Bob Dylan And The "New Left": A Case Study of a Protest Singer's Role in Influencing the Listeners' Attitudes, Values and Beliefs

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BOB DYLAN AND THE "NEW LEFT:"

A CASE STUDY OF A PROTEST SINGER'S ROLE IN INFLUENCING
THE LISTENERS' ATTITUDES, VALUES AND BELIEFS

By

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ABSTRACT

The late 1950's and the early 1960's in America was the scene of a movement to overthrow the reigning symbols of authority. Bob Dylan was a rhetor who became a "prophet" for this movement. In fact, Dylan's ability to state issues both simply and poetically made him perhaps the most prophetic of the movement's rhetors.

This movement first took root in the 1950's in the movement for "civil rights" and the establishment of the "New Left." The latter was an organization of intellectuals who, spurred by the thoughts of C. Wright Mills, grouped for the purpose of nuclear disarmament and the maintenance of peace. This began to emerge as the movement for "peace" and became entwined with the civil rights movement to form an even larger movement which opposed the reigning symbols of American authority.

This study deals with the rhetor who was probably the most successful in expressing the values, attitudes and beliefs of this opposition movement—Bob Dylan. It is, more importantly, an attempt to discern the motives of Bob Dylan and the movement, the rhetorical strategies of Bob Dylan and the success of Dylan and the movement. In its finality this study will attempt to measure the overall effect of Bob Dylan, a rhetor who, dissatisfied with the reigning symbols of American authority, tried to actualize his dream, persuade the uncommitted Americans, and promote the actualization of a perfect American social order.
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I am deeply indebted to Kenneth Burke whose theories not only bettered my critical abilities but also opened a whole new world of learning.

I would like to additionally extend my "Thank you" to all the members of the Speech Communication Department who, during my course of study, helped me to think and criticize.

Most of the credit for this finished product admittedly must go to my Thesis Advisor, Dr. Floyd D. Anderson. I found him to be not only a brilliant scholar and excellent teacher but a person who "just plain cares."

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CHAPTER I

THE INTRODUCTION

Critical understanding and assessment should be brought to bear upon such objects as contemporary popular music which is helping to educate or otherwise shape the understanding of a generation of young Americans.\textsuperscript{1}

... we must take account of new forms and techniques—news reporting and broadcasting, advertising, documentary, films, drama, music, the novel, non-fiction books, the news conference, and such non-verbal forms as the protest march or demonstration.\textsuperscript{2}

The rhetorical critic has the freedom to pursue his study of subjects with suasive potential or persuasive effect in whatever setting he may find them, ranging from rock music and put-ons to architecture and public forums, to ballet and international politics.\textsuperscript{3}

I. Background

The explosive, rebellious and polarized years of the 1960's in America were in part a result of what had preceded. The relative calm before the storm was furthered by an economy that was booming—an economy that allowed consumers to demand ever-bigger cars and an ever-greater consumption of goods. America was involved in a Cold War with Russia as the "enemy" and the fear of Communism cultivated a rash of witch hunts and accusations in which many public figures were brought to public attention as alleged Communists or Communist affiliates. All of that was almost overshadowed by the testing of nuclear explosives which had spread fear of the possibilities of radioactive contamination from Strontium 90, mutation in succeeding generations, and the always present danger of the likelihood of a nuclear world war.

This America of the 1950's produced at least a portion of the populace that was disenchanted with "the way things were" and led to a
voiced revolt. In 1955, a black woman named Rosa Parks, by refusing to comply with the long established traditions that kept Negroes in "their place," actually let loose the monster that came to be known as the movement for "civil rights."4 The movement for civil rights was greeted with the burning of buses, the bombing of churches, and the formation of angry and fearful mobs bent on keeping the "Niggers" in their place. Marches took place, sit-ins were staged, federal troops were called out and, perhaps most tragically, civil rights workers and sympathizers, both black and white, were beaten, jailed and murdered.

On May 11th, 1956, in a case counseled by Robert Carter for the N.A.A.C.P., a Federal District Court ruled against segregated seating on public buses.5 This action represented the Negro's renewed struggle for equality in America. That struggle for equality more and more became couched in the "direct action" philosophy. Direct action usually took place in the form of sit-ins which were promulgated by Southern Black leaders such as Dr. Martin Luther King who founded the S.C.L.C. (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) as well as a group of students, both black and white, who took the name S.N.C.C. (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee). The well established traditional Negro-involved groups such as C.O.R.E. (Congress of Racial Equality) and N.A.A.C.P. (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) were slow to employ the direct action technique but eventually, despite philosophical differences, did contribute to the overall growth of the black man's struggle for equality. All of these forces, applying themselves to a huge "civil rights" movement, at least, brought to the attention of the public that perhaps everything wasn't all right in America and perhaps change was exactly what was needed.
In addition to the movement for civil rights there were other changes and challenges taking place in America. Mostly influenced by the writings of C. Wright Mills, a group of intellectuals, bent on change not through the masses but through the intellectuals of the society, formed a group known as the "New Left." The New Left consisted of such people as A.J. Muste, Bayard Rustin, the noted psychologist and author, Dr. Erich Fromm, author Lewis Mumford, editor Norman Cousins, and socialist Norman Thomas among others. The New Left was socialistic in its attitudes and was interested in the reestablishment of the American democracy which it claimed had been replaced by a corporate system wherein most decisions were not made by the people but by those both governmentally and economically in power.

The establishment of S.A.N.E. (The Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy) by the New Left was a direct opposition to the values of the prevailing American social order. SANE actively protested the use and testing of nuclear weapons through both advertisements in newspapers and non-violent "direct action" sit-ins. The founding of this group was a reflection of the widespread fear of nuclear contamination, the possibility of human mutation and, the fear of a war with Russia which would result in the use of nuclear weaponry and subsequently the destruction of a large part, if not all, of the human race.

Thus as America emerged into the 1960's the seeds of unrest were being planted throughout the nation. This opposition took root in the civil rights movement as well as the "peace" movement. The former dealing with the inequality of the Negro in America and the latter a response to the fear of the harmful effects of nuclear testing. As Howard Zinn points out: "This was the complacent generation . . . the money-seeking generation
until they renounced comfort and security to fight for justice."\(^6\)

In 1962 a song called "Blowin' In The Wind," was popularized by a group named Peter, Paul and Mary. The public would later learn that the lyrics were written by a young man named Bob Dylan. "Blowin' In The Wind," was a poetic expression of the American black man's struggle to be equal. The song was adopted by the movement for civil rights, being sung at civil rights marches and sit-ins. In fact, it was sung at the well known civil rights march on Washington in August of 1963 led by Dr. Martin Luther King.\(^7\)

"Blowin' In The Wind," alone, was not responsible for Dylan's eventual popularity but it was a display of Dylan's ability to state simply and poetically the times and the issues. It was the first glimpse, on a broad level, of a performer and perhaps poet, who would eventually become the spokesman for the opposition toward the prevailing American attitudes, values, and beliefs. As Hedgepeth states:

Dylan . . . was very much acknowledged among members of the Youth Menace not merely as a poet, sage, troubadour and speaker forth for a universe of hung-up souls but also a paradigmatic seer.\(^8\)

Dylan—whose real name is Robert Alan Zimmerman—was born May 24th, 1941, in the mining town of Duluth, Minnesota. Dylan was a young man in the 1950's and it isn't unlikely that his opposition was a result of his youthful experience during the 1950's when opposition to the reigning symbols of American authority began to emerge.

According to Anthony Scaduto, a biographer of Dylan, Dylan was a very shy and inner-directed man. By the eighth grade he had begun playing guitar and listening to the records of various artists. Scaduto relates:
Bob would spend hours listening to Gatemouth Page, a disc jockey on a Little Rock, Arkansas, radio station who played Muddy Waters and Howlin' Wolf and B.B. King and Jimmy Reed.9

He was also very interested in Elvis Presley, Bill Haley, Buddy Holly and Little Richard. It is interesting to note that in terms of the "conservatism" of the 1950's all of these artists were considered revolutionary.

During his high school years Dylan directed an increasing amount of his attention to music. Scaduto adds:

Anyone who knew him at all well during the high school years, even the girl he was to consider his sweetheart, realized Bob Zimmerman was almost obsessed; he had developed a junkie urgency to express himself in pop music.10

In 1959 Dylan entered the University of Minnesota where he joined Sigma Alpha Mu, a Jewish fraternity. Within six months Dylan had stopped attending classes and was spending his time at Dinkeytown, a quasi-bohemian neighborhood of Minneapolis.

It was at this time that Dylan began to borrow much from the style and more importantly, the content of Woodie Guthrie's music. Dylan had evidently fashioned himself after Guthrie who was known in the 1950's and before as a "protest singer."

Dylan's spreading fame and subsequently his role as an influential rhetor were made possible partly as a result of his trip to New York City to visit his dying hero, Woody Guthrie. While in New York he spent much time in Greenwich Village where he was exposed to many more artistic musical styles than he ever had been in Hibbing, Minnesota. Dylan's first engagement took place April 11th, 1961, in a Greenwich Village club by the
name of Gerde's Folk City. This was an important experience because it gained young Dylan an audience of Village appreciators of folk music. His search for fame was furthered by his harmonica backing of a 1961 Harry Belafonte album. Dylan was beginning to be recognized as a folk singer and in 1962, when his "Blowin' In The Wind" became widely popular, it was also evident that he was a young artist who had the ability to address himself to the issues and the times.

Dylan's success as a spokesman for the rejection of the reigning symbols of authority was in part due to his almost magical ability to state simply and poetically the case. Success was also dependent upon the fact that Dylan addressed himself to the issues, the attitudes, values and beliefs with which the audience was concerned. He addressed himself to those factors until 1965, at which time he made great changes both in his style and content. After returning from an English tour, Dylan began making use of the electric guitar in his performance. This enraged many of the folk-purists in Dylan's audience, and he thus lost many of his original fans who were concerned mainly with the rejection of prevailing values.

At the Newport Folk Festival, July 25th, 1965, Dylan played with an electric guitar and was greeted with many boos and hecklings from the crowd. From this point on in his career Bob Dylan sang, instead of protest songs, songs about his feelings, himself. His music and message became much more personal and no longer grounded in the motive of strengthening a cause. For that reason this study, which is an evaluation of Dylan's success as a spokesman for the rejection of the reigning symbols of authority, will deal exclusively with his rhetoric from the years 1961 through 1965.
II. Purpose and Procedure

The purpose of this study is to determine the motives of the rhetor, Bob Dylan, the rhetorical strategies of Bob Dylan and the effect of Bob Dylan and the movement for which he was a spokesman. This analysis will be conducted according to the Dramatistic Theory which views language and thought as "basically modes of action rather than as means of conveying information." This study will analyze the rhetorical transaction according to the three dimensions of any rhetorical transaction. These three dimensions are: (1) situational; (2) attitudinal; and (3) interpersonal.

The purpose of the introductory chapter is to inform the reader as to the general background, purpose and procedure of this study.

The purpose of chapter two, which will analyze the rhetorical transaction according to the situational dimension, is to describe the events and phenomenon which comprised the situation in which the transaction occurred. This chapter attempts to summarize and analyze the situation from which Bob Dylan's rhetorical activities emerged. Analysis of this chapter proceeds according to Lloyd Bitzer's view that rhetorical discourse is called into being by the situation.

The purpose of chapter three, which will analyze the rhetorical transaction according to the attitudinal dimension, is to determine how the rhetor, Bob Dylan, made use of language. This chapter will analyze Dylan's language in his songs according to the method of analysis known as the Dramatistic Pentad. This method of analysis views the social act as being made up of five elements. These elements include the scene, act, agent, agency and purpose of the action. This chapter must also take account of Kenneth Burke's concept of identification as an "acting together" in which division exists simultaneously with unity. Division
exists because each person is unique, unity exists because there is a locus of motives. In addition to Burke, this chapter will borrow from analysis of the concept of identification advanced by Andrew King and Floyd Anderson, Walter Fisher, and Leland Griffin.

The purpose of chapter four, which will analyze the rhetorical transaction according to the interpersonal dimension, is to determine how the people involved affected the rhetorical transaction. Analysis of this chapter will proceed according to the seven great moments of human drama. These seven great moments include: the negative, hierarchy, guilt, mortification, victimage, catharsis and redemption. About the human drama William Rueckert points out:

A study of the drama as it is enacted, imitated, and reflected in man's symbolic acts is the study of what is basically and fundamentally human, for only man, through the free exercising of moral choice (the negative) can act purposefully.

Additionally, analyzing the rhetorical transaction according to the interpersonal dimension requires that this chapter take account of the concept of identification. As previously mentioned Burke states that all men are by nature divided and seek to identify with their fellow men. Walter Fisher explains identification:

One may hypothesize that rhetorical discourse will be persuasive to the extent that . . . the degree to which the image it implies of the audience corresponds with the self-images held by members of the audience.

Chapter five is a concluding chapter which determines what Dylan's motives were, what rhetorical strategies he used, and what effect the rhetorical transaction with his audience had.
ENDNOTES


4Rosa Parks, a black woman, was seated in the front of a segregated public bus. When the bus filled she was asked by the white bus driver to move to the rear to make available a set for white riders who were standing. For further detail of this historic incident see, Louis E. Lomax, The Negro Revolt, (New York: The New American Library, 1963), p. 17.

5Ibid., p. 94.


9Scaduto, op. cit., p. 12.

10Ibid., p. 18.

11Ibid., p. 246.


13According to Bitzer, the situation is the source and ground for rhetorical activity—motives are born of the situation. For further explanation see his excellent article, "The Rhetorical Situation" (Contemporary Theories of Rhetoric, ed. Richard L. Johannesen (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 386.


CHAPTER II
THE SITUATIONAL DIMENSION

The movement of opposition for which Bob Dylan was a spokesman can be better understood if one understands the situation from which it emerged and in which it, if only for a short time, survived. America after World War II was a nation of great prosperity. It was characterized by the rise of a large middle class much of which settled into an economic, cultural, and geographical area known as suburbia. Greater salaries created the demand for more goods—so what emerged was an economy that found itself spiraling higher and higher.

In America of the 1950's everything seemed to be pointed towards the upper height known as "progress." America was taking great "progressive" leaps in all areas. This is pointed out by Leonard Freedman: "It was the atomic age, the space age, the age of jets, of automation, of television, of the rapid growth of cities, of great advances in medicine, biology, chemistry."1

All of this was simultaneously existing alongside of the fear of Communism. After World War II the United States had initiated the Truman Doctrine in an effort to prevent Communist takeovers of Greece and Turkey. In addition, allegedly because of the threat of Communism spreading around the globe, America began building even faster the non-economic countries including Formosa, Southeast Asia, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries. Mao-Tse Tung had taken over China—the United States among other nations, refused to allow over 700 million people to be represented in the United Nations.

