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WORLD HISTORY BULLETIN

Advancing scholarship and teaching within a trans-national, trans-regional, and trans-cultural perspective.

Police line up to confront students in the 5th Arrondissement of Paris.

THE LONG GLOBAL SIXTIES

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Greetings from the new editorial team of the World History Bulletin. Effective Fall 2018, I have taken on the responsibility of Editor in Chief and am leading the effort to produce the two issues for the 2019 volume. This change in editorial leadership from the late Denis Gainty, by way of Ian Fletcher's guest editorship of the double issue for the 2018 volume, continues the sponsorship of the Bulletin by the Southeast World History Association (SEWHA).

For me, this will mark a return to the Bulletin, having served as Editor from Spring 2002 through Spring 2010. As detailed in my introduction to the membership in *WHB* Vol. XVII No. 2 (Fall 2001), I have a history in editorial work. This has only become more extensive over the past decade. My recent experience includes serving as Era Editor for Volumes 17 and 18 of the twenty-one-volume *World History Encyclopedia* [Al Andrea, General Editor] (ABC-Clio, 2011), Editor of the two-volume *The Spanish Empire: A Historical Encyclopedia* (ABC-Clio, 2016), and Co-Editor of the forthcoming four-volume *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of the Daily Life of Women: How They Lived from Ancient Times to the Present* [with Colleen Boyett and M. Diane Gleason] (ABC-Clio, ant. 2019).

My editorial team includes three members. Amy-Elizabeth Manlapas will serve as the *Bulletin*'s Production Editor. Amy is an educator at the Paideia School in Atlanta, Georgia, where she teaches World History, U.S. History, and Anatomy of a Revolution. Nick Di Liberto is associate professor of History at Newberry College (South Carolina), where he teaches World and European History. He previously served as assistant editor of *The Journal of the History of Ideas* and copy editor of the *Journal of the Middle East and Africa*. Nick is currently Vice-President/President-Elect of SEWHA. While exact duties are still being finalized, as Associate Editor it is expected that Nick will be responsible for recruiting new essays and assisting in the essay editing. Guolin Yi is assistant professor of History at Arkansas Tech University, where he teaches courses in the fields of Asian and World History. Guolin will serve as Book Review Editor.

As we begin the process of transferring the editorship, I wanted to make WHA members aware of our initial plans for the *Bulletin*. First, by Spring 2019, we intend to return to the inclusion of book reviews, and hope to include both group discussions of common works, as well as stand-alone reviews of books of interest to our members. Second, working through Guest Editors, we intend to continue the targeted exploration of major issues and historical events. Third, working in cooperation with World History Connected, we hope to expand materials for – and contributions by – our classroom teachers. While making sure to not duplicate the efforts of either *World History Connected* or the *Journal of World History*, I am confident that the *Bulletin* can continue to be a valuable source for the WHA membership, students, teachers, and academic scholars alike.

Nick, Amy, Guolin, and I look forward to receiving any suggestions and contributions that you wish to submit to us. Letters to the Editor, submission proposals, and general comments should be sent to
bulletin@thewha.org.

H. Micheal Tarver
Editor-in-Chief
World History Bulletin

LETTER FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR *WORLD HISTORY BULLETIN*

I have always felt fortunate to have been born on the later edge of the 1960s, although I remember none of it. My understanding of what that decade encompassed did not materialize until the summer of 1987, twenty years after the Summer of Love. Not surprisingly, this new knowledge was introduced to me through the music. Has any other music captured a decade so fittingly? Buffalo Springfield sang,

"What a field-day for the heat
A thousand people in the street
Singing songs and carrying signs
Mostly say, hooray for our side
It's time we stop, hey, what's that sound
Everybody look what's going down"

Although the lyrics address happenings in the USA, the reason for these events went well beyond the borders of this country.

The vision for this issue exploring the 50th Anniversary of 1968 and the decade of the 1960s came from Guest Editor Ian Fletcher. After a tumultuous 2017 at Georgia State, he picked up the reins at the *World History Bulletin* and developed this timely theme. We are grateful to him for taking one of his core research interests and turning it into an issue that will resonate with members on so many levels. We also must thank graphic designer, Chuck Snider, for stepping in recently to complete the design for this double issue.

We are currently managing projects to keep all fronts running smoothly. For example, we've completed research about General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), which was enforced in Europe in 2018. The law is an important concept in our modern world: keeping data and personal information private. Here at the WHA we agree wholeheartedly. Beyond the borders of Europe, we will use this law as a model of best practices for handling all members' data, not just EU visitors and citizens. In the coming months, expect to see our privacy statement, including an announcement about how we keep your information confidential.

On April 21, myself, WHA Treasurer Michele Louro and WHA Graduate Assistant Thanasis Kinias, met with other NERWHA members for the spring symposium at MIT. The sessions focused on two websites in different stages of development—Maritime History and Architectural History. These online databases are a candy store for historians; discovering more about what the sites offer revealed how important the development work has been. After the session with The Global Architectural Teaching Collaborative (GAHTC), which contains a complete library already, we immediately discussed the possibility of their doing a similar workshop at a WHA annual meeting. I am happy to report that this workshop happened at our 27th Annual Conference in Milwaukee and the GAHTC will conduct a session again this year in Puerto Rico.. Hats off to our friends at NERWHA who work diligently to bring the New England World History community worthwhile resources and topics.
Last year our new webmaster, Sreerag Sreenath and former Graduate Assistant Thanasis Kinias teamed up to upgrade the WHA website, including running our site on an entirely new platform. The new website went live last winter. We have cleaned up redundancies and condensed items to make finding information easier and more logical. This process was a meticulous step-by-step review of our tabs, sections, and pages. Our webmaster felt most excited about one upgrade, stating, "The entire website has been encrypted for greater security; the website connection over the network to the user is completely encrypted (128 bit) protecting the data of the users. It has improved the security of members' account information even more. This includes installing SSL certification to authenticate the website."

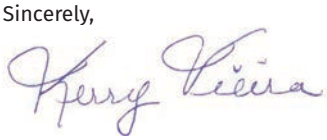
This year's conference in Milwaukee was filled with great moments. Patrick Crawford, conference registrant and WHA member shared his thoughts, "As a high school teacher, attending my first WHA Conference in Milwaukee was an awesome opportunity to mix with fellow teachers, community college professors, and university faculty from around the country in a way I've never seen at other conferences or workshops. It was serious and professional, but not once did it feel stuffy or uncomfortable; everyone was open to respectful conversation, whether they were a notable pioneer of World History or just getting their feet wet in the field. It was also inspiring to watch all these same people rally around the issue of the changes to the World History AP curriculum."

Now our office is focusing on our 28th Annual WHA Conference taking place June 27 – 29, 2019 in Puerto Rico. The two conference themes in Puerto Rico will be "Cities in Global Contexts" and "The Caribbean as Crossroads." Our host hotel, the Caribe Hilton Hotel in San Juan, will convene all conference sessions under one roof. Partnering with the Global Urban History Project (GUHP) for a joint conference ensures the interdisciplinary nature of our conference will thrive. The well-crafted tours and events guarantee we experience the best of the island, as well as taking part in the recovery the island still faces following the devastation of Hurricane Maria. Don't miss out – most tour registrations close on April 20, the Jamaica tours on April 1, but the music night registration stays open through the conference.

Our office continues to work on other exciting plans for the near future. These include our WHA reception & sessions at the 2020 AHA Conference in New York City, the spring & summer WHA newsletter and the 2020 WHA Annual Conference, which will be announced soon. It's also important to work on the more mundane, such as keeping our finances orderly and finishing up our taxes, which is currently happening. The WHA runs a tight ship financially and our treasurer, officers, and accountant continue to guide us in best practices.

Since the launch of our WHA newsletter, we welcome article ideas and important news from our members. Please keep us informed since the newsletter is meant to involve your news and scholarship as well. We can be reached at info@thewha.org or 617-373-6818.

Sincerely,



Kerry Vieira
Executive Director
World History Bulletin

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION

Dear Colleagues,

2018 and early 2019 have been busy times for the World History Association. 2018 began with several sponsored sessions at the AHA in DC, and a reception at the Lebanese Taverna near the hotels, where the warm company, great conversation, and delicious food made up for the freezing temperatures. Thanks especially to Thanasis Kinias and Kerry Vieira for organizing this lovely evening. 2019 began with the AHA in Chicago, where the WHA sponsored a record **TEN** sessions on world history topics, themes, and approaches in research and teaching. We decided to run any not accepted as joint AHA/WHA sessions as WHA-only sessions, which appear in the program and because we are an affiliate of the AHA cost us very little. This will continue for next year's AHA, so expect a good number of WHA sessions at the 2020 AHA in New York. In Chicago we also had a packed-house evening reception, another tradition that will continue at the AHA in New York. Thanks much to Kerry and Molly Nebiolo for organizing this, and to Molly for much other assistance at the AHA!

Our regional affiliates have also been active, and I have been fortunate to be able to attend many of these wonderful conferences over the last year or so. These included the September 2017 eighth annual Midwest World History Association (MWWHA) Conference, "Reformations and Revolutions in World History," hosted by the University of Central Oklahoma in Edmond, Oklahoma, with sessions at the university and at the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum. Amy Nelson Burnett, from the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, provided a keynote especially appropriate for the 500th anniversary year of Martin Luther's 95 theses, "Reform, Dissent, and Toleration: The Reformation as a Crisis of Authority." Her fascinating talk, held at the equally-fascinating Oklahoma History Center, was framed by a spectacular view of sunset over the Oklahoma State Capitol. In 2018 MWWHA met jointly with the WHA in Milwaukee, and in September 2019 it will meet in Minneapolis.

I also attended the February 2018 and February 2019 joint conferences of the Northwest, California, and Hawai'i World History Associations. 2018's was hosted by Seattle University, with the theme "Migration in World History." John Cramsie from Union College provided an especially timely keynote, "Multicultural Britannia, 1450-1700: History and Memory for a BREXIT Britain," which explored the ways Britain's diverse heritage has been forgotten and intentionally erased. Considering how BREXIT is going, Teresa May may have wished more of her compatriots could have heard John's talk before they voted. 2019's was held in Berkeley, and sponsored by the University of California, Berkeley, in conjunction with San Francisco State University. The keynote speakers was Emily Gottreich, the Chair of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at UC-Berkeley, who spoke on "Where are the Jews in World History?"

Both the Southeast World History Association (SEWHA) and the New England Regional World History Association (NERWHA) have also had regional events. SEWHA held its 29th conference at the University of North Georgia in October 2017, with the theme "Periodization and Temporality in World History" and its 30th in November 2018, at Maryville College and the Great Smoky Mountains Institute at Tremont. NERWHA's fall 2017 symposium, held at Salem State University, focused on "Tolerance and Intolerance in World History"; its spring 2018 symposium, held at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, focused on two new digital research and teaching resources for world historians being developed at MIT, the Global Architectural History Teaching Collaborative (GAHTC) and one the Visualizing Maritime History Project; and its fall 2018 symposium, held at Buckingham, Browne & Nichols School in Cambridge focused on "Cities in World History."

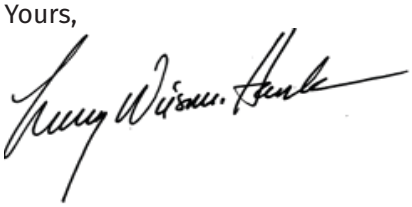
Many thanks to all those who planned, organized, and ran the regional conferences, which are important ways for the world history community to connect, and help immeasurably in expanding the WHA's outreach.

June 2018 brought our annual conference, this year in Milwaukee, with the themes "the Anthropocene" and "Material Culture," hosted by the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Marquette University. The conference began with a keynote by Greg Cushman from the University of Kansas, "The Anthropocene: The Ultimate Imperial History," followed by a reception at Marquette's lovely Haggerty Museum of Art. Highlights of the conference included a plenary panel honoring William McNeill, tours of the Milwaukee Public Museum, Turner Hall, and other Milwaukee landmarks, fascinating panels and workshops presented by many of you, and much, much beer. Because of College Board's decision to truncate the Advanced Placement World History course, world history as a field was in the national spotlight just as we met, an unusual situation, and one that led to many animated discussions about the scope and meaning of our field.

This year's conference is, as you know, in San Juan, Puerto Rico, a joint meeting with the Global Urban History Project (GUHP), a new network of scholars interested in exploring the connections between global history and urban history. For the WHA's first time in the Caribbean, the conference will center on the themes "Cities in Global Contexts" and "The Caribbean as Crossroads," and open with a keynote panel featuring leading scholars in Caribbean and urban history whose research has global implications. Special events and tours offered in conjunction with the conference will feature art, music, food, the rainforest, and San Juan's rich history, as well as opportunities for service projects. Check out the WHA website for registration and more information.

Huge thanks to Ian Fletcher for editing this superb double issue of the *World History Bulletin* on 1968, which provides a much-needed global context for what have been the often overly U.S.-centered remembrances of that eventful year half a century ago. The *Bulletin* was the very first publication of the WHA, beginning publication —in a much slimmer and simpler version—in 1985. Each issue brings together thematic essays, reflections, teaching suggestions, reviews, and other short pieces on a topic of importance and interest to world historians, usually edited by a specialist. Beginning with the next issue, H. Micheal Tarver has again taken over as editor-in-chief of the *WHB,* so if you have ideas for a future issue, or would like to submit an article, please contact Micheal at mtarver@atu.edu.

Yours,



Merry Wiesner-Hanks
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

The Whole World is Moving:
1968 and the Long Global Sixties

Ian Christopher Fletcher | Georgia State University

A tidal wave of dissent and unrest swept over the world in 1968, breaking in places like Beijing, Calcutta, Chicago, Dakar, Dar es Salaam, Mexico City, Paris, Prague, Rio de Janeiro, Saigon, and Tokyo and, to borrow Donald Wright's memorable phrase from his book about Niumi, The Gambia, in many "very small places" as well. It eroded the binaries of the Cold War and the hierarchy of the three worlds. In the global history of social movements and protest politics during the twentieth century, 1968 has few rivals. Nevertheless, what happened half a century ago was hardly confined to a single turbulent year. Nineteen sixty-eight can be viewed as a peak in a longer cycle of contention that emerged across the three worlds in the mid-1950s, accelerated through the 1960s, and only decelerated unevenly in the 1970s. It was a cycle powered by mobilizations on the right as well as the left, by violence as well as dialogue, by multiple border-crossing movements, projects, and visions.

The events of 1968 continue to fascinate, but media frames tend to present them within the separate terms of nations, societies, and cultures, especially those of the U.S. and Europe, while popular memories of the era seem to fluctuate according to the power of contemporary movements to project alternative visions to dominant narratives. Perhaps what shines through the dimming past is the sense that the younger generations of people of color, women, LGBTQ people, indigenous people, and working people raised challenges during the upheaval that remain unresolved. Once again young people are joining the quest for peace, equality, democracy, liberation, and what the indigenous Nishnaabeg writer and thinker Leanne Betasamosake Simpson calls "flourishment."[1] This time wider lenses may help them see more clearly the diverse ways the whole world was and is moving. At any rate, there is still much to explore in the inter/transnational, postcolonial, and global dimensions of 1968 and the long Sixties.

In this double issue of the *World History Bulletin*, we are happy to offer new perspectives opened up by researchers and teachers in the fields of world history, peace history, diaspora studies, and gender studies. In "Jakarta, 1968: The Party's Over," Michael G. Vann navigates the complex and tragic history that led from anticolonial struggle and eventual independence in the Netherlands East Indies to the problems of democracy and development in Sukarno's non-aligned Indonesia, the gendered mass killings and radical political reversals of Suharto's New Order Indonesia in 1965-68, and the continuing trauma of those events in the present. In "What Vietnam Did for Susan Sontag in 1968," Karín Aguilar-San Juan takes us not just on Sontag's journey to Hanoi but also into her deeply self-reflexive examination of the experience of encounter in a situation of war and revolution, interrogating what it can mean for us as well as what it meant for her. Mihai Manea's "The Romanian Rejection of the 1968 Warsaw Pact Intervention in Czechoslovakia and Its Consequences" reminds us that the global Sixties and the Cold War were bound up with each other, both constraining and intensifying the challenge of popular unrest and political change. In "From Sharpeville to Tlatelolco and Beyond: Apartheid South Africa, Authoritarian Mexico, and Transnational Activism around Sports in the Global Sixties," Zac Peterson maps the intersecting routes that brought antiapartheid and civil rights activists, black power advocates, and student and citizen protesters to the political arena of Mexico City in 1968.

Christopher Powell's "The Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam" and Juan Pablo Valenzuela's "Silent Vietnam: Revolutionary Chile in Solidarity with the People of Vietnam, 1964-1973" take us to opposite ends of the Americas, to Canada and Chile, and from these vantage points illuminate the complex and contingent history of the global Vietnam antiwar movement. I have joined Emily Hunt, Megan Neary, and Carrie Whitney in a cluster of essays exploring the interplay of the local and the global through the *Great Speckled Bird*, an underground paper published in Atlanta, Georgia from 1968 to 1976. World history teachers and researchers will be interested to know that this rich source for dissent, protest, and social movements, often crossing the borders between the U.S. and the wider world, has been digitized by the Georgia State University Library and is freely available online. Jerry Lembcke's "GI and Veteran Resistance to the War in Vietnam: The Problem of Remembering and Forgetting" offers a sharp but thoughtful reflection on something that concerns all historians, the vicissitudes of memory and the lessons of history.

Finally, Patrick Crawford's "A Global Perspective of the Cold War: A Multimedia Approach to a World History Topic" shows how students can learn about the global dimensions of the Cold War through an innovative class project on the 1962 Cuba-U.S.-USSR missile crisis. It is a pleasure to publish Crawford's essay, the winner of the 2017 World History Association Teaching Prize.

Beyond calling attention to these intrinsically interesting essays, there remains a point to be made about the impact of 1968 and the long global Sixties on our discipline. We sail on many currents in the sea of world history. One of those currents flows from this period, whose deep and wide-ranging effects included changes in education,

knowledge, and the disciplines concerned with history. Just taking the anglophone literature as an example, it is hard to conceive of world history without the contributions of the historically-minded anthropologist Eric R. Wolf, author of *Europe and the People Without History*. It is telling that in the original preface to this book, published in 1982, Wolf goes back to 1968 and his call then for a new and critical approach that would be both historical and global.[2] At the time he was putting the finishing touches on his comparative-historical study of rebellious peasants in Mexico, Russia, China, Vietnam, Algeria, and Cuba. One of the convenors of the first Vietnam teach-in at the University of Michigan in 1965, Wolf explained that *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century*, published in 1969, and the wider inquiry it represented was "no longer an undertaking for the academic specialist, if indeed it has ever been; it is an obligation of citizenship."[3]

If scholars must respond to events, so must the tendencies shaping events make their mark on the work of scholarship. Speaking to an audience of anthropologists in 1969, Wolf envisioned a broad research program that could break out of the "impasse" in anthropology by "engag[ing] ourselves in the systematic writing of a history of the modern world in which we spell out the processes of power that created the present-day cultural systems and the linkages among them." He went on to challenge his colleagues to take up crucial topics for the study of "the interplay of societies and cultures on a world scale": "[w]here ... are the comprehensive studies of the slave trade, of the fur trade, of colonial expansion, of forced and voluntary acculturation, of rebellion and accommodation in the modern world, which would provide us with the intellectual grid needed to order the massive data we now possess on individual societies and cultures engulfed by these phenomena?" According to Wolf, such a program promised to make "a responsible intellectual contribution to the world in which we live, so that we may act to change it."[4] Sounding these lines we find not only anticipations of our histories of connection and entanglement but also our arguments for the meaning and relevance of our work.

Wolf was not alone as an engaged scholar whose work mediated social movements and critical knowledges in the long global Sixties. One remembers Walter Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, published in Dar es Salaam and London in 1972 and then in the United States two years later.[5] Or Sheila Rowbotham's *Women, Resistance, and Revolution*, with its two concluding chapters on women in China, Vietnam, Cuba, Algeria, and the colonial-turning-third world, published in London in 1972 as well.[6] And of course one thinks of Immanuel Wallerstein and the emergence of world-systems analysis in the early 1970s.[7]

Rowbotham declares at the outset of her book that it is not "a proper history of feminism and revolution" in global perspective. Such a history "necessarily belongs to the future and will anyway be a collective creation."[8] Emerging area or interdisciplinary studies in the late 1960s and 1970s refracted the openness of the moment and manifested some of its possibilities inside and outside academia.[9] In fact, a recent book by Gary Y. Okihiro, the great historian of Hawai'i, the Pacific world, and Asian America, uses the demands and sensibilities of the Third World strike at San Francisco State College from November 1968 to March 1969, the longest U.S. student strike ever, as a point of departure to explore the once and future field of Third World studies.[10] His reflections address issues of considerable importance to world historians attentive to events in our own times and seeking to contribute to histories that can make a difference in a world in movement.

I apologize to the loyal readers of the *World History Bulletin* for the delay in the appearance of the 2018 volume, now realized in the form of this double issue. I am deeply grateful for the encouragement as well as patience of the contributors. When I began working on the idea of this issue about seven months after Denis Gainty's death, my wife Yaël and I did not know the extent of the challenges that her physical disability would bring. She has been undaunted throughout, and so am I because of her love of life. My thanks to the anonymous peer-review readers, Kerry Vieira and Merry Wiesner-Hanks of the World History Association, Deborah Buffton and Robbie Lieberman of the Peace History Society, Suzanne Litrel and Jared Poley of Georgia State University, and friends in and around Atlanta for their help. My gratitude to Chuck Snider for designing a wonderful cover and laying out the whole issue so elegantly. All good wishes to Micheal Tarver, Amy-Elizabeth Manlapas, Nick Di Liberto, and Guolin Yi as they prepare new issues for the 2019 and subsequent volumes and show us exciting new vistas in the scholarship and teaching of world history!

1 Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back: Stories of Nishnaabeg Re-Creation, Resurgence, and a New Emergence* (Winnipeg: ARP Books, 2011), 16-17, 51.

2 Eric R. Wolf, "Preface" (1982), *Europe and the People Without History*, 2d ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997 [1982]), xv.

3 Eric R. Wolf, "Preface" (1969), *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999 [1969]), xvii.

4 Eric R. Wolf, "American Anthropologists and American Society" (1969), *Pathways of Power: Building an Anthropology of the Modern World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 21-22. For Wolf's legacy, see Jane Schneider and Rayna Rapp, eds., *Articulating Hidden Histories: Exploring the Influence of Eric R. Wolf* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

5 Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, 2d ed. (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1981 [1974]). For an account of Rodney at the Congress of Black Writers in Montreal in 1968 and his subsequent expulsion from Jamaica, an event which precipitated disturbances on the island, and his return to Tanzania, see David Austin, *Fear of a Black Nation: Race, Sex, and Security in Sixties Montreal* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2013), chs. 2 and 6.

6 Sheila Rowbotham, *Women, Resistance, and Revolution: A History of Women and Revolution in the Modern World* (New York: Vintage Books, 1974 [1972]). For her marvelous memoir, see Sheila Rowbotham, *Promise of a Dream: Remembering the Sixties* (London: Verso, 2001), which takes us to the emergence of Women's Liberation.

7 Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Academic Press, 1974) and idem, *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004). *The Modern World-System* now stands at four volumes, published in a set with new prologues by the University of California Press in 2011. For Wallerstein's involvement in the student strike at Columbia Univesity in 1968 and its ramifications, see Immanuel Wallerstein, "Radical Intellectuals in a Liberal Society" (1970), *The Essential Wallerstein* (New York: New Press, 2000), 33-38.

8 Rowbotham, *Women, Resistance, and Revolution*, 11. Arguably, the rich possibilities of such a history first became apparent with Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*, 2d ed. (London: Verso, 2016 [1986]).

9 For examples of the interplay of critical scholarship, transnational advocacy, and campus and community activism in the long global Sixties, see James N. Green, *We Cannot Remain Silent: Opposition to the Brazilian Military Dictatorship in the United States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); Fabio Lanza, *The End of Concern: Maoist China, Activism, and Asian Studies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017); William Minter, Gail Hovey, and Charles Cobb, Jr., eds., *No Easy Victories: African Liberation and American Activists over a Half Century, 1950-2000* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2008); and Derrick E. White, *The Challenge of Blackness: The Institute of the Black World and Political Activism in the 1970s* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011). Walter Rodney was a participant in the Atlanta-based Institute of the Black World in the summer of 1974 and the spring of 1975. See Robert Hill, ed., *Walter Rodney Speaks: The Making of an African Intellectual* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1990).

10 Gary Y. Okihiro, *Third World Studies: Theorizing Liberation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016). The input of "[g]enerations of students" (xii) over four decades helped shape the narratives and interpretations in Gary Y. Okihiro, *American History Unbound: Asians and Pacific Islanders* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015). For his own formation in Hawai'i, in South Carolina and Botswana during service in the Peace Corps around 1968, and in California, where he moved as a graduate student from African history to Asian American studies in the early 1970s, see Gary Y. Okihiro, "Reflections of Self and Society," *Radical History Review* 79 (2001): 111-113.

JAKARTA, 1968:
THE PARTY'S OVER

Michael G. Vann | Sacramento State University

Global memories of 1968 often invoke images of determined but joyful popular uprisings, such as students taking to the streets in Paris and Dubček's "socialism with a human face" in Prague. From Mexico City to Beijing, youth revolt was in the air. We world historians know that this rebellious, even revolutionary, enthusiasm would be crushed by year's end. If on Bastille Day the French CRS beat demonstrators, students, and tourists in the Latin Quarter; if in August the Chicago police rioted against demonstrators in Grant Park and the Soviet Red Army occupied the Czech capital; and if on the eve of the October Olympics the Mexican military shot hundreds of students in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas it was the case that optimism was in the air in cities around the world in the first half of the year. One exception would be Jakarta where one of the world's most reactionary regimes was solidifying its power. On March 27, 1968, General Suharto was sworn in as the nation's second President by a parliament firmly under his control. This ceremony institutionalized the next three decades of his rule, a brutal and corrupt military dictatorship known as the New Order. Suharto's rise to power included the mass murder of at least 500,000 individuals for alleged ties to the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and the arrest, torture, and incarceration of roughly 1,000,000 political prisoners. In the summer of 1968, he commanded Operation Trisula, a final massacre of some two thousand alleged PKI members in South Blitar, East Java. Many of the Indonesian victims and prisoners once shared the rebellious enthusiasm of the Parisian soixante-huitards. For a number of reasons, but most importantly because the killers created the new state system, the perpetrators of one of the worst crimes of the twentieth century have never been held accountable. Furthermore, Suharto and his domestic and international allies made a concerted effort to conceal, confuse, and otherwise obfuscate the events of 1965-1968.[1] For some five decades this significant world historical event has been shrouded in mystery. Only recently have scholars, filmmakers, and artists successfully shone light on this dark corner of the past.[2]

Suharto's seizure of power marked one of the most dramatic political reversals in twentieth-century world history. In the space of two and a half years, the Javanese general redirected the course of the world's fifth largest nation (now the fourth largest). Not only did he oust the charismatic President Sukarno, Suharto launched a systematic reaction against a variety of progressive forces. This involved not just the elimination of the PKI and a realignment of Indonesia's international alliances, but also the destruction of organized labor, the end of a land reform campaign, the repression of a significant women's rights movement, and the silencing of a generation of intellectuals and artists. Under the name of anti-Communism, the New Order held hundreds of thousands of political prisoners for over a decade and imposed strict censorship laws. Geoffrey Robinson's recent work describes Suharto's 32-year regime as a Foucauldian surveillance project with the state governing via discipline and punishment. That such a system was constituted in early 1968 shows how far Jakarta was from the reforms of the Prague Spring or the exuberantly defiant graffiti painted on the Sorbonne.

Prior to September 30, 1965, Indonesia was headed on a leftward trajectory. President Sukarno dominated the nation's politics. A veteran of the nationalist cause since the 1920s, Sukarno proved himself to be a brilliant orator during his trial in 1930. His defense was later published as "Indonesia Accuses." Despite a series of internal exiles within the Dutch East Indies he continued to fight for independence. When the Japanese occupied the archipelago, Sukarno worked with the invaders for the cause of "Asia for Asians." Faced with the empire's collapse and unwilling to see a return to European colonial rule in Asia, Japanese officers encouraged Sukarno and a group of nationalists to declare independence on August 17, 1945.[3] Dutch efforts to reoccupy their colony led to four years of warfare. Upon achieving formal independence, Sukarno became Indonesia's first president from 1949 to 1967. An ecumenical and free-ranging thinker, Sukarno espoused a unifying populism that healed the wounds of centuries of colonial rule. In 1955, he hosted the Asia-Africa Conference in Bandung, which became the basis for the Non-Aligned Movement. Sukarno gave a series of speeches that decried Cold War politics as a new form of imperialism. While he was willing to work with the United States, he also reserved the right to have friendly relations with Moscow and Beijing. Suffering from the Cold War's bi-polar disorder, the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations tried to destabilize Indonesia.[4] From supporting Islamist regional rebellions in the late 1950s to a range of covert operations, which included leaking a sex tape with an actor playing the Indonesian leader (admittedly, he was a notorious playboy), in the 1960s, American interference infuriated Sukarno. He coined acronyms such as NEKOLIM, "Neo-Colonial Imperialist," and declared Indonesia would lead the newly independent nations of the world, what he called NEFOS or "Newly Emerging Forces," against the OLDEFOS, "Old Established Forces." By the mid-1960s, Sukarno was mistrustful of the United States, bored by the Soviet Union's new bureaucratic conservatism, and increasingly friendly with the Chinese leadership. Indonesia's nationalization of foreign firms angered American strategists and scared Western investors. Sukarno personified radical Third

Worldism, especially when he spoke of a Jakarta-Phnom Penh-Hanoi-Beijing-Pyongyang Axis.

