

A War's Ever-Living Soundtrack: A Historiography of American Popular Music during the Vietnam War

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Throughout America's existence, scholars often regard the Vietnam War era as the most controversial time period in American history since the Civil War. Civil Rights protests, demonstrations, and marches along with protests against American foreign policy in Southeast Asia provided Americans with reasons to speak out against the government. These protests and demonstrations ultimately led to the outbreak of race riots across the nation, such as in Watts, and the death of many college students in campuses nationwide, exemplified in the Kent State incident. With what became known as a nationwide anti-war movement, many of Americans joined the fight to protest the government's policies of inequality, justice, the draft, and American foreign policy in Vietnam. Because of the widespread discontent and dissension to the government and its policies, it is evident why historians and scholars point to the Vietnam War era and the anti-war movement as one of the most controversial times in American history.

But what is most unique about this period in history is the fact that in their protest against the government, Americans expressed their opinions through music that became a trademark of domestic struggle during the Vietnam War era. This era witnessed the folk music revival as the composition of folk music allowed musicians to write in a narrative format to express the views of the American public. The folk revival gave way to the birth of rock n' roll as America's youth used this genre of music to rebel against their parents and challenge society's norms. Country music, however, still remained the choice of many Americans, specifically those who looked to support the government in such a crucial yet controversial time.

At the street corner, the market, stoops across the nation, and in major rallies throughout America's cities, Americans were expressing their feelings about the government, Civil Rights, and the Vietnam War through music. Because of the popularity and historical significance of music's ability to express American opinion, many scholars have embraced its viable purpose to express America's emotions during this period and its ability to provide a way for Americans to remember this controversial period. In the analysis of many scholars, the music of the Vietnam War era has essentially expressed American sentiment through the music rather than influencing American sociopolitical thought for or against the war.

To begin their analysis of the music from this era, many historians start by analyzing the anti-war musical productions from the rock n' roll and folklore genres. The song many scholars address in the analysis of anti-war sentiment is Barry

McGuire's *Eve of Destruction* produced in 1965. Particularly, scholars recognize the song's intent to express a wide variety of fears and issues prevalent in American society at the beginning of the war. For example, David James claims that this song is so "sufficiently vague in its ideological orientation that it could align fear of nuclear disaster with both anticommunist and civil rights issues in suggesting an equivalence between all the 'hate in Red China' and that in Selma, Alabama."¹ Important to note in James' analysis is the fact that the popularity of *Eve of Destruction* can be attributed to its ability to address a wide variety of societal issues and emotions prevalent in American society during this era. Likewise, R. Serge Denisoff viewed McGuire's work as "a breakthrough in a medium whose range of lyrical dissatisfaction was restricted to generational conflict" to emphasize how well the song captured the general American emotion at this time.²

In addition to this scholarship, historian Lee Andresen eloquently explains the theme of the ability of *Eve of Destruction* to become such a powerful and popular song because it "condemns not only the war but also racism, politicians, hate in Red China, conflict in the Middle East, and the dangers of a Nuclear Age."³ Consequently, *Eve of Destruction*, was such a powerful, masterful, and effective work of art that it caused a song in response, *Dawn of Correction* by the Spokesman, to put a more positive spin on the issues addressed in McGuire's potent song.⁴ For scholars, *Eve of Destruction* epitomizes all anti-war compositions in its ability to encompass a variety of issues of the time, and this explains why many historians begin their analysis of anti-war music by addressing and analyzing this specific song.

