

University at Buffalo
Fall 2005

History 420:
“1968: Year of Protest, Year of Change”

Class Time:

Mondays 1:00-3:40 p.m.
354 Filmore

Professor:

Dorothee Brantz
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Office Hours:

Mondays 4:30-6:30p.m.
Park Hall 554
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Description: Was 1968 a revolutionary year? In this seminar we explore this question by studying the events, social movements, and legacy of 1968 throughout the Western hemisphere. Looking at both the actuality and symbolic character of this crucial year in contemporary history, we analyze the political, social, and cultural meaning of protest and its impact on class, generational, gender, and racial relations in Western and Eastern Europe as well as North and South America. The first part of the course focuses on particular sites, most explicitly but not exclusively, Berlin, Paris, Prague, Chicago, and Mexico City. These case studies will help us gain an understanding of specific events and how they were embedded in contingent national histories, discourses about identity, and particular positions in the geography of the cold war. During the second part of the course, we develop some of the key themes that permeated all of these uprisings, for example civil rights, antiwar agitation, student protest, and counter-cultural experiences, but we also discuss the conservative backlash against these movements. We end the course with a brief exploration of the social movements that grew out of the 1960s. The objective of the course is two-fold: (1) to familiarize students with the history of 1968 and (2) to analyze the intricate connections between politics and violence.

Format and Grading: The format of this course consists primarily of discussions based on the given topics of each week. The materials for this course are drawn from secondary literature and an array of primary texts by influential figures of the time, including Vaclav Havel, Janis Joplin, Herbert Marcuse, Che Guevara, Martin Luther King, and Allen Ginsberg. The reading assignments, class attendance, and participation are paramount to the success of the class and will count as roughly one third of your course grade. The other two thirds will be derived from your written work and one oral presentation (details to be discussed in class).

- 1) Discussion and Attendance: 30%
- 2) Written Work: 50% – one primary source paper (2-3pp) due at the end of week 11
one research paper on a topic of your choice determined in consultation
with the instructor by the end of fifth week (10-12pp) due

December 5th.

- 3) One In-Class Presentation: 20%

Books available for purchase:

Bloom, Alexander, and Wini Breines, eds. *“Takin’ It to the Streets”: A Sixties Reader* (New York: Oxford UP, 2002).

Carey, Elaine. *Plaza of Sacrifices: Gender, Power, and Terror in 1968 Mexico* (Albuquerque: U of NM Press, 2005)

Daniels, Robert. *Year of the Heroic Guerrilla* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1996).

Farber, David. *Chicago ‘68* (Chicago: U of C Press, 1994).

Farber, David, ed. *The Sixties: From Memory to History* (Chapel Hill: U of NC Press, 1994).

Fink, Carol, Philipp Gassert, and Detlef Junker, eds. *1968-The World Transformed*

(Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998).
 Macedo, Steven, ed. *Reassessing the Sixties* (New York: Norton, 1997).
 Marcuse, Herbert. *One Dimensional Man* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964).
 Ross, Kristin. *May '68 and Its Afterlives* (Chicago, 2002).
 (all of these texts as well as the other readings will be available on reserve at the library)

Calendar and Readings:

Week One: **August 29**

Segment I: **Introduction to the Course**

Segment II: **1968 – A Year of Revolution?**

Film: “Young Bloods” (1998)

Readings:

“The Port Huron Statement” in *Sixties Reader*, 50-60.

Week Two: **September 5**

Labor Day (no class)

Part One: Barricades in the West, East, North and South

Week Three: **September 12**

Segment I: **Western Europe-1: Austria, Germany, Scandinavia**

Segment II: **BERLIN: ‘Liberation through a Haunted Past’**

Readings:

Claus Leggewie, “A Laboratory of Postindustrial Society: Reassessing the 1960s in Germany,” in *The World Transformed*, 277-94.

Harold Marcuse, “The Revival of Holocaust Awareness in West Germany, Israel, and the United States,” in *The World Transformed*, 421-38.

Ronald Fraser, *1968: A Student Generation in Revolt* (New York, 1988), excerpts (on reserve)

Week Four: **September 19**

Segment I: **Western Europe-2: Britain, France, Ireland, Italy**

Segment II: **PARIS: ‘Revolution as National Identity’**

Readings:

Robert Daniels, “Paris” in *Year of the Heroic Guerrilla*, 149-67.

Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey, “May 1968 in France: The Rise and Fall of a New Social Movement” in *1968 The World Transformed*, 253-76.

