

Title	The power of language : 1. political quotes & slogans
Sub Title	
Author	Hynes, Martin K.
Publisher	慶應義塾大学日吉紀要刊行委員会
Publication year	2020
Jtitle	慶應義塾大学日吉紀要. 英語英米文学 (The Keio University Hiyoshi review of English studies). No.73 (2020. 9) ,p.51- 67
JaLC DOI	
Abstract	
Notes	
Genre	Departmental Bulletin Paper
URL	<a href="https://koara.lib.keio.ac.jp/xoonips/modules/xoonips/detail.php?koara_id=AN10030060-20200930-0051">https://koara.lib.keio.ac.jp/xoonips/modules/xoonips/detail.php?koara_id=AN10030060-20200930-0051</a>

慶應義塾大学学術情報リポジトリ(KOARA)に掲載されているコンテンツの著作権は、それぞれの著作者、学会または出版社/発行者に帰属し、その権利は著作権法によって保護されています。引用にあたっては、著作権法を遵守してご利用ください。

The copyrights of content available on the KeiO Associated Repository of Academic resources (KOARA) belong to the respective authors, academic societies, or publishers/issuers, and these rights are protected by the Japanese Copyright Act. When quoting the content, please follow the Japanese copyright act.

# The Power of Language:

## 1. Political Quotes & Slogans

Martin K. Hynes

### Introduction

The power of just a few short words, in the form of a *slogan* or quote, cannot be underestimated.<sup>1)</sup> Whether in the field of politics or in the world of commerce and advertising, their capacity to influence and on occasions even control large segments of society is quite extraordinary. In this brief paper, I will review a number of the most influential political slogans and phrases which were popularized in China and the U.S. at an almost identical time in their recent histories. For China, the 1930's through to the early 1970's saw foreign occupation, civil war, the founding of the People's Republic and the enforcement of misguided socio-economic policies. For the United States, there was the economic devastation caused by the Great Depression, swiftly followed by WW2. This conflict was hardly over before it was supplanted by the Cold War and the attendant mass hysteria created by the '*Red Menace*', which in turn, triggered reckless decisions in foreign policy. As I will discuss, although the quotes proclaimed by Mao Tse-tung and the slogans heard on the streets of the U.S., contrasted sharply in both their style and dissemination, they did have one striking similarity, the momentous impact which these slogans had on their respective societies.

## China

One of the greatest practitioners of the slogan was Mao Tse-tung (1893–1976). From his early years as a revolutionary through to his leadership as Chairman of the Communist Party (1949–1976), Mao constantly used quotes and slogans to promote mass campaigns and legitimize state policies. The use of concise, rhythmic phrases had always been a feature of everyday Chinese speech. Traditionally known as *Chengyu* (成语), a form of idiom, they were usually derived from ancient Chinese literature and history. Generally, most *Chengyu* consisted of only four characters (kanji) and if used in isolation were quite often unintelligible. As such, they would frequently need some form of explanation. For Mao, with his remarkable skills as an orator, the ambiguous nature of such slogans enabled him to manipulate them to achieve his own ends. However, there is also another more practical reason for their extensive use. At the founding of communist China in 1949, large numbers of the rural population were illiterate and the use of slogans (and their accompanying explanation), was a simple way for Mao to transmit his messages to the people.<sup>2)</sup>

These directives were conveyed through a variety of sources. Of course, in time, there were numerous posters, films and plays. Initially, however, most Chinese would first hear Mao's thoughts on the morning radio pronouncements delivered by the Communist Party. Shortly after, these quotes would then appear in editorials and articles in the myriad of papers and magazines controlled by the CCP. Unsurprisingly, it was the *Renmin Ribao* (*People's Daily*), established in 1946, which became the 'official voice' of the party. In remote areas where distribution and production costs were both a financial and physical hurdle, wall newspapers (or placard newspapers) were popular. Displayed on the walls of government buildings

or on notice boards in public places, the newspapers could be read for free, or (as was sometimes necessary), read out by a public official. Another outlet for Mao's slogans were *dàzìbào* (大字报), literally 'big character posters'. They had been used in China since Imperial times and Mao saw them, along with the newspapers, as a convenient tool for 'educating and enlightening' the people in the new revolutionary ideology. *Dàzìbào* became ubiquitous during the Cultural Revolution, when citizens were encouraged to write their own grievances against corruption and denounce party officials.