Another common theme addressed by scholars assessing the music from Vietnam is the fact that most anti-war music attacked the war without attacking the soldiers. David James describes that Phil Ochs' *I Ain't Marching Anymore* and Pete Seeger's *Draft Dodger Rag* were able "to solve the double bind of needing to attack the war without attacking the soldiers," moving on to conclude that this is "common in protest songs of this period."⁵ In addition, Lee Andresen also assesses this theme in Creedence Clearwater Revival's *Fortunate Son*, stating that the song "did not cast blame on those who fought in Vietnam, and the GIs appreciated this and even regarded the song as a morale booster."⁶ Therefore, musicians were able to attain notoriety among both the anti-war movement and the soldiers that fought the war because their lyrics attacked the government rather than the efforts of the soldiers. Similarly, Dorlea Rikard addresses this theme in Bob Dylan's *Masters of War*, where he "indicts the 'masters of war,' but not the soldier."⁷ Additionally, Kenton Clymer also focuses on the "relentlessly grim indictments" in Bob Dylan's songs such as *Blowin' in the Wind* and *The Times They Are-A-Changin'*, where Dylan attacked the government without attacking the soldier.⁸ Although the anti-war music sang out in protest against the war, it is crucial to note that historians and scholars alike agree that anti-war musicians respectfully avoided attacking the soldiers but rather ridiculed the "masters of war."

While the theme of attacking the war without attacking the soldier is apparent in Bob Dylan's music, it also emerges as musicians produced songs that spoke out against government institutions, specifically the draft. According to many scholars, one of the most notable songs that captures American resentment toward the draft is Creedence Clearwater Revival's *Fortunate Son*, produced in 1969. Andresen effectively describes the song and its distinct and remarkable ability to mince "few words in denouncing

the badly flawed system of military conscription" to express American opposition to the draft.⁹ Another interesting theme Andresen identifies in *Fortunate Son* is that it "remind[s] anyone who cared to listen that the United States is far from a classless society and that there are those who were more equal than others."¹⁰ That is, *Fortunate Son* looked to express society's discontent with the fact that the war was being fought by the working and lower classes, while those, as the lyrics of the song foretell, with "silver spoon in hand," or those with social standing and political connections, were often exempt from being drafted to serve in Vietnam. David James also asserts that this work helped to "[promote] a revival of the popular music of the proletarian struggles," signifying that the song was designed to express the voice the "average Joe" in American society against the institution of the draft.¹¹

As Creedence Clearwater Revival questioned the "randomness" of the draft selection, scholars recognize that music began to voice the public's disdain for the government's policies. For example, Clymer addresses *Fortunate Son*, specifically regarding its "debasement of political discourse and endemic lying and manipulation" to illustrate the theme of American contempt for the government, specifically the draft.¹² Ultimately, opposition towards the institution led many Americans to dodge the draft, as was expressed in Phil Ochs's *Draft Dodger Rag*. Andresen comments that this song "represents the mind-set of millions of young men during the Vietnam War who wanted no part of the military and became remarkably inventive in dreaming up ways to dodge the draft."¹³ Dorlea Rikard also comments on this mind-set as she asserts that this particular song "addresses the view of the war from the perspective of the young men who are expected to fight it."¹⁴ Through songs like *Fortunate Son* and *Draft Dodger Rag*, scholars have identified that music regarding the draft had a twofold purpose in expressing discontent with the institution in addition to calling attention to the fact that those with social standing and political connections were not typically selected.

In response to the institution of the draft, many young, college-aged individuals took part in actively protesting the war. After all, these were the young men and women who were expected to fight in it. This ultimately led to riots and the deaths of many students on college campuses throughout the nation. One of the most notable campus-protests took place at Kent State University in Ohio, an event that prompted Neil Young's composition of *Ohio*. In analyzing the song, Kenton Clymer shares that it "[rallied] the countercultural leanings of a mass youth culture...against the entire system," leading the song to convey the American public's recognition that a civil war was at hand.¹⁵ Dorlea Rikard also moves on to assert the song's ability to "express the frustration and horror that Americans felt at this event."¹⁶ Therefore, Young's *Ohio* was so widely popular because, as Bruce Franklin states, it illustrates "how part of the Vietnam War lives in American culture at the dawn of the twenty-first century."¹⁷ That is, *Ohio* expresses the American struggle of the war, its legitimacy, and its continuance. With the American public so violently divided with the institutions and policies of the war, it is evident that Neil Young's *Ohio* was able to capture the American emotions that the country was domestically on the "eve of destruction."

