

***“Everything Links”?
Temporality,
Territoriality and
Cultural Transfer
in the ’68 Protest
Movements***

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This article focuses on the territoriality and temporality of the '68 movements, covering the complex issue of the periodisation of the 1960s and the interconnectedness among their various manifestations across the globe. This period, the article argues, was characterised by a series of 'cultural transfers' that provided the missing link between protest movements; anti-authoritarian clashes and liberation struggles were facilitated by the globalising tendencies that were brought about by new technologies, in particular television, that led to new forms of communication. Anti-authoritarianism and anti-imperialism in their various manifestations were the common elements linking the contestation in the communist East, be it in Prague, Warsaw or Belgrade, with the capitalist West. In addition, fascination with third-world independence movements had an enormous impact both in the United States and Europe, especially in countries under authoritarian regimes, such as Greece, Spain and Portugal.

In April 1968, almost exactly one year after the Colonels' 1967 coup, the actress Melina Merkouri gave an interview to the British newspaper *The Observer*, which reported:

'I learn now of the shooting of Dutschke in Berlin and of Martin Luther King in America. I knew Martin Luther King, and I passed precious hours with him. I knew this boy who is lying gravely wounded in Berlin. I know what is happening in the

world; the world is burning! . . . I now have a feeling of what is happening in the world: I feel more for the Vietnamese or for the Negroes in America. I am less egocentric about Greece because everything is like that . . .' She joins her little fingers: 'Everything links.'¹

This passage conveys to a large extent the 'cultural and political mix' of the late 1960s and early 1970s: Melina Mercouri, a Greek exile, residing in Paris, speaks in London against the Greek Colonels, adding references to other movements and icons of the time, on the premise that one should not act in a myopic way, as "everything links". Interestingly, Mercouri herself was part of the student folklore that she described. Her speech against the Greek Junta at Trafalgar Square the same year, in which wearing a scarlet dress she passionately recited Lord Byron and the Greek communist poet Ritsos, became an iconic moment of the 1960s.² She too became part of the international palette of revolutionary references.

The case of Mercouri's reflection on the linkages between different cases of unrest poses a set of questions. Firstly, how do we periodise this era in which the world was "burning"? Secondly, how do we account for differences in territorial terms? And thirdly, and more importantly, how did "everything link"? To what extent did movements that were structurally very different from each other, including a temporal and territorial lag, end up having common denominators and points of reference. What can the connection be between protests that evolved under parliamentary democracies like the US, West Germany and France, a movement that emerged under a communist regime like the Prague Spring, and revolts that confronted a military dictatorship like the ones of Greece, Portugal, Spain and Brazil?

My hypothesis is that the missing link is the widespread cultural transfers that took place around the globe during that decade. In order to test this assumption, I shall attempt to reach beyond the nationally or culturally specific and stop assuming that these social movements were discrete entities that emerged and developed independently of one another. As McAdam and Rucht have famously argued, "protest makers do not have to reinvent the wheel at each place and in each conflict . . . they often find inspiration elsewhere in the ideas and tactics espoused and practiced by other activists. In short, they play the role of adopters in the cross-national diffusion of movement ideas and tactics."³

'What's in a decade?': Temporality

In order to make sense of these developments in space and time, it is clearly necessary to devise methods to help us with the task of description and to facilitate the ordering and analysis of events and trends.⁴ As Fernand Braudel famously argued, "time sticks to the historian's thinking like soil to a gardener's spade".⁵ However, the range of a decade is too small to apply Braudelian temporal sequences such as the notion of extended time. Our focus lies inevitably on dis-

continuities, caesura and breaks rather than on continuity, "on short-range developments than longer trends".⁶ According to some critics, this abbreviated historical attention span focussed on one decade – the Sixties – inevitably privileges analysis that reduces the past to "a progression of cultural styles".⁷