During his time in power, Mao's quotes and associated slogans were so numerous they were, of course, eventually collated in one volume and published for the general population. *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* (毛主席语录) first appeared in bookstores in May 1965 and is reputed to be one of the most published books in the world. Known simply as *Mao's Little Red Book*, it is impossible to confirm how many copies of the book were eventually sold. When Mao's cult of personality reached its peak during the Cultural Revolution, some sources claimed sales of the book were in the billions!<sup>3)</sup> This is undoubtedly an exaggeration; nevertheless, during this tumultuous stage in Mao's rule, there were undoubtedly tens of millions of copies in circulation. Any dutiful citizen of adult age would claim that they owned a copy of the book and many would keep it in their possession at all times.

In this brief paper it is impossible to examine all of Mao's proclamations in detail. As such, I will just identify four of his quotes which undoubtedly had a profound and devastating impact on China and its people. The first slogan to be considered is *Let 100 Flowers Bloom* (百花齐放) 1956), a phrase borrowed from the Warring States Period (475–221 BC).<sup>4)</sup> This quote was originally intended to encourage debate of communist strategy and

tactics (not ideology). However, when people started to openly denounce the Communist Party in large numbers, Mao brought an abrupt end to the *100 Flowers* period. A purge quickly followed and many of the critics were imprisoned or banished to the countryside to toil on the farms.

Many Sinologists still disagree over the true intentions of this slogan. Was it a sincere attempt at reform which simply spiraled out of control? Or was it a devious ruse to encourage opponents to reveal themselves to the Communist Party? Bearing in mind that Mao publicly asserted the need to stifle dissent, it would appear it was the latter: “What should our policy be towards non-Marxist ideas? As far as unmistakable counter-revolutionaries .....are concerned, the matter is easy, we simply deprive them of their freedom of speech.”<sup>5)</sup> Perhaps distressed by reports of the anti-communist protests in Hungary, Mao, the brilliant military strategist that he was reputed to be, decided it was best to draw his enemies out into the open rather than wait to be ambushed.

The second slogan which deserves attention is *Dare to think, Dare to Act* (敢想敢干1958), a quote which became synonymous with ‘The Great Leap Forward’, when Mao attempted to modernize the Chinese economy. Mao firmly believed that by developing both industry and agriculture the economy would, in time, rival that of the major western powers. Mao argued that both had to grow simultaneously, in that industry could only prosper if the workforce was well-fed, while agriculture, in turn, needed industry to produce the tools needed for modernization. For this to be achieved, the country was reformed into a series of communes. The entire policy was clearly ill-thought and due to a lack of central planning by the government, poorly implemented. The results were catastrophic, particularly in the communes in the countryside, where the targets for grain production were set at unrealistic levels and thus hopelessly unachievable. Predictably, to

curry favor or conceal failure, many party officials would falsify harvest results. Compounded by natural disasters, agricultural production actually plummeted during ‘The Great Leap Forward’, resulting in mass starvation and the deaths of millions.<sup>6)</sup>

The third slogan to be considered, which perhaps more than any other epitomized ‘The Cultural Revolution’, is *Smash the Four Olds* (破四旧) 1966. The slogan first appeared in an editorial of the *People’s Daily* on June 1<sup>st</sup>. However, the campaign was not officially launched until over two months later, on August 19<sup>th</sup>. The ‘*Four Olds*’ to be destroyed were ‘old ideas, customs, culture and habits.’<sup>7)</sup> The stated goal of ‘The Cultural Revolution’ was to preserve true communist ideology, purge the country of corrupting capitalist and traditional elements and of course, reimpose Maoist thought. With his leadership severely weakened by the disastrous policies of ‘The Great Leap Forward’ and gravely concerned by the softening of communist ideology in the Soviet Union, ‘The Cultural Revolution’ was the perfect platform for Mao to reassert his power. The movement began in an orderly fashion with the changing of street names but as time progressed, it turned into a savage assault on China’s rich culture. Whipped up into a frenzy by Mao, it seemed nothing was sacred to the Red Guards; examples of ancient Chinese architecture were destroyed, literature and paintings torn apart and burned and even temples desecrated. Finally, the Red Guards turned on the people, particularly the elderly and intellectuals, who were physically abused and publicly humiliated. By the time the movement finally ended in 1976, the Chinese economy was in a state of paralysis and an entire generation had been traumatized.

