

YOUTH POLITICAL AND CULTURAL MOVEMENTS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES INVASION IN VIETNAM IN THE 1960S

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ABSTRACT

History has shown us that the most successful progressive movements have been intergenerational. Thus, this article will deeply examine about youth movements in the U.S specifically on youth movement against the U.S invasion in Vietnam War around 1960s. Vietnam War was the first modern American conflict that seriously affected the United States not only politically, but also socio-culturally. It will be explored how youth generation has become a breakthrough in American history since it was the most significant movement of its kind in the nation's history. According to Karl Mannheim one generation is not fully continuity of the elder generation, but they could be different and challenging the established form. Youth tend to reject the US involvement in the Vietnam War because there is a gap between the ideals they have learned from older generations and the realities they have experienced.

Keywords: U.S. Youth Movement, Vietnam War, and Generational Cohorts.

INTRODUCTION

Society is never static. It is undergoing change and always in a process. Through this process, values are transmitted from one generation to the next, and the infant grows and learns to adapt to his environment. Around the world, the terms 'youth,' 'adolescent,' 'teenager,' and 'young person' are interchanged, often meaning the same thing, but occasionally differentiated. Youth generally refers to a time of life that is neither childhood nor adulthood, but rather somewhere in-between. Since youth is a very influential moment, it is not only a time of transition from infant to adult, but it is also a moment of change, to find their real 'self' among the society.

History has shown to us that the most successful progressive movements have been inter-generational. The youth generation has become such an important to American history. From the earliest days of the Founding Fathers, America

has represented the story of ordinary people who dare to dream of a better way to win in the future. There is no country in this world, which puts freedom and equality above everything else more than the United States. People may have different opinions, but they have grown up believing in the same promise that America is the place where you can make it if you try.

The, historian James Truslow Adams popularized the phrase "American Dream" in his 1931 work *Epic of America* as follows:

That American dream of a better, richer, and happier life for all our citizens of every rank, which is the greatest contribution we have made to the thought and welfare of the world. That dream of hope has been present from the start. Ever since we became an independent nation, each generation has seen an uprising of ordinary Americans to save that dream from the forces,

which appeared to be overwhelming it
(as cited in Baym, 1989, p.13)

It is obvious from the quotation above that the American Dream is the national ethos of the United States in which freedom includes a promise of the possibility of prosperity and success for each generation. As mentioned in the definition of the American Dream by James Truslow Adams, "life should be better and richer and fuller for everyone, with opportunity for each according to ability or achievement" regardless of social class or circumstances of birth.

The idea of the American Dream is also rooted in the United States Declaration of Independence, which proclaims that "all men are created equal" and that they are "endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights" including "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." This so-called American pursuit of happiness can be achieved by acquiring the freedom of thought and equality in rights, and also by achieving the dreams of a better life. However, does the American Dream work properly? Do American Citizens get the equal rights in their everyday life? Many issues arise as a result of US incapability to overcome equality and freedom in their daily life. Racism, materialism, and terrorism have haunted the existence of the American Dream itself.

If the U.S. was so great, so rich, such a strong believer in freedom and prosperity, how come black people were denied basic human rights, how come workers were not sharing enough in this prosperity, how come culture was so shallow and decadent and human relations were still fundamentally based on suppressing human freedom, potential, and energy by channeling our minds towards the task of acquiring material status symbols? And finally, how come the U.S.

supported vicious dictators in other countries such as Cuba and Vietnam, supported them to the extreme of killing thousands of workers and peasants and even drafting U.S. youth against their will to protect those corrupt, fascist regimes?

Thus, it was not simply deprivation and oppression that gave rise to rebellion of the youth; it was hope, the belief that what existed did not have to exist and that change was possible. Youth were raised with an ideal value of America as a country of freedom and equality, but in reality they had to face how America conquered other countries with the justification of stopping the spread of communism around the world. Many people felt that it was immoral for the United States to involve itself in another country's internal matters. Furthermore, the youth antiwar movement against US involvement in Vietnam War was the most significant movement of its kind in the nation's history.

The movement among many college students, intellectuals, and youth, was based on sensing the contradiction between the promises of capitalism in the richest country in the world, and the reality of the stupidity, wastefulness, emptiness, and hypocrisy of even "secure middle class" life in the U.S., where success was measured by clothes and cars. Protests against the Vietnam War did not start when America declared her open involvement in the war in 1964. America had been through nearly twenty years of the Cold War and they were told by the government that what was happening in South Vietnam would happen elsewhere (the Domino Theory) unless America used her military might to stop it. Involvement in the Vietnam War was very much sold as a patriotic venture so few were prepared to protest. If there was to be a political protest, it never became apparent in

Congress where the entire House voted to support Johnson and only two Senators voted against US involvement.

