

## Annotated Bibliography

### Primary Sources

The Anti-Dow Chemical Protest on Oct. 18, 1967, as seen through a broken window at the Commerce Building. Photograph. Wisconsin State Journal. Accessed February 2, 2020. [https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/education/university/photos-look-back-at-historic-dow-chemical-anti-vietnam-war/collection\\_ac29edf2-674e-584b-998c-ad64a88da0e5.html#7](https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/education/university/photos-look-back-at-historic-dow-chemical-anti-vietnam-war/collection_ac29edf2-674e-584b-998c-ad64a88da0e5.html#7).

This image is framed by broken glass which symbolizes the violence police used on protesters. This image merges the emotions and intensity of the Dow Riot with our text to root our historical analysis in the event. Placed on the home page, this image greets the viewer with important elements of our project: the police, the protesters, and violence (broken glass).

*Army Inductees Pledge Their Service in New York City*. 1965. Photograph. Accessed February 2, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/03/us/military-draft-world-war-3.html>.

This photo depicts young men pledging their service after being drafted in 1965. The faces of the men display their fear as they prepare to go to war. In addition, the image represents the government's control over their subjects during a time of war.

Berkeley Anti-Draft Union. "Berkeley Anti-Draft Union." 1967. Accessed April 13, 2020. <https://www.vietnam.ttu.edu/reports/images.php?img=/images/215/2150705030.pdf>.

The union at Berkeley called out the government's stance that "we are in there now, so we have to stay there." They called for change just like the student protesters at Madison. The source helps illustrate the magnitude of the protest movement.

Brandes, Stuart D. First Hand Account of Protest. Unpublished manuscript, October 18, 1967.

The documentation by Brandes is an important primary source to reference throughout the creation of our project as it is a first-hand account of the day and provides corrections to some of the secondary sources that we have read.

———. Letter to Wisconsin State Journal, October 20, 1967. Dow Chemical protest papers, 1967-1968. Wisconsin State Historical Society Archives, Madison, WI.

Claiming that the actions by the police during the protest were not reported correctly, Stuart D. Brandes hoped to set the record straight. In this letter to the Editors of the Wisconsin State Journal, Brandes claims that the protest was "a disgusting spectacle of police brutality." This letter illustrates the reality behind the excessive force used by the police.

———. Memorandum, "Why Amnesty?," 1967. Dow Chemical protest papers, 1967-1968. Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, WI.

The simple question brings up several key ideas in the protests. Stuart D Brandes explores how the demonstrators were protesting the University's actions. Importantly, he brings up the idea of corporations supporting the government at a time of war, something that the protesters were strongly opposing. Brandes criticizes UW officials for focusing on penalizing protesters for their interaction with the police rather than the issue that brought them out to protest in the first place. The source furthered our understanding of the issue and what the mentality of the protesters was after the protest.

Brown, Barry, Glenn Silber, WISC, WKOW, and WMTV. "Vietnam archives television newsfilm (VNA 17)." Video, 25:25. Wisconsin Historical Society. 1967. Accessed May 21, 2020. [https://whs.aviaryplatform.com/collections/15/collection\\_resources/24984](https://whs.aviaryplatform.com/collections/15/collection_resources/24984).

The Vietnam television archives are a collection of silent black and white film and news videos. The sources show the clash between the students and the police. We use the video footage on our website to immerse the reader in the reality of the protest. The video depicts the conflict, but more importantly shows the complexity of the Dow Riot and the chaos that ensues.

Burrows, Larry, and The LIFE Picture Collection. *US Marines landing in Da Nang in 1965*. Photograph. 1965. Digital file.

This photo shows US Marines moving in a line in 1965. This image shows the sense of blind obedience that soldiers typically had to the government as many of the soldiers barely considered the roots of the conflict before enlisting.

*The Capital Times* (Madison, WI). "2 Accuse UW Police of Provocation." September 27, 1967.

This newspaper article gives testament to the fact that the students provoked policemen in the February protests. It illustrates the full picture of the Dow Riot by explaining the causes of the earlier protests. The source shows the climate on campus even before the napalm riot, which broadens the perspective of the protest.

*Capitol Square*. 1975. Photograph. Accessed February 2, 2020.

[https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/pranks-protests-and-bell-bottoms-life-in-madison-in-the/collection\\_4d5a3eaf-4ad7-5f51-9a16-9dbec2470067.html#28](https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/pranks-protests-and-bell-bottoms-life-in-madison-in-the/collection_4d5a3eaf-4ad7-5f51-9a16-9dbec2470067.html#28).

This photo shows an aerial view of Madison in 1975, compared to Madison today. This photo expresses the growth of Madison as a city in the 1970s.

Cassano, Dennis. "National Group Backs Defense of Protesters." *The Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, WI), November 2, 1967.

The article explains the response to the Dow Riot on a national level. Throughout the nation, different organizations and groups backed different sides. Additionally, the source shows the prominence of the protest on a national level.

