

RADICAL PEDAGOGY: LESSONS FROM THE SIXTIES

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Fugitive Days: A Memoir. By Bill Ayers, Penguin Books, New York, 2003, pp. 308, US\$14.00 (paperback).

Letters to a Young Activist. By Todd Gitlin, Basic Books, New York, 2003, pp. 174, US\$15.75 (cloth).

The 1960s are back (if ever they went away). Recently, various authors have returned to the curly issue of defining 'the 60s.' Not merely a decade, 'the 60s' are described in terms of social and political structures, concatenation of major historical events, and zeitgeist.¹ Speaking in the pages of this journal a number of years ago, Todd Gitlin brought many of these elements together when he emphasized the central role of the Vietnam War in defining the 1960s. As Gitlin noted, 'Absent the war in Vietnam and 'the 60s' would not be the 60s as we know them'.² Indeed, just as the war occupied the 1960s, its effects, frequently defined as 'legacies', continue to be felt in US politics and culture.

Such effects include, among others, the war service records of the Vietnam veterans John Kerry, Bob Kerrey, John McCain, and Colin Powell, the fate of the 'Vietnam syndrome' within America's continuing wars, texts such as Maxine Hong Kingston's *The Fifth Book of Peace* (2003), Errol Morris's Academy Award-winning documentary portrait of Robert McNamara, *The Fog of War* (2003), and the books under review here, *Letters to a Young Activist* by Todd Gitlin, and *Fugitive Days* by Bill Ayers. Both Gitlin and Ayers focus on their experiences opposing the war in Vietnam to draw lessons from 'the 60s'. This connection- between the past and contemporary lessons- has its own tradition, of course. As the common (sense) ramifications of the phrase 'the lessons of history' would have it, history and pedagogy are always already entwined. In this sense the contributions by Gitlin and Ayers to this process are works of radical pedagogy- lessons and reflections from a radical past intended to inform a future of political activism. The efficacy of such a project is implicated with the contents and forms of both books reviewed here.

The Useable 60s

In *Fugitive Days* Bill Ayers recounts his experiences before and during his membership in the Weather Underground, an ultraradical group which arose in the late 1960s in the wake of the demise of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a key organization of New Left antiwar protest in the US

during the Vietnam War years. In contrast to Jane Alpert and Susan Stern, both of whom have written memoirs detailing their lives in the Weather Underground, Ayers was a principal figure within the organization who, together with Mark Rudd, Jeff Jones and, most notably, Bernadine Dohrn, led the group through its most notorious actions of the early 1970s.³ The first half of Ayers' memoir deals largely with the years 1965-1970, prior to the formation of the Weather Underground. Ayers details his education, and his proclivity for extra-curricular activities, at the exclusive preparatory school he attended in northern Michigan, and at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor.

After reading James Baldwin's 'Letter to My Nephew on the Hundredth Anniversary of the Emancipation' Ayers hitchhiked to New Orleans to assist in civil rights organizing, but soon joined the crew of a merchant ship bound for Greece. On his return to Ann Arbor in 1965 he became involved in antiwar activity, including participation in a teach-in on the Vietnam War led by Paul Potter, then president of SDS. 'How do you stop a war? Potter asked. If the war has its roots deep in the institutions of American society, how do you stop it? Do you march and rally? Do you conduct a teach-in? Is that enough? Who will hear us? ... His questions reached out at me with the urgency of a slap ... How will you live your life so that it doesn't make a mockery of your values?' (p. 61). Increasingly, the war came to dominate Ayers' life. Driven by Potter's question, Ayers committed himself to antiwar activity while teaching at the 'Children's Community', a preschool for children from Ann Arbor. It was at the school that he met another volunteer teacher, Diana Oughton, who would become Ayers' lover and join him in SDS and the Weather Underground.

The August 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago was a defining moment for Ayers and SDS. Within his description of what the Walker Report (1968) called the police riot that ensued during the Chicago protests, Ayers notes ominously, 'Perhaps this is when rage got started in the movement, this very night. I'm not sure, but before this, every meeting, every rally, every demonstration was filled with singing, and afterward the singing stopped. When we opened our mouths now, we could only scream ... The apocalypse approached' (p. 131).

