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Protest Music of the Vietnam War: Description and Classification of Various Protest
Songs

A thesis
presented to
the faculty of the Department of History
East Tennessee State University

In partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
Masters of Arts in History

by
Amanda Carr-Wilcoxson
May 2010

Dr. Elwood Watson, Chair
Dr. Stephen Fritz
Dr. Alison Deadman

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ABSTRACT

Protest Music of the Vietnam War: Description and Classification of Various Protest

Songs

by

Amanda Carr-Wilcoxson

The Vietnam War and subsequent protest movement remains one of the most tumultuous times in U.S. history. This thesis is an attempt to define and describe the protest movement as well as the varied popular protest songs that came from this era. Building on a previous study written by Elizabeth Kizer, this thesis creates sub-categories in which the protest music falls into.

The first two chapters of this study help by giving historical context to the songs by describing the Vietnam War and then the protest movement in the U.S. The final chapter then deals with popular protest songs that appeared on the *Billboard* charts between 1960 and 1969.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Protest Music to the Point of the Vietnam War

The use of songs to persuade the opposing side has a rich history in the United States. Sociologist R. Serge Denisoff wrote extensively about songs of persuasion. In one of his books, *Songs of Protest, War and Peace*, Denisoff details the history of the persuasive song.

Starting with the Revolutionary War, artists wrote exclusively about the correctness of their side. The Revolutionary War produced anti-Tory songs and broadsides. In addition, the Quakers wrote several anti-war hymns due to their religious opposition to war.¹

Francis Scott Key wrote “The Star Spangled Banner” as a patriotic hymn during the War of 1812. The Civil War also brought patriotic songs from both the north and the south. Among the most famous of the patriotic songs to come out of this era was “The Battle Hymn of the Republic” and “Dixie,” both used presently to encourage the listener into patriotic thoughts and actions.²

World War I brought several new persuasive style songs. Irving Berlin wrote the famous patriotic song, “Over There” while John K. Kendrick wrote anti-war hymn “Onward Christian Soldiers.”³ In this song, Kendrick uses irony to establish his anti-war platform.

¹ R. Serge Denisoff, *Songs of Protest, War and Peace: a Bibliography and Discography* (Santa Barbara: American Bibliographical Center-Clio Press, Inc., 1973),xi.

² R Serge Denisoff, *Songs of Protest, War and Peace*, xi.

³ R. Serge Denisoff, *Songs of Protest, War and Peace*, xi.

Onward Christian Soldiers, rip and tear and smite
Let the gentle Jesus bless your dynamite

Onward Christian Soldiers! Duty's way is plain
Slay your Christian neighbors, or by them be slain
Pulpiteers are spouting effervescent swill
God above is calling you to rob and rape and kill,
All your acts are sanctioned by the lamb on high;
If you love the Holy Ghost, go murder, pray and die.⁴

The 1920s brought another form of popular music, Jazz. Youth, for the first time, had expendable money, and musicians catered to the youth culture. Jazz reflected 1920s society by making African American artists more popular. The Harlem Renaissance came into fruition during the 1920s and 1930s and the new African American artists helped make both Jazz and Blues popular musical genres.

A form of protest song that came out of the Harlem Renaissance was the type of song that helps people understand the conditions of African American's in the United States prior to World War II. A famous song in this genre is Billie Holiday's "Strange Fruit." Written as a poem by Jewish teacher Abel Meeropol under the pen name Lewis Allen, "Strange Fruit" is about the lynching of African Americans, all too common after WWI.

Southern trees bear strange fruit
Blood on the leaves and blood at the root
Black bodies swinging in the southern breeze
Strange fruit hanging from the poplar trees⁵

Holliday lent her haunting and beautiful voice to this song that caused people to question the practice of lynching in the south.

The depression also brought a new form of protest music, folk. The songs spoke

⁴ John K. Kendrick, "Onward Christian Soldiers." Quoted in R. Serge Denisoff. *Songs of Protest War and Peace*, Xi.

⁵ Billie Holliday, *Strange Fruit*. Commodore (2) 526.

of poverty and the human condition. These protest songs came from leftist artists such as Woodie Guthrie who wrote about all aspects of the Great Depression. In his song “Dust Bowl Refugee,” Guthrie wrote about the great dust bowl and the way it affected people.

I'm a dust bowl refugee
Just a dust bowl refugee
From that dust bowl to the peach bowl
Now that peach fuzz is a-killin' me⁶

The dust bowl refugees escaped the hardships on failing farms only to find new forms of failure in the west.

In the later part of the 1930s, as Franklin Roosevelt began preparations for WWII, a communist group, the Almanac Singers, formed to write many anti-war songs. On their album *Songs for John Doe*, the group protested the impending war with Europe, President Roosevelt, and other leading figures.⁷ After Pearl Harbor, the same group released an album in support of the war and the president. This new album *Dear Mr. President* included patriotic, pro-war songs including “Round and Round Hitler’s Grave” and “When the Yanks go Marching in.”⁸

The switch in perspective of the Almanac Singers remains a perfect example of the changing attitudes of the American public. Prior to Pearl Harbor, many Americans wanted to avoid another world war, but after the events at Pearl Harbor, public opinion switched. The Almanac Singers illustrate this switch. The songs, first anti-war and pro-war remain some of the most overt examples of music reflecting societal views.

The Cold War began immediately after WWII when once allies Russia and the United States argued over the division of post World War Europe. The United States

⁶ Woodie Guthrie, “Dust Bowl Refugee,” Woodie Guthrie (Dust Bowl Ballads) 1940.

⁷ R. Serge Denisoff, *Songs of Protest, War and Peace*, xii.

⁸ R. Serge Denisoff, *Songs of Protest, War and Peace*, Xii.

along with Britain believed that the war torn nations should adopt capitalism as their new form of government. Russia believed the countries needed the option of communism.

U.S. President Harry Truman attempted to understand the reason behind Russia's want to spread communism. He, along with Russian expert George Keenan, developed the idea that Russia wanted to spread communism as a strategic defense against capitalism. This belief fueled the Cold War for the next fifty years. The U.S. attempted to stop any spread of communism, while Russia attempted to convince any emerging government to adopt it.

America developed socially after WWII as well. The middle class emerged stronger than it had in any part of American history as did the new youth culture. Advertisers literally developed the concept of teenagers in this period. Advertisers focused on this new group and developed products to cater to them. The television also played a huge role in the post-war era, advertising items to the consumer driven society.

Music also changed to reflect the new direction of society. Folk musicians protested the use of Atomic weapons and the Cold War. Musicians took past sounds of rhythm and blues, country, jazz, and folk to create the new Rock and Roll sounds. These sounds catered almost exclusively to the emerging teenage group. Although protest songs are not new to the Vietnam War Protest movement, this era produced more songs in a concentrated amount of time than previous eras.

Historiography of Works on Vietnam Protest Music

To this point, many scholars have written about the rhetorical qualities of protest music in the Vietnam protest movement. R. Serge Denisoff published a body of work on the subject, but many of his works examine the legitimacy of rhetorical analysis but fail

to actually look at the music of the movement. His works examine the lyrics of the songs but only in the context of proving the rhetorical quality of songs.

Several other scholars built on Denisoff's work, and many of these scholars look at the music rhetorically. From the 1970s to the present, Jerome L Rodnitzky writes about the music in the Vietnam Era, starting with the folk movement in his book published in 1976, *Minstrels of the Dawn: The Folk-Protest Singer as a Cultural Hero*.⁹ In this book, Rodnitzky discusses the role of the folk singer in the twentieth century. More recently, Rodnitzky published a journal article "The Sixties between the Microgrooves: Using Folk and Protest Music to Understand American History, 1963-1973."¹⁰ In this article, he offers that using the music of the sixties to define the era is useful but also brings with it another set of problems. He offers that in many cases the songs require historical interpretation. Although this article offers little in actual rhetorical analysis of protest songs, it does assist the reader in analyzing protest music rhetorically.

In the book *Songs of the Vietnam Conflict*, James Perone offers a study on the music of the Vietnam War.¹¹ His study focuses on the protest and pro-war songs of the era. His thesis is that songs of the conflict got progressively more specific as the war became more violent. He offers many examples of anti-war songs, in fact listing nearly all songs classified as war songs. Perone analyzes the songs lyrics but does not include specific lyrics in the work, citing copyright conflicts as his reasoning behind this omission. The book also offers very little historical background to the songs. Perone offers a small chapter of historical context in the beginning of the book and a small

⁹ Jerome L Rodnitzky, *Minstrels of the Dawn: the folk protest singer as a Cultural Hero*(Chicago: Nelson-Hall,1976).

¹⁰ Jerome L Rodnitzky, "The Sixties between the Microgrooves: Using Folk and Protest Music to Understand American History, 1963-1973," *Popular Music and Society* 23 (Winter 1999): 105.

¹¹ James Perone. *Songs of the Vietnam Conflict*(Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 2001).

amount throughout the rest of the book, but as Rodnitzky argues the songs of the era need historical analysis to fully understand them.

In her study “Protest Song Lyric as Rhetoric,” Elizabeth J. Kizer assesses the rhetorical value of protest music, much like the defining work of Denisoff.¹² However, she takes it further than Denisoff’s work by applying varying methods to actually study the lyrics rhetorically. In this study, she places protest music into two divisions of rhetoric, deliberative and epideictic. She defines the deliberative rhetoric as being concerned with whether or not to take action against the current problems. The deliberative songs tell of the good that action against evils will accomplish or conversely, the ill if action is not taken. Kizer describes epideictic rhetoric is concerned with censuring or praising specific events or people. Epideictic songs do not propose specific changes but rather offer social commentary. Kizer’s work gives the reader many directions to look at protest music but offers little analysis of specific songs. She categorizes some songs but does not discuss the songs in a historical context.

Research Question and Methodology

This study is an attempt to build onto the research of both James Perone and Elizabeth Kizer who both attempt different things. In this study I intend to put the two works together by drawing a bridge between the two. First, this study will address the lack of historical perspective in the study of the protest songs. The first chapter of this thesis is a historical account of the Vietnam War and in later chapters, includes the analysis of the songs. The second chapter is a historical account of the anti-war movement, focusing on campus movements.

¹² Elizabeth Kizer, “Protest Song Lyrics as Rhetoric” *Popular Music and Society*. v9 issue 1. (January 1983): 3.

In addition to historical context, this study provides a categorizing of the songs, which Perone's study lacks. It builds on Kizer's article by sub-categorizing the songs. Although helpful in initially understanding protest music as a whole, to simply categorize the anti-war songs as deliberative or epideictic leaves out a lot of the subtlety of the protest music. In an attempt to include the rhetorical qualities of the total of the protest songs, sub-categories created address specific questions relating to both the deliberative rhetorical and the epideictic rhetorical songs. In the case of the deliberative songs, the question asked to identify the sub-categories is, what should be done to stop the war? For the epideictic songs, the question asked is, why is the war bad?

The songs chosen for this study show the lasting impression of the protest music of the Vietnam era as many remain popular to contemporary listeners. The songs included are those with an anti-war message that made the Billboard Charts "Hot 100" from 1960 to 1969. Included are both the overt anti-war songs and those whose lyrics were adapted by the listener to reflect anti-war sentiments. All songs presented in the Hot 100 with an anti-war message are included in this study.

The third chapter of this thesis starts the analysis of the song lyrics, attempting to place all the songs within the deliberative and epideictic categories, to prove Kizer's research. Then in an attempt to further understand the lyrics, the songs are subcategorized into manageable data fields, which help understand the methods that protest song lyricists used. The central question of this study is, to what extent do the lyrics of the songs presented through Billboard fit into Kizer's work and then into definitive subcategories suggested by this study and also what historical perspective the songs present? In short, do the lyricists of the protest songs follow patterns or are their songs random?

To address this question, historical analysis of the era in the first chapters combine with analysis of the lyrics presented in the selected songs. The songs are analyzed both historically and lyrically to find how songs of the era reflect the feelings of those in the protest movement and the actions of the war itself.

CHAPTER 2

A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF THE VIETNAM WAR

The Vietnam War is a controversial and complicated topic. To fully understand the protest movement in the United States, one must understand the events of the war. The purpose of this chapter is to give an account of the major events of the Vietnam War from its beginnings after WWII to the time when U.S. troops pulled out. This chapter is meant to be a historical account of the major events of the war, but by no means it an all encompassing history of the Vietnam War. Instead, many of the events described either signify change in military tactics or in intensity of the war.

The Beginnings of the War to 1965

In World War II, Nazi Germany invaded France, who held Vietnam as one of its colonies. In protecting itself, France was unable to focus on the protection of Vietnam. Japan occupied French Indochina, which included Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. In this time of occupation, the Viet Minh, a communist led group of Vietnamese, emerged as an expression of Vietnamese nationalism.¹³ After Japan's surrender, the Viet Minh continued as the controlling group in Vietnam.¹⁴

In September 1945, Ho Chi Minh, leader of the Viet Minh, declared independence of the Vietnamese people, renaming the country the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). France did not want to grant Vietnam its independence, so attempted to regain control.¹⁵

¹³ Gary Hess, *Presidential Decisions For War: Korea, Vietnam, and the Persian Gulf*(Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001),76.

¹⁴ Hess, *Presidential Decisions For War*, 76.

¹⁵ Hess, *Presidential Decisions for War*, 76.

In the ensuing war between France and the Viet Minh, the United States intervened on behalf of the French in the form of monetary and weaponry aid. The war between France and the DRV ended at Dien Bien Phu in May 1954 with the defeat of the French. At the resulting conference at Geneva, the major powers came to an agreement that ended the war. Due to this conference, France lost control of Indochina. The conference granted Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia independence but divided Vietnam at the seventeenth parallel. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam controlled the North, while the French controlled the South. Reunification elections were to be held in 1956, which would put Vietnam together under one government.¹⁶

The United States government feared the results of the reunification elections, as the DRV leader Ho Chi Minh had a large following in both sections of Vietnam. As a result, the United States committed itself to the establishment and support to the Republic of Vietnam otherwise known as Southern Vietnam, led by Ngo Dinh Diem. Diem who was anti-communist had few Vietnamese supporters and needed the support of the United States to maintain power.¹⁷

Toward the end of the 1950s, the communist led force known as the Viet Cong challenged the authority of the Diem government in the South. The Viet Cong began to gain support in rural areas of the South. Support came to the Viet Cong from Ho Chi Minh's government in the form of supplies through a system of paths that led through the South. This path became known as the Ho Chi Minh Trail and became important in the later parts of the war.¹⁸

By 1961, the American effort began to lose control, so President John F. Kennedy

¹⁶ Hess, *Presidential Decisions for War*, 77.

¹⁷ Hess, *Presidential Decisions for War*, 77.

¹⁸ Hess, *Presidential Decisions for War*, 77.

increased the number of advisors from six hundred in 1960 to sixteen thousand in 1963. Despite this increase in advisors, Kennedy rejected introduction of direct military support in Vietnam. Diem's government continued to lose support amongst not just the Viet Cong but also with the Buddhist community. After Diem suppressed the Buddhist protests in Saigon, Hue, and other Buddhist led cities, the American government believed that new leadership was necessary in South Vietnam to stabilize the government. With the support of American government, General Duong Van Minh and supporters overthrew the Diem government. The overthrowing forces assassinated Diem in early November 1963.¹⁹

After Kennedy's assassination, President Johnson wanted to switch the focus of Vietnam from one of advisement to one of military. Johnson approved a covert expansion of military force in Vietnam. Due to Johnson's new military view of Vietnam, he supported another military coup in January 1964, which brought power to General Nguyen Khanh. Johnson fully supported Khanh and promised to give him essential aid against North Vietnam.²⁰

As Johnson faced a growing number of critics, an incident in the Gulf of Tonkin helped the majority of the American public support the efforts in Vietnam. On 2 August 1964, three North Vietnamese patrol boats fired on the U.S. destroyer *Maddox* in the Gulf of Tonkin. The *Maddox* returned fire, and with an aircraft carrier *Ticonderoga* sunk one of the patrol boats and damaged the other two.²¹

Johnson, along with other government officials drafted a warning to the government of North Vietnam, which warned against any further unprovoked attack on U.S. military forces. Johnson also sent another destroyer, the *C. Turner Joy*, to join the

¹⁹ Hess, *Presidential Decisions for War*, 78.

²⁰ Hess, *Presidential Decisions for War*, 82-83.

²¹ Hess, *Presidential Decisions for War*, 85.

Maddox in its patrols of the Gulf of Tonkin.²²

On August 4 the North Vietnamese seemingly engaged in another unprovoked attack. The *Maddox* reported that radar detected surface vessels and aircraft in the area and feared attack. The *Ticonderoga* sent fighter aircraft to the area, but the *Maddox* reported that the aircraft left the radar area, and the vessels were now far away from the area.²³

Johnson and his advisors responded to this threat with a retaliatory strike against North Vietnam. The incident at the Gulf of Tonkin resulted in the first use of direct military power. The resulting Gulf of Tonkin Resolution gave President Johnson full authority to take any necessary measures against threats in Vietnam and committed the United States to the protection of the people of South Vietnam.²⁴

This escalation of the war had popular approval, as people feared the events in the Gulf of Tonkin. The incidents of those two nights were controversial but they gave Johnson the necessary measures to increase the war in Vietnam from advisory to direct military power.

The Escalation of the War: 1965-1968

After the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, President Johnson could use any military force that he saw was necessary to keep North Vietnam and the Viet Cong from taking control of the South. As discussed in the previous chapter, the concept of the domino effect kept the United States involved in distant war. Johnson and his cabinet feared that if Vietnam fell to communism, the rest of the area would shortly follow.

In spite of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution and the fear of the spreading of

²² Hess, *Presidential Decisions for War*, 85.

²³ Hess, *Presidential Decisions for War*, 85.

²⁴ Hess, *Presidential Decisions for War*, 86.

communism, Johnson moved cautiously. However, the start of 1965 saw several significant events that caused a drastic escalation of the war.

On January 9 a civilian group led by Premier Troung Van Huong overthrew the military government in South Vietnam. The new government stayed in power for only eighteen days when the militarily controlled General Nguyen Khanh again overthrew it.²⁵

These quick coups rightfully worried the American government since they showed how unstable the government remained in South Vietnam. As these large changes in South Vietnamese government continued to take place, the people of South Vietnam looked to the relative stability of Ho Chi Minh's government in the North.

On February 7 the Viet Cong dynamited the American barracks at Pleiku and bombed a nearby U.S. airbase. The attacks prompted quick action by Johnson and his cabinet, and within ten hours the military began a massive bombing campaign in the North.²⁶ This time, Johnson planned a long sustained bombing campaign, not the short retaliatory measure taken after the Gulf of Tonkin incident.

However, another coup took place in South Vietnam that slowed official retaliations down for the American government. In this Coup, the Khanh government toppled in favor of another civilian government led by Dr. Phan Huy Quat.²⁷

After the turmoil of this coup, the United States launched Operation Rolling Thunder on March 2, 1965. Operation Rolling Thunder was a massive bombing campaign set to last for the next eight weeks, but as the campaign seemingly failed after this period, the Americans responded by increasing the amount of time and tonnage.

After President Nixon signed a cease-fire in 1973, the United States dropped triple the

²⁵ Hess, *Presidential Decisions for War*, 90.

²⁶ Hess, *Presidential Decisions for War*, 91.

²⁷ Hess, *Presidential Decisions for War*, 91.

amount of tonnage dropped in Europe, Asia, and Africa in World War II.²⁸

Rolling Thunder marked a milestone in American involvement in the war. The increase in firepower required an increase in troops. The first soldiers sent into Vietnam in this period were to guard the air bases, but shortly, the military deployed a ground force. A major characteristic for the middle part of the Vietnam War is the great increase in the number of armed forces sent into the country from the United States. In April 1965, Johnson approved an increase of 18,000 to 20,000 men. Another troop increase in June 1965 brought the military force to 74,000. By the end of 1965, Washington claims a total of 148,300 troops in Vietnam.²⁹ By December 1966 troops increase to a total of 389,000.³⁰ At the same time, the Viet Cong increase their troop power in South Vietnam to 282,000.³¹ In January 1967, President Johnson increases the ceiling on the amount of troops to 525,000.

