁴⁶ “1350 March for the Hungry,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 2, 1975, 2.

²³⁴⁷ “Rallying Round the Menominees,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 7-13, 1975, 6.

²³⁴⁸ “Pipe Bomb Explodes at KRON-TV Building,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 7, 1975, A1.

Student Brigade.”²³⁴⁹ According to figures released on February 18 by the “National Bomb Data Center,” there were 1,474 bombing incidents in the United States (including its Puerto Rican territory) from January through September 1974 with 18 persons killed and 150 injured.²³⁵⁰ In the San Francisco Bay Area, bombings averaged “one every 16 days” during the period of February 1974 and February 1975, with not a single arrest.²³⁵¹ Of these 27 bombings, the New World Liberation Front claimed responsibility for 14, Americans for Justice claimed five, while the Weather Underground claimed four.²³⁵² While virtually nothing was known of the NWLF, the Weather Underground had been around since 1969 as an outgrowth of the Students for a Democratic Society. The Americans for Justice, “apparently a San Jose based group,” concerned itself over fair “utility rates,” and utilities were all its bombing targets.²³⁵³ Protests on both February 20 and 25 at Stanford University concerned tenure cutbacks, increased tuition, and proposed elimination of “four popular student-initiated programs” and proposed changes in “qualifications for freshman financial aid.”²³⁵⁴ In Berkeley, on February 22, 300 demonstrators marched down Telegraph Avenue in hippie “costumes and gaiety, kazoos and balloons” in support of “tenants’ rights.”²³⁵⁵ From February 22 through March 1, there was a United Farm Workers Union “boycott campaign” march of 20,000 people that went from the San Francisco Bay to Modesto, California.²³⁵⁶ ²³⁵⁷ On February 24 through 26, in Shiprock, New Mexico, thirty Navajo Indians occupied an electronics plant in protest of “better working conditions and health care on the Navajo reservation.”²³⁵⁸ The Hard Times Conference was held at Laney College in Oakland from February 28 to March 1 about the economic crisis in the U.S., and the continuing support of the Lon Nol government in Cambodia.²³⁵⁹ On March 10, the Chicano Liberation Front took credit for three bombings and one failed bombing.²³⁶⁰ The first issue of the *Osawatomie* magazine appeared on March 17, put out by the Weather Underground as a complement to their bombing actions. Since the publication of their *Sing a Battle Song* book in July of 1974, the Weather Underground had begun to make

²³⁴⁹ “Revolutionaries Confer,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 14-20, 1975, 9.

²³⁵⁰ “Bomb Incidents Nationwide,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 18, 1975, A4.

²³⁵¹ “The Bay Area Bombings Have Lawmen Stumped,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 18, 1975, A4.

²³⁵² *Ibid.*

²³⁵³ *Ibid.*

²³⁵⁴ “Undergrad ‘Burial’ at Stanford,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 21, 1975, A5.

²³⁵⁵ “After the Parade, the Trial,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 28-March 6, 1975, 3.

²³⁵⁶ “UFW Launches New Gallo Wine Boycott,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 24-30, 1975, 3.

²³⁵⁷ “Mass Turn-out for March on Gallo,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 7-13, 1975, 6.

²³⁵⁸ “A Plea to Move Indian Protesters,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 26, 1975, A3.

²³⁵⁹ “Protest Aimed at Cambodia Connection,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 21-27, 1975, 2.

²³⁶⁰ “Bay Bombings—S.F. Building Hit,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 11, 1975, A1.

connections with the aboveground movement to better fight the revolution.²³⁶¹ On March 20, 1975, in Watsonville, California, a “band of armed Indians and their supporters” occupied an “ancient Indian burial ground” all day in a standoff with “riot equipped” deputies.²³⁶² From March 20-21, Pacific Gas and Electric Company transmission towers were bombed four times in various locations by the New World Liberation Front demanding that the electric company “cut in half the utility rates for those forced to live on fixed incomes, and change the rate scale so that the large industrial users of energy are charged more per unit than individual consumers.”^{2363 2364} On March 27, 1975, in Berkeley, a new revolutionary group called the “Red Guerrilla Family” bombed the “Great Western Savings and Loan Association” building on Shattuck Avenue.²³⁶⁵ The target of the blast was the FBI offices on the 11th floor, which were “awash in two inches of water.”²³⁶⁶ In San Jose, the New World Liberation Front “blew up a Pacific Gas and Electric Company substation,” knocking out electrical power to 34,000 homes.^{2367 2368} In a new communique, the NWLF demanded “free utilities to any and all unemployed.”^{2369 2370} On April 4, in San Francisco, The Red Guerrilla Family bombed the Standard Oil building in response to President Ford’s visit to the area to give a speech on the “nation’s economic problems,” as the United States jobless rate hit its highest level in 34 years.^{2371 2372} In March of 1975, nearly eight million people were out of work, the most since 1941, when the Great Depression ended.²³⁷³ However, on April 11, another article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb* concerning the “dissolving of the radical challenge to the establishment” that had started a decade ago.²³⁷⁴ According to the news story, the upcoming April 15 elections showed no “possible gains through electoral efforts,” unlike the peak of radical success in 1971.²³⁷⁵ On the other hand, the federal government was “quietly training and financing” up towards

²³⁶¹ “Arming People with an Analysis,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 21-27, 1975, 7.

²³⁶² “Watsonville Land Dispute: Indians Seize Burial Site,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 21, 1975, A4.

²³⁶³ “Explosion at PG&E Towers,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 21, 1975, A3.

²³⁶⁴ “Oakland Hills: More PG&E Towers Bombed,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 22, 1975, A3.

²³⁶⁵ “New Group Bombs FBI,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 4-10, 1975, 2.

²³⁶⁶ “Powerful Blast: Berkeley Bomb—New Terror Group: FBI Office Is Target—’Red Guerrilla Family’ Claims the Responsibility,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 28, 1975, A1.

²³⁶⁷ “Underground Claims Blast at PG&E,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 28, 1975, A1.

²³⁶⁸ “PG&E Bombed Again,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 4-10, 1975, 2.

²³⁶⁹ “Underground Claims Blast at PG&E,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 28, 1975, A1.

²³⁷⁰ “Guerrillas Bomb PG&E Towers For Rate Cut,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 28, 1975, A3.

²³⁷¹ “Standard Oil Bombed During Ford Visit,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 11-16, 1975, 6.

²³⁷² “Bomb Rips Standard Oil Building,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 5, 1975, A1.

²³⁷³ “U.S. Jobless Rate Hits Highest Level in 34 Years,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 5, 1975, A1.

²³⁷⁴ “Nothing to Fill Political Vacuum,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 11-17, 1975, 10.

²³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

1,000 SWAT units throughout United States for a possible revolutionary uprising.²³⁷⁶ At Concord, Massachusetts, on April 19, a “battle of the bicentennial was fought” involving two separate crowds, those supporting President Gerald Ford as he spoke, and those across the “Old North Bridge” who came to boo and hoped to “spark a new revolution.”²³⁷⁷ The battles of Concord (and Lexington) were the first “military engagements” of the American Revolutionary War fought on this day in 1775, and thus the opening first commemorations for the Bicentennial celebrations.²³⁷⁸ In San Jose, on April 29, fifty San Jose State University students occupied a dean’s office to protest the purging of radical professors, while in Waltham, Massachusetts, students occupied an office and classroom building at Brandeis University in protest of “proposed cuts in the university budget.”²³⁷⁹ ²³⁸⁰ On May 1, in Berkeley, around 1,500 people attended a May Day celebration with speeches calling for a “working class revolution,” as the New World Liberation Front bombed the Sacramento Department of corrections.²³⁸¹ ²³⁸² ²³⁸³ On May 4-5, there was a two-day building occupation protesting the proposed cuts to the Black and Chicano Studies Research Centers at the University of Santa Barbara.²³⁸⁴ On May 9, the New World Liberation Front again bombed Pacific Gas and Electric, this time in Berkeley; their demands included cutting in half the rate for those forced to live on fixed incomes and that PG&E provide free utilities for all unemployed.²³⁸⁵ ²³⁸⁶ On May 13, the largest protest rally at Stanford University in three years concerned the university’s plan to “eliminate preferential treatment for minority recipients of scholarships,” the “military industrial complex and big business running the university.”²³⁸⁷ In San Francisco on May 13, there was an anti-nuclear demonstration organized by “Women to Women Building the Earth for the Children’s Sake.”²³⁸⁸ In Sacramento, a demonstration was held in support of the ongoing court trial of Symbionese Liberation Army members Russell Little and Joseph Remiro.²³⁸⁹ On May 17, demonstrations were held in several major cities to “show support

²³⁷⁶ “SWAT Training for Revolution?,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 18-24, 1975, 2.

²³⁷⁷ “A Skirmish in Concord,” *Berkeley Barb*, May 2-8, 1975, 9.

²³⁷⁸ “Bicentennial Commemoration,” *Time Magazine*, April 25, 1975, 6.

²³⁷⁹ “A Protest at San Jose State,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 30, 1975, A1.

²³⁸⁰ “Student Takeover at Brandeis,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 30, 1975, A3.

²³⁸¹ “Berkeley May Day Staggers Onward,” *Berkeley Barb*, May 9-15, 1975, 7.

²³⁸² “Communique Text,” *Berkeley Barb*, May 9-15, 1975, 8.

²³⁸³ “FBI Probing Terror Bombing in Sacramento,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 3, 1975, A1.

²³⁸⁴ “50 Seize Building on a UC Campus,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 5, 1975, A1.

²³⁸⁵ “Bombing Rocks PG&E Facility in Berkeley,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 10, 1975, A1.

²³⁸⁶ “PG&E Blast,” *Berkeley Barb*, May 16-22, 1975, 8.

²³⁸⁷ “First Big Protest at Stanford in 3 Years,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 14, 1975, A1.

²³⁸⁸ “Atom Waste Watchers March Home,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 14, 1975, A2.

²³⁸⁹ “Supporting Russ and Joe,” *Berkeley Barb*, May 9-15, 1975, 8.

for the NAACP's fight to keep Boston's public schools integrated."²³⁹⁰ On May 18, in Berkeley, 150 rallied in remembrance of the one-year anniversary of the Symbionese Liberation Army "massacre," and to support the integration of the underground and aboveground revolutionary groups within the Movement.²³⁹¹ Also on this day, San Quentin Prison was bombed by the New World Liberation Front.²³⁹² In Sacramento, on May 21, 4,000 people demonstrated against nuclear power plants and nuclear weapons.²³⁹³ In Berkeley, on June 1, a protest rally was led by Angela Davis to "free political prisoners."²³⁹⁴ On June 16, the Weather Underground bombed the "Banco de Ponce," a Puerto Rican bank, in "solidarity" with the ongoing Puerto Rican cement workers' strike.²³⁹⁵ On June 26, there was a shootout at Pine Ridge reservation between the FBI and the American Indian Movement that resulted in the deaths of two agents and one AIM member.²³⁹⁶ On June 27, Greenpeace, an environmental (peace and anti-nuclear) group originally from Vancouver, British Columbia, confronted Soviet whalers near the Mendocino Ridge about 40 miles west of California.²³⁹⁷ On July 21, the offices of the U.S. Treasury Department's "Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms" were bombed by the "Red Guerrilla Family."^{2398 2399} In San Rafael, on July 28, there was a protest rally in support of the "San Quentin Six" now on trial in Marin County.²⁴⁰⁰ On August 22, the "Warriors of the Rainbow" accepted responsibility for the "burning of the Military Induction Center in Fresno on July 24, 1975," while a new group called the "Emiliano Zapata Unit" wrote that it would begin to "engage in political kidnapping, political assassinations, and bank expropriations."^{2401 2402} It wrote, that the "peoples' struggle has now reached the point where we must in some cases depart from our non-injury policy."²⁴⁰³ On September 4, the Weather Underground bombed "Kennecott Corporation" headquarters in Salt Lake City, Utah, to mark the second anniversary of the Pinochet coup

²³⁹⁰ "S.F. March for Boston Integration," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 3, 1975, A1.

²³⁹¹ "Rally to Mark SLA Massacre," *Berkeley Barb*, May 23-29, 1975, 3.

²³⁹² "Bomb Rips Building at Quentin," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 20, 1975, A2.

²³⁹³ "4000 in Sacramento Parade: A Colorful Protest against Nuclear Power," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 22, 1975, A19.

²³⁹⁴ "Berkeley Rally to Deal with 'Political' Cases," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 29, 1975, A3.

²³⁹⁵ Dohrn, *Sing a Battle Song*, 148.

²³⁹⁶ "The Sioux Resist," *Berkeley Barb*, July 11-17, 1975, 3.

²³⁹⁷ "Saving the Whale," *Berkeley Barb*, November 28-December 4, 1975, 6.

²³⁹⁸ "S.F. Bombing," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 1975, A1.

²³⁹⁹ "Red Guerrilla Family Statement," *Berkeley Barb*, July 25-31, 1975, 5.

²⁴⁰⁰ "San Quentin Six," *Berkeley Barb*, July 25-31, 1975, 6.

²⁴⁰¹ "Underground Rainbow Message," *Berkeley Barb*, August 22-28, 1975, 16.

²⁴⁰² "Zapata Unit," *Berkeley Barb*, August 22-28, 1975, 16.

²⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*

in Chile.²⁴⁰⁴ From September 4 through 7 in Louisville, Kentucky, nearly 1,000 National Guardsmen and “hundreds of city and county police” arrested around 500 anti-busing demonstrators creating violence.²⁴⁰⁵ On September 5, in Sacramento, California, there was an attempted assassination of President Gerald Ford by Lynette “Squeaky” Fromme, a member of the Charles Manson family.^{2406 2407} In Boston, on September 7, anti-busing violence exploded between 3,000 demonstrators and 600 National Guardsmen and hundreds of police.²⁴⁰⁸ On September 8, in Sacramento, 300 “environmental activists” protested the building of the “New Melones Dam” on the Stanislaus River.²⁴⁰⁹ Also on this day, the FBI announced that during the first seven months of 1975, 31 persons died and 206 were injured from bombings (up from 90 injuries for the same period in 1974).²⁴¹⁰ On September 11, the Weather Underground bombed the ITT Corporation in New York City for its role in the Pinochet coup in Chile two years earlier.²⁴¹¹ Meanwhile, authorities began to investigate a new group that first surfaced in July, called the “International People’s Court of Retribution,” which threatened to begin “maiming and murdering humans if the killing of whales wasn’t immediately stopped.”²⁴¹² On this day, twenty-seven Bay Area executives were “marked for death.”²⁴¹³ On September 12, an article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb* about a new “aboveground” revolutionary group called “Prairie Fire Organizing Committee” (PFOC) to support the “underground” Weather Underground Organization (WUO).²⁴¹⁴ On September 18, in San Francisco, after 19 months of search, police captured Patty Hearst and three other fugitive Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) members.²⁴¹⁵ On September 22, in San Francisco, President Gerald Ford was fired on from the crowd lining a street outside the St. Francis Hotel.²⁴¹⁶ It was the second concrete assassination attempt on the President in 17 days. Police said that

²⁴⁰⁴ Dohrn, *Sing a Battle Song*, 148.

²⁴⁰⁵ “Guard Called: New Violence in Busing Protests: Arrests in Louisville,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 8, 1975, A1.

²⁴⁰⁶ “Ford Assassination Scare - Manson Woman Is Seized: Alert Agent Grabs Pistol,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 6, 1975, A1.

²⁴⁰⁷ “Secret Service: Squeaky Was Not on Security List,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 6, 1975, A5.

²⁴⁰⁸ “Guard Called: New Violence in Busing Protests: Rock Attack in Boston,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 8, 1975, A1.

²⁴⁰⁹ “New Dam Protest,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 9, 1975, A5.

²⁴¹⁰ “Bombing Attack Toll in the U.S.,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 10, 1975, A9.

²⁴¹¹ Dohrn, *Sing a Battle Song*, 148.

²⁴¹² “Manson Death List of Polluters,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 12, 1975, A1.

²⁴¹³ “Bay Men on Manson Cult Death List,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 12, 1975, A22.

²⁴¹⁴ “Return to the Old Left: Weather under Fire,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 12-18, 1975, 10.

²⁴¹⁵ Hearst Found: Heiress, Three Others Are Captured in S.F.,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 19, 1975, A1.

²⁴¹⁶ “President Unhurt – Suspect Arrested: Ford Is Rushed to Airport,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 23, 1975, A1.

Sara Jane Moore, who worked for several left-wing radical groups (including the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization) was “taking aim for a second shot” when someone in the crowd hit her arm, giving police a chance at grabbing her gun.²⁴¹⁷ On September 27, in Berkeley, there was a rally held at Ho Chi Minh Park in support of the Symbionese Liberation Army, and all “our guerrilla forces.”²⁴¹⁸ On September 28, in Oakland, the Weather Underground bombed Anaconda Corporation for its role in the Pinochet coup in Chile two years earlier.²⁴¹⁹ In Oakland, on October 31, the “Zapata Unit” bombed a Safeway store, “the largest supermarket chain in the United States.”²⁴²⁰ According to a communique, the action occurred because “it has been one of the most blatant violators of the peoples’ right to decent working and living conditions.”²⁴²¹ On November 25, according to an FBI report, during the first six months of 1975 there were 1,012 “bombing incidents” (828 actual bombings; 184 times the bomb did not explode) in the USA, of which 267 occurred in the state of California.²⁴²² In contrast, there had been 918 “bombing incidents” in the first six months of 1974. The explosions caused “25 deaths and 188 injuries nationwide.”²⁴²³ On December 3, 1975 in San Francisco, the “New World Liberation Front” bombed an old abandoned “radio communication center for the Municipal Railway” up on the Twin Peaks part of the city.²⁴²⁴ According to “Supervising Captain” Jeremiah Taylor, the bombing was tied to NWLF demands for “two-health clinics” for the poor.²⁴²⁵ On December 5, Ralph Nader’s “Raiders” pushed new California state laws to protect the public and the environment from the release of “sulfur dioxide gas” (SO₂).²⁴²⁶ On December 12, the *Berkeley Barb* reprinted the first part of Abbie Hoffman’s “Prairie Fire distributing conference” taped speech (held in Boston), on “renewing” the revolution for the 1976 Bicentennial year.²⁴²⁷ Hoffman, who was still a fugitive, gave his thoughts on the “worldwide events of the past year,” the meaning of communism, and what constituted a “real American Revolution.”²⁴²⁸ He said that the Bicentennial would be the “beginning of the fire that will spread out from this coming

²⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

²⁴¹⁸ “SLA Supporters,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 3-9, 1975, 3.

²⁴¹⁹ Dohrn, *Sing a Battle Song*, 148.

²⁴²⁰ “‘Zapata Unit’ Claims Bombing,” *Berkeley Barb*, November 7-13, 1975, 4.

²⁴²¹ Ibid.

²⁴²² “State Leads Nation in Bomb Incidents,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 26, 1975, A2.

²⁴²³ Ibid.

²⁴²⁴ “Bombing Probe at Twin Peaks Site,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 9, 1975, A16.

²⁴²⁵ Ibid.

²⁴²⁶ “Bay Area SO₂ Danger,” *Berkeley Barb*, December 5-11, 1975, 2.

²⁴²⁷ “Renewing a Revolution,” *Berkeley Barb*, December 12-18, 1975, 7.