The following summer Ayers and Oughton returned to Chicago for the week-long annual SDS meeting. The central point of discussion at the meeting that year was the role of national liberation movements in world struggle, and Ayers and his colleagues- now calling themselves the Revolutionary Youth Movement- supported Ho Chi Minh and Vietnamese self-determination. What Ayers calls the 'opposing line', held by the Progressive Labor faction, maintained 'that all nationalism was inherently

reactionary, and that racism was a matter of prejudice mainly' (p. 140). The differences between the two groups irreconcilably divided the national SDS, though Ayers skims over details of the split. Ayers and his colleagues regrouped as the Weathermen (taking their name from Bob Dylan's 'Subterranean Homesick Blues' – 'You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows'). Convinced that the 'revolution was at hand', the Weathermen (later, as an acknowledgement of the gender exclusionary basis of the term, known as the Weather Underground) 'set about to found an American Red Army ... We could think of no basis on which to defend inaction, and so our watchword was simple: Action! Action! Action!' (p. 141). Many of these actions were focused on Chicago one year after the Democratic National Convention, the so-called Days of Rage, in which five hundred or so Weathermen led by Bernadine Dohrn rampaged through Chicago's Gold Coast. In the months following the Days of Rage, Fred Hampton and Mike Clark of the Chicago Black Panther Party were killed by police, and in early 1970 members of the Weathermen went underground to pursue a violently militant line of political activity (pp. 168-179).

The title of the memoir is misleading to the extent that Ayers gives a lengthier account of his life during the years 1965-1970, than the years 1970-1975, which form part two, dealing with his experiences as a fugitive from the FBI for his part in the Days of Rage. Part Two opens, as did part one, with the events of 6 March 1970 when three members of the Weather Underground, including Diana Oughton, fatally blew themselves up while assembling a bomb in a New York City townhouse. The event reverberates throughout the book, a painful memory and a lesson in the excesses of violent radicalism ('We dreaded the possibility of two, three, many Townhouses'. p. 228). Living underground Ayers interacted with the various 'tribes' that came to compose the Weather Underground, including the New York Tribe, once led by Terry Robbins, who died in the townhouse explosion, and the West Coast Tribe, led by Bernadine Dohrn, which Ayers joined. Life underground was for Ayers a time of living in 'safe houses', some safer than others, taking odd jobs, travelling across the country, and constantly searching for fake identification papers. 'But', Ayers notes, 'our survival had to have meaning ... We would make history' (p. 266).

The Weather Underground's particular form of historical agency found form in a series of actions against official targets, including the bombing of the Pentagon (Ayers placed the bomb in a washroom, with advance notice of its imminent explosion). Other activities included the 1970 jailbreak of Timothy Leary from a California prison farm. The actions were, as Ayers admits, symbolic- intended to demonstrate that the US government was not omnipotent, that a band of 'outlaws' could at will disrupt 'the system.' The narrative moves to 'decades later', March 6, the anniversary of Oughton's

death, which coincides with a ceremony at the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial honouring Hugh Thompson, Lawrence Colburn, and Glen Andreotta, three US soldiers who attempted to intervene in the massacre at My Lai. 'It took more than twenty-five years to imagine their action as heroic, to remember something moral in doing the unthinkable thing in war, even when it seemed like the wrong thing', writes Ayers (p. 277).

Fugitive Days is not a defence of the Weather Underground; in fact Ayers is often scathing of his own, and his colleagues' attitudes and actions. Rather than an apologia for his past self, the book is an attempt to evoke and explain the temper and mood of the Vietnam War era, and to describe actions motivated by Paul Potter's question: how do you live your life in a way that does not betray your values? As Ayers' book suggests, Potter's rhetorical skills were impressive. On 17 April 1965, Potter spoke at the Washington Monument during the first antiwar rally called by SDS. Potter's speech set out ideas that were soon incorporated into SDS policy and approaches, specifically, the need to identify 'the system' that rules US foreign and domestic policies. 'We must name that system', insisted Potter. 'We must name it, describe it, analyze it, understand it and change it. For it is only when that system is changed and brought under control that there can be any hope for stopping the forces that create a war in Vietnam today or a murder in the South tomorrow...'.⁴ For Ayers, living a life without betraying one's values, and seeking- by whatever means necessary- to fight 'the system', demanded a deep idealism.