Many historians have questioned why during this period of such immense social and economic upheaval, the people never turned against Mao. Obviously, as already noted, within the Communist Party itself, Mao

was ingenious at deflecting attention away from his own failings and swiftly finding scapegoats. Secondly, he was also extremely accomplished at rooting out his perceived adversaries. However, it is also likely that the main reason there was no insurgence was due to the firm grip on power which Mao (and by extension the Communist Party) held throughout the country. This brings us to the final Mao quote which I feel deserves attention: *'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun'* (枪杆子里面出政权.) Mao first used this phrase in August 1929, in a speech to rally his forces for the imminent uprising against the ruling Chinese Nationalist Party. The second time he used the slogan was in November 1938, when the civil war was tearing the country apart. Finally, the phrase was reproduced in his book *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, which was published in the early summer of 1965. Placed in the context of the complete speech, in which Mao refers to Marx, the Russian Revolution and *'the class struggle in the era of Imperialism'*, it is clear that he believed it was only through violence that the 'Imperialist enemies' could be defeated. Although Mao encouraged the *'working classes and laboring masses'* to *'take up the gun'* in pursuit of communist global supremacy, in China itself the power would still solidly remain with the Communist Party elites who were, of course, supported by the military.<sup>8)</sup> In theory, any citizen who wanted to participate in the national project could join the local Communist Party branch and attempt to rise up through the government machinery where, in time, they could be involved in decision-making. However, any criticism of the party outside this apparatus would be quickly suppressed. As such, any signs of discord during the Cultural Revolution or The Great Leap Forward which preceded it, was quickly crushed.

Clearly, this state of absolute rule did not end with the death of Mao in 1976. In the early spring of 1989, encouraged by events in Eastern Europe,

pro-democracy students began to demonstrate in major cities across China. Very quickly, Tiananmen Square in Beijing became the focal point of the protests. On May 20<sup>th</sup>, the government declared martial law in the city and gradually over the following two weeks, large numbers of troops, supported by tanks, were deployed throughout the capital. Despite repeated warnings to disperse, the students, now joined by numerous Beijing residents, stood their ground. Finally, on the night of June 3<sup>rd</sup>, the troops of the ‘Peoples’ Liberation Army’, whose motto is to ‘*Serve the People*’ (为人民服务), opened fire on the crowd.<sup>9)</sup>

### **The United States**

The rapid expansion of communism in the post-war era was met with alarm by the majority of western democratic governments, and no more so than in that self-proclaimed bastion of capitalism and ‘free speech’, the United States. Determined to rally the people behind an anti-communist cause, the U.S. government and its supporters were quick to utilize a number of slogans. Although they may have lacked the eloquence of Mao’s quotes, the political slogans of this period in U.S. history still carried powerful messages. In general, they were always short, had a tendency to rhyme and often employed alliteration. As such, when spoken, they were extremely catchy. In the field of linguistics, these slogans are termed ‘Binomial Pairs’ or ‘Siamese Twins’. Technically, a ‘true’ binomial consists of a pair (or short group of words) of equal weight, which are joined together by a preposition — and crucially, both pairs would feature the same part of speech, such as ‘*sink or swim*’ (verbs), or ‘*short and sweet*’ (adjectives). Binomials with verbs and adjectives (as above) usually create an idiomatic expression. However, binomials with nouns tend to create an image, such as ‘*skin and bone*’, which of course means to be extremely thin, or perhaps more



pertinent for the context of this paper is the example, '*hammer and sickle*'. In the Communist Bloc, the '*hammer and sickle*' was regarded as a symbol of the proletarian solidarity which existed between the agricultural and industrial workers, whereas in the democracies of the west, it was seen to represent oppression and totalitarianism.