Another major change in this period of the war was the Tet Offensive. The Tet Offensive remains one of the most recognizable actions of the Vietnam War. On January 31, 1968, during a cease-fire imposed by the North Vietnamese due to the Tet holiday, the Viet Cong attacked several significant urban centers. In total, the Viet Cong simultaneously attacked forty-four provincial capitals, sixty-four district capitals, and five major South Vietnamese cities. In Saigon, the Viet Cong attacked the U.S. embassy, thought to be impenetrable and a major symbol of U.S. strength in South Vietnam.³²

U.S. troops stopped the attacks in all but one city within two weeks, but the Viet

²⁸ Stanley Karnow, *Vietnam A History: The First Complete Account of the Vietnam War*(Penguin Books,1984),415.

²⁹ Allan R.Millett ed., *A Short History of the Vietnam War*(Indiana University Press, 1978),146.

³⁰ Millett, *A Short History*, 147.

³¹ Millett, *A Short History*, 146.

³² Robert Mann, *A Grand Delusion: America's Descent into Vietnam*(New York: Basic Books,2001),572.

Cong held a stronghold in Hue. Eventually the Viet Cong lost this control but not until both sides sustained heavy losses.³³ Although portrayed as a military victory by the U.S. government, the American people did not feel the same. The public saw the simultaneous attacks as a symbol of how strong the North Vietnamese force remained. Prior to Tet, President Johnson and his military officials spoke of the waning strength of the Northern forces, but Tet showed that the North remained willing to fight at all costs.

The Withdrawal and End of the War: 1969-1975

As President Nixon took control of the Vietnam War, he did many seemingly conflicting things. Throughout Nixon's campaign, he staunchly defended the presence of American troops throughout Southeast Asia. Of the previous policies in Vietnam Nixon stated: "Whatever one may think of the 'domino theory' it is beyond question that without commitment in Vietnam, Asia would be a far different place today."³⁴ However, by 1969, Nixon realized that the war in Vietnam must end. Nixon believed that the war was a divisive force that tore the country apart.³⁵ Nixon also believed that failure of South Vietnam was inevitable if the United States abruptly withdrew troops.

Nixon attempted to intimidate North Vietnam with the threat of massive retaliation. Nixon, using his image as a firm anti-communist, sent word to the North Vietnamese government that he would take any measure to prevent the spread of communism. He told one of his advisors, "They'll believe any threat of force Nixon makes because he is Nixon. We'll just slip the word to them that, 'for God's sake, you know Nixon's obsessed about communism. . . And he has his hand on the nuclear

³³ Mann, *A Grand Delusion*, 572.

³⁴ Richard M. Nixon, "Asia After Vietnam," *Foreign Affairs*, 46 (October 1967): 111.

³⁵ George Herring, *America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam 1950-1975* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, inc., 1979), 218-219.

button.”³⁶

Consequently, to prove that he would take measures that Johnson would not, Nixon began a bombing campaign in Cambodia. Over the next fifteen months, the United States dropped more than 100,000 tons of bombs on Cambodia in efforts to cripple the North Vietnamese capacity to attack the South. The operation, dubbed MENU, was kept from the American public.³⁷

At the start of 1969 the number of troops in Vietnam reached its highest at 541,000, but shortly after this, President Nixon began the process of slow withdrawal. In June 1969, Nixon announced the withdrawal of 25,000 troops. In September he announced the withdrawal of another 35,000 men. Again in December Nixon announced another withdrawal of 50,000 troops.³⁸

In July 1969 Nixon imposed a “go-for-broke” strategy in Vietnam, designed to end the war either by negotiations or by force.³⁹ Nixon sent word to Ho Chi Minh of his desire for peace but warned that if there was no progress by 1 November that he would resort to force. On Nixon’s orders, a top secret National Security Council met to discuss plans for retaliation. This planned retaliation included bombing attacks on major cities, a blockade of ports, and use of nuclear weaponry in controlled situations. To ensure that North Vietnam knew of the proposed retaliation, Nixon leaked word to newsmen of the plan.⁴⁰

The plan had no effect on North Vietnam, but they did agree to meet with Henry Kissinger in secret meetings outside Paris. North Vietnamese Diplomat Xuan Thuy

³⁶ Herring, *America’s Longest War*, 221.

³⁷ Herring, *America’s Longest War*, 221.

³⁸ Millett, *A Short History*, 130.

³⁹ Herring, *America’s Longest War*, 223.

⁴⁰ Herring, *America’s Longest War*, 223.

responded to Kissinger's threats that North Vietnam would only negotiate once Nixon withdrew all American troops from Vietnam.⁴¹

Nixon's overall tactic in dealing with the war in Vietnam was to increase Vietnamization-the gradual decrease of American troops in an effort to turn the war over to the South Vietnamese- with tactics of increasing violence, hesitant in Johnson's administration. Due to these tactics, Nixon ordered secret bombing of enemy supply lines in Cambodia in 1969.⁴²

Vietnamization remained a controversial issue. American advisors worked to train the South Vietnamese forces. In addition to training, the U.S. government gave the South Vietnamese soldiers weapons, ships, and vehicles in order to assure success. Most people agreed that Vietnamization was a success by working to place the war in the hands of the South. Conversely, some American officials realized the administration over-exaggerated some of the statistics to put a positive spin on Vietnamization.⁴³

In March 1970 Nixon announced another withdrawal of 150,000 troops in an effort to stop budding protest rallies to end the war.⁴⁴ On the other hand, there was no progress at the Paris Peace talks, so many within the anti-war movement recognized that the end of the war was not coming soon enough.

Fighting continued in Vietnam, leading to both sides increased exhaustion. In spring of 1972, the North Vietnamese launched the first major offensive since Tet. North Vietnam attacked the South Vietnam's northern area, leading to massive amounts of violence between the two groups. The Easter offensive also led to Nixon's resumption of

⁴¹ Herring, *America's Longest War*, 224.

⁴² Hess, *Presidential Decisions for War*, 149.

⁴³ Herring, *America's Longest War*, 227.

⁴⁴ Herring, *America's Longest War*, 228.

bombing in North Vietnam. Eventually, the South Vietnamese regained control of the seized cities, but not without high loss of moral.⁴⁵

The previously unsuccessful attempts at peace talks bothered Nixon, so he made every attempt to make the North and South come to terms. In one of these attempts, Nixon launched massive bombing on the North. Known as the Christmas bombing, in a twelve day period, the military dropped more than 36,000 tons of bombs, which exceeded the total amount dropped from 1969-1971.

Finally American-North Vietnamese negotiators reached an agreement in Paris towards the end of 1972. The South Vietnamese government attempted to stop the settlement since it compromised their freedom, but in the end America forced the agreement on the South. The South had no bargaining power since it was unable to secure a military victory.⁴⁶

The agreement allowed for the withdrawal of the remaining U.S. troops but not the South Vietnamese soldiers. The agreement also recognized the Thieu government in the South but also recognized the People's Revolutionary Government (formerly the NLF) in the North. It also introduced a complicated process to establish a unified South Vietnamese government and included references to an eventual reunification of the whole country. Both sides established a cease-fire on 21 January 1973. Two years later, the North Vietnamese launched an attack on South Vietnam effectively reunifying the government under communist control.⁴⁷

Summary of the Vietnam War

As stated earlier, the preceding explanation is not intended as a complete account

⁴⁵ Hess, *Presidential Decisions for War*, 149.

⁴⁶ Hess, *Presidential Decisions for War*, 150.

⁴⁷ Hess, *Presidential Decisions for War*, 150.

of the Vietnam War but rather as an account of the important events. The events described such as the Tonkin Gulf incident expanded the war greatly by allowing President Johnson the ability to expand the war with little congressional input. Other events described change the tactics of the war like Operation Rolling Thunder and the Tet Offensive, both which expanded military tactics.

The war itself started slowly with advisory positions in the beginning under the supervision of President Kennedy to all out war under President Johnson. As President Nixon took over, the war began to look as though it would continue indefinitely. As Nixon faced the possibility of a loss in Vietnam, he continued to hold out hope for an agreement between North and South Vietnam. The eventual agreement allowed the American forces to leave South Vietnam, but eventually the communist North gained control of the Southern Vietnamese government.

CHAPTER 3

A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF THE PROTEST MOVEMENT

The Vietnam protest movement in the United States remains one of the most controversial movements in American History. The protesters believed the war was wrong and that the United States should not be involved. The people who supported the war saw the protesters as disruptions to government. In an effort to better understand the protest movement through popular songs; this chapter is an attempt to describe the major movements of the protest groups. Much like the proceeding chapter, this is not meant to provide an entire history of the protest movement but rather describes the events and people who provided a shift in importance and tactics for the anti-war movement.

Early Seeds of the Movement to 1965

Protest of the Vietnam War started as slow as the commitment to the War itself. Many early protestors focused not on the Vietnam War but of the fear of nuclear war in general. The Cold War began to take prescience in American minds after World War II, and the protestors of the time reflected the fears. The roots of protest began slowly in part due to the Cold War scare itself. Senator Joseph McCarthy stated that he had a list of known communists working in the U.S. government on February 9, 1950, and began a movement in the U.S. where anyone expressing himself as different from the norm became identified as a communist or communist sympathizer.⁴⁸

Many people who sympathized with protest movements saw this as a major deterrent for speaking against perceived injustice. Despite this deterrent, people did speak out and protest beginning with workers rights and with the African American struggle for

⁴⁸ Robert Mann, *A Grand Delusion*, 30.

equality. As people began to protest these issues and joining protest movements became more acceptable, the anti-Vietnam movement began to take hold.

On 15, June 1955, the United States government simulated a nuclear attack called “Operation Alert.” The government implemented its emergency plans to battle a nuclear attack including evacuation of Bangor, Maine, invocation of Martial Law and financial plans to distribute money to the survivors.⁴⁹ This simulation expressed the growing concern of the United States in the battle against communism and the Cold War.

It also expresses the growing number of people willing to protest the use of nuclear technology. While people took shelter as part of “Operation Alert”, a small group of protestors refused to participate in the drill and instead gathered in City Hall Park in New York City. Police arrested twenty-eight protesters and found nineteen guilty of violation the state’s civil defense laws.⁵⁰ Although this was a small protest, it showed that not all citizens feared the stigma of being labeled a communist in the McCarthy era of politics. 1960s protest groups formed to speak against the use of nuclear weaponry. These groups eventually switched their focus from nuclear power to the war in Vietnam, although this change was slow.

In 1963 a divide amongst U.S. citizens began to become evident. As Mme Nhu, a representative of the South Vietnamese Diem government, toured the United States, students on college campuses split between pro-war and anti-war. The Universities of Michigan and Chicago reacted with silent picketing. Harvard and Princeton also protested Mme Nhu’s presence with louder demonstration. Conversely, students at Fordham and

⁴⁹ Charles DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal: The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam Era*(Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990),9.

⁵⁰ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 13.

Georgetown cheered Mme Nhu and labeled her as a “fighting lady.”⁵¹

As President Lyndon Johnson took over after the assassination of Kennedy, many Americans were not even aware of the United States involvement in Vietnam. A pole of American people showed that one in four Americans did not know the United States was involved in fighting in Vietnam, two of the three paid no attention to the policies of Vietnam, and the other twenty-five percent showed a preference for the American policies of resistance to communism.⁵²

Due to this lack of knowledge, the anti-war groups were able to develop their ideas with very little resistance. These groups of people with varying backgrounds perfected their arguments against the war and developed into well-formed groups who withstood the later backlash against them.

As late as 1965, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), youth group of the Socialist Workers Party, paid “no special attention to Vietnam.”⁵³ Although this is only one of the groups that became active in the anti-war movement as the war proceeded, it shows that Vietnam remained an unimportant issue to some protest groups.

Another group that later became important in the Vietnam War movement, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) met in late 1965. Todd Gitlin, SDS’s co-point man on international issues proposed that the organization write an anti-draft statement to protest America’s involvement in Vietnam. Gitlin felt that Vietnam needed attention, but his focus remained on anti-nuclear goals. Gitlin’s proposal failed to gain support of the organization. In the same meeting however, Jim Brook, a member of SDS proposed an

⁵¹ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 91.

⁵² DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 93.

⁵³ Tom Wells, *The War Within: America’s Battle over Vietnam*(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994),13.

anti-war march. At the time of his proposal, many members of the SDS objected to the march. Brook re-proposed the march later in the evening when many of the members were out of the room and the proposal passed.⁵⁴

The platform of the march according to the SDS was that the United States should get out of the Vietnam War. “SDS advocates that the U.S. get out of Vietnam for the following reasons: (a) the war hurts the Vietnamese people, (b) the war hurts the American people, and (c) SDS is concerned about the Vietnamese and American people.”⁵⁵ SDS attempted to make the platform universal for other protest groups in order to gain as much support from peers as possible.

This attempt did not work as planned since many other peace groups including SANE, Student Peace Union, Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, Turn Towards Peace and several others did not respond to the SDS invitation to participate in the march. These groups resented SDS and the march for a few reasons, one of which was the failure of the platform to propose alternative policies in Vietnam.⁵⁶

Another reason that these groups did not want to participate in the march was SDS’s acceptance of communist organizations into the march. In the increased Cold War climate and anti-communist fears in the U.S., the non-socialist protest groups felt that they would lose credibility with their argument if they allowed communist group participation.⁵⁷

One of the major forms of protest in this early period of the anti-war movement was the use of “teach-ins” on campuses across the United States. The University of

⁵⁴ Wells, *The War Within*, 14.

⁵⁵ Wells, *The War Within*, 14.

⁵⁶ Wells, *The War Within*, 17.

⁵⁷ Wells, *The War Within*, 17.

Michigan held the first of the teach-ins, but after its success many Universities followed suit. In this teach-in members of the faculty organized an overnight debate as a means to prevent a faculty strike against the war. On 24-25 March 1965 over 3,000 students and faculty met to participate in lectures, debates, and discussions about the United States involvement in the war. The next morning 600 members of this group remained to conclude the event.⁵⁸

This teach-in received national attention, and the next day Columbia University staged its own teach-in with 2,500 participants. By the end of the school year, 120 schools participated in similar events.⁵⁹

The largest of the teach-ins held was at the University of California in Berkeley. Organized by two graduate students, more than thirty-thousand people participated in the thirty-six hour debate, with more than twelve thousand participants at one time.⁶⁰

Obviously, not all students participated in these events, and in fact, many students showed their support for the president and his policies in Vietnam. At Kent State, 150 pro-war students stood up to a small number of protesters. Also at a teach-in held at the University of Wisconsin, 6,000 students signed a letter upholding the president.⁶¹

The events of the teach-ins fueled interest in the SDS march scheduled for April. Even the groups that originally did not respond to the invitation by the SDS now expressed interest. On 17 April 1965, twenty thousand people gathered at the Washington Monument. Most of the participants were students, but some were adults. The Communist Party members marched under their official banner that they had not used

⁵⁸ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 108.

⁵⁹ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 108.

⁶⁰ Wells, *The War Within*, 24.

⁶¹ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 108.

since Senator Joseph McCarthy introduced the Red Scare.⁶²

SDS president James Potter closed the events with his famous speech. In this speech Potter argues that the war “has provided the razor, the terrifying sharp edge that has finally severed the last vestige of illusion that morality and democracy are the guiding principles of American foreign policy.” “What kind of system” allowed “good men” to work such evil? “We must name that system. We must name it, describe it, analyze it, understand it and change it.”⁶³

Among the people who attended the march were folksingers Judy Collins, Joan Baez, and Phil Ochs. Collins sang, *The Times they are A-Changing*. Other speeches given in the march were by Senator Gruening, who called for immediate bombing halt and peace negotiations. Members marched down the Mall singing “We Shall Overcome” to the steps of the capital. Here they offered their proposals for exiting Vietnam from immediate withdrawal to peace negotiations. The march broke up quietly late in the afternoon.⁶⁴

This march marks the first of many through the Vietnam era and signifies a change in the perspective of protest groups and artists alike. Artists such as the ones that attended the concert switched their priorities from a general interest in nuclear weaponry and an end to the Cold War to the specific battle for the end of Vietnam.

An Escalation of the Movement: 1965-1968

The Gulf of Tonkin resolution marks a significant point in the history of the Vietnam War, and it received an almost unanimous vote in congress. Following the resolution, Johnson won the new presidential election against Barry Goldwater by a near

⁶² Wells, *The War Within*, 25.

⁶³ Wells, *The War Within*, 24.

⁶⁴ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 112.

landslide. These events show that anti-war sentiment remained somewhat dormant in the period proceeding 1965. However, as troop levels increased, so too did the number of dissenters. After Tet the anti-war movement exploded as more Americans concluded that the war was not going the way that military officials reported.

The differing types of anti-war groups divided themselves in this period. Many members of one type of group did not want any association with other types. For example, many groups did not want any association with the communist groups for fear that the association would remove validity from their arguments. Each of these larger groups held its own set of beliefs as well as its own agenda. To understand these varying agendas is to understand the protest movement as a whole. The groups that emerged in this time period generally fell into three categories: (1) the liberals and left-liberals, including groups like SANE and Americans for Democratic Action (ADA); (2) the radical left, including groups such as SDS and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA); and (3) the new pacifists featuring the War Resisters League (WRL), Committee for Non-Violent Action (CNVA), the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Women's Strike for Peace (WSP), and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC).⁶⁵

The left-liberals generally wanted to protest the Cold War in general and saw protest of the Vietnam War as unavoidable in the attainment of their overall goals. They generally held firm to the non-violent form of protest and feared more radical groups.⁶⁶

The radical left believed that the war in Vietnam was a struggle against American

⁶⁵ Adam Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts: The Origins and Impact of the Vietnam Antiwar Movement* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 67-68.

⁶⁶ Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts*, 68.

imperialism. They believed that the system of government in America was the true evil and gave the system the name Amerika. This referred loosely to German fascism, and sometimes they substituted the k with a swastika to tie the two government systems together. The goals of the radical left included the exposure of the American capitalist system's failure. They wanted to revolutionize the American government. They also believed that the use of violent means was necessary to meet their goals. This group held disdain for the left-liberals and SDS and SANE publicly fell out in the early part of the protest movement and SDS referred to SANE as "the pink bourgeoisie."⁶⁷

The new pacifists partially believed in the Marxist philosophy but did not adhere to the Marxist solutions. They believed that capitalism was not the cause of the Vietnam War and the problems surrounding it, but rather that capitalism was a symptom of a larger problem. The new pacifists found that violence in general was the true issue and that capitalism led to this violence. The pacifists did not believe that the Vietcong were correct in their plight, unlike those of the radical left. However, the new pacifists often joined forces with the radical left due to similarities in their ideologies.⁶⁸

In October 1965 protest groups arranged the first successful wide range protest. Called The International Days of Protest, nearly a hundred thousand people participated from eighty cities and several nations. In Madison, Wisconsin, officials arrested eleven protesters after they attempted a citizen's arrest on the commander of the nearby air force base. In New York City, three hundred protesters gathered outside the armed forces induction center on Whitehall Street while twenty-two year old David Miller burned his

⁶⁷ Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts*, 68-69.

⁶⁸ Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts*, 70.

draft card, the first open defiance of the draft.⁶⁹ FBI officials retrieved the remains of the card and later used it as evidence to send Miller to prison for two years.⁷⁰

Later, in November, a few pacifist groups supported the New York City draft burning ceremony. With fifteen hundred supporters, five members dressed in suits silently attempted to burn their draft cards on a platform at Union Square. Before they could light their cards, a war supporter dashed the stage and employed a fire extinguisher to put out the flame. Eventually, the protesters accomplished their task while supporters of the war chanted pro-war slogans.⁷¹

A monumental event in 1965 helped shape the anti-war movement for the following years. Herbert Aptheker, leader in the American Communist party and head of the American Institute for Marxist Studies in New York, arranged a trip for himself, Staughton Lynd, and SDS member Tom Hayden to Hanoi. This was the first of such trips since prior to this the Vietnamese government forbade protest groups and members admittance into the country.⁷² After this trip, many other members of the protest movement followed suit, most notably Jane Fonda and her participation with FTA (Fuck the Army).