In *Letters to a Young Activist* Todd Gitlin draws very different conclusions and lessons from his activist past. Gitlin, president of SDS during 1963 and 1964, and now a professor of journalism at New York University, insists that a central purpose of his book is to address 'big questions about the activist spirit' (p. 2). Such questions do not include Potterian ones that lead to idealism, a condition Gitlin rigorously decries. In contrast to late sixties utopianism, Gitlin's early twenty-first century position is based on the privileging of a pragmatism which supports the status quo of existing political parties. He dismisses attempts to build a radical alternative to the Democratic Party as 'narcissism wearing a cloak of ideals' (p. 84). 'The Democratic Party', he writes, 'is the inescapable field where we either win, lose, or draw' (p. 119). According to Gitlin, realism dominated in the mid 1960s. Regarding the representation of the 60's antiwar/socially progressive movement in the popular media (a process he studied incisively in his book *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*, 1980), Gitlin states: 'This black-and-white diagram is simplistic and seriously distorted. It's predicated on a melodramatic tale about those far gone and glorious sixties... During most of the sixties, idealism was nowhere near universal. Movement earnestness and longing

were conspicuous by contrast with the more extensive vogue of hard practicality' (p. 47). To support this claim Gitlin quotes figures which reinforce the 'hard practicality' required to build a movement: 'the black students who launched the sit-in at a lunch counter in Greensboro, N.C., February 1, 1960, numbered four...At its peak, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) numbered perhaps 200 field organizers. There were a few score Freedom Riders, and 1,000 volunteers for Freedom Summer...The first national demonstration against the war in Vietnam, in Washington, D.C., April 17, 1965, numbered 25,000- which felt huge (pp. 27, 31). It could be argued, that given the low figures, and what would appear to be a concomitant low chance of success in each case, idealism was a necessary precondition for such actions. Gitlin does not draw this conclusion. His lesson here is to avoid idealism, especially of the variety that leads to thinking that a worldly paradise is possible (chapter 3).

Gitlin focuses on political conditions and decisions likely to prove productive to the pragmatic activist, and he relies on his own activist credentials to validate the lessons contained in the book's eleven 'letters'. In this regard he mentions his participation in a sit-in protest in Boston against nuclear proliferation, his election to the presidency of SDS in 1963, his arrest for anti-apartheid picketing outside the Chase Manhattan Bank in 1965, and his participation in the Stop the Draft protests in Oakland in 1967 (p. 15). He admits that young activists may be 'sick and tired of hearing about [60s activists'] glory days', though he repeatedly insists that the 'sixties *were* thrilling', 'we were not weighed down by the sense of coming too late', the 'sixties truly were amazing' (pp. 20-25). Against the emphasis on the achievements of the 60s Gitlin expresses his regrets about some of his actions during the period. For example, he laments not taking the established two-party system more seriously, and not being alert to the real danger posed by Richard Nixon. He decries the slippage from a broad-based political movement to the rise of disparate groups based on identity politics. In a surprising twist he criticizes 60s antiwar activity itself for prolonging the war: 'If antiwar militancy can take credit for driving Johnson from office in 1968', he writes, 'it must...shoulder the blame for nudging some voters towards Nixon, who proceeded to extend the Vietnam War for five years and expanded it to Laos and Cambodia, killing more than a million people' (p. 78). Such interpretations are accompanied by a persistent line of opinionated denunciation. Marx, according to Gitlin, was a 'brilliant but monomaniacal prophet' (p. 15), Lenin was 'intellectually dishonest' (p. 40), Noam Chomsky is 'simple-minded' (p. 146), and those he calls 'feminist zealots' 'were sometimes indifferent to children' (p. 36).

