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Movements, Music, and Meaning: A Comparative Analysis of Cultural Narratives In Vietnam Era and Post-9/11 Anti-War Music

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Movements, Music, & Meaning:
A Comparative Analysis of Cultural Narratives In
Vietnam Era and Post-9/11 Anti-War Music

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Abstract

This thesis examines the presence of widely circulating cultural narratives in the lyrics of approximately eighty anti-war songs from the Vietnam and post-9/11 eras. Unlike prior movements and music research, this thesis privileges culture over movements and views movements as *cultural antennae* both picking up on trends and cultural narratives, and broadcasting their own altered cultural meanings back into the "cultural airways." It sees music as a cultural medium which acquires cultural meanings from its surroundings, alters those meanings, synthesizes new ones, and perpetuates old ones. Drawing on comparative and narrative analysis approaches informed by grounded theory techniques, this thesis finds evidence for a major shift over time from a focus on death and destruction and a countercultural vision to a focus on government mistrust and global anti-imperialism.

Table of Contents

Table of Figures

I.   Chapter1: Introduction

Social movement anti-war activity is nothing new; active anti-war movements have been associated with virtually every military conflict in U.S. History (Gottfried, 2006). Arguably one of the most historically significant and culturally memorable, however, was the Anti-Vietnam war movement of the 1960s, which, along with the Civil Rights Movement, managed to define an entire generation (Eyerman and Jamison 1998). Yet anti-war protesting didn't end with 60s, nor did it cease with the with the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. Instead, it evolved into the anti-nuclear movement of the 1980s, and it lives on today with organizations such as Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans against the War, and Code Pink. However, the anti-war movement, like many contemporary social movements, has changed significantly since the 1960s, becoming less centralized, and less organizationally driven (Dani 2003). Organizations still matter, to be sure, but organizational memberships likely only account for a fraction of the larger anti-war community. With the rise of social media, it is possible and perhaps likely that people who support social movement organizations do so in more passive or indirect ways (Dani 2003).

A defining characteristic of the Vietnam era anti-war movement was its close relationship to music (Eyerman and Jamison 1998). Anti-war music was the primary cultural manifestation of the movement and its ideas, and acted as the soundtrack for protest and other countercultural activities. It was created and altered within, and in response to, social movements and the ideas they generated, and was used by social movements to generate support and motivate action (Eyerman and Jamison 1998; Rosenthal and Flacks 2010). Music has long been a central feature of many social movements, and this is true for the contemporary anti-war movement as well (Haynes, 2008).

Music and social movements alike may be seen as cultural conduits, both embedded in culture and reflecting its narratives. Movements are liminal spaces which are not only rooted and

situated in their historical and cultural contexts, but are also flush with possibility, deeply critical of status quo, looking toward and pushing for an alternate future. This means that they not only act as spaces of cultural transformation (Eyerman and Jamison 1998), but that they also act as windows into culture, offering researchers a unique glimpse into cultural narratives and the meaning underlying them. In short, if we really want to understand culture, we need to look at the movements trying to change it. Music, like movements, is situated in its social, cultural, and historical context, yet it is a tangible product that lends itself to sociological analysis. Music and songs, specifically anti-war songs, provide a unique viewpoint from which to analyze culture as a method for uncovering otherwise taken-for-granted cultural narratives present not only in social movements, but in society more broadly. It is those cultural narratives present in Vietnam era and post-9/11 era anti-war music that this project hopes to highlight and analyze.

A.   Statement of Problem

Recent trends in Social Movement Studies have led to a greater interest in the cultural and emotive aspects of Movements, and by extension, the movement-music relationship. Although this research spans a wide variety of disciplines and sub-disciplines such as: Social Movement Studies (Rosenthal and Flacks 2012, Rosenthal, 2003; Collin, 2013); The Sociology of Music (Denisoff, 1969,1970,1972; Glenn 1989; Brooks, 2013; Horstall, 2013; Roy, 2002); Cultural Sociology (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998; Eyerman 2002; Eyerman and Barretta 1996; Roy, 2010a, 2010b); Cultural Studies (Bannister, 2010; Kalyan,2006); Musicology (Weissman, 2010); and Communications (Gehrke, 2009; Haynes, 2008), it has tended to focus on the heyday of the music-movement relationship during the 1930s and 1960s. This focus, combined with a lack of systematic comparative analysis, has led many scholars to neglect contemporary music and movements (For exceptions see Haynes, 2008; Eyerman, 2002). This thesis, involving a comparative analysis of anti-war music from the Vietnam and Post 9/11 ears, not only offers a

2

new perspective on the changing movement-music relationship over time, but also sheds new light on the contemporary anti-war movement, which, even independent of its relationship with music, has received relatively little scholarly attention (Swank and Fahs, 2011).

In recent years, Sociology broadly, and Social Movement Studies in particular, has experienced what some scholars refer to as the "cultural turn" (Denzin, 2003; Lincoln and Denzin; 2005; 2008), whereby sociologists have begun to recognize culture's powerful role in shaping institutions, identities, and larger social reality. While there has been considerable work on the vital role culture plays in Social Movements (See Polletta, 2008 for overview), much of this literature has been criticized for its overly instrumental view of culture (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998 and Eyerman, 2002).

Other scholars have pointed to a so called "narrative turn" in Sociology (Polletta et al., 2011; Berger and Quinne, 2004) signaling not only a greater acceptance of narrative methodologies, but also an increasing awareness of the role that narratives play in the enactment of social, cultural, and institutional meanings, and in the creation of individual identities. Human beings are "narrative animals" (Bocher, 2002; Loseke, 2012), and narratives helps us *make meaning* of the reality around us. I mean this not only in the sense that narratives act as 'sense making' devices through which we come to understand the world, but also in the sense that narratives actually make the world meaningful. That is, they are one of the primary mechanisms by which we construct things as meaningful and worthy of consideration, esteem, disdain, veneration, destruction, protection, disgust, legitimate power, and all manner of other significance-conferring designations.

With several notable exceptions (See for example: Polletta, 1998; 2006; Davis, 2002; Fine, 1995), this appreciation for narratives has yet to fully make its way into the Social

Movements literature. Furthermore, much narrative research in general, and around movements in particular, has focused on personal and organizational narratives, neglecting the powerful role cultural narratives play in shaping both movement frames and individual identities (Loseke, 2012; Polletta, 2006). While current scholarship places social movements as the locus of study, and attempts to understand how culture and music *relate* to them, a new approach is needed; one which privileges culture as the locus of study, and recognizes the interrelationship between music and movements, and how *both* are embedded in, reflect, and transform, cultural narratives. A comparative narrative approach could help to expose the textual narratives inherent in music which reflect and inform anti-war subcultures in the past and present.

The cultural and narrative "turns," force social movements' scholars to ask new questions about movements, their relationships to culture, and the role narratives play in these relationships. My aim in this work is to expand a sociological understanding of the relationship between songs and social movements by offing a narrative analysis of anti-war music, focusing especially on the cultural (and subcultural) narratives expressed in anti-war songs. Specifically, I analyze the lyrics of anti-war songs from both the Vietnam and Post 9/11 eras to reveal how these songs resist, challenge, and transform the broader cultural narratives surrounding the justification for war.

B.   Research Questions
This study is guided by 2 principle research questions:

1. What cultural narratives are reflected in the lyrical content of anti-war movement music during the Vietnam and Post-9/11 eras?
2. To what extent has the lyrical content, and the cultural narratives reflected in anti-war movement music changed over time?

In order to examine these questions, this thesis analyzes the narrative content of the stories these songs portray both within and between time periods. Songs, especially anti-war

4

songs, are story-telling devices which contain both emotional and political sentiments. As such, they reflect cultural narratives contextualized within a given socio-political climate. Loseke (2012) describes cultural narratives as widely circulating stories that construct symbolic boundaries and collective representations with accompanying categorical constructions that both influence, and are influenced by, meso-level (institutional and organizational) and micro-level (personal) narratives. They are located in "public realms" as social circulating formula stories created by social activists, politicians, and the media "consistently created, modified and challenged" (Loseke 2007:664). Social movements attend to dominant cultural narratives by altering existing formula stories, by authoring alternative narratives and by broadcasting these new/altered stories into the public arena. When expressed in music, a powerfully emotive and cognitive cultural medium, these movement-influenced alter-narratives are potentially able to challenge dominant cultural narratives.

II.   Chapter 2: Literature Review

In this chapter, I discuss the theoretical and empirical literature relevant to my research questions. In part one, I expand on my theoretical framework which draws inspiration from narrative analysis/inquiry and cultural sociology and attempt to better understand the role cultural narratives play in the reproduction of sociocultural meaning both within and outside of social movements. Part two offers an overview of the relevant empirical literature on the relationship between social movements and music.

A.   Culture and Narrative
Sociological definitions of culture have tended to reflect one of two major orientations. Some sociologists, following Durkheim, have located culture in concrete rituals and practices and focused on the manner in which culture ties members of society together around more or less

objective "collective representations" (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998). Others, following Weber have located culture "within human consciousness, as worldviews or cognitive frameworks through which actors organize sense impressions and interpret the world as meaningful" (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998:15). Falling somewhere in between these two orientations, symbolic interactionists have tended to view culture as "emergent and ephemeral" developing in the social interactions of individuals "as a collective accomplishment" that is "fragile and must be continually reaffirmed" (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998:15).

I contend that, far from being mutually exclusive, these definitions each offer valuable insights into culture, and, only in combining them, can we begin to develop a robust understanding of the concept. Following Geertz (1973:5), I understand culture as "webs of significance" that we ourselves have spun. In the Durkheimian sense, these webs predate us, we are born into them and must learn through socialization to navigate them. In the Weberian sense, these webs manifest themselves as worldviews and cognitive frameworks of interpretation that we must draw upon to render our experiences meaningful. Finally, in the interactionist sense, we must not only navigate these webs but constantly spin and re-spin them as we move through the world. For the purposes of this thesis, culture is understood as existing simultaneously in our collective understandings of things, in the internalized cognitive frameworks we employ as we interpret our experiences, and in the concrete products (such as music) we produce and consume.

To stick with Geertz's metaphor, narratives may be understood as the threads and filaments which interlace to form these webs, and, as such, narratives ought to be regarded as fundamental meaning-making and culture (re)producing structures. Human life is storied, and humans are story-telling animals; we make sense of our experiences, actions, interactions, and the actions and lives of others with stories. They are perhaps our primary means of attaching meaning to

things (Bochner, 2002; Loseke, 2012). They are, according to Soluto-Manning (2012), "one of the most broadly employed ways of systematizing world experience. As human beings, we experience our worlds and live our lives by telling stories. It is through narratives that experiences are ordered and permeated with meaning (Bruner 1990)." (Souto-Manning, 2012: 162). This meaning-giving power extends to the highest levels of abstraction as our macrostructural institutions gain their much of their power through taken for granted narratives (Soluto Manning, 2012) and it extends to the deepest reaches of our identities and self-concepts which are largely formed in the stories we tell ourselves and tell others about ourselves (Bochner, 2002). Moreover, narratives not only help (re)create a meaning-full reality, but they help bind us to that reality and set the direction for its development. Having and expressing a shared narrative can obviously bind a group together and aid in the formation of a collective identity, as Fine (2002) suggests, narratives reveal our linked identities and our "linked futures" (238).

What exactly constitutes a narrative? In its simplest form, a narrative is nothing more than a story told about a topic, event, or interaction to an audience by a narrator. Narratives generally have a plot, characters, temporal ordering, and a beginning, middle, and end (Bochner, 2002; Polkinghorne 1988). However, Boje (2001) argues that this definition is still too narrow and excludes many forms of communication which are similar to narratives, but exist in the nascent stage. Boje (2001) refers to these stories as "ante-narratives," which he conceptualizes as: 1) Stories which are *ante* narratives, that is, existing before formal narrative structure has been achieved, or even before a story becomes fully "followable" (2-3). 2) Stories which act as a sort of "ante" (as in poker or other forms of gambling), that is, as a bet you place before the conclusion of the narrative. In this sense, they are forms of "speculative meaning making" (Boje,

2001:1). 3) Stories which direct our attention to the "flow" of storytelling, i.e. the active sense-making which takes place. 4) Stories which actively include the audience in the construction of more formalized narrative meaning, essentially allowing the audience to "fill in" the story's conclusion. 5) Stories which constitute collective-memory-in-process, i.e. the early state collective memory, before it has become solidified, and before the story's plot and resolution have been agreed upon.

Because few songs provide a clear and coherent narrative, with a fully developed plot, characters, resolution etc., Boje's framework reminds us that the meaning of stories is not always found in the text, but in our relationship to/with them. Atkinson and Delamont take this relational element of storytelling one step further and remind us that narratives are "forms of *social action*… [which] are produced and circulated in 'social contexts'" (2006:169). Because narratives, no matter how seemingly personal, are inherently social, they must always be understood not only as forms of social interaction and social meaning making as Boje and Atkinson and Delamont remind us, but also as deeply reflective of their "particular historical, institutional, and intertextual contexts, [including] the background assumptions of storytellers and story hearers as well as the prevailing norms of storytelling…" (Loseke, 2007: 663).

Narratives are *hypercontextual*--they are not only situated historically, culturally, and institutionally, but they are also actively constitutive of the meanings of the particular historical and cultural phenomena they seek to explain. Vindrola-Padros & Johnson (2014) reflects this idea in their analysis of illness narratives, claiming that narratives are flexible enough to

> allow individuals to express their own views about their illness or the care they
> have received by occupying multiple positionalities and discourses… [While] at
> the same time, there are certain events in life, such as illness, and certain contexts,
> such as the hospital, which produce specific narrative types…" [P.1-2]

That is to say, narratives both *reflect* and *affect* the contexts in which they exist. Narratives in

anti-war music are influenced by/reflect two primary contexts: 1) social movements and their frames, and 2) public discourse and its widely circulating formula stories. Songs, therefore, will reflect 1) their movement contexts and the framed meanings those movements produce, 2) their cultural/discursive contexts and the widely circulating formula stories found in the political and media discourse around the war. However, songs not only reflect but also help to constitute meanings in these contexts. For movements, the narrative meaning songs convey not only reflect framing, but contribute to the dialogue within moments from which framing emerges. For culture, songs not only reflect widely circulating formula stories, but also actively contribute to the public discourse around war.

1.   **Formula Stories and Public Discourse**
         Narratives function as socializing frameworks of intelligibility, and as such, they are interwoven with cultural scripts that provide structure and guidance for understanding the self and reality both cognitively and emotionally (Bochner, 2002). A story's very meaningful existence hinges on its ability to ground itself in what sociologists have termed "frames of intelligibility" (Bochner 2002), "widely circulating images," "formula stories", (Loseke, 2007; 2009; 2012), "schema of interpretation" (Schults, 1970) "master-frames" (Snow and Benford, 1992), "primary frameworks" (Goffman, 1976), or "tradition" (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998).

         According to Loseke (2007), narratives are 'good stories' when they are "believable," that is, when they have what Snow and Benford (2000) would call "narrative fidelity," or what Gamson (2006) would call "cultural resonance." In essence, stories are "believable" when they reflect or resonate with an audience's preconceived understandings of the way the world works. One way for stories to achieve this type of believability is to tap into and reflect "widely circulating images," (Loseke, 2007) which are at the heart of what she terms "formula stories" borrowing from Berger (1997).

9

According to Loseke (2012), these commonly circulating images, "help to mediate expectations about experientially unknown worlds and people," essentially these are stories about "types of people," who, although disembodied, are, for better or worse, rendered culturally meaningful (Loseke, 2012a:253). When these circulating stories become understandable/intelligible to large enough audiences they become what Loseke calls "formula stories" (Loseke 2012: 253). Examples of these formula stories abound, but Loseke (2007) points to some classics: 'the standard family,' 'citizen,' 'hardworking American,' 'sexual minority,' 'white trash,' 'immoral sinner,' 'crack baby,' and 'the poor.'

Narrative, like all forms of communication, is inexorably intertwined with social and cultural power relations (Foucault, 1975). The formula stories Loseke and others discuss, therefore, always reflect "macro-level power discourses," and play a huge role in deciding the intuitional, organizational, and societal responses to the 'types of people' represented in them (Loseke, 2012; Souto-Manning, 2012). In this regard, formula stories, reflect (and allow for) what Todd Gitlin, drawing on Raymond Williams and Antonio Gramsci, would call "hegemonic ideology" or "hegemonic discourse," whereby the ideas of the ruling class, as expressed by the government and the media, become regarded as "natural" or as "common sense" (Gitlin, 2003: 10). Coy et al (2008) elaborates on the topic, defining hegemonic discourse as "ways of talking and writing that carry a set of underlying assumptions about how the world does and should work… [and] structure how we think about and discuss the world around us" (163).

In discussing the power of hegemonic discourse (and the difficulty faced by movements attempting to counter that discourse), Gitlin argues,

> In floodlit [i.e. media saturated] society, it becomes extremely difficult, perhaps unimaginable, for an opposition movement to define itself and its world view, to build up an infrastructure of self-generated cultural institutions, outside the dominant culture. [Gitlin, 2003: 3]

This is because hegemonic discourse operates in such a way that even as we seek to critique it, we are forced to use its own language to do so. We must operate inside of its own logic in order for our critiques to be rendered intelligible. This means that for anti-war music to make a meaningful statement about the war, it must often do so using the language of the dominant ideology. Even as anti-war music seeks to critique or counter the formula stories put forth by the media/government it is forced to do so while still remaining within the discursive boundaries drawn around the topic. Because this is the case, we should expect to find evidence of the hegemonic discourse (be it mere language or specific formula stories) in the lyrical content of anti-war songs.

2. Sub-Cultural Narratives and Social Movement Frames

Although formula stories are culturally ubiquitous, Loseke is careful to remind us that culture is not monolithic; it is "not a singular, overarching meaning system" (Loseke, 2007; 2012: 254). There are multiple "thought communities" (Zerubavel 1996), "rival interpretive communities" (Smith and Windels 1997," local cultures" (Holstein and Gubrium 2000), or "ideocultures" (Fine 1995)" (all quoted in Loseke, 2007: 666). Societal consensus is rare, if not impossible, and the majority of meaning is enacted in relation to such "thought communities" and subcultures rather than in relation to society at large.

This becomes especially important when we come to understand social movements as prime examples of these 'thought communities' with their own norms, values, rituals, etc. If the framing and collective identity traditions of social movement studies have taught us anything, it is that social movements often actively attempt to craft interpretive schema for members in the form of collective action frames, and intentionally and unintentionally facilitate the formation of powerful collective identities. In the same way that broad cultural narratives (and hegemonic

discourse) are reflected in music, the meaning work movements engage in (e.g. frames) and the results of that meaning work (i.e. collective identity) inevitably finds expression in the music produced in and around those movements. Because of this, we should expect to find powerful links between movement frames and the meanings expressed in anti-war music.

B.   Social Movements and Music

I have argued that music both reflects and affects its context, and that the contexts relevant to anti-war music are 1) the public discourse around war and 2) anti-war movements and the 'meaning work' they engage in. In order to understand how music is able to both reflect and affect these contexts it is necessary to look at what the literature has to say about the relationship between social movements, music, and culture. In the sections that follow, I provide an overview of the broad themes present within this body of literature.

I begin by looking at some of the ways music has been conceptualized in the movements' literature. Next I discuss music's relationship to emotion, and how this relationship impacts social movements. Then I briefly summarize the three primary schools of thought in the social movements and music tradition. Finally, I wrap my discussion up by attempting to situate this thesis in relation to that literature.

1.   Definitions of Music and Protest Songs

For the purposes of this study I have operationalized "anti-war music" broadly as: songs with at least some lyrical content which is critical of war, the military, or war-related government policy. There is little consensus in the literature, however, over the definition of what is variously referred to as "protest music" (Denisoff 1969; 1970; 1972; Haynes, 2008), "protest songs" (Weissman, 2010), "movement-music" (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998; Eyerman, 2002), or "political music" (Rosenthal and Flacks, 2012; Rosenthal, 2003).

According to Denisoff (1972), a protest song is "a socio-political statement designed to

create an awareness of social problems and which offers or infers a solution which is viewed as deviant in nature." Some scholars have criticized Denisoff's definition for equating protest activity with deviance, and for discussing music as a form of propaganda (Bluestein, 1973). While Denisoff's definition is quite broad, Weissman (2010) argues for a clear distinction between "songs that weigh in on social issues and songs that are written in a deliberate attempt to bring about social change" (Weissman, 2010:171).

Weissman's distinction is an important one. He is correct to assume that there is a very big difference a metal-head listening to MegaDeth's "Foreclosure of a Dream" through headphones at a bus stop, and a group of protestors singing "Solidarity Forever" in unison at an Occupy Wall-Street rally even though both songs deal with issues of class and inequality. This distinction is especially important when one is interested in the empirical and verifiable links between music and social movements, as is the case for Weissman and others. While still relevant, this distinction is somewhat less important in a study such as this one which focuses on the meanings present in music, and simply argues that we are likely to see evidence of social movement "meaning work" (Snow and Benford, 1988) in anti-war music, rather than a study which tries to establish a direct and casual relationship between movements and music.

Other scholars, such as Rosenthal and Flacks, while affirming the distinction Weissman points to, prefer to refer to these songs as "political music" rather than "protest music" in order to broaden the definition. Because this study does not hinge on Weissman's distinction, I too prefer to call these songs "political music," a term which affirms their contentious nature while leaving their relationship to movements intentionally ambiguous. Rosenthal and Flacks define "political music" as all music which,

> [E]ngenders what C. Wright Mills called a "sociological imagination." It helps
> musickers to see the *social* roots in what might otherwise be felt as *individual*

13

> stories or problems... [F]urther, political music implies, suggests, or openly states that existing arrangements are not natural, normal, or enteral but the result of previous human decisions and arrangements, *and thus susceptible to change*, especially if those in similar position band together to oppose those arrangements. [Rosenthal and Flacks, 2012: 20]

While I appreciate Rosenthal and Flacks poetic (and somewhat idealistic) definition, it can be interpreted in a number of ways (both too broadly and too narrowly) making the concept appear fuzzy. Although I choose to use Rosenthal and Flacks term, I prefer a somewhat simpler definition for the concept such as the one Haynes (2008:1) provides, "songs whose lyrics convey a message which is opposed to a policy or course of action adopted by an authority or by society as an institution."

2.   Music and Emotion
     Although scholars studying social movements and music disagree about many facets of the movement-music relationship, almost all of them highlight and affirm music's affective power. This is nowhere more clearly evidenced than in the discussion of music as a ritual practice in some of the literature (e.g. Brooks 2013; Horstall 2013, Eyerman and Jamison, 1998). Both Brooks and Horstall conclude that music, especially music which is sung or performed collectively, holds incredible emotive power. Brooks analyzed collective singing rituals at protests and rallies and claimed that these activities are powerful sources of what Durkheim referred to collective effervescence, the "we" feeling, or the sense of being part of something bigger than oneself. Moreover, collective singing experiences, according to Brooks, (2013) can act as collective memory anchors which facilitate collective identity formation. Horstall (2013) goes even further and claims that nearly all music, but especially live music, or recorded music listened to en-mass, operates like a ritual, in that it is able not only to produce collective memories, but to connect cultural meanings from the songs themselves, or the listening context, with the emotional experience of participation.

Because social movements scholars tend to be concerned with particular aspects social movements such as "recruitment" and "mobilization," they have tended to echo Brooks and Horstall's claims about music's ability not only to evoke powerful (and potentially motivational) emotions but also to facilitate collective identity formation. According to Rosenthal and Flacks (2012), music can help us express both pre-established and fully emergent identities. This is possible in large part because identity and emotion are mutually reinforcing. The more emotive the experience, the more likely we are to incorporate it into our identity, yet the more an experience resonates with an identity we possess or are cultivating, the more emotive it will likely feel. According to Rosenthal and Flacks,

> this intensity of feeling comes about because the identities that are tied to music -- head banger, gansta, folkie – typically embrace more than just a connection to music. This is musicking's "totalizing" function, creating the feeling that various ideas, ideals, and lifestyles go together. [Rosenthal and Flacks, 2012: 94]

Just like emotion and identify are mutually reinforcing, so too are identity and music: our identity is reinforced by the music we listen to, but it is also understood as part of that identity.

While many of the scholars already discussed approach the music-emotion relationship from an essentially anthropological stance, conceptualizing music as a form of ritual, scholars representing other disciplines have reached similar conclusions about music's affective capabilities. Eighteenth century philosopher, Friedrich Schiller (1965), for instance, discussed art's amazing ability to connect the cognitive and the emotive sides of our selves. A student of Kant, Schiller was deeply concerned with the manner in which Kant's (1981) juxtaposition of man's rational and the instinctual sides amounted to a fracturing of the human spirit. Schiller believed that art had the power to reunite man's instinctive (and emotional) side with his rational side because we experience art as simultaneously emotive and cognitive; we can experience art on a deep, precognitive, and affective level at the same time as we are able to put words to those

feelings at a cognitive level.

Finally, some scholars such as have approached the music-emotion relationship from the perspective of cultural sociology. Eyerman and Jamison (1998:49), for instance, discuss music and emotion in reference to Raymond Williams' (1961:319) concept: "structures of feeling." Rather than arguing that movements *use* music to evoke emotions, Eyerman and Jamison argue that movements act as cultural free spaces in which the routines and scripts ordinarily guiding daily life are somewhat relaxed. Movements, they argue, "help articulate meaning and identity, and engender strong emotional commitment…Within Social Movements actors reinterpret their relation to the world and to others in it" (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998: 162). Music, therefore, is not intrinsically emotive. Rather, political music evokes emotions because it taps into a movement's "feeling structures."

Along the same lines, this thesis, argues that political music evokes emotions not only by tapping into a movement's feeling structures, but also, and perhaps more importantly, by tapping into widely circulating cultural narratives and the symbolic and emotion codes comprising such narratives (Loseke, 2007, 2009, and 2012). Emotions, in this conceptualization, are inexorably intertwined with cultural meanings. Symbolic and emotion codes tell us how we should think and feel about social phenomena. For example, we have a cultural image of what constitutes a 'terrorist,' and attached to this symbolic designation are a series emotion codes which designate 'appropriate' feelings towards such a person (Loseke, 2007). Whereas prior work on music, movements, and emotions has demonstrated beyond a doubt *that* music is emotive, and in some respects *why* it becomes so (i.e. through collective singing rituals, through the identity formation process, etc.) this work aims at showing *how* music, via emotion codes, defines which emotions we should feel, towards whom or what, and why we should feel them.

16

3.   Social Movements and Music: An Overview

Having discussed political music's definition and its relationship to emotions, I will now turn my attention to the social movements and music literature more broadly. Although the literature around the subject is quite diverse, it can be grouped into three predominant characterizations of the movement-music relationship; one which focuses on music's functions within movements (Denisoff, 1969, 1970, 1972; Rosenthal and Flacks, 2012; Rosenthal, 2003; Glenn, 1989); one which views movements as spaces of cultural creativity (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998; Eyerman 2002; Eyerman and Barretta 1996; Collin, 2013); and one which focuses on the effects of a movement's organizational structure on music (Roy, 2010a, 2010b; Denisoff, 1969). Alongside these differing characterizations of the movement-music relationship are divergent views of the locus of music's "meaning." One school of thought situates music's meaning in audience reception, and another situates it in music's cultural and organizational contexts. In the sections that follow, I will begin by summarizing each of these three characterizations. Then, I will shift the conversation to meaning and discuss the two schools of thought represented in the literature as well as the framework this thesis draws upon. Finally, I will discuss some of this literature's limitations, tie up loose ends, and attempt to situate my study within the larger movements and music tradition.

4.   Political Music's Functions within Movements

Although this first line of research draws inspiration from multiple sociological paradigms, it is unified around two fundamental questions: What functions does music fulfill for movements? and How effective is music at fulfilling those roles? Central to this tradition is the notion that movements *use* music, that movements recognize music's potential power, and attempt to harness that power to help accomplish their goals. Thinkers in this tradition proceed from the assumption that music can be a powerful form of culture and that movements *do*

17

attempt to use it. The question, then, is not *if* movements use music, but *how* (i.e. for what purposes) they use it; not if music is powerful, but how successful are movements at harnessing that power? This somewhat functionalistic line of thinking, while still operating behind contemporary scholarship such as Rosenthal and Flacks (2012), can ultimately trace its lineage back to the mid-60s and to Serge Denisoff's prolific writing*s* on the subject.

In an early piece Denisoff (1967) laid out some potential functions which protest music might fulfill for the social movements. First and foremost, he claimed, protest music, may help to "promote ideology and achieve organizational cohesion" (Denisoff, 1969: 427). Although contemporary social movements scholars such as Rosenthal and Flacks (2012) would speak of collective action frames and collective identity rather than ideology and organizational cohesion, they none-the-less affirm Denisoff's main point, namely, that songs can help spread movement ideas and unite people around them.

According to Denisoff, not all political music has the same capacity to fulfill these functions. He differentiates between what he calls "magnetic songs," which, as their name implies, both attract new recruits and solidify current support, and what he calls "rhetorical songs," which simply "point to some social condition, describes the situation, [yet] offer no ideological or organizational solution" (Denisoff, 1969: 438). In many ways this typology mirrors Weissman's distinction between songs that simply "weight in on social issues" and those that are "written in a deliberate attempt to bring about social change" (Weissman, 2010: 171). Denisoff claims, for instance, that Bob Dylan's "Masters of War," offers a critical interpretation of the military-industrial complex, but fails to direct listeners to any real solutions (Denisoff, 1969: 439).

Building on his earlier discussion, Denisoff (1970, 1972) identifies six potential functions

protest songs may carry out for movements: 1) they solicit outside support, 2) they attempt to

recruit new supporters, 3) they promote cohesion and solidarity among supporters, 4) they

reinforce supporters' values, 5) they highlight social problems and discontent 6) they offer

potential solutions to social problems, (Denisoff, 1972: 2-3) (see Glenn, 1989 for a

comprehensive discussion). Although contemporary social movement scholars use somewhat

different language, the functions they describe actually mirror Denisoff's criteria quite well.

Rosenthal (2003), for instance, lays out four functions political music plays in movements:

serving the committed, mobilization, educating the uninformed, and recruitment (see also

Rosenthal and Flacks, 2012).

Rosenthal's first function, "serving the committed," describes music's ability reinforce

supporters' values, build trust/loyalty, foster a sense of commitment, and ultimately aid in the

formation of a collective identity (Rosenthal, 2003; Rosenthal and Flacks, 2012; Collin, 2013).

An important part of this larger function is what Glenn (1989) calls "spirit maintenance."

According to Glenn, supporters get bored, busy, and emotionally exhausted, and music can help

to mitigate these threats and keep spirits high. Not only do movements need to *maintain*

supporters' involvement, they also need to *increase* it. Rosenthal's second function,

"mobilization," reflects this need, and refers to music's ability to help persuade supporters

increase their involvement.

Whereas Rosenthal's first and second functions pertain only to individuals already

involved in movements, his third function, "educating the uninformed," relates to music's ability

to highlight issues and present new 'facts,' and can pertain both to those already involved and to

those outside the movement. It is in this educational capacity that music most closely relates to

movement frames, which attempt to define a social problem and to influence the ways current

and potential supporters think about and respond to that problem (Snow and Benford, 2000). Rosenthal's final function, "recruitment," relates to music's ability to persuade people outside of the movement to become involved (Rosenthal, 2003).

While nearly all of the scholars in this tradition affirm music's ability to affect those *within* a movement, some scholars, such as Denisoff (1969, 1970) and Knupp (1981) are skeptical of music's ability to recruit supporters or affect public opinion. While Rosenthal (2003) admits that it is difficult to prove that music actually 'changes minds,' multiple studies provide compelling evidence that, for at least some people, some of the time, music is capable not only of highlighting issues but also of actively pushing them toward movement participation (Rosenthal, 2003; Rosenthal and Flacks, 2012; Glenn, 1989; Collin, 2013). Unlike the functionalist inspired school of thought I just discussed, the second major school of thought with regards to movements and music, which I will discuss in the following section was inspired by cultural sociology and critical theory and is not concerned with how movements use culture or with the efficacy of such use, but with the manner in which social movements act as sites of cultural experimentation and creativity.

5.   Social Movements as Sites of Cultural Experimentation
In a 1974 *Social Forces* review of Serge Denisoff's research, Phillip Ennis, lamented over several "persistent problems in the study of expressive symbolism [e.g. music]." Chief among Ennis' concerns was that "the sociology of expressive symbol systems hasn't come to fruitful terms with its cousin, the sociology of knowledge." (Ennis, 1974: 572). Despite a growing appreciation for emotions and culture by movements' scholars, relatively little research has incorporated insights from critical theory or the sociology of knowledge (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998). Eyerman and Jamison (1991; 1998) represent a powerful exception to this trend. In their 1991, *Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach*, for instance, they draw insights from

the sociology of knowledge to conceptualize social movements as sites of critical knowledge production.

Eyerman and Jamison's (1998) second book deals with the relationship between social movements and music, and draws inspiration from critical theory and cultural sociology to argue that social movements are more than just 'contentious politics' (Tilly, 2008); they also provide vital "spaces for cultural growth and experimentation, for the mixing of musical and other artistic genres, and for the infusion of new kinds of meaning into music" (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998: 1). Movements are able to do this, Eyerman and Jamison argue, because movements offer spaces where "for or brief, intensive moments, the habitual behavior and underlying values of society are thrown open for debate and reflection… (1998: 6)." The liminal spaces created by movements in these moments become hotbeds for cultural creation, innovation, and transformation.

The cultural changes which take place in the spaces opened by movements have effects that often outlast the political influence of movements themselves (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998). The labor movements of the 30s, for instance, influenced the development of folk music, yet, even after the movements themselves faded into the background, the folk music they had created lived on (Eyerman and Barretta, 1996). Not only did it live on, but it provided an invaluable "reservoir of public culture" for the 'folk revival' of 1960s, to draw upon (Eyerman and Barretta, 1996: 535). This reservoir of cultural resources; this newly created *tradition*, to use Eyerman and Jamison's terminology, could then be 'mobilized,' by the civil rights, and anti-war movements in which much of the 'folk revival' took place. In essence, the movements of the 1930s altered music, setting the stage for the further development of folk music during the 1960s, development which, again, took place in conversation with social movements.

Eyerman and Jamison refer to this process of cultural change within, and in response to, movement contexts, as the "mobilization of tradition." Tradition, they contend, constitutes the "coexistence of the past and the present" (Shils, 1981), and ought to be regarded as a central component of cultural change rather than "a reified system of belief" (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998: 27). Traditions provide rules and regimes that dictate social behavior, but they also provide "a good deal of the "resources" that make social action [and cultural change] possible" (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998: 29). Traditions evolve over time building upon one another in a dialectic process, yet Eyerman and Jamison argue that the dialectic is even deeper than that. Traditions are "both real and imagined at the same time" (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998:30). In drawing upon them for the symbolic and discursive resources necessary to render the present meaningful, we are also retrospectively constructing a tradition's meaning in the past.

Collin (2013) describes a similar phenomenon when he discusses "genres" as "'rhetorical habitas' (Bawarshi, 2003) within which actors are called to engage in certain kinds of discursive practices… [and which] set backgrounds of expectation against which new acts may be interpreted" (Collin, 2013: 453). Both Collin and Eyerman and Jamison describe the manner in which meanings in the past structure interpretations in the present by providing the symbolic and discursive field within which we enact meanings in daily life. Eyerman and Jamison claim that cultural change happens when culture rubs up against structure or when art rubs up against politics, and social movements offer spaces in which this may happen by acting as powerful contexts which facilitate the re-politization of culture. The school of thought discussed in the next section, like the one just presented, focuses on the manner in which movements, as contexts, affect the music produced in and around them. Unlike the school of thought just discussed, which viewed movements as symbolic and discursive contexts, the school of thought presented

22

in the following section, views movements as organizational and interactional contexts which directly impact music's production, delivery, and message.

6.   Movements as Concrete Contexts
The final school of thought present in the social movements and music tradition argues that research on movements and music has tended to focus on music's *content* while neglecting the *context* within which it is produced (or consumed) within social movements (Roy, 2010a; 2010b). Roy is certainly not the first to be interested in the specific *dynamics* of the production process. Decades earlier, Adorno and others in the Frankfort School, forcefully argued that "content is virtually irrelevant compared to how a piece [is] produced" (Rosenthal and Flacks, 2012: 26). Roy (2010a) argues that the only way to truly understand political music is to focus on the "concrete social relationships" within which music is produced in social movements (Roy, 2010a:85). Roy argues that we need to dig deeper into the movement-music relationship in order to understand not only how movements impact culture, but how they *do* culture.

Roy (2010a; 2010b) claims we must move beyond simply analyzing music in social movements, and, in order to do so, we need to broaden our understanding of what constitutes a movement. For instance, he claims that, at times, artists themselves have *been* the social movement, and at other times, trends within the broader art world have been shaped by social movements (see also Eyerman and Jamison, 1998). In order to understand how movements act as contexts, Roy (2010a&b) proposes three dimensions on which to focus: 1) the division of labor (the performer/audience breakdown), 2) "tuning in" (the "we feeling"), and 3) the "embeddedness" of the music in larger culture (how "pure" and non-commercialized it is).

Roy's first dimension deals with the division of labor between the performer and audience. Rosenthal and Flacks (2012) also discuss the relationship between the performer and the audience, and point to the profound effect this relationship can have on audience reception.

They discuss, for instance, the difference between a singing a song during a rally, in which everyone involved is both audience and performer, and a song listened to at a rock concert in which the active performer sings and the passive audience listens.

Denisoff (1969) and Eyerman and Barretta (1996) both highlight the importance of the performer-audience relationship as well, as they discuss the differences between political folk music in the 30s and political folk music in the 60s. In the 30s, they argue, the distinction between performer and audience was intentionally blurred by movement affiliated performers who hoped to create a 'people's music' and encouraged audience participation (Denisoff, 1969; Eyerman and Barretta, 1996). By the 1960s, Denisoff argues, folk music had taken on the characteristics of other types of pop music, and was performed in a traditional concert style with much less audience participation. Technological advances helped to facilitate changes in the performer-audience relationship. The recorded media and radio of the 60s, for instance, replaced the live performances and "mass singing" rituals of the 30s. This technology, and the organizational changes that stemmed from it, led to a radical break between performer and audience. Rather than participating in the creation of collective meaning via singing, the audience became passive receivers -- individuals simply *listening* to records, radios, or concert style performances, rather than actively participating.

The movements and music literature is both expansive and diverse, and although the three schools of thought outlined in the previous sections reflect some of the most prominent frameworks for understanding the movement-music relationship, my literature review is neither exhaustive nor comprehensive. Moreover, although my categorization of the movements and music scholarship into those three schools is somewhat artificial, as evidenced by the considerable overlap between them, it stems from underlying paradigmatic differences between

each of them.

7.   Comparative and Narrative Approaches to Anti-War Music
      While there is a sizable body of literature on social movements and music, gaps none-the-

less exist, and this study aims to address several of them. First, very few pieces of literature

attempt to systematically compare political music over time. To a limited extent, all of the books

discussed above, e.g. Rosenthal and Flacks (2012), Eyerman and Jamison (1998), Roy (2010b),

and Weissman (2010), present elements of a comparative approach in their attempts to draw

from a wide array of movements during varying time periods, and several of the articles, namely,

Denisoff (1969), Eyerman, (2002), Eyerman and Barretta (1996), and Haynes (2008) do offer

some comparison of movements existing in different times periods.

      However, in all of these cases (excepting Haynes, 2008), the comparisons are drawn

across *different* movements. Although comparisons across different movements provide valuable

insights into how movement music relationships differ across various contexts and time periods,

comparative work within the same movement could allow for fruitful discussions around how

relationship between music and movements behave over time. This concern is especially

interesting given the insights Eyerman and Jamison (1998) offer with regards to the

"mobilization of tradition" and the ways in which movements and the music they produce build

upon and reinterpret 'tradition' over time.

      Haynes (2008) provides one example of the type of comparative research I am

describing, and coincidently even focuses on Vietnam and post-9/11 anti-war music. By utilizing

a critical discourse analysis approach, Haynes is able to establish patterns and show differences

in the music produced during the two time periods. Ultimately, she finds that 60s anti-war protest

music tended to contain "more lyrical and sensitive expression" than contemporary anti-war

music, which often made explicit mention of concrete events, people, and policies. According to

25

Haynes, 2008, "The lyrics of [post 9/11 anti-war] songs…include abundant references to historical figures and events, geography, and social problems as opposed to the poetical phrases or metaphor often used in [Vietnam era anti-war] songs" (Haynes, 2008: 6).

Haynes situates her work in relation to the functions and criticisms laid out by Denisoff (1970 and 1972) and in relation to the even more pointed skepticism Knupp (1981) lays out with regard to protest music's overall lack of efficacy. Knupp (1981) argues that political songs are rarely influential, rarely educational, often characterized by a lack of intellectual reflection, and a lack of concern with specific issues or policies. Haynes concludes that Knupp's criticisms do not bear out in her data. For example, Knupp claims that movement music neglects the specifics, and while Haynes sees some evidence for this trend in Vietnam era anti-war music, she sees just the opposite in post 9/11 anti-war music which frequently uses concrete examples.

However, Haynes is careful to point out that while contemporary anti-war music uses more concrete imagery than Vietnam era anti-war music, there is considerable continuity between the two eras, especially with regards to the widespread use of symbolic imagery and idealism. Haynes discussion of continuity across the two eras seems to provide some evidence for what Eyerman and Jamison (1998) would refer to as the "mobilization of tradition" whereby new movements draw inspiration and cultural resources from old ones. The mobilization of tradition is especially evident in the presence of what Haynes terms "retro songs," which refer to contemporary anti-war songs which imitate or directly reference Vietnam era anti-war music. Although Haynes comparative approach is a step in the right direction, a more systematic approach could compliment her findings.

In addition to an overall neglect of comparative methodologies, the literature also largely neglects narrative analysis approaches to the study of social movements, the study of music, and

the combination of the two. Several insightful works by social movements scholars such as Polletta (1998; 2004) and Fine (1995) have lent credibility to narrative approaches in the study of social movements, but more work needs to be done. In fact, it is somewhat puzzling that narrative approaches have not gained more traction in social movement studies considering the field's robust frame analysis tradition.

Given the fact that songs are story telling devices themselves, it is perplexing that more music research has not drawn upon narrative approaches. In one of the few articles on the subject, Negus (2012) claims,

> …the popular song – one of the most pervasive narrative forms that people encounter in their daily lives – has been almost entirely ignored in the vast literature on narrative. Whereas narratological methods have often featured in the interpretation of Western art music, and film music, and literary approaches to lyrics have sometimes emphasized the poetics of storytelling, theories of narrative have rarely been foregrounded in the study of popular songs. [P, 41]

While Negus is speaking of the neglect 'popular' music has received in in the narrative literature, the same argument can be even more forcefully made for protest music which may be particularly likely to utilize narrative to convey information/emotions. By combining insights from social movement studies, the sociology of culture, the sociology of music, and narrative methods/theory, this thesis explores this understudied topic, and hopes to shed some light on the manner in which cultural narratives and narratives of resistance find expression in political music over time.

8.   Music, Movements, and Meaning

Because each of the three schools discussed above understands the movement-music relationship in a slightly different way, each of them locates music's meaning in a slightly different area. Scholars concerned with music's functions, and especially with its efficacy, such as Rosenthal and Flacks, understandably place the emphasis on audience reception. In this

paradigm, a song's meaning may not align with an artists' intent and may not even involve the song's lyrics. What matters is the significance the song holds for the listener, and while a song's lyrics may play a part in this, many other factors are also influential (Rosenthal and Flacks, 2012).

While Rosenthal and Flacks offer a multitude of examples proving their point, perhaps the most striking one relates to The Beatles' "Yellow Submarine." The Beatles certainly didn't intend for the song to be used in protest and the lyrics are not overtly political, yet the song has been a mainstay in Berkeley protest culture for decades (Rosenthal and Flacks, 2012). The song may have originally been chosen because it was catchy and everyone knew the words, but it gained its real significance (its meaning) entirely from its repeated use in a protest context.

Although they locate meaning in audience reception, Rosenthal and Flacks identify a multitude of factors which affect that reception, some of these factors relate to "transmission" (i.e. the performer/writer's contribution -- how the message is expressed lyrically and musically) some of them relate to "reception" (i.e. the audience's contribution – expectations, prior knowledge, level of interest, etc.) and some of them relate to "context" (i.e. the setting's contribution – when, where, and in what context, as well as factors relating to the industry, genera, and movement frames). For Rosenthal and Flacks, all of these factors act as "pointers" which may make "some interpretations more likely than others. But none absolutely guarantees a certain meaning's being adopted or excludes other possible meanings" (Rosenthal and Flacks, 2012: 109).

Unlike the functionalist-oriented school just I discussed, the other two schools of thought locate the music's meaning its historical, institutional, organizational, cultural, and subcultural context rather than in its reception. It should be apparent, however, that this distinction is less

28

than clear cut. In attempting to lay out the factors influencing audience reception, for instance, Rosenthal and Flacks devote hundreds of pages of excellent discussion a whole host of contexts which may impact music. Moreover, Roy's (2010) discussion focuses almost entirely on 'context,' yet many of the things he considers contextual, would be understood as factors affecting audience reception by Rosenthal and Flacks. The real difference between the ways these paradigms conceptualize meaning comes from the fact that a given context could be understood as the ultimate locus of meaning for scholars like Roy or Eyerman and Jamison, whereas the same context would be regarded as a mere "pointer" by scholars such as Rosenthal and Flacks.

Although the 'movements as sites of cultural experimentation' paradigm and the 'movements as concrete contexts' paradigm both locate music's meaning in its context they do so in slightly different ways. Whereas scholars in the 'movements as concrete contexts' paradigm such as Roy (2010) and Denisoff (1969) take a 'hard' stance on context, focusing on concrete relationships and interactions, scholars in the 'movements as sites of cultural experimentation' paradigm such as Eyerman and Jamison (1998) and Eyerman and Barretta (1996) conceptualize context a bit differently.

Eyerman and Barretta (1996), for instance, utilize a "production of culture" framework to discuss the movement-music relationship. According to Eyerman and Barretta,

> The production of culture perspective analyzes forms of cultural expression as products of organized "worlds" or "fields." Rather than discussing artistic works or other symbolic goods as the product of an isolated creator, or alternatively, as mirroring "society," this perspective explains them in terms of their location in a social and organizational context." [Eyerman and Barretta, 1996: 503]

By viewing movements as specific contexts, Eyerman and Barretta hope to avoid the tendency of many so-called "contextual" cultural arguments to explain phenomena in terms of a sort of broad

cultural zeitgeist, or the opposite tendency, to regard meanings as the products of 'obvious agents' such as artists and musicians.

For scholars in this paradigm, "tradition", which is understood as *the past made present*, acts as powerful context in which new culture can be created and extant culture can be transformed and reinterpreted. Yet Eyerman and Jamison (1998) are careful to remind us that tradition, as they define it, is, at least in part, a retrospective social construction. The most powerful contexts, according to Eyerman and Jamison (1998), however, are movements themselves. Social movements, they argue,

> …emerge in particular times and places; they are the products of specific socio-political conditions as well as of deeper and more long-term historical and cultural traditions. But, while being shaped by these broader contextual conditions, social movements temporarily transcend the specific situations from which they emerge; they create new contexts, new public spaces, for addressing the particular problems of their time… [Eyerman and Jamison, 1998: 21]

Although songs gain their meanings from the contexts in which they are produced, they also contribute to those contexts' meanings. For example, the "meaning" of music from the 60s was shaped by the political culture of that period, yet, the music of the 60s was able to give voice to "vague feelings of alienation and oppression" and to provide a sense of belonging and collective identity through its emotive power (Eyerman and Jamison 1998).

Concepts do not materialize out of thin air, we construct them based on our needs, and the two conceptualizations of meaning I have discussed here are no exception. The first, stemming from Rosenthal and Flacks (2012), locates meaning in audience reception in order to speak to the functions and efficacy of music in movements. The second, stemming primarily from Eyerman and Jamison (1998) locates meaning in context in order to speak to the manner in which movements act as sites of cultural creativity.

This paper too requires meaning's locus be defined. The nature of my research question

places this work closer the 'social movements as sites of cultural experimentation' paradigm than to either of the other two, and by extension, closer to the 'meaning as context' conceptualization, especially as Eyerman and Jamison (1998) have discussed it. I say 'closer to,' because it is by no means a perfect fit. Unlike the literature presented here, I seek to identify the presence of cultural narratives and narratives of resistance in the lyrical content of anti-war music. I locate meaning, therefore, not in audience reception or in movement dynamics, but in culture.

Loseke (2012) claims that narratives are rendered "believable" when they resonate with people's preconceived notions of how the world does or should work. For our purposes, 'believable' can be read as 'meaningful,' indicating that a song's meaning is tied to the manner in which it reflects, resonates with, or critically engages cultural scripts and taken-for-granted cultural narratives. This is the case because these cultural scripts and narratives act as socializing frameworks of intelligibility (Bochner, 2002) structuring our understanding of the world and enriching it with social and cultural significance. Meaning is never intrinsic, rather, it is wholly human phenomena, and as such, is always-already social and cultural. For instance, it is precisely because meanings are rooted in culture that Rosenthal and Flacks can even discuss the potential for 'pointers' to create shared meanings among an audience.