Clarenbach, Fred. Letter, October 20, 1967. Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI.

The statement released by Fred Clarenbach shows the sentiment on campus against the protesters. Many people were in full support of the University's effort to prevent the whole situation. The source illuminates the broad spectrum of opinions on the protest.

Committee for Student Rights. *Strike: We Thousands of University of Wisconsin Students on Strike Ask You to Join Us*. N.p., 1967.

This is an advertisement for a strike in wake of the Dow Chemical demonstrations. Among other demands, the pamphlet calls for an end to the use of outside police power to break up peaceful demonstrations. This document helped us understand the detrimental effects of bringing police onto campus.

Concerned Law Students. Letter, "An Open Appeal to Dean Joseph Kauffman," October 1967. Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI.

Students wrote an appeal to Joseph Kauffman explaining their concern for his actions. Dean Kauffman was staunchly against the protests and the students believed the University policy on freedom of speech was counterintuitive. The source explains another issue on campus, one of freedom of speech.

CSR. *This Must Not Happen Again!!* Madison, WI, 1967.

The students immediately released demands concerning the "police brutality" on campus. They were enraged about the way students were treated, especially when the students were just trying to advocate for a cause. In response, they called a strike, and this pamphlet outlines the reasons for the strike.

Custer, Frank. "Emery Says He Didn't Order Use of Riot Clubs." *The Capital Times*.

This article in *The Cap Times* explains that Police Chief Emery did not tell his men to use riot sticks. This document is another example of the debate between who incited the violence. It provides the Madison Police Department's point of view.

Cuyahoga Community College. *The Agnew Demonstration*. Cleveland, 1970. Accessed April 13, 2020.

<https://www.vietnam.ttu.edu/reports/images.php?img=/images/2618/26180112017.pdf>.

This source provides insight into organizations around the country. Students at Cuyahoga, much like the ones at the University of Wisconsin, saw the same problems arising in Vietnam and vowed to stop them. They argued for a change in US policy (which is outlined in this document).

*The Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI). "Report of Ad Hoc Committee on Mode of Response to Obstruction, Interview Policy, and Related Matters." March 13, 1968.

This report explains the creation of a new committee to deal with the protests on campus. It expresses the newfound importance of the movement as people became more involved with trying to solve the problems around the student protests.

Dieckmann, June. "Chief Looks Back on 'Fight for Life.'" *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, WI), October 20, 67.

The police "underestimated" the students who protested on October 18. This source provides insight into the reasons the police began to use force in the first place and furthers the timeline and story of the protest.

———. "War Protester Jailed; Others' Cases Delayed." *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, WI).

In this article, June Dieckmann, a reporter for *The Wisconsin State Journal*, reports on a Dow protester being given a 30 day jail sentence. This source proved useful in understanding that the protesters thought fighting for what they believed in was worth going to jail for 30 days.

Faas, Horst. *American Soldiers Are Dropped off by Helicopter to Join Southern Vietnamese Ground Troops*. March 1965. Photograph. Accessed February 2, 2020.

This photo displays troops getting off of a helicopter to join ground troops. The source gives us a visual representation of the United States' military involvement in Vietnam. Although the protest was against napalm, the goal was to bring an end to the un-democratic conflict in Vietnam and bring the troops home.

———. *The sun breaks through the dense jungle foliage around the embattled town of Binh Gia, 40 miles east of Saigon, in early January 1965, as South Vietnamese troops, apparently joined by U.S. advisers, rest after a cold, damp and tense night of waiting in an ambush position for a Viet Cong attack that didn't come. One hour later, as the possibility of an*

*overnight attack by the Viet Cong disappeared, the troops moved out for another long, hot day hunting the elusive communist guerrillas in the jungles.* Photograph. AP Images. January 9, 1965. Accessed May 18, 2020.

<http://www.apimages.com/metadata/Index/Watchf-AP-I-VNM-APHS650109-Vietnam-War/78115aac1f58467ab4f11d14a756cfac/1/1>.

We were able use this image on our website to show the situation in Vietnam. The vast expanse of trees represents the guerrilla warfare and the foreign nature of the Vietnam War.

Finman, Ted. "Prof Ted Finman Makes a Statement." *The Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), October 19, 1967.

In this newspaper article, Professor Ted Finman explained his stance on the situation, claiming that the UW did not make the right decision to call the police on to campus. He explains the failure of the university to find other options.

Fox, Matthew. "Faculty Backs Sewell's Use of Riot Policemen." *The Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), October 20, 1967.

By a vote of 681-378, the faculty condemned the actions taken by the Dow chemical protesters. This article conveys the motives behind the faculty's decisions. The source especially illustrates the surprising lack of support for the protest movement on campus.

Gates, Kenneth. "Vietnam Oral History Project interview with Kenneth A. Gates in Becker." Minnesota Historical Society. Last modified January 9, 2018. Accessed May 18, 2020. <http://collections.mnhs.org/cms/display.php?irn=11539863#transcript>.