There must be some kind of unity in the temporal divisions decided upon, even if they remain open to question.⁸ The 'decade' has become a standard convention that is used by historians as a legitimate temporal classification that implies change, a convention that apparently did not exist prior to the 1920s. The label 'Sixties' is based on supposed political, economic, philosophical, literary, artistic and other criteria of homogeneity. One of the main assumptions is that the Sixties have come to designate a series of movements with a similar "ethos".⁹ Even so, treating a period as a whole is clearly one of the weaknesses in devising time categories and always contains the danger of over-simplification. The most emblematic figure in terms of periodising this specific period is the British historian Arthur Marwick who proposed a division into 'low', 'middle' and 'high' subcategories of the decade. Marwick further coined the term "the long Sixties" to describe an era starting in the late 1950s and stretching until the mid-1970s.¹⁰ This idea of an 'expanded decade' is a useful tool when trying to reconcile different dates, as well as their antecedents and aftermaths. Even twenty years before his seminal, albeit problematic, book on the Sixties, Marwick was arguing that

To draw lines between say 1956 and 1957, or 1958 and 1959 and to select one year as the one in which the Cultural Revolution 'began', would be absurd; yet lines have to be drawn somewhere if we are to bring sense to our past and not fall back upon that weariest of all non-historical approaches, the accumulation of large numbers of 'influences' culled from back and forth across large acres of time without any precision in locating where came the critical confluence.¹¹

Just like him, most accounts place the Sixties in the context of earlier progenitors and events. Much more than 1958, however, there is a consensus in dating the beginning of everything to 1956, which is the year of the Soviet invasion of Hungary, Khrushchev's Speech at the twentieth party congress in Moscow which signalled de-Stalinisation, but it is also the year of the publication of Allen Ginsberg's *Howl*, a major paradigm of 1950s alienation and a seminal text for 1960s counterculture. Postcolonial landmarks argue for a different periodisation that starts with the Battle of Algiers and the independence of Ghana in 1957;¹² this year also coincides with Jack Kerouac's *On the Road*. For others the Cuban Revolution of 1959 is the definite beginning of this longer period,¹³ and the American withdrawal from Vietnam and the OPEC-prompted oil crisis of 1973–74 its end.

According to Fredric Jameson, subsequent events such as the liberation of Saigon in 1975 and Mao's death in 1976 could arguably extend this flexible conceptual framework of historical periodisation beyond 1973/74 and the oil crisis, as Marwick proposes.¹⁴ Klimke and Scharloth suggest that the end of this period can be delineated even later: in 1977/78. This period signals the beginning of the downfall of the Red Army Faction (RAF) and the Red Brigades and the end of the respective 'civil wars' in Italy and West Germany. 1977 is also the year of the first democratic

election in Spain in more than 40 years and the second one in Greece after the fall of the Colonels in 1974. Interestingly, chronological frameworks in the US place the end of this era much earlier, in 1969, with the dissolution of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the creation of the Weather Underground and an eye on the countercultural excesses of Woodstock and the dark side of hippyism, condensed in the Manson 'family' murders.

Things are complicated concerning the wonder year, 1968 itself. Accordingly, the 'July events' in Greece and the 'Caputxinada' in Spain that took place in 1965 and 1966 respectively were later dubbed an 'early' '68, the 1974 Carnation Revolution in Portugal and the 1973 Polytechnic uprising in Greece were described as a 'late' one, while 1967 and 1969 were apparently more crucial for West Germany and Italy respectively. In addition, Third World nations, including Brazil, the Central African Republic, Chile, India, Indonesia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan and Thailand experienced major student activism in the 1970s.¹⁵ For all these cases, "1968 appears as the culmination of previous years, or the point of departure for the years to come; it does not follow that the individual movements that went into the making of 1968 necessarily reached their culmination in that year."¹⁶ For that reason, the notion of a 'long '68' or, even better, 'les années 68' has been put forward.¹⁷

In discussing the temporal markers around '68, I find Eleni Varikas's analysis of the ancient Greek division of time particularly useful. Accordingly, whereas *chronos* stands for a temporal sequence referring to a continuous flow of time that "can be measured by the clock", *kairos* "points to a historical time in which each moment contains a unique chance for action, . . . an opportunity that might not recur".¹⁸ '66, '67, '68 or '73 are all characterised by a *hic et nunc* attitude in which they manifested themselves.¹⁹ The social movements that stretched from the mid-60s to the early 70s were poised by 'the time of the now' attitude, a conviction that the moment could not be postponed and a faith in their ability to stop the methodical ticking of the world clock, to paraphrase Walter Benjamin's remark on the French Revolution. Consequently, it is not surprising that those movements did not recognise antecedents or traditions and refused to acknowledge spiritual fathers, near or distant in time. Therefore, notions of a 'longue durée' cycle of protest that lasted for an extended period of time, as implied by the term 'long sixties' or 'les années 68', are useful for a latter-day historical analysis but would hardly be acceptable for protagonists at the time.