However, Loseke's work has shown us that meaning is not monolithic, and that we cannot assume that cultural codes apply in all situations or represent meaningful reality to all members of society. Rather, in Loseke's conceptualization, cultural narratives, and their requisite symbolic and emotion codes, often represent subcultural meanings, or meanings shared by so-called "thought communities" (Zerubavel 1996). Bearing this in mind, this study views social movements as subcultural meaning contexts, and views social movement frames, and the traditions undergirding those frames, as potential sources of cultural and subcultural narratives of

31

the sort Loseke discusses. In a similar line of thought, Eyerman and Jamison (1998) argue that,

> Part of the emergent culture produced within social movements represents an alternative vision and way of life to that of the dominant society. As emergent cultures, in other words, social movements present and represent alternatives. Social movements transform marginal subcultures into real alternatives by offering visions and models of alternative forms of meaning and identity which can be consciously chosen. [Eyerman and Jamison, 1998:170]

Drawing on Williams (1977), Eyerman and Jamison, point to three forms of culture: dominant culture (hegemonic ideology), emergent culture (where they place social movements) and residual culture (where they place oppressed and marginalized groups). Building on this framework, and combining it with narrative approaches, this thesis expects to find evidence for cultural narratives representing all three of these cultural types.

III.   Chapter 3: Context - Conflicts, Frames, and Discourses
In the last section I discussed three broad orientations to the movement-music relationship, and situated this study in relation to Eyerman and Jamison's (1998) "movements as sites of cultural experimentation" paradigm which locates meaning in context. More specifically I located meaning in three principle meaning-contexts: 1) social movement meaning work and (antiwar) frames (akin to Eyerman and Jamison's (1998) conceptualization of Williams' (1977) notion of "emergent culture.") 2) hegemonic/dominant (prowar) discourses (akin to Eyerman and Jamison's (1998) conceptualization of Williams' (1977) notion of "dominant culture." 3) broader American culture including the historical contexts of the conflicts themselves. The sections that follow outline the primary contextual factors weighing on this thesis. The first section, "Historical Contexts: Wars and Anti-war Movements," provides narrative overviews of the two wars and the two antiwar movements. The second section, "Vietnam and Post-911 Collective Action Frames," discusses the collective action frames expressed by the Vietnam and post 911 movements. Finally, the third section, "Hegemonic Discourses Around the Vietnam and Post-

911 Conflicts" discusses the hegemonic/dominant discourses surrounding both wars as expressed by the government and media.[1]

A. Historical Contexts: Wars and Anti-war Movements
This section discusses the concrete historical contexts in which the antiwar music of both periods reflects and responds to. The first two sections offer brief narrative descriptions of the two conflicts to which Vietnam and post 911 antiwar music responded. The third and fourth sections offer narrative discussions of the movements themselves, their development, demographics, and tactics. These sections outline the concrete historical contexts, the conflicts and movements, in which the movement frames and dominant discourses discussed in the sections which follow exist and develop.

1. The Vietnam War
The Vietnam War was a cold war 'proxy war,' between the U.S. and the North Vietnamese Army (NVA) who were supported by the Vietcong (also known as the National Liberation Front/NLF) (Line, 2002).   It stemmed from the 'first Indochina war,' essentially a civil war between the north (supported by the USSR and China) and the south (supported by the USA and Philippines). The war was justified as a 'containment strategy,' necessary to keep communism from spreading in the famed 'domino effect (Hall, 2004).'

U.S. direct involvement began in 1950 when we sent military advisers to support the south (Kowalski, 2008). Newly elected president Kennedy vowed to stop the spread of communism "at any cost" and to "[draw] a line in the sand" (Kennedy, 1963).   By the early 60s,

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[1] The bulk of this chapter came from a term paper I wrote for an independent study on social movements with Dr. Steven Worden in fall 2015. The paper aimed at understanding the dialectic relationship between social movement frames and dominant discourses during the Vietnam and post-911 eras, and although written as a standalone paper, obviously speaks to this thesis.

troop levels had begun to rise dramatically, and by 1962 there were over 11,000 us soldiers in the country (Comptroller, 1971). Shortly after Johnson took office following President Kennedy's assignation, the Gulf of Tonkin Incident occurred, in which an NVA attack boat clashed with a US destroyer. This incident provided a justification for Johnson's sweeping Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, and the rapid expansion of the American presence in Vietnam. By March of 1965 there were a little over 180,000 troops deployed, and by the war's 1968 peak, there were over 500,000 troops in Vietnam. (Comptroller, 1971).

The Tet Offensive of 1968 is often considered a turning point in the war (Karnow, 1986). Although it was actually a tactical failure for the Vietcong, the Tet Offensive, none the less, squelched any hope that the Vietcong were giving up any time soon, a realization which persuaded many Americans that the war was unwinnable (Karnow, 1986). Nixon won the 1968 presidential campaign largely on a platform of exiting Vietnam, but he, like Kennedy and Johnson before him, couldn't afford to be accused of being "soft on communism" (Lind, 2002). Nixon's plan was "Vietnamization," whereby US forces would begin to turn the fighting over to the South Vietnamese army, and play an advisory/support role (Hall, 2004). However, he also invaded Cambodia in 1970, causing a massive anti-war backlash, which was exacerbated the following year with the invasion of Laos (Hall, 2004). Finally, in 1973, when negative public opinion grew too strong, both sides met to sign the Paris Peace agreement.

2. **The War on Terror**
In a Sept. 20th 2001 speech, president Bush declared a "war on terror," which has since become the moniker for the post- 9/11 military campaigns in the middle east and elsewhere in the world (Schmitt and Shanker, 2005). Technically, this conflict began with the September 11th 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the US Pentagon, yet there had been

tensions with various countries/groups in the Middle East for many years. The War on Terror involves two major deployments (Afghanistan and Iraq) as well as numerous smaller deployments to other parts of the world (Horn of Africa, Philippines, Saharan Africa, Kashmir, Pakistan, etc.).

In Afghanistan, American involvement dates back to the 1980s conflict between the Afghans and the USSR, in which the United States secretly supported the Mujahedeen guerrillas (Bergen, 2006). After the soviet withdrawal, the guerrillas we had supported transformed into what is now Al-Qaeda (Bergen and Reynolds, 2005). By the late 1990s, Al-Qaeda had fully radicalized and 'declared war' on the west, and in 1998, they struck U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. On September 11, 2001, 19 hijackers boarded four airplanes, and flew two into the World Trade Center, one into the Pentagon, and attempted to fly the fourth into the Whitehouse or Capital (Keppel et al, 2008; Holmes, 2006). In total, almost 3,000 victims perished, in the worst terrorist attack to ever take place on U.S. soil (Morgan, 2009). Just three days later, on September 14th 2001, congress made law "The Authorization of Use of Military Force Against Terrorists." By sept. 20th, President Bush had given Afghanistan an ultimatum, 'turn over bin Laden, or else,' and on October 7, airstrikes signaled the beginning of the official invasion (Bush, 2001; CNN, 2002). By mid-November, Kabul had fallen and the remaining Taliban and Al-Qaeda fighters had retreated to the mountains.

Iraq had been labeled a 'State Sponsor of Terrorism' since the 1990s when Saddam Hussain had invaded Kuwait, and had used chemical weapons against the Kurds and Iranians. In the early 2000's, the Bush administration began discussing invasion over fears that Hussain had "weapons of mass destruction." In March of 2003, the U.S. began an air campaign and launched its ground invasion. By April, the Army had captured Baghdad and Hussain's Government had

dissolved, and in early May, President Bush announced that major combat operations had ended (Bush, 2001, CNN). However, the combination of a power vacuum and anger over large scale occupation, led to a massive rise in insurgency including elements of Al-Qaeda, Ba'athists, Iraqi nationalists, and pan-Arabists (Ware, 2004). Insurgency grew steadily stronger until 2007 at which time President Bush presented a new strategy based on counter-insurgency tactics. This strategy proved only slightly more effective, and the current situation in Iraq is a testament to the war's overall negative impact on the region. Formal combat operations ended in September 2012, with the last of the troops leaving on in December of 2011. Since leaving Iraq, factions of insurgents have gone to Syria and have founded the Islamic State, and have now taken hold of a sizable portion of the region (Price et al, 2014). Since August 2014, the Obama administration has begun targeting ISIS with airstrikes, and its continuing drone war. Beginning in December 2015, military advisors have been sent to assist the forces fighting ISIS in Iraq and Syria.

3. Comparing These Conflicts

At first glance, these conflicts seem fairy different. The war in Vietnam was fought as a proxy war aimed at containing communism, and stopping the formation of a unified communist state. Whereas the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan were fought in order to topple already existing governments, to exact revenge in the case of Afghanistan, and to 'preemptively strike' a perceived threat in the case of Iraq. Lind (2002) argues that unlike the oil rich Middle East, Vietnam was purely ideological and "was of no intrinsic strategic value to the United States" (Lind, 2002:65).

In reality, both conflicts are largely ideological and reflect American imperialism, and economic (i.e. capitalist) interests. Vietnam was overtly ideological and was carried out as a communist containment strategy, and, for that reason alone, reflects America's desire not only to

stop the spread of communism, but also to facilitate the spread of capitalism and the influence it can exert via that spread. Iraq and Afghanistan, while not overtly ideological, must be understood as, in no small way, a war on fundamentalist Islam, especially in our current conflict with ISIS, and given the discourses around 'protecting freedom and democracy,' and the terrorists' 'hared of the west' (read capitalism). Moreover, both conflicts involved a large ground force attempting battle insurgents and guerrillas often using superior air power and technology. In both cases, this strategy proved incredibly ineffective, and only served to alienate the occupied populations, and increase insurgency levels. In both situations, when ground war created more problems than it solved, America turned to attempts to 'win hearts and minds' by building infrastructure and providing aid, only to find that occupiers can never 'win over' the occupied. Finally, both situations involved attempts to distance America from direct involvement by turning over fighting duties to local forces, a tactic which was ultimately unsuccessful in both contexts.

Coy et al. (2008) argues that part of the reason there appears to be so many parallels between these two conflicts, is that we understand our present though the lens of our past -- through the 'discursive legacy' of prior conflicts. We cannot help but draw parallels because they are built into the way we discuss wars in the first place. This was a problem in Vietnam; we viewed it through the lens of the World Wars, and treated it as if it were a conventional ground war. Only after overwhelming problems forced us to see it differently did the discourse change. In fact, the discourse never really changed. Even after the conflict, pro-war factions and eventually even President Ragan blamed protests and 'cowardly' politicians for not having the guts to go 'all in,' to commit everything to winning. None-the-less, Vietnam offers a powerful discursive legacy which has structured our understanding of the present conflicts in the Middle

East, yet we still see vestiges of the old, 'go all in to win' discourse, demonstrating that legacies of discourse do not replace one another but transform over time dialectically.

4. Vietnam Era Anti-War Movement

Harrison (1993) argues that the Vietnam antiwar movement "had its roots in the collective experience of two world wars and the Great Depression" (99). The grinding poverty of the depression, the suspicion of McCarthy years, and the results of WWII, especially Hiroshima and the Holocaust, led to widespread disillusionment and cast America's values into question. American values were further thrown into question with the rise of the civil rights movement and the powerful critiques it leveled against white supremacy and Jim Crow. This disillusionment combined with the baby boom and the creation of "megaversities" with cold and repressive bureaucracies, made the situation ripe for the development of large scale student protests, and the Vietnam War, especially given the draft, was an obvious target (Harrison, 1993: 99)

Given this historical context, it is not surprising that the Vietnam era anti-war movement would be made up of a diverse group of organizations including women's groups, civil rights groups, disarmament groups, old and new left groups, and student groups (Tuff, 2000; Zaroulis and Sullivan, 1984). McAdam (1990) and Kowalski (2008) argue that protesters must be 'biographically available,' meaning that they have enough socioeconomic and psychological freedom to participate in movements, and baby boomer students who participated in the anti-war movements had these characteristics. Myer (2007) builds on this McAdam's argument, claiming that "the relatively privileged enjoy the education and affirmation that afford them the belief that they might make a difference" (Myers, 2007: 49).

Chatfield (2004), Gitlin (1987), and Fendrich (2003) all point to some of the problems the movement faced with regards to factionalism. Chatfield claims that the movement was split

between 'radicals' who saw the interconnection between all of society's social ills and sought systemic social change, and 'liberals' who tended to be oriented to single issues, incremental change, and working within the system (Chatfield, 2004). Gitlin (1987) attempts to offer an explanation for this factionalism, positing a feedback loop whereby the media consistently portrayed anti-war protesters as radicals, which, in turn, attracted individuals with more radical orientations ultimately changing the make-up of the organization.

There had been peace groups and pacifists speaking out against the war since the 50s. However, it was not until the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in August 1964, and the related draft bubble, that the movement really began to gear up. Debendetti (1990) claims that in 1960, there were only a few dozen organizations, but a decade later there were over twelve hundred. Although popular memory would have us believe that the Vietnam anti-war movement was aggressive and widespread, the truth of the matter, is that only about 10% of the colleges in the united states had violent protests during the war, and much of this involved attacking ROTC buildings (about 197 in total). Although the vast majority of protests were peaceful, flare-ups did happen, however, and generally coincided with major political events such as the democratic national convention, the Mai Lai Massacre, the invasion of Cambodia/Laos, or the Kent state killings (Kowalski, 2008).

5   Post 9/11 Anti-war Movements

Hamilton (2012) points out that although we frequently discuss 'the' anti-war movement, protesters around the war on terror themselves ranged from "pale suburban teenagers to left-leaning college professors" (Gallant, 2003: 4) and more importantly, represented many different organizations, "including groups with sometimes conflicting interests and ideologies" (Hamilton, 2012: 13). Swank and Fahs (2011) look at anti-war activism among social work students, and

find that level of education, relative efficacy, and identification with activist ideals, all predict movement participation. A great deal of research points to the importance of the internet in the Post 9/11 antiwar movement, Kahn and Kellner (2004), for instance, claim that movement organizations relied on the internet to circulate information, organize demonstrations and promote a diversity of anti-war activities. Hil (2008) goes even further, claiming that online protest activity not only affected the development of movements, helping to "facilitate the creation of non-hierarchical organizational structure; practical oppositional strategies and shared ideas" (88), but also fostered the development of a 'global civil society'. Nah et al. (2006), likewise, points to the interrelationship between online and face to face activism, which appear to complement one another. Bennet et al. (2008) seeks to explain how the February 15 (2003) protests, some of the largest anti-war protests in history, got so big and so well coordinated,

> The speed, scale, and transnational nature of these protests suggest the maturation of new organizational forms… changes in social identity processes lead many individuals in lager modern societies to seek less binding and more flexible relationships with organizations that provide various kinds of support, from providing information to conducting actions, on issues that matter personally (dela Porta, 2005; Bennet, 1998, 2005)… looser organizational ties enable affinity relationships that are often facilitated by social networking and digital communication technologies. Technology-assisted networking arrangements characterize familiar multi-issue movement organizations in the United states…
> [Bennet et al, 2008: 270]

Dani (2009), also looks at the Feb. 15 protests, and, like Bennet et al., claims that the internet has facilitated the development of 'protest communities' and peace associations which are much more inclusive than the social movement organizations (SMOs) of the past.

6.   Contrasting the Movements
Historian, Max Elbaum, lays out some contextual differences between the Vietnam and post 9/11 anti-war movements, claiming that these two movements ultimately began in very different contexts. Whereas the anti-Vietnam movement was riding on the powerful heels of the

civil rights movement, operating during a time of economic growth, and attacking a war that that

we had no stake but ideology in, the anti-Iraq movement came on the heels of 20 plus years of

rolling back civil liberties and liberal economic politics, operated in an economic recession, and

fought against a heavily partisan war. This last point seems odd given that one would think it

would be harder to critique a bi-partisan war such as Vietnam, yet, because it was a war launched

and escalated by the Democrats, it was comparatively easy for republicans to critique democrats

and for left leaning liberals to critique their own party. The anti-Iraq movement, on the other

hand, has been, from the outset, heavily politicized, and because of this, it is incredibly difficult

for republican anti-war advocates to openly support the anti-war effort. Dawes (2009) also

discusses the different political climate, and claims that the contemporary anti-war movement

has largely failed to address the incredible military-industrial complex and the powerful neo-

liberal politics operating behind the war. It is interesting, that as far as conflicts go, the two wars

were surprisingly similar, but the protest movements themselves in terms of composition, tactics,

and especially context were very different.

B.   Vietnam and Post-911 Collective Action Frames
        The sections above provided an overview of historical context, the conflicts and

movements, in which the ideas put forth by movements, via their collective action framing

activities, exist. While this section also discusses context, the contexts it addresses are somewhat

different from those discussed above. Unlike the preceding section, this one does not focus on

concrete facts and historical figures, but instead on meanings and ideas. It focuses on the

Vietnam and Post-911 antiwar movements as *meaning-contexts*, outlining the frames employed

by each movement in its attempts to construct cognitive schemas of interpretation through which

movement sympathizers ought to see the war and the world. I will begin by discussing the

various frames employed by the Vietnam anti-war movement, before doing the same for the post

9/11 anti-war movement. Finally, I will compare and contrast these frames in reference to their particular contexts and in reference their direct relationship to one another by way of what Eyerman and Jamison (1998) refer to as the "mobilization of tradition" whereby movements in the present draw cognitive inspiration from movements in the past, becoming part of what Coy et al (2008) describes as a movement's "discursive legacy."

1.   Vietnam Anti-war Collective Action frames
In order to discuss the collective action frames utilized by the Vietnam antiwar movement, I will draw from the analytic framework and concepts put forth in Snow et al.'s (1986) discussion of "collective action framing," focusing especially on the notions of "diagnostic," "prognostic," and "motivational" framing, as well as on concepts such as frame bridging, amplification, extension, transformation, etc. Before doing this, however, let me discuss what I see as the Vietnam antiwar movement's overall "master frame," which appears essentially to be an "injustice frame" (Snow and Benford, 1988), centering on the idea that the war is immoral and has resulted in massive death and destruction.

Stemming from this master frame are several "diagnostic frames" which 'diagnose' the problem and point to who or what is to blame. The Vietnam antiwar movements' principle diagnostic frame relates directly to its master frame, and portrays the war as immoral. Shuman and Howard (2000) claim that students were more likely to use the specific language of "immorality" when discussing the concept because they better understood America's imperialistic aims. Other major diagnostic frames related to the war's impact on the U.S. One such frame deals with the war's cost on domestic programs. Many of the students protesting the against the war had been involved in the civil rights movement, and were very supportive of President Johnson's 'Great Society' and its 'war on poverty.' These protestors likely felt

betrayed when the present began diverting large amounts of money away from domestic aid programs to support the war effort (Gills, 1992). Clear evidence of this can be seen in antiwar slogans such as "Stop the War, Feed the Poor," a direct reference to aid programs. A third set of diagnostic frames relate to the draft, and the widespread fear of the draft that was endemic among young men in the country during the period. In addition to a discussion of the evils of the draft in general, these frames also tended to address the inequity of *who* was being drafted, i.e. those who could not afford to go to college, especially poor and minority youths.

Diagnostic frames not only point to what is wrong, but also who or what is to blame. In the case of the Vietnam antiwar movement's diagnostic frames, this blame was directed at two primary sources. On the one hand, the government, and especially the Johnson and Nixon administrations were held accountable for the U.S.'s imperialistic aims in their desire not to appear 'soft on communism' and to stop the 'domino effect' (Gills, 1992; Lind, 2002). Protest slogans directly naming these leaders (e.g. Hey, hey LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?) evidence this diagnostic framing. The second source of culpability highlighted by the Vietnam antiwar movement's diagnostic frames were major corporations who stood to profit from the destruction in Vietnam. Foremost among these companies was the Dow Chemical company, the manufacturer of Napalm. UCLA students protesting the company shouted slogans and carried signs reading "Dow shall not kill" and "Making Money Burning Babies," clear indictments of the company's involvement in the slaughter taking place.

Whereas diagnostic frames relate to "what is wrong and who is to blame?", prognostic frames relate to "what is to be done?" or "how do we solve this problem?" The Vietnam antiwar movement had a number of prognostic frames, most obviously, "get out of Vietnam…" More specifically, the movement's prognostic frames related to discussions of self-determination and

43

the legality of the conflict. The movement tended to see the conflict in Vietnam as a civil war between factions inside the country, and the United States involvement as both harmful and not legally justifiable (DeBenedetti, 1990). Other prognostic frames related to the draft and domestic spending, here too, the prognosis was obvious--do away with the draft and get out of Vietnam in order to free up resources to better fight poverty and support civil rights (Gills, 1992).

Less obvious were the prognostic frames deployed by some of the antiwar movement's women's groups. These groups tended to portray themselves as "peaceful caretakers of the world" (Rosen, 2006). The implicit diagnostic framing here is that the masculine emphasis on violence and bravado got us into this war, and only by affirming 'peaceful femininity' are we to get out. Women's antiwar groups skillfully employed maternalistic slogans such as "War is not healthy for children and other living things" (DeBenedetti, 1990: 185), or "Not my son, not your son, not their sons" (Swerdlow, 1992:159). This framing and its implicit prognosis was evidently quite threating to the Nixon administration. Whereas he could propagandize the countercultural student movements as trivial at best and dangerous at worst, these middle aged women were hard to see as anything other than 'ordinary citizens,' and therefore, represented a real danger to the administration's discursive strategy (Tuff, 2000).

The movement's prognostic framing, however, was not as unified as it might appear from the discussion above. A good deal of scholarship on the movements point to serious internal conflicts over strategies and tactics. Chatfield (2004), Fendrich, (2003), and Gitlin (2003) all discuss the line drawn between the more 'liberal' members of the movement who tended to focus more narrowly on the war itself, and advocate for gradual change, and working 'within the system,' compared to the more 'radical' elements of the movement who tended to call for systemic change and to see the "evils manifest in American society [such as] unemployment,

economic insecurity, segregation, the threat of nuclear war… [as] symptoms of one disease,"

which is corporate liberalism (Quote from: Donald Wildman,1963 student peace union

brochure, quoted in DeBenedetti and Chatfield, 1990: 67). This conflict over the true root

problem, and ultimately how to solve that problem (incremental V. systemic change), manifested

itself in tactics as well. Moving out into the streets, even getting violent, compared to working

within the accepted channels i.e. via lobbying, education, voting, etc. (Chatfield, 2004).

The movement's diagnostic and prognostic framing can help point us to the movement's

'motivational' framing, i.e. framing which acts as a "call to arms" (Snow et al, 1986). It is a little

more difficult to see motivational framing without talking to people to know for certain what

they found 'motivating.' However, the literature seems to point to some of the same issues found

in movement's diagnostic framing. The immorality of the war was likely chief among these

factors. Guttmann (1969) points to the powerful role the media may have played in this process,

especially in bringing the horrors of war into people's living rooms. Motivational frames pointed

to the tremendous death and destruction the U.S. occupation caused. Motivational framing,

unlike the more general immorality framing discussed above, appears to have been tied to

specific events/phenomena, such as the use of Napalm, the Mai Lai Massacre, the actions of the

south Vietnamese during the Tet Offensive, or the famous quote from an unnamed officer

captured by AP correspondent Peter Arenett "It became necessary to destroy the town to save it."

Such visceral and highly publicized images and sound bites--photos of napalm victims, women

and children dead in ditches, whole villages leveled—provided an indictment of the war not

available in any other form.

In addition to diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing, the Vietnam antiwar

movement also employed various other framing strategies outlined in Snow et al (1986), such as

frame extension, amplification, transformation, and bridging. Frame extension refers to a frame's ability to broaden itself to include previously peripheral issues. In no small way, the very fact that the antiwar movement, by and large, stemmed from other movements such as the civil rights movement and the free speech movement demonstrate that the anti-war movement may have been the partial result of some frame extension on the part of these other movements.

Frame amplification is related to a frame's ability to clarify existing beliefs or values. We can see amplification most clearly in the movements' discussion of the immorality of war. Arguably, most wars are, to a greater or lesser degree, immoral, yet, the movement attempted to point out the fact that the carnage people were witnessing on TV and in the papers, was all in the name of mere ideology. Frame transformation, on the other hand, refers to a frame's ability to replace old understandings with new ones. This strategy can be seen most clearly in the movement's attempts to re-frame the war as a civil war and US intervention as unjustified imperialism (Guttmann, 1966).

Finally, in order for these frames to function effectively, according to Snow et al. (1986), they needed to resonate with cultural values. As Harrison (1993) has demonstrated, the movement stemmed from a general cultural disillusionment and a questioning of American values in light of the Depression, World War Two (especially Hiroshima) and the civil rights movement. The antiwar movement did not have to explicitly attempt to resonate with culture, because, as Harrison (1993) agues, it stemmed from these cultural trends. Furthermore, the notion of the *counterculture* itself lends further credibility to the idea that the movement not only resonated with, but was representative of a larger cultural movement.

2   Post 9/11 anti-war Collective Action Frames

Much like the Vietnam anti-war movement, the post 9/11 antiwar movement's master frame is essentially an 'injustice frame,' relating to the war's general illegality. Diagnostic frames point to the fact that the war is illegal and very unpopular internationally. For instance, diagnostic frames point to the fact that the war is illegal under the UN charter which states that a war may only be carried out in self-defense and if it has been approved by the Security Council. Because the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan meet neither of these criteria, these frames claim that they not only constitute unjustified aggression but they are illegal under international law. Moreover, diagnostic framing points to the fact that, even aside from their apparent illegality, they are almost universally condemned on the international stage.

The second major diagnostic frame relates to the war's overall futility and inefficacy. The movement claims the wars have been a huge cost to human life and livelihood in Afghanistan and Iraq, and this has demoralized the populations and made them structurally vulnerable. Moreover, the movement claims that the military, as an occupying force, is unwanted and resented. Ultimately, according to the movement, the combination of structural insecurity and demoralizing occupation caused by the US presence has done far more harm than good, cultivating terrorism rather than combating it.

The third diagnostic frame offered by the movement relates to the pretext for the conflicts. This framing revolves around claims that the Bush administration knowingly lied and deceived the American people about Iraq's "weapons of mass destruction" (Zweig, 2005). This framing tends to portray this as a 'betrayal' of the American people and of the troops (Coy et al., 2008). Related to his diagnostic framing is the notion that the true pretext for the war is not

terrorism but oil. We can see this framing very clearly in the movement slogan "no blood for

oil." Well known political dissident and movement leader Noam Chomsky claims for instance,

> Turning to the question, one reason for the invasion, surely, is to gain control
> over the world's second-largest oil reserves, which will place the U.S. in an even
> more powerful position of global domination, maintaining "a stranglehold on the
> global economy," as Michael Klare describes the long-term objective, which he
> regards as the primary motive for war." (Chompsky, 2003, interview with
> Canadian Dimension).

According to Coy et al (2008), this framing relates especially to the notion of "betrayal," not

only to a betrayal of the American people, who have been deceived for war profiteering, but an

even deeper betrayal of the troops, who have been put into harm's way under false pretenses.

A fourth diagnostic frame relates to the war's cost, which the movement claims is not

only exorbitant, but has funneled large amounts of middle class taxpayer money away from

much need domestic programs, in a time in which the national discourse seems to be all about

'national debt' and 'austerity measures,' including talk of serious reductions to many social

safety net programs. Zweig (2005) for instance discusses the labor movement's antiwar

activities, pointing to the fact that unions are acutely aware of the redirection of resources away

from domestic social needs. Artie Scruggs, the president of an Indiana chapter of the AFLCIO

claims for instance; "the President asked for $75 billion for the first installment of the war. He

didn't ask for anything to provide relief for states and communities that are laying off teachers,

cutting kids' health coverage, closing museums, leaving potholes unfilled, and raising taxes."

(Zweig, 205: 62).

In addition to pointing out what is wrong, diagnostic frames also point to who is to

blame. The post 9/11 antiwar movement is clear in this regard. Diagnostic frames around who is

to blame point unequivocally to the President Bush and his administration, as well as to

republican 'hawks' more broadly who the movement charges knowingly deceived the American public and led us into multiple unnecessary wars. Furthermore, diagnostic frames also tend to lay considerable blame on defense contracting corporations who have made billions of dollars off of their contracts they have gained as a result of the conflict, most notably Halliburton, who not only made billions, but repeatedly violated its agreements, poisoned the troops, and overcharged the government.

Turning to the movement's prognostic frames, those which point to solutions to the problems outlined in the diagnostic frames, the movement, obviously calls for a withdraw of troops from the Middle East. More specifically, frames call for the US to allow self-determination in the region, and to stop playing 'world police.' Other frames, especially at the beginning of the conflict called for the US to allow the UN to take care of the conflicts, to conduct weapons inspections for instance. The movement does not seem to offer many solutions to 'terrorism' as such, however, it does point to the fact that our current strategies only exacerbate the problem, alienating people and driving the rise in extremism and insurgency. Finally, prognostic framing calls the US to divert the trillions it spends on the war back into the domestic programs it has defunded in recent years.

The Post 9/11 antiwar movement's motivational framing, like that of the Vietnam antiwar movement, was a little harder to pin down, although it seems to center on the moral outrage stemming from the bush administration's perceived lies and deceit. Coy et al (2008) points to the particular moral outrage many antiwar protesters felt over the treatment of soldiers in regards to betraying their service and trust by sending them into harm's way under false pretexts. Finally, a certain amount of motivational framing indeed may have stemmed from the partisan nature of

the conflict. Many liberals felt that President Bush should never have been in the Whitehouse in the first place, feelings only exacerbated by the moral outrage discussed above.

In addition to these diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames, the post 9/11 anti-war movement also engaged in other framing strategies (amplification, transformation, extension, etc.). Frame amplification refers to the frames' ability to clarify existing beliefs and values, and we saw this framing strategy clearly in regards to the post 9/11 antiwar movement's discussion of human rights. In fact, much of the current public discourse around the US' human rights violations with regards to torcher and illegal imprisonment in sites such as Guantanamo Bay stems almost directly from the post 9/11 antiwar movement's human rights frame applicants. Coy et al (2008), for instance, claims that following well publicized genocides in the Balkans and Rwanda created a human rights discourse that the movement built upon when discussing the military's violations in Iraq and Afghanistan. Specific instances of human rights violations such as the CIA's extraordinary rendition program, Guantanamo Bay, and Abu Graib, and the Blackwater scandal all provided instances for the movement to connect the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan to larger human rights framing.

The post 9/11 antiwar movement also engaged in frame extension strategies whereby frames are extended into previously peripheral areas. We saw this in the recent discourse around women serving in combat missions, but also drawing connections to the Vietnam anti-war movement around the patriarchal basis for war, and the need for a less violent and more compassionate foreign policy. Kutz-Flamenbaum (2007), for instance, discusses the role of three women's antiwar groups, and their differing relationships to the gender discourse. She claims that some groups like Code Pink and the Raging Grannies, mobilized traditional gendered

meanings to challenge pro-war framing, whereas other groups like the Missile Dick Chicks

openly challenged gender and war at the same time through satire.

Coy et al (2008) and Hamilton (2012) both discuss the post 9/11 antiwar movement's

ability to reframe the dominant discourse around "supporting the troops." The incredible power

of the dominate discourse around 'supporting the troops' and around patriotism more broadly

had been effectively used by the government to paint anti-war movements as unpatriotic deviants

in the past these authors argue, but the post/911 antiwar movements were able to successfully

combat this discursive framing by flipping the script. Coy et al (2008) argues that rather than

simply trying to counter the pro-war discourses levied against them, post 9/11 antiwar

movements built on the cultural strength around the 'support the troops discourse' while

reframing it as a 'betrayal of the troops' by the bush administration and by defense contractors

such as Haliburton/KBR. Coy et al. (2008) agues, moreover, that this "discourse of betrayal"

(betrayal framing, I would argue), was an

> elastic construct insofar as it was expanded in two different directions. It wasn't
> just the government doing the betraying; multinational corporations and defense
> contractors also stood accused of betraying the troops. Some PMOs argued that
> more than the troops were being betrayed. They claimed there was so much Bush
> administration betrayal to go aground that U.S. taxpayers, Iraqi translators, and
> Iraqis working with the U.S. occupiers, UN humanitarian staff, and Iraqi civilians
> were each betrayed in different ways by the invasion and "bungled' occupation."
> [Coy et al, 2008: 181]
>
> Hamilton (2012) argues along the same lines, that the post 9/11 antiwar movement was

able to reframe patriotism in as an anti-war concept which allowed for easier coalition building.

3. **Comparing and Contrasting: Frames in Vietnam and Post 9/11 Antiwar Movements**
Although they are not explicitly discussing frames, Eyerman and Jamison (1991, 1998)

discuss what they term "the mobilization of tradition" whereby movements are able to draw on

the meaning-making activities of past movements as sources of inspiration and credibility. Coy

et al (2008) propose a similar concept, "discursive legacies," whereby the framed meanings of movements build on one another over time in a dialectical manner. They discuss the development of framing around "supporting the troops" and claim that whereas this framing had an overall negative impact on the Vietnam antiwar movement, the post 9/11 antiwar movement was able to reframe the concept to support its ends. In fact, Coy et al (2008) finds that post 9/11 antiwar activists tended to actively distance themselves from Vietnam era antiwar protesters, who collective memory has falsely labeled as 'hostile towards the troops'. Zweig (2005) discusses the shifting relationship between labor and the antiwar movement over time, explaining that the current labor movement is much better informed about the direct relationship between spending on the war and spending cuts in the domestic sphere.

Aside from these explicit discussions of the direct relationships between these two movements we can also talk substantively about the overall similarities and differences between their framing strategies. To begin with, both of them operated from a basic 'injustice' master frame which portrayed the war, broadly, as unjust, immoral, and illegal. Next, both movement's referenced the international community and international law to discredit the notion that wars were justified/justifiable. Third, both made explicit references to the relationship between the pro-war government and the powerful companies which stood to profit from the war effort, as well as to the fact that extensive wartime spending seriously hampered domestic spending. On the whole, my analysis shows that these two movements, despite their relatively different demographic makeups, their differing use of technology, and their differing conflicts, had remarkably stable framed meanings over time, a finding supported by Coy et al. (2008). Some pieces did shift, most notably the framing around 'supporting the troops,' yet most of what we

think of about the Vietnam movement's alleged lack of support for troops essentially stems from the effective Nixon era propaganda.

C.   Hegemonic Discourses Around the Vietnam and Post-911 Conflicts
The previous sections detailed the collective action framing strategies employed by the Vietnam and Post-911 antiwar movements, focusing on the framed messages/meaning/ideas expressed by movements, and treating these framed meanings as the movement-level meaning-context in which antiwar songs exist. This section, on the other hand, shifts the focus from movements and frames to dominant discourses, focusing on the meanings and ideas present in the pro-war dominant/hegemonic discourses put forth by the government and media during the two periods. Contemporary gender scholars such as Judith Butler and Patricia Hill Collins, echoing earlier discussions from structuralist anthropologists such as Levi-Strauss, have pointed to the incredible power binaries hold over social discourses, and in analyzing the discourses of the Vietnam and post 9/11 eras, I find evidence supporting this. The discourses I discuss below essentially fall into a common pattern involving two basic us/them binaries, one around the 'good and patriotic' pro-war supporters versus the 'bad and unpatriotic' antiwar protestors, and one around the 'just and freedom-loving Americans' versus the 'evil, freedom-hating communists/terrorists.' Both sections are organized around three major themes: "them" (the antiwar protestors), "us" (pro-war Americans), and context (the larger discursive work around the meaning of the conflict (including discussions of the 'enemy'). The troubling implication of this trend, is that in setting up an "us vs. them", and "U.S. vs. enemy" binaries the anti-war protesters are always ultimately placed on the same side of the binary as the enemy, a designation which antiwar movements must then attempt to counter with their frames.

53

1. **Vietnam Era Hegemonic Discourse**

I have identified three major discourses operating during the Vietnam War era. One relating to the meanings attached to the anti-war movement, one relating to the meanings attached to the prowar supporters/government, and one relating to the overall meaning of the conflict itself. The first of these three relates to the manner in which the hegemonic discourse perpetuated by the government and the media portrayed the anti-war movement during the Vietnam era. Essentially, in this discourse, the anti-war movement and its participants became 'a bunch of deviants.' Gitlin (2003) points to this discourse and helps to demonstrate how it changed over time. He claims that, in the beginning, media coverage of the antiwar movement (or at least the Students for Democratic Society SDS) was neutral or even positive, but this rapidly shifted to a discussion the movement as trivial and ultimately dangerous. According to Gitlin, in the beginning the movement was trivialized as disorganized, factious and immature. Over time, the discourse shifted from trivial to radical, and the media began portraying the movement as a dangerous group of radicals, likely communists, definitely leftists, and possibly out to destroy America (Gitlin, 2003). Gitlin claims that this framing actually became a sort of a self-fulfilling prophecy, the more the media portrayed the movement as radical, the more radicals were attracted to the movement, and the more the overall makeup of the movement changed.

Operating within this major discourse were a number of sub-discourses relating to various dimensions of protesters' overall deviance. The first of these was an attempt to portray protestors as unpatriotic and unsupportive of the troops. Coy et al (2008) claims,

> To mobilize support for war and to control dissent, governments draw upon
> deeply engrained discourses regarding soldiering and the citizen's duty to support
> the troops… With the cooperation of the mainstream media (Herman and
> Chompsky 1988; Small, 1994), policy elites have successfully used these widely
> and deeply resonant beliefs about citizenship and soldiering for two purposes: to
> maintain popular support for the war and to stigmatize war opponents. During the

Vietnam War, protest was equated with disrespect for the troops, demonstrators were marked as failing in their citizenship (DeBenedetti and Chatfield 1990; Fendrich 2003; Huebner 2002), and the media portrayed them as extremists (Gitlin 1980). [P. 161-162]

This discourse was ultimately so powerful, argues Coy et al, that it affected the movement's discursive legacy ultimately altering the post 9/11 antiwar movement's relationship to the troops discourse.

The second sub-discourse around the protesters involved labeling them as 'communist sympathizers' who rejected American values, quoting an article on the Lane and Lerner (1970) an article very critical of the 'counter culture' Gustainis and Hahn (1988) claimed,

> The members of the counter-culture, [Lane and Lerner] wrote, "reject patriotism, respect of the police, puritan sexuality, the work-and-success ethic, consumerism, education as a social ladder, and perhaps above all, the underlying presumption of middle class America, that the American social order is a good and just one…" (p. 46). [P. 205]

This discourse was supported by widely circulating media discussions of protesters 'flying Vietcong flags' at antiwar rallies (Gitlin, 2003). Related to this sub-discourse was another one which portrayed anti-war supporters generally as members of the 'counterculture,' and specifically as degenerates, 'dirty hippies' and bums. In their admittedly very slanted article on the "rhetorical failures of the antiwar movement" Gustainis and Hahn (1988) claim,

> looking back, it seems clear that the manifestation of counter-culture values by anti-war protestors (through dress, grooming, slogans, public nudity, and drug use, among other things) was a rhetorical error. The target audience of the anti-war protest, the citizens of Middle America, found the counter-culture protestors "distasteful, even threating" (Mandelbaum, 1982, p. 166). [P. 206]

Here we see almost a 'politics of disgust' developing with regards to 'countercultural' protestors.

The second major discourse present in the Vietnam era related to government and to pro-war 'Americans.' This discourse is most clearly embodied by Nixon's famous notion of 'the

silent majority,' an explicit reference to the 'majority' of Americans who were 'good and dissent' people, as opposed to the unpatriotic countercultural protestors described above. Luther and Miller (2005) described this prowar discourse as "the region of 'motherhood and apple pie,"" as opposed to the "anti-war demonstrators who were relegated to the sphere of deviance" (Luther and Miller, 2005:80). In this discourse Nixon's silent majority, provides a counter-discursive tactic to combat anti-war activity and to delegitimize and minimize the movement's gains by providing the national an alternative narrative (Luther and Miller, 2005).

Related to this major discourse about the 'majority' of Americans, were a number of sub-discourses about the good work the United States was doing in Vietnam, namely fighting communism. This discourse built on earlier ones from the Eisenhower administration around the famed 'domino effect' whereby when one weak country falls to communism it may pull other countries in as well. This discourse, and the fear-mongering around it, provided the prime justification for the war. Supporting this discourse was another, this one about 'supporting marginalized Catholics' in Vietnam. A widely circulating discourse of the era painted a narrative of potential genocide of catholic Vietnamese at the hands of the 'ruthless communist north.'

Other sub discourses of the period continued this general theme, demonizing communists, and portraying America as the defender of liberty and democracy. Lind 2002, points to the incredible power of the discourse around being labeled "soft on communism" which "haunted democratic presidents since Truman" (Lind, 2002). Lind argues that all presidents in the post McCarthy years feared being labeled 'soft,' but democrats were the most susceptible, and this discourse can be seen as a powerful source of compulsion for Johnson's escalation of the conflict in Vietnam. Related to this discourse was the discussion of "hawks" and "doves," Lind

(2002) argues that while doves are synonymous with peace, they are also 'weak' compared to the strength and swiftness of 'hawks,' and this discourse too helped to push the country towards war.

The third major discourse of the period related to the conflict itself, and how it was portrayed in the media. The hegemonic discourse here was related again to the feared 'domino effect' and to the demonization of communism (Lind, 2002). Interestingly, the literature indicates that despite the long standing existence of this discourse, the overall discursive framing of the conflict shifted over time. Tanehaus, (2002), for instance claims, "as late as 1964, Johnson vowed he would not send American troops to do what "Asian boys ought to be doing for themselves." Likely compelled by fears of begin labeled 'soft on communism' president Johnson used the Gulf of Tonkin incident to escalate the conflict and to justify intervention (Lind, 2002). Ultimately, Nixon would bring the discourse full circle with his 'Vietnamization' doctrine, whereby responsibility for the conflict was turned back over to the South Vietnamese Army. The end result of this discourse was to frame the war's loss as the result of the antiwar movement and 'cowardly' politicians who pushed for the war's end rather than 'letting us win' (Gitlin, 2003).

2.   War on Terror discourse:
The discourse around the 'War on Terror,' like that around the Vietnam War, was characterized by three major themes relating to: "us" the USA, "them" the anti-war protesters, and the conflict itself. The first major theme relates to a binary diction between the 'good and just' United States and the 'evil terrorists'. This theme, perhaps even more than the distinction between the US and the communists during the Vietnam era, is truly a black/white good/evil binary. Subthemes supporting this major discourse attempted to portray the United States as an innocent victim of an unprovoked attack (Loseke, 2009). This attack was perpetrated by 'terrorists' who 'hate us because of our freedom/democracy' (Loseke, 2009). The other side of

57

this binary involved portraying the US as a land of brave heroes. Loseke (2009) discusses the powerful use of 'villain' and 'hero' imagery in her analysis of President Bush's speeches immediately after 9/11, in which he portrayed Al-Qaeda as an evil organization bent on destroying democracy and freedom, the other side of this portrayal, however, was to paint the 'brave firefighters and police' who rescued people during the attacks, and later the soldiers going to the Middle East as 'heroes.' Durham (2004) claims, "Bush declared in a speech to congress that "enemies of freedom" had committed an act of war against America. Al-Qaeda hated America because it hated democracy, 'our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other" (17). This 'hatred discourse' would ultimately be used not only to discuss 'the terrorists' but also to discredit dissent and criticism at home and abroad. Building on this discussion, Jackson 2005 claims, "The 'war on terrorism' therefore, is simultaneously a set of actual practices – wars, covert operations, agencies, and institutions – and an accompanying series of assumptions, beliefs, justifications, and narratives – it is an entire language of discourse" (8). Terrorists are evil perverted, twisted, hateful treacherous, savages, and Americans are brave, loving, generous, strong, resourceful, heroic, and respectful of human beings. (Jackson, 2005)

The second major discourse related to the War on Terror, relates to the anti-war movement, which was portrayed as unpatriotic or overly partisan. Much of this discourse relates to 'supporting the troops,' as a patriotic duty regardless of whether one supports the war. Coy et al (2008) claims, "President George H.W. Bush's emphasis in his January 1991 State of the Union speech on the need to "support our boys' and girls' no matter one's position on the impending ground offensive was designed to hamstring continued opposition to his escalating war" (Coy et al, 2008: 171). Hamilton (2012) also discusses this, especially in reference to the powerful

"yellow ribbon" discourse. She claims that patriotism is a powerful cultural construction in the United States, and one that is supported and reinforced through all manner not only of discursive, but also of symbolic practices, and the yellow ribbon is chief among them. The discourse around patriotism and supporting troops is so powerful, she claims, quoting Lucaites and Condit (1990:18) that it "requires a rhetor to speak against the dominant ideology, but from with its own vocabulary," forcing protesters to attempt enact their antiwar frames while simultaneously "countering charges of begin unpatriotic" (Hamilton, 2012: 22).

A second subtheme related to the major discourse around the antiwar movements related to the discursive portrayal of universities as unpatriotic. Durham (2004) for instance discusses report released by Lynne Chaney and Joseph Lieberman for the "American Council of Trustees and Alumni" which claimed that unpatriotic colleges and universities "have been the weak link in America's response' to 9/11; rather than establishing new courses on Islam… what universities needed to do is teach 'the ideas and ideals of which our nation has been built" (Durham, 2004: 18).

The third major discourse present around the War on Terror related to the general discussion around and portrayal of the conflict. Related to the discourse around 'good Americans' and 'evil terrorists' discussed above, this meaning-work tended explain the conflicts in unambiguous binary terms. The major discourse around the war in Afghanistan, for instance, was characterized by a desire for revenge and retribution, as indicated by President Bush's early speeches, in which he discusses the lengths the U.S. is willing to go to punish the evil terrorists who attacked us. Discourse around the conflict in Iraq was a little more complicated, but tended to revolve around the idea that Saddam Hussain was a dangerous leader who had used chemical weapons in the past and was likely to use weapons mass destruction against the US in the future, therefor the US

needed to 'primitively strike' before anything bad happened. Related to this discourse were a series of sub-discourses around why the US needed to go to war. Chief among them were discourses laden with bravado and patriotism. The US was the 'protector of freedom,' and as a superpower, it was our job to wipe out terrorism everywhere, in a speech shortly after the sept. 11 attack, president Bush claimed, "[o]ur 'war on terror' begins with Al-Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated" (Transcript of President Bush's address". CNN. 20 September 2001.) Related to this discourse were other sub-discourses around the US as a 'lone wolf' or as part of a 'coalition of the willing,' an implicit statement that countries who didn't support our wars were cowards unwilling to 'fight for freedom.'

3.   Comparing Vietnam and Post-911 Hegemonic Discourses

It would appear that hegemonic government and media discourses around wars tend to follow a predictable pattern involving the establishment of three principle binaries defining deviant/unpatriotic antiwar protesters against the patriotic pro-war 'public,' defining the just and freedom-loving USA and her brave and heroic troops against an evil enemy diametrically opposed to American values, and finally, defining the situation itself—its causes, its pretexts, its successes and failures. Not only the discursive structures, but the actual meanings in the discourses themselves remain remarkably consistent over time. Minor differences in the hegemonic discourses of these two periods were none-the-less present. One being the shift in discourses around protesters from various portrayals of Vietnam protesters as deviants, trivial youths, dirty hippies, dangerous radicals, to a much more tightened discourse around post-911 antiwar protesters as overly partisan and unpatriotic. The discourse around the 'enemy' also shifted over time in conjunction with the shifting situational discourses offering pretexts for the wars, there is evidence, for instance, for a shift from viewing the Vietcong as a communist threat

60

which could destabilize the whole region, to a focus on 'terrorists' as not only ideologically dangerous but truly 'evil,' and dangerous not only to stability of the middle ease but to the US itself. Other components of the discourses remained the same, especially the portrayal of America as a defender of freedom and justice, and of American troops as brave heroes. Although this second aspect was explicitly addressed and counter-framed by the post-911 antiwar movements which attempted to shift the discussion from 'support the troops' to a 'discourse of betrayal.'

D. Understanding Conflicts, Frames, and Discourses as Contexts

The preceding sections discussed three major contexts forming the overarching historical, cultural, and symbolic foreground in which antiwar songs in both periods were written, performed, and experienced and within which, and in reference to which, they were rendered meaningful for both artists, protesters, and the public. The historical weight of the conflicts themselves cannot be overemphasized, it is, after all, it is in response to the actual wars and the policies surrounding them that antiwar movements emerge and mobilize.

However, wars do not simply happen, they are carefully crafted historical events set in motion by powerful members of society and with at least the tacit consent of the public. Wars, therefore, are made possible in large part due to the effectiveness of the dominant/hegemonic discourses these powerful members of society draw upon and perpetuate. Moreover, movements are not simply individuals responding instrumentally to historical stimuli with protests and actions, movements are also powerful meaning-making entities putting forth alternative interpretations often intended to directly counter dominant discursive messages around the topics they address.

Songs are never created or experienced in a vacuum; they are always-already social and cultural, and can never be understood apart from their contexts. These contexts, however, involve not just historical events such as wars and movements, but also the meanings created around those events, the discourses and frames, put forth by governments, the media, and social movements. Take the draft for example, Vietnam era antiwar songs respond not only to the presence of the draft as such, but also to the manner in which the draft is understood and discussed in the dominate discourses perpetuated by the government and the collective action frames perpetuated by the antiwar movement.

IV.   Chapter 4: Data, Methods, and Analysis

A.   Data and Sampling

1.   Data Definitions and Scope

Data for this thesis consists primarily of two 40 song (80 songs total) weighted random samples drawn from a self-constructed database of anti-war music written, released, and performed during Vietnam and Post 9/11 eras.[2] Following Rosenthal and Flacks (2012), this thesis addresses "political music" and does not concern itself with the distinction Weissman (2010) makes between "songs that weigh in on social issues and songs that are written in a deliberate attempt to bring about social change" (171), believing both types of songs ultimately envision an end to wars, and both types express antiwar related cultural narratives. For the purposes of this thesis, anti-war songs are defined as songs which offer at least some lyrical content that is critical of war, the military, or war-related governmental policy or practice (including the repression of anti-war protesters). Songs included in the first sample represent Vietnam era anti-war music and include only songs written, released, and performed between

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[2] The research for this project was performed under IRB Protocol #:14-06-779.