²⁴²⁸ Ibid.

together, that will reignite the torch of revolution,” but that there were “two tasks before us.”²⁴²⁹ The first one was to build a mass movement along the principles outlined in the Weather Underground’s *Prairie Fire* book.²⁴³⁰ The other was to build a clandestine organization “committed to continuous and victorious revolution.”²⁴³¹ Finally, Hoffman said that the present danger involved the media broadcasters who were promoting patriotic propaganda for the Bicentennial, and not the present real revolution.²⁴³² On December 19, Hoffman added that everyone is “brainwashed by the media.”²⁴³³ Most people still believe “everything they read in the papers.”²⁴³⁴ Commenting on how the establishment calls radicals who bomb “terrorists,” Hoffman said, “A terrorist is a freedom fighter too poor to afford a jet bomber” (unlike the U.S. government, which has killed millions).²⁴³⁵

In hippie counter-cultural news, on January 10, a third *High Times Magazine* issue (Winter 1975) appeared following the incredibly successful first two issues that had made it perhaps the most successful counter-culture publication ever.²⁴³⁶ On January 17, Bob Dylan released his fifteenth studio album called “Blood on the Tracks,” considered one of his best ever.²⁴³⁷ The single “Tangled Up in Blue” mentions the “revolution in the air.”²⁴³⁸ On January 24, in Berkeley, the “Housing Committee Chairperson Abe Copperman” discussed a new proposal on limiting communes.²⁴³⁹ On January 31, an article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb* about reggae music, the “newest musical phenomenon to bounce into Berkeley.”²⁴⁴⁰ The story called Reggae “outlaw” and “revolutionary” music” from the slums of Jamaica, which is why it immediately fit in well with the counter-culture in the U.S.²⁴⁴¹ Both hippies and political revolutionaries liked it. Hippies liked reggae for its spiritual side, often including the Rastafarian religion it espoused, while the politicians (both black and white) liked it for its lyrical themes concerning, “poverty, Black pride, social issues, resistance to government and racial oppression, and repatriation to Africa.”²⁴⁴² On

²⁴²⁹ Ibid.

²⁴³⁰ Ibid.

²⁴³¹ Ibid.

²⁴³² Ibid.

²⁴³³ “Abbie, Part II: Breaking Control and Getting in Tune,” *Berkeley Barb*, December 19-25, 1975, 5.

²⁴³⁴ Ibid.

²⁴³⁵ Ibid.

²⁴³⁶ “High Times a Hit,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 10-16, 1975, 12.

²⁴³⁷ “An Intensely Personal Dylan,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 21-27, 1975, 15.

²⁴³⁸ “Bob Dylan: Tangled Up in Blue Lyrics,”

http://www.lyricsfreak.com/b/bob+dylan/tangled+up+in+blue_20021308.html. Accessed April 1, 2012.

²⁴³⁹ “Legalizing Communes,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 24-30, 1975, 3.

²⁴⁴⁰ “Long Branch Outlaws,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 31-February 6, 1975, 15.

²⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴⁴² Peter Dalton and Steve Barrow, *The Rough Guide to Reggae* (London, United Kingdom: Rough Guides, 2004), 143-148.

February 1, while Patty Hearst was still missing, FBI agent Charles Bates said, “We have the phenomenon of communal living” which made it easier to hide fugitives.²⁴⁴³ Supporters of Timothy Leary organized an event called an “Irish wake” (also called “Wake-Up”) on February 8, with rock music, poetry reading, a film festival, and an auction of Leary’s old manuscripts.²⁴⁴⁴ Many counter-cultural leaders took part with Paul Krassner and Wavy Gravy alternating as master of ceremonies.²⁴⁴⁵ In March a new church started up in New York City called “The Church of the Psychedelic Eucharist,” using LSD.²⁴⁴⁶ On March 19, the film version of The Who’s 1969 rock opera album called “Tommy” opened in the U.S.²⁴⁴⁷ Also in March, Wavy Gravy of the “Hog Farm” commune in Berkeley started a new religion called “First Church of Fun.”²⁴⁴⁸ The motto of the church was “Stop the killing, feed the people.”²⁴⁴⁹ On March 27, in San Francisco, Maharishi Mahesh Yogi brought together 8,000 “Transcendental Meditators” to the civic Auditorium, proclaiming San Francisco as the “first city of the Age of Enlightenment.”²⁴⁵⁰ On April 12-13 at the Cow Palace, in San Francisco, thousands of young people saw psychedelic space music legends Pink Floyd play.²⁴⁵¹ On the other hand, an article in the *Berkeley Barb*, on May 16, mentioned the rise of punk music. Though most people in 1975 in the U.S. had not heard of punk music as of yet (that would wait until late 1976 or early 1977), it could be seen as a start of something new in the sense that it rejected the counter-culture’s “most celebrated predecessors.”²⁴⁵² In the Clash song “1977” the lyrics stated, “No Elvis, Beatles or the Rolling Stones.”²⁴⁵³ In fact, many punks called the year 1976 (musically and culturally) as the “Year Zero” when the “punk rock revolution began” in earnest in Great Britain, and to a much lesser extent in the United States.²⁴⁵⁴ Already in the Dictators’ 1975 song “The Master Race,” hippies and the main part of the counterculture were ridiculed in its lyrics,

²⁴⁴³ “Patty Is Still Out There . . . Somewhere,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 2, 1975, A11.

²⁴⁴⁴ “All Set for Leary Wake-Up,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 31-February 6, 1975, 4.

²⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴⁶ “The Psychedelic Church,” *Yipster Times*, March, 1975, 14.

²⁴⁴⁷ “Tortured Trip of Tommy,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 25-May 1, 1975, 17.

²⁴⁴⁸ “The Holy Order of the Funnies,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 21-27, 1975, 14.

²⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵⁰ “8000 Meditators Gather: A Night of Enlightenment,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 28, 1975, A4.

²⁴⁵¹ “Pink Floyd’s Musical Time Warp,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 18-24, 1975, 16.

²⁴⁵² Legs McNeil and Gillian McCain, *Please Kill Me: The Uncensored Oral History of Punk* (New York: Grove Press, 2006), 200-208.

²⁴⁵³ “The Clash: 1977 Lyrics,” <http://www.metrolyrics.com/1977-lyrics-the-clash.html>. Accessed October 10, 2014.

²⁴⁵⁴ Simon Reynolds, *Rip it Up and Start Again: Postpunk 1978-1984* (London, United Kingdom: Faber & Faber, 2009), 4.

“Hippies are squares with long hair and they don’t wear no underwear.”²⁴⁵⁵ The rise of punk was one of the signs that the Sixties era was ending as the punk philosophy is based not on hope that one can change the world, but on nihilism, as summed up by the 1977 Sex Pistols’ slogan “No Future.”²⁴⁵⁶ Back to 1975, on May 20, a hippie occult group called the “Religion of Ten/The Eternal Now” moved up from Los Angeles to open an “Age of Aquarius” type nightclub and to expand their “family of gods” to 4,000 members in San Francisco.²⁴⁵⁷ On May 23, in Berkeley, Dave Dillinger held a book-signing party for his latest work entitled *More Power Than We Know: The People’s Movement Toward Democracy*.²⁴⁵⁸ He stated that he was “very encouraged by where the Movement is now.”²⁴⁵⁹ From May 24- 26, the fourth annual “Albion People’s Fair,” a hippie type “celebration of life on Earth” event consisted of “100 crafts booths, lots of food and music.”²⁴⁶⁰ On May 25, in San Diego, 20,000 people showed up for the “first birthday” of the nude beach named “Black’s Beach.”²⁴⁶¹ Many came from Ocean Beach, the home for hippies only about 12 miles away, known as the “Haight-Ashbury of San Diego.”²⁴⁶² In San Francisco, on May 30, the largest free concert held in years (and perhaps ever) in Golden Gate Park was headlined by the Jefferson Starship (formerly the Jefferson Airplane), one of the original hippie bands. About 25,000 people came to the free event, which was co-produced by the counter-cultural “People’s Ballroom” group.²⁴⁶³ In Berkeley, on June 13, there was a benefit concert for the “reconstruction in Vietnam,” raising money to buy “medicines, chemical products, and medical apparatus” urgently needed for dealing with the “effect of chemical defoliants on pregnant women and their newborn babies,” dumped on them by the U.S. during the war.²⁴⁶⁴ On June 20, an article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb* about how the “back-to-the-land movement” commune movement was still going strong.²⁴⁶⁵ ²⁴⁶⁶ From July 1-7, the fourth annual hippie Rainbow gathering was held in Arkansas by the White and Buffalo rivers, near Mountain Home, in

²⁴⁵⁵ “The Dictators: Master Race Rock Lyrics,” <http://www.metrolyrics.com/master-race-rock-lyrics-the-dictators.html>. Accessed April 24, 2012.

²⁴⁵⁶ “Sex Pistols: God Save the Queen Lyrics,”

<http://www.plyrics.com/lyrics/sexpistols/godsavethequeen.html>. Accessed October 10, 2014.

²⁴⁵⁷ “‘Earth Mafia’ Takes Over,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 20, 1975, A4.

²⁴⁵⁸ “Diversity Is the People’s Strength, Says Dellinger,” *Berkeley Barb*, May 30-June 5, 1975, 7.

²⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁶⁰ “Annual Albion People’s Fair,” *Berkeley Barb*, May 23-29, 1975, 2.

²⁴⁶¹ “20,000 at Nude Beach Birthday,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 26, 1975, A1.

²⁴⁶² “Flip-flops and Co-ops,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 15, 2008. B5.

²⁴⁶³ “Flying Free in the Park,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 31, 1975, A4.

²⁴⁶⁴ “Benefit Kids in Vietnam,” *Berkeley Barb*, June 13-19, 1975, 2.

²⁴⁶⁵ “Domestic Imperialism: Finding Ways Out,” *Berkeley Barb*, June 20-26, 1975, 9.

²⁴⁶⁶ Miller, *The 60s Communes*, xiii.

the Ozark National Forest.²⁴⁶⁷ On July 3, the “Haight-Ashbury Research Project” released their study on what happened to the “Flower Children” who took part in the 1967 “Summer of Love.”²⁴⁶⁸ The inquiry consisted of tracking 250 individuals, “Hippies,” over the past eight years. It found that the “project’s subjects” fell into three categories as far as how they lived today: around 40% had reentered society (gone back to school or work), nearly 30% had stayed as “full-time” hippies (living in the streets), and a little over 30% had stayed as “part-time” hippies (living communally and working only “intermittently” or taking welfare).²⁴⁶⁹ On July 4, in Washington, D.C., the sixth Annual Yippie “Smoke-In” was held in front of the White House to demand the legalization of marijuana. The Yippies also sponsored “Insurrection City,” a four-day conference involving workshops on “the Bicentennial, conspiracy, phone phreaking, and the media.”²⁴⁷⁰ Also on this day, the “Ant Farm,” a group of “environmental artists,” staged an event called “Media Burn” in San Francisco.²⁴⁷¹ It stated that “mass media monopolies control people by their control of information” by “continually rewriting, suppressing, omitting, ‘the news,’ not to mention the daily barrage of advertisements.”²⁴⁷² On July 15-16, the Rolling Stones played at the San Francisco Cow Palace, the band’s first tour since 1972.²⁴⁷³ An article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb* on July 18 about the “Oregon Country Renaissance Fair” outside of Eugene.²⁴⁷⁴ Started in November of 1969, it had become the biggest annual hippie gathering in the Northwest, attracting tens of thousands to the three or more day event.²⁴⁷⁵ On July 26, 1975, the “One World Family Natural Foods Restaurant and Teleport Lounge” closed after more than four years in Berkeley.²⁴⁷⁶ In the meantime, Allen Michael, their leader, began a “cross-country tour to promote the Gala World Celebration of 1976,” which according to Michael was, “the ending of the dying world order of capitalism and the true rebirth of communalism.”²⁴⁷⁷ An article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb* on August 22 about the rise of country-rock within the counter-culture over the years, first led by Bob

²⁴⁶⁷ “Listing of North American Annual Sites,” <http://www.welcomehome.org/rainbow/index.html>. Accessed October 11, 2014.

²⁴⁶⁸ “The Flower Children and How They Grew,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 3, 1975, A3.

²⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁷⁰ “Get High on Life,” *Berkeley Barb*, June 13-19, 1975, 5.

²⁴⁷¹ “Media Burn,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 11-17, 1975, 1.

²⁴⁷² *Ibid.*

²⁴⁷³ “The Stones,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 18-24, 1975, 12.

²⁴⁷⁴ “Oregon’s Own Funky Fair,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 18-24, 1975, 11.

²⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁷⁶ “Bad Vibes, No Support Stops OWF Restaurant,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 1-7, 1975, 5.

²⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

Dylan and the Byrds in the late 1960s.²⁴⁷⁸ Since then, many country-rock bands had emerged including the Flying Burrito Brothers, Pure Prairie League, the Eagles, Marshall Tucker Band, Emmy Lou Harris, and many others.²⁴⁷⁹ One reason for the popularity of country-rock tied to the back-to-the-land movement and its yearning for nature, freedom, and simplicity. Another article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb* on August 29 about the continued building of the futuristic town called “Arcosanti” by a “back-to-the-land” group called “Arcology Circle,” begun in 1970; they hoped to create an intentional community numbering 100,000 people.²⁴⁸⁰ On September 6, George Carlin and Mimi Farina headlined the Berkeley Community Theater benefit concert for the “Bread and Roses.”²⁴⁸¹ In San Francisco, on September 27-28, a “Biocentennial Unity Fair” was held at Golden Gate Park sponsored by the “alternative Communities of the Bay Area.”²⁴⁸² There were “community and organization” booths and a sound stage with 38 bands, including the legendary counter-culture band Jefferson Starship (formerly Jefferson Airplane) playing.²⁴⁸³ On October 10, the *Illuminatus: The Eye of the Pyramid* by Robert Anton Wilson was published, about conspiracies, numerology, the counter-culture, and secret societies.²⁴⁸⁴ On December 19, an article in the *Berkeley Barb* appeared about the continued increase in heroin use and deaths from the drug. The news story said that 77 people had died in Alameda County of heroin use during the first six months of this year, and 83 had died in San Francisco.²⁴⁸⁵ It said that even back-to-the-land “mellow” hippie counties, such as Mendocino in Northern California, were experiencing an epidemic, with the use of heroin reportedly doubling that summer.²⁴⁸⁶ Some in the counter-culture suspected that the heroin problem was part of a government plot “to pacify the masses of young people” (Allen Ginsberg accused the CIA of “trafficking in heroin”).²⁴⁸⁷

²⁴⁷⁸ “New Popularity for Country Rock Sounds,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 22-28, 1975, 10.

²⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁸⁰ “Back to the Land in a City,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 29-September 4, 1975, 5.

²⁴⁸¹ “Carlin’s ‘Obscene’ Air Act,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 5-11, 1975, 10.

²⁴⁸² “Biocentennial Unity Fair,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 26-October 2, 1975, 2.

²⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁸⁴ “Illuminated Expose: and to the Absurdity for Which It Stands,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 10-16, 1975, 13.

²⁴⁸⁵ “Heroin: A Plague of Addiction, Death – And Ignorance,” *Berkeley Barb*, December 19-25, 1975, 7.

²⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁸⁷ Lee and Shain, *Acid Dreams*, 262.

III.8. Summary of 1976:

Anti-War Movement Alive but Ignored By Media, Back to Patriotism with the Bicentennial Celebrations, and Jimmy Carter Fools the Movement

According to Sixties myth, with the war in Indochina over, so was the counter-culture that opposed it. Yet a *Berkeley Barb* survey, taken on January 2, found the counter-culture still “flourishing,” and predicted it to be “still alive and healthy” during 1976.²⁴⁸⁸ Nevertheless, the Movement was compared to the Loch Ness Monster in the article, which said that it was “not always clearly perceived” as the mass media began to downplay it, or ignore it, more and more.²⁴⁸⁹ As a result, the year 1976 indeed became a turning point as the Sixties era counter-culture coincided with the new emerging realities of the later 1970s, or the Seventies era. On the anti-war front, Vietnam War-related affairs were still very much in the news, as were the efforts not to allow another war to engulf the U.S., as in Angola. On January 14, the remains of five U.S. soldiers killed during the Vietnam War arrived at Travis Air Force Base, near Fairfield, California.²⁴⁹⁰ On January 19, in Washington, D.C., over 200 persons gathered in “subfreezing weather” for an anti-war rally held concerning the increasing involvement of the U.S. in Angola.²⁴⁹¹ In the last several months, American government had continued “covert aid to the FNLA-UNITA,” and the CIA had armed mercenaries from Zaire to launch attacks.²⁴⁹² One speech directed at the Ford Administration started with, “The people who brought you peace in Vietnam will prevent you from bringing war in Angola.”²⁴⁹³ On January 23, the military draft “went out of business,” as Selective Service Director Bryon V. Pepitone announced the “canceling of the 1976 lottery drawing.”²⁴⁹⁴ Those born during the first months of 1957 had had to register for the draft until President Ford “temporarily suspended registration” in April of 1975, and the Pepitone announcement terminated the process completely.²⁴⁹⁵ On January 31, in San Francisco, more than 1,000 people participated in a peace march

²⁴⁸⁸ “The Movement: Year in Review,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 2-8, 1976, 3.

²⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁹⁰ “Remains of 5 Return: War Dead Finally Get Home,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 15, 1976, A10.

²⁴⁹¹ “Angola Protest: A Capitol Encore for Viet Demonstrators,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 20, 1976, A13.

²⁴⁹² “Where Our Reps Stand on Angola War,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 16-22, 1976, 5.

²⁴⁹³ “Angola Protest: A Capitol Encore for Viet Demonstrators,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 20, 1976, A13.

²⁴⁹⁴ “The Draft Ends – No ‘76 Lottery,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 24, 1976, A1.

²⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

calling for the “conversion of military resources to peaceful purposes.”²⁴⁹⁶ The march was part of the “Continental Walk for Peace and Social Justice” that had arrived in the Bay Area the day before. Many signs held with sayings such as, “Non-violent Peace Revolution, No More War, Make Peace, etc.”²⁴⁹⁷ Also on this day, there were reports of how the civil war in Angola was escalating, with both the Soviet and the United States taking a greater role: “1,000 white soldiers of fortune . . . an undisclosed number of them Vietnam veterans” were making their way from the United States to Angola.²⁴⁹⁸ On February 1, in Northeast Thailand, the United States “handed over” one of its three remaining air bases to the Thai government, as part of a U.S. withdrawal of its combat forces due to be completed by March 20.²⁴⁹⁹ U.S. State Department officials acknowledged, on February 2, that former President Nixon promised North Vietnam \$3.25 billion in aid to rebuild their country, but only after the January 27, 1973 Peace agreement signing.²⁵⁰⁰ According to White House press secretary Ron Nessen, “The whole issue became moot because Hanoi violated the peace agreement by starting the war up again and failing to give full accounting of Americans killed and missing in action in North Vietnam.”²⁵⁰¹ In San Francisco, on February 3, 800 people attended an anti-Angola war rally held outside on the Pacific Union Club’s sidewalk.²⁵⁰² An article in the *Berkeley Barb*, on February 6, spoke about the “Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice,” and how the anti-war movement was finally organizing to address the major unfinished business of the 1960’s – the escalating likelihood of nuclear war, brought on by U.S. militarism and the international arms race.²⁵⁰³ On March 5, in Palo Alto, the “Red Guerrilla Family” bombed the “Deer Creek laboratory of the Hewlett-Packard plant” for being part of the “war industry” and U.S. intervention in Angola.²⁵⁰⁴ From April 14-16, in Washington, D.C., an “Anti-Nuclear proliferation” vigil was held in front of the Pentagon. Led by long-time activist and Catholic priest, Phillip Berrigan, the event culminated with “the pouring of human blood on the columns of the Pentagon” on Good Friday.²⁵⁰⁵ In the meantime, Daniel Berrigan (brother of Phillip) spoke to several hundred people at the UC-

²⁴⁹⁶ “Big Turnout Here for Peace March,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 1, 1976, A4.

²⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁹⁸ “Angola: New Threat to Bring in More Troops,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 1, 1976, A2.

²⁴⁹⁹ “U.S. Leaves A Thai Base,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 2, 1976, A12.

²⁵⁰⁰ “U.S. Position: Viet Aid Offer Came after the Peace Pact,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 3, 1976, A11.

²⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁰² “Kissinger Slithers through Town,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 6-12, 1976, 3.

²⁵⁰³ “Take a Walk for Peace,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 6-12, 1976, 3.

²⁵⁰⁴ “Red Guerrilla Message,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 12-18, 1976, 4.

²⁵⁰⁵ “Dan Berrigan: Resisting Wars and Taxes,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 23-29, 1976, 8.