Daniel Cohn-Bendit Interviewed by Jean-Paul Sartre in *The French Student Revolt: the Leaders Speak* (New York, 1968): 73-83. (on reserve)

Week Five: **September 26**

Segment I: **Eastern Europe: Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania**

Segment II: **PRAGUE: 'Spring in the Eastern Block'**

Readings:

Robert Daniels, "Prague" in *Year of the Heroic Guerrilla*, 187-212.

Mark Kramer, "The Czechoslovak Crisis and the Brezhnev Doctrine" in *1968 The World Transformed*, 111-72.

Vaclav Havel, "On the Theme of Opposition" and "Letter to Alexander Dubcek" in *Open Letters: Selected Writings, 1965-1990* (New York, 1992), 25-35 and 36-49. (on reserve)

Week Six: **October 3**

Segment I: **Canada and the United States**

Segment II: **CHICAGO: 'The Democratic Convention and Violence in the Streets'**

Film: "Medium Cool" (1969) excerpts

Readings:

David Farber, *Chicago '68* (Chicago, 1994) excerpts (Each student should chose one section of the book, e.g., the police, the yippies, or the student protesters, and be prepared to defend that position. The class discussion will consist of a verbal reenactment of the different points of view in order to clarify each side's specific perspective and arguments. Be ready to debate!)

Allen Ginsberg, "Crossing Nation," "Going to Chicago," and "Grant Park" in *Campfires of the Resistance: Poetry from the Movement*. Edited by Todd Gitlin (Indianapolis, 1971), 120-22. (on reserve)

Jerry Rubin, "Yippie Manifesto" and "Do It" in *Sixties Reader*, 278-82.

Jeremy Lerner "The Chicago Democratic Convention" in *Sixties Reader*, 366-9.

Daniel Walker "The Walker Commission Report" in *Sixties Reader*, 369-74.

Tom Hayden, "The Trial" in *Sixties Reader*, 375-8.

Week 7: **October 10**

Segment I: **Cuba, Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil**

Segment II: **MEXICO CITY: 'Massacres and Olympic Games'**

Readings:

Elaine Carey, *Plaza of Sacrifices* (Albuquerque, 2005) excerpts

Che Guevara Reader. Edited by David Deutschmann (New York, 1997), excerpts (on reserve)

Assignment: Research Paper Topics due (title, one paragraph explanation, at least five sources)

Part I – Suggested Readings:

Judith Albert and Stewart Albert, eds. *The Sixties Papers: Documents of a Rebellious Decade*

- (New York, 1984)
- Amy Bass, *Not the Triumph but the Struggle: The 1968 Olympics and the Making of the Black Athlete* (Minneapolis, 2002)
- Sabine von Dirke, *All Power to the Imagination: The West German Counterculture from the Student Movement to the Greens* (Lincoln, 1997)
- Daniel Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams: America in the 1960s* (New York, 1994)
- Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York, 1987)
- Douglas Hartmann, *Race, Culture, and the Revolt of the Black Athlete: The 1968 Olympic Protests and Their Aftermath* (Chicago, 2004)
- Judith Adler Hellman, *Mexico in Crisis* (New York, 1983)
- George Katsiaficas, *The Imagination of the New Left: A Global Analysis of 1968* (Boston, 1987)
- Mark Kurlansky, *1968: The Year that Rocked the World* (New York, 2005)
- Mark Lane, *Chicago Eyewitness* (New York, 1968)
- Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy and the United States* (New York, 1999)
- James Miller, *'Democracy Is in the Streets: From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago* (New York, 1987)
- Edward Morgan, *The 60's Experience: Hard Lesions about Modern America* (Philadelphia, 1991)
- Joan and Robert Morrison, eds. *From Camelot to Kent State: The Sixties Experience in the Words of Those Who Lived It* (New York, 1987)
- Luisa Passerini, *Autobiography of a Generation: Italy 1968* (Hanover, 1996)
- Elena Poniatowska, *Massacre in Mexico* (Kansas City, 1975)
- Nick Thomas, *Protest Movements in 1960s West Germany: A Social History of Dissent and Democracy* (New York, 2003)
- Alain Touraine, *The May Movement: Revolt and Reform May 1968* (New York, 1971)
- Gordon Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution* (Princeton, 1976)
- Z.A.B. Zeman, *Prague Spring: A Report on Czechoslovakia 1968* (Harmondsworth, 1968)
- Evelyn Stevens, *Protest and Response in Mexico* (Cambridge, 1974)

Part Two: Politics, Culture, and Social Movements

Week Eight: October 17

Segment I: **Freedom, Civil Rights and the Great Society**

Segment II: **From Peaceful Protest to Violent Struggle**

Readings:

Manfred Berg, "1968: A Turning Point in American Race Relations" in *The World Transformed*, 397-420.