This source illuminates the fear that the soldiers in Vietnam faced. It gives a detailed explanation of the war itself from the perspective of a soldier.

Giese, Heiner. Dow Riot Crowd. October 18, 1967. Photograph. Accessed January 30, 2020. <https://1967.wisc.edu/photography/>.

This photo shows a crowd gathering around police officers who are hitting students with their billy clubs. The photo helped us understand the magnitude of the crowd at the gathering.

Gould, Whitney. "Why They Are Striking." *Capital Times* (Madison, WI), October 20, 1967.

This source gives a comprehensive report of the protest and people's opinions. Within the source, there are many quotes of students who expressed their opinion of the

campus' situation. Additionally, as the title suggests, the source explains the reason that the protest broke out.

Gribble, Roger A. "UW Protest Group Ban." *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, WI).

The University of Wisconsin Senate voted to ban the SDS, Students of a Democratic Society, by a margin of 19-11. The vote indicates the polarization on campus between those students who opposed the war and those who supported it. The SDS was a vital group in organization of protests and the decision had a lasting impact on the war movement on UW-Madison campus.

Hanson, Ralph E. *The Dow Placement Interviews and Police Operations*. Madison, WI, 1967.

This report was published six days before the Dow Riots took place by Ralph Hanson, the UW Police Chief. In the report, Hanson outlines the possible penalties that protesters could face if they chose to participate. The preemptive report shows how tense the political environment was on the UW campus at that time. This source furthered our knowledge of the University's disciplinary actions.

Heine, Skip. University of Wisconsin Police Patrol the Commerce Building Corridors Just before the Student Demonstrators Marched into the Building to Protest Job Recruiting of Students by the Dow Chemical Co. October 18, 1967. Photograph. Wisconsin Historical Society.

This image displays UW police patrolling the Commerce Building before the demonstration began. The image amplifies the idea that the UW was prepared for a confrontation, setting the stage for the riots.

Huet, Henri. American Infantrymen Searching the Trees for Viet Cong Sniper. 1967. Photograph. Accessed February 2, 2020.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/19/arts/design/vietnam-war-new-york-historical-society-.html>.

We were able to utilize this image on our website to help portray the poor conditions in Vietnam. The image gives us insight into what the student protesters were objecting to. As students they were at risk of being taken off the draft and fighting in the war.

*Join your Fellow Students, Faculty Members & T.A.'s in a Strike*. Madison, WI, 1967.

This pamphlet, which was handed out to faculty members and T.A.'s, explains the students' objections to the administration's handling of the event. It both explained their

objection to police brutality and also disagreed with the University's "policy" of putting corporate interests above student safety.

Lenberg, Normen. *Pulling down Flag from Bascom*. October 18, 1967. Photograph. Accessed February 2, 2020.

[https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/education/university/photos-look-back-at-historic-dow-chemical-anti-vietnam-war/collection\\_ac29edf2-674e-584b-998c-ad64a88da0e5.html#5](https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/education/university/photos-look-back-at-historic-dow-chemical-anti-vietnam-war/collection_ac29edf2-674e-584b-998c-ad64a88da0e5.html#5).

This image shows a student after he took down a US flag on Bascom Hill. This is a significant photo because it highlights that students and citizens believed that they should not follow our country blindly through war, a major point on our website.

Levy, Marvin. "1,700 Protest Police on Campus." *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, WI).

In this article, for *The Wisconsin State Journal*, Mr. Levy reported that over 1,700 students came out to protest the police presence on the campus following the Dow Chemical demonstration. The article describes the aftermath of the Dow Riot and shows the immensity of the protest.

Madison Police Drag a Protester from Her Spot during the Height of Wednesday's Rioting. Photograph.

This photo depicts police officers dragging a woman out of her spot during the Dow Chemical Riots. The photo conveys the gravity of these riots.

Meloon, Robert. "High Court Upholds Dow Riot Penalties." *The Capital Times* (Madison, WI), February 14, 1969.

Five people were arrested after another protest in 1969. The source illustrates the continual problems of protest plaguing the University of Wisconsin throughout the 60s. The protest movement did not immediately dissipate due to the staunch response by the university and the government.

———. "Legislators Demand Stiff Penalties for Protesters." *Capital Times* (Madison, WI), October 19, 1967.

After the Dow Chemical Protests, people became outraged at both the students and the police. The document represents the Assembly's stance on the action taken by the students. The source demonstrates the division between students and the administration.

Merron, Richard. A Suspected Viet Cong Is Kicked by a South Vietnamese Soldier in October 1965. Photograph. AP Images. October 21, 1965. Accessed May 15, 2020.

<http://www.apimages.com/metadata/Index/Watchf-AP-I-VNM-APHS431504-Vietnam-War/4ea74b62f6a84eb48db9aa4f40ece3da/3/0>.

This photo shows a Viet Cong person being kicked in the head by a soldier. The photo helped us visualize the violence of the Vietnam War.