Berkeley campus about “The Violent Bicentennial and the Non-Violent Millennium.”²⁵⁰⁶ In San Francisco, on April 15, “Tax Day,” several protest groups held demonstrations against the continued spending of vast amounts of money on weapons by the U.S. government. The largest and the “most imaginative” was the “anti B-1 bomber protest at the Federal building.”²⁵⁰⁷ Sponsored by the “Stop the B-1 Bomber/ Peace Conversion Campaign and the War Resisters League West,” balloons were released “with IRS 1040 forms folded into airplanes attached,” to symbolize “how we see our tax dollars floating away from us by the financing of new weapon systems” like the B-1 bomber.²⁵⁰⁸ An article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb*, on April 23, about the amnesty issue concerning Vietnam era veterans with “Less Than Satisfactory Discharges (LTHDs),” draft resisters, and those who had failed to register for the draft.²⁵⁰⁹ The “Real Amnesty” question, called one of the last major pieces of “domestic unfinished business left over from the Vietnam War,” involved over one million men.²⁵¹⁰ In San Francisco, on April 30, a one-year anniversary celebration was held for the “liberation and victory of the Vietnamese” during the Vietnam War.²⁵¹¹ On May 12, an American civilian contractor (and his family) left behind in South Vietnam during last year’s American evacuation of Saigon was allowed to leave the country to Thailand.²⁵¹² According to the Red Cross, there were still about 40 American believed to be in South Vietnam trying to leave.²⁵¹³ In Washington, D.C., on May 16, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (the main architect of Nixon’s war in Indochina) told Barbara Walters in an interview that no matter who won the Presidential election this year in November, he would most likely step down on January 20, 1977.²⁵¹⁴ On June 25, two Vietnam era war resisters were paroled, while one was denied parole for another 18 months.²⁵¹⁵ An article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb*, on July 16, about the ongoing “15-month old class action suit” involving up to 1,500 of the 2,700 children evacuated from Vietnam during “Operation Babylift” in April of 1975.²⁵¹⁶ From October 16-18, in Washington, D.C., the “Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice” arrived to

²⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁰⁷ “Anti-Bomber Demo,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 23-29, 1976, 3.

²⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁰⁹ “Real Amnesty Still on Ice,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 23-29, 1976, 6.

²⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹¹ “Celebrating Liberation,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 23-29, 1976, 2.

²⁵¹² “Vietnam Permits S.F. Family to Leave,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 13, 1976, A13.

²⁵¹³ Ibid.

²⁵¹⁴ “Kissinger Says He’d Prefer to Quit,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 17, 1976, A1.

²⁵¹⁵ “War Resisters Paroled,” *Berkeley Barb*, June 25-July 1, 1976, 2.

²⁵¹⁶ “Babylift Case Moves to Appeals Court,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 16-22, 1976, 3.

conduct a “three-day series of rallies and celebrations” at the Lincoln Memorial.²⁵¹⁷ An estimated 4,000 to 5,000 marchers had participated on the cross-country march since December 1975.²⁵¹⁸ In Berkeley, on October 25, a new coalition of Bay Area activists called the “UC Weapons Lab Conversion Project” wrote to the University Regents asking for “public participation in negotiating the new federal agreements” concerning “atomic research currently underway at the University’s Lawrence Livermore and Los Alamos Laboratories.”²⁵¹⁹ The coalition was made up of anti-war organizations, students, college and university professors, environmentalists and trade union members.²⁵²⁰

In other protest actions, on January 12, the underground revolutionary group the New World Liberation Front issued a communiqué, demanding that San Francisco Board of Supervisors “immediately upgrade medical care at the county’s jail,” in San Bruno.²⁵²¹ On January 12, in Madison, Wisconsin, the initial hearing for David Fine, one of four who bombed Sterling Hall on August 24, 1970, began with over 75 supporters and acquaintances who “jammed the court-room.”²⁵²² On January 13, the revolutionary Zapata Unit released a statement to the media how they were sending \$25 or \$50 to Berkeley homeowners for damaging their windows after bombing the Bank of America a few days before.²⁵²³ On the same day, they bombed a Safeway store in Novato, California.²⁵²⁴ In San Francisco, on January 14, two people were hurt in the bombing of the Iranian Consulate claimed by the Red Guerrilla Family.²⁵²⁵ ²⁵²⁶ The bombing protested SAVAK, the “secret police, domestic security and intelligence service” known to have tortured and murdered thousands, started by Iran’s Mohammad Reza Shah and the CIA.²⁵²⁷ On January 15, the pre-trial of Patty Hearst began. Many were fascinated with the case, which tried to answer how, or if, “a young woman from one of America’s wealthiest families was transformed by her own kidnapers into a gun-wielding revolutionary dedicated to provoking a violent

²⁵¹⁷ “Continental Walk Ready to Jog D.C.,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 1-7, 1976, 2.

²⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹⁹ “Contract Challenged: UC’s Bomb Labs Face Countdown,” *Berkeley Barb*, November 25-December 2, 1976, 4.

²⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵²¹ “Jail Health Care: Cruel and Unusual Despite Improvements,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 16-22, 1976, 3.

²⁵²² “Not Guilty Plea Planned in Bomb Case,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 13, 1976, A4.

²⁵²³ “Zapata Unit’s Money Giveaway,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 23-29, 1976, 4.

²⁵²⁴ “Radical Group Says It Bombed Novato Safeway,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 16, 1976, A5.

²⁵²⁵ “Editorial: Systematic State Terror on a Global Scale Makes Armed Resistance Inevitable—But Some Serious Mistakes Have Been Made,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 16-22, 1976, 7.

²⁵²⁶ “Bombing in S.F. – 2 Hurt,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 15, 1976, A1.

²⁵²⁷ “SAVAK,” Library of Congress Country Studies (December 1987), [http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field\(DOCID+ir0187\)](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+ir0187)). Accessed October 10, 2014.

class war.”²⁵²⁸ While on January 15, the revolutionary and FBI informant Sara Moore was sentence by the U.S. District Court to life imprisonment for attempting to shoot and kill President Ford in September.²⁵²⁹ On January 16, the radical group “New Dawn” made it clear that they fully support the Zapata Unit’s further escalation of the struggle, based on a “new tactic” of “more than just symbolic bombings.”²⁵³⁰ Also on this day, in Union City, California, a large bomb powerful “enough to cause death to many persons and widespread destruction,” found beneath a police car in the Union City police station parking lot.²⁵³¹ Moreover, the Weather Underground Organization (WUO) wrote an article analyzing the armed struggle, stating, “The problem for revolutionaries is that brave actions and courageous uncompromising stands do not change conditions unless they build lasting organization and are accountable to and involve the people.”²⁵³² In other words, armed actions are not enough to change things if cut off from the support of the people; the task is also to “organize the working class to seize power.”²⁵³³ In Boston, on January 21, school desegregation violence continued in at least two places.²⁵³⁴ In a communique, on January 23, the New World Liberation Front (NWLFF) denied bombing the La Guardia in New York the previous month (December 29, 1975).²⁵³⁵ On January 24, Dennis Banks, co-founder and leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM), was captured in El Cerrito, California.²⁵³⁶ On January 26, San Francisco District Attorney Joseph Freitas Jr. asked the Board of Supervisors for money “to form a special legal team to combat terrorists.”²⁵³⁷ According to Freitas, “terrorist spokesmen have declared the bicentennial year 1976 will be the beginning of violent revolt.”²⁵³⁸ On January 27, the official start of the Patty Hearst trial began with Judge Carter saying, “This is the most fully covered case in the history this country that I know of.”²⁵³⁹ Also on this day, in Santa Clara, California, a Safeway store was bombed, the sixth in the past three months (of those, four had been claimed by the

²⁵²⁸ Douglas O. Linder, “Patty Hearst Trial: 1976,” Famous Trials (2006),

<http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/heardst/heardsthome.html>. Accessed October 10, 2014.

²⁵²⁹ “Judge Angry: Sara Moore Gets a Life Sentence,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 16, 1976, A1.

²⁵³⁰ “New Dawn: The Enemies among US,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 16-22, 1976, 4.

²⁵³¹ “Another Incident: Big Bomb Found under Police Car in Union City,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 17, 1976, A10.

²⁵³² “Weather on Armed Struggle and the SLA,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 16-22, 1976, 10.

²⁵³³ *Ibid.*

²⁵³⁴ “School Days,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 22, 1976, A5.

²⁵³⁵ “Who Hit LaGuardia?,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 23-30, 1976, 2.

²⁵³⁶ “Fugitive Indian Leader Banks Arrested in E. Bay,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 25, 1976, A1.

²⁵³⁷ “Freitas’ War on S.F. Terrorists,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 27, 1976, A2.

²⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁵³⁹ “The Hearst Trial Starts,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 28, 1976, A1.

“Emiliano Zapata Unit”).²⁵⁴⁰ Two days later the Zapata Unit claimed responsibility, stating that the action was taken “in a spirit of solidarity with the Chicano community which last week lost another brother [Danny Trevino, 26, shot dead by police] to terrorist San Jose pigs.”²⁵⁴¹ From January 30 through February 1, the “National Hard Times Conference” held in Chicago, Illinois, was the “largest gathering of the independent left since the late Sixties.”²⁵⁴² Organized by the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, “with Weather Underground Organization (WUO) support and leadership,” it was called in response to the impact of the economic crisis on “poor and working people characterized by rising unemployment, skyrocketing prices and cut-to-the bone slashes in community services,” while the Pentagon budget was over \$100 billion and corporate profits were at “an all-time high.”²⁵⁴³ On February 1, an article appeared in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on the continuation of the “Whale war” between those counter-cultural types living in Mendocino County California and the “killer ships of Russia and Japan.”²⁵⁴⁴ On February 2, the “New World Liberation Front” planted several bombs (only one went off) in three counties around the Bay Area, after declaring war against “scum lords.”²⁵⁴⁵ Also on this day, in Los Angeles, the trial of Symbionese Liberation Army members Bill and Emily Harris began, as the trial of other SLA members Joe Remiro and Russell Little continued.²⁵⁴⁶ On February 6, it was announced that the New World Liberation Front would start an “official publication” called *The Urban Guerrilla*.²⁵⁴⁷ In contrast to the Weather Underground Organization’s *Osawatomie*, it would openly endorse “armed struggle,” and invite “everybody to join in, even if you’re only armed with a wrench.”²⁵⁴⁸ On February 17, the trial of the “San Quentin Six” continued, entering into its “defense side of the case.”²⁵⁴⁹ On February 24, the “war for Pine Ridge” Indian reservation continued as the body of American Indian Movement activist Anna Mae Aquash was found on the side of the road. Since the Wounded Knee Incident in 1973, at least 70 people, mostly, AIM members were found murdered.²⁵⁵⁰ Two separate bombings by two different revolutionary groups

²⁵⁴⁰ “An Explosion at Safeway in Santa Clara,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 28, 1976, A3.

²⁵⁴¹ “Zapata Says It Bombed Safeway,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 30, 1976, A3.

²⁵⁴² “Radical Organizing against Hard Times at Chicago Meet,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 20-26, 1976, 5.

²⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁴⁴ “It’s Mendocino against the Killer Ships of Russia and Japan: The Whalewar,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 1, 1976, A3.

²⁵⁴⁵ “Bombs, Demands: Terrorist Group Issues a Hit-List,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 3, 1976, A2.

²⁵⁴⁶ “The Forgotten Four in L.A.,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 30-February 5, 1976, 6.

²⁵⁴⁷ “The NWLF’s Armed Struggle and Attacks on the Mind,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 6-12, 1976, 5.

²⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁴⁹ “New SQ6 Testimony,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 20-26, 1976, 3.

²⁵⁵⁰ “Special Report: Turning Point in the Sioux Survival Struggle,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 19-25, 1976, 6.

occurred on March 5, one in San Francisco and the other in Palo Alto, California.^{2551 2552} Also on this day, an article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb* concerning the ongoing trial of Patty Hearst and her role in the Symbionese Liberation Army bank robbery in 1974. According to Paul Krassner, the message of the trial was clear; he wrote, “Destroy the seeds of rebellion in your children or we will have it done for you” with “psychosurgery, electrodes, aversion therapy.”²⁵⁵³ Another article on this day concerned with the rise of the “Rebel Teamsters,” an under told story of the Sixties era of members of the student movement joining the ranks of the working class to put their theories into practice.²⁵⁵⁴ On March 19, there was a communique from the four members of the Symbionese Liberation Army still on the loose.²⁵⁵⁵ The fugitives of SLA called the whole Patty Hearst trial “a huge media forum for counter-revolutionary propaganda” which would have “a subtle effect of undermining the validity of all revolutionaries in many people’s eyes.”²⁵⁵⁶ In New York City, on March 20, the first conference of the “United Action Front-76” was held to “organize for protest actions at the Democratic National Convention in July.”²⁵⁵⁷ A *Yipster Times* article, on April 1, mentioned that the media in recent years had gone all out to mislead the public, saying that there had been a “war of information.”²⁵⁵⁸ The mass media filled with FBI-planted “phony stories” had begun an all-out campaign to shape opinion and set trends and ignore all else.²⁵⁵⁹ Continuing this theme, an April 2 article in the *Berkeley Barb* stated that there had been an increase in “mass media misinformation” and manipulation concerning the counter-culture and its leaders.²⁵⁶⁰ In San Francisco, on April 3, over two thousand people demonstrated in support of American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks’s efforts to avoid extradition to South Dakota.²⁵⁶¹ Also on this day, in Santa Cruz, California, over 100 “enthusiastic” people from 24 Northern California cities formed the “Congress for the Continuation of the American Revolution.”²⁵⁶² The aim of the new group consisted of bringing together “liberals and leftists from all walks of life to build a

²⁵⁵¹ “Terrorists Claim Bombings at Hunters Point and Palo Alto,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 6, 1976, A2.

²⁵⁵² “Red Guerrilla Message,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 12-18, 1976, 4.

²⁵⁵³ “Soap Opera Trial of Princess Patty,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 5-11, 1976, 7.

²⁵⁵⁴ “Fighting Corruption, Contracts: Rebel Teamsters on the Move,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 5-11, 1976, 6.

²⁵⁵⁵ “Soliahs, Kilgore Rebuke Patty’s Trial Stance,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 19-25, 1976, 3.

²⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵⁷ “United Action Front ’76 Summer of Struggle,” *Yipster Times*, April, 1976, 8.

²⁵⁵⁸ “Notes on the Media Massacre,” *Yipster Times*, April, 1976, 14.

²⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁶⁰ “Mass Media Misinformation,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 2-8, 1976, 6.

²⁵⁶¹ “Extradition Only Part of the Fight,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 9-15, 1976, 3.

²⁵⁶² “Revolution Committee,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 16-22, 1976, 2.

revolution.”²⁵⁶³ In Oakland, on April 5, the pre-trial of SLA member Wendy Yoshimura ended with Yoshimura being released on \$25,000 bail bond.²⁵⁶⁴ On April 13, in Sacramento, Sandra Good and Susan Murphy, long-time Manson family members, were sentenced to 15 years in prison for “conspiracy and threatening businessmen and government officials.”²⁵⁶⁵ On April 14, in San Francisco, the Red Guerrilla Family bombed the Mutual Benefit Life building. The bomb exploded on the 17th floor of the 32-story building.²⁵⁶⁶ In Wagner, South Dakota, a “growing policy rift within the AIM ranks” resulted in the April 21 shooting of two American Indian Movement leaders by other AIM members.²⁵⁶⁷ In an article in the *Berkeley Barb*, on April 23, Scott Camil, the former “Gainesville 7” and “Vietnam Veterans Against The War” leader, stated that “Movement people are still being hassled.”²⁵⁶⁸ On April 24-25, in Kansas City, the Yippies held a “planning conference” for their July 4th “Smoke-In” and for the Democratic and Republican Presidential National Conventions.²⁵⁶⁹ The Yippies complained about the media black-out they had experienced in recent years, stating that the mainstream press had “programmed a role for protestors at last. . . . For no one to show up at the Conventions at all now, after Chicago and Miami, will be projected by the press as the final death of radical activities.”²⁵⁷⁰ On May 1, in San Francisco, the Yippies announced that “1976 is the Year of the Guerrilla,” and that future historians would remember this year as when “the second American revolution escalated to the point where the fact of guerrilla warfare in the United States could no longer be denied.”²⁵⁷¹ Meanwhile, many new political folksingers (such as Holly Near and Bev Grant) had emerged to sing “songs of insurrection.”²⁵⁷² In San Francisco, on May 4, the Trans-Bay bus terminal was bombed injuring one and hurting or nearly killing close to a dozen other passengers. Unlike most bombings by radical groups, there were no telephone warnings ahead of time.²⁵⁷³ On May 7, an article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb* about the how the U.S. with its capitalist system could not solve its unemployment problem; nonetheless, the tight labor market (and the ending of the Vietnam

²⁵⁶³ Ibid.

²⁵⁶⁴ “Defending Wendy Yoshimura,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 9-15, 1976, 3.

²⁵⁶⁵ “Conspiracy: Sandra Good Gets 15 Years in Prison,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 14, 1976, A4.

²⁵⁶⁶ “New Terror Bombing in S.F.,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 14, 1976, A1.

²⁵⁶⁷ “Means Shot Up, Splits with Banks,” *Berkeley Barb*, May 7-13, 1976, 3.

²⁵⁶⁸ “Scott Camil: A Vet’s Odyssey,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 23-29, 1976, 8.

²⁵⁶⁹ “The Youth International Party Wakes Up!,” *Yipster Times*, April, 1976, 2.

²⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁵⁷¹ “This Looks Like the Work of the New World Liberation Front: They Jammed 2000 Parking Meters as a Guerilla Action,” *Yipster Times*, May, 1976, 9.

²⁵⁷² “Songs of Insurrection,” *Yipster Times*, May, 1976, 21.

²⁵⁷³ “Trans-Bay Terminal Bombing,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 5, 1976, A1.

War and the military draft) helped fuel the increasing attitude among the younger generation that “it’s every man for himself,” reflecting the “me generation’s” concern with personal issues of existence and survival (reflected culturally in the rise of disco music).²⁵⁷⁴ In a sign of changing times, on May 14, the students at the University of California in Berkeley, known for its radical activism, nearly voted in their first Republican student body president in 14 years.²⁵⁷⁵ Ray Van Buskirk’s popularity among many students resulted from economic hard times; “At a time when students are concerned about making ends meet and finding jobs,” he promised to give students “more for their money and bring employers to the campus.”²⁵⁷⁶ In Springfield, Illinois, on May 16, 8,000 people demonstrated in support of the “Equal Rights Amendment.”²⁵⁷⁷ Also on this day, in Murphys, California, a Pacific Gas and Electric Company powerhouse was bombed, killing a 26-year old man, who police suspect was the perpetrator.²⁵⁷⁸ On May 17, in San Francisco, the “Bay View Federal Savings and Loan Association” yielded to the demands of the “New World Liberation Front” by agreeing to “renovate four dilapidated slum dwellings” owned by them.²⁵⁷⁹ Because it had submitted to revolutionary demands, the NWLF removed the loan association from its “bombing list.”²⁵⁸⁰ On May 19, an article appeared in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on the continuing violence in Boston over the desegregation “forced busing” issue.²⁵⁸¹ Interestingly, busing created divisions within the Sixties movement. The issue of busing not only further split the civil rights movement minorities from the working class, it also created a split within the political left, especially the New Communist movement.²⁵⁸² Perhaps some of the inherent hypothesis in the Sixties movement began to be seen in its dialectic contradiction. In Berkeley, on May 21, 500 students and “onlookers” demonstrated for the “better treatment of Chicano students.”²⁵⁸³ It was the largest demonstration at the University of Berkeley in more than a year.²⁵⁸⁴ In Sacramento, on May 25, hundreds protested in support of an environmentally “strong

²⁵⁷⁴ “Why The U.S. Can’t-And Won’t-Solve Its Unemployment Problem,” *Berkeley Barb*, May 7-13, 1976, 5.

²⁵⁷⁵ “UC-Berkeley Swings to the Right (Very Briefly),” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 16, 1976, B4.

²⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷⁷ “8000 Rally for Equal Rights Bill,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 17, 1976, A5.