In the realm of domestic politics, these decades saw Indonesian communism's unique path to success. The first communist party to be founded in Asia and one of several anti-colonial movements, the PKI grew quickly in the 1920s, only to be crushed by Dutch authorities after a failed revolt in 1926.[5] Either arrested and imprisoned or driven underground, the party members who survived the Japanese occupation joined a variety of resistance groups during the 1945-49 war of independence against the Dutch. The party was closely tied to the labor movement, especially the railway workers' union.[6] In 1948 a regional branch of the PKI in East Java got into a dispute with the central republican government. The conflict resulted in fighting between the PKI and the new Indonesian army near the city of Madiun. In the end, several thousand PKI members were killed and the already tense relations between the officer corps and the party soured. Faced with two military disasters in 22 years, a new generation of PKI leadership, including D.N. Aidit, decided to pursue a peaceful path to power. This strategy was in sharp contrast to contemporary armed Marxist insurgencies in Vietnam, Malaya, and the Philippines. Choosing the ballot box over the Kalashnikov, the party mobilized for the 1955 national elections. It received 6,000,000 votes (16% of the electorate), earning a respectable and surprising fourth-place finish. In the 1957 district elections, the PKI won 7,000,000 votes and came in first in many of the races on Java. Faced with seemingly unresolvable disputes in the parliament, Sukarno suspended elections in 1959 under a policy he called Guided Democracy. Had electoral contests continued, further PKI successes seemed likely.[7]

Even without opportunities to mobilize voters the PKI grew to an estimated 3,500,000 million members, making it the largest communist party outside of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.[8] The party forged alliances with mass organizations such as the progressive Indonesian Women's Movement (Gerakan Wanita Indonesia or Gerwani), the left-wing artists of the People's Cultural Institute (Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakya or Lekra), and the All-Indonesia Trade Union Centre (Sentra Organisasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia or SOBSI), bringing another 20,000,000 under its umbrella. In addition to appealing to the urban working class and plantation workers, the PKI won over many peasants in central and east Java through concerted efforts to respond to their issues in a language they could understand. Party cadres visited villages to explain their program. The PKI's Indonesian Peasants Union (Barisan Tani Indonesia or BTI), a rural mass organization that advocated for farmer's issues, brought the party into the countryside. The party also organized festive rallies in which local singers and dancers performed regional folk culture favorites.[9] Songs such as "Genjer Genjer" became PKI anthems with wide populist appeal. Local branches of the PKI won further support by sponsoring a series of direct actions to force the implementation of ignored land reform laws. If PKI and BTI mobilization won over poor peasants, it angered and frightened large landowners, many of whom had close ties to conservative Muslim parties and the officer corps. PKI educational campaigns drew others to the party. Following Lenin's quip that communism equaled literacy plus electricity, the PKI created schools where illiterate workers and peasants could get an education that rivaled cash strapped state schools and private Islamic boarding schools.[10] More than a political party with an economic agenda, the PKI called for a social and cultural revolution.

Under Guided Democracy (1959-1965) Sukarno had to satisfy both the army and the PKI. This balancing act has often been likened to a dalang wayang kulit (a shadow puppeteer), a tiresome but still apt cliché.[11] A gifted orator who knew how to win over his Indonesian audiences, Sukarno promoted an inclusive ideology he called NASAKOM. Coining an acronym drawn from "Nasionalisme, Agama, dan Kommunisme," he argued that nationalism, religion, and Communism could work together for a stronger, united Indonesia. Despite the President's support of the assault on the PKI in the 1948 Madiun Affair, Sukarno and the party leader Aidit forged an alliance in 1959. The party threw its weight behind Sukarno, who in turn would shield it from anti-Communist generals. When the charismatic Sukarno gave speeches in his new eponymous sports stadium, tens of thousands of PKI cadres would dutifully march in to cheer his words. Meanwhile, Sukarno's regionally aggressive foreign policy would benefit the military. The 1962 occupation of Irian Jaya, the western half of the island shared with Papua New Guinea and the Netherlands' last colonial possession in the archipelago, created opportunities for career advancement amongst the officer corp. Admittedly, the army's response to the quixotic "Crush Malaysia!" campaign was tepid and ambiguous. More importantly, the nationalization of foreign owned petroleum fields and plantations could lead to lucrative army administration of such infrastructure.[12] Nonetheless, Sukarno had a difficult task. PKI efforts at labor organization challenged military control in these sectors and the BTI's land reform campaign threatened property-owners with links to the officer corps. Wealthy landowners were often prominent figures in local Islamic institutions, combining their spiritual and material opposition to the allegedly godless PKI. Furthermore, many officers had received anti-Communist ideological training first from the Japanese during the occupation and more recently from American Cold Warriors. It was the USA's strategy to cultivate generals and colonels friendly to Uncle Sam's interests.[13] In a tactic that prefigured Reagan era policies, the CIA funded Islamist groups hostile to the PKI. By blending culture, economics, and politics, the PKI and its enemies further polarized Indonesia.

By the middle of 1965, the cracks in the NASAKOM edifice were impossible to ignore. Both the left and right were increasingly paranoid. The military feared the PKI's growing power and worried that it might establish an armed wing with Chinese assistance and the PKI heard rumors of a "council of generals" ready to seize power. When Sukarno collapsed and vomited at a public event, there was palpable anxiety in the streets of

Jakarta. On the night of September 30, 1965, a rebellious faction of middle level officers, claiming loyalty to Sukarno, tried to kidnap the army's top leadership.[14] In a poorly planned and quickly botched operation, six generals and a lieutenant were either shot in their homes or killed at a remote rubber grove known by the sinister sounding name Lubuang Buaya, Crocodile Hole, on the Halim airbase in south Jakarta. All of their bodies were dumped in an abandoned well. In the chaos of the kidnapping, General Nasution escaped by jumping over a wall but his five-year-old daughter Ade bled to death in her mother's arms. The coup remains shrouded in mystery, but the presence of Sukarno and Aidit at the Halim airbase indicates some element of collusion. Regardless, the coup was a small affair produced by conflicts within the armed forces. And it could have remained an internal military affair had it not been skillfully exploited by the dictator-to-be. Within hours, General Suharto (who was curiously not on the list of targets) rallied his elite commando unit and took control of the national radio station. He then launched an assault on the airbase, dispersing the remaining rebels. Meanwhile, he pressed Sukarno to give him unprecedented authority to restore order. One of his first orders was to close scores of independent or left-leaning newspapers.

As the dust settled, Suharto assembled a media team to record his horror at the exhumation of the generals. He gave a powerful speech calling for revenge against the rebels, whom he condemned as "counter-revolutionaries." Suharto turned the generals' funerals into a national event. A ceremony for little Ade deepened the emotional impact. Within days, the army and right-wing press published articles claiming that the PKI had masterminded the coup. By branding the plot as GESTAPU, short-hand drawn from the Indonesia term "30 September Movement," the military purposely evoked the image of the sinister Nazi secret police. To further condemn the communists, it was later expanded to GESTAPU-PKI. Such linguistic moves indicate an effort to blend ideological confusion with moral clarity. As Suharto's propaganda incited popular opinion against the PKI, military units moved on the party throughout Java and Sumatra. Jess Melvin's recent research reveals substantial preparation and coordination, indicating that elements of the officer corps were waiting for their operations to receive a green light.[15] In a pattern repeated throughout the vast country, the army mobilized anti-Communist mass organizations including Muslim, Catholic, and Hindu groups as well as nationalists and organized criminals known a "preman," giving them training, weapons, and lists of targeted victims.[16] The killing started in northern Sumatra and central Java in October 1965. Over the course of following weeks, army units moved eastward through Java, inciting violence along the way. There are truly horrifying accounts of the slaughter of entire villages, rivers choked with rotting and bloated corpses, and severed heads on public display. The most gruesome rituals indicate killing was intended to terrorize survivors.[17] When the army arrived in Bali, it set in motion a fearsome bloodletting that saw 80,000 deaths in a few weeks.[18] According to Geoffrey Robinson's research, areas such as Jakarta and West Java, which had fewer murders in 1965-1966, nevertheless saw the mass incarceration of hundreds of thousands.

Beyond blaming the PKI leadership for the kidnappings and murders, the army press and reactionary newspapers such as the newly opened *Api* spread false rumors that the generals were brutally tortured. In what Siskia Wieringa terms "sexual slander," the propaganda machine promoted lurid tales of sexually licentious Gerwani members singing and dancing as they sliced the generals' faces and genitals with razor blades. At one-point, female prisoners were even stripped naked and forced to dance in a recreation of the alleged orgiastic frenzy of Lubang Buaya. In Bali, the newspapers reported that Gerwani women were posing as prostitutes in order to castrate men.[19] Rhetorical misogyny incited brutal patterns of violence against women in the coming months and years. Rape and sexual mutilation were common tactics in the subsequent mass murders. The thousands of women detained in the New Order's prisons suffered through further violations from casual daily humiliations to sexual slavery.[20] By 1968, institutionalized violence against women had become a feature of the New Order regime. Rachmi Diyah Larasati, herself from a Javanese family of performers deemed "politically unclean" during the New Order, has shown how female folk dancers were particularly vulnerable to state violence, incarceration, and surveillance.[21]

While this gendercide and gendered violence occurred in the specific context of the New Order's assault on Gerwani as a PKI allied organization, it should also be understood as part of the larger cultural reaction against Guided Democracy's promises of liberation.[22] Even after Suharto's fall from power, political rehabilitation of former Gerwani members has been difficult.[23] In addition to Gerwani members, peasants associated with the BTI, artists who worked with Lekra, and union activists on plantations and the railways faced death, imprisonment, or decades of state harassment. Essentially any fellow traveler was at risk. Suharto even banned the singing of "Genjer Genjer." Popular folk dances, some of which were ribald, were suppressed in favor of refined elite dances from the feudal courts of central Java. Indonesia's New Order thus prefigures the global backlash against the spirit of 1968.

Suharto radically realigned Indonesia's global positioning. Publicly, he broke relations with the People's Republic of China and reestablished close ties with the United States of America. Soon American capital and later weapons would flow into New Order Indonesia. Behind the scenes the CIA and other Western intelligence agencies assisted with the crushing of the PKI.[24] In the space of a year, the fifth most populous nation went from being home to the world's largest non-governing communist party to one of the most staunchly anti-Marxist regimes on the planet. Once the birthplace of the Non-Aligned Movement, Indonesia was now firmly in the American camp, just as the war in Vietnam was reaching a new level of violence.

With the attack on South Blitar, 1968 marked the end of the anti-PKI mass violence. Several army units moved

into these isolated and impoverished villages. From June to September there were a series of counter-insurgency operations, mass arrests, and executions. Home to numerous natural caves, hundreds of victims were dumped into subterranean mass graves. The campaign, called Operasi Trisula, killed off the last surviving PKI cadre.[25] If the party was over in 1968, the legacy of 1965 refused to die. The combined overthrow of Sukarno and destruction of the PKI served as a model for future anti-Communist Cold War operations. In Cambodia, both right and left paid attention to Suharto's actions. As early as 1967, enemies of Khmer Rouge applauded Prince Sihanouk's 1967 threat: "We do not lack our Suhartos and Nasutions in Cambodia." A decade later, a Khmer Rouge document invoked Indonesia's mass violence as a justification for its own brutality.[26] In Chile, the 1973 coup against Salvador Allende was code named "Operation Jakarta." Echoing Suharto's violence against Gerwani, SOBSI, the BTI, and Lekra, Pinochet's soldiers rounded up party members, union leaders, student activists, and even folk singers such as Víctor Jara, killing the dreams of 1968 in the name of anti-Communism and authoritarian capitalist development.

1 For the Suharto regime's weaponization of history, see Katherine McGregor, *History in Uniform: Military Ideology and the Construction of Indonesia's Past* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007) and Yosef M. Djakababa, "The Construction of History under Indonesia's New Order: The Making of the Lubang Buaya Official Narrative" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 2009). For accounts of the efforts to silence historians in contemporary Indonesia, see Siskia E. Wieringa, "When a history seminar becomes toxic," *Inside Indonesia* 130 (October-December 2017), http://www.insideindonesia.org/when-a-history-seminar-becomes-toxic (last accessed February 10, 2018), and "The crocodile hole in Ubud: How a feminist lunch evades a book ban," *Tijdschrift voor Genderstudies* 19, no. 1 (2016): 107-111, and a report on my recent experience of armed guards refusing to allow me to enter the Museum of the Treachery of the Indonesian Communist Party at the Lubang Buaya memorial complex, Akhmad Muawal Hasan, "Paranoia di Balik Pembatasan Akses WNA ke Museum TNI," *Tirto.id* (February 23, 2018) https://tirto.id/paranoia-di-balik-pembatasan-akses-wna-ke-museum-tni-cE96 (last accessed February 26, 2018).

2 Geoffrey B. Robinson, *The Killing Season: A History of the Indonesian Massacres, 1965-66* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018) and John Roosa, "The State of Knowledge About an Open Secret: Indonesia's Mass Disappearances of 1965-1966," *Journal of Asian Studies* 75 (2016): 281-97, are the most recent and authoritative academic works from established scholars. See also the special issue of *Journal of Genocide Research* 19, no. 2 (2017) devoted to the most current research on Indonesia. Earlier anthologies such as Robert Cribb, ed., *The Indonesian Killings (1965-1966)* (Clayton: Monash University Press, 1990) and Douglas Kammen and Katherine McGreggor, eds., *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia, 1965-1968* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2012) acknowledge the obstacles facing 1965 research. Annie Pohlman, *Women, Sexual Violence and the Indonesian Killings of 1965-66* (Abingdon: Routledge, 205) and Saskia Eleonora Wieringa, *Sexual Politics in Indonesia* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002) focus on the gendered nature of New Order violence. *The Act of Killing* (2012) and *The Look of Silence* (2014), directed by Joshua Oppenheimer and others, are two of the most powerful films on the subject.

3 Benedict Anderson, *Java in a Time of Revolution: Occupation and Resistance, 1944-1946* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1972).

4 Audrey Kahin and George Kahin, *Subversion as Foreign Policy: The Secret Eisenhower and Dulles Debacle in Indonesia* (New York: New Press, 1995) and Brad Simpson, *Economists with Guns: Authoritarian Development and US–Indonesian Relations, 1960–1968* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

5 Takashi Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912–1926* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990).

6 Jafar Suryomenggolo, *Organising Under the Revolution: Unions and the State in Java, 1945–1948* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2013).

7 John Roosa, "Indonesian Communism: The Perils of the Parliamentary Path," in *The Cambridge History of Communism*, ed. Norman Naimark, Silvio Pons, and Sophie Quinn-Judge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 2: 467-490.

8 Rex Mortimer, *Indonesian Communism Under Sukarno: Ideology and Politics, 1959-1965* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1974), 366.

9 Ahmad Tohari's beautifully written trilogy of novels published together in English as *The Dancer* (Lontar: Jakarta, 2012) fictionalizes the heart-breaking fate of a young Javanese ronggeng dancer who naively performs at PKI rallies and suffers the New Order's wrath.

10 Ruth T. McVey, "Teaching Modernity: The PKI as an Educational Institution," *Indonesia* 50 (1990).

11 See the satirical anonymous piece "How to Write about Indonesia," *New Mandala* (December 14, 2012) https://newmatilda.com/2012/12/14/how-write-about-indonesia/ (accessed February 25, 2018).

12 William Redfern, *Sukarno's Guided Democracy and the Takeovers of Foreign Companies in Indonesia in the 1960s* (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2010).

13 Harold Crouch, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978).

14 John Roosa, *Pretext for Mass Murder: The September 30th Movement and Suharto's Coup d'État in Indonesia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006) is the authoritative history of this night's confusing events.

15 Jess Melvin, "Mechanics of Mass Murder: A Case for Understanding the Indonesian Killings as Genocide," *Journal of Genocide Research* 19, no. 4 (2017): 487-511.

16 Robinson, *The Killing Season*, 160.

17 Leslie Dwyer and Degung Santikarma "Speaking from the Shadows: Memory and Mass Violence in Bali," in *After Mass Crime: Rebuilding States and Communities*, ed. Beatrice Pouligny, Simon Chesterman, and Albrecht Schnabel (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2007), 190-214, and Adrian Vickers, "Where Are the Bodies: The Haunting of Indonesia," *The Public Historian* 32, no. 1 (2010).

18 Geoffrey Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise: Political Violence in Bali* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995).

19 Siskia Wieringa, "Sexual Slander and the 1965/66 Mass Killings in Indonesia: Political and Methodological Considerations," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 41, no. 4 (2011): 544-65. Benedict Anderson, "How Did the Generals Die?," *Indonesia* 43 (1987): 109-134, proves that the generals were not tortured.

20 For a first-hand account, see Carmel Budiardjo, *Surviving Indonesia's Gulag: A Western Woman Tells Her Story* (London: Cassell, 1996). See also Pohlman, *Women, Sexual Violence and the Indonesian Killings of 1965-66*, and Wieringa, *Sexual Politics in Indonesia*.

21 Rachmi Diyah Larasati, *The Dance that Makes You Vanish: Cultural Reconstruction in Post-Genocide Indonesia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).

22 Charles Sullivan, "Years of Dressing Dangerously: Women, Modernity, National Identity and Moral Crisis in Sukarno's Indonesia, 1945-1967" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2018).

23 Katharine E. McGregor and Vannessa Hearman, "Challenges of Political Rehabilitation in Post-New Order Indonesia: The Case of Gerwani (the Indonesian Women's Movement)," *South East Asia Research* 15, no. 3 (2007): 355-84.

24 Peter Dale Scott, "The United States and the Overthrow of Sukarno, 1965–67," *Pacific Affairs* 58, no. 2 (1985): 239–64, and David Easter, "'Keep the Indonesian Pot Boiling': Western Covert Intervention in Indonesia, October 1965–March 1966," *Cold War History* 5, no. 1 (2005): 55-73.

25 Vannessa Hearman, "Guerrillas, Guns, and Knives?: Debating Insurgency in South Blitar, East Java, 1967-68," *Indonesia* 89 (2010): 61-91, and "Contesting Victimhood in the Indonesian Anti-Communist Violence and Its Implications for Justice for the Victims of the 1968 South Blitar Trisula Operation in East Java," *Journal of Genocide Research* 19, no. 4 (2017): 512-29.

26 Ben Kiernan, *How Pol Pot Came to Power: Colonialism, Nationalism, and Communism in Cambodia, 1930-1975* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 235 and 252.

At ceremony, Suharto is appointed president in 1968.

What Vietnam Did for Susan Sontag in 1968

Karín Aguilar-San Juan | Macalester College

"It's a very complex self that an American brings to Hanoi."

SUSAN SONTAG

PART ONE: SONTAG IN HANOI

When Susan Sontag arrived in Hanoi on May 3, 1968, she joined a roster of U.S. "citizen diplomats" that would eventually include two hundred other prominent U.S. antiwar voices. At the invitation of the North Vietnamese, all of them would take the arduous three-day, multi-stop international flight to the "enemy camp" – putting at risk their safety, reputations, and passports – in order to gain a direct experience of the Vietnam War. In a few remarkable instances, the activist travelers carried letters from U.S. families to be delivered to POWs, then escorted POWs safely back to the United States.[1] Encountering Vietnamese revolutionaries face-to-face and on their home turf added to the intensity, commitment, and aspirations of the U.S. antiwar movement.[2]

By 1968, Sontag was much more than an outspoken critic of the Vietnam War. Her feisty yet highbrow approach to culture and politics; her not-so-closeted bisexuality; and even her striking physical appearance all gave her a larger-than-life influence over the world counterculture of the 1960s. An essayist and cultural critic born in 1933, Sontag acquired that position of influence primarily through her polemic writing style and subject choices. From "Notes on Camp" (1966) to *On Photography* (1977) and *Regarding the Pain of Others* (2003), her widely published commentary proffered ideas and insights that were received by many readers as intellectually substantial and thought provoking despite the fact that she eschewed academia as an institution and refused to abide by conventions of academic argumentation. Sontag's intellectual practice involved exposing her own thought processes on the page, thereby inviting readers to join her subtle act of retrospection, querying, and probing.

Surely when Tom Hayden suggested Sontag to the North Vietnamese as someone to whom they ought to extend an invitation, he was thinking specifically of the intellectual and political boost she would give to the U.S. antiwar movement. Her 1968 essay "Trip to Hanoi: Notes from the Enemy Camp" was first published in *Esquire* magazine, then later that same year appeared as a small paperback simply titled *Trip to Hanoi*.[3] In 1969, "Trip to Hanoi" was republished as the long closing essay in her famous collection *Styles of Radical Will*.

But Hayden would have no way of knowing of the trip's lifelong impact on Sontag or her way of understanding herself in relation to war, empathy, and large-scale suffering. According to literary scholar Franny Nudelman, the Vietnam trip fundamentally shaped Sontag's ideas about photography.[4] Nor could Hayden have predicted that she would later visit China and Poland, then step back to draw negative conclusions about the "Grand Tour offered to visitors to communist countries ... [requiring] the visitor's intellectual and cultural distance ... [in a] Disneyland of Revolution."[5] For abandoning leftist doctrine, Sontag was slapped with the label "political changeling" by her once admiring Hanoi traveling companion, Andrew Kopkind. Sontag would, however, remain an outstanding critic of U.S. imperialism throughout her life. To illustrate: Sontag issued a searing denunciation of George W. Bush's post-911 attack on Iraq for a Special Collector's Edition of the *New Yorker*, once again demonstrating her formidable political backbone.[6] As Sontag scholar Sohnya Sayres put it, Sontag "seized the little space allotted to knock us awake" when everyone else was going on about "this is where I stood when the towers fell."[7]

Although Sontag prepared for her trip by studying critical accounts of the Vietnam War, her pre-existing notion of familiarity and connection with Vietnam was immediately negated by the embodied experience of actually being there. Within days she wrote: "All I seem to have figured out about this place is that it's a very complex self that an American brings to Hanoi. At least this American!"[8] The journal entries she kept during the trip in May 1968 were later supplemented with more extended reflections written upon her return; the completed essay is dated June-July 1968. For reasons that are surely much more complicated than anyone knows, Sontag developed the essay around herself and her interior feelings and thought process. Doing so made sense given her trademark practice of "allowing questions to remain on the page" rather than presenting solid, unsinkable arguments as other writers, especially male scholars of her generation, would likely have done.[9] Her essay contained very few, if any, factual details.[10] Instead, she traced the mental and emotional gap she could not bridge as a "complex [American] self" in Hanoi. She dwelt on subtleties, observing her hosts and analyzing intricacies in their statements and behaviors that other travelers may have experienced but did not put into words. In so doing she

gave voice to delicate musings about ethics, morality, style, and tone for which U.S. antiwar activists at that time had no satisfying frame or lexicon. The value of Sontag's Hanoi essay in 1968 was its capacity to surface and validate the complex and contradictory interior political experience that was associated with her external stance of international solidarity. Reconsidered today, the essay gives credibility to efforts to achieve an embodied, empathic, dialogic awareness about the continuing legacies of U.S. imperialism both at home and abroad.[11]

"Vietnam/1968" is an Asian American subject as well as an historical one. From an Asian American Studies perspective, perhaps the most intriguing and unsettling aspect of the essay is Sontag's cultural discomfort in Hanoi, and the reflex to treat the handful of guides and translators who met with her as representatives of all Vietnamese people. The essay openly confesses to this feeling of cultural unease, fully exposing and exploring it. In one passage, however, her thoughts indulge a superiority complex that closely resembles racism: "The truth is: I feel I *can* in fact understand [the Vietnamese] ... They may be nobler, more heroic, more generous than I am, but I have more on my mind than they do."[12] More on her mind! What in heaven's name was she thinking?

During the entirety of Sontag's ten-day visit, North Vietnam was under heavy military attack. Hundreds of thousands of civilian casualties would result from Operation Rolling Thunder, a three-year-long sustained aerial bombing campaign.[13] Meanwhile, international peace talks were just getting underway in Paris. It would take five whole years to produce a peace agreement, and two years after that before the U.S. military would withdraw fully from the scene.

For Sontag to believe even for a nanosecond that she had more on her mind than the besieged Vietnamese had on theirs is immensely difficult to fathom. It is as if she were temporarily blinded by her unmarked privilege as a white, Euro-American coming from the world's "greatest purveyor of violence."[14] Instead of understanding the group differences she observed in Hanoi in terms of wartime destruction, volatility, or fear, she framed them (at least initially) in terms of an orientalist East/West binary. However, perceptions evolve, and Sontag did not remain stuck in orientalism. She traveled again to Hanoi in 1973, evidently with plans to arrange for a Vietnamese translation of her essay. The second time around, Sontag clearly felt more comfortable as a Westerner in Vietnam: "VN seems like 'the West'—say, Cuba—after China. I marvel at my culture-shock of 4 ½ years ago. None now."[15] Perhaps that was the underlying point of her essay: that political revolutions need to account for and intentionally cultivate new values, perceptions, and moral sensibilities; it will never be enough to replace power structures and put an unreconstructed underdog in command.

Writing in a self-reflective mode enabled Sontag to deliver a message about the antiwar movement that should resonate strongly today, especially within retrospectives on the long global Sixties. She said: "Radical Americans have profited from the war in Vietnam, profited from having a clear-cut moral issue on which to mobilize discontent and expose the camouflaged contradictions in the system. Beyond isolated private disenchantment or despair over America's betrayal of its ideals, Vietnam offered the key to a systemic criticism of America. In this scheme of use, Vietnam becomes an ideal Other."[16] Framing the gains of international solidarity this way—rather than saying, for instance, that Vietnamese revolutionaries benefited from U.S. antiwar activism—focuses on what U.S. activists lacked, rather than on what they had to offer. Despite the privileges and sense of entitlement associated with global military dominance, the U.S. antiwar movement needed an "Other" to spur its own self-reflection and self-understanding.

The vocabulary, tools, and skills that Sontag developed to work through her sense of dislocation in Hanoi became instrumental later when she wrote about the Cuban revolution, photography, travel, and "the pain [and torture] of others" in Bosnia and Abu-Graib.[17] Even though she anguished over her inability to communicate through language and cultural barriers in Hanoi, she clearly understood the value of dialogue and relationship, and of being open to discover what she was bringing to the table in terms of pre-conceptions, beliefs, habits, attachments, and assumptions. She concluded the essay with a deeper appreciation of and respect for the North Vietnamese and their revolutionary aspirations.

PART TWO: A METHOD AND PRACTICE FOR STUDYING WAR

By contexualizing Sontag's experience in Hanoi five decades ago, we can develop a method and a practice for studying the Vietnam War and the antiwar movement today. Besides expressing herself in writing, what exactly was Sontag doing in her Hanoi essay? Literary critic Leo Marx treats the essay as a case of "revolutionary pastoralism," an outlook promoted within the New Left. The New Left was searching for "gentle, other-worldly virtues: openness, spontaneity, tolerance, eroticism, nonviolence" to counter Leninist ideology and the strict discipline and combativeness of the Old Left. By directing her gaze inward during and after her trip to Hanoi, Sontag engaged a new "pastoral ethos" dominated by "moral and aesthetic motives."[18] Another literary critic, Harvey Teres, defends Sontag — along with the "New York intellectuals" whose anti-authoritarian instincts she inherited — for her commitment to intellectual dissent. Moreover, Sontag rejected academia; her writing purposefully spoke to educated people outside university settings. Teres decries the attitude of disdain so many academic critics have toward the general public. He holds up Sontag's socially engaged writing as an alternative model, saying it is "incumbent upon leftists to fashion vocabularies and a politics capable of contributing to the difficult tasks Americans face: living a moral life, constructing

an identity, dealing with ambiguity and uncertainty, and finding pleasure."[19]

Many others weigh in on Sontag's Hanoi experience, but simply taking these two perspectives into account already tells us that by composing the essay she was not just fashioning her own unique antiwar statement for the consumption of the mass media. Instead, she was stepping into an ongoing, multi-layered conversation regarding large-scale social change that educated people were carrying on in many different sectors of society, not on university campuses only. This conversation was made up of, and continues to encompass, many threads of debate and it was never as black and white as being "for" or "against" war. In fact, big questions about the brutality of a U.S. war causing death and destruction in Asia were tightly interwoven with tiny, specific, local, and personal questions about daily life right at home. Sontag's brilliant choices of words illuminated those tiny questions without separating them from the bigger backdrop.

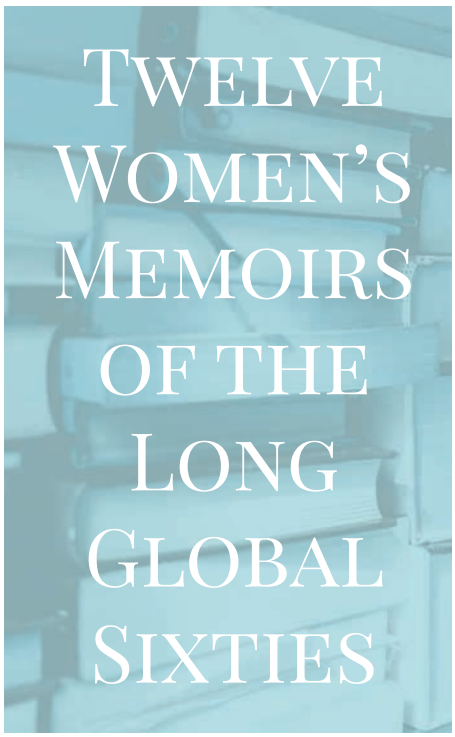
In 1995, Sontag offered a humble and realistic assessment of her own work. Referring specifically to an influential collection of essays published in 1966, she wrote:

The world in which these essays were written no longer exists ... It is not simply that the Sixties have been repudiated, and the dissident spirit quashed, and made the object of intense nostalgia. The ever more triumphant values of consumer capitalism promote — indeed, impose — the cultural mixes and insolence and defense of pleasure that I was advocating for quite different reasons. No recommendations exist outside a certain setting.[20]

Sontag knew perfectly well that the defiant countercultural moment she helped stir up got subdued and co-opted into today's mainstream culture, one she would surely label "nihilistic" or "barbarian" were she alive to witness it. Indeed, her suggestions for self-inquiry in Hanoi were not intended as a bourgeois narcissism, although they could be easily mistaken as such. When I asked her translator in Hanoi why he and his publisher did not move forward with a Vietnamese translation of "Trip to Hanoi," he gracefully tiptoed around my question: "I'm sorry, I'm sorry. I did not have time. We were being bombed..." He did not say he refused to translate it because it was excessive or irrelevant. But it is not difficult to imagine how boring, self-indulgent, and wasteful Sontag's intimate ponderings might have appeared to him, or to any Vietnamese reader, at that time.[21]

Teasing out lessons from Sontag's Hanoi experience is a tricky project, particularly because her views were continually evolving and she was always probing them. When the war ended, she judged the antiwar movement to be ineffective and naive: "The American-financed and supplied slaughter of Asians by Asians might have gone on indefinitely. Only the distractions of Watergate prevented Nixon from resuming the bombing of North Vietnam in 1973." Her comment on liberated Vietnam was even harsher: "[L]iving with their victory (however devoutly that was to be wished) will not be as edifying or as simple morally as protesting their martyrdom—a matter which is already clear as they busy themselves installing a social order in which few of us who supported the DRV [Democratic Republic of Vietnam] and the PRG [Provisional Revolutionary Government] would care to live, and under which none of us, as 'us,' would survive."[22]

Clearly there is a rich and deep discussion to be had around the world about the outcomes and consequences of the Vietnam War and the antiwar movement. But a more urgent project faces us: To



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allow young and old alike a way to grasp fully the underlying conditions that made collective dissent possible in Sontag's era—and why alternatives to the status quo are possible, necessary, and already emergent, now as well as then. We need to facilitate an embodied and empathic meeting with the past that intentionally connects to the multi-dimensional experience of living in the present. What if a giant public symposium on the long global Sixties were to bring together antiwar activists, war veterans, Southeast Asian American leaders/scholars/critics, and university students to meet each other face-to-face and on equal terms, much as the North Vietnamese invited international citizen diplomats to meet with them during the war? No one would give a bare rundown of facts and statistics, or offer a chronology of all the rallies and protests, and expect the complex lessons of the past to display themselves automatically. Such intricacies are gleaned only through reflection, dialogue, and discussion—precisely the method and practice Sontag imparted in 1968.