Unlike Mao's slogans, which were initially heard in the form of official proclamations, it is extremely difficult to pinpoint where and when many U.S. political slogans were first used and who actually said them. However, after being first heard at political rallies and demonstrations, the slogans swiftly made their way in print-form on to placards, tee-shirts, windows in homes and offices, badges, car bumpers, hats and were even daubed on the helmets worn by U.S. soldiers serving overseas. Perhaps the most popular mode of transmitting a slogan in print form was the 'bumper sticker'. Advances in the mid to late 1940's in the mass production of color inks, adhesives and vinyl, meant it was no longer necessary to resort to the labor-intensive practice of manually painting small signs and notices. Bumper stickers, which tended to have a standard measurement of 30cm by 8cm, were easily adaptable to use on almost any even surface. As such, these stickers with their powerful, often inflammatory messages could be found almost everywhere in the politically tumultuous years, which ran from McCarthyism in the late 1940's through to the thawing of the Cold War in the late 1980's.


One of the earliest slogans from this era which courted controversy was '*Kill a Commie for Mommy*'. This phrase was first coined during the Korean War (1950–1953), when the American military (with support from U.N. member states) came into direct conflict with troops from North Korea and its main ally, China. The slogan has been attributed to Colonel David Hackworth, who in addition to Korea, also saw military action in Vietnam.<sup>10)</sup>

The meaning is self-explanatory; basically, the sooner U.S. forces have crushed the enemy, the quicker they can return home to their families. Bizarrely, amongst a minority of the younger generation in western democracies, this anti-communist slogan is still quite popular today. Although no longer seen or heard at political demonstrations, it can be found in the virtual world of gaming and on tee-shirts originally popularized by the New York punk band the Ramones.<sup>11)</sup>

Generally regarded as the most popular pro-government slogan of this time was *Better Dead than Red*, which simply expressed that it would be better to die fighting against communism (red obviously being the emblematic color of the political ideology) than to live under communist rule. The actual origin of the phrase is murky. One assertion is that the slogan is a variation of the phrase which took hold in Franco's Spain during the civil war: '*Antes roja que rota*' (*Better Red than Broken*). However, it has also been argued that the English version is simply a direct translation from German: '*lieber tot als rot*'.<sup>12)</sup> Whatever it's true origin, the slogan was first publicly heard in Washington during the trials of the *McCarthy Witch Hunt* (1949–1954) and quickly spread nationwide as the country became gripped by the '*Red Scare*'. A sequence of geopolitical crises — the building of the Berlin Wall (1961), the Cuban missile stand-off (1962), and China joining the 'Nuclear Club' (1964) — meant this slogan really did become the 'rallying cry' of the anti-communist movement, not only in the United States but right across the western world.

As the 1960's progressed and Washington found itself being drawn further into the conflict in Vietnam, American society became increasingly polarized between those who supported the war and those who opposed it. Anyone who dared to question the motives for U.S. involvement in South East Asia would swiftly have their patriotism challenged with the phrase

*America, Love it or Leave it*, usually abridged to just ‘*Love it or Leave it*’. Once again, it is unclear as to who first used this phrase and when. However, it was almost certainly popularized in the McCarthy era by the radio broadcaster and gossip guru Walter Winchell. With its simple but blunt message, the slogan was eventually picked up by many Country and Western artists who openly resented the politics and lifestyles of the counterculture movement.<sup>13)</sup> The rationale behind this slogan was uncomplicated — as an American citizen, fortunate enough to be living in ‘the world’s greatest democracy’, open criticism or defiance of the government’s foreign policy was unacceptable and as such, you should leave. Ironically, in their determination to avoid the draft, a number of young American men did exactly that.<sup>14)</sup>

For the vast majority of opponents who stayed in the U.S., their objection to the war resulted in numerous forms of protest, which also came with their own set of slogans.<sup>15)</sup> Unfortunately, for the anti-communist movement, the slogan ‘*Better Dead than Red*’ was unusual, in that it was a ‘reversible binomial’. As such, by simply switching the order of the adjectives, those who opposed the Vietnam conflict could convey their message just as effectively as those who supported it. The slogan ‘*Better Red than Dead*’, which obviously asserted it would be better to live under a communist government (however bad) than face the alternative, quickly spread from the American university campus to Main Street. As the 1960’s drew to a close, the slogan gradually became the watchword for all anti-war movements (particularly the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) and along with the peace symbol () , the slogan was highly visible at demonstrations which took place right across the western world. When the Vietnam War officially ended in 1975, the next major flashpoint between the two main superpowers was Western and Central Europe and it was West Germany and

the U.K. that would witness some of the biggest and most violent anti-war demonstrations of the 1980's.<sup>16)</sup>