*The Monona Causeway*. 1967. Photograph. Accessed February 1, 2020.

[https://madison.com/from-the-air-see-bird-s-eye-views-of-madison/article\\_4de1b2ed-bb2a-5041-a2f8-a8ba957e772f.html](https://madison.com/from-the-air-see-bird-s-eye-views-of-madison/article_4de1b2ed-bb2a-5041-a2f8-a8ba957e772f.html).

In Madison, lots of change was occurring during the 1960s. The construction of new infrastructure was a major project carried out by the City of Madison at that time. This image helped show us the change in Madison during the Vietnam War.

*Monroe Evening Times* (Madison, WI). "Faculty Backs Get-Tough Plan following Riots." October 20, 1967.

The faculty supported Sewell through his decision to bring police onto campus. The source exemplifies the climate around the responses to the protest as votes were tallied and decisions were made. The source also gives a brief understanding of what happened during the protest.

Moorman, Jane D. Letter to Trittipo, Mrs., November 1, 1967. UW Madison-Wisconsin Archives, Madison.

Addressed to the mother of one of the students in the protest, the administration explained the incident at the campus to parents. The source clearly expresses the opinion of the university that the protest was disruptive, but also shows the administration's attempt to mask the police brutality.

Patrick, J.D. *Students study while protesting Dow Chemical on campus in October 1967*.

Photograph. State Journal Archives. October 1967. Accessed May 18, 2020.

[https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/education/university/photos-look-back-at-historic-dow-chemical-anti-vietnam-war-protests-at-uw-madison/collection\\_ac29edf2-674e-584b-998c-ad64a88da0e5.html#18](https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/education/university/photos-look-back-at-historic-dow-chemical-anti-vietnam-war-protests-at-uw-madison/collection_ac29edf2-674e-584b-998c-ad64a88da0e5.html#18).

The image shows two students studying while protesting the Vietnam War. The source shows the calmness of the protest at points. The students were even able to relax while spreading their message.

Phan, Cat. "Untitled." Video, 21:04. 1967. *UW-Madison Archives*. Accessed May 21, 2020.

This video includes nearly half an hour of black and white footage of the Dow Chemical Protests. These videos illustrate the feelings and emotion in the protest. The



audio in the footage shows the student's anger with the government and the University of Wisconsin. We were able to use the film on our website to show the reader the violence within the protest. This footage opened our eyes to new perspectives and overall tied together the complexity of our project.

Platkin, Sally. "Recruiting at Commerce Meets Quiet Opposition." *The Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), October 18, 1967.

This article gives a perspective on the student's point of view of the protest. The Daily Cardinal was a student run organization, and they represented the protest in a good light, explaining the causes and success of the protest.

Police and Protesters Face to Face. October 18, 1967. Photograph. Wisconsin Historical Society.

This photograph shows a tense moment between police in riot gear and a protester face to face. The emotion that this photo exudes displayed to us how intense the riots were.

Police and Protesters Struggle. October 18, 1967. Photograph.

This photo depicts police and protesters confronting each other. The photo conveyed raw emotions that displayed how tense the protests were.

A Police Officer Hits a Student Protester with a Billy Club during the Dow Protest. October 18, 1967. Photograph. *Wisconsin State Journal*. Accessed February 2, 2020.  
[https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/education/university/photos-look-back-at-historic-dow-chemical-anti-vietnam-war/collection\\_ac29edf2-674e-584b-998c-ad64a88da0e5.html#7](https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/education/university/photos-look-back-at-historic-dow-chemical-anti-vietnam-war/collection_ac29edf2-674e-584b-998c-ad64a88da0e5.html#7).

This photo shows a protester being brutally hit by the police. The image served as a good representation of the protest because it showed the brutality, conflict, and chaos of the situation.

Police Smoking. October 18, 1967. Photograph.

This photo shows the chaotic mess of police, students, and presumably University officials standing in a crowded doorway.

Pommer, Matt. "Police Rout Protesters; Use Tear Gas and Clubs." *The Capital Times* (Madison, WI), October 18, 1967.

The clash between police and students resulted in almost a hundred injuries. The source describes the protest and the force used to disperse the protest. Specifically, the

article outlines the actions taken by both sides throughout the course of the October 18th protest.

"Report and Resolution of the University Committee-Madison Presented as a Statement to the Special Faculty Meeting, Session of October 19th, 1967." October 23, 1967. Wisconsin Historical Society.

This document addressed to the UW faculty by UW officials clearly laid out the University's position on the Dow Chemical protest of 1967: the students were told that they would be punished for their actions before the protests, and now they must be punished. The letter gave us a deeper understanding of the battle between the students and the University regarding student rights.

*Resolution X.* Madison, WI, 1968.

The resolution explains the decisions reached by the University and the students in order to prevent the situation at UW-Madison from happening again. Unfortunately, it is clear that these actions were unsuccessful in halting the radical protest movement.