1964 and 1978. Songs included in the second sample represent Post – 9/11 era anti-war music and include only songs written, performed and released between 2001 and 2015. Finally, data in this thesis refers to lyrical content as opposed to actual recorded material.[3]

2.   Database Construction

In order to establish a sampling frame from which to draw my two samples, I constructed a database consisting of 2247 non-unique entries[4] representing anti-war songs written, released, and performed between 1954 and 2016.[5] This larger database was split into two smaller sub-databases representing the Vietnam (1964-1978) and Post 9/11 (2001-2015) eras, and it was from these sub-databases that my 40 song samples were ultimately drawn. Before samples could be drawn, however, the database needed to be populated, a process which involved mining a multitude of online sources. First, a list of search terms was generated (antiwar songs, anti-war songs, Vietnam anti-war songs, Iraq anti-war songs, Afghanistan anti-war songs). Each of these terms were entered into Google and the first 5 pages of findings were mined for sources.

In subsequent rounds of searching, a second set of genre specific search terms were also used (antiwar + punk, rock, folk, metal, hip-hop, alternative), however, only punk, metal, and hip-hop yielded any further additions. There was considerable overlap in the results of many of these searches, and in cases of such overlap, the most general search term was logged. In addition to logging search terms, song names, artist/band names, and release year, I

also logged the website title and URL. Sources included two major preexisting anti-war databases, "antiwarsongs.org" and "Wikipedia.org" which contributed 921 and 768 entries into

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[3] Although I listened to recorded versions of each song multiple times throughout the analysis process and took notes on each song's auditory aspects, actual analysis focused on lyrics.
[4] Due to my weighting system (discussed below) which allows for repeated entries the number of unique songs in the database is lower than the total number of database entries.
[5] The larger database includes songs before and between my time periods for potential further sampling in the future.

the full database respectively. The rest of the database was populated with entries from 42

smaller sources including 'top-lists', news articles, forums, and blogs/personal webpages (see

figure 1).

After the larger database was fully populated, I

created two separate sub-databases representing the

Vietnam and post-9/11 eras. The Vietnam database

consists of 624 non-unique entries representing 364 anti-

Figure 1 Small Sources	
Source	**Count**
Toplists	26
Articles	6
Forums	5
Blogs/Personal Websites	4
Compellation Albums	2
Total	**43**

war songs written, released, and performed between 1964-1978. The Post-9/11 database consists

of 1177 non-unique entries representing 891 anti-war songs written, released, and produced

between 2001 and 2015. Given that we typically associate anti-war music with the Vietnam era,

it is interesting that these sub-databases vary so greatly in size. It is impossible to know for

certain what exactly is the source of this disparity, but it is possible to speculate.

It seems unlikely that there really is more post-911 anti-war music being produced, what

does seem likely is that anti-war themes have proliferated across multiple genres, many of which

simply didn't exist during the 60s and 70s. It is also likely that many of the smaller and less

commercial forms of antiwar music produced in the Vietnam era have been lost to time, whereas

even less-well-known contemporary antiwar songs have yet to be forgotten. Furthermore,

computers and the internet allow for the archival and dissemination of music at levels which

were simply not possible during the Vietnam period.

3.   A Note on Weighting
Using weighted sampling, songs occurring in multiple sources had a higher probability of

ending up in my samples. The end result of this weighting strategy is that songs are de-facto

weighted for popularity; not in the billboard sense, but in the 'popular among people who care

about anti-war music' sense. In other words, they are derived from individuals willing to take the

time to create a database, write a blogpost/article, or construct a top-list and, as such, more likely care about the anti-war movement, or at the very least, anti-war music.

Had I taken truly random samples from a database of unique songs they would have been representative merely of the database, whereas random weighted samples like the ones I took are more likely to be representative of songs anti-war supporters are more likely to actually listen to. In essence, my weighting strategy allowed people who care about anti-war issues (i.e. those invested enough to put content online) to essentially 'vote' songs into the sample. Moreover, in choosing to weight songs for popularity I hoped to ensure that a reasonable proportion of songs in my sample were songs readers were likely to have heard (or at least heard of).

4.   Sampling Procedure
Once the two sub-databases (Vietnam era and Post-9/11 era) were populated, I used a random number generator to assign a random number to each entry. I then sorted the databases based upon these random numbers and took the top 40 songs from each to form two random 40 song samples. Next, I listened to each song one time to ensure that they met my definitional criteria. Approximately 10 songs between the two samples failed to meet these definitional criteria, generally because they had no easily apparent anti-war message. These songs were thrown out and random sampling continued until both samples were complete.

Once both samples were finalized, I searched the internet in order to capture lyrics for all sampled songs. Lyric websites are notorious for mis-quoting songs, and a few google searches revealed that there as a consensus among those who care about accurate lyrics that LyricWikia is the most reliable of these sites. For each song, I searched LyricWikia's database and captured their lyrics for all songs present. Some songs, generally the smaller or more obscure ones, were not present on LyricWikia, in these few cases, I was able draw lyrics from Antiwarsongs.org.

5. Describing the Samples

Figures 2 and 3 represent the title, artist, year, and weight for all songs in my two samples.

YEAR	Title	Artist	Weight
FIGURE 2 VIETNAM SAMPLE			
1967	IFeelLikeI'mFixin'toDieRag	Country Joe and the Fish	15
1970	War	Edwin Starr	15
1969	Fortunate Son	Credence Clearwater Revival	11
1969	Give Peace a chance	John Lennon and Yoko Ono	11
1965	Eve of Destruction	Barry McGuire	10
1970	Ohio	Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young	8
1963	Blowin in the Wind	Bob Dylan	6
1967	For What its Worth	Buffalo Springfield	6
1978	Wasted Life	Stiff Little Fingers	4
1971	What's Going On	Marvin Gaye	4
1968	Talking Vietnam Potluck blues	Tom Paxton	3
1966	Vietnam Blues	Kris Kristofferson	3
1977	Born to Kill	The Damned	2
1967	Brother, Did you Weep	Ewan MacColl	2
1971	Damn Nam (Aint Going to Vietnam)	Leon Thomas	2
1966	Freckle Faced Soldier	Coleen Lovett	2
1969	Freedom	Richie Havens	2
1970	Mama Bake a Pie (daddy Kill a Chicken	Tom T. Hall	2
1978	Suspect Device	Stiff Little Fingers	2
1968	Vietnam War	Sam Lightnin Hopkins	2
1974	(What's So Funny Bout) Peace, Love, and Understanding	Nick Lowe	1
1968	1983... (A Merman I Should Turn to Be)	The Jimi Hendrix Experience	1
1969	All my children of the sun	Pete Seeger	1
1966	Ballad of the Fort Hood Three	Pete Seeger	1
1975	Ballad of the Unknown Soldier	Barbara Dane	1
1974	Future Legend/Diamond Dogs	David Bowie	1
1971	Gimme Some Truth	John Lennon	1
1971	Had any Lately	Mother of Three	1
1968	Song for Hugh Thompson	David Rovics	1
1970	Lucky Man	Emerson, Lake and Palmer	1
1973	Oh! Camil (the Winter Soldier)	Graham Nash	1
1970	Run Through the Jungle	Credence Clearwater Revival	1

1970	Stoned Love	The Supremes	1
1966	The End	The Doors	1
1971	The Lee Shore	David Crosby	1
1968	The War Is Over	Phil Ochs	1
1971	Wont Get Fooled Again	The Who	1
1971	Your Flag Decal Wont Get You Into Heaven Anymore	John Prine	1
1969	The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down	The Band	1
1972	Hey Sandy	Harvey Andrews	1

FIGURE 3 POST 911 SAMPLE			
YEAR	**Title**	**Artist**	**Weight**
2003	In a world Gone Mad	Beastie Boys	5
2003	Iraq Has Deadly Weapons	Ryan Harvey	4
2004	Mosh	Eminem	4
2005	Rich Mans War	Steve Earle	4
2003	To Washington	John Mellencamp	4
2003	Twisted Sense of God Pt. 1 and 2.	FINE ARTS MILITIA ft. Chuck D	4
2008	George W. Told the Nation	Tom Paxton	4
2007	Dear Mr. President	Pink	3
2009	Harry Patch (In Memory Of)	Radiohead	3
2002	Jacobs Ladder	Chumbawumba	3
2004	Line in the Sand	Lucy Kaplansky	3
2003	Bomb the World	MICHAEL FRANTI & SPEARHEAD	3
2003	The 4th Branch	Immortal Technique	3
2004	Home to Houston	Steve Earle	2
2005	No Time Flat	Kevin Devine	2
2003	The price of Oil	Billy Bragg	2
2003	Not In Our Name	SAUL WILLIAMS	2
2004	State of the Union	Rise Against	2
2007	A Farewell to Arms	Machine Head	1
2006	An American Draft Dodger in thunder Bay	Sam Roberts	1
2009	Blessed are they who bash your children's heads against a rock	Dalek	1

2004	Blinded By the Right	David and Jenny Heitler-Llevans	1
2003	Bushism	Kai Kreowski	1
2008	Confrontation	OTEP	1
2011	Courage to Resist	Vic Sadot	1
2005	Depleted uranium is Nuclear War	Mike Stout	1
2008	Down from the Sky	Trivium	1
2009	We are the Cops of the world	Mike Stout	1
2004	Guantanamo Bay	David Rovics	1
2004	Fight Back	Son of Nun	1
2012	Lets Go	Ministry	1
2006	Letter from Iraq	The Bouncing Souls	1
2011	Listen	Jordan Page	1
2011	Need Some Sleep	JackTheRipper	1
2010	No one's Left Keeping Score	Nashville bound	1
2002	The Flowers and the Guns	George Papavgeris	1
2005	Who are you Fighting for?	UB40	1
2006	Wolves in wolves clothing	NOFX	1
2004	Stuck in Iraq	Hillbilly Democrats	1
2005	Baghdad Blues	Beverly Watkins	1

Broken down by genre (see figure 4), Rock N Roll and Folk each account for about a third of the Vietnam sample, and when these two genres are combined with folk/rock (treated as a separate genre) the three of them account for almost 75% of the sample. The post-9/11 sample is a little more diverse when it comes to genre (see figure 5), however, about 40% of the sample is still folk, rock, or folk-rock, and this number jumps to 49% when alternative (the line between these 4 genres is blurry) is added. The biggest

Figure 4 Vietnam Genre		
Genre	Count	Percent
Punk	1	3%
Jazz	1	3%
Blues/Soul	3	8%
Country	3	8%
R&B	3	8%
Folk Rock	5	13%
Rock N Roll	11	28%
Folk	13	33%
Grand Total	40	100%

difference around genre comes from the addition of a sizable portion (20%) of hip-hop songs in

the post-9/11 sample.

As I discussed above, the two samples are
temporarily limited such that the Vietnam sample
includes only songs written, released, and
performed between 1964 and 1978, and the post-
9/11 sample includes only songs written, released
and performed between 2001 and 2015. The
average (mean) year for songs in the Vietnam
sample is 1970 (see figure 6), and 60% of the

Figure 5	Post-911 Genre	
Genre	Count	Percent
Blues	1	3%
Reggae	1	3%
Country	2	5%
Punk	2	5%
Alternative	3	8%
pop	3	8%
Metal	4	10%
Folk Rock	5	13%
Rock N Roll	5	13%
Folk	6	15%
HipHop	8	20%
Grand Total	40	100%

sample falls between the years 1968 and 1971. The average (mean) year for the songs in the

post-911 sample is 2008, but over half (56%) of the songs fall between 2003 and 2005.

Figure 6
Vietnam Sample Years

Table 6

Figrue 7
Post-911 Sample Years
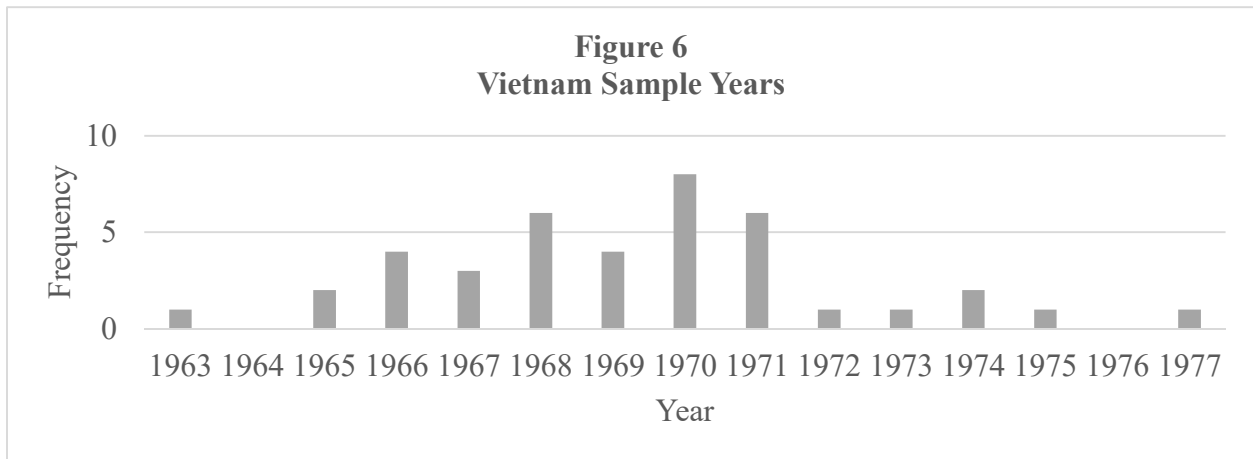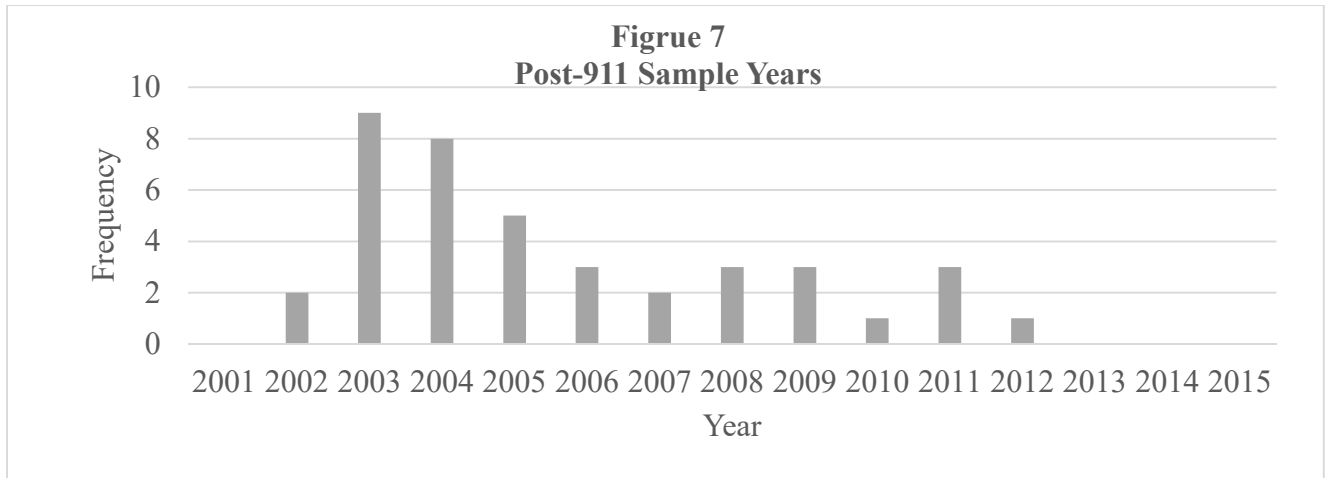
Table 7

B.   Narrative Analysis: A Methodological Framework

1.   Overview

Analysis involved a form of content analysis informed by both narrative analysis and grounded theory techniques. The first phase involved several rounds of grounded theory inspired coding to establish indigenous themes and patterns. Phase two involved the construction of a narrative analysis research instrument (see appendix 2) which was then filled out for each song. Once all songs had been analyzed, I entered data from the instrument into an excel database to begin to establish patterns and themes. In order to facilitate this processes, I generated graphs for many of the narrative elements, and plotted relative frequencies for the symbolic/emotion code clusters I identified. Finally, I went back to the contextual and movements/music literature to begin to draw connections between the meanings inherent in the songs and those discussed in the sections above.

2.   Initial and Focused Coding

Analysis began with a grounded theory inspired coding process similar to the one outlined in Charmaz (2014). Grounded theory coding encourages the researcher to keep an open mind and to remain close to the data, allowing indigenous themes and patterns to emerge

organically from repeated and careful interaction with the text (Charmaz, 2014). Coding took place in three stages. First, I read and listened to a recorded version of each song in order to get a feel for the data. In most cases this was accompanied by a short 'first thoughts' memo. Second, I conducted a round of initial coding. Following Charmaz (2014), I remained close to the text generating mostly inductive codes aimed at identifying characters, actions, and processes. Third, I conducted a round of thematic/focused coding, intended to accomplish two goals. First, in line with Chamraz's (2014) discussion of focused coding, I used my initial codes to help identify patterns and themes (generally inductive codes). Second, I coded for evidence of the language and logic of anti-war movement frames and the dominant (pro-war) media/political discourses of the two time periods (entirely deductive codes). In order to accomplish this second aspect, I generated lists of the primary social movement frames and dominant (pro-war) media/political discourses from the two time periods. I generated these lists as part of a separate project aimed at understanding the relationship between these two forms of contentious meaning making.

In keeping with Charmaz (2014), memos were generated after each stage of coding. Memos, according to Charmaz (2014:162), are the pivotal step between data and writing as they prompt researchers to engage in analysis early on and throughout the analytic process. This multi-stage coding process was further buttressed with constant comparison, whereby themes and patterns emerging during the coding process are constantly 'tested' against other pieces of data (Charmaz, 2014; Lichtman, 2014). This multi-stage coding and memo writing process helped ensure that I had a firm grasp of the data before beginning into the narrative analysis stage discussed in the following section.

3.   **Cultural Narrative Analysis**
For several decades, narrative analysis (also referred to as narrative inquiry) has offered a powerful set of methodological tools for helping researchers to better understand individual and

71

organizational narratives. More recently, researchers have begun to utilize narrative analysis (hereafter NA) approaches to study social movements and culture. While NA, in its traditional manifestation, is ideal for studying activists and social movement organizations, researchers seeking to merge NA with cultural sociology such as Donileen Loseke (2007, 2009, 2012) have re-worked NA into a powerful lens through which to identify and analyze the cultural narratives and formula stories at the core of cultural texts. Loseke (2012) offers a detailed discussion of her approach to identifying and analyzing formula stories in public texts such as speeches. Drawing inspiration from Loseke (2012), and synthesizing her approach with other culturally oriented NA approaches (Vindrola-Padros & Johnson, 2014; Wolgemuth, 2013; Souto-Manning, 2012; Boje, 2001) I generated a narrative analysis instrument with approximately 30 "questions to ask of the narrative" (see Appendix 2 for example instrument). Following Loseke's basic framework these questions fall into 5 categories.

The first two, 'establishing a context' and 'conducting a close reading,' represent fairly traditional NA techniques. Establishing a context, for instance, involves answering questions about the song genre/date, the narrator, the intended audience, and the intended story type (factual, fictional, fictionalized fact, etc.). Conducting a close reading involves thinking of the song as a story and looking for narrative elements such as plots, scenes, characters, themes, and morals. In addition to these traditional NA elements, Loseke (2012) also encourages researchers to think about who might evaluate the story as believable or important and what emotions the plot or characters encourage the audience to feel.

Because many songs do not offer a full narrative with a clear beginning, middle, and end, character development, rising and falling action, or a resolution, I supplemented Loseke's approach with a question aimed at identifying what Boje (2001) refers to as "ante-narratives."

Ante-narratives, according to Boje, are stories which lack a formalized narrative structure and represent narratives in their nascent state as well as forms of "speculative meaning-making." Ante-narratives, not to be confused with anti-narratives (stories which refuse to conform to narrative standards), represent meaning-making-in-process, in that they allow, or even expect, the audience to fill in the gaps and complete the narrative.

Step three, unpacking narrative elements, begins to shift the focus from the narrative as such to the narrative as a cultural text. In doing so, it asks questions related to the "types of people" or types of cultural identities (Loseke, 2012:252) at the core of the story, how the characters are directly or implicitly described, and which parts of the narrative are described in concrete, general, and abstract ways. Drawing on Vindorola-Padros and Johnson (2014) I have supplemented Loseke's framework with questions relating to what the authors term the "non-narrated" and "dis-narrated" parts of the story. Non-narrated elements include those things which are not discussed in the story, often pointing to those parts of the narrative the narrator takes for granted or intentionally neglects to mention, whereas dis-narration refers to the elements of a story which did not happen in reality and are included as hypotheticals, possible future outcomes, or avoided fates. Vindrola-Padros and Johnson (2014) argue that the dis-narrated elements of a story can offer insights into the hopes, dreams, and deepest fears of the characters or narrators in narratives.

Step 4, unpacking discourse, power, and resistance, attempts to understand how the narratives contained in anti-war song lyrics relate to dominant social discourses, hegemonic ideologies, and social movement frames. In focusing on these alternative forms of contentious meaning making, it asks questions related to power and hierarchy, and brings in insights from Souto-Manning's (2012) "critical narrative analysis method" and Wolgemuth's (2013) "critical

resistance analysis" method. Soluto-Manning's framework combines critical discourse analysis with NA and attempts to understand the manifestation of dominant discourses in narratives as well as the manner in which narratives create and transform dominant discourses. Wolgemuth's methodological framework encourages researchers to unpack expressions of "critical resistance" in narratives. Critical resistance, according to Wolegmuth, refers to situations in which narrators or characters critically engage with their own self-concepts and their own positions in hierarchies and systems of privilege and oppression.

Finally, step 5, unpacking symbolic and emotion codes, attempts to identify and analyze the symbolic and emotion codes at the core of the cultural narratives expressed in the songs. In order to unpack these codes, this section asks questions about what knowledge about the world the narrative assumes, what would one need to believe about the world for the narrative to be believable and important, and what specific values are referenced or transmitted. Finally, this section asks what symbolic and emotion codes are present in the song. By placing the questions about symbolic and emotion codes at the very end of the instrument I was able to ensure that a song had been coded multiple times and a whole slew of narrative elements had been examined and discussed prior to attempting to identify the symbolic and emotion code pairs which ultimately served as the primary focus of analysis.

4.   Symbolic and Emotion Codes

According to Loseke, cultural narratives are effective and believable when they are recognizable and predictable and when they "reflect how audience members understand the world" (Loseke, 2012: 253). This ability to reflect audience members' pre-formed understandings of the world is accomplished by a cultural narrative's ability to tap into what she refers to as symbolic and emotion codes drawing on the work of Jeffery Alexander and Arlie Hoschield respectively. Loseke (2012) claims, *"Symbolic codes* are systems of ideas about how

the world does work, or should work, and about the rights and responsibilities among people in this world" (Loseke, 2012: 253). Symbolic codes tell us, cognitively, how we should understand and interpret a situation, person, behavior, or interaction. Formula stories point to meanings via symbolic codes, but they also point to feelings.

Loseke, refers to this affective aspect of formula stories as emotion codes, and claims "*Emotion codes* are systems of ideas about when and where and toward whom or what emotions should be inwardly experienced, outwardly displayed and morally evaluated. "(Loseke, 2012: 253). Symbolic and emotion codes relate not only to the ways in which we render things meaningful, but also to the "rights, responsibilities, and normative expectations" we confer on those involved in cultural narratives (Loseke, 2007:666). They tell us not only how we should feel about situations and people, but also direct us toward particular responses and courses of action. Loseke (2009) summarizes the argument nicely, "as cultural ways of *thinking*, symbolic codes are complex systems of ideas about how the world works, how it should work, of the rights and responsibilities of people in that world. As cultural ways of *feeling*, emotion codes are sets of ideas about what emotions are appropriate to feel when, where, and toward whom or what as well as how emotion should be outwardly expressed" (Loseke, 2009: 498-499). However, this is not to say that symbolic and emotion codes are monolithic or universally held, their meanings vary over time, space, and context, and the extent to which they can be effectively and believably employed varies greatly with the backgrounds of those utilizing and interpreting them. Moreover, argues Loseke, "some codes are easily changed, others are widely shared but innocuous, and still others, are "constantly debated, challenged, and modified," yet remain "deeply held, inescapable relationships of meaning that define the possibilities of utterance in a cultural universe" (Swidler 1995:32)" (Loseke, 2007: 665).

V.   Chapter 5: Findings

The three sections which follow present the bulk of my findings. The first section, "Cultural Narratives in Vietnam and post-9ll Anti-war Songs," aims at broadly addressing my first research question – What cultural narratives are reflected in the lyrical content of anti-war music in the Vietnam and post-911 eras? In addressing this question, I provide an overview of the primary cultural narratives represented in both periods and the core symbolic and emotion codes at the heart of those narratives, focusing especially on the narratives/codes which remain constant over time. The second and third sections dig deeper into the shifting cultural narratives and symbolic/emotion codes across and between the two time periods in order to address my second research question – To what extent has the lyrical content, and the cultural narratives reflected in antiwar music changed over time?

In the second section, "Moral Outrage: From Death and Destruction to Government Mistrust," I argue that songs in both periods, much like movements, attempt to evoke feelings of moral outrage among audience members, but that the cultural narratives to which they appeal to do so shift over time from narratives related to *death and destruction* to narratives related to *government mistrust*. The third section, "Movement Focus: From Countercultural Vision to Globalized Anti-Imperialism," reveals that songs in Vietnam tend to express not only countercultural values, but a countercultural vision detailing what is needed to 'fix' America, whereas post 911 songs shifted to a focus on a new form of globalized anti-imperialism. Each section is broken down into two subsections, one which views the songs through a narrative lens and discusses their topics, settings, plots, characters, and morals, and one which discusses and unpacks the symbolic and emotion codes present in the songs.

A.   Section 1: Cultural Narratives in Vietnam and post-9ll Anti-war Songs
What cultural narratives are reflected in the lyrical content of anti-war music in the

Vietnam and post-911 eras? In addressing this question, this section paints a picture, in broad

brushstrokes, of the overarching narratives represented in the songs of both periods and of the

symbolic and emotion codes undergirding those narratives. The first part of this broad overview

focuses on the narrative elements present in the songs such as plots, settings, characters, morals

and major themes, and the second part focuses on the major symbolic and emotion codes present

in songs from both periods, focusing especially on those codes which remain consistent over

time.

1.   Narrative Elements – Section 1
Narrative analysis offers a powerful set of analytic lenses through which to view texts.

By focusing on plots, settings, characters, and morals, narrative analysis allows researchers to

notice things that might go unnoticed with other methodological approaches. Plot is likely the

single most important component of a narrative. It forms the story's core and is the structure in

which characters appear and develop and through which the story's moral is conveyed.

In comparing plots expressed in songs across both periods a clear trends emerges. It

appears that the plots expressed in anti-war songs tend to follow predictable patterns if not

outright formulas. Moreover, these formulaic plots are fairly consistent across both time periods.

So, even as the codes and narratives change, the plots remain the largely the same. I have

identified 6 such formula plots (See Figure 8). Some of these plots focus on soldiers and their

experiences in battle and when they return home, others focus on veterans who have spoken out

against the war, recounting their individual stories. Other plots focus on the experience at home,

on acts of protest and repression, and on the sadness and despair of wives, girlfriends, and

mothers left behind. Finally, some plots, especially those with complex ante-narratives, more or

less function as lists, some as lists of atrocities committed in war, and others as lists of reasons

not to trust the government.

Figure 8 Formulaic Plots		
Formulaic Plot	**Vietnam Examples**	**Post 911 Examples**
Soldier's Experiences	Mama Bake a Pie, Run Through the Jungle, Vietnam Blues	No Sleep, Letter from Iraq, Rich Man's War
Wife/Girlfriend/Mother left behind	Silent Homecoming, Freckle Faced Soldier, Vietnam (Hopkins	Pieces of various 911 songs (e.g. Rich Man's War)
Protest/Repression	Ohio, Hey Sandy, Ballad of the Ft. Hood 3	Confrontation, Mosh, Flowers in the Guns
Veterans Speaking out	Ballad of the ft. hood 3, Oh! Camil	Courage to resist, Stuck in Iraq
Lists of Atrocities	Brother did you weep, Eve of Destruction	Blessed are those…, Depleted Uranium is Nuclear War
Lists of Government Mistrust	Gimme' some truth, Ball of Confusion, Fortunate Son	4th Branch, Blinded by the Right, Listen

While plots are certainly an important feature of narratives, fully actualized plots need a

setting in which to take place, and looking at settings in the songs of the two periods can help to

better understand the underlying messages present in the narratives. Not surprisingly, the vast

majority of the songs are set either in the conflict region (i.e. Vietnam or Middle East) or in

America itself. As one would expect, settings are closely related to plots, with songs from

soldiers' perspectives, and songs detailing atrocities tending to take place overseas. Whereas

songs detailing protests, government mistrust, etc. tend to take place in the US. Not all songs fit

into this dichotomy, however, especially those focused on girlfriends/wives left behind and on

vets speaking out, both of which have plots calling for multiple settings. Finally, some of the

Vietnam songs are set in entirely fictional places such as the future or post-apoplectic societies.

In addition to plots and settings we also expect narratives to have characters. However,

not all stories have explicit characters, and this is especially true for ante-narratives, which often

have merely implied characters. For instance, simple ante-narrative songs such as "State of the Union" by Rise Against or "Wolves in Wolves Clothing" by NOFX are highly critical of the public and the government, yet accomplish their narratives with metaphors and "we" statements,

> If we're the flagship of peace and prosperity
> We're taking on water and about to fuckin' sink
> No one seems to notice; no one even blinks
> The crew all left the passengers to die under the sea…
> State of the union address
> Reads war torn country still a mess
> The words: power, death, and distorted truth
> Are read between the lines of the red, white, and blue
> State of the Union – Rise Against (2004)

Rather than with references to specific characters. Even among songs with explicit characters, there is considerable variation in specificity.

Some songs tell stories about, or from the perspective of, concrete individuals, as is the case with all of the songs about veterans speaking out (e.g. "Oh! Camil"- Graham Nash (1973), "Courage to Resist" – Vic Sadot (2011), etc.). Other songs reference concrete individuals, but threat them as 'types of people,' this form of character is most prevalent in songs which are critical of arrogant leaders and politicians. Finally, characters in many (if not most) songs are unnamed 'types of people' such as soldiers, protesters, politicians/leaders, women/children, and civilians.

Loseke (2012, 2009) discusses the manner in which "types of people" typically relate to "widely circulating images" and ultimately to formula stories. Soldiers, as types of people, for example, evoke a widely circulating image of what a soldier is or should be, what that person represents, and how we should interpret and react to concrete people embodying that type. Essentially, we have cultural understandings of soldiers, protesters, politicians, civilians, etc., as

types of people each with their own symbolic and emotion codes which direct us to culturally appropriate interpretations and emotional responses.

We have symbolic codes around protesters, for instance, which portray them as agitated and involved; this taps into our symbolic codes around community/civil engagement, apathy/complacency, outspokenness, and resistance, and can be positive or negative. Interpretations and emotional responses around protesters range from supportive and proud, to disgusted and angry. Although both of these responses tap into the same basic underlying symbolic codes, the emotional responses called forth vary considerably because they are related not only to protesters as a symbolic code, but also to the symbolic codes surrounding the object/cause for protest. So, a conservative WWII vet during Vietnam would evaluate a draft card burning rally with disdain and condemnation because he would evaluating it based on the symbolic and emotion codes not only around protest, but also around soldiering (duty, bravery, honor), whereas one of the young people participating in the rally would evaluate their fellow protesters based not only on the symbolic and emotion codes around protest, but also around the draft and the death of young people.

Second only to plots, morals are one of the most important parts of a narrative. Morals represent the part of the narrative the narrator wants to leave us with, the point they think is most central or important. In attempting to identify the overarching themes and narratives present in songs, morals and topics can be an excellent place to start. I was able to code each song in both samples with a moral and a topic and then to generate graphs representing these data.

Vietnam songs tended to address one of eight topics: *soldiers' experiences*, *protest/repression*, *soldiers' deaths*, *government mistrust*, *death and destruction*, *countercultural vision*, *chaos and disillusionment*, *and the absurdity of war*. Most prominent among these were

80

the *absurdity of war* (27.5%), including songs such as the Fugs' (1965) "Kill for Peace" and Country Joe's (1967) "I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin-to-Die-Rag" and *chaos/disillusionment* (17.5%) including songs such as the Temptations (1970) "Ball of Confusion" or Barry McGuire's (1965) "Eve of Destruction."

Post 911 songs tend to address one of six major topics*: soldiers*, *resistance*, *imperialism*, *government mistrust*, *death and destruction*, *and class warfare*. By far the most prevalent among these topics was *government mistrust* which accounted for 40% of the post 911 songs. David and Jenny Heitler-Llevans' (2004) "Blinded by the Right" or Ryan Harvey's (2003) "Iraq" provide two excellent illustrations.

Morals, much more than topics, are bound to narratives, because they constitute a foundation for symbolic codes and offer a powerful lens into not just want the song is about, but also what the narrator is encouraging us, as the audience, to believe or do. Vietnam songs tend to express one of 10 morals: *We need more peace, love, and understanding*; *war kills young people and breaks hearts*; *war is immoral and kills innocent people*; *war is absurd/pointless/futile*; *soldiers are heroes*; *repression is wrong*; *question authority*; *and America is in trouble/headed down wrong path*. Among these codes, *war is immoral and kills innocent people* is the most prevalent, accounting for about 22% of the songs, but *we need more peace, love, and understanding* and *war kills young men and breaks hearts* are also prevalent, each accounting for 37.5% of the Vietnam songs (15 songs). Examples from these songs include, John Lennon's iconic (1969) "Give Peace a Chance," Nick Lowe's (1974) "(What's so Funny Bout) Peace Love and Understanding," and Barry McGuire's (1965) "Eve of Destruction" which is structured as a conversation between an antiwar sympathizer and a skeptic and claims,

> I can't twist the truth, it knows no regulation,
> **handful of Senators don't pass legislation,**

81

and marches alone can't bring integration,
when human respect is disintegratin',
this whole crazy world is just too frustratin',
and you tell me over and over and over again my friend,
ah, you don't believe we're on the eve of destruction.

In the song, McGuire paints a picture of the country the edge of disaster, and this excerpt gives

us some indication of 'why,' the problem is not senators, or a lack of marches, the problem is

human respect, and a lack of love and understanding for one's fellow man.

Songs in the post 911 sample expressed six morals: *war kills the poor*, *war kills soldiers*,

war is immoral and kills innocent people, *resist/speak out*, *global imperialism is unjust*, *and*

don't trust the government. As should be expected based on the prevalence of government

mistrust as a topic, *don't trust the government* as a moral is also the most prevalent, accounting

for 32.5% of the songs in the post 911 era. Examples songs include Kai Krensky's (2003)

"Bushism," Trivium's (2008) "Down from the Sky" or Eminem's (2004) "Mosh," which claims,

Let the president answer a higher anarchy
Strap him with an Ak-47, let him go, fight his own war
Let him impress daddy that way
No more blood for oil,
we got our own battles to fight on our own soil
No more psychological warfare, to trick us to thinking that we ain't loyal

In the excerpt, the narrator calls President Bush out directly, referencing the false pretexts

of the war (oil), and discussing the "psychological warfare" used by the government to

trick the public into supporting a pointless war.

2. Symbolic and Emotion Codes – Section 1

As much as we can learn from the narrative elements discussed in the previous section,

looking at the symbolic and emotion codes at the core of those narratives paints an even bigger

picture. Analysis of the songs from both periods yielded about 90 symbolic and emotion code

pairs (See Appendix 3 for full codebook). Figure 9 provides frequencies and totals for all 90.

Figure 9 Symbolic and Emotion Codes			
Code Pair	Vietnam Songs Coded	Post-911 Songs Coded	Total Songs Coded
Government Mistrust	17	25	42
Arrogant leader	14	25	39
Soldier-as hero	12	17	29
Death and Destruction	15	12	27
Solider-as victim	12	13	25
Politicians	4	18	22
Innocent Victims-general	7	15	22
Complacency/Apathy	8	12	20
Future Generations	7	13	20
Peace-general	13	6	19
Resistance/Dissent-general	10	9	19
Young People Killed	12	7	19
Senseless killing	10	7	17
God/Religion	9	7	16
Imperialism/Empire	6	10	16
Protesters-general	5	10	15
Patriotism/Patriotic People	4	11	15
Repression	8	7	15
Mechanized Destruction/War Machines	5	9	14
Bad Soldiers-as villain	10	4	14
Innocent Victims-Women & Kids	5	8	13
Young people-general	9	4	13
Rich/Wealthy People	3	10	13
Outspoken Dissenter	8	5	13
Enemy-general	6	6	12
Family-general	7	5	12
Freedom	5	7	12
Bravery/Valor	9	2	11
Soldier's duty/calling	6	5	11
Terrorists	0	10	10
Vietnamese-enemy	9	1	10
Using the Poor	2	8	10
Brave Americans	5	5	10
Insanity	6	4	10

Wicked world	4	5	9
Soldiers-as villains	5	4	9
Love-general	8	1	9
Love-couples/romantic	5	4	9
Truth teller /bard	3	5	8
War profiteers	2	6	8
Mothers-Loss of Child	5	3	8
Individualism	6	2	8
Work Ethic	4	4	8
Wife/Girlfriend	4	3	7
Racism	5	2	7
Military Defection/Resistance	6	1	7
Draft Resister	4	2	6
Villagers/International Poor	4	2	6
Truth/Transparency	3	3	6
Provider/Hard-worker	2	4	6
GI-Resistance/Dissent	4	2	6
Mothers/Motherhood-general	3	3	6
Poverty-general	3	3	6
Middle Class	0	5	5
War-general	4	1	5
Military Families	3	2	5
Rights	0	5	5
Racial Equality	3	2	5
Understanding	3	2	5
Military-general	2	3	5
Progress/Manifest Destiny	2	3	5
Poverty/Hunger	2	3	5
Father-pound	3	2	5
Home -general	3	2	5
Student	4	0	4
Wanderer/wise person	3	1	4
Home-Homecoming	3	1	4
Riot police/National guard	2	2	4
Radical Dissenters	3	1	4
Bad soldiers-victims/created by war	3	1	4
Nuclear War/Annihilation	2	2	4
Love-young love/loss	2	1	3
Nerd/Intellectual	3	0	3
Mobility	2	1	3
Mothers-as Role Models	2	1	3

Brotherhood	2	1	3
Mothers-Killing Mothers	1	2	3
Stormy seas	1	2	3
Poverty-helping the poor	2	1	3
Young person/Teenager	3	0	3
Prisoners	1	2	3
Cops/Police	0	2	2
Mothers-Sad/Lonely	2	0	2
Bad Protesters	2	0	2
Immigrants	1	0	1
Superpower	0	1	1
Grand Total	**417**	**428**	**845**

These 90 code pairs can be organized into 8 thematic clusters: *Counterculture, Government mistrust, soldiers/military, death and destruction, "core" American values, family/home, class/economy and protest/dissent.* Figure 10 shows the distribution of the code pairs across the 9 clusters. Looking at the top 5 codes in each cluster can give us a good idea of what each represents.

Figure 10 Symbolic & Emotion Code Clusters				
Clusters and Codes	**Codes Per Cluster**	**Vietnam Songs Coded**	**Post-911 Songs Coded**	**Total Songs Coded**
Counterculture	**19**	**100**	**57**	**157**
Complacency/Apathy		8	12	20
Peace (general)		13	6	19
Young people (killed)		12	7	19
Young people (in general)		9	4	13
Outspoken Dissenter		8	5	13
Insanity		6	4	10
Love (general)		8	1	9
Truth teller /bard		3	5	8
Racism		5	2	7
Draft Resister		4	2	6
Understanding		3	2	5

Racial Equality		3	2	5
Student		4	0	4
Wanderer/wise person		3	1	4
Stormy seas		1	2	3
Brotherhood		2	1	3
Young person/Teenager (boy and girl)		3	0	3
Nerd/Intellectual		3	0	3
Love (young love-loss)		2	1	3
Soldiers/Military	**13**	**84**	**69**	**153**
Soldiers (as hero)		12	17	29
Solider (as victim)		12	13	25
Bad soldiers (commit atrocities)		10	4	14
Soldiers (duty/Calling)		6	5	11
Bravery / Valor		9	2	11
Vietnamese (enemy)		9	1	10
Terrorists		0	10	10
Soldier (as villain)		5	4	9
Defection/Resistance (military)		6	1	7
Resistance/Dissent (GI's)		4	2	6
Military (general)		2	3	5
Bad soldiers (war creates)		3	1	4
Government Mistrust	**10**	**52**	**99**	**151**
Government Mistrust		17	25	42
Arrogant leader		14	25	39
Politicians		4	18	22
Patriotism/Patriotic People		4	11	15
Repression		8	7	15
Truth, transparency		3	3	6
Rights		0	5	5
Riot police/ National guard		2	2	4
Cops/Police		0	2	2
Superpower		0	1	1
Death and Destruction	**11**	**63**	**73**	**136**
Death and Destruction		15	12	27
Innocent Victims (general)		7	15	22
Senseless killing		10	7	17
Imperialism/Empire		6	10	16
Mechanized Destruction/War Machines		5	9	14
Innocent Victims (women and kids)		5	8	13
Wicked world		4	5	9
Villagers/international poor		4	2	6

War		4	1	5
Nuclear War/Annihilation		2	2	4
Prisoners		1	2	3
Core American Values	**9**	**41**	**42**	**83**
Children (Future Generations)		7	13	20
God/Religion		9	7	16
Freedom		5	7	12
Brave Americans		5	5	10
work ethic		4	4	8
Individualism		6	2	8
Progress - manifest destiny		2	3	5
Mobility		2	1	3
Immigrants		1	0	1
Family/Home	**13**	**43**	**32**	**75**
Family (General)		7	5	12
love (couples/ romantic)		5	4	9
Mothers (Loss of child)		5	3	8
wife/girlfriend		4	3	7
Hard Work/Provider		2	4	6
Mothers/Motherhood (general)		3	3	6
Father (proud)		3	2	5
Home (general)		3	2	5
Military Families		3	2	5
Home (homecoming)		3	1	4
Mothers (killing mothers)		1	2	3
Mothers (as role model)		2	1	3
Mothers (sad/lonely)		2	0	2
Class/Economy	**7**	**14**	**36**	**50**
Rich People		3	10	13
Poverty (Using the poor)		2	8	10
War profiteers		2	6	8
Helping Poor		3	3	6
Middle Class		0	5	5
Poverty/Hunger		2	3	5
Poverty (helping the poor)		2	1	3
Protest/Dissent	**4**	**20**	**20**	**40**
Resistance/Dissent (General)		10	9	19
Protesters (General)		5	10	15
Radical Dissenters		3	1	4
Protesters (Deviants)		2	0	2
Grand Total	**86**	**417**	**428**	**845**

Dominant codes in the *countercultural* cluster (*complacency/apathy*, *peace-general*, *young people-killed*, *young people-general*, *outspoken dissenter*, *insanity*, *and Love-general*) broadly relate two important components of the Vietnam era counterculture. Codes such as *peace* and *love* directly reference countercultural values, as do codes such as *complacency/apathy*, and *outspoken dissenter* which critique a lack of compassion and commitment among the public, and offer praise to those with the courage to speak up respectively. In similar vein, the two codes related to *young people* also relate directly to the 60s counterculture which was largely focused on university campuses. While all of these codes are prevalent in the Vietnam songs, with the exception of complacency/apathy they all fall away in the Vietnam sample.

The second cluster, *soldiers/military*, includes a number of codes representing various interpretations of our collective understanding of soldiers and the military. The dominant codes in this cluster (*soldier as hero*, *soldier as victim*, *and bad soldiers*) express the three major dimensions of our broader cultural understanding of soldiers. The base code here is *soldier as hero* which represents the dominant cultural understanding of soldiers as brave and patriotic heroes doing their duty, answering the nation's call, and defending America, and its values, from the "enemies of freedom."

This symbolic code relates to a series of emotion codes calling the public to respect and revere soldiers and their potential sacrifices, to feel pride and admiration, and to demonstrate their unwavering support. Building on this powerful dominant code pair are two other codes pairs. Stemming from the positive interpretations and emotions evoked by the *soldier as hero code,* the *soldier as victim* code encourages the anger, indignation, and resentment we should feel when heroic soldiers are mistreated. The Vietnam songs expressing this code primarily relate

to the death of young heroic soldiers, to the injuries, both physical and psychological, that soldiers suffer from, and to a general fear of the draft and of the possibility to get killed or injured if one were to be drafted.

The final dimension of our collective understanding of soldiers is a code I refer to as *'bad soldiers,'* not to be confused with *soldier as villain*, which is a separate code (but not a dominant one). Just like *soldier as hero*, *soldier as villain* refer to soldiers in general, and taps into our cultural suspicions of soldiers as agents of repression and violence. This is somewhat different from *bad soldiers* which focuses on individual soldiers committing atrocities. The distinction between these two codes is similar to the distinction between a 'bad apples' theory of deviance and a systemic one. The *bad soldier* code, unlike the *soldier as villain* code, allows for most soldiers to retain their heroic status, chastising only certain soldiers. By labeling individual soldiers as 'bad,' we are implying that most soldiers are 'good,' and in facilitating this binary, we are tacitly reinforcing the *soldier as hero* code even as we use the *bad soldier* code to critique the military or discuss atrocities.

The third thematic cluster, *government mistrust*, draws together a number of code pairs relating to the government, leaders, politicians, patriotism and repression. Two of the codes in this cluster – *Government mistrust* and *arrogant leaders* are top 5 (based on frequency) among all codes independent of cluster. Codes in this cluster build on cultural narratives around skepticism and mistrust of authority and power. From the revolution on, America has tended to create a cultural space for the expression of these symbolic codes and the powerful anger, fear, and resentment they engender. Although these codes are prevalent in the songs of both eras, and relate to essentially the same symbolic meanings, the emotions they are intended to generate change over time – a trend which will be discussed at length in the following section.

The fourth cluster, *death and destruction*, consists of codes such as *innocent victims*, *senseless killing*, *imperialism*, *and death and destruction*. On the whole, these codes tend to be fairly general, related to broad cultural meanings around killing, death, innocence, and the destruction of property and livelihoods. Ultimately, their symbolic and emotive power stems from a shared cultural understanding that human life is special/precious and should not be squandered or cut short. Although it is not a top code, *innocent victims-women and children* attempts to harness the incredible power of the symbolic and emotional meanings of women and children, who, in addition to being coded as innocent, are paternalistically coded as weak, vulnerable and in need of protection. Because these symbolic codes are so symbolically powerful, they are able to harness equally powerful emotion codes which tell us that when poor and defenseless women and children are killed it is egregious and we should feel shame, guilt for failing to save/protect them, and anger and moral outrage at the men (generally coded as *bad soldiers*) who killed them.

The fifth cluster of code pairs reflects what are commonly understood as 'core' American values. These include values such as *freedom*, *bravery*, *mobility*, *individualism*, *god/religion*, and *work ethic.* Codes in this cluster are somewhat more evenly distributed than those in other clusters. There are no truly 'dominant' codes, but the most two prevalent are *future generations*, *god/religion* both of which tend to be drawn upon in order to add moral weight to arguments against the war – the underlying message is present in the "what would Jesus do" meme as well as in statements older people make when trying to excite younger crowds such as "this is the generation that will change the world."

The sixth cluster, *family/home*, brings together a large number of smaller codes around families, couples, mothers, fathers, wives and girlfriends. Like the *core American values* cluster,

this cluster does not have any 'dominant' codes, but the most prevalent ones relate to families in general, significant others, and mothers. The presence of the family code itself really stems from the fact that songs talking about other family codes (e.g. those talking about mothers, fathers, wives, or girlfriends) often received the family code as well.

Perhaps one of the most unexpected and interesting findings in this thesis is the prevalence of symbolic codes around mothers and motherhood. Five codes relate directly to mothers, and capture various dimensions of the larger code around motherhood: the unimaginable loss a mother feels when her son is killed, the loneliness she feels when he is deployed, her status as a parent and role model (e.g. what would your mother think about what you are doing?), and the anger and moral outrage we should feel when mothers are killed. All of these dimensions stem from a general cultural understanding of mothers as protectors, caregivers, and loving and guiding figures, and feelings of safety, security, love, and trust we should feel towards our mothers. Interestingly, even this general code was evoked by several songs (e.g. Richie havens' (1969)" Freedom" which essentially claims the country lacks a motherly presence and the values and emotions associated with mothers. One final interesting trend expressed in this cluster is the general falling away of family codes over time, unlike the majority of the codes presented here, all codes in the family cluster had higher frequencies in the Vietnam sample.

The seventh cluster, *class/economy*, includes codes related to poverty and wealth. More than any other cluster, this one reflects a change over time and the development of several class-related discourses in America. With the exception of a few smaller codes around poverty and hunger, codes in this cluster are much more prevalent in the post 911 songs. Two of the dominant codes in this cluster express frustration, anger, and resentment at rich people and war

profiteers for taking advantage of (or starting) the war for personal gain. Although these codes tap a discourse condemning war profiteering which stretches at least as far back as WWI, the explosion in defense contractors and scandals such as the Halliburton debacle have led to a resurgence in the use and power of this code. The other dominant code in this cluster, *using the poor*, refers to the long held notion that the rich make war but it is the poor who die. The rise of this code from near nonexistence in the Vietnam songs to prevalence in the post 911 ones likely reflects the resurgence of this discourse more broadly. Although activist and academics speak of a 'poverty draft,' few songs discuss it in such terms, most duck the 'voluntary enlistment issue' completely, and focus on the mere fact that the poor are getting killed while the rich get richer.