²⁵⁷⁸ “Fatal Blast at PG&E Site—Victim a Possible Suspect,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 17, 1976, A1.

²⁵⁷⁹ “Savings Firm Yields to Terrorists,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 18, 1976, A1.

²⁵⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁵⁸¹ “Lobbying: Boston Bus Fight Goes to the Capitol,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 19, 1976, A4.

²⁵⁸² “The Boston Forced Busing Plan: The Dialectics of Bourgeois Formal Democracy and Fascism” (Workers Viewpoint, Vol. 2, No. 1 May 1975), Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism On-Line, <http://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-1a/wvo-busing.htm>. Accessed June 27, 2012.

²⁵⁸³ “Rally at UC Urges More for Chicanos,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 2, 1976, A10.

²⁵⁸⁴ Ibid.

coastal protection bill.”²⁵⁸⁵ From May 27 to June 11, in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, U.S. and Canadian environmentalists gathered (amid bomb threats from radicals) for a United Nations “Habitat Forum and conference,” to discuss population and standard of living reductions in order to save the planet from ecological disaster.^{2586 2587} Many Sixties era notable figures (such as Robert Anton Wilson) opposed the direction of environmental movement’s new restrictive and limiting ideology pushed by some of the richest and most influential people, preferring to still adhere to their expansive philosophies.²⁵⁸⁸ By 1976, it began to become clear that big, powerful interests within the establishment were using the environmental movement to implement general policies and specific laws to control eventually all human activity, since everything is part of the environment and everything affects it.²⁵⁸⁹ Those in the environmental movement perhaps did not realize that their Sixties ideals of freedom, democracy, justice, and equality had begun to lessen in significance and turn into their opposites. According to the “National Bomb Data Center,” on May 28, more than 2,000 “terrorist” bombings were expected to occur by the end of 1976 in the United States.²⁵⁹⁰ Moreover, the U.S. Army admitted that revolutionary groups stole 6,900 weapons (nearly half of them fully automatic) and 1.1 million rounds of ammunition from American Army bases between 1971 and 1974.²⁵⁹¹ On May 29, the Nuclear Regulatory commission ordered a “nationwide security alert” for all 58 U.S. nuclear power plants because of an alleged possibility of attack by “some extremist group.”²⁵⁹² FBI director Clarence Kelley and “other law enforcement officials” told of how they expect a “surge of terrorist activists during the Bicentennial year.”²⁵⁹³ An article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb*, on June 4, about the “demise of the women’s movement.”²⁵⁹⁴ According to the radical “Redstockings” (the one-time vanguard for the feminists), the new vanguard, the lesbian faction, had destroyed the women’s movement by

²⁵⁸⁵ “Mr. Brown Goes to Washington: California’s Gain, the Nation’s Loss,” *Berkeley Barb*, May 21-28, 1976, 3.

²⁵⁸⁶ “U.N. Habitat Conference: Doom-Sayers, Yea-Sayers Converge,” *Berkeley Barb*, June 4-10, 1976, 4.

²⁵⁸⁷ “Trancontinental Tour: Alligator Hunting, Bomb Threats and a TV Freak-Out,” *Berkeley Barb*, June 18-24, 1976, 4.

²⁵⁸⁸ “U.N. Habitat Conference: Doom-Sayers, Yea-Sayers Converge,” *Berkeley Barb*, June 4-10, 1976, 4.

²⁵⁸⁹ “Proposed UN Environmental Constitution for the World Would Establish an Incredibly Repressive System of Global Governance,” [endoftheamericandream.com](http://endoftheamericandream.com/archives/proposed-un-environmental-constitution-for-the-world-would-establish-an-incredibly-repressive-system-of-global-governance),

<http://endoftheamericandream.com/archives/proposed-un-environmental-constitution-for-the-world-would-establish-an-incredibly-repressive-system-of-global-governance>. Accessed July 15, 2012.

²⁵⁹⁰ “Nuclear Sabotage Threat Looms,” *Berkeley Barb*, May 28-June 3, 1976, 6.

²⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁹² “U.S. Alerts Nuclear Plants in Flap Linked to Prop. 13,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 30, 1976, A4.

²⁵⁹³ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁹⁴ “A Feminist View: ‘We, The Women Who Made The History, Have Already Forgotten It,’” *Berkeley Barb*, June 4-10, 1976, 6.

not dealing with “women’s oppression by men,” but instead ignoring it and running from dealing with men altogether.²⁵⁹⁵ An article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb* on June 11 about how the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, in South Dakota, had finally quieted down after years of violence since the newly elected President Al Trimble had taken over.²⁵⁹⁶ On June 18, an article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb* about “one of the most dramatic and exciting of any U.S. (revolutionary) guerrilla organization(s) today,” called the “George Jackson Brigade” from Seattle.²⁵⁹⁷ On June 22, four members of the revolutionary “Emiliano Zapata Unit” were sentenced to ten years each and \$10,000 fines for carrying out several bombings throughout the Bay Area in the previous few years; allegedly they had plans for a “commando-style raid at the Republican convention next month in Kansas City.”²⁵⁹⁸ On June 25, the 15-month-long trial of the San Quentin Six (the longest trial in California history) ended and was sent to the jury.²⁵⁹⁹ *San Francisco Chronicle* editor Jim Brewer stated, “The lack of coverage was due to how “the political winds have shifted.”²⁶⁰⁰ On July 1, in San Francisco, a revolutionary group, the “New World Liberation Front (NWLFL),” bombed the home of the South African consul in retaliation for “the massacre of more than 1,000 poor people in South Africa” by the government.²⁶⁰¹ On July 2, the bombing in three U.S. cities occurred in protest of the upcoming Bicentennial celebrations.²⁶⁰² Also on this day, American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Vernon Bellecourt said that there was a “mass hypnosis” taking place on television concerning America’s Bicentennial.²⁶⁰³ He continued to say that America was “trying to brainwash us with patriotic slogans.”²⁶⁰⁴ On July 4, the U.S. Bicentennial celebrations culminated with the 200th anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. During 1976, the whole country was seemingly immersed in Bicentennial fever, an “old-fashioned Fourth of July” patriotic mood.²⁶⁰⁵ All across the country, landmarks were painted with patriotic colors and designs. Buildings, fire hydrants, locomotives . . . nothing escaped the artist’s paintbrush. It renewed a sense of pride, patriotism, healing of past wounds and belonging to their country. George Idelson, committee chair for the Federation of Citizens

²⁵⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁹⁶ “Exclusive Interview: Trimble Wins Faith of Oglala Sioux,” *Berkeley Barb*, June 11-17, 1976, 4.

²⁵⁹⁷ “George Jackson Brigade: A Strange, Terrible Saga,” *Berkeley Barb*, June 18-24, 1976, 10.

²⁵⁹⁸ “Charge Zapata Leader Is Junkie, Agent,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 16-22, 1976, 3.

²⁵⁹⁹ “SQ Six Trial Goes to Jury,” *Berkeley Barb*, June 25-July 1, 1976, 2.

²⁶⁰⁰ “Media Ignores San Quentin 6,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 2-8, 1976, 3.

²⁶⁰¹ “South African Consulate: S.F. Terrorist Bombing Probed,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 2, 1976, A4.

²⁶⁰² “Boston Hit By Terror Bombings,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 3, 1976, A1.

²⁶⁰³ “AIM Leader Raps White Man’s Birthday,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 2-8, 1976, 6.

²⁶⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁰⁵ “Coffee Break: The Patriots All Boogied Down,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 1, 1976, A27.

Association, wrote about the Bicentennial: “In the Winter of 1976, America was still hurting from the wounds of the Viet Nam War. Officially it was over. The boys had come home. Not to ticker tape, but to tortured second-guessing. Those who had avoided the war fared little better. In truth, we were still at war . . . with ourselves. But the chill of Winter yielded to the winds of March and the warm promise of Spring. July 4, 1976 in the Nation’s Capital was a clear, sunny day. But this was to be the day of days, the moment to inhale the joy of being an American . . . something remarkable happened. We were family again.”²⁶⁰⁶ Meanwhile, not everyone was willing to submit to “patriotic lore.”²⁶⁰⁷ Protests held in many cities throughout the U.S. included: 50,000 people in Philadelphia (led by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party demanding Puerto Rican independence), thousands in Washington, D.C., San Francisco, and hundreds elsewhere.^{2608 2609 2610 2611 2612} While the establishment envisioned the Bicentennial celebration as a showcase of American achievements, not everyone agreed with the genial, patriotic consensus of the bicentennial’s national sponsors.²⁶¹³ Many Movement groups, such as women’s groups, Native Americans, African Americans, Hispanics, farmworkers, and young radicals opposed efforts to instill artificial homogeneity. A new left–inspired organization, the People’s Bicentennial Commission (PBC), “combined hostility to corporations into pleas for a second revolution.”²⁶¹⁴ Many revolutionaries (both political and cultural) hoped that the culmination of the Sixties was at hand, fulfilling the progression from protest to radicalism to revolution to overthrow of the U.S. government and its institutions, in order to usher in a new social order, or a New Age. The PBC itself said on April 28, 1975, “Sure . . . Saigon’s about to fall. The anti-war movement is going domestic.”²⁶¹⁵ However, the battle for the Bicentennial ended with the winners clearly being the establishment with its huge media propaganda campaign. Those who pushed the American patriotic Bicentennial

²⁶⁰⁶ George Idelson, “1976 Bicentennial Celebration,” National Coalition to Save Our Mall (2010), <http://www.savethemall.org/moments/idelson.html>. Accessed June 24, 2012.

²⁶⁰⁷ “Eloquence and Indignation: 2 Parades for the Disenchanted,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 5, 1976, A4.

²⁶⁰⁸ “People’s Bicentennial Brings Political Fireworks to Washington on July 4, 1976,” http://web.me.com/srimichaell/EdTant/Demonstrations_1976-1999.html. Accessed June 25, 2012.

²⁶⁰⁹ “A Marching Fourth: To the Sound of Different Drummers,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 9-15, 1976, 3.

²⁶¹⁰ “Left-Wing Group Plans March,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 1, 1976, A2.

²⁶¹¹ “Bye Bye Bicentennial,” *Yipster Times*, August-September, 1976, 5.

²⁶¹² “The Patchwork Bicentennial-It’s What America Wants,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 3, 1976, A4.

²⁶¹³ “America’s Bicentennial - July 4, 1976 - ABC Coverage, pt. 1,” online video clip, Youtube, November 3, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E6pPfJGREtU>. Accessed October 10, 2014.

²⁶¹⁴ “America’s Bicentennial - July 4, 1976 - ABC Coverage, pt. 5,” online video clip, Youtube, November 3, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E6pPfJGREtU>. Accessed October 10, 2014.

²⁶¹⁵ Christopher B. Daly, “The Peoples Bicentennial Commission Slouching Towards the Economic Revolution,” *The Harvard Crimson*, April 28, 1975, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1975/4/28/the-peoples-bicentennial-commission-pif-you/>. Accessed June 25, 2012.

celebrations saw the outcome as a peaceful ending to the upheavals of the previous decade; the system had weathered the storm and the Seventies were here at last. Nevertheless, although mass bombings and violence did not happen, some bombings did occur, including a First National Bank blown up in Revere, Massachusetts.²⁶¹⁶ On July 9, an article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb* about the “new wave of conservatism currently on the rise.”²⁶¹⁷ Part of the new conservatism was the political talk of “fiscal responsibility,” which included a “reluctance to spend public money for human services.”²⁶¹⁸ According to the news story, the climate of “fiscal panic” stemmed from the “trumped up energy crisis, and by the New York City fiscal crisis,” which were meant to “show the public that there is no longer enough to go around.”²⁶¹⁹ Also on this day, Paul Krassner, promoting his new book *Sixties Going On Seventies*, said that “the pendulum does seem to be swinging,” but sneered at the current “spirit of Bicentennial forgiveness.”²⁶²⁰ From July 12-15, in New York City, the Democratic National Convention nominated Governor Jimmy Carter of Georgia for president and Senator Walter Mondale of Minnesota for vice president. As 1976 was still a year “bogged down in its post-Nixon, post-Watergate (post-Vietnam) funk.” Carter made an effort to run for president on the image of a “people’s president,” and not as an “imperial” one.²⁶²¹ ²⁶²² Talking of change, “idealism of the student,” quoting Bob Dylan, wearing sweaters instead of suits, Carter was the hip choice for president.²⁶²³ His hipness, however, was one of a new era, one of working within the system. At the same time, the media censored the thousands of hippie freaky types attending the Democratic National convention week protests, which included a huge Yippie-sponsored smoke-in where many chanted “Fuck Ronald Reagan!”²⁶²⁴ Also censored by the mainstream media was the July 12 Yippie-sponsored “march to abolish the police state,” to

²⁶¹⁶ “2 Suspects Held: Another Terror Bombing in East,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 5, 1976, A2.

²⁶¹⁷ “San Francisco Fiscal Crisis: Bankers’ Myth Becomes Public’s Hard Reality,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 9-15, 1976, 4.

²⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁶²⁰ “Avoid Left Turns,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 9-15, 1976, 10.

²⁶²¹ David Browne, “The Spirit of 1976: Steve Jobs, Jimmy Carter, the Ramones and a Climate of Hope,” *Rolling Stone Magazine*, October 7, 2011, <http://www.rollingstone.com/culture/news/the-spirit-of-1976-steve-jobs-jimmy-carter-the-ramones-and-a-climate-of-hope-20111007>. Accessed June 26, 2012.

²⁶²² “Jimmy Carter - The Outsider in Washington,” Profiles of U.S. Presidents, <http://www.presidentprofiles.com/Kennedy-Bush/Jimmy-Carter-The-outsider-in-washington.html>. Accessed June 26, 2012.

²⁶²³ “Jimmy Carter XXXIX President of the United States: 1977-1981, ‘Our Nation’s Past and Future: Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Democratic National Convention in New York City July 15, 1976,’” <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid-25953#axzz1yu2vDN2d>. Accessed June 26, 2012.

²⁶²⁴ “Rumpleforeskin,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 30-August 5, 1976, 14.

“Stop 1984 in 1976.”²⁶²⁵ Nonetheless, overall, the convention protests were much smaller and mellow than those of the previous conventions in 1968 and 1972.²⁶²⁶ On August 10, four members of the Symbionese Liberation Army members, now in prison, announced “the end of the SLA” in a 39-page statement.²⁶²⁷ They wrote that they were not demoralized because “the number of underground revolutionary groups has grown and many of these groups are operating in a way that will insure their continued survival.”²⁶²⁸ In Kansas City, Missouri, from August 16 through 19, the Republican Party National Convention took place nominating incumbent Gerald Ford for president, but only after narrowly defeating a strong challenge from former California governor Ronald Reagan.²⁶²⁹ Outside the convention hall, various protest groups demonstrated for various causes. Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) marchers chanted, “Two, four, six, eight, ratify in every state.”²⁶³⁰ Outside of the Ford headquarters, 150 young Yippies protested against imperialism and South African apartheid, and for the legalization of marijuana.²⁶³¹ Nonetheless, unlike 1968 and 1972, the Yippies, frustrated and powerless, found themselves mostly laughed at or ignored, not supported by the thousands that had protested in the recent past.²⁶³² The Yippies, “far too few and badly disorganized” (never more than two- or three-hundred strong), were said to have been “a shadow of their former selves,” speaking for another era and “locked into a lost frame of reference.”²⁶³³ ²⁶³⁴ In Miami, Florida, on August 27, Mitchell Werbell’s “drug and gun-running trial” began, which was in some ways a continuation of the “post-Watergate” investigations of the Nixon Administration.²⁶³⁵ On August 29, in Oakland, 500 people protested against “police crimes.” They demanded “reopening investigations into the deaths of Barlow Benavidez and Tyrone Guyton,” both killed by Oakland police recently.²⁶³⁶ In another article in the *Berkeley Barb*, on September 3, key counter-culture figure Allen Ginsberg stated his regret about and rejection of his confrontational politics during the Vietnam War era, saying he

²⁶²⁵ “When Freedom Is Outlawed Only Outlaws Will Be Free,” *Yipster Times*, June-July, 1976, 13.

²⁶²⁶ “Yippies Crash Carter’s Garden Party,” *Yipster Times*, August-September, 1976, 17.

²⁶²⁷ “Imprisoned SLA Members Disband,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 13-19, 1976, 2.

²⁶²⁸ “The Last SLA Statement: An Interview with Russ, Joe, Bill, & Emily,”

http://www.usasurvival.org/docs/Last_SLA_Statement.pdf. Accessed July 22, 2012.

²⁶²⁹ “Kansas City Clamor: Yippie,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 20-26, 1976, 4.

²⁶³⁰ “Kansas City Clamor: Shame,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 20-26, 1976, 4.

²⁶³¹ “Kansas City Clamor: Yippie,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 20-26, 1976, 4.

²⁶³² *Ibid.*

²⁶³³ “Three Gonzo Reports: From the Belly of the Elephant,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 27-September 2, 1976, 7.

²⁶³⁴ “Reagan Lives in America’s Heart,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 27-September 2, 1976, 7.

²⁶³⁵ “Nixon Subpoenaed in ‘Drug Death Squad’ Trial,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 27-September 2, 1976, 3.

²⁶³⁶ “Olga Rallies for Police Victims,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 3-9, 1976, 4.

now believed in “compromise.”²⁶³⁷ The “New Communist Movement” began to disintegrate after Mao Zedong died on September 9, and the Chinese party abandoned its earlier advocacy of “anti-imperialism and social revolution.”²⁶³⁸ In San Francisco, a third anniversary protest was held on September 10 concerning the overthrow of Salvador Allende by the Chilean military junta with CIA help.²⁶³⁹ On October 1, an article appeared in *The Yipster Times* about how the revolutionary “guerilla underground” had finally emerged in force outside the West Coast and the New York “metropolitan East,” spreading now to New England.²⁶⁴⁰ On October 6, in San Francisco, 24 separate groups sponsored a demonstration outside the Palace of Fine Arts during the “Great Debate” held there between presidential contenders Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford.²⁶⁴¹ An estimated 3,000 people attended the demonstration.²⁶⁴² On October 8, an article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb* about the previous month’s California Supreme court ruling in favor of Alan Bakke in his “reverse discrimination” law suit.²⁶⁴³ This reverse discrimination court case was yet another indication that the Sixties era was coming to an end as “affirmative action” policies intended to promote “equal opportunity” for minority groups (to compensate for past discrimination, persecution or exploitation by the ruling class of a culture) began to be legally challenged.²⁶⁴⁴ On October 8, still another article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb* dealing with the end of the Sixties era, this time concerning “lowered expectations.”²⁶⁴⁵ The news story related how many (even within the Movement) had turned away (or were now against) “hedonism” and “optimism of the “psychedelic 1960’s.”²⁶⁴⁶ In the *Berkeley Barb* book review section, on October 22, a critique was published of the 1975 book called *The Crisis of Democracy* written by the Trilateral Commission. John S. James wrote that the book should have been called *The Shadow Government Speaks*, as those who really ruled the U.S. “disclose the future they want to see.”²⁶⁴⁷ According to the elite, the Sixties era created problems for them, stemming from the “independent voice or power base” of

²⁶³⁷ “Ginsberg Reflects: “Famous Some Day in Heaven,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 3-9, 1976, 11.

²⁶³⁸ Max Elbaum, “Maoism in the United States,” Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism On-Line (1998), <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-1/maoism-us.htm>. Accessed September 6, 2013.

²⁶³⁹ “Chile Demo This Saturday,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 10-16, 1976, 2.

²⁶⁴⁰ “Guerrilla Movement Ignites in New England area,” *Yipster Times*, October, 1976, 4.

²⁶⁴¹ “On the Outside: Dissent, Malice Rock the Palace,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 15-21, 1976, 9.

²⁶⁴² *Ibid.*

²⁶⁴³ “U.C. vs. State Court: Affirmative Action ‘Unconstitutional,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 8-14, 1976, 3.

²⁶⁴⁴ Thomas Sowell, *Affirmative Action around the World: An Empirical Study* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 115-116.

²⁶⁴⁵ “Brown Leads Us Back to the Dark Ages,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 8-14, 1976, 7.