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3 Susan Sontag, *Trip to Hanoi* (New York: Noonday Press, 1968).
4 Franny Nudelman, "Against Photography: Susan Sontag's Vietnam," *Photography and Culture* 7, no. 1 (2014): 7-20.
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12 Sontag, *Trip to Hanoi*, 26.
13 For Operation Rolling Thunder, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Rolling_Thunder#Conclusions (accessed March 13, 2018).
14 Martin Luther King, Jr., "Beyond Vietnam: A Time to Break Silence," Common Dreams, https://www.commondreams.org/views/2018/01/15/beyond-vietnam-time-break-silence (accessed March 16, 2018).
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16 Sontag, *Trip to Hanoi*, 87.
17 Susan Sontag, "Some Thoughts on the Right Way (for Us) to Love the Cuban Revolution," *Ramparts*, April 1969, http://www.unz.org/Pub/Ramparts-1969apr-00006?View=PDF (accessed June 2, 2014); Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977); Sontag, "Questions of Travel," 255-58; Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003); Susan Sontag, "Regarding the Torture of Others," *The New York Times*, May 23, 2004, sec. Magazine, https://www.nytimes.com/2004/05/23/magazine/regarding-the-torture-of-others.html.
18 Marx, "Susan Sontag's 'New Left' Pastoral," 552-75.
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The Romanian Rejection of the 1968 Warsaw Pact Intervention in Czechoslovakia and Its Consequences

Mihai Manea | Bucharest, Romania

1968 was one of the most tumultuous years of the twentieth century. The escalating war in Vietnam and the war-induced famine in Biafra during its unsuccessful bid for independence from Nigeria, the revolts of students and young people against political elites and bureaucracies in France and the USA, the assassinations of the American civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King and Senator Robert Kennedy, and the black power protest at the Mexico City Olympics are just some of the important events during this year of upheaval.

The Eastern European state of Romania played a significant role in the crisis of states as well as generations in 1968.[1] For example, the French leader General Charles de Gaulle paid a visit to Bucharest between 14 and 18 May 1968, even as workers went on strike in solidarity with students and began to occupy workplaces in Paris and elsewhere. De Gaulle's visit was an occasion for him to repeat his call for an end to the division of Europe and for the Bucharest leadership to reaffirm their country's special status in the Soviet bloc, following the withdrawal of Red Army troops in 1958 and years of increasingly assertive gestures of independence.

The "Prague Spring" was in full bloom in Czechoslovakia at this moment, but the imposition of the Brezhnev Doctrine came just a few months later. On 20 August 1968, the troops of the Soviet Union and four other Warsaw Treaty member states, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria, intervened in Czechoslovakia to end in a violent way the reform process initiated by the country's new political leadership, headed by Alexander Dubcek, and better known as "socialism with a human face." Indeed, the Prague correspondent of the Romanian media agency Agerpres was among the first to announce the entry of Soviet troops into the Czechoslovak capital.[2] Thus the crisis in Czechoslovakia joined together Sixties demands for change in Communist society with Cold War tensions between the Great Powers.

Romania did *not* participate in this invasion; moreover, it condemned it in strong terms.[3] On the morning of 21 August 1968, an impressive crowd gathered in the center of Bucharest, the capital of Romania. It was the first time that such an event was attended not only by supporters of the Communist regime, but also by people of different convictions, coming on their own initiative and animated by one thought: to express their position at a time of crisis. Nicolae Ceauşescu, at that time the young leader of the Romanian Communists, gave a speech in which he described the intervention into Czechoslovakia as "a big mistake and a serious danger." He said "there is no justification, no reason can be accepted for admitting for a moment only the idea of military intervention in the internal affairs of a ... socialist state."[4] Witnesses of this event confirm in numerous archival documents the popular support for the leadership's stand, including their decision to militarily oppose any similar action against Romania. Bucharest took seriously the possibility of an armed confrontation with Warsaw Pact troops. This is demonstrated by the establishment of patriotic guards in Romania and by the meeting with the Yugoslav leader Iosip Broz Tito in Varset on 24 August 1968, where they discussed the withdrawal of Romanian army units from Yugoslavia in the case of conflict.

What appeared in Romania in 1968 was a crack on the surface of the supposedly monolithic Communist Eastern Europe. Ultimately, this explains why Nicolae Ceauşescu came to be appreciated in years to come by Western leaders. In fact, Romania had been excluded from all preparations for the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, and this exclusion was the culmination of increasingly tense relations between Bucharest and Moscow going back to the time of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, the first Romanian Communist leader. The best example is the Valev Plan of 1964, which envisioned Romania and Bulgaria remaining largely agricultural and rural.[5] Romania vehemently opposed this plan. It likewise challenged its subordination in the Warsaw Pact. Bucharest proposed the principle of rotation of the leadership, so that each member state would have the right, in turn, to take formal command of the military pact's forces.

Romania gradually became a rebellious child of the East. In 1967, Romania boycotted the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia. In February 1968, Romania withdrew from the preparatory meeting of an International Communist Conference. The same year it did not sign a co-operation treaty between the Communist countries in

Sofia, Bulgaria. It was not invited to a sequence of meetings in Dresden, Warsaw, and Bratislava. Ceauşescu's moves to come closer to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia irritated Moscow, and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev spoke of the "Danubian harshness."[6] Indeed, Romania supported the principle of equality between states, at a time when the USSR was putting forward the thesis of the "limited sovereignty" of countries in Eastern Europe.

Ceauşescu made a trip to Czechoslovakia between 15 and 17 August 1968, just a few days after Yugoslavia's President Tito visited Prague. Nowadays it is known that Prague did not want closer relations with Bucharest, at least until July 1968, because of the latter's reputation as a sort of rebel in the Soviet bloc. Relations quickly changed as the crisis matured, such that the two countries signed a friendship and mutual assistance treaty during Ceauşescu's visit to Prague.

Only declassified after 2000, documents in the archives of NATO and its Western European member states reveal that Romania's position on the Czechoslovak crisis exposed it to the danger of a Soviet invasion in November 1968. The British Foreign Office alerted Romania to the imminence of an attack, even specifying the date of 21 November 1968. The British Foreign Secretary had already visited Bucharest on 8 and 9 September 1968, and NATO and British, Danish, Dutch, and French intelligence services shared information with Ceauşescu about Warsaw Pact troop concentrations on Romania's borders.[7]

These documents relating to 1968 show that NATO was, to a certain extent, positioning itself on the side of Romania. The most important moment occurred on 16 November 1968, when NATO called on the USSR "to refrain from the use of force and interference in the domestic affairs of other states … any direct or indirect Soviet intervention affecting the situation in Europe or the Mediterranean, will create an international crisis with serious consequences."[8] In fact, Moscow preferred "not to loose the dogs of war," in the words of President Lyndon B. Johnson on 30 August 1968. On the same day, Secretary of State Dean Rusk asked Soviet ambassador Anatoly Dobrinin, "Do you have a basis on which you could assure that no action is being taken against Romania?"[9] Taken by surprise, the Soviet diplomat could not give an official answer, but the next day he declared it was merely a rumor.

At the same time, the Romanian ambassador Corneliu Bogdan met with Senator Mike Mansfield, the Democratic majority leader in the U.S. Senate, and Charles Bohlen, Deputy Secretary for Political Affairs at the State Department, to obtain U.S. support in the event of a Romanian crisis. Meanwhile, another Romanian official, Emil Bodnaras, contacted the Chinese Ambassador in Bucharest and asked for a public statement of support from the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union's nemesis in the Communist world.

The Johnson Administration took the threat of a Soviet intervention in Romania seriously enough that the President's counselor prepared a statement for such an eventuality condemning an invasion of Romania in the following terms: "The world is shocked by the news that the Soviet Union and some of its satellites have taken another brutal action against an independent state in Europe. The attack against Romania and the invasion of Czechoslovakia, which preceded it, prove a serious ignorance of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of independent nations."[10] Moreover, on 30 August 1968, Rusk personally warned Dobrinin that serious repercussions would follow an invasion of Romania.

Of course, we can ask ourselves why the Soviets did not invade Romania? One immediate answer, certainly, is the country did not have the same strategic importance as Czechoslovakia, which was placed squarely in Central Europe and thus exceptionally open to Western influences. There is a deeper and perhaps paradoxical answer worth considering. All the main historians agree that Romania's foreign policy in 1968, even though it made an opening to the West in the course of pursuing its national interest, often served indirectly the interests of the Soviet Union. It offered not only a diplomatic channel of communication but also a way for Moscow to gain access to Western technology. Ceauşescu consistently pursued a foreign policy based on national interest, not on loyalty to the Soviet bloc, yet he emphasized the option of Communism to pacify Moscow. His initiatives were limited, even as he tried to gain more and more room for diplomatic activity. Ceauşescu never really sought the goal of breaking with Moscow, despite his so-called independent and national policy.

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4 Lavinia Betea, coord., *21 august 1968. Apoteoza lui Ceauşescu* [21 August 1968, Apotheosis of Ceauşescu] (Iaşi: Editura Polirom, 2009), 36.

5 See E.B. Valev, *Problemele dezvoltării economice a raioanelor dunărene din Romînia, Bulgaria şi U.R.S.S.* [The problems of economic development of the Danubian countries of Romania, Bulgaria, and the U.S.S.R.] (Bucureşti: 1964).

6 M. Mark Stolarik, ed., *The Prague Spring and the Warsaw Pact Invasion of Czechoslovakia, 1968: Forty Years Later* (Mundelein, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2010), 137.

7 See https://romanialibera.ro/special/documentare/documente-nato—1968—-anul-in-care-romania-putea-fi-invadata-de-urss-311238; http://jurnalul.ro/special-jurnalul/arhivele-britanice-romania-intre-urss-si-nato-51927.html.

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10 Ibid.

From Sharpeville to Tlatelolco and Beyond:

Apartheid South Africa, Authoritarian Mexico, and Transnational Activism Around Sports in the Global Sixties

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In the wake of the killing of unarmed black teenager Trayvon Martin in Florida in 2012 and a series of police shootings of black men and women across the U.S., San Francisco 49ers quarterback Colin Kaepernick decided to kneel during the national anthem in 2016 pre-season games.[1] As the Black Lives Matter movement spread around the country, many football and basketball players joined him over two seasons in his persistent protest against racial injustice.[2] No longer on a team, Kaepernick is paying a price for his activism.[3] One of his supporters, Harry Edwards, has called on the National Football League to end this shunning and hire an obviously talented player.[4] Edwards, the legendary advocate for black athletes, connects this current controversy to events fifty years ago, when two African American medal winners, John Carlos and Tommie Smith, protested American racism at the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City. Their dramatic action was part of a larger but less well-known effort to challenge racial injustice in South Africa as well as the U.S. What is more, it came just days after a bloody crackdown on demonstrations in the streets and squares of Mexico City that left hundreds of students dead but was covered up by the government. This story offers an opportunity to transnationalize the history of the Sixties, in particular the interplay of "American" and "world" events and the networking of advocates and activists in the black diaspora.[5]

The story begins nearly a decade before the events of 1968. The African National Congress (ANC) and its allies had been resisting the intensified system of racial segregation and domination known as apartheid in the white settler state of South Africa throughout the 1950s, on a parallel track with the burgeoning civil rights movement in the U.S. Frustrated by the lack of change and dissatisfied with the ANC's commitment to "non-racial" politics, a group of African activists left the organization and formed the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). On March 21, 1960, the PAC launched a peaceful protest against apartheid pass laws at police stations across South Africa. At the station in Sharpeville, the police opened fire, killing 67 and wounding 186.[6] The massacre prompted worldwide condemnation of apartheid and galvanized international solidarity. The American Committee on Africa (ACOA), founded in 1953, responded immediately; its leader, George Houser, was a pacifist and civil rights advocate who had become active in the 1940s and was no stranger to bold, grassroots direct action. On March 22, 1960, the ACOA released a statement by Jackie Robinson, the famous African American player who had broken the color line in baseball, and eight other prominent Americans that read, in part, "Your only answer to continued pleas of United Nations to end apartheid appears to be massacre of unarmed Africans by your armed police. How long will machine gun enforced apartheid continue in face of mounting African and world revulsion and increasing isolation of South Africa in community of nations?"[7] The ACOA joined the Congress of Racial Equality, an American civil rights organization, for a protest demonstration at the South African Consulate in New York City on March 23.[8]

1960 was the year the Olympic Games were held in Rome, and thus the ACOA initiated what would become an eight-year campaign to exclude South Africa from this quadrennial athletic event. The effort involved a partnership with antiapartheid activists from South Africa, a growing number of whom were driven into exile as the apartheid state tightened the screws on opposition. For example, Oliver Tambo, then the ANC Deputy-President, escaped South Africa in the wake of the Sharpeville massacre and found refuge in the United Kingdom. The ACOA invited him to make a speaking tour of the U.S. and fought the State Department when it declined to grant a visa for his visit. Steering an independent course during the global Cold War, the organization was able to pit the U.S. against its Soviet rival in matters of policy toward the rapidly decolonizing continent of Africa. According to an ACOA press release, Houser wrote a telegram to Secretary of State Christian Herter, expressing "'shock' at the denial of a U.S. visa and said that the action 'will inevitably be interpreted throughout Africa as prejudicial to opponents of apartheid and as having resulted from South Africa government pressure' [and] 'the one outstanding leader who has been able to escape from South Africa is denied entrance to the U.S. ... at a time when our country and the U.S.S.R. are vying for the allegiance of the whole continent of Africa.'" Tambo was to have been the guest of honor and principal speaker at the ACOA's Emergency Action Conference on South Africa from May 31 through June 1, 1960.[9] Instead Jackie Robinson delivered a speech

protesting South African apartheid.[10] Co-sponsored by the NAACP, the conference was attended by about 300 people.[11] Among the resolutions adopted by the conference was the demand that the International Olympic Committee (IOC) exclude South Africa from the upcoming Games in Rome.[12] This was the first call to stop South African participation in the Olympics. Later, at Rome, the non-racial South Africa Sports Association protested the inclusion of the all-white South Africa Olympic Games Association. The IOC allowed South African athletes to compete in Rome despite the fact that sports were segregated within the country, but it warned South Africa that it could be excluded in 1964 if segregation continued.[13]

Organizing against apartheid in sports continued in advance of the Tokyo Olympics in 1964. Of particular importance was Dennis Brutus's South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC). Brutus was a teacher and writer and he was banned for his political activity in 1961. He was subsequently arrested in 1963 for contravening this ban when he tried to meet with an IOC official. While on bail he again tried to escape South Africa to an IOC meeting in Baden-Baden, West Germany. Traveling through Mozambique on a Rhodesian passport the Portuguese secret police arrested Brutus and handed him over to South African authorities. On the way to jail, he escaped his captors who shot him in the back; all in all, he served 18 months on Robben Island before, on release, going into exile in Britain. George Houser first met him in London. When for the first time the IOC excluded South Africa from the Games in 1964, it was due in no small part to the efforts of Brutus and SANROC.

However, the question of South Africa's participation in the next Olympic Games to take place in Mexico City in 1968 was unsettled. The government promised to field a multi-racial team, but SANROC pointed out that sports remained segregated within the country and the selection of the Olympic team would inevitably reflect this unacceptable policy.[14] In 1966, the ACOA published a statement, initially sponsored by Jackie Robinson and signed by 29 other prominent Americans, which encouraged the U.S. Olympic Committee to lobby for South Africa's continued exclusion from the Olympics.[15] A year later, the ACOA hosted Brutus for a U.S. speaking tour, during which he educated Americans about apartheid, informed American sports organizations about the segregated conditions endured by South African athletes, and raised money for the ACOA's Africa Defense and Aid Fund to support those charged under the apartheid laws.[16]

As the Mexico City Olympics approached, the long-running campaign to exclude South Africa from the Olympics intersected with worldwide unrest in 1968. Students and young people were at the forefront of movements for change in places like Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Japan, Northern Ireland, Senegal, Tanzania, West Germany, and Yugoslavia. In the U.S., where Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated in April and opposition to the war in Vietnam continued to grow, activists increasingly connected struggles at home and abroad. Harry Edwards, a sociologist at San Jose State University, formed the Olympic Project for Human Rights (OPHR). Edwards argued for a total boycott by African American athletes of the 1968 Olympic Games unless several demands were met. They included reinstatement of Mohammad Ali's heavyweight championship, which had been taken away from him because he had conscientiously objected to serving in Vietnam; the banning of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia from the Olympic Games; and the desegregation of the U.S. Olympic Committee and assignment of more black coaches to the U.S. Olympic teams. Through the OPHR, Edwards argued that the civil rights movement had been unable to improve conditions for African Americans and that black athletes, so important to American achievement at the Olympics, should boycott the Games to compel the U.S. government to enforce racial equality in American society.[17] In coordination with SANROC, the ACOA worked with the OPHR to persuade American athletes to promise to boycott the Olympics unless South Africa was definitively excluded from the Games.[18] Jackie Robinson published a statement protesting South Africa's potential readmission to the Games. The tennis player Arthur Ashe spoke out. So did several athletes who had supported Edwards's proposed African American boycott of the Games, such as the basketball player Lew Alcindor, now better known as Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, as well as Tommie Smith and John Carlos. Both Smith and Carlos had trained at San Jose State.[19] The Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA), which represented independent Africa, made it clear that if the IOC allowed South Africa to compete African national teams would boycott. Through the combined international pressure of the ACOA, SANROC, OPHR, and SCSA, the IOC once again kept South Africa out of the Games.[20]

In the summer of 1968, the student movement in Mexico began to link up with and mobilize other social sectors as collisions with the authorities mounted. In Mexico City, the police assaulted a group commemorating the Cuban Revolution on July 26, which set off a string of protests and confrontations. On August 27, 400,000 protestors joined the students in solidarity against the draconian measures of the federal government. In September, the invasion of the National Autonomous University of Mexico by security forces threatened the independence of the universities. On October 2, ten days before the opening of the Olympics, 15,000 demonstrators rallied in the Plaza of Three Cultures in Tlatelolco, where they chanted "¡No queremos olimpiadas, queremos revolución!" ("We don't want Olympic games, we want revolution!"). While the students were determined to leverage the international presence in Mexico City to force the government to accede to their demands for reform, the government was even more determined to suppress any challenge to its authority and prestige as host of the Olympic Games. Police and military units surrounded the plaza and in the darkness of nighttime snipers fired into the crowd, killing over 300 and wounding over a thousand. The official cover up included blaming the protesters for inciting the violence, but recent investigations have confirmed eyewitness accounts and popular understandings of the nature

of the Tlatelolco massacre, namely that the authorities organized and carried out the shootings, killings, and subsequent disappearances of many victims.[21]

If one massacre led to the campaign to exclude apartheid South Africa from the 1968 Olympic Games, another silenced criticism of their role in legitimizing authoritarian Mexico. It was left to athletes to take the flame of protest into the Olympic stadium itself. Two Americans, Tommie Smith and John Carlos, and one Australian, Peter Norman, medaled at the end of the 200-meter sprint. Smith won the gold medal, Norman the silver, and Carlos the bronze. When they took their places on the podium, all three took part in a silent protest. Both Smith and Carlos bowed their heads and raised gloved fists during the playing of the national anthem; Smith raised his right fist to represent Black power and Carlos raised his left to represent Black unity. They accepted their medals shoeless, wearing black socks to represent Black poverty in America. Smith wore a black scarf around his neck to represent Black pride, while Carlos unzipped the top of his tracksuit to show solidarity with blue-collar workers in the U.S. and wore a beaded necklace to represent the enslaved people who had died during the Middle Passage. In a sign of support for the goals of Edwards's Olympic Project for Human Rights, all three athletes wore OPHR badges.

All three athletes paid a price for their protest. Smith was quoted after the event as saying that "Black America will understand what we did tonight," but officials revealed an entirely different understanding when they swiftly expelled Carlos and Smith from the Olympic Village. Both men received death threats and subsequently faced difficulties finding work and moving on with their lives. It was not until 2005 that their stand for racial justice was honored with a statue on the campus of San Jose State University.[22] The Australian, Norman, also suffered for his silent protest. For wearing the OPHR badge, he returned home a "pariah," never to run in the Olympics again despite holding the Australian Olympic record in the 200-meter sprint.[23] In 2006, when Norman passed away, Carlos and Smith served as pall bearers at his funeral.[24]

Unlike the top-down American boycott of the Moscow Games in 1980 and Soviet boycott of the Los Angeles Games in 1984 in the late Cold War, it was grassroots activists and young athletes who sought in 1968 to use sport to demand racial justice and leverage political change. In the lead up to the Olympic Games, African American athletes threatened to stay home because of the treatment of black people in American society. On the eve of the Games, Mexican students and citizens went into the streets to gain international as well as national visibility for their call for democratic reform. After an eight-year campaign, the International Olympic Committee agreed to exclude South Africa from future Games. It was not re-admitted until the Barcelona Games in 1992, after the release of Nelson Mandela from prison and irreversible steps to dismantle apartheid. In 1994, Richard Lapchick, the founder of the American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society who had spent nearly two decades appealing to American sporting bodies to boycott South African athletes and teams in the U.S., highlighted the importance of sport for both ending apartheid and re-integrating South Africa into the world community. Indeed, in his first speech after the ANC won the free elections in 1994, Nelson Mandela encouraged the world's athletes to allow South Africans to compete again and on the night of his inauguration he spoke at halftime to the crowd enjoying a soccer match between South Africa and Zambia. The international sports boycott of South Africa had been one of the hardest cultural blows against the country.[25]

Fifty years after the protest of Tommie Smith and John Carlos in Mexico City, Colin Kaepernick and other kneeling players in the NFL remind us that racial justice remains elusive today. As we remember the events of 1968, however, we might also recall the power of transnational advocacy and activism, a power from below that continues to change the world.

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(dir. Frank Dawson and Abby Ginzberg, 2016)

A Grin without a Cat
(dir. Chris Marker, 1977)

The Battle of Chile
(dir. Patricio Guzman, 1975, 1976, 1978)

In the Intense Now
(dir. Joao Moreira Salles, 2017)

The Black Power Mixtape, 1967-1975
(dir. Goran Olsson, 2011)

Morning Sun
(dir. Carma Hinton, Geremie Barme, and Richard Gordon, 2003)

Concerning Violence: Nine Scenes of the Anti-Imperialistic Self-Defense
(dir. Goran Hugo Olsson, 2015)

She's Beautiful When She's Angry
(dir. Mary Dore and Nancy Kennedy, 2016)

Frantz Fanon: Black Skin, White Mask
(dir. Isaac Julien, 1996)

Sir, No Sir!: The Suppressed Story of the GI Movement to End the War in Vietnam
(dir. David Zeiger, 2005)

The Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam

Christopher Powell | Norquest College

The antiwar movement that flourished in the United States during the American War in Vietnam has been well chronicled by historians. Less so has the larger, international movement. People protested the war from Sydney to Stockholm to Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. From the earliest days of the war the Communist Party of Canada played a leading role in mobilizing Canadians against the war – that is until late fall 1968 when the Party hosted a major international antiwar conference: the Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam. Occurring as it did in the waning weeks of 1968, the conference has remained obscured by the global events of a profoundly dramatic year. Conference organizers sought to extend "a wide campaign of public enlightenment through the Western Hemisphere, bringing to the widest sections of people the moral iniquity and racist character of the war being waged by the United States" in Vietnam.[1] Such an ambitious proposal was premised on the belief that the war was of equal significance to its opponents as much in the "First World" as in the "Third World." Ultimately, conference organizers overreached, leading to a turning point for the antiwar movement in Canada.

Since its emergence in late 1963 and early 1964, antiwar activism in Canada had primarily been initiated by three organizations, sometimes in coalition, sometimes separately, to a degree reflecting their counterparts in the United States. On the far left was the Trotskyist League for Socialist Action (LSA), which demanded the immediate withdrawal of all American military forces from Vietnam. The Communist Party of Canada, often in the guise of the Canadian Peace Congress and its many local affiliates, commanded the centre, calling for an immediate halt to the American bombing of Vietnam and for negotiations between all belligerents. It was the Communist Party that had first brought people into the streets in Montreal and Vancouver following US airstrikes against targets in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) following the Gulf of Tonkin Incident.[2] On the right were elements of the non-Marxist peace movement in the Canadian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and its campus organization, the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CUCND). Essentially sharing the same analysis of the war, as well as their slogans, these organizations cooperated, albeit uneasily, with the Communist Party in organizing antiwar actions.

As the war escalated, first with the initial American airstrikes against the DRV in the summer of 1964, and later with the introduction of hundreds of thousands of combat troops from the United States and its allies throughout 1965, the antiwar movement grew exponentially, in the United States and worldwide. In Canada, new organizations and constituencies became active, students in particular. In the predominantly French-speaking province of Québec, the Union générale des étudiants du Québec (UGEQ) played a vital role in leading antiwar activity. English-speaking students in Québec and elsewhere also increasingly engaged in antiwar activism. In December 1964, as the American Students for a Democratic Society began planning its first and only national demonstration against the war, the CUCND was in the process of changing its name to the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA). Ending the war in Vietnam figured prominently among its priorities, especially with its Toronto and Montreal chapters. SUPA would work closely with SDS, sending numerous buses to its Easter 1965 protest in Washington, attending SDS executive meetings in the United States, and hosting workshops in Canada facilitated by American SDS leaders. It was SUPA that organized the protest at the University of Toronto in the spring of 1965 against the awarding of an honorary doctorate upon U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Adlai Stevenson.[3] SUPA also played a prominent role in organizing many of the Canadian actions in the first International Day of Protest to End the War in Vietnam in October 1965.

Following these international demonstrations, another prominent youth organization joined in antiwar organizing – the New Democratic Youth (NDY). The youth wing of the left-of-centre New Democratic Party (NDP), the NDY had broken with its parent organization over the war in Vietnam. Dominated by a labor movement largely headquartered in the United States and supportive of President Lyndon Johnson, the NDP remained painfully silent on the war. The exceptions were the party's leader Tommy Douglas and the NDY. In March 1966, with the support of the larger antiwar coalitions, the NDY organized the largest national antiwar protest in Ottawa as part of the second International Days of Protest to End the War in Vietnam. In a rare show of generosity, the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Canada gave specific credit to the NDY for its vital role in organizing not only the demonstration in Ottawa, but also solidarity marches in other cities across Canada.[4] Nonetheless, it was the rank and file of other organizations that provided the people in the streets. The Communist Party made the campaign its number one priority. The Party General Secretary ordered all members to support antiwar actions.[5] In addition to the Communists, Trotskyist, student, church and labour organizations, particularly those outside of the AFL-CIO, as well as the women's peace group Voice of Women, made the campaign the success it was. The second International Days of Protest to End the War in Vietnam marked the apex of organizational cooperation among

antiwar groups in Canada.

Although coalition work was common among all three groups, especially in Toronto and Vancouver, the Trotskyists often alienated themselves from the others due to a variety of reasons. One was their confrontational and theatrical tactics. Another was their willingness to agree with coalition partners at planning meetings to refrain from distributing partisan literature at demonstrations, only to break this agreement on the day of planned actions. Also, the Trotskyists had a practice of creating numerous antiwar organizations and sending representatives of each to coalition meetings that were structured on the concept of one organization, one vote, thereby capturing a substantial block, if not an outright majority of votes. In the summer of 1966 the main antiwar coalitions expelled the Trotskyists, who continued to organize separately.[6]

It was not only sectarianism in the old left that hampered antiwar activism in Canada throughout 1967 and 1968. To be sure, the country was not directly involved in the war (like Australia and New Zealand), it was not hosting American forces (like Japan and West Germany), and it was not engaged in its own confrontation with the U.S. (like Cuba). More important, however, was the fact that Canada in the late 1960s was entering the rapids of change and conflict, its own cycles of mobilization and polarization. For various forces, such as students and youth, the issue of Vietnam was either replaced by or merged into other priorities. In Québec, UGEQ gravitated towards Québécois nationalism. SUPA disbanded. Students in general retreated to their respective campuses to organize their own demonstrations. Women, indigenous people, African Canadians and others increasingly organized around demands aimed at Canadian policies and institutions, even if opposition to the war was widespread among activists in these sectors. Thus the organized antiwar movement, narrowly defined, became weak and divided.[7]

In the late fall of 1968 the Communist Party made a concerted effort to engage with the various emerging new lefts on the subject of the war by organizing the Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam. The Party sought to bring together antiwar activists from throughout the Americas. By developing common strategy, organizers believed delegates would return to their own countries and in turn educate their fellow citizens as to the barbarity of America's war in Vietnam. Although organizers publicly attributed the idea to Edward Martin Sloan, a member of Quebec Medical Aid to Vietnam, the Communist Parties of Canada, the United States and the Soviet Union organized the event, with funding provided by Moscow. W. L. Higgit, Assistant Commissioner and Director of Security and Intelligence for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), considered the Montreal conference "probably one of the most impressive undertakings by the Communist Parties of Canada and the United States in recent years." Toronto *Telegram* reporter Peter Worthington traced the origins of the conference to a meeting of Communist and workers' parties in Budapest in 1966 and further speculated it had links to the Tricontinental Conference in Havana the same year, where Ché Guevara had exhorted delegates to create "two, three, many Vietnams" and following which the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America was founded.[8] Organizers chose Canada over the United States for the conference, despite anticipating that most delegates would be American. The issue was one of access for Latin American delegates. Many would be representing the Communist parties of their home countries. For instance, one of the most substantial South American delegations would be the Communist Party of Chile. American immigration authorities would never allow them entry, not to mention representatives of the DRV and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLF).[9]

Between 1,500 and 1,800 activists attended the conference, which took place from 28 November to 1 December. The Communist press stated that in addition to a number of unregistered observers, 375 attended from Québec, 270 from other parts of Canada, 835 from the United States, and 58 from Latin America and the Caribbean.[10] The list of conference sponsors included a veritable who's who of the Canadian, American, and Latin American left. Canadian organizations included La Voix des femmes du Québec, the Quebec NDP, UGEQ, and others. Participation by unions affiliated with the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), the Canadian arm of the AFL-CIO, was weak. Although the CLC and its Québec branch the Fédération des travailleurs du Québec had initially endorsed the conference, it pulled out in August, stating that the conference was more anti-American in nature than it was pro-peace. It formally discouraged its affiliates from participating.[11] Both the Confédération des syndicats nationaux (CSN) and the Quebec teachers' union, however, provided sponsorship and served on the organizing committee. CSN President Marcel Pépin addressed the opening plenary.[12] Noticeably absent were the Trotskyists.