The first protests came in October 1965 when the draft was increased. In February 1965, it had only been 3,000 new troops a month but on October, it was increased to 33,000 a month (Spencer, 1998, p. 56). The escalation of war following the August 1964 Gulf of Tonkin incident necessitated the drafting of tens of thousands. Until the lottery system was instituted under President Nixon, the men shipped to Vietnam reflected high numbers of minorities and high-school dropouts.

The youth movement's demonstrations soon merged with the protests of students who opposed the Vietnam War. By the spring of 1968, student protests had reached hundreds of campuses. Both the counterculture and student activism, finally, fueled a backlash that blossomed in the 1970s and 1980s.

Vietnam War has added importance also because it was the spark that provided the culture from which many other campaigns sprang. Many other issues flowed from the radicalization and greater political consciousness developed in the movement against the Vietnam War, such as Women's Liberation, the Environmental movement, and Gay liberation.

Furthermore, it is obvious that from the explanation above the youth movement has become a breakthrough in the history of the US. Since the day the first settlers arrived in the new world, took over the land from England, built the nation of freedom and individuality, and finally became one of the most powerful countries in the world, it cannot be denied that youth participation in some periods of American history was very influential. Their roles and

values brought new spirit, which could influence the established system of state administration. It proved the reality that the existence of the young generation is very important, since they can be an agent of change. However, their existence should not be seen from a negative side only, because their action and ideology could open a new perspective which is sometimes missed by the older generation. As a result, this article will deeply examine about the phenomenon of Youth in political and cultural movement in the US, especially their movement against the U.S invasion in Vietnam. History recorded of the Vietnam War can be considered a breakthrough in the decision regarding the state constitution. There was a myth that the anti-war movement was the most important factor in stopping the war, since U.S. leaders lost the American public's support for the war. Furthermore, the Vietnam War was the first modern American conflict that seriously affected the United States not only politically, but also socio-culturally. So this article will also analyze the situation and condition in The United States around 1960's, the phase post World War II which was affected by the great depression until the baby boom generation era, since the writer believes that the sociological situation in the United States at that time gave a big influence toward the youth movement against the U.S. invasion of Vietnam. From the above background, the writer formulates as follows:

1. Why did the youth in the United States run an antiwar movement against the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War?
2. How did the impact of the movements toward the U.S. cultural and political life indeed?

YOUTH AND OPPOSITION TO THE VIETNAM WAR

It is obvious that the Vietnam War was one of the most controversial and opposed wars the United States had ever fought. It divided the nation and a protest movement began.

Furthermore, the reasons behind American opposition to the Vietnam War fall into the following main categories: opposition to the draft; moral, legal, and pragmatic arguments against U.S. intervention; reaction to the media portrayal of the devastation in Southeast Asia.

The Draft, as a system of conscription which threatened lower class registrants and middle class registrants alike, drove much of the protest after 1965. Conscientious objectors did play an active role although their numbers were small. The prevailing sentiment that the draft was unfairly administered inflamed blue-collar American opposition and African-American opposition to the military draft itself.

Opposition to the war arose during a time of unprecedented student activism which followed the free speech movement and the civil rights movement. The military draft mobilized the baby boomers who were most at risk, but grew to include a varied cross-section of Americans. The growing opposition to the Vietnam War was partly attributed to greater access to uncensored information presented by the extensive television coverage on the ground in Vietnam.

Beyond opposition to the Draft, anti-war protestors also made moral arguments against the United States' involvement in Vietnam. This moral imperative argument against the war was especially popular among American college students. For example, in an article entitled, "Two Sources of Antiwar Sentiment in America", Schuman (2000) found students were more likely than the general public to accuse the United States of having imperialistic goals in Vietnam. Students in Schuman's study were also

more likely to criticize the war as "immoral." Civilian deaths, which were either downplayed or omitted entirely by the Western media, became a subject of protest when photographic evidence of casualties emerged. In response to these photos William F. Petter wrote that "A million children have been killed or wounded or burned in the war America is carrying on in Vietnam" (as cited in Guttman, 1969, p. 56). An infamous photo of General Nguyễn Ngọc Loan holding a pistol to the head of an alleged terrorist during the Tet Offensive also provoked a public outcry. Another element of the American opposition to the war was the perception that U.S intervention in Vietnam, which had been argued as acceptable due to the Domino Theory and the threat of Communism, was not legally justifiable. Some Americans believed that the Communist threat was used as a scapegoat or even justification to hide imperialistic intentions, while others argued that the American intervention in South Vietnam interfered with the "self-determination" of the country. In other words, the war in Vietnam was a civil war that ought to have determined the fate of the country and, therefore, America had no right to intervene (as cited in Guttman, 1969, p. 63).