²⁶⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁴⁷ “Ruling Elite Shapes Carter Foreign Policy,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 22-28, 1976, 7-8.

the “youth culture,” minorities, labor, and the media.²⁶⁴⁸ The remedy prescribed by the elite called for a “pushing back” against this movement towards more democracy, the lowering of expectations, and the creating of a “trans-national ideology suitable for a world run by multinational corporations.”²⁶⁴⁹ The Trilateral Commission, which authored the book, consisted of many of the most powerful people at the time, including Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale, the current Democratic Party candidates for president and vice president. According to an article in an Italian magazine called *Europa*, Carter, far from being a political outsider, was selected as an “ideal politician to build on” to advance Trilateral Commission goals in as early as 1970.²⁶⁵⁰ The ten-year anniversary of the founding of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California, on October 25, was still another event that marked an interval that made the later 1960s seem like a long time ago to many.²⁶⁵¹ On November 2, in Oakland, two-hundred people demonstrated to protest the “two-party capitalist electoral politics” on election day.²⁶⁵² Speakers at the event criticized the electoral process as a “sham which only serves to shore up the capitalist system and stave off revolutionary change.”²⁶⁵³ On November 25, an article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb* about how the language of the “Sixties counterculture” had been co-opted by politicians and big business. The new story gave examples on how there was “‘revolutionary’ bread, ‘natural’ cosmetics, even apartments for ‘alternative’ lifestyles.”²⁶⁵⁴ Moreover, even oil companies talked about “preserving the environment,” and Jimmy Carter was saying “right on” in his speeches.²⁶⁵⁵ On December 10, in Oakland’s Alameda County Superior Court, it was announced that three separate trials for political revolutionaries would begin soon. The cases involved Eldridge Cleaver (Black Panthers), Wendy Yoshimura (Symbionese Liberation Army), and Bill and Emily Harris (Symbionese Liberation Army).²⁶⁵⁶ On December 14, 1976 in San Francisco, an unsuccessful attempt to bomb Supervisor Dianne Feinstein’s Lyon Street home occurred as the “potentially lethal bomb” misfired.²⁶⁵⁷ The New World Liberation Front claimed responsibility in a communiqué and warned all

²⁶⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁶⁵¹ “Black Panthers Celebrate Decade,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 22-28, 1976, 2.

²⁶⁵² “Alameda Protests Condemn Election,” *Berkeley Barb*, November 5-11, 1976, 2.

²⁶⁵³ Ibid.

²⁶⁵⁴ “New Earth Expo: Is This the Birth of Eco-Capitalism,” *Berkeley Barb*, November 25-December 2, 1976, 6.

²⁶⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁵⁶ “Political Trials Flood Bay Area,” *Berkeley Barb*, December 10-16, 1976, 6.

²⁶⁵⁷ “Bomb Misfires at Home of Supervisor Feinstein,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 15, 1976, A1.

supervisors that they had “48 hours to respond to just demands” to help with the horrible conditions in local jails or “suffer further attack.”²⁶⁵⁸

In the hippie counter-cultural news, an article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb* on January 2 about how money had co-opted the rock music scene last year. “We have witnessed,” said *Barb* writer Michael Snyder, “the total absorption of rock music (once-trumpet of the activist and the alternative lifestyle) into the main stream of American Liquid Fascism.”²⁶⁵⁹ On January 25, an article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* appeared about how hitchhiking, common in Northern California, had become unsafe for young women.²⁶⁶⁰ On January 30, a “switchboard” for hippies was established for those who wanted to find old friends and lovers who they met over the years in communes, music festivals, hitch hiking, in the streets, etc.²⁶⁶¹ On February 6, in still another article in the *Berkeley Barb*, Jerry Rubin talked about his new soon-to-be-published autobiographical book called *Growing (Up) At Thirty Seven*.²⁶⁶² In this article, he revealed that after the end of the mass anti-war movement in 1973, he joined the New Age, “new consciousness movement,” and turned inward.²⁶⁶³ On February 6, a new book from Theodore Roszak was published entitled *Unfinished Animal: The Aquarian Frontier and the Evolution of Consciousness*. In his latest book, he wrote about how human evolution had taken a huge leap forward and could be on the threshold of a “shift of consciousness fully as epoch-making as the appearance of speech or of the tool-making talents in our cultural repertory.”²⁶⁶⁴ He wrote that the “Age of Aquarius,” as sung about in the hippie musical “Hair,” was but the beginning of a New Age of “harmony and understanding, sympathy and trust abounding.”²⁶⁶⁵ On February 18, in Berkeley, Steve Gaskin, his wife, and several of his hippie tribal family were in town to give a lecture.²⁶⁶⁶ A poem was published in the *Berkeley Barb* on February 27 called “Saturday Nite Disco,” about the rise of the new self-absorbed, bourgeois, decadent, disco culture.²⁶⁶⁷ Critics of disco condemned it for its apathy toward government policies and its escapism, and for its lack of wanting to change

²⁶⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁵⁹ “What Good Is Rock If It Can’t Sell Football?,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 2-8, 1976, 8.

²⁶⁶⁰ “Fear in the Redwoods: Sheriff, Courts Draw Criticism over Recent Rape-Murders,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 25, 1976, A3.

²⁶⁶¹ “A Switchboard for Road Freaks,” *Berkeley Barb*, January 30-February 5, 1976, 4.

²⁶⁶² “Growing (Up) at Thirty-Seven,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 6-12, 1976, 6-7.

²⁶⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁶⁴ Joseph Waligore, “Evolutionary Leap” (2009), <http://www.spiritualcritiques.com/explanations-of-new-age-movement/evolutionary-leap/>. Accessed June 13, 2012.

²⁶⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶⁶ “The Pros and Cons of Gaskin’s ‘Farm,’” *Berkeley Barb*, February 20-26, 1976, 10.

²⁶⁶⁷ “Saturday Nite Disco,” *Berkeley Barb*, February 27-March 4, 1976, 4.

the world.²⁶⁶⁸ Disco fashions (in of themselves) marked the end of the Sixties era, as discothèque-goers often wore expensive and extravagant fashions for nights out at their local disco. However, as the great popularity of disco began to rise and commercialize, especially around the summer of 1975, by the end of the summer of 1976 it had squeezed out much of the spotlight on the Sixties movements. According to a March 12 *Yipster Times* article, Jan Wenner, the co-founder and publisher of *Rolling Stone* magazine, made a secret deal with record company executives, in 1970 that “secured for his magazine a \$100,000 loan in return for cutting off favorable coverage of U.S. leftist groups harmful to the company’s hip capitalist plans.”²⁶⁶⁹ In San Francisco, on March 20, the second “New Age Bio-Centennial Unity Fair” was held at McLaren Park in the name of “celebration of unity.”²⁶⁷⁰ On April 1-2, the “Helter Skelter” made-for-TV film shown throughout the U.S. It was about the Charles Manson family murders of 1969, based on the book written by prosecutor Vincent Bugliosi.²⁶⁷¹ On April 9, protest singer Phil Ochs hanged himself in Far Rockaway, New York, because he was depressed that the Sixties movement was over.²⁶⁷² April 10-11, in Berkeley, Tuscarora Iroquois medicine man Wallace “Mad Bear” Anderson, who predicted that “the Day of Purification will be 30 days of chaos – pretty soon,” cancelled his speaking engagement on “The Emergence of the Fourth World.”²⁶⁷³ The event, sponsored by Doug Boyd and his Menninger Foundation, was but a continuing trend within the counter-culture of dreaming about a magical transformation of the world, or its end, as more young people lost hope that the revolution would come soon.^{2674 2675} On April 16, another article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb* about how rock music “as a medium has passed.”²⁶⁷⁶ The story said that “in the Sixties rock was the medium, the most complex, all-inclusive, incisive expression of the acid induced flaming optimism we all shared.”²⁶⁷⁷ Now rock music was described as “bankrupt, just like our acid dreams and optimism.”²⁶⁷⁸ On April 21, LSD guru Timothy Leary was released from prison by

²⁶⁶⁸ “Devo and the Evolution of the Wipeouters,” *Juice Magazine*, September 1, 2001.

²⁶⁶⁹ “Rolling in the Dough,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 12-18, 1976, 2.

²⁶⁷⁰ “Springtime Unity Fair,” *Berkeley Barb*, March 26-April 1, 1976, 3.

²⁶⁷¹ “Helter Skelter,” IMbD (April 1, 1976), <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0074621/>. Accessed October 11, 2014.

²⁶⁷² Michael Schumacher, *There But for Fortune: The Life of Phil Ochs* (New York: Hyperion, 1996), 344-352.

²⁶⁷³ “Coming Soon: Days of Purification,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 16-22, 1976, 3.

²⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁷⁵ Rainbow Family Hipstory, “Further Letters on Rainbow’s Origins - Part I” (January 28, 1991), <http://welcomehome.org/rainbow/>. Accessed June 21, 2012.

²⁶⁷⁶ “From Innovation to Nostalgia,” *Berkeley Barb*, April 16-22, 1976, 12.

²⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

California Governor Jerry Brown after serving more than three years in prison.²⁶⁷⁹ From May 7 through 9 in Davis, California, around 15,000 people participated in the seventh annual Whole Earth Festival on the campus of UC Davis. One of the largest counter-cultural events of its kind, the festival's emphasis was on "spirituality, healing, and positive social change."²⁶⁸⁰ On May 12, Anita Hoffman, wife of Yippie fugitive Abbie Hoffman, edited a book of letters called, *To America with Love: Letters from the Underground*.²⁶⁸¹ In New York City on May 15, 8000 pot-smoking hippie freaks attended the Yippie-sponsored "Sixth Annual New York City Smoke-In."²⁶⁸² On May 28, a documentary film about the Vietnam War and the Weather Underground called *Underground* was released nation-wide today." The movie had been filmed a year before on May 1, 1975 in a "safe-house," five years after they went underground to help start a revolution in the United States.²⁶⁸³ An article appeared on May 31 in the *San Francisco Chronicle* about the reemergence of the "old-fashioned teenager" at the middle school/junior high school level.²⁶⁸⁴ Vice Principal Dean Taylor from the Intermediate School in Millbrae said, "Boys are showing up on campus in letterman's jackets. Two years ago, they'd have been ashamed to put it on."²⁶⁸⁵ Also on this day, in New York City, a "Nude-In" was held near the World Trade Center as a "warm-up to Democratic Convention protests and a preliminary to the massive stripdown across the country, expected on National Nude Beach Day, August 8."²⁶⁸⁶ On June 1, an article appeared in the *Yipster Times* about how "the Haight-Ashbury of 1976 is not like the Haight of 1967."²⁶⁸⁷ According to the news story, the "afflu-hip (what we once called 'weekend hippies,')" was kicking out "poor freaks" still living there to charge new tenants "three times" the amount.²⁶⁸⁸ In Berkeley, 500 people came out, on June 6, in support of Wavy Gravy's "Nobody for President in 1976" campaign rally.²⁶⁸⁹ A bizarre myth-building article appeared, on June 11, in the *Berkeley Barb* concerning young people born in the 1950s.

²⁶⁷⁹ "Latest NYPL Post on Processing the Leary Papers: Annotations and Fact Clarification," Timothy Leary Archives, <http://www.timothylearyarchives.org/latest-nypl-post-on-processing-the-leary-papers-annotations-and-fact-clarification/>. Accessed October 11, 2014.

²⁶⁸⁰ "Digging the Whole Earth," *Berkeley Barb*, May 14-20, 1976, 3.

²⁶⁸¹ Abbie and Anita Hoffman, *Letters from the Underground* (New York: Stonehill Publishing Company, 1976).

²⁶⁸² "We'd Love to Teach the World to Toke in Perfect Harmony," *Yipster Times*, June-July, 1976, 23.

²⁶⁸³ "Underground: A Look Behind America's Iron Curtain," *Berkeley Barb*, May 28-June 3, 1976, 9.

²⁶⁸⁴ "The Old School Spirit," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 31, 1976, A1.

²⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁸⁶ "Nude-In on the Hudson," *Yipster Times*, June-July, 1976, 14.

²⁶⁸⁷ "Haight?," *Yipster Times*, June-July, 1976, 9.

²⁶⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁸⁹ "Nobody for President in '76," *Berkeley Barb*, June 11-17, 1976, 2.

Entitled, “Born in the ‘50’s? What’s Tim To You?,” the news story implied that young people born in the 1950s did not remember, or belong to, the heyday of the Sixties era.²⁶⁹⁰ As the Sixties era was beginning to fade out from mainstream view in the second half of the 1970s, outlandish statements began to be made to define when the Sixties took place and who was part of that era. This was of course nonsense; those born in the 1950s, especially in the early 1950s, were already attending university by as early as 1967/68. From July 1- 7, 1976, the fifth annual Rainbow Gathering was held in the state of Montana by “Cave Mountain,” near Choteau, in Lewis and Clark National Forest. It was the largest Rainbow Gathering since the first one in 1972, with an estimated 16,000 hippies from all over the country meeting at this “gathering of the tribes.”²⁶⁹¹ On July 6, an article appeared in the *San Francisco Chronicle* about the reemergence of fifties hairstyles for men. Inspired by the hit TV show “Happy Days,” both the “greaser” and the “flat-top” styles became “in” fashions.²⁶⁹² The slow rise of 1950s nostalgia (as evident especially in mid-1970s film, television, and music) also symbolized the ending of the Sixties era. On July 9, in Berkeley, the “People’s History of Telegraph Avenue” mural was painted completed by approximately 30 artists in over 10 weeks, commemorating the fight for Peoples Park in the late 1960s and early 1970s.²⁶⁹³ In San Francisco, on July 25, 2,500 people gathered in the Golden Gate Park to celebrate the Hare Krishna-sponsored tenth annual “Bay Area Festival of the Jagannatha Cart.”²⁶⁹⁴ An article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb*, on July 30, about the experience of returning to Kent State University (on May 4) exactly six years after the shooting that left four dead and nine wounded.²⁶⁹⁵ The authors, two former Kent students, found that the situation had completely changed at the university, “Six years ago, everybody bitched about the establishment. Now, everybody wants to join it and join it real badly,” as most students were now majoring in “business administration.”²⁶⁹⁶ An article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb* on August 6 saying that the San Francisco Mime Troupe continued, after 17 years, performing free theatre shows of “political satire” in various parks in the San Francisco Bay Area and around California.²⁶⁹⁷ Also on this day, former

²⁶⁹⁰ “Born in the ‘50’s? What’s Tim to You?,” *Berkeley Barb*, June 11-17, 1976, 8.

²⁶⁹¹ “Listing of North American Annual Sites,” <http://www.welcomehome.org/rainbow/index.html>. Accessed October 11, 2014.

²⁶⁹² “The Wet Head Is Coming Back,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 6, 1976, A2.

²⁶⁹³ “Telegraph Avenue Up against the Wall,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 1976, 9-15, 12.

²⁶⁹⁴ “Meal and Melee Mark 10th Annual Krishna Festival,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 30-August 5, 1976, 13.

²⁶⁹⁵ “Return to Kent State: Dark Past, Bleak Present,” *Berkeley Barb*, July 30-August 5, 1976, 6.

²⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹⁷ Lee Berstein, *America Is the Prison: Arts and Politics in Prison in the 1970s* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 52.

LSD guru Timothy Leary, recently released from three years in prison, announced his first speaking tour in seven years, this time on “intelligence in outer space” and “space migration.”²⁶⁹⁸ On August 20, an article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb* about there being thousands of beatnik, hippie, New Ager, occultist seekers and “multi-dimensional channelers of cosmic messages,” living in and around the Bay Area who believe that they were the “signs of the coming age of enlightenment.”²⁶⁹⁹ On the other hand, in San Francisco on August 22, the first “punk rock” band called the Ramones played from their debut record on their first West Coast tour.²⁷⁰⁰ According to *Rolling Stone* magazine, the Ramones’ first record (April 23, 1976) began the punk rock era, and was considered a historic turning point in music and young people’s means of expressing their rebellious attitude.²⁷⁰¹ Rock critic Robert Christgau’s said, “It was also a subculture that scornfully rejected the political idealism and Californian flower-power silliness of hippie myth.”²⁷⁰² While hippies and punk rockers shared an anti-establishment mentality (as Patti Smith pointed out), the punk scene adopted a “nihilistic attitude,” summed up by the Sex Pistols’ slogan “No Future.”²⁷⁰³ Punk, like disco but for different reasons, signaled the end of the Sixties era. On August 23, *New York* magazine published novelist Tom Wolfe’s article called “The ‘Me’ Decade and the Third Great Awakening,” coining the term “me decade” to describe the last years of the 1970s.²⁷⁰⁴ The term described “a general new attitude of Americans towards atomized individualism and away from communitarianism in clear contrast with the 1960s,” and some saw the rise of the “unapologetic hedonism” of the disco culture as a perfect fit.²⁷⁰⁵ Indeed, times had changed; on September 4, the “Pop Top 20 Countdown” included five disco hits in the top seven most popular songs.²⁷⁰⁶ Exploding especially during the late summer of 1976, disco music and its cultural fashions and attitudes began to take hold of a much larger portion of the Sixties generation. As far as the media were concerned, hippies, freaks, radical protesters, and revolutionaries were now beginning to be considered passé. For men for example, long natural hair, love beads, tie-dye t-shirts and jeans had given way to shorter styled hair, gold chains, polyester shirts and

²⁶⁹⁸ “Leary to Begin Speaking Tour Soon,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 6-12, 1976, 2.

²⁶⁹⁹ “Exploring Space with Cosmic Lady,” *Berkeley Barb*, August 20-26, 1976, 12.

²⁷⁰⁰ “The Ramones: Punks with a Message Rock Out at the Savoy,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 3-9, 1976, 8.

²⁷⁰¹ “Ramones Not Rated,” *Rolling Stone*, July 29, 1976.

²⁷⁰² McNeil and McCain, *Please Kill Me: The Uncensored Oral History of Punk*, 129.

²⁷⁰³ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁰⁴ Tom Wolfe, “The ‘Me’ Decade and the Third Great Awakening,” *New York Magazine*, August 23, 1976, <http://nymag.com/news/features/45938/>. Accessed June 23, 2012.

²⁷⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁰⁶ “Weekly Pop Top 20 for September 4, 1976,” *TuneCaster*, <http://tunecaster.com/charts/70/week7636.html>. Accessed August 20, 2012.

leisure suits.²⁷⁰⁷ Making it became the trend during the emerging disco era versus dropping-out as in the Sixties era, marking its end.²⁷⁰⁸ But still, on September 5, in New York City, Yippie Aron Kay hit politician Daniel Patrick Moynihan in the face with a pie.²⁷⁰⁹ Also, on September 6 in San Diego, the Yippies sponsored a Smoke-In to legalize marijuana at Balboa Park with “free music, pot, and speakers.”²⁷¹⁰ However, punk too was breaking out. On September 20-21 in London, England, a “watershed” event called “100 Club Punk Special” marked the beginning of “punk arising from the underground and into the mainstream music scene.”²⁷¹¹ Once again, what set punk apart from the Sixties era counterculture philosophically (although they too were of the same age and part of the Sixties generation) was the belief of many early punk bands in the need for “general anarchy” and “nihilism” (the belief in the “abject lack of meaning and value to life”) versus the idealism of changing the world and finding higher truth.²⁷¹² In a *Berkeley Barb* book review on September 24, it was pointed out that the newly released best-seller entitled *What Really Happened to the Class of '65?* was becoming part of a growing trend towards looking back nostalgically on the “sixties” in the later seventies.²⁷¹³ The book was later adapted into a brief television series of the same name, which aired from December 1977 to July 1978.²⁷¹⁴ However the counter-culture still existed and never completely died out. On October 1, Paul Krassner wrote about the continuing popularity of eastern cult groups, such as Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh’s, within the hippie movement.²⁷¹⁵ Krassner wrote about many youth having been turned off to what was happening in the world to pursue enlightenment by following one of many gurus from India.²⁷¹⁶ A fairly large part of the remaining hippie movement had by this time either retreated to rural communes or spiritual monasteries. But the Yippies also persisted; on October 2, in Madison, Wisconsin, 6,000 “weed-heads” marched and demanded “freedom for marijuana and longtime Smoke-In

²⁷⁰⁷ Hudson, Ann, “Disco Clothing History,” ehow, http://www.ehow.com/about_5095784_disco-clothing-history.html. Accessed August 20, 2012.