"Vietnam is over here!": Territoriality

Another important issue in this context has to do with territoriality. By this term I am referring to the territorial aspect of the movements, the interconnectivity of different geographical units and the absence of a fixed centre. The protest cultures that emerged in France, Germany and Italy were not produced by local dynamics alone, but they were also deeply influenced by the effect of Prague's 'lost' spring in August 1968 and by Third World revolutionism alike. In a similar way, Eastern European youth, such as the Czechoslovak, Polish and Yugoslav ones, had an eye on the West, in what could be termed as a mirror game of *alter egos*. In this way the artificial divide between East and West, based on Cold War political imperatives, was virtually annulled by people's own experiences.

Accordingly, the multifaceted experience of the various '68 movements cannot be regarded as solid reflections of specific national cultures alone. Uprisings in the Eastern bloc acted as a source of inspiration, while third world movements as a revolutionary guide. A certain positive identification emerged among Western students for the repressed 'other'. At the opposite side of the spectrum, most East European movements fantasised about the West as a paradise of individual freedoms, including that of limitless consumption. So, there are two different cultural imaginations concerning the 'other', in a game of cross-identification. The interaction of those elements produced an osmosis which led to the construction of identities that breached the frontiers of East and West. A different narrative was putting in crisis the rigid sets of value systems, questioning the rigidities of Cold War political barriers. Hard subjectivities acquired flexibility, by placing themselves within an imaginary wider context in which they defined themselves in analogy to the other. Students were convinced of the "relationship between the small, the local and the individual on one hand and the planetary level of oppression on the other".²⁰ Todd Gitlin quotes a US activist who remembers that in 1968, "in the middle of Chicago, at the nominating convention of one of America's two major parties, half of us thought we were in Germany and half of us thought we were in Russia." "Or was it Czechoslovakia?", Gitlin adds.²¹

The fact that territory became a 'relative' issue is crucial for this 'imagined community' of protesters: asking for "two, three, many Vietnams" or arguing that "Vietnam is here", as read a graffiti in an Italian factory, implied that local realities did not necessarily matter; that Vietnam as an icon, a situation, a local condition, could be transferred, adopted and adapted.²² This was precisely the nature of *thirdworldism* as a movement, whereby local and geographical specificities weighed little. Other strong projections of the time included Maoist China, Castro's Cuba, Allende's Chile and the short-lived student unrest in Thailand against Kittikachorn's regime, which proved to be particularly influential concerning Greek students. In addition, it is not a coincidence that Che was the absolute icon of this generation, familiar even to Eastern European youth, as he was the very personification of extra-territorialised guerrilla action.²³ The fact that, according to this line of thinking, there was no longer any fixed centre and no peripheries and that the 'anti-capitalist' and 'anti-imperialist' struggle was globalised rendered this sort of political activism quite original. It relativised Cold War institutional-political differentiations, hierarchies and dichotomies, such as the 'iron curtain', the three different world spheres, East-West and North-South barriers and so on.

This was the first global protest movement against an already globalised capitalist world. However, despite the planetary character of the movement, it was far from a homogeneous experience. The difference between protest in Western democracies and that developed in Southern and Eastern European and Latin American countries under authoritarian regimes was stark. In those cases "the demonstrators fought for the basic human and political rights – freedom of speech, assembly, and religion – as well as the fundamental personal and property rights already firmly established in Western Europe and North America".²⁴ In the bipolar world of the Cold War era, deterritorialisation and synchronicity did not cancel national particularities and political specificities, which often determined the outcome of the movements. As Arif Ditlik aptly puts it, "different languages of radicalism arose in different contexts that shared a common vocabulary but derived their grammar from their concrete historicity".²⁵ Similarities in perception, conception

and imaginary do not imply uniformity. Even though geographical barriers were not impenetrable, they often acted as prisms, privileging distortions instead of a clear viewpoint.