The early years of the 60s were, it would seem, a time of hard work required to build a movement, characterised by non-violent actions such as sit-ins

and teach-ins. The late 60s, in contrast, saw the rise of 'new radicals', a time when resistance turned to revolution. The implicit construction of what Wini Breines has called the 'good early sixties, bad late sixties' dichotomy is reflected in Gitlin's attitude to the late 60s rise of the Black Panthers and the Weather Underground.⁵ According to Gitlin, the Black Panther Party 'hijacked the black liberation movement' (p. 71) and '[f]or a lesson on what guilt and rage can do when they go out for spin, consider...the Weathermen, who hijacked the New Left...' (p. 70). The Weathermen's actions in splitting 'his' SDS, and with it the New Left, still rile Gitlin, it would seem. Interestingly, he refuses to acknowledge the role played in the demise of SDS by the Progressive Labor faction, a group which is dismissed relatively lightly as a 'Stalinist remnant' (p. 24). The lesson Gitlin imparts elsewhere in the book- be willing to accept 'imperfect allies' (chapter 6)- was not learned in his dealings with the Weathermen.

Other lessons fill the text: on the 'activist spirit' which motivates effective progressive action, he counsels in favour of the ill-defined qualities of 'openness', 'fortitude', and a constant search for 'opportunities' (p. 13). The young activist should be persistent, self-disciplined, tolerant (p. 119), able to cultivate a sense of irony, be prepared to lose battles without becoming disheartened and not be intimidated by political opponents. He advises on ways to respond to anti-Semitism and anti-Americanism. He urges the young activist to follow his 'crowd' of the 60s who were 'most productive when (1) we had good arguments, (2) we stayed non-violent, (3) we won a hearing from serious-minded insiders, and (4) we mobilized outside forces' (pp. 64-65). Further, he argues that a certain form of patriotism- a speaking out on behalf of injustice for the good of the polity- is not only acceptable, it is the basis of activism (chapter 11).

The Contents of the Forms

Such historical lessons, and their cogency, are implicated with the narrative forms of their representation. As Hayden White notes in his detailed examination of historical discourse, narrative is not a neutral bearer of information. White summarizes this argument within the evocative phrase the 'content of the form' and emphasizes the centrality of narrative in discourse when he states: 'narrative, far from being merely a form of discourse that can be filled with different contents, real or imaginary as the case may be, already possesses a content prior to any given actualization of it in speech or in writing'.⁶ In White's assessment narrative plays a determinant role in representation: it establishes limits and sets parameters on content, revealing or sublimating information. Certain features of this process are evident in *Fugitive Days* within its narrativization of memory in the form of a memoir. Ayers' insider (or underground) memories oppose

accepted histories and mass mediated collective memories of the 'radical 60s.' His account of the Days of Rage, for example, does not justify an action which, as Black Panther Fred Hampton predicated, was suicidally 'Custeristic', though it does reveal how and why some members of the New Left in the late 1960s turned in desperation to such actions in the presence of the continuing war in Vietnam. Ayers is sensitive to the fact that remembrance implicates forgetting, and that individual memory is faulty, not the practice of total recall (Ayers sums up this effect in the first sentence of part one: 'Memory is a motherfucker.'). With each disclaimer, however, the book moves further away from memoir- what is remembered, however imperfectly- to the realms of fiction- the imaginary recreation of events.

The form impacts on the contents of Ayers book in obvious ways: details are left out, facts are omitted, and events are fictionalised. Ayers sacrifices memory to personal expediency, a position imposed, perhaps, by the threat of reopening legal charges for certain of his radical actions. The subtext of Ayers' narrative is, in effect, an implicit disclaimer along the lines of 'details have been intentionally altered to protect me from my past actions.' The omissions include details of the split between the Weather Underground and a faction that included Kathy Boudin and David Gilbert, and a disastrous bank robbery undertaken by this faction is mentioned only briefly. The defining moment in which Ayers and his partner Dohrn decide to surface, is not examined.