Additionally, in the early 1950's Senator Joseph McCarthy had spread the fear of Communism with his numerous accusations of noted public figures
of Communist affiliations. Statements such as those made by then-Vice President, Richard Nixon only added to the growing fear and confusion. He stated: "I'm going to campaign up and down America until we drive the crooks and Communists and those that defend them out of Washington."²

The widespread fear of Communism was furthered by the ever-present "Cold War" in which the United States and the Soviet Union were engaged. The Cold War advanced with the view of both participating countries that it had to maintain the upper military hand in order to preserve its own cause. This Cold War was also symbolized by the subsequent space race in which both the United States and the Soviet Union tried to outshine each other in their race to put a man on the moon, possibly control the weather of the earth, and allegedly mount a military venture in space.

The fear of Communism was perhaps overshadowed by an even greater danger—the possibility of nuclear annihilation. In the early 1950's, America had exploded the H-bomb, which was many times greater in force than the A-bomb. Also fear was spreading because of Russia's emerging nuclear potentialities, including her explosion of a nuclear bomb. This danger was made even more prominent by the Bikini Island incident of 1954 wherein innocent bystanders were subjected to the radioactive fallout as a result of a United States nuclear blast.³

Out of this 1950's America emerged small voices of discontent—those who cried "No" to the "way things were." This opposition took root in various ideological soil but it eventually massed a near-unified movement which opposed the reigning symbols of authority.

The movement of opposition for which Bob Dylan was a spokesman first took root in the 1950's in the civil rights movement, the establishment
of the "New Left," and the emergence of a rebellious group of young man known as the "Beats." In studying the issue of civil rights one could trace the Negro situation and cause back to the previous century. It was in 1955, however, when this particular uprising took place. On May 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court declared that no child could be barred from a public school simply because of his color. But the passage of a law did not alter overnight what had been established and believed for so long—that the Negro was, in essence, inferior to the white man. In 1955, in an attempt to enforce that law, President Eisenhower sent troops into Little Rock, Arkansas. In 1955 the civil rights issue exploded when a black woman, Rosa Parks, refused to comply with a well-established tradition of the South—moving to the back of the bus. Soon after thousands in the South were participating in massive protests, marches, and demonstrations, many of which followed the philosophy of "direct action" in the form of "sit-ins."

While opposition was growing to the treatment of the Negro in America, opposition was also building concerning the use of nuclear weapons and especially their testing. Largely as a reaction to the nuclear issue, intellectuals in America banded together and influenced by the thought of sociologist and writer, C. Wright Mills, grouped to form the "New Left." The New Left had in part resulted from America's continued experimentation of nuclear weaponry, allegedly justified by the counter-acting of the Communist threat of which there was much fear in America. In 1954 America exploded the H-bomb which was many times greater in force than the A-bomb that had destroyed Hiroshima. At this time there arose the suspicion among many scientists that the testing of the atomic bomb was, in fact, dangerous due to the resultant radioactive fallout. Concerned about fallout and fearful of the possibility of an atomic war
brought about, in part, by the nuclear stockpiling of both the United States and the Soviet Union, the New Left in 1957 found the group SANE (The National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy). A.J. Muste, a well known pacifist and New Left member also organized the C.N.V.A. (Committee for Non-Violent Action). Both of these groups protested through advertisements and the direct action technique the testing of nuclear bombs and, in an attempt to maintain peace, also called for nuclear disarmament.

The opposition movement also took root in the 1950's in a group of young men known as the "Beats." The civil rights movement was basically opposed to the inequality of the white and black in America. The New Left groups were concerned most with the maintenance of peace and the stoppage of nuclear testing. The Beats, however, attacked almost everything that America stood for. They opposed what they viewed as the dominant American values—materialism, conformity, respectability, the rat race and the notion of progress. They claimed that man's humanity had been subordinated to the will of an impersonal economic-political system.

After the Rosa Parks incident Negroes began more often to protest against their conditions. In 1956 Negroes not only boycotted against segregated busing in Montgomery, but also in Tallahassee and Birmingham as well. Dr. Martin Luther King, who with Bayard Rustin, founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in January, 1957 helped to organize Negroes for the purpose of protest. In 1956, a Federal District Court had ruled against segregated seating on buses. The Negroes, especially in the South, set out to establish the right that been given them by law. The Negro's protests were subsequently greeted by violence in almost every city—the pattern of the Negro's struggle for equality was emerging.

In addition to the civil rights movement this time was highlighted
by the concern over nuclear weapons. In 1952 the United States had exploded the H-bomb which carried even greater potential for destruction than the A-bomb. The fear of the possibilities of nuclear destruction were furthered in 1954 when a crew of Japanese fishermen, among others in the area, were exposed to the radioactive fallout from a United States nuclear weapon being tested in the Bikini Islands in the Pacific Ocean.8 In June of the following year an appeal, authored by Lord Bertrand and Dr. Albert Einstein, was published that was addressed to "all the powerful governments of the world in the earnest hope that they may agree to allow their citizens to survive."9 It was an appeal to all the nations of the world that they disarm themselves of their nuclear weapons. The nuclear issue broadened ever-larger in the later 1950's. In 1957 Popular Science published an article which claimed that Strontium 90 (an element of radioactive fallout) caused bone cancer.10 This same year many leading scientists from around the globe met in Nova Scotia and decided that there was a need for international control of nuclear weaponry.11 The fear about nuclear possibilities was also furthered by the report of Dr. Libby who was a top-level scientist for the Atomic Energy Commission. He stated, in a report for the A.E.C., that Strontium 90 was present in milk due to the fact that cows had grazed on grass on which nuclear fallout had fallen.12

During this period there were numerous articles published in the major magazines and newspapers which either agreed on the abandonment of nuclear weapons or urged further testing as a means of preventing a nuclear outbreak. The differing viewpoints were best characterized by the debates concerning nuclear policy of Dr. Edward Teller and Dr. Linus Pauling. Dr. Pauling was a pacifist, head of the Division of Chemistry and Engineering at California Institute of Technology, who had been a member of SANE,
and had through his writing urged the nation to abandon nuclear testing and disarm along with other nations. In fact, Dr. Pauling was responsible for the acquiring of over 11,000 signatures which were presented in 1958 to the United Nations in an effort to persuade nations to abandon use of nuclear weaponry. Dr. Teller, who was a consultant to the United States' government, held the view opposite to Dr. Pauling, that the United States could only keep peace when it held the threat that anyone who attacked would in turn be counterattacked. Dr. Teller also devoted much of his writing toward persuading the nation that fallout shelters should be built as well as stockpiles of food accumulated. This latter view of the situation was often attacked by members of the peace movement including the New Left.

The fear of nuclear destruction, of human mutation, and nuclear fallout, spurred by the Teller-Pauling debates and fed by the writings of many opinions concerning the nuclear issue resulted in the founding of such groups as a reaction to the situation and the issues. In 1957 SANE had been formed. SANE ran its first advertisement on November 15 in the New York Times and the response was great—approximately 2,500 letters. The same year witnessed the founding of the C.N.V.A. This latter group demonstrated against the Atomic Energy Commission in Nevada on August 6, the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima.

Perhaps one of the most outstanding and distinctive oppositions to the United States' nuclear policy was demonstrated by a member of the C.N.V.A., Albert Bigelow. In response to the 1958 summer series of nuclear tests at Eniwetok Atoll, Bigelow, a Quaker, sailed his ship, The Golden Rule, into the bomb test area in protest.
In addition to the New Left and the civil rights movement, opposition to the reigning symbols of authority was fed by the movement of "beat" thought. The Beats were discovered by America through the media in 1956. The best known of the writer/poets of this ideology were Allen Ginsberg, Lawrence Ferlinghetti and Jack Kerouc.

Perhaps the best known of the beat writings was Allen Ginsberg's, "Howl," which was published in 1956. "Howl," as well as all the Beats' work, according to Merrill, involves: "... defending human personality against the overwhelming pressures of conformity, competition, prestige, and respectability—all facets of modern civilization that measure growth by quantitative externals, instead by qualitative living."16

The Beats were an exact opposite to the "square" who was a responsible part of the system. In fact, this opposition was visually apparent as the beat, in an attempt to rehumanize himself, wore long hair, shabby clothes, sometimes used drugs and was freer supposedly about his sexual habits—all of which contributed to his alternate life-style. The Beats were trying to make the individual important again in a system that they viewed as having removed all individualism and replaced it with mass conformity fostered by huge corporations and organizations bent on using people only insofar as they assisted their needs and "progress."

The movement of the New Left was better organized through the publication, Liberation, in 1956 which, with editor Dave Dellinger, put forth a New Left view. Additionally, in 1959 the old Left publication in England combined to form the New Left Review.

The peace movement accelerated as C.N.V.A. in 1958 protested against the construction of a missile base in Cheyenne, Wyoming. This did not bring much attention to the cause for peace but it was another incident of the
use of non-violent direct action which was so popularly used at the time by opposition movement members. In 1958 the United States had ceased nuclear testing for a short period and had hence been developing I.C.B.M.'s (Intercontinental ballistic missiles). This led to C.N.V.A. protest against the Mead ICBM base in Omaha, Nebraska, the following year.

In 1959 the New Left found a hero in the leftist--Fidel Castro who had taken over the leadership of Cuba from the right wing dictatorship of Batista. Also in 1959 the movement was greatly increased by the founding of the Student Peace Union. This group, which grew out of students affiliated with the Socialist Party, had in 1960 some 5,000 members and 12,000 subscribers to its bulletin.17

The SPU, along with civil rights, the New Left and all of its tributaries including SANE and CNVA, and the Beats, among others, contributed to the growing opposition to the reigning symbols of American authority. All of these forces, along with additional later ones, melted to some extent into an opposition movement in America in the early 1960's.

The movement for civil rights had actually begun in 1955 and 1956 when protests broke out and boycotts were staged. The violent reaction to those and other incidents were followed by still other marches, demonstrations and boycotts. It was in 1960, however, that the movement really began to thunder its way across the national conscience—it was then that most people in the United States had at least probably heard of the movement.

Adopting the non-violent techniques of A.J. Muste and Martin Luther King (both disciples of the Ghandi philosophy), a group of students on February 1, 1960, integrated a "whites only" lunch counter of a Woolworth's chain store in Greensboro, North Carolina.18 These students founded a
new group that would fight for civil rights alongside of all the others—its name was S.N.C.C. (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee). The Negro's revolt was even more the object of attack and violence. The first SNCC headquarters in Selma, Alabama was burned down. In Houston, Texas a 27-year old Negro was kidnapped, flagged with a chain, and the symbol KKK was carved on his chest. In Mississippi, women, children, and a photographer were beaten by police and bystanders were bitten by police dogs.

The SNCC sit-ins, assisted by CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), sparked protest all over the country though the most thrust of the Negro discontent seemed to be centered in the South. Within a year of the Greensboro protest over 50,000 people had participated in some kind of demonstration. Demonstrations were being staged by CORE and SNCC as well as Dr. King and the SCLC.

Additionally, the civil rights movement had aspirations of strengthening their cause through political gains. At the 1960 Platform Committee for the National Democratic Committee, Marion Barry appeared as a representative for SNCC. He recommended to the Committee that they help bring about school desegregation, enact a fair employment act, protect demonstrators, and assure Negroes of the right to vote. Whether or not this particular incident had any impact is uncertain, but it is certain that civil rights was a "hot issue" and that the Negro in America, with his vote, was developing a competent political force.

In 1960, growing out of the League for Industrial Democracy, students found the SDS (Students for a Democratic Society). This group was not only anti-nuclear bomb and leaning toward the Left, but it supported the civil rights movement. It was a nationwide group that gave organization
to the opposition movement and lead to the growth of even greater numbers of students participating in that movement.

The peace movement, especially with the addition of SDS, continued to grow and on May 3, 1960 a group calling itself the Civil Defense Protest Committee, including A. J. Muste, Norman Mailer and Nat Hentoff among 2,000 others, protested against the Civil Defense air-raid drill in New York. In another attempt by New Left ideologists to protest the use of nuclear weapons, the CNVA in the same year boarded the nuclear submarine, Ethan Allen, and were subsequently arrested.

Adding to the ever-largening peace movement SANE held a peace rally in Madison Square Garden in the spring of 1960. This meeting not only filled Madison Square Garden but also drew thousands of demonstrators into the surrounding streets. SANE also gathered thousands of signatures against the use of nuclear weapons to present to President Eisenhower.

The fear of Communism that had been bred by the days of McCarthyism and fed through the 1950's by the Cold War and the nuclear issue resulted in accusations by the American authority of peace movement members' affiliations with Communists. Dr. Pauling was appearing before the 86th Congress and was accused by Senator Dodd of being affiliated, through his organization SANE, with the Communist party. Though it was not necessarily true that SANE was Communistic it did attract some members who were perhaps connected with Communist sympathizers or affiliates. Senator Dodd, however, slurred SANE and Pauling, and dealt a temporary blow to the peace movement. It was also demanded by Congress that Dr. Pauling reveal the names of those who had assisted him in collecting over 11,000 signatures of prominent scientists around the globe that he had submitted to the United Nations. Dr. Pauling refused to do so and he was so supported by sympathizers in
an advertisement run in the New York Times.27 He also received support from Washington University, the Emergency Civil Liberties Union and Rutgers University, among others. In fact, the Washington University faculty sent 187 signed letters to the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security.28

Accusations by the government of Communistic affiliation by peace groups was greeted in San Francisco in May of 1960 with demonstrations against the House Un-American Activities Commission. Additionally, in April of that year, Fair Play for Cuba, had been founded in an effort to support the Castro regime which had overthrown the right-wing dictatorship of Batista in 1959. That summer, 1960, thousands of students traveled to Cuba, also to lend support to Castro.

The peace movement was also present in England as thousands, led by Lord Bertrand Russell, marched against the use of nuclear weapons sponsored by the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament.