Nevertheless, some core ideas permeated all movements. Firstly, the decolonisation processes that had begun in the 1950s had led to the conviction that developments were global and that this was the first global revolution of the twentieth century. This feeling to a large extent exceeded the heterogeneity of opposition movements in several different countries. Secondly, a sense of common generational belongingness dominated the struggle of the youth against authoritarian, hierarchical and illiberal structures in all domains and for conquering their 'right to speak'. Generational consciousness was enhanced in most countries by demographic factors, namely the post-war 'baby-boom' and the massification of the university structures. Thirdly, a new activist trend started to emerge in connection to the liberation movements of the Third World, which regarded violence as a liberating force. This was further developed in the 1970s, with the often uncritical adoption and transplantation of third-world 'guerrilla action' in often entirely disparate contexts.²⁶

An emblematic moment of this heterogeneous global blend was when on 13 June 1968, the BBC brought together student activists from the United States, Japan and Eastern and Western Europe in a television show entitled 'Students in Revolt'. The broadcaster, Robert McKenzie, compared the emergence of a 'student class' to the rise of the working class in the nineteenth century, arguing that in both Western and Eastern Europe student activists were carrying their protest into the larger society, thereby "clearly influencing the political course of history".²⁷ The discussion featured student leaders Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Alain Geismar from France, Tariq Ali from Britain, Karl-Dietrich Wolff and Ekkehart Krippendorff from West Germany, Jan Kavan from Czechoslovakia, Dragana Stavijel from Yugoslavia, Alberto Martín de Hijas from Spain, Luca Meldolesi from Italy, Jashuo Ishii from Japan and Lewis Cole from the US. According to Cohn-Bendit these student leaders were nothing more than *megaphones*, the 'loudspeakers' of a far larger movement that included both members of the young generation and workers. As Klimke and Scharloth note, "all participants agreed that the protest movement had transcended national borders in its attempt to realise an alternative society and world order and, in a remarkable display of this mutual transnational solidarity, rose up and jointly intoned the Communist Internationale in their native tongue at the end of the program".²⁸ This international co-existence clearly indicates that the movement was not only Western and certainly not just European in nature. The global character of these revolts is therefore the major distinction of '68, if juxtaposed with the 1848 revolutions, as is often the case, or the watershed events of 1989.²⁹

The missing link: cultural transfer

What is the missing part and how does everything link, to return to Mercuri's conclusion? What brought these people together in a broadcast that took it for granted that they shared much more than a common age? It was cultural transfer processes that reinforced common references and cross-identification between various movements with different origins and trajectories. By cultural transfer I understand the process whereby imported cultural items are integrated into a

home cultural repertoire, and the consequence generated by this integration.³⁰ Here, the importance of intertextuality is paramount, the hybridity of culture is recognised and its essence as a changing and dynamic instead of a fixed and static entity accounts for its various transformations. This particular transfer not so much of material as of semiotic goods was not something entirely new in the 1960s; rather it was more of a nineteenth-century phenomenon. However, this trend became dominant in the early 1950s with the so-called ‘Americanisation’ of the European youth, through new consumption modes and models, including cinema and music, that acted as common denominators of new collective identities and subcultural trends.³¹

Which were the channels for this transfer? First of all, what the BBC example demonstrates is the importance of mass media. As Cohn-Bendit argues, “we were the first television and mass communication generation and we integrated it into our movement”.³² The fact that ‘68 did not become an *ex post facto* event, but was interpreted as a phenomenon synchronically, while it was actually unfolding, is almost unprecedented. The over-projection of ‘68 by the mass media was a common trend everywhere – in fact, even in the Greek or the Spanish and Portuguese student movements, which were under dictatorship, or the Polish one, under strict censorship, the press was often mesmerised by the strength and dynamism of this new generation. So this is a *generation médiatisée* despite chronotopical or sociopolitical incongruence. The very slogan of protesters “The whole world is watching!” is telling. In fact, probably for the first time an event in Thailand could have a great mediatic influence on a different continent. “The media created transnational and intercultural linkages, giving the ‘1968ers’ the impression that they were part of a united political front.”³³ As a result, new media such as television and older ones, especially radio, became a major tool of mass communication and the dissemination of information, despite the fierce criticism exercised against them by the activists for their alleged sensationalism and manipulation.