²⁷⁰⁸ “American History: Life in the 1970s and '80s,” Voice of America (January 26, 2012), http://www.voanews.com/MediaAssets2/learningenglish/2012_01/se-nation-225-life-in-1970s-80s.pdf. Accessed August 20, 2012.

²⁷⁰⁹ “Moynihan Meets a Pieman,” *Yipster Times*, October, 1976, 3.

²⁷¹⁰ “Smoke-In,” *Yipster Times*, September 6, 1976, 22.

²⁷¹¹ “History,” 100 Club, <http://www.the100club.co.uk/history/>. Accessed October 11, 2014.

²⁷¹² Fowler, Steven, “Nihilism, Punk and the International Necronautical Society: An Interview with Simon Critchley,” 3:AM Magazine (March 30, 2009), <http://www.3ammagazine.com/3am/interview-with-simon-critchley/>. Accessed October 11, 2014.

²⁷¹³ “It’s All Downhill after High School,” *Berkeley Barb*, September 24-30, 1976, 8.

²⁷¹⁴ “What Really Happened to the Class of '65?” CTVA: The Classic TV Archive - US Drama Series, <http://ctva.biz/US/Drama/ClassOf65.htm>. Accessed October 11, 2014.

²⁷¹⁵ “Hari Krassner, Part 1,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 1-7, 1976, 11.

²⁷¹⁶ “Hari Krassner, Part 2,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 8-14, 1976, 10.

organizer Ben Masel,” who had been arrested for spitting on Senator Henry “Scoop” Jackson.²⁷¹⁷ Earlier in the day, 2000 people also marched for “Nobody for President.”²⁷¹⁸ On October 5, in San Francisco, over 1,000 people attended the counter-cultural “Nobody for President national campaign tour” featuring Wavy Gravy, Paul Krassner, and Grateful Dead song-writer Robert Hunter’s new band.²⁷¹⁹ Also in October, the Grammy Award-winning duo Cheech and Chong released their latest hippie underground comedy album called “Sleeping Beauty.”²⁷²⁰ Finally, on November 5, in San Francisco, the counter-culture theatre groups called “Trenchmouth” were evicted from their communal converted warehouse.²⁷²¹ On November 25, in San Francisco, The Band gave a “farewell concert appearance” known as “The Last Waltz” at the Winterland Ballroom, called the “most awesome assemblage of rock’s nobility since the Woodstock mud-bath.”²⁷²² An article in *The Aquarian* on December 1 said, “Unemployment has replaced Vietnam as the major issue in the minds of millions of Americans.”²⁷²³ Moreover, the commercialization of the Sixties era was part of what defined the new Seventies era, as on December 17, an article in the *Berkeley Barb* appeared about what had happened to the “hippie VW bus.”²⁷²⁴ Lastly, on December 31, 1976, a negative and nostalgic article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb* about how Timothy Leary really had been a government “fink” while in prison (which was doubtful, as nobody ever went to prison because of him), and how great thinkers were ten or more years back during the beginning of the Movement, reminiscing over a bygone era.²⁷²⁵

IV. Final Conclusions

The rationale of most historians for ending the Sixties era in 1969 is based on their inability to integrate the unfavorable aspects of the counter-cultural movement into their overly positive dialogue about that era. After considerable analysis I came to the conclusion that the most predominant negative attributes associated with events considered

²⁷¹⁷ “Thousands March for Pot, Freedom of Spit in Madison,” *Yipster Times*, October, 1976, 17.

²⁷¹⁸ Ibid.

²⁷¹⁹ “Nobody for President Rally,” *Berkeley Barb*, October 8-14, 1976, 9.

²⁷²⁰ Cheech & Chong, “Sleeping Beauty,” 1978, <http://www.discogs.com/Cheech-Chong-Sleeping-Beauty/release/1227111>. Accessed October 11, 2014.

²⁷²¹ “Theatre Troupe Ousted by Millionaire Owner,” *Berkeley Barb*, November 5-11, 1976, 3.

²⁷²² “The Band’s Last Stand,” *Berkeley Barb*, December 3-9, 1976, 12.

²⁷²³ “Unemployment Has Replaced Vietnam as the Major Issue in the Minds of Millions of Americans,” *The Aquarian*, December 1-8, 1976, 8.

²⁷²⁴ “When A Winnebago Meets a Hippie Van,” *Berkeley Barb*, December 17-23, 1976, 6.

²⁷²⁵ “Tim Leary’s Son Confides: ‘I Thought He Was Dangerous and Crazy,’” *Berkeley Barb*, December 31, 1976-January 6, 1977, 6.

by them as marking the end of the Sixties (i.e., Altamont rock festival) were viewed as consisting of fragmentation, despair, and violence (and to a lesser extent drug abuse). On the other hand, the Woodstock rock festival (the so-called peak of the counter-culture) was overly idealized and said to have consisted of the opposite true attributes of the Sixties era such as unity, hope, and non-violence. To determine when the lack of unity, hope and non-violence began to creep into the Sixties counter-culture, my investigation led me to the conclusion (after reviewing the whole 1960s decade) that they had always been part of the movement, although continually increasing with each passing year. This growing negativity on the part of the Movement could in part be explained by the sense of frustration with the slow rate of real change, and government repression against them; paradoxically, I found that the positive realities also continued to endure throughout the Sixties era. Lastly, I turned to the 1970s decade in order to find out if the Sixties Movement had indeed continued to exist after 1969, and the answer is yes. The Movement continued not only up until the complete end of the Indochina War (meaning the fall of Saigon and the Mayaguez incident in 1975), but even beyond that. Neglected in history books is how after the war, the Movement kept going in the form of preventing another Vietnam-like war in Angola, agitating for the conversion of military resources to peaceful purposes, fighting for decent working and living conditions (fair utility rates and health clinics for the poor), opposing nuclear energy, and so forth. Finally, to a large part, it was the establishment's own media that killed the Sixties era as it began to downplay, ignore, and no longer consider hippies or political activism as fashionable during the postwar era.

In closing, to state that the Sixties era ended at Altamont (or any other event) on or before December of 1969 is simply preposterous. As the chronology of events of the 1970s shows, nothing really changed the following year after the numerical 1960s decade ended. The same type of events and beliefs held by the countercultural movement during the late 1960s persisted. The Vietnam War, and the protests against it, extended well into the next decade. The "hippie" lifestyle, and with it the appetite for rock festivals, rock music, sexual liberation, experimentation with psychedelic drugs, freedom to explore one's potential, freedom to create one's self, freedom of personal expression, freedom from scheduling, freedom from rigidly defined roles and hierarchical statuses increased unabated. The clamor for equality, justice, liberation for women, and various racial and ethnic groups, such as African Americans, American Indians, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans, intensified. Other social movements such as those favoring alternative medicine, anti-nuclear action, environmental action, gay rights, and organic foods surged.

The claim that the Sixties ended at Altamont is in large extent based on several misunderstandings, or myths, such as:

- The 1960s were a time of hope, unity, and peace for the counterculture (that is why violence and chaos signified the end of the Sixties).
- During the 1960s the political establishment and the majority culture were accepting towards hippies, student radicals, and minority struggles (violence such as that at Altamont turned them against the Movement).
- The philosophical basis for the Movement from the beginning was solely of some variation of Mahatma Gandhi's belief in non-violent civil disobedience.
- Woodstock was the opposite of Altamont (the fiction of duality).

The first myth, that the 1960s were a time of hope, unity, and peace for the counterculture, is far from the truth. Altamont was not the first time violence occurred in connection with the Movement. It was also not the first time division and a loss of optimism arose. Concerning the hippie movement, even during the so-called "Summer of Love" there were riots, rapes, and murders. In Sixties mythology, the summer of 1967 is when the hippie movement was at its supposed highest and most pure (the First Human Be-In in January 1967 was when most people first even heard of them). However, deleted from this first myth of peaceful coexistence are incidents such as the one on July 9 when "peace and love" hippies physically attacked tourists who came to observe them in Haight-Ashbury, and when the police came the hippies fought with the officers.²⁷²⁶ To be clear, this was not a unique occurrence in the Haight (where the hippie movement began). In fact, there had already been similar incidents in this still budding bohemian enclave on January 14, March 26, April 2, April 10, April 23, and June 22.^{2727 2728 2729 2730 2731 2732} Rape, according to the hippies themselves, was "as common as bullshit on Haight Street."²⁷³³ As stated before, the Diggers' own Communication Company on April 16, 1967 printed the following: "Pretty little sixteen-year-old middle-class chick comes to the Haight to see what it's all about & gets picked up by a seventeen-year-old street dealer who spends all day shooting her full of speed again & again, then feeds her 3000 mikes (micrograms of LSD, 12 times the standard dose) & raffles off her temporarily unemployed body for the

²⁷²⁶ Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 132-133.

²⁷²⁷ *Ibid.*, 81.

²⁷²⁸ *Ibid.*, 103.

²⁷²⁹ *Ibid.*, 104.

²⁷³⁰ *Ibid.*, 111.

²⁷³¹ *Ibid.*, 115.

²⁷³² *Ibid.*, 130.

²⁷³³ *Ibid.*, 113.

biggest Haight Street gang bang since the night before last.”²⁷³⁴ Finally, on August 3, and again on the 6th, well-known Haight-Ashbury LSD drug dealers John Kent Clark and Superspade were found murdered, with more hippies killed in the following weeks.²⁷³⁵

The situation with violence at hippie communes and rock festivals around the country was no different, either. In October of 1967, Groovy 21 and Linda 18 were found murdered at a Lower East Side New York City “hippie drug party.”²⁷³⁶ According to *Time* magazine, “Groovy tried to defend the girl and was smashed with one of the boiler-wall bricks, his face crushed. Linda was raped four times and bashed with a brick.”²⁷³⁷ Lastly, there were rock festivals with large-scale violence even before Altamont, these would include the Newport ‘69 Festival on June 20-22, 1969; the Denver Pop Festival on June 27-28, 1969; the Newport Jazz Festival (with rock bands included) on July 3-6, 1969.²⁷³⁸

²⁷³⁹ ²⁷⁴⁰ The following was a description of what happened at the Denver Pop Festival. “First came a barrage of rocks, then came bottles and beer cans. Those who had crashed the fence successfully at the south end of the stadium and were now inside climbed to the top of the grandstand and hurled objects down on the police below. Political slogans were heard amid the shouting, and ALM members who had been passing out leaflets before the disturbance began became part of the unruly crowd. One police officer was knocked to the ground by a large wine bottle, and the police decided that the situation was now serious enough to use tear gas. The canisters were shot into the crowd, only to be thrown back at the police by brazen members of the throng.”²⁷⁴¹

The second myth that during the 1960s the political establishment and the majority culture were accepting towards hippies, student radicals, and minority struggles is also not true. Violence such as that at Altamont did not turn average people away from the Movement; it only reinforced their already negative views about those involved. The common person believed hippies to be decadent, self-destructive, unhealthy, immoral, and as a California state assemblyman stated, “potentially the greatest threat to our nation’s traditional social structure.”²⁷⁴² In fact, on March 23, 1967, the City of San Francisco

²⁷³⁴ Ibid.

²⁷³⁵ Ibid., 137.

²⁷³⁶ Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, 100.

²⁷³⁷ Ibid., 101.

²⁷³⁸ Santelli, *Aquarius Rising*, 266.

²⁷³⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁴⁰ Ibid., 104-105.

²⁷⁴¹ Ibid., 96-97.

²⁷⁴² Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 103.

officially declared hippies “unwelcome.”²⁷⁴³ As far as the Vietnam War, many ordinary folks supported U.S. involvement, giving credence to the “domino theory,” a belief that if one country fell to communism, then the bordering countries would also fall, thus justifying the war.²⁷⁴⁴ As a result, student anti-war activists were viewed as unpatriotic, communists, traitors, faggots, and agitators. Some blue-collar workers, or “hard hats,” even physically assaulted anti-war demonstrators. The most famous “hard hat riot” occurred in New York City when 200 construction workers broke through police lines and injured 73 by beating the “longest haired youths first.”²⁷⁴⁵ What they considered the most despicable was how “radicals would wave the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese battle flags, while burning and urinating on the American flag.”²⁷⁴⁶ Their favorite slogans after watching the riots at the Pentagon in October 1967, the university take-over at Columbia in April and May of 1968, and the violent clash at the Chicago Democratic National Convention in August of 1968 (to mention just of few) became, “All the way, USA,” and “America, love it or leave it.”²⁷⁴⁷ To Middle America, the revered Woodstock itself was not a triumph. Instead, seeing half a million kids smoking dope, swimming naked, and listening to loud rock music was an “outrage and an affront to American values of decency and duty.”²⁷⁴⁸

The third myth that the philosophical basis for the Movement from the beginning was solely some variation of Mahatma Gandhi’s belief in non-violent civil disobedience was never completely true even from the beginning. It is beyond question that Martin Luther King emulated Gandhi’s example during the African American civil rights struggles from 1955 to his death in 1968.²⁷⁴⁹ It is also valid that today King is the most famous leader of that era, and even back then, had the most national exposure for delivering his famous “I Have a Dream” speech in 1963, and winning the 1964 Nobel Peace prize.²⁷⁵⁰ Nonetheless, many have argued that in the black community, it was not King but Malcolm

²⁷⁴³ Ibid., 102.

²⁷⁴⁴ John Simkin, “Vietnam and the Domino Theory,” Spartacus (April 30, 2005), <http://educationforum.ipbhost.com/index.php?showtopic-3750>. Accessed September 28, 2011.

²⁷⁴⁵ “Workers Attack Students in N.Y.,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 9, 1970, A1.

²⁷⁴⁶ Kevin Whiteman. “Hard Hat Riots Turn 40,” *The Sixties* (May 8, 2010), <http://sixties-l.blogspot.hu/2010/05/hard-hat-riots-turn-40.html>. Accessed September 28, 2011.

²⁷⁴⁷ “Protesting and the Chicago Seven,” delivered 1970, online audio, <http://www.upi.com/Archives/Audio/Events-of-1970/Protesting-and-the-Chicago-Seven/?spt=nl&d-n>. Accessed September 4, 2011.

²⁷⁴⁸ “The Year of Living Dangerously,” *The Guardian*, May 17, 2009,

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2009/may/17/woodstock-altamont-40th-anniversary-hippie-generation>. Accessed September 25, 2011.

²⁷⁴⁹ “Martin Luther King,” Spartacus Educational. <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAKingML.htm>. Accessed September 28, 2011.

²⁷⁵⁰ “The Nobel Peace Prize 1964 Martin Luther King Jr.,” The Official Web site of the Nobel Prize, http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1964/. Accessed September 28, 2011.

X, and others like Robert F. Williams and Ernest “Chilly Willy” Thomas, who supported an alternative to the pacifist strategies of the national civil rights organizations, that had the most influence over the black community.²⁷⁵¹ In his book about the Deacons for Defense, Lance Hill wrote that disenchantment with passive resistance was common among blacks even during the early years of the Movement. They had refused to participate in non-violent protests because “they believed that passive resistance to white violence simply reproduced the same degrading rituals of domination and submission that suffused the master/slave relationship.”²⁷⁵² Moreover, they saw it as difficult to live Martin Luther King’s message of non-violence when the Ku Klux Klan was raping black women, burning down black houses, beating black people to death, and bombing black churches, causing the deaths of black children. As time went on the ideology of non-violence fell further and further out of favor. After 1965, pacifism was virtually scorned by the newer and more radical black power movement. Robert F. Williams was perhaps the first to create an armed self-defense unit in the black community. In 1957, Williams transformed his local NAACP branch, in Monroe, North Carolina, into an armed self-defense unit, made up of former WWII and Korean war veterans.²⁷⁵³ He declared that it was time to “meet violence with violence.”²⁷⁵⁴ He stated that black citizens unable to receive legal support must defend themselves because “the federal government will not stop lynching, and since the so-called courts lynch our people legally.”²⁷⁵⁵ Another armed self-defense organization formed in Jonesboro, Louisiana, in 1964, to protect civil rights activists from the KKK.²⁷⁵⁶ Led by Ernest Thomas, by the end of 1966, the Deacons had grown to twenty-one chapters, mostly in the states of Louisiana and Mississippi.²⁷⁵⁷ The Deacons “guarded marches, patrolled the black community, to ward off night riders, engaged in shoot-outs with Klansmen, and even defied local police in armed confrontations.”²⁷⁵⁸ The rise of white supremacist violence, in response to desegregation, made armed self-defense a must for most black organizing efforts, especially in the South.²⁷⁵⁹ As the years passed, even Martin Luther King began to understand the limits of non-violence to “awaken a sense of moral shame in white southern

²⁷⁵¹ Hill, *The Deacons for Defense*, 2.

²⁷⁵² *Ibid.*, 2.

²⁷⁵³ Williams, *Negroes with Guns*, xix.

²⁷⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, xxiv.

²⁷⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁵⁶ Hill, *The Deacons for Defense*, 2.

²⁷⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

racists.”²⁷⁶⁰ King gave up on Gandhi’s theory of “redemptive suffering,” the idea that if one suffers enough violence through non-violent resistance, it could eventually change the hearts and minds of the perpetrators.²⁷⁶¹ Moreover, King wrote, “I knew that I could never again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettos without having first spoken clearly to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today – my government.”²⁷⁶² On October 15, 1966, a new group emerged, in Oakland, California, called the Black Panther Party of Self Defense.²⁷⁶³ It borrowed many of the same self-defense principles and becomes the new vanguard of the Movement, not of civil rights, but of African American liberation. They were inspired by what Malcolm X stated before his death: “The time has come to fight back in self-defense whenever and wherever the black man is being unjustly and unlawfully attacked.”²⁷⁶⁴ The Black Panther Party started “armed citizens’ patrols to evaluate behavior of police officers.”²⁷⁶⁵ Their confrontational, militant, and violent tactics included carrying weapons openly and making threats against police officers.²⁷⁶⁶ Their chants included, “The Revolution has come, it’s time to pick up the gun, off the pigs!”²⁷⁶⁷

With the rise of armed black liberation radical groups, the mostly white anti-war student movement too began to emulate the increasing rhetoric of armed struggle. As all aspects of the larger Sixties movements followed the lead of the African American civil rights movement, since the early days, their steady rise in the belief in using violence affected both student activists and hippies. The 1960s politicians moved away from merely protesting to fighting back and finally to “bringing the war home.”²⁷⁶⁸ This often translated into the acts of demonstrating, street fighting, and bombing. The Sixties myth that non-violent protests suddenly turned violent at the end of the 1960s decade, signaling the end of the Sixties era, is not true. There always was a violent element to the Sixties. An illustration of this would be the bombing spree, from August to November 1969, by Sam Melville, Jane Alpert, and several others who bombed several corporate offices and military installations (including the Whitehall Army Induction Center) in and around New

²⁷⁶⁰ Ibid., 6.

²⁷⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁷⁶² Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 149.

²⁷⁶³ “The Black Panther Party for Self Defense,” Libcom (September 17, 2006), <http://libcom.org/library/the-black-panther-party-for-self-defense>. Accessed June 22, 2013.

²⁷⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶⁶ Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, 152.

²⁷⁶⁷ “Black Panther Chants,” online video clip, Youtube, July 24, 2010, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v-ZrfuPoz4dtI>. Accessed September 30, 2011.

²⁷⁶⁸ Varon, *Bringing the War Home*, 3.