Of course, what was remarkable about the conference was its international composition. American sponsors included Businessmen Against the War in Vietnam, Clergy and Laity Concerned About Vietnam, the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, the Quakers, and Women Strike for Peace, among others. From Latin America, left and workers' organizations in Chile, Colombia, Brazil, Guyana, Peru, Costa Rica, Mexico, Argentina, and Panama also sponsored the event. No list of delegates is available. However, if a partial list of international sponsors is any indication of Latin American participation, it would appear that Chile and Argentina were best represented. Mexican sponsorship, on the other hand, appeared minimal. Alejandro Galindo of the leftist Central Nacional de Estudiantes Democráticos is the only Mexican listed. Although early in the planning stages about 50-60 Cubans were expected, further mention of them quickly disappeared. The absence of Cuban sponsorship might possibly be explained as an attempt to give the conference a more moderate appearance.[13] Among the more distinguished international speakers

were Cheddi Jagan of Guyana and Socialist President of the Chilean Senate Salvador Allende. Allende generated great applause during his speech when he declared "(t)he war in Vietnam is a war of all the people. Victory in Vietnam will be the victory of all the people."[14]

Despite the impressive array of guests and speakers, the conference resulted in a calamity for the Communist Party. In a post-mortem gloatingly conducted by the Trotskyist *Workers' Vanguard,* the newspaper accused the CPC of using the conference as part of a "regroupment of right-wing forces within the North American antiwar movement." The article pointed out the exclusion of the Trotskyist-led Vietnam Mobilization Committee (VMC) and the Voix du Québéc sur le Vietnam as evidence of this.[15] One disruption followed another. Early in the meeting members of the Black Panther Party demanded an explanation as to the absence of featured speaker Bobby Seale. Organizers explained that they had refused to pay for the costs of the two bodyguards Seale insisted accompany him. Delegates took up a collection raising half the costs and forced begrudging organizers to cover the difference.[16] When Seale ultimately made his appearance the violence of his rhetoric embarrassed even the Communists. Seale enjoined his audience to take violent action, asserting "You are either part of the problem or part of the solution … Being part of the solution means you're willing to grab a shotgun and take to the barricades, killing if necessary … We will take any steps," Seale said, "to eliminate the problem." While organizers sat on their hands, delegates gave Seale a standing ovation.[17]

More than anyone the Panthers provided the conference an element of high drama, undoubtedly stealing the limelight and likely upsetting their hosts. In the end, however, Panther support for the objectives of the Vietnamese delegates ensured passage of a final declaration satisfactory to the organizers. Reportage of the Panthers at the conference varies widely. Both the Trotskyist and Montreal mainstream press portrayed them as little more than bullies. "No caucus – radical, student, Vietnamese, or even Quebecois," wrote Brian McKenna of the *Montreal Star*, "made a decision without worrying what the Panthers were thinking."[18] Two examples illustrate this. The first occurred when it appeared that Seale would not be attending. Panthers demanded the 2:00 time slot that Seale would have left vacant. Indicating they were prepared to take any action necessary to secure the place on the agenda, they insisted their demands were not negotiable. The second example occurred when a representative of the "anti-imperialist caucus" attempted twice to go to the microphone and condemn the recent Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. The delegates from the NLF and the DRV had indicated earlier to the Panthers that such a resolution would not be helpful to their cause. In an effort to oblige their Vietnamese comrades the Panthers simply blocked the delegate's access to the microphone and suggested that continuing with his intentions would be "very unwise."[19] In the Communist version of events, delegates from Latin America, the United States, and Canada – including both Communists and NDP members – blocked whom they referred to as "Maoists" from presenting their motion. Only after a delegate from the DRV made an impassioned plea against introducing the resolution did the Panthers join the others in blocking the microphone.[20] Some scholars on the other hand have been much more sympathetic to the Panthers. Citing coverage in *Le Monde*, sociologist Joshua Bloom and historian Waldo E. Martin Jr. assert that their opposition to "'imperialism in all of its forms'" the Panthers successfully "captured the imagination of the international delegates and set the tone for the conference."[21] The trouble with the Panthers, who were new to international work, was a sign of how unprepared conference organizers were for the complex and rapidly shifting political landscape of the New Left forces they wanted to engage with in Montreal, itself the epicentre of an increasingly radical Québécois nationalism.[22]

The Panthers' presence in Montreal indirectly raises questions about the comingling of issues such as antiracism, anti-imperialism, and the antiwar movement in Montreal. Although the city's Black population today is largely Francophone as a result of immigration from Haiti and French-speaking Africa, in the late 1960s the city's historic Black population was overwhelmingly anglophone, composed of the descendents of African slaves and more recently Anglo-Caribbean immigrants. This placed Black Montrealers in a somewhat politically ambivalent position. While a racial minority, they spoke the language of those whom many Québécois increasingly considered the oppressor. Still, racism was a reality, and with the growing struggle against it Black consciousness increasingly figured into the political milieu of the city. This is best seen in two conferences held in Montreal earlier in 1968, at the city's two English-speaking universities. The first, held at Sir George Williams (today Concordia) on October 4-6, focused on discrimination in housing and employment, lack of other opportunities, and "the social and cultural alienation of Blacks in Canada." The second was held a week later at the more elite McGill University. Organized largely by Black students, it attracted greater attention. Billed as the Congress of Black Writers, the conference was dedicated to the memory of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King. It attempted to recall, in the words of one of its co-chairs, "the history of the black liberation struggle, from its origins in slavery to the present day." An ambitious project, the congress attracted a who's who of internationally renowned Black intellectuals, including Walter Rodney, James Forman, and C.L.R. James. While the Panthers do not appear to have attended, their Minister of Defense, Eldridge Cleaver, was turned back at the border. The highlight of the conference was the appearance of Stokely Carmichael and his call for revolutionary violence. According to historian Sean Mills, "Carmichael's uncompromising militancy embodied the spirit of the conference."[23] Still, unlike in the United States, it appears that the Black liberation movement in Montreal existed in isolation from the antiwar movement. In his book on political activism in Montreal during the 1960s, Mills does not even mention the Hemispheric Conference. Indeed the city's antiwar movement is hardly mentioned. Perhaps a better way to link Montreal to the larger international antiwar movement is by examining the city within the contexts of both growing Québécois nationalism and global anti-colonialism.

As a predominantly French-speaking province, Québec is unique within the Canadian confederation. More attuned to events in the francophone world, the generations that came of age in the postwar era lived in a global context of national liberation that to a large degree spoke French. Vietnam in 1954, at least in the north, and Algeria in 1962 represented two culminations of revolutionary national liberation struggles. More commonly, decolonization came less violently. In 1960 alone over a dozen French colonies in Africa gained their independence. As well, the work of francophone writers flowed freely into Québec – Jean Paul Sartre, Frantz Fanon, Albert Memmi, and Jacques Berque. As nationalist Québécois sentiment grew, there developed within Québec a self-described national liberation movement – the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ). Greatly informed by the recent history of Vietnam, it is not surprising that often its militant actions were in solidarity with the Vietnamese struggle. For instance, on May Day 1965 the FLQ bombed the US Consulate in Montreal to coincide with mass demonstrations against the war in Vietnam. In May 1968 another bomb exploded near the US Consulate, again timed to coincide with a major antiwar protest.[24] Thus by the fall of 1968 there were many in Québec who believed they were living in revolutionary times, and that one of the duties of a revolutionary was to oppose the war in Vietnam. There is no way of saying how many of those people were delegates to the Hemispheric Conference.

The challenges of the conference, therefore, cannot be solely attributed to the Panthers. The root of the matter was conflicting agendas. Organizers sought to put together a broad anti-Vietnam War assembly, but invited many delegates who wanted instead an event with a much higher level of unity, in effect an anti-imperialist conference. Many of the delegates formed caucuses. These included one exclusively composed of black delegates, another for white radicals (mostly from the United States), one for Latin Americans, and another for Québécois. An RCMP report on the conference described it as a "total state of confusion," with each delegation seeking priority to speak first. The Québécois caucus continually interrupted proceedings, insisting that French always be spoken first regardless of the language of the speaker, and continuously interjecting shouts of "Vive la Quebec" [sic].[25] Québécois persistence led to the final plenary passing a resolution in support of Québec national liberation. While perhaps a coup for Québec separatists, it further diminished the conference's focus on the war in Vietnam. The Toronto *Globe and Mail* provided the most insightful mainstream press analysis of the conference. By inviting such a broad spectrum of the left, it said, the conference backfired on its organizers. "(R)adicals" hijacked the conference and the Communists were "forced to go along with their demands."[26] More succinctly, *Workers' Vanguard* insisted "nothing was really accomplished."[27] Organizers had no one to blame but themselves for the fiasco. That an avowedly Leninist party could display such poor organization and control must have been an acute embarrassment to old Party members used to the rigors of iron discipline and democratic centralism. But the roots of their failure lay in the belief that they could succeed by applying the rules of democratic procedure in an environment where so many participants had no intention of playing by any rules. While the old left wanted to defend and advance the Vietnamese revolution, the new left wanted to create in the words of Ché, "two, three, many Vietnams." Communists downplayed the divisions within the conference, highlighting rather the ability of participants to rise above such differences and unanimously pass "The Declaration of Montreal." The declaration, as intended, condemned the U.S. "criminal war" and supported the struggle of the Vietnamese for independence, unity, territorial integrity, and sovereignty. But bowing to pressure from an array of other agendas, the statement went on to condemn "all forms of imperialist aggression and oppression, wherever such aggression and oppression exist," again diverting focus away from the war in Vietnam.[28] A few weeks later six of the conference participants traveled to Paris where they presented the declaration to Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, head of the NLF mission there. The delegation included one Chilean, two Americans, and three Canadians.[29]

The Hemispheric Conference marked the last attempt by the Communist Party of Canada to play a leading role in the antiwar movement prior to the departure of American combat troops from Southeast Asia. But it was not so much divisions within the Canadian antiwar movement that brought this about, but rather the repercussions of the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia a few months earlier in late August.

From its halcyon days of the 1940s, when Canadians elected its members to federal and provincial parliaments, the Party had never recovered from the mass exodus of members following the 1956 revelations of Stalin's atrocities and the Soviet invasion of Hungary. By 1963 the U.S. State Department estimated the Canadian party's membership at 3,500.[30] Those who remained represented the hard core, the disciplined and loyal. It was these members who numbered among the pioneers of the antiwar movement. Yet many had welcomed the Prague Spring, and when Warsaw Pact tanks rolled into Prague the Central Executive Committee (CEC) of the Communist Party of Canada implicitly criticized the invasion. Within a month, however, the CEC reversed itself, asserting that the intervention was an act of self-defence against "creeping counterrevolution." As the Central Committee, and later the Party's convention ratified this position, the Party bled members; some estimates indicate that as many as fifty percent of its members left.[31] The hypocrisy of opposing America's war in Vietnam, while supporting armed action against Czechoslovakia was not lost on many of its members, as well as leaders. It was within this is context that the Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam unfolded. Even if it had shown greater skill and understanding in engaging with young radicals, the lack of political will to condemn unequivocally the suppression of the Czechoslovak experiment with "socialism with a human face" compromised and discredited the party.

At the same time, having been expelled from the major antiwar coalitions in 1966, the Trotskyists appeared to have learned some lessons about building coalitions and working with others. As the Communist Party sought to stay alive,

the Trotskyist-led Vietnam Mobilization Committee in Toronto and the Vietnam Action Committee in Vancouver flourished. By 1969, what was left of the Communist-led antiwar movement in Canada pursued unity and – for a time – joined with the Trotskyists.

The Communist Party of Canada had been pivotal in pioneering the antiwar movement in Canada. From the Gulf of Tonkin Incident through the International Days of Protest and the many campaigns that followed, the CPC had carried its weight in mobilizing Canadians against the war. The Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam, intended to unite the antiwar movement throughout the Americas, instead became an ineffectual last hurrah of the Communist-led antiwar movement in Canada. By the end of 1968 the Trotskyist movement had unquestionably assumed the leadership of this movement.The larger quest for cross-border cooperation in antiwar advocacy and organizing would remain episodic and difficult, as feminist and other radical women activists in Canada would learn in the years to come.[32]

Nicolae Ceauşescu and Tim Buck from Communist Party of Canada, July 11, 1968

1 Conference Call – "Hemispheric Conference to End the Vietnam War", RG 76, Canadian Security and Intelligence Service (CSIS), Access to Information Application A2006-00474, Hemispheric Conference on Vietnam, Stack 1. The records of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police are sometimes the only records available on the minutia of the antiwar movement. They are, however, often extensively redacted by Library and Archives Canada, usually citing reasons of national security. For example, in this particular record group there are six stacks. All 141 pages of stack 6 have been deleted. In other stacks often over half of all pages are deleted. In cases where records are included such as RCMP reports and correspondence, all names are routinely deleted. In some cases this is so extreme that the name and signature of the Deputy Minister responsible for the RCMP, a public figure, have been removed, but his title left on the page.

2 "Gather at Cenotaph: Demonstrators Mark Hiroshima Anniversary," *Montreal Star*, 7 August 1964, 3; "End the Dirty War in Vietnam," *Pacific Tribune*, 5 June 1964, 4.

3 Correspondence, Gary Teeple, President, SUPA, University of Toronto Branch, to Dr. C.T. Bissell, Chairman, Senate, University of Toronto, 5 May 1965; "U of T awarded honorary degree to Adlai Stevenson – has resulted in more news coverage than any other Canadian protest of US actions in Vietnam," *SUPA Newsletter*, 1, no. 3 (6 June 1965): 1-2; Alan Dawson Jr., "Stevenson Undaunted By Pickets," *Ottawa Journal*, 29 May 1965. Clipping in CSIS, Access to Information Application RG 146, A-2006-00301, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, University of Toronto, Pt. 4; "Stevenson Defends Interventions," *New York Times*, 28 May 1965, Clipping in Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CUCND), Box 5, Adlai Stevenson Visit, May 1965.

4 Correspondence, National Executive Committee, Communist Party of Canada, to Provinces and Regions, April 1966. In RG 146, CSIS, Access to Information Application a2006-00312, Stack 10, National Coordination [sic] Committee to End the War in Vietnam, USA.

5 Form letter, Phyllis Clarke, Communist Party of Canada (Headquarters) to membership. In RG 146, CSIS, Access to Information Application A2006-00312, Stack 5, National Coordination [sic] Committee to End the War in Vietnam, USA.

6 RCMP Report, "League for Socialist Action," Toronto, 25 July 1966, RG 146, CSIS, Access to Information Application A2006-00313, Stack 13, Toronto Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Toronto, Ontario; RCMP Report, "League for Socialist Action," 27 October 1966 in same file, stack 8. Gary Moffat, *History of the Canadian Peace Movement Until 1969* (St. Catharines, ON: Grape Vine Press, 1969), 185.

7 The anti-Vietnam War movement in Canada is a subject little explored by scholars. With the exception of my own work, "'Vietnam: It's Our War Too': The Antiwar Movement in Canada, 1963-1975," Ph.D Thesis, University of New Brunswick, 2010, most of what emerges comes from general histories of the 1960s in Canada. The most comprehensive of these is Bryan D. Palmer, *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009). For an anthology of various 1960s-related topics in Canada see Lara Campbell, Dominique Clément, and Gregory S. Kealey, eds., *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012). For an anthology of the global 1960s see Karen Dubinsky, Catherine Krull, Susan Lord, Sean Mills and Scott Rutherford, eds., *New World Coming: The Sixties and the Shaping of Global Consciousness* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2009).

8 Clipping, Andrew Salwyn, "Viet Nam bombing halt won't stop Montreal's end-the-war rally," *Toronto Daily Star*, 23 October 1968:W. H. Kelly, Deputy Commissioner, RCMP, to George J. McIlraith, Solicitor General, 25 February 1969; Correspondence, W. L. Higgitt, Assistant Commissioner, Director, Security and Intelligence, (RCMP) to Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, 25 July 1968; Clipping, Peter Worthington, "This Peace Conference is Just an Excuse for Hatred," *Telegram*, October 12, 1968, all in RG 76, CSIS, Access to Information Application A2006-00474, Hemispheric Conference on Vietnam, Stack 1.

9 Walter Poronovitch, "Viet meet set for Longeuil," *Montreal Star*, 29 July 1968. Clipping in RG 76, CSIS, Access to Information Application A-2006-00474, Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam, Stack 1.

10 "Vibrant Unity to End Vietnam War," *Canadian Tribune*, 4 December 1968, 1, 12; Registration Form, Hemispheric Conference to End the Vietnam War, Vancouver Vietnam Action Committee (VVAC), Box 3, File 7. While the Communist Party asserted 1,800 delegates attended, scholars have put the number at 1,500. See Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin Jr., *Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016), 309.

11 Peter Worthington, "Peace Conference Could Sink Before it Floats," *Telegram*, October 15, 1968.

12 "An Appraisal: Hemispheric Conference," *Canadian Tribune*, 18 December 1968, 4; "CNTU Anti-War Position," *Canadian Tribune*, 4 December 1968, 3.

13 RCMP Report, "Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam, Montreal, Quebec, from November 28 to December 1, 1968," 17 October 1968, in CSIS, RG 146, CSIS, Access to Information Application A-2006-00305, Hamilton and District Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Stack 5; also Conference Call, RG 76, CSIS, Access to Information Application A2006-00474, Hemispheric Conference on Vietnam, Stack 1; Peter Worthington, "This Peace Conference is Just an Excuse for Hatred," Telegram, October 12, 1968, clipping in same stack.

14 "Chilean Senator at Hemispheric Meet," *Canadian Tribune*, 4 December 1968, 12.

15 "Hemispheric Achieves Nothing: Blowup at Peace Rally," *Workers' Vanguard*, 16 December 1968. Clipping in CSIS, RG 146, Access to Information Application A-2006-00315, Vietnam Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Stack 4.

16 "Hemispheric Achieves Nothing," *Workers' Vanguard*.

17 Brian McKenna, "Panther power prevails," *Montreal Star*, 2 December 1968. Clipping in CSIS, RG 146, Access to Information Application A-2006-00474, Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam, Stack 2; "Hemispheric Achieves Nothing," *Workers' Vanguard*.

18 McKenna, "Panther power prevails."

19 "Liberation Not Rhetoric: Demands of the Radical Caucus," 29 November 1968, in CSIS, RG 146, Access to Information Application A-2006-00474, Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam, Stack 2; Ross H. Munro, "The violent death of a peace meeting," *The Globe and Mail*, 5 December 1968, 7. Clipping in same stack.

20 "Vibrant Unity to End Vietnam War," *Canadian Tribune*, 4 December 1968, 1, 12. There was perhaps an echo here of the conflict between West German "Maoists" and pro-Soviet organizers of the World Youth Festival, which was held in Sofia, Bulgaria in late July and early August 1968, just weeks before the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. See Quinn Slobodian, *Foreign Front: Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 194-99.

21 Bloom and Martin, *Black Against Empire*, 310. See also Sean L. Malloy, *Out of Oakland: Black Panther Internationalism During the Cold War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017), 117-19. It is worth noting that Bloom and Martin's account is not entirely accurate. They portray the conference concluding in St. James United Church, but in fact only the first two days of the conference took place there. The last two days were held at External Classique de Longueil. See Agenda, Hemispheric Conference to End the War, RG 76, CSIS, Access to Information Application A2006-00474, Hemispheric Conference on Vietnam, Stack 1.

22 Malloy, *Out of Oakland*, 117-19.

23 Sean Mills, *The Empire Within: Postcolonial Thought and Political Activism in Sixties Montreal* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 100-103.

24 Louis Fournier, *The FLQ: Anatomy of an Underground Movement*, trans. Edward Baxter (Toronto: NC Press, 1984), 21-28, 80, 129.

25 RCMP Report, "Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam – Montreal, Quebec, November 28 – December 1, 1968," CSIS, RG 146, Access to Information Application A-2006-00303, Ottawa Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Disc 1, Stack 11.

26 Munro, "The violent death of a peace meeting," *Globe and Mail*.

27 "Hemispheric Achieves Nothing," *Workers' Vanguard*.

28 "Declaration of Montreal," *Canadian Tribune*, 4 December 1968, 1; "Vibrant Unity to End Vietnam War," *Canadian Tribune*, 1, 12.

29 "Hemisphere Delegates Take Appeal to Paris," *Canadian Tribune*, 2 January 1969, 1, 2.

30 Roger W. Benjamin and John H. Kautsky, "Communism and Economic Development," *American Political Science Review* 63, no. 1 (1968): 110-123, quotation 122.

31 Gregory S. Kealey, "Stanley Bréhaut Ryerson: Canadian Revolutionary Intellectual – Part 1," *Studies in Political Economy* 8 (Summer 1982): 7-87, quotation 23-24.

32 In 1969, and again in 1971, women's peace organizations in Canada and the U.S. coordinated a cross-Canada tour of representatives of Indochinese revolutionary women's groups. See Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, *Radicals on the Road: Internationalism, Orientalism, and Feminism During the Vietnam Era* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 219-265; also Powell, "'Vietnam: It's Our War Too'," 340-360, 365-372.

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SILENT VIETNAM:
REVOLUTIONARY CHILE IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM, 1964-1973

Juan Pablo Valenzuela | Kennesaw State University

At the Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam held in Montreal in late 1968, Salvador Allende was one of the fifteen hundred delegates who had come from throughout the Americas to demonstrate their opposition to U.S. intervention in Vietnam.[1] In 1969, in his capacity as President of the Chilean Senate, Allende became the first Chilean politician to visit Vietnam.[2] He was elected president of Chile and his Unidad Popular (Popular Unity, UP) coalition came to power in 1970. A year later, Allende told the writer Régis Debray that he had very fond memories of the resolve, fortitude, and political awareness of the Vietnamese people. He also thought that he could "claim to be one of the last Latin Americans, in fact one of the last politicians to have had the opportunity of meeting Ho Chi Minh, and this was one of the most interesting occasions" of his life.[3] When Debray asked Allende for his impressions of Ho, he replied that, "Firstly, he was taller than the average in Vietnam, an elderly man of great dignity, with eyes of diaphanous clarity, a man of unbelievable modesty, and yet this was Ho Chi Minh, whose history I knew."[4] Solidarity with Vietnam was Unidad Popular policy until the military coup that overthrew the government and cost Allende his life in 1973. Was Allende's admiration of Ho and affinity with the Vietnamese an expression of individual political will or a reflection of something larger in Chilean politics and culture?

In this essay, I contend that Chilean solidarity with the Vietnamese pueblo emerged from a revolutionary spirit pervading the Chilean pueblo years before the UP government.[5] Although separated by more than eleven thousand miles, Chile and Vietnam shared the space and time of the Cold War as two Third World nations seeking their own models of development independent of U.S. or Soviet hegemony. A "project" rather than a "place," the Third World became a major protagonist in the drama of the Cold War.[6] Writer Oscar Guardiola-Rivera reminds us that Chile under Allende was fully committed to Third Worldism, which historian Paul Chamberlin defines as "an amorphous, left-leaning political movement among the developing nations that emphasized the North-South divide in international affairs" and promoted solidarity between these nations.[7] Between 1964 and 1973 Chileans imagined themselves part of a process of anti-imperialism and "internalized international issues and conflicts into domestic politics," to borrow Sidney Tarrow's words, by solidarizing with the Vietnamese struggle for self-determination in the course of their own social and political upheaval.[8] Before electing a government that would follow their lead, Chileans marched in the streets, attended conferences, wrote poetry, sang songs, and created art in solidarity with the pueblo of Vietnam.

This process began to accelerate with the election of Eduardo Frei of the Partido Demócrata Cristiano (Christian Democratic Party, PDC) to the presidency in 1964, which coincided with an unfolding radicalization not only in Chile, but globally. Writer Mónica Echeverría contends that the fortunes of the Frei government can be divided into two phases. It enjoyed broad popular support for reforms in land, mining, and labor from 1964 to 1967, but it faced "heightened social agitation" in response to the glacial pace of change from 1967 to 1970.[9] Chile in the mid-1960s was a showcase for the Alliance for Progress, the Kennedy administration's initiative to promote economic cooperation between the U.S. and Latin America and curtail the appeal of armed revolution inspired by Cuba.[10] However, historian Greg Grandin reminds us that Kennedy's "actions empowered those who opposed it [change], the most illiberal forces in the hemisphere, men who despised democrats and political liberals as much as they hated card-carrying Communists."[11] As Brian Loveman affirms, this "positive alternative to the Cuban revolutionary model" not only supported Christian Democrats, but also "American business interests in Chile," entangling the Frei government "in the web of American foreign policy, including Vietnam." Loveman goes on to explain that constituents of the PDC already at odds with the party internally began to reject any identification with U.S. imperialism and its new face, the Vietnam War.[12]

In November 1964, representatives from over fifty countries gathered in Hanoi for the International Conference for Solidarity with the People of Vietnam against U.S. Imperialist Aggression and for the Defense of Peace. The Chilean delegate Mario Arancibia gave a speech in which he wished "to convey the solidarity and unconditional support of the most progressive sections of [Chile] to the struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people against the North American imperialist aggression and for peace."[13] He connects Africa, Asia, and Latin America in a Third Worldism that recognizes, among other things, what I refer to as the vanishing monolithic yanqui.[14] Arancibia equates the racism that kills Congolese, Colombians, and Vietnamese with the one that killed Medgar Evers. He avers that imperialism stands alone in the world and that "All the peoples, including the American people themselves, condemn its crimes as is shown here [the conference] by the presence of five of the best sons and daughters of the North American people."[15] By internationalizing the civil rights struggles in the U.S. and highlighting the presence of a U.S. delegation at the conference, Arancibia complicates the narrative of the vanishing

monolithic yanqui. In other words, Arancibia takes special care to indicate that the anti-imperialist world, including Chile, does not in its criticism of the war target the U.S. American pueblo.

The ubiquitous but fading monolithic yanqui appears in an appeal to the Chilean pueblo to solidarize with the Vietnamese pueblo in a pamphlet in 1966. The message emblazoned on the cover of the pamphlet demands ¡Fuera Yanquis de Vietnam! (Yanquis Out of Vietnam!).[16] Published by the Comité Chileno de Solidaridad con Vietnam (Chilean Committee for Solidarity with Vietnam, CCSV), the pamphlet uses the anti-imperialist phrases like "Yanqui aggression," and "heroic [Vietnamese] resistance." Yet it alludes to the vanishing monolithic yanqui by affirming that the whole world, including the pueblo norteamericano, repudiates this aggression. The message goes on to state that the hovering threat of yanqui imperialism over Latin America means the struggles of the Vietnamese pueblo are also the struggles of the Chilean pueblo. Under the slogan of "medicines for Vietnam!" the pamphlet announces that CCSV, an initiative of the Central Unica de Trabajadores (Central Workers Confederation, CUT), accepts donations at the local offices of the union. CUT had created CCSV as its contribution to the work of the larger and older Movimiento Chileno de Partidiarios de la Paz (Chilean Movement of Supporters of Peace, MCHPP). Notably, the great Chilean poet, diplomat, Communist, and 1971 winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature Pablo Neruda was a founding member of the MCHPP.[17]

The name of Neruda signals the profound confluence of politics and culture in the narrative of the Chilean experiment with socialism and, by extension, the Chilean engagement with the global process of anti-imperialism and solidarity with Vietnamese self-determination. Cultural productions of solidarity were varied, encompassing poetry, music, theatre, poster art, and other forms of graphic communications, but their main driver was young people. For a week in July 1967, about 2000 students marched from Valparaiso to Santiago to protest the U.S. in Vietnam. These young people, organized by Gladys Marín, Secretary General of the Juventudes Comunistas de Chile (Communist Youth of Chile, JJ.CC.), included independents as well as members of the Socialist, Communist, and Radical Parties. The Communist Youth had already pledged their "combative solidarity" with Vietnam the previous year.[18] What made this anti-imperialist demonstration particularly significant, according to an editorial in *Punto Final,* was that it attracted young members of Frei's Christian Democrats.[19] The role of young Chileans became increasingly prominent throughout 1967, a year that saw the convening of the Organización Latinoamericana de Solidaridad (Organization of Latin American Solidarity, OLAS) in Cuba and the assassination of Ernesto "Che" Guevara in Bolivia. Allende's party, the Socialist Party, moved left at the Congress of Chillan, while the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (Movement of the Revolutionary Left, MIR) advocated armed struggle. A clear indication of where things were going was the election of MIR member Luciano Cruz as president of the Federación de Estudiantes Universidad de Concepción (Student Federation of the University of Concepción, FEC).

This was the context in which Chilean poet Nicasio Tangol edited a collection of poems entitled *Vietnam heroico*. This "Homage from the poets of Chile to the people of Vietnam" began as a poetry contest and it drew the participation of over thirty-five poets from all over the country.[20] Neruda as well increasingly gave his voice to solidarity with the Vietnamese. He was aware of Tangol's project, to be sure, but his experiences in Asia in the 1920s and Spain during the Civil War in the 1930s, and his persecution and exile as a member of the Partido Comunista de Chile (Chilean Communist Party, PCCh) in Chile in the 1940s prepared him to respond to the movements of the long Sixties and especially to the ordeal of the pueblo of Vietnam.[21]

Neruda made his first explicit reference to the war in Vietnam and his stance against imperialist aggression in 1968. *Las manos del día* (The Hands of Day) included a poem titled "En Vietnam" (In Vietnam). Through powerful depictions of noise and death, which obviate the poem's antiwar character, Neruda gradually transforms the atrocities committed in Vietnam to atrocities that wait in the future for anyone. In a morbid stanza of bones and mud, Neruda describes a woman who appears to stand in for a universal mother, and she "looks for your bones and your blood / looks for them in the mud of Vietnam." But the bones are described as so many, so burned, and so scattered that they seem to belong to no one and everyone at the same time because, "they are our bones / seek your death in that death / because the same ones are lying in wait for you / and they destine you to that same mud."[22]

In 1969, the Communist Party designated Neruda as its candidate for the presidency while he put the finishing touches on *Fin de mundo* (World's End).[23] Unlike his previous work, this collection is peppered with references, both subtle and direct, to the imperialist role of the U.S. in Vietnam. In January 1973, Salvador Allende, Luis Corvalán, and Volodia Teitelboim visited Neruda in his home in Isla Negra. They found the poet in good spirits despite his ailing health. According to biographer Mario Amorós, Neruda sat up in bed and excitedly told his visitors that he wanted to read to them from his new book, which had just "come out of the oven like hot bread."[24] The book was *Incitación al Nixoncidio y alabanza de la revolución Chilena* (Incitement to Nixoncide and Praise for the Chilean Revolution). Teitelboim remembered that the poet read aloud for over one hour, until Allende interrupted him and said, "Pablo, the poem is overwhelming. It says what we feel, it speaks or sings for millions of Chileans … But do you think that after publishing this book you can continue being ambassador?"[25] Neruda was Chile's ambassador to France; perhaps recognizing the validity of Allende's question, he tendered his resignation three days later.