Another tool was somehow more traditional: the printed word. According to Primo Moroni and Bruna Miorelli, in the ‘60s and ‘70s “the old eighteenth-century idea of the bookshop as a place of culture” was combined with “the modern one of the market opening on to the street”.³⁴ Many students immersed fully within this climate of intellectual overproduction whereby translations of ideologically ‘unorthodox’ authors such as Rosa Luxemburg, Antonio Gramsci, Guy Debord, Régis Debray and Louis Althusser ruled the way. As Nikos Alivizatos, then a Greek student and now a renowned jurist, put it “you could not date a woman if you hadn’t read Althusser”.³⁵ Additionally, due to the aforementioned lack of a centre, revolutionary ideas from colonies, ex-colonies or protectorates in Africa and Latin America – the “wretched of the earth” – were reaching the metropolises of the industrialised countries of the West.³⁶ Frantz Fanon, Che Guevara and Carlos Marighella were disseminated widely among leftist students of academic institutions such as Columbia University and LSE and the Polish “Open Letter to the Party” by Kuroń and Modzelewski became one of the most widely circulated texts at the Sorbonne.³⁷ This shifted the rules of the power game as well as the receiver and transmitter dynamics that hitherto were linear and one-sided.³⁸

Processes of encoding and decoding a message are quite complex. As Stuart Hall has argued, in the process of decoding a message and retranslating it into social practices, one reserves the right to make a negotiated application to local conditions.³⁹ Here, the linked but distinctive

moments of production, circulation, distribution, consumption and reproduction are crucial. Accordingly, specific cultural logics and distinct social and political circumstances act as filters. As Della Porta has argued, commonalities between movements and the cross-national diffusion of movement ideas often consisted merely of decontextualised fragments that were filtered through specific cultural traditions.⁴⁰ Accordingly, even though the influence of the three Ms (Marx, Mao, Marcuse) or the adoration of Che Guevara were attributed to a common cognitive orientation, the 'uniformisation' of the message did not necessarily imply a uniform reception of it. To paraphrase Stuart Hall, this is "the point where *already coded* signs intersect with the deep semantic codes of a culture and take on additional, more active ideological dimensions" and is accordingly translated to a local 'map of meaning', a 'map of social reality' which has a whole range of social meanings, practices and usages 'written in' to it.⁴¹

Rock music was another issue that linked outward looking youngsters beyond the strictly political level, often merging the personal with the political, the private with the public – a fact that led to freer sexual relationships, not only in Western Europe. Tom Stoppard's outstanding theatre piece *Rock n' Roll* and Milan Kundera's *Unbearable Lightness of Being* convey very strongly this affinity. In the former, the hero is a fanatic collector of foreign music LPs, especially of Pink Floyd and the Velvet Underground, and an emblematic local rock band that reproduced their songs – the Plastic People of the Universe; in the latter we can clearly discern in the protagonists' promiscuity a change in the morals and mores that was taking place in the mid-1960s leading to a radical break with past mentalities, something discernible in films of the period too, like Miloš Forman's *Loves of a Blonde*.⁴² As Bebiano argues discussing the Portuguese case, music, theatre and cinema were the means of constructing a new *Weltanschauung* grounded on a diffused attraction towards 'otherness'.⁴³

The dissemination of information was further facilitated by transnational channels, be it relational or non-relational. Movements communicated with each other through alternative channels and subterranean networks. These processes were facilitated by the increased mobility that characterised the 1960s and 70s, including student – on top of worker – migration, in particular from southern to northern Europe. Studying abroad became a new trend, boosted by politics. A number of Greek and Spanish students went to Italy or France in order to escape the ideological rigidities of the local regimes, while Portuguese youngsters found themselves in Paris in order to avoid conscription to fight a colonial war in Africa. This fact created an *émigré* community of young political refugees with many things in common, including a split attitude between political action abroad and in their home country. Travelling and especially studying abroad was one of the crucial changes that this generation of students underwent compared to previous ones: by 1973, 279,000 foreign students were enrolled in European universities.⁴⁴ It is noteworthy that during the invasion of Prague by Soviet forces in August 1968, 1,500 Czechoslovak students were stranded in Britain.⁴⁵ These students often acted as transmitters of the local stimuli to their homelands.