Cass Sunstein, "What the Civil Rights Movement Was and Wasn't" in *Reassessing the Sixties: Debating the Political and Cultural Legacy*. Edited by Steven Macedo (New York, 1997), 253-82.

Martin Luther King, "The Power of Non Violence," in *Sixties Reader*, 15-8.

"The Freedom Rides," in *Sixties Reader*, 22-6.

SNCC, "Founding Statement" in *Sixties Reader*, 21-2.

The Black Panther Platform, "What We Want, What We Believe," in *Sixties Reader*, 125-8.

Harry Edwards, "The Revolt of the Black Athlete," in *Sixties Reader*, 133-4.

Week Nine: October 24

Segment I: **Vietnam and the Cold War Order at Home and Abroad**

Segment II: **Hot, Cold, and Anti-War**

Readings:

George Herring, "Tet and the Crisis of Hegemony" in *The World Transformed*, 31-54.
 Chester Pach, Jr., "Tet on TV: U.S. Nightly News Reporting and Presidential Policy" in *The World Transformed*, 55-82.

Lyndon Johnson, "Why Fight in Vietnam," *Sixties Reader*, 166-8.
 The Resistance, "We Refuse to Serve" in *Sixties Reader*, 195-6.
 "My Lai," in *Sixties Reader*, 209-213.
 John Kerry, "Vietnam Veterans Against the War," in *Sixties Reader*, 219-21.

Week Ten: **October 31**Segment I: **Student Protests and Workers Strikes**Segment II: **Generational Conflict and Class Relations**Readings:

Gerd-Rainer Horn, "The Changing Nature of the European Working Class: The Rise and Fall of the 'New Working Class' (France, Italy, Spain, Czechoslovakia)" in *The World Transformed*, 351-72.
 Ronald Fraser, *1968: A Student Generation in Revolt* (New York, 1988), 89-99, 143-176, 203-320.

Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man* (Boston, 1964) excerpts
 "Voices: International Protest" in *Sixties Reader*, 348-52.

Week Eleven: **November 7**Segment I: **Counter-Culture and Sexual Revolt**Segment II: **Sex, Drugs, and Rock 'n' Roll**Readings:

George Lipsitz, "Who'll Stop the Rain? Youth Culture, Rock 'n' Roll, and Social Crisis" in Farber, *The Sixties*, 206-34.
 Beth Bailey, "Sexual Revolution(s)" in *The Sixties*, 235-62.
 Janis Joplin, "Love, Janis" in *Sixties Reader*, 240-2.
 "Confessions of a Middle-Aged Pot Smoker," in *Sixties Reader*, 254-58.
 "The Free Sex Movement," in *Sixties Reader*, 267-8.
 Guy Strait, "What is a Hippie?" in *Sixties Reader*, 268-70.

Assignment: Primary Source Paper dueWeek Twelve: **November 14**Segment I: **Women Take Center-Stage**Segment II: **Gendered Liberations**Readings:

Alice Echols, "Nothing Distant About It: Women's Liberation and Sixties Radicalism" in *The*

Sixties, 149-74.

Eva Maleck-Lewy and Bernhard Maleck, "The Women's Movement in East and West Germany," in *The World Transformed*, 373-98.

Betty Friedan, "The Problem That Has No Name," in *Sixties Reader*, 388-93.

"No More Miss America," in *Sixties Reader*, 404-6.

Frances Beal, "Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female," in *Sixties Reader*, 438-42.

Week Thirteen: **November 21**

Segment I: **The Conservative Backlash**

Segment II: **Elections, Power, and Identity Politics – Right, Left, and Center**

Readings:

Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, "The Conservative Revival" in *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s* (Oxford, 2000), 213-29 (on reserve)

David Farber, "The Silent Majority and Talk about Revolution," in *The Sixties*, 291-316.

Scott Flipse, "Below-the-Belt Politics: Protestant Evangelicals, Abortion, and the Foundation of the New Religious Right, 1960-75" in *The Conservative Sixties*. Edited By David Farber and Jeff Roche (New York, 2003), ?? (on reserve)

Ronald Reagan, "'Freedom vs. Anarchy on Campus,'" in *Sixties Reader*, 297-9.