Additionally, media coverage of the war in Vietnam shook the faith of citizens at home. That is, new media technologies, like television, brought images of wartime conflict to the kitchen table. To illustrate this claim, Hallin (1996), in his book *The Uncensored War: The Media and Vietnam* cites Mr. Fran McGee, NBC news figure who stated that the war was all but lost as a conclusion to be drawn inescapably from the facts. For the first time in American history the media was privileged to dispense battlefield footage to the public. Graphic footage of casualties on the nightly news eliminated any myth of the glory of war. With no clear sign of

victory in Vietnam, the media images of American military casualties helped to stimulate the opposition of the war among Americans.

YOUTH REVIVAL AS MANIFESTATION OF GENERATIONAL THEORY

In addition to those listed reasons behind American opposition to the Vietnam War such as opposition to the draft, moral arguments against U.S. intervention, and also reaction to the media portrayal of the devastation in Southeast Asia, the writer also analyzes what lies beneath the refusal of the U.S involvement in the Vietnam War. Obviously, it is all about their disappointment toward themselves. History has shown us that there is no country in this world which put freedom and equality above everything besides America. People may have different opinion, but they grow to believe in the same promise that America is the place where you can make it if you try. The American Dream is a national ethos of the United States in which freedom includes a promise of the possibility of prosperity and success. As mentioned in the definition of the American Dream by James Truslow Adams, “life should be better and richer and fuller for everyone, with opportunity for each according to ability or achievement” (as cited in Baym, 1989, p. 13). For many generations and many decades, the American Dream has promised an egalitarian society and material prosperity. American Dream has become the goal of every generation in America. They unite, fight and struggle for the sake of the American Dream, until the Vietnam War happened and destroyed their dream about the reality of the American Dream. It was like a wake up call to differ between what is a dream and what is reality. The Young generation who received the bad impact of the war, for the first time in US history, made some protest against their government. The main reason of their

protested was the unfair draft system, which existed in the Vietnam War era.

The Draft, as a system of conscription, which threatened lower class registrants and middle class registrants alike, drove much of the protest after 1965. Conscientious objectors played an active role although their numbers were small. The prevailing sentiment that the draft was unfairly administered inflamed blue-collar American opposition and African-American opposition to the military draft itself.

Opposition to the war arose during a time of unprecedented student activism which followed the free speech movement and the civil rights movement. The military draft mobilized the baby boomers who were most at risk, but grew to include a varied cross-section of Americans (Schuman, 2000, p. 88). The growing opposition to the Vietnam War was partly attributed to greater access to uncensored information presented by the extensive television coverage on the ground in Vietnam. Youth movements that opposed the Vietnam War had dominated America in the 1960s. Many of the participants in the anti-war movement were young adults who provided rank-and-file members as well as leadership for the movement. The strong representation of young adults in the anti-war movement is typical of many social movements throughout history.

Furthermore, this situation potentially happened because there is a gap between the American dream which was believed by young Americans since they were born and the situation that had to be faced by them as a result of the U.S involvement in the Vietnam War. It simultaneously broke their trust toward their elders. Karl Mannheim in his essay *The Problem of Generation* introduced the idea that young generations are imperfectly socialized

because of a gap between the ideals they have learned from older generations and the realities they experience (Mannheim, 1928/1972). Through a process called intergenerational continuity, children and young teenagers learn values from their parents, and often share similar core ideals through life.

However, beginning around age 17, members of the younger generation experience society differently, leading to a “visible and striking transformation of the consciousness of the individual ... a change not merely in the content of experience, but in the individual's mental and spiritual adjustment,” called this as a fresh contact, suggesting a mechanism to explain how a person develops meaning based on personal experiences within a social context (Mannheim, 1928/1972, p. 25). Until this time, a person's knowledge of societal traditions is gained through the experiences of others rather than through his/her own direct interpretation of events. Fresh contact allows a person to develop his/her own meaning based on personal experiences within the social structure which is necessarily different from other generations.