During this time in San Francisco the Beats were writing about the same ideas that were moving those in the civil rights and peace movements to act. The Beats continued their attack against the reigning symbols of American authority. Jack Kerouc wrote On The Road, Allen Ginsberg was writing materials such as "Reality Sandwiches," in which he denounced America for its values including materialism, conformity, progress, and the subordination of man's humanity to the "system." Ferlinghetti published "A Coney Island of the Mind," in which he denounced the same values. Ferlinghetti states:

I have read the Reader's Digest from cover to cover and noted the close identification of the United States and the Promised Land where every coin is marked In God We Trust but the dollar bills do not have it being gods unto themselves.29
The opposition grew as a result of events and phenomenon which took place in 1961. The civil rights movement had been staging sit-ins and demonstrations but added to their impact when twelve CORE and SNCC members led by James Farmer and supported by SNCC, CORE and SCLC, began protest which was titled the "freedom rides." Twelve freedom riders, both black and white, boarded a public transportation bus in the Washington, D.C. area in an attempt to protest de facto segregation on public busing. The bus on which the freedom riders were traveling was burned to a skeleton on May 14, 1961 as the result of a device hurled through the bus window which ignited a fire. The freedom riders boarded another bus and when they arrived in Birmingham were greeted by an angry mob armed with iron bars and clubs. Traveling on to Montgomery the bus was greeted by 300 angry members of a mob. At this Montgomery incident in 1961, John Sigenthaler, President Kennedy's special emissary, was struck unconscious as he tried to assist a young white girl. By this time the Negro's protestations were well known throughout the country. Not only had Negroes marched, sat-in, held freedom rides, and demonstrated but, in addition, in August, 1961, began a movement led by Bob Parris, for Negro voter registration. The drive for voter registration began in Mississippi where Negroes comprised 43% of the state, yet, held no political power. But the drive was not easy for the story was the same. Everywhere that civil rights workers went, mostly SNCC, SCLC and CORE volunteers assisted by both black and white students from Northern as well as Southern campuses and members of the newly formed SDS, they were greeted by violence. Many times the violence led to injury, death, imprisonment and even murder.

Attention to the civil rights movement was furthered by the intercession of the Federal Government. The Attorney General, Robert Kennedy,
sent United States marshals to Montgomery, Alabama to investigate the violence that greeted so many there. Kennedy also sent the FBI to investigate the violence that greeted the freedom riders. Additionally, the Attorney General sent attorneys to the federal district court in Montgomery, Alabama to enjoin the KKK and all those interfering with peaceful interstate travel.34

The problems of nuclear weaponry were still very important issues in 1961. In that year, the U.S.S.R. had resumed its nuclear testing. This was greeted by demonstrations by American students all over the country.35 The fear of Strontium 90 fallout, though not as great as it had previously been, still very much existed. An article appeared in Newsweek in December of 1961 which detailed an experiment by scientists that tried to compare the level of Strontium 90 in a grain diet with that in a milk diet—the results were inconclusive.36 Edward Teller, who was a spokesman concerning the nuclear issue for the United States government, delivered a speech in December of 1961 declaring that "the minority in Russia is determined to conquer the world."37 This view reflected Teller's attitudes as well as shaped the government's policy concerning America's nuclear strategy.

The opposition movement in 1961 was furthered by the murder in February of that year of Patrice Lumumba, Congolese nationalist leader. SDS and the New Left groups viewed Lumumba's murder as having been partly a result of America's foreign policy. Demonstrations were staged in protest of this action across America.38

Since the leftist Castro had taken over Cuba, students of the New Left ideology had identified with him and his cause. Students, especially in 1960 and 1961, had been traveling to Cuba to see first-hand the revolution
that had taken place there. In 1961 the United States State Department banned travel to Cuba and then the United States sponsored an invasion of Cuba in order to overthrow the left-wing Castro. In a reaction to this students protested from coast-to-coast. 39

In 1961 there were still more peace groups intent on protesting the American situation and policy. Dagmar Wilson organized the Women's Strike for Peace which demonstrated in Washington, D.C. against nuclear testing. 40 This year also gave rise to the W.E.B. DuBois clubs formed in San Francisco for the purpose of educating action groups.

Overall 1960-1961 were years in which the opposition especially grew on the campus. The 1959 groups, SNCC and SPU had also attracted the growth of other such groups like SDS, W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, and Turn Toward Peace. Still the issue of nuclear weaponry and Strontium 90 was prevalent in the mass media and the civil rights movement was busy launching a Negro voter registration drive. The Beats had not initiated any movement of action of their own but they had, it seems, contributed to the opposition ideology. The CNVA still operated and was responsible for "direct action" protest, but SANE had been beaten by Senator Dodd's accusation of SANE's Communistic affiliations and had lost some of its impact.

The civil rights movement in 1962 was mostly centered around the drive for Negro voter registration that had begun the previous year in Mississippi. This drive was being met with explosions, shootings, near-murder, beatings, angry mobs, police dogs and firebombs. Demonstrations, however, were still occurring especially throughout the South. In the summer of 1962 more than 1,000 students in the city of Albany, Georgia were arrested. 41 Additionally, Negro students were arrested in other
Southern cities for demonstrations against lack of voter registration, segregationist policy, lack of employment opportunities and the general wholesale inferior treatment of the Negro in 1960's America.

In October of 1962 a black man, James Meredith, attempted to integrate the all-white University of Mississippi campus. The Governor of Mississippi, Ross Barnett, refused Meredith's admission to the school. Violence did break out and two people were killed in the riots. President Kennedy, after four weak attempts at admission in which he tried not to repeat former President Eisenhower's use of troops at Little Rock in 1955, finally had to federalize the Mississippi National Guard. 42

Apparently, the fear of Communism was still, at least, prevalent. Bob Zellner and Chuck McDew, SNCC workers, were charged with criminal anarchy (overthrow of the state) in Louisiana for sneaking a copy of The Nation into a jailed civil rights worker. The local newspaper headlines printed the story as indicating that the two civil rights workers were Communists. 43

While the civil rights movement was basically involved in Negro voter registration the peace movement was still chugging along. The New Left group CNVA, in a reenactment of the Albert Bigelow incident of 1958, sailed their ship from San Francisco to Christmas Island, the site of a scheduled nuclear test, in an attempt to protest nuclear testing. In 1962 the National Student Association passed resolutions opposing nuclear testing.

Perhaps the force of the movement's opposition is depicted in the following two examples. In February of 1962 the Student Peace Union, a campus peace group, sponsored a march on Washington, D.C. for peace. 5,000 students attempted there to talk with administrators. 44 Additionally,
in October of that year when the United States demanded the Soviet withdrawal of its missiles from Cuba and subsequently blockaded Cuba, demonstrations were staged across the country including at the United Nations which drew 10,000 supporters of opposition.45

The year 1962 witnessed the further solidification of the campus portion of the opposition movement. This solidification was brought about by the Students for a Democratic Society who in 1962 met at Port Huron, Michigan for the purpose of forming more precisely their ideologies. The ideologies were spelled out in a publication entitled The Port Huron Statement. The publication was in keeping with C. Wright Mills' works and the New Left philosophy. The statement was, in fact, a representation of the opposition movement's attitudes, values and beliefs. For example, about the nuclear issue, the statement pointed out: "... the enclosing fact of the Cold War, symbolized by the presence of the Bomb, brought awareness that we ourselves, and our friends, and millions of abstract "others" we knew more directly because of our common peril, might die at any time."46

The movement for civil rights continued its struggle in 1963. In May of that year Dr. King led Negro workers and unemployed on a march that turned into uncontrollable riots.47 During the spring Southern segregationists were attempting to get the House Un-American Activities Commission to investigate SNCC for Communistic affiliation.48 The police in Birmingham, led by Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor used high-powered water hoses and dogs against demonstrators. The brutality of the repression and the legal harassment, including massive arrests, aroused public opinion, especially in the North.49

Following the incidents at Birmingham, demonstrations, protests, and
boycotts occurred in almost every major urban area in America. In the South, the Negro voter registration drive was continuing. In a reflection of the heat of the times on June 12, 1963, in Jackson, Mississippi, Medgar Evans, a black civil rights leader, was murdered. All of these occurrences led up to the massive demonstrations in Washington, D.C. on August 28. 250,000 blacks and whites attended this meeting for the purpose of lobbying for passage of sweeping civil rights measures by Congress. This demonstration was the largest single demonstration ever held in the United States.

Additionally, the movement for civil rights, including SNCC, was aided by the SDS, which in 1963 was organizing community projects in the North. These projects called Economics Research and Action Project, were started with cash donations from the United Auto Workers.50

The nuclear issue was still a debate in 1963 but its force was diminished, in part, due to the nuclear test treaty which allowed only underground tests. This treaty was signed by the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain. Lawrence Wittner details the progress of the movement:

Racial and economic issues upstaged thermo-nuclear war, and Mississippi, at least temporarily eclipsed the Pentagon as a source of American outrage. Thus, in spite of their apparent effectiveness—indeed, often because of it—peace groups declined in size and vigor; SANE, Women's Strike for Peace, and the Student Peace Union decayed, acquiring many of the characteristics of "mailing-list organizations."51

What had happened was that many peace groups had actually become merged with the liberal wing of the Democratic party. Most of the direct action had by 1963 become focused upon the civil rights movement.

As the movement progressed then from the late 1950's and the early
The year 1964 was still a time in which opposition took root in the civil rights struggle. In July of 1964 riots broke out in Harlem, Rochester, Jersey City, Brooklyn, Chicago and Philadelphia. Martin Luther King was still active mainly in the South, in pursuing both employment for Negroes as well as voter registration. In August of that year the bodies of three civil rights workers were found buried near Philadelphia, Mississippi. This action was a reflection of the manner in which the struggle for civil rights was still being greeted.

In January of the following year Martin Luther King opened yet another voter registration drive in Selma, Alabama. By now the method of direct action had been almost completely replaced by the appeal to gaining practical political power--by establishing Negro power through the ballot. The voter registration drive was again greeted by what had become the usual scene--violence and hatred. This action was greeted with the protesting of such violence by members of the opposition around the country.

In addition to the voter registration drive mass demonstrations were taking place in Chicago in protest of de facto segregation in the school system. Riots broke out in Jackson, Mississippi and Bogalosa, Louisiana. However, the greatest incident of rioting occurred in Watts, Los Angeles. The riots there resulted in 34 dead, almost 900 injured, and more than 3,500 arrested.

In March of 1965, Martin Luther King, who had already been awarded
the Nobel Peace Prize, led thousands of blacks and whites from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama.

All of this was perhaps beginning to be eclipsed by another segment of the opposition movement. In 1964 the United States was involved in Vietnam in the historic Gulf of Tonkin incident which peace adherents claimed was aggressive action on the part of the United States. It was another instance of foreign policy with which the opposition movement did not agree. The anti-Vietnam sentiment began to grow. The whole opposition to the Vietnam war exploded as a reaction to the United States' policy of escalating the war. On April 7, 1965, President Johnson stepped-up America's role in Vietnam and opposition broke out. In 1965 students also protested against the United States' foreign policies including United States' intervention in the Dominican Republic and the Chase Manhattan Bank's support of apartheid in South Africa.

At the University of Michigan, where SDS had issued its "Port Huron Statement," Vietnam teach-ins were held. Soon, hundreds of colleges from coast-to-coast were holding teach-ins concerning Vietnam. Previous to the April 7 announcement SDS had sponsored a 25,000 man march on Washington to protest America's involvement in Vietnam. However, after the step-up opposition increased.

University of California students at Berkeley had initiated the Vietnam Day Committees in protest of America's military policy in Vietnam. Additionally, the National Student Association passed resolutions calling for the United States to cease offensive action and to negotiate with the National Liberation Front in Vietnam. In October of 1965 an International Day of Protest was sponsored by the National Committee to End the War in Vietnam. 100,000 people marched in Berkeley and perhaps a million around the nation. Additionally, SANE, which had previously concerned itself with
the nuclear issue, sponsored a 40,000 man march on Washington in December of 1965.

The opposition movement had first grown out of the "conservative" years of the 1950's. The opposition took root in the movement for civil rights, the New Left, and the issue of nuclear testing, and was also influenced by the Beats. In the 1960's gradually the nuclear issue had dropped to the background as the civil rights issue and the violence that attended it pushed to the forefront of American issues aided by the mass media. Around 1963 the civil rights movement had begun to dominate the news and the opposition movement. That issue was still important in 1965 but by then the Johnson escalation of the Vietnam war had resulted in the bursting of a new cause for opposition.

Since this study deals with the opposition movement in terms of the effect upon it by the rhetor, Bob Dylan, we have reached our historical ending point. The movement of opposition in America continued to take root in civil rights as well as anti-Vietnam sentiment. In fact, one could hypothesize that the ideologies which fostered and fed the opposition lived on and were rekindled in the 1968 opposition to the Vietnam war and the subsequent "Woodstock Nation." This notion would be at least partially borne out by the fact that the sale of Dylan's earlier albums rose even after 1965, when he stopped assuming his role as a spokesman for the opposition.

The remaining task here is to summarize this historical perspective of the opposition movement for which Bob Dylan was a rhetor. The summary for this chapter will proceed according to the view that the rhetorical situation is comprised of three elements. These include: (1) the exigences; (2) the audience; and (3) the constraints. The exigences are imperfections; they are defects or obstacles, something waiting to be done,
a thing which is other than it should be. The audience consists only of those persons who are capable of being influenced by discourse and of being mediators of change. Constraints are made up of persons, events, objects, and relations which are part of the situation because they have the power to constrain decision and action needed to modify the exigence.57

The summary then must deal with each of the three elements of the rhetorical situation. One exigence of this rhetorical situation was America's foreign policy, the problem of which in the 1950's included, according to the opposition movement, the Cold War which portrayed the Soviet Union as the enemy. The exclusion of China and her 700 million people from the United Nations was also part of the exigence of the rhetorical situation. Additionally, the United States policy, implemented by the Truman Doctrine, that aided countries that were being Communistically threatened was seen as a problem.

In the 1960's this opposition to foreign policy shifted from an emphasis upon the Cold War and the Soviet Union to the Cuban crisis in which the United States government assisted in the attempted overthrow of the Left-supported Fidel Castro. Additionally, foreign policy was viewed even more antagonistically with the United States' support of the murder of Patrice Lumumba. America's role in South Africa--support of apartheid--was also protested but, towards the mid-1960's the problem most pronounced, in the view of the movement, was America's policy concerning one particular foreign country--Vietnam.

A second major problem of the rhetorical situation, that had been entwined with the fear of Communism and the Cold War, was the presence of the nuclear bomb--nuclear fallout from testing, gene mutation in future generations, and the possibility of nuclear destruction. Of course,
this exigence in the 1950's was more outstanding than in the 1960's.