Roger Turner, L. Henry Haslach Jr. Outlines Demonstration Plans at Bascom Hall Rally Wednesday. Photograph. Wisconsin Historical Society.

This image shows the huge gathering of people before the riots began, demonstrating how much opposition there was against Dow Chemical.

Scotton, James F., comp. *A Report on the Anti-Dow Protests on the Madison Campus of the University of Wisconsin on October 17-18, 1967.* Madison, WI, n.d.

This report provides a detailed summary of what happened on October 18th in Madison, Wisconsin.

Selk, James D. "Guard Won't Be Called to Campus Melee-Yet." *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, WI), October 19, 1967.

As the news of the disturbances on campus spread throughout the state, a decision was made to withhold the National Guard. The decision contributed to the climate of the anti-war movement as the government refused to get too involved in the matter.

Silber, Glenn, Barry Brown, WKOW, WMTV, and WISC. "Vietnam archives television newsfilm (VNA 16)." Video, 17:26. Wisconsin Historical Society. 1967. Accessed May 21, 2020. [https://whs.aviaryplatform.com/collections/15/collection\\_resources/24983](https://whs.aviaryplatform.com/collections/15/collection_resources/24983).

This reel of film includes segments of the Dow Chemical Protests in black and white silent film. It helped us visualize the protests, showing the police's use of force and

the student's pushback. The film gives an unbiased image of what happened at the protest.

*State Capitol Letter* (Madison, WI), November 2, 1967.

This letter explained the problems being examined by the University of Wisconsin, like the use of force and obstruction by the students. The source reveals both sides of the conflict over the situation with the student protesters.

Students Flee from Police Officers Spreading Tear Gas outside the Commerce Building (now Ingraham Hall) at a Protest against Dow Chemical. October 18, 1967. Photograph.

This photo shows the police using tear gas against the protesters. This was the first use of tear gas on a campus in the US, proving to be a significant moment.

Students for a Democratic Society. "Why Demonstrate Against Dow?" Wisconsin Historical Society.

This document is a call to action against the University allowing Dow Chemical to come onto campus. Reading historical documents from the leaders of the movement provided us an inside look at their thought processes and arguments at the time.

*SYND 17-4-72 VICTIMS OF NAPALM ATTACKS TREATED AT THE BARSKY UNIT, SAIGON.* Produced by AP Television. 1972.

This video displays the horrors of Napalm. The footage expresses the true impacts of the chemical and a greater understanding of its impacts.

*Taunting Police.* October 18, 1967. Photograph. Accessed February 2, 2020.

[https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/education/university/photos-look-back-at-historic-dow-chemical-anti-vietnam-war/collection\\_ac29edf2-674e-584b-998c-ad64a88da0e5.html#3](https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/education/university/photos-look-back-at-historic-dow-chemical-anti-vietnam-war/collection_ac29edf2-674e-584b-998c-ad64a88da0e5.html#3).

This photo shows protesters and police clashing during the Dow Riot. The facial expressions of the protesters show their anger.

*Ted Kennedy.* Photograph. Accessed February 1, 2020.

<http://peacecorpsonline.org/messages/messages/2629/2063360.html>.

This image shows Senator Ted Kennedy, who was heckled out of the University of Wisconsin because of his affiliation with the government. The incident led to a change in UW-Madison policy.

*Ted Kennedy.* Photograph. October 27, 1966. Digital file.

When Ted Kennedy came to Wisconsin in 1966, he was met with anti-war protesters. This image shows the stark contrast between Kennedy's cheerful smile and anti-war protesters holding signs up behind him at the podium. This image sends a powerful message of what the political environment was like at the time.

Turner, L. Roger. *UW Students in the Fall of 1967 Protest the Makers of Napalm*. Photograph. Wisconsin State Journal. Accessed February 1, 2020.  
[https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/education/university/photos-look-back-at-historic-dow-chemical-anti-vietnam-war/collection\\_ac29edf2-674e-584b-998c-ad64a88da0e5.html#14](https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/education/university/photos-look-back-at-historic-dow-chemical-anti-vietnam-war/collection_ac29edf2-674e-584b-998c-ad64a88da0e5.html#14).

This photo shows a group of protesters demonstrating against Dow Chemical. It helped us see the magnitude and prominence of the protest against Dow.

*Unknown* (Madison, WI). "Varda on U.W. Demonstrations."

This short snippet from a newspaper demonstrates the tensions as a result of the protest. It explains the ideals of the university and how they conflicted with the actions taken by the administration. The source gave us a clear understanding of why the students were disturbed by the police brutality.

U.S. Air Force. F-100D of the 352nd Tactical Fighter Squadron dropping a napalm bomb near Bien Hoa, South Vietnam. Super Sabres could carry an impressive array of weapons, including high explosive bombs, napalm, rockets, cluster bombs and even the guided Bullpup missile. Photograph. Digital file.

This source displays a fighter squadron dropping napalm bombs in Vietnam. It helps visualize the situation.