Driven by the imperatives of biology and social context, generational consciousness involves forming “collective mentalities that mirror a dominant view of the world, reflecting similar attitudes and values and providing a basis for shared action.” These mentalities lead to “continuing practice,” meaning that the unique values formed collectively by a generation continue to influence individual behavior throughout life (Mannheim, 1928/1972, p. 66).

In addition, Edmunds and Turner (2002), in *Generations, Culture and Society*, explored the implications of Mannheim's pivotal essay. Rather than seeing generations as continuations of societal norms, Mannheim portrayed

generations as “sources of opposition, challenging existing societal norms and values and bringing social change through collective generational organization.” Mannheim (1928/1972) stated that generation is a social location that has the potential to affect an individual's consciousness in much the same way as social class. He described an intersection between biology and society in which that “individuals who belong to the same generation, who share the same year of birth, are endowed, to that extent, with a common location in the historical dimension of the social process” (Mannheim, 1928/1972, p. 105).

This situation happened in the U.S. in the 1960s during the post WW II era. It is obvious that the moment of post World War II was an awakening period for the United States in every sector of life. It was also the baby boom generation era, which represented not only in the greatest demographic group but also a shifting ideology. The American teenager has been a source of fascination since the mid-twentieth century. The population surge after WW II resulted in the explosion of teenagers by the 1960s, and young people could not be ignored. This generation inherited the name “baby boomers” (Gale, 2003), describing the largest group of teens ever to hit the united states up to that time. Since then, America crowns each new generation with a similar buzz term, and social commentators offer formulas to capture the essence of each teen set. Baby boomers were said to be action oriented, skeptical of authority, and experimental. They ushered in a sexual revolution, danced to rock n roll, and led a massive protest movement against the Vietnam War.

The word teenager emerged into common language around the time of WW II to describe the high school experience of a new generation

(Palladino, 1996). Teens took the lead, as the number of teenagers began to soar in the late 1950s. From that point forward, teenagers began to shape their own space and chart their own futures without reference to their parents plan. Rejecting the rigid family roles that had shaped adolescent culture since the start of the nineteenth century, they also refused to follow hypocritical social rules that had forced earlier generations to camouflage their real identities and behavior.

Boomers grew up at a time of dramatic social change. In the United States, that social change marked the generation with a strong cultural cleavage, between the proponents of social change and the more conservative. Some analysts believe this cleavage played out politically since the time of the Vietnam War to the mid-2000s, to some extent defining the political landscape and division in the country.

As the baby boom generation veered toward adulthood, its members began to challenge the status quo. By the mid-1960s nearly three out of four students finished high school, and about half of those students went on to college. College campuses filled with young people who had the freedom to question the moral and spiritual health of the nation.

One facet of the youth movement was a disaffected, apolitical counterculture, made up of people who were known as hippies. These young people decried materialism, mocked convention, spurned authority, joined communes, enjoyed rock music, and experimented with drugs and sex. In August 1969 hippies gathered at the Woodstock Festival, a music festival where young people convened to celebrate love and peace with their motto “make love not war” to fight against the

Vietnam War¹ Since the movement against the War in Vietnam was very much a movement of young people, a new movement, these lessons were often rediscovered within and against the old movement. This movement was not instantaneous, there were several factors distinguished the youth movement of the 1960s from the authority-opposition movements of previous eras.

WHAT IS BEHIND AND BEYOND THE OPPOSITION TO THE VIETNAM WAR CONSCRIPTION AND THE LOTTERIES

A lottery drawing-the first since 1942-was held on December 1, 1969, at Selective Service National Headquarters in Washington, D.C. This event determined the order of call for induction during calendar year 1970; that is, for registrants born between January 1, 1944, and December 31, 1950². Reinstitution of the lottery was a change from the "draft the oldest man first" method, which had been the determining method for deciding order of call. There were 366 blue plastic capsules containing birth dates placed in a large glass container and drawn by hand to assign order-of-call numbers to all men within the 18-26 age range specified in Selective Service law. 18 With radio, film, and TV coverage, the capsules were drawn from the container, opened, and the dates inside posted in order. The first capsule - drawn by Congressman

1 “Wood stock Remembered.” Baby Boomer Headquarters. Retrieved from <http://www.bbhq.com/woodstok.htm> on November 3rd, 2011

2 Source: Selective Service System-June 25, 2001 revision. Retrieved from <http://E:/DRAFTSYSTEM/TheMilitaryDraftand1969DraftLotteryfortheVietnamWar.htm> on January 15th, 2011

Alexander Pirnie (R-NY) of the House Armed Services Committee - contained the date September 14, so all men born on September 14 in any year between 1944 and 1950 were assigned lottery number 1. The drawing continued until all days of the year had been paired with sequence numbers.