As the nation protested the war, songs also began to question the leadership of the United States and doubt the effectiveness and legitimacy of its foreign policy. One prominent song that ultimately poked fun at national domestic leadership and

government policies was Pete Seeger's *Waste Deep in the Big Muddy*. According to Terry Anderson, Seeger's work was "obviously aimed at the Johnson administration's increasing involvement in the quagmire on the banks of the Mekong River," as the song sings of a "big fool" telling his troops to press onward.¹⁸ In fact, Clymer points out the lyric, "The big fool says to push on!" in his analysis of Seeger's expression of American opposition to President Johnson's firm stance to stay the course in Vietnam.¹⁹ To extend on this belief, Lee Andresen also comments that this song "became a classic metaphor for the American involvement in Vietnam, a land that abounded with bodies of water that were difficult to traverse."²⁰ What is most significant to understand about Anderson and his analysis is the fact that both historians recognize the song's metaphoric relationship to Vietnam with specific regard to the difficulty of fighting through such "traverse" territory. Thus, the United States found itself in a quagmire—an inescapable event that literally left America "waste deep in the big muddy."

Because most scholarship on the music from this time period focuses on the revival of folk music and the emergence of rock n' roll, many scholars often fail to analyze African American and Motown music from the era. Three of the most mentioned songs by scholars from Motown are Edwin Starr's *War*, Marvin Gaye's *What's Goin' On*, and the Temptations' *Ball of Confusion*. Lee Andresen, one of the few scholars to address this genre of music, states that Starr's *War* was "the most vehement denunciation of the Vietnam War."²¹ This song, in the eyes of Andresen, successfully expressed the degree of anger in African Americans because they were being selected to serve and ultimately die in Vietnam more so than their White counterparts. Andresen moves on to assess Gaye's *What's Goin' On* which specifically addressed the "high ratio of African-American dead and wounded in Vietnam."²² Through his analysis, Andresen makes a point that the general theme of African American music from this period, excluded from that pertaining to the Civil Rights Movement, specifically addressed the disproportionate ratio of African American draftees and deaths in Vietnam.²³ Lastly, Andresen concludes his analysis by looking at the Temptations' *Ball of Confusion*, citing that it lists a "host of calamities," such as drug usage rates, racial tensions, and confusion over involvement in Vietnam. The chaos these calamities caused resulted in violent protests across the nation that made the U.S. a domestic "ball of confusion."²⁴ Through African American music during this period, many Motown musicians protested and expressed the notions that African Americans were being selected by the draft and dying more frequently than white men.

In reflecting upon the anti-war music produced in the Vietnam War era, scholars assert that most anti-war music does not explicitly mention Vietnam or its battles, figureheads, and policies. For example, James discusses Bob Dylan's works, saying that he "never mentions Vietnam specifically in any of his lyrics, and by the time the war was a major issue, he had rejected topical reference."²⁵ In addition to this claim, James moves on to say that most of the anti-war music danced around the issue but never provide a "cogent analysis of the war" or described "the war in any detail, in terms of either its historical or political meaning."²⁶ However, Terry Anderson offers an explanation of this phenomena by stating that "popular music reflected the attitudes of the American people toward the war in Vietnam."²⁷ Therefore, the musicians did not need to explicitly mention the specifics of the war because these anti-war songs were expressions of emotion rather than historical or political analyses.

Ultimately, sociologist R. Serge Denisoff contextualizes this debate among scholars by emphasizing that "protest songs became a means of expressing personal disdain" rather than music that analyzed the policies, battles, and leaders of the conflict.²⁸

While many composers from this era wrote songs in protest to various aspects of the conflict, other musicians wrote pro-war songs to support the war and the troops. It is interesting to note, however, that one song scholars seem to place in both the pro-war and anti-war categories is the *I Feel Like I'm Fixin' to Die Rag* by Country Joe and the Fish in 1967. For example, Bruce Franklin places the song in the anti-war category because the piece "expressed the vitality of the [anti-war] movement, its core rebelliousness, and its sense of the Vietnam War as a national exercise in grotesque absurdity."²⁹ Kenton Clymer also puts this particular song in the anti-war camp because it "expressed the insanity of war, absent of political logic and purpose."³⁰ Interestingly, both Franklin and Clymer make reference to the ideology of the anti-war movement regarding the lack of a clear and agreeable purpose of involvement in Southeast Asia to justify their rationale for placing *Fixin' to Die Rag* into the anti-war category.