The final cluster brings together codes surrounding *protest and dissent* across both time periods. While this is a comparatively small cluster as far as number of codes is concerned, several of the codes within it apply to relatively high numbers of songs. The codes in this cluster are also interesting given their remarkable continuity over time, the meanings of protest, resistance, and dissent, by and large, remain stable over time unlike many of the codes discussed below.

Although the thematic clusters are helpful when it comes to wrapping one's head around the major foci of the symbolic and emotion codes expressed in anti-war songs broadly, looking at the frequencies for the individual codes helps to point to the most prevalent codes overall and to begin to understand how their use and meanings shift over time. Figure 9 represents frequencies in descending order for both time periods. Looking at this table we can see the most prevalent codes across both time periods. Focusing on the top 25 or so codes for each period we can see that there is considerable consistency over time. In fact, over 60% of the codes in the top 25

remain the same between the two samples. However, this consistency, as we will see in the next section, is only skin deep.

B.   **Section 2 - Moral Outrage: From Death and Destruction to Government Mistrust**

Whereas Section 1 attempted to address my first research question by painting a general picture of the cultural narratives and symbolic and emotion codes present in songs across both eras, this section and the one that follows address my second major research question – To what extent has the lyrical content, and the cultural narratives reflected in antiwar music, changed over time? In addressing this question, this section argues that anti-war music in both eras seeks to evoke feelings of moral outrage among the audience, but that the cultural narratives and requisite symbolic and emotion codes employed to evoke this feeling change over time, with Vietnam era songs seeking to evoke moral outrage based the death and destruction the war causes, and the post 911 songs seeking to evoke moral outrage over the lies and deceit perpetuated by the government. This section, like the other two, is organized into two sub-sections, one drawing on the narrative elements of the songs (plots, settings, characters, morals, etc.) to provide evidence for the shift over time, and one charting the change over time by unpacking the symbolic and emotion codes present in the songs.

Figure 11 Vietnam Era Topics	
Vietnam Topic	**No. Songs Coded**
Absurdity of War	11
Chaos/Disillusionment	7
Protest/Repression	6
Loss of Soldiers	6
Death and Destruction	4
Counter Cultural Vison	3
Soldier's Experience	2
Government Mistrust	1
Total	**40**

1.   **Narrative Elements - Section 2**

By viewing the songs as narratives and focusing on the topics the stories address and the morals they point to, I was able to find evidence of a shift over time in the cultural narratives to which the songs appeal in order to evoke feelings of moral outrage. Figure 11 outlines the broad topics expressed by Vietnam songs. Over 50% (21) of the Vietnam song topics point to a general

understandings of the immorality of the war and the death and destruction it causes. *Death and destruction* quite obviously does this, but other topics such as the *absurdity of war* and the *loss of soldiers* do as well. Songs which focused on the *absurdity of war* were often satirical songs such as Country Joe's (1967) "I-Feel-Like-I'm-fixin'-to-die-rag"

> Put down your books and pick up a gun,
> We're gonna have a whole lotta fun
> And its 1,2,3 what are we fighting for?
> Don't ask me I don't give a damn,
> The next stop is Vietnam,
> And its 5,6,7 open up the pearly gates,
> Well there ain't no time to wonder why,
> WHOOPEE we're all gonna die

An additional example can be seen in the Fugs' (1965) "Killing for Peace,"

> Kill, kill, kill for peace
> Near or middle or very far east
> Far or near or very middle east
> Kill, kill, kill for peace
> Kill, kill, kill for peace

both of which offer generalist critiques of the war and turn the war itself into an unnecessary and absurd debacle. Likewise, *Loss of soldiers* relates to the countercultures' general malaise over the death and destructor the war entails. Finally, although *government mistrust* is among the top symbolic and emotion codes represented in the Vietnam songs, it is telling that in only one song, John Lennon's (1971) "Gimme Some Truth," is government mistrust the primary focus.

Figure 12 Post 911 Topic	
Topic	Count
Class Warfare	4
Death and Destruction	3
Gov Mistrust	16
Imperialism	6
Resistance	6
Soldiers	5
Total	40

Figure 12 summarizes the post-911 topics and paints a much different picture. *Government mistrust* is by far the most prevalent topic addressed in the post 911 sample, with 16 songs (40%) focusing on it. This trend is even more pronounced if we consider that many of the

songs in the post-911 sample which focus on *soldiers*, *imperialism*, *death and destruction*, or *class warfare*, do so through the lens of *government mistrust*. Songs focused on *soldiers*, for instance, often evoke the language of betrayal, a clear indictment of the government and its leaders who toy with soldiers' lives in order to line their own pockets. The same can be said for songs focusing on *class warfare*, almost all of which discuss the manner in which the rich and/or the government use the poor to fight their wars. Steve Earle's (2004) "Rich Man's War" offers a great example of the manner in which both the *soldier-as hero/victim* and the *class warfare* codes relate to broader themes of *government mistrust*,

> Jimmy joined the army 'cause he had no place to go.
> There ain't nobody hirin' 'round here
> since all the jobs went down to Mexico
> Reckoned that he'd learn himself a trade maybe see the world.
> Move to the city someday and marry a black haired girl
> Somebody somewhere had another plan
> Now he's got a rifle in his hand
> Rollin' into Baghdad wonderin' how he got this far
> Just another poor boy off to fight a rich man's war

Earle's narrative not only discusses Jimmy's experience as a soldier, but also his betrayal at the hands of a government run by people with "other plans."

Furthermore, although *death and destruction* is a top 5 code pair for both time periods, it was the main topic of just 3 songs in the post 911 sample. One example being Radiohead's (2009) "Harry Patch," which tells the story of the last oldest surviving WWI veteran, the only soldier to survive an ambush, "all of the others died where they fell," who testifies to the horrors of war, "I have seen devils coming up from the ground, I

Figure 13 Vietnam Morals	
Moral	**Count**
America is troubled	4
Question Authority	5
Repression is wrong	4
Soldiers are heroes	1
War Is absurd	5
War Is immoral - Kills Innocent People	9
War kills young men, breaks hearts	6
We need more peace, love, and understanding	6
Total	**40**

have seen hell on this earth," calling forth images of the no-mans-land and rotting bodies of the trenches. Yet, even "Harry Patch" ends with the line "but they [the leaders] will never learn."

Although topics can tell us some important things about the main focus of each song, a song's moral is an even better indicator because we can see what amounts to the song's call to action – what the listener is supposed to take away. Among Vietnam songs, 50% expressed morals related to *death and destruction* in one form or another – With *killing innocent people* as the most prevalent moral followed by *killing young men/ breaking hearts*, and finally *war is absurd*, which claims that war is pointless and futile. Pete Seeger's (1966) "Ballad of the ft. Hood 3," offers a good example of a song focused on *killing innocent people*, the song centers around quotes and antenarrative accounts of three young draft resisters, the following excerpt represents the third of these soldiers,

> Next, Pvt. David Samas, a Californian
> His background, Lithuanian, also Italian
> The policemen told his father something quite absurd
> They'd arrange for him a discharge if he'd just retract these words:
> "We've been told in training that in Vietnam we must fight
> "And we may have to kill women and children, and that is quite all right;
> "We hold this war's illegal, immoral, and unjust;
> "We're taking legal action, just the three of us.
> "We'll report for duty but we won't go overseas.
> "We're prepared to face court martial, but we won't fight for Key.
> "We three have talked it over, our decision now is clear,
> "We will not go to Vietnam, we'll fight for freedom here."

In Seeger's lyrics we can see the soldier discussing the immorality and injustice of the war and refusing to go and fight in a war which might force him to "kill women and children." In addition to discussing killing innocents and the immorality of the war, in the line "we'll fight for freedom here" we can also see an explicit attempt to counter dominant discourses around the war which portrayed it as a "just war" protecting freedom.

Much like post-911 topics, post-911 morals reference symbolic codes that tend to warn listeners not to trust the government, with 13 songs (32%) relating directly to *government mistrust*. Yet, even songs with morals such as *war kills soldiers*, *resist-speak up*, and *war kills the poor* all exhibit a strong tendency towards *government mistrust*. Take, for example, this excerpt from Mike Stout's (2005) "Depleted Uranium is Evil Stuff," although the song's moral is somewhere between *war kills soldiers* and *war is immoral and kills innocent people*, the presence of *government mistrust* is clear and unambiguous,

Figure 14 Post 911 Moral	
Moral	**Count**
Don't Trust Government	13
Global imperialism is unjust	6
Resist, speak up/out	5
War is immoral, kills innocent people	5
War kills soldiers	7
War kills the poor	4
Total	**40**

> [Depleted uranium has]
> poisoned our own troops and their families back home.
> It's lodged in their lungs, organs and bones.
> So many wounds invisible, exploding inside
> Since returning back home tens of thousands have died.
> Underneath the fancy speeches and government lies,
> The betrayal of our troops cannot be denied.

Overall, it appears that Vietnam era topics and morals, although diverse, overwhelmingly relate to *death and destruction* and the general feeling of malaise it represents. Post 911 songs, on the other hand, tend to express topics which either directly or peripherally relate to *government mistrust*.

Above, I discussed general trends around plots, settings, and characters, but these are not the only lenses narrative analysis offers. Asking questions around who narrates and story and why can also help to shed light on the underlying meanings present in a story. Figure 15 summarizes narrators across both samples, and seems to show some consistency over time. Both periods, for instance, include *artists*, *bards*, *protesters*, *soldiers*, and *unnamed narrators*. But a closer look reveals subtle evidence for a change over time. The presence of songs narrated by girlfriends/mothers in Vietnam relates to the overarching focus on *death and destruction* because these songs tell tales of love and loss, of the death of soldiers, and the hardships war brings. Take Colleen Lovett's (1966) "Freckle Faced Soldier" for example, the song tells the story of a young girl left heartbroken over the death of her boyfriend,

Figure 15 Narrators Across Both Eras		
Narrator	Post 911 songs	Vietnam Songs
UnNamed	18	13
Soldier	5	7
Bard/Truth Teller	5	1
Artist	4	4
Protester	4	0
Bush	2	0
Religious Authority	1	0
Terrorist	1	0
Protester	0	10
Young Person	0	3
Girlfriend	0	2
Total	40	40

> And you know that boy?
> Well he never wrote again.
> They sent a medal of honor to his mom,
> For all his bravery
> I know she wanted to keep it
> But you know, she gave that medal to me
> I wear it on my heart now

'Because it is the closest place to heaven.
And that's where he lives now.
Yes, they called him a man, a very brave man.
But he was really just a boy.
Just a freckle faced soldier.

In Lovett's song, we can feel the heartbreak in the narrator's words, we can see the real cost of war which forces boys to grow up too soon, takes their lives, and leaves their families heartbroken.

This is further evidenced by songs narrated by soldiers and draftees, which tend to discuss their fears of being drafted and dyeing in war as well as their wounds upon returning home. Take for example, Tom T. Hall's (1973) "Mama Bake a Pie," which tells the story of a returning veteran and the pain and disillusionment he feels when he is reunited with his family/girlfriend who are unable to understand his experiences,

The letter that she [his girlfriend] wrote me
said good-by, she couldn't wait and lot of luck.
The bottle underneath the blanket
feels just like an old friend to my touch.
I know she'll come and see me
but I bet she never once looks at my legs.
Naw, she'll talk about the weather
and the dress she wore the July fourth parade.
Lord, I love her and I don't believe
this bottle's get her off my mind.

In Hall's song we, the audience, are privy to the bottle under his blanket, the pain he continues to feel, and the manner in which the daily goings on of his family seem so trivial to him.

Unlike the Vietnam songs, no post 911 songs are narrated by soldiers' family members or significant others, and the songs narrated by soldiers in the post 911 sample tend to discuss feelings of frustration and betrayal rather than fears of death or injury. This distinction can be seen clearly in the Hillbilly Democrats' (2004) "Stuck in Iraq,"

> I thought I'd join the army
> As a red-blooded boy should
> Fight over in Baghdad
> On the side of the good
> King George cut out battle pay
> There are no nukes here
> Are we ridding the world of WMD's
> or helping Cheney's career
> It's a cool, world
> if you're in Cheney's Pack
> But it's a cruel world
> if you're stuck in Iraq

In the song, we can the presence of the classic *soldier-as-hero* narrative, but we can also see

deep feelings of betrayal and of *government mistrust* more broadly. The clearest evidence for a

shift to an overarching narrative of *government mistrust*, however, is the fact that several of the

post 911 songs are satirically narrated by president Bush himself. Take for example, this excerpt

from Tom Paxton's (2008) "George W. Told the Nation"

> If you're hunkered in Fallujah
> Wondering who it was who screwed yam,
> Wondering what became of "Shock and Awe!"
> You are feeling semi-certain
> It has to do with Halliburton,
> Dick Cheney's why you drew that fatal straw.
> George W. told the nation,
> "This is not an escalation;
> This is just a surge toward victory.
> Just to win my little war,
> I'm sending 20,000 more,
> To help me save Iraq from Iraqis!"

The song, partially narrated by Bush himself, centers on the war's false pretext, Bush's lies, and

the corrupt connections between his administration and nefarious defense contractors such as

Halliburton. Although it is not apparent based simply on the counts, the plurality of *unnamed*

narrators in the post- 911 sample itself is an indication of this shift. Songs with no easily

distinguishable narrator are also more likely to exhibit complex antenarrative structures and factual orientations and ultimately to relate to government mistrust.

Not only can looking at who is narrating a story tell us something about it, but so can focusing on its intended audience. Figure 16 presents data around intended audiences across both periods, and demonstrates that Vietnam era songs tend to be directed towards the public, the counterculture, and protesters, three groups which are likely to be disturbed/outraged by the *death and destruction* the war causes. Post 911 songs, on the other hand, tend to be directed towards genre communities, liberals, and protesters. Songs directed at liberals obviously play into the shift to *government mistrust*, but so do songs directed at

Figure 16 Intended Audience Across Both Periods		
Intended Audience	**Vietnam Songs**	**Post 911 Songs**
Counterculture	13	0
Genre community	6	14
Protesters	9	11
Public	12	8
Liberals	0	7
Total	**40**	**40**

genre communities, given that nearly all of the songs intended for genre communities are either hip-hop or metal songs, and the subcultures surrounding these genres are more likely to include materialized groups who may be especially likely to mistrust the government.

One narrative element not yet discussed is what Wolegmuth (2013) terms "critical resistance." Wolegmuth differentiates between ordinary resistance, the type of resistance we generally think of, and critical resistance, which involves instances in which characters, narrators, and artists critically and reflexively engage with their self-concepts. Figure 17 presents data around the expression of resistance and critical resistance across both samples. Although we see critiques (simple resistance) of war/military and government in both samples

the shift from *death and destruction* to *government mistrust* is evidenced as well. In Vietnam, 6 songs (31% of Vietnam simple resistance) express resistance to war/military,

Figure 17 Critical Resistance		
Resistance Type	Vietnam Songs	Post 911 Songs
Critiquing War/Military	6	7
Critical of Government	3	17
Destroying Self	3	3
Falling Away of Self	3	6
None	2	0
Questioning Society	10	2
Refusal to be identified	5	2
Risking Self	5	3
Satire - exposing absurdity	3	0
Total	40	40

and only 3 songs (15% of Vietnam simple resistance) relate to government mistrust, whereas 17 songs in the post 911 sample (70% of Post 911 simple resistance) address the government.

By focusing on various narrative elements such as topics, morals, narrators, audiences, and critical resistance, this section has presented some evidence of the shift in the cultural narratives invoked to elicit moral outrage across the two time periods, from narratives focusing on a general critique of the death and destruction war causes, to narratives focused specifically on the government and the lies it tells. Although the narrative evidence presented here begins to tell the story, the real evidence is presented in the next section which focuses on the lyrical content of the songs themselves and on the symbolic and emotion codes they express.

2.   **Symbolic and Emotion Codes - Section 2**
In the previous section I demonstrated how this shift played out in the narratives as a whole, but this shift also takes place within the specific symbolic and emotion codes making up those narratives. Figure 18 outlines the top 10 symbolic/emotion code pairs (based on frequency) for each era, and offers evidence of this shift from narratives around *death and destruction* in general to narratives around *government mistrust*. Half of the top 10 Vietnam codes (*death and destruction*, *peace-general*, *young people killed*, *bad soldiers*, and *senseless killing*) for instance, relate

102

directly to an overarching general death and destruction narrative. The Vietnam songs expressing

these codes call fourth a sense moral outrage by directing the audience to the egregious death and destruction the war causes. Codes such as *death and destruction*, *peace-general*, and *senseless killing* quite obviously do this, but so does the code *young people killed* which draws on the symbolic and emotive weight of young peoples' lives to evoke moral outrage over their deaths. Edwin Starr's iconic (1970) "WAR" is a great example of a song which expresses many of these

Figure 18 Top 10 Codes for Both Periods		
Code	Vietnam Songs	Post-911 Songs
Government Mistrust	17	25
Arrogant leader	14	25
Soldier-as hero	12	17
Death and Destruction	15	12
Solider-as victim	12	13
Politicians	--	18
Innocent Victims-general	--	15
Future Generations	--	13
Peace-general	13	--
Complacency/Apathy	--	12
Young People Killed	12	--
Patriotism/Patriotic People	--	11
Resistance/Dissent (General)	10	--
Senseless killing	10	--
Bad Soldiers-as villain	10	--

codes as well as the overarching death and destruction narrative undergirding them. Because it is

a long quote I have bolded some words and phrases related to the top 10 codes discussed above

(*death and destruction*, *peace-general*, *young people killed*, *bad soldiers*, and *senseless killing*)

as well as other codes in the top 25 also related to death and destruction (*mothers-loss*, *young*

people -general, *young love/loss*, *soldier as victim*, and *resistance/dissent-general*).

> War, huh, yeah
> What is it good for?
> Absolutely nothing, uh-huh, uh-huh…
> Oh **war, I despise**
> 'Cause it means **destruction of innocent lives**
> War means **tears to thousands of mothers' eyes**
> When their **sons go off to fight and lose their lives**…
> War, it ain't nothing but a **heartbreaker**
> War, friend only to the undertaker
> Oh, war, is an **enemy to all mankind**…

The thought of war blows my mind
War has caused **unrest within the younger generation**
Induction then destruction, who wants to die?...
Oh, war has **shattered many a young man's dreams**
Made him disabled, bitter and mean
Life is much too short and precious to spend fighting wars these days
War can't give life, it can only take it away…
Peace, love and understanding, tell me
Is there no place for them today?...
They say we must fight to keep our freedom
But lord knows there's got to be a better way…
War, huh, good god, yeah, huh
What is it good for?
Stand up and shout it, nothing!

Not only does "War" express a multitude of powerful symbolic/emotion codes, but its overarching antenarrative is essentially that war is pointless and only causes death and destruction.

Looking at the top 10 codes for the post 911 era (see figure 18 above) paints a much different picture. Of the top 10 codes, 7 (*arrogant leader*, *government mistrust*, *politicians*, *soldier as hero*, *soldier as victim*, *children/future*, and *patriotism/patriotic people*) relate to the overarching government *mistrust* narrative in one way or another. Codes such as *arrogant leader*, *politician*, and *government mistrust* do this in an obvious way, but codes such as *soldier as hero/victim*, *patriotism*, and *children/future* also do so, albeit in a subtler fashion. These three codes all relate to the "discourse of betrayal" (Coy et al., 2008) surrounding the war –betrayal of troops, betrayal of American values and betrayal of future generations respectively, and as such they too relate to a larger narrative of *government mistrust*.

Broadening from these top 10 to the top 25, it is possible to chart the appearance and disappearance of codes from one era to the other. Figures 19 and 20 present the top 25 symbolic and emotion codes for each period.
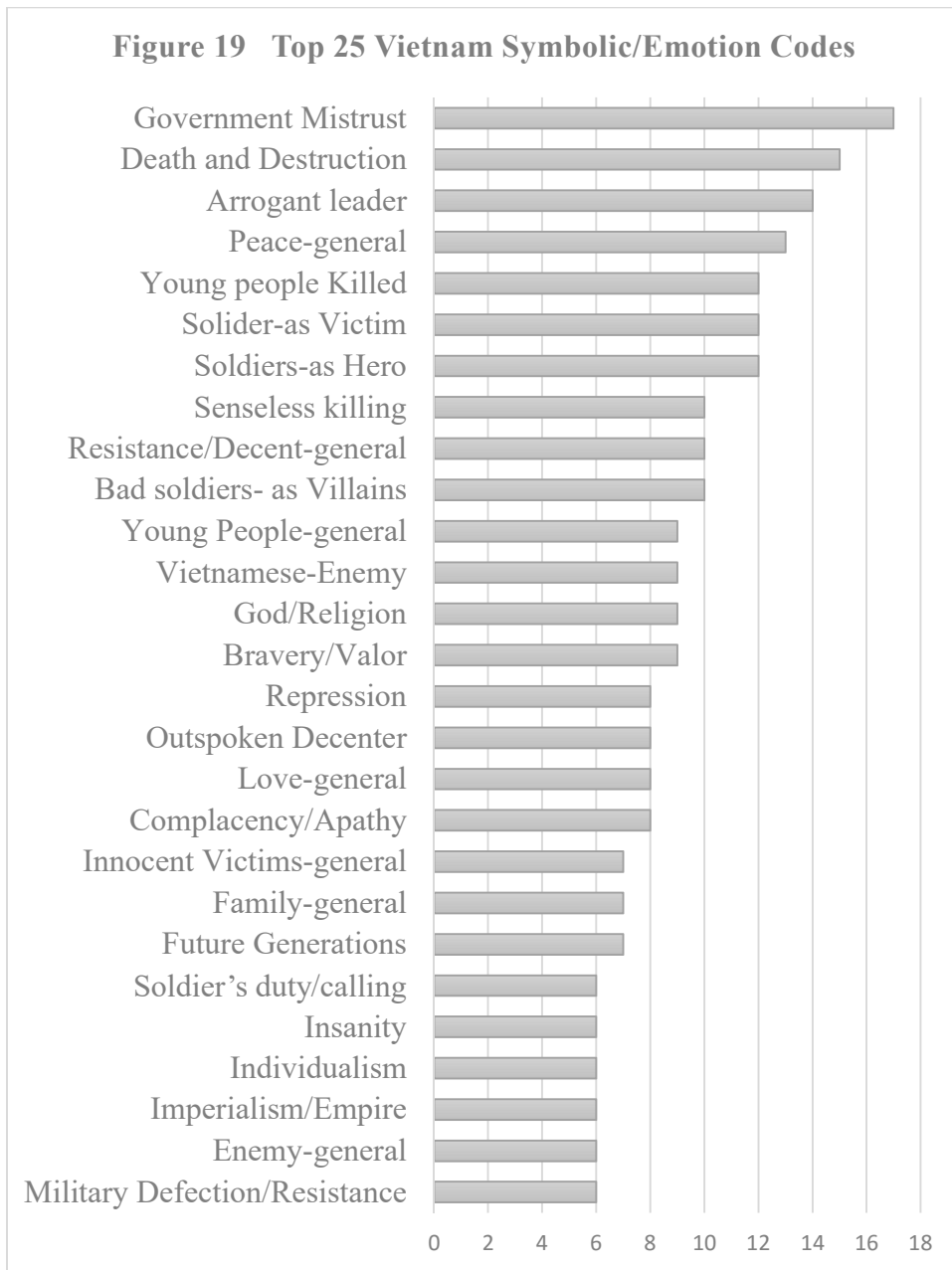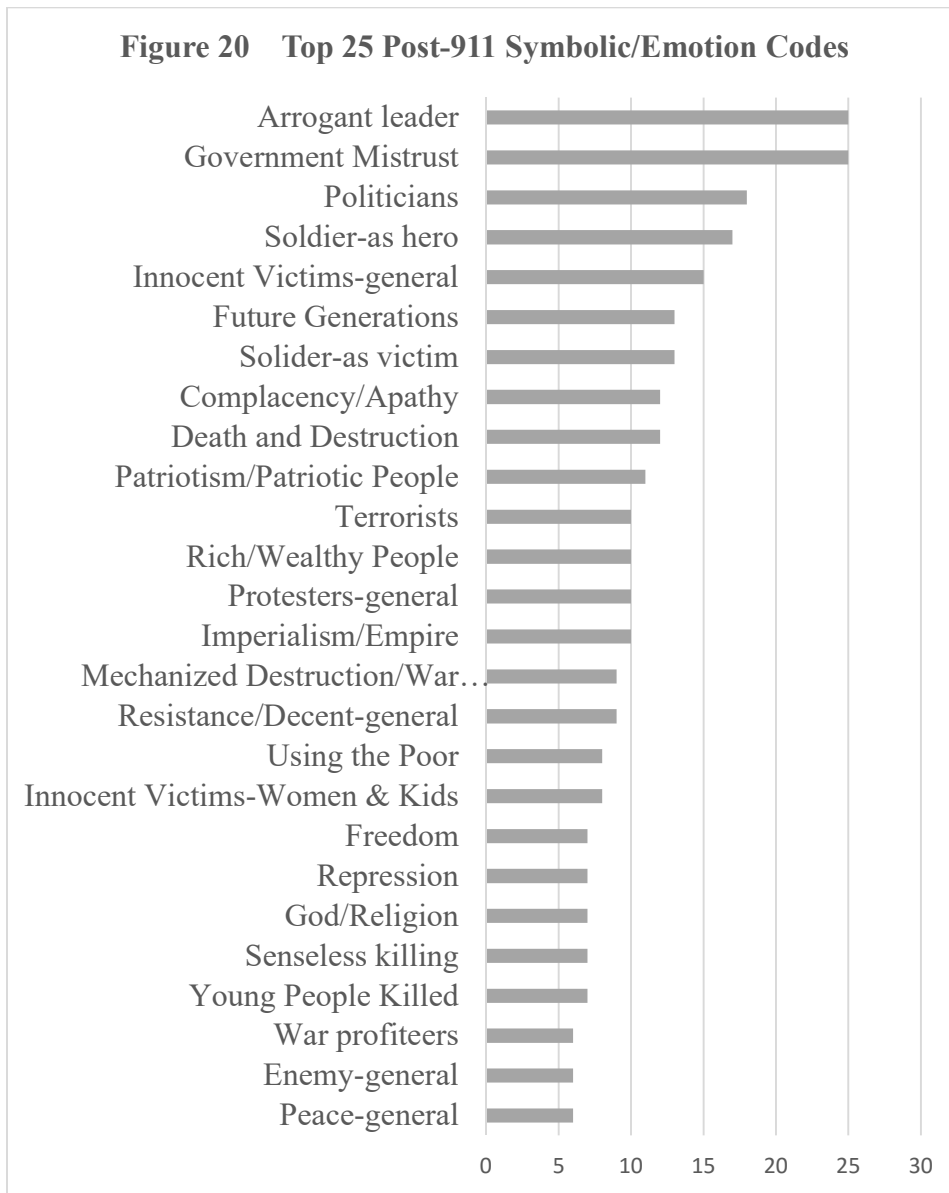
Table 19

Figure 19   Top 25 Vietnam Symbolic/Emotion Codes

Code	Value
Government Mistrust	17
Death and Destruction	15
Arrogant leader	14
Peace-general	13
Young people Killed	12
Solider-as Victim	12
Soldiers-as Hero	12
Senseless killing	10
Resistance/Decent-general	10
Bad soldiers- as Villains	10
Young People-general	9
Vietnamese-Enemy	9
God/Religion	9
Bravery/Valor	9
Repression	8
Outspoken Decenter	8
Love-general	8
Complacency/Apathy	8
Innocent Victims-general	7
Family-general	7
Future Generations	7
Soldier's duty/calling	6
Insanity	6
Individualism	6
Imperialism/Empire	6
Enemy-general	6
Military Defection/Resistance	6

Table 20

Figure 20   Top 25 Post-911 Symbolic/Emotion Codes

Code	Value
Arrogant leader	25
Government Mistrust	25
Politicians	18
Soldier-as hero	17
Innocent Victims-general	15
Future Generations	13
Solider-as victim	13
Complacency/Apathy	12
Death and Destruction	12
Patriotism/Patriotic People	11
Terrorists	10
Rich/Wealthy People	10
Protesters-general	10
Imperialism/Empire	10
Mechanized Destruction/War…	9
Resistance/Decent-general	9
Using the Poor	8
Innocent Victims-Women & Kids	8
Freedom	7
Repression	7
God/Religion	7
Senseless killing	7
Young People Killed	7
War profiteers	6
Enemy-general	6
Peace-general	6

First, we see a number prevalent Vietnam codes, such as *bad soldiers*, *family*, and *soldier-duty/calling* disappear completely from the top 25 of the post 911 sample. *Bad soldiers*, a code discussed at length below, represents a critique of individual bad soldiers who commit atrocities. As far as the narratives are concerned, *bad soldiers* are one of the principle sources of death and destruction (see the discussion of Ewan McColl's 1967 "Brother Did You Weep" below) As we saw above, *Family* also relates directly to the shifting meanings around the *death and destruction*

narrative in its discussions of the death of soldiers and the toll that loss takes on mothers, wives, and girlfriends.

Although it is not immediately apparent, the disappearance of *soldiers- duty/calling* also reflects this shift. As a Vietnam era code, *soldier-duty/calling* relates to two principle scenarios. On the one hand, it is reflected in songs such as Ringo Starr's (1970) "Silent Homecoming," (e.g. "Proudly he had served his country / In a war he didn't seem to understand") and Colleen Lovett's (1966) "Freckle Faced Soldier" (e.g. "Honey, I am proud of wearing this army coat / Even if I am not quit old enough to vote") which tell the story of a patriotic young man going to do his duty and getting killed, leaving behind a heartbroken teen girlfriend, and in this sense, it relates to other codes such as *young love/loss* and *young people-killed*, both of which certainly relate to the general immorality of the war and the *death and destruction it causes*. On the other hand, this code is expressed in satirical songs mocking the draft, such as Country Joe's (1967) "I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin-to-Die-Rag" (e.g. "Well come on all of you big strong men / Uncle Sam needs your help again / He got himself in a terrible jam, Way down yonder in Vietnam / Put down your books and pick up a gun / We're gonna have a whole lotta fun") and these songs which focus on the *absurdity of war*, and *young people-killed*, also relate to a general understanding of war as immoral.

This shift is even more clearly evidenced by the appearance of three codes in the post 911 top 25: *politicians*, *patriotism*, and *freedom*. All three very clearly reflect the ascendance of the *government mistrust* cultural narrative as source of moral outrage. All three codes move from the 40s among Vietnam codes, into the top 25 (*Politicians* actually moves into the top 3) post 911. While the rise of *politicians* clearly relates to *government mistrust*, patriotism and *freedom* do as well, with both essentially reflecting discussions in the songs of the government twisting

107

patriotism and American values (e.g. freedom) into forms of propaganda. Take, for example this excerpt from Immortal Technique's (2003) "The 4th Branch,"

> How could this be, the **land of the free, home of the brave**?
> **Indigenous holocaust, and the home of the slaves**
> Corporate America, dancing offbeat to the rhythm
> **You really think this country, never sponsored terrorism?**
> **Human rights violations, we continue the saga**
> **El Salvador and the Contras in Nicaragua**
> And on top of that, you still wanna take me to prison
> Just cause **I won't trade humanity for patriotism**
> It's like MK-ULTRA, controlling your brain
> **Suggestive thinking, causing your perspective to change**
> **They wanna rearrange the whole point of view of the ghetto**
> The fourth branch of the government, want us to settle
> **A bandana full of glittering, generality**
> **Fighting for freedom and fighting terror, but what's reality?**

In the excerpt above the narrator in "4th Branch" employs inversions of the symbolic codes around *freedom* and *patriotism* to counter the their dominate discursive meanings and use their symbolic and emotional power to critique the government and its propagandistic lies.

However, looking only at the relative positions of codes in these two time periods only paints a partial picture. Some codes such as *death and destruction*, *senseless killing*, arrogant *leaders*, and *government mistrust* are among the most prevalent codes across both time periods. This would seem to indicate continuity in the cultural narratives expressed in antiwar music over time, and while this continuity is present, the story is more complex than first glances might suggest. While the symbolic and emotional core of these codes remains stable over time, the manner in which they are employed in the narratives changes, reflecting the larger shift in movement metanarratives from a focus on general *death and destruction* to a focus on *government mistrust* over time.

i.   Unpacking "Death and Destruction"

As an individual code, *death and destruction*, is among the most prevalent codes

expressed in the songs of both periods. In general, this code expresses deeply held cultural

meanings around killing and death – namely, that killing is bad, immoral, and uncontainable, and

that human life is precious, sacred, and special – and around destruction – wrecking homes and

livelihoods, destroying villages, and hurting families. Because this code is able to reference all of

these other codes, it is able to tap into the symbolic and emotional meanings they hold –

meanings around lives, around families, around homes, and around communities. It is in this

code's ability to tap into the meanings around all these other symbolic codes that is able to elicit

powerful emotions such as horror, disgust, anger, resentment, sorrow, fear, shame, and ultimately

moral outrage over the loss of life, the destruction of homes and property, and the wrecking of

families and communities. Ewan McColl's (1967) "Brother Did You Weep?" is basically the

quintessential *death and destruction* song from the Vietnam era, and provides an excellent

illustration of the manner in which this symbolic and emotion code, and the other codes it relates

to, are expressed in actual lyrics.

> Disc of sun in the **belching smoke**,
> **Blazing huts** where **children choke**,
> **Burning flesh and blackened blood**,
> **Charred and blistered** like smould'ring wood.
> Oh brother, oh brother did you weep?
> Oh brother, oh brother can you sleep?
> Wall-eyed moon in the **wounded night**
> Touching **poisoned fields** with **blight**,
> Showing a **ditch where a dead girls lies**
> **Courted by ants and hungry flies**.
> Oh brother, oh brother did you weep?
> Oh brother, oh brother can you sleep?
> **Scream of pain** on the morning breeze
> **Thunder of bombs in the grove of trees**,
> **hymn of rubble and powdered stone,**
> **Anguished flesh and splintered bone**.

> Oh brother, oh brother did you weep?
> Oh brother, oh brother can you sleep?
> **Programmed war, efficiency team**,
> Punch cards fed to thinking machines:
> **Computer death and the Murder Plan**,
> **Total destruction of Vietnam**.
> Oh brother, have you got no shame?
> Oh Jesus, they are killing in my name!

McColl's song paints a chilling and disturbing picture of the death and destruction present in Vietnam, of innocent women and children killed, of villages burned and towns leveled, of crops destroyed and livelihoods shattered, of mechanized war and systematic killing, and ultimately of the "total destruction of Vietnam."

While the core meanings of the *death and destruction* symbolic and emotion code pair remain stable over time, the manner in which they are expressed and the cultural narratives to which they become attached shift over time. In post 911 songs expressing this code, we find it intermingled with other codes and narratives related to *government mistrust* and *global anti-imperialism*. The following quote from Saul Williams (2003) "Not in my Name," offers an excellent example of the comingling of the *death and destruction* and *government mistrust* codes in post 911 anti-war songs,

> …Not in our name, the **pledge to resist**: We believe that as a people living in the united states that **it is our responsibility to resist the injustices done by our government** in our names. Not in our name will you **wage endless war**, there can be **no more deaths**, no more **transfusions of blood for oil**. Not in our name will you **invade countries, bomb civilians, kill more children** letting history take its course over the **graves of the nameless**. Not in our names will you **erode the very freedoms** you claim to fight for. Not by our hands will we **supply weapons for the destruction of lives on foreign soil**. Not by our mouths will we let fear silence us. Not by our hearts will we allow **whole countries to be deemed evil**. Not by our will and not in our name, we pledge resistance, we pledge **alliance with those who have come under attack** for voicing opposition to the war or for their religion or ethnicity. We pledge to make **common cause with the world, to bring about justice, freedom and peace**. Another world is possible, and we pledge to make it real.

In "Not in my Name" we see some of the same themes expressed in "Brother Did You Weep?" such as explicit discussions of death, bombings, killing children and civilians, and endless war, but these meanings are interlaced with, and almost indistinguishable from, a larger narrative of resistance and government mistrust. Ryan Harvey's (2003) "Iraq" (quoted in section 3 below) also provides a good example of the relationship between death and destruction and government mistrust in post 911 songs. In the first half of the song, Harvey paints a disturbing picture of life in Iraq under US occupation, of "bodies and broken glass," leveled towns, murder and repression of protesters, and hospitals so full kids have to be careful not to get hurt as they play near piles of smoldering weapons and burned out tanks, but in the second half of the song, he ties this discussion of *death and destruction* into a larger narratives around *government mistrust* (false pretext for war, lies by the Bush administration, etc.) and global imperialism- (war contractors, transnational corporations, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF)).

Although, songs such as "Not in my name" and "Iraq" express the same symbolic meanings as songs like "Brother Did You Weep?" the manner in which these symbolic meanings are conveyed and the other symbolic meanings to which they become attached are very different. Vietnam songs describing death and destruction attempt to use their vivid descriptions of carnage to evoke moral outrage based purely on the symbolic and emotive power of the death and destruction code itself, whereas post 911 songs attach narratives around death and destruction to narratives around government mistrust, and in

111

doing so, attempt to evoke moral outrage in the synthesis of these codes/narratives rather than in their isolation.

ii.   Unpacking "Arrogant Leaders"
Like death and destruction, the code *arrogant leaders*, is among the most prevalent codes across both samples. While this would seem to indicate some consistency in the symbolic and emotion codes referenced in the songs, unpacking the manner in which the code is employed in the two eras reveals a clear change over time. Given that America was founded in part as a revolt against a perceived arrogant leader (i.e. King George III), it stands to reason that a cultural value around skepticism toward, and suspicion of, arrogant leaders would exist. We tend to approach powerful leaders with this cautious skepticism believing that they may be blinded by their power and become ineffective or even dangerous. This set of symbolic meanings relates to a series of emotional norms around the "appropriate" emotions to feel towards such leaders, including frustration, righteous indignation, suspicion, skepticism, fear, and ultimately the will/resolve/courage to do something about it. While this basic description of the symbolic and emotional meanings of *arrogant leaders* remains largely the same over time, the way the code is applied, and which characters it is applied to, change over time.

In Vietnam, the code is applied in a general way and often relates to non-nonpolitical leaders (including even leaders of the movement itself). Of the 14 Vietnam songs expressing the symbolic/emotion codes around the *arrogant leader* code, less than 30% of them reference specific leaders, while 42% offer general references, and almost 30% reference non-political leaders. The post 911 use of the code is just the opposite, with more than half of the songs expressing this code referencing specific political leaders (e.g. Bush and Bush administration), and less than 1% of them referencing non-

112

political leaders. While these numbers begin to tell the story, the shifting expression of

this code over time is best understood by looking at the songs themselves. Kai

Kreowski's (2003) "Bushism" provides a good example of the way this code applies to

many songs in the post 911 sample.

> **I solve your problems even those you don't have**
> **You are the victims**, that won't change. life is bad.
> This is for your best, my **power grows more and more**
> **I give you freedom as subjects of my law**
> Don't look for reason in my words
> We get the cake, you get the dirt
> **Fear is my tool** and oil my way
> my god is real, so start to pray
> **I am the good one, look at my arguments**
> 'Cause my god is real like the weapon in my hand
> **It is my duty to kick somebody's ass**
> I have to protect the money of my friends
> Don't look for reason in my words
> we get the cake, you get the dirt
> Fear is my tool and oil my way
> my god is real, so start to pray
> Shame on you, shame on you shame on you, Mr. Bush
> Shame on you, shame on you shame on you, Mr. Bush
> I solve your problems, even those you don't have.
> You are the victims, that won't change, life is bad
> All my wars are clean, except a little blood
> **But you provoked me so try this bullet flood**!
> Don't look for reason in my words we get the cake, you get the dirt
> Fear is my tool and oil my way my god is real, so start to pray
> Shame on you, shame on you, shame on you, Mr. Bush
> Shame on you, shame on you, shame on you, Mr. Bush

Despite what the percentages discussed above might indicate, the real change in this code

is not about the absence of presence of references to specific leaders, but about the *extent*

to which those leaders are discussed/critiqued. There are plenty of references to concrete

historical figures, including presidents and other leaders, in Vietnam songs, but there are

no Vietnam songs which focus on the arrogance of political leaders in the way post 911

songs such as "Bushism" do.

Vietnam songs expressing this code appear to be more related to countercultural values around resistance to authority than to direct critiques of the government (although these do exist). The following example from The Who's (1971) "Won't get fooled Again" provides an excellent example of the manner in which this code is expressed in many of the Vietnam era songs.

> We'll be fighting in the streets
> With our children at our feet
> And the morals that they worship will be gone
> **And the men who spurred us on**
> **Sit in judgment of all the wrong**
> **They decide and the shotgun sings the song**
> I'll tip my hat to the new constitution
> Take a bow for the new revolution
> Smile and grin at the change all around

The song tells the story of a musician who supported the revolution, but now feels betrayed and fearful for his and his family's safety. The song's famous last line "Meet the new boss, same as the old boss" sums it up pretty well. For all their idealism and moralism, the leaders of the movement discussed in the song were ultimately corrupted by power just like leaders of the pre-revolution government. The moral of the song is basically, don't trust authority, and relates to countercultural and youth-related suspicions of authority broadly. While the core symbolic and emotional meanings around this code remain more or less stable over time, the way the code is expressed in songs across the two eras differs greatly.

iii. Unpacking "Government Mistrust"
Like the two codes unpacked above, *government mistrust*, is also one of the most prevalent codes across both periods. As a symbolic and emotion code, *government mistrust* relates to deeply held cultural suspicions of government and authority, fears

around repression and the loss of rights, fears that the government will use force to control us, that they are surveilling us, and that they use propaganda and fear to mislead us. These deeply held suspicions evoke a powerful set of emotions: fear, anger, uncertainty, betrayal, alienation, vulnerability, cynicism and disillusionment. Although this broad symbolic and emotional meaning remains stable across both periods the way the code is expressed in the songs, and its relationship to other codes changes considerably over time.

Government mistrust is the most prevalent single code expressed in anti-war music across both periods, yet the number of songs expressing the code vary considerably, with it being represented in 15 Vietnam songs, or about 35% of the sample, and it being represented in 25 of the post 911 songs or about 62.5% of the sample. This finding alone offers powerful evidence for the ascendance of government mistrust as the principle source of moral outrage in post 911 songs. However, a closer look at the songs in each era which express this code can help us understand how and why this change has taken place.

Compared to post 911 songs, Vietnam songs expressing this code are much more likely to express general feelings of mistrust, with about 26% of them doing so, or feelings of mistrust related to other codes such as *soldiers* (33%) or *death and destruction* (26%). Post 911 songs on the other hand overwhelmingly relate to the specific lies the Bush administration told leading up to and during the war with about 44% doing so. Other songs relate government mistrust to other issues such as *global imperialism* (16%) and *class warfare* (16%). So, while *government mistrust* in the two time periods taps into essentially the same symbolic meanings, the way it is expressed changes and this affects

115

the emotions it evokes. It is almost as if, in the Vietnam sample, *government mistrust* is
not emotive in and of itself but only as it relates to other codes such as *death and
destruction*, *the deaths of soldiers*, and the *deaths of young people*. Whereas for the post
911 songs, mistrust itself directly relates to powerful emotion codes surrounding the
appropriate response to lies, deceit, and betrayal.

While the distinction between the ways in which this code is expressed can be
seen in the discussion above, the best way to see this change is to how it is expressed in
actual songs. The most compelling evidence for this change is the fact that I genuinely
struggled to find a good Vietnam era example when I was pulling quotes for this section.
While many Vietnam songs do reference *government mistrust*, they do so in a vague and
general way as opposed to the type of sustained critiques and emotional condemnations
we find in the post 911 songs. The following excerpt from Pete Seeger's (1966) "Ballad
of the ft. Hood 3" offers a fairly good example of the manner in which Government
mistrust is expressed in Vietnam songs.

> First, Pvt. Dennis Mora, he hails from New York town
> A good student in Spanish Harlem, and a studied a while at Brown
> **He cast his vote for Johnson in 1964**
> But listen to his own words on the subject of this war:
> **"I call this a war of aggression**, the whole world knows it's so;
> "We're supporting a dictator who holds Hitler his hero.
> **"There is a war we ought to fight: it's the war on poverty,**
> **"With jobs for all, no matter who, in this democracy."**
> Next, Pvt. Jimmy Johnson, he comes from Harlem, too
> He wanted to be a lawyer but left college before he was through;
> He had to bring his family income, worked as teller in a bank,
> Now listen to his own words and tell me what you think:
> "I've spent a lot of time reading and discussing Vietnam,
> **"The government's not been honest in telling us about Saigon**
> **"Too long I followed blindly; I had to take a stand.**

While it is clear that the characters in Seeger's narrative do express feelings of government mistrust and do, in some sense invoke, the symbolic and emotional power of the code, they do so in a very general manner. Post 911 songs, on the other hand tend to go beyond this vague expression and offer more pointed critiques. Take, for example the following excerpt from Billy Bragg's (2003) "The Price of Oil,"

> Voices on the radio
> tell us that we're going to war
> **those brave men and women in uniform**
> **they want to know what they're fighting for**.
> The generals want to hear the end game
> the allies won't approve the plan
> **but the oil men in the white house**
> **they just don't give a damn.**
> 'Cause it's all about the price of oil
> **it's all about the price of oil**
> **don't give me no shit**
> **about blood, sweat, tears and toil**
> **it's all about the price of oil.**

In this short excerpt, we can see evidence for a larger narrative of government mistrust. In its discussion of "men and women in uniform," we can see evidence of the betrayal of soldier's discourse. The rest of the quote, however, relates directly to *government mistrust* and to feelings of anger and resentment stemming from this mistrust. It is not just that the songs expressing the code get more specific, they also express emotions in a different way. Whereas many of the Vietnam songs express sadness and disillusionment, many of the post 911 songs express anger bordering on rage. Take for example, this excerpt from Trivium's (2008) "Down from the Sky"

> **The vampires feed off the wars of mankind**
> **Growing fat on the throne of an empire**
> **Tyrant rules with the threat of a great fire**
> I've opened up my eyes
> Seen the world for what it's worth

117

> Tears rain down from the sky
> **They'll blow it all to bits**
> **To prove whose god wields all the power**
> Blood rains down from the sky
> This **battle's not the same which they have led us to believe**
> **A synthesis of propaganda, terror and deceit**
> **We are the cattle; they the slaughter; our meat: gasoline**
> **They pump us through the machine's valves**
> to cleanse the world's "disease"
> We are the ammunition that will cause all life to cease
> **Annihilate All those who stand in their way**

The anger, resentment, and indignation in this song are palpable. And while these emotions are in part related to the fact that "Down from the Sky" is a metal song, the emotions are easily identifiable in the lyrics themselves even in the absence of the angry delivery in the recorded versions of the song. Not only do we see powerful emotions here, but we also see a rich depiction of the symbolic core of the code with references to greed, propaganda, tyrants, repression, lies, and deceit. While this song is a particularly powerful example, unlike the Vietnam sample, I had more than enough powerful examples to choose from in the 911 sample.

B.   Section 3 - Movement Focus: From Countercultural Vision to Globalized Anti-Imperialism

This section addresses the other major change over time, and argues that the antiwar music of the two eras reflects the primary focus of the antiwar movements of the two eras. Vietnam era anti-war music, therefore, reflects both the "countercultural vision" of the Vietnam era antiwar movement and its focus on youth and young people. As the Vietnam antiwar movement fades so does its countercultural vision and the values surrounding it cease to be present in post-911 antiwar music. Instead, post 911 music reflects the primary focus of the post 911 antiwar movement, which has been a global anti-imperialist vision coupled with a powerful

118

critique of corporate capitalism and the inequality it engenders. This section, like the other two, is organized into two sub-sections, one drawing on the narrative elements of the songs (topics, morals, narrators, audiences, and critical resistance) to provide evidence for the shift over time, and one charting the change over time by unpacking the symbolic and emotion codes present in the songs.

1.   Narrative Elements- Section 3:
     By viewing the songs as narratives and focusing on the topics the stories address and the morals they point to, I was able to find evidence of a link between the primary focus of the Vietnam era and post 911 era antiwar movements and the cultural narratives present in the antiwar music of both time periods. Figure 21 outlines the broad topics expressed by songs in the Vietnam era. Of the Vietnam era songs in my sample, about 30% focused on topics related to countercultural themes (*countercultural vision, chaos/disillusionment, protest/repression*).

Figure 21 Vietnam Era Topics	
Vietnam Topic	**Count**
Absurdity of War	11
Chaos/Disillusionment	7
Protest/Repression	6
Loss of Soldiers	6
Death and Destruction	4
Counter Cultural Vison	3
Soldier's Experience	2
Government Mistrust	1
Total	**40**

     Songs coded as *countercultural vision* tended to be those which discussed "peace, love, and understanding" and implicitly or explicitly claimed that a lack of these values was the source of America's trouble, or that the elevation of these values would solve the country's problems. Despite the optimism of the movement's countercultural vision the Vietnam era was a time of considerable tumult, with those in the movement feeling like they weren't being heard or taken seriously, and those outside the movement viewing the

movement as chaotic and potentially dangerous (Harrison, 1993; Chatfield, 2004). The

movement's own internal conflicts (e.g. between liberals and radicals) and the external conflicts

between the movement and the government manifested themselves as a general sense of chaos

and disillusionment, and there is strong evidence for the presence of these feelings in the antiwar

music of the period (Gitlin, 1987; Fendrich, 2003; Chatfield, 2004). Finally, the movement was

centered on campuses across the country and its primary tactic was protest (Gitlin, 2003). While

the majority of these protests were peaceful, some turned

violent, and others were violently repressed by the

government (Debendetti, 1990). This focus on protest and

dissent and related fears of repression are also present in the

narratives expressed in Vietnam era anti-war music.