REGISTRATION AND THE PENALTY

While a draft is not likely, registration for the draft (for males) is a reality. Almost all male U.S. citizens, and male aliens living in the U.S., who are 18 through 25, are required to register with the Selective Service.

CONSEQUENCES FOR NOT REGISTERING³

The maximum penalty for failing to register with Selective Service is a \$250,000 fine and up to five years in prison. Failure to register will cause ineligibility for a number of federal and state benefits including:

- **Federal Jobs**

A man must be registered to be eligible for jobs in the Executive Branch of the Federal government and the U.S. Postal Service. This applies only to men born after December 31, 1959.

- **Student Financial Aid**

Men who are not registered with Selective Service cannot obtain Federal student loans or grants. This includes Pell Grants, College Work Study, Guaranteed Student/Plus Loans, and National Direct Student Loans.

- **Citizenship**

³ Laws regarding failure to register and report to the draft board from the Selective Service System. Retrieved from http://www.afsc.org/youthmil/html/news/may00/resist_prt.htm on January 15th, 2011

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) makes registration with Selective Service a condition for U.S. citizenship, if the man first arrived in the U.S. before his 26th birthday and was required to register.

- **Federal Job Training**

The Workforce Investment Act (formerly JTPA) offers important job-training opportunities. This program is only open to those men who register with the Selective Service.

- **State Jobs, Loans, and Training**

Most states have added additional penalties for those who fail to register with the Selective Service.

- **State driver's License Legislation**

As of May 16, 2002, 19 states, 2 territories, and the District of Columbia have enacted driver's license laws supporting Selective Service registration. They are Oklahoma, Delaware, Arkansas, Utah, Georgia, Hawaii, Alabama, Florida, Colorado, Texas, Louisiana, Illinois, Ohio, South Dakota, Mississippi, Idaho, Virginia, Wisconsin, New Hampshire, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, and the Virgin Islands.

THE IMPACT OF THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT TOWARD GOVERNMENT DECISION TO COMMIT WITHDRAWAL

The antiwar movement became both more powerful and, at the same time, less cohesive between 1969 and 1973. Most Americans pragmatically opposed escalating the U.S. role in Vietnam, believing the economic cost too high; in November of 1969 a second march on Washington drew an estimated 500,000 participants (DeBenedetti, 1990). At the same time, most disapproved of the counterculture that had arisen alongside the antiwar movement. The clean-cut, well-dressed SDS members, who

had tied their hopes to McCarthy in 1968, were being subordinated as movement leaders. Their replacements deservedly gained less public respect, and were tagged with the label “hippie,” and faced much mainstream opposition from middle-class Americans uncomfortable with the youth culture of the period—long hair, casual drug use, and promiscuity. Protest music, typified by Joan Baez and Bob Dylan, contributed to the gulf between young and old. Cultural and political protest had become inextricably intertwined within the movement's vanguard⁴. The new leaders became increasingly strident, greeting returning soldiers with jeers and taunts, spitting on troops in airports and on public streets. A unique situation arose in which most Americans supported the cause but opposed the leaders, methods, and culture of protest.

The movement regained solidarity following several disturbing incidents. In February 1970 news of the My Lai massacre 1968, when American soldiers opened fire on several hundred women and children in the tiny hamlet of My Lai, became public and ignited widespread outrage. In April President Nixon, who had previously committed to a planned withdrawal, announced that U.S. forces had entered Cambodia (Hammond, 1986). Within minutes of the televised statement, protesters took to the streets with renewed focus. Then, on May 4th, Ohio National Guardsmen fired on a group of student protesters at Kent State University, killing four and wounding sixteen. Death, previously distant, was now close at hand. New groups—Nobel science laureates, State Department officers, the American Civil

⁴ “Scar That-Binds: American Culture and the Vietnam War”. Retrieved from http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3686/is_200004/ai_n8893232 on June 28th, 2011

Liberties Union—all openly called for withdrawal. Congress began threatening the Nixon administration with challenges to presidential authority. When the New York Times published the first installment of the Pentagon Papers on 13 June 1971, Americans became aware of the true nature of the war. Stories of drug trafficking, political assassinations, and indiscriminate bombings led many to believe that military and intelligence services had lost all accountability⁵. Antiwar sentiment, previously tainted with an air of anti-Americanism, became instead a normal reaction against zealous excess. Dissent dominated America; the antiwar cause had become institutionalized. By January 1973, when Nixon announced the effective end of U.S. involvement, he did so in response to a mandate unequalled in modern times. The United States was finally out of Vietnam. But every single one of its political objectives for the region met with failure. Over 55,000 Americans perished fighting the Vietnam War.