But perhaps what is most interesting to note about this discrepancy among scholars is the fact that this disagreement contextualizes the theme of a divided and polarized society during the Vietnam era through musical analysis. For example, other scholars, such as David James, place *Fixin' to Die Rag* in the pro-war camp because it is "directed primarily to the domestic refusal, to those who are not going to Vietnam."³¹ That is, it intended to denounce those who abandoned Uncle Sam in "a terrible jam," as the song sings, in America's appeal for the help of its men. Lee Andresen also places this song in the pro-war category because it "became one of the favorites of young draftees and enlisted men in Vietnam because of its nihilistic message."³² The commonality in James and Andresen's analysis is that both point to the fact that *Fixin' to Die Rag* ridiculed America's young men who dodged the draft and essentially abandoned their nation in its time of need.

Although scholars cannot all agree on where to place *Fixin' to Die Rag*, they all recognize that the majority of pro-war music came south of the Mason-Dixon line through country-western music. According to Dorlea Rikard, "country music, which has always been more politically and socially conservative than folk and rock music, became the chosen vehicle for pro-war sentiment."³³ Terry Anderson reaches the same conclusion that the majority of country-western songs "stressed the ideals of the Silent Majority—duty, patriotism, and nationalism" in his recognition that country music was indeed the vehicle for pro-war music.³⁴ Through country music musicians such as Merle Haggard, Barry Sadler, and Johnny Cash, pro-war music found a residence in country-western productions from this period.

Within country-western music, scholars have identified that the majority of the songs attack the rebellious ways of the protestors who spoke out against the government and its policies. Perhaps one of the most well-known country musicians from this era is Merle Haggard, who produced two popular pro-war compositions in *The Fightin' Side of Me* and *Okie from Muskogee*. Terry Anderson analyzes pro-war's disdain for protestors in analyzing *Okie from Muskogee*, sharing that Haggard "combined and expressed the feelings of millions of Americans—their views toward antiwar protestors and the entire youth revolt."³⁵ Similarly, Lee Andresen addresses this theme through *Okie from Muskogee*, describing the song as a "tribute to political

apathy and parochialism [that] extols the virtues of a college campus where docile student silent majoritarians would never think of criticizing any government policy."³⁶ Likewise, Andresen addresses another popular Haggard song, *The Fightin' Side of Me*, in the same manner, concluding that the piece "makes an issue out of protesting the war...[and] virtually rages against anti-war protesters."³⁷ Through Haggard's compositions, scholars have been able to conclude that a main theme prevalent in pro-war, country-western music is its sentiment to ridicule and shame those who protested against the war and the government.

In addition to blasting the war's protesters, scholars have also noticed country music's support for the efforts of the soldiers. For example, many scholars, such as Dorlea Rikard, point to Barry Sadler's 1966 hit, *Ballad of the Green Berets*, as a song that is "an extremely sentimental and patriotic song about the heroics of the Green Berets."³⁸ Here, Rikard concludes that this song emphasizes the fact that the Green Berets were admirable and were thus deserving of the nation's support. Continuing with this theme, Andresen notes the song's description of "those who qualify to wear the beret as almost superhuman and how difficult it is to join their ranks" to express the pro-war sentiment that the soldiers deserved admiration and support in their engagement of a noble cause.³⁹ This noble cause theme is also prevalent in Anderson's analysis of the song, noting that Sadler "developed many traditional themes about men at war...[such as] honor and pride fighting in a noble crusade."⁴⁰ Many scholars agree that pro-war music often looked to express admiration and support for the brave men and women who served the nation in Vietnam.