At the end of 1965 the liberal group SANE planned a march on Washington scheduled for 27 November. The purpose of the demonstration was to urge the government of both the United States and North Vietnam to a cease-fire and a bombing halt. SANE also wanted to open negotiations amongst all parties.⁷³

In an attempt to gain as much support as possible, SANE included the radical

⁶⁹ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 125.

⁷⁰ Wells, *The War Within*, 57.

⁷¹ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 129.

⁷² Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts*, 83.

⁷³ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 131.

activists but did not allow these groups any leadership roles. SANE also ignored the radical demands of immediate withdrawal of troops but did not prohibit signs stating this agenda. The radical activists felt put off but recognized the effort made by SANE to bring the conflicting groups together. The radical activists also suspected that Martin Luther King Jr. would align himself with SANE in efforts to bring the civil rights movement and the antiwar movement together. The radical groups recognized that King was a powerful ally in the antiwar movement regardless of his specific beliefs within the movement.⁷⁴

On 27 November thirty thousand people circled the White House and then went to the Washington Monument for speeches and songs. SANE scheduled mostly liberal speakers including Dr. Benjamin Spock and Coretta Scott King, but in an effort to draw a younger crowd, they allowed radical SDS president Carl Oglesby time.⁷⁵

Unfortunately for SANE, Oglesby's speech drew the most applause. Oglesby spoke against the liberal left and blamed the liberals for the war.

The original commitment in Vietnam was made by President Truman, a mainstream liberal. It was seconded by President Eisenhower, a moderate liberal. It was intensified by the late President Kennedy, a flaming liberal. . . We have become a nation of young, bright-eyed, hard-hearted, slim-wasted, bullet-headed make out artists, a nation-may I say it?-of beardless liberals.⁷⁶

After the march, the radical activists publicly attacked the tactics of liberal groups. They believed that liberals would not accomplish anything in the movement against the war as long as they continued their anti-communist policies.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 131.

⁷⁵ Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts*, 80.

⁷⁶ Quoted in Fred Halstead, *Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War*(New York: Monad, 1978), 115.

⁷⁷ Garfinkle, *Telltale Hearts*, 81.

President Johnson ordered a bombing halt on 24 December in recognition of the Christmas holiday, planning to resume the bombing early in January. When congress returned to Washington after the holidays, however, many members spoke of the ongoing political unrest in their constituencies. Several senators publicly urged Johnson to maintain the cease-fire in an effort to save the Democratic Party in the next elections. The bombing pause remained until 31 January 1966.

Among the senators who criticized Johnson's position in the war was a former friend, William Fulbright (D-Ark.). Fulbright's Senate Foreign Relations Committee conducted nationally televised hearings on the war. Starting 28 January, Fulbright admitted that the anti-war movement prompted him to conduct the hearings.⁷⁸ The Fulbright hearings marked a turning point in the anti-war movement since they showed how a person could support the country while opposing the war and that to oppose the war did not automatically mean that one was a bad American.

In the hearings, the public heard from Lieutenant General James Gavin and Ambassador George Keenan, inventor of the Cold War "containment" theories. These two challenged the justifications for war. Keenan argued that a U.S. victory would happen only at the cost of civilian lives and that he did not support such methods.⁷⁹

Another person who testified at the hearing was General Maxwell Taylor whose testimony showed callus disregard for civilian life. He spoke of the inaccuracies of bombing and napalm methods as a necessary cost of war and that the civilian lives lost were an "unhappy concomitant" of air war.⁸⁰

Fulbright's office received ten thousand letters throughout the hearings. The

⁷⁸ Wells, *The War Within*, 68.

⁷⁹ Wells, *The War Within*, 68.

⁸⁰ Wells, *The War Within*, 68.

letters overwhelmingly supported Fulbright. The hearings ran through 18 February and were a popular success for Senator Fulbright. Public opinion shifted after the Fulbright hearings, showing that more Americans “worried” about the war than about crime, race relations, and the cost of living.⁸¹

In March public demonstrations in Hue, Danang, and Saigon further fueled the public backlash against the war. In these demonstrations, led by Buddhist monks and joined by students and labor activists, many denounced American presence in South Vietnam. Public broadcast of these demonstrations in America led many people to question why the United States tried to help people who did not want their help.⁸²

On 5 February Vietnam War veterans began to participate in the anti-war movement. One hundred veterans marched to the White House and returned their service medals and discharge papers in protest of the war.

On 23 February the anti-war demonstrators marked another turning point in tactics at New York’s Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. A liberal group called Freedom House sponsored an awards ceremony for President Johnson in honor of his efforts for peace and justice. While a group of around four thousand protestors outside held an alternative awards ceremony honoring war resisters, pacifist Jim Peck dressed in black tie attended President Johnson’s ceremony. As Johnson stood to accept his award, Peck shouted “Mr. President, Peace in Vietnam!” Although Peck was quickly escorted out and Johnson continued with his speech, this marked the beginning of demonstrations against the war using tactics of confronting the president publicly.⁸³

Throughout this period protest groups organized marches against the war, the

⁸¹ Wells, *The War Within*, 70.

⁸² Wells, *The War Within*, 71.

⁸³ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 149.

draft, and the use of Napalm and various other forms of protest against the war. 1967 marked several important events in the anti-war movement. As for the draft, on several occasions throughout the year, protest groups arranged draft card burning and turn-ins. These occasions most notably appear in October with the National Draft-card turn-in on the 16th and the Oakland Stop the Draft week, 16-20 October. Again on 4 December, another national draft-card turn-in and New York Stop the Draft week, 4-8 December, showed some success within the anti-war movement.

Also in 1967 Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. spoke against the war. In a speech given at Riverside Church in New York City on 4 April 1967, Dr. King publicly sided with clergy members against the war. King based one of his major arguments against the war on the inequalities at home.

Perhaps a more tragic recognition of reality took place when it became clear to me that the war was doing far more than devastating the hopes of the poor at home. It was sending their sons and their brothers and their husbands to fight and die in extra ordinary high proportions relative to the rest of the population. We were taking the black young men who had been crippled by our society and sending them eight thousand miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia that we had not found in south west Georgia and East Harlem.⁸⁴

King details his seven reasons why he believes the war in Vietnam needed to end and concluded his speech with a call for the end of the war.

Somehow this madness must cease. We must stop now. I speak as a child of God and a brother to the suffering poor of Vietnam. I speak for those whose land is being laid to waste, whose homes are being destroyed, whose culture is being subverted. I speak for the poor of America who are paying the double price of smashing hopes at home, and

⁸⁴ Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., "Beyond Vietnam" in Clayborne Carson and Kris Shepard eds., *A Call to Conscience* (New York: Warner Books, 2001), 142-143.

dealt death and corruption in Vietnam. . . The great initiative in this war is ours, the initiative to stop it must be ours.⁸⁵

King's support obviously gave the anti-war movement a major boost, offering legitimacy to their arguments.

Throughout 1968, protest groups continued their support for the draft resistance with a number of draft-card turn in days and other forms of draft resistance. First, on 3 April, with a national draft-card turn in day and later on 17 May, with the Catonsville draft board office raid in Maryland. Later in the year on 14 November was another national draft-card turn-in day.

At the time, many viewed these actions as major forms of civil unrest, but other events throughout 1968 made the draft resistance seem less important. First, the Tet offensive caused major debate amongst the American public about Johnson's policies in Vietnam. In addition, the presidential election of 1968 caused many public demonstrations and finally, the assassinations of both Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy led to public demonstrations and debate.

The Tet offensive showed the American public that the war was not proceeding as they previously believed and caused many to doubt the policies of the war. Tet led the president to look into the situation in Vietnam closely. He arranged a group of advisors dubbed the Wise Men to look at specific policies in Vietnam and determine the course that the military needed to take to achieve victory. The Wise Men concluded that the Pentagon lacked a reasonable strategy for ending the war and that American public opinion turned against the current war strategy. The Wise Men recommended the

⁸⁵ Dr. Martin Luther King Jr, "Beyond Vietnam," 153.

president reject any new requests for troops and to begin immediate de-escalation of the war.⁸⁶

Johnson was initially disappointed about the assessment, which contradicted his previous understanding of the progress of the war. Eventually, he took the advice of the Wise Men and denied the request the Joint Chiefs of Staff made for more troops. Johnson also expressed disappointment over the state of the country, believing that he still had an overwhelming majority of the country in support of the war.⁸⁷

Due to the assessment, on 31 March President Johnson made a public address. In this address, he reviewed the progress in Vietnam since Tet and the efforts the United States made to negotiate peace prior to Tet. He spoke of renewed peace talks and that to spur the negotiations he halted bombing north of the twentieth parallel. Finally, he announced that he would not accept a presidential nomination in 1968.⁸⁸

Due to this address, the war changed in Vietnam. Although the goal remained maintaining an independent South, the administration realized that the U.S. would not achieve victory in a limited war. In addition, the administration accepted that the American public would not accept an open-ended military commitment in Vietnam.⁸⁹

Critics of the administration quickly pointed out that the government did not shift agendas in the war, only strategy. Throughout the next several months, leaders in the anti-war movement went on the offensive, convincing the American public that Johnson's speech did not end the war. However, the public wanted to believe that the war

⁸⁶ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 214.

⁸⁷ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 214.

⁸⁸ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 214.

⁸⁹ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 215.

would end soon.⁹⁰

The next events that caused a major change in strategy for the protest groups were the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy. These two men represented many things to the American people. King represented hope and freedom to the poor and to African Americans of this time. His policy of peaceful resistance to the inconsistencies in American culture encouraged African Americans to strive for equality. Kennedy also represented hope to the people who wanted to end the war in Vietnam. He was the candidate that people who remained unhappy about the progress in the war supported. Their deaths led to the great changes in the protest movement.

On 4 April King's assassination led many black leaders to question their previous tactics. The former followers of King wondered how they could succeed in the movement for equality when King, the epitome of a well-educated, well-spoken, peaceful black man, could not. For many former followers of King, further non-violent protest seemed unnecessary.

Immediately following King's death, the country erupted in violence. Seventy-five thousand federal troops and guardsmen joined in with local police to contain violence in one hundred ten cities. In total, there were 711 recorded fires, 46 deaths, and 200,000 arrests.⁹¹

With the upcoming elections, the pacifists and liberals supported political means to change the outcome of the war. Many of the people against the war hesitated to support a complete withdrawal from the war and instead supported their political leaders to initiate a plan for ending Vietnam. These groups supported both Eugene McCarthy and

⁹⁰ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 215.

⁹¹ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 218.

Robert Kennedy as their anti-war candidates. Going into the important California primary Kennedy and Vice President Humphrey were nearly even with McCarthy trailing in third. Kennedy won the primary almost assuring his nomination for the presidency, but as he delivered his victory speech on 5 June, he was killed by a lone assassin.⁹² The assassination of Kennedy dashed the hopes of the anti-war protest groups as well as the portion of the American public who wanted an end to Vietnam. The assassinations of these two men led to the final altering event within the protest movement of this period.

The final large event of 1968 centered on the political unrest left in the wake of Robert Kennedy's assassination. The 1968 Democratic National Convention was set to take place in Chicago, Illinois. Going into the DNC, the leading political candidates were Richard Nixon, George Wallace, Eugene McCarthy, and Hubert Humphrey. All of the candidates had similar plans for Vietnam including opposition to immediate withdrawal and opposition to commitment of more troops. Richard Nixon won the Republican nomination, so all eyes turned to the much-debated Democratic nomination.

As the DNC approached, few anti-war protesters headed for Chicago since Mayor Daley refused to issue demonstration permits and promised a prompt end to any illegal demonstrations. Still, most people feared future violence in Chicago.

The demonstrations started pacifically when on 23 August members of a protest group unveiled their candidate, a pig, demanding he have the same rights as the other candidates.⁹³ The police quickly arrested the leader of this demonstration. The next day, a group of women picketed the convention, solely to as Cora Weiss stated, "see what the

⁹² DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 220.

⁹³ Wells, *The War Within*, 227.

police reaction was going to be.”⁹⁴ The police did not attempt to stop the picketers.

That evening Allen Ginsberg held another peaceful protest in Lincoln Park. Six hundred people gathered to meditate on the events scheduled. As the eleven o’clock curfew for the park neared, most of the gatherers dispersed, but the police escorted those who refused to leave off the property. Eventually the people dispersed after chanting, “Red Rover, Red Rover, send Daley right over” and threatening violence.⁹⁵

The next day, violence took over the once peaceful demonstrations. After the police stopped a rock concert, many of the attendees became abusive. They turned over garbage cans and pounded on cars. The police responded with tear gas. The tear gas victims threw rocks and chanted insults. The next day the violence continued when after leader Tom Hayden’s arrest, several people climbed the Civil War memorial and decorated it with NLF flags. Police responded by ripping the offenders off the statue and breaking one person’s arm.⁹⁶

That night in Lincoln Park, protesters threw rocks at police cars breaking the windows. The police responded with equal violence, clubbing offenders and non-offenders alike. Hayden was again arrested and sent to jail.⁹⁷

Throughout the rest of the week the violence escalated. After the initial escalation, police thwarted any attempts made by the protesters to return to non-violent actions. Upon hearing that Humphrey secured the Democratic nomination, McCarthy supporters and workers joined the demonstrations.⁹⁸ As a result, Thursday was the most violent day. On Friday, most demonstrators left Chicago feeling defeated since their candidate lost the

⁹⁴ Wells, *The War Within*, 227.

⁹⁵ Wells, *The War Within*, 277.

⁹⁶ Wells, *The War Within*, 278.

⁹⁷ Wells, *The War Within*, 279.

⁹⁸ Wells, *The War Within*, 280.

nomination.

The End of the Movement: 1969-1975

After the 1968 Democratic National Convention, many of the members of the anti-war groups felt as though there remained very little point to their protests. In addition to this, many people felt that the war was ending, so the protest movement was moot.

As 1969 opened the protest group Mobe (National Mobilization Committee) in an attempt to regain some of the power it lost after the Democratic Convention, organized a “counter inaugural” protest against Nixon’s Inauguration.⁹⁹ At the planned protest, only ten thousand demonstrated on 19 January. The disorganization showed as members fought over control of the microphone. Some members chanted about taking the battle to the streets while a disfigured veteran addressed the crowd about his experience of the war.¹⁰⁰ The chants about the necessity of violence show that the protest movement turned more chaotic and violent after the Democratic Convention and that the new violent methods appealed to the members more than the old tactics of peaceful demonstrations.

The next day the violent protesters won out and gathered along Nixon’s parade route throwing sticks, stones, and smoke bombs at the car. On Nixon’s orders, the police arrested eighty-eight people.¹⁰¹ Not everyone in the demonstration developed violent tactics, but with protesters, violence became a far more acceptable means of demonstration. Following the failure to rally a large protest and the outbreak of violence within the protest, leaders of Mobe decided to suspend further activity.¹⁰²

Other groups continued including SWP who organized a GI-Civilian

⁹⁹ Wells, *The War Within*, 292.

¹⁰⁰ Wells, *The War Within*, 292.

¹⁰¹ Wells, *The War Within*, 292.

¹⁰² Wells, *The War Within*, 292.

demonstration and a Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam (CALCAV) demonstration in Washington. CALCAV also met with Henry Kissinger in the White House. Two weeks after this meeting, CALCAV announced ending its moratorium on criticism of President Nixon.¹⁰³

Several pacifist groups also became more prominent after MOBE disbanded. Many well-known members of several different pacifist groups met to plan their next action. They planned four days of protest scheduled for Easter weekend in April. They planned to support SCLC programs for the anniversary of Dr. King's assassination and also planned to support the GI-Civilian protests also scheduled Easter weekend.¹⁰⁴

The tactics employed by the protest groups included leafleting, teach-ins, parades, and festivals. Interfaith religious groups held a seventeen-hour vigil at the Philadelphia draft boards on Good Friday, reading the names of thirty-three thousand Americans killed in Vietnam. On Easter Sunday protest groups symbolically crucified four men and planted the crosses in front of the white house.¹⁰⁵

On 29 March, the Justice Department arrested eight activists who participated in the demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention. They became known as the Chicago Eight and included Dellinger, Davis, and Hayden of Mobe, Rubin and Hoffman, two men who marshaled the demonstrations, and Bobby Seale of the Oakland Black Panthers, who barely participated in Chicago.¹⁰⁶ The Justice Department charged the men with conspiracy and traveling across state lines to incite a riot. The larger reason why they chose these men was to warn off other demonstrators from repeating their actions.

¹⁰³ Wells, *The War Within*, 293-294.

¹⁰⁴ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 245.

¹⁰⁵ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 246.

¹⁰⁶ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 246.

As another means of combating protest groups, the Nixon administration formed Operation Minaret, which placed illegal wiretaps on suspected left wing organizers. The operation also focused on removing federal grants from left wing groups.¹⁰⁷ Although not evident to the anti-war groups, these actions showed that the Nixon administration feared them and wanted to put a stop to their tactics.

As Nixon announced the first withdrawal of troops, several anti-war groups condemned the action as a means of pacifying them not as a true attempt to end the war. In turn, they called for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of all troops in Vietnam. After Nixon's election the liberal groups ended all protest in support of the new president, but after the announcement to withdrawal troops, most agreed that they needed to rejoin the fight and demanded immediate withdrawal.¹⁰⁸

After Ho Chi Minh died in September, Nixon saw an opportunity for increased negotiations and at the same time an opportunity to escalate the war in an attempt to cripple the enemy. The American opinion shifted yet again to a majority of people being against the war.¹⁰⁹ The public increasingly joined the demands for immediate withdrawal of troops.

Congress joined in with the public sentiment more in this period than before. On 25 September Senator Charles Goodell (R-N.Y.) sponsored a resolution for the president to withdrawal all troops by 1 December 1970 or risk losing congressional funding.¹¹⁰ Other senators devised similar bills as a response to their constituencies.

In response to the growing dissent, President Nixon gave a speech on 3

¹⁰⁷ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 247.

¹⁰⁸ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 248.

¹⁰⁹ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 252.

¹¹⁰ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 253.

November. In the speech, Nixon detailed the options for proceeding in Vietnam. The first option was immediate withdrawal of troops, which Nixon discounted since it would result in immediate communist massacres in the South and result in “a collapse of confidence. . . Not only in Asia but throughout the world.” The second option was to end the Vietnam War through negotiations and Vietnamization. President Nixon supported this option. He also addressed the anti-war movement as a means of disruption by a minority of the populace. He called on the “silent majority” to support the administration.¹¹¹

Immediately following the speech, a Gallup poll showed that 77 percent of Americans supported the president’s policies while 6 percent opposed the administration.¹¹² Again, popular opinion shifted in favor of the administration, although the majority of people still wanted a withdrawal from Vietnam, they supported the president’s policies of slow withdrawal as opposed to the immediate withdrawal policies of the anti-war groups. Nixon played on the public’s fear of a defeat in Vietnam.

The administration had a major victory with the “silent majority” speech but suffered a major setback on 15 November with the release of the first reports of the My Lai massacre.¹¹³ Although many Americans did not believe the story, those who did were appalled. Groups such as the Vietnam Veterans against the War took the opportunity to expose other atrocities committed in Vietnam.

Mobe also reconvened and planned a large demonstration. With Mobe’s promise of non-violence, other groups offered support. The demonstration known as the March Against Death began in the evening of 13 November. The point of departure for the march was beside the Potomac River at the west of Arlington Memorial Bridge. Every

¹¹¹ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 259.

¹¹² DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 259.

¹¹³ Wells, *The War Within*, 388.

hour twelve hundred marchers crossed the bridge, each bearing the name of an American soldier killed in Vietnam or a Vietnamese village destroyed in the war. They marched in silence, single file through Washington, each stopping in front of the White House and stating the name he or she carried. The powerful march lasted forty hours with the participation of forty-five thousand people. At the end of their march, the demonstrators deposited their name placards into twelve coffins placed at the foot of the capitol.¹¹⁴

Former activist James Quay spoke of the March Against Death for the graduating class of University of California, Santa Barbara in 1985.