A third perceived defect of the situation resulted from not only the Negro's inequality in America as a result of segregation, lack of voting rights, job discrimination and the general practice of treating the black man as inferior but, also, the Negro's struggle to obtain his rights. It is indeed a fact that the Negro has been the victim of discrimination in America since his arrival here hundreds of years ago. But, what in fact, is responsible for this problem being a part of the rhetorical situation is that the Negro's explosion of protest brought attention to the problem.

A fourth exigence of the rhetorical situation was the view that the common man in the United States had lost his individuality to conformity fostered by huge corporations; he had lost his decision-making power to those few both economically and governmentally in power. In essence, man in America was viewed as having subordinated to the will of a political-economic system that viewed him not as an individual but rather as a depersonalized thing that would be used where it was needed. This particular view was first pointed out in the 1950's by both C. Wright Mills and the Beats and was part of the ideology of the opposition movement, especially the campus peace groups of the 1960's. This ideology, in a sense, resurfaced as a major exigence in the form of the Free Speech Movement in Berkeley in 1965.

In summary this chapter must also consider the audience as part of the rhetorical situation. The audience of the situation which was capable of being influenced by discourse and of being mediators of change in the 1950's was comprised of the Beats, the members of the New Left, and those involved in civil rights. The Beats were almost exclusively
a small group of bohemian-style intellectuals. The New Left originally consisted of a small group of intellectuals including Paul Goodman, C. Wright Mills, David Dellinger, Bayard Rustin, and A.J. Muste among others. This audience later blossomed into those affiliated with the peace groups, CNVA and SANE, and included those students and adults who supported the New Left ideology by participating in protests and activities such as travel to Cuba in support of Castro.

The movement obviously grew partially because of the audience that was persuaded to its view of America. The civil rights movement had just involved adults such as Dr. King and Roy Wilkens but soon the ranks were swelled by massive student support. At first much of the support, in the form of SNCC, came from blacks. But in the early 1960's whites were increasingly joining the direct-action techniques of the civil rights movement. The Students for a Democratic Society supported the Negro cause as well as the peace movement.

As the 1960's progressed the opposition movement was comprised more and more of students. SNCC and the SDS had been among the campus groups as well as the SPU. Additional members of the rhetorical audience included the National Student Association, the Turn Toward Peace. Concerning the American policy on Vietnam, the audience consisted not only of New Left originated groups such as SANE and CNVA but SDS and other early 1960 groups plus the addition of the national campus teach-ins. Also the audience took form in the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, the Vietnam Day Committees, the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, and the National Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Admittedly, there is a problem involved in determining exactly who comprises the audience. The rhetorical audience is surely made up of
those groups who participated in the movement of opposition. Additionally, it should be considered that those who were "fringe" members of these groups as well as those who participated in dissent on their own or perhaps dissented irregularly should be noted as part of the rhetorical audience who were both capable of being influenced by discourse and of being mediators of change.

In summarizing, this chapter must also consider the constraints of the situation. Beliefs, attitudes, and values will be later examined in this study, so let us here simply give a general view of what constraints might have influenced decisions and actions. Constraints would include persons who were part of the situation. A summary of some of these persons would include Fidel Castro, President Johnson and Barry Goldwater, the leaders of the civil rights drive including Dr. King. Additional influences would include Allen Ginsberg, Dr. Linus Pauling and Dr. Edward Teller, then-Senator Joseph McCarthy, President Eisenhower, Rosa Parks, Albert Bigelow and C. Wright Mills among many others. All of these persons were constraints upon the situation because they influenced decision and action needed to modify the exigence.

Events would be additional constraints upon the situation. Events that helped to bring about decisions and action would include marches and demonstrations of both civil rights and peace movements. Nuclear testing was an important event as well as America's boycott of Cuba, the witch hunts conducted by H.U.A.C., the murdering of Medger Evans and the violence that greeted James Meredith at Ole' Miss. The list is almost endless. Let it suffice to say here that the situation and the subsequent discourse were partially a result of the persons, events, objects, and relations that comprised the situation.
Because an audience which was capable of being influenced by discourse and of being mediators of change, viewed certain events, persons, objects and relations as having comprised a number of exigencies in need of change or removal, the situation concerning the opposition movement in America from around 1955 to 1965, with Bob Dylan as one of its rhetors, must be considered a rhetorical situation. This chapter has attempted to describe what happened. The following chapter will be an attempt to analyze the rhetor, Bob Dylan's, use of language in that rhetorical situation.
ENDNOTES


5. Supra, p. 2.

6. Direct action is a method of non-violent resistance adopted by both A.J. Muste and Dr. Martin Luther King among others, from the philosophy of the great Indian leader, Ghandi.

7. Supra, p. 2.


14. Wittner, p. 244.


17 Wittner, pp. 266-267.


19 Ibid., p. 12.

20 Ibid., p. 25.

21 Ibid.

22 Zinn, p. 13.

23 Ibid., p. 36.


27 For a partial list of those who supported Dr. Pauling in the New York Times advertisement turn to the appendix of this paper, p. 97.


31 Zinn, p. 42.

32 Ibid., p. 48.

33 Tom Hayden took part in the civil rights movement and was later responsible for authoring the statement of philosophy for SDS called, "The Port Huron Statement," as pointed out by Howard Zinn, SNCC: The New Abolitionists (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), p. 129.

34 Ibid., p. 49.


43.Zinn, p. 172.

44.Jacobs and Landau, p. 326.


46.Jacobs and Landau, p. 150.


50. Ibid.

51.Wittner, p. 278.

52.Hornsby, p. 94.

53.Ibid., p. 97.


56 Jacobs and Landau, p. 331.

CHAPTER III
THE ATTITUDINAL DIMENSION

From 1962 through 1965 the rhetor, Bob Dylan, sang songs of protest which allowed for identification between him and the audience that also protested against the reigning symbols of authority. During those years Dylan communicated to his audience largely through the recorded albums that he released. The impact of Dylan's songs during those years and the entire phenomenon of the opposition have been for some time a source of controversy.

Chapter three will examine some of the rhetorical choices made by Bob Dylan either consciously or unconsciously in his years of opposition. It will also speculate as to the possible impact that those choices may have had on an audience. The principle tool used for this investigation will be the Dramatistic Pentad found in the writings of Kenneth Burke.

This tool evolves from the theory that views society and man (using language) as a drama. As man sees the situations that exist in a society he develops strategies to explain what is happening. As David Ling points out, "When man uses language, according to Burke, he indicates his strategies for dealing with these situations."2

And, subsequently, Burke argues that whenever a man describes a situation he provides answers to five questions: What was done (act), when or where it was done (scene), who did it (agent), how he did it (agency), and why (purpose).3

We must, in addition to the pentad, make use of the Burkean concept of identification. Kenneth Burke points out that man is by nature divided and thus seeks to become one with other men—to have "communion"
with others is the end of language, it is the motive for using language, and the language we use is also the means for achieving such ends. About identification Burke states:

A is not identical with his colleague, B. But insofar as their interests are joined, A is identified with B. Or he may identify himself with B even when their interests are not joined, if he assumes that they are, or is persuaded to believe so.4

This analysis of Dylan's use of language will attempt to establish two conclusions. First, Dylan presented the situation in America in the 1960's in a subversive image. He attempted to create the impression that the situation was in need of change. Secondly, Dylan attempted to polarize the audience into two mutually exclusive groups. On the one hand he affirmed the image of those in opposition to the reigning symbols of authority, and on the other hand, he subverted the image of those representing the reigning symbols of authority.

"Blowin' in the Wind" was the first song composed and written by Dylan which became well known. It was adopted by the civil rights movement for it depicted the black man's struggle to be equal. Dylan's rhetorical choices in this song, analyzed according to the Dramatistic Pentad, reveal that he emphasized the scene or what was occurring in America. In fact, in using the pentad, we can here borrow from one of the ten dominant themes advanced by Burke. Dylan made use of the scene-act ratio which concentrates upon statements that ground social motives in conditions, backgrounds, environments or objective situations.5

In "Blowin' in the Wind" we find Dylan using a scene-act ratio in order to describe the situation—he has grounded motives in the environment or "the way things are." The following lyrics serve as an example:
How many roads must a man walk down
Before you call him a man?
Yes 'n' how many years can some people exist
Before they're allowed to be free?  

Insofar as an audience existed that was fighting for civil rights there was an area of common interest through which that audience and the rhetor, Bob Dylan, might identify with each other. Dylan also allowed for identification with those who were peace adherents:

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

Dylan had then in one song allowed for identification with members of the movements for peace and civil rights, as our application of the pentad reveals, through the scene-act ratio. Stated otherwise, he was making certain rhetorical choices which revealed his attitudes, values, and beliefs about the situation in America. He was communicating to a potential audience that change was necessary. Thus, opposition to the reigning symbols of authority allowed for identification with an audience that demonstrated, marched, and protested and a rhetor who wrote lyrics that displayed the same opposition value.

Through the application of the pentad to Dylan's lyrics it is revealed that Dylan, to a great extent, makes use of the scene-act ratio. That is, he grounds social motives in the conditions of American 1960's society. In the song "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall" written around the time of the Cuban missile crisis, Dylan relates the situation and the attending fear of nuclear destruction:

Heard the roar of a wave that could drown the whole world
Where the pellets of poison are flooding their waters
It's a hard rain a-gonna fall.

Dylan emphasized the scene-act ratio in relating that the nuclear
situation was in need of change before it destroyed the whole world.\textsuperscript{9}

It was an attitude of opposition to the reigning symbols of authority and allowed for identification with the audience, particularly members of the peace movement involved in anti-nuclear campaigns such as C.N.V.A. and SANE. As Walter Fisher relates:

One may hypothesize that rhetorical discourse will be persuasive to the extent that the image it creates regarding a subject corresponds with the image already held by the audience... \textsuperscript{10}

Therefore the audience that perceives that the nuclear policy of America is dangerous and in need of change would most likely identify with the rhetor who advances the view that the nuclear policy is indeed in need of change.

The song "Oxford Town" is a third example of Dylan's use of the scene-act ratio. In this song Dylan describes the events surrounding the incident at the University of Mississippi in which James Meredith, a black man, attempted to segregate the University.\textsuperscript{11} Dylan recounts how the agent (Meredith) was met with violence and thus couldn't enter the school because he was a Negro:

Guns and clubs followed him down
All because his face was brown
He came to the door, he couldn't get in
All because of the color of his skin.\textsuperscript{12}

This song depicts the agent (James Meredith) as the victim of the scene (couldn't get in... color of his skin). But Dylan emphasizes the scene-act ratio, for he portrays the situation as in need of change. And insofar as the audience members hold similar attitudes and values that the black man should be equal then they can identify with Dylan and his rhetorical choices which portray the black man as the victim of the conditions in America. This song would serve as a means of identification for
especially those involved in the civil rights movement fighting for that very victim.

In 1964 Dylan released his third album, *The Times They Are A-Changin'*, which was, as even the title suggests, the height of Bob Dylan's opposition rhetoric. In the title song Dylan sings about his view of the American situation:

Come gather round people
Wherever you roam
And admit that the waters
Around you have grown.13

This is an example of Dylan communicating to the audience that the situation is one in which danger has arisen. Dylan is making use of the scene-act ratio in depicting the problems that he perceives as existing. It is as Bitzer states that a rhetorical situation is partially made up of both the audience and the rhetor viewing certain experiences.14 Dylan here poetically states that problems are present and thus allows for an audience that has the same view to identify with him.

In the song "The Times They Are A-Changin'" Dylan also made use of the scene-act ratio which calls for the agent in keeping with the scene:

And accept it that soon
You'll be drenched to the bone
If your time to you
Is worth savin'
Then you better start swimmin'
Or you'll sink like a stone
For the times they are a-changin'.15

The pentadic analysis of this song reveals that Dylan was calling for the auditors to take certain actions and to make certain choices. The poetic imagery of which Dylan makes use communicates that those who do not oppose the reigning symbols of authority will sink or be defeated by those reigning symbols. He is calling for others, the uncommitted auditors, to join in the opposition movement—for the times they are changin'. What is
changing, according to Dylan, is the situation—changing from the reigning symbols to their replacement by the opposition attitudes, values and beliefs. And of course the audience that would identify with this attitude would be those auditors who are opposed to the reigning symbols of authority or those uncommitted who might be persuaded to do so.

The pentadic analysis of Dylan's songs reveals that the album, *The Times They Are A-Changin*', was indeed the most prolific opposition rhetoric that Dylan created. The song "Ballad of Hollis Brown" also represented an opposition to the "way things were." This songs deals with the agent (Hollis Brown) who is a victim of the scene (America). Again, Dylan uses the scene-act ratio or the grounding of social motives in the conditions or environment in order to communicate his opposition message. The scene-act ratio is exemplified by these lyrics:

You looked for work and money  
And you walked a rugged mile  
Your children are so hungry  
That they don't know how to smile  
There's seven people dead  
On a South Dakota farm  
Somewhere in the distance  
There's seven new people born.16

Dylan once again had portrayed the existing conditions as in need of change and with his last verses here was communicating to the audience that the problems would continue perhaps from generation to generation. The rhetor, Bob Dylan's choice of language, which portrays a victim of the American situation, reveals that the song is a negative statement about the reigning symbols of authority. It could be called what Walter Fisher states is the rhetorical motive of subversion:

Subversive rhetoric is an anti-ethos rhetoric; that is, it invariably is an attempt to undermine the credibility of some person, idea, or institution.17
The pentadic analysis of Dylan's rhetorical choices here depicts that his was a subversive rhetoric intent on destroying the credibility of the reigning symbols of authority.

Continuing in the same album it is clear that "With God on Our Side" is also a vehement lashing out at conditions in 1960's America. Dylan describes these conditions by detailing the agencies (weapons of the chemical dust) which could bring about a totally destructive act (and a shot the world wide). The lyrics again reveal Dylan's strong emphasis upon the scene-act ratio:

But now we got weapons
Of the chemical dust
If fire them we're forced to
Then fire them we must
One push of the button
And a shot the world wide
And you never ask questions
When God's on your side.18

This particular choice of language would allow for identification between a rhetor who preached anti-nuclear attitudes and an audience that viewed nuclear weapons as destructive. This audience would most certainly have included the Beats, the pacificistic groups such as C.N.V.A. and SANE as well as those who were involved in the civil rights or peace movements. It might also be considered that the peace movement did rapidly grow on the college campuses at this time, most especially through such groups as Turn Toward Peace and the Students for a Democratic Society.

The song "With God on Our Side" is a direct subversion, an anti-ethos statement, of the reigning symbols of authority and it would perhaps cause those people who are opposed to the "system" to identify with Dylan and the opposition movement.