Table 22 Post 911 Topic	
Topic	Count
Class Warfare	4
Death and Destruction	3
Gov Mistrust	16
Imperialism	6
Resistance	6
Soldiers	5
Total	40

Figure 22 summarizes the major topics addressed by

addressed by antiwar songs in the post 911 era. Three of the categories, *class warfare*, *death and*

destruction, and *imperialism* relate to the global anti-imperialist/capitalist focus of the

movement, and together these make up about 32.5% (13 songs) of the total post 911 sample.

Although *imperialism* clearly reflects this movement focus, *death and destruction* and *class*

warfare do as well. The code *class warfare*, for instance, relates to narratives in the songs around

the rich making war and the poor dyeing, and is related to an overarching suspicion of the

wealthy. As we saw above, the code *death and destruction* is expressed in very different ways

across the two time periods, and here it relates to songs which discuss foreign occupation as a

manifestation of global imperialism.

As much as we can learn from the broad topic a song addresses, often it can be helpful to look at a song's moral as well because morals represent a song's call to action. Figure 23 lays out the major morals expressed by songs in the Vietnam era. Three of the morals expressed by Vietnam songs, *we need more peace, love and understanding*, *be skeptical/question authority*, and *repression (of protesters/young people) is wrong*, relate to countercultural themes and together represent about 37.5% of the Vietnam sample. *We need more peace, love and understanding* quite obviously reflects countercultural values, but so do, *be skeptical/question authority*, and *repression (of protesters/young people) is wrong*. Take this excerpt from Marvin Gaye's (1971) "What's Going On" for example,

Figure 23 Vietnam Morals	
Moral	**Count**
America is troubled	4
Question Authority	5
Repression is wrong	4
Soldiers are heroes	1
War Is absurd	5
War Is immoral - Kills Innocent People	9
War kills young men, breaks hearts	6
We need more peace, love, and understanding	6
Total	**40**

> You see, war is not the answer
> For only love can conquer hate
> You know we've got to find a way
> To bring some loving' here today, oh (oh)
> Picket lines and picket signs
> Don't punish me with brutality
> Talk to me, so you can see
> Oh, what's going on *(what's going on)*
> What's going on *(what's going on)*
> Yeah, what's going on *(what's going on)*
> Oh, what's going on *(what's going on)*
> Mother, mother
> Everybody thinks we're wrong
> Oh, but who are they to judge us
> Simply cause our hair is long
> Oh, you know we've got to find a way
> To bring some understanding here today

"What's Going On" provides an excellent example of the close relationship the *We need more peace, love and understanding* moral has with other countercultural symbolic and emotion codes. Gaye not only discusses love conquering hate, but also calls for the pro-war public not to punish protesters with brutality, but instead to take them seriously despite their long hair.

Figure 24 Post 911 Moral	
Moral	**Count**
Don't Trust Government	13
Global imperialism is unjust	6
Resist, speak up/out	5
War is immoral, kills innocent people	5
War kills soldiers	7
War kills the poor	4
Total	**40**

Figure 24 summarizes the primary morals expressed by post 911 era anti-war songs. Three of these morals, *global imperialism is unjust*, *war kills the poor*, and *resist, speak up*, relate directly to the post 911 focus on global anti-imperialism, and account for the morals of a little over 37% of songs in my post 911 sample. While *global imperialism is unjust* obviously relates to the imperialist theme, *war kills the poor*, and *resist, speak up* do as well, in the way that they point to the fact that poor in our country are exploited as soldiers, and the poor overseas are killed as they defend themselves from our onslaught, and the need to speak up and resist this injustice respectively. Take, for example, this excerpt from OTEP's (2008) "Confrontation,"

> **My religion of resistance**, challenging everything
> **Radicals and dissidents** of creativity
> We are the children of the siege you hide
> **In this rich man's war, where the poor just die**
> **More deception and greed**
> More wars and disease
> **More lies from the high minds**
> **That seek to deceive a weak nation of need**
> Like silent thieves in the night
> **It's a rich man's war, but it's the poor that die**
> Stand up, speak out, Strike back!
> **Stand up, speak out, Strike back!**
> **They don't know what they started.**

122

Confrontation!
Stand, fight, Speak, fight, strike back!
Stand, fight, Speak, fight, strike back!
They don't know what they started
Confrontation!
This is my battle cry
Defy the lies of the tyrant race
With a fist in the air and a finger in their face!
Defy the tyrants. Don't be silent.
Defy the tyrants. Don't be silent.

As this excerpt demonstrates, the overarching 'moral' in "Confrontation," is that we need to *stand up and fight back*, but interlaced with this moral are a number of other symbolic and emotion codes relating to *class warfare* and ultimately to *imperialism*, to the "tyrant race" who are willing to kill the poor at home and abroad.

In addition to focusing on the topics and morals of songs, we can also learn something important about a story by looking at who the narrator is. Figure 25 lays out the major narrators for songs in the Vietnam and post 911 eras. While many of the narrators are the same across both time periods (e.g. unnamed, protesters, soldiers, and artists), focusing on the unique narrators from the two periods helps to highlight the differences between them. Some of the unique narrators in the Vietnam sample such as *young people* and *bards* represent similarities between the countercultural themes of the Vietnam era antiwar movement and the themes present in the songs.

Figure 25 Narrators Across Both Eras		
Narrator	**Post 911 songs**	**Vietnam Songs**
UnNamed	18	13
Soldier	5	7
Bard/Truth Teller	5	1
Artist	4	4
Protester	4	0
Bush	2	0
Religious Authority	1	0
Terrorist	1	0
Protester	0	10
Young Person	0	3
Girlfriend	0	2
Total	**40**	**40**

Likewise, some of the unique narrators in the post 911 sample such as black *religious leaders*, *terrorists*, and *bards* represent the movement's anti-imperialist/anti-capitalist focus. The

123

religious authority, for instance is Rev. Jeremiah Wright whose famous "Chickens have come home to roost" sermon is put to music in Dalek's (2009) "Blessed Are They Who Your Children's Heads with A Rock" and represents fiery critique of American imperialism calling America a terrorist and essentially claiming we had 911 coming. For post 911 songs, *bard/truth teller* generally refers to rappers (as opposed to the more traditional bards of the Vietnam era songs) who often begin their songs with statements related to their experience, credentials, or trustworthiness, and generally offer more systemic critiques of the war than many other songs, tying war discussions into discussions of race, poverty, militarism, police brutality, imperialism, and globalization. Son of Nun's (2004) "Fight Back" offers a prime example,

> [talking to protesters]
> [I] So why are you here? Why are people out here today?
> [R] **well we are here to stand up against what the US is doing around the world. They are going to go off and attack one of the most devastated countries in the world. A country that has already been devastated by 10 years of sanctions. We don't think the US has the right to force regime change around the world wherever it wants to. We think it is important for people to determine their own futures,** and the war is actually going to cost 200 billion dollars, which is going to take away from essential services that people are struggling for right here. **Healthcare, education, jobs, that's where our money should be going,** not to bombs, to bomb the hell out of someone half way around the world.
> [rapping]
> **I've been observing this system at every level**
> and every rebel refusing' to settle be catching' metal, -I swear
> they sit back and revel in all they devilin'
> with all they foreign country meddlin', pot callin' the kettlin',
> **Mass destruction weapon peddling** just let it settle in,
> they **ain't been fightin' fair since Chris Columbus nestled in**.
> That **genocide amplified and supplied**
> by States using religion as a tool to divide by.
> I pledge by the razor's edge to challenge the balance of power that's
> devoured our life's bread (empowered by bloodshed)
> this **fight's lead to the same thing that my strife's wed,**
> **this movement for justice that's as raucous as it's widespread,**
> **sanctions to occupation, globalization**
> **to organization of anti-death penalty mobilization,**
> **we come correct in every situation**

supporting workers striking to improve conditions at their occupations...
They say get back, we say fight back (cause)
we wouldn't take it if they did us like they did Iraq. (x4)
I'd walk- to Iraq-to-rock together
with a mother from over there who's fighting to get a better
way of life that's **free from the strife and the pressure**
that comes with living under the hand of a foreign oppressor ¬
they're in the streets fighting the beast
demanding the right- to run their country how they please
the war abroad connects back to the war at home,
they give tax cuts to the rich but lay us off and send us home,
if you resist then their tapping your phone,
cracking and snapping your bones,
and calling it legal with the patriot act and its clone. ¬
It doesn't matter who's in presidential position from Nixon to Clinton
it's the people providing the friction,
fuck a politician, spitting dishonest diction,
and nuff respect to people that be separating the fact from the fiction,
we're on a mission ta, widen the schisms of,
capitalism and replace it with a system thus,
For the people, by the people, of the people, not the evil. [x2]
They say get back, we say fight back
'cause we wouldn't take it if they did us like they did Iraq. [x4]
If we die by the same rules we ride by,
then how many leaders of countries would catch a drive by?
You and I know how far they'll go
when it ain't the blood of their own their causing to flow.
George Bush ain't going to war,
neither is the man who wins election 04',
The congress ain't going to war,
so what the fuck should we go for. [x2]
Money for jobs and -education,
not for war and -occupation [x4]
That's bullshit, get off it, this war is for profit,
war and occupation will never bring liberation.

In beginning the song with a protester interview and the phrase "I have been observing the system on every level," the narrator establishes himself as both an activist and a 'truth teller.' Moreover, as I suggested above, while "Fight Back" is certainly an antiwar song with strong traditional critiques of the war: it is expensive, it kills innocent people, and it is based on false pretexts and government lies, yet it is more than that; it sets its antiwar arguments within a larger critique of global anti-imperialism, tying the war to myriad other social justice issues from workers' rights and the death penalty, to globalization, inequality, and racism.

While looking at narrators can help us better understand songs and the narratives the contain, looking at their intended audiences can be helpful as well. Figure 26 addresses intended audiences for the songs in both samples, and shows that about 32.5% of the Vietnam songs are directed at members of the counterculture themselves. Many of the post 911 songs, on the other hand, are directed towards genre communities. Of the post 911 antiwar songs sampled, about 35% are directed towards genre communities, namely hip-hop and metal, both of which have somewhat cohesive and demographically homogenous subcultures (working class whites for metal and racial/ethnic minorities for hip-hop).

Figure 26 Intended Audience Across Both Periods		
Intended Audience	Vietnam Songs	Post 911 Songs
Counterculture	13	0
Genre community	6	14
Protesters	9	11
Public	12	8
Liberals	0	7
Total	40	40

Metal songs are far and away the most critical the economic/class issues surrounding war, and tend to be especially suspicious of the rich and powerful and especially concerned with the manner in which the poor are used – told to go, fight, and die, while the rich sit at home safe in their privilege (see discussion of *class warfare* below for further elaboration). It seems likely that this focus on class issues is related to the fact that metal's primary demographic is working-class

126

whites, a group with a particularly high likelihood of joining the military and getting deployed.

Hip-hop is a similar case – while hip-hop has a larger mainstream following than metal, on the

whole, its listeners are more likely to represent marginalized demographics – especially racial

minorities, another group which disproportionality enlists. While many antiwar songs (and

protest songs more broadly) call for listeners to take action, hip-hop songs are especially likely to

chastise listeners for failing to wake up to reality and take action to effect change. In "The 4th

Branch," (2003) for instance, Immortal Technique claims

> Martial law is coming soon to the hood, to kill you
> While you hanging your flag out your project window
> […]
> We act like we share in the spoils of war that they do
> We die in wars, we don't get contracts to make money off 'em afterwards
> We don't get weapons contracts, nigga
> We don't get cheap labor for our companies, nigga
> We are cheap labor, nigga
> Turn off the news and read, nigga
> Read. Read. Read.

In this excerpt, we see more than a simple call to action, instead we see an indictment of

complacent listeners mixed in with a critique of the media which allows, or even

facilitates, the public's complacence.

One final narrative element which can help to shed some light on this change over

time is critical resistance which refers to instances in which artists, narrators, or

characters in the story critically and reflexively engage with their self-concepts

(Wolegmuth, 2013). This is somewhat different from simple forms of resistance such as

protesting or critiquing the social status quo. Figure 27 lays out the forms of critical and

simple resistance expressed in the antiwar music of both periods. From this figure we can

see that about a quarter of Vietnam songs (a plurality) engage in a form of simple

resistance I have termed 'questioning society,' a form of simple resistance deeply

127

embedded in the countercultural vision/narrative.

Moreover, about 20% of Vietnam songs engage in 2 distinctively countercultural forms of critical resistance – *destroying self*, and *refusal to be identified*. Songs

Figure 27 Critical Resistance		
CR - Simplified	**Vietnam Songs**	**Post 911 Songs**
Critiquing War/Military	6	7
Critical of Government	3	17
Destroying Self	3	3
Falling Away of Self	3	6
None	2	0
Questioning Society	10	2
Refusal to be identified	5	2
Risking Self	5	3
Satire - exposing absurdity	3	0
Total	**40**	**40**

expressing *destroying the self* tend to have characters/narrators who discuss/undergo a transformation in which their old self symbolically dies and is reborn as a countercultural one – The Doors (1967) "The End' offers a wonderful example of this form of critical resistance. In the song the narrator/main character leaves his girlfriend and comfortable home/life and goes west – symbolically killing his father (representing authority) and 'screwing' his mother (representing a return to roots/nature/affect).

Although critical resistance in post 911 era songs does not reflect the broad movement focus quite the same way it does in Vietnam, it does offer some evidence of the shift in movements to a focus on global anti-imperialism. For instance, 17.5% the post 911 antiwar songs offer critiques of the war/military and generally relate to anti-imperialist themes. Moreover, about 15% of the post 911 songs engage in a form of critical resistance relating to the "falling away" of the self – in many cases, songs receiving this code referred to characters or narrators critiquing the country, yet including themselves in the critique, and more often than not, these critiques related to the country's global imperialist quest (e.g. the use of "we" to refer

128

to America in songs like Dalek's 2009 "Blessed Are They Who Bash your Children's Heads with a Rock").

2.   **Symbolic and Emotion Codes – Section 3**

Although the preceding sections presented evidence of the shifting movement foci in the narratives as a whole, by addressing narrative elements such as topics, morals, narrators, audiences, and critical resistance, the real story is in the symbolic and emotion codes at the cultural core of the narratives. By focusing on the codes present in the lyrics of the songs, and unpacking their symbolic and emotional meanings, we can begin to understand the relationship between movements and music, at least as far as meanings are concerned. This section argues that Vietnam antiwar songs express narratives and symbolic and emotion codes associated with the Vietnam era counterculture, and that over time these narratives and codes fall away and are replaced by a new set of narratives with a new set of symbolic and emotion codes which relate global anti-imperialism. In presenting evidence for this argument, this section will unpack a number of symbolic and emotion codes represented in songs from the two periods and chart the relative movement of these codes over time.

Figures 19 and 20 (above) graph the top 25 or so symbolic and emotion code pairs within each era. Of the top 27 codes expressed in the Vietnam era songs, eight codes, *peace*, *young people-killed*, *resistance/dissent*, *young people-general*, *complacency/apathy*, *repression*, *love-general*, and *outspoken dissenter*, just under 30% of these top 27 codes, relate directly to the Vietnam era counterculture. Of the three quintessential countercultural values we typically associate with the Vietnam era anti-war movement (peace, love, and understanding) two, *peace-general* and *love-general* are among the most prevalent codes expressed in Vietnam era antiwar songs, with *peace-general* alone expressed in over a third of the Vietnam era songs (13 songs/32.5%). Other countercultural values such as *resistance/dissent*, *complacency/apathy*, and

outspoken dissenter also rank highly. *Resistance/dissent*, for instance is in the top 10, and is present in a quarter of all the Vietnam songs. Finally, two of these top ranked Vietnam era codes, *young people-killed* and *young people-general* relate directly to the youth centered orientation of the movement. Both of these youth related codes are in the top 15 with *young people-killed* expressed by a third of all the Vietnam songs, and *young people-general* expressed by just under a quarter (22.5%) of them.

Among the top 26 post 911 symbolic/emotion code pairs presented in figure 20, 10 codes, *government mistrust*, *innocent victims -general*, *children /future*, *complacency/apathy*, *death and destruction*, *imperialism/empire*, *rich people*, *mechanized war*, *innocent victims- women and children*, *poverty-using the poor*, and *war profiteers*, over 38% of these top 26, relate directly to global anti-imperialism. Two of these 10 codes, *government mistrust* and *innocent victims -general* are in the top 10, and are expressed in 62.5% and 37.5% of the post 911 songs respectively. Although *government mistrust*, as a powerful cultural narrative and source of moral outrage in its own right, was discussed at length above, it is also an important component in the development of the global anti-imperialist movement focus. Two of the top 25 codes expressed by the post 911 era songs, *innocent victims-general* and *innocent victims -women and children*, relate to innocent victims and tend to be expressed in songs discussing the damage our imperialistic pursuits do to civilians and women in children in the countries we occupy. Three of these 10 codes, *death and destruction*, *mechanized war*, and *imperialism/empire* relate to the incredible carnage and destruction the US occupation causes in the middle east and elsewhere, with *death and destruction* and *imperialism/empire* among the most prevalent codes in the post 911 era expressed by over 27% and 25% of post 911 songs respectively. Three of the top 25 symbolic and emotion codes in the post 911 era, *rich people*, *using the poor*, and *war profiteers*

130

relate to the post 911 anti-war movement's skepticism towards the wealthy and multinational corporations who are perceived as war profiteers, lining their pockets with the deaths of the poor who end up fighting in the wars the rich wage.

Although discussing the most prevalent codes can help begin to paint a picture of this change, the real story is in the song lyrics themselves and the symbolic and emotion codes they point to. By unpacking several symbolic/emotion code pairs prevalent in the Vietnam era (*young people-general*, *peace-general*, and *love-general*), and three symbolic/emotion code pairs prevalent in the post 911 period (*poverty-using the poor*, *war profiteers* and *imperialism/empire*) the presence of countercultural movement values/themes in Vietnam era antiwar music is evident along with the shift away from these themes to a new focus on global anti-imperialism in post 911 antiwar music.

i.   Unpacking Codes Around "Youth"
Youth was a major theme of the Vietnam era anti-war movement. Much of the movement was centered on university campuses, and a great deal of the protesters were students (Gitlin, 2003). Given the movement's youth focus it makes sense that *young people-killed*, and *young people-general* would be two of the most prevalent symbolic and emotion codes in the Vietnam sample. When we think about young people and youth culture today part of our understanding has been shaped by the particular interpretations of youth expressed by the countercultural movement of the Vietnam era American culture regards young people as free and rebellious, idealistic, reckless and impulsive, and more or less innocent, and in suggesting these interpretations of them, the symbolic and emotion codes around young people and youth, also suggest how we should respond to their thoughts and actions and what emotions those responses should express. Depending on what young people say or do we may respond to them with some

mix of trivialization and envy. For instance, we may envy their vibrancy and energy while simultaneously trivializing their idealism and their 'puppy love'

Because young people made up the ranks of both the protesters and the soldiers during Vietnam, multiple dimensions of this overarching understanding of youth were present. Some of the codes representing these dimensions relate to the death of young people as soldiers and protesters. In a sort of cultural paradox, because we regard young people as strong and vibrant we send them to fight in our wars, yet because we value their youth and regard them as the future, we are saddened and outraged when they are killed. When songs tell stories about young people dying, they tap into the symbolic and emotional meanings of young people living, and as the inversion of these meanings, they evoke strong emotions such as sympathy, moral outrage, anger, and grief. Other youth related codes focus on young love and the power and passion it represents. These codes are expressed in songs detailing the death of young men and the loss and sorrow young women feel with their boyfriends/husbands are killed.

Given the important role youth played during the Vietnam era, it is not surprising that many of the youth related symbolic and emotion codes I have identified were expressed by songs in the Vietnam sample. If these codes were related to war and to anti-war movements in general, and not specifically related to the Vietnam era movement, we would expect them to remain prevalent across both samples, yet this is not the case. All of the youth-related code pairs I have identified apply to fewer songs in the post 911 era than they did in the Vietnam era.

Principle among these youth related codes is, *young people-killed* which was a top 10 code during Vietnam that falls to the bottom of the top 25 in the post 911 sample. This code, perhaps more than other youth codes, is tied to war in general as it is often expressed around the death of soldiers. The fall in prominence over time likely reflects the fact that in Vietnam songs

the code gets applied not only to soldiers' deaths but also to the deaths of protesters, a plot line which ceases to exist in the post 911 songs. Other codes saw much more extreme relative movements over time. The code *young people-general*, for instance, dropped from the top 15 to the mid-40s between the two periods, likely a reflection of the fact that the post 911 anti-war movement was made up an age-diverse demographic compared to the Vietnam era movement. Other youth-codes present (although not prominent) in Vietnam era antiwar songs, disappeared entirely in the post 911 songs. Codes such as *young love/loss*, *youth/teens*, and *student* all ranked in the 40s and 50s in Vietnam era sample, yet applied to no songs in the post 911 sample.

While focusing on the relative movement of youth codes over time tells part of the story, looking at the manner in which they are expressed in the song lyrics themselves offers an even better approach. Ringo Starr's (1970) "Silent Homecoming" offers a good example of the power with which these codes were expressed in many of the Vietnam era songs. In the following excerpt, we can see the expression of a number of these codes such as *young people-general*, *young people-killed*, *young love/loss*, *and youth/teenagers*,

> He was **just a boy when they sent for him**
> And overnight **turned him into a man**.
> **Proudly he had served his country**
> In a war he **didn't seem to understand**.
> The flag still waves, his war is over,
> He'll never have to kill again.
> And **as she waits**, she thinks it over,
> **Is winning worth the price we pay to win?**
> Her thoughts keep wandering **to his childhood,**
> **When all his hand grenades were merely toys**.
> And "war" was just a game that he was playing
> With plastic guns like other little boys.
> And ev'ry day when play was over,
> He'd put his little toys away.
> **And she'd be standing, waiting for him,**
> **The way she's waiting here today.**
> As the plane stops she starts thinking,

Will he still look the way he did before?
Or **will his eyes reflect the pain of killing**,
Like most young men when they come home from war?
These last few minutes seem like hours,
She tries her best not to cry.
But there's that hearse filled up with flowers,
Did he really have to die?

The song is told from the perspective of a girlfriend waiting on the runway for her soldier

boyfriend who has been sent to fight in Vietnam and is about to return from his tour.

Looking at the lyrics we can see the expression of multiple youth related symbolic and

emotion codes. Expressing codes around soldiers and young men, the song discusses the

boy's patriotism and sense of duty, he is portrayed as brave and idealistic, willing to risk

his life for his country. In the song's discussion of the young man coming of age, we see

the expression of symbolic and emotion codes around young people's innocence and the

value of their lives – codes further reinforced in the narrator's flashback to the soldier's

childhood innocently playing war games with other kids. The references to the narrator

"waiting" patiently for him to be done, obviously reflect powerful symbolic and emotion

codes around gender roles, but also around youth and young love. Along with lyrics

discussing her attempts to hold back tears and the minutes seeming like hours, this

discussion of her dedicated waiting relates to cultural understandings of teen love as

intensely passionate. The moral of the story – war kills and damages young men and

breaks young women's hearts – reflects symbolic and emotion codes around *young*

people-killed and around *young love/loss*.

While we see similar codes reflected in post 911 anti-war songs, they are not

reflected in the same way. The only youth code that remains prevalent in the post 911

songs is *young people-killed*, and this almost always refers to soldiers. The following

example from Nashville Bound's (2010) "No One's Left Keeping Score" represents one

of the only post 911 songs to actually mention "young people" specifically, and provides

a good example of the manner in which youth codes such as *young people-killed* are

expressed in post 911 songs.

> In a desert far away
> In a land not so near
> **We gathered all our youth**
> **In the prime of their years**
> And we sent them to faraway lands
> To fight in some distant sands
> **Though we promised long ago**
> **That we'd never kill our young anymore**
> Though the **Viet vets have grown**
> **They're still looking for a home**
> After all the blood we saw on TV
> For the war every night
> Made us sick of the sight
> **And we promised long ago**
> **That we'd never kill our young anymore**
> And it's fight, fight, fight
> Line them up in our sights

The song, which actually focuses on the lack of critical media coverage around the war in Iraq,

employs codes around young people's lives and the tragedy of cutting them short. Although this

song is reflective of the manner in which symbolic and emotional codes around youth are

employed in post 911 songs, it is atypical its use of the actual words "young people" as most post

9ll songs merely imply youth. It is interesting and not coincidental that this song mentions

Vietnam directly and discusses our "promise…that we'd never kill your young anymore." These

reverences on their own evidence the importance of youth and the deaths of young people in our

collective understanding of the Vietnam conflict, but they also demonstrate the deep cultural

meanings and ambiguities around young people's lives whereby we treat young people as

precious and special, yet continue to send them to die.

ii.   Unpacking "Peace" and "Love"

The shift over time in the prevalence and expression of symbolic and emotion codes around young people serves as evidence for the manner in which the demographic trends and cultural meanings associated with the Vietnam era antiwar movement find expression in Vietnam era antiwar music. This relationship is further evidenced, however, by the expression of various countercultural values in Vietnam era antiwar music, and the manner in which the symbolic and emotional meanings associated with these codes change over time. Codes relating to these values such as *peace* and *love* were quite prevalent in the Vietnam era songs, with both of these codes represented in the top 15. Both of these codes become less prevalent in the post 911 songs, with peace dropping from the 4th most prevalent code in Vietnam songs to the bottom of the top 25 in the post 911 era. This drop is more striking than it seems, given that we would expect anti-war songs from any era to express symbolic and emotion codes around peace. The relative movement of the code *love* is even more extreme. It was among the top 25 codes in the Vietnam era, but by the post 911 era, it essentially disappears completely, being expressed in only one song, George Papavgeris' (2002) "The Flowers and the Guns," a narrative about a former antiwar protester lamenting that those in his generation have lost the idealism and countercultural values they once exuded. Although *understanding*, the third quintessential countercultural value (i.e. peace, love, and understanding) was never terribly prominent and ranked in the 40s even in the Vietnam era, it falls away entirely in the post 911 era.

Although the relative movements of these codes begin to tell the story, looking at their expression in the lyrics offers an even better avenue to understanding the change over time in the extent and expression of their use. It shouldn't be surprising to find countercultural values expressed in many of the anti-war songs of the Vietnam era, and examples abound. Songs such as Lennon's (1969) "Give Peace a Chance" and Richie Havens' (1969) "Freedom" are iconic

136

symbols of the period as a whole and arguably embody and even create the counterculture as opposed to merely reflecting it. The countercultural values expressed in these two songs are so powerful and timely that they require hardly any lyrics in order to convey their messages and values. Listening to, or better yet watching a recording of, Havens masterful performance of "Freedom" at Woodstock is so emotive as to almost bring one to tears despite fact that the song's lyrics essentially amount to the repletion of the word "freedom" and the phrases "sometimes I feel like a motherless child" and "sometimes I feel like I'm almost gone." Although good examples of countercultural anthems abound, Nick Lowe's (1974) "Peace, love, and understanding" is one of the most overt. In the following excerpt from "Peace, love, and Understanding" we can see a good illustration of the manner in which countercultural values were expressed Vietnam era antiwar music,

> As I walk through
> This **wicked world**
> Searchin' for light in the darkness of insanity.
> I ask myself
> Is all **hope** gone?
> Is **there only pain and hatred, and misery?**
> And each time I feel like this inside,
> There's one thing I wanna know:
> **What's so funny 'bout peace love and understanding?** Oh
> What's so funny 'bout peace love and understanding?
> And as I walked on
> Through **troubled times**
> My **spirit gets so downhearted** sometimes
> So where are the **strong**?
> And who are the **trusting**?
> And where is the **harmony**?
> Sweet harmony.
> 'Cause each time I feel it slippin' away, just makes me wanna cry.
> What's so funny 'bout peace love and understanding? Oh
> What's so funny 'bout peace love and understanding?

In Lowe's song, we can see multiple countercultural themes. As an ante-narrative, the chorus expresses the idea that countercultural values such as peace love and understanding are a panacea for the country's problems, and laments over the way they are trivialized by those in power. Repeated references to the tumultuous times and the narrator's lack of hope and downhearted spirit represent countercultural themes around the chaos of the war and the disillusionment resulting from people's inability to stop it. Finally, the lines about "pain, hatred, and misery" relate to the *death and destruction* caused by the war and imply the solution to these problems is more peace love and understanding.

Other classic countercultural songs such as Bob Dylan's (1963) "Blowing in the Wind" offer similar themes of chaos and disillusionment and similar prescriptions for more peace and love. More mainstream music from the period also expresses counterculture values. The Temptations (1970) "Ball of confusion" for instance, expresses the chaos and disillusionment of the period, and The Supremes' "Stoned Love" expresses meanings around the *love-general* code, portraying love as a personal and social panacea,

> Now I wanna tell you of **a great love**
> Oh, it will light up,
> **It will surely light up the world**
> **If you'll just believe**.
> Stoned love…
> **A love for each other will bring fighting to an end.**

Although there are many fewer expressions of this countercultural values in the post 911 songs, the expressions that do exist, may be understood as part of what Eyerman and Jamison (1998) call the "mobilization of tradition" whereby the culture created within one movement has lasting effects on the culture created in later movements. One

of the songs in my post 911 sample offers a powerful example of Eyerman and Jamison's concept. As the following excerpt from George Papavgeris (2002) "Flowers in the Barrels of the Guns" demonstrates, countercultural values continue to exist in the background of the post 911 antiwar movement even as they cease to be expressed in at the same levels and in the same ways that they were during the Vietnam era.

> Where are the **flowers that we put into the muzzles of the guns**?
> Where is **the innocence of youth, the stars that once were in our eyes**
> When did we learn to cover truth with our excuses and our lies?
> When **did our ideals falter?** Tell me, when did we change our plans?
> Where are the flowers that we put into the muzzles of the guns?
> Our lives from others we have learned to separate
> **From evil we avert our eyes**.
> More often war it is, and not love that we make
> And all the time we compromise.
> **We used to turn the other cheek, but now we turn our face away.**
> **We were the blessed and the meek; our future brighter than the day.**
> But we've forgotten Luther's message; we never ask ourselves, not once:
> Where are the flowers that we put into the muzzles of the guns?
> But we've arrived, and as we pat each other's backs
> **Our principles we now betray**
> **And year on year as we progress and we advance,**
> **It's not just hair that's turning grey...**

In Papavgeris' song, we not only have a great summery of many of the countercultural and youth oriented values discussed above, but we can see how the power of these codes and the meanings they acquired in being expressed during the Vietnam era are mobilized in the culture created in the post 911 era to critique our continued apathy and complacency.

Over time, the countercultural vision and youth orientation of the Vietnam era antiwar movement faded, making way for the development of a new movement focus centered on global anti-imperialism in the post 911 antiwar movement. Mirroring these shifts in movement foci over time, we see a shift in the cultural narratives and symbolic

139

codes expressed in antiwar music across the two time periods. Above, I presented evidence for the presence of codes and narratives related to the counterculture in Vietnam era antiwar music and for the falling away of those codes over time. Next, I will argue that the codes which replaced these countercultural codes in post 911 antiwar music relate to the post 911 antiwar movement's focus on global anti-imperialism which combines discourses around imperialism with skepticism toward the wealthy and corporations who are perceived as advocating for war and profiting from the deaths of soldiers and innocent civilians.

Central to the development of this global anti-imperialist focus in post 911 antiwar music are a series of codes relating to the wealth, poverty, corporations, soldiers, and civilians. Looking at the relative frequencies of codes related to this focus across the two time periods can begin to demonstrate the development of this "class warfare" narrative over time. This narrative is represented by eight of the symbolic/emotion code pairs expressed in antiwar music across the two periods: *work ethic*, *rich people*, *helping the poor*, *using the poor*, *poverty/hunger*, *war profiteers*, *poverty-general*, and *middle class*.

Looking at the relative frequencies of these codes in the Vietnam era paints a pretty striking picture. None of these codes is among the top 25. In fact, the first to show up is *work ethic* in the 40s, and this code really refers more to the American value around hard work than to actual economic issues. Two codes, *rich people* and *helping the poor*, show up in the 50s, 4 codes show up after 65, *using the poor*, *poverty/hunger*, *war profiteers*, and *poverty-general*, and *middle class* isn't expressed in any of the Vietnam songs. This finding is particularly interesting given that there was a considerable national

140

discourse around poverty during the time period in response to things like Johnson's "great society," and the civil rights movement. Pertinent to the present argument, however, are the relative infrequency of codes such as *using the poor* and *war profiteers*, as these two codes more than the others relate to the development of the global anti-imperialist focus.

Focusing on the relative frequencies of these codes in the post 911 era tells a strikingly different narrative. All eight codes related to the class warfare narrative moved into the top 40 codes for the era. *Rich people* a general code related to the wealthy, moved from the 50s to the top 15 and is expressed in a quarter of the post 911 songs in my sample. The two codes most representative of the class warfare narrative, *using the poor* and *war profiteers*, went from being barely present in the Vietnam songs, to the top 25 post 911, with *using the poor* expressed in a fifth (20%) of post 911 songs and *war profiteers* expressed in about 15% of post 911 songs. Three of the 8 codes related to class warfare, *helping the poor*, *poverty/hunger*, and *poverty-general* moved from being nearly nonexistent in the Vietnam sample to the top 40s in the post 911 sample. *Middle class* moved from nonexistence to the top 30, and work ethic remained in the 40s.

iii.   Unpacking "War Profiteers"
Although relative frequencies can begin to tell the story, the best evidence of the development of the class warfare narrative is in the lyrics of the actual songs and the symbolic and emotion codes they express. Two of the most important codes related to the development of this discourse are *rich people* and *war profiteers*, which both draw symbolic and emotive power from our collective understandings of wealth and poverty. Wealth has an ambiguous place in American culture. Dominant cultural meanings around wealth hold it up as a goal and a value, seeing wealth as a measure of success and the

product of hard work and thrift. However, there is also space in American culture for deep skepticism of the very wealthy, especially with "old money" or wealth gained in immoral ways such as war profiteering. Our cultural understandings of wealth are related to our values around hard work which in turn are related to values such as fairness and justice. Thus, bad wealthy people, those deserving of critique, are wealthy people who have made their money in unfair or unjust ways such as profiting from the death of soldiers and young people during war. In such situations the combination of all of these symbolic codes around wealth, justice, profit, soldiers and young people evoke powerful emotions such as anger, disgust, righteous indignation, contempt, and moral outrage.

Although public discourse and movement frames around war profiteering certainly existed during Vietnam, as a symbolic code, *war profiteering* is only present in just 2 songs in my Vietnam sample. The best example being Country Joe's (1967) "I-Feel-Like-I'm-fixing'-to-die-rag," probably one of the best known anti-war protest songs in the entire sample. In the following excerpt, we can see Joe's discussion of *war profiteering*,

> And its 1,2,3 what are we fighting for?
> Don't ask me I don't give a damn,
> The next stop is Vietnam,
> And its 5,6,7 open up the pearly gates,
> Well there ain't no time to wonder why,
> WHOOPEE we're all gonna die
> **Well come on wall street don't be slow,**
> **Why man this is war go go go,**
> **There's plenty good money to be made,**
> **By supplying the army with the tools of the trade**,
> Just hope and pray that if they drop the bomb
> They drop it on the Vietcong.

While post 911 songs do not use the code in any significantly different way, they do expresses it much more frequently, and most often in reference to specific corporations

142

and members of the Bush administration. The following excerpt from Ryan Harvey's

(2005) "Iraq" provides an excellent example not only of the expression of *war*

profiteering, but also how it ties into development of the larger global anti-imperialist

focus of the post 911 antiwar movement,

> But people have been getting used to this for the last 11 years
> Because the ruler of this country used to be our friend
> And **we sold him guns for petroleum**, but all good things must end
> So now it's our turn for genocide, our turn to kill
> **Until Bush, Rumsfeld, and Cheney get their fill**
> The media's distorting it, helping plan what's coming next
> Scare tactics and propaganda mixed with fame and sex
> And the terror level's elevated because everyone's enraged
> **Every village toppled by the empire takes it closer to its grave**
> And they ask why one would hate the gleaming USA
> With our fancy cars and movie stars and **wall street insider trades**
> **The CEO's that are paying for the votes that really count**
> Are a perfect example of what this country's all about
> So remember when you see old glory all ablaze
> This country was built with the blood of slaves
> In the Homeland things are quiet, no one's looking back
> We fought the war, it's been done before. Let's await the next attack.
> And we'll play this game forever, and follow all the laws
> **Build missiles, planes, and war machines, until the final building falls**
> And in the meantime we'll be silent, we'll buy whatever sells
> Some booze, some drugs, some sex and guns, and we'll fight amongst ourselves
> We're slaves but we are friendly, we'll follow your command
> **Forget about the people being slaughtered at our hands**
> **And you can take over this country, the entire planet too**
> **And we won't blame it on you**, yeah they say the war is over,
> But I don't know if you heard, the lady of liberty just spoke her final word
> **And now the companies are coming because the occupation's tight**
> 10,000 dead, the rest unfed bombs exploding in the night
> They say they're looking for independence. Well they haven't found it yet
> **And now the World Bank and IMF are building up the debt**
> So say goodnight, the dream is over. Only scars remain
> **To the losers go the rubble, to the victors go the gains**
> Three cheers for the homeland, the truest of them all
> America, let's watch another country fall.

Harvey spends the first half of the song (quoted in the death and destruction discussion above) painting a disturbing picture of the carnage we have caused in Iraq, but in this half of the song, we see the expression of codes around *war profiteers* and *the rich*, as well as a number of codes around imperialism, mechanized destruction, and innocent victims.

iv. Unpacking "Using the Poor" and "Class Warfare"

Related to the symbolic and emotion codes around the wealthy and war-profiteering is one other important code, *using the poor* which relates to the idea that, as politicians consolidate power and the wealthy make egregious profits, it is the poor who fight and die in the conflict. As a symbolic and emotion code, *using the poor* builds on larger cultural ideas around poverty and synthesizes them with cultural values around fairness, justice, and exploitation. Poverty has conflicting and ambiguous meanings in the US culture. On the one hand, we sometimes view the poor as vulnerable and weak, down on their luck, and deserving of our support and sympathy. On the other hand, we have a strong tendency to blame the poor for their poverty, to assume that they are poor because they are "lazy" or did not "make good choices," and through these lenses we sometimes treat poor people with suspicion and contempt.

As a symbolic and emotion code, *using the poor*, builds on codes around the vulnerability of the poor, and on the negative meanings and suspicion around wealth to create a cultural narrative around the exploitation of the poor by the wealthy who prey on the patriotism and masculinity of poor young men to entice them into fighting and dying in wars that have nothing to do with them. By tapping into these powerful codes around poverty, wealth, and justice *using the poor* is able to evoke strong emotions such as anger, moral outrage, shame, and righteous indignation.

144

Although very few songs in the Vietnam sample express *using the poor*, Credence

Clearwater Revival's (1969) "Fortunate Son" provides an excellent example of how this code is

expressed in the few Vietnam songs that express it.

> **Some folks are born, made to wave the flag**
> Ooh, that red, white and blue
> And when the band plays, "Hail to the Chief"
> **Ooh, they point the cannon at you, Lord**
> It ain't me, it ain't me
> **I ain't no senator's son, son**
> It ain't me, it ain't me
> **I ain't no fortunate one**, Lord
> **Some folks are born, silver spoon in hand**
> **Lord, don't they help themselves**, y'all
> **But when the taxman comes to the door**
> **Lord, the house look-ah like a rummage sale**, yes-ah
> Uh-it ain't me, it ain't me
> **I ain't no millionaire's son**, Lord, Lord
> It ain't me, it ain't me
> **I ain't no fortunate one**, Lord
> **Yeah, yeah, some folks inherit star-spangled eyes**
> **Ooh, they'll send you down to war**, Lord
> And when you ask them, **"How much should we give?"**
> Ooh, they only answer, **"More, more, more"** y'all
> It ain't me, it ain't me
> **I ain't no military son**, son, son-ah
> It ain't me, it ain't me
> **I ain't no fortunate one**, one, y'all.

As the preceding excerpt from "fortunate son" demonstrates, the expression of this code pair in

Vietnam songs tends to be fairly general compared to the post 911 expressions discussed below.

The song, for instance, never actually mentions the fact that it is the 'millionaires' and 'senators'

who are "sending you down to war." However, "fortunate son" clearly implies that certain

groups in society benefit from the wars and other groups are expected to fight in them, and the

narrator is simply saying he is not willing to go and fight for a war he has no vested interest in.

Unlike the general expressions of this code in the Vietnam songs, post 911 songs

expressing the code tend to do so in much more explicit and emotionally charged language.

Take, for example, the following excerpt from UB40's (2005) "Who are you fighting for" which offers a good example of the manner in which this code is expressed in many of the post 911 songs.

> Queen & Country, freedom cry
> God & Glory, Do or Die.
> **Propaganda, Spin and Lie.**
> Who are you fighting for?
> **You do the shooting - they do the looting.**
> **You do the killing - they do the drilling**
> **You do the dying - they do the lying**
> **all the way to the Bank.**
> You can hear them crying –
> **"Sell the arms, suppress the truth create the fear,**
> **invent the proof, wave the flag –**
> **don't tell the youth who they are fighting for.**
> **You do the shooting - they do the looting.**
> **You do the killing - they do the drilling**
> **You do the dying - they do the lying**
> **all the way to the Bank**
> You can hear them crying –
> **"Weapon dealing, profiteering, Country stealing,**
> **ethnic clearing, asset stripping, oil dripping, architects of war**….

In this excerpt, we can see the code represented clearly and without ambiguity. The poor are being used by the wealthy and powerful who profit from the work poor soldiers do and from their deaths in a war these poor soldiers themselves do not benefit from. Other post 911 songs are even more explicit and emotive in their descriptions of the manner in which the rich exploit the lives of the poor with impunity. The following excerpt from Machine Head's (2007) "A Farewell to Arms," provides a very good example of a post 911 song which not only draws symbolic power from this narrative, but attempts to evoke a sense of moral outrage over it.

> **Black blood dripping from platinum fangs.**
> **Rich blood flees while our poverty hangs**.
> Shepherds they herd the mindless trance

146

as the flock follows the puppet's dance…
All that they needed was a pretext, war's next!
**Heads to the chopping blocks
and our necks are next.
For those who died, who fought for our rights
whose children now slaves.
They're turning in their graves!
War hawks and senators, they sit right, so trite.
Never their sons will know what it's like to fight**.

Comparing this song to a song like "fortunate son" we can really see the extent of the change over time. Whereas the code's expression is somewhat ambiguous in a song like "fortunate son" in it is fully actualized in both of the post 911 songs discussed here. Moreover, while songs like "fortunate son" do evoke the anger and resentment endemic in the code, "A Farewell to Arms" both expresses and evokes visceral feelings of anger, resentment, and betrayal. This is in part a result of the development of what scholars such as (Coy, 2010) have called a "discourse of betrayal" which began as a counter-framing strategy employed by the post 911 antiwar movement to counter the pro-war "support the troops" discourse.

Both the *war profiteer* code pair and the *using the poor* code pair discussed above relate to a larger cultural narrative around the rich and the poor during wartime that I am calling "class warfare." This narrative is an integral component of shift from a focus in the Vietnam era antiwar movement on actualizing a countercultural vison of peace, love, and understanding to a post 911 focus on global anti-imperialism. Although part of this shift is related to the rise of the class warfare narrative, the other part relates to the shifting narrative around US imperialism over time.

v.   Unpacking "Imperialism"

Notions of empire and imperialism involve generally negative symbolic and emotion codes in US culture. We like to think of ourselves as the protectors of freedom and the bearers of democracy, and empire appears fundamentally opposed to these ideas. Rather than freedom and justice, imperialism signals occupation, force, and coercion. Despite this general connotation, for some, empire still means strength, greatness, and American exceptionalism, and thus it is none-the-less a contested cultural meaning. As suggested above, codes around imperialism today may have been shaped by the discursive legacy of Vietnam itself, indicating at least some change over time in the code's meaning. I argue that songs invoking codes around imperialism during the Vietnam era reference a more general understanding of the concept and one tied to the ideological warfare of the cold war years, whereas the post 911 antiwar songs invoking the code have broadened the term and related it to the *class warfare* narrative discussed above. Take for example the following excerpt from Phil Ochs (1968) "White Boots Marching in a Yellow Land,"

> The pilots playing poker in the cockpit of the plane
> The casualties arriving like the dropping of the rain
> **And a mountain of machinery will fall before a man**
> **When you're white boots marching in a yellow land**
> **It's written in the ashes of the village towns we burn**
> **It's written in the empty bed of the fathers unreturned**
> **And the chocolate in the children's eyes will never understand**
> When you're white boots marching in a yellow land
> **Red blow the bugles of the dawn**
> **The morning has arrived you must be gone**
> And the lost patrol chases their chartered (*) souls
> Like cold/old(?) whores following tired armies
> Train them well, the men who will be fighting by your side
> And never turn your back if the battle turns the tide
> **For the colors of a civil war are louder than commands**
> **When you're white boots marching in a yellow land**

Blow them from the forest and burn them from your sight
Tie their hands behind their back and question through the night
But when the firing squad is ready they'll be spitting where they stand
At the white boots marching in a yellow land
Red blow the bugles of the dawn
The morning has arrived you must be gone
And the lost patrol chases their chartered souls
Like cold whores following tired armies
The comic and the beauty queen are dancing on the stage
Raw recruits are lining up like coffins in a cage
We're fighting in a war we lost before the war began
We're the white boots marching in a yellow land

Although this song is one of the best examples of the manner in which the codes around imperialism are employed in Vietnam era songs, it doesn't contain nearly the depth of discussion or the level of emotion expressed in many post 911 songs. In fact, the song seems much more focused on the futility of the war than on the actual impact of occupation on the people.

Post 911 songs expressing codes around imperialism such as the following excerpt from Dalek's (2009) "Blessed are they who Bash your Children's' Heads Against a Rock," on the other hand, discuss American imperialism throughout history in no uncertain terms, and invoke all sorts of codes around death and destruction to do so.

America's chickens are coming home to roost.
We took this country by terror, away from the Sioux, the Apache, the Arowak, the Comanche, the Arapahoe, the Navajo. Terrorism.
We took Africans from their country to build our way of ease and kept them enslaved and living in fear. Terrorism.
We bombed Granada and killed innocent civilians, babies, nonmilitary personnel
We bombed the black civilian community of Panama with stealth bombers and killed unarmed teenagers and toddlers, pregnant mothers and hardworking fathers.
We bombed Qaddafi's home and killed his child.
Blessed are they who bash your children's head against a rock.
We bombed Iraq. We killed unarmed civilians trying to make a living.
We bombed a plant in Sudan to payback for the attack on our embassy.

Killed hundreds of hardworking people, mothers and fathers who left home to go that day not knowing that they would never get back home.
We bombed Hiroshima, we bombed Nagasaki and we nuked far more than the thousands in New York and the Pentagon. **And we never batted an eye.**

Although the lyrics, actually a sermon given by Rev. Jeremiah Wright shortly after the Sept. 11 attacks, are disturbing and powerfully emotive on their own. One does not get the full effect without listening to the song. As the speech builds and the examples pile on, they begin coming faster and faster, culminating in the lines about Hiroshima and Nagasaki near the end, before dropping back into a normal tone of voice to deliver the last few lines. Present in the song are numerous references to America's troubling imperialist past, with the narrator going so far as to refer to America *as a terrorist*. This code is accompanied by powerful codes around *death and destruction* and the killing of innocent women, children, young people, and mothers. In addition to songs such as this one, many songs in the post 911 era combine imperialist narratives with those relating to class warfare. For example, the following excerpt from Mike Stout's (2009) "We are the Cops of the World" states,

Seven-hundred some bases all over the globe
in places we don't even know,
Troops, ships and drones all over they roam,
There's nowhere our armies don't go..
We garrison the planet, north, south, east and west,
Occupy all seven seas.
On this modern day empire the sun never sets,
A super power will do what he please.
In the sands of Iraq - and Afghanistan,
The pains of occupation resound.
Innocent blood spilled, civilians get killed
As the bombs and the missiles come down.
It's circle the wagons, and unleash the dragons
Get in position for the bigger war game.
When there's gas or oil on some foreign soil,
The Blackwaters and the choppers will reign.

-But empires cost money, someone must pay.
The machine has a mind of its own,
When big money talks, everything else walks

Stout's song like "Blessed are those…" unambiguously discusses and critiques America's

global imperialism, and invokes *death and destruction* related codes such as the death of

innocent women and children to paint an emotional picture of the cost of occupation.

However, the song also expresses many of the *war -profiteering* and *class warfare* codes

discussed above, demonstrating the manner in which the narratives around imperialism

expressed in the songs shifted over time from fairly general discussions in the Vietnam

songs to pointed and emotional critiques infused with symbolic and emotional codes

around *death and destruction*, *innocent victims*, and *class warfare* in the post 911 songs.

VI.   Chapter 6: Discussion
        While considerable scholarship around the relationship between social movements and

culture exists, it tends to place social movements as the locus of study and to focus on how

culture and music *relate* to them. In this thesis, on the other hand, I have attempted to reveal the

dialectic relationship between music and movements and the fact that *both* are embedded in,

reflect, and transform cultural narratives. In identifying and analyzing the cultural narratives

present in anti-war music in the Vietnam and post 911 eras, it offers insights not only into music

and movements but also into the cultural narratives and symbolic and emotion codes surrounding

war and protest in America.