All I knew then about Glendon Waters was that he was from Texas. I know now that he was killed in July 1967- about the time I began protesting the war-and that his name is on the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. . . Why do I, after 15 years, still remember a name I spoke but once and whose owner I never knew? . . . Often mere numbers make us numb. We must try hard not to become numb. So “Glendon Waters” is what I say instead of 59,000 dead.¹¹⁵

The beginning of 1970 brought more of the same. Protest groups sought to maintain the foothold that the changing public opinion brought them. The Weathermen, an emerging violent radical protest group, continued to change the protest movement. In addition, the student movement gained more momentum after losing some of its effectiveness in the past few years.

A Gallup pole showed that 69 percent of students considered themselves doves, twice as many as shown in 1967.¹¹⁶ After President Nixon announced his plans for the invasion of Cambodia in April, the student movement exploded. Nixon defended this

¹¹⁴ Wells, *The War Within*, 391.

¹¹⁵ James Quay, “Life, Liberty, and the Right to Protest.” in Walter Capps, ed., *The Vietnam Reader*(New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, 1990),211.

¹¹⁶ Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam Books, 1987),409.

action not as a widening of the war but as a necessary move to destroy the Cambodia-based command headquarters for enemy operations. These actions would disrupt enemy supply lines and speed up Vietnamization and U.S. troop withdrawals.

Tonight, American and South Vietnamese units will attack the headquarters for the entire Communist military operation in South Vietnam. The North Vietnamese and Vietcong have occupied this key control center for five years in blatant violation of Cambodia's neutrality.

This is not an invasion of Cambodia. The areas in which these attacks will be launched are completely occupied and controlled by North Vietnamese forces. Our purpose is not to occupy the areas. Once enemy forces are driven out of these sanctuaries and once their military supplies are destroyed, we will withdraw.¹¹⁷

Within minutes of the speech, activists began demonstrations in New York and Philadelphia. Over the next few days, the protests gained momentum on campuses across the United States.¹¹⁸

On 2 May students attending a Black Panther support rally at Yale University proposed a national student strike to demand immediate withdrawal from Vietnam.¹¹⁹ Within days, strikes progressed to over a hundred schools. The country polarized between denouncement and defense of the Cambodian invasion.

Some students resorted to violence. University of Maryland students launched a “hit and run attack” on their ROTC building. Princeton students firebombed a local armory.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Richard Nixon, “Address to the Nation on the Situation in Southeast Asia. (April 30, 1970), Miller Center of Pu. <http://millercenter.org/scripps/archive/speechers/detail/3890>.

¹¹⁸ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 279.

¹¹⁹ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 279.

¹²⁰ Wells, *The War Within*, 421.

The most recognizable battle on campus occurred at Kent State. Students battled with local police for nearly three hours. The campus ordered a curfew placed for all students from dusk to dawn. A fire ignited the ROTC building on campus, and students discouraged the efforts of firefighters by slicing their hoses and throwing rocks. Ohio's governor called in the National Guard for assistance.¹²¹ The national guardsmen fired into the crowd, killing four and injuring thirteen.¹²²

The senate also responded to the announcement of the invasion of Cambodia. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, after a major influx of anti-war telegrams, voted to repeal the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.¹²³ The administration no longer had the "blank check" authority given to President Johnson. Nixon now needed to gain permission from congress to proceed with military actions.

The Kent State killings created massive movements of students in protest of the administrations handling of the situation. 1.5 million students walked out of classes across the country effectively shutting down a fifth of the college campuses.¹²⁴

A lesser remembered incident occurred at Jackson State University on 14 May when the Mississippi National Guard attacked a dormitory killing two students. Although the peaceful protests on campuses increased, only four percent turned violent. This was a much smaller percentage than previous demonstrations, but the retaliation towards this violence was more often met with equal violence which was never the case in previous demonstrations.¹²⁵

The Kent State and Jackson State killings provided a new rallying point for

¹²¹ Wells, *The War Within*, 421.

¹²² DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 279.

¹²³ Wells, *The War Within*, 421.

¹²⁴ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 280.

¹²⁵ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 280.

activists and encouraged another shift in public opinion against the war. Many groups who remained neutral throughout the war now spoke out against President Nixon, most notably the American Civil Liberties Union who began to campaign for the immediate withdrawal of troops.¹²⁶

As 1971 opened Nixon's continuing announcements of troop withdrawals helped the situation but not much. Soldiers who remained in Vietnam still needed to do the same job with less support. Families in the United States saw troops returning home but not specifically their children. Activists again questioned the effectiveness of their efforts.

Protests continued but lost a lot of their previous luster. On 31 January through 2 February the Vietnam Veterans against the War held their Winter Soldiers Investigation on American war crimes in Vietnam.¹²⁷ In the investigation, veterans testified to specific atrocities they committed and ones they witnessed. The testimonies were read into the *Congressional Record* but received little attention.¹²⁸

The Weathermen continued their methods of using violence as a means of ending the war. On 1 March the senate switchboard operator received a phone call warning of an impending explosion in the Capitol building. The caller urged the evacuation of the building and identified the reason behind the bombing as a protest against Nixon's invasion of Laos.¹²⁹ Thirty minutes later a Weathermen group detonated a bomb in the Men's room of the Capitol building. The bombing received substantial news coverage that in the eyes of the Weathermen justified the action. They felt they were bringing the stale protest movement into a new era.

¹²⁶ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 285.

¹²⁷ Wells, *The War Within*, 473.

¹²⁸ Wells, *The War Within*, 474.

¹²⁹ Wells, *The War Within*, 477.

More protests held throughout 1971 included many participants, but at one of the largest held in Washington on 24 April with estimates between two hundred thousand and a half million people, the mood remained dismal. In one of the speeches by National Student Association president David Ifshin, he compared the days march with one held in 1969. In the 1969 march, Ifshin stated that participants believed the end of the war was near, but in 1971 the feeling is the war will “go on and on.”¹³⁰

The protest movement in the latter part of 1971 and throughout 1972 became retaliatory in nature as opposed to preventative. For example, when President Nixon intensifies bombing of North Vietnam in November and December 1971, the VVAW responds by countrywide protests in December. When Nixon announces the mining of North Vietnamese ports and intensified bombing in May 1972, the protest groups respond in opposition. Protesters held another massive protest in December 1972 in opposition to the “Christmas bombing” of Hanoi and Haiphong.

President Nixon’s second inauguration resulted in one of the last major protests. Twenty thousand people attended a “Plea for Peace” concert at Washington Cathedral. At the official inauguration concert, many seats remained empty. Eleven members of the orchestra objected to participation in the event.¹³¹

The next day, members of the VVAW marched from Arlington National Cemetery to the Lincoln Memorial. The afternoon demonstration brought eighty-thousand people.¹³²

After the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty, most members of the anti-war movement disbanded. Local chapters of protest groups closed their doors. The remaining

¹³⁰ DeBenedetti, *An American Ordeal*, 304.

¹³¹ Wells, *The War Within*, 563.

¹³² Wells, *The War Within*, 563.

people in the movement rallied in an effort to ensure that Nixon kept the promises in the peace treaty.

The final part of the anti-war movement saw many changes in tactics, mostly due to which groups held the majority of the power. After the 1968 Democratic National Convention, radical groups reigned. The pacifist groups attempted to regain control and in a massive attempt at regaining control, Mobe held its successful March Against Death in 1969.

Again, the radical groups took over with the violent responses to the invasion of Cambodia and later with the invasion of Laos. Although the violent tactics undoubtedly received more national attention than the non-violent protests, that the last large protest of Nixon's second inauguration was largely peaceful holds to the nature of the protest movement. The majority of the members of the movement wanted to remain non-violent and successfully led to the administrations doubt of the public's opinion.

The protest groups successfully helped change public opinion and the Nixon administration continually needed to rally support, most notably with the "silent majority" speech. Members of congress, noticing the change in opinions in their constancy often spoke out against the war, eventually voting to repeal the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution that allowed both Johnson and Nixon to continue the war without specific congressional approval. Although many members of the movement grew to question their effects on the war, in hindsight it is obvious that they did initiate some change.

Summary of the Protest Movement

The protest movement, just like the war itself, started slowly. Protestors were at first unsure of the war being an issue worthy of protest. After the Gulf of Tonkin incident,

protest groups began a collective protest against the war. As the war continued, protest groups changed tactics from demonstrations, to campus sit-ins, to violent upheavals.

Toward the end of the war, many protest groups believed their efforts were in vain and began to back away from the Vietnam issue. As the war ended, there were only a few groups still protesting the war, but their efforts were effective in changing the tactics of government officials, namely President Nixon, who finally withdrew troops.

CHAPTER 4

DELIBERATIVE AND EPIDECITC LYRICS:

DEFINITION AND DESCRIPTION

Protest songs have a rich history throughout American culture. Speech and Communications Professor Elizabeth Kizer wrote a profound study on varying ways to examine the protest song throughout American History. This study, titled “Protest Song as Rhetoric” focuses on all protest music in American historical culture.¹³³ In her study she defines protest music as a verbalization of dissatisfaction with the status quo.¹³⁴ Alan Lomax furthers this definition to include most traditional American songs.

In a broad but very genuine sense most of our traditional American songs can be considered songs of complaint or protest about the main economic and social problems that have always faced the mass of the American people as they struggled for a living. . . The constant harping on the risks of falling in love and marrying, which is perhaps the central theme of Southern folk songs, can certainly be viewed as a complaint about the emotional hardship that sexual Puritanism imposed on our ancestors.¹³⁵

In addition to her previous definition, Kizer largely defines protest music as (1) expressions of discontent that imply a need for change, (2) represent the needs of an individual or a special interest group, (3) may be adapted by and utilized as ideological statements of a social movement, whether it was the original intention or not, (4) may inspire the creation of other messages against the status quo, (5) may be used to stimulate

¹³³ Elizabeth Kizer, “Protest Song Lyrics as Rhetoric,” *Popular Music and Society*. v9 issue 1. (January 1983): 3-11.

¹³⁴ Elizabeth Kizer, “Protest Song Lyrics as Rhetoric,” 3.

¹³⁵ Alan Lomax, “Compiler’s Postscript.” In *Hard Hitting Songs for Hard Hit People*, ed. By Alan Lomax, Woodie Guthrie and Pete Seeger, (New York: Oak Publications, 1967), 365. In Elizabeth Kizer, “Protest Song Lyrics as Rhetoric,” 3.

thought or reinforce and modify attitudes.¹³⁶

Kizer continues with her study by then examining the rhetorical quality of protest music by using several types of current theories to explain their rhetorical value. One of these theories in particular appeals to this study. Kizer states that all protest music falls into two categories: deliberative and epideictic.

This chapter focuses on categorizing the protest songs provided by the “Hot 100” charts in *Billboard*. The first goal of this chapter is to see if all songs presented during the period 1960 through 1969 first fall into the two categories presented by Kizer’s study. The second goal is to sort the songs into separate sub-categories to offer better understanding of the messages that the protest lyrics presented.

Upon sorting the songs out, one can then examine the historical significance of the songs to show that the protest movement through music was not random, but first followed basic guidelines and then spoke of the events of the day.

The methods used in finding the songs in this selection was to first look at the weekly “Hot 100” charts for the appropriate years and recognizing which songs listed were Vietnam protest songs through examination of lyrics. To provide honest research data, all songs presented throughout the afore mentioned years are categorized in this chapter.

The following table presents the recognized protest songs for 1960 through 1969, along with the *Billboard* information including debut date and number on charts as well as the peak date and chart number¹³⁷.

¹³⁶ Elizabeth Kizer, “Protest Song Lyrics as Rhetoric,” 4.

¹³⁷ All *Billboard* information obtained from weekly publications of “Hot 100,” *Billboard* (June 29, 1963 through Dec 27, 1969).

Table 1: Songs and Release Information

Song Title	Artist or Group	Debut Date	Debut Number	Peak Date	Peak Number
A letter to Dad	Every Fathers Teenage Son	November 25, 1967	98	December 16, 1967	93
Alice's Rock and Roll Restaurant	Arlo Guthrie	December 13, 1969	98	December 20, 1969	97
Bad Moon Rising	Credence Clearwater Revival	May 31, 1969	80	June 28, 1969	2
Blowin' in the Wind	Peter, Paul, and Mary	June 29, 1963	86	August 17, 1963	2
Blowin' in the Wind	Stevie Wonder	July 23, 1966	68	September 3, 1966	9
Cruel War	Peter, Paul, and Mary	April 23, 1966	90	May 21, 1966	52
Eve of Destruction	Barry McGuire	August 21, 1965	58	September 25, 1965	1
For What it's Worth	Buffalo Springfield	January 28, 1967	90	April 1, 1967	7
For What it's Worth	King Curtis and the Kingpins	November 25, 1967	100	December 16, 1967	87
For What it's Worth	Staple Singers	September 23, 1967	86	October 7, 1967	66
Fortunate Son	Credence Clearwater Revival	November 1, 1969	58	December 27, 1969*	3
Get Together	The Youngbloods	September 2, 1967	88	October 14, 1976	62
Get Together	The Youngbloods	June 28, 1969	93	September 6, 1969	5
Give Peace a Chance	The Plastic Ono Band	July 26, 1969	62	September 6, 1969	14
Leaving on a Jet Plane	Peter, Paul, and Mary	October 25, 1969	76	December 20, 1969	1
Lonely Soldier	Mike Williams	July 9, 1966	88	July 30, 1966	69
On Campus	Dickie Goodman	June 28, 1969	88	July 19, 1969	53
One Tin Soldier (The Legend of Billie Jack)	Original Caste	November 15, 1969	99	December 27, 1969*	62
Peace Brother Peace	Bill Medley	October 26, 1968	93	December 7, 1968	48
The Letter	The Box Tops	August 12, 1967	81	September 23, 1967	1
Turn, Turn, Turn	Judy Collins	November 29, 1969	84	December 27, 1969*	69
Turn, Turn, Turn	The Byrds	October 23, 1965	80	December 4, 1965	1
Universal Soldier	Donovan	September 25, 1965	84	October 16, 1965	54
Universal Soldier	Glenn Campbell	September 25, 1965	90	October 16, 1965	52
Unknown Soldier	The Doors	March 30, 1968	79	May 18, 1968	39
Volunteers	Jefferson Airplane	November 8, 1969	99	December 20, 1969	65
We Can Work it Out	The Beatles	December 18, 1965	36	January 8, 1966	1
Where have all the Flowers Gone	Johnny Rivers	October 2, 1965	92	November 13, 1965	26
Where have all the Flowers Gone	Kingston Trio	January 20, 1962	100	April 7, 1962	21
* indicates continuance into 1970 charts, not tracked by this study					

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The first goal of this study is to examine the songs lyrically to determine if the

¹³⁸ Table 1: Songs and Release information. Information obtained from *Billboard*. "Hot 100," January 1960 through December 1969.

“Hot 100” fall into the two groups identified by Kizer as deliberative and epideictic.

Kizer defines deliberative protest songs as those whose intention is to suggest a specific change. An example of a deliberative song is the traditional *Down by the Riverside* where the artist states that he is going to lay down his weapons and refuses to study war.¹³⁹

Kizer defines epideictic songs as those that simply state the status quo is incorrect but do not suggest change. The following table provides information on which songs upon examination of the lyrics prove deliberative and which prove epideictic.

Table 2: Song Categorization

Song Title	Artist or Group	Epideictic or Deliberative
A letter to Dad	Every Fathers Teenage Son	Epideictic
Alice's Rock and Roll Restaurant	Arlo Guthrie	Epideictic
Bad Moon Rising	Credence Clearwater Revival	Epideictic
Blowin' in the Wind	Peter, Paul, and Mary	Epideictic
Blowin' in the Wind	Stevie Wonder	Epideictic
Cruel War	Peter, Paul, and Mary	Epideictic
Eve of Destruction	Barry McGuire	Epideictic
For What it's Worth	Buffalo Springfield	Deliberative
For What it's Worth	King Curtis and the Kingpins	Deliberative
For What it's Worth	Staple Singers	Deliberative
Fortunate Son	Credence Clearwater Revival	Epideictic
Get Together	The Youngbloods	Deliberative
Get Together	The Youngbloods	Deliberative
Give Peace a Chance	The Plastic Ono Band	Deliberative
Leaving on a Jet Plane	Peter, Paul, and Mary	Epideictic
Lonely Soldier	Mike Williams	Epideictic
On Campus	Dickie Goodman	Epideictic
One Tin Soldier (The Legend of Billie Jack)	Original Caste	Epideictic
Peace Brother Peace	Bill Medley	Deliberative
The Letter	The Box Tops	Epideictic
Turn, Turn, Turn	Judy Collins	Epideictic
Turn, Turn, Turn	The Byrds	Epideictic
Universal Soldier	Donovan	Epideictic
Universal Soldier	Glenn Campbell	Epideictic

¹³⁹ Pete Seeger, *Down By the Riverside*, Columbia CS 9505.

Unknown Soldier	The Doors	Epidictic
Volunteers	Jefferson Airplane	Deliberative
We Can Work it Out	The Beatles	Deliberative
Where have all the Flowers Gone	Johnny Rivers	Epidictic
Where have all the Flowers Gone	Kingston Trio	Epidictic

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It is evident that the majority of the songs prove epidictic, which makes sense when one considers the Vietnam protest movement as a whole. The protesters were at odds with how they should go about inciting change from non-violent to violent, from protesting in Washington to appeal to lawmakers to protesting on campuses to appeal to the youth. An artist who wants to appeal to the masses would sense this divisiveness and write songs that solely state that the war is wrong.

More importantly, however, is that all the protest songs prove to fall into these two categories, as Kizer’s study insists. The real point of this study then becomes what these songs are saying after being placed in these two categories.

Deliberative Protest Songs

Elizabeth Kizer defines deliberative protest songs as those concerned with acting in the future against the perceived threat.¹⁴¹ Vietnam Era protest songs that follow the deliberative rhetorical model suggest a change against the war. In an effort to subcategorize the deliberative songs presented in “Hot 100” charts presented in *Billboard* from 1960 to 1969, this study looks at the question, what should we do about the war? What changes do the artists propose as a means to end the war?

There are three main subcategories that emerge upon examination of the

¹⁴⁰ Table 2: Song Categorization

¹⁴¹ Elizabeth Kizer, “Protest Song Lyrics as Rhetoric,” 5.

deliberative songs. First, the songs express the need for simply recognizing the problems of the war. Second, the songs request the need to band together for peaceful solutions. Third, the songs express the need to fight against the problems that the war presents.

Education About the War

The only song presented in the first category, the need to simply recognize the problems that the war present, is *For What it's Worth*¹⁴². Buffalo Springfield's version of *For What it's Worth* literally states to the listener that "I think it's time we stop, children, what's that sound everybody look what's going down."¹⁴³ The lyrics in the song are not clear on what the problem is, but that there is a problem and that the listener needs to address the situation simply by acknowledgement. The song also addresses the problems presented in the protest movement and that no one makes any difference with the methods that they choose.

A thousand people in the street
Singing songs and carrying signs
Mostly say, hooray for our side¹⁴⁴

The lyricist, Dave Ippolito, uses this example as a means of reiterating the deliberative lyrics. If the goals of the protest remain unidentified, the specific protesters achieve nothing. The song reiterates that in order to make change, the problem needs clear identification.

The lyrics of *For What it's Worth* fits in with the problems present in the protest movement at the time of its popularity. The song suggests to the audience to look at the protest movement to figure out what is "going down."¹⁴⁵ In 1967 the protest movement

¹⁴² Song quoted in its entirety as example 1 in Appendix.

¹⁴³ Buffalo Springfield, *For What its worth*. (Green and Stone) Atco 6459.

¹⁴⁴ Buffalo Springfield, *For What its Worth*.