The final slogan from this era which merits consideration is *Make Love, Not War*. Who actually thought of the phrase first is still open to speculation. Many news sources have credited the slogan to Diane Newell Meyer, a 'senior' student, who in April 1965, was photographed at a demonstration in Oregon with a hand-written note of the phrase pinned to her sweater. After the picture was published in a local paper (*The Eugene Register Guard*), it didn't take long for the image to make the front pages of most major newspapers across the country. However, according to the social activists Penelope and Franklin Rosemont, they had actually thought up the slogan a month earlier in their office in Chicago. In the ensuing weeks, they mass produced thousands of tiny badges bearing the slogan and then distributed them among the crowd at a Mother's Day Peace March, held on Sunday, May 9<sup>th</sup>.<sup>17)</sup>

As the phrase was more commonly associated with the American counterculture, *Make Love, Not War* was immensely popular with the maturing 'Baby Boomer Generation'. By the mid 1960's this generation had become the largest demographic group, not only in the United States but in most advanced western nations. This was extremely significant, as 'power in numbers' made them a formidable opponent to 'the establishment'. *Make Love, Not War* quickly spread around the world and for the younger generation, this slogan perhaps more than any other, symbolized their disillusionment with their governments. In addition to being printed on the obvious surfaces which were popular for slogans (tee-shirts, badges and bumper stickers), it also featured in songs written by two of the world's most famous pacifists, John Lennon and Bob Marley.<sup>18)</sup>

As the conflict in Vietnam rumbled on, the pro-government and anti-

war demonstrations in the U.S. became increasingly violent. Tragically, nothing exemplified this better than two demonstrations which took place just days apart in the early summer of 1970. On May 4<sup>th</sup>, during a mass protest at Kent State University against the bombing of neutral Cambodia, the Ohio National Guard opened fire on the students. Although the volley of fire was brief (only 13 seconds), when it was over, four students lay dead and nine more were seriously wounded. Only four days later in New York, two hundred construction workers who were staunchly pro-government, attacked students who were protesting against both the Vietnam War and the Kent State shootings. The *Hard Hat Riot*, as it became known, left over 70 injured, some seriously. Clearly, U.S. involvement in Vietnam had created political and societal fault lines which ran so deep, many citizens deeply feared for their country's future. Unfortunately, worse was to come; the oil crisis of 1973 crippled the economy, in August 1974 Nixon was forced to resign due to the *Watergate Scandal* and in April 1975, the U.S. finally withdrew its remaining forces from Vietnam. As with so much of the conflict, the T.V. networks were on hand to capture those final hours of chaos in Saigon. When live footage of the frantic evacuation from the American Embassy was broadcast to homes across the U.S., the country's humiliation seemed complete.

### **Conclusion**

This brief paper has examined a number of political quotes and slogans which were popularized in China and the United States, at what were critical times for both countries. As I have discussed, although they differed greatly in both their style and dissemination, the impact of these slogans on both societies was far reaching. For China, Mao's quotes were to herald the implementation of radical economic policies or to encourage political

thought. Yet, by the time the Mao era drew to a close, the economy was barely functioning and a generation had been left traumatized. In contrast, in the United States, anti-communist slogans stoked anger and paranoia amongst the population which simply fueled an aggressive foreign policy. This swiftly led to an anti-government backlash and a burgeoning pacifist movement, which had its own set of slogans. By the mid 1970's, when the U.S. had finally disengaged from S.E. Asia, the economy was at its weakest point in decades and American society was bitterly divided.

In my next paper on the power of political slogans and quotes, I will continue to discuss the battle between communist and capitalist ideologies. However, this time, I will turn my attention to the Hispanic world. I will begin with the slogans popularized by both adversaries in the Spanish civil war, before moving onto the Cuban Revolution and the quotes of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. The paper will conclude with an examination of the most controversial statements made by Augusto Pinochet, the president and military dictator of Chile.