Like Ayers, Gitlin relies to an extent on memory as an informing perspective on the past, though the dominant form of *Letters to a Young Activist* is, as the title indicates, epistolary. Significant twentieth century variants of the form, including James Baldwin's 'My Dungeon Shook: Letter to My Nephew on the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Emancipation' (a text which inspired Ayers) and Rilke's *Letters to a Young Poet* (which Gitlin acknowledges is the model for his book, p. 78), emphasize intergenerational 'instruction'. Considering its prospective readership, the form ideally requires a language and tone which is clear, direct, not overly complex nor condescending. Condescension erects a counterproductive barrier between teacher and student in which the student is positioned as inferior. Gitlin's mode of instruction is, however, riddled with patronizing comments, as exemplified in the book's opening paragraph: 'Dear —, Let's agree to overlook (maybe even enjoy) the absurdity that joins us: You agree to indulge my lecturing on matters I didn't quite understand until I was older than you, and I make every effort to connect to your passions and objections- to take your arguments seriously, even though you're too young to have had the experience I draw on...' (p. 1). Elsewhere, Gitlin accedes that the arguments he gives to the (hypothetical) young activist- whom he describes as 'a sweet person' (p. 91)

- are 'right, up to a point' (p. 56). Such pomposity is exacerbated by a form of address structured around imperatives, typically phrased as 'you must' or 'you should'. The approach begs the question of whether by using such language Gitlin is effectively 'talking' to young activists. One reviewer, Kari Kunst, twenty years old, a coordinator of an alternative education program, points to the fact that Gitlin may have lost his intended audience. In an online review of *Letters to a Young Activist* Kunst pinpoints the paragraph quoted above to say that '[w]ith this [opening] Gitlin successfully alienated me and the majority of his "young activist" audience' (p. 1).⁷ The central issue for Kunst is an effective strategy for political struggle, an area clouded by Gitlin's relentless moralizing and nostalgia.

All the Rage: On the Nature of Political Struggle

The search for effective political strategies was at the core of New Left theory and practice. Gitlin, a realist, is, nevertheless, not content with the position espoused by McGeorge Bundy, Kennedy's National Security Advisor, who, in a White House meeting in 1962, held during an anti-nuclear protest, stated [quoting Edmund Burke] that 'politics is the art of the possible' (p. 47). Interestingly, Gitlin's early career contained a number of examples of his practice of a politics concerned with producing change by exceeding that which is permissible or possible. While, in a photograph of the founders of SDS (used on the cover of James Miller's "*Democracy is in the Streets*": *From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago*, 1987), Gitlin is the only one not offering the clenched fist salute of the left, his radicalism (that which is in excess of the possible) is, however, evident in his experiences within the New Left. Tom Wells provides an example from December 1965 when, during a meeting of the National Council of SDS, Gitlin proposed that SDS 'write and circulate a 'We Won't Go' anti-draft statement to protest the growing U.S. intervention in Vietnam. The war was not the main political issue on Gitlin's mind at this time (he was more concerned with U.S. funding of South African apartheid), but he felt *something* had to be done about it...Gitlin's proposal failed to take hold...[It] seemed a bit too radical to some, even pro-communist' (Emphasis in original).⁸

Such a radical position recedes in *Letters to a Young Activist*, where the sit-in is endorsed as the pre-eminent protest strategy (p. 49). Indeed, the 'good early sixties, bad late sixties' stereotype is largely premised on a framework that posits a move from 'good', passive, forms of protest to 'bad' forms of protest summarized by Gitlin in his many references to 'rage' in the late 60s (p. 75). Gitlin, however, fails to adequately contextualize the desperation felt by many people in the late 60s in the face of war, imperialism and racism. Indeed, the pervasiveness of a sense of desperation was not confined to the late 60s; the attitude was evident earlier in the decade, as Gitlin