¹⁴⁵ Buffalo Springfield, *For What its Worth*.

was just arriving at the solid ideas of anti-war protest. Prior to this, many protest groups focused on general anti-war issues. However throughout 1966 protest groups began to focus exclusively on the problem of Vietnam. The year 1967 presented new opportunities to war protesters. Martin Luther King Jr. officially spoke out against the war, offering a major public dissenter into the growing group of protesters.¹⁴⁶ The Vietnam Veterans Against the War formed on 1 June, proving that even some people fighting the war did not agree with the cause.¹⁴⁷ Towards the end of the year new presidential candidates entered the political arena including Eugene McCarthy, running with an anti-war strategy.¹⁴⁸

Peaceful Protest

The second identified deliberative subcategory is the call for people to band together in the quest for peace. Within the deliberative category, this subcategory proves the most popular. This follows the agenda of most of the anti-war groups because many groups chose to use non-violence as a tactic for establishing peace. The songs that can be categorized in this sub-group are; *We Can Work it Out* by The Beatles¹⁴⁹, *Get Together* by the Youngbloods¹⁵⁰, *Peace, Brother, Peace* by Bill Medley¹⁵¹, and *Give Peace a Chance* by the Plastic Ono Band.¹⁵²

These four songs suggest that peace is tangible and that the only thing necessary is that everyone works together.

In chronological order, the first deliberative song that suggests that people band

¹⁴⁶ Tom Wells, *The War Within*, 584.

¹⁴⁷ Tom Wells, *The War Within*, 584.

¹⁴⁸ Tom Wells, *The War Within*. 584.

¹⁴⁹ Song quoted in its entirety as example 2 in Appendix.

¹⁵⁰ Song quoted in its entirety as example 3 in Appendix.

¹⁵¹ Song quoted in its entirety as example 4 in Appendix.

¹⁵² Song quoted in its entirety as example 5 in Appendix.

together for peace is *We Can Work it Out*(1965) performed by The Beatles. As Elizabeth Kizer points out in her definition of protest music, not all protest music is overt in its message, but “may be adapted by and utilized as ideological statements of the social movement. . .”¹⁵³ *We Can Work it Out* is one of the songs that do not overtly speak out against the war, and as a whole the song is not specifically anti-war, but when one looks specifically at the chorus and at selected lyrics, the anti-war sentiments become evident. When asked at a press conference about the seeming absence of anti-war songs John Lennon responded “All of our songs are antiwar.”¹⁵⁴

The song is a love song about a relationship that is potentially breaking up, but the lyrics are covertly geared towards the Vietnam War. The performer discusses the breakup of the relationship and tells his girlfriend of the futility of consistent fighting.

Life is very short, and there's no time
For fussing and fighting, my friend.¹⁵⁵

Although this line in the context of the song refers to the relationship, the lyrics can obviously be placed in the larger context of the Vietnam War. Life is too short for war.

Try to see it my way,
Only time will tell if I am right or I am wrong.
While you see it your way
There's a chance that we may fall apart before too long.¹⁵⁶

Again, the song puts this in the context of the imminent breakup, but within the context of the war the lyricist states that although both sides may end up being valid in the end, there is too much at stake without acknowledgement of the side for peace. The ultimate cost of staying in a war without looking at both sides is destruction. The chorus, “We can

¹⁵³ Elizabeth Kizer, “Protest song Lyrics as Rhetoric.” 4.

¹⁵⁴ John Lennon quoted in James Perone, *Songs of the Vietnam Conflict*(Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2001), 13.

¹⁵⁵ The Beatles. *We Can Work it Out*. Capitol 5542.

¹⁵⁶ The Beatles. *We Can Work it Out*.

Work it out, We can work it out”¹⁵⁷ suggests that there are possible solutions to the problem of the war and that both sides need to come together and work out a peace solution.

Historically, this song fits into the agendas of the protest groups at the time. Protest groups were attempting to establish their agendas in 1965. In 1965, President Johnson begins Operation Rolling Thunder, which caused many skeptics to speak out against the administrations approach to winning the war. The lyrics of *We Can Work it Out*, particularly those about seeing the issue from both sides, show the importance of understanding the situation. Early in the protest movement, no one was sure why the war was necessary, or conversely unnecessary. The lyricist’s suggestion to lean towards peace as opposed to war while examining the situation would make the war less destructive in the end.

The next song that suggests the banding together for the greater issue of peace is *Get Together*(1967) by the Youngbloods. Upon examination of the lyrics, the song proves deliberative due to the artists’ instruction,

Come on people now,
Smile on your brother.
Everybody get together,
Try to love one another right now.¹⁵⁸

The song insists peace and love as the answer to the problems presented by war. The song suggests that if all people made an effort to love and understand the other side, perhaps the war would end.

The songs popularity which borders 1968 illustrates great significance in the

¹⁵⁷ The Beatles, *We Can Work it Out*.

¹⁵⁸ The Youngbloods, *Get Together* (Felix Pappalardi) RCA Victor 9264.

protest movement. 1968 was the year of violent upheaval in the protest movement when temporarily violent methods became popular. The song made the billboard charts in 1967 and again charted in 1969 reflecting the decline of violent tactics within the peace movement. The song speaks of being peaceful and loving everyone.

The next deliberative song that stresses the need for everyone to come together for peace is *Peace Brother Peace* (1968) by Bill Medley. The song stresses the need for all people to be peaceful. It speaks to the lyricists' proverbial brothers and sisters to take the cause for peace.

Peace, Brother, Peace
Peace, Brother, Peace
All of my sisters
All of my brothers
Peace, Peace, Peace¹⁵⁹

According to the song, the only way for peace to occur is if every one preaches the cause of peace. There are several instances within the song that makes it deliberative. The artist tells the listener how to achieve peace throughout the song by suggesting love and peace as the answer.

I want you
to tell them to love
Everybody's got to
Love, Love, Love.¹⁶⁰

Later in the song the artist gives another suggestion on how to attain peace.

We gotta get together
Do a little giving
Change our way of thinking
Change our way of living

And Lord, Lord
We've got to stop the hating

¹⁵⁹ Bill Medley, *Peace, Brother, Peace*, RCA 1456.

¹⁶⁰ Bill Medley, *Peace, Brother, Peace*.

And no time left for crying
When the kids are going hungry
And the good men are dying¹⁶¹

The final deliberative song about the need for peace is *Give Peace a Chance* (1969) by the Plastic Ono Band. The song begins with a list of the main issues in the world,

Ev'rybody's talkin' 'bout
Bagism, Shagism, Dragism, Madism, Ragism, Tagism
This-ism, that-ism, ism ism ism¹⁶²

John Lennon's answer to all the problems in the world is to "give peace a chance." The chorus "All we are saying, is give peace a chance"¹⁶³ became the most memorable line of the song. The lyricist urges the audience to try peace as the option for the end of the war. The song does not state that peace is indeed the answer, but much like The Beatles song *We Can Work it Out*; the song implies that peace is better than war and that the war is too costly.

Both *Peace, Brother, Peace* and *Give Peace a Chance* fit into the historical time frame when people started to fear the new violent tactics taken after the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago. Both songs suggest the return to non-violent tactics used previously.

Violent Upheaval

The final subcategory of deliberative songs presented in this study suggests that we fight against the war to bring an end to it. The song that fits into this subcategory is

¹⁶¹ Bill Medley, *Peace, Brother, Peace*.

¹⁶² Plastic Ono Band, *Give Peace a Chance* (John and Yoko) Apple 1808.

¹⁶³ Plastic Ono Band, *Give Peace a Chance*.

Volunteers(1969) by Jefferson Airplane¹⁶⁴. The song begins with the urge to recognize the problems within the protest movement.

Look whats happening out in the streets
Got a revolution got to revolution
Hey I'm dancing down the streets
Got a revolution got to revolution
Ain't it amazing all the people I meet
Got a revolution got to revolution¹⁶⁵

As indicated in the introductory chapters about the history of the war and the protest movement, the movement took a violent turn after the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago. Many felt that the previous peaceful efforts proved unfruitful, and that violence became the only viable solution to the end of the war. *Volunteers* captures the change that took place within the movement. The lyricist recognized the revolution and described the amount of people participating in the new violent tactics.

The song becomes deliberative with the addition of orders for the listener to help participate in the revolution.

Pick up the cry
Hey now its time for you and me
Got a revolution got to revolution
Come on now were marching to the sea¹⁶⁶

The song instructs the listener to follow the revolution and to march with the others.

Deliberative Summary

The deliberative songs presented from 1960 to 1969 show the suggestions that people made to change the war. Artists focused on three main tactics to end the Vietnam War: first, the need to recognize the problems, second to band together for peace, and

¹⁶⁴ Song quoted in its entirety as example 6 in Appendix.

¹⁶⁵ Jefferson Airplane, *Volunteers*. (Al Schmitt) RCA 74-0245.

¹⁶⁶ Jefferson Airplane, *Volunteers*.

finally to fight against the war using violent methods. These songs directly correlate with the peace movement in general. As presented in the chapter on the peace movement, first groups attempted to describe the evils of the impending war, and then they used tactics of peaceful demonstrations, and finally after the upheaval in 1968 with the Democratic National Convention and the Tet offensive resorted to violent tactics in order to end the war. Eventually these violent tactics again turned peaceful, and the songs reflected this change.

Epidictic Protest Songs

Kizer's second main category of songs is the epidictic rhetoric. Elizabeth Kizer defines epidictic songs as those concerned with discussing present events and policies, but offering no specific change or action to make the situation better.¹⁶⁷ By their very nature, most protest songs fall into this category because most artists want to appeal to large groups as opposed to alienating themselves by fitting into a small groups goals. Again, in an attempt to understand the rhetorical nature of these songs, this study subcategories the songs asking the question, why is the war bad?

Each song presents a different answer but eventually one can distinguish four larger subcategories. First, the war is bad because it is physically destructive and disruptive, second that the war is emotionally destructive and disruptive, third it is unnecessary, and finally the war is immoral. Although there are a large number of songs that fall into the larger epidictic category, the new smaller subcategories make the information more manageable.

War is Physically Destructive

The first subcategory presented through rhetorical examination is that the war is

¹⁶⁷ Elizabeth Kizer, "Protest Song Lyrics as Rhetoric," 6.

bad because of the large physical destruction and disruption. Three songs discuss the physical damage to Vietnam and the world but also the death involved with war. The decade of music available through this study identifies several songs that fit into this subcategory.

In chronological order, the first song in this subcategory is *Where Have All the Flowers Gone*(1962)¹⁶⁸. The song tells of the cyclical nature of life, starting with the question, where have all the flowers gone? The song describes that the young girls picked all the flowers, and then the song asks “where have all the young girls gone”? The song tells of the young girls getting married. The song describes that the young men have gone to war, leaving their young wives, then tells that the young men died in the war and now live in graveyards only to be covered with flowers.¹⁶⁹

The song tells of the ultimate physical cost of war, the deaths of the soldiers and the effect their deaths have on the people left behind at home. The song initially came out early in the war before most people knew that Vietnam would become a major issue. The re-release and subsequent popularity of the song in 1965 by Johnny Rivers shows that the issues remained important and more specific to Vietnam.

Eve of Destruction(1965) by Berry McGuire also discusses the physical destruction of the war¹⁷⁰. The song speaks heavily of the physical destruction to war torn areas.

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

¹⁶⁸ Song quoted in its entirety as example 7 in Appendix.

¹⁶⁹ The Kingston Trio, *Where Have All the Flowers Gone*. Capitol 4671.

¹⁷⁰ Song quoted in its entirety as example 8 in Appendix.

And even the Jordan River has bodies floatin'¹⁷¹

The preceding verse not only talks of the physical destruction of the areas involved in the war but also of the deterioration of morals with the line, “You don’t believe in war, but what’s that gun you’re totin.”¹⁷² The lyricist discusses the dichotomy presented with the men who did not want to fight in the war, but were forced to through the draft and other means. The song suggests that regardless of outside forces, those who did not want to fight should remain out of the war through whatever means necessary. The song continues to tell of the physical breakdown of the world, citing the destructive force of the atomic bomb and the violence of the civil rights protests as proof. The main issue of the song is that the world is on the eve of destruction, which becomes the main line in the chorus,

And you tell me
Over and over and over again, my friend
Ah, you don’t believe
We’re on the eve of destruction.¹⁷³

The song remains epideictic because it offers no solutions to any of the problems suggested throughout but instead attempts to inform the listener of the dangers. The song continually discusses the physical destructiveness of war in general and the Vietnam War in particular with the timing of the song’s popularity.

Unknown Soldier (1968) by The Doors is the chronologically the final song about the physical destruction of the war¹⁷⁴. This song discusses the physical death of the soldiers fighting in war.

¹⁷¹ Barry McGuire, *Eve of Destruction*, ABC Dunhill D-50003.

¹⁷² Barry McGuire, *Eve of Destruction*.

¹⁷³ Barry McGuire, *Eve of Destruction*.

¹⁷⁴ Song quoted in its entirety as example 9 in Appendix.

Bullet strikes the helmets head

And it's all over
For the unknown soldier
It's all over
For the unknown soldier¹⁷⁵

Quite literally, the problem presented in the song is the death of the soldier. That the lyricist, Jim Morrison, chooses to keep the unknown soldier anonymous serves the larger issue that the war is destructive to all participants, not just this specific soldier. By keeping the soldier anonymous, the song also makes the statement that all soldiers to the authorities are interchangeable and without individual identity.

War is Emotionally Destructive

The second subcategory presented in the epideictic rhetorical songs is that war is bad because of the emotional destruction presented by war. The four songs in this second subcategory reflect the non-physical costs of the war, mainly the destruction of families by leaving people at home to worry about their soldiers.

In chronological order, the first song in this category is *Cruel War*(1966) by Peter, Paul, and Mary¹⁷⁶. The song discusses the relationship of a soldier called to war and his loved one at home.

The cruel war is raging, Johnny has to fight
I want to be with him from morning to night.
I want to be with him, it grieves my heart so,
Won't you let me go with you?
No, my love, no.¹⁷⁷

The young soldiers loved one wants to be with him so badly that she wants to join the war himself.

¹⁷⁵ The Doors, *Unknown Soldier* (Paul A. Rothchild,) Elektra 45628.

¹⁷⁶ Song quoted in its entirety as example 10 in Appendix.

¹⁷⁷ Peter, Paul, and Mary, *Cruel War*, Warner Brothers WS-1449.

I'll tie back my hair, mens clothing I'll put on,
I'll pass as your comrade, as we march along.
I'll pass as your comrade, no one will ever know.
Won't you let me go with you?
No, my love, no.¹⁷⁸

Throughout the song, the emotional cost of the war remains high. The song speaks of the fear of the young lovers who the war will tear apart and the fear that the young soldier will not return from war.

In *Lonely Soldier*(1966) artist Mike Williams discusses the emotional cost of war¹⁷⁹.

I'm a lonely soldier
Many miles from home
With a heart that's heavy
But with a will that's strong

Behind I left a woman
So, so dear to me
I'm off to fight a war
That they say could make me free¹⁸⁰

The subject of the song discusses his love for the woman left behind. In addition to the pain felt by this, it is clear in the song that he does not understand the roots of the war, only that the war will help him.

The Vietnam Veterans Against the War were not formed until June 1967, a year after this song made the charts, but this song showed some of the reasons that the veterans chose to become disillusioned with the war. Men went to a war that they did not fully understand and left their loved ones behind to worry and mourn for them. The VVAW eventually defined a strong platform discussing the problems with the war, but

¹⁷⁸ Peter, Paul, and Mary, *Cruel War*.

¹⁷⁹ Song quoted in its entirety as example 11 in Appendix.

¹⁸⁰ Mike Williams, *Lonely Soldier* (Produced By Staff) Atlantic 2339.

the Mike Williams song, and its apparent popular success made soldiers questioning the war more acceptable.

One song in this category was not about the war at all, but soldiers and anti-war protesters adopted the song to make it their own. *The Letter*(1967) by the Box Tops is about a boy receiving a letter from his “baby” telling him that she needed him and loved him and the subsequent measures that he takes to return to her¹⁸¹.

Gimme a ticket for an airplane
Ain't got time to take a fast train
Lonely Days are gone, I'm a-goin' home
My baby, just-a wrote me a letter¹⁸²

The chorus of the song is the main character telling an authority figure that he needs to return to the girl.

Well, she wrote me a letter
Said she couldn't live without me no more
Listen mister, can't you see I got to get back
To my baby once-a more
Anyway, yeah!¹⁸³

The song initially had nothing to do with the war but rather a normal young relationship facing challenges of distance. In time soldiers in the war adopted the song. The distance became greater, and the girl was back at home in the States, while the boy was fighting in Vietnam. The authority figure was no longer a father or a boss but rather a commanding officer in the military.

War strains relationships and Vietnam was no different. Young, untested relationships were the hardest to continue with the physical and emotional distance. *The*

¹⁸¹ Song quoted in its entirety as example 12 in Appendix.

¹⁸² The Box Tops, *The Letter*, Bell Records. MALA 565X.

¹⁸³ The Box Tops, *The Letter*.

Letter expressed the strain on these relationships, and although this was not the artists' main intention, became a song about the efforts to keep such relationships alive.

The final song expressing the emotional costs of war is *Leaving on a Jet Plane* (1969) by Peter, Paul, and Mary¹⁸⁴. The song was not overtly about the war, but since the performers were staunchly anti-war, a similar message came through. The song is the tale of a young soldier going to war and stopping to say goodbye to his love. The song portrayed so much emotion that it became an anthem of sorts for departing soldiers leaving for Vietnam.

All my bags are packed, I'm ready to go
I'm standin' here outside your door
I hate to wake you up to say goodbye¹⁸⁵

The chorus of the song portrays the emotions attached to going to war and the pain felt by those who needed to leave one another.

So kiss me and smile for me
Tell me that you'll wait for me
Hold me like you'll never let me go

'Cause I'm leaving on a jet plane
I don't know when I'll be back again
Oh, babe, I hate to go¹⁸⁶

As with *The Letter* this song portrays the challenges faced by the soldiers going to war and the efforts to keep their relationships in tact. Of course, not every relationship was romantic but included the familial bonds and those of friendships. However, this song and *The Letter* focus on romantic relationships.

¹⁸⁴ Song quoted in its entirety as example 13 in Appendix.

¹⁸⁵ Peter, Paul, and Mary, *Leaving on a Jet Plane*. (Albert B. Grossman and Milt Okun) Warner Brothers. Seven Arts. 7340.

¹⁸⁶ Peter, Paul, and Mary, *Leaving on a Jet Plane*.

Previously discussed Mike Williams' *Lonely Soldier* touches on the familial bonds strained in war.

Mike's little son, Junior
Smiling, but with sympathy
All confused he asks a question
He said "Daddy, why must this war be?"¹⁸⁷

The protagonist in the song needs to explain why he has to leave his son for a war that the boy does not understand.

Many protest groups indirectly focused on the emotional destruction of the war. Although their overt messages were about the physical destruction, the emotional costs were addressed by questioning the total cost of the war. The protest groups recognized that real people fought the war and that these people had relationships that the war challenged. The songs of this genre reflected that concern, and that two of the songs went to number one, reflected the public's sympathy with the soldiers who had to leave loved ones behind. The March Against Death, referenced in Chapter 2 of this study, focused on the emotional destructiveness of War. By humanizing the dead Vietnamese and Americans the emotional cost of the war remains important.

War is Unnecessary

The third subcategory presented in this study argues that war is bad because it is unnecessary. There are five songs that made the Billboard Charts reflecting this belief. Chronologically, the first of these songs is *Blowin' in the Wind* (1963)¹⁸⁸. Initially written and performed by Bob Dylan, the style mimicked *Where Have All the Flowers Gone?* by providing a simple protest to war in general. On *Blowin' in the Wind*, Dylan stated that its theme was simply, "Your silence betrays you" meaning that those that do not actively

¹⁸⁷ Mike Williams, *Lonely Soldier*.