Robert Welch, "The John Birch Society and the Vietnam War," in *Sixties Reader*, 305-8.

Michael Novak, "Why Wallace?" in *Sixties Reader*, 302-4.

FBI, "COINTELPRO" in *Sixties Reader*, 317-22.

Week Fourteen: **November 28**

Segment I: **In the Aftermath of '68: Effects and Consequences**

Segment II: **Emerging Social Movements**

Film: "The Weather Underground" (2003) excerpts

Readings:

Jeremy Rabkin, "Feminism: Where the Spirit of the Sixties Lives On" in *Reassessing the Sixties*, 46-81.

Lawrence Wittner. "The Nuclear Threat Ignored: How and Why the Campaign Against the Bomb Disintegrated in the Late 1960s" in *The World Transformed*, 439-460.

Jeremy Varon, "Agents of Necessity: Weatherman, the Red Army Faction, and the Turn to Violence," in his *Bringing the War Home* (Berkeley, 2004), 20-73. (on reserve)

Thomas Rohkrämer, "Contemporary Environmentalism and Its Links with the German Past," in *The Culture of German Environmentalism: Anxieties, Visions, Realities*. Edited by Axel Goodbody (New York, 2002), 47-62.

Julius Lester, "To Recapture the Dream," in *Sixties Reader*, 529-30.

Paul Ehrlich, "The Population Bomb," in *Sixties Reader*, 520-3.

The Weather Underground, "Bringing the War Home," in *Sixties Reader*, 379-84.

Lucian Truscott, "Gay Power Comes to Sheridan Square," in *Sixties Reader*, 499-502.

Week 15: **December 5**

Segment I: **Remembering 1968**

Segment II: **1968 Today– A Reassessment**

Readings:

Kristin Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives* (Chicago, 2002), chapters 1,2, and 4.

Assignment: Research Paper due

Part II—Suggested Readings:

- Bill Ayers, *Fugitive Days: A Memoir* (New York, 2001)
- Michael Belknap, *The Vietnam War on Trial: The My Lai Massacre and the Court Martial of Lieutenant Calleny* (Kansas, 2002)
- Joseph Berke, ed. *Counter-Culture* (London, 1969)
- Paul Berman, *A Tale of Two Utopias: The Political Journey of the Generation of 1968* (New York, 1996)
- Charles De Benedetti, *An American Ordeal: The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam Era* (New York, 1990)
- Peter Braunstein and Michael Doyle, eds. *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s* (New York, 2002)
- Nick Bromell, *Tomorrow Never Knows: Rock and Psychedelics in the 1960s* (Chicago, 2000)
- Kathleen Cleaver, and George Katsiaficas, eds. *Liberation, Imagination and the Black Panther Party: A New Look at the Panthers and their Legacy* (New York, 2001)
- Philip Foner, ed. *The Black Panthers Speak* (New York: 1995)
- Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley, 1980)
- Jürgen Habermas, *Toward a Rational Society: Student Protest, Science, and Politics* (Boston, 1970)
- Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s* (Oxford, 2000)
- Richard King, *Civil Rights and the Idea of Freedom* (Athens, 1992)
- Martin Lee and Bruce Shlain, *Acid Dreams* (New York, 1985)
- Maryl Levine and John Naisbitt, *Right On! A Documentary on Student Protest* (New York, 1970)
- Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the American Right* (Princeton, 2001)
- Seymour Lipset and Gerald Schafflander. *Passion and Politics: Student Activism in America* (Boston, 1971)
- Michael Miller and Susan Gilmore, eds., *Revolution at Berkeley* (New York, 1965)
- Edward Moxon-Browne, ed. *European Terrorism* (New York, 1994)
- Keith Reader, *Intellectuals and the Left in France since 1968* (New York, 1987)
- Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter-Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition* (Garden City, New York, 1968)
- Jack Sargent, ed. *Guns, Death, Terror: 1960s & 1970s Revolutionaries, Urban Guerrillas, and Terrorists* (London, 2003)
- Gregory Schneider, *Cadres for Conservatism: YAF and the Rise of the Contemporary Right* (New York, 1999)
- Melvin Small and William Hoover, eds. *Give Peace a Chance: Exploring the Vietnam Antiwar Movement* (New York, 1990)
- Jeffrey Walsh and James Aulich, eds. *Vietnam Images: War and Representation* (New York, 1989)