*Using Clubs*. October 18, 1967. Photograph.

[https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/education/university/photos-look-back-at-historic-dow-chemical-anti-vietnam-war/collection\\_ac29edf2-674e-584b-998c-ad64a88da0e5.html#1](https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/education/university/photos-look-back-at-historic-dow-chemical-anti-vietnam-war/collection_ac29edf2-674e-584b-998c-ad64a88da0e5.html#1).

This photo shows police officers using their clubs to hit protesters. This photo made it even more clear to us how they used their power in unfair ways.

*US Marines; Da Nang Air Base*. 1965. Photograph.

<https://www.britannica.com/event/Vietnam-War/The-United-States-enters-the-war>.

This photo of American soldiers helped show the environment American soldiers entered when they were shipped to Vietnam.

Ut, Nick. A Napalm Bomb Explodes as Soldiers Watch. Photograph. Digital file.

This photo shows the magnitude of napalm explosions.

———. *Napalm Girl*. 1972. Photograph. Accessed February 1, 2020.

<http://www.apimages.com/Collection/Landing/Photographer-Nick-Ut-The-Napalm-Girl/ebfc0a860aa946ba9e77eb786d46207e>.

*Napalm Girl* illustrates the horrific impacts that napalm had on the civilians of Vietnam. The famous image helped us understand the motives for the Dow Chemical Protest, by representing the horrific consequences of the war.

A UW Hospital Nurse and Her Daughter Picket Dow Chemical on Oct. 17, 1967. Photograph.

The Wisconsin State Journal. Accessed February 1, 2020.

[https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/education/university/photos-look-back-at-historic-dow-chemical-anti-vietnam-war/collection\\_ac29edf2-674e-584b-998c-ad64a88da0e5.html](https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/education/university/photos-look-back-at-historic-dow-chemical-anti-vietnam-war/collection_ac29edf2-674e-584b-998c-ad64a88da0e5.html).

This photo depicted a mom holding her daughter with a sign that read "Vietnamese moms don't want their kids napalmed." The image amplifies the sentiment of the time and shows that not only college students took part in the protest.

Vicki Gabriner, in Costume as Part of a Protest, Was One of the First People Arrested during the Dow Riots on the UW-Madison Campus in 1967. October 18, 1967. Photograph.

Accessed February 2, 2020.

[https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/education/university/photos-look-back-at-historic-dow-chemical-anti-vietnam-war/collection\\_ac29edf2-674e-584b-998c-ad64a88da0e5.html#7](https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/education/university/photos-look-back-at-historic-dow-chemical-anti-vietnam-war/collection_ac29edf2-674e-584b-998c-ad64a88da0e5.html#7).

This photo shows a protester being dragged by police officers to be arrested. The image shows the pain the students endured in order to spread their message.

Weiss, Fred. "UW Student Group Deplores Protesters." *The Morning Mail*.

The students at Dow chemical called out the use of the inhumane weapon, napalm. The source gave insight into the students point of view. We learned that the students found the repercussions of the protest went against their rights as students and citizens.

*Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, WI). "After a Warning, the Clubs Swing."

This eyewitness report written by John Gruber explains the series of the events of the demonstration and the police brutality. The article describes the excessive use of force by the police, examples of people being dragged and beaten, while crying.

*Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, WI). "Governor Pledges Order for Campus." February 25, 1967.

"I will see the law is strictly and firmly enforced." - Governor Knowles. Governor Knowles commented on his support for the University, pledging that the problem would be solved. The source shows the local government's view on actions taken against the federal government.

*Wisconsin State Journal*. "Grad Student Views Riot, Urges Action."

Although many students supported the actions of the protesters, there was also opposition. This opinion piece by a grad student indicates the point of view of a person in support of the university. The student saw the actions of the protesters as unwarranted and unconstitutional. The source expresses the complex nuances of the topic.

*Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, WI). "13 Protesters Suspended; UW Class Boycott Fizzles." October 20, 1967.

As a continuation of the protest, students decided to skip classes the following day. The source represents the change in mindset of the students as they became less scared to protest. With 13 students kicked off campus, however, only the most dedicated protesters remained.

*Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, WI). "The UW Faculty Has Been Challenged to Support Higher Education." October 23, 1967, sec. 1, 10.

The Wisconsin faculty were referred to as the most powerful in the country. The article explains the importance of the decisions made by the faculty at the UW-Madison.

*Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, WI). "UW 'Permitted' Violence, Protesters' Lawyer Claims." October 20, 1967, sec. 1, 4.

A reporter for the Wisconsin State Journal said that a protester's lawyer was claiming that the UW permitted violence against protesters. The protester claimed that by letting the police use nightsticks, they were inciting violence. Protesters and UW officials argued over who was to blame for the violence. The source exemplifies the reasoning behind the protesters' view.

*Wisconsin State Journal* (Waukesha, WI). "UW President Blames Violence on Protesters."