¹⁸⁸ Song quoted in its entirety as example 14 in Appendix.

participate in the protest movement contribute to the problems of war.¹⁸⁹

The song asks a series of questions, each one becoming more specific to the issue of war. The song begins with questioning the issue of manhood.

How many Roads must a man walk down
Before you can call him a man?¹⁹⁰

The lyrics questions what defines manhood and wonders how long a man needed testing before society considers him a man. The song goes on to question the issue of peace.

How many seas must a white dove sail
Before she can sleep in the sand?¹⁹¹

In this line, the white dove is a metaphor for peace. The performers question the amount of time it takes for peace to reign. The final part of this first verse is more specific about acts of war.

Yes, an' how many times must the cannon balls fly
Before they're forever banned?¹⁹²

This line is the most specific in the song. The lyrics mention acts of war and question the extent of those acts.

For all these questions, the chorus states that

The answer my friend is blowin' in the wind
The answer is blowin' in the wind¹⁹³

Dylan simply states in this song that all the answers are attainable, but that they are

¹⁸⁹ David Hajdu, *Positively 4th Street: The Lives and Times of Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, Mimi Baez Farina and Richard Farina*(New York: North Point Press,2001), 117.

¹⁹⁰ Peter, Paul, and Mary. *Blowin' in the Wind*, Warner Brothers WS-1507.

¹⁹¹ Peter, Paul, and Mary, *Blowin' in the Wind*.

¹⁹² Peter, Paul, and Mary, *Blowin' in the Wind*.

¹⁹³ Peter, Paul, and Mary, *Blowin' in the Wind*.

illusory at best. The song alludes to the futility of war through this difficult answer throughout the song. The futility of war is especially expressed towards the end of the song with the questions,

Yes, 'n' how many ears must one man have
Before he can hear people cry?
Yes, 'n' how many deaths will it take till he knows
That too many people have died?¹⁹⁴

Dylan questions the necessity of war by expressing that there is no clear definition of winning a war and asks how many people need to die to declare a war victorious.

The song *Universal Soldier*(1965) by Donovan and Glenn Campbell also discusses that the war is unnecessary¹⁹⁵. This song expresses the nature of a soldier fighting for his country, ultimately expressing the universality of the mentality of being a soldier.

He's five-foot-one, and he's six-feet-four,
He fights with missiles and with spears.
He's all of thirty-one, and he's only seventeen,
He's been a soldier for a thousand years.

He's a Catholic, a Hindu, an atheist, a Jain,
A Buddhist, a Baptist, and a Jew.
He knows he shouldn't kill, but he knows he always will
Kill you, my friend, for me, and me for you.

He's fighting for Canada, he's fighting for France,
He's fighting for the U.S.A.
He's fighting for the Russians, and he's fighting for Japan,
And he thinks he'll put an end to war that way.

He's fighting for democracy, he's fighting for the Reds,
He says it's for the peace of all.
He's the one who must decide who's to live and who's to die,
And he never reads the writing on the wall.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ Peter, Paul, and Mary, *Blowin' in the Wind*.

¹⁹⁵ Song quoted in its entirety as example 15 in Appendix.

¹⁹⁶ Glen Campbell, *Universal Soldier*, Capital. 5504.

The song expresses that the soldier fights for his country and its beliefs, regardless of the country of origin. It leads the listener to question the necessity and effectiveness of war because everyone fights for their country and lends the question of who is right if everyone is fighting for their cause. When soldiers of every religion, race and nationality fight for their cause, the causes become less important. The line that states that the soldier is fighting for democracy and communism especially applies to Vietnam, a war of containment of communism.

Turn, Turn, Turn (To Everything there is a Season) (1965) performed by The Byrds is the next song to discuss the necessity of the war¹⁹⁷. The lyricist, Pete Seeger, took the idea for *Turn, Turn, Turn* directly from the book of *Ecclesiastes*¹⁹⁸. The song talks of the different seasons for events in man's life.

To everything (turn, turn, turn)
There is a season (turn, turn, turn)
And a time for every purpose, under heaven¹⁹⁹

What made this song specifically anti-war are the later lines on war and peace.

A time of love, a time of hate
A time of war, a time of peace
A time you may embrace, a time to refrain from embracing²⁰⁰

The song also emphasizes the time for war and peace later with the lines:

¹⁹⁷ Song quoted in its entirety as example 16 in Appendix.

¹⁹⁸ Ecclesiastes 3:1-8: Everything has its time. To everything there is a season. A time for every purpose under heaven. A time to be born; and a time to die. A time to plant; and a time to pluck what has been planted. A time to kill; and a time to heal; A time to break down, And a time to build up; A time to weep, And a time to laugh; A time to mourn, and a time to dance; A time to cast away stones, and a time to gather stones; A time to embrace, and a time to refrain from embracing; A time to gain, and a time to lose; A time to keep, and a time to throw away; A time to tear, and a time to sew; A time to keep silent, and a time to speak; A time to love, and a time to hate; A time of war, and a time of peace.

¹⁹⁹ The Byrds, *Turn, Turn, Turn*. Columbia. 43424.

²⁰⁰ The Byrds, *Turn, Turn, Turn*.

A time to love, a time to hate
A time for peace, I swear its not too late²⁰¹

The song states that there is a time for war, but suggests that now is not the time. Since now is not the time for war, especially the current war, the belief that the Vietnam War is unnecessary comes through. If the time is for peace, and that peace is not impossible to attain, then the song clearly illustrates the belief that war is the incorrect choice.

Bad Moon Rising (1969) by Credence Clearwater Revival also shows that the war is unnecessary. The song alludes to the growing problems in Vietnam, although uses references to natural disasters as the impending crisis. *Bad Moon Rising* is simply a warning for bad things to happen in the future.

I see a bad moon arising.
I see trouble on the way.
I see earthquakes and lightnin'.
I see bad times today.²⁰²

Throughout the song, the prediction of doom and gloom remains a theme. The song is categorized in the sub-category of war being unnecessary because of the alternatives that present themselves. If the war only brings bad things to society, then the war is unnecessary. Presumably, we fight a war to make society better, but when the war seems not to make the situation better, we must abandon the battle. Song writer, John Fogerty, continues his warnings with the chorus:

Don't go around tonight, Well, it's bound to take your life, There's a bad moon on the rise.²⁰³

This warning that the bad things (The war) are only going to take the life of the soldiers

²⁰¹ The Byrds, *Turn, Turn, Turn*.

²⁰² Credence Clearwater Revival, *Bad Moon Rising*, Fantasy 634.

²⁰³ Credence Clearwater Revival, *Bad Moon Rising*.

presents strong anti-draft sentiments. Later in the song, Fogerty discusses the necessity of preparedness for death.

Hope you got your things together.
Hope you are quite prepared to die.
Looks like we're in for nasty weather.
One eye is taken for an eye.²⁰⁴

The song illustrates the belief that the only thing that comes from war is death and destruction, again making war unnecessary.

The final song that states that the war is unnecessary is *On Campus* (1969) by Dickie Goodman²⁰⁵. The song is satirical interpretation of events at a campus riot against the war. The song is a mock interview with various important figure heads involved with the war and with racial issues on campuses across America. The interviewer, Walter Funkite, a reference to Walter Cronkite, asks questions relating to the war and events of the campus riot. The figure heads respond with tag lines from popular songs of the time. The song in general makes a mockery of the war and the issues of the day, thus showing that the war is unnecessary and comical.

That Dickie Goodman chooses the campus to discuss the humor behind the events of the war shows the growing tensions on campuses. Students chose to protest the war on campuses because they felt that they had the most influence there. The famous Kent State and Jackson State problems were not to happen until May 1970, so the campus remained a good source for political unrest. The fact that the Kent State and Jackson State killing occurred a year later shows that political unrest on campus did get the attention of the political leaders. *On Campus* illustrated the ever growing tensions occurring throughout

²⁰⁴ Credence Clearwater Revival, *Bad Moon Rising*.

²⁰⁵ Song quoted in its entirety as example 18 in Appendix.

the country.

War is Immoral

The forth and final type of epideictic song is the subcategory that states that war is bad because it is immoral. There are four songs in this subcategory. Most of these songs entered the charts in 1969, late in the protest movement, with one charting in 1967. This presence fits in with the known movements of the protest groups. Later in the war, protest groups focused on the immorality of the war and on the large number of people sent to war. As discussed in the earlier chapters, the anti-war movement held its large March Against Death in Washington in November of 1969. Protesters began to focus on the immorality of war because no other strategy had worked in the prevention of war.

A Letter to Dad (1967) by Every Fathers Teenage Son is chronologically the first song that belongs in this subcategory²⁰⁶. This spoken word song was written as a response to another spoken word song, this one anti-war, *An Open Letter to My Teenage Son* by Victor Lundberg²⁰⁷. *Open Letter* debuted at number 10 in November 1967. Lundberg's song is a letter to the teenage generation addressing the war and other teenage problems. Lundberg's song refers to draft card burners and admits that although war is immoral, most wars proved necessary. He ends the song with the line: "And if you decide to burn your draft card, then burn your birth certificate at the same time. From that moment on, I have no son!"²⁰⁸

As a response to this song, Every Father's Teenage Son produced a spoken word song that addresses all the issues in Lundberg's song. Although less commercially

²⁰⁶ Song quoted in its entirety as example 20 in Appendix.

²⁰⁷ Song quoted in its entirety as example 19 in Appendix. This is the only song quoted that takes a pro-war stance, but the lyrics are important in understanding the meaning behind *A letter to Dad*.

²⁰⁸ Victor Lundberg, *Open Letter to My Teenage Son*, Liberty LST-7547.

successful than *Open Letter*, the song made the Billboard charts, showing that the issues presented were important to the consumer. In response to the claim that war is immoral, but inevitable, *A Letter to Dad* adds:

I'm glad to see that you think
All the past wars were immoral
Here, we surely agree

But then you make
A different assumption than I
You say they were necessary
And I don't agree

I've spent long hours over this question
And find that I must hold
That war is not inevitable
That man's greatest goal should be
To avoid war at all costs²⁰⁹

The lyricist of the song believes that war is wrong at all costs and disagrees with *Open Letter to My Teenage Son* in the belief that war remains inevitable. Finally, in response to the dad's threat to disown his son, *Letter to Dad* states:

And understanding the dangers
Of a too hardened patriotism
I choose to burn my draft card
Then, Dad, it will be you who will
Have to burn my birth certificate

And although you stopped calling me son
I'll never stop calling you Dad.²¹⁰

The son believes that although they fundamentally disagree with the rationality of war, they should not fall apart as a family. By stating that his dad should burn his birth certificate, he shows that his beliefs are strong enough to stand up for.

Fortunate Son (1969) by Credence Clearwater Revival also discusses the

²⁰⁹ Every Father's Teenage Son, *A Letter to Dad*. (Inherit Productions) Buddah 25.

²¹⁰ Every Father's Teenage Son, *A Letter to Dad*

immorality of war²¹¹. In this song, lyricist John Fogerty discusses a different type of immorality presented with the war, that of the inequality in the draft system. Fogerty argues that the poor and middle class had to go to war, while the rich could avoid the war through different opportunities presented to them. First, Fogerty discusses the lack of patriotism felt by his peers.

Some folks are born made to wave the flag,
Ooh, they're red, white and blue.
And when the band plays "Hail to the chief",
Ooh, they point the cannon at you, Lord,

It ain't me, it ain't me, I ain't no senator's son, son.
It ain't me, it ain't me; I ain't no fortunate one, no,²¹²

In this verse, Fogerty states that he is not a senator's son and not fortunate enough to have the inherent patriotism needed to support the war and the president. Throughout the song, this lack of patriotism continues as a reason why the subject of the song does not want to go to war.

The next verse discusses that although the wealthy support the war, there is little financial support for the country.

Some folks are born silver spoon in hand,
Lord, don't they help themselves, oh.
But when the taxman comes to the door,
Lord, the house looks like a rummage sale, yes,²¹³

Fogerty argues that the wealthy want to have all the advantages that wealth brings them but continue to seek ways to avoid taxes which support the country.

Finally, on the war itself Fogerty again sites his lack of patriotism as a means of

²¹¹ Lyrics quoted in their entirety as example 21 in Appendix.

²¹² Credence Clearwater Revival, *Fortunate Son* (John Fogerty) Fantasy 634.

²¹³ Credence Clearwater Revival, *Fortunate Son*

avoiding the war.

Some folks inherit star spangled eyes,
Ooh, they send you down to war, Lord,
And when you ask them, "How much should we give?"
Ooh, they only answer More! more! more! yoh,²¹⁴

Fogerty argues that the leaders, who are inherently patriotic, send people to war, and they only want to continue sending more troops. The poor, according to the song, have no rights to protest the demands for troops, and can only follow what military leaders ask of them. Throughout the song, Fogerty states that he is not a “fortunate son” meaning that his peers cannot avoid the war through the connections their wealth offers them. Instead they are subject to the war and the draft.

The problems with inequality in the draft were real. Although all young men were subject to the draft, largely it was the poor and middle class who had to go to Vietnam. The wealthy often got deferments to the draft through education as those attending college in good standing did not have to go to Vietnam. This was at a time when mostly wealthy people could attend any college or university, especially throughout the majority of the war years. Also, wealth draftees often acquired stateside military jobs if they did get drafted, so were in less danger of being sent to Vietnam. *Fortunate Son* discussed these issues openly and brought the inequality of the draft system to light.

The next song to discuss the immorality of war is *One Tin Soldier (The Legend of Billie Jack)* (1969) by The Original Caste²¹⁵. *One Tin Soldier* is about a mountain kingdom thrown into war for the wrong reasons. The people in the valley heard of a treasure on the mountain and vows to capture the treasure and start a war with the mountain people in order to succeed at their goal. The valley people send word of the

²¹⁴ Credence Clearwater Revival, *Fortunate Son*

²¹⁵ Lyrics quoted in their entirety as example 22 in Appendix.

impending war to the mountain people, and in response the mountain people offer to share their treasure with the warring valley. This is not good enough however, and the valley wages war on the mountain, killing everyone on the opposing side. After the war, the valley people went to collect the treasure and found the words, "Peace on Earth." This was the treasure that the mountain people held as their secret, all they wanted was peace. The chorus of the song tells of the valley people's justification for war.

Go ahead and hate your neighbor
Go ahead and cheat a friend
Do it in the name of Heaven
You can justify it in the end
There won't be any trumpets blowing
Come the judgment day
On the bloody morning after
One tin soldier rides away²¹⁶

The moral of the song is that war is immoral because it is often fought for the wrong reasons. The people of the valley sought the treasure for themselves and although the mountain people offered to share it with them, this was not good enough. The chorus states that people often feel that if their actions are justified, they can behave in any way they want. The treasure in the end is the ironic belief in peace. That people fight for peace on earth is ironic to the lyricist. People within the peace movement found this concept of fighting to obtain peace ironic as well and remained one of their biggest complaints about the war.

Alice's Rock and Roll Restaurant by Arlo Guthrie is the final epideictic song about the immorality of the war²¹⁷. The song also goes by the title *Alice's Restaurant Massacree*. Copyrighted in 1966, the song begins by telling a seemingly unimportant

²¹⁶ Original Caste, *One Tin Soldier (The Legend of Billie Jack)* (Dennis Lambert and Bryan Potter) TA 186.

²¹⁷ Lyrics quoted in their entirety as example 23 in Appendix.

story about a few friends arrested for littering. Guthrie then states that this is not the purpose of the song, but that he wants to discuss the draft.²¹⁸

They got a buildin' down in New York City called
Whitehall Street, where you walk in, you get injected,
inspected, detected, infected, neglected and selected!²¹⁹

Guthrie continues his story by stating that one of the officials ordered him to report to the psychiatrist in room 604.

I went up there, I said, "Shrink, I wanna kill. I wanna kill! I
wanna see blood and gore and guts and veins in my teeth!
Eat dead, burnt bodies! I mean: Kill, Kill!"

And I started jumpin' up and down, yellin', "KILL! KILL!"
and he started jumpin' up and down with me, and we was
both jumpin' up and down yellin', "KILL, KILL!"

and the sergeant came over, pinned a medal on me, sent me
down the hall, said, "You're our boy!" Didn't feel too good
about it.²²⁰

This passage tells of the violence associated with the chosen soldiers. The sergeant agreed with Guthrie's desire to "Kill, Kill" shows that Guthrie believed that the military sought out bloodthirsty soldiers to fight in Vietnam. His statement, "Didn't feel too good about it." shows that Guthrie did not want to fight in Vietnam and made a mistake in his attempts to fail his psychological evaluation.

Later in the evaluating process, a sergeant asks if Guthrie had a criminal record. Guthrie tells the sergeant the story about the littering, that he had to go to court and that he had to pay a fine and clean up the litter. The sergeant instructs him to go into a room with other people who may not be "Moral" enough to join the military. There he had to

²¹⁸ Arlo Guthrie, *Alice's Rock and Roll Restaurant*. Reprise RS-6267.

²¹⁹ Arlo Guthrie, *Alice's Rock and Roll Restaurant*.

²²⁰ Arlo Guthrie, *Alice's Rock and Roll Restaurant*.

formally describe his crime.²²¹

After he fills out the paperwork, he realizes that there is one more question. “Kid, have you rehabilitated yourself?” This question, above all the proceedings angers Guthrie.

I went over to the sergeant. I said, "Sergeant, you got a lot of God-dammed gall to ask me if I've rehabilitated myself! I mean--I mean-- that you send-- I'm sittin' here on the bench-- I mean I'm sittin' here on the Group W bench, 'cause you want to know if I'm moral enough to join the army, burn women, kids, houses and villages after bein' a litterbug."²²²

Guthrie then tells the listener that the point of the song is to help those in similar situations. Instead of trying to show that you are violent in the psychiatric evaluation, chant the chorus to Alice’s Restaurant as a means of protesting the war. The song is slow to get to the anti-war theme but eventually makes a hard stand against the war. The rambling nature of the lyrics between spoken word and the chorus shows the evolution of the drug themed music. Throughout the first part of the song, the listener questions the validity of the song. The song seems to be about the misadventures of friends driving a Volkswagen Bus. Later in the song, it tells of a young draftee attempting to avoid the war. The song continues in its bumbling nature until the end when Guthrie sings and repeats the chorus.

The increasing use of drugs remains a major theme in this period of American music. Songs of this era featured drug messages and some felt that drug use helped explain the meanings of these songs. “The word got around that in order to “get” the

²²¹ Arlo Guthrie, *Alice’s Rock and Roll Restaurant*.

²²² Arlo Guthrie, *Alice’s Rock and Roll Restaurant*.

song, and others like it, you had to smoke this apparently angelic drug. . . Lyrics became more elaborate, compressed, and obscure, images more gnarled, the total effect nonlinear, translinear. Without grass, you were an outsider looking in.”²²³

Epidictic Summary

The epidictic songs from 1960 through 1969 show the various aspects of the anti-war movement without suggesting specific change. Instead, the songs tell the audience why the war is bad. In the eyes of the lyricists, the war is bad for many reasons. The war is physically and emotionally destructive, unnecessary, and finally the war is immoral. These headings correlate with the efforts of the protest movement just as the songs presented in the deliberative category. As shown in the chapter on the protest movement, the epidictic songs show the varied goals of the protest groups themselves. The groups varied in the goals, but at one time or another, the groups argued the specific categories presented in this study.

²²³ Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 201.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The central question of this study is, to what extent do the lyrics of the songs presented through Billboard fit into Kizer's work and then into definitive subcategories suggested by this study and also what historical prospective the songs present? In short, do the lyricists of the protest songs follow patterns or are their songs random?

Results

In her study, Elizabeth Kizer found that there were two types of protest songs, deliberative and epideictic. This study agrees that the songs presented from 1960 to 1969 in the *Billboard* "Hot 100" charts fit into those two main categories. In addition to fitting these songs into their appropriate main category, this study created several subcategories in order to better represent the true meaning of the songs. These subcategories answered main questions inherent with the definitions presented by Kizer for deliberative and epideictic. Kizer defines deliberative songs as those whose intention is to promote change. These songs suggest an action that the listener should take. In order to sub-categorize these songs, this study addresses the question what action needs to be taken? There are three main answers that arise from rhetorical examination of the songs within the deliberative category; education, peaceful protest, and violent upheaval.