The rhetor, Bob Dylan, it is revealed, also made use of the scene-act
ratio to characterize the situation and reveal his attitudes, values and beliefs. The following lyrics serve for analysis:

Oh the First World War, boys
It closed out its fate
The reason for fighting
I never got straight
But I learned to accept it
Accept it with pride.19

Here Dylan was communicating that the agent (himself) never realized the purpose for the act (World War I) but has been told by the reigning symbols of authority to accept it and thus keep with the scene (America has God on its side).

In the same album Dylan is again subverting the establishment in "When The Ship Comes In." The pentad will be applied to these lyrics:

Oh the time will come up
When the winds will stop
And the breeze will cease to be breathin'
Like the stillness in the wind
For the hurricane begins
The hour when the ship comes in.20

The ship that is coming in is Dylan's poetic symbolization of the opposition movement's "overthrow" or replacement of the reigning symbols of authority. The choice of language here is grounded in the scene-act ratio because Dylan was presenting the conditions of the scene as he either consciously or unconsciously desited them to occur. He refers in this song to the stillness in the wind before the hurricane begins which suggests that the hurricane is the violence or turmoil (demonstrations and protests) which will accompany the movement's success. That analysis reveals the lyrics as in keeping with the American scene at the time of the writing of this song—1963. At the time there were marches, protests, and demonstrations being held, the campuses were generally in revolt, and the civil rights movement was in high gear.
Additionally, from the same album Dylan's opposition rhetoric is revealed in the song "The Lonesome Death of Hattie Carroll." In this song Dylan creates the image of a poor black woman (agent) who was killed (act) by the wealthy William Zanzinger (agent). In the last stanza Dylan also makes use of the scene-act ratio in describing the situation:

In the courtroom of honor the judge pounded his gavel
To show that all's equal and that the courts are on the level
And that even the nobles get properly handled
And that the ladder of the law has no top and no bottom
And handed out strongly, for penalty and repentence
William Zanzinger with a six-month sentence. 21

Here Dylan portrayed the agent (judge) and the agency (law courts) as producing an act (six-month sentence) that was wholly unjust and partial to the status of the noble agent (William Zanzinger). This was a subversive motive, an anti-ethos rhetoric, that attacked the reigning symbols of authority. This opposition allowed for identification between a rhetor who opposed the existing conditions of injustice and inequality he perceived as existing in the American society and an audience that held the same or similar view.

The application of the pentad to Bob Dylan's 1964 album, Another Side of Bob Dylan, reveals Dylan's continued use of opposition rhetoric. But unlike his 1963 album which contained six protest songs, Another Side is strongly oppositional in only a few songs.

The "Chimes of Freedom" involves Dylan's use of the scene-act ratio in order to describe the situation:

Far between sundown's finish an' midnight's broken toll
We ducked inside the doorway, thunder crashing
As majestic bells of bolts struck shadows in the sand
Seeming to be the chimes of freedom flashing. 22
Again, Dylan poetically symbolized the opposition movement through the imagery of the chimes of freedom. This is similar to Dylan's earlier song, "When The Ship Comes In" in which he portrayed the opposition movement as the hour when the ship comes in. Similarly, the chimes of freedom expresses the rhetor's view that freedom will be attained when the reigning symbols of authority have been replaced (with the attitudes, values, and beliefs of the opposition movement).

In 1965 *Bringing It All Back Home* represented Dylan's switch from the pure folk medium to the use of the electric sound. This album even more represented Dylan's movement from opposition spokesman to a songwriter concerned more with his own inner feelings. There were, however, still some signs of opposition.