himself has pointed out. Gitlin's claim in *Letters to a Young Activist* that 'rage' was tempered in the mid-60s by a sense of 'joy' (p. 68) may be more an expression of nostalgic hindsight than an accurate reflection of feelings held during the period. Elsewhere, Gitlin has noted that by 1965 political conditions in the US left him feeling 'doomed'.⁹ The absence in *Letters to a Young Activist* of adequate context for such feelings leaves the motives for, and meanings of, what he calls the 'guilt-rage complex' (p. 75) ill-defined, with the result that the 'complex' lacks specificity. Opportunities to identify and analyze the conservative forces and structures that engendered 'rage' or 'guilt' are lost in Gitlin's account within lengthy attacks on the Weather Underground and the Black Panther Party.

Gitlin's failure to include the motives behind the violence expressed by the Weather Underground is extended in a certain 'silencing' of the voices of members of the organization. In contrast to a number of other accounts of the organization, Gitlin fails to admit perspectives available through reflections by the group's leaders. Varon, for example, includes a number of quotations by Ayers, Jeff Jones and other figures prominent in the Weather Underground in his analysis of the move from 'resistance' to 'revolution' in the New Left. Drawing on these reflections, Varon summarizes the central strategy of the Weather Underground as '[r]evolutionary anti-imperialism' based on 'Third World examples [which were used] to shape [the group's] vision of "armed struggle"... The Cuban experience showed that the organization of the working class into a communist party was not a necessary precondition for a successful revolution. Instead, a small band of guerrillas committing "exemplary" acts of violence could incite the masses to revolt and thereby circumvent the arduous task of organizing a revolutionary movement'.¹⁰ Exemplary' acts of violence included, most dramatically, the series of bombings described by Ayers in *Fugitive Days*.

Stanley Aronowitz has recently pointed out that though the Weather Underground 'engaged in some dubious acts of symbolic violence' against sites of government and corporate power 'one should be aware that the Weatherpeople were an extension of the communitarian anarchic impulses of their generation'. While lamenting the Weather Underground's 'ill-fated venture into revolutionary violence', Dave Dellinger argued in the mid 1970s that 'The Weatherpeople should not be made scapegoats for having put into practice views that were held by many others at the time'.¹¹ Indeed, as Ayers has noted elsewhere, 'If you read the FBI documents from 1973, say, there were tens of thousands of political bombings in the country. Every draft board, every ROTC building, every recruiting station had problems in those years. It was really a phenomenon that was quite widespread. So the fact that the Weather Underground took credit for twenty bombings was in that context'.¹² In the recent documentary film *The*

Weather Underground (2003), Gitlin charges the group with a program of violence that 'was essentially mass murder.' The charge is grossly overstated; as Ayers points out in the same documentary: 'we never did hurt anybody. We placed bombs but didn't hurt people.' Elsewhere, in an interview in *The New York Times*, Ayers made a distinction between his actions and those of a terrorist through reference to Bob Kerrey, former Democratic Senator from Nebraska, who admitted to leading his troops in Vietnam on a raid on a village in which women and children were shot. 'He committed an act of terrorism,...I didn't kill innocent people', argued Ayers.¹³

Lessons for the Future

Ayers' interview with *The New York Times* was published under the headline 'Life with the Weathermen: No Regrets for a Love of Explosives'. In what must be a definitive case of bad timing, the piece was published on the morning of September 11, 2001. Within the climate of post-September 11 the first edition of *Fugitive Days* (published in 2001) drew heavy criticism, much of it focused on the issue of 'terrorism'. For the mainstream press- and, for different reasons, Gitlin, no doubt- the furore over the publication of *Fugitive Days* carried an expectation of a recanting by Ayers of his past. A demand for the recanting of 'sins', frequently couched in the context of 'second thoughts', has become a preoccupation within sections of the right, one which forms part of a broad ideological assault on gains made by sixties social movements. Gitlin's criticisms of the Weather Underground in *Letters to a Young Activist* derive from a different impetus, however. His animosity towards the Weather Underground suggests a personal investment in the process of 'recanting' by ex-members of the organization as a way of atoning for what he sees as their destructive effect on SDS and the New Left.