While many authors evaluate the works of Merle Haggard and Barry Sadler, others fail to mention other popular country-western songs that also illustrate the themes of attacking the protesters and expressing the sentiment of the noble cause. Andresen points to other songs, such as Johnny Cash's *Ragged Old Flag* and Stonewall Jackson's *The Minute Men are Turning in Their Graves* that additionally illustrate the pro-war themes in country music. In his analysis of *Ragged Old Flag*, Andresen points out the super-patriotic usage of the flag to prove that this war was worth fighting for, thus illustrating the notion that the Vietnam War was indeed a noble cause.⁴¹ Moreover, Andresen's analysis of *The Minute Men are Turning in Their Graves* illustrates the theme of attacking the protesters because they have disturbed this nation's revolutionary heroes by protesting against the government in which they so valiantly fought to defend. Regardless of the anti-war movement's negative spin on the degree of nobleness and legitimacy of the war, scholars show that country music looked to express the sentiment that the soldiers' efforts were indeed both admirable and noble, warranting positive, pro-war renditions of music during this era.

Because most scholars spend their time mainly analyzing and assessing pro-war and anti-war music, music from the aftermath of the Vietnam War is consequently unmentioned in some works. Scholars have come to the overt conclusion that the majority of post-war music reflects upon how Vietnam veterans were treated and the struggles they endured when they returned home from the war. Billy Joel's 1982 hit, *Goodnight Saigon*, is a song that many scholars, such as David James, describe as a "synthesis of sympathy for the soldier with recognition of his trauma."⁴² Here, James asserts American sympathy for the veterans returning home because of the Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome (PTSS) many of the veterans battled after the

war. A similar theme is recognized by Terry Anderson, who noted that the song "described the psychological problems of a returning veteran" in addition to paying a "sympathetic tribute" to recognize the efforts of the veterans.⁴³ As a result of PTSS and the difficulties the veterans endured, scholars argue that *Goodnight Saigon* presents a sympathetic way of recognizing the veterans and their efforts.

Similar to *Goodnight Saigon*, The Charlie Daniels Band's 1981 hit, *Still in Saigon* also addressed PTSS and the struggles of life in post-war society. For example, Andresen notes *Still in Saigon's* recognition of "the struggle with PTSS [that] has strained relationships with his family."⁴⁴ Moving on, Andresen also addresses the theme of another struggle at home prevalent in the song because "his younger brother calls him a killer and his father proudly refers to him as a vet."⁴⁵ Here, Andresen illustrates not only *Still in Saigon's* expression of the difficulties of a veteran dealing with PTSS but also its effects on the veteran's ability to interact, specifically with his family. What is also important to note is that the song, as many scholars assert, expresses that the anti-war movement was mainly composed of America's young, college-aged individuals, whereas pro-war sentiment was generally held by an older generation—their parents.⁴⁶ Regardless, anti-war sentiment and PTSS were two of the many struggles veterans endured in returning home.

While scholars do mention *Still in Saigon* and *Goodnight Saigon* as significant aftermath pieces to express returning veterans' emotions, many focus analysis on Bruce Springsteen's *Born in the U.S.A.* James recognizes the sympathy theme in Springsteen's piece, stating that the song "appealed for sympathy for the veteran by locating his problems...socially and politically in a depressed economy and lack of government assistance."⁴⁷ Andresen also recognizes the song's ability to express the veterans' frustration with the lack of government aid and unemployment by commenting that it "is distinctive among all the war music because it at least hints at the issue."⁴⁸ Lastly, Andresen states that the song allowed veterans to "stand back and give the government the finger, and some of the public too, for the way they treated [them]."⁴⁹ It is also important to note, as many scholars confirm, that the song's chorus, "Born in the U.S.A." is not a lyric that intended to invigorate nationalism in Americans, although it was successful at this as many presidential candidates used the song in their campaigns during the 1984 election. But the American public could not understand the purpose of the song—to express the frustration of the veterans who have returned home only to be denied government assistance and employment by their homeland.⁵⁰