This article reported that the UW President Fred Harrington blamed protesters for inciting violence during the Dow Demonstrations. The document presented another side to the debate on who started the violence. The UW and the students were simultaneously blaming each other for beginning the riot.

*Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, WI). "UW Warning against Disruptive Protesting." October 17, 1967, sec. 1, 6.

In a *Wisconsin State Journal* article that was published the day before the 'Dow Riot,' the University stated that it would not hesitate to discipline students if they obstructed the Dow Chemical interviews. This source gives us a deep understanding of the barrier of fear that the protesters had to overcome by participating in the Dow Chemical protests.

*Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, WI). "What Do YOU Say? About Campus Disorder at UW?" October 27, 1967.

The source represents the public opinion of the protest. One section in particular explains the willing arrest of the students. The source shows the protesters' resilience and their dedication to the movement. Unlike what ensued at the protest, students were willing to be arrested peacefully.

Wolf, John, and Heiner Giese. A student carrying books, perhaps on his way to or from classes, comes upon a scene of police officers attempting to handcuff a demonstrator. Photograph. Wisconsin Historical Society.

This photo demonstrates the brutal force used by police officers on demonstrators. It helped us visualize the chaos that happened during the riot.

Young Socialist Alliance. *Expel the Warmakers -- Not Students*. Madison, WI: Young Socialist Alliance, n.d.

This pamphlet clearly laid out the demands and sentiment of the students following the protest. Additionally, the pamphlet brought to light the misinformation spread by the media about the police's use of force. The primary source helps us understand how the students felt and what they planned to do to make it right.

Zweifel, Dave. "Doyle Wants Time for Legal Move: Orders No Action against Protesters." *Madison Capital Times* (Madison, WI), October 26, 1967.

A week following the protest, the university administrators ordered an end to expulsion of students without a trial. The source expresses the shift in the sentiment within the administration.

## Primary Source Interviews

Funk, Gilbert. Video Conference interview by Aidan Dresang and Simon Kissel. Madison, WI. May 11, 2020.

Gil Funk enlisted in the Air Force as an electrician in 1961, and one year before his service ended in 1964, he was deployed at an airbase in Thailand. Mr. Funk illuminates the perspective of a Vietnam War veteran. His thoughts on the war changed drastically after returning home, which shows the blind patriotism prevalent at the time. He even discarded his uniform in order to further himself from the experience. The interview illustrates the growing distrust against the government in the 1960s and into the 1970s.

Risser, Fred, Senator. Telephone interview by Aidan Dresang and Simon Kissel. Madison, WI. November 20, 2019.

Fred Risser was in the legislature at the time of the Dow protests. In our interview with him, he provided us with the state government's point of view on the matter. He talked about how the legislature condemned the behavior but no big laws were passed in the wake of the incident.

Smoller, Jeff. Interview by Aidan Dresang and Simon Kissel. Madison, WI. January 3, 2020.

Jeff Smoller was a journalist at the time of the Dow Chemical protests. The interview proved to be very helpful as he challenged us to rethink some of our views of the demonstrations. He talked about the subject as a journalist, with a fairly unbiased opinion on whether or not the police overstepped their boundaries. The interview helped us reshape how we thought about what barriers we claim the protesters broke.



## Secondary Sources

Brown, Barry Alexander, prod. *The War at Home*. 1979. N.p.: Wisconsin Public Television, 1979. DVD.

The documentary *The War At Home* explains the overarching context and impact of the Dow Chemical Protests of 1967. *The War At Home* also sheds light upon the impact of the intense police brutality brought against the protesters and how it shaped the protest movement following protests in Madison, Wisconsin. Additionally, the documentary provides spectacular visuals of the protests.

Clifford, Behnke C. "'Anti-Dow' Protesters Plan New Sit-In at UW." *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, WI), February 22, 1967.

This article gives a good overview of the events on October 18th. Reading this gave us more context of what happened during the Dow Chemical protests.

Kennedy, Robert. *An Unwinnable War*. Ipswich, MA: Salem Press, a division of EBSCO Information Services, 1968.  
<http://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=23&sid=77d345ed-1050-4c8d-b169-31500353083a%40sessionmgr4006>.

Taken from a collection of Vietnam War documents, Robert Kennedy's speech explained the United States' chances at winning the war. He expressed his opinions on the war and factually and persuasively showed the chances of success in Vietnam. His ideas represented the sentiment of anti-war protesters throughout the United States.

Levitan, Stuart D. *Madison in the Sixties*. Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2018.

Levitan's book outlines the major events in Madison one decade at a time. This detailed timeline gave us a great understanding of the events leading up to and following the Dow demonstrations. Not only does the book provide us with context, but it explains what happened during the protests in depth. The book had a major impact on shaping our project.

Maraniss, David. *They Marched into Sunlight: War and Peace in Vietnam and America, October 1967*. New York: Simon & Schuster Audio, 2003.