## Notes

- 1) *Slogan* (literally '*rallying cry*') can be traced to its Scottish Gaelic source '*slaugh-ghairn*', which means '*war-shout*' or '*host-cry*'. Its original purpose was to summon members of a clan to do battle.  
Sunnars W. *The World's Greatest Collection of Slogans and Phrases* (American Newspaper Syndicate, 1952), p. 5.
- 2) There were numerous reasons for such high illiteracy rates. Obviously, to protect their position, the wealthy minority preferred to keep the poor (which in China generally meant the peasant class) uneducated. Additionally, years of foreign occupation and civil conflict had decimated the basic education system which had previously existed. Finally, there was the Chinese language itself; its complex writing system meant that any attempt at literacy generally entailed prolonged and

extensive study. This was time which the peasant class, whose lives were devoted to the land, could ill afford. For Mao with his Marxist / Leninist ideals, one of his first priorities was to ‘educate’ the proletariat: “... in China, culture has always been the exclusive preserve of the landlords and the peasants have had no access to it...Ninety percent of the people had no education...” Hayford, Charles W. *Report from the Hunan Countryside: Selected works of Mao Tse-tung*: I-54 (Peking Foreign Language Press, 1967), in *Literacy Movements in Modern China* (Springer U.S., 1987), p. 148.

- 3) Leese D. *Mao Cult: Rhetoric and Ritual in China’s Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 108.
- 4) In full: “Letting a hundred flowers bloom (blossom) and a hundred schools of thought contend, is the policy for promoting progress in the arts and the sciences and a flourishing socialist culture in our land.” (Mao: *Four Essays* p. 116.)
- 5) This proclamation was followed by six criteria in which Mao outlined how to distinguish ‘*flagrant flowers*’ from ‘*poisonous weeds*.’ (Mao: *Four Essays*, pp. 117–118.)
- 6) China researchers have debated for decades over the true number of lives lost in the Great Leap Forward. Peng Xizhe (1987), p. 648, estimated there were at least 23 million deaths. However, Chang and Halliday (2005), p. 438, claim as many as 37 million Chinese could have perished. In recent years, some Sinologists have argued that even this could be a conservative figure.
- 7) In full: “*Destroy the Four Olds and Cultivate the Four News*” (破四旧立四新). Slogans demanding the destruction of to the “*Four Olds*” usually did not appear in isolation and they were usually followed with the hope of building the “*Four News*” which were (unsurprisingly) new customs, new culture, new habits, and new ideas.  
Xing Lu *Rhetoric of the Chinese Cultural Revolution: The Impact on Chinese Thought, Culture and Communication* (The University of South Carolina Press, 2004), pp. 61–62.
- 8) *The Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. II, pp. 224–225.
- 9) In the months and years following the events of early June in Beijing, there has naturally been intense media speculation about the number of protestors who were

- killed or wounded in Tiananmen Square and the surrounding neighborhoods. It is impossible to verify the number of casualties, but estimates have ranged from the low hundreds to the thousands. *Brook, T. Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement* (Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 154.
- 10) Colonel David Hackworth (1930–2005). In addition to the Korean and Vietnam wars, Hackworth also served in the U.S. Merchant Marines in the closing stages of WW2. Although he was too young to legally sign up for the marines, he paid a vagrant to pose as his father and certify he was old enough to enlist. In the Vietnam conflict, his fearless approach to battle and determination ‘to lead his men from the front’, meant he achieved almost mythical status. In the 1979 Hollywood movie *Apocalypse Now*, the abrasive, cigar-chomping, Lt. Col. Bill Kilgore (played by Robert Duvall) is reputed to be based on Hackworth. Obituary *The New York Times*, May 6, 2005, Section B, p. 9.
  - 11) Unlike many of his contemporaries in the Punk Movement, Johnny Ramone, one of the founding members of the band, was politically conservative and a staunch supporter of the Republican Party. He rarely performed on stage without wearing his distinctive *Kill a Commie for Mommy* tee-shirt. Considering his political affiliations, it perhaps shouldn’t have come as a surprise when the Ramones released an album with the title *Rocket to Russia* (November 1977).
  - 12) At the closing stages of WW2, as the Russian forces advanced on Berlin, the German soldier was brainwashed into believing it would be better to die defending the ‘Fatherland’ than to live under the ‘tyranny of communism’. Doyle, Charles C. *The Dictionary of Modern Proverbs* (Yale University Press, 2012), p. 51.
  - 13) Two of the most popular were Ernest Tubb’s *It’s America, Love It or Leave It* (1965) and Merle Haggard’s *The Fightin’ Side of Me* (1970).
  - 14) The actual number of young American men who absconded overseas (mainly to Canada) to avoid conscription really does seem to depend on who is providing the statistics. In 1970, the U.S. State Department claimed that the figure was as low as 2,000! However, a Canadian T.V. network asserted that the combined figures of deserters and draft dodgers was closer to 60,000. In turn, the Canadian government estimated that between 1965 and 1975 roughly 40,000 American men sought refuge