Another issue of importance in my view is the very conscience of an entire generation of its shared characteristics, including the baby boom, the massive entrance to higher institutions, more open relationships, a rejection of the previous generation's conformity, a fusion between

the private and the public and a critical distance from the 1940s and wartime and postwar hardships.⁴⁶ If these were relative *longue-durée* conditions, there were also short-term ones, such as the spectacular emergence, albeit for a limited period, of the spontaneist *gauchistes*, in contrast to the bureaucratic and rigid "retro-Marxist" Old Left, to quote Paul Berman's typology.⁴⁷ In these 'new social movements' students no longer had to wait for 'revolutionary conditions' to mature but instead could create them themselves by accepting their role as revolutionaries.⁴⁸ Finally, new practices and action repertoires such as communes, teach-ins, sit-ins and occupations, *dé-tournement* and sexual experimentation were all to a greater or lesser extent cultural transfer products from one country to the other. Accordingly, and despite the fact that specific cultural traditions and social and political circumstances acted as filters through which the ideas of other countries were channelled,⁴⁹ an entire palette of tendencies was traversing continents, prompting Cohn-Bendit to conclude in a recent interview: "The global perspective was part of the way we planned our action. We embodied Marshal McLuhan's phrase about the 'Global Village'."⁵⁰

Conclusion

This focus on the cultural transfers that brought about convergences rather than divergences help us from making a fetish out of the 'specific' and the 'exceptional'. And this is precisely, I think, the reason why even though the empirical research and reconstruction of what has taken place in different contexts is important and valuable, cross-examining different countries and underlining their inter-relatedness and the exchanges that are to be found could offer, in my view, an interpretational cue of high value. One has to react against the provincialism of one single national case-study. Eric Hobsbawm is adamant when he says that "historians, however microcosmic, must be for universalism, for all human collectivities necessarily are part of a larger and more complex world".⁵¹ A discussion about the uniqueness of the '68 phenomenon in terms of isolationism would not allow us to discern the extraordinary communications, dialogues, transfers and reflections that enabled the chronological proximity of most movements in the first place and the actual cancellation of geographical barriers. This is why we can safely argue, as Peppino Ortleva reminds us, that the term 'national' is problematic and counterproductive when analysing such movements. In fact, the Sixties in general and 1968 in particular form probably the first political movement of the modern era, which just like pacifism, feminism and environmentalism could be termed "post-national",⁵² given the fact that national identities collided with and became subsumed by international ones. The increased interaction between various parts of the world in terms of protest, facilitated by a growing, globalised media communication infrastructure and a larger realignment of the Cold War world order,⁵³ led to an osmosis whereby cultural transfers and a positive cross-identification between movements acted as catalysts. Unearthing and illustrating this broader range of experience and the various 'links' clears the way for a more dense historiographical analysis of the Sixties on both national and transnational levels.