York City.²⁷⁶⁹ Relating this to the civil rights movement, according to Hill, “The myth posits that racial inequality was dismantled by a non-violent movement. . . . In this narrative Martin Luther King Jr. serves as the moral metaphor of the age while black militants-advocates of racial pride and coercive force-are dismissed as ineffective rebels who alienated whites with Black Power rhetoric and violence.”²⁷⁷⁰ Hippies too moved increasingly away from the flowers and beads of 1967 to images of armed survivalists in the country by 1969, as portrayed by the “Déjà Vu” album cover of Woodstock artists Crosby Stills Nash and Young (released on March 11, 1970).²⁷⁷¹ Hippies who remained in the cities often toughened their demeanors, using the example of the battle over People’s Park in Berkeley on May 15, 1969, when 110 people were shot and wounded (one protester was killed).²⁷⁷² On the other hand, some original hippies, like the Diggers, were never as benign and transcendental as the so-called flower children.²⁷⁷³ In fact, Emmett Grogan, the leader of the Diggers, talked of the “revolution of violence” to come as early as the spring of 1967.²⁷⁷⁴ Other examples of hippies being willing to fight back include the Sunset Strip curfew “hippie riots” of late 1966, the 1967 Christmas Eve bombing of the San Francisco Golden Gate park station, and a 1968 dynamiting by a hippie named Tom Archer to “spread a message of universal love” in San Francisco.^{2775 2776 2777} No matter, by the end of 1967, a new type of hippie arose, calling themselves the Yippies.²⁷⁷⁸ They were a cross between the flower-type hippies and the new political white revolutionaries engaging in radical politics.²⁷⁷⁹

The fourth myth that Woodstock was the opposite of Altamont is a fiction of duality that did not exist. Woodstock and Altamont being polar opposites was a mass media-generated parable.²⁷⁸⁰ “Woodstock is peace and love, the triumph of Woodstock

²⁷⁶⁹ Leslie J. A. Pickerling, *Mad Bomber Melville* (Tempe, Arizona: Arissa Media Group, 2007), 25.

²⁷⁷⁰ Varon, *Bringing the War Home*, 5-6.

²⁷⁷¹ Tom Gundelfinger O’Neal, “CSNY - Deja Vu Album Cover,” Masterpiece, <http://www.masterpieceonline.com/title.php?ititenum-1686&galleryId-1ED1-FGCH-6E59&bc>. Accessed September 29, 2011.

²⁷⁷² Bettina Aptheker, “Historical Perspectives: In Memoriam,” *Left Review: Kent State: Ten Years After*, eds. Scott L. Bills and S.R. Thulin (Spring 1980), 3.

²⁷⁷³ Grogan, *Ringolevio*, 238.

²⁷⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 296.

²⁷⁷⁵ Dr. Derek Lamar, “Sunset Strip Riots 1966,” *The Blackboard Newspaper: Mystical Journey*, April 5, 2006, <http://www.qm21.com/mystical8.html>. Accessed September 25, 2011.

²⁷⁷⁶ “The Motives behind the Bombings,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 18, 1970, A4.

²⁷⁷⁷ “Mad Bomber Reported to Be a Crusading Hippie,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 6, 1968, A3.

²⁷⁷⁸ Jerry Rubin, *Do It!* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970), 81.

²⁷⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 82-83.

²⁷⁸⁰ David Dalton, “Altamont: End of the Sixties: Or big mix-up in the middle of nowhere?,” *Gadfly* (Nov./Dec. 1999), <http://www.gadflyonline.com/archive/NovDec99/archive-altamont.html>. Accessed July 23, 2011.

Nation (the peak of the Sixties). Altamont is guns, drugs and the end of the world (the end of the Sixties). But in reality they were . . . the same fuck-ups, the same cast of characters.”²⁷⁸¹ Woodstock was no more peace and love than Altamont was. The two events were not much different, except that Woodstock was better planned and luckier. Woodstock could have just as easily turned into as big a disaster as Altamont (in fact, it was a sort of disaster zone with traffic jams, lack of food, water, medicine, electricity, and sewage problems).²⁷⁸² “In one sense, Woodstock had been a success for what didn’t happen – more than 400,000 young people had congregated and it did not lead to mass rioting or destruction.”²⁷⁸³ However, Woodstock did have its share of other problems. To begin, it only became free once it was overrun by “unruly” ticketless gatecrashers, “but its commercial origins are but a footnote in its mythology.”²⁷⁸⁴ Many who were actually at Woodstock describe their experience as not all peace, love, and fun (just as Altamont was not all conflict, hate, and misery). A former assistant Attorney General of the State of New York said, “Instead of the widespread notion of joy and an outpouring of goodness, the people I met told tragic stories of lack of consideration, nonexistent sanitation . . . fear and pain.”²⁷⁸⁵ Many of the countercultural musicians performing at Woodstock also agreed. Barry Melton of Country Joe and the Fish said, “When they tell me it was great, I know they saw the movie and they weren’t at the gig.”²⁷⁸⁶ Jerry Garcia of the Grateful Dead remarked, “Woodstock was a bummer. It was terrible to play at”²⁷⁸⁷ Janis Joplin stated soon after Woodstock, “I can’t relate to a quarter of a million people.”²⁷⁸⁸ Trouble simmered throughout the festival, but major catastrophes were miraculously averted. Because of the heavy rains and winds, the stage came close to collapsing.²⁷⁸⁹ Faulty grounding shocked musicians when they touched their instruments.²⁷⁹⁰ With the crowd growing restless, performers were persuaded to play impromptu sets to avert riots.²⁷⁹¹

²⁷⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁷⁸² Makower, *Woodstock*, 1.

²⁷⁸³ Kirkpatrick, *1969*, 192.

²⁷⁸⁴ “A Template for Every Successful Festival Since,” *The Guardian*, May 17, 2009,

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2009/may/17/woodstock-altamont-40th-anniversary-hippie-generation>.

Accessed September 25, 2011.

²⁷⁸⁵ Alice Echols, *Scars of Sweet Paradise: The Life and Times of Janis Joplin* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1999), 250.

²⁷⁸⁶ Kirkpatrick, *1969*, 191.

²⁷⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁸⁹ Ibid., 180

²⁷⁹⁰ Ibid., 181.

²⁷⁹¹ Kirkpatrick, *1969*, 176.

Everywhere there were thousands of people suffering from the ill effects of drugs.²⁷⁹² When gangs of Black Panthers and Hells Angels arrived on motorcycles and acted tough, they came close to confrontations.²⁷⁹³ Moreover, Abbie Hoffman, veteran of the 1968 Chicago Convention riots, gatecrashed the festival with his fellow Yippie activists intent on “liberating Woodstock from the hippie capitalists.”²⁷⁹⁴ On the third day of the “peace” festival, Hoffman walked on stage during The Who’s set and tried to make a political speech, only to get hit on the head by Pete Townshend’s guitar.²⁷⁹⁵ “I think this is a pile of shit while John Sinclair rots in prison,” Hoffman shouted. “Fuck off my stage,” screamed The Who guitarist, “the next person that walks across the stage is going to get killed. You can laugh but I mean it.”²⁷⁹⁶ In the meantime, the militant group, the Motherfuckers, torched a hamburger van, also protesting hippie capitalism.²⁷⁹⁷ Later, someone pulled a gun on Woodstock promoter Artie Kornfeld in the backstage area. “I was chatting to David Crosby and Stephen Stills when this crazy revolutionary dude suddenly appears and sticks a gun to my forehead,” asserted Kornfeld, who reported that the man said, “I’m going to blow you away, you fuckin’ hippie capitalist pig!”²⁷⁹⁸ A roadie jumped on the person and saved Kornfeld’s life.²⁷⁹⁹ In the end, thousands at Woodstock sustained injuries (mostly cuts from stepping on barbed wire and glass while barefoot), and three people died, only one fewer than later at Altamont.^{2800 2801} One person died of a heroin overdose; another was run over accidentally by a tractor; a third festival-goer died of a ruptured appendix. Nonetheless, with most of the negativity at the Woodstock festival deliberately brushed aside, it seemed that only negativity could describe Altamont.

²⁷⁹² Keith Phipps, “Albert Maysles: Altamont revisited,” A.V. Club (October 18, 2000), <http://www.avclub.com/article/albert-maysles-13682>. Accessed October 1, 2011.

²⁷⁹³ “A Template for Every Successful Festival Since,” *The Guardian*, May 17, 2009, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2009/may/17/woodstock-altamont-40th-anniversary-hippie-generation>. Accessed September 25, 2011.

²⁷⁹⁴ “The Year of Living Dangerously,” *The Guardian*, May 17, 2009, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2009/may/17/woodstock-altamont-40th-anniversary-hippie-generation>. Accessed September 25, 2011.

²⁷⁹⁵ “Pete Townshend Throws Abbie Hoffman off the Stage at Woodstock,” Roth Army, <http://www.rotharmy.com/forums/showthread.php?48070-Pete-Townshend-throws-Abbie-Hoffman-off-the-stage-at-Woodstock>. Accessed October 1, 2011.

²⁷⁹⁶ “The Who - Abbie Hoffman incident - Woodstock 1969,” online video clip, Youtube, August 12, 2008, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q8BYgzIEHIY>. Accessed October 1, 2011.

²⁷⁹⁷ “The Year of Living Dangerously,” *The Guardian*, May 17, 2009, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2009/may/17/woodstock-altamont-40th-anniversary-hippie-generation>. Accessed September 25, 2011.

²⁷⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰⁰ Makower, *Woodstock*, 256.

²⁸⁰¹ Sharon O’Brien. “Remembering Woodstock: A Profile of the Woodstock Music & Art Fair,” About Relationships, <http://seniorliving.about.com/od/entertainmentrecreation/p/1969-woodstock.htm>. Accessed October 1, 2011.

On the other hand, a question rarely asked is, was Altamont really so completely bad and evil? The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported, in several articles, the next day (December 7, 1969) about a “rock-happy crowd” and being together.²⁸⁰² While it mentioned incidents involving the Hells Angels and the crowd, the focus was on flowers thrown into the air and the people grooving to the music.²⁸⁰³ The *Berkeley Barb* also mentioned violence, and the killing of Meredith Hunter; however it also stated that “the majority of people enjoyed themselves and that the bummers were relatively few considering the large number of people in attendance.”²⁸⁰⁴ In addition, it wrote that Altamont “wasn’t a complete downer. The good vibes far outnumbered the bad.”²⁸⁰⁵ It is interesting to note the contrast between these reports and the later telling of the story, before the myth making reduced Altamont to a complete generational disenchantment. Instead, the perspective in December of 1969 was much more nonchalant, as typified by the *Berkeley Barb* article a few days later, “too bad, it might have been a beautiful high . . . maybe next time.”²⁸⁰⁶

Interestingly, movies were made of both events and were released in 1970. While the *Woodstock* film created an incredibly positive image of the summer festival, the *Gimme Shelter* Altamont film (about the Rolling Stones 1969 U.S. tour) ironically left viewers with a prophecy of doom. As the *Woodstock* movie conjured up childlike idealism, *Gimme Shelter* distorted the complete understanding of what happened at Altamont. The pessimistic exaggerations were not accidental. According to the *New York Times*, *Rolling Stone* magazine, and *Variety*, the Maysles brothers and Charlotte Zwerin (who directed the film) applied techniques that fictionalized the Altamont event.²⁸⁰⁷ By using “direct cinema” methods, they shaped the reporting of events.²⁸⁰⁸ The previously mentioned magazines, in fact, criticized the three for exploiting the murder to their economic advantage.²⁸⁰⁹ In the *Gimme Shelter* film, the filmmakers “construct a narrative to lead inexorably to the murder,” by not adhering precisely to the chronology of events of the festival.²⁸¹⁰ Examples include the Flying Burrito Brothers playing before the Jefferson Airplane in the

²⁸⁰² “We Should Be Together,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 7, 1969, A2.

²⁸⁰³ “300,000 Sway It with Music in Rolling Hills,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 7, 1969, A2.

²⁸⁰⁴ “A Murderous Thing,” *Berkeley Barb*, December 12-18, 1969, 2.

²⁸⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁰⁷ Norma Coates, “Gimme Shelter (1970/2000),” *Pop Matters* (January 13, 2010), <http://www.popmatters.com/pm/review/gimme-shelter/>. Accessed October 1, 2011.

²⁸⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁸¹⁰ *Ibid.*

film, when in reality they played after them. However, in order to show the mounting tension and violence, the movie “situates the Jefferson Airplane’s set, in which singer Marty Balin was knocked out by an Angel when he jumped into the crowd to stop a fight, after the Burritos.”²⁸¹¹ Furthermore, the movie makes it appear that the Rolling Stones opened their set with the foretelling “Sympathy for the Devil,” which again is not accurate; that was the third song played.²⁸¹² Finally, the movie makes it appear that Altamont concluded with Meredith Hunter’s stabbing at the end of “Under My Thumb,” which it did not.²⁸¹³ The movie ends with complete despair, and an end to the Sixties. In reality, the Rolling Stones went on to play eight more songs, and as many claim, gave one of their greatest performances ever.²⁸¹⁴ Nearly an hour later, at the end of the concert performance, the live audio produced of the Altamont festival reveals a thrilled, enthusiastic audience laughing, shouting, completely enjoying themselves, seemingly experiencing good vibes. Mick Jagger finishes the show by saying goodbye to the crowd: “We’re going to kiss you good bye, and we leave you to kiss each other good bye, and we will see you again, alright, kiss each other goodbye, sleep at night.”²⁸¹⁵ This surely does not fit the image of how all was death, hate, and panic. After the film’s original release, its distortions ultimately made Altamont even more notorious than the murder itself.²⁸¹⁶ When this myth was fabricated, it secured the festival’s bad reputation as marking the end of the Sixties.

To end, it would seem peculiar to consider the Woodstock and Altamont rock festivals as opposing bookends. The events took place less than four months apart. How could an event be considered the height of an era, with the other considered the era’s end, in such a short time interval? Many of the same people were involved in both events. The answer lies in myth making. The chaos and murder at Altamont were ultimately overstated, and made unique, while Woodstock had all its flaws and blemishes whitewashed. The whole Sixties era can be fit into this understanding. The early 1970s are not something to be labeled as not belonging to the Sixties era because of increased violent radical behavior. And the 1960s should not to be cleansed and idealized as some kind of peaceful time. Curiously, the image of the Sixties (portrayed in films today) usually involves youth that

²⁸¹¹ Ibid.

²⁸¹² Keith Phipps, “Albert Maysles: Altamont Revisited,” A.V. Club (October 18, 2000), <http://www.avclub.com/article/albert-maysles-13682>. Accessed October 1, 2011.

²⁸¹³ Ibid.

²⁸¹⁴ “Rolling Stones - Live 1969 – Altamont,” online video clip, Youtube, March 22, 2011. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=guDTcaS9GcM&feature=related>. Accessed October 1, 2011.

²⁸¹⁵ Ibid.

²⁸¹⁶ Norma Coates, “Gimme Shelter (1970/2000),” Pop Matters (January 13, 2010), <http://www.popmatters.com/pm/review/gimme-shelter/>. Accessed October 1, 2011.

were more typical of the 1970s than the 1960s. By the time the masses of youth started to defy society by taking drugs, listen to hard rock on free form radio, and wear their hair long, it already was 1970. In fact, during the first several years of the 1970s, the Movement actually continued to grow and find strength, although it eventually was coopted, de-politicized, and mass-marketed to youth by the establishment. By 1973, the typical American college student more closely approximated this profile (of the Sixties counterculture), and it is clear that the inspiration for this model was the countercultural that started the 1960s.²⁸¹⁷ Nothing ended at Altamont in December of 1969, not the war in Vietnam, not the protests against imperialism, not the back-to-the-land hippie communal movement, not black liberation, not women's liberation, not the concern for the environment, nothing that had emerged from the second half of the 1960s counterculture – key players also agreed. Ralph “Sonny” Barger, leader of the Hells Angels, wrote, “All that shit about Altamont being the end of an era was a bunch of intellectual crap. The death of Aquarius, Bullshit, it was the end of nothing.”²⁸¹⁸ Mick Jagger of the Rolling Stones said, “It’s all so wonderfully convenient (that Altamont was the end of an era) things aren’t quite as simple as that.”²⁸¹⁹

V. Statement of Purpose

The writing of this doctoral dissertation has been long in coming, an ongoing project of mine (of setting the record straight) that extends back to the late summer and fall of 1976. Back then, I was a hippie radical who was actively part of the back-to-the-land movement and the Yippies. However, during the 1970s the media increasingly ignored us and endlessly proclaimed that the “Sixties were over.” We were told that it was now time to conform back to the system. It was strange, depressing, and maddening to witness how the revolution could now be depicted as being passé. After being declared no longer current or in fashion, most people (but not I) began to slowly conform, as the stigma of being out-of-date was too great. But the power of the media and government propaganda had little real success in convincing youth to change course (though they tried continually since the mid-1960s) until after President Nixon resigned and the Vietnam War had completely ended, both of which occurred in the middle of the 1970s decade. Thus, in my

²⁸¹⁷ William L. O’Neil, *Coming Apart: An Informal History of America* (New York: Times Books, 1974), 397.

²⁸¹⁸ Barger, *Hells Angel*, 168.

²⁸¹⁹ Alan Clayson, *Mick Jagger: The Unauthorised Biography* (London: Sanctuary Publishing Limited, 2005), 103.

disseration, I also end the Sixties in the middle 1970s, more specifically, during the second half of 1976. Why? Because that was precisely when the establishment's new paradigm finally took hold. The new promoted beliefs and values that were characterized by such things as patriotism and nostalgia swept the nation (fueled by the fifteen-month-long Bicentennial celebrations), Jimmy Carter (a wolf in sheep's clothing who claimed to be an outsider and reformer, yet institutionalized and bamboozled a large part of the protest movement with his year-long presidential campaign and November election victory), and disco (a cultural manifestation of the "me generation," which combined with the ongoing economic recession and energy crisis, caused many to turn towards self-absorption). Paradoxically, even the new form of protest in the mid-1970s called punk signified the end of the Sixties with its philosophy of nihilism and its ridicule of Sixties era music and positive ideals. Nonetheless, even then the Sixties did not end for all of us. There were many like myself who understood the contradiction involved in the corporate media (the same people we were trying to overthrow) telling us that the Sixties had ended. Yes the Vietnam War and the military draft had ended, but American imperialism had not. We kept going, protesting American involvement in Angola, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala and the return of draft registration. There were also continuing movements: anti-nuclear power and in favor of weapons freeze, anti-apartheid, environmental, civil rights for minorities and women, legalization of marijuana, and many other areas of protest. Thus, in this other sense, the Sixties era can be seen as extending, at least, into the middle of the 1980s if not much further. But no, starting in the latter part of 1976, the media went all-out to portray us as being "Sixties hanger on-ers," relics from another time, and it worked. The Baby Boomers' generational unity concerning "the Movement" or "the Revolution" was lost. During the late 1970s, I personally experienced brainwashed young people screaming out from their car windows "cut your hair" because "the Sixties are over" when noticing me. Yes, I witnessed the process of elite-sponsored reality myth-making; their social engineering quickly became a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Finally, the impetus for writing this disseration came not only from being part of the Sixties era, but from being the younger part of the Baby Boom generation, which came of age mostly in the 1970s decade. If the Sixties era had truly ended in 1969, then my immediate age group and I would not (or would barely) have taken part in the Movement actively. As a result I am, in effect, indirectly reestablishing the younger part of the Baby Boom's rightful place in Sixties-era history with this disseration. Yet, as someone who was alive during the 1960s and 1970s, and with an agenda, I found that it was both an

advantage and a disadvantage when it came to formulating and framing my thesis. The challenge was to not prejudice the facts that I was uncovering in my research, but to remain impartial. I believe I succeeded, as my research led me to overwhelmingly highlight the negative (in opposition to myself) in order to prove my propositions about why the Sixties area did not end in 1969. On the other hand, remembering the years that I researched was admittedly helpful, as I did not have to learn all the basic historical details of the time (and their intricate connections to each other) since I had been aware of most of the events during the 1960s and 1970s as they unfolded. Although I was only a kid during the 1960s decade, those memories shaped a large part of my life, and as far as the 1970s decade is concerned (as I stated before), I was already a hippie and politically active. To provide a sense of my memories, the following is a brief sketch on how this time period affected me. The first real historical event that I remember was the Berlin crisis in August of 1961, especially how building contractors constructed my family's nuclear fallout shelter next to our house in October of that year. One year later, in October 1962, thinking I was going to die, I was dismayed that humanity had almost launched a nuclear war during the Cuban missile crisis; it was then that I began to not like the way the world was being run. The assassination of John F. Kennedy in November of 1963 was a real heartbreaker that made me cry, and reinforced my distrust of those in power. Three days later I watched, on live TV, Jack Ruby kill Lee Harvey Oswald (the so-called lone assassin of JFK). On a happier note, in February of 1964, I watched the first two Beatles concerts in America, which were also shown live on TV; they were only rock shows but somehow I (and many of my generation) felt excited about this new music form and thought that somehow it could help change the world positively. In March of 1965, I heard that the first combat troops had arrived in Vietnam, and in August, the Watts section of Los Angeles exploded in a riot, causing fear in our white neighborhood. The "First Human Be-In" was on the nightly news in January 1967, which I saw, and with it I witnessed the rise of the hippie movement. By July I had met hippies in person for the first time and they intrigued me. The following year, I was fascinated with the photo of SDS leader Mark Rudd on the cover of *Life* magazine, after the Columbia University riots in May of 1968; I kept staring at his image, perhaps picking up premonitions of how I would turn out in a few years. Also that year I was greatly saddened and angered by the June assassination of Robert Kennedy, which led me by August of 1968 to utter my first beliefs on the need for a revolution (this occurred precisely on August 28 while I was watching the Chicago Democratic Presidential National Convention riots on TV). After I finished cutting grass, in May of 1970, I listened

in shock to a special report on the radio on how four students had been shoot dead at Kent State University by the National Guard; one was a 19-year-old girl who lived fairly close to me. Finally, on September 8, 1971, I joined the ranks of the hippie radicals, making a commitment this day to actively support the various causes that would make the world a better place to live. Why on that day? Without getting into details on what happened, I will simply say it was just the time that I reached the age of decision – on who I was and what I was going to do in life. Young people must always figure themselves out during adolescence, but perhaps this process was even more intense during the height of the Vietnam War. The lines regarding which side of the revolution they would be on were sharply drawn for teenagers at the time. For me, the writing of this disseration is but one more step on the path of continuing the struggle for truth and justice. The importance of recognizing that the Sixties did not end in 1969 has to do with the fact that the struggle for social justice is ongoing and not a brief youthful fad that is tied to a decade. The Sixties era was not just the 1960s decade; it included at least a large portion of the 1970s decade. While movements do generally rise and fall, or begin and end, in a broader sense they never do end, as members of the coming generations continue the efforts of their predecessors to shine light onto the darkened injustices that humanity has created. The need to uphold a higher vision for humanity since WWII has continued to be paramount, as the age of weapons of mass distruction has only intensified. If Homo sapiens wants to continue to exist on this planet earth, we who heed the call must continue the struggle not only to ensure that it does so, but to guide it towards its glorious potential.