in the country. Useem, Michael, *Conscription, Protest, and Social Conflict, the Life and Death of a Draft Resistance Movement* (John Wiley & Sons Inc. N.Y. 1973), p. 131.

- 15) In addition to protest marches, most forms of peaceful opposition included strikes (usually by faculty in academia), ‘*sit-ins*’ and ‘*teach ins*.’ The former would involve large groups occupying public buildings and recruitment offices to cause as much disruption as possible. In contrast, ‘*teach ins*’ were similar to seminars but they usually lasted many hours, often stretching through the night. Many ‘*teach ins*’ would feature guest speakers who were experts in their field of study or famous for being politically active. Other forms of ‘peaceful protest’ included the blocking of freeways and rail lines which were transporting arms for the war. However, due to the heavy-handed reaction of the police, these demonstrations rarely remained peaceful for very long. DeBenedetti, Charles, *An American Ordeal: The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam Era* (Syracuse University Press, 1990).
- 16) The reason for the anti-nuclear demonstrations in Western Europe in the 1980’s was the result of a seismic shift in military strategy by both the Soviet Union and the United States. In brief, after the Soviet Union had stationed batteries of the SS 20 missile on its western border, the U.S. responded by basing its own intermediate range missiles in Western Europe (specifically in West Germany and Greenham Common in Berkshire, England). The rationale behind deploying such missiles as close as they possibly could to the territory of their adversary worked on the principle of a ‘surprise first-strike’ against the enemy’s missile silos. Military strategists argued that if these silos were destroyed, a nuclear war was winnable! This of course runs counter to the doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD), which affirms a full-scale conflict between the two nuclear superpowers would result in the total annihilation of both sides and their allies. Pershing II and W. Germany *N.Y. Times* 12 / 28 1983 Section C. p. 22 (digital archives). SS 22 Reported in E. Germany *N.Y Times* 1 / 26 1984 Section A. p. 4 (digital archives).
- 17) Rosemont, Penelope. *Dreams and Everyday Life: A Sixties Notebook* Chicago 2008: pp. 40–41.
- 18) John Lennon’s *Mind Games* and Bob Marley’s *No More Trouble*, both released in the autumn of 1973.

## Reference List

- Altehenger, J. *Twentieth Century China Revolutionary Moments: Reading Revolutionary Texts*. Hammersley, R. (ed.) Bloomsbury Academic 2015.
- Brook, T. *Quelling the People: The Military Suppression of the Beijing Democracy Movement*. Stanford University Press, 1998.
- DeBenedetti, C. *An American Ordeal: The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam Era*. Syracuse University Press, 1990.
- Doyle, C.C. *The Dictionary of Modern Proverbs*. Yale University Press, 2012.
- Hayford, C.W. *Report from the Hunan Countryside: Selected Works of Mao tse-Tung*. Peking Foreign Language Press, 1967 in *Literacy Movements in Modern China*, Springer, 1987, pp. 1–54.
- Price, R.F. *Marx and Education in Russia and China*. Routledge Library Editions: Education, 2014. Mao T.S. *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. University Press of the Pacific; Later printing edition, 2001.
- Sunners W. *The World's Greatest Collection of Slogans and Phrases*. American Newspaper Syndicate, 1952.
- Surrey, D. *Choice of Conscience: Vietnam Era Military and Draft Resisters in Canada*. New York: Praeger, 1982.
- Useem, M. *Conscription, Protest, and Social Conflict, The Life and Death of a Draft Resistance Movement*. New York: John Wiley, 1973.
- Woods, H.F. *American Sayings – Famous Phrases, Slogans and Aphorisms*. Woods Press, 2007.
- Xing, L. *Rhetoric of the Chinese Cultural Revolution: The Impact on Chinese Thought, Culture and Communication*. University of South Carolina Press, 2004.