If Neruda exemplified the witness of the individual writer or artist against imperialism, the younger generation often performed its solidarity collectively. On 11 August 1968, over 200 clergy, students, and workers seized the Cathedral of Santiago. For fourteen hours, the activists held a mass-in. At a press conference, the activists symbolically shared bread and wine and

prayed for "those fallen in Vietnam in defense of their country, political prisoners in Brazil, and for the exploited working class in Latin America."[26] This event occurred during the Segunda Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano (Second Latin American Episcopal Conference, II CELAM) in Medellín, Colombia, in August and September 1968, the conference inspired by Vatican II that established the framework for Liberation Theology's advocacy of social justice in Latin America.[27]

Performing during the mass-in was a pair of sibling musicians, Isabel and Ángel Parra, the children of Violeta Parra. With Victor Jara and Margot Loyola, Violeta Parra was a founder of the *Nueva Canción Chilena* (Chilean New Song Movement). Jan Fairley, a leading scholar of the movement, traces New Song, like so many cultural productions of the long global Sixties, to a protest song meeting in Cuba in 1967. This meeting brought together 50 musicians from 18 countries to discuss the role that song should play in liberation struggles. The consensus of the meeting was that committed and militant music possessed enormous power to rally and inspire the people, and should be placed in the service of their struggles.[28] Political scientist Patrice McSherry defines the Chilean New Song as "born of, and expressing, the aspirations of rising popular classes and a counterhegemonic set of principles and values as Chilean society burst through the confines of antiquated structures and institutions." This movement emerged "during a revolutionary time of burgeoning aspirations for many peoples of the world, of popular struggles for self-determination and liberation, and also a time of rich artistic creativity."[29] Like young people in other Third World countries, the young Chileans who took up New Song were deeply marked by the Cuban Revolution and the war in Vietnam and sought expressive forms and social spaces for their anti-imperialist and progressive politics.[30] They found this not just in Violeta Parra's combination of folkloric music and socially conscious lyric, but also in the *peñas*, or small coffeehouse bars, in which her children, Isabel and Ángel, "opened up a space for the music that was emerging out of neofolklore" in 1965. It was at the *Peña de los Parra* that the Chilean New Song was born.[31]

Of the numerous artists who constitute Chilean New Song, Víctor Jara, Rolando Alarcón, and the ensemble Quilapayún highlight the movement's solidarity with the people of Vietnam. In 1969, the Comisión Especial de Coordinación Latinoamericana (Special Commission for Latin America, CECLA) held a summit of Latin American ministers to address questions of social and economic cooperation in the resort city of Viña del Mar. That same year Víctor Jara directed Megan Terry's antiwar play "Viet Rock," an antiwar rock musical first performed in New York City in 1966. Jara's adaptation, performed in the Department of Theatre of the University of Chile (DETUCH) in May 1969, conveyed an anti-imperialist Third World rather than antiwar U.S. perspective. Jara biographer Gabriel Sepúlveda maintains that responding to the Vietnam War was mandatory for Chilean artists and intellectuals. As a result, this "anti-imperialist sentiment developed in many artists of our continent a spirit of solidarity with the Vietnamese cause."[32] Thus, Jara's version of the play showed the suffering of the Vietnamese people as well as the U.S. soldiers and did not offer an American solution at the end.[33]

Víctor Jara is remembered by most people today as a musician, who died in the custody of soldiers just days after the military seized power in 1973, rather than a man of the theater. He came to know Violeta Parra and Chilean New Song through his friendship with Angel Parra in the mid-1960s. Jara frequented the *Peña de los Parra*, and one night Angel convinced him to sing on the stage by throwing a guitar into his arms. Following that fateful night, he performed at the *Peña* for the next five years.[34] In 1965, at about the same time the *Peña* was born, a trio of university students formed the new ensemble Quilapayún. By 1968, the group had a stable membership of six, and Víctor Jara was their musical director. The same year, the group began preparing a set of militant songs for an album titled *Por Vietnam* (For Vietnam) for the record label Odeon. However, the politicized content of the music, which also commemorated Che Guevara and Joaquin Murrieta, prompted Quilapayún to start recording under the Communist Youth label, La Jota.[35]

Por Vietnam points an accusatory finger directly at the U.S. government for its intervention in Vietnam. The album cover and vinyl record label depict a detail of a famous image showing a Vietnamese fighter holding his weapon over his head in a display of victory.[36] "Yanqui, yanqui, yanqui, careful, careful," warns the single by the same title as the album. However, it places blame on a malevolent alter ego of the U.S. in the next verse, "The black eagles will feed on the spoils of war / Black eagle you will fall, black eagle you will fall." While the eagle is universally associated with the United States, the "black eagle," evocative of U.S. combat aircraft, arguably represents a malign side of the country that excludes its pueblo. It is a transnational representation of the vanishing monolithic yanqui, the once formidable force that is now divided by resistance inside as well as outside the U.S. "The black eagles come flying with their cannons over the sea," the song continues, "the blood that you draw flows through the earth, blood that shall never forget you … the black eagles break their talons against the heroic pueblo of Vietnam."[37]

The popularity of Quilapayún turned its music into the soundtrack of the UP. In 1971, the ensemble released an album and single by the same name, *Vivir como el* (To Live like Him), dedicated to Nguyen Van Troi, executed by Saigon at the behest of the U.S. government for plotting to assassinate Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara.[38] That same year, as the Allende government restored diplomatic relations with Hanoi and completed the nationalization of copper, Víctor Jara released his sixth album *El derecho de vivir en paz* (The Right to Live in Peace).[39] It featured a variety of topical songs, but in keeping with the long running commitment of Chileans to Vietnam the title song is a veneration of Ho Chi Minh, declaring the artist's solidarity with the Vietnamese pueblo and their legendary leader: "The right to live in peace poet Ho Chi Minh, which strikes from Vietnam at all of humanity / No cannon will erase the furrow of your rice paddies."[40]

Thus the transnational solidarity of anti-imperialist Chileans with Vietnamese self-determination, especially among young people, students, poets,

musicians, and other cultural workers, was well established before the Unidad Popular coalition came to power in 1970. Translating this collective will into government policy, Allende's Chile made solidarity with Vietnam official. In fact, the International Policy section of the UP's basic program drafted in 1969 already proclaimed this solidarity: "All forms of colonialism or neocolonialism will be condemned, and the right of subject pueblos to rebel against it will be recognized." It clearly states that imperialism includes "economic, political, and military aggression."[41] The document further specifies that, "Chilean international policy must maintain a position of rejection of North American aggression in Vietnam, and recognition and active solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people."[42] This commitment was confirmed in 1972 when Allende addressed the United Nations General Assembly and insisted that "There is no peace for Indochina, but there will be. Peace will come to Vietnam. It has to come, because no one doubts the uselessness of this monstrously unjust war."[43] Later the same year in Mexico, he declared before the faculty and students of the University of Guadalajara that the anti-imperialist struggle and the solidarities that complemented it were global in scope, for "those that fall fighting elsewhere to make their homelands independent countries, as occurs in Vietnam, fall for us all in their heroic gesture."[44] If President Richard Nixon's "Vietnamization" of the war was intended in part to reduce U.S. exposure to international censure, Allende's remarks suggest that progressive and revolutionary representatives of the Third World understood the continuing importance of Vietnam for, to use Ho Chi Minh's famous words, independence and freedom worldwide.

On 4 July 2014, Luis Plaza, the mayor of the commune of Cerro Navia, participated in the inauguration of a statue and park honoring Ho. Cerro Navia is the most densely populated commune of Santiago, and Plaza was affiliated to Renovación Nacional (RN), a center-right party in Chile. The English-language version of The Voice of Vietnam Online reported that Nguyen Thi Kim Ngan, the Vietnam National Assembly's Vice Chairwoman, attended the ceremony and expressed her gratitude for "Chile's assistance for Vietnam during the past struggle for national independence and freedom." She went on to say that, "Forty-five years ago, Chilean President Salvador Allende made a historical visit to Vietnam when Vietnamese people were mired in a devastating war." The meeting between Allende and Ho established "a solid foundation for bilateral ties of friendship and cooperation between the two countries."[45] "The World Upside Down" read the headline of the Liberal Chilean online newspaper *El Mostrador* over its account of the event. However, it conceded that "The figure of the mythical revolutionary leader that defeated the U.S. in the Vietnam War is intimately linked to the history of Cerro Navia and that can never be disclaimed."[46] Along with La Legua and La Victoria, Cerro Navia was a nexus of resistance against the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet following the 1973 coup and the dedication of a statue to Ho decades later suggests the transnational spirit of the revolutionary years continues to animate Chileans.[47] Perhaps Pablo Neruda was more prescient than he hoped when, as Allende confirmed in a speech in Mexico in late 1972, he dubbed the Chilean experiment with socialism a "silent Vietnam."[48]

1 For Allende's presence in Montreal, see Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin, Jr., *Black against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 309.
2 "Allende's Daughter Praises Vietnam and Ho Chi Minh," The Voice of Vietnam Online, last updated March 6, 2008, accessed 9 September 2013, http://english.vov.vn/Utilities/PrintView.aspx?ID=16438.
3 Régis Debray, *The Chilean Revolution: Conversations with Allende* (New York: Vintage, 1971), 77-78.
4 Debray, *The Chilean Revolution*, 78.
5 I use the Spanish word pueblo/s to differentiate the people from the state. This word implies a high expression of transnational solidarity. Much of the Chilean vernacular used in the sources that I investigate, such as poetry, song lyrics, posters, and party-political and government documents use the word ubiquitously. As a result, Allende's UP imagined itself part of this pueblo, and Allende as the *presidente compañero* (comrade president). All translations from Spanish are my own, unless stated otherwise.
6 Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World* (New York: New Press, 2007), xv.
7 Oscar Guardiola-Rivera, *Story of a Death Foretold: The Coup against Salvador Allende, September 11, 1973* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013), 225; Paul Thomas Chamberlin, *The Global Offensive: The United States, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Making of the Post-Cold War Order* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 6.
8 Sidney Tarrow, *Strangers at the Gates: Movements and States in Contentious Politics* (New York: Cambridge, 2012), 182.
9 Mônica Echeverría, *Antihistoria de un luchador: Clotario Blest, 1823-1990* (Santiago de Chile: LOM Ediciones, 1993), 258.
10 Greg Grandin, *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism* (New York: Metropolitan/Owl Book, 2006), 47-48; Leonard Gross, *The Last, Best Hope: Eduardo Frei and Chilean Democracy* (New York: Random House, 1967), 16-17.
11 Grandin, *Empire's Workshop*, 48.
12 Brian Loveman, *Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 284. See also Albert L. Michaels, "The Alliance for Progress and Chile's 'Revolution in Liberty,' 1964-1970," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 18, no. 1 (1976): 77.
13 *International Conference for Solidarity with the People of Vietnam Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression and for the Defense of Peace* (Hanoi: Bureau of the International Conference for Solidarity with the People of Vietnam Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression and for the Defense of Peace, 1964), 261.
14 *Yanqui* is a Spanish-language variant of Yankee. Contrary to *Gringo*, which is typically Spanish-language slang for someone from the United States, and can be used as a term of endearment, *Yanqui* tends to be derogatory and carries the stigma of imperialism and arrogance.
15 *International Conference for Solidarity with the People of Vietnam*, 261-265.
16 http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0016016.pdf, accessed 22 June 2018.
17 Olga Poblete, *La Guerra, la paz, los pueblos* (Santiago: Ediciones Tacora, 1990), 50.
18 *Punto Final*, September 1966, 1.
19 "Todo por Vietnam," *Punto Final*, July 1967, 1. The ongoing radicalization of the PDC youth became even more evident in another march for Vietnam in 1969. See "La Republica Poética de Batuco," *La Quinta Rueda*, July, 1973, 21.
20 Nicasio Tangol, ed., *Vietnam heroico: Homenaje de los poetas chilenos al pueblo vietnamita* (Santiago de Chile: Horizonte, 1967).
21 Pablo Neruda, *Confieso que he vivido* (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1974); Volodia Teitelboim, *Neruda: An Intimate Biography*, trans. Beverly J. DeLong-Tonelli (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991); Mark Eisner, *Neruda: The Poet's Calling* (New York: Ecco, 2018).
22 Pablo Neruda, *The Hands of Day*, trans. William O'Daly (Port Townsend, WA: Copper Canyon Press, 2008), 116-121.
23 Pablo Neruda, *World's End*, trans. William O'Daly (Port Townsend, WA: Copper Canyon Press, 2008), xviii.
24 Mario Amorós, *Neruda: El príncipe de los poetas* (Barcelona: Ediciones B, S. A., 2015), chap. 13, Kindle.
25 Teitelboim, *Neruda: An Intimate Biography*, 454.
26 Pablo Richard, ed., *Los Cristianos y la revolución: Un debate abierto en América Latina* (Santiago: Quimantú, 1972), 109.
27 Paul E. Sigmund, *Liberation Theology at the Crossroads: Democracy or Revolution?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Brian H. Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile: Challenges to Modern Catholicism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), 19.
28 Jan Fairley, "La Nueva Canción Latinoamericana," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 3, no. 2 (1984): 107-8.
29 J. Patrice McSherry, *Chilean New Song: The Political Power of Music, 1960s-1973* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015), xvii-xviii.
30 McSherry, *Chilean New Song*, xvii.
31 Nancy Morris, "New Song in Chile: Half a Century of Musical Activism," in *The Militant Song Movement in Latin America: Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina*, ed. Pablo Vila (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014), 21-22.
32 Gabriel Sepúlveda Corradini, *Víctor Jara: Hombre de teatro* (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 2001), 141.
33 Sepúlveda, *Victor Jara*, 145.
34 http://fundacionvictorjara.org/victorjara/musica/, accessed 18 October 2018.
35 The label name comes from JJ.CC., the initials of Juventudes Comunistas de Chile, often shortened simply to La Jota (literally, The J). It became the Discoteca del Cantar Popular (Discotheque of Popular Song, DICAP), and, along with the publishing house Quimantú, a cultural bastion of the UP government until the coup of 11 September 1973.
36 Two graphic artist brothers, Antonio and Vicente Larrea, designed the cover, label, and poster. During the UP years, the Larrea brothers produced the graphic art that summoned Chileans to attend marches and continue to solidarize with the people of Vietnam. They worked with the Brigada Ramona Parra (Ramona Parra Brigade), the group of street muralists who created the cultural ephemera of hope during the UP period and then the resistance after the coup. No relation to Violeta Parra and her family, Ramona Parra was a student activist killed in a strike in the 1940s. The brigade took the name of this martyr because of her youth. In an internet conversation with a member of the JJ.CC., I was informed that the Ramona Parra Brigade was born from the street demonstrations in solidarity with Vietnam. This is confirmed in Eduardo Castillo Espinoza, *Puño y letra: Movimiento social y comunicación gráfica en Chile* (Santiago: Ocho Libros Editores, 2006).
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38 Robert S. McNamara and Brian VanDeMark, *In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 43-44.
39 See www.elmercurio.com/blogs/2017/11/10/55612/Recuerdos-de-Vietnam.aspx, accessed 20 October 2018; https://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=29026&idVersion=1971-07-16, accessed 20 October 2018.
40 https://www.letras.mus.br/victor-jara/667838/, accessed 20 October 2018.
41 *Programa básico de gobierno de la Unidad Popular: Candidature presidencial de Salvador Allende*, accessed 4 February 2018, http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-7738.html.
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46 "Mundo al revés: Luis Plaza (RN) inaugura parque en honor a ex líder comunista vietnamita Ho Chi Minh," last modified 15 July 2014, accessed 4 April 2017, http://www.elmostrador.cl/noticias/pais/2014/07/15/mundo-al-reves-luis-plaza-rn-inaugura-parque-en-honor-a-ex-lider-comunista-vietnamita-ho-chi-minh/.
47 Mario Garcés and Sebastián Leiva, *El Golpe en la Legua: Los caminos de la historia y la memoria* (Santiago: Editorial LOM, 2005).
48 http://www.socialismo-chileno.org/PS/sag/Discursos/1972/Discursos%20de%20Salvador%20Allende%201972%20b.pdf, accessed 20 October 2018.

Marching for Our World:
Local Activism for Global Solidarity in the *Great Speckled Bird*

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On 6 August 1969, some 50 Atlantans marched "from Hurt Park, up Edgewood, across Five Points to the Fulton National Bank building on Marietta" to protest Standard Oil. In the eyes of the demonstrators, the company was an active participant in American imperialism, profiting from the "labor of poor people in Latin America, Africa, the Middle and the Far East."[1] They engaged in exchanges with shoppers and office workers, giving examples from Mexico, Vietnam, Cuba, and Peru of successful challenges to corporate power and declaring that "[t]he natural resources of the world belong to the people of the world."[2] Three days later, hundreds of activists walked from Hurt Park to a rally in Grant Park to remember the atomic bombing of Nagasaki and protest the war in Vietnam. Marches, rallies, picket lines, and sit-ins were elementary forms of direct action. There was no shortage of such events in Atlanta, beginning with black student protests against segregation in downtown establishments in 1960.[3]

My essay focuses on demonstrations reported in the *Great Speckled Bird*, Atlanta's underground paper between 1968 and 1976.[4] One of the key sites of the civil rights movement, Atlanta remained important in the black power movement. The black freedom struggle inspired and became intertwined with other movements, such as the antiwar movement, women's liberation, and lesbian and gay liberation. None of these movements were provincial; to one degree or another, all of them were international. Scholars are increasingly exploring the global dimensions of the long Sixties.[5] Studying demonstrations from this period can help us understand not just how and why people protested but what they meant when they so often made connections between the local and the global.[6]

The *Bird* was an advocate rather than a witness and its pages are filled with accounts of movements and struggles. I will examine coverage of three significant protests in Atlanta, the Moratorium antiwar actions in November 1969, the first International Women's Day march and rally in March 1970, and Gay Pride Day in June 1972. I am particularly interested in the different ways antiwar, women's liberation, and lesbian and gay liberation activists placed their movements in global context and expressed solidarity with other people around the world in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Vietnam Moratorium, Atlanta 1969

Escalation of the war in Vietnam in 1965 was met by opposition around the globe. In the U.S., the antiwar movement began to grow rapidly. Atlanta held the South's largest antiwar demonstration with several hundred participants in 1967. Richard Nixon had promised peace with honor in Vietnam during his presidential campaign in 1968, but the Nixon administration extended the war in 1969 and a new antiwar coalition sought to put a stop, or moratorium, to the war. The two Moratoriums in October and November 1969 mobilized hundreds of thousands of Americans. Antiwar Atlantans participated in local events and many traveled to Washington, D.C. for a national protest in the capital in November.

The mobilization, despite ups and downs, began with the marches in August 1969. Writing in the *Great Speckled Bird*, Bob Goodman was less than impressed by the "couple hundred lackadaisical people" taking part in the Nagasaki Day march, but his coverage reveals a growing sense of urgency in the Atlanta antiwar movement.[7] Other *Bird* writers took part in the discussion of the way forward, especially the interrelationship of antiwar, anti-imperialist, and anti-racist activism amid ongoing differences among Atlanta organizers and national divisions within Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).[8] The *Bird* regularly publicized organizing sessions, fundraisers, and information for those interested in going to SDS demonstrations planned for Chicago in October.[9] Nevertheless, with its straightforward call for an immediate and total U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, the idea of Moratorium began to draw attention and support in Atlanta. Even as the *Bird*'s Steve Wise scrutinized plans for the first Moratorium to be held on 15 October, the Atlanta Mobilization Committee was already calling on activists to help build the second Moratorium, "phoning, leafleting, poster making, typing, rapping, and filling space on the bus [to Washington, D.C.]" for the Saturday rally concluding the two-day March Against Death from Arlington Cemetery to the Washington Monument on 15 November.[10]

In order for people to go to Washington over the weekend, local events were scheduled for the preceding days of the workweek.[11] A Vietnam Moratorium Day Rally took place on November 13, beginning with a march from Hurt Park in the morning and concluding with a rally near the State Capitol in the afternoon. The speakers included Julian Bond, the charismatic civil rights activist and Georgia state representative, and a diverse set of leaders from the labor movement, antidraft and student antiwar groups, and the local welfare rights organization.[12] Following the march and rally, Vigils Against Death were set up outside various downtown stores and hotels. "Vigilers" with swathes of black cloth embodied the connection between war and business and the possibility

of antiwar consumer boycotts in the future.[13] The next day, 14 November, high school and college students across Atlanta wore black armbands, joined strikes, and took part in antiwar programs before people boarded buses bound for Washington, where plans called for "the names of 1537 Georgians killed in Vietnam" to be read aloud at the White House as part of the March Against Death.[14]

Writing about their experiences after returning from Washington, *Bird* staffers tried to convey the significance of Moratorium. Steve Wise emphasized the participation of young people on a much bigger scale than previous antiwar protests and the centrality of "the blacks and youth" in any movement for radical change. To illustrate the breadth of the main event, he mentioned the variety of flags carried by marchers in Washington: "All kinds and colors, mostly red, with a few black ones, multi-colored ones emblazoned with the international peace symbol, and many National Liberation Front flags."[15] National Liberation Front (NLF) flags also played a prominent part in Bob Goodman's account, which by contrast focused on anti-imperialist demonstrators who left the main march and rally and tried to bring their militant protests against "Empire" to the doors of the Department of Justice and the South Vietnamese embassy.[16]

From the *Bird*'s coverage of the antiwar movement in the summer and fall of 1969, it is clear that demonstrators were framing their opposition to the Vietnam war in global terms. Even though there was a divide between those seeking to build a broader movement and those putting forward explicitly anti-imperialist politics, the commemoration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the waving of NLF flags were signs of a shared sense of solidarity with Japanese and Vietnamese "others." The Standard Oil protest and the Vigils Against Death pointed to underlying relationships that went beyond policy decisions by U.S. administrations. Following L.A. Kauffman, we can begin to see how we can "read" demonstrations for the ways they connect the local and the global in social movements of the long Sixties.

International Women's Day, Atlanta 1970

In the second half of the 1960s, younger women who had become activists in SDS and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the broader civil rights and antiwar movements, and even the National Organization for Women (NOW) began to assert claims for autonomy and liberation. What they wanted went beyond conventional notions of femininity and equality. Some created new women's groups, while others remained active in organizations with men, such as the Black Panther Party (BPP) or the staffs of underground papers. The women's liberation movement that emerged by the end of the decade was not a single formation; rather it was networks of women from or within various communities, often participating alongside one another in demonstrations against the Vietnam War and racism or for abortion reform and welfare rights.[17]

The first International Women's Day (IWD) march and rally in Atlanta was preceded by considerable activity in and around the city. In January 1970, the *Bird* mentions that a "woman's contingent" will appear at all forthcoming antiwar demonstrations.[18] The next month, the *Bird* reported on a broad women's conference on issues of "employment, abortion, life styles, and our image as women," in which the argument was made that "[b]lack women must assume leadership at all levels of the movement" in order "to build a movement strong enough to effect our demands."[19] When a demonstration greeted the visit of Vice President Spiro T. Agnew to Atlanta, the promised women's contingent was there. Two photos in the *Bird* show black and white women with signs calling for "No More Sisters in Jail" and "Free the Panther Sisters," responses to the government crackdown on the BPP.[20] Lyn Wells's "Sisters United: They Haven't Seen Anything Yet" made transnational as well as interracial connections. In a concise history of the women's movement in the United States, she globalizes women's liberation by arguing that women's "battle for equality will be won through the solidarity of women around the world fighting our common enemy." She closes her history with a reminder of the upcoming International Women's Day, a day when "sisters around the world have celebrated ... showing their determination to gain equality as human beings, to fight against war, exploitation, injustice."[21]

The first IWD march and rally in Atlanta was held on 7 March 1970. According to Sue Thrasher, the day seemed particularly special because of the full eclipse that took place, "the sun and the moon — the clouds, too, damn it, were doing their thing up above (the eclipse, so right, so cool. Masculine eclipsed by feminine and the two coming together — nature's gesture of solidarity as the march began)." The marchers were "mostly young hip and political women, a few black women, and a few elder professional women – about one hundred or so." They were joined by "a contingent of male supporters." Together they marched through the streets of Atlanta making demands for "free 24-hour-a-day child care, equal work at equal pay, free health care, free safe abortions on request, and adequate guaranteed annual income for individuals."[22] Two photos show the women marchers. In one, a line of women march on a sidewalk along a busy street in Atlanta, walking in pairs and talking with each other. At the front of the line is a person with a sign depicting a female National Liberation Front (NLF) fighter holding an AK-47 against the backdrop of the NLF flag with the words "Freedom for All Women" across the right side of the poster. The sign boldy proclaims the global connection at least some women's liberationists in Atlanta were making with women in Vietnam.

The rally featured several speakers, including Veleda Goodman, who said "to fight oppression in this country is to fight oppression all over the world," and Lousie Whatley, who envisioned the "state of emergency" that would happen if women stopped working and stayed home for the next IWD.[23] Maude devoted "Sister Jeannette," her IWD report, to the speech by Jeannette Rankin, the retired U.S. Congresswoman who had first been elected in 1914 and had voted against U.S. entry into both world wars. She remained a major figure in the peace and women's movements.[24] Rankin told the crowd, "you may think you live in a free country,

but you live under the dictatorship of the military." She argued that "if women exerted more power, and shifted priorities to human needs — health, education, our children — ours would not remain a warmaking society." Noting that many activists might not agree with Rankin's emphasis on political reforms, given "the power of the capitalist elite," Maude concluded that the commitment and vision of the older woman deserved high regard and "[r]espect."[25]

The activists of the women's liberation movement in Atlanta did not see themselves simply as women in the South or the U.S. Their words and actions leading up to and during IWD suggested that they belonged to a worldwide movement against women's oppression. However, they did not assume women were the same everywhere. IWD highlighted the related but distinctive struggles of women in many countries. Whether it was racism in the U.S. or the war in Vietnam, no women were really free until all women were free.

Gay Pride Day, Atlanta 1972

For all its radicalism, one challenge the *Bird* struggled with perhaps more than any other was lesbian and gay liberation. Though several *Bird* staff members were gay, there was tension over homophobia. In 1970, a year after the Stonewall uprising in New York, Atlanta's Gay Liberation Front (GLF) began to appear in the pages of the *Bird*.[26] In June 1972, the first Gay Pride Day march and rally took place in Atlanta and was covered by the *Bird*. The event, which raised questions about the meaning of international solidarity, sparked political debate in the *Bird*.

A few weeks before Gay Pride Day, the *Bird* published a letter to the paper and a response from women on the staff. Vicki, the letter writer who identifies as a lesbian, recognizes the "leadership" of women on the *Bird* staff but questions the role of men and criticizes the lack of "lesbian content" in the paper.[27] The *Bird* women welcome "lesbians working with and writing for the paper" but believe they have a larger political difference with Vicki. They argue that "*full* liberation for women and other oppressed people only becomes possible with the building of a socialist society."[28] This disagreement foreshadowed a conflict that would come up following Gay Pride Day.

On 25 June 1972, "about 100 Gay brothers and sisters marched down Peachtree Street, chanting and singing and loving."[29] Participants "marched from the Gay Liberation offices ... to ... Piedmont Park," shouting "'What do we want?' 'Liberation!' 'When do we want it?' 'Now!'" Following the marchers were "two trucks carrying the Grease Sisters, a new kind of drag group that ... gave staid old Peachtree, as well as conservative homosexuals, a good lesson in the blurring of traditional sex roles."[30] At the rally in the park, speakers and performers "provided different perspectives on the struggle for Gay rights." Atlanta's Womansong Theater and the Georgia Women's Abortion Coalition "spoke to the need for a strong united front of women and Gay people."[31] In his remarks, Bill Cutler addressed the need for an inclusive global movement for human liberation. He was a *Bird* writer as well as GLF activist and his critical remarks were published in the paper. He urged those who pressed "for the liberation of Black [and] other Third World peoples, for the liberation of women everywhere, for the freeing of the working poor from the clutches of the influential rich," to take up the demands of gay and lesbian people in movements around the world. He denounced homophobia in socialist Cuba and leftists who were unwilling to challenge it. A revolution that tolerated lesbian and gay oppression was a "mere reshuffling of authority from one oppressor to another." By contrast, "*our* liberation is everybody's."[32]

Cutler's speech touched a nerve, given his and other *Bird* staffers support for the Cuban revolution and participation in the Venceremos Brigade, an organization that brought American volunteers to the island. In "Birdwomen Respond: Socialism Frees All," some of the same tropes we saw in the Birdwomen's response to Vicki were repeated. While they criticize homophobia in Cuba, they emphasize the transitional nature of the revolution and fall back on the belief that oppression cannot be eliminated until socialism replaces capitalism worldwide. In the meantime, "the real oppressors of gay people are capitalist businesses, their police, the establishment media, and the entertainment industry."[33] This response provoked more criticism from lesbian and gay activists.[34] The *Bird* staff was obliged to admit that the "Cuban Revolution has a documented history of systematic repression of homosexuals" and to commit to incorporating "gay consciousness into the paper."[35]

The historian Emily K. Hobson has shown that lesbian and gay activists were deeply involved in anti-imperialist politics as part of disturbing gender and sexual norms in the late 1960s and 1970s.[36] The Gay Pride Day march and rally in Atlanta in 1972 was more than a celebration. It challenged the way Atlanta leftists and feminists understood both local and global solidarity, forcing them to listen to their fellow activists who were lesbian and gay and try to come to terms with flaws in their own practice and in the revolutions they admired abroad.

Conclusion

Sebastian Conrad argues that global history is a way to produce "a more comprehensive understanding of the interactions and connections that have made the modern world."[37] In this essay I have touched on some of the ways that the antiwar, women's, and lesbian and gay movements in Atlanta were thinking globally, acting locally. Demonstrators created connections on the ground as they marched and rallied around the city and extended their outreach through coverage in the *Great Speckled Bird*. They clashed politically more than once over their projects of stopping war, challenging imperialism, uniting women, and supporting the liberation of all people. Nevertheless, by looking at their local actions through a global lens, we can see how these demonstrators took part in the "interactions and connections" that shaped the worldwide upheaval of the long Sixties.