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VI.9. Interviews

Adams, Barry "Plunker." Lived in the Haight-Ashbury during the 1967 "Summer of Love." and is one of two main (1970) initiators of the annual Rainbow Family Gatherings that has continued the Peace and Love culture of the 1960s into the twenty-first century.

- Adler, Les. Academic who was a graduate student at the University of California at Berkeley during the height of the Vietnam War protests.
- Alpert, Richard, Dr. (Ram Das). 1960s LSD counter-culture guru and the author of best seller *Be Here Now* in 1971.
- Ayers, William Charles "Bill." The co-founder of the revolutionary group called The Weather Underground in 1969, which conducted a campaign of bombings through the mid-1970s and took part in actions such as the jailbreak of Timothy Leary in 1970.
- Beck, Garrick. With Barry "Plunker" Adams, helped initiate (1970) the annual Rainbow Family Gatherings that have continued the Peace and Love culture of the 1960s into the twenty-first century.
- Babbitt, Bob. Bass player most famous for his work as a member of Motown Records' studio band, the Funk Brothers, from 1966-1972, as well as his tenure as part of MFSB for Philadelphia International Records afterwards. Babbitt's most notable bass performances include "Signed, Sealed, Delivered I'm Yours" by Stevie Wonder, "War" by Edwin Starr, "The Tears of a Clown" by Smokey Robinson & the Miracles, "Mercy Mercy Me (The Ecology)" and "Inner City Blues" by Marvin Gaye, "Band of Gold" by Freda Payne, "Ball of Confusion (That's What the World Is Today)," and "Just My Imagination (Running Away With Me)" by The Temptations. He participated in hundreds of other hits, including "Little Town Flirt" by Del Shannon, "I Got a Name" by Jim Croce, and "Scorpio" by Dennis Coffey & the Detroit Guitar Band. Babbitt also played on the Jimi Hendrix album "Crash Landing."
- Balin, Marty. Founder and one of the lead singers of the psychedelic rock band Jefferson Airplane (1965-1971) and its spin-off Jefferson Starship (1974-1978). Best remembered songs include: "Somebody to Love" (1967), "White Rabbit" (1967), and "Volunteers" (1969), "Ride the Tiger" (1974), "Miracles" (1975), and "With Your Love" (1976).
- Beal, Dana. One-time leader of the Youth International Party (Yippies). He founded the *Yipster Times* in 1972. In Miami Beach, Florida he was one of the organizers of a Zippie-led marijuana smoke-in outside the 1972 Democratic Convention.
- Blum, William. Author, historian, and critic of United States foreign policy. He worked in a computer related position at the United States Department of State in the mid-1960s. In 1967 he became disillusioned by the Vietnam War and left the State

Department to become a founder and editor of the *Washington Free Press*, the first “alternative” newspaper in the capital. In 1969, he wrote and published an exposé of the CIA in which was revealed the names and addresses of more than 200 CIA employees. He has worked as freelance journalist in the United States, Europe and South America. In 1972-73 Blum worked as a journalist in Chile where he reported on the Allende government’s “socialist experiment.” In the mid-1970s, he worked in London with ex-CIA officer Philip Agee and his associates “on their project of exposing CIA personnel and their misdeeds.

Brower, David. He was a founder of many environmental organizations, including the Sierra Club Foundation, the John Muir Institute for Environmental Studies, Friends of the Earth (1969), the League of Conservation Voters, Earth Island Institute (1982), North Cascades Conservation Council, and Fate of the Earth Conferences. From 1952 to 1969, he served as the first Executive Director of the Sierra Club, and served on its board three times: from 1941–1953, 1983–1988, and 1995-2000.

Brown, Edmund Gerald (“Jerry”). An American politician who currently serves as the 39th Governor of California since 2011; he previously served as California’s 34th Governor from 1975 to 1983. Both before and after his original two terms as governor, Brown served in numerous state, local, and party positions. He was a member of the Los Angeles Community College District Board of Trustees (1969–1971), Secretary of State of California (1971–1975), chairman of the California Democratic Party (1989–1991), Mayor of Oakland (1999–2007) and Attorney General of California (2007–2011). Brown also sought the Democratic nominations for president of the United States in 1976, 1980, and 1992. In the 1970s, he was considered a young new wave politician with a campaign motto of, “Protect the Earth, serve the people, explore the universe.”“ Brown considered himself a candidate of new, unconventional ideas, and was called “Governor Moonbeam” for his ability to attract California’s New Age crowd. During his first term as governor he dated Linda Ronstadt, the most successful American female pop singer of the 1970s.

Carmichael, Stokely. African-American civil rights and Black Power leader, the chairman of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) from 1966-1967, and the “Honorary Prime Minister” of the Black Panther Party from 1967-1968.

Canfora, Alan Michael. Was a student at Kent State University, Ohio, when he was shot and wounded in the right wrist by Ohio National Guardsmen in the Kent State

shootings on May 4, 1970 while protesting the invasion of Cambodia. In total, four students were killed and nine others wounded, one of whom suffered permanent paralysis.

Castillo, Edward. A Native American activist from the Luiseño-Cahuilla tribes who participated in the American Indian occupation of Alcatraz in 1969. For the past many years he has been a professor and director of Native American Studies at Sonoma State University in California.

Fantuzzi, Louis. Musical troubadour who performed on the small stage at the Woodstock music festival in 1969. He was the man that *Newsweek Magazine* featured on its cover to symbolize the gathering of the original 1969 Woodstock Concert in 1994. In 1971, he toured the world with the music and dance group called “The Rainbow Gypsies” and again in 1973-76 with “The Butterfly Family.”

Fogerty, Tom. Former guitarist and vocalist for the Creedence Clearwater Revival, one of the most successful rock bands of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Their best remembered songs include: “Susie Q” (1968), “I Put a Spell on You” (1969), “Bad Moon Rising” (1969), “Green River” (1969), “Down on the Corner” (1969), “Fortunate Son” (1969), “Travelin’ Band” (1970), “Who’ll Stop the Rain” (1970), “Up Around the Bend” (1970), “Run Through the Jungle” (1970), “Lookin’ Out My Back Door” (1970), and “Have You Ever Seen the Rain” (1971).

Gaskin, Stephen. San Francisco State University instructor turned hippie. His Monday Night Class was attended by hippies from all over the San Francisco Bay Area during the years 1969 and 1970. Stephen became known as San Francisco’s acid guru. In 1970, Gaskin was part of a caravan of 60 vehicles that crossed the United States to settle near Nashville, Tennessee, forming a commune called The Farm.

Graham, Bill. Impresario and rock concert promoter from the 1960s until his death in 1991. His music venues at the Fillmore Auditorium in San Francisco, and Fillmore East in New York became the focal point for psychedelic music, and the counterculture in general, for such acts as the Grateful Dead, the Steve Miller Band, Jefferson Airplane, Quicksilver Messenger Service, the Doors, Jimi Hendrix Experience, the Byrds, Big Brother and the Holding Company, Santana, and others.

Hawthorne, Mark. Known for years in Berkeley, California as the Hate Man, he has been one of the most colorful, oddball, counter-culture, homeless persons on Telegraph Avenue since 1973. His beliefs center on people being honest about their negative

feelings, hence his name. Before opting out of normal society, Hawthorne was a *New York Times* news reporter from 1961 to 1970.

Herer, Jack. Sometimes called the “Emperor of Hemp,” he was a cannabis activist and the author of *The Emperor Wears No Clothes*, a book that has been used in efforts to decriminalize and legalize cannabis and to expand the use of hemp for industrial use. Herer also founded and served as the director of the organization Help End Marijuana Prohibition (HEMP).

Hills, Christopher Hills. Author, philosopher, and scientist, popularly described as the “Father of Spirulina” for popularizing spirulina cyanobacteria as a food supplement. He also wrote 30 books on consciousness, meditation, yoga and spiritual evolution, and personal health. Hills was described a “Western guru scientist.” and was friends with many of the well-known counter-cultural and new age thinkers of the 1960s and 1970s.

Kay, Aron. Yippie activist since 1969, dubbed “The Pieman” for a whole series of attacks on famous politicians especially during the 1970’s.

Kay, John. Former singer, songwriter, and guitarist for the rock band Steppenwolf (1967-1972 and 1974-1976). Their best remembered songs included “Born to Be Wild” and “Magic Carpet Ride” from 1968.

Kelly, Alton. An artist, notable for his 1960s psychedelic rock concert poster designs and albums.

Kesey, Ken. A key early countercultural figure who (with his group of friends called the Merry Pranksters) put on public LSD parties (“The Acid Tests”) from 1965-1966. He was most famous for his novel *One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest*, which he wrote in 1962.

King, Carole. Grammy Award-winning American singer and songwriter. Her career began in the 1960s when King, along with her then-husband Gerry Goffin, wrote more than two dozen chart hits for numerous artists, many of which have become standards. Her success as a performer in her own right did not come until the 1970s, when she sang her own songs. Her breakthrough was with the album “Tapestry,” which topped the U.S. album chart for 15 weeks in 1971 and remained on the charts for more than six years.

Kopecky, Arthur. A hippie who lived on the legendary commune called New Buffalo during the late 1960s and 1970s. In recent years he has written two books on his

experiences: *New Buffalo, Journals from a Taos Commune* and *Leaving New Buffalo Commune*.

Kramer, Joel. Author of various books and articles about yoga, as well as being a co-author with Diana Alstad of two books on modern society and the individual. He served as yogi-in-residence at Esalen Institute from 1968 to 1970, a retreat center and intentional community, in Big Sur, California, that has traditionally attracted the counter-cultural new age crowd.

Kunstler, William. A “radical lawyer” who defended members of the Catonsville Nine in 1968, the Chicago Seven from 1969–1970, and the Black Panther Party, Weather Underground Organization, the Attica Prison rioters, and the American Indian Movement throughout the early and mid-1970s. Kunstler was a board member of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the co-founder of the Law Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR), the “leading gathering place for radical lawyers in the country.”

Leary, Timothy, Dr. 1960s LSD counter-culture guru who promoted his philosophy “turn on, tune in, drop out” at the First Human Be-In in 1967. President Richard Nixon once described him as “the most dangerous man in America.”

Marcz, Wayne. Member of SDS and participant in the Chicago Democratic National Convention protests in 1968.

McDonald, Country Joe. Musician who was the lead singer of the 1960s psychedelic rock group Country Joe and the Fish. His most remembered song was the “‘Fish’ Cheer / I-Feel-Like-I’m-Fixin’-to-Die Rag” in 1967, which he famously performed at the Woodstock festival in 1969.

Metzner, Ralph, Dr. He participated in psychedelic research at Harvard University in the early 1960s with Timothy Leary and Richard Alpert (later named Ram Dass). In 1966 he co-wrote *The Psychedelic Experience: A Manual Based on the Tibetan Book of the Dead* with Richard Alpert and Timothy Leary.

Michael, Allen. Founder of the One World Family Commune during the Summer of Love in San Francisco in 1967. They opened several food restaurants in the coming years: The Here and Now, in S.F.’s Haight/Ashbury, the Mustard Seed in Marin, and the One World Family Natural Food Center on Telegraph Avenue in Berkeley. In 1973, Michael founded the Universal Industrial Church of the New World Comforter, based on the teachings of “holding all things common and making

distribution according to need.” He claimed to be an enlightened being and a galactic space messenger.

Miles, Buddy. Rock and funk drummer, vocalist, composer and producer. He was a founding member of The Electric Flag (1967), a member of Jimi Hendrix’s Band of Gypsies (1969-1970), founder and leader of the Buddy Miles Express and later, the Buddy Miles Band. In addition to playing with Jimi Hendrix, Miles played and recorded with Carlos Santana, Mike Bloomfield and others. He played at the Woodstock music festival with Jimi Hendrix in 1969.

Miller, Bill (Billy). Member of the legendary Roky Erickson & the Aliens band (Erickson’s 1970’s band after the 13th Floor Elevators disbanded).

Miller, Steve. Guitarist and lead vocals for the Steve Miller Band, which started in San Francisco in 1967. He is best known today for a string of (mainly) mid-1970s hit singles, as well as several earlier acid rock albums. Some famous songs include: “Living in the U.S.A.” (1968), “The Joker” (1973), “Take the Money and Run” (1976), “Rock’n Me” (1976), and “Fly Like an Eagle” (1976).

Miller, Timothy. A professor of religious studies at the University of Kansas. He has published three books on communes, the most successful called *The ‘60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond*.

Orr, Leonard. Spiritual writer best known for developing Rebirthing-Breathwork, a “system” or technique of breathing that can help one to overcome the “trauma” of being born. Popular within the New Age Movement since first establishing the Theta House in San Francisco in the early 1970s.

Phillips, Shawn. A folk-rock musician, primarily influential in the 1960s and 1970s. Phillips has recorded twenty albums and worked with musicians including Donovan, Eric Clapton, Steve Winwood, and Bernie Taupin. He was cast to play the lead in the original 1970 production of “Jesus Christ Superstar” but had to withdraw due to his heavy recording and touring schedule.

Pinkney, Larry. Member of the Black Panther Party, former Minister of Interior of the Republic of New Africa, and a former political prisoner during the late 1960s and 1970s.

Radhanath Swami. A Gaudiya Vaishnava guru. After he attended the 1969 Woodstock music festival, he went on his spiritual path, later joining the Hare Krishna movement. In the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) he serves as a member of the Governing Body Commission.

Rajneesh, Bhagwan Shree (Osho). Was a spiritual Guru from India. He began teaching in the late 1960s and attracted many hippie new age followers because of his outspoken criticism of politicians and the political mind, and his more open attitude towards sexuality . Rajneesh was called the “sex guru” by the international press. Later his Oregon ashram collapsed when he revealed that the commune leadership had committed a number of serious crimes, including a bioterror attack (food contamination) on the citizens of the Dalles. He was arrested in 1985 and deported from the United States.

Raskin, Jonah. Co-founder of the Youth International Party (the Yippies) in 1967, he was designated its Minister of Education in 1970. Also a member of the Weatherman faction of SDS.

Rolling Thunder (John Pope). A Native American medicine man who met with hippies in 1967 to talk about how “the day of purification was nearing.” More than most Native American leaders, he believed that the hippies were part of a process in which “true brothers throughout mankind” would return to the way of the spirit. In films, Rolling Thunder played himself in the 1971, 1974, and 1977 “Billy Jack” movies. In music, Rolling Thunder appears on Grateful Dead drummer Mickey Hart’s album “Rolling Thunder,” a 1972 release. In 1975-1976, Bob Dylan organized and headlined the Rolling Thunder Revue, a nationwide series of concerts in which Rolling Thunder himself would appear at some of the shows.

Roszak, Theodore. Was a Professor Emeritus of history at California State University, East Bay. He is best known for his 1969 book, *The Making of a Counter Culture*. Roszak is generally credited with the first use of the term “counter culture.”

Shankel, Ford. Student radical during the 1960s turned WPTT Pittsburgh, PA channel 22 TV newscaster and radio show host.

Satchidananda, Swami Sri. Spiritual master and the opening speaker at the Woodstock music festival in 1969. Over the years he wrote numerous books and gave hundreds of lectures. He was the founder of the Integral Yoga Institute and Yogaville in America, and Spiritual Guru of many major actors, musicians, and counter-cultural figures such as Alice Coltrane, John Fahey, Allen Ginsberg, Dean Ornish, Jeff Goldblum, Carole King, and Laura Nyro.

Savio. Mario. Political activist and a key member in the Berkeley Free Speech Movement. He is most famous for his passionate speeches, especially the “put your bodies

upon the gears” address given at Sproul Hall, University of California, Berkeley, on December 2, 1964.

Scheff, Jerry. Bass player best known for his work with Elvis Presley in the 1970s as a member of his TCB Band and his work on the Doors’ final recordings.

Sparks, Robert (Bob). Berkeley political activist, a fixture on the local political scene from the early 1970s until his death in 1995.

St. John, Powell. A singer and songwriter who played and wrote songs for Janis Joplin (“Bye, Bye Baby” in 1967) and the pioneer psychedelic rock band called the 13th Floor Elevators (1965 to 1969). Best remembered songs include: “You’re Gonna Miss Me” (1966), “Reverberation – Doubt” (1966), “I’ve Got Levitation” (1967), “She Lives - In a Time of Her Own” (1967), and “Slip Inside This House” (1968).

Vinograd, Julia (The Bubble Lady). Berkeley, California street poet since that the 1960s and a familiar figure on Telegraph Avenue. Known for blowing bubbles everywhere she goes, she was part of the 1964 Free Speech Movement, and everything afterwards.

Walls, David, Dr. An activist and academic since the early 1960s. From 1959 to 1964, he was a member of SLATE, a pioneer organization of the new left and precursor of the Free Speech Movement. He also served a term on the board of directors of the Associated Students of the University of California in Berkeley during the formative years of the counter-culture.

Wavy Gravy (born Hugh Nanton Romney). Member of Ken Kesey’s Merry Pranksters in 1964-1965. He was the founder of the Traveling Hog Farm Commune in 1966, members of which were recruited as the “Please Force” to help out with the security at the 1969 Woodstock Festival. Wavy Gravy was also the MC at Woodstock for one day.

Wheeler, Bill. Founder and owner of one of the first famous hippie communes called Wheeler’s Ranch near Occidental, California, since 1967.

Young, Jesse Colin. Singer, songwriter and a founding member of the Youngbloods (1965-1972). Their most famous song was “Get Together,” a hippie anthem of peace and brotherhood that reached #5 in 1969.