Although this song was not produced in the aftermath of the war, Creedence Clearwater Revival's 1969 hit, *Bad Moon Rising*, is another song that expresses the struggles many veterans endured. Through this song, Andresen shares that it is unique because it actually "allows one to appreciate vicariously the feelings the soldiers had prior to a particularly dangerous mission."⁵¹ In his analysis, he points to the lyrics, "don't come around tonight, it's bound to take your life, there's a bad moon on the rise," and shares that the song "fills even the casual, detached listener with a sense of foreboding."⁵² Kenton Clymer also analyzes the song's intent to express support by showing the American public the daily life of a soldier in Vietnam, but instead, the song attained "massive mindless public 'support' for the troops—no matter what their mission."⁵³ The overarching theme prevalent in the music of the aftermath, or songs

of support regarding the soldier, is that these songs appealed to express the veterans' frustration with the American public and the government regarding support and assistance in post-war society. Thus, many authors assert that these songs paint the picture of the veteran as a victim, and these veterans essentially deserve sympathy for their struggles at war and upon their return home.

In reflecting upon each category of American music regarding the Vietnam War, nearly every scholar reaches the same conclusion that the music from this era was not intended to influence the American public. Instead, music from the Vietnam War era reflected the attitudes and emotions of the American public toward the war in Vietnam, regardless of whether they were pro-war or anti-war. For example, historian Terry Anderson recognizes that "many authors have demonstrated that popular music often reflects sentiments held by society, and certainly this is true during the Vietnam War."⁵⁴ Les Cleveland, a popular historian who has written extensively on the pop-culture during this period, agrees that the music regarding the Vietnam War era "related directly to the passions and anxieties of an entire generation of people."⁵⁵ Dorlea Rikard also shows that even in the context of how the soldiers viewed the war, music "served as a strategy for survival, as a means of unit bonding and definition, as entertainment, and as a way of expressing emotion."⁵⁶ Therefore, the purpose of songs from this period was not to influence pro-war or anti-war sentiment but rather to express the feelings of Americans regardless of their stance regarding the war and its policies.

As scholars begin to look at the larger picture of the significance of music from the era, hindsight has led them to recognize that the modern-day popularity of these songs can also be attributed to the fact that these songs are a way for Americans to remember the war. Again, Rikard reaches this theme, commenting that "music is not only a commentary on the war, [but] it becomes an integral feature of a whole country's remembrance of that war," moving on to assert that the music essentially, and specifically in the context of the recent years, "enters our collective memory."⁵⁷ As Kenton Clymer simply states, "music is a way of remembering," a way of remembering pro-war sentiment and anti-war emotions in addition to recalling the wild events, policies, and leaders the songs from the Vietnam War era all address from the music of the period.⁵⁸

As Nixon began to withdraw troops in 1970, American popular music that was once consumed by the Vietnam War began to return to its traditional themes of romance, courtship, and heartbreak. Interestingly, Don McLean's widely popular 1972 hit, *American Pie*, sings of "the day the music died." Although musicians such as Bruce Springsteen and Billy Joel wrote songs about the veterans in the 1980s, it is a bit ironic is that McLean's epic song was indeed the last song of the Vietnam War era and essentially marked "the day the music died." The music of the Vietnam era is so profoundly written by some of the most famous musicians and has thus attained timeless popularity from generation to generation. Throughout America's history, never has dissension over a war or government institution and policies been so openly addressed by popular song.

In the final analysis, the music from the Vietnam War era provides individuals with a remarkable way to view the events of the Vietnam War at home and abroad. Perhaps the music from this period is so important to scholars of many disciplines,

such as historians, sociologists, music theorists, and music historians, because it is such an all-encompassing way for America to reflect upon the major events and issues of the war. Response to government leadership, the draft, the threat of nuclear destruction, racial tensions, questioning the purpose of war, pro-war sentiment, support for the troops, and the struggles veterans faced in the post-war era are all expressed through the wide range of topics and issues musicians addressed through song during and after the war. Therefore, the music of the Vietnam War era is a living diary that enables historians to analyze American reaction and emotion to government actions and policies from such a unique and powerful source in music.