Kizer defines her second category, epideictic, as those whose sole purpose is to state that the war is wrong. The inherent question that arises with this definition is why is the war wrong? There are four main sub-categories that present themselves through rhetorical examination of the songs available; physical destruction, emotional destruction,

lack of necessity, and immorality.

The application of the subcategories enabled this study to show a close correlation between the shifting ideology of the Vietnam protest movement and the rhetorical devices in the songs that were popular during this period. Although the songs presented in this study do not seem to have much in common initially, short of their anti-war theme, many of them prove through the use of subcategories to have main themes in common.

The songs' popularity illustrates the historical perspective related to the song lyrics. For example, as discussed earlier *Where Have all The Flowers Gone?* was commercially popular upon its initial release in 1962 and again on its re-release in 1965. Historically, these release dates and popularity remain important because it illustrates the perspective of the listener and what events proved important.

This study concludes that with the songs presented in *Billboard* "Hot 100" from 1960-1969, that indeed lyricist follow historical and analytical patterns. Every song presented falls into first the categories presented in Kizer's study but also the subcategories presented in this study. This shows that the protest songs were not just random acts of protest but rather a thought out presentation of historical and rhetorical significance.

Necessary Further Research

In the interest of providing a scientifically fair research group of songs, this study uses those that charted between 1960 and 1969. This study acknowledges that this is a small amount of the total protest songs in the years of the war. First, the war continued past 1969, so this study can be applied to the *Billboard* charts from 1970 to the end of the

war. Second, many songs that were popular amongst the protesters did not achieve commercial popularity. Popular protest artists such as Pete Seeger never charted with *Billboard* due to his being banned from commercial radio stations. Further research is needed to illustrate that songs not mentioned in this study still fall into the main categories and that a subcategory system can be applied to them.

How the Movement and the Music fit Together

The Vietnam protest movement remains one of the most controversial moments in American history. Many returning veterans did not receive the heroes' welcome that they deserved for defending our country, but protestors questioned the motives of the government for the war in the first place. The Vietnam War was fought as a war of containment, but the efforts of containment proved unnecessary as the "domino effect" never occurred.

This controversy fed into the music of the Vietnam era. There were many pro-war and anti-war songs. These songs had historical significance which shows the diverse goals of both groups within the war. This study focused on the anti-war songs and shows the various goals of the anti-war movement.

The songs spoke of very real issues within the protest movement and many applied to the vast anti-war movement in general. On the surface, the only common ground in these songs is the anti-war message, but on further examination, the songs signify more common messages.

The songs speak of the immorality of war and that all war is usually unnecessary. The main point of this study remains, how these songs speak of these problems and what overall message the songs present. This study shows the varying ways that the protest

music connected together to form the very fabric of the movement itself.

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APPENDIX

SONG LYRICS

Songs quoted in the order they appear in chapter three.

Example 1:

For What it's Worth

lyricist: David Ippolito

There's something happening here
What it is ain't exactly clear
There's a man with a gun over there
A-telling me I got to beware

I think it's time we
Stop children, what's that sound
Everybody look what's going down

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

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

What a field-day for the heat
A thousand people in the street
Singing songs and a-carryin' signs
Mostly say, hooray for our side

It's time we stop, hey, what's that sound
Everybody look what's going down
Paranoia strikes deep

Into your life it will creep
It starts when you're always afraid
Step out of line
The man come and take you away

We better stop, hey, what's that sound
Everybody look what's goin'

Stop, hey, what's that sound
Everybody look what's goin'

Stop, now, what's that sound
Everybody look what's goin'

Stop, children, what's that sound
Everybody look what's going down

Example 2:

We Can Work it Out

Lyricist: John Lennon and Paul McCartney

Try to see it my way,
Do I have to keep on talking till I can't go on?
While you see it your way,
Run the risk of knowing that our love may soon be gone.

We can work it out,
We can work it out.

Think of what you're saying.
You can get it wrong and still you think that it's all right.
Think of what I'm saying,
We can work it out and get it straight, or say good night.

We can work it out,
We can work it out.

Life is very short, and there's no time
For fussing and fighting, my friend.
I have always thought that it's a crime,
So I will ask you once again.

Try to see it my way,
Only time will tell if I am right or I am wrong.
While you see it your way
There's a chance that we might fall apart before too long.

We can work it out,
We can work it out.

Life is very short, and there's no time

For fussing and fighting, my friend.
I have always thought that it's a crime,
So I will ask you once again.

Try to see it my way,
Only time will tell if I am right or I am wrong.
While you see it your way
There's a chance that we might fall apart before too long.

We can work it out,
We can work it out.

Example 3:
Get Together

Lyricist: Chet Powers aka Dino Valentine

Love is but a song to sing
Fear's the way we die
You can make the mountains ring
Or make the angels cry
Though the bird is on the wing
And you may not know why

Come on people now
Smile on your brother
Everybody get together
Try to love one another
Right now

Some may come and some may go
We shall surely pass
When the one that left us here
Returns for us at last
We are but a moment's sunlight
Fading in the grass

Come on people now
Smile on your brother
Everybody get together
Try to love one another
Right now

Come on people now
Smile on your brother
Everybody get together

Try to love one another
Right now

Come on people now
Smile on your brother
Everybody get together
Try to love one another
Right now

If you hear the song I sing
You will understand (listen!)
You hold the key to love and fear
All in your trembling hand
Just one key unlocks them both
It's there at you command

Come on people now
Smile on your brother
Everybody get together
Try to love one another
Right now

Come on people now
Smile on your brother
Everybody get together
Try to love one another
Right now

Come on people now
Smile on your brother
Everybody get together
Try to love one another
Right now

Right now ... Right now.....

Example 4:
Peace, Brother, Peace
Lyricist: Bill Medley

Peace, brother, peace
Peace, brother, peace
All of my sisters
All of my brothers

Peace, peace, peace

I want you
To tell them to love
Everybody's got to
Love, love, love

All of my sisters
All of my brothers
Love, love, love

No more talking
Everything we say
It has been said before

Time for feeling
Reaching down into your heart
And even more

Time for giving your
Hand to your brother
Time for changing
The man that you are
Time to work out
Love on each other

Time for peace
Time for peace
Time for peace
I said peace
I said peace
Time for peace

We gotta get together
Do a little giving
Change our way of thinking
Change our way of living

And Lord, Lord
We've got to stop the hating
And no time left for crying
When the kids are going hungry
And the good men are dying

Got to be now, now
Got to be now, now

We got to go ahead
And climb that mountain
Got to find a way somehow

Got to have peace
We got to have peace, peace
Lord, we got to have peace

Please tell my brother
Somehow, somehow
I got to reach you
All my sisters
All my brothers
Peace, peace, peace

Example 5
Give Peace a Chance
Lyricist: John Lennon

Two, one two three four
Ev'rybody's talking about
Bagism, Shagism, Dragism, Madism, Ragism, Tagism
This-ism, that-ism, is-m, is-m, is-m.
All we are saying is give peace a chance
All we are saying is give peace a chance

C'mon
Ev'rybody's talking about Ministers,
Sinisters, Banisters and canisters
Bishops and Fishops and Rabbis and Pop eyes,
And bye bye, bye byes.

All we are saying is give peace a chance
All we are saying is give peace a chance

Let me tell you now
Ev'rybody's talking about
Revolution, evolution, masturbation,
Flagellation, regulation, integrations,
Meditations, United Nations,
Congratulations.

All we are saying is give peace a chance
All we are saying is give peace a chance

Ev'rybody's talking about
John and Yoko, Timmy Leary, Rosemary,
Tommy Smothers, Bobby Dylan, Tommy Cooper,
Derek Taylor, Norman Mailer,
Alan Ginsberg, Hare Krishna,
Hare, Hare Krishna

All we are saying is give peace a chance
All we are saying is give peace a chance

Example 6

Volunteers

Lyricist: Marty Balen

Look what's happening out in the streets
Got a revolution got to revolution
Hey I'm dancing down the streets
Got a revolution got to revolution
Ain't it amazing all the people I meet
Got a revolution got to revolution

One generation got old
One generation got soul
This generation got no destination to hold
Pick up the cry

Hey now it's time for you and me
Got a revolution got to revolution
Come on now we're marching to the sea
got a revolution got to revolution
Who will take it from you
We will and who are we?
We are volunteers of America

Example 7

Where Have All the Flowers Gone?

Lyricist: Pete Seeger

Where have all the flowers gone
Long time passing
Where have all the flowers gone
Long time ago
Where have all the flowers gone
Young girls have picked them, every one
Oh, when will they ever learn

Oh, when will they ever learn

Where have all the young girls gone
Long time passing
Where have all the young girls gone
Long time ago
Where have all the young girls gone
Gone for husbands, every one
Oh, when will they ever learn
Oh, when will they ever learn

Where have all the husbands gone
Long time passing
Where have all the husbands gone
Long time ago
Where have all the husbands gone
Gone for soldiers, every one
Oh, when will they ever learn
Oh, when will they ever learn

Where have all the soldiers gone
Long time passing
Where have all the soldiers gone
Long time ago
Where have all the soldiers gone
Gone to graveyards, every one
Oh, when will they ever learn
Oh, when will they ever learn

Where have all the graveyards gone
Long time passing
Where have all the graveyards gone
Long time ago
Where have all the graveyards gone
Gone to flowers, every one
Oh, when will they ever learn
Oh, when will they ever learn

Where have all the flowers gone
Long time passing
Where have all the flowers gone
Long time ago
Where have all the flowers gone
Young girls have picked them, every one
Oh, when will they ever learn
Oh, when will they ever learn

Example 8
Eve of Destruction
Lyricist: P.F. Sloan

Eastern world, it is explodin',
Violence flarin', bullets loadin'.
You're old enough to kill, but not for votin',
You don't believe in war -- but what's that gun you're totin'?
An' even the Jordan river has bodies floatin'.

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

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

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

Yeah, my blood's so mad feels like coagulatin',
I'm sittin' here just contemplatin'.
I can't twist the truth, it knows no regulation,
Handful of senators don't pass legislation,
An' marches alone can't bring integration
When human respect is disintegratin',
This whole crazy world is just too frustratin'.

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

Think of all the hate there is in Red China,
Then take a look around to Selma, Alabama.
Ah, you may leave here for four days in space,
But when you return it's the same ol' place,
The poundin' of the drums, the pride an' disgrace.
You can bury your dead, but don't leave a trace.
Hate your next-door neighbor, but don't forget to say grace,

An' tell me, over and over and over and over again, my friend,
You don't believe we're on the eve of destruction,
No, no, you don't believe we're on the eve of destruction.

Example 9
Unknown Soldier
Lyricist: Jim Morrison

Wait until the war is over
And we're both a little older
The unknown soldier

Breakfast where the news is read
Television children fed
Unborn living, living, dead
Bullet strikes the helmet's head

And it's all over
For the unknown soldier
It's all over
For the unknown soldier

Hut
Hut
Hut ho hee up
Hut
Hut
Hut ho hee up
Hut
Hut
Hut ho hee up
Comp'nee
Halt
Preeee-zent!
Arms!

Make a grave for the unknown soldier
Nestled in your hollow shoulder
The unknown soldier

Breakfast where the news is read
Television children fed
Bullet strikes the helmet's head

And, it's all over
The war is over
It's all over
The war is over
Well, all over, baby
All over, baby

Oh, over, yeah
All over, baby
Wooooo, hah-hah
All over
All over, baby
Oh, whoa-yeah
All over
All over
Heeeeyyyy

Example 10

Cruel War

Lyricist: Noel Paul Stookey and Peter Yarrow

The cruel war is raging, Johnny
Has to fight
And I long to be with him from
Morning till night
I long to be with him, it grieves
my heart so
Won't you let me come with you?
No, my love no

Tomorrow is Sunday, Monday is
the day
Your captain will call you and you
must obey
Your captain will call you, it
grieves my heart so
Won't you let me come with you?
No, my love no, no, no, my love no
No, no my love, no

But I could tie back my hair,
Men's clothing I'll put on
And I could march as your
Comrade as we go along
I could pass as your comrade, no
one will ever know
Won't you let me come with you?
No, my love no

Now Johnny, oh Johnny, I feel
that you are unkind
You know I love you far better
than all of mankind

Yes I love you far better than
words could ever express
Please won't you let me come
with you?
Yes, yes, my love, yes
Oh yes, yes, yes

So we marched into battle
together side by side
With hope in our hearts and love
in our eyes
And we marched onto victory to
wear our bands of gold
Did I ever love another?
No, my love no, no, no, no, my love
no
No, no, my love no, no, no, my
love no
Will I ever love another? No, my
love no

Example 11

Lonely Soldier

Lyricist: Mike Williams

I'm a lonely soldier
Many miles from home
With a heart that's heavy
But with a will that's strong

Behind I left a woman
So, so dear to me
I'm off to fight a war
That they say could make me free

And I'm a lonely soldier
I'm a lonely soldier
I'm a lonely, lonely, lonely, lonely soldier
Won't somebody have mercy on me

Mike's little son, Junior
Smiling, but with sympathy
All confused he asks a question
He said "Daddy, why must this war be?"

I tried so very hard, yes I did
So very hard I tried to explain
But it seemed like all effort and trying
It all seemed to be in vain

And oh lord, tired of hearing people crying
Lord. I'm tired of seeing people dying
But I promise to wait patiently
For that sweet voice of liberty

And oh, I'm so lonely
I'm so lonely
So lonely...

Example 12

The Letter

Lyricist: Wayne Carson Thompson

Give me a ticket for an aeroplane
I ain't got time to take a fast train
Lonely days are gone
I'm going home, because my baby just wrote me
a letter

I don't care how much money I've got to spend
I've got to get back to my baby again
Lonely days are gone
I'm going home; my baby just wrote me a letter

(x2):

Well she wrote me a letter, said she couldn't live without me no more
Listen mister, can't you see I've got to get back to my baby once more?
Anyway, yeah,
Give me a ticket for an aeroplane
I ain't got time to take a fast train
Lonely days are gone
I'm going home, because my baby just wrote me a letter

My baby just wrote me a letter

Example 13
Leaving on a Jet Plane
Lyricist: John Denver

All my bags are packed, I'm ready to go
I'm standin' here outside your door
I hate to wake you up to say goodbye

But the dawn is breakin', it's early morn
The taxi's waitin', he's blowin' his horn
Already I'm so lonesome I could die

So kiss me and smile for me
Tell me that you'll wait for me
Hold me like you'll never let me go

'Cause I'm leaving on a jet plane
I don't know when I'll be back again
Oh, babe, I hate to go

There's so many times I've let you down
So many times I've played around
I'll tell you now, they don't mean a thing

Every place I go, I think of you
Every song I sing, I sing for you
When I come back I'll wear your wedding ring

So kiss me and smile for me
Tell me that you'll wait for me
Hold me like you'll never let me go

'Cause I'm leaving on a jet plane
I don't know when I'll be back again
Oh, babe, I hate to go

Now the time has come to leave you
One more time, oh, let me kiss you
Then close your eyes and I'll be on my way

Dream about the days to come
When I won't have to leave alone
About the times that I won't have to say ...

Oh, kiss me and smile for me
Tell me that you'll wait for me

Hold me like you'll never let me go

'Cause I'm leaving on a jet plane
I don't know when I'll be back again
Oh, babe, I hate to go

And I'm leaving on a jet plane
I don't know when I'll be back again
Oh, babe, I hate to go

But I'm leaving on a jet plane
(Ah ah ah ah)
Leaving on a jet plane
(Ah ah ah ah)
Leaving on a jet plane
(Ah ah ah ah)
Leaving on a jet plane
(Ah ah ah ah)
Leaving on a jet plane
(Ah ah ah ah)
Leaving on a jet plane
(Ah ah ah ah)
Leaving on a jet plane
(Ah ah ah ah)
Leaving on a jet plane
(Ah ah ah ah)
(Leaving) On a jet plane

Example 14
Blowin' in the Wind
Lyricist: Bob Dylan

How many roads must a man walk down
Before you call him a man?
Yes, 'n' how many seas must a white dove sail
Before she sleeps in the sand?
Yes, 'n' how many times must the cannon balls fly
Before they're forever banned?
The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind,
The answer is blowin' in the wind.

How many years can a mountain exist
Before it's washed to the sea?
Yes, 'n' how many years can some people exist
Before they're allowed to be free?
Yes, 'n' how many times can a man turn his head,

Pretending he just doesn't see?
The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind,
The answer is blowin' in the wind.

How many times must a man look up
Before he can see the sky?
Yes, 'n' how many ears must one man have
Before he can hear people cry?
Yes, 'n' how many deaths will it take till he knows
That too many people have died?
The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind,
The answer is blowin' in the wind.

Example 15

Universal Soldier

Lyricist: Buffy Sainte-Marie

He's five-foot-one, and he's six-feet-four,
He fights with missiles and with spears.
He's all of thirty-one, and he's only seventeen,
He's been a soldier for a thousand years.

He's a Catholic, a Hindu, an atheist, a Jain,
A Buddhist, a Baptist, and a Jew.
He knows he shouldn't kill, but he knows he always will
Kill you, my friend, for me, and me for you.

He's fighting for Canada, he's fighting for France,
He's fighting for the U.S.A.
He's fighting for the Russians, and he's fighting for Japan,
And he thinks he'll put an end to war that way.

He's fighting for democracy, he's fighting for the Reds,
He says it's for the peace of all.
He's the one who must decide who's to live and who's to die,
And he never reads the writing on the wall.

But without him how would Hitler have condemned him at Dachau?
Without him, Caesar would have stood alone.
He's the one who gives his body as the weapon of the war,
And without him all this killing can't go on.

Yes, he's the Universal Soldier, and he really is to blame:
His orders come from far away, no more.
They come from him and you and me, and brothers, can't you see?
This is not the way to put an end to war.

Example 16
Turn, Turn, Turn (To Everything there is a Season)
Lyricist: Pete Seeger

from Ecclesiastes 3:1-8)

To everything
(Turn, turn, turn)
There is a season
(Turn, turn, turn)
And a time to every purpose
Under Heaven

A time to be born, a time to die
A time to plant, a time to reap
A time to kill, a time to heal
A time to laugh, a time to weep

To everything
(Turn, turn, turn)
There is a season
(Turn, turn, turn)
And a time to every purpose
Under Heaven

A time to build up, a time to break down
A time to dance, a time to mourn
A time to cast away stones, a time to gather stones together

To everything
(Turn, turn, turn)
There is a season
(Turn, turn, turn)
And a time to every purpose
Under Heaven

A time of war, a time of peace
A time to love, a time to hate
A time you may embrace, a time to refrain from embracing

To everything
(Turn, turn, turn)
There is a season
(Turn, turn, turn)
And a time to every purpose

Under Heaven

A time to gain, a time to lose
A time to rend, a time to sow
A time for love, a time for hate
A time for peace, I swear it's not too late.

Example 17
Bad Moon Rising
Lyricist: John Fogerty

I see a bad moon arising.
I see trouble on the way.
I see earthquakes and lightnin'.
I see bad times today.

Don't go around tonight,
Well, it's bound to take your life,
There's a bad moon on the rise.

I hear hurricanes a-blowing.
I know the end is coming soon.
I fear rivers overflowing.
I hear the voice of rage and ruin.

Don't go around tonight,
Well, it's bound to take your life,
There's a bad moon on the rise.
All right!

Hope you got your things together.
Hope you are quite prepared to die.
Looks like we're in for nasty weather.
One eye is taken for an eye.

Don't go around tonight,
Well, it's bound to take your life,
There's a bad moon on the rise.

Don't go around tonight,
Well, it's bound to take your life,
There's a bad moon on the rise.