Ayers acknowledges in *Fugitive Days* that while watching himself in Emile de Antonio's documentary *Underground* (1976) years after it was made he was struck by his own arrogance and excessive confidence, yet in regard to his actions he 'regret[s] nothing' (p. 284). Speaking in 1987, Ayers drew attention to his sins of omission, not of commission, when he stated that 'If we [ex-members of the Weather Underground] have any criticism of ourselves, it's that we didn't do enough...I'm not sorry we did [what we did]'.¹⁴ Ayers maintained the position in the afterword of the second edition of *Fugitive Days*, published in 2003, in which he states, 'I still think we showed remarkable restraint, and that we probably didn't do enough: we might have been smarter; we might have been more focused. Next time I plan to be' (p. 298).

The final lessons of *Fugitive Days* and *Letters to a Young Activist*, and the political positions encoded in those lessons, are to be gleaned from the last pages of both books. Gitlin advises his readership to persevere, ‘to hold on’, in the sense of having time on one’s side. Ayers suggests that time is not on our side in his expression of the need to work faster, and to accomplish more. Such lessons, finally, have the potential to impact on political strategy, which, as twenty year old Kari Kunst suggests, is the key issue for activists in the future.

ENDNOTES

¹ See, for example, the recent essays in D. Faber and B. Bailey (eds.), *The Columbia Guide to America in the 1960s*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2001, and V. Gosse and R. Moser (eds.), *The World the Sixties Made: Politics and Culture in Recent America*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 2003.

² Quoted in K. Beattie, “‘The Nineties are the Sixties.’ “*Not so.*” A conversation with Todd Gitlin’, *The Australasian Journal of American Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1, July 1991, pp. 62-68.

³ J. Alpert, *Growing up Underground*, Morrow, New York, 1981, and S. Stern, *With the Weathermen: A Personal Journey of a Revolutionary Woman*, Doubleday, Garden City, New York, 1975.

⁴ Potter’s speech is reproduced as ‘The Incredible War’ in A. Bloom and W. Breines (eds.), *“Takin’ it to the Streets”: A Sixties Reader*, 2nd ed., Oxford University Press, New York, 2003. The quotation appears on pp. 176-177.

⁵ W. Breines, ‘Whose New Left?’, *Journal of American History*, vol. 75, no. 22, September 1988, pp. 528-545.

⁶ See H. White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1987, p. xi.

⁷ K. Kunst, ‘A Review of Todd Gitlin’s “Letters to a Young Activist”’, The Freechild Project <<http://freechild.org/ReadingList/reviews/letters.htm>>. Accessed 12 September 2003.

⁸ T. Wells, *The War Within: America’s Battle over Vietnam*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1994, p. 13.

⁹ Quoted in Wells, *ibid*, p. 99.

¹⁰ J. Varon, ‘Between Revolution 9 and Thesis 11: Or, Will We Learn (Again) to Start Worrying and Change the World?’, in J. McMillian and P. Buhle (eds.), *The New Left Revisited*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 2003, p. 225.

¹¹ S. Aronowitz, *The Death and Rebirth of American Radicalism*, Routledge, New York, 1996; D. Dellinger, *More Power Than We Know: The People’s Movement Toward Democracy*, Anchor Press/ Doubleday, Garden City, New York, 1975, p. 176.

¹² Quoted in A. Hunt, ‘How New was the New Left?’, in J. McMillian and P. Buhle (eds.), *The New Left Revisited*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 2003, p. 153.

¹³ D. Smith, ‘Life with the Weathermen: No Regrets for a Love of Explosives’, *The New York Times*, September 11, 2001, reprinted online as ‘Blast From the Past: Honoring the Weather Underground’ <http://loper.org/~george/trends/2001/Sep/042.html>> Accessed 12 September 2003.

¹⁴ Quoted in J. Morrison and R. Morrison (eds.), *From Camelot to Kent State: The Sixties Experience in the Words of those Who Lived It*, Times Books, New York, 1987, p. 321.