NOTES

- 1 John Gale, "Melina: What those Colonels told me", *Observer*, 14 April 1968.
- 2 See for example the picture of that event in Tariq Ali and Susan Watkins, *1968. Marching in the Streets*, London: Free Press, 1998, p. 81.
- 3 Doug McAdam and Dieter Rucht, "Cross-national Diffusion of Movement Ideas", *Annals of the American Academy of the Political and Social Sciences* 528 (1993): 56-74 (58).
- 4 David Phillips, "Periodization in Historical Approaches to Comparative Education: Some Considerations from the Examples of Germany and England and Wales", *British Journal of Educational Studies* 42:3 (1994): 261-272 (261).
- 5 Fernand Braudel, *On History*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982, p. 77.
- 6 Jason Scott Smith, "The Strange History of the Decade: Modernity, Nostalgia, and the Perils of Periodisation", *Journal of Social History* 32:2 (1998): 263-285 (264).
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 278.
- 8 Phillips, "Periodization in Historical Approaches".
- 9 This term is used in several testimonies in Simon Brook's documentary *Généralions 68*, France 2008.
- 10 Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c. 1958-c. 1974*, Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998, p. 7. It is important, nevertheless, to note that the idea of the extended decade has been used by several historians prior or parallel to Marwick, even though the term has been popularised by him. See, for example, Carmelo Adagio et al. (eds), *Il lungo decennio: L'Italia prima del 68*, Verona: Cierre Edizioni, 1999. The editors of that volume put the starting date of the 'long sixties' back to 1945. See Belinda Davis, 'What's Left? Popular Political Participation in Postwar Europe', *American Historical Association* 113:2 (2008): 363-390 (365).
- 11 Arthur Marwick, "Room at the Top, Saturday Night and Sunday Morning, and the 'Cultural Revolution' in Britain", *Journal of Contemporary History* 19:1 (1984): 127-152. Here Marwick does not refer to the Chinese Cultural Revolution but to the cultural processes that lie behind the Sixties phenomenon.
- 12 Fredric Jameson, Anders Stephanson, Cornel West, "A Very Partial Chronology", in *Social Text* 3:3 (1984): 210-215.
- 13 According to Tasos Kostopoulos, a periodisation based on the political priorities of the 'Third World' would start with Fidel Castro's entrance to Havana and end with the withdrawal of the last US forces from Vietnam in 1975. See ««Eva. Δύο, Τρία, Πολλά Βιετνάμ!» Σημειώσεις για τα Εθνικοαπελευθερωτικά Κινήματα της Δεκαετίας του '60 στον Τρίτο Κόσμο» [One, Two, Three, Many Vietnam! Notes on the Liberation Movements of the '60s in the Third World], in Fotis Terzakis, Soti Triantafyllou (eds), *Το φάντασμα μιας δεκαετίας* [The ghost of the decade], Athens: Delfini, 1994, pp. 255-416 (258).
- 14 Jameson et al., "A Very Partial Chronology".
- 15 Arif Dirlik, "The Third World in 1968", in Carole Fink et al. (eds), *1968. The World Transformed*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998, pp. 295-317 (296).

- 16 Ibid.
- 17 See Geneviève Dreyfus-Armand, Robert Frank, Marie-Françoise Lévy, Michelle Zancarini-Fournel (eds), *Les années 68: Le temps de la contestation*, Paris: Editions Complexe, 2008.
- 18 Eleni Varikas, ‘The Utopian Surplus’, in *Thesis Eleven* 68:1 (2002): 101–105 (102). As Varika notes, this point echoes Theodor Adorno’s treatise on Walter Benjamin’s notion of *Jetztzeit*.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Luisa Passerini, “Utopia and Desire”, *Thesis Eleven* 68:1 (2002): 11–30 (25).
- 21 Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties. Years of Hope, Days of Rage*, New York: Bantam, 1993, pp. 336–337.
- 22 Peppino Ortoleva, “La sfinge ’68”, in Luigi Bobbio, Francesco Caifaloni, Peppino Ortoleva, Rossana Rossanda and Renato Solmi, *Cinque lezioni sul ’68*, Turin: Dossier di RS, 1987, pp. 37–56 (42).
- 23 According to Tasos Kostopoulos, Che Guevara was “the personification of revolutionary voluntarism and subjectivism, of the conviction that it is the actions of the avant-garde which shape the ‘objective conditions’ and not vice versa, being himself a vehicle of limitless internationalism and a faithful advocate of a logic which declared that ‘the duty of the revolutionary is to bring about the revolution’”. Kostopoulos, «Eva. Δύο, Τρία, Πολλά Βιετνάμ!», pp. 306–307.
- 24 Carole Fink, Philipp Gassert, and Detlef Junker, “Introduction”, in Carole Fink et al (eds), *1968. The World Transformed*, pp. 1–27 (22).
- 25 Arif Dirlik, “The Third World in 1968”, p. 316.
- 26 Peppino Ortoleva, “La sfinge ’68”, pp. 46–47.
- 27 Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth, “1968 in Europe – An Introduction”, in Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth (eds), *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956–77*, New York & London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- 28 Ibid., pp. 1–2.
- 29 Kostas Kornetis, “68: Année Symbolique”, in Ruben and Maja Fawkes (eds), *Revolution, I Love You. 1968 in Art, Politics and Philosophy*, Manchester: Manchester Metropolitan University, 2008, pp. 17–23. Also see Gerd-Reiner Horn and Patrick Kenney, *Transnational Moments of Change: Europe 1945, 1968, 1989*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004.
- 30 Itamar Even-Zohar, “The Making of Culture Repertoire and the Role of Transfer”, *Target* 9:2 (1997): 373–381.
- 31 See Victoria De Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America’s Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 2006.
- 32 “Interview: Daniel Cohn-Bendit”, in Stéphane Aquin and Anna Detheridge (eds), *Global Village: the 1960s*, Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 2003.
- 33 Carole Fink, Philipp Gassert, and Detlef Junker, “Introduction”, pp. 2–3.
- 34 Primo Moroni, Bruna Miorelli, “Storia e problemi della piccola editoria”, *Ombre Rosse* 30 (1979): 93–103. Quoted by Robert Lumley, *States of Emergency. Cultures of Revolt in Italy from 1968 to 1978*, London and New York, 1990, p. 39.
- 35 Konstantinos Kornetis, *Student Resistance to the Colonels Dictatorship: Subjectivity, Memory and Cultural Politics*, unpublished thesis, European University Institute 2006, p. 211.