        As stated above, my overall goal for this study was to answer two primary research

questions: First, what cultural narratives are reflected in the lyrical content of anti-war music in

the Vietnam and post-911 eras? Second, to what extent has the lyrical content, and the cultural

narratives reflected in antiwar music changed over time? In addressing the first question, I

focused on the major narrative elements (plots, characters, settings, and morals) present in the songs of both periods identifying 'formulaic plots' (soldiers experiences, wives/girlfriends/mothers left behind, protest/repression, veterans speaking out, lists of atrocities, and lists of government lies), typical characters (soldiers, protesters, wives/girlfriends/mothers, and politicians/leaders), and moral messages (America is troubled, question authority, repression is wrong, soldiers are heroes, war is absurd, war kills young men and breaks hearts, we need more peace/love/understanding, don't trust the government, global imperialism is unjust, resist/speak out, war is immoral and kills innocent people, war kills soldiers, war kills the poor). In addition to these narrative elements, I identified approximately 90 symbolic and emotion code pairs relating to eight thematic clusters (counterculture, soldiers/military, government mistrust, death and destruction, core American values, family/home, class/economy, and protest/dissent).

In addressing the second research question, I identified two major shifts between the two time periods. First, using relative frequencies among the symbolic and emotion codes represented in the songs as well as lyrical evidence more broadly, I demonstrated that although anti-war songs across both time periods attempt to evoke a sense of moral outrage in the audience, the cultural narratives the songs relate to change over time from a focus on *death and destruction* to a focus on *government mistrust*, a trend that is mirrored in shifting movement frames across the two time periods. Second, using relative frequencies among the symbolic and emotion codes represented in the songs as well as lyric evidence itself, I identified the presence of Vietnam era antiwar movement themes surrounding the *counterculture* and its values in Vietnam era antiwar songs, and then charted the disappearance of these narratives and the emergence of a new set of narratives in post 911 antiwar music around a global *anti-imperialism*, a trend also expressed in the shifting foci of the movements themselves.

152

A.   Speaking to the Literature

In identifying these shifting cultural narratives, this thesis is able speak to the findings presented in Haynes (2008) which conducts a very similar study focusing on the discourses present in anti-war music in the Vietnam and post 911 periods. Haynes, building on research conducted by Knupp (1981), finds that Vietnam and post 911 anti-war music differ in the levels of specificity with which they address the war. Echoing Knupp, Haynes finds that Vietnam songs tend to express vague and general anti-war messages with few references to concrete historical figures or situations, whereas post 911 antiwar songs abound with such references and offer more coherent and pointed critiques.

Haynes explains these differences as partially a manifestation of technological changes allowing post 911 songs to use 'samples' of speeches and soundbites from the news, and partially as a function of a more informed audience. In some respects, my findings support Haynes argument in so far as Vietnam songs do tend to offer more generalized critiques whereas post 911 songs tend to offer more specific and pointed ones. Where my findings depart from Haynes, however, is in the explanation of these trends. There does seem to be a progression from general to specific, however, this is not the whole story.

Vietnam songs, at least those in my sample, offer plenty of references to concrete historical events and figures such as the Mai Lai massacre, the Kent State massacre, the testimony of the "Fort Hood 3," and "Winter Soldier Project." Moreover, many of the songs in my post 911 sample do not discuss concrete events or figures, yet still offer specific and pointed arguments, this is the case, for instance, in nearly all of the metal songs in my sample. I argue, therefore that there is not an *overall* shift from general to specific, but a shift in *what* is described in specific ways.

The songs merely appear to get more specific as they shift over time from Vietnam era foci such as *death and destruction* and *countercultural values* to post 911 foci such as *government mistrust* and *global anti-imperialism*. Because the symbolic and emotion codes around *death and destruction* are effective regardless of the level of specificity in descriptions of the carnage and killing of innocent victims, songs expressing these codes can be persuasive without specific references to historical events, although many songs still make them. To evoke moral outrage around *government mistrust*, however, simply stating that the government lies is not enough. In order to evoke powerful emotions, *government mistrust* based narratives must reference more specific instances of lies, deceit and betrayal.

In the same light, it is easy to trivialize songs expressing *countercultural values* as vacuous and simplistic, yet these values resonated with young people in the period without needing to appeal to other symbolic and emotion codes with more 'specific' arguments. Just think about songs like Bob Dylan's (1963) "Blowing in the Wind" or Richie Havens (1967) "Freedom," they needed no specific references to resonate with anti-war protesters, referencing the values themselves was enough. The shift from a focus on a *countercultural vision* to a focus on *global anti-imperialism*, however, mandated a shift to more specific references, as imperialism does not resonate with people in the same way without references to United States history of imperialism or to the specific damage this imperialism does to innocent victims and soldiers alike. Ultimately, what separates my findings from Haynes is an understanding of the meaning-contexts, the dominant discourses and the social movement frames, acting as contexts in which music is produced, consumed, and rendering it meaningful. Focusing on these meaning-contexts can help to better understand not only *how* antiwar songs differ in the two periods but also *why*. Even more importantly, this thesis is able to draw on the incredible analytic and

explanatory tools offered by narrative analysis allowing it not only to identify the cultural narratives expressed in antiwar music and the symbolic and emotion codes at the core of those narratives, but also to unpack those narratives and codes and to chart their transformation and development over time.

B.   The Case for Narratives, Music, and Movements

Stories, or in their more formalized expression, narratives, are a fundamental human meaning-making structure. Humans tell stories. It is one of the things that makes us special, and in no small way, human. We make sense of our own experiences and actions, and of the presence and actions of others, through stories. It is through the stories we tell ourselves and tell others about ourselves that we form our identities and self-concepts (Bochner, 2002), and it is through narratives that our "experiences are ordered and permeated with meaning (Bruner 1990; Souto-Manning, 2012: 162) Narratives are a ubiquitous part of culture operating in and through nearly all forms of cultural transmission from popular culture, to advertisements, to social movement frames. They function as socializing frameworks of intelligibility, and as such, are interwoven with cultural scripts that provide structure and guidance for understanding the self and reality both cognitively and emotionally (Bochner, 2002). Because narratives are such an important part of human lives and cultures it behooves us as Sociologists not only to study them but to use them as a lens through which to study other topics.

This thesis provides one example of the novel application of the cultural narrative analysis I advocate for. In conceptualizing songs as cultural products, and movements as cultural antennae, this thesis proposes a new way of understanding movements and culture and offers insights into each. Movements and culture can both be challenging topics; movements are

complex and multifaceted social phenomena, and our immersion in culture can make it difficult to see the forest for the trees (or the trees for the forest for that matter).

Music offers a symbolically and emotionally powerful cultural expression, laden with cultural meanings and reflective of numerous cultural and subcultural contexts, yet one which is tangible and lends itself to sociological analysis. Music, therefore, provides an excellent window into culture more broadly, and narrative analysis, with its ability to unpack complex stories and the symbolic and emotion codes within them, allows us to throw that window wide open in order to get a clear view of the culture operating behind the songs.

While not generally thought of as such, movements, also provide windows into culture. Movements are situated in the reality of the status quo and reflect the cultural narratives floating around in that reality, yet movements are also forward looking in their attempts to change culture. Because they occupy this liminal position as both 'insider looking out' and 'outsider looking in,' movements, like music, provide a powerful window into culture. Also like music, narrative analysis allows researchers to unpack the narratives present in movements' frames and to identify the symbolic and emotion codes undergirding both their frames and narratives, offering powerful insights into culture more broadly by way of its relationship to movements.

C.   Limitations

While narrative analysis coupled with grounded theory style coding and memo writing formed a solid methodological foundation for this thesis, it none-the-less negotiates a number of limitations. First, because this thesis draws its samples from a self-constructed database, even with random sampling, it is difficult to talk about representativeness. In theory, the samples are representative of the databases from which they were drawn, and although protocols were established and care was taken in the construction of these databases, it is impossible to estimate

the extent to which the databases themselves are representative of antiwar music in the two time periods. Problems around representativeness are compounded by the use of a weighting strategy such as the one used, which may undermine even claims that samples are representative of the databases. With this in mind, however, I feel confident that my samples are plenty diverse and have a good balance of well-known and less well known antiwar songs.

Second, my decision not to address Weissman's (2010) distinction between "songs that weigh in on social issues and songs that are written in a deliberate attempt to bring about social change" (171), and my decision to keep the definition of "antiwar songs" very broad, certainly impacted the makeup of my samples, and may have impacted my findings. Had I stuck strictly to one or the other type of song according to Weissman's distinction, or had I narrowed my definition to exclude songs offering merely 'vague messages of peace' the patterns I established, especially the change over time presented in section 3 (i.e. the shift from countercultural vision to global anti-imperialism) almost certainly would have been affected. However, in theory, 'vague songs of peace' would have had an equal chance of ending up in the post 911 sample were a sufficient number of such songs to have existed. The absence of these songs seems to me to be an important part of the story I might have lost had I narrowed my definition to exclude them.

Finally, Loseke (2009, 2012) proposes a number of cautions for researchers utilizing narrative analysis framework which focus on symbolic and emotion codes. First, Loseke reminds us that symbolic and emotion codes are neither complete nor authoritative, rather, they are conceptual devices imposed on a narrative by the researcher. It is not that they do not 'exist,' but that they do not exist as clean and objective concepts. Instead, they point to cultural meanings which, by their nature, are taken for granted, and as such, must be named in order to be

157

explored. Moreover, Loseke (2012) argues "the heterogeneity of how audience members understand symbolic and emotion codes embed in stories means analysis must assume that any particular story will have multiple and often contradictory meanings and evaluations, depending upon audience characteristics" (256). Second, Loseke (2009) reminds us that people are not cultural dupes. We *use* narratives to make sense of reality, and at the very least, we modify and reinterpret them which is an expression of creative agency. Third, Loseke points out that context is crucial, and that there are a multitude of political and social processes "lying behind the production of any text that are crucial in shaping the text, yet are not visible in the text…" (Loseke, 2012: 256). Finally, Loseke claims that emotion codes can be particularly hard to 'isolate and discuss,' because our discipline has failed to develop a broadly accepted vocabulary for discussing emotions, and the vocabularies we do have are somewhat impoverished and limited.

D.   Directions for Future Research
     Although this thesis addresses the research questions it set out to answer, future work could add to these findings and take them in new and different directions. Due to the sheer volume of symbolic/emotion code pairs, I was limited in which codes I could unpack and discuss at length. Future research could explore other clusters and the change over time in the codes present within them. One area in particular, the role of women in the songs, could provide some insightful findings were one to dig into the codes around mothers, wives/girlfriends and the family to understand their expression in both time periods and the potential shift in meaning they undergo between them. Codes relating to protest, resistance, and dissent could also yield interesting and valuable findings were they to be explored in a more systematic fashion. It appears that the meanings of these codes remain stable over time, but a closer look at their

expression in specific songs of the two periods might find patterns or evidence of transformation over time.

This thesis presents myriad evidence for several shifts over time, however, this evidence is all derived from the two periods themselves. Future research could explore antiwar music produced and performed during the intervening years between the two conflicts in order to chart not just the broad change from era to the next, but the actual process of development and transformation of the meanings present in the codes over time. The years between Vietnam and the War on Terror saw the establishment of a number of proxy wars in South America as well as the rise of a massive anti-nuclear movement, and these two contexts coupled with the formation of a collective memory of the Vietnam conflict itself could serve as powerful contexts from which to begin to explore this development.

Finally, while this thesis discusses three interlocking forms of "contentious meaning making": narratives, frames, and discourses, its treatment of their boundaries, and more importantly, their interrelationship is lacking. Future research could explore these connections in a more systematic manner, treating social movement collective action frames and dominant/hegemonic media/government discourses as more than mere 'meaning-contexts.' For instance, the extent to which the language and logic of frames and discourses is present in the lyrical narratives of antiwar songs is not known, although, this thesis points to some potentially fruitful themes.

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Appendix 1 – Song Lyrics

Song 28 (What's So Funny Bout) Peace, Love, and Understanding

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year

Viet	1	(What's So Funny Bout) Peace, Love, and Understanding	Nick Lowe	1974

As I walk through
This wicked world
Searchin' for light in the darkness of insanity.
I ask myself
Is all hope gone?
Is there only pain and hatred, and misery?
And each time I feel like this inside,
There's one thing I wanna know:
What's so funny 'bout peace love and understanding? Oh
What's so funny 'bout peace love and understanding?
And as I walked on
Through troubled times
My spirit gets so downhearted sometimes
So where are the strong?
And who are the trusting?
And where is the harmony?
Sweet harmony.
'Cause each time I feel it slippin' away, just makes me wanna cry.
What's so funny 'bout peace love and understanding? Oh
What's so funny 'bout peace love and understanding?
So where are the strong?
And who are the trusted?
And where is the harmony?
Sweet harmony.
'Cause each time I feel it slippin' away, just makes me wanna cry.
What's so funny 'bout peace love and understanding? Oh
What's so funny 'bout peace love and understanding? Oh
What's so funny 'bout peace love and understanding?

Song 29 1983... (A Merman I Should Turn to Be)

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	2	1983... (A Merman I Should Turn to Be)	The Jimi Hendrix Experience	1968

Hurray I awake from yesterday
Alive but the war is here to stay
So my love Catherina and me
Decide to take our last walk through the noise to the sea
Not to die but to be reborn
Away from the lands so battered and torn
Forever, forever

175

Oh say can you see it's really such a mess
Every inch of earth is a fighting nest
Giant pencil and lipstick-tube shaped things
Continue to rain and cause screamin' pain
And the arctic stains from silver blue to bloody red
As our feet find the sand
And the sea is straight ahead
Straight up ahead
Well it's too bad that our friends
Can't be with us today, well it's too bad
The machine that we built
Would never save us that's what they say
That's why they ain't comin' with us today
And they also said it's impossible
For a man to live and breathe underwater
Forever was a main complaint
Yeah and they also threw this in my face they said
Anyway you know good and well
It would be beyond the will of God
And the grace of the king
Grace of the king, yeah
So my darling and I make love in the sand
To salute the last moment ever on dry land
Our machine it has done its work played its part well
Without a scratch on our body when we bid it farewell
Starfish and giant foams greet us with a smile
Before our heads go under we take our last look at the killing noise
Of the out of style
The out of style, out of style, oh yeah
So down and down and down and down we go
Hurry my darlin' we mustn't be late for the show
Neptune champion games to an aqua world is so very dear
Right this way smiles a mermaid,
I can hear Atlantis full of cheer
Atlantis full of cheer
I can hear Atlantis full of cheer
Oh yeah

Song 3 All my children of the sun

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	3	All my children of the sun	Pete Seeger	1969

The navigator said to the engineer I think our radio's dead
I can hear but I can't send and there's bad weather ahead
The pilot said to the co-pilot our right engine's gone

But if we can make it over these mountains perhaps I can set her down
All my children of the sun
Five hundred miles from nowhere we belly landed on a river
We bid a quick goodbye to that ship of silver
Twenty five piled out the window, twenty reached the shore
We turned to see our metal bird sink to rise no more
All my children of the sun
We found some floating logs, we found some sharp stones
We cut some vines and made a raft, it was our only hope
The navigator said he thought there was a town somewhere downstream
o now each tried to do his best to paddle as a team
All except one young guy who kept arguing with the navigator
He said he'd read about a waterfall we would come to sooner or later
At a river's bend he persuaded us to bring our craft to beach
But a search party found the river smooth as far as eye could reach
All my children of the sun
Once again he persuaded us to stop, we cursed at the delay
Once again we found the river flowing on the same old way
We said shut up your arguing, you give us all a pain
Why don't you pitch in and go your part be constructive for a change
All my children of the sun
Still egghead kept on talking in the same long winded way
We said if you won't paddle get the hell out of our way
We told him to go sit far back at the stern
Then we strained to paddle harder and then the river made a turn
All my children of the sun
One paddler heard sound of tapping and what he saw when he did turn
Was egghead with a sharp stone cutting the vines that bound the stern
With a cry of rage the paddler leaped up to his feet
He swung his long pole knocked egghead into the deep
But now the logs were splaying out
The raft had come unbound
Like mad we paddled for the shore before all would drown
All my children of the sun
A search party went out to find more vines to tie the raft up tight
In twenty minutes they returned their faces pale with fright
They said a quarter mile down river we did find a waterfall
It's over a hundred feet in height, it would have killed us all
All my children of the sun
And that is why on the banks of a far off wilderness stream
Which none of us, none of us will ever see again
There stands a cross for someone hardly older than a boy
Who we thought was only trying to destroy
All my children of the sun

Song 4 Ballad of the Fort Hood Three

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	4	Ballad of the Fort Hood Three	Pete Seeger	1966

Come all you brave Americans and listen unto me,
If you can spare five minutes in this 20th century,
I'll sing to you a story true as you will plainly see
It's about three Brave Americans they call the "Fort Hood Three."
First, Pvt. Dennis Mora, he hails from New York town
A good student in Spanish Harlem, and a studied a while at Brown
He cast his vote for Johnson in 1964
But listen to his own words on the subject of this war:
"I call this a war of aggression, the whole world knows it's so;
"We're supporting a dictator who holds Hitler his hero.
"There is a war we ought to fight: it's the war on poverty,
"With jobs for all, no matter who, in this democracy."
Next, Pvt. Jimmy Johnson, he comes from Harlem, too
He wanted to be a lawyer
but left college before he was through;
He had to bring his family income, worked as teller in a bank,
Now listen to his own words and tell me what you think:
"I've spent a lot of time reading and discussing Vietnam,
"The government's not been honest in telling us about Saigon
"Too long I followed blindly; I had to take a stand.
"The fight for freedom can be made right here in our own land."
Next, Pvt. David Samas, a Californian
His background, Lithuanian, also Italian
The policemen told his father something quite absurd
They'd arrange for him a discharge if he'd just retract these words:
"We've been told in training that in Vietnam we must fight
"And we may have to kill women and children, and that is quite all right;
"We hold this war's illegal, immoral, and unjust;
"We're taking legal action, just the three of us.
"We'll report for duty but we won't go overseas.
"We're prepared to face court martial, but we won't fight for Key.
"We three have talked it over, our decision now is clear,
"We will not go to Vietnam, we'll fight for freedom here."
The army tried cajolery, and later on came threats
They were taken into custody, told jail was what they'd get.
At the moment that I'm singing, the story's far from through;
The next verses in the ballad may be partly up to you.
Now if you don't believe me, you can read about it more,
About the Fort Hood Three who have refused to fight this war;
We can help them set our country straight on the right track again,
When a man can hold his head with pride and say: "I'm an American!"

Song 5 Ballad of the Unknown Soldier

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	5	Ballad of the Unknown Soldier	Barbara Dane	1975

Come and Listen to a story I will tell
Of a young GI you will remember well.
He died in Vietnam in the Mekong Delta land,
He had sandals on his feet and a rifle in his hand.
I wonder what was his name?
I wonder from which town he came?
I wonder if his children understand the reason why
Of the way he had to fight and the way he had to die.
They say that December '65
Was the last time he was ever seen alive?
It was U.S. Army lies that caused him to decide
To leave his old top sergeant and fight on the other side.
I wonder what was his name?
I wonder from which town he came?
I wonder if his children understand the reason why
Of the way he had to fight and the way he had to die.
Was he lonesome for his homeland far away?
Fighting with his new companions night and day?
In the base and jungle camps they tell about a man
Sharing hardships with his comrades fighting on the other side.
I wonder what was his name?
I wonder from which town he came?
I wonder if his children understand the reason why
Of the way he had to fight and the way he had to die.
It was in the month of April '68,
In the Delta land he met a soldier's fate.
He fought to his last breath and he died a hero's death,
And he wore the black pajamas of the People's NLF.
Well it's now that poor soldier's dead and gone.
His comrades and his friends are fighting on.
And when the people win, of their heroes they will sing,
And his name will be remembered with the name of Ho Chi Minh.
I wonder what was his name?
I wonder from which town he came?
I wonder if his children understand the reason why
Of the way he had to fight and the way he had to die.

Song 6 Blowin in the Wind

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	6	Blowin in the Wind	Bob Dylan	1963

6- Blowing In the Wind – Bob Dylan
How many roads must a man walk down
Before you call him a man?
How many seas must the white dove sail
Before she sleeps in the sand?
Yes, and how many times must the cannonballs fly
Before they are forever banned?
The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind
The answer is blowin' in the wind
Yes, and how many years can a mountain exist
Before it is washed to the sea?
Yes, and how many years can some people exist
Before they're allowed to be free?
Yes, and how many times can a man turn his head
And pretend that he just doesn't see?
The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind
The answer is blowin' in the wind
Yes, and how many times must a man look up
Before he can see the sky?
Yes, and how many ears must one man have
Before he can hear people cry?
Yes, and how many deaths will it take 'til he knows
That too many people have died?
The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind
The answer is blowin' in the wind

Song 7 Born to Kill

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	7	Born to Kill	The damned	1977

I get a calling time of day
Beat a lot a lot of crime away
There's nothing baby I can't take
With that crime I'm gonna make your body ache
It's no kind of big deal
No Carnegie steal
I don't feel like no heel
When I'm born
Said I'm born
Yeah I'm born
And I'm born to kill

Said I'm born
Yeah I'm born
Know I'm born
When I'm born to kill
Jet along and jive my back
Don't tread on my toes and don't skivvy my back
Cheddar bone chops you real fine fine fine
Well take a chance honey you can be mine
It's no kind of big deal
No Carnegie steal
I don't feel like no heel
Said I'm born
Know I'm born
Yeah I'm born
When born to kill
Said I'm born
Y'know I'm born
Yeah I'm born
When I'm born to kill
Born to kill
Born to kill
Born to kill
Born to kill

Song 30 Brother, Did you Weep

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	8	Brother, Did you Weep	Ewan MacColl	1967

Disc of sun in the belching smoke,
Blazing huts where children choke,
Burning flesh and blackened blood,
Charred and blistered like smould'ring wood.
Oh brother,oh brother did you weep?
Oh brother,oh brother can you sleep?
Wall-eyed moon in the wounded night
Touching poisoned fields with blight,
Showing a ditch where a dead girls lies
Courted by ants and hungry flies.
Oh brother,oh brother did you weep?
Oh brother,oh brother can you sleep?
Scream of pain on the morning breeze
Thunder of bombs in the grove of trees,
hymn of rubble and powdered stone,
Anguished flesh and splintered bone.
Oh brother,oh brother did yoou weep?

Oh brother,oh brother can you sleep?
Programmed war, efficiency team,
Punch cards fed to thinking machines:
Computer death and the Murder Plan,
Total destruction of Vietnam.
Oh brother, have you got no shame? Oh Jesus, they are killing in my name!

Song 9 Damn Nam (Aint Going to Vietnam)

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	9	Damn Nam (Aint Going to Vietnam)	Leon Thomas	1971

9- Damn Nam (Aint going to Vietnam) – Leon Thomas
You can call me crazy
but I ain't goin' to Vietnam
you can do what you want to
but I ain't goin' to Vietnam
'cause it's a dirty mean war
and nobody seems to give a damn
They got boys upon the frontline
and boys upon the backline too
they got boys upon the frontline
and boys upon the backline too
they got so many weapons
what do they need from me and you
Lord Lord Lord
how can a man get a thrill
won't somebody tell me
how is a man supposed to get a thrill
if he's got to drop some napalm
and never see the guy he's got to kill
How much does it cost
to fly a man up to the moon
how much does it cost
to fly a man up to the moon
when I think of the hungry children
that I see every afternoon
So I'm sitting here, going crazy,
but I ain't goin' to Vietnam
you can throw me in jail
but I ain't goin' to Vietnam.
'cause it's a dirty mean war
and nobody seems to give a damn
Won't somebody tell me
how is a man supposed to get a thrill
Lord Lord Lord
how can a man get a thrill

if he's got to drop some napalm
and never see the guy he's got to kill
How much does it cost
to fly a man up to the moon
how much does it cost
to fly a man up to the moon
when I think of the hungry children
that I see every afternoon
So you can call me crazy
but I ain't goin' to Vietnam
you can do what you want
but I ain't goin' to Vietnam
'cause it's a dirty mean war
and nobody gives a d-a-m-n damn!

Song 10 For What its Worth

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	10	For What its Worth	Buffalo Springfield	1967

There's something happening here
But what it is ain't exactly clear
There's a man with a gun over there
Telling me I got to beware
I think it's time we stop
Children, what's that sound?
Everybody look, what's going down?
There's battle lines being drawn
And nobody's right if everybody's wrong
Young people speaking their minds
Getting so much resistance from behind
It's time we stop
Hey, what's that sound?
Everybody look, what's going down?
What a field day for the heat
A thousand people in the street
Singing songs and carrying signs
Mostly saying, "Hooray for our side"
It's time we stop
Hey, what's that sound?
Everybody look, what's going down?
Paranoia strikes deep
Into your life it will creep
It starts when you're always afraid
Step out of line, the men come and take you away
We better stop

Hey, what's that sound?
Everybody look, what's going down?
Stop
Hey, what's that sound?
Everybody look, what's going down?
Stop
Now, what's that sound?
Everybody look, what's going down?
We better stop
Children, what's that sound?
Everybody look, what's going down?

Song 31 Fortunate Son

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	11	Fortunate Son	Credence Clearwater Revival	1969

Some folks are born, made to wave the flag
Ooh, that red, white and blue
And when the band plays, "Hail to the Chief"
Ooh, they point the cannon at you, Lord
It ain't me, it ain't me
I ain't no senator's son, son
It ain't me, it ain't me
I ain't no fortunate one, Lord
Some folks are born, silver spoon in hand
Lord, don't they help themselves, y'all
But when the taxman comes to the door
Lord, the house look-ah like a rummage sale, yes-ah
Uh-it ain't me, it ain't me
I ain't no millionaire's son, Lord, Lord
It ain't me, it ain't me
I ain't no fortunate one, Lord
Yeah, yeah, some folks inherit star-spangled eyes
Ooh, they'll send you down to war, Lord
And when you ask them, "How much should we give?"
Ooh, they only answer, "More, more, more" y'all
It ain't me, it ain't me
I ain't no military son, son, son-ah
It ain't me, it ain't me
I ain't no fortunate one, one, y'all
It ain't me, it ain't me
I ain't no fortunate one, one, y'all

It ain't me, it ain't me
I ain't no fortunate son, no, no, no

Song 32 Freckle Faced Soldier

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	12	Freckle Faced Soldier	Coleen Lovett	1966

12- Freckle faced Soldier- Coleen Lovett
Just a freckle faced soldier
Just eighteen no older
So young, yes, so young boy
Leaving home to fight a war
I'll never forget that night
My baby left on a midnight flight
No longer just teenage guy
Which soldier telling his sweetheart, "Goodbye"

He said, "Don't cry, for I come back
We'll have time to do what we want to do
oh, if I had only known then but that so few
Just a freckle faced soldier
Today his first letter from Vietnam came
It looked like a teardrop
Had fallen beside my name
He said
"Honey,
I am proud of wearing this army coat
Even if I am not quit old enough to vote
Sake home mama where she still awaits
Tell, "I can almost smell the bread she to bake"
Well the Sargent said pull out.
Ill write tomorrow too
And till then, I love you
Just a freckle faced soldier
Just eighteen no older
So young, yes, so young boy
Leaving home to fight a war
Well, tomorrow past to days
And days into weeks on end
And you know that boy...
Well he never wrote again...
They sent a medal of honor to his mom,
For all his bravery
I know she wanted to keep it
But you know, she gave that medal to me
I wear it on my heart now

'Cause it is the closest place to heaven.
And that's where he lives now.
Yes, they called him a man, a very brave man.
But he was really just a boy.
Just a freckle faced soldier.
SOURCE: AWSs

Song 33 Freedom

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	13	Freedom	Richie Havens	1969

13- Freedom – Richie Havens
Freedom
Freedom
Freedom
Freedom
Freedom
Freedom
Freedom
Freedom
Sometimes I feel like a motherless child
Sometimes I feel like a motherless child
Sometimes I feel like a motherless child
A long way from my home
Freedom
Freedom
Freedom
Freedom
Freedom
Freedom
Freedom
Freedom
Freedom
Freedom
Sometimes I feel like I'm almost gone
Sometimes I feel like I'm almost gone
Sometimes I feel like I'm almost gone
A long, long, long, way, way from my home
Clap your hands
Clap your hands
Clap your hands
Clap your hands
Clap your hands
Clap your hands
Clap your hands
Clap your hands

Hey…yeah
I got a telephone in my bosom
And I can call him up from my heart
I got a telephone in my bosom
And I can call him up from my heart
When I need my brother…brother
When I need my mother…mother
Hey…yeah…
SOURCE: AWS

Song 34 Future Legend/Diamond Dogs

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	14	Future Legend/Diamond Dogs	David Bowie	1974

14- Future Legend-Diamond Dogs – David Bowie
Spoken
And in the death,
As the last few corpses lay rotting on the slimy thoroughfare,
The shutters lifted in inches in Temperance Building
High on Poacher's Hill
And red mutant eyes gaze down on Hunger City
No more big wheels.
Fleas the size of rats sucked on rats the size of cats
And ten thousand peoploids split into small tribes
Coveting the highest of the sterile skyscrapers
Like packs of dogs assaulting the glass fronts of Love-Me Avenue
Ripping and rewrapping mink and shiny silver fox -now legwarmers
Family badge of sapphire and cracked emerald
Any day now
The Year of the Diamond Dogs
This ain't rock'n'roll - this is genocide.
As they pulled you out of the oxygen tent
You asked for the latest party
With your silicon hump and your ten-inch stump
Dressed like a priest you was,
Todd Browning's freak you was.
Crawling down the alley on your hands and knee
I'm sure you're not protected for it's plain to see
The Diamond Dogs are poachers and they hide behind trees
Hunt you to the ground they will,
Mannequins with kill appeal
Will they come? - I keep a friend serene
Will they come? - Oh, baby, come unto me
Will they come? - Well, she's come, been, and gone

Come out of the garden, baby
You'll catch your death in the fog
Young girl, they call them the Diamond Dogs
Young girl, they call them the Diamond Dogs
The Halloween Jack is a real cool cat
And he lives on top of Manhattan Chase
The elevator's broke, so he slides down a rope
Onto the street below
Oh Tarzie, go man go
Meets his little hussy with his ghost town approach
Her face is sans feature but she wears a Dali brooch
Sweetly reminiscent, something mother used to bake
Wrecked up and paralysed
Diamond Dogs are civilised
Will they come? - I keep a friend serene
Will they come? - Oh, baby, come unto me
Will they come? - Well, she's come, been, and gone
Come out of the garden, baby
You'll catch your death in the fog
Young girl, they call them the Diamond Dogs
Young girl, they call them the Diamond Dogs
Woo-ooh-hoo-oo, call them the Diamond Dogs
Woo-ooh-hoo-oo, call them the Diamond Dogs
Oh! Who!
Ooooooooh ...
In the year of the scavenger, the season of the bitch
Sashay on the boardwalk, scurry to the ditch
Just another future song, lonely little kitsch
There's gonna be sorrow
Try and wake up tomorrow
Will they come? - I keep a friend serene
Will they come? - Oh, baby, come unto me
Will they come? - Well, she's come, been, and gone
Come out of the garden, baby
You'll catch your death in the fog
Young girl, they call them the Diamond Dogs
Young girl, they call them the Diamond Dogs
Woo-ooh-hoo-oo, call them the Diamond Dogs
Woo-ooh-hoo-oo, call them the Diamond Dogs
Waf waf! Woof woof! Wah wah!
Call them the Diamond Dogs
Dogs!
Call them the Diamond Dogs
Call them, they call them
Call them the Diamond Dogs, call them, they call them
Call them the Diamond Dogs

Keep cool!
Diamond Dogs rule
OK?
Beware of the Diamond Dogs
Beware of the Diamond Dogs
Beware of the Diamond Dogs, yeah. oh
Beware of the Diamond Dogs, yeah, oh
SORUCE: WIKIA

Song 35 Gimme Some Truth

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	15	Gimme Some Truth	John Lennon	1971

15- Gimme Some Truth – John Lennon
I'm sick and tired of hearing things
From uptight, short-sighted, narrow-minded hypocritics
All I want is the truth
Just gimme some truth
I've had enough of reading things
By neurotic, psychotic, pig-headed politicians
All I want is the truth
Just gimme some truth
No short-haired, yellow-bellied, son of Tricky Dick
Is gonna Mother Hubbard soft soap me
For just a pocketful of hope
Money for dope
Money for rope
Woo hoo
No short-haired, yellow-bellied, son of Tricky Dick
Is gonna Mother Hubbard soft soap me
With just a pocketful of soap
Money for dope
Money for rope
I'm sick to death of seeing things
From tight-lipped, condescending, mama's little chauvinists
All I want is the truth,
Just gimme some truth, now
I've had enough of watching scenes
With schizophrenic, ego-centric, paranoiac prima-donnas
All I want is the truth now, now
Just gimme some truth
No short-haired, yellow-bellied, son of Tricky Dick
Is gonna Mother Hubbard soft soap me
With just a pocketful of soap

It's money for dope
Money for rope
Ah, I'm sick to death of peering things
From uptight, short-sighted, narrow-minded hypocrites
All I want is the truth, now
Just gimme some truth, now
I've had enough of reading things
By neurotic, psychotic, pig-headed politicians
All I want is the truth, now
Just gimme some truth, now
All I want is the truth, now
Just gimme some truth, now
All I want is the truth
Just gimme some truth
All I want is the truth
Just gimme some truth
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 36 Had any Lately

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	16	Had any Lately	Mother of Three	1971

16- Had any Lately- Mother of Three
How long has it been, lieutenant, since you made a friend?
How long will it be lieutenant till they set you free,?
How long will it take, lieutenant, for the world to see?
That you are inhuman, you are not fit for society.
I want to know,
I want to know
 have you had any lately? Good God.
I'm talking about peace, peace, peace
I'm talking about peace, peace, peace
Have you had any lately?
Right on now,
How many children did you kill, lieutenant?
How many gallons of their blood did you spill?
How many mothers laid down there in that lonely ditch?
Now they call you a hero, your a low down, dirty, Son of a bitch (Bleeped out)
I want to know.
I have got to know.
Have you had any lately, good god.
I'm talkign about peace, peace, peace
I'm talkign about peace, peace, peace
Have you had any lately?
Mm, now, now, now
You took poor women,

who were born to be free
Fired your guns, then you called them your enemy.
Then they died for your so called cause'
Now tell me, if your such a hero, why not give yours.
No, no, no, i have go to know
Have you had any lately?
good god
Im talking about peace, peace, peace.
Let me iterate.
Peace, peace, peace
have you had any lately?
Now, now, now
Mama wants some, my daddy needs some.
they haven't had any lately
good god.
My sister wants peace, peace, peace
My brother wants peace, peace, peace
they haven't had any lately.
now, now, now, mama, I want some, I haven't had none.
we haven't had any lately, good god.
the world wants peace, peace, peace
just a little peace, peace, peace,
we haven't had any lately.
SOURCE: AWS

Song 37 IFeelLikeI'mFixin'toDieRag

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	17	IFeelLikeI'mFixin'toDieRag	Country Joe	1967

Well come on all of you big strong men,
Uncle Sam needs your help again,
He got himself in a terrible jam,
Way down yonder in Vietnam,
Put down your books and pick up a gun,
We're gonna have a whole lotta fun
And its 1,2,3 what are we fighting for?
Don't ask me I don't give a damn,
The next stop is Vietnam,
And its 5,6,7 open up the pearly gates,
Well there ain't no time to wonder why,
WHOOPEE we're all gonna die
Well come on generals let's move fast,
Your big chance is come at last,
Gotta go out and get those reds,
The only good commie is one that's dead,

And you know that peace can only be won,
When you blow them all to kingdom come
And its 1,2,3 what are we fighting for?
Don't ask me I don't give a damn,
The next stop is Vietnam,
And its 5,6,7 open up the pearly gates,
Well there ain't no time to wonder why,
WHOOPEE we're all gonna die
Well come on wall street don't be slow,
Why man this is war go go go,
There's plenty good money to be made,
By supplying the army with the tools of the trade,
Just hope and pray that if they drop the bomb
They drop it on the Vietcong.
And its 1,2,3 what are we fighting for?
Don't ask me I don't give a damn,
The next stop is Vietnam,
And its 5,6,7 open up the pearly gates,
Well there ain't no time to wonder why,
WHOOPEE we're all gonna die
Well come on mothers across the land,
Pack your boys off to Vietnam,
Come on fathers don't hesitate,
Send your sons off before its too late,
Be the first one on your block,
To have your boy come home in a box
And its 1,2,3 what are we fighting for?
Don't ask me I don't give a damn,
The next stop is Vietnam,
And its 5,6,7 open up the pearly gates,
Well there ain't no time to wonder why,
WHOOPEE we're all gonna die
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 38 Song for Hugh Thompson

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	18	Song for Hugh Thompson	David Rovics	1968

Hugh Thompson was a pilot, just like many more
Fighting for Old Glory on a far-off, foreign shore
He was on a lethal mission, only one of many
Following his orders to kill the enemy, to kill the enemy
He flew low above the village, searching for the foe
When he saw a wounded child on the path below
He thought this to be a sure sign that the enemy was near

So he radioed for back-up and more choppers did appear...
"Help the wounded," he cried out, "and beware of an attack"
And then the child died by a bullet through her back
And when he looked around for the culprits of the scene
It was a company of men in U.S. military green...
The dead were in the hundreds, strewn all around
In this place called My Lai, which once had been a town
There was a hut of huddled children, soldiers had them in their sights
Hugh decided at that moment to fight for what was right...
"Train your weapons on the G.I.'s," and his 'copter crews obeyed
And stood among the children, tattered and afraid
The whole town had been murdered, but for some kids and widowed wives
And Hugh Thomson made sure that those remaining would survive...
It was a fifteen-minute stand-off in a knee-deep sea of red
Amidst the moaning of the dying and the silence of the dead
Hugh Thomson was a soldier and he served his country well
On the day he saved the lives of a dozen kids in hell...
SOURCE: AWS

Song 39 Lucky Man

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	19	Lucky Man	Emerson, Lake and Palmer	1970

19 – Lucky Man – Emerson, Lake and Palmer
He had white horses
And ladies by the score
All dressed in satin
And waiting by the door
Ooh, what a lucky man he was
Ooh, what a lucky man he was
White lace and feathers
They made up his bed
A gold covered mattress
On which he was led
Ooh, what a lucky man he was
Ooh, what a lucky man he was
He went to fight wars
For his country and his king
Of his honor and his glory
The people would sing
Ooh, what a lucky man he was
Ooh, what a lucky man he was
A bullet had found him
His blood ran as he cried

No money could save him
So he laid down and he died
Ooh, what a lucky man he was
Ooh, what a lucky man he was
SORUCE: WIKIA

Song 40 Mama Bake a Pie (daddy Kill a Chicken)

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	20	Mama Bake a Pie (daddy Kill a Chicken)	Tom T. Hall	1970

People staring at me
as they wheel me down the ramp toward my plane.
The war is over for me, I've forgotten everything except
 the pain.
Thank you sir, and yes sir,
it was worth it for the ol' red, white and blue;
and since I won't be walking,
I suppose I'll save some money buying shoes.
The bottle hidden underneath the blanket
over my two battered legs.
I can see the stewardess make over me and ask "Were you afraid?"
I'll say, "Why no, I'm Superman,
and I couldn't find the phone booth quite in time."
A GI gets a lot of laughs, if he remembers all the funny lines.
Mama bake a Pie. Daddy kill a chicken.
Your son is coming home, eleven thirty-five, Wednesday night.
Mama will be crying
and Daddy's gonna say "Son, did they treat you good?"
My uncle will be drunk
and he'll say, "Boy, they doing some real great things with wood."
The letter that she wrote me
said good-by, she couldn't wait and lot of luck.
The bottle underneath the blanket
feels just like an old friend to my touch.
I know she'll come and see me
but I bet she never once looks at my legs.
Naw, she'll talk about the weather
and the dress she wore the July fourth parade.
Lord, I love her and I don't believe
this bottle's get her off my mind.
I see here in the paper,
where they say the war is just a waste of time.
Mama bake a Pie. Daddy kill a chicken.

Your son is coming home, eleven thirty-five, Wednesday night.
SORUCE: WIKIA

Song 41 Oh! Camil (the Winter Soldier)

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	21	Oh! Camil (the Winter Soldier)	Graham Nash	1973

21 – Oh! Camil (the Winter Soldier)- Graham Nash
Oh Camil, tell me how do you feel?
You fought for your country
for God and for war,
now your heart tells you that can't be real.
So you tell me your story from beginning to end
all the blood and the guts and the gore
will you tell all the people
'bout the people you killed,
not for God, but for country and war?
Oh! Camil, tell me what did you mother say,
when you left those people out in the fields,
rotting along with the hay?
Did you show her your medals?
Did you show her your guns?
Did you show her the ears that you wore?
Did you show her a picture of the people you killed
not for God, but for country and war?
Oh! Camil, tell me why are you in this place?
When you stood up for justice your country replied
by throwing it back in your face.
When you tell me your story
are you making amends for all of the hatred you saw?
Will you tell all the people about the people that cry out for God
not for country or war?
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 42 Run Through the Jungle

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	22	Run Through the Jungle	Creedence Clearwater Revival	1970

23- Run Through The Jungle – CCR
Whoa, thought it was a nightmare,

Lord, it's all so true.
They told me, "Don't go walkin' slow,
'Cause Devil's on the loose."
Better run through the jungle,
Better run through the jungle,
Better run through the jungle,
Whoa, don't look back to see.
Thought I heard a rumblin'
Callin' to my name.
Two hundred million guns are loaded,
Satan cries, "Take aim!"
Better run through the jungle,
Better run through the jungle,
Better run through the jungle,
Whoa, don't look back to see.
Over on the mountain,
Thunder magic spoke,
"Let the people know my wisdom,
Fill the land with smoke."
Better run through the jungle,
Better run through the jungle,
Better run through the jungle,
Whoa, don't look back to see.
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 43 Stoned Love

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	23	Stoned Love	The Supremes	1970

23-Stoned Love – The Supremes
Now I wanna tell you of a great love
Oh, it will light up
It will surely light up
The world
If you'll just believe
Stoned love
(Stoned love)
Mm-hmm
Mm-hmm
Stoned love
Oh, yeah
A love for each other will bring fighting to an end
Forgiving one another, time after time, doubt creeps in
But like the sun lights up the sky with a message from above
Oh, yeah, I find no other greater symbol of this love

Yeah, don't you hear the wind blowin'?
Mm-hmm
Stoned love, oh, yeah
I tell you, I ain't got no other
Mm-hmm
Stoned love, oh, yeah
Life is so short, put the present time at hand
Oh, yeah, and if you're young at heart, rise up and take your stand
And to the man on whose shoulder the world must depend
I pray for peace and love, amen
Can't you feel it?
Stoned love
I tell you, I ain't got no other
Uh-huh
Stoned love, oh, yeah
Ooh, ooh, ooh
Ooh (Ooh, ooh, ooh)
If a war 'tween our nations passed, oh, yeah
Will the love 'tween our brothers and sisters last?
On and on and on and on and
Mm, mm, mm
Stoned love, yeah
I tell you, I ain't got no other
Mm-hmm
Stoned love
Can't you, can't you, can't you, can't you, can't you feel it?
Mm-hmm
Stoned love
Oh, yeah, stoned, stoned, stoned, stoned
Mm-hmm
Stoned love
Oh, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah
Uh-huh
Stoned love
Oh, yeah, yeah, uh-huh
Mm-hmm
SORUCE: WIKIA

Song 44 Ball of Confusion (That's What the World Is Today)

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	24	Ball of Confusion (That's What the World Is Today)	The Temptations	1970

Ball of confusion, the temptations
People moving out, people moving in

Why? Because of the color of their skin
Run, run, run but you just can't hide
An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth
Vote for me and I'll set you free
Rap on, rap on, brother, rap on
Well, the only person talking about love today is the preacher
And it seems nobody's interested in learning but the teacher
Segregation, determination, demonstration, integration
Aggravation, humiliation,
devastation of our nation
Ball of confusion
That's what the world is today, hey, hey
Ball of confusion
That's what the world is today, hey, hey
The sale of pills are at an all-time high
Who put the filling' in the pie in the sky
The cities aflame in the summer time
And the beat goes on
And the beat goes on
And the beat goes on
Economics, Reaganomics, birth control, the status quo
Shooting rockets to the moon, kids growing up too soon
The politicians say
And the band played on
So, 'round and around and around we go
Where the world's headed, nobody knows
Ball of confusion
That's what the world is today, hey, hey
Ball of confusion
That's what the world is today, hey, hey
Hey, hey
Fear in the air, tension everywhere
Unemployment rising fast ([...] price of gas)
And the band played on
And the band played on
And the band played on
And the band played
Eve of destruction,
tax deduction, city inspectors, bill collectors
Solid bold in demand, population out of hand, suicide
Too many beers, hippies movin' to the hills
People all over the world are dying in the war
And the band played on
And the band played on
And the band played on
And the band played

Ball of confusion
That's what the world is today, hey, hey (hey)
Ball of confusion
That's what the world is today, hey, hey
Ball of confusion (ball of confusion)
That's what the world is today, hey, hey (hey)
Ball of confusion (ball of confusion)
That's what the world is today, hey, hey
Ball of confusion, ball of confusion
Ball of confusion, ball of confusion
Ball of confusion
That's what the world is today, hey, hey
Hey, hey
Hey, hey
Hey, hey
Ball of confusion
That's what the world is today, hey, hey
Ball of confusion
That's what the world is today, hey, hey
Hey, hey
Hey, hey
Hey, hey
Hey, hey
Hey, hey

Song 45 Talking Vietnam Potluck blues

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	25	Talking Vietnam Potluck blues	Tom Paxton	1968

25- Talking Vietnam Potluck Blues – Tom Paxton
Spoken:
"Ahhh...
Let's do that again
Do you believe that?"
Well, when I landed in Vietnam
I hardly got to see Saigon
They shaped us up and called the roll
and off we went on a long patrol
Swappin' lies, swattin' flies,
Firin' the odd shot here and there
The Captain called a halt that night
And we had chow by the pale moon light
A lovely dinner they'd planned for us
With a taste like a seat on a crosstown bus
Some of the veterans just left theirs layin' in the can
For the Viet Cong to find

Deadlier than a land mine
Hmmmm...
Naturally somebody told a joke
And a couple of the fellows began to smoke
I took a whiff as the a cloud rolled by
And my nose went up like an infield fly
The Captain, this blonde fellow from Yale looked at
me and said "What's a matter wit chu, baby?" (ghetto dialect)
Well I may be crazy, but I think not;
I swear to God that I smell pot!
But who'd have pot in Vietnam?
He said, "Whaddaya think you been sittin' on?"
These funny little plants...
Thousands of 'em.
Good God Almighty!
Pastures of plenty!
So we all lit up and by and by
The whole platoon was flyin' high
With a beautiful smile on the Captain's face
He smelled like midnight on St. Mark's Place
Cleanin' his weapon,
Chantin' sumpin' about Hari Krishna, Hari Krishna
The moment came,
As it comes to all
When I had to answer nature's call
I was stumbing around in a beautiful haze
When I met a little cat in black pj's
Rifle; ammo belt; BF Goodrich sandals
He looked up at me and said "What's a matter wit chu, baby?"
(sounding just like the Captain had)
He said we're campin' down the pass
And smelled you people blowin' grass
And since, by the smell, you're smoking trash
I brought you a taste of a special stash
Straight from Uncle Ho's victory garden
We call it Hanoi Gold.
So his squad and my squad settled down
Passin' lovely stuff around
All too soon it was time to go
The Captain got on the radio
Said "Hello headquarters?, Helloo, ahh, Headquarters??
We have met the enemy and he has been smashed!"
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 46 The End

Conflict	Sample#	Year	Title	Artist

26- The End – The Doors
This is the end, beautiful friend
This is the end, my only friend
The end of our elaborate plans
The end of everything that stands
The end
No safety or surprise
The end
I'll never look into your eyes again
Can you picture what will be
So limitless and free
Desperately in need of some stranger's hand
In a desperate land
Lost in a Roman wilderness of pain
And all the children are insane
All the children are insane
Waiting for the summer rain
There's danger on the edge of town
Ride the king's highway
Weird scenes inside the gold mine
Ride the highway West, baby
Ride the snake
Ride the snake
To the lake
To the lake
The ancient lake, baby
The snake is long
Seven miles
Ride the snake
He's old
And his skin is cold
The West is the best
The West is the best
Get here and we'll do the rest
The blue bus is calling us
The blue bus is calling us
Driver, where are you taking us?
The killer awoke before dawn
He put his boots on
He took a face from the ancient gallery
And he walked on down the hall
He went into the room where his sister lived
And then he paid a visit to his brother
And then he walked on down the hall

And he came to a door
And he looked inside
Father?
Yes, son?
I want to kill you
Mother, I want to...
Come on, yeah
Come on, baby, take a chance with us
Come on, baby, take a chance with us
Come on, baby, take a chance with us
And meet me at the back of the blue bus
Fuck, fuck
Kill, kill, kill
This is the end, beautiful friend
This is the end, my only friend
The end
It hurts to set you free
But you'll never follow me
The end of laughter and soft lies
The end of nights we tried to die
This is the end

Song 47 White Boots Marching in a Yellow Land

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	27	White Boots Marching in a Yellow Land	Phil Ochs	1968

White Boots marching in a yellow land, Phil Ochs
The pilots playing poker in the cockpit of the plane
The casualties arriving like the dropping of the rain
And a mountain of machinery will fall before a man
When you're white boots marching in a yellow land
It's written in the ashes of the village towns we burn
It's written in the empty bed of the fathers unreturned
And the chocolate in the children's eyes will never understand
When you're white boots marching in a yellow land
Red blow the bugles of the dawn
The morning has arrived you must be gone
And the lost patrol chase their chartered(*) souls
Like cold/old(?) whores following tired armies
Train them well, the men who will be fighting by your side
And never turn your back if the battle turns the tide
For the colours of a civil war are louder than commands
When you're white boots marching in a yellow land

Blow them from the forest and burn them from your sight
Tie their hands behind their back and question through the night
But when the firing squad is ready they'll be spitting where they stand
At the white boots marching in a yellow land
Red blow the bugles of the dawn
The morning has arrived you must be gone
And the lost patrol chase their chartered souls
Like cold whores following tired armies
The comic and the beauty queen are dancing on the stage
Raw recruits are lining up like coffins in a cage
We're fighting in a war we lost before the war began
We're the white boots marching in a yellow land
And the lost patrol chase their chartered souls
like cold whores following tired armies

Song 48 The War Is Over

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	28	The War Is Over	Phil Ochs	1968

28- The War is Over – Phil Ochs -
Silent soldiers on a silver screen
Framed in fantasies and drugged in dream
Unpaid actors of the mystery
The mad director knows that freedom will not make you free
And what's this got to do with me
I declare the war is over
It's over, it's over
Drums are drizzling on a grain of sand
Fading rhythms of a fading land
Prove your courage in the proud parade
Trust your leaders where mistakes are almost never made
And they're afraid that I'm afraid
I'm afraid the war is over
It's over, it's over
Angry artists painting angry signs
Use their vision just to blind the blind
Poisoned players of a grizzly game
One is guilty and the other gets the point to blame
Pardon me if I refrain
I declare the war is over
It's over, it's over
So do your duty, boys, and join with pride
Serve your country in her suicide
Find the flags so you can wave goodbye
But just before the end even treason might be worth a try

This country is to young to die
I declare the war is over
It's over, it's over
One-legged veterans will greet the dawn
And they're whistling marches as they mow the lawn
And the gargoyles only sit and grieve
The gypsy fortune teller told me that we'd been deceived
You only are what you believe
I believe the war is over
It's over, it's over

Song 49 VietNam Blues

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	29	VietNam Blues	Kris Kristofferson	1966

I was out on the leave at the time just ducking' the fog
Nosing' around like a hungry dog
In that crazy place called: Washington DC
I saw a crowd of people on the White House lawn
all carrying signs about VietNam
So I went over to see what was goin' on
It was a strange looking bunch..
but then I never could understand some people…
Oh a fellow came to me with a list in his hand
He said we're gatherin' names to send
The telegram of sympathy.. then he handed me a pen
I said I reckon this is goin' to kids and wives
My friends over there who're givin' their lives
He said ah ah buddy this is goin' to Ho-Chi-Min.
I said Ho-Chi, who? He said Ho-Chi-Min,
People's leader North VietNam..
Oh I wasn't really sure I was hearin' him right
I though I'd better move before I got in a fight
'Cause my ears were hurtin' and my ball started hit my lick
Then I thought of another telegram that I've just read
Tellin' my buddy's wife that her husband was dead
It wasn't too long till I was feelin' downright sick.
Another held the sign that said we won't fight
I thought to myself boy ain't that right
To leave a lot of our soldiers die instead.
I said it's a shame that every man
who ever died up there that far off land
Was dyin' for that you wouldn't have to wake up dead

Course he looked at me like I was kinda crazy …just another warmonger..
Oh I left that place and I went downtown
and hit first bar that I'd found
To cool myself off and pacify my brain.
You see I was on orders to VietNam
little old place just north to Saigon
Had about an hour to catch myself a plane
So all I mean to say is I don't like dyin' either
But, man, I ain't gonna crawl.
SOURCE: AWS

Song 50 Vietnam War

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	30	Vietnam War	Sam Lightnin Hopkins	1968

30- Vietnam War – Sam Lightnin Hopkins
Mama said Son, how can you be happy when your brother way over in Vietnam?
How can you be happy when your brother way over in Vietnam?
I told her
I said "Mama he may got lucky and win some money
before he dies he may bring some money back home"
Mama looked at me
She said "That ain't no way to talk about your brother
when he's my child too"
She said "Mister Johnson is tellin' everybody.
exactly what he want them to do"
All right my child
What if Uncle Sam was to call you boy? (I would be so lonesome)
Oh I would miss you so much I may die
Yes if Uncle Sam should call you, Oh Lord I miss you so much I may die
Yeah you know when you get over yon' and get to fightin' them soldiers,
yeah you know you're gonna be fightin' way upon my heart
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 51 War!