1 t.c., "Smash Standard Oil!!!," *Great Speckled Bird*, 18 August 1969, 2.
2 t.c., "Smash Standard Oil!!!," 3.
3 Winston A. Grady-Willis, *Challenging U.S. Apartheid: Atlanta and Black Struggles for Human Rights, 1960-1977* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).
4 For a nuanced discussion of underground papers, see John McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters: The Sixties Underground Press and the Rise of Alternative Media in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
5 For example, see Elaine Carey, ed., *Protests in the Streets: 1968 Across the Globe* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2016); Samantha Christiansen and Zachary A. Scarlett, eds., *The Third World in the Global 1960s* (New York: Berghahn, 2013); Anne E. Gorsuch and Diane P. Koenker, eds., *The Socialist Sixties: Crossing Borders in the Second World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013); Martin Klimke, *The Other Alliance: Student Protest in West Germany and the United States in the Global Sixties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); Victoria Langland, *Speaking of Flowers: Student Movements and the Making and Remembering of 1968 in Military Brazil* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013).
6 For the value of studying demonstrations, see L.A. Kauffman, *How to Read a Protest: The Art of Organizing and Resistance* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018).
7 Bob Goodman, "Nagasaki Day," *Great Speckled Bird*, 18 August 1969, 6.
8 Ted Brodek, "Towards a New Movement," *Great Speckled Bird*, 22 September 1969, 9 and 20; Steve Wise, "This Article is Biased," *Great Speckled Bird*, 22 September 1969, 18-19.
9 *Great Speckled Bird*, 6 October 1969, 7.
10 Steve Wise, "Moratorium," and Atlanta Mobilization Committee, "Over Not Out," *Great Speckled Bird*, 13 October 1969, 6 and 20.
11 For a complete schedule of events, see *Great Speckled Bird*, 17 November 1969, 4.
12 Jim Gwin, "Whatever It Takes," *Great Speckled Bird*, 17 November 1969, 2.
13 Gwin, "Whatever It Takes," 2.
14 Gwin, "Whatever It Takes," 2.
15 Steve Wise, "The Big Ooze," *Great Speckled Bird*, 24 November 1969, 2-3.
16 Bob Goodman, "Raising the Ante," *Great Speckled Bird*, 24 November 1969, 3.
17 For example, see Alice Echols, "'Women Power' and Women's Liberation: Exploring the Relationship Between the Antiwar Movement and the Women's Liberation Movement," in *Give Peace a Chance: Exploring the Vietnam Antiwar Movement* , ed. Melvin Small and William D. Hoover (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1992).
18 For a recognition of the significance of the antiwar demonstrations in the fall of 1969 and the need for women activists to participate in future antiwar protests, see Barbara Joye, "Mobe Lize," *Great Speckled Bird*, 26 January 1970, 8.
19 Eliza Paschall, "Paschall," and Susan Sullivan, "Women: Redefinition - A Pedestrian Account," *Great Speckled Bird*, 9 February 1970, 9.
20 Barbara Joye, "Fuck You, Agnew," *Great Speckled Bird*, 2 March 1970, 2-3.
21 Lyn Wells, "Sisters United: They Haven't Seen Anything Yet," *Great Speckled Bird*, 23 February 1970, 8-9.
22 Sue Thrasher, "Off Our Backs, Into the Street!," *Great Speckled Bird*, 16 March 1970, 2.
23 Thrasher, "Off Our Backs, Into the Street!," 2.
24 For Rankin, see Echols, "'Women Power' and Women's Liberation," 175-77; Amy Swerdlow, *Women Strike for Peace: Traditional Motherhood and Radical Politics in the 1960s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 135-41.
25 Maude, "Sister Jeannette," *Great Speckled Bird*, 16 March 1970, 2.
26 See Miller Francis's edited version of Carl Wittman, "A Gay Manifesto," *Great Speckled Bird*, 23 November 1970, 2-3, 18-19.
27 Vicki, "Vicki Writes About Women," *Great Speckled Bird*, 5 June 1972, 15-16.
28 Birdwomen, "Bird Women Reply," *Great Speckled Bird*, 5 June 1972, 16.
29 Bill Cutler with Dave Bryant and Bill Smith, "Gay Atlanta Out Front," *Great Speckled Bird*, 3 July 1972, 8.
30 Cutler, "Gay Atlanta Out Front," 8.
31 Cutler, "Gay Atlanta Out Front," 8.
32 Bill Cutler, untitled speech, *Great Speckled Bird*, 3 July 1972, 8.
33 Anne, Becky, Stephanie, "Birdwomen Respond: Socialism Frees All," *Great Speckled Bird*, 3 July 1972, 9.
34 Marilyn et al., "Lesbians Respond," *Great Speckled Bird*, 10 July 1972, 2; Miller Francis and Bill Cutler, "Revolution is also Gay Consciousness," *Great Speckled Bird*, 10 July 1972, 6-7, 20.
35 The Bird, "Criticism Prompts Self-Criticism," *Great Speckled Bird*, 10 July 1972, 5.
36 Emily K. Hobson, *Lavender and Red: Liberation and Solidarity in the Gay and Lesbian Left* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016).
37 Sebastian Conrad, *What is Global History?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 5.

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"Objectivity is a Farce": The *Great Speckled Bird*, Underground Press Journalism, and the Liberation Struggle in Guinea-Bissau, 1969-1975

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Two years after his assassination in January 1973, the African revolutionary Amilcar Cabral was recalled in the *Great Speckled Bird*, Atlanta's underground paper in the late 1960s and 1970s.[1] He was co-founder of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC) in 1956, a charismatic leader in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism, and a widely admired thinker.[2] Bylined by the Atlanta Regional Venceremos Brigade, a Cuba solidarity organization, "Cabral Remembered" insisted that "his death did not destroy the movement, but increased its determination."[3] Indeed, the PAIGC had declared the independence of Guinea-Bissau in September 1973, months before the Carnation Revolution in Portugal in April 1974. Now the PAIGC's sister movements, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), were advancing to the independence of their countries in 1975. In honoring the memory of Cabral, the Venceremos Brigade reflected the support that not only the Cubans but also many activists in Atlanta and around the U.S. gave to the liberation struggles in Portuguese Africa.[4] In a sign of the growing importance of the women's movement by the mid-1970s, this tribute emphasized the significance that Cabral attached to the equal role of women in the liberation struggle and to social and political changes in women's lives, mentioning for example that "now, polygamy is declining" in Guinea-Bissau.[5]

By contrast, when the Western press covered events in Guinea-Bissau, Cabral's personality took top billing over his original theories of culture and national liberation or his revolutionary practice of guerrilla warfare. Journalists focused on his reluctant use of violence, soft voice, and fondness for poetry. *Time* magazine called Cabral "The Gentle Rebel" and the *New York Times* described him as "the gentle revolutionary."[6] The mainstream press did not know how to account for the strategic importance of what was happening in Guinea-Bissau, a small poor country in West Africa. For the *Great Speckled Bird* and other radical publications, the liberation struggle and the accompanying global solidarity movement offered possibilities for a different kind of coverage, one that highlighted the anti-imperialism and tricontinentalist Marxism of Cabral and the PAIGC and went so far as to encourage readers to take action rather than just become informed.[7]

In the long Sixties, underground papers offered a way for Americans who identified with the social movements and countercultures of the times to find news that the mainstream press, radio, and TV did not report and discover views outside narrow received opinion. These outlets set independent agendas for what counted as important news and new frames for understanding politics and culture. Media scholar Janice Hume argues that social movements have not fared well in conventional coverage, but radical papers emerged to redress this negative treatment.[8] Launched by a "group of antiwar activists," the *Bird* became "one of the longest running and highest quality underground newspapers of the era."[9] At one time the largest weekly publication in the state of Georgia, the *Bird* peaked at 23,000 copies a week and regularly printed 13,000 copies during its heyday.[10] The *Bird*'s coverage of Cabral and Guinea-Bissau illustrates the distinctive nature and approach of the underground press in the U.S., the ways in which Vietnam became a template for understanding war and revolution in the Third World, and the connections that writers and readers frequently affirmed between struggles in the Third World and those at home.

In a piece on the underground press in 1968, *New York Times* reporter John Leo characterized the *Bird* as a "brash young political paper."[11] It was one of numerous papers that were turning from "sex, drugs, rock music, Oriental religion and the San Francisco look" toward "radical politics."[12] As a whole, this maturing underground press rejected journalistic objectivity: "The theory is that truth is rooted in personal experience, and that the standard news media, by insisting on impartial and detached coverage, omit and distort the underlying reality of crucial news events. (In shorter form, the argument goes that no newspaper is objective – the underground papers are just the only ones acknowledging it.)" Leo went on to quote Thorne Dreyer, who put things even more directly: "Objectivity is a farce."[13] In an essay published a year later, what Dreyer and his fellow "new media" workers sought was "a *liberated* journalism."[14]

Appearing for the first time just weeks after the Tet offensive in South Vietnam in 1968, the *Bird* did not simply embrace engagement over detachment. It addressed global as well as local and national topics.[15] The paper was able to extend its range by sourcing content from other underground and radical papers in addition to publishing

material by local contributors. The Underground Press Syndicate (UPS) and Liberation News Service (LNS) were vehicles of this expanded outlook. Established in 1966, the UPS was described two years later by Leo as an agreement among 60 editors to reprint each other's work – interestingly, without special permission, attribution, or fact-checking.[16] Founded in 1967, LNS was a wire service that offered an alternative to the Associated Press and United Press International. As one LNS staff member told the *New York Times*: "'We often print something for someone in the "family,"' said Daniel McCauslin of Liberation News. 'If you get someone sending you stuff from the Midwest, you just have to trust him. We're not held together by massive objectivity, but by trust.'"[17] This trust was supplemented by a shared and sharpening critique of the impact of the U.S. on the wider world.

LNS began by sending "sporadic packets of news out of a chaotic commune-office in Washington, D.C."[18] According to Dreyer and his LNS co-worker Victoria Smith in 1969, it sought initially to place "local events into a national context" and develop a "more personalistic style of reporting, questioning bourgeois conceptions of 'objectivity' and reevaluating established notions about the nature of the news."[19] Benefiting from the direction of former *Washington Post* journalist Allen Young, LNS began to produce "first-hand analytical articles" about national and global events, providing coverage "to which most papers would have otherwise had no access" and putting events in context, "helping new papers in their attempts to develop a political analysis."[20] The *Bird*'s usually young and activist contributors certainly voiced their opinions freely, in the agitational style of underground journalism. With the right to reprint articles from other UPS papers and news packets arriving twice a week according to its LNS subscription, the paper was able to do something more for its readers: cover not just the country, but the world.

The struggle in Guinea-Bissau and Portugal's other African colonies earned regular coverage in the *Bird*, as did resistance to white-minority rule in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and South Africa. An October 1969 article from LNS, for example, featured an interview with "Mario," a leader of the MPLA in Angola.[21] On the same page, *Bird* writer Ted Brodek contributed a companion piece entitled "Portugal" that contrasted growing dissent over the counterinsurgency wars in the empire and the role of the U.S. in bolstering the Portuguese military.[22] In September 1970, the *Bird* reprinted material about Africa from the radical New York weekly the *Guardian* over two pages, with rust-colored figures of a woman with a child and a man, both armed, as background to the text. The first page is devoted to "Congo," including a short history of U.S. and European involvement in the country from Lumumba to Mobutu and excerpts from the poetry of Aimé Césaire. The second page is titled "African Guerrillas" and discusses a conference in Rome, Italy to "further the growth of international solidarity" with the PAIGC, MPLA, and FRELIMO. The war in Guinea-Bissau is equated with the war in Vietnam: "Here, in the 'Vietnam' of West Africa, the Portuguese have been forced into cities and 'strategic hamlets,' just as the American invaders have been in Southeast Asia."[23]

These are just a few examples of African coverage in the *Bird*. Guinea-Bissau earned 17 inclusions, and Cabral had nine inclusions beginning in 1969. Angola received 87 inclusions and Mozambique 71 during the paper's run from 1968 to 1976. Rhodesia received 37 inclusions, while South Africa had more than 150. This coverage reflected the priority and intensity of liberation struggles on the continent. By comparison, Senegal earned 15 inclusions and Nigeria, the most populous country in Africa and the scene of a civil war with secessionist Biafra, had only 19. It is telling that Cabral and Guinea-Bissau, seemingly peripheral in the global system, gained so much attention and admiration in the *Bird*. Clearly, the likening of Guinea-Bissau to Vietnam suggests that activists envisioned the struggle as pivotal for Africa, the Third World, and the U.S.

In May 1972, the *Bird* reprinted Tony Thomas's "Armed Struggle in Guinea-Bissau" from the *Militant*, the Socialist Workers Party weekly. It is an overview of conditions in Guinea-Bissau and advances by the PAIGC. It features a map of Atlantic Africa, with an inset of Guinea-Bissau, and several images, including a drawing of an armed African woman fighter and a photograph of Cabral and another guerrilla commander. Thomas describes the underdevelopment of Guinea-Bissau, the scale of Portugal's military effort, the PAIGC's progress in liberating the country, and the beginnings of resistance to war and dictatorship among the Portuguese. The way the Portuguese are conducting the war in Guinea-Bissau is described as "strikingly like" the U.S. in Vietnam.[24] If they think bombing can stop the guerrillas, the PAIGC understands that "national liberation means more than formal independence." Cabral's famous contribution to the Tricontinental Conference in Havana in 1966, in which he had "defined national liberation as the right to regain and continue Guinea's own history," is highlighted.[25] Thomas concludes by calling attention to the upcoming worldwide African Liberation Day (ALD) demonstrations as an opportunity to stand with those struggling for independence from Portugal. This appeal is reinforced by a boxed quotation from Mark Smith, an ALD organizer, on the role of the U.S. in supporting the Portuguese and the South Africans. Portugal would be unable to continue the war without NATO backing. At the end of the article, the phone number of the local Atlanta ALD committee was given so concerned readers could become involved.

The themes were amplified when the *Bird* published interviews with four leading PAIGC, MPLA, and FRELIMO figures over several issues in October and November 1972. The Latin American solidarity activists Marc Cooper and Gary Cristall had conducted the interviews in Santiago, Chile, where Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government was strongly anti-imperialist. The "primary objective" was "to help shed more light on the 'Vietnams' of the 1970s," and the first interview was with Vasco Cabral of the PAIGC.[26] The *Bird* provided a

striking cover, an arrangement of six photographs of groups of African men, women, and children, likely in Portugal's colonies, around a graphic of an African figure carrying a book and a rifle within the outline of the continent. More photographs of African men and women and a map of Guinea-Bissau accompanied the two-page interview. While noting the eclipse of colonialism by neocolonialism in contemporary Africa, the interviewers suggest that the popular character of the struggle in Guinea-Bissau may enable the country to reduce economic dependency and achieve a more thoroughgoing independence. Following an update of the historical and current situation, Vasco Cabral discusses the extension of the struggle from the mainland of Guinea-Bissau to the islands of Cape Verde in the Atlantic. Even more interesting is his account of developments in liberated areas, especially the holding of elections and the establishment of schools and courts that are making possible a "new society." Finally, he explains the support the PAIGC has received, not only from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries but also from the Organization of African Unity, the Scandinavian countries, and "humanitarian organizations" like the World Council of Churches.[27]

The *Bird* was able to report Amilcar Cabral's assassination a little more than a week after it happened by printing an LNS article. Headlined "Cabral Murdered," the text in the *Bird* differs somewhat from the original. The LNS piece had a lengthy title and was the first item in the packet.[28] It came with a note to editors that its reporters and photographers had traveled to Guinea-Bissau.[29] The *Bird* offers a truncated version of the LNS article, which begins by declaring that "Cabral, more than any other single person, symbolized, spoke for, and carried forward the struggle against white supremacy in Africa."[30] The LNS credited Andy Marx as the author, but the *Bird* does not list a byline and two photos of Cabral appear without captions. The lack of authorship in the *Bird* is slightly disconcerting because some of the article is written in first person, true to the style of underground journalists inserting themselves into the story. Nevertheless, the paper certainly retained the politically committed tone of the LNS writer's appreciation of Cabral and his place in the popular struggle: "a man who was far too wise to desire for himself any more power or esteem than he served as part of the whole, far greater than himself. The people of his country held great love and respect for him, but hardly a blind adoration and dependence."[31] The goal of liberation remains assured: "it seems particularly sad that Amilcar Cabral should have been killed at a time when his cause is nearing victory ... For the time has long since passed when the death of any one man could check the struggle for independence in Guinea and Cape Verde."[32]

The *Bird*'s coverage of Cabral continued even after his death in January 1973, in recognition of his political and intellectual influence amid the increasing momentum of liberation struggles against colonialism and apartheid. A year later, the paper included a review of *Revolution in Guinea*, a collection of Cabral's writings first published in the U.S. by Monthly Review Press in 1969.[33] S. Spark begins by stating that Guinea-Bissau had been liberated "last year," in keeping with the PAIGC's declaration of independence rather than the subsequent Portuguese concession.[34] The reviewer foregrounds the book's insights into "African nationalism and anti-colonialism" as a whole and the PAIGC's work specifically, as a party trying to analyze and overcome conflicts and unify the population in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. Spark goes on to emphasize how the book "helps our understanding of how the fight in imperialist countries unite[s] with the fight of the Third World," quoting at length Cabral's thoughts on the nature of solidarity between movements in the first and third worlds.[35] Geared to action, the review identifies two political bookstores in Atlanta where interested readers can buy Cabral's book and learn from it.[36]

During its heyday, the *Great Speckled Bird* challenged the "objectivity" of the establishment press and what it determined was newsworthy. It broke the barrier between journalism and activism by rejecting the tradition of neutral storytelling, publishing articles that made calls to action, and showing readers how they could engage with local efforts for global change. Through the underground press networks of UPS and LNS, a fledgling, financially insecure paper with a talented, mostly volunteer staff like the *Bird* was able to mobilize considerable media resources. The *Bird*'s coverage of a liberation struggle in a small Portuguese colony in West Africa offers a revealing angle on the ways its contributors and readers, both black and white, saw the world in the late 1960s and 1970s. The war in Vietnam led many activists to widen their view of the world and the conditions and forces shaping it. The war seemed less an exception than an instance of a global system when compelling cases were made for parallels between Vietnam and other places in the Third World.

The *Bird*'s reportage on the liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau unfolded over a number of years. It not only exposed Portuguese actions in Africa but criticized the complicity of NATO and the U.S., recognized the leadership of Amilcar Cabral and the PAIGC, and expressed solidarity with the people of Guinea-Bissau and antiwar dissidents in Portugal. Last but not least, it took as almost a given that what happened in Guinea-Bissau mattered to people and movements in Atlanta and the South, where Dr. Martin Luther King and other activists had repeatedly associated the struggles against racism, colonialism, and war. If the global comparison and connection between the civil rights movement in the U.S. and the antiapartheid movement in South Africa seems like common sense now, it may be that the concerted effort in the *Bird* and elsewhere to support the liberation struggles in Guinea-Bissau and the rest of Portuguese Africa reveals a crucial link in the chain of global mobilizations for freedom and equality in the years before the Soweto uprising in South Africa in 1976.

1 Atlanta Regional Venceremos Brigade, "Cabral Remembered," *Great Speckled Bird*, February 13, 1975, 8.
2 Scholars and activists continue to study Cabral and his ideas. See the recently translated texts in Amilcar Cabral, *Resistance and Decolonization* (London: Rowman and Littlefield International, 2016); Firoze Manji and Bill Fletcher, Jr., eds., *Claim No Easy Victories: The Legacy of Amilcar Cabral* (Dakar: CODESRIA and Daraja Press, 2013); and Reiland Rabaka, *Concepts of Cabralism: Amilcar Cabral and Africana Critical Theory* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2014).
3 Atlanta Regional Venceremos Brigade, "Cabral Remembered," 8.
4 For an introduction to the history of solidarity with the liberation struggles in the Portuguese colonies and the white-minority regimes, see William Minter, Gail Hovey, and Charles Cobb, Jr., eds., *No Easy Victories: African Liberation and American Activists over a Half Century, 1950-2000* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2008).
5 Atlanta Regional Venceremos Brigade, "Cabral Remembered," 8.
6 "The Gentle Rebel," *Time*, February 5, 1973, 50; "Gentle Revolutionary," *New York Times*, January 24, 1973, 40.
7 Cabral played a leading role in the Tricontinental Conference in Havana, Cuba in 1966, which founded the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. See Amilcar Cabral, *Unity and Struggle: Speeches and Writings* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979), esp. 119-137.
8 Janice Hume, "The Past as Persuader in *The Great Speckled Bird*," *Journalism History* 41, no. 4 (2016): 184.
9 Ibid., 182.
10 Sally Gabb, "A Fowl in the Vortices of Consciousness: The Birth of the *Great Speckled Bird*," in *Insider Histories of the Vietnam Era Underground Press, Part I*, ed. Ken Wachsberger, 2d ed. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2011), 95.
11 John Leo, "Politics Now the Focus of Underground Press," *New York Times*, September 4, 1968, 49.
12 Leo, "Politics Now the Focus," 49 and 95.
13 Ibid., 95.
14 Thorne Dreyer and Victoria Smith, "The Movement and the New Media," Liberation News Service packet 144, March 1, 1969, 21. Many LNS packets are available in the Internet Archive, www.archive.org.
15 Hume, "The Past as Persuader in the *Great Speckled Bird*," 185.
16 Leo, "Politics Now the Focus," 95. See also John McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters: The Sixties Underground Press and the Rise of Alternative Media in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 58 and 73.
17 Leo, "Politics Now the Focus," 95.
18 Dreyer and Smith, "The Movement and the New Media," 18.
19 Ibid., 19.
20 Ibid., 20.
21 Karen Ward, "MPLA: Angola," *Great Speckled Bird*, October 13, 1969, 7.
22 Ted Brodek, "Portugal," *Great Speckled Bird*, October 13, 1969, 7.
23 "Congo" and "African Guerrillas," *Great Speckled Bird*, September 14, 1970, 10-11.
24 Tony Thomas, "Armed Struggle in Guinea-Bissau," *Great Speckled Bird*, May 22, 1972, 11.
25 Ibid., 10.
26 "Portuguese Africa Coming Apart: Part One: Guinea-Bissao," *Great Speckled Bird*, October 30, 1972, 16.
27 Ibid., 17.
28 Andy Marx, "'Learn from Life, Learn from Our People, Learn from Books, Learn from the Experience of Others ...': Amilcar Cabral Assassinated," Liberation News Service packet 496, January 24, 1973, 1.

29 The one *Bird* contributor who had traveled to Guinea-Bissau and Angola in 1971 did not write about his experience, but he likely encouraged the inclusion of material about the liberation struggle. See Tim Hayes oral history interview, January 26, 2017, *Great Speckled Bird* Digital Collection, Georgia State University Library, Atlanta, Georgia.
30 "Cabral Murdered," *Great Speckled Bird*, February 1, 1973, 5.
31 Ibid., 5.
32 Ibid., 5.
33 Monthly Review Press published another Cabral collection in 1973, including an address to the United Nations, two speeches at American universities, and the transcript of a dialogue with African American activists. See African Information Service, *Return to the Source: Selected Speeches of Amilcar Cabral* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973).
34 S. Spark, "Book Review: Revolution in Guinea," *Great Speckled Bird*, February 11, 1974, 8.
35 Ibid., 8.
36 For a sense of Cabral's impact on the U.S. third worldist left, see Max Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air: Sixties Radicals Turn to Lenin, Mao and Che* (London: Verso, 2002).

16-the great speckled bird

17-october 30, 1972

Portuguese Africa Coming Apart

Part One: Guinea-Bissao

The following interview is one of three with leaders of the three liberation armies of the Portuguese colonies in Africa--Guinea-Bissao, Mozambique, and Angola. This interview is with Vasco Cabral, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC). The interviews were conducted by Marc Cooper and Gary Cristall in Santiago, Chile. The other two interviews will appear in the following weeks.

In the past 25 years, the world has witnessed the definitive breakdown of Western European colonialism on the African continent. Of course, a number of the newly independent countries immediately fell subject to new forms of oppression, and in some cases, these new forms caused even greater suffering than the old colonial regimes. Neo-colonialism replaced colonialism, and in places like Rhodesia and South Africa, the indigenous white minorities imposed national governments that are based on racism and overt police terror.

(Editor's note: Neo-colonialism differs from colonialism in that the mother country does not actually own or govern the colonized nation. The colonized country is officially autonomous but is completely tied economically to the former ruling country.)

Ironically, it is the poorest of the Western European nations, Portugal, that still practices overt colonialism in Africa. Guinea-Bissao, Mozambique and Angola are the only colonies of significance that remain in the continent.

Since the early 1960s, Portugal has found herself embroiled in an ever more difficult and expensive adventure as she tries to squash the wars of liberation that have steadily grown in these three colonial territories. Guinea, Mozambique and Angola have surmounted almost incredible odds as they have taken up arms, not against Portugal alone, but Portugal backed by the United States, France, Germany, Italy and other governments. And yet, the Africans remain on the offensive, gaining more and more ground, and, at the same time, building a new humane society within these liberated zones. The Portuguese, taking their cue from the US in Viet Nam, have resorted to the most barbaric methods to suppress the peoples' wars. Napalm, herbicides, defoliants, and the intensive bombing of civilian areas have taken their horrible toll, yet have been ineffective in stopping the liberation struggles.

The importance of these struggles and the heroism of the peoples fighting them are largely unknown. Their significance can be seen in the type of society that is being erected behind the lines. Armed struggle, real peoples' war, where the great majority of the population plays a direct role in the fight, is perhaps the greatest guarantee that, as one of the later interviews points out, "the colonial exploiters won't be substituted by new national ones."

The following interviews were made with one primary objective in mind--to help shed more light on the "Viet Name" of the 1970s.

COOPER & CRISTAL: *Mr. Cabral, what were the conditions that produced the armed struggle in Guinea-Bissao, and how has that struggle developed to its present level?*

CABRAL: In our country, Guinea-Bissao and Cape Verde, we have lived under the domination of Portugese colonialism. For us this has meant exploitation, misery and obscurantism; our people had nothing. We have always believed that our people, like any other people in the world, have the right to live a life of dignity and liberty. From the moment the Portuguese arrived in our country, the people have resisted their presence in one form or another.

However, it was only with the foundation of our party, in 1956, that it became possible to unite all the people into the struggle against Portuguese colonialism. And it is for that reason that the foundation of our party marks an important historical stage in the development of our fight. For one thing, it allowed the unification of our people--which we consider to be one people, although they are separated geographically in Guinea-Bissao and Cape Verde. Our party has also overcome tribal divisions, and this is important as these divisions severely impeded, in the past, any victory over the Portuguese.

Immediately after its formation, our party began a political struggle by mobilizing various strata of the population. This mobilization was begun in the cities, starting with the capital. But because of the brutal repression with which the Portuguese responded--for example, the massacre in 1959 of 50 dock workers in a port strike--we were forced to change our original orientation. This massacre made us realize that we would have to concentrate on mobilizing the people in the countryside. And why? Because the cities were the literal fiefs of the enemy; that is where the repressive forces--the army, etc.--were concentrated. And another thing is that the majority of our people are in fact peasants. Because of all this, we decided to mobilize the rural areas. This has permitted us to develop a high level of political work and at the same time, we have continued our work in the cities, too.

Beginning in 1961, we decided to move to a higher phase of struggle. We began employing sabotage--the destruction of military vehicles, the blocking of highways, the tearing down of bridges, and so on. This was a way of testing the courage and initiative of our militants, and also a way of striking a blow at the colonialists. This was not yet armed struggle itself, but rather the preparation for it. We could call this phase sabotage, or direct action.

By 1963, we had a certain number of people on whom we could count in order to begin the formation of the first guerrilla groups. At first time, we had the problem of providing ourselves with weapons. Since 1959, we had been preparing a number of people abroad in military training, and in other fields, too. In this respect, we could also draw from the experience of comrades inside our country who took part in some of the direct actions. So with a combination of our militants inside Guinea-Bissao and our people trained outside in military, political and union activity, we began the armed struggle in 1963. And this struggle grew very quickly, so we can say that as of today, we control 75% of Guinea-Bissao.

Since 1965, we have had a regular army, and in our first party congress, held in 1964, we decided to begin the construction of schools, hospitals, and to open up commercial relations. We have also created throughout our liberated zones a system of popular tribunals. They are a form of doing away with the old colonial system of justice. And even though they are to an extent based on the traditional laws of our people, they have also incorporated into themselves many elements of our struggle, as well as the principles of our party. They are composed of those judges, one of whom is generally a woman. The tribunals exist on the village level, as well as the regional level, and they are to be found in our liberated zones of the north, south and east.

At present, we are able to attack the Portuguese troops where and when we want to. This year, for example, we have attacked the capital city twice, as well as having launched several other attacks against other urban centers.

All this means that we are in fact an independent nation already, with a small parcel of our territory being occupied by Portuguese colonialism. As a consequence of our struggle, we find ourselves in a completely new political situation--we are now preparing the formation of our first National Peoples Assembly. This Assembly was preceded by elections throughout our territory, and these elections were carried out with both enthusiasm and discipline. And within a very short time, we will be ready to declare "de jure" in our own state.

COOPER & CRISTAL: *Is the political/military strategy employed in the Cape Verde islands different than the one employed on the Guinea-Bissao mainland?*

CABRAL: The problem is the following: On the mainland we have a large base of support. We are bolstered by two countries that give us quite a bit of support, the Republic of Guinea, and the Republic of Senegal. Naturally, the logistical situation of the islands is much different. But our orientation is the same. Of course, it is the people of Cape Verde who have to unite and liberate themselves. But we already have in Cape Verde a large clandestine organization, and the political work has reached a high level.

I can give you an idea of the situation by telling you that every day there are clashes between the people of Cape Verde and the Portuguese, between the soldiers of Cape Verde and the Portuguese troops. We will consider that we have liberated our country only when both Guinea and Cape Verde are free.

COOPER & CRISTALL: *Mr. Cabral, how is life different in the liberated zones than in the Portuguese areas?*

CABRAL: We have built a new society in the liberated areas. We have built many more schools than there were when the area was under Portuguese control. Under Portuguese control there were only 2,000 children going to school. Now we have between 15 and 20 thousand. This shows the great difference between the Portuguese system and ours. We also provide all school materials for free, as well as medical assistance for the population. In the zone occupied by the Portuguese the economic situation is very bad, even catastrophic. In the Portuguese zone, the people do not feel free, they are oppressed. The people are not able to buy even the bare essentials, and, of course, the discrepancy between European and African salaries continues as always. However, some things have become better because the Portuguese have found it necessary to keep the inhabitants from fleeing to the liberated zones, and have thus made some concessions. But despite the propaganda of the Portuguese, more than 100 young people have recently come to our zone. The Portuguese had to increase the repression to avoid this situation.

COOPER & CRISTALL: *What role has world imperialism played in the struggle in Guinea? The United States, NATO, large multi-national corporations?*

CABRAL: The western European countries and the imperialist countries like the US, West Germany, French and Britain help and support Portugal. They provide economic, financial and military support. Not long ago, the US provided Portugal with 500 million dollars. Of course, the Portuguese are going to use this in the war in the colonies. Besides this, NATO also gives Portugal help. In reality, we have nothing against these countries, except their help to Portugal. And we hope that they will modify their politics. For us it would be a good thing, and we sincerely hope for this.

COOPER & CRISTALL: *In the struggle that is developing and that exists there now, how secure are the liberated areas, and, in reference to the maintenance and security of the struggle, who are the friends of Guinea, how have they shown their support? How do you see the future of the struggle?*

CABRAL: We have large liberated areas, and in those areas, we are the owners, and the people have the power. The Portuguese cannot disturb us in the zones that are liberated, except with their Air Force. They launch air raids that are mainly directed against schools and hospitals. They also launch terrorist attacks from helicopters, commando attacks, but this is the most they can do. They are not able to enter our zone and remain for very long. This is the situation in relation to security. We have a structure that includes our security system, our militia, and our army. Lately, we have strengthened our local forces, the progressive forces, the democratic forces, and the anti-imperialist forces.