- 36 Peppino Ortoleva, "La sfinge '68", p. 43.
- 37 Jerzy Eisler, "March 1968 in Poland", in Carole Fink et al. (eds), *The World Transformed*, pp. 237–251 (243).
- 38 Donatella della Porta, "1968: Zwischennationale Diffusion und Transnationale Strukturen". in Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey (ed.), *1968 – Vom Ereignis zum Gegenstand der Geschichtswissenschaft*, Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998, pp. 131–150 (141).
- 39 Stuart Hall, *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972–79*, London: Routledge, 1980, pp. 128–138.
- 40 Della Porta, "1968".
- 41 Stuart Hall, "Encoding, Decoding", in Simon During (ed.), *The Cultural Studies Reader*, London & New York: Routledge, 1993, pp. 507–517 (512–513).
- 42 See Tom Stoppard, *Rock 'n' Roll*, New York 2007, Milan Kundera, *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*, New York: Harper, 1999 and Miloš Forman, *Loves of a Blonde*, Czechoslovakia 1965. See also Timothy Ryback, *Rock Around the Bloc: A History of Rock Music in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union*, Oxford: Oxford UP, 1990.
- 43 Rui Bebiano, *O Poder da Imaginação. Juventude, Rebelião e Resistência nos anos 60*, Coimbra: Angelus Novus 2003. Cited in Miguel Cardina, "Student Protest in the Decay of the Iberian Dictatorships. Portugal and Spain: 1956–1974", unpublished paper, 2007.
- 44 Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried, "Introduction", in Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried (eds), *Between Marx and Coca-Cola. Youth Cultures in Changing European Societies, 1960–1980*, Oxford & New York: Berghahn Books, 2006, pp. 1–35 (26).
- 45 Carole Fink et al., "Introduction", p. 19.
- 46 See Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried, "Introduction".
- 47 Paul Berman, *Power and the Idealists: Or, The Passion of Joschka Fischer, and Its Aftermath*, New York: Soft Scull Press, 2005, pp. 42–28.
- 48 Wilfried Mausbauch, "Historicising '1968'", *Contemporary European History* 2:1 (2002): 177–187 (183).
- 49 Della Porta, "1968", p. 141.
- 50 "Interview: Daniel Cohn-Bendit", in Aquin and Detheridge (eds), *Global Village*. According to McLuhan's vision: "As electrically contracted, the globe is no more than a village. Electric speed at bringing all social and political functions together in a sudden implosion has heightened human awareness of responsibility to an intense degree." Marshal McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, New York: MIT Press, 1994 [1964], p. 5.
- 51 Eric Hobsbawm, "The Historian between the Quest for the Universal and the Quest for Identity", in François Bédarida (ed.), *The Social Responsibility of the Historian*, Oxford & New York: Berghahn Books, 1995, pp. 51–64 (63).
- 52 Ortoleva, "La sfinge '68", p. 41. In fact, Ortoleva suggests that this fact is reinforced by the vast regional, ethnic and cultural differences within each country.
- 53 Klimke and Scharloth, "1968 in Europe – An Introduction".