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	31	War	Edwin Starr	1970

War, huh, yeah
What is it good for?
Absolutely nothing, uh-huh, uh-huh

War, huh, yeah
What is it good for?
Absolutely nothing, say it again, y'all
War, huh, good god
What is it good for?
Absolutely nothing, listen to me
Oh war, I despise
'Cause it means destruction of innocent lives
War means tears to thousands of mothers' eyes
When their sons go off to fight and lose their lives
I said, war, huh, good god, y'all
What is it good for?
Absolutely nothing, say it again
War, huh, whoa-oh-whoa-oh, Lord
What is it good for?
Absolutely nothing, listen to me
War, it ain't nothing but a heartbreak
War, friend only to the undertaker
Oh, war, is an enemy to all mankind
The thought of war blows my mind
War has caused unrest within the younger generation
Induction then destruction, who wants to die?
Oh, war, huh, good god, y'all
What is it good for?
Absolutely nothing, say it, say it, say it
War, huh, uh-huh, yeah, uh
What is it good for?
Absolutely nothing, listen to me
War, it ain't nothing but a heartbreaker
War, it got one friend, that's the undertaker
Oh, war has shattered many a young man's dreams
Made him disabled, bitter and mean
Life is much too short and precious to spend fighting wars these days
War can't give life, it can only take it away
Oh, war, huh, good god, y'all
What is it good for?
Absolutely nothing, say it again
War, huh, whoa-oh-whoa-oh, Lord
What is it good for?
Absolutely nothing, listen to me
War, it ain't nothing but a heartbreaker
War, friend only to the undertaker
Peace, love and understanding, tell me
Is there no place for them today?
They say we must fight to keep our freedom
But lord knows there's got to be a better way

Oh, war, huh, good god, y'all
What is it good for?
You tell me, (nothing) say it, say it, say it, say it
War, huh, good god, yeah, huh
What is it good for?
Stand up and shout it (nothing)
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 52 Kill For Peace

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	32	Kill For Peace	The Fugs	1965

Kill, kill, kill for peace
Kill, kill, kill for peace
Near or middle or very far east
Far or near or very middle east
Kill, kill, kill for peace
Kill, kill, kill for peace
If you don't like the people
or the way that they talk
If you don't like their manners
or they way that they walk,
Kill, kill, kill for peace
Kill, kill, kill for peace
If you don't kill them
then the Chinese will
If you don't want America
to play second fiddle,
Kill, kill, kill for peace
Kill, kill, kill for peace
If you let them live
they might subvert the Prussians
If you let them live
they might love the Russians
Kill, kill, kill for peace
Kill, kill, kill for peace
(spoken) Kill 'em, kill 'em, strafe those gook creeps!
The only gook an
American can trust
Is a gook that's got
his yellow head bust.
Kill, kill, kill for peace
Kill, kill, kill for peace
Kill, kill, it'll

feel so good,
like my captain
said it should
Kill, kill, kill for peace
Kill, kill, kill for peace
Kill it will give
you a mental ease
kill it will give
you a big release
Kill, kill, kill for peace
Kill, kill, kill for peace
Kill, kill, kill for peace
Kill, kill, kill for peace

Song 53 Wont Get Fooled Again

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	33	Wont Get Fooled Again	The Who	1971

We'll be fighting in the streets
With our children at our feet
And the morals that they worship will be gone
And the men who spurred us on
Sit in judgment of all the wrong
They decide and the shotgun sings the song
I'll tip my hat to the new constitution
Take a bow for the new revolution
Smile and grin at the change all around
Pick up my guitar and play
Just like yesterday
Then I'll get on my knees and pray
We don't get fooled again
The change it had to come
We knew it all along
We were liberated from the fold, that's all
And the world looks just the same
And history ain't changed
'Cause the banners, they all flown in the last war
I'll tip my hat to the new constitution
Take a bow for the new revolution
Smile and grin at the change all around
Pick up my guitar and play
Just like yesterday
Then I'll get on my knees and pray
We don't get fooled again

No, no!
I'll move myself and my family aside
If we happen to be left half alive
I'll get all my papers and smile at the sky
For I know that the hypnotized never lie
Do ya?
Yeah!
There's nothing in the streets
Looks any different to me
And the slogans are replaced, by-the-bye
And the parting on the left
Is now parting on the right
And the beards have all grown longer overnight
I'll tip my hat to the new constitution
Take a bow for the new revolution
Smile and grin at the change all around
Pick up my guitar and play
Just like yesterday
Then I'll get on my knees and pray
We don't get fooled again
Don't get fooled again
No, no!
Yeah!
Meet the new boss
Same as the old boss

Song 54 Your Flag Decal Wont Get You Into Heaven Anymore

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	34	Your Flag Decal Wont Get You Into Heaven Anymore	John Prine	1971

31 – Your Flag Decal won't get you into heaven anymore – john prine
While digesting Reader's Digest
In the back of the dirty book store
A plastic flag with gum on the back
Fell out on the floor
Well, I picked it up and I went outside
And slapped it on my window shield
And if I could find ol' Betsy Ross
I'd tell her how good I feel
But your flag decal won't get you into Heaven anymore
They're already overcrowded from your dirty little war
Now Jesus don't like killin', no matter what the reason's for
And your flag decal won't get you into Heaven anymore

Well, I went to the bank this morning
And the cashier he said to me
"If you join the Christmas club,
We'll give you ten of them flags for free."
Well, I didn't mess around a bit
I took him up on what he said
And I stuck them stickers all over my car
And one on my wife's forehead
But your flag decal won't get you into Heaven anymore
They're already overcrowded from your dirty little war
Now Jesus don't like killin', no matter what the reason's for
And your flag decal won't get you into Heaven anymore
Well, I got my window shield so filled
With flags I couldn't see
So, I ran the car upside a curb
And right into a tree
By the time they got a doctor down
I was already dead
And I'll never understand why the man
Standing in the Pearly Gates said
But your flag decal won't get you into Heaven anymore
We're already overcrowded from your dirty little war
Now Jesus don't like killin', no matter what the reason's for
And your flag decal won't get you into Heaven anymore
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 55 Silent Homecoming

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	35	Silent Homecoming	Ringo Starr	1970

Patiently she stares down the runway,
Today's the day that he is coming home.
Seems like he's been gone a life time
And a life time is a long time to be gone.
But there are songs that need singing,
And there are things that must be done.
There are thoughts that still need thinking,
And there are wars that must be won.
He was just a boy when they sent for him
And overnight turned him into a man.
Proudly he had served his country
In a war he didn't seem to understand.
The flag still waves, his war is over,
He'll never have to kill again.
And as she waits, she thinks it over,

Is winning worth the prize we pay to win?
Her thoughts keep wandering to his childhood,
When all his hand grenades were merely toys.
And "war" was just a game that he was playing
With plastic guns like other little boys.
And ev'ry day when play was over,
He'd put his little toys away.
And she'd be standing, waiting for him,
The way she's waiting here today.
As the plane stops she starts thinking,
Will he still look the way he did before?
Or will his eyes reflect the pain of killing,
Like most young men when they come home from war?
These last few minutes seem like hours,
She tries her best not to cry.
But there's that hearse filled up with flowers,
Did he really have to die?
No, no, no, no,
No, no, no, no, no,
No, no, no,
No, no,
No, no,
No, no, no,
No,
No, no, no,
No,
No, no, no, no, no.

Song 56 Whats Going On

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	36	What's Going On	Marvin Gaye	1971

What's going on – Marvin Gaye
Mother, mother
There's too many of you crying
Brother, brother, brother
There's far too many of you dying
You know we've got to find a way
To bring some loving' here today
Father, father
We don't need to escalate
You see, war is not the answer
For only love can conquer hate
You know we've got to find a way
To bring some loving' here today, oh (oh)
Picket lines (sister) and picket signs (sister)

Don't punish me (sister) with brutality (sister)
Talk to me (sister), so you can see (sister)
Oh, what's going on (what's going on)
What's going on (what's going on)
Yeah, what's going on (what's going on)
Oh, what's going on (what's going on)
Mother, mother
Everybody thinks we're wrong
Oh, but who are they to judge us
Simply cause our hair is long
Oh, you know we've got to find a way
To bring some understanding here today
Picket lines (brother) and picket signs (brother)
Don't punish me (brother) with brutality (brother)
Come on, talk to me (brother), so you can see (brother)
What's going on (what's going on)
Yeah, what's going on (what's going on)
Tell me what's going on (what's going on)
I'll tell you what's going on (what's going on)
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 57 Eve of Destruction

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	37	Eve of Destruction	Barry McGuire and The Turtles	1965

Eve of Destruction – Barry McGuire and the turtles
The eastern world it is explodin',
violence flarin', bullets loadin',
you're old enough to kill but not for votin',
you don't believe in war, what's that gun you're totin',
and even the Jordan river has bodies floatin',
but you tell me over and over and over again my friend,
ah, you don't believe we're on the eve of destruction.
Don't you understand, what I'm trying to say?
Can't you see the fear that I'm feeling today?
If the button is pushed, there's no running away,
There'll be no one to save with the world in a grave,
take a look around you, boy, it's bound to scare you, boy,
but you tell me over and over and over again my friend,
ah, you don't believe we're on the eve of destruction.
Yeah, my blood's so mad, feels like coagulatin',
I'm sittin' here, just contemplatin',
I can't twist the truth, it knows no regulation,
handful of Senators don't pass legislation,
and marches alone can't bring integration,

when human respect is disintegratin',
this whole crazy world is just too frustratin',
and you tell me over and over and over again my friend,
ah, you don't believe we're on the eve of destruction.
Think of all the hate there is in Red China!
Then take a look around to Selma, Alabama!
Ah, you may leave here, for four days in space,
but when your return, it's the same old place,
the poundin' of the drums, the pride and disgrace,
you can bury your dead, but don't leave a trace,
hate your next-door-neighbor, but don't forget to say grace,
and you tell me over and over and over and over again my friend,
ah, you don't believe we're on the eve of destruction.
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 58 Hey Sandy

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	38	Hey Sandy	Harvey Andrews	1972

Hey Sandy, hey Sandy why were you the one?
All the years of growing up are wasted now and gone.
Did you see them turn, did you feel the burn of the bullets as they flew?
Hey Sandy, hey Sandy just what did you do?
Hey Sandy, hey Sandy just what did you do?
Well the sun was hot and the air was heavy as the marching men came by
And you ran to the door and you watched then pass
and you asked the soldiers "Why?"
The sound of the steel and the black boot's heel were pounding in your head
And your freedom's past, they have come at last, with the blessings of the dead.
Hey Sandy, hey Sandy why were you the one?
All the years of growing up are wasted now and gone.
Did you see them turn, did you feel the burn of the bullets as they flew?
Hey Sandy, hey Sandy just what did you do?
Hey Sandy, hey Sandy just what did you do?
In the college square they were standing there with flag and with the drum
And the whispered word as the young ones stirred
was "Now at last they've come"
And the air was still with the lonely thrill of now the hour is near
And the smell of sweat was better yet than the awful stench of fear.
Hey Sandy, hey Sandy why were you the one?
All the years of growing up are wasted now and gone.
Did you see them turn, did you feel the burn of the bullets as they flew?
Hey Sandy, hey Sandy just what did you do?
Hey Sandy, hey Sandy just what did you do?
Through the air the shout as you all ran out was "Why are these things done?"

And you stood and you stared but no one cared for another campus bum
And your songs were dead and the hymns instead were to the burning pyre
And the words of youth, like love and truth, just ashes in the fire.
Hey Sandy, hey Sandy why were you the one?
All the years of growing up are wasted now and gone.
Did you see them turn, did you feel the burn of the bullets as they flew?
Hey Sandy, hey Sandy just what did you do?
Hey Sandy, hey Sandy just what did you do?
Did you throw the stone at the men alone with their bayonets fixed for hire?
Did you doubt that they would, say no one could, did you scream when they opened fire?
As the square ran red and your bloodstain spread and the darkness round you grew
Through the fear and the pain did you call the name of the man you never knew?
Hey Sandy, hey Sandy why were you the one?
All the years of growing up are wasted now and gone.
Did you see them turn, did you feel the burn of the bullets as they flew?
Hey Sandy, hey Sandy just what did you do?
Did you see them turn, did you feel the burn of the bullets as they flew?
Hey Sandy, hey Sandy just what did you do?
Hey Sandy, hey Sandy just what did you do?
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 59 Give Peace a chance

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	39	Give Peace a chance	John Lennon and Yoko Ono	1969

John Lennon – Give peace a chance
-"Ah, this is what we came for really
It's, eh 'Give Peace A Chance' so sing along with it
I've forgotten all the bits in between but I know the chorus so"
Everybody's talkin' 'bout
Bagism, madism, dragism, shagism, ragism, tagism this ism, that ism, ism, ism, ism,
All we are saying is give peace a chance
All we are saying is give peace a chance
Everbody's talkin' bout ministers, sinisters, banisters, and canisters, bishops and fishops and
rabbis and pop eyes, and byebye, byebyes
All we are saying is give peace a chance
All we are saying is give peace a chance
Everybody's talkin' 'bout
Revolution, evolution, masturbation
Flagellation, regulation, integration, meditation, united nations, congratulation.
Maybe, maybe
All we are saying is give peace a chance
All we are saying is give peace a chance
Everybody's talkin' 'bout

John and Yoko, Timmy Leary, Rosemary, Tommy Smothers, Bobby Dylan, Tommy Cooper, Derek Taylor, Norman Mailer, allen Ginsberg, Hare Krishna, Hare hare krishna
All we are saying is give peace a chance
All we are saying is give peace a chance
All we are saying is give peace a chance
All we are saying is give peace a chance
All we are saying is give peace a chance
All we are saying is give peace a chance
All we are saying is give peace a chance
All we are saying is give peace a chance
All we are saying is give peace a chance
SORUCE: WIKIA

Song 60 Ohio

Conflict	Sample#	Title	Artist	Year
Viet	40	Ohio	Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young	1970

Tin soldiers and Nixon's coming'
We're finally on our own
This summer I hear the drumming'
Four dead in Ohio
Gotta get down to it
Soldiers are gunning us down
Should have been done long ago
What if you knew her and
Found her dead on the ground?
How can you run when you know?
Na na-na-na, na-na na-na
Na na-na-na, na-na na
Na na-na-na, na-na na-na
Na na-na-na, na-na na
Gotta get down to it
Soldiers are cutting us down
Should have been done long ago
What if you knew her and
Found her dead on the ground?
How can you run when you know?
Tin soldiers and Nixon's comin'
We're finally on our own
This summer I hear the drummin'
Four dead in Ohio
Four dead in Ohio (Four dead)
Four dead in Ohio (Four)
Four dead in Ohio (How many?)

Four dead in Ohio (How many more?)
Four dead in Ohio (Why?)
Four dead in Ohio (Oh!)
Four dead in Ohio (Four)
Four dead in Ohio (Why?)
Four dead in Ohio (Why?)
SORUCE: WIKIA

Song 61 A Farewell to Arms

Sample #	Title	Artist	Year
1	A Farewell to Arms	Machine Head	2007

1 – A Farewell to arms – Machine Head
Can you hear their cries?
Nowhere can the children run to hide
Crimson rivers
Flow down hills
Atone our ills
And woe to all her songs of love
A farewell to arms
Mutilated lives
Blackening as coffin line the sides
Filled with fathers
Who has won?
When only sons
Hold their grieving heads and mourn
A farewell to arms!
Always our souls entwine
Erase this vast divide
Deaf ears our voices rest
Tyrant, this is protest!
Who has won?
Yes, who has won?
I'll wave this flag of white
So the venged see the light
We'll pay for closed eyes
With our genocide
Piercing the masquerade
March to the death parade
Trade not humanity
For pearls of our slavery
In the depth of mind the heart will find
the truth of our leader

We'll try the facts so through the cracks
may fall the lying cheater
Who has won when we're all dead?
I'll wave this flag of white
So the venged see the light
We'll pay for closed eyes
With our genocide
So is this how we live?
Or is this how we die?
[guitar]
Black blood dripping from platinum fangs
Rich blood flees while
our poverty hangs.
Shepherds they herd the mindless trance
As the flock follows the puppet's dance
In a fatal romance
[guitar]
 All that they needed was
a pretext, war's next!
Heads to the chopping blocks
and our necks are next
For those who died
Who fought for our rights
Whose children now slaves
They're turning in their graves!
War hawks and senators
they sit right, so trite.
Never their sons will know
what it's like to fight.
But soldiers are dead
And children have bled
And the silence is numb.
What have we become?!!
What have we become?!!
What have we become?!!
What have we become?!!
What have we become?!!!!!!!!!
God save us.
[fading guatar, war drums sounding]
 SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 62 An American Draft Dodger in Thunder Bay

Sample #	Title	Artist	Year
2	An American Draft Doger in thunder Bay	Sam Roberts	2006

2- An American Draft Dodger in Thunder Bay – Sam Roberts
He was born in a small town
And he was given every reason to stay
Hallelujah, Mississippi, postcard living no sign of decay.
Till Vietnam moved next door, then Hallelujah was off to war.
Well in the dream he couldn't finish the deed.
He didn't smoke any weed, so why leave?
Going where I can't be found
And I won't be coming 'round
His father Tom said you better sign on
You'd better take up your gun and fight
I got nothing against them Viet Cong,
What did they do wrong,
and why am I right?
He's on his way to Thunder Bay
Crossed the border late at night
And it was high stakes
until he saw the Great Lakes
And he felt the cold wind bite.
Going where I can't be found.
And I won't be coming 'round.
No, I'm an American on the Canadian Shield
And I'm putting down roots in your frozen fields
It gets cold but you feel so good to be a stranger in a town and you're understood
Missing his home, he would wake up in a cold sweat
And pick up the phone and
 hope that Tom found a way to forget
He's been teaching at the high school, learning the game.
In Thunder Bay we're all the same
He's one of us, he has our trust.
But there's no going back once the line is crossed.
I'm an American on the Canadian Shield
And I'm putting down roots in your frozen fields
It gets cold but you feel so good to be a stranger in a town and you're understood
You can't ask what you're asking me to do
And I hope you understand when I refuse.
I'm going North with my point of view
And I'm never gonna think the same as you.
And I'm where I can't be found.
And I won't be coming 'round
No, I'm an American on the Canadian Shield
And I'm putting down roots in your frozen fields
It gets cold but you feel so good to be a stranger in a town and you're understood
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 63 Blessed are they who Bash your children's heads against a rock

Sample

#	Title	Artist	Year
3	Blessed are they who bash your children's heads against a rock	Dalek	2009

3- Blessed are they who Bash your children's heads against a rock – Dalek
["America's chickens are coming home to roost – speech by rev. Jeremiah Wright.]
What Malcolm X said when he got silenced
By Elijah Muhammad was in fact true
America's chickens are coming home to roost
We took this country by terror
Away from the Sioux, the Apache, the Arawak
The Comanche, the Arapahoe, the Navajo
Terrorism
We took Africans from their country
To build our way of ease
And kept them enslaved and living in fear
Terrorism
We bombed Granada
And killed innocent civilians
Babies, non military personnel
We bombed the black civilian community of Panama
With stealth bombers and killed unarmed teenagers
And toddlers, pregnant mothers and hardworking fathers
We bombed Qaddafi's home and killed his child
Blessed are they
Who bash your children's head against a rock
We bombed Iraq
We killed unarmed civilians trying to make a living
We bombed a plant in Sudan to payback
For the attack on our embassy
Killed hundreds of hardworking people
Mothers and fathers who left home
To go that day not knowing
That they would never get back home
We bombed Hiroshima, we bombed Nagasaki
And we nuked far more than the thousands
In New York and the Pentagon
And we never batted an eye
Rev. Wright
SROUCE: WIKIA

Song 64 Blinded By the Right

Sample

#	Title	Artist	Year
4	Blinded By the Right	David and jenny Heitler-Llevans	2004

3- Blinded By the Right – David and Jenny Heitler-Klevans
Blinded by the Right
Wrapped up in the flag
And sending bombers in the night
And sending bombers in the night
And sending bombers in the night
And sending bombers in the night
You think 'W' won't trouble you
I hate to burst your bubble,
You won't be safe in your own home.
'Cuz Ashcroft thinks we've gone soft
He holds his righteous blade aloft
and cuts our rights down to the bone.
Big shot, chicken hawks
Don't you know that they're all talk
when it comes to who's gonna die?
And this AWOL action-doll
has the nerve to flash us all
his "what, me worry?" Alfred E. smile.
We were blinded by the Right
Wrapped up in the flag
And sending bombers in the night
And sending bombers in the night
The 11th of September
is a day we'll all remember
but what are the lessons we've learned?
Used as an excuse
to dole out some more abuse
and see other innocents burned..
The world was growing fonder
but Bush managed to squander
all the good will which came from that day.
And now our true flag is unfurled
We're back to play cops of the world
We'll kill whoever gets in our way.
Blinded by the Right
Wrapped up in the flag
And sending bombers in the night
And sending bombers in the night
Blinded by the Right

do we really believe that might makes right
And that peace will come, the more we fight?
Halliburton draws the curtain
Covers up what is for certain
(a) conflict of interest crime.
And Bush wants billions more
He says it's for his little war
He gives his buddies our last dime..
Lies, lies, big surprise
Did you really trust those guys?
They're the lowest of the low.
George, Dick, Paul & Don
They should follow old Saddam
It's time for them all to go!
Blinded by the Right
Wrapped up in the flag
And sending bombers in the night
And sending bombers in the night
Blinded by the Right -
Mama always told me not to sacrifice our sons to make the SUV's run.
But mama, that's where the money is -
Face the facts, we've been lax
while W gave back our tax
to the ones who need it least.
It makes you wanna holler
when your piece of pie grows smaller
while the rich are sitting down to their feast.
And now that it's election time
the Democrats begin to whine
about all that Bush has done wrong.
But they voted for war in Iraq
and
caved in on the Patriot Act
they danced to every right-wing song.
Blinded by the Right
Wrapped up in the flag
And sending bombers in the night
[x2]
So, now it's time to wake up
Don't let the Bush team break up
all that we've worked for, for all these years.
Don't just sit around hoping
and don't just lie there moping
It'll take more than your prayers and tears.
They'll try to take you for a spin
They'll tell you that we cannot win

but don't you believe those lies.
Let's get out of Iraq, and
send George W packin'
It's time for us to organize!
No more blinded by the Right
We'll uncover all their lies
and expose them to the light
[repeat]
No more blinded by the Right -
We've been down, but we can make it through the night
if we don't give up
don't give up the fight!
No more blinded by the Right
[repeat and fade]
SOURCE: AWS

Song 65 Bushism

Sample # Title	Artist	Year
5 Bushism	Kai Kreowski	2003

5- Bushism – Kai Kreowski
[2003]
I solve your problems even those you don't have
You are the victims, that won't change. life is bad.
This is for your best, my power grows more and more
I give you freedom as subjects of my law
[Refrain:]
Don't look for reason in my words we
get the cake, you get the dirt
Fear is my tool
and oil my way
my god is real, so start to pray
I am the good one, look at my arguments
'Cause my god is real like the weapon in my hand
It is my duty to kick somebody's ass
I have to protect the money of my friends
Don't look for reason in my words we get the cake, you get the dirt
Fear is my tool and oil my way my god is real, so start to pray
Shame on you, shame on you   shame on you, Mr. Bush
Shame on you, shame on you   shame on you, Mr. Bush
I solve your problems, even those you don't have.
You are the victims, that won't change, life is bad
All my wars are clean, except a little blood
But you provoked me so try this bullet flood!

Don't look for reason in my words we get the cake, you get the dirt
Fear is my tool and oil my way my god is real, so start to pray
Shame on you, shame on you   shame on you, Mr. Bush
Shame on you, shame on you   shame on you, Mr. Bush
SOURCE: AWS

Song 66 Confrontation

Sample # Title		Artist	Year
6	Confrontation	OTEP	2008

6- Confrontation – OTEP
Don't be silent, fight!
Violence, melees
And disturbances of peace
Here's your introduction
To destruction
And the hate sustaining me
Are we safer or in danger?
Drowning in atrocities
Riot gear, the slaves are here
Piling corpses high
It's the rich man's war
But it's the poor that fight
More capitalist crimes
More enemies than allies
No W.M.D.'s
Who gives a fuck if they die?
Just kill 'em all
Watch 'em fall
Skin the world with their lies
It's the rich man's war
But it's the poor that fight
Stand up, speak out
Strike back!
Stand up, speak out
Strike back!
They don't know
What they started
Confrontation!
My religion of resistance
Challenging everything
Radicals and dissidents
Of creativity
We are the children

Of the siege you hide
In this rich man's war
Where the poor just die
More deception and greed
More wars and disease
More lies from the high mind
That seek to deceive
A weak nation of need
Like silent thieves in the night
It's a rich man's war
But it's the poor that die
Stand up, speak out
Strike back!
Stand up, speak out
Strike back!
They don't know
What they started
Confrontation!
Stand, fight
Speak, fight
Strike back!
Stand, fight
Speak, fight
Strike back!
They don't know
What they started
Confrontation!
This is my battle cry
Defy the lies
Of the tyrant race
With a fist in the air
And a finger in their face!
Defy the tyrants
Don't be silent
Defy the tyrants
Don't be silent
Defy the tyrants
Don't be silent
Defy the tyrants
Don't be silent
Stand up, speak out
Strike back!
Stand up, speak out
Strike back!
They don't know
What they started

Confrontation!
Stand, fight
Speak, fight
Strike back!
Stand, fight
Speak, fight
Strike back!
They don't know
What they started
Confrontation!
There's no way
They can stop us now
There's no way
They can stop us now
There's no way
They can stop us
So let them try
We fight or we die

SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 67 Courage to Resist

Sample # Title	Artist	Year
7 Courage to Resist	Vic Sadot	2011

7 - Courage To Resist – Vic Sadot
You know Private
Bradley Manning
was only twenty-two,
But because he had a conscience,
He knew what to do!
He became a whistle-blower
when he let his conscience speak!
By documenting war crimes
and cover-ups to Wikileaks !
'Cause he had the courage – to resist,
Yes, He had the courage.. to resist !
Wikileaks released a video
of a US murder spree!
With pilots joking and slaughtering
civilian Iraqis !
Two news men died in the bullet spray!
Two children were all chewed up!

Too many blood soaked scenes like that
by men who are all screwed up!
Do we have the courage – to resist ?
Yes, we have the courage to resist !
Long live GI Resistance!
To the lies and tyranny!
For with wisdom and persistence!
In Truth we shall be free!
Long live People's insistence
on being all that we can be!
Yes and we can be together!
Live in Peace and Harmony!
If we – have the courage – to resist,
If we – have the courage – to resist!
Nichol Mitchell
had a conscience!
And like a flower it bloomed in Iraq!
She became a Conscientious Objector
and for that she took a lot of flack!
Well, the Army tried to keep her
as an occupation tool!
But she opposed
the oppressors
'cause she ain't nobody's fool!
'Cause she had the courage to resist!
Yes! She had the courage to resist!
Long live GI Resistance!
To the lies and tyranny!
For with wisdom and persistence!
In Truth we shall be free!
Long live People's insistence
on being all that we can be!
Yes and we can be together!
Live in Peace and Harmony!
If we – have the courage – to resist,
If we – have the courage – to resist!
Did you hear about "The Hip-Hop Soldier"?
Who stood against the "Stop Loss" Draft?
They tried to hold him beyond enlistment!
They just issued an order and laughed!
But Marc Hall had supporters
And they waged a strong campaign!
And instead of a harsh Court-Martial
they let him go home again!
'Cause he had the courage to resist,
Yes he had the courage to resist!

They put young Bradley
in a prison!
And they employed their cruel techniques!
If you care and you can reason
and you dare to be one who speaks...
You may be put in isolation
by a system so rotten it reeks
of lies and exploitation!
So long live Wikileaks!
'Cause they have the courage to resist!
Yes! They have the courage to resist!
Long live GI Resistance!
To the lies and tyranny!
For with wisdom and persistence!
In Truth we shall be free!
Long live People's insistence
on being all that we can be!
Yes! And we can be together!
Live in Peace and Harmony!
If we have the courage to resist,
If we have the courage to resist!
IF WE – HAVE THE COURAGE – TO RESIST !
SOURCE: AWS

Song 68 Dear Mr. President

Sample #	Title	Artist	Year
8	Dear Mr. President	Pink	2007

8- Dear Mr. President – Pink
Dear Mr. President
Come take a walk with me
Let's pretend we're just two people and
You're not better than me
I'd like to ask you some questions if we can speak honestly.
What do you feel when you see all the homeless on the street?
Who do you pray for at night before you go to sleep?
What do you feel when you look in the mirror?
Are you proud?
How do you sleep while the rest of us cry?
How do you dream when a mother has no chance to say goodbye?
How do you walk with your head held high?
Can you even look me in the eye
And tell me why?
Dear Mr. President
Were you a lonely boy?
Are you a lonely boy?

Are you a lonely boy?
How can you say
No child is left behind?
We're not dumb and we're not blind
They're all sitting in your cells
While you pave the road to hell
What kind of father would take his own daughter's rights away?
And what kind of father might hate his own daughter if she were gay?
I can only imagine what the first lady has to say
You've come a long way from whiskey and cocaine
How do you sleep while the rest of us cry?
How do you dream when a mother has no chance to say goodbye?
How do you walk with your head held high?
Can you even look me in the eye?
Let me tell you 'bout hard work
Minimum wage with a baby on the way
Let me tell you 'bout hard work
Rebuilding your house after the bombs took them away
Let me tell you 'bout hard work
Building a bed out of a cardboard box
Let me tell you 'bout hard work
Hard work
Hard work
You don't know nothing 'bout hard work
Hard work
Hard work
Oh
How do you sleep at night?
How do you walk with your head held high?
Dear Mr. President
You'd never take a walk with me
Would you?
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 69 Depleted uranium is Nuclear War

Sample #	Title	Artist	Year
9	Depleted uranium is Nuclear War	Mike Stout	2005

9- Depleted Uranium is Nuclear War
[2005]
Words & Music by: C. Michael Stout
Album: Soldiers of Solidarity [2006]
Depleted Uranium is nuclear waste.
It deforms, it sickens, it contaminates.

It ravages the body, eats at the brain
Breathin' it's like smokin' radioactive crack cocaine.
The cause of so much cancer, torment and pain,
Eternal damnation for whoever remains.
It's been used in Afghanistan, Kosovo, Iraq,
400,000 Nagasaki-like nuclear attacks.
(It's) filled these places full of poison, spread death everywhere
For the millions of innocent civilians still there.
A sure death sentence for generations to come,
Still killing long after the fighting is done.
It's poisoned our own troops and their families back home.
It's lodged in their lungs, organs and bones.
So many wounds invisible, exploding inside
Since returning back home tens of thousands have died.
Underneath the fancy speeches and government lies,
The betrayal of our troops cannot be denied.
Once it is used, it's forever here.
It has a half-life span of more than four billion years.
It's in the soil, in the water, in the air that we breathe.
The whole planet's grim-reaper, a devil's disease.
A war crime for all time, endless hell we've unleashed,
Depleted uranium is dubbing you and me
Depleted uranium is insanity.
The whole world has declared it a WMD.
And if you really support the soldiers and troops,
If you care about the environment anymore
And if you're concerned for the new-born and the unborn child,
If you're really pro-life for sure,
Right this wrong, ban this bomb,
Stop this violence, break the silence:
Tell your neighbors, friends and family the score –
Depleted uranium is nuclear war
depleted uranium is nuclear war…
SOURCE: AWS

Song 70 Down from the Sky

Sample #	Title	Artist	Year
10	Down from the Sky	Trivium	2008

10- Down from the Sky- Trivium
A chasm grows
In the cavity of serpentine teeth
Hunger pangs strike

For the sweet feast of innocent blood
Of innocent bloodshed
Now here we go
The vampires feed off the wars of mankind
The vampires feed off the wars of mankind
Growing fat on the throne of an empire
Tyrant rules with the threat of a great fire
I've opened up my eyes
Seen the world for what it's worth
Tears rain down from the sky
They'll blow it all to bits
To prove whose god wields all the power
Blood rains down from the sky
The gaping wounds
Hemorrhaging the blood from which they feast
Eat us alive
Consume to feed a hunger with no
A hunger with no end
Let's fucking go
The vampires feed off the wars of mankind
The vampires feed off the wars of mankind
Growing fat on the throne of an empire
Tyrant rules with the threat of a great fire
I've opened up my eyes
Seen the world for what it's worth
Tears rain down from the sky
They'll blow it all to bits
To prove whose god wields all the power
Blood rains down from the sky
This battle's not the same which they have led us to believe
A synthesis of propaganda, terror and deceit
We are the cattle; they the slaughter;
our meat: gasoline
They pump us through the machine's valves
to cleanse the world's "disease"
We are the ammunition that will cause all life to cease
Annihilate
All those who stand in their way
Obliterate
They'll rain their holocaust down from the sky
The vampires feed off the wars of mankind
The vampires feed off the wars of mankind
Growing fat on the throne of an empire
Tyrant rules with the threat of a great fire
I've opened up my eyes
Seen the world for what it's worth

Tears rain down from the sky
They'll blow it all to bits
To prove whose god wields all the power
Blood rains down from the sky
Annihilate
All those who stand in their way
Obliterate
They'll rain their holocaust down from the sky
 SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 71 We are the cops of the world

Sample # Title	Artist	Year
11 We are the Cops of the world	Mike Stout	2009

11-We are the cops of the world – mike stout
Seven-hundred some bases all over the globe
in places we don't even know,
Troops, ships and drones all over they roam,
There's no where our armies don't go..
We garrison the planet, north, south, east and west,
Occupy all seven seas..
On this modern day empire the sun never sets,
A super power will do what he please.
-But empires cost money, and guess who will pay
Four-hundred million dollars a day,
You can't hear the music, but the fiddle still plays.
When they say there's nothing left to help you and me
The reason ain't too hard to see - WE ARE THE COPS OF THE WORLD!
In the sands of Iraq - and Afghanistan,
The pains of occupation resound..
Innocent blood spilled, civilians get killed
As the bombs and the missiles come down.
It's circle the wagons, and unleash the dragons
Get in position for the bigger war game..
When there's gas or oil on some foreign soil,
The Blackwaters and the choppers will reign.
-But empires cost money, someone must pay.
The machine has a mind of its own,
When big money talks, everything else walks
When there's nothing left for us back at home,
The reason is easily shown - WE ARE THE COPS OF THE WORLD!
No money for roads, bridges or trains,
No jobs that pay a decent living wage..
No healthcare, no welfare

no future remains
On the Main streets of the USA.
Keep on pretending, but the bender is ending
Our dreams have been put on hold.
In order to maintain the empire's reign
Our children's future has been sold..
The truth must be spoken and told - WE ARE THE COPS OF THE WORLD!

Song 72 Guantanamo Bay

Sample # Title		Artist	Year
12	Guantanamo Bay	David Rovics	2004

12- Guantanamo Bay – David Rovics
The conquistadors came with their sabers and guns
And they raped and they slaughtered until they were done
They hacked and they killed and left no one alive
Then they brought in the slaves who they allowed to survive
Welcome to the New World, you could hear the men say
As they sat on the shores of Guantanamo Bay
And after four hundred years independence was short
That's just how it is with a deep water port
The battleships came and they never left shore
Tasting the conquest, they just wanted more
The sign it said welcome to the US of A
In the Republic of Cuba, Guantanamo Bay
Past the barbed wire and the field of mines
You can see the men who left their families behind
To burn 'neath the sun to be tortured and killed
Where their stomaches are empty and
their spirits are grilled
If you're looking for freedom this is the price you must pay
It's written in blood on Guantanamo Bay
The vultures they circle at ease overhead
The living may live and the dead will be dead
the time it may come in this tropical heat
That they'll have to go somewhere else to eat
Maybe a storm will come wash it away
But still the guard towers glitter on Guantanamo Bay.
SOURCE: AWS

Song 73 Harry Patch (In Memory Of)

Sample # Title	Artist	Year

13	Harry Patch (In Memory Of)	Radiohead	2009

13- Harry Patch (In Memory Of) – RadioHead
I am the only one that got through
The others died where ever they fell
It was an ambush
They came up from all sides
Give your leaders each a gun and then let them fight it out themselves
I've seen devils coming up from the ground
I've seen hell upon this earth
The next will be chemical
but they will never learn
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 74 Home to Houston

Sample # Title	Artist	Year
14 Home to Houston	Steve Earle	2004

13- Home to Houston- Steve Earle
When I pulled out of Basra they all wished me luck
Just like they always did before.
With a bulletproof screen on the hood of my truck
And a Bradley on my back door
And I wound her up and shifted her down
And I offered this prayer to my lord
I said "God get me back home to Houston alive
And I won't drive a truck anymore"
Early in the mornin' and I'm rollin' fast
Haulin' nine thousand gallons of high test gas
Sergeant on the radio hollerin' at me
Look out up ahead here come a R.P.G.
If I ever get home to Houston alive
Then I won't drive a truck anymore
I've driven the big rigs for all of my life
And my radio handle's "Train"
Down steep mountain roads on the darkest of nights
I had ice water in my veins
And I come over here 'cause I just didn't care
Now I'm older and wiser by far
If I ever get home to Houston alive
Then I won't drive a truck anymore
Great God A'mighty what was wrong with me
I know the money's good but buddy can't you see
You can't take it with you and that ain't no lie
I don't wanna let 'em get me I'm too young to die

If I ever get home to Houston alive
Then I won't drive a truck anymore
SOUERCE: WIKIA

Song 75 Fight Back

15- Fight Back – Son of Nun
[talking to protesters]
[I] So why are you here? Why are people out here today?
[R] well we are here to stand up against what the US is doing around the world.
They are going to go off and attack one of the most devastated countries in the world. A country that has already been devastated by 10 years of sanctions.
We don't think the US has the right to force regime change around the world wherever it wants to.
We think it is important for people to determine their own futures, and
the war is actually going to cost 200 billion dollars, which is going to take away from essential services that people are struggling for right here. Healthcare, education, jobs, that's where our money should be going, not to bombs, to bomb the hell out of someone half way around the world.
[rapping]
I've been observing this system at every level
and every rebel refusing' to settle be catching' metal, -I swear
they sit back and revel in all they devilin' with all they foreign country meddlin',
pot callin' the kettlin',
Mass destruction weapon peddling just let it settle in,
they ain't been fightin' fair since Chris Columbus nestled in.
That genocide amplified
and supplied
by States using religion as a tool to divide by.
I pledge by the razor's edge to challenge the balance of power that's
devoured our life's bread (empowered by bloodshed) this fight's lead to the same thing that my strife's wed,
this movement for justice that's as raucous as it's widespread,
sanctions to occupation, globalization
to organization of anti death penalty mobilization,
we come correct in every situation
supporting workers striking to improve conditions at their occupations.
We come better with each and every endeavor to be free
from the fetter of a life pursuing the cheddar you can bet I stays clever
with the letter regardless of weather forever
touching the organ that's under your sweater (yall)
I stays nice with the letter yall ¬echo/ I rock the device to set it off
They say get back,

we say fight back (cause)
we wouldn't take it if they did us like they did Iraq.
(x4)
I'd walk- to Iraq-to-rock together
with a mother from over there who's fighting to get a-better
way of life that's free from the strife and the pressure
that comes with living under the hand of a foreign oppressor ¬
they're in the streets
fighting the beast
demanding the right- to run their country how they please
the war abroad connects back to the war at home,
they give tax cuts to the rich but lay us off and send us home,
if you resist then their tapping your phone,
cracking and snapping your bones,
and calling it legal with the patriot act and it's clone. ¬
It don't matter who's in presidential position from Nixon to Clinton
it's the people providing the friction,
fuck a politician,
spitting dishonest diction,
and nuff respect to people that be separating the fact from the fiction,
we're on a mission ta,
widen the schisms of, capitalism and replace it with a system thus, for the people,
by the people,
of the people,
not the evil.
For the people,
by the people,
of the people,
and not the evil..
They say get back,
we say fight back
'cause we wouldn't take it if they did us like they did Iraq.
(x4)
If we die by the same rules we ride by,
then how many leaders of countries would catch a drive by?
You and I know ¬how-far-they'll-go
when it ain't the blood of their own their causing to flow.
George Bush ain't going to war,
neither is the man who wins election 04',
The congress ain't going to war,
so what the fuck should we go for.
(x2)
Money for jobs and -education,
not for war and -occupation (x4)
That's bullshit, get off it,
this war is for profit,

war and occupation will never bring liberation…

Song 76 In a world Gone Mad

Sample # Title	Artist	Year
16 In a world Gone Mad	Beastie Boys	2003

16- In a World Gone Mad- Beastie Boys
In a world gone mad it's hard to think right
So much violence hate and spite
Murder going on all day and night
Due time we fight the non-violent fight
Mirrors, smokescreens and lies
It's not the politicians but their actions I despise
You and Saddam should kick it like back in the day
With the cocaine and Courvoisier
But you build more bombs as you get more bold
As your mid-life crisis war unfolds
All you want to do is take control
Now put that axis of evil bullshit on hold
Citizen rule number 2080
Politicians are shady
So people watch your back cause I think they smoke crack
I don't doubt it look at how they act
In a world gone mad it's hard to think right
So much violence hate and spite
Murder going on all day and night
Due time we fight the non-violent fight
First the 'War On Terror' now war on Iraq
We're reaching a point where we can't turn back
Let's lose the guns and let's lose the bombs
And stop the corporate contributions that they're built upon
Well I'll be sleeping on your speeches 'til I start to snore
'Cause I won't carry guns for an oil war
As-Salamu alaikum, wa alaikum assalam
Peace to the Middle East peace to Islam
Now don't get us wrong 'cause we love America
But that's no reason to get hysterica
They're layin' on the syrup thick
We ain't waffles we ain't havin' it
In a world gone mad it's hard to think right
So much violence hate and spite
Murder going on all day and night
Due time we fight the non-violent fight

Now how many people must get killed?
For oil families pockets to get filled?
How many oil families get killed?
Not a damn one so what's the deal?
It's time to lead the way and de-escalate
Lose the weapons of mass destruction and the hate
Say ooh ah what's the White House doin'?
Oh no! Say, what in tarnation have they got brewing??!!!!???!!
Well I'm not pro Bush and I'm not pro Saddam
We need these fools to remain calm
George Bush you're looking like Zoolander
Trying to play tough for the camera
What am I on crazy pills? We've got to stop it
Get your hand out my grandma's pocket
We need health care more than going to war
You think it's democracy they're fighting for?
In a world gone mad it's hard to think right
So much violence hate and spite
Murder going on all day and night
Due time we fight the non-violent fight
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 77 Iraq Has Deadly Weapons

Sample #	Title	Artist	Year
17	Iraq Has Deadly Weapons	Ryan Harvey	2003

Iraq – Ryan Harvey – 2003
The president is lying
Because he only cares for wealth
Talking about the battle zone
He should gone in their himself
But he was in the White House
Smiling without a doubt
2 soldiers are dying everyday
Still there's no pulling out
But now they say the war is over
The say the war's been won
We secured this madman's planned attack
And now the fighting's done
So the people in this desert
Have a choice to make
Accept the American way of life
Or put your at stake
And we will rebuild this country
With fancy American tools

Under Bechtel and Halliburton's rules
Now the guards of the city
Are armed up to the teeth
With red, white, and blue labels fixed
On their artillery
And they are shooting at the people
In the picket line
There's no water or electricity
But the tanks are running fine
And there's depleted uranium
From the sand dunes to the street
But that's ok, in 4 billion years
I might be safe to eat
So for now just buy the paper
And read what's written down
Go back to work and support the troops
While they bomb another town
And step away from the horror
And realize our might
USA, the future's looking bright
Now all the weapons that we sold them
In the decade's that have passed
Lie smoldering in piles high
Among bodies and broken glass
Where children watch the fighting
To see who's next to rule
And they make sure to be careful
Because the hospitals are full
And there's people dying everywhere
There's a million different fears
But people have been getting used to this
For the last 11 years
Because the ruler of this country
Used to be our friend
And we sold him guns for petroleum
But all good things must end
So now it's our turn for genocide, our turn to kill
Until Bush, Rumsfeld, and Cheney get their fill
The media's distorting it
Helping plan what's coming next
Scare tactics and propaganda
Mixed with fame and sex
And the terror level's elevated
Because everyone's enraged
Every village toppled by the empire
Takes it closer to it's grave

And they ask why one would hate
The gleaming USA
With our fancy cars and movie stars
and wallstreet insider trades
The CEO's that are paying
For the votes that really count
Are a prefect example
Of what this country's all about
So remember when you see old glory all ablaze
This country was built with the blood of slaves
In the Homeland things are quiet
No one's looking back
We fought the war, it's been done before
Let's await the next attack
And we'll play this game forever
And follow all the laws
Build missiles, planes, and war machines
Until the final building falls
And in the meantime we'll be silent
We'll buy whatever sells
Some booze, some drugs, some sex and guns,
And we'll fight amongst ourselves
We're slaves but we are friendly
We'll follow your command
Forget about the people being
Slaughtered at our hands
And you can take over this country, the entire planet too
And we won't blame it on you
Yeah they say the war is over,
But I don't know if you heard
The lady of liberty
Just spoke her final word
And now the companies are coming
Because the occupation's tight
10,000 dead, the rest unfed
Bombs exploding in the night
They say they're looking for independence
Well they haven't found it yet
And now the World Bank and IMF
Are building up the debt
So say goodnight, the dream is over
Only scars remain
To the losers go the rubble
To the victors go the gains
Three cheers for the homeland, the truest of them all
America, let's watch another country fall