In relation to help that we receive, we have had help from the socialist countries since the beginning, and continue to receive more and better help. But nowadays, we get help and support from many organizations around the world, from such countries as Denmark, Sweden and Norway. It is necessary to point out that the socialist country that has helped us the most has always been the USSR. We also have received help from the World Council of Churches and other humanitarian organizations. In Africa, we receive bilateral help from various countries, mainly through the OAU (Organization of African Unity). Our future is good, as you can see through this interview.

We are now of liberating our country in the not-so-distant future to create a better life for our people. This was always our main goal and desire. This has been our preoccupation since we liberated the first territory in Guinea. We are sure that once we liberate our country totally, we will be able to develop and advance through our resources (natural and human) to benefit our people.

--marc cooper & gary cristall

Reclaiming International Women's Day:
The Women's Issues of the *Great Speckled Bird*, 1969–1976

Megan Lane Neary | Georgia State University

In anticipation of International Women's Day (IWD) on March 8, 1969, the women of the *Great Speckled Bird*, Atlanta's underground paper, wrote and produced a special women's issue.[1] The cover featured a line drawing of a nude, full-bodied woman, next to the words "Peace Mother." In "A Movement for Us," Lyn Wells calls on women to "be concerned about our own destinies. We must begin to build a mass movement that holds out self-interest as primary; but the goal our activity is directed towards, as radicals, must be for all humanity." She describes the women's liberation movement as a "positive and creative response" to oppression and defines its goal as building a world where people are "no longer exploited, by any force."[2] The rest of the issue's twenty pages were filled with everything from women's history to current activism, a quotation from the Southern abolitionist and suffragist Sarah Grimke and a response to the French feminist Simone de Beauvoir, a report on a women's conference organized by the Southern Student Organizing Committee, and Atlantan Linda Jenness's first-hand account of women in revolutionary Cuba.[3] The late 1960s saw a convergence of radical social movements among youth, people of color, and women. Like its predecessor, the "second wave" of feminism was global in scope. It was not simply composed of white Western women; the women who took part in this renewed movement came from multiple identity groups in the U.S. and other societies.[4] International Women's Day represented a perfect opportunity to promote the solidarity of women worldwide. IWD began in another moment of convergence of movements in the years before the First World War. In March 1908, women socialists demonstrated for women's suffrage in New York. The following year the Socialist Party of America observed National Woman's Day and later in the year the general strike of women shirtwaist makers reinforced the socialist-suffragist-labor link. The German socialist Clara Zetkin proposed an international day at the International Socialist Women's Conference in 1910 and the observance of IWD began in 1911.[5] Reclaiming IWD gave women's liberationists a history and a world.

Launched in March 1968, the *Great Speckled Bird* came out of the civil rights and antiwar movements and soon began to engage with women's liberation.[6] Many women who worked on the *Bird* participated in the movement and sought to make visible the local, national, and international struggles of women. Every year around International Women's Day from 1969 to 1976, at least one issue of the *Bird* appeared that was centered on women and sometimes was produced entirely or mostly by women, for women.[7] These women's issues focused on women's activism, women's health, sexuality, and safety, and women's creativity in music, literature, and the arts and took on problems of racism and class inequality, war and imperialism, and women and revolution in the third world of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East.[8] The issues shed light on how the women of the *Bird* reflected on and intervened in an expanding women's movement.

In this essay, I look at the *Bird* women's issues of 1971, 1972, and 1975 and highlight the visualization of the local and global nature of women's liberation in cover art, the use of IWD to uncover feminist and women's history, and the exchange of messages of solidarity between women of the first and third worlds.[9] I am particularly interested in what constituted women's or feminist internationalism in the *Bird*.[10] Solidarity is an agreement of feeling or action, made among individuals and groups with shared or overlapping ideals, interests, and goals. As one woman wrote in the *Bird*, "Women's Liberation has every reason to support both the liberation struggles abroad and the antiwar movement at home: we recognize the right of peoples to control their own lives, because we as women are uniting in struggle against oppression by men, and particularly against being seen as property."[11] Surveying three women's issues of the *Bird* allows us to gain a deeper understanding of the internationalism of the women's liberation movement years before the advent of "global feminism" in the context of globalization in the 1980s and 1990s.[12]

The cover of the March 8, 1971 issue of the *Bird* features a yellow background in a bold black outline. Against the background are drawings of women of all ages, some alone, some together, some full-bodied and one just a face (which bears a likeness to the radical black philosopher and activist Angela Davis). In the bottom right corner the two sisters or friends appear to be Vietnamese. In the bottom left corner the two women marching in a demonstration are holding a sign that reads "Women Unite — International Women's Day — See Centerfold." These women are smiling, joyous to be in the thick of things. None of the women look angry, although a few appear tired of waiting for change. A woman in the top right corner wears a beret with buttons and raises a defiant fist, resembling militant Black Panther or Young Lords women. These sketches reflect the diversity of women and the *Bird* women's desire for an inclusive movement. Just a few pages later we find

a message from Angela Davis and a story about the campaign to free her and "all political prisoners."[13]

IWD received pride of place in the centerfold of the 1971 women's issue.[14] It contains a short history of IWD and information about the celebration of IWD in Atlanta, verses by the radical feminist poet Diane di Prima, and an essay by *Bird* writer Anne Jenkins about Rosa Luxemburg, the independent woman, brilliant Marxist, and martyred revolutionary who was born a century earlier on March 5, 1871. There is a large photograph of Luxemburg and a smaller one of the immigrant Jewish and Italian women workers who formed the core of the shirtwaist strikers in 1909. These choices highlight the role of women in the labor and socialist movements in Europe and the U.S. in the feminist first wave and complement the cover's even greater diversity of women in the time of the feminist second wave. Unlike some radical feminists who were breaking from male chauvinists of the Marxist left, the *Bird* women seem to embrace a politics that bridges socialism and feminism.[15]

The *Bird*'s March 6, 1972 women's issue announces itself with a large, striking pop art style image of Angela Davis cut out of a burnt orange background on the cover. "Angela Davis Freed on Bail!" and "Celebrate International Women's Day March 8" are the headlines. This cover boldly established a relationship between black freedom and women's liberation struggles. The issue as a whole was not devoted to women's liberation. Nevertheless, there is plenty of material, implicit and explicit, about women and feminism. There is an article about the uncertainty surrounding the prospects for abortion law reform.[16] Marjorie Jordan's review of Stanley Kubrick's *A Clockwork Orange* takes issue with two other reviews of the film written by men, including one in the women's issue, that do not address the misogynistic nature of the violence it depicts.[17] An article about the People's Republic of China includes discussion of women workers and their experience in industrial workplaces, while the centerfold spread inspired by President Richard Nixon and First Lady Pat Nixon's visit to China quotes a revealing exchange between the president and Premier Chou En-lai about women's roles in revolutionary party work and household life and labor.[18]

In their article about IWD, two *Bird* staffers Stephanie and Marjorie describe it as "celebrated around the world by women who are determined to gain equality as human beings, to fight against war, exploitation, injustice, and to create a society where people can live humane and just lives." They lament the "incredible situation" that most women in the U.S. are unaware of IWD despite its American origins, but argue it is "difficult if not impossible, living in this country to get a sense of other countries, a sense of the world, a feeling of commonality with other people in the world — in one word, 'internationalism.'" Knowledge of either the U.S. role in the world or the advance of socialism in other countries is limited because "all news from 'foreign countries' passes through the filters of confusion, fragmentation, and lies to keep people in this country separated from other peoples in the world."[19]

Returning to the relationship suggested by the cover, Stephanie and Marjorie hail Angela Davis's release from jail in California pending her trial. They excerpt messages of support to Davis from Nguyen Thi Binh, the famous woman representative of the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government in South Vietnam at the Paris peace talks, and the South African exile Florence Mophoso of the African National Congress. In this way, the voices of women from Africa and Asia join those of women in Atlanta. Stephanie and Marjorie go on rather ingeniously to show how international solidarity can bolster women in challenging circumstances. Women's liberation activists in the U.S. have few "significant victories to rally around," but they can look to the victories of third world women as victories for all women. On the fitting occasion of International Women's Day, they call on American women in return to "stand up in full support of our sisters" in third world socialist countries "as they begin to realize some of the gains we are all fighting for" as well as to act "[i]n solidarity with our sisters at home" like Angela Davis.[20]

In 1975, the *Bird* was able to capitalize on the United Nations' designation of the year as International Women's Year (IWD) and its themes of equality, development, and peace.[21] The March 6, 1975 women's issue mirrored the 1969 issue in that it was written entirely by women, for women.[22] While the 1969 cover evoked a vague sense of global or universal consciousness with its "Peace Mother" drawing, the 1975 cover strikes an undeniable tone of women's global solidarity. It features photographs of black and white women working in the fields and in a manufacturing plant, Vietnamese women repairing dikes, and a South Asian woman with her hair partially covered and a look of great determination. The headline announces "1975 WOMEN'S ISSUE for International Women's Day" and the four columns of text underneath the photographs begin with "1975 — International Women's Year." This encroachment of text into the cover page leaves no doubt that the women of the *Bird* have a lot to say about the demands and struggles of women in Atlanta and around the world.

A total of twenty pages, this women's issue leads with the unsigned article on IWY, IWD, and the historical development of women's movements that begins on the cover and continues on the issue's second page. It declares that "women throughout the world need one year, and many more, to achieve the goals of equality, development, and peace." It goes on to observe that "throughout the world, four generations of women have lived, marched voted, struggled, worked, died, fought, grown-up, married, raised families and still (although progress has been won) we face the same situation — one half of humanity outcast, humiliated, undereducated; their potential strength wasted."[23] The message is clear: women's liberation is built on a history of both local and international struggles, but this past points to a present and future of increasing change and challenge, for "women's liberation is foremost on the agenda for human survival."[24]

The ensuing pages encompassed a wide variety of topics. There is a story about the hard life of a farming woman, interviews with members of the Family of Woman, a black women's activist group, and with a Portuguese feminist

writer, an essay about lesbian feminism, a review of women's literature and a selection of women's poetry, a report about women in prison, and other pieces on women's health concerns, women, money, and credit, and women in karate and softball, and the Girl Scouts. At the end of the issue is an informational list of women's organizations and services and a Women's Back Page of events and programs.

Questions of solidarity, local and international, are present throughout the issue. For example, the second page features a letter from the Vietnam Women's Union to American women about U.S. involvement in the ongoing war. It describes IWY as "a year of united struggle for women's equal rights, for freedom and democracy, for national independence and peace!"[25] Another article makes a critique of "population control" efforts, the United States Agency for International Development, and American companies, arguing they used third world women for drug and device tests, favor sterilization over contraception, and promote the opening of markets in Africa, Asia, and Latin America for U.S. exports.[26] The implication here is that women's health and reproductive needs must be addressed in a changed global context centered on equality and development for women.

The last women's issue appeared in March 1976, a month after the *Great Speckled Bird* switched from a weekly to a monthly format and seven months before it stopped publishing. The international content included an article about the struggle for abortion rights in Italy and a book review that dealt in part with midwifery in the Netherlands. The staff apologized for the fact that the paper received "enough material for several *Birds*" but could not publish it in the paper's straitened circumstances.[27] Nevertheless, for eight years the *Bird* led by women staffers and contributors did succeed in publishing IWD women's issues and much else besides about women and feminism. Eyecatching covers sent an unmistakable message about the importance of women, globally as well as locally. When readers opened one of these women's issues, they saw and read about women of diverse identities and from different countries and regions of the world. The women's issues served as an important space for making connections between local and global feminism and expressing a shared desire for international solidarity among women. In reclaiming International Women's Day and eventually publicizing International Women's Year, the women of the *Bird* and their readers were able insert themselves into the history of women's international networks and movements as well as make themselves visible in the forces changing the world. Today's global feminism did not simply emerge in the "age of globalization" of recent decades. A look at a source like the *Bird* points to the beginnings of its emergence in the women's and feminist internationalism of the long Sixties.

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1 For the women who produced the 1969 women's issue, see "Staff Box," *Great Speckled Bird*, February 28, 1969, 2.

2 Lyn Wells, "A Movement for Us," *Great Speckled Bird*, February 28, 1969, 2.

3 In addition to the Wells piece, see especially Linda Jenness, "Revolution: We Look to Cuban Women," 8-9; Anne Braden, "We Met and Talked," 14; Judy Hicks, "Anthropology: The Golden Screw," 16.

4 See Maylei Blackwell, *Chicana Power!: Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011); Emily K. Hobson, *Lavender and Red: Liberation and Solidarity in the Gay and Lesbian Left* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016); Kristen Hogan, *The Feminist Bookstore Movement: Lesbian Antiracism and Feminist Accountability* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016); Anne M. Valk, *Radical Sisters: Second-Wave Feminism and Black Liberation in Washington, D.C.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008); Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, *Radicals on the Road: Internationalism, Orientalism, and Feminism during the Vietnam Era* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013).

5 For the history of IWD, see Temma Kaplan, "On the Socialist Origins of International Women's Day," *Feminist Studies* 11, no.1 (1985): 163-71; Ellen Carol DuBois, "Women Suffrage Around the World: Three Phases of Suffragist Internationalism," in *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives*, ed. Caroline Daley and Melanie Nolan (New York: New York University Press, 1994). Accounts of IWD often mention an even earlier women workers' demonstration in New York in 1857.

6 Christopher A. Huff, "*Great Speckled Bird*," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, www.georgiaencyclopedia.org.

7 The *Bird*'s content was a mix of local writing and material from other underground and radical papers and the Liberation News Service (LNS). For LNS, see John McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters: The Sixties Underground Press and the Rise of Alternative Media in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 140-171; Blake Slonecker, *A New Dawn for the New Left: Liberation News Service, Montague Farm, and the Long Sixties* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

8 For the unrest and upheaval of the long global Sixties in the third world, see Samantha Christiansen and Zachary A. Scarlett, eds., *The Third World in the Global 1960s* (New York: Berghahn, 2013).

9 For an overview of the *Bird*'s cover art, see Stephanie Coffin, *Cover History: The Great Speckled Bird, 1968-1976* (Georgia Grassroots Video, 2018), yutu.be/Jc2tDdSX1z4.

10 For the longer history of internationalism, see Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, eds., *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

11 Maude, "Women and War," *Great Speckled Bird*, March 9, 1970, 7.

12 Charlotte Bunch, *Passionate Politics: Feminist Theory in Action: Essays, 1968-1986* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987); Myra Marx Ferree and Aili Mari Tripp, eds., *Global Feminism: Transnational Women's Activism, Organizing, and Human Rights* (New York: New York University Press, 2006).

13 "Message from Angela Davis" and Bob Goodman, "Free Angela," *Great Speckled Bird*, March 8, 1971, 4. See Bettina Aptheker, *The Morning Breaks: The Trial of Angela Davis* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999);

14 "International Women's Day," *Great Speckled Bird*, March 8, 1971, 12-13.

15 See Barbara Ehrenreich, "What is Socialist Feminism?" (1976), Chicago Women's Liberation Herstory, www.cwluherstory.org; Alice Echols, *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967-1975* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989).

16 Anne Jenkins, "Legal Abortion Confusion," *Great Speckled Bird*, March 6, 1972, 6.

17 Marjorie Jordan, "Counter Clockwork Orange: Sexism," *Great Speckled Bird*, March 6, 1972, 9. Bill Cutler's review, "Counter Clockwise Orange: Violence," appears on 8-9. His review of Gillo Pontecorvo's *The Battle of Algiers* mentions an Algerian woman character taking part in a bombing that targets French civilians, but does not discuss the film's exploration of women's changing roles in the Algerian war. See Bill Cutler, "The Battle of Algiers," *Great Speckled Bird*, March 6, 1972, 5.

18 Julian Schuman, "Industrial China," *Great Speckled Bird*, March 6, 1972, 13; Becky Hamilton, "The China Trip, or Better Red than Read," *Great Speckled Bird*, March 6, 1972, 14-15, 19.

19 Stephanie and Marjorie, "International Women's Day," *Great Speckled Bird*, March 6, 1972, 2.

20 Stephanie and Marjorie, "International Women's Day," 2.

21 For IWY and especially the United Nations Conference on Women in Mexico City in 1975, see Jocelyn Olcott, *International Women's Year: The Greatest Consciousness-Raising Event in History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

22 For the women who produced the 1975 women's issue, see "Staff," *Great Speckled Bird*, March 6, 1975, 2.

23 "Women's Year," *Great Speckled Bird*, March 6, 1975, 1.

24 "Women's Year," *Great Speckled Bird*, March 6, 1975, 2.

25 "From Vietnam," *Great Speckled Bird*, March 6, 1975, 2.

26 Mickey, "USAID: The Politics of Family Planning," *Great Speckled Bird*, March 6, 1975, 8-9. For feminist transnational collaboration in women's health and reproductive rights in the 1970s and later, see Kathy Davis, *The Making of Our Bodies, Ourselves: How Feminism Travels across Borders* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

27 "Celebrate Women in March," *Great Speckled Bird*, March 1976, 2.

GI and Veteran Resistance to the War in Vietnam:
The problems of Remembering and Forgetting

Jerry Lembcke | College of the Holy Cross

The following text is the speech given by Dr. Jerry Lembcke on the program organized by the Vietnam Peace Commemoration Committee on 21 October 2017 marking the fiftieth anniversary of the 1967 March on the Pentagon. He served as the Chaplain's Assistant assigned to the U.S. Army's 41st Artillery Group in South Vietnam in 1969. Today he is an Associate Professor Emeritus at the College of the Holy Cross and a Distinguished Lecturer of the Organization of American Historians. As a scholar, veteran, and citizen, he speaks to issues of collective memory that bridge the past and the present and the academic and public realms. Whether or not one agrees with particular points, his remarks will resonate with world historians seeking to open dialogues about how we remember as well as understand the long global Sixties.

IAN CHRISTOPHER FLETCHER

In October 1967 many of you gathered here today were marching on the Pentagon to help end the war in Vietnam. At the time, I was teaching junior high school math in Fort Dodge, Iowa and six months away from the wakeup call delivered by post-Tet draft increase. By the spring of 1970 I was home from Vietnam and in the streets with you.

For me and thousands of other GIs, Marines, sailors, and airmen, the war was an empowering and politicizing experience. David Zeiger's film *Sir! No Sir!* recalls that Donald Duncan resigned from the Army as a Green Beret officer in protest of the action he had seen in Vietnam; Susan Schnall, a Navy nurse, chartered a small plane and flew over San Francisco Bay military installations dropping anti-war leaflets; and Dr. Howard Levy was court-martialed for refusing to train medical personnel for Vietnam.[1] Many other others are recalled in David Cortright's book *Soldiers in Revolt*.[2]

But we also need to remember that for millions of other Americans these are forgotten figures. Duncan, Schnall, and Levy, who should be role models inspiring the resistance of a new generation of military recruits are, in fact, MIA from the social memory and public discourse surrounding the war in Vietnam and its meaning for our twenty-first century conflicts.

We need to understand how this happened, how and why so many Americans have forgotten so much about the in-service and veteran rejection of the war. We need to understand, to begin with, that GI and veterans' resistance was front page news from the mid-1960s to the end of the war: the *New York Times* carried full-page ads with signatures of veterans and soldiers against the war in 1966 and 1969; in 1969 *Life* magazine, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the New York *Daily News* all featured reports on GI resistance to the war, including refusals to fight in Vietnam. All this, the American people knew.

What happened between then and now? What happened to those memories? Forgetting. But we need to understand that forgetting is not just a lapse in memory, not just a passive failure of memory. Forgetting is not about the memory that did *not* happen. Rather, we forget something because something else displaces that something. A new memory overrides, or supplants and takes the place of what we had known from experience or primary evidence. Forgetting is about something *else* being remembered.

The memory that the anti-war movement reached out to GIs with legal services and offers of sanctuary for deserters isn't just *lost*—as in, gosh, what did I do with that memory?—it has, rather, been *displaced*, pushed aside by images of protester hostility to GIs and veterans. The most iconic of those displacing images is that of spitting—anti-war activists are said to have spat on Vietnam veterans. There is no evidence that it ever happened and only a sketchy record of anyone having claimed so at the time.

A 1971 survey by the Harris Poll conducted for the U.S. Senate reported 99% of Vietnam veterans polled saying they were welcomed home by friends and family and, get this, 94% of the veterans polled saying their reception from their age-group peers was friendly. Only 1% of veterans in that poll described their homecoming as "not at all friendly."

Nevertheless, when I wrote a book in 1998 about the mythical nature of the stories, I was met with criticism, much of which took the form of first-person "I was spat on" or "I saw it happen" stories, and many more claims that "my dad/uncle/neighbor said it happened to him."[3] And the stories have never stopped coming. Responding to my

October 13, 2017 *New York Times* op-ed on the mythic nature of the spitting stories, one reader wrote to the editor that he was told upon returning from Vietnam via San Francisco airport that the spitting was so intense that the M.P.s had to wear ponchos to stay dry.[4]

But if there is no evidence that such stories are true, where do the memories of them come from? Well, Hollywood helped. Remember Rambo saying, "Those Maggots at the airport, spit'n' calling us `baby killers' and all kinds of vile crap"?[5]

Calling us "baby killers" Rambo says. Almost as popular now as the spitting stories, protesters supposedly denigrated returning veterans as "baby killers." Some of the "baby killer" stories say that protesters hoisted placards with "baby killers" written on them. Scanning dozens of panoramic news photos of anti-war rallies and marches, I've never seen one.

And my search of the *New York Times* archive just weeks ago didn't find any connection of the "baby killer" phrase to Vietnam veterans before 1979—about the time that the Rambo *First Blood* film was going into production. Like with the spitting stories, there are no reports from back in the day of that having happened.[6]

There is more at stake *than* the historical record in such stories. In the first place, they are smears on the reputation of the anti-war movement. And that legacy has consequences. Opposition to the first Persian Gulf War began almost immediately when troops deployed to Kuwait in the fall of 1990.

But the stories of spat-on Vietnam veterans soon followed—and those stories became the pause button on protest of the deployments—*Whoa, we don't want to do to the soldiers what the Sixties generation did to Vietnam veterans*. As we know now, that pause morphed into the yellow ribbon campaign that twisted opposition to the war into disrespect for the troops, a discourse that stayed in play to dampen protests to the invasion of Iraq in 2003.

The political implications of these stories is, in other words, more important than their veracity. The stories pair the image of "bad" anti-war activists spitting on Vietnam veterans, conjuring their opposite, the image of "good" veterans—the patriotic veterans loyal to the mission who acted with virtue and valor under fire. It is the pairing of "good" and "bad" in this manner—typical structure, by the way, of classic myths—that then forms the storyline that the war fought by these *good* war veterans was a *good war*, lost to betrayal on the home front.

The betrayal thesis for the lost war in Vietnam is dangerous because it keeps alive the fantasy that we could win wars like it if—if—we the people stay loyal to the mission.

The stories are mythical not because they are not true—indeed an anti-war activist, somewhere or sometime, may have spat on or called a Vietnam veteran a baby killer—I can't prove the negative that it did not happen. Rather, the stories are mythical because of the way they are used, mythical because of the narratives or storylines they help create.

The stories are the stepping-off points for portraying veterans as *victims* of the war, making them, thereby, props in the notion of "mutual destruction," the phrase coined by President Jimmy Carter, to say that the U.S. and Vietnam suffer equally in the aftermath of the war. The distortion lent Carter's thesis by legends of veteran debasement is that the American damage was self-inflicted—the conclusion to which we are led by the new PBS film *The Vietnam War* by Ken Burns and Lynn Novick.[7]

Viewed as victims, the political dissent of GIs and veterans was then easily cast as catharsis, a kind of therapeutic acting-out. Viewing Vietnam veterans as victims is a textbook instance of psychologizing the political—victim-veterans deserved sympathy and treatment but not credence for their testimony as witnesses to war.

The danger in this is made clear with a look-back to the way shell-shocked veterans of WWI became political props in Germany's post-war betrayal narrative for its loss. Shell-shocked veterans there became stand-ins, proxies for the trauma of the nation suffering a loss of racial pride and international status. Shell-shock, as a wound, symbolized a nation that needed to heal, a people finding moral validation through their hurts—but seeking retribution.

Right-wing Republicans in the U.S. have been running on the anger and anxiety left by the loss in Vietnam since Ronald Reagan declared the war to have been a "noble cause." Republican campaign rhetoric is loaded with "re" words: restore, return, rebuild, repair—all conjuring a better America that existed in some past time. It is the imagined America of white picket fences, mushrooming Levittowns, and the Gobbler café in Worthington,

Minnesota that Tim O'Brien remembers for us in the Burns and Novick film.

And it is the future behind us that Donald Trump's base wants to take back from those of you who marched here in 1967 and those of us who came home from Vietnam stronger and smarter than we went.

Most of the talk about the lessons of the American war in Vietnam is about what *they*, the war-makers, should have learned: should have bombed earlier, targeted differently, invaded the North say the militarists. Seek peaceful settlements, say the peace-makers, and respect the principles of "just war"—as if the Joint Chiefs of Staff is waiting to hear from them.

Less often do I hear the anti-war community speak about the lessons it learned from its work to end the war. I learned that wars and war-makers do not stop themselves. Wars are – active verb—stopped. War-makers can be—active verb—stopped.

The war in Vietnam ended when liberation forces in Vietnam *stopped* the U.S. war machine, and the Vietnamese did that in an alliance with an international movement at the center of which was the U.S. anti-war movement. U.S. soldiers and veterans who turned against the war were at the core of that domestic U.S. opposition to it and the strength of their resistance was derived from class and racial consciousness and the resources of the movement itself.

This lesson is obscured and obviated by images of veterans spat on, called baby killers, and represented as damaged-goods. Anti-war movements are mounted on images of strength, not hurt and loss. Moral admonishments and reminders of the human and environmental costs of war are but road bumps for a national leadership fueled by lost-war revanchism and hell-bent on making America strong again, and restoring an idyllic America that never existed.

We have to remember the lessons of the history that *we* made and act on those lessons to stop the new. Wars will not be fought if nobody will fight them. That's the lesson learned. It really is that simple. We just have to remember it.

1 *Sir, No Sir!: The Suppressed Story of the GI Movement to End the War in Vietnam* (dir. David Zeiger, 2005).

2 David Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt: GI Resistance in the Vietnam War* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2005).

3 Jerry Lembcke, *The Spitting Image: Myth, Memory, and the Legacy of Vietnam* (New York: NYU Press, 1998).

4 Jerry Lembcke, "The Myth of the Spitting Anti-war Protester," *New York Times*, October 13, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/13/opinion/myth-spitting-vietnam-protester.html

5 *First Blood* (dir. Ted Kotcheff, 1982).

6 The first *New York Times* story with keywords "baby killer" and Vietnam turns up in April 15, 1979: a second-hand report of a psychiatrist telling the reporter that a veteran told him that his younger brother called him "a baby killer"—a news report bordering on hearsay, folklore we might say.

7 *The Vietnam War* (dir. Ken Burns and Lynne Novick, 2017).

2017 WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION TEACHING PRIZE

A Global Perspective of the Cold War:

A Multimedia Approach to a World History Topic

Patrick Crawford | Texas Academy of Biomedical Sciences

The Cold War is a terrific topic to build an extensive project because there are mountains of accessible information and it happens late in the school year when students' skills have advanced enough to tackle a comprehensive project. Plus, it is a modern topic that connects to various themes and daily life. Included in this lesson is an opportunity to dig deep into one defining moment of the Cold War, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and study how this event extended to all corners of the world through many varying perspectives. It provides opportunities for students to communicate with others, explore legitimate scholarly sources, and integrate technology into a web-based, collaborative project that students can take pride and ownership of.

This lesson is intended for high school students in my tenth grade dual credit World History class, but could definitely be used in a more advanced college course or modified for younger students. I think this is an excellent way to introduce them to historical concepts with clear goals and tangible products.

This fits into the curriculum because the Cold War is a multi-layered topic of world history with serious global implications. Additionally, it will be a significant part of their U.S. History class next year, so this is something they will be able to connect back to. However, we keep a global context during our class and do not concentrate solely on the role of the United States. We want to examine the primary actors, but also how other countries reacted to or participated in various roles. A big part of my larger plan is for students to see how a variety of elements of world history can inter-relatedly fit together, instead of separating them into isolated events over time. This certainly fits the bill.

Since the Cold War is a recent era, the scholarship is still evolving. With its conclusion still fairly fresh in many minds, we are beginning to reflect on it as a past event, rather than a present one. However, it is relevant in the sense that current events in the world are often still directly related to the culture, policies, and agendas established during that time.

PROCEDURES FOR IMPLEMENTATION

There are three multimedia phases of this overall lesson. Phase 1 is a recorded oral history interview of a person who recounts events from of the Cold War. Phase 2 is a written review of a scholarly journal article about international reaction to the Cuban Missile Crisis. Phase 3 uses information collected from every student in Phase 2 to create a class website which illustrates dozens of countries' reactions to the Cuban Missile Crisis.

PHASE 1: SETTING THE STAGE WITH AN ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW: "MEMORIES AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE COLD WAR"

This phase requires 30-45 minutes for the Cold War mini-lesson and 30-45 minutes for the Oral History mini-lesson. The Interview conducted outside of class.

The first part is about setting the stage by exploring the topic and carrying out an interview of a real person who lived in the world of the Cold War. This happens well in advance of the later phases of the project. Within the timeframe of the class, we begin this in late November, whereas the second phase of the project will not pick up again until April. In terms of the chronological content, we are nowhere close to the twentieth century, but I want to take advantage of Thanksgiving break's potential for visits with family. I introduce the topic of the Cold War with a brief mini-lesson, explaining how the United States was in a decades-long conflict or competition with the Soviet Union during the middle of the twentieth century, but I really want students to explore on their own and see where it takes them. Students should conduct brief outside research as they narrow down to potential discussion points for their interview.

Next, is a lesson explaining how to conduct an oral history interview. I give them a quick overview of oral history as a field of history and discuss guidelines for conducting an effective interview, including proper preparation and creating open-ended interview questions. This is all the class time spent on this; the rest of this phase is completed outside of class. (See Appendix A for packet of guidelines.) From there, students choose a person old enough to remember events from the Cold War. The subject can be an ordinary person; the only qualification required is that they be able to recount Cold War events and tell a story about it, although I do encourage them to seek out people who are from a different country or Americans who lived abroad (whether it was military-related or not). They could be from the USA or elsewhere;

military or civilian; job and education do not matter. We want to get a wide range of stories.

Next, they set up and record the interviews on their own. Most have the capability to use their phone as the recording device, and that works fine for this purpose. The average interview lasts about ten minutes, although some are much longer if their interviewee has a lot to say. Interviewees typically are older relatives, family friends, teachers, or community acquaintances.

The next step is to write the reaction paper, for which I give them guidelines (see Appendix B). This is basically a short biography of their interviewee, a summary of the conversation, and their reaction to the whole experience. They also get a release form signed for permission to use the interview in public, since their interviews get collected into a class digital folder which students will be accessing later when we cover the Cold War.