In the song "Subterranean Homesick Blues" a pentadic analysis reveals that Dylan emphasized a scene-agent ratio. He sang:

```
Ah get born, keep warm
Short pants, romance, learn to dance
Get dressed, Get blessed
Try to be a success
Please her, please him, buy gifts
Don't steal, don't lift
Twenty years of schoolin'
And they put you on the day shift. 23
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Dylan here relates that the agents (audience he is addressing) must be in keeping with the scene (try to be a success). Dylan was communicating that the reigning symbols of authority stress that the agent be successful. The agents' rewards, he adds, after going to school will be taking their place in a job market where the agents are viewed impersonally as objects to be placed in the market wherever they are needed.

This song describes an opposition to the alternatives of youth that now exist. It allowed for identification between a rhetor who preached
subversive rhetoric about the existing attitudes, values, and beliefs and an audience that was attempting to replace the reigning symbols of authority with their own values, attitudes and beliefs.

Dylan also sang protest rhetoric on this album in the song "Bob Dylan 115th Dream." The pentadic analysis of the song reveals that Dylan made use of the scene-act ratio. He sang:

But it was just a funeral parlor
And the man asked me who I was
I repeated that my friends
Were all in jail, with a sigh
He gave me his card
He said, "Call me if they die."24

The scene-act ratio was used here by Dylan to show that materialism was a value of American society. In this song Dylan recounts how he is searching for help and is greeted by a person who is concerned only with making money. The song is an indictment of the American society as a place (scene) where people care more about the dollar than they do about other people. This view, this attitude, is in keeping with the opposition movement. In fact this view was being preached by the Beats, who were opposition rhetors of the late 1950's. Their opposition is depicted by Allen Ginsberg's Reality Sandwiches:

Money, money, reminder, I might as well write poems to you--dear American money--0 statue of Liberty I ride engulfed in money in my mind to you--and lost.25

Additionally, this album houses opposition rhetoric in the song, "Ballad of a Thin Man." Here Dylan states his view simply:

Because something is happening here
But you don't know what it is
Do you, Mister Jones?26

This is a scene-act ratio which Dylan used to communicate what was happening in the situation. He was communicating the image of the opposition
movement moving forward—the image of both the rhetor's and the audience's values, attitudes, and beliefs becoming the new reigning symbols of authority. Dylan uses the agent (Mister Jones) to represent those who are of the reigning symbols of authority and are thus not of the movement—and unaware of the movement's motives. It allows for the potential audience to identify with Dylan and his announcement of the seeming success of the opposition movement.

Finally, in this section of chapter three one more song will be considered. An application of the pentad reveals that in the song, "Desolation Row" Dylan again makes use of the scene-act ratio. He sings:

Now at midnight all the agents
And the superhuman crew
Come out and round up everyone
That knows more than they do
Then they bring them to the factory
Where the heart-attack machine
Is strapped across their shoulders
And then the kerosene
Is brought down from the castles
By insurance men who go
Check to see that nobody is escaping
To Desolation Row.27

Dylan here makes use of the symbolism of the heart-attack machine which is the result of the agents working to be a success in the society (scene)—their reward for working hard is to die of a heart-attack. This view is in accord with the Beats view of the society (scene) as being the "rat race." Further, the insurance men are agents (of reigning symbols—economics) who pay the family for the working man who acted in accord with the reigning symbols of authority.

This song is a subversion of the concept of "progress" wherein people produce more and more. In other words, the agents (people) work so hard trying to achieve success that they die from it.

From the application of the Dramatistic Pentad to the previous songs
it is apparent that Dylan, as a rhetor, was making certain rhetorical choices in describing the situation of America in the 1960's. This section of chapter three leads to the conclusion that Dylan was revealing his attitudes in that he felt the situation was in need of great change concerning: (1) the situation of the black man; (2) both the policy of nuclear weapons and foreign policy in general; (3) the notion of progress; and (4) the subordination of man to the reigning symbols of authority.

Secondly, this chapter will attempt to support the conclusion that Dylan polarized the audience in order to provide a ready-made image and to persuade potential auditors or the uncommitted to join the opposition movement. King and Anderson define polarization as the following: "... the process by which an extremely diversified public is coalesced into two or more highly contrasting, mutually exclusive groups sharing a high degree of internal solidarity in those beliefs which the persuader considers salient." 28

Thus Dylan tried to create the image that those who were of the reigning symbols of authority were a group mutually exclusive of those involved in the opposition movement. This image not only supplied those in the movement with a "we feeling" or group cohesiveness but also made those members of the reigning symbols of authority appear as the "enemy." This theory, known as the "devil" or scapegoat theory, states that "men who can unite on nothing else can unite on the basis of a for shared by all." 29

The rhetoric of polarization then achieves its division of audience through the use of two principal strategies: a strategy of affirmation and a strategy of subversion. 30 A strategy of affirmation deals with giving birth to an image while a strategy of subversion is concerned with undermining an image. 31
It is the contention here that Dylan attempted a rhetoric of polarization through the use of the act-agent ratio. This ratio explains the action "by the character of the agent, or the glory of the role which the agent enacts." That is, the person who is portrayed is transcended and the person becomes a symbol through the image of his role. That person, that role, becomes a type, or in the case of Dylan's rhetorical choices, the agent represents either of the two polarized groups--on the one hand the agents of the reigning symbols of authority, or on the other hand, the agents of the opposition movement.

Dylan's rhetorical attempt at polarization extends from 1963 through 1965 but the majority of it is contained in the 1963 album, The Times They Are A-Changin'. In the album, The Freewheelin' Bob Dylan, released in 1963, Dylan's song, "Master of War" exemplifies the act-agent ratio.

There are several lyrics which readily lend themselves to a pentadic analysis:

Come you masters of war
You that build all the guns
You that build the death planes
You that build the big bombs
You that hide behind walls
You that hide behind desks
I just want you to know
I can see through your masks.

Dylan's language reveals that he has portrayed the masters of war (agents) as those who are at or near the top of the hierarchial ladder of the reigning symbols of authority. He is also creating an image of those agents as cowards--hiding behind walls and desks. This is an anti-ethos rhetoric because it subverts the image of those agents. The reference to the scene (walls and desks) reveals that the rhetor was attempting to further define the agents as executives or government officials--the upper level of the hierarchy. His use of the image of the agents
wearing masks is again an anti-ethos rhetoric which subverts the agents by supposing that they are not truthful or that they have something to hide.

Dylan continues:

You that never done nothin'
But build to destroy
Like Judas of old
You lie and deceive. 34

Again, the act-agent ratio is used to explain the situation in America in terms of the agents (masters of war) who are not to be trusted, because they lie and deceive. Thus, the "common enemy" image is created and sustained by the rhetor.

Kenneth Burke's dramatistic view of language states that the rhetor uses language not upon the proposition of "it is, or it is not" but rather the stress is upon, "thou shalt, or thou shalt not." 35 Burke contends that even in the unemotional scientific nomenclature the communicator is using language in a suasive manner. He states:

Even if any given terminology is a reflection of reality by its very nature as a terminology it must be a selection of reality: and to this extent it must function also as a deflection of reality. 36

In the first two lines of the lyrics mentioned here it is clear that Dylan was selecting a portion of reality in order to create the image that the agents were the "enemy." Dylan wrote and sang that the masters of war—the agents of the reigning symbols of authority—had only created destruction. That is certainly not an objective truth. Those in power had created other things—war and its weapons was not their only accomplishment. Thus it is clear that Dylan selected the image that he presented or stated differently, he created it. And insofar as an audience and potential audience could identify with the agents as the enemy then that audience could probably identify with the rhetor who created that
image and thus reflected poetically the values, attitudes, and beliefs of an opposition movement.

The act-agent ratio is further made use of in this song as Dylan sings:

You hide in your mansion
As young people's blood
Flows out of their bodies
And is buried in the mud.37

In addition to creating that image that the agents (masters of war) are the enemy (not to be identified with) through portraying them as deceivers, destroyers and the upper-level of society's hierarchy Dylan supports the latter image by here creating the image that they hide in their mansions—that they are wealthy. As Kenneth Burke points out, "The business identity is retained in the 'corporate state' and destroyed in the socialistic state."38 In the sense that the opposition was socialistic and opposed to the corporate state the business identity, including the wealthy—who gain their weal through economics—is subverted.

Dylan uses the act-agent ratio in the song "The Times They Are A-Changin'" to polarize the audience. He sings:

Come senators, congressman
Please heed the call
Don't stand in the doorway
Don't block up the hall
There's a battle outside
And it is ragin'.39

Dylan here refers to the agents (senators and congressmen) of the reigning symbols and presents the image that it is not they that are initiating necessary changes (act) in the society (scene). Rather, Dylan mentions the battle outside (direct action) as the agency for change. Thus the agents of change are those involved with protest and demonstrations while the senators and congressmen are portrayed as standing in the way
of the opposition's progress. Dylan here has successfully created the image that there are two distinct and separate groups--those in power and those opposed. The pentadic analysis of this song reflects that Dylan was attempting to portray the members of the opposition as the underdogs:

For the loser now
Will be later to win
For the times they are a-changin.\(^40\)

Here it is clear that Dylan portrays himself and the agents of the opposition movement as the underdogs. This image of the audience as the losers (victims) only adds cohesiveness to the opposition movement as a group for it dictates with whom they will identify.

Since they are victims, they would thus identify with all those who they view as having been victimized including the poor, the mistreated, in general the underdog. And the affirmative rhetoric also contains a subversive note. As Walter Fisher states:

It is important to note a nice relationship between affirmative and subversive rhetoric: to affirm an image is, in effect, to subvert an old one; to subvert an old one is, in effect, to affirm a new one.\(^41\)

Dylan not only affirms the image of the agents of the opposition movement as victims but also subverts the image of the agents of the reigning symbols of authority as those who victimize. This process, as was previously discussed, is known as scapegoating and allows for a ready-made image to be accepted by an uncommitted audience or an audience that already perceives itself as the victim of the society and views those in power as the victimizers. Kenneth Burke points out why people accept such self-images and thus identify with a certain group:

People establish identity by relation to groups (with the result that, when tested by individualistic concepts of identity, they are felt to be moved by "deceptions" or "illusions,"
the "irrational"--for one's identification as a member of a group is a role, yet it is the only active mode of identification possible as you will note by observing how all individualistic concepts of identity dissolve into the nothingness of mysticism and the absolute.42

In the song "Ballad of Hollis Brown" Dylan chooses his language in order to create a victim of the scene. The song is an example of the act-agent ratio wherein the action is explained in terms of the agents and the scene. In the previous section of chapter three it was revealed how Dylan grounded social motives in the conditions of the time. But also Hollis Brown is a victim and therefore he becomes a symbol, a role which the rhetor has created by transcending the person of Hollis Brown. For example:

You looked for work and money
And you walked a rugged mile
Your children are so hungry
That they don't know how to smile.43

The act-agent ratio was also used by Dylan in "Only A Pawn In Their Game." In fact, he couples that ratio with the scene-agent ratio. Using a subversive rhetoric Dylan portrays the image of the agent of the reigning symbols of authority:

A South politician preaches to the poor white man
You got more than the blacks, don't complain
The deputy sheriffs, the soldiers, the governors get paid
And the marshals and the cops get the same.
But the poor white man's used in the hands of them all like a tool.44

Here Dylan has actually named various levels of the hierarchy of the reigning symbols of authority. And in creating the two mutually exclusive groups for the purpose of polarization Dylan lumps all the agents together--the governors, sheriffs, soldiers, marshalls and cops. All of these agents Dylan presented in an effort to make them appear as the common enemy. Additionally, he identifies with and allows for identification by the
audience with the victim—the agent who is victimized, used (like a pawn) by those in authority. Thus the act-agent ratio allows the potential audience to identify themselves with the victim, which strengthens their own group solidarity and also allows for non-identification with the enemy agents (devils or scapegoats).

Dylan also makes use of the scene-agent ratio which calls for the agent in keeping with the scene. In other words, Dylan creates the image through his use of language that the agent-victim (the poor white) is tricked into keeping with the scene (the hierarchical structure), by the devil-agents who make the victim only a pawn in their game. An example here illustrates this point well for Dylan mentions those poor whites (agents) who make up the Klu Klux Klan as being victims of the devil agents:

And he's taught how
To walk in a pack
Shoot in the back
To hang and to lynch
To hide 'neath the hood.45

This section of chapter three that is trying to support the conclusion that Bob Dylan attempted to polarize his audience can best be supported by Dylan's 1964 song, "The Lonesome Death of Hattie Carroll." The song, like "Oxford Town" was based on an actual incident.46 It is the best example of Dylan's use of the act-agent ratio and is a sharp polarization of the audience into "two highly contrasting exclusive groups."47 The two groups are represented by the agents that Dylan writes about, William Zanzinger and Hattie Carroll. Around these two agents Dylan creates the appropriate subversive and affirmative rhetorics.

First, let us deal with the subversive rhetoric through which Bob Dylan portrayed William Zanzinger as the devil—the agent representing the reigning symbols of authority. Dylan created the image of William Zanzinger through the following use of language:
William Zanzinger killed poor Hattie Carroll
With a can that he twirled around his diamond ring finger
At a Baltimore society gath'rin'
Owns a tobacco farm of 600 acres
With rich wealthy parents who provide and protect him
And high office relations in the politics of Maryland
Reacted to his deed with a shrug of his shoulders.48

This choice of language reflects an anti-ethos rhetoric wherein Dylan attacks the upper heights of the hierarchy of society (rich wealthy parents and high office relations). It portrays the act in terms of the agent who is made to appear as the enemy—the agent who reacts to his deed with no concern, no humanity. Dylan has thus created an outside enemy upon whom the audience could project all evil. As Burke points out:

... if one can hand over his infirmities to a vessel, or cause outside the self, one can battle an external enemy instead of battling an enemy within. And the greater the amount of evils one can load upon the back of "the enemy."49

Thus through the application of the pentad, it is seemingly apparent that Dylan's language served to provide a scapegoat or an enemy upon whom blame for the existing problems could be heaped.

Secondly, let us turn to Dylan's affirmative rhetoric or his attempt to give birth to an image with which a potential audience could identify. This image is presented by Dylan in this song in the agent, Hattie Carroll. Thus again we discover that Dylan was describing the victim. These lyrics indicate Dylan's attempt to create an affirmative image:

Hattie Carroll was a maid of the kitchen
Who carried the dishes and took out the garbage
And never once sat at the head of the table
And didn't even talk to the people at the table
And emptied all the ashtrays on a whole other level
And she never done nothing to William Zanzinger.50
As he did with Hollis Brown and James Meredith we find Dylan creating the image of the victim who had been victimized by either the scene or agent. In this particular song it is the agent, William Zanzinger, symbolizing the reigning symbols of authority who has victimized poor Hattie Carroll. Dylan creates the polarization between Zanzinger and Hattie Carroll by portraying the former as wealthy and at the top of the hierarchy and the latter as poor and at the bottom of the hierarchy. Insofar as Dylan identifies with the opposition to the reigning symbols of authority and insofar as the audience identifies with that opposition viewpoint, those in the opposition movement view themselves as Hattie Carroll—the victims of the agents of the reigning symbols, William Zanzinger. Thus the affirmative rhetoric gives certain group solidarity by supplying a ready-made image of the agents of the opposition movements.

The affirmative of describing the action in terms of an agent is again displayed by Dylan in the 1964 song, "Chimes of Freedom." The pentadic analysis of this song reveals that Dylan was, through his choice of language, defining who the victims of the situation or the devil-agents were. This was exemplified by the lyrics which follow which outline for whom the chimes of freedom ring. We might interpret the chimes ringing for the opposition movement:

- Flashing for the warriors whose strength is not to fight
- Flashing for the refugees on the unarmed road of flight
- An' for each an' every underdog soldier in the night
- Tolling for the rebel, tolling for the rake
- Tolling for the luckless, the abandoned an'
forsaked
- Tolling for the outcast, burnin' constantly at stake
- Striking for the gentle, striking for the kind
- Striking for the guardians and protectors of the mind.
First, we can see that Dylan was trying to communicate that the chimes of freedom ring for those involved in non-violent direct action (warriors whose strength is not to fight). Thus Dylan identifies those involved in direct action as part of the movement. That would at least include the civil rights workers, the members of SANE and C.N.V.A., and all those involved in direct action protest against the reigning symbols of authority.

In the third verse here we can evaluate Dylan's further use of the affirmative rhetoric. He mentioned that the chimes of freedom are flashing or the opposition movement is replacing the old values (freedom). This use of language to create the victim is also revealed in his picturing of other victims including the luckless, the abandoned and forsaken. Again using the affirmative rhetoric, Dylan tries to give birth to the image of the agents of the opposition as the gentle and the kind. This would of course be in opposition to the subversive image of the agents of the reigning symbols who are portrayed as unkind, deceitful, and without ethics.

In the song, "Motorphscho Nightmare" Dylan again uses the act-agent ratio in order to portray the subversive image of the agents of the reigning symbols of authority. He accomplishes this in these lyrics pertaining to a farmer (agent):

So I yelled out
I like Fidel Castro and his beard
And ducked as he swung
At me with all his might
He said he's going to kill me
If I don't get out the door
You unpatriotic
Rotten Doctor Commie rat.52

Dylan has again used the image of the agent (farmer) to subvert the prevailing attitudes, values and beliefs of the 1960's American society. This 1964 song's lyrics reflect the rhetor's use of a leftist-socialist image of the agent (himself) by saying that he likes Fidel Castro. Castro was a
socialistic revolutionary who had taken over the leadership of Cuba in 1959. He was thus identified with by members of the opposition who identified more with the socialistic state than the corporate state.

Dylan also through his use of language creates the image that the agents who identified with the reigning symbols of authority viewed Communism as a threat. Thus the potential audience which did not view Communism as a threat but perhaps as a fear fabricated by the reigning symbols would not identify with such an agent and thus the image created would aid the rhetor's motive of polarizing the audience in order to persuade uncommitted auditors.