THE IMPACT IN THE U.S. POLITIC AND CULTURE

There is a tendency to view the campus anti-war movement in one-sided ways. Some people mistakenly say that that movement was the main force that ended the war. Others say that that movement was irrelevant to anything. The campus movement was not a main force in ending that war, but it was an important force in helping to build anti-imperialist consciousness in general and the communist movement, in particular.

⁵ McMahan, R. J. (n.d). “Changing Interpretations of the Vietnam War”. Retrieved from <http://www.english.uiuc.edu/maps/vietnam/interpretations.htm> on October 28th, 2011

The campus movement did help spread the idea that the U.S. government was wrong, and that it was good to use militant action to stop the war. To some extent, some members of the working class were influenced by these ideas, and it is probably true that anti-war activities in the U.S. helped develop the anti-Vietnam War consciousness of some of the troops. This was good, but it should not be overestimated. The youth anti-war movement probably helped create a climate in the U.S. that prevented the U.S. ruling class from militarily intervening in Angola in 1975. President Ford wanted such an intervention, but Congress would not appropriate the money⁶. Again, the anti-war sentiment within the military was a much more potent force in preventing a U.S. military adventure in Angola. Besides, the U.S. continued to fund a fascist-terrorist group there to keep the leftist government there from consolidating power for some years, while at the same time, major imperialist oil companies made deals with the leftist Angola government guaranteeing their profits. It was not crucial for the U.S. to invade Angola. Furthermore, the remnants of the anti-war movement were not strong enough to prevent U.S. military action in Panama, Libya, Grenada, Lebanon, and the deployment of a half million troops for a major war in the Persian Gulf.

CONCLUSION

Finally, the anti-war movement helped create a general anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist climate that still exists in the U.S. People are more skeptical of big corporations, of imperialism, and of capitalism. Tens of thousands of people

⁶ Sitikoff, H. (n.d). "The Postwar Impact of

Vietnam." Retrieved from

<http://www.english.uiuc.edu/maps/vietnam/postwar.htm>.on May 1st, 2011)

were affected by that movement and chose jobs in areas such as teaching, where they wanted to continue to spread anti-imperialist, anti-racist ideas. But again, this should not be overestimated. Much of that anti-imperialist sentiment has been tangled up with pacifism, which only disarms the anti-imperialist movement

In the end, what matters is the growth of communist consciousness, the development of a communist movement, and the building of a revolutionary communist party. Thus, that struggle helped the party to sharpen American understanding about what communism is and how to get it. Their line moved further to the left as a result of actual experience. The more they criticized black nationalism, the more successful they became at winning black workers and students to membership and leadership of the party. The more they attacked the international revisionists, the more their international work has grown. American experience with the liberals taught them that they were not simply cowards and sell-outs, unwilling to go all the way; on the contrary, they are willing to fight very hard against and the rest of the working class.

In addition, the youth antiwar movement also gave impact to American culture in many ways. The 60s were the age of youth, as 70 million children from post-war baby boom became teenagers and young adults. The movement away from the conservative fifties continued and eventually resulted in revolutionary ways of thinking and real change in the cultural fabric of American life. No longer has content to be imaged of the generation ahead of them, young people wanted change. The change affected education, values, lifestyles, laws and entertainment. Many of the revolutionary ideas which began in the sixties are continuing to evolve today. In art, a new artist who appeared

was Andy Warhol with his famous style of painting. Art in America of sixties was influenced by desire to move into modern age or future which the space age seemed so forecast. In music, there was nothing as special as the phenomenon of MTV. Music in America reached its peak level in popularity. Different from their conservative elder which more prefer with folk or gospel, young American tried to explore their music by making such controversial lyrics which showing violence, vulgarity, profanity and also blasphemy. It was the moment of freedom of expression. Nevertheless, being afraid of the bad impact of this phenomenon, government under the approval of the congress published the new regulation named 'parental advisory' which required the musicians to put this label in every lyric which contain harmful effect toward the underage listener.

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