While time travel is not possible, music provides scholars with a mode of transportation to one of the most controversial and most contested events in American history. In this sense, music is essentially a cross-generational lens for scholars of all ages to reflect, analyze, and remember the events of the Vietnam War. Remarkably, the music from this time period has provided Americans and scholars with an oral history that yields the opportunity for them to look at the war from the living testimony of the general American public rather than simply looking at dates and facts recorded in documents and textbooks. The music from this era must not be taken for its entertainment value but rather its fundamental purpose to stimulate a contested memory of America's most controversial eras because it expresses American emotions regarding the war. In the final analysis, music provides scholars with an ideal prism from which to view the ways Americans responded to the Vietnam War.

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Endnotes

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- ¹ Lee Andresen, *Battle Notes: Music of the Vietnam War* (Superior, Wisconsin: Savage Press, 2000), 81.
- ² Andresen, *Battle Notes: Music of the Vietnam War*, 82.
- ³ James, "The Vietnam War and American Music," 129.
- ⁴ Andresen, *Battle Notes: Music of the Vietnam War*, 23.
- ⁵ Dorlea Rikard, "Patriotism, Propaganda, Parody, and Protest: The Music of Three American Wars," *War, Literature, and the Arts: An International Journal of the Humanities* 16:112 (1983): 140.
- ⁶ Kenton Clymer, *The Vietnam War: Its History, Literature, and Music* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1998), 173.
- ⁷ Andresen, *Battle Notes: Music of the Vietnam War*, 22.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, 23.
- ⁹ James, "The Vietnam War and American Music," 127.
- ¹⁰ Clymer, *The Vietnam War: Its History, Literature, and Music*, 179.
- ¹¹ Andresen, *Battle Notes: Music of the Vietnam War*, 26.
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- ¹³ Clymer, *The Vietnam War: Its History, Literature, and Music*, 180.
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- ¹⁵ Bruce H. Franklin, *The Vietnam War in American Stories, Songs, and Poems* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1996), 207.
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- ²⁶ Denisoff, "Protest Songs: Those on the Top Forty and Those of the Streets," 809.
- ²⁷ Franklin, *The Vietnam War in American Stories, Songs, and Poems*, 205.
- ²⁸ Clymer, *The Vietnam War: Its History, Literature, and Music*, 179.
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- ³¹ Rikard, "Patriotism, Propaganda, Parody, and Protest: The Music of Three American Wars," 187.
- ³² Anderson, "American Popular Music and the War in Vietnam," 58.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, 60.
- ³⁴ Andresen, *Battle Notes: Music of the Vietnam War*, 71.
- ³⁵ Andresen, *Battle Notes: Music of the Vietnam War*, 70.
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- ³⁷ Andresen, *Battle Notes: Music of the Vietnam War*, 87.
- ³⁸ Anderson, "American Popular Music and the War in Vietnam," 56.
- ³⁹ Andresen, *Battle Notes: Music of the Vietnam War*, 76.
- ⁴⁰ James, "The Vietnam War and American Music," 136.
- ⁴¹ Anderson, "American Popular Music and the War in Vietnam," 61.
- ⁴² Andresen, *Battle Notes: Music of the Vietnam War*, 157.
- ⁴³ Andresen, *Battle Notes: Music of the Vietnam War*, 157.
- ⁴⁴ Anderson, "American Popular Music and the War in Vietnam," 62.
- ⁴⁵ James, "The Vietnam War and American Music," 137.
- ⁴⁶ Andresen, *Battle Notes: Music of the Vietnam War*, 168.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 168.
- ⁴⁸ Clymer, *The Vietnam War: Its History, Literature, and Music*, 181-2.
- ⁴⁹ Andresen, *Battle Notes: Music of the Vietnam War*, 123.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 123.
- ⁵¹ Clymer, *The Vietnam War: Its History, Literature, and Music*, 182.
- ⁵² Anderson, "American Popular Music and the War in Vietnam," 62.
- ⁵³ Les Cleveland, *Dark Laughter: War in Song and Popular Culture* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 1994), 129.
- ⁵⁴ Rikard, "Patriotism, Propaganda, Parody, and Protest: The Music of Three American Wars," 188.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 143.
- ⁵⁶ Clymer, *The Vietnam War: Its History, Literature, and Music*, 170.