Judging the response of an audience to Bob Dylan's rhetoric is a difficult matter. The methodology used here leads to a few conclusions. First, Dylan's use of the scene-act ratio must be considered as a successful means of identification for it seems that the opposition accelerated in part as a result of Dylan's use of language. In 1963 the civil rights movement was expanding and it began to incorporate more students into its ideology. Additionally, the S.D.S. campus movement had grown and in 1965 it, as well as other peace groups, were leading an opposition to the Vietnam war. Further, during the years of Dylan's protest rhetoric many student opposition groups were founded including Turn Toward Peace, Berkeley Free Speech Movement, the National Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The emergence of such groups suggests the identification by members with opposition rhetoric such as Bob Dylan's.

Concerning Dylan's rhetoric of polarization we can draw two conclusions. First, Dylan's use of the subversive rhetoric must be considered successful for even into the late 1960's, especially on the campuses, young people were notably opposed to the reigning symbols of authority. Dylan had thus perhaps successfully created a scapegoat that was both readily recognizable and useful.
Secondly, Dylan's use of the affirmative rhetoric was perhaps a bit more questionable. Many of the groups that were opposed to the reigning symbols of authority just did not accomplish much in the way of affecting public policy. This is perhaps due to the fact that while the subversive rhetoric was clearly apparent—the enemy was established—the affirmative rhetoric was not as sharply defined. Stated differently the movement, and Bob Dylan as one of its rhetors, did not successfully implement a plan or policy which would be established as the new order.

Few can deny that polarization did exist: its effective utilization is yet another matter. Perhaps due to the idealism of youth, the primary members of the opposition movement, the practicality of establishing a new order was overshadowed by the vented opposition itself.
ENDNOTES

1 Burke explains the "symbols of authority are related to psychological categories, because of their tie-up with morals, laws, social relationships, etc." For further explanation see his article, "Twelve Propositions on the Relationship Between Economics and Psychology," Philosophy of Literary Form (Louisiana State University Press, 1941), p. 305.


7 Ibid.


9 Dylan said about "A Hard Rain:" "I wrote that when I didn't figure I'd have enough time left in life, didn't know how many other songs I could write, during the Cuban thing." This was pointed out by Anthony Scaduto in Bob Dylan: An Intimate Biography (New York: The New American Library, 1973), p. 150.


11 "Mississippi vs. The United States," Newsweek, October 8, 1962, p. 32.


19 Ibid.


30 Ibid.

32 Duncan, *Communication and Social Order*, p. 132.


34 Ibid.


36 Ibid., p. 45.

37 Dylan, "Masters," p. 36.


40 Ibid.


42 Burke, "Twelve Propositions," p. 311.


44 Dylan, "Only a Pawn," p. 91.


47 Supra, p. 13.


CHAPTER IV
THE INTERPERSONAL DIMENSION

Chapter four will examine the people involved in the rhetorical transaction. This will be accomplished through the application of the seven great moments of the human drama. In order to understand this theory and to be better able to apply it we must first consider some of the assumptions underlying this theory.

First, Kenneth Burke states that there are certain conditions which apply to man. He points out that:

- Man in the symbol-using animal (symbol-making, symbol-misusing animal)
- Inventor of the negative (or moralized by the negative)
- Separated from his natural condition by instruments of his own making
- Goaded by the spirit of hierarchy (or moved by the sense of order)
- And rotten with perfection.¹

The first of Burke's assumptions here indicates that man uses and misuses language. Man lives by language--moves and is moved by words; rises and is redeemed or, fails and falls through words. Also, as Burke points out, "... symbols are to a degree a transcending of the thing symbolized."²

Thus, there is the motive in the use of symbols for man to transcend nature. Burke would theorize that language usage is a means, motive and end in itself. It is the means by which men "identify" with other men. That identification or "communion" with other men is the motive for using language and attaining identification through language usage is also the end result.

Since there are no negations in nature (things are as they are) Burke argues that man has invented the negative. That is by his use of symbols he has developed the ability to say "no." Burke gives the example of the
"No Trespassing" sign on a piece of property as the infusion of a linguistic negative into nature. He also advances that the proposition that adultery and fornification are sinful is the infusion of a linguistic negative into pure sensory experience. 3

The third portion of Burke's statement posits that man is separated from his natural condition by instruments of his own making. Stated differently, Burke is saying that man's language is a "symbolic fog" through which he perceives the world. Thus, the symbolism by which he communicates alienates him from the natural condition which is transcended.

Man is goaded by the spirit of hierarchy, says Burke. Man is moved too by justice and reason and therefore forms an order--gives order to society. The order of society must be maintained through the use of authority which automatically orders the whole of society by ranking according to some value system "and insofar as the ranking is a division into different classes of being." 4

Lastly, here Burke states that man is rotten with perfection or he is constantly striving for the better--the ultimate. This ultimate is of course communicated through the use of a symbol system which orders the ultimate and its various levels of achievement according to a hierarchy of specific values. The ultimate in a given value system would be termed the "godhead:"

the godhead being that, which is most valuable in a given value system, whether it happens to be moral excellence, material wealth, physical beauty; athletic prowess or scholarly excellence. 5

This would lead us here to our use of the seven great moments as an analytical tool. According to Burke:

Here are the steps
In the Iron Law of History
That welds Order and Sacrifice:
Order leads to guilt
(for who can keep commandments!)
Guilt needs Redemption
(for who would not be cleansed!)
Order
Through Guilt
To Victimage
(hence: Cult of the Kill!)

So man moves through the moments of his drama, which are also the moments of his movements: moves, all told, from Order, Guilt, and the Negative, through Victimage and Mortification, to Cathersis and Redemption.

Accordingly, the application of the seven great moments will first be used to support the following contention. The opposition movement, with Bob Dylan as one of its spokesmen, incurred guilt by saving "no" (negative), rejecting the reigning order (symbols of authority). And because the guilt was too much to bear (the burden of human sin is too heavy for mortal expiation), they sought redemption through victimage—the creation of a "foe" or "common enemy."

First, we will concern ourselves here with one particular faction of the opposition movement, the "Beats." It is appropriate to begin here because the Beats, who first opposed the reigning order beginning in the 1950's, were one of the first groups to voice the "no." According to Merrill the Beats rejected the reigning order because of their view that society was manipulating the individual:

Modern society, the Beat writer would argue, has twisted interpersonal relationships into categories of competition, barter, argument, belligerence and violence—covering the imagery of it all with a glossy mantle of respectability.

The beat perceived that society had fallen from the realm of justice and reason—it had become verbally corrupted. As Griffin would argue,
"It is an order strained by impiety, the irrelevance of its rhetoric; an order tending toward Death. ..."10 The Beat, thus, perceiving the reigning order as a path leading to Death (dehumanization) rose up in a "we understanding" and cried "No" to the existing order.

The Beats rejected also additional elements of the existing order. As has been previously cited, Allen Ginsberg, a Beat poet, in "American Change," rejected the over-emphasis of materialism which he viewed as existing in the social order.11 The rejection of the value of materialism is also present in another Beat writers' work. Lawrence Ferlinghetti wrote in "A Coney Island of the Mind," about materialism:

Christ climbed down  
from his bare tree  
this year  
and ran away to where  
there were no gilded Christmas trees  
and no tinsel Christmas trees.12

An analysis of Beat thought would lead us to the conclusions drawn up by Merrill. He states that the Beat was involved in the following:

... defending human personality against the overwhelming pressures of conformity, competition, prestige, and respectability— all facets of modern civilization that measure worth by quantitative externals instead of by qualitative living.13

The Beats rejected the existing order and thus, according to Burke, were alienated. They were alienated because men need to identify with other men (language is a motive, means, and end), and when they reject the reigning order they do not identify with that image. Thus, they are cut off, alienated and undecided.14

In an effort to purge themselves of their guilt—to achieve redemption—the Beats created the image of those identifying with the existing order as the "enemy"—the impious. And subsequently, their movement became the pious.
As Griffin points out about a movement's rhetoric:

> It is a strategy designed to convert the impious, to convince them that by attitude they are of the movement, and by reason and justice ought to be in it . . .\textsuperscript{15}

Since the Beats rejected identification with the reigning hierarchy and since all men need to identify with others the Beats needed to create an image, through the use of symbols, with which they could identify. Through this identification with a pious rhetoric (reason and justice) the Beat could not only create the existing order as the enemy but could establish their identity as the "good"--the pious.

Burke states that language is symbolic because it transcends the thing symbolized.\textsuperscript{16} The same, we could argue, holds true for objects as it does for language. An example from Burke will do appropriately here:

> The glamorous woman of Harper's Bizarre or any magazine of high fashion, seldom appears to us through her nudity but through her style in covering her body with "elegant" clothes. Thus, even the fundamental biological drive of sex relies on the communication of hierarchy for its expression.\textsuperscript{17}

Paralleling this example is the symbolic image which the Beats created and with which they identified. The entire image of themselves that they created was an almost exact opposite to the existing order. The Beats wore dirty clothes, long hair, sometimes used drugs and allegedly practiced sexual habits not accepted by the monogomistic-oriented reigning order.\textsuperscript{18} Thus, in addition to the language they used, the Beats created a visible image which allowed for identification with their cause (values, attitudes and beliefs) by those who were or might be persuaded to their view. At the same time their image allowed for non-identification by those members of the reigning order which the Beats referred to as "square."\textsuperscript{19}
Out of the obligation to obey the reigning symbols of authority comes the possibility of also disobeying the reigning symbols. And when the individual, or in this case, movement of individuals, reject identification with the existing order the individuals become alienated. Thus, since men need to identify with other men, and as Burke points out, "people establish identity by relation to groups," then the alienated individuals must find or create another group with which they can identify.\textsuperscript{20} And so it is that the Beats having been alienated from the existing order by their rejection needed to create an image with which they could identify. This identity was created through the establishment of an alternate life-style as well as alternate appearance.

Additionally, the Beats redeemed themselves of the guilt they suffered by creating a common enemy upon whom they could place all blame for the problems they perceived as inherent in the existing social order. Or as Griffin relates the new identity and the common foe are creations for "con-substantiality is established by common involvement in a killing,"\textsuperscript{21} and thus the death of an existing order had given birth to the promise of a new social order, a new hierarchy, a new system of authority.

How does the Beat image concern the opposition movement for which Bob Dylan was a spokesman? It is a contention here that Dylan identified with and adopted the image of the Beats and that this is apparent in the particular style adopted by Dylan. Burke states that style is an aspect of identification. He points out:

Even a materially dispossessed individual may "own" privilege vicariously by adopting the "style" (or "insignia") of some privileged class. Thus did typical poets of the age of Pope vicariously own the privileges of the squirearchy, by embodying in style the ideals that the squirearchy approved of.\textsuperscript{22}
Similarly, Dylan's style including his symbolic choices of hair length, clothing, and even his voice, which all make up his style was in keeping with the image created and identified with by the Beats. Dylan's style is depicted by the critic, Robert Shelton, who wrote about Dylan's debut appearance in Greenwich Village in 1961:

Resembling a cross between a choir boy and a beatnik, Mr. Dylan has ... a mop of tousled hair. His clothes may need a bit of tailoring ... Mr. Dylan's voice is anything but pretty.23

In keeping with the Beat image Dylan wore long hair (rather shabbily)—perhaps not respectable in terms of the existing social order. Additionally, his choice of clothes was similar to the Beat image that portrayed its members as what Merrill calls, "a mystical being who roams the freightcar yards, the jazz dens, the "negro streets."24 Any identification by Dylan with this image was furthered by his identification with his hero, Woody Guthrie who was such a romantic figure (traveling the country in old freightcars, singing protest songs).

Thus, we see that an image created by the Beats in the 1950's was adopted by a rhetor who incorporated it into his opposition strategies and so partially became a symbol for the opposition movement with which opposition members could identify.

Secondly, let us look at the civil rights movement which had begun in the 1950's and had survived well into the 1960's. This movement was also a rejection of the symbols of authority. But unlike the Beats who rejected conformity, materialism and subordination to the system, its emphasis was based on saying "No" to the treatment of the Blacks in America. Similarly, though, their rejection of the social system caused alienation
and guilt. Therefore, the people who were alienated due to their "disobedience" needed to create a group (an image) through which they could reach "communion" with their fellow men. This communion could be reached with a striving for reason and justice which the rejectors felt was missing from the reigning order (or disorder). Therefore, their identity would have to be pious, in place of impious, based on reason and justice, as opposed to disorder and disunity of the reigning symbols of authority and concerned with giving birth to an image to replace the death of the old image. Fisher would call it the affirmative motive for it is "concerned with giving birth to an image." So as the old image is "killed" the new image is "born." This leads to redemption through victimage. Since those of the movement incur guilt for rejecting the reigning social order and because man cannot bear the guilt he needs to be redeemed, this redemption can be gained through victimage. Burke points out:

Hence, if one can hand over his infirmities to a vessel, or "cause," outside the self, one can battle an external enemy instead of an enemy within.26

Thus, by making the agents of the social order the "foe" (devil) the members of the civil rights movement could perceive themselves as the "Saving Rebellion"—striving for salvation, perfection, the "good." The members of the civil rights movement would be analyzed according to Griffin in the following manner:

having struggled with the errant symbols of the existing order ("faulty principles," "vile beasts"), they "see through," reject and thus slay them.28

The members of the civil rights movement thus "slayed" the members of the reigning symbols of authority for their treatment of the Negro. Thus, they achieved "redemption" for the "guilt" they incurred by rejecting ("negative") the reigning order. And the use of language not only created
an "enemy" upon which blame could be laid (impious) but it allowed for potential members of the opposition movement to identify with a ready-made "pious" image (the reign of reason and justice).

In August of 1963 the civil rights movement could be said to have experienced a "crisis period." Griffin says that the crisis period is a time of mass decision: of collective catharsis, purgation, the resolution of public tension.29 In August of 1963 Dr. Martin Luther King led 250,000 blacks and whites in a demonstration in Washington which attempted to put pressure on legislators to pass civil rights legislation. At this demonstration Bob Dylan sang "Only A Pawn in Their Game," and Peter, Paul and Mary sang "Blowin' in the Wind."30 This action as well as the lyrics to these songs, as well as others, suggest that members of the civil rights movement identified with at least some of Dylan's language usage. "Blowin' in the Wind," was a poetic expression of the Negro's struggle to be equal (free). Its lyrics suggest that identification might have occurred between the rhetor, Dylan and the audience, made up of members of the civil rights movement.

How many roads must a man walk down
Before you call him a man?
Yes 'n' how many years can some people exist
Before they're allowed to be free?31

Only one song is mentioned here but it will suffice to make clear the point. Dylan's song is an affirmation of the movement--the "Heaven," "piety" or "good." It states the reason and justice of the movement which is striving to establish a new social order--a new hierarchy. And this new order would be a birth for it would replace the old order (in which the Negro is not equal) with a social order in which the Negro is equal.

Third, we must consider the opposition movement as it was influenced by the "New Left"--a particular group that also emerged in the late 1950's.
It was also a movement insofar as it rejected the reigning symbols of authority. For as Griffin assumes, "all movements are essentially moral—strivings for salvation, perfection, the good." According to Griffin, the New Left movement defined its "devil terms" as the following:

- competition, alienation, conformity,
- absurdity (the irrational), loneliness,
- passivity, fear, bondage (authoritarianism),
- hate, anxiety, the "warfare state," the holocaust.

But in terms of effecting the opposition movement for which Bob Dylan was a spokesman, the New Left was probably most influential through its founding of the two groups, CNVA (Committee for Non-Violent Action) and SANE (The Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy). These two groups demonstrated and advertised against the testing of nuclear weapons, and America's military policy in general.

Thus, the members of the New Left were "alienated" and incurred "guilt" because they rejected the reigning order. And in accordance with Burke's seven great moments they redeemed themselves by creating a "victim"—a "common enemy." The enemy they created was the members of the reigning symbols of authority, especially those who were responsible for making decisions concerning America's military policies (government). The New Left members did not identify with the reigning order for they felt that it was not in keeping with reason and justice. Hence, they rejected the imperfect and sought to establish the perfect.

Since man must communicate, being by nature symbol-users (language as a motive), men seek identification with other men (identifying their ways with others). Since the New Left, much as the Beats and the civil rights crusaders, did not identify with the reigning order, they had to identify with some other image. Therefore, the New Left, goaded by the
sense of reason and justice and as a result of their rejection of the social order, attempted to establish a new order, a new identity, a new motive.34

Since the rhetor, Bob Dylan, attempted to subvert the old image (reigning order) and attempted to give birth to a new image (new social order) his rhetoric perhaps allowed for identification between himself and the members of the New Left. The following lyrics support that contention:

But now we got weapons
Of the chemical dust
If fire them we're forced to
Then fire them we must
One push of the button
And a shot the world-wide
And you never ask questions
When God's on your side.35

There are other anti-nuclear statements contained in Dylan's work but this one is sufficient here for it reflects the rhetor's use of language with which the New Left movement members might identify. The lyrics suggest, and as the New Left views, that the social order is not operating with reason and justice. In this rhetorical transaction the rhetor is communicating an anti-ethos rhetoric concerning specifically the use of nuclear weapons (chemical dust). On the other end of this transaction the audience--New Left members--might identify with the rhetor since his view of nuclear weapons and the social order parallels their own view.

Thus, the New Left could achieve redemption by giving their movement "piety" and at that same time creating an "enemy" who is "impious"--instead of the New Left bearing "guilt" the existing order is "guilty" of unreason, disorder, disintegration, disunity. Thus, the New Left has "killed" the old order and given birth to the image (possibility) of a new order. As Duncan explains how redemption is achieved:

For such killing is a purgation, a cleansing of the community, and thus of the self as a member of the community.36
Fourth, let us concern ourselves with the student-oriented opposition movement. This portion of the opposition movement might be considered here as most important for its inception and growth parallels Bob Dylan's debut and rise to fame. It is also an important part of the opposition movement for its members were not only sympathetic to both the movements for civil rights and peace but were probably influenced by the opposition that preceded their grouping (including the Beats). In a sense, the opposition activities which lead up to and included the 1965 anti-Vietnam rhetoric could be said to be a culmination of the various opposition voices up to that time. This may perhaps not be the real picture but the times were highlighted by the joining of thousands into opposition—perhaps indicative of a "crisis period."