PHASE 2: SCHOLARLY JOURNAL ARTICLE REVIEW

This phase requires 30-40 minutes listening to Cold War interviews (unless done before class) and 30-45 minutes introducing the Cuban Missile Crisis Journal Article Review and assigning countries. The Journal Article Review is written outside of class.

The second phase of the project happens when we finally reach the point of studying the Cold War in April. Preparatory work includes background reading in the textbook and/or general lecture to provide them with foundation information. This is also when they revisit the oral history interviews. Students choose two interviews (other than their own) to listen to and fill out a form of guiding thought questions (see Appendix C). This activity, in addition to already conducting their own interview a few months before, lays a solid foundation and personal connection to the topic.

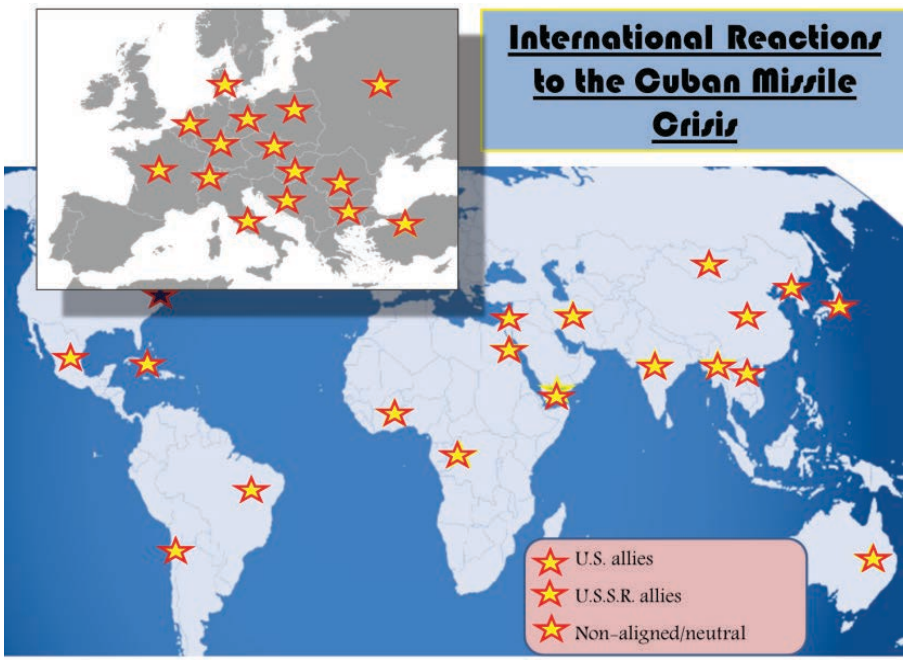
Now we move on to the portion in which they research and write a paper. To keep with the theme of the international repercussions of the Cold War, we now zoom into a specific event and examine how various nations across the world reacted. The Cuban Missile Crisis is typically studied as a conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, played out on Cuban soil, accompanied by tense diplomatic negotiations. However, an event of this magnitude affected distant others who may not appear at first glance to have been involved. Students will be using scholarship collected in 2012 by the Wilson Center's *Cold War International History Project Bulletin: The Global Cuban Missile Crisis at 50*, which commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the event. This journal utilized newly available documents to gain insight into various countries' reactions to the fateful events in 1962. It puts the Cuban Missile Crisis into a truly global perspective, as opposed to the overwhelmingly American perspective students are normally exposed to (see Annotated List of Resources).

Students are assigned one of the countries in the journal, which discusses how it individually responded to the crisis. Each student writes a review of a journal article about their country (see Appendix D for guidelines). It is important that they understand how their country fits into the wider context of the Cuban Missile Crisis and the overall Cold War. Each nation likely fits into the camps of supportive to the USA, supportive to the USSR, or non-alignment. Not all communist nations sided with the Soviet Union; some instead played prominent roles in the Non-Aligned Movement. Certain countries will begin setting the stage for additional topics we discuss later.

PHASE 3: CLASS ACTIVITY: BUILD A WEBSITE THAT ILLUSTRATES INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS TO THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

This phase requires 75-90 minutes to build the class website, using individual country profiles created before class, and 30 minutes for debriefing discussion and answering questions. It can be finished as homework.

After the due date for the journal article critical review, each class will then compile their findings



Here is a screenshot of a quick prototype I put together so students have a visual starting point. Each of the stars (or other symbols of their choice) will link to the individual students' country profiles. One of the jobs of each class is to correctly match each country with its correct alignment

into a class website that illustrates international reactions during the Cuban Missile Crisis. We use Wix to build a simple website. Basically, it is a world map with buttons on the specific countries. When country buttons are pushed, they link to each student's individual country profile via a publicly accessible online document or presentation of their choice (GoogleDocs, GoogleSlides, Prezi, Voicethread, blog entry, or similar). I give them guidelines (see Appendix E) and a teacher example (see Appendix F) of the information required in the country profile, which is essentially a condensed version of the article review. After a round of peer editing each other's products, the next step is to collect the links from all students and insert them into the website with their corresponding countries.

Since many of the countries discussed in the Wilson Center's *Bulletin* were European, I wanted to fit in a few more key locations to make the map represent other regions. I used a variety of journal and news sources for Australia, Egypt/Yemen, India, Congo, Ghana, Burma, Iran, and Turkey, all with topics closely associated with the Cuban Missile Crisis or similar contemporary events. Students are then put into groups, who quickly referred to these articles to create country profiles and add them to the class website. This can be assigned for homework, if needed, due to time constraints.

We have an intense workday when the students of each class work together to apply their country profiles to the class website. I give each class creative free-rein to the website's layout and other elements they want to add, such as making connections between similar countries, creating the key, and other enhancements. To add an incentive, the classes compete against each other in a contest for the best website. Three teachers volunteer to be judges, who use a judging rubric to determine the winner (see Appendix G). In the end, each class has a product that they have created from scratch and is open for public view.

We finish with debriefing through class discussion about overall observations from the map, and students answer the following questions in groups or homework while referencing the website. Why are all of the communist countries not allied with the Soviet Union? Give two examples and reasons why not. Give two additional examples for why countries decided to be non-aligned. Give an example of how the USA or USSR competed for the support of a neutral country. How was the Cold War tied in with decolonization of Africa and Asia? Give an example. What surprised you the most about the various reactions and relationships during the Cuban Missile Crisis?

As we discuss other topics of the twentieth century in the coming weeks, we are able to refer back to our work and make connections. (The teacher just needs to check for accuracy when using student work as a resource.) Potential topics include: the Non-Aligned Movement; decolonization in Africa and Asia; proxy wars and other conflicts in the context of the Cold War, such as Vietnam; China's Maoist communism vs. Soviet communism; modern globalization; and origins of the relationships that created today's current events in Russia, North Korea, Cuba, China, and elsewhere.

ASSESSING LEARNING

I know students have "gotten it" by several ways. I grade their journal article review for understanding of individual countries. I monitor progress and keep them on track throughout the class project, before they are judged/graded on their final product, as I look for evidence of proper connections between various countries. A short essay question can be expected on their next exam that refers to a topic covered during this comprehensive project.

Overall, this is more extensive work than a typical theme or unit, but the skills they are acquiring and working on can be used in future endeavors. The students are using

ANNOTATED LIST OF RESOURCES FOR TEACHERS: WEBSITES

http://www.oralhistory.org/
This is the website of the Oral History Association, the professional organization for oral historians. Teachers can find information about what exactly oral history is and isn't; the importance of it as a field of history; standards of the profession; and other information. One thing to keep in mind is that when students are conducting these interviews, it is not true oral history because professional oral historians have rigorous standards they adhere to. It is just like any other project that involves students who are not professionals.

https://www.wilsoncenter.org/program/cold-war-international-history-project
The Wilson Center Cold War International Project is a great resource because its mission is to show all sides of the Cold War. This is particularly beneficial and a must-have for world history classes because it is more than just the point of view of the United States.

https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/CWHIP_Bulletin_17-18_Cuban_Missile_Crisis_v2_COMPLETE.pdf
This is the main source of information for this project; it is a link within the Wilson Center website for the *Cold War International History Project Bulletin: The Global Cuban Missile Crisis at 50*. This provided the multiple articles that students referred to in Phase 2 of the project. It is broken down into regions across the world and how countries within those regions reacted to the Cuban Missile Crisis. Its authors used newly available documents to conduct research that put the Crisis into a more global perspective.

If time is available, one way to help introduce this issue of the *Bulletin* is to assign the introductory article "The Global Cuban Missile Crisis—Surfing the Third Wave of Missile Crisis Scholarship" by James G. Hershberg. Students can highlight all of the various nations that are mentioned in the article (there are over twenty). This is an excellent article that explains the changing scholarship and views of the crisis over the years, from the initial focus on how the U.S. reacted to the second focus on the Soviet perspective during the era *glasnost* to the current third focus on international reactions and reverberations. This is a nice example to explain how historiography can evolve (which normally does not get mentioned in a survey course).

communication skills to connect with a real-world person on a level they likely will not normally capitalize on in daily life. They are using historical research skills and critical thinking to analyze legitimate research, instead of regurgitating facts out of a textbook or depending on questionable websites for quick answers. They are collaborating to complete a whole-class project with a collective goal, in which each student has accountability to contribute information about their specific country.

In order to expect quality results, we have to invest extra time. I think towards the end of the year when students have been exposed to plenty of material and are comfortable in the classroom is the ideal time to take this next step. This is part of their transition from sophomores to upperclassmen. With time being precious in the lead up to the Advanced Placement exam, I could see an AP World History class incorporating this as an end-of-year project that provides a productive activity during the last couple of weeks after students have completed the exam.

CONCLUSION

Overall, I believe it went extremely well in my class. The oral history interviews were a great success, even after initial groaning of "aw, we have to TALK to people?" as I introduced it. The feedback from this portion was overwhelmingly positive, according to their reaction papers and discussions. Most expressed gratitude for having the opportunity to sit down with a grandparent or family friend who they never would have broached a serious topic with otherwise. Also, I was happy to receive a variety of interviews with people from not only the United States, but also places such as Vietnam, Russia, Ukraine, China/Taiwan, Pakistan, Germany, Mexico, French New Caledonia, and elsewhere. There was a nice mix of military and civilian experiences and domestic and foreign perspectives. One student reaction paper sample can be found in Appendix H, and I can provide audio samples of actual interviews upon request. This supported one of my main points, which is how the Cold War was felt globally and not just between the United States and Soviet Union. As for the journal article review, there were some expected bumps because the selections are different than most kids are accustomed to reading. It was a valuable learning experience, just not something they could breeze through. Many are still building the skills to fully digest a challenging scholarly article, so they struggled a bit to fully understand their individual country's role. That is all part of the learning process, though. One student sample can be found in Appendix I.

When we compiled the class websites, I definitely observed extra effort when I turned it into a contest between the class periods. I was impressed with most of the results, and students seemed to appreciate the opportunity to express their work into tangible results accessible on the internet. I know they could have been better with the luxury of more time, though. I will allow them to finish up any incomplete parts if we have some spare time. Our four class periods' website can be found at: https://patrickcrawford.wixsite.com/cubanmissileproject.

As far as differentiation, the expectations can be easily adjusted based on the skill level and age of the students. This is already being used for an advanced high school class, but it is always possible to ratchet it up for the highest possible learners by assigning two articles of conflicting points of view to analyze. For lower level learners, any student from middle school and higher can conduct a decent interview with proper guidance. As for the research part, the teacher would need to use discretion for locating articles within the appropriate skill range to ensure students would be able to understand the content and benefit from the exercise. They could also adapt some of the same concepts of conducting interviews and building websites to other topics within their curriculums.

ANNOTATED LIST OF RESOURCES FOR TEACHERS: ARTICLES AND BOOKS

For Phase 2, I added eight countries to the map to fill in regions and connect to other world history topics. I found a variety of book excerpts, journals (many only need the abstract to understand the gist of the country's position), and news articles, most of which can be processed quickly.

India: Both of the articles discuss how President Kennedy was involved with India during their border dispute with China, despite concurrently dealing with the Cuban Missile Crisis.
Athale, Anil, "The Untold Story: How Kennedy Came to India's Aid in 1962," *Rediff news*, December 4, 2012. http://www.rediff.com/news/special/the-untold-story-how-the-us-came-to-indias-aid-in-1962/20121204.htm
Reidel, Bruce, "Kennedy's Almost-Quagmire Was Far from Cuba," *Politico Magazine online*, November 29, 2015. http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/11/john-f-kennedy-sino-indian-war-213354

Egypt and Yemen: Historically strategic Egypt, involved in Yemen's Civil War, was being courted by the USA and USSR. The abstract should be sufficient to understand the gist of the relationships here.
Ferris, Jesse, "Egypt, the Cold War, and the Civil War in Yemen, 1962-1966"
(Thesis, Princeton University, 2008), abstract. http://gradworks.umi.com/33/32/3332407.html

Congo: Kennedy was showing signs of involvement, but when the Cuban Missile Crisis broke out, his focus strayed away from here. The country was in the midst of a civil war during decolonization and the U.S. and USSR were mentioned as possibly supporting different sides of the conflict.
Devlin, Lawrence, *Chief of Station, Congo: Fighting the Cold War in a Hot Zone* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2008), 202. https://books.google.com/books?id=T3zqt7WlZAkC&pg=PA202&lpg=PA202&dq=congo+%22cuban+missile+crisis%22&source=bl&ots=2kpFwJCZRg&sig=Orf7fa4tEwHtNjXD2x-DCcKeR5I&hl=en&sa=X&

Appendix A:
Cold War Era Oral History Project

You will interview someone who lived through and vividly remembers some aspect(s) of the Cold War era (1945-1991). Almost any current adult who is old enough (minimum of 45-50 years of age) to remember living through the tense relationship between the United States and Soviet Union will be an appropriate candidate to interview for this project. Ideally, we would like to gather a diverse mix of backgrounds and experiences, including the following range of perspectives: civilian or military; childhood or adulthood: American at home, American abroad, immigrant/traveler in the United States, or foreigner abroad; highly educated or not; and politically involved or apathetic.

However, be sure whomever you select to be your interviewee will have plenty to talk about and is comfortable speaking to you while being recorded. If the first person you approach is not comfortable or does not have much to talk about, move on to someone else! The target length of your interview is approximately ten minutes. If it goes longer than that, it is fine. BE POLITE. Do not rush or cut off your interviewee.

Keep in mind that the Fort Worth ISD Social Studies Department may transfer your interviews to a future oral history repository and collect for future access and research with searchable key terms.

The process for submitting your interview is as follows. It is your choice to determine how to interview. Your options include: download and use an audio recording app on a smartphone; use another audio recording device that can save and upload audio files to your computer; or record your interview as a video file. Be sure to record in a quiet, comfortable location with no distractions (after you have tested your recording apparatus). Conduct the interview, recording it in a common, usable file format. Be sure you and your interviewee sign the Oral History Release Form, which grants FWISD permission to use the interview for public use. Also, have your interviewee fill out the questionnaire so we can get an idea of the overall character of our interviewees. Make a backup copy of your interview and store it on your laptop and another location such as a flashdrive. Listen to your interview and make notes of the key topics that were discussed. Create a list of key words that will be tagged to your interview and can be easily searched by others. If you are required to do any other steps for your class, be sure to complete them!

Some other notes to keep in mind. Make sure you are familiar with the premise and circumstances of the Cold War before conducting your interview (whether it is learned in class or if you need to do some independent research). This will make you more confident and the interview smoother. Before the interview, ask your interviewee what topic or two they will want to discuss. From this information, you can craft your interview questions. The best interview questions are open-ended, which allow your subject to tell their story, rather than simple yes/no questions. Exact dates or other micro details are not necessary to dwell on, just let the story come out naturally. Questions about their own experiences and perceptions during the Cold War are great. Also, if a close friend or loved one shared stories that had an impact on their life and thinking, they may share that.

Suggested questions include the following. Background: what is your name, age, occupation? Where do you currently live? Where did you live during the Cold War experiences you will be discussing? Personal experiences: what was your specific involvement in the Cold War? How did you feel about the Cold War at the time? In what ways were you impacted or affected by the Cold War? Larger impact of the Cold War: in what ways did the Cold War affect Fort Worth? The United States? The World? Do you think the United States should be praised or condemned for its involvement in the Cold War? Why? Compare to today: did you feel more unease or fear during specific times of the Cold War or more specific times relating to events of terrorism and the War on Terror?

Take notes while they speak, in case you would like to ask a follow up question to something they have discussed. Keep tabs on the time, but do not make the interviewee feel like they should rush to finish their story. REMEMBER TO BE POLITE AT ALL TIMES. The key to being a good interviewer is being a good listener. Make it clear that you are listening attentively and it will make for a positive experience._Be flexible! This is a pilot project. Have fun with it and let's see where it takes us. I truly hope and expect you will have a positive and enriching experience during this project.

Appendix B:
Instructions: Cold War Interview Reaction Paper

After you have completed the interview, you will write a reaction paper to earn credit for Essay 3. The following components must be included in the reaction paper. Use the same format as essays, such as typed, double-spaced, 12 point font, correct grammar, etc. (you do not need to cite sources for this). A short biography (2-3 paragraphs) about your interviewee's life (this will not necessarily be a part of the recorded audio interview, but you can obtain this information off-mic). Your interview questions and a brief synopsis of your interviewee's answers (but do not transcribe the interviewee's answers unless you really want to OR if the interview is in a language other than English). The keywords a person could use to search for and locate your interview. Your personal reaction to the interview, including what you learned from the experience and your feelings about the overall experience.

Appendix C:
Oral History Interview Sharing

Interview 1
- Who is the interviewee?
- Who is the interviewer?
- What topics are they discussing?
- Summarize the interview:
- What did you like the most about this interview?

Interview 2
- Who is the interviewee?
- Who is the interviewer?
- What topics are they discussing?
- Summarize the interview:
- What did you like the most about this interview?

On the back, in a couple of paragraphs, give your HONEST opinion of this project overall. Discuss things that you genuinely enjoyed, did not like, how you felt at the beginning and the end. Were the expectations realistic? Any other feedback is welcome also.

Appendix D:
Critical Review of a Historical Journal Article about the Cuban Missile Crisis

Although the Cold War boiled down to a heated conflict and competition between the United States and the Soviet Union, many others were pulled into the affair as it affected countries in every region of the world. Even specific events were so significant that it is important to see how individual countries reacted. We will be examining the international reaction to the Cuban Missile Crisis, how it was viewed and dealt with by a wide range of countries across the world. This project will be in place of your Essay 3.

First, you will be assigned a specific country. Write it down here:

"U Thant meeting with Cuban President Fidel Castro"
https://bit.ly/2GMNeTg

Next, you will locate one or more articles concerning your country in the *Cold War International History Project Bulletin: The Global Cuban Missile Crisis at 50*, which can be found at the following address: https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/CWHIP_Bulletin_17-18_Cuban_Missile_Crisis_v2_COMPLETE.pdf

Keep in mind this is an 800-page document, so you will need to use the table of contents to figure out which article(s) pertain to you. If there is more than one article concerning your country, you may choose which one to write your review about.

Next, you will write a critical review of your journal article using the following guidelines. Be sure you are thorough and include ALL parts!

Title of article? Author, and what is their title or credentials to write an article on this topic? Bibliographic information (in a correct format, such as Chicago, MLA)?

Which country's perspective/relationship is the article discussing? What is the main thesis of the article? Summary of the article.

What sources did they use? Primary sources? Secondary sources? Is there any bias/POV/special circumstances with the author's sources? Were these suitable sources? (Keep in mind that most of these articles came from newly available sources around the world!) What other kinds of sources might have been useful for them to use in their article?

Your critique. Strengths? What about the topic did the article cover well? Weaknesses or what questions do you still have about it? Was anything left out that you thought should have been included? Were there any holes or inconsistencies in their argument?

After completing the journal review, you will be the class's expert on how your country reacted to the Cuban Missile Crisis. You will be sharing your knowledge in a class-compiled website project that illustrates how the international community reacted to this monumental event, so be prepared and don't let the class down!

Appendix E:
International Reactions to the Cuban Missile Crisis

Country Profile: YOUR COUNTRY
Stance during the Cold War (supported USA, supported USSR, or neutral/non-aligned).
Background information about country.
Overall reaction during the Cuban Missile Crisis and summary of article.
How does your country fit into the Crisis and what other issues were coming out with the country during this time?
Any relevant images (photos, maps, etc. with proper documentation/citation).
Bibliographic information of article and any other sources of information used.
Contributed by: YOUR NAME

Appendix F:
Model Burma (Myanmar) Country File Prepared by Patrick Crawford

Background

Officially neutral/non-aligned

"After the Chinese Communists defeated the Nationalists in 1949 (and even more so after the Korean War), United States foreign policy focused on stopping communist expansion into Southeast Asia. Americans are familiar with this effort in Indochina. But early in the Cold War the United States viewed newly independent Burma as nearly as important as Vietnam. Because Burma shared a long border with China and chose a strictly neutral international stance, the U.S.-Burma relationship was fascinating, delicate, and complex." See more at: https://bit.ly/2SA1YGG

Country's Stance and Summary of Article

This particular stance is really more from the point of view of U Thant, who was Burmese, but was the U.N. Secretary General at the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis. He "played a crucial mediatory role and received secret urgings from Kennedy to do so" (Dorn and Pauk), although he has not always been given his due credit. During a time when neither the USA nor the USSR wanted to directly back down from each other, Thant was able to mediate from his U.N. position without the appearance of favoring either side. He also flew to Cuba and engaged Fidel Castro directly, to ensure he was on board with the agreement. He won the trust of both Kennedy and Khrushchev, but "did not seek recognition; rather he practiced quiet diplomacy and wanted the parties to take credit" (Dorn and Pauk).

"U Thant meeting with U.S. President John F. Kennedy"
https://bit.ly/2tBcAuW

Bibliographic information
Dorn, Walter A. and Robert Pauk, "50 Years Ago: The Cuban Missile Crisis and Its Underappreciated Hero," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, October 11, 2012.

Appendix G: Judging Rubric for International Reaction to the Cuban Missile Crisis: Class Website
Period:
Number of students in class:
Number of individual countries:
Number of group countries:

Criteria	Points
Completeness ☐ Did everyone in class make their **individual country profile** contributions? o Are the individual contributions complete? ☐ Did **groups** make their country profile contributions? (up to 7: India, Australia, Ghana, Congo, Yemen/Egypt, Turkey, Iran) o Are the group contributions complete? ☐ Included appropriate maps, labels, key, etc.	_____ / out of 10 possible
Design/Layout/Creativity ☐ Design – does the website have all the elements and function properly? ☐ Aesthetics – is it pleasing to the eye? ☐ Clarity – are the visual elements clear? ☐ Layout – is it easy to navigate and make sense?	_____ / out of 10 possible
Grammar/Readability Are the country profiles coherent and filled with relevant information? Are the profiles grammatically correct?	_____ / out of 10 possible
Content Accuracy ☐ Are countries labeled and connected to appropriate alignments? ☐ Is all featured content relevant and accurate to the overall goal of the project?	_____ / out of 10 possible
	Total points: _____ / 40 points total

Judges' scores will be averaged together to determine winning class.

Appendix H:
Sample Student Cold War Interview Reaction Paper Written by Henry Chao, November 23, 2016

Cold War Interview Reaction Paper

Biography

My interviewee's name is John Chao. John Chao was born in the year 1923 in the Sichuan Province, China. He grew up in poverty. When he was an adolescent, Japan was fighting with China. As a result of the fight, his dad was killed in a bombing from the Japanese. He joined the military after he grew up and fought in World War II. China was fighting a battle with Taiwan during this war. China won against Taiwan. After the China's victory, John went to Taiwan with the other military officers.

John stayed at Taiwan, got married there and had children there. He then fought in, what he considers to be one of the scariest events in the Cold War, the Battle of Guningtou. (This battle was a big threat to John, because the fate of all the citizens of Taiwan depended on the result of this battle.) After winning the battle, he lived in Taiwan for a few decades. In the year 1964, John was sent to Vietnam to aid in the fight. He was the military consultant. He stayed a few years in Vietnam before returning to Taiwan. He then went to get his Ph.D.; he went to BYU in Utah. After he received his Ph.D., he returned to Taiwan for about a year. After one year, he was sent to Cambodia; he aided in the Cambodian war (he was sent in the year 1973). He stayed about two years in Cambodia; he then returned to Taiwan. John was then promoted to major general when he returned.

John wanted to further educate himself. Therefore, he went back to America to attend the University of Chicago. However, he did not finish his studies there. This is because he was accepted into Harvard. So, John went to Harvard to complete his studies. After Harvard, he went to Cambridge University to further enrich his knowledge. When John returns home to Taiwan, he co-founded the National Sun Yat- Sen University. He worked as the Dean for the university for ten years. After leaving his job, John taught at a Veteran Affair Training Center until his retirement.

Reflection

This project provided a unique experience. I learned about the different wars that took place within the Cold War Era. The different wars made me realize the cost of freedom and how much people are willing to sacrifice for it. I learned about the policies of China within that era. The policies made me realize the full extent of communism; it made showed me why people would be willing to go to war to stop communism. This lesson also taught me about the life of the citizens during the many wars. The citizens during war had no rights and had to listen to the government and military at all times. When I heard some of the stories and answers, I was shocked at the cruelty of war and how merciless Communist governments are.

I ended up enjoying the overall experience, because this project led me to learn about the Cold War Era in an interesting way, and let me learn more about my grandfather.

Interview Questions

What is your name?
My name is John Chao.

How old are you?
I am 93 years old.

What is your living situation right now?
I currently live in Taiwan.

Where did you live during the Cold War era?
I lived in Taiwan, Cambodia, and Vietnam. What was your job occupation during the Cold War era? I was in the military during that time.

Which Cold War event scared you the most?
The battle of Guningtou. This is because if Taiwan lost, China said they will kill everyone that lived in Taiwan. However, Taiwan won because we had the help from the U.S. They brought ships to block Taiwan; this forced China to retreat.

Did you have any interesting stories about the Cold War?
Yes, the rules and punishments during that time would seem unreasonable nowadays. For example, they had curfews, no freedom of speech, and no right to bear arms. If the curfew wasn't follows the person could be arrested and questioned. The punishments for speaking bad about the country or government, and owning weapons is death.

How do you think the Cold War Era impacted the world?
The Cold War Era made a lot of people realize how close the world was to a nuclear war, and everyone will be injured or killed in a nuclear war. As a result, people in the world have become more peaceful, and more understanding. The people have also realized which government system is better. The war has made the world a better place.

How were you involved in the Vietnam War?
I was a military consultant. Do you have any first- hand experiences in the Vietnam War? When I was in the Vietnam Airport I saw the faces of the American soldiers. The faces showed that they had no motivation to fight, because it wasn't their country. I thought to myself, "We will lose if the soldiers have no motivation to fight."

Do you have any experiences from the Cambodia War?
Yes, I will tell you a few stories. This story will show the injustice of the government. I remember me and a few friends wanted to see a movie from that area, so I told the military people over there about it. When I arrived there was no one there because the military evacuated the theater for us. This shows that during the war, people had no power and were pushed around by the government and military. The second story is about a translator that helped me out in Cambodia. I was about to leave Cambodia and I told Mr. Li (the translator's name) to come with me. He told me he is going to do something first before leaving. However, after I left, I never saw Mr. Li again. A while later someone told me Mr. Li was publicly executed in the middle of the downtown of the capital. The last story is about another translator by the name of Mrs. Chai. When I left, she was still at Cambodia. A few years later, I received a letter from Paris by Mrs. Chai. It told stories about how Mrs. Chai escaped Cambodia as a refugee. She ran away with her husband and some relatives. They walked hundreds of miles, with virtually no supplies, to get to France. These stories show how people would do anything to get their freedom from Communism.

What is your opinion on Communism?
Communism in China is completely insane. Never in Chinese history has there been a genocide, at such a large scale, of their own people. I have a sister-in-law that lived in China during that time period. She told me a story about the Three Year Starvation. This was caused by the Chinese government, because the government made it illegal for people to grow their own foods. If caught growing food the punishment is death. During this time period so many villages died. You could tell whether the village is dead, dying or fine by the age of the people walking around. Every time I talk about Communism I get really mad. I extremely dislike it.

Keywords
Refugee, Vietnam War, Vietnam, Communism, Death Sentence, Nuclear War, Peace, Democracy, Taiwan, U.S. Soldiers, Translator, Three Years Starvation, Stopped Farming, Dying Village, Dead Village, Cambodia War.

Appendix I:
Sample Student Critical Review of Historical Journal Article Written by Jesus Barba, April 5, 2017

Journal Critique: "The Final Frontier: Cuban Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis" (Introduced by James G. Hershberg)

James Hershberg is a professor at Elliott School of International Affairs. He holds a Ph.D. in History from Tufts University. His article, "The Final Frontier," lists many documents released by the Cuban government for the 40th anniversary of the crisis in 2002. These documents included party, military, intelligence, diplomatic, and other sources from Cuba's government. These documents give the Cuban government's perspective during the Cuban Missile Crisis.

This article described a few of the documents attached to it and explained their significance. He stated that there was a lot of information about the interactions between the Soviet Union and Cuba during the crisis. In the article, Hershberg states that although the documents in his article were influential, they were not many top-level documents which recorded the important decisions of the Cuban government in the crisis. He also detailed that there were not many documents on Cuba's perspective, but there were a few insightful documents.

Hershberg used only primary sources because they came directly from the Cuban government. Other sources that may have been good to use in the article are news mediums (such as newspapers or radio broadcasts) because they would have given a look into how the people were being informed. They could also have used citizen interviews because it would be a primary source on the perspective of the citizens in Cuba at the time.

There was no bias from the author, as the articles came directly from the government. They were very suitable sources because they were official documents which have been classified until 2002. There were many strengths, although it was a short article. Dr. Hershberg described the documents and why they were released very generally but it was enough to know what you were diving into. He also included the documents' sources directly after the document ended. This made it easier to categorize them as the appropriate source, such as a primary source.

Based on the documents in the article, it seems as though Cuba and the Soviet Union were very close allies, as one would assume because they are both communist. This relationship can be inferred because he addresses the Russian politician as "comrade" and. not only that, Fidel also allowed him into his home. Since they are friends to the Soviet Union, it is very likely that the US did not have a very good relationship with Cuba because of their societal differences and the US was not on good terms with Russia. This is further supported by the fact that the tension between the US and Russia was significantly large.

There were also some weaknesses within the article. One of them was that there was no clear organization of the documents which made it difficult to follow. Hershberg provided some background on the source of the documents, but background on the actual Cuban missile crisis would have been a good idea. There were not really any inconsistencies in the argument because he was not advocating a certain belief.

Bibliography

"The Final Frontier: Cuban Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis" (Introduced by James G. Hershberg), *Cold War International History Project Bulletin: The Global Cuban Missile Crisis at 50*, ed. James G. Hershberg and Christian E. Ostrermann, Issue 17-18 (2012): 135-156.

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