*They Marched Into Sunlight* was a source we used in order to get an understanding of the protest. Although we later interviewed the author, the book gave an in depth explanation of the complexities of the topic. The book details the protest movement and tells a moving story about the Vietnam War. The book helped give us an outline for our research.

Neer, Robert M. *Napalm: An American Biography*. Cambridge, Massachusetts ; London: Belknap Press, 2013.

The book on napalm shows the implications of dropping napalm on foreign territory. Beginning with its invention, the book explains the reasons for napalm's use and explains why the students began to protest. Napalm became a symbol for rallying against the war throughout the United States and the book helped us understand why.

Perry, Tony. "Military Marks End of Its Napalm Supply." *Chicago Tribune*. Last modified April 5, 2001. Accessed May 11, 2020.

<https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-2001-04-05-0104050197-story.html>.

After years of fighting, napalm did not fully disappear from the United States. It was not until 2001 that the last of the US Napalm's supply was discarded. The source shows the evasiveness of the protester's end goal. It was not until the 21st century that the Vietnam war era legitimately came to an end.

Thoreau, Henry. *Aesthetic Papers*. Edited by Elizabeth Peabody. New York, NY, 1849.

A section of this book defined the need for civil disobedience. Thoreau talks about the need for civil disobedience to be on the right side of history. This definition helped us understand the mentality behind the Dow Chemical Protesters.

*Two Days in October*. Produced by Robert Kenner. American Experience, 2017. Accessed June 20, 2019. <https://www.pbs.org/video/two-days-in-october-hnciet/>.

Through the lens of many interviewees involved in the Dow Chemical Company Protests, this documentary explores the Vietnam War and the mindset of the public during the war. The documentary dives into the logical causes of the public's view on the war, and shows the change in the mindset over time. The documentary introduces all the different sides and backgrounds, painting a clearer picture of why people were protesting and why others condemned the protests.

Ward, Geoffrey C., and Ken Burns. *The Vietnam War*. Unabridged. ed. United States: Random House, 2017.

The book that stemmed from Ken Burn's documentary on the Vietnam War provided us with context for the war and further evidence that the Vietnam war protests were the first of its kind during war.

Wisconsin State Journal. An Aerial View of the East End of the UW Campus. 1960s. Photograph. Accessed January 31, 2020.

[https://madison.com/gallery/archives/topics/misc/aerial-views-of-madison/collection\\_7fb5c16-b23f-11e1-b3b2-0019bb2963f4.html#8](https://madison.com/gallery/archives/topics/misc/aerial-views-of-madison/collection_7fb5c16-b23f-11e1-b3b2-0019bb2963f4.html#8).

This photo is of the east end of the UW campus in the 1960s, around the time of the Dow Chemical Protests.

Worland, Gayle. "50 Years Ago, 'Dow Day' Left Its Mark on Madison." *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, WI), October 8, 2003. Accessed June 25, 2019.

[https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/education/university/years-ago-dow-day-left-its-mark-on-madison/article\\_47f7dc75-e30a-5a16-8cf1-044eebc66f18.html](https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/education/university/years-ago-dow-day-left-its-mark-on-madison/article_47f7dc75-e30a-5a16-8cf1-044eebc66f18.html).

Looking back on the event 50 years later, this *Wisconsin State Journal* article observes and reflects on the UW Dow Chemical protests. Laying out the event from the beginning to the end, the article gives a broad view of the event that helped us comprehend the significance of the protests.

## Secondary Source Interviews

Dresang, Dennis. Interview by the author. Madison, WI. August 31, 2019.

Dennis Dresang, Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Public Affairs, gave us a context for the protests, the thinking behind how officials acted during the riot, and the impacts of the protest. As an active member of the community in Madison following the protests, Dresang became friends with people who were closely connected to the riots, like UW Police Chief Ralph Hanson. He gave us insight into Hanson's thinking and detailed how he regretted how he acted that day. Although he didn't attend the demonstrations, Dresang gave us a unique look on the topic and helped us shape our project into what it is today.

Levitan, Stuart. Interview by Aidan Dresang and Simon Kissel. Madison, WI. January 5, 2020.

Stuart Levitan, a well known historian, provided us with details of what happened during the Dow demonstrations and the implications that they had on Madison today. He emphasized that the students believed that they were being the patriotic ones by protesting the war. Levitan's deep understanding of Madison allowed him to make connections between the protest and events that would happen years after. This interview was incredibly helpful to our project. The ideas and research that Levitan shared with us allowed us to approach our topic from completely new angles.

Maraniss, David. Interview by the author. Madison, WI. October 5, 2019.

David Maraniss, the Pulitzer Prize winning author and journalist for the Washington Post, began his studies at the UW-Madison in 1967. He was a student and experienced the protest, but after he left the university, he delved into research, writing a book explaining the protest. The interview with Mr. Maraniss helped us understand the topic as a whole. He gave us insight into the premonitions of different groups of people and he helped us understand the lasting impact of the protest.