Student opposition in the early 1960's was rooted in the SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) and the SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee). The SNCC was formed in 1960 for the purpose of using direct-action techniques in an effort to obtain civil rights for the Negro in America. SDS was formed also in 1960. It was sympathetic to the civil rights movement and its members participated in it but SDS ideology went beyond just the problems of the Black man. SDS was not only rejecting the social order due to the inequality of the black man but SDS, according to Jacobs and Landau, held other anti-views:

... it is their obligation to show broad segments of American society that the misery suffered by the domestic poor is part of a system of over-all deprivation that threatens the individuality and potential of most Americans: that American foreign policy is hindering world peace rather than building it.

Much like the Beats, who also felt that individual freedom was threatened and the civil rights crusaders who felt that the reigning order
deprived certain groups their freedom, the SDS'ers also rejected the reigning symbols of authority. The SDS'ers also might have shared a "common ground" with the New Left and other peace groups for its members were against both America's nuclear policy and in general her foreign policy. Thus, the SDS members (mostly college students) rejected the order (disorder) and thus were alienated. That is they could not identify with the impious order and so cried "No." This "No" produced a "we understanding" among the members who formed and joined SDS and helped to create the affirmation of a "pious" movement intent on replacing the imperfection they perceived with their perfection—"good," "pious," the "heaven."

Because SDS members were desirous of the reign of justice and reason and because they viewed the existing order as unjust and disorderly, they rejected it. They then used that order as the "enemy" in an effort to purify themselves for as Burke points out man can redeem himself through the creation of a foe upon whom he can place all blame for existing ills—and thus absolve himself of any guilt.39

Identification between the particular audience made up of SDS and the rhetor, Bob Dylan, would perhaps have taken place if their interests were joined, or if they assumed they were, or were persuaded to believe so.40 Let us here make use of the following example in order to show that identification between the rhetor, Bob Dylan, and an audience of members of the SDS might have occurred:

A South politician preaches to the poor white man
You get more than them, don't complain
The deputy sheriffs, the soldiers, the governors get paid.
And the marshals and the cops get the same
But the poor white man's used in the hands of them all like a tool.41

Dylan's lyrics here reflect (as was previously stated) a polarization
of the symbols of authority, on the one hand and the victim who is manipulated by those representing those symbols on the other. The image created by the rhetor is similar (if not identical) to the view of the SDS that the American system (reigning symbols) is threatening the "individuality and potential of most Americans." Thus, the rhetor, through the use of symbols, has created the image that those who maintain the order are "guilty"—"impious," the "devils" and those not in power are "victims" of that order (disorder).

And insofar as common values, attitudes and beliefs allow for identification between men then the rhetor, Bob Dylan may have created an image that allowed for identification between himself and that particular portion of his audience known as the SDS.

We have until this point examined, according to the seven great moments of human drama, the opposition movement as a result of the Beats, the New Left, the civil rights "warriors," and the emergence of a full scale student opposition movement. In the 1960's the Beats, as well as the New Left opposition, were overshadowed both by the civil rights movement and the student opposition. This latter movement was initially entwined with other groups, especially the civil rights movement. But in the years 1964 and 1965, more and more the student movement was increased due to the American policy concerning Vietnam. Students opposition to this conflict grew to national proportion. Additionally, in 1965 student opposition took root in Berkeley, California, as the students there, feeling that they were being manipulated (lack of freedom) by those in power (reigning symbols of authority) massed protest which was known as the Berkeley Free Speech Movement (BFSM).

First, let us turn to an analysis of the student opposition to America's Vietnam policy. Just as some had opposed the American nuclear
policy and its military policies in general, including its part in the Cold War, there arose opposition to the American intervention in Vietnam. However, opposition became nationwide in 1965 following the April 7 announcement by President Johnson of United States' escalation of the Vietnam war.43

According to a dramatistic view, "when incongruity between means and ends becomes so great we cannot act, or suffer greatly when we do act, we reject authority."44 The student opposition movement including SDS, viewed America's role in Vietnam as unjustifiable and thus rejected America's policy--the reigning order. And because of their rejection of the reigning symbols they were alienated.45 And so Griffin continues:

as loyalty spreads and the bonds of love corrode, the sense of guilt grows increasingly greater: for in man, the symbol-maker, Guilt is a function of impiety--error, or the yearning to err, in the use of symbols.46

And as Griffin adds the alienated will dream of Redemption; will envision (being "rotten with perfection") an ideal Order--the "good."47 Thus, those opposed to the impious government--social order--that wages a war in Vietnam, seek the perfection of the imperfect by establishing a new order--one possibly in which "peace" will reign. Thus, it is apparent that the anti-Vietnam movement defined "war" as the devil-term and "peace" as the good or the "god-term." Weaver explains what the god-term is:

we mean that expression about which all other expressions are ranked as subordinate and serving dominations and powers. Its force imports to the others their lesser degree of force, and fixes the scale by which degrees of comparison are understood.48

The term "peace" then is the definition of the movement's piety--it is the good of the opposition. And, contrastingly, the term "war" is the definition of the reigning order's impiety--it is the bad of the system (the imperfect).
There are a number of Dylan's songs whose lyrics suggest that identification between the student opposition movement and the rhetor, Bob Dylan, was perhaps accomplished. Let us here select one for our purposes of analysis. Concerned with the agents of the reigning order (masters of war) Dylan writes:

You that never done nothin'
But build to destroy
Like Judas of old
You lie and deceive

Thus, identification would at least have been possible between a rhetor who created the image of those in power as building to destroy (war) and that audience—anti-Vietnam—which viewed war as a "devil term," the impious, the bad.

The Berkeley Free Speech Movement, an opposition which erupted in 1965, held the view similar to the Beats that the society was removing individual freedom and replacing it with the "devils" they felt to be as following:

... centralized decision-making, manipulative, impersonal bureaucracies and the hypocrisy that divides America's ideals from its actions from Watts to Saigon.

Those involved in the BFSM also rejected the social order. They incurred guilt because "guilt arises out of negation of the principles of social order, and their expression in hierarchy." And because men can't bear the guilt they, like those of the BFSM, seek to redeem themselves. Those of the movement then made the reigning order the enemy (the school administrators, etc.) in an effort to purify themselves; for such killing is a purgation, a cleansing of the community made up of BFSM members. And as they create an enemy or foe, they also create a piety or "we understanding"—an affirmative image with which they can identify. As Griffin points out:
And through identification with a common condition or "substance," men achieve an understanding (a sense of unity, identity or "consubstantiality.")⁵⁴

We might contend also that the "god-term" of the affirmative image of the BFSM was "freedom" while the devil term might have been "manipulation" or "subordination" or "impersonal." And a group that valued "freedom" above all else or at least considered it most valuable in its value system⁵⁵ could possibly identify with a rhetor who communicated that in his rhetoric:

Tolling for the aching whose wounds cannot be nursed
For the countless, confused, accused, misused,
strung-out ones an' worse
An' for every hung-up person in the whole wide universe.
An' we gazed upon the chimes of freedom flashing.⁵⁶

Insofar as the audience members (BFSM) may have perceived themselves as victims of the manipulating social order—especially the Berkeley University administration—they may have identified with the rhetor who prophesied freedom for the victims (oppressed and manipulated) of that society. And thus identification would have created the image of both the perfection of the new order (freedom) and the imperfection or scapegoating of the old order (manipulation).

It is a contention here, through the application of the seven great moments, that identification was made possible between a rhetor who preached an anti-ethos rhetoric with the reigning symbols as his target and potential audiences that rejected that social order. This chapter has attempted to analyze the opposition movement in the late 1950's and early 1960's in America (with Bob Dylan as one of its rhetors). What will be attempted here is to analyze the rhetor, Bob Dylan, in terms of the seven great moments of the human drama. It can be theorized (and supported
by our own pentadic analysis) that Bob Dylan rejected the reigning social order—the symbols of authority—in America. And because of the negation he incurred guilt—he was alienated. He perceived the reigning symbols as imperfect (not in the realm of reason and justice), and because he desired reign in the realm of reason and justice ("man is rotten with perfection")—the perfect—he created rhetoric in an effort to establish a new order—the "good," the ideal. For as Burke states, men are moved to speak, and speak they will, "as the gun will shoot because it is loaded." Thus, the rhetor who rejects the social order, because he cannot bear guilt, seeks redemption and so envisions an order of perfection.

Through the analysis of Dylan's lyrics we have discovered that he created the image of those victimized by the reigning order—Hollis Brown, Hattie Carroll, James Meredith, among others. And we might hypothesize that the rhetor who, in a sense "spoke for" the victims (identified with them) may have perceived himself as a victim of that order for his negation of it.

Our analysis of Dylan's rhetoric stops in 1965 because that is when he stopped emphasizing protest in his songs. And it is a contention of this chapter, of this study, that Dylan having been a down-and-out critic of society, and thus a victim of it, had in his view, attained redemption by his rejection of that society. Thus, no longer needing to redeem himself of his guilt in 1965 he turned from the victimage he created in his rhetoric—scapegoating—to songs of personal statement. This view is perhaps borne out in the following lyrics written in 1965:

I know the reason
That you talk behind my back
I used to be among the crowd
You're in with
And now I know you're dissatisfied
With your position and your place
Don't you understand
It's not my problem.
This may be interpreted as Dylan's statement to those who began to reject him for his departure from opposition rhetoric. Feeling that he no longer needed to redeem himself he attempted to communicate to the audience that he no longer would be a spokesman for the opposition movement (it was no longer his problem).

The application of the seven great moments suggests that the rhetor, Bob Dylan, may have felt that he achieved redemption but the audience members did not. Thus, the opposition movement in America in search of the perfection of the imperfect order proceeded with one less rhetor who felt that he had already attained redemption.
ENDNOTES


4 Ibid., p. 131.

5 Ibid., p. 148.


11 Supra, p. 11.


13 Merrill, p. 18.


15 Ibid.


17 Duncan, p. 118.

18 Merrill, p. 20.


24. Merrill, p. 15.


28. Ibid.

29. Ibid., p. 466.


36. Duncan, p. 127.
Hayden was a leader of the SDS movement who participated in the civil rights movement as cited by Howard Zinn in *SNCC: The New Abolitionists* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), p. 129.


Burke, "Hitler's Battle," p. 246.


Supra, p. 13.


Duncan, p. 111.


Ibid., p. 460.

Ibid.


Duncan, p. 121.

Ibid., p. 127.

Fisher, p. 132.


Rueckert, p. 148.

57 Burke, "Definition of Man," pp. 3-24.


63 Scaduto, p. 246.
CHAPTER V

THE CONCLUDING CHAPTER

Much of the analysis of the effect of the rhetorical transaction between the rhetor, Bob Dylan, and the opposition movement has been and is speculative. Judging the response of an audience to a rhetor's use of language is a difficult task. The Dramatistic Theory employed in this study suggests some possible conclusions.

First, let us concern ourselves with what made up the rhetorical situation. According to Bitzer the situation is made up of: (1) the audience; (2) the exigencies; and (3) the constraints. The audience consists only of those persons who are capable of being influenced by discourse and of being mediators of change. Exigencies are imperfections: they are defects or obstacles, something waiting to be done, a thing which is other than it should be. Constraints are made up of persons, events, objects, and relations which are part of the situation because they have the power to constrain decision and action needed to modify the exigence.¹

It is a conclusion here that the opposition movement first took root in the fifties in the Beats, the "New Left," and the "civil rights" movement. In the early 1960's the opposition movement was furthered by the development of anti-nuclear or anti-war groups such as SANE, CNVA, and the Student Peace Union. In 1960 also the opposition was furthered by the Students for a Democratic Society which was involved in the issues of civil rights and nuclear weaponry usage. Additionally, the opposition movement audience was made up of the members of the BFSM as well as those who protested against the Vietnam war including the W.E.B. DuBois clubs, Turn Toward Peace, the Vietnam Day Committees and the Vietnam Teach-ins.
Identification may have occurred between the members of these oppositional groups and the rhetor, Bob Dylan, because it appears that they held similar views. Walter Fisher explains:

One may hypothesize that rhetorical discourse will be persuasive to the extent that the image it creates regarding a subject corresponds with the image already held by the audience . . . 2

Are these then the only people who might have identified with the rhetor? This is a difficult question, one that is not readily verifiable. May it be suggested here, however, that among those who either sympathized with the opposition or sometimes even sporadically participated in its actions, identification with the rhetor, Bob Dylan, was at least possible.

Our analysis of the language used by the rhetor, Bob Dylan, has led to the conclusion that the opposition movement, with Dylan as one of its rhetors, was concerned with the following exigencies: (1) man's subordination to an impersonal, centralized decision-making system; (2) America's military policy (including nuclear weaponry usage) and foreign policy in general; (3) the notion of "progress;" and (4) the inequality of the Black man in America.

A listing of all the constraints of the situation would be almost endless. Constraints would include the people of the situation such as those of both the opposition movement and the reigning symbols of authority especially the rhetors for both groups. Events also influenced decision and action. Examples would include nuclear testings, foreign policies in action, discriminations against the Negro, and a list of objects might be headed by the atom bomb. Additionally, relations might include America's relationship with the Soviet Union, the Negro's relationship to Southern whites, the Beats' relationship to society as well as many others.
Secondly, the methodologies used here suggest some conclusions concerning the rhetor's rhetorical strategies and his success. Our analysis suggests two conclusions. First, Dylan attempted to subvert the image of the reigning symbols of authority both through the scene-act ratio and the act-agent ratio. Also, Dylan attempted to affirm the image of the opposition movement (the possibility of a new perfect order) through the act-agent ratio. It appears that Dylan was successful in creating a subversive image of the reigning order. However, it also appears that Dylan was not successful in creating the image—the affirmation—of a new perfect order. In other words the opposition movement, with Bob Dylan as one of its rhetors, did create an "enemy" in the form of the agents of the reigning order but it did not initiate or communicate a possible or feasible alternative to that order.

In addition to the lack of an alternate plan there were other reasons why the opposition movement did not initiate a new social order. Most of the members of the various opposition groups were students. And insofar as the members of the opposition and the members of the reigning order were polarized it seems that the majority of Americans identified with the reigning order. Or, it might be stated that most Americans were still desirous of making necessary changes through the prescribed legal methods and sanctions as opposed to the direct-action techniques of the opposition movement members.

It might be added concerning the civil rights movement that that movement probably did help bring about legislation including the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It is important to note that laws may help to change attitudes about the Negro in America. However, the across-the-board equal treatment of the Negro in America and the seemingly necessary attitude changes did not seem to have occurred in America by 1965.
Thirdly, let us examine our conclusions drawn from the use of the seven great moments of the human drama. In a Dramatistic view, Burke argues "that if we regard man as a symbol-using animal we must stress symbolism as a motive." That is, the Dramatistic view of man and his language usage posits that language is a means, motive and an end. It is a motive for men who are by nature divided and seek to identify with other men through the use of language.

According to the Dramatistic view then it is a contention here that Bob Dylan incurred "guilt" by "rejecting" (the "negative") the social order and since men can't bear the pain of mortal expiation thus attempted to redeem himself. And insofar as redemption can be achieved through victimage Dylan, through his use of language, created the image of the "enemy" or sought redemption through the victimage of the agents of the social order. Apparently, he felt that he had redeemed himself, being a down-and-out critic of society, by 1965 for he then turned away from songs of protest.

The members of the opposition movement also felt "guilt" for their "rejection" of the reigning order. But unlike Dylan, those members continued to voice their "No" even after 1965. They had obviously not felt that they had achieved redemption.

It should also be mentioned that as a movement the opposition experienced two "crisis" periods. According to Griffin the "crisis" period of a movement is a time of mass decision; of collective catharsis, purgation, the resolution of public tension. It is possible to perceive the civil rights march on Washington in August of 1963, as well as the nationwide opposition to the Vietnam war as "crisis" periods. Surely, they were both times of mass decision and collective catharsis for never before had so many spoken at once. However, this collective catharsis did not
result, as Griffin suggests, in the birth of a new social order, a new hierarchy, a new system of authority.7

Finally, this paper and the methodologies employed leads to the conclusion that this new order, this new hierarchy, did not come about because the opposition movement: did not offer a suitable or feasible alternative to the reigning order; did not allow for identification with the seeming majority of Americans who "stuck to their guns" (the reigning order); was divided among many different factions; and because the opposition, made up mostly of students, did not have much political power.
ENDNOTES


5 Duncan, Communication, p. 114.


7 Ibid., p. 467.
"MY CONSCIENCE WILL NOT ALLOW ME TO PROTECT MYSELF BY SACRIFICING THESE IDEALISTIC YOUNG PEOPLE."

"I AM NOT GOING TO DO IT!"

SO STATED DR. LINUS PAULING on June 21st when he rejected the demand of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that he disclose the names of other scientists who had helped him circulate a petition calling for cessation of nuclear bomb testing. The petition which was signed by 11,021 scientists from 49 countries was presented to the United Nations and the signatures are a matter of public record. Release of the names, Dr. Pauling says, could bring "reprisals against these believers in the democratic process." The committee violates the First Amendment to the Constitution in making the demand, Dr. Pauling says, and he has refused on the basis of "conscience, morality and principle."

Acting for subcommittee Chairman Eastland, Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut has by intimation threatened Dr. Pauling with citation for contempt of Congress and a possible year in jail, if he again refuses to turn over the list at a public hearing of the committee in Washington October 11. Dr. Pauling is one of the world's great scientists, professor of Chemistry at the California Institute of Technology, and a winner of the Nobel prize. His scientific work has led him to the realization of the dangers of nuclear testing and nuclear warfare.

We, the undersigned, support Dr. Pauling in his refusal to comply with the committee's demand. We urge you to add your support of Dr. Pauling and of the Bill of Rights by joining with us. Sign your name to this advertisement and send it to your Senators.

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Prof. Jerome Frank, Md.
Dr. Waldo Frank, N.Y.

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DR. LINUS PAULING WILL SPEAK AT THE BILL OF RIGHTS ANNIVERSARY DINNER IN THE WALDORF ASTORIA HOTEL, NEW YORK, ON DECEMBER 15TH.

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