Example 18
On Campus
Lyricist: Dickie Goodman

This is Walter Funkite,
On the campus of Fun City College
Where a slight difference of opinion
Seems to be taking place
Between the students and local authorities who say,
"Ahhh ahhh ahhh ahhhh"

With me is Mr. Happiness,
Mayor Daily of Chicago.
Mr. Mayor, what do you see here today?
"Hair, long beautiful hair."

The student leader is replying to Mayor Daily.
"Thank you baby."

We switch you now,
To the White House in Washington.
The President has a statement to make
To the students,
"It's your thing, do what you wanna do."

This is Walter Funkite, back on Campus.
"Ahhh ahhh ahhh ahhhh"

One of the students has an important question,
"Where's the playground, Suzy?"

Governor Wallace has come up from Alabama
For a few laughs.
Governor, what do you see taking place here?
"I see, a bad moon rising."

A student has something to say to Governor Wallace.
"To know, know, know you, is to love, love, love you."

We switch you again to Washington,
Where we hear Vice President Agnew,
Finishing his speech.
"So on, and so on, and doobie doobie do."

This is Walter Funkite, back on Campus, again.
"Ahhh ahhh ahhh ahhhh"

The tension is mounting.
Here is Adam Clayton Powell,
"Ahhhhhhhhhh"

Uh, uh, Mr. Powell,
What is it you really want?
"I don't want nobody, to give me nothin'."

There's U. B. Humphrey.
What seems to be the trouble?
"I've been hurt, hurt, hurt, hurt."

Mayor Lindsay and the City Council
Have come to Fun City College
At their own expense
To say something of momentous importance.
"This is the dawning of the age of Aquarius."

Together in the throng
Are Governor Regan and Rap Brown.
Governor, where did you two first meet?
"In the ghetto."

Mr. Brown, how does a controversy like this usually end?
"Only the strong survive."

This is Walter Funkite,
Signing off with the playing of my theme song,
"Oh happy days"

Example 19

Open Letter to My Teenage Son

Lyricist: Victor Lundberg

Dear son
You ask my reaction to long hair or beards on young people.
Some great men have worn long hair and beards... George Washington
And Abraham Lincoln. If to you long hair or a beard is a symbol of
Independence, if you believe in your heart that the principles
Of this country, our heritage, is worthy of this display of pride,
That all men shall remain free, that free men at all times will not
Inflict their personal limitations of achievement on others, that
Demands your own rights as well as the rights of others, and be
Willing to fight for this right, you have my blessing.

You ask that I not judge you merely as a teenager, to judge
You on your own personal habits, abilities and goals. This is a
Fair request and I promise that I will not judge any person only as
A teenager if you will constantly remind yourself that some of my
Generation judge people by their race, their belief or the color
Of their skin and that this is no more right than saying all
Teenagers are drunken dope addicts or glue sniffers. If you will
Judge every human being on his own individual potential, I will
Do the same.

You ask me if God is dead. This is a question each individual
Must answer within himself. But a warm summer day with all it's
Brightness, all it's sound, all it's exhilarating breathiness
Just happened? God is love. Remember that God is a guide and not
A storm trooper. Realize that many of the past and present
Generation because of a well intended but unjustifiable
Misconception, have attempted to legislate morality. This created
Part of the basis for your generations need to rebel against
Our society. With this knowledge perhaps your children will never ask Is
God dead?. I sometimes think much of mankind is attempting to work Him to
Death.

You ask my opinion of draft card burners. I would answer this way. All
Past wars have been dirty, unfair, immoral, bloody and second-guessed.
However, history has shown most of them necessary. If you doubt that our
Free enterprise system in the United States is worth protecting, if you
Doubt the principles upon which this country was founded, that we remain
Free to choose our religion, our individual endeavors, our method of
Government, if you doubt that each free individual in this great country
Should reap rewards commensurate only with his own efforts, than it is
Doubtful you belong here. If you doubt that people who govern us should be
Selected by their desire to allow us to strive for any goal we feel
Capable of obtaining than it's doubtful you should participate in their
Selection. If you are not grateful to a country that gave your father the
Opportunity to work for his family to give you the things you have and you
Do not feel pride enough to fight for your right to continue in this
Manner than I assume the blame for your failure to recognize the true
Value of our birthright. And I will remind you that your mother will love
You no matter what you do, because she is a woman. And I love you too,
Son. But I also love our country and the principles for which we stand.
And if you decide to burn your draft card, then burn your birth
Certificate at the same time.
From that moment on, I have no son!

Example 20
A Letter to Dad
Lyricist: Robert Tamlin

Dear Dad, in answer to your letter I'd like to say I appreciate your Understanding of my generation's Need for individuality and need to rebel Against the long file of look alike faces For us, there was a simple answer Hair, hair on the face and Hair on the head, lots of it To prove that I'm me and not to Be identified with the establishment And the mixed up state we find The world in now If this were the time of Lincoln I just might decide to shave my face clean Just to prove I'm me I also appreciate your promise Not to judge me just as a teenager But as an individual I realize that mankind is Always attributed to the many The misbehavior to the few And I promise in return to judge you As a thinking, rational being Worthy of love and consideration And not just as a parent When we were discussing religion I remembered having posed the question Is God dead By this, of course, I meant God as we know him dead Are the ideas of God changing He is no longer, in my generation Thought to be a vengeful old man With a white beard or even As a separate existence We have realized that God is in all of us That, as you said in your letter God is love, but our love, brotherhood

I'm glad to see that you think All the past wars were immoral Here, we surely agree But then you make A different assumption than I You say they were necessary And I don't agree I've spent long hours over this question And find that I must hold That war is not inevitable That man's greatest goal should be To avoid war at all costs You used the phrase, fight for the right Two times in your letter I pose that this one phrase is to blame For millions of lives and endless Pain and suffering It is not the lack of pride for my country But an abundance of respect For my fellow man which demands That I must promise myself Not to use violence, no matter what This, I think, will go down in history as The one truth discovered by my generation And if after reading the words of Schweitzer, Gandhi and other great men And on the basis of all the Available knowledge of history And understanding the dangers Of a too hardened patriotism I choose to burn my draft card Then, Dad, it will be you who will Have to burn my birth certificate And although you stopped calling me son I'll never stop calling you Dad

Example 21
Fortunate Son
Lyricist: John Fogerty

Some folks are born made to wave the flag,
Ooh, they're red, white and blue.
And when the band plays "Hail to the Chief",
Ooh, they point the cannon at you, Lord,

It ain't me, it ain't me, I ain't no senator's son, son.
It ain't me, it ain't me; I ain't no fortunate one, no,

Yeah!
Some folks are born silver spoon in hand,
Lord, don't they help themselves, oh.
But when the taxman comes to the door,
Lord, the house looks like a rummage sale, yes,

It ain't me, it ain't me, I ain't no millionaire's son, no.
It ain't me, it ain't me; I ain't no fortunate one, no.

Some folks inherit star spangled eyes,
Ooh, they send you down to war, Lord,
And when you ask them, "How much should we give?"
Ooh, they only answer more! more! more! yoh,

It ain't me, it ain't me, I ain't no military son, son.
It ain't me, it ain't me; I ain't no fortunate one, one.

It ain't me, it ain't me, I ain't no fortunate one, no no no,
It ain't me, it ain't me, I ain't no fortunate son, no no no.

Example 22

One Tin Soldier (The Legend of Billie Jack)

Lyricist: Dennis Lambert and Brian Potter

Listen, children, to a story
That was written long ago
'Bout a kingdom on a mountain
And the valley folk below
On the mountain was a treasure
Buried deep beneath a stone
And the valley people swore
They'd have it for their very own

Go ahead and hate your neighbor
Go ahead and cheat a friend
Do it in the name of heaven
You can justify it in the end
There won't be any trumpets blowing
Come the judgment day
On the bloody morning after
One tin soldier rides away

So, the people of the valley
Sent a message up the hill,

Asking for the buried treasure,
Tons of gold for which they'd kill
Came an answer from the kingdom,
"With our brothers, we will share
All the secrets of our mountain,
All the riches buried there."

Now, the valley cried with anger,
"Mount your horses, draw your sword!"
And they killed the mountain people
So, they won their just reward
Now, they stood beside the treasure
On the mountain dark and red
Turned the stone and looked beneath it...
"Peace on Earth" was all it said

Go ahead and hate your neighbor
Go ahead and cheat a friend
Do it in the name of heaven
You can justify it in the end
There won't be any trumpets blowing
Come the judgment day
On the bloody morning after
One tin soldier rides away
(2x)

Example 23

Alice's Rock and Roll Restaurant

Lyricist: Arlo Guthrie

Alice's Restaurant 1967

This song is called Alice's Restaurant,
And it's about Alice, and the restaurant,
But Alice's Restaurant is not the name of the restaurant,
That's just the name of the song,
And that's why I called the song Alice's Restaurant.

You can get anything you want at Alice's Restaurant
You can get anything you want at Alice's Restaurant
Walk right in it's around the back
Just a half a mile from the railroad track
And you can get anything you want at Alice's Restaurant

Now it all started two Thanksgivings ago, was on - two years ago on Thanksgiving, when
my friend and I went up to visit Alice at the restaurant, but Alice doesn't live in the

restaurant, she lives in the church nearby the restaurant, in the bell-tower, with her husband Ray and Fasha the dog. And livin' in the bell tower like that, they got a lot of room downstairs where the pews used to be in. Havin' all that room, seein' as how they took out all the pews, they decided that they didn't have to take out their garbage for a long time.

We got up there, we found all the garbage in there, and we decided it'd be a friendly gesture for us to take the garbage down to the city dump. So we took the half a ton of garbage, put it in the back of a red VW microbus, took shovels and rakes and implements of destruction and headed on toward the city dump.

Well, we got there and there was a big sign and a chain across across the dump saying, "Closed on Thanksgiving." And we had never heard of a dump closed on Thanksgiving before, and with tears in our eyes we drove off into the sunset looking for another place to put the garbage.

We didn't find one. Until we came to a side road, and off the side of the side road there was another fifteen foot cliff and at the bottom of the cliff there was another pile of garbage. And we decided that one big pile is better than two little piles, and rather than bring that one up we decided to throw ours down.

That's what we did, and drove back to the church, had a Thanksgiving dinner that couldn't be beat, went to sleep and didn't get up until the next morning, when we got a phone call from Officer Obie. He said, "Kid, we found your name on an envelope at the bottom of a half a ton of garbage, and just wanted to know if you had any information about it." And I said, "Yes, sir, Officer Obie, I cannot tell a lie, I put that envelope under that garbage."

After speaking to Obie for about forty-five minutes on the telephone we finally arrived at the truth of the matter and said that we had to go down and pick up the garbage, and also had to go down and speak to him at the police officer's station. So we got in the red VW microbus with the shovels and rakes and implements of destruction and headed on toward the police officer's station.

Now friends, there was only one or two things that Obie coulda done at the police station, and the first was he could have given us a medal for being so brave and honest on the telephone, which wasn't very likely, and we didn't expect it, and the other thing was he could have bawled us out and told us never to be seen driving garbage around the vicinity again, which is what we expected, but when we got to the police officer's station there was a third possibility that we hadn't even counted upon, and we was both immediately arrested. Handcuffed. And I said "Obie, I don't think I can pick up the garbage with these handcuffs on." He said, "Shut up, kid. Get in the back of the patrol car."

And that's what we did, sat in the back of the patrol car and drove to the quote Scene of the Crime unquote. I want tell you about the town of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where this happened here, they got three stop signs, two police officers, and one police car, but when we got to the Scene of the Crime there was five police officers and three police

cars, being the biggest crime of the last fifty years, and everybody wanted to get in the newspaper story about it. And they was using up all kinds of cop equipment that they had hanging around the police officer's station. They was taking plaster tire tracks, foot prints, dog smelling prints, and they took twenty seven eight-by-ten colour glossy photographs with circles and arrows and a paragraph on the back of each one explaining what each one was to be used as evidence against us. Took pictures of the approach, the getaway, the northwest corner, the southwest corner, and that's not to mention the aerial photography.

After the ordeal, we went back to the jail. Obie said he was going to put us in the cell. Said, "Kid, I'm going to put you in the cell, I want your wallet and your belt." And I said, "Obie, I can understand you wanting my wallet so I don't have any money to spend in the cell, but what do you want my belt for?" And he said, "Kid, we don't want any hangings." I said, "Obie, did you think I was going to hang myself for littering?" Obie said he was making sure, and friends, Obie was, cause he took out the toilet seat so I couldn't hit myself over the head and drown, and he took out the toilet paper so I couldn't bend the bars roll out the - roll the toilet paper out the window, slide down the roll and have an escape. Obie was making sure, and it was about four or five hours later that Alice (remember Alice? It's a song about Alice), Alice came by and with a few nasty words to Obie on the side, bailed us out of jail, and we went back to the church, had a another Thanksgiving dinner that couldn't be beat, and didn't get up until the next morning, when we all had to go to court.

We walked in, sat down, Obie came in with the twenty seven eight-by-ten colour glossy pictures with circles and arrows and a paragraph on the back of each one, sat down. A man came in said, "All rise." We all stood up, and Obie stood up with the twenty seven eight-by-ten color glossy pictures, and the judge walked in sat down with a seeing eye dog, and he sat down, we sat down. Obie looked at the seeing eye dog, and then at the twenty seven eight-by-ten color glossy pictures with circles and arrows and a paragraph on the back of each one, and looked at the seeing eye dog. And then at twenty seven eight-by-ten color glossy pictures with circles and arrows and a paragraph on the back of each one and began to cry, 'cause Obie came to the realization that it was a typical case of American blind justice, and there wasn't nothing he could do about it, and the judge wasn't going to look at the twenty seven eight-by-ten color glossy pictures with the circles and arrows and a paragraph on the back of each one explaining what each one was to be used as evidence against us. And we was fined \$50 and had to pick up the garbage in the snow, but that's not what I came to tell you about.

Came to talk about the draft.

They got a building down New York City, it's called Whitehall Street, where you walk in, you get injected, inspected, detected, infected, neglected and selected. I went down to get my physical examination one day, and I walked in, I sat down, got good and drunk the night before, so I looked and felt my best when I went in that morning. `Cause I wanted to look like the all-American kid from New York City, man I wanted, I wanted to feel

like the all-, I wanted to be the all American kid from New York, and I walked in, sat down, I was hung down, brung down, hung up, and all kinds o' mean nasty ugly things. And I waked in and sat down and they gave me a piece of paper, said, "Kid, see the psychiatrist, room 604."

And I went up there, I said, "Shrink, I want to kill. I mean, I wanna, I wanna kill. Kill. I wanna, I wanna see, I wanna see blood and gore and guts and veins in my teeth. Eat dead burnt bodies. I mean kill, Kill, KILL, KILL." And I started jumpin' up and down yelling, "KILL, KILL," and he started jumpin' up and down with me and we was both jumping up and down yelling, "KILL, KILL." And the sergeant came over, pinned a medal on me, sent me down the hall, said, "You're our boy."

Didn't feel too good about it.

Proceeded on down the hall gettin' more injections, inspections, detections, neglections and all kinds of stuff that they was doin' to me at the thing there, and I was there for two hours, three hours, four hours, I was there for a long time going through all kinds of mean nasty ugly things and I was just having a tough time there, and they was inspecting, injecting every single part of me, and they was leaving no part untouched. Proceeded through, and when I finally came to the see the last man, I walked in, walked in sat down after a whole big thing there, and I walked up and said, "What do you want?" He said, "Kid, we only got one question. Have you ever been arrested?"

And I proceeded to tell him the story of the Alice's Restaurant Massacre, with full orchestration and five part harmony and stuff like that and all the phenome... - and he stopped me right there and said, "Kid, did you ever go to court?"

And I proceeded to tell him the story of the twenty seven eight-by-ten color glossy pictures with the circles and arrows and the paragraph on the back of each one, and he stopped me right there and said, "Kid, I want you to go and sit down on that bench that says Group W NOW kid!!"

And I, I walked over to the, to the bench there, and there is, Group W's where they put you if you may not be moral enough to join the army after committing your special crime, and there was all kinds of mean nasty ugly looking people on the bench there. Mother rapers. Father stabbers. Father rapers! Father rapers sitting right there on the bench next to me! And they was mean and nasty and ugly and horrible crime-type guys sitting on the bench next to me. And the meanest, ugliest, nastiest one, the meanest father raper of them all, was coming over to me and he was mean 'n' ugly 'n' nasty 'n' horrible and all kind of things and he sat down next to me and said, "Kid, whad'ya get?" I said, "I didn't get nothing, I had to pay \$50 and pick up the garbage." He said, "What were you arrested for, kid?" And I said, "Littering." And they all moved away from me on the bench there, and the hairy eyeball and all kinds of mean nasty things, till I said, "And creating a nuisance." And they all came back, shook my hand, and we had a great time on the

bench, talkin' about crime, mother stabbing, father raping, all kinds of groovy things that we was talking about on the bench. And everything was fine, we was smoking cigarettes and all kinds of things, until the Sergeant came over, had some paper in his hand, held it up and said.

"Kids, this-piece-of-paper's-got-47-words-37-sentences-58-words-we-wanna-know-details-of-the-crime-time-of-the-crime-and-any-other-kind-of-thing-you-gotta-say-pertaining-to-and-about-the-crime-I-want-to-know-arresting-officer's-name-and-any-other-kind-of-thing-you-gotta-say", and talked for forty-five minutes and nobody understood a word that he said, but we had fun filling out the forms and playing with the pencils on the bench there, and I filled out the massacre with the four part harmony, and wrote it down there, just like it was, and everything was fine and I put down the pencil, and I turned over the piece of paper, and there, there on the other side, in the middle of the other side, away from everything else on the other side, in parentheses, capital letters, quoted, read the following words:

("KID, HAVE YOU REHABILITATED YOURSELF?")

I went over to the sergeant, said, "Sergeant, you got a lot a damn gall to ask me if I've rehabilitated myself, I mean, I mean, I mean that just, I'm sittin' here on the bench, I mean I'm sittin here on the Group W bench 'cause you want to know if I'm moral enough join the army, burn women, kids, houses and villages after bein' a litterbug." He looked at me and said, "Kid, we don't like your kind, and we're gonna send your fingerprints off to Washington."

And friends, somewhere in Washington enshrined in some little folder, is a study in black and white of my fingerprints. And the only reason I'm singing you this song now is cause you may know somebody in a similar situation, or you may be in a similar situation, and if you're in a situation like that there's only one thing you can do and that's walk into the shrink wherever you are, just walk in say, "Shrink, You can get anything you want, at Alice's restaurant." And walk out. You know, if one person, just one person does it they may think he's really sick and they won't take him. And if two people, two people do it, in harmony, they may think they're both faggots and they won't take either of them. And three people do it, three, can you imagine, three people walking in singin' a bar of Alice's Restaurant and walking out. They may think it's an organization. And can you, can you imagine fifty people a day, I said fifty people a day walking in singin' a bar of Alice's Restaurant and walking out. And friends they may thinks it's a movement.

And that's what it is , the Alice's Restaurant Anti-Massacre Movement, and all you got to do to join is sing it the next time it comes around on the guitar.

With feeling. So we'll wait for it to come around on the guitar, here and sing it when it does.

Here it comes.

You can get anything you want, at Alice's Restaurant
You can get anything you want, at Alice's Restaurant
Walk right in it's around the back
Just a half a mile from the railroad track
And you can get anything you want, at Alice's Restaurant

That was horrible. If you want to end war and stuff you got to sing loud. I've been singing this song now for twenty five minutes. I could sing it for another twenty five minutes. I'm not proud... or tired.

So we'll wait till it comes around again, and this time with four part harmony and feeling.

We're just waitin' for it to come around is what we're doing.

All right now.

You can get anything you want, at Alice's Restaurant
Excepting Alice
You can get anything you want, at Alice's Restaurant
Walk right in it's around the back
Just a half a mile from the railroad track
And you can get anything you want, at Alice's Restaurant

Da da da da da da dum
At Alice's Restaurant

VITA

AMANDA CARR-WILCOXSON

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