Sample # Title	Artist	Year
18 Jacobs Ladder	Chumbawumba	2002

Like the Sermon on the mountain
Says the dumber got dumb
Hellfire and brimstone
Swapped for oil and guns
When we're pushing up daisies
We all look the same
In the name of the Father, maybe
But not in my name
On this Jacob's ladder
The only way up is down
One step from disaster
Two to make the higher ground
Jacob's ladder
And they sent him to the wars to be slain, to be slain
And they sent him to the wars to be slain
A million lifetimes
Left dying in the sun
In the streets down in Whitehall
Dogs picking' at the bones
Nine-eleven got branded
Nine-eleven got sold
And there'll be no one left to water
All the seeds you sow
On this Jacob's ladder
The only way up is down
One step from disaster
To to make the higher ground
Jacob's ladder
And they sent him to the wars to be slain, to be slain
And they sent him to the wars to be slain
And they sent him to the wars to be slain, to be slain
And they sent him to the wars to be slain
On this Jacob's ladder
The only way up is down
One step from disaster
Two to make the higher ground
On this Jacob's ladder
The only way up is down
One step from disaster
Two to make the higher ground

Jacob's ladder
Puppy dog leader
Sooner or later
We'll dig up your cellar
And try you for murder
Puppy dog leader
Sooner or later
We'll dig up your cellar
And try you for murder
Jacob's ladder
Puppy dog leader
Sooner or later
We'll dig up your cellar
And try you for murder
Jacob's ladder
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 79 Lets Go

Sample # Title		Artist	Year
19	Lets Go	Ministry	2012

20- Lets Go – Ministry

 "The party is over my friends, it is the end of mankind as we know it. Hell and fire! Hell and fire! Hell and fire! Because the tide is a-rising and a storm is coming in.
A storm is brewing!
Let's go to the edge of disaster
Push the pedal and go a little faster
Let's slam into a wall at ramming speed
Let's go to the edge of a mountain
Jump off and lets start countin'
Hit the ground and tell me if it bleeds
Let's go insane
Let's go insane
Let's go to the edge of reality
Let's go for total insanity
Let's go for a government based on greed
Let's go for the final attack
Let's go for a war in Iraq
Let's go for starting up World War III
Let's go insane
Let's go insane!!!!!
Make my reservation
A storm's a brewin'
A storm's a brewin'
A storm's a brewin'

A storm's a brewin'
Let's go for the ultimate crime
Let's go for the end of time
Let's go for an ethnic killing spree
Let's go for the final battle
Let's slaughter them all like cattle
Let's go to our graves in victory
Let's go insane
Let's go insane
Let's go... insane
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 80 Line in the Sand

Sample # Title		Artist	Year
20	Line in the Sand	Lucy Kaplansky	2004

20-Line In the Sand – Lucy Kaplansky
This news won't break my heart
It's already been blown apart
I feel like a helpless girl
In this tender troubled world
Another bomb lights up the night
For someone's vision of paradise
But it's just a wasted sacrifice
That fuels the hate on the other side
All in the name of a holy land
All to claim a line in the sand
Oh but the promised land
Is just across another line in the sand
Yeah but the promised land
Is just across another line in the sand
Just like at Calvary
Soldiers do the bidding of their king
And dreams are lost one at a time
Blown across both sides of the line
You can't kill a giant with just one stone
You can't erase the story of a family's home
A hate-filled heart still beats alone
Walking on that endless road
And there's so much blood on all our hands
It cuts an even deeper line in the sand
Chorus
I hope a forgiving rain will fall sometime
And wash away that line
Chorus

Song 81 letter from Iraq

Sample # Title		Artist	Year
21	Letter from Iraq	The Bouncing Souls	2006

The Bouncing Souls – Letter from Iraq
Hot Sunni sun passes moaning mosque spire
B-company's pinned down under heavy fire
Underneath the palms there's improvised bombs
Because Jihad Johnny knows Yankee is a liar
An eye for an eye and blood for Texas tea
At the call to prayer al-Qaeda's on its knees
Isaac versus Ishmael, Allah versus Christ
Zarqawi's on the offense picking up the beat
There's celebratory fire and a purple thumb vote
Tom Cruise is on the Saudi from the Gulf love boat
Smart bombs are coming, see the children running
The dead, they are all laughing, but we don't get the joke
An eye for an eye and blood for Texas tea
At the call to prayer al-Qaeda's on its knees
Isaac versus Ishmael, Allah versus Christ
Zarqawi's on the offense picking up the beat
They lost another friend today
It's getting rough over there, they say the whole thing's fucked
I wish the boys were back, at least I know they're still alive
Another letter from Iraq
Presents full of Christmas loot
All that's left of Bullet Billy is a pair of bloody boots
His mom is on the phone, his girl is all alone
We all stand in the rain for a twenty-one gun salute

Song 82 Listen

Sample #	Title	Artist	Year
22	Listen	Jordan Page	2011

22- Listen – Jordan Page - 2011
Listen to the sound that you hear
Like an echo in your head
There's a strange vibration rising
Out from the heart of America, America

Listen to the sound of the drum
Calling players to the game
Of the New World Order
Don't be caught unaware
When the heads start rolling
No, it couldn't happen here
I know it wouldn't happen here
I will not submit to authority of man
I'm alive I'm awake
This is more than I can take
If you had an open door
Would you kill a little more?
Listen to the cries of the dead
In the wake of the Sudan
Is there no one out there?
I see blood in the sands of despair in Africa
Listen to the sound of applause
In a chamber full of men
Selling out their people
As they plan their assault on the heart of America
No, it couldn't happen here
I know it wouldn't happen here
I will not submit to authority of man
I'm alive I'm awake
This is more than I can take
If you had an open door
Will you kill a little more?
There's a war machine in motion and
the bullets fall as rain
And the light in the eyes of the innocent has faded into pain
Yesterday I knew the world
was spinning toward the end
But today I see the wasteland and its too late to pretend
"Listen to the words that you hear"
Said the Ghost of Vietnam
Through a veil of napalm
"Don't forget your mistakes and where you came from"
I will not submit to authority of man
I'm ready to die but not for a lie
See the signs appear
You know its gonna happen here
SOURCE: AWS

Song 83 Mosh

Sample # Title   Artist   Year

23   Mosh   Eminem   2004

[kids speaking]
I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America
And to the Republic for which it stands
One nation under God
Indivisible with liberty and justice for all...
It feels so good to be back..
I scrutinize every word, memorize every line
I spit it once, refuel, re-energize and rewind
I give sight to the blind, my insight through the mind
I exercise my right to express when I feel it's time
It's just all in your mind, what you interpret it as
I say to fight, you take it as I'mma whip someone's ass
If you don't understand, don't even bother to ask
A father who has grown up with a fatherless past
Who has blown up now to rap phenomenon that has
Or at least shows no difficulty multi-task
And in juggling both perhaps mastered his craft
Slash entrepreneur who has helped launch a few more rap acts
Who's had a few obstacles thrown his way through the last half
Of his career typical manure moving past that
Mr. kisses ass crack, he's a class act
Rubber band man, yea he just snaps back
[Chorus:]
Come along follow me as I lead through the darkness
As I provide just enough spark that we need to proceed
Carry on, give me hope, give me strength
Come with me and I won't steer you wrong
Put your faith and your trust as I guide us through the fog
To the light at the end of the tunnel
We gonna fight, we gonna charge, we gonna stomp, we gonna march
Through the swamp, we gonna mosh through the marsh
Take us right through the doors (c'mon)
All the people up top on the side and the middle
Come together lets all bomb and swamp just a little
Just let it gradually build from the front to the back
All you can see is a sea of people some white and some black
Don't matter what color, all that matters we gathered together
To celebrate for the same cause don't matter the weather
If it rains let it rain, yea the wetter the better
They ain't gonna stop us they can't, we stronger now more than ever
They tell us no we say yea, they tell us stop we say go
Rebel with a rebel yell, raise hell we gonna let em know
Stomp, push, shove, mush, Fuck Bush,
until they bring our troops home (c'mon)

245

[Chorus]
Imagine it pouring, it's raining down on us
Mosh pits outside the oval office
Someone's tryina tell us something,
Maybe this is God just sayin' we're responsible
For this monster, this coward,
That we have empowered
This is Bin Laden, look at his head noddin'
How could we allow something like this without pumping our fists
Now this is our final hour
Let me be the voice in your strength and your choice
Let me simplify the rhyme just to amplify the noise
Try to amplify the times it, and multiply by six...
Teen million people, Are equal at this high pitch
Maybe we can reach alqueda through my speech
Let the president answer a higher anarchy
Strap him with an Ak-47, let him go, fight his own war
Let him impress daddy that way
No more blood for oil,
we got our own battles to fight on our own soil
No more psychological warfare, to trick us to thinking that we ain't loyal
If we don't serve our own country, we're patronizing a hero
Look in his eyes its all lies
The stars and stripes, they've been swiped, washed out and wiped
And replaced with his own face, Mosh now or die
If I get sniped tonight you know why,
Cause I told you to fight.
[Chorus]
And as we proceed,
To Mosh through this desert storm,
In these closing statements, if they should argue
Let us beg to differ
As we set aside our differences
And assemble our own army
To disarm this Weapon of Mass Destruction
That we call our President, for the present
And Mosh for the future of our next generation
To speak and be heard
Mr. President, Mr. Senator
Do you guy's hear us...hear us...[laughing] (Hailie)
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 84 Need Some Sleep

Sample # Title   Artist   Year

24- Need Some Sleep – Jack the Ripper - 2011

This is a story through the eyes of a boy in a war torn country (Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine, etc...) Beat by Telling Beatz…

I need some sleep
It can't go on like this
I tried counting' sheeps
But there's one I always miss
[x3]
I can't sleep in these bright nights, bullets whizzing by
Explosions lighting up the sky, like the 4th of July
In America, Land of the Free .... So far from here
I'm living in fear, can't close my eyes in case I disappear
Plus dreams ain't sweet, only ever replays in my mind
My brother die, my mother cry, father tries
To console her but the voices of these other guys
Tell him get down then they claim that he's terrorized
Ignorant to the innocent pleas, he's clocked to his knees
Surrounded by machine guns still screamin' freeze
Unprovoked, unalarmed, my father was unarmed
Still, everyone of them soldiers tensed arms
and squoze triggers like he could'a' done harm
Need some sleep
It can't go on like this
I tried countin' sheep
But there's one I always miss
[x3]
Those soldiers where foreign not sent
by evil tyrants
But sent for our protection against the violence
Still I can't remember the last time I heard the silence
Foreign militaries sent here to fight for freedom
Still it's them militants that left us to die from bleedin'
Made me an orphan with no means of feedin'
My little sister and she's starvin' screamin'
They don't look back, but we don't fukkin' need 'em
Now I have to watch my little sister die in my arms
And promise her that them fukkas will die from my palms
So I got nothing left to live for 'cept revenge
For my sister who didn't live a month past ten
So I'm strapped suicide bomber, yet, still adolescence
I need some sleep
It can't go on like this
I tried countin' sheep
But there's one I always miss
[x3]

I shed a tear for the world's children
Iraqis, Afghan and Palestinian
Libyan, innocent lives exploded in a desert storm
By desert rats, with heavy straps 'nd scopes on
Fighting against children with sticks and stones
Mad because these foreign bastards came 'n' lit they homes
So they grow into desperate men, homemade IED's
Paybacks a bitch, but it won't bring back their families
Sons and daughters murdered while they sleep
Government mp's cashin' cheques
while these children bleed
And don't ask, what's the Cause of this war?
Open your eyes and you will find the answer you're looking for
But still the majority follow the power that be
Can't find peace !!!
I need some sleep
It can't go on like this
I tried countin' sheep
But there's one I always miss …
SOURCE: AWS

Song 85 No Time Flat

Sample #	Title	Artist	Year
25	No Time Flat	Kevin Devine	2005

25- No Time Flat – Kevin Devine – 2005
Your skin's in my mouth,
but I'm thinkin' about
thousands of things
That don't got your name.
So, I'm distant and weird;
we stop and you're all ears.
But how can I say,
"I've just been thinking how it's harder every year
to find excuses that'll keep me in the clear;
the arbitrary lines I impress in the sand,
the proof that piles in my trash can
while the skin on my hands is looking older every day.
The lies I've told have turned to leather on my face.
The love I've lost has turned to needles in my heart.
But I'm to blame for all the bad parts.
They're the choices I've made, hey hey."
That's when I turn my face away,
and I watch the debates. Now, I can't see see straight

Take abortion away, and both sides are just the same,
so I'm not sure why I vote,
'cause I just don't know
what difference it makes.
It seems to me we get the same shit from them both.
Reform don't work;
I think it's time we tried revolt,
but I don't got the guts to jump up and go first,
so I just shout until my throat hurts,
and I curse and I curse
at what we fucked up in Iraq.
You say support the troops; I do.
I want them all brought back,
and every building that you bombed raised from the ground.
And pull your contractors the fuck out.
If you really go and reinstate the draft,
you'll straight away just split the country straight in half,
so try arresting everyone who sends their draft cards back.
I'll be returning mine in no time flat.
in no time flat.
in no time flat.
in no time flat.
in no time flat. Ya ya ya.
In a sense we're the same,
struggling to save face.
It's a question of scope:
how far you're willing to go
to make rights of your wrongs,
despite the risk involved.
It's a question of faith,
'Cause if we wait until we've all been burned to ash
to tell the truth about the shit buried in our past,
we'll split a taxi to that firepit way down south.
So, let's rise up and open our mouths.
'Cause you remind me that it's harder every year
to find excuses that'll keep me in the clear;
the arbitrary lines I impress in the sand,
the proof that piles in my trash can.
And if you really go and reinstate the draft,
you'll straight away just split the country straight in half,
so try arresting everyone who sends their draft cards back.
I'll be returning mine in no time flat.
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 86 No one's Left Keeping Score

26- No one's Left Keeping Score – Nashville Bound- 2010
In a desert far away
In a land not so near
We gathered all our youth
In the prime of their years
And we sent them to faraway lands
To fight in some distant sands
Though we promised long ago
That we'd never kill our young anymore
And it's fight, fight, fight
Line them up in our sights
On the screen the enemy – just isn't real.
As long as there's no face
We can bomb the whole damn place
'cause there's just no one left
keeping score.
Don't it seem so strange
Though the years have changed
That we still can't have peace
without war
I guess that we couldn't see
All the pain the war gave me
They took my childhood friends
And they're never coming back
anymore..
And it's fight, fight, fight
Line them up in our sights
On the screen the enemy – just isn't real
Let the lasers go
The horizon starts to glow
'cause there's just no one left
keeping score.
Though the Viet vets have grown
They're still looking for a home
After all the blood we saw on TV
For the war every night
Made us sick of the sight
And we promised long ago
That we'd never kill our young anymore
And it's fight, fight, fight
Line them up in our sights

On the screen the enemy -just isn't real
In the early dawning light
We'll ignore the awful sight
'cause there's just no one left
Keeping score
And it's fight, fight, fight
Line them up in our sights
On the screen the enemy
just isn't real
In the early dawning light
We'll ignore the awful sight
'cause there's just no one left
Keeping score
'Cause there's just no one left
Keeping score
'Cause there's just no one left
Keeping score
'Cause there's just no one left
Keeping score..
SOURCE: AWS

Song 87 Bomb the World

Sample

#	Title	Artist	Year
27	Bomb the World	MICHAEL FRANTI & SPEARHEAD	2003

27- Bomb the World – Michael Frantic   and Spearhead – 2003
Please tell me the reason
behind the colors that you fly
love just one nation
and the whole world we divide
you say you're 'sorry'
say, 'there is no other choice'
but god bless the people there
who cannot raise their voice
(chorus)
we can chase down all our enemies
bring them to their knees
we can bomb the world to pieces
but we can't bomb it into peace
whoa we may even find a solution
to hunger and disease
we can bomb the world to pieces
but we can't bomb it into peace
violence brings one thing
more of the same

military madness
the smell of flesh and burning pain
so I sing out to the masses
stand up if you're still sane!
To all of us gone crazy
I sing this one refrain
(chorus)
and I sing power to the peaceful
love to the people y'all
power to the peaceful
love to the people y'all
[chorus]
and I sing power to the peaceful
love to the people y'all
power to the peaceful
love to the people y'all
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 88 The 4th Branch

Sample #	Title	Artist	Year
28	The 4th Branch	Immortal Technique	2003

28- The 4th Branch – Immortal Technique
The new age is upon us...and yet the past refuses to rest in its shallow grave
...for those who hide behind the false image of
the son of man, shall stand before God!
It has begun...
the beginning of the end...yeah...yeah...yeah, yeah
The voice of racism preaching the Gospel is devilish
A fake church called the prophet Muhammad a terrorist
Forgetting God is not religion, but a spiritual bond
And Jesus is the most quoted prophet in the Qur'an
They bombed innocent people, trying to murder Saddam
When you gave him those chemical weapons to go to war with Iran
This is the information that they hold back from Peter Jennings
'Cause Condoleeza Rice is just a new age Sally Hemmings
I break it down with critical language and spiritual anguish
The Judas I hang with, the guilt of betraying Christ
You murdered and stole his religion, and painting him white
Translated in psychologically tainted philosophy
Conservative political right wing, ideology
Glued together sloppily, the blasphemy of a nation
Got my back to the wall, cause I'm facing assassination
Guantanamo Bay, federal incarceration
How could this be, the land of the free, home of the brave?

Indigenous holocaust, and the home of the slaves
Corporate America, dancing offbeat to the rhythm
You really think this country, never sponsored terrorism?
Human rights violations, we continue the saga
El Salvador and the Contras in Nicaragua
And on top of that, you still wanna take me to prison
Just cause I won't trade humanity for patriotism
It's like MK-ULTRA, controlling your brain
Suggestive thinking, causing your perspective to change
They wanna rearrange the whole point of view of the ghetto
The fourth branch of the government, want us to settle
A bandana full of glittering, generality
Fighting for freedom and fighting terror, but what's reality?
Read about the history of the place that we live in
And stop letting corporate news tell lies to your children
Flow like the blood of Abraham through the Jews and the Arabs
Broken apart like a woman's heart, abused in a marriage
The brink of holy war, bottled up, like a miscarriage
Embedded correspondents don't tell the source of the tension
And they refuse to even mention, European intervention
Or the massacres in Jenin, the innocent screams
US manufactured missiles, and M-16's
Weapon contracts
and corrupted American dreams
Media censorship, blacken out the video screens
A continent of oil kingdoms, bought for a bargain
Democracy is just a word, when the people are starving
The average citizen, made to be, blind to the reason
A desert full of genocide, where the bodies are freezing
And the world doesn't believe that you fighting for freedom
Cause you fucked the Middle East and gave birth to a demon
It's open season with the CIA, bugging my crib
Trapped in a ghetto region like a Palestinian kid
Where nobody gives a fuck whether you die or you live
I'm trying to give the truth, and I know the price is my life
But when I'm gone they'll sing a song about Immortal Technique
Who beheaded the President, and the princes and sheiks
You don't give a fuck about us, I can see through your facade
Like a fallen angel standing in the presence of God
Bitch niggas scared of the truth, when it looks at you hard
It's like MK-ULTRA, controlling your brain
Suggestive thinking, causing your perspective to change
They wanna rearrange the whole point of view in the ghetto
The fourth branch of the government, want us to settle
A bandana full of glittering, generality
Fighting for freedom and fighting terror, but what's reality?

Martial law is coming soon to the hood, to kill you
While you hanging your flag out your project window
Yeah, the fourth branch of the government, aka the media,
seems to now have a retirement plan
For ex-military officials as if their opinion was at all unbiased.
A machine shouldn't speak for men so shut the fuck up you mindless drone
And you know it's serious when these same media outfits are spending millions of dollars
On a PR campaign to try and convince you they're fair and balanced
When they're some of the most ignorant and racist people
Giving that type of mentality a safe haven
We act like we share in the spoils of war that they do
We die in wars, we don't get contracts to make money off 'em afterwards
We don't get weapons contracts, nigga
We don't get cheap labor for our companies, nigga
We are cheap labor, nigga
Turn off the news and read, nigga
Read. Read. Read.
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 89 Rich Mans War

Sample # Title	Artist	Year
29 Rich Mans War	Steve Earle	2005

29- Rich Mans War – Steve Earle- 2004
Jimmy joined the army 'cause he had no place to go.
There ain't nobody hirin'
'round here since all the jobs went
down to Mexico
Reckoned that he'd learn himself a trade maybe see the world.
Move to the city someday and marry a black haired girl
Somebody somewhere had another plan
Now he's got a rifle in his hand
Rollin' into Baghdad wonderin' how he got this far
Just another poor boy off to fight a rich man's war
Bobby had an eagle and a flag tattooed on his arm
Red white and blue to the bone when he landed in Kandahar
Left behind a pretty young wife and a baby girl
A stack of overdue bills and went off to save the world.
Been a year now and he's still there
Chasin' ghosts in the thin dry air
Meanwhile back at home the finance company took his car
Just another poor boy off to fight a rich man's war
When will we ever learn
When will we ever see
We stand up and take our turn

And keep tellin' ourselves we're free
Ali was the second son of a second son
Grew up in Gaza throwing bottles and rocks when the tanks would come
Ain't nothin' else to do around here just a game children play
Somethin' 'bout livin' in fear all your life makes you hard that way
He answered when he got the call
Wrapped himself in death and praised Allah
A fat man in a new Mercedes drove him to the door
Just another poor boy off to fight a rich man's war
SORUCE: WIKIA

Song 90 The Flowers and the Guns

Sample #	Title	Artist	Year
30	The Flowers and the Guns	George Papavgeris	2002

30- The Flowers and the Guns- George Papavgeris

Where are the flowers that we put into the muzzles of the guns?
Dried up and pressed inside a frame, they never get a second glance.
The love that we would banish war with, on bombed out streets now naked stands.
Where are the flowers that we put into the muzzles of the guns?
Where is the innocence of youth, the stars that once were in our eyes
When did we learn to cover truth with our excuses and our lies?
When did our ideals falter? Tell me, when did we change our plans?
Where are the flowers that we put into the muzzles of the guns?
Our lives from others we have learned to separate
From evil we avert our eyes.
More often war it is, and not love that we make
And all the time we compromise.
We used to turn the other cheek, but now we turn our face away.
We were the blessed and the meek; our future brighter than the day.
But we've forgotten Luther's message; we never ask ourselves, not once:
Where are the flowers that we put into the muzzles of the guns?
But we've arrived, and as we pat each other's backs
Our principles we now betray
And year on year as we progress and we advance,
It's not just hair that's turning grey...
Where are the flowers that we put into the muzzles of the guns?
Where are the lessons we would pass on to our daughters and our sons?
And did we ever make a difference?
And did we ever stand a chance?
Where are the flowers that we put into the muzzles of the guns?
SORUCE: AWS

Song 91 The price of Oil

Sample

#	Title	Artist	Year
31	The price of Oil	Billy Bragg	2003

31- The Price of Oil – Billy Bragg – 2003
Voices on the radio
tell us that we're going to war
those brave men and women in uniform
they want to know what they're fighting for.
The generals want to hear the end game
the allies won't approve the plan
but the oil men in the white house
they just don't give a daFmn.
'Cause it's all about the price of oil
it's all about the price of oil
don't give me no shit
about blood, sweat, tears and toil
it's all about the price of oil.
Now I ain't no fan of Saddam Hussein
oh, please don't get me wrong
if it's freeing the Iraqi people you're after
then why have we waited so long.
Why didn't we sort this out last time
was he less evil than he is now?
The stock market holds the answer
to why him, why here, why now.
'Cause it's all about the price of oil
it's all about the price of oil
don't give me no shit
about blood, sweat, tears and toil
it's all about the price of oil.
Saddam killed his own people
just like general Pinochet
and once upon a time both these evil men
were supported by the U.S.A.
And whisper it, even Bin Laden
once drank from America's cup
just like that election down in Florida
this shit doesn't all add up.
'Cause it's all about the price of oil
it's all about the price of oil
don't give me no shit
about blood, sweat, tears and toil
it's all about the price of oil.
SOURCE: WIKIA

Sample #	Title	Artist	Year
32	Not In Our Name	SAUL WILLIAMS	2003

32- Not in my name/September 12 – Saul Williams – 2003

[spoken]

The greatest Americans have not been born yet, they are waiting for the past to die.

Please give blood, George bush, please give blood Ashcroft, please give blood, catholic priests in Boston and elsewhere.

Please give blood so that the beings in waiting will find their way into the wombs of warrior women.

Not in our name: the pledge to resist:

We believe that as a people living in the united states that it is our responsibility to resist the injustices done by our government in our names.

Not in our name will you wage endless war, there can be no more deaths,

no more transfusions of blood for oil.

Not in our name will you invade countries, bomb civilians, kill more children

letting history take its course over the graves of the nameless.

Not in our names will you erode the very freedoms you claim to fight for.

Not by our hands will we supply weapons for the destruction of lives on foreign soil.

Not by our mouths will we let fear silence us. Not by our hearts will we allow whole countries to be deemed evil.

Not by our will and not in our name, we pledge resistance,

we pledge alliance with those who have come under attack for voicing opposition to the war or for their religion or ethnicity.

We pledge to make common cause with the world,

to bring about justice, freedom and peace.

Another world is possible, and we pledge to make it real.

[rapped – beginning of sept. 12]

Two autumns and I haven't changed enough.

It's September 12th and the sky has fallen. the sun has risen.

A city built to phallic dimensions has undergone circumcision (eight days

Under Judaic law).

Dear diary, I'm fiery. divine winds my friend took me back to the beginning

When I swore it was the end.

From the fiery depths found the ocean within.

My pen/man/ship sails the strait through my lips.

I'm hip to your games, hip to the science of war.

Propaganda makes me fight but what

am I fighting for?

My way of life: beans and rice, give or take less or more

See through the eyes of the poor. plus, I'm black to the core.

Ignorance is on tour, booking stadiums and more.

The days of Hitler painted pictures patriotic with gore.

You raise a flag on a land snatched from bald eagle's claw
and stamp the
Symbol on your currency to finance your war I'm saying
NO, NOT IN MY NAME, NOT IN MY LIFE, NOT BY MY HANDS, THAT AIN'T MY
FIGHT,
NOT IN MY NAME
YOU WAGE A WAR AGAINST TERRORISTS AND VIOLENCE AND TRY TO WAVE
YOUR GUNS TO
FEAR US ALL INTO SILENCE.
NO.....
YOU BUILT YOUR EMPIRE WITH NATIVES AND SLAVES LIKE THE
TRUTH WON'T
RESURRECT WAGING WAR FROM ITS GRAVE.
We got brothers on the sidelines ready for the frontline.
Tell me when it's my time
We got women on the sidelines ready for the frontline.
Tell me when it's my time.
You won't put it in your headlines. people are we that blind?
Do we need a headline? do we really?
If we only see what they want us to see, we'll only be what they want us to
Be: fighting in their army!
We pledge resistance: [Spoken]
we pledge to defend civil liberties against social and political repression.
We pledge alliance with those who have come under attack for voicing opposition to the war.
We pledge to make common cause with the peoples of the world to bring about justice, freedom,
and peace. Another world is possible, and we pledge to make it real.
[sung]
NO, NOT IN MY NAME, NOT IN MY LIFE, NOT BY MY HANDS, THAT AIN'T MY
FIGHT,
NOT IN MY NAME
YOU WAGE A WAR AGAINST TERRORISTS AND VIOLENCE AND TRY TO WAVE
YOUR GUNS TO
FEAR US ALL INTO SILENCE.
NO.....
YOU BUILT YOUR EMPIRE WITH NATIVES AND SLAVES LIKE THE TRUTH WON'T
RESURRECT WAGING WAR FROM ITS GRAVE.
Forward march!!
They're closing in....
It's not about opposing armies. armies oppose the ancient truths of the
Shamans and swamis.
It's not about retaliation your history of war does nothing more than scar
Imagination. increased security. religious purity.
Your blindfolded justice makes you trust in fortuity.
Like it's random. it's tandom. fuck you and damn them. you teach to attack
And then question who planned them.
(chorus)

You want to put me on your blacklist you can use my blood for ink
Your communion to drink
In remembrance of a nation that forgot how to think
Hypnotized by your lies without even a blink.
You want to put me in your blacklist....
In remembrance of the all eye seeing Big Brother
RIP to the powers that be
Overcome by the power of being.

Song 93 To Washington

Sample # Title	Artist	Year
33 To Washington	John Mellencamp	2003

33 – To Washington – John Mellencamp – 2003
Eight years of peace and prosperity
Scandal in the White House
An election is what we need
From coast-to-coast to Washington
So America voted on a president
No one kept count
On how the election went
From Florida to Washington
Goddamn, said one side
And the other said the same
Both looked pretty guilty
But no one took the blame
From coast-to-coast to Washington
So a new man in the White House
With a familiar name
Said he had some fresh ideas
But it's worse now since he came
From Texas to Washington
And he wants to fight with many
And he says it's not for oil
He sent out the National Guard
To police the world
From Baghdad to Washington
What is the thought process
To take a humans life
What would be the reason
To think that this is right
From heaven to Washington
From Jesus Christ to Washington
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 94 Twisted Sense of God Pt. 1 and 2

Sample

#	Title	Artist	Year
34	Twisted Sense of God Pt. 1 and 2.	FINE ARTS MILITIA ft. Chuck D	2003

34- Twisted Sense of God Pt. 1 and 2 – Fine Arts Militia - 2003

I was talking to my assistant a couple of months back, and while we were talking about the obvious differences in men and women, I had to give up and say that men couldn't handle the period cycles that women go through. She countered and told me that men do have periods . . . They're called WARS.

There's little words that can describe what happened here in the United States on Tuesday September 11 2001. I was in New York when it was going down.

My heart goes out to those in the aircrafts, the buildings, the rescuers killed on the ground.

As a person who has traveled across 40 countries in the world, I can attest to the fact that the common peoples on the earth have long suffered, and swallowed the bullet of the greed of governmental rule and arrogance.

Power is a funny thing, when poured on the few individuals that are selected to govern people, no matter where they're at on the earth... it makes manipulation a close cousin.

Mad questions abound. Whoever the so called hijackers or planners answered to,

my question is how come their superiors didn't put THEIR lives on the line?

I don't buy religious martyrdom if the leader heads themselves can't get in the same box.

It's problematic when one is trained and taught to die for religious elevation while the heads of that structure are rich as hell and don't share the wealth with their followers.

On the other side, the United States is talking war but who is actually going to fight those battles, and with whom?

War is not a football game, y'all.

BUSH and the rest of these 50PLUSWHITEMEN (C.POWELL included) will not be on the air or field. I repeat they will not be on the air or field.

They're making definite decisions and I have a problem with the arrogance of most governments period. I have a problem with the arrogance of MAN period.

There is little if any humilitty on both parts.

The skeptical pendulum is swinging both ways as far as culprits are concerned.

I have a problem with dragging innocent people into political high level bull shit.

There will be innocent people catching it bad across both waters, infested with a lethal combination of fact, attacks, myth, dogma and orders.

I have a problem with Amerikka walking out and damn near shitting on the WORLD RACISM CONFERENCE in SOUTH AFRICA. I have issues with the United States talking cocky, considering while admitting themselves about the carrying out of assassinations. I have a problem with heartless cats training to fly planes in order to kill thousands of innocent people in the air or on the ground.

I have a problem with some nations and it's protectors how they refuse to acknowledge their major contribution to this cycle of terror and greed.

 I have a problem that Americans consider it a over there issue, as if it was on another planet.

I have a problem with Amerikka with three K's, and it's relentless hyping and macho barroom talkes of a 'beat-u'down' past.

I don't have a problem on what America can be. In NEW YORK a place known for people not giving a damn about the next person, all of a sudden people are communicating with one another regardless of background

unless the person has a Middle Eastern 'visual characterstic' and that's where Amerikkka, that's with three K's, and not America spelled properly, rears it's ugliness. Understand the difference y'all... Twisted.

Why everybody wanna kill God? It's wack when people oblivious to the facts are dragged into war and death.

It's wack when cats throw religion into the mix.

It's wack that celebrations are taking place in the streets of some nations and just as terrible as some Texans shooting and burning a mosque in Abiline.

 Just as horrible is the fact that Amerikkkans jumped in celebratory joy when two atomic bombs were dropped on JAPAN in 1945, and updated hate in 2001 about people calling people of backgrounds 'dogs' it's documented.

I can go on and on and on about the inner and outer, and still continued 'terrorism' endorsed Amerikkkan that's with three K's style, as eloquently pointed out and covered by my man Art McGee's Black Radical Congress piece. Terror Attacks. Ignoring calls for reparations, only endorses a past of slavery, KKK, COINTELPRO, Japanese WW2 concentration camps etc. Etc.

 that's been hosted here in the same land of the free everybody's talking about. When it all boils down to it, power has never been with the people. The people of the earth are still PAWNS IN THE GAME, while the boardmasters, the rulers of countries, corporations, giant and religious organizaions, networks and their quest for unbelievable money and power. These leaderships operate under the guise of 'IN GOD WE TRUST' or even 'ALLA U AKBAR'

where an action assumes the position of an act of God. It's not what you say you are, it's what you prove you are.

So avoid this latest rhetoric and arrogance that's woven with this 'twisted sense of god', while the everyday person is shook by a new existence in this odec, this centruy, this millennium.

On the real, in all sense of humility may god bless us all beyond the flags.

Why y'all wanna kill God?

A twisted sense of God.

[part 2]

May god bless us all beyond the flags.

A twisted sense of God [x3]

Now what's goin on

I don't know

What's really goin down

Y'all don't know

Between the East and the Feds

Heads don't know

You can bet

Some of these heads be the first to go

Between 18 and 30 prayin don't get dirty

Now I got some new cats hearin me

that never heard me

11 / 30 do the math
Damn here comes the draft
But I'm at the age
where my fightin is half assed
Shit my flags always at half mast
Need you ask
While some of ya'll laugh
But I see war lining
these young cats up for body bags
And these so called thugs
masquerading in drag
Now the Feds be checkin all them headrags
Hopin this gung-ho thing lasts
A twisted sense of God [x6]
Now why y'all wanna kill God?
Ain't even gonna fix my mouth
to say chickens
I told y'all on Terrordome, the clocks tickin
From all sides come the wicked
Governments, Fundamentalists
How you gonna kill the innocent?
Between terrorists and CIA hit lists
Like my man Uno says . . .
beware the false prophets
Gotta be smarter than this
They say war is a prophet
What them loved ones missed
But death is a debt
None of us ain't seen war yet
Be careful what ya'll ask for
War is Hell, and Hell is war
All them bling bling things
Throw em in the river
That thugged out shit
Y'all can't deliver
I seen four planes kill everyday folks
I guess 911 ain't no joke
Wall street cryin broke
Was is God or the devil itself that spoke
Yeah I wonder
Old vampires hit the new empire
Had the sky cookin
Folk didn't have no choice
but to stare and keep lookin
See you smile missin two front teeth
While some of ya'll still talking

about little assed beefs
Over what? Who? Soundscan.
This month ya'll sound scared
Cold and dark is the weather
People, get your thing together.
It's a twisted sense of God [x6]
Why ya'll wanna try god?
God bless us all beyond the flags.
Now how do you sell soul to a soul-less people who sold their soul? Keep the people from bein sheeple.
Followin hollow voices to tomorrows sorrow.
Women have nurtured and birthed the earth. Man has killed many for land and worse.
May the power go to everyday people. And may war have no sequel.
Reverse the words you get evil. Live. Cause the people want to live against evil. Avoid the third world war. Biological bombs a hundred times worse than Vietnam.
So what you gonna do?
So what you gonna do?
If you was on that plane
both sides would have killed you too.
To my people, stay on your P's and Q's.
Get your thing together.
A twisted sense of god [x6]
SORUCE: AWS

Song 95 State of the Union

Sample # Title	Artist	Year
35 State of the Union	Rise Against	2004

35- State of the union – Rise against – 2004
If we're the flagship of peace and prosperity
We're taking on water and about to fuckin' sink
No one seems to notice; no one even blinks
The crew all left the passengers to die under the sea
Countdown, to the very end
Equality, an invitation that we won't extend
Ready aim, pull the trigger now
In time you firmly secure your place in hell
State of the union address
Reads war torn country still a mess
The words: power, death, and distorted truth
Are read between the lines of the red, white, and blue
Countdown, to the very end
Equality, an invitation that we won't extend
Ready aim, pull the trigger now
In time you firmly secure your place in hell

Your place in hell
Your place in hell
'Guilty' is what our graves will read
No years, no family, we did
Nothing (nothing) to stop the murder of
A people just like us

Song 96 Who are you Fighting for?

Sample #	Title	Artist	Year
36	Who are you Fighting for?	UB40	2005

36 – Who are you fighting for? - UB40 – 2005
Queen & Country, freedom cry
God & Glory, Do or Die
Propaganda, Spin and Lie
Who are you fighting for?
You do the shooting - they do the looting
You do the killing - they do the drilling
You do the dying - they do the lying
All the way to the Bank
You can hear them crying
Sell the arms,
suppress the truth
Create the fear,
invent the proof
Wave the flag -
don't tell the youth
Who they are fighting for
You do the shooting - they do the looting
You do the killing - they do the drilling
You do the dying - they do the lying
All the way to the Bank
You can hear them crying
Weapon dealing,
profiteering
Country stealing,
ethnic clearing
Asset stripping, oil dripping
Architects of War.
You do the shooting - they do the looting
You do the killing - they do the drilling
You do the dying - they do the lying
All the way to the Bank

You can hear them crying
SOURCE: WIKIA

Song 97 Wolves in wolves clothing

Sample # Title	Artist	Year
37 Wolves in wolves clothing	Nofx	2006

37- Wolves in Wolves Clothing – NOFX – 2006
We're Rome, Aztec Mexico, Easter Island paradigm
We are followers of Jimmy Jones, cutting in the Kool-Aid line
We are Animal Farm Pigs; we are a Terry Gilliam film
We are fear Oligarchy,
we are wolves in wolves' clothing,
 we are this planet's kidney stones
In the process of getting passed, metamorphosis from first to last
A system breaking down beyond repair
A product of three million millionaires and 100 million easy marks
We are Marie Antoinette, we are Joseph McCarthy
We've finally become the divided states
A nation built on freedoms, fears, and hates, the denotation of Irony
We all want a Hollywood end, but we're getting a foreign one
The script has already been penned, and titled, "the epitaph of a drowning nation"
SROUCE: WIKIA

Song 98 Stuck in Iraq

Sample # Title	Artist	Year
38 Stuck in Iraq	Hillbilly Democrats	2004

[2004]
Lyrics by York Taylor
Music by Skiffy Filippo
Album: He Bombed My Daddy
Stuck in Iraq – hillbilly democrats.
When I was a young man
My father talked to me
He said: – Son, don't go to war,
That's not how life's to be –
I pretended to listen
As long as I could
All the things he told me
I finally understood.
It's a cruel world
If you're stuck in Iraq.
I thought I'd join the army

As a red-blooded boy should
Fight over in Baghdad
On the side of the good
King George cut out battle pay
There are no nukes here
Are we ridding the world of WMD's
or helping Cheney's career
It's a cool, world
if you're in Cheney's Pack
But it's a cruel world
if you're stuck in Iraq
Enron has its problems
But Halliburton has Dick
All these crooked CEO's
Makes America sick
Doing away with the middle class
Only going to be rich or poor
Give these guys our country
and they just take more
It's a cool, world
If you're in Cheney's Pack
But it's a cruel world
If you're stuck in Iraq.

Song 99 Baghdad Blues

Sample #	Title	Artist	Year
39	Baghdad Blues	Beverly Watkins	2005

39- Baghdad Blues – Beverly Watkins – 2005
Baghdad has been hit
You know the nations need to quit
but I. Tell you all this
doesn't mean a bit
terrorists attack is how you know
it makes me want to cry
Baghdad blues, it makes me want, throw my blue walking shoes.
Another American marine
has been confirmed killed
you all know that gives me chills
it is up each country to end this war.
Guns, blazing into Baghdad sky.
I just don't what or why
that's a Baghdad blues, it makes me want to put on my blues walking shoes.
SOURCE: Me...

Sample

#	Title	Artist	Year
40	George W. Told the Nation	Tom Paxton	2008

40- George W. Told the Nation – Tom Paxton – 2008
I got a letter from old George W.,
It said, "Son, I hate to trouble you,
But this war of mine is going bad.
It's time for me to roll the dice;
I know you've already been there twice,
But I am sending you back to Baghdad."
Hey! George W. told the nation,
"This is not an escalation;
This is just a surge toward victory.
Just to win my little war,
I'm sending 20,000 more,
To help me save Iraq from Iraqis.
And, so, I made it to Iraq
In time for one more sneak attack,
And to my old battalion I was sent.
We drive around in our Humvees,
Listening to The Black-Eyed Peas
And speaking fondly of the president.
George W. told the nation,
"This is not an escalation;
This is just a surge toward victory.
Just to win my little war,
I'm sending 20,000 more,
To help me save Iraq from Iraqis.
Celebrities all come to see us,
Grateful they don't have to be us,
Politicians show their best face card.
Where is Bubba? Where's our leader?
Where's our favorite lip reader?
AWOL from the Texas National Guard.
George W. told the nation,
"This is not an escalation;
This is just a surge toward victory.
Just to win my little war,
I'm sending 20,000 more,
To help me save Iraq from Iraqis.
If you're hunkered in Fallujah
Wondering who it was who screwed yam,
Wondering what became of "Shock and Awe!"

You are feeling semi-certain
It has to do with Halliburton,
Dick Cheney's why you drew that fatal straw.
George W. told the nation,
"This is not an escalation;
This is just a surge toward victory.
Just to win my little war,
I'm sending 20,000 more,
To help me save Iraq from Iraqis!
SOURCE: AWS

Appendix 2 – Example Narrative Analysis Instrument

Table 101

INSTRUMENT	SONG
1) Establishing a context:	
Date	
Genre	
Why does the author claim to have written it?	
Who is the intended audience?	
What type of story is the author claiming to tell (factual, fictional, fictionalized fact, etc.)	
Who is the narrator?	
Think of story as social interaction.	
Think of conventions of storytelling/music	
2) Conducting a close reading:	

Full narrative/ante-narrative (speculative meaning making)/anti-narrative (refusal to be coherent)	
What is plot?	
Who are main characters?	
What is setting?	
What are scenes?	
What is the Moral of the story?	
What is the main theme?	
What emotions do characters or plots encourage the audience to feel?	
Who might evaluate this story as believable/important and why?	
Be reflexive (what are you bringing to interpretation?) -	
3) Unpacking Narrative Elements: Characters, Scenes, Plots.	
Identify the 'types of cultural identities' at the core of the story.	
Focus on how characters are directly or implicitly described.	
Pay attention to binaries in character descriptions	
Which parts are described in concrete detail and which parts are described in general or abstract ways.	Concrete: General: Abstract:

Which parts are not described? Which pieces of info are left out or taken for granted (non-narrated)	
character/setting descriptions - odd or out of character for the passage or narrative as a whole.	
Dis-narrated -what could have happened but didn't hypotheticals -	
4) Unpacking discourse, power, and resistance.	
What dominant discourses are weaving into narratives?	
How is Power involved?	
What hierarchies are established?	
Critical resistance – falling away of self, risking self, destroying self, refusal to be identified	
5) Unpacking symbolic and emotion codes -	
What knowledge about the world does the story assume?	
What would I need to believe about the world for the story to be believable and important?	
What specific values are begin referenced/transmitted?	
Avoid the impulse to offer 'moral evaluations' of stories – unpack the codes.	
What symbolic codes are present ?	

What emotion codes are present?				

Appendix 3   Codebook of Symbolic and Emotion Codes

Symbolic Code	Emotion Code	Vietnam Songs	911 Songs	Notes/Change Over Time
Arrogant Leader- We have a long cultural history of critiquing leaders who are blinded by their power and become ineffective, possibly related to American revolution and fight against "tyranny."	**Arrogant leader-** frustration, righteous indignation, resistance, suspicion of arrogance, suspicion towards power.	02 - merman I shall be. 03 - All my children of the sun. 05 - ballad of the unknown soldier 06 -blowing in the wind 11 - fortunate son 14 – future legend /diamond dogs 15 - Gimme some truth 17 - feel like I'm fixing to die rag 22 -run through the jungle 24 - ball of confusion 30 - Vietnam war (Hopkins) 33 - won't get fooled again 39 - Give peace a chance 40 – Ohio –	01- a farewell to arms 03- blessed are they who bash... 04- blinded by the right 05- Bushism 08- Dear Mr. President 10- Down from the sky 13- Harry patch (in memory of) 15 – Fight back 16- in a world gone mad 17 – Iraq has deadly weapons 18- Jacob's ladder 19-let's go 22- Listen 23- Mosh 24 – Need some sleep 29- rich man's war 31-the	COT: Overall the symbolic code remains the same, the only difference being the post 9/11 use of the code are generally more specific to Bush and Bush Admin, yet there is still a fair amount of general use.

			price of oil 33- To Washington 34 – twisted sense of god pt. 1 and 2 35 – state of the union 36- who are you fighting for 37- wolves in wolves clothing – 38- stuck in Iraq 39- Baghdad blues- 40- George W told…	
Bad soldiers – (war creates them) - Gov or war itself causes otherwise good soldiers to do bad things – committing atrocities/ war crimes, killing innocents, destroying livelihoods, causing unnecessary death and destruction.	**Bad soldiers –** Anger, righteous indignation, condemnation (directed at Gov/leaders) shame, guilt, betrayed, disillusioned (public should feel)	04- ballad of the ft. hood three 14- future legend/diamond dogs 21- Oh! Camil	17 – Iraq has deadly weapons	COT: although not reflected in the song counts – the literature (Coy, 2008) seems to indicate that the development of the "don't blame the soldier, blame the war" in part stemmed from Vietnam and the country's

				attempts to grapple with its collective atrocities – discursive legacy.
Bad soldiers- Stems from soldier code which understands soldiers as just, righteous, and dutiful heroes. Bad soldiers, are essentially the inversion of good soldiers, they are those soldiers who kill for thrills/sport, kill the innocent, cause unnecessary death and destruction, destroy livelihoods, rape and pillage, etc.	**Bad soldiers –** Anger, righteous indignation, condemnation, moral outrage (directed at bad soldiers – and at Gov for allowing things to happen) Public should feel: ashamed of its own soldiers, guilty for allowing war to happen.	07- born to kill 08 – Brother did you weep? 09- Aunt going to Vietnam 14- future legend/diamond dogs 16- Had any lately? 18- song for Hugh Thompson 21- Oh! Camil 27- White Boots marching in a yellow land 32- killing for peace 40 – Ohio –	03- blessed are they who bash... 07- courage to resist 19-let's go 24 – Need some sleep	COT: essentially consistent over time.
Brave Americans – Land of the free and home of the brave. – Bravery can be a value in its own right and is often intertwined with meanings around masculinity. It is almost always understood as part of a binary with cowardice. Brave Americans	**Brave Americans –** Pride, patriotism, Affection for country, freedom, tenacity, bravery, aggressiveness, confident. BUT also skeptical, disillusioned, distrustful, pessimistic. Heartbroken, betrayed, appalled at use as propaganda.	04- Ballad of Ft. Hood Three. 11- fortunate son 17- feel like I'm fixing to die rag 28- the war is over 29- Vietnam blues	07- courage to resist 22- Listen 31-the price of oil 38- stuck in Iraq 39- Baghdad blues-	NOTE: in use to refer to soldier's/police fire fighters - deeply related to martyrdom and altruism, and self-sacrifice. America is deeply

273

specifically, has its own symbolic meaning, related to bravery more broadly but tempered with patriotism and American exceptionalism. Sometimes this code is used to describe people in general, other times it refers to specific brave Americans (as opposed to cowardly Americans) often used to refer to soldiers or other masculine civil servants such as police/fire fighters				individualistic – and in this altruistic capacity – brave Americans opens a safe / patriotic / masculine space for acts which in theory benefit the whole over the individual.
Bravery/valor – Courage and masculinity, strength and resolve. Loyalty to group, self-sacrifice. Patriotism, nationalism, militarism. (SEE Brave Americans Above	**Bravery/valor –** Confidence, courage, impulsive, risky, tenacious, hardworking, determined, bold, brave, daring, loyal, devoted,	05- ballad of the unknown soldier 12- Freckle-Faced Soldier 16- had any lately? 18- song for Hugh Thompson 19- Lucky Man 20- mama bake a pie 21- Oh! Camil 22-run through the jungle 28- the war is over	13- Harry patch (in memory of) 14 – Home to Houston	
Brotherhood: Care, security, friendship, mutual protection support and respect,	**Brotherhood:** Companionship, care, warmth, love, care, mutual support,	13- Freedom 23- stoned love	24 – Need some sleep	Note: One would expect more references to

commonality, collective action. Think about organizations and groups that use brotherhood – Monks, Fraternal Organizations, African Americans, Religious Groups, Soldiers, Hippies.	freedom from fear, respect,			brotherhood among songs about soldiers. Interesting that brotherhood is an important concept among countercultural hippies and soldiers, among Klansman, and Civil Rights activists. Also interesting is that the Vietnam songs with brotherhood are very much countercultural anthems, and the post 911 use is in reference to terrorists.
Future Generations A powerful script in US - "children are the future" -A powerful code building on symbolic codes around children and around posterity. Evoked when trying to excite a crowd of young people at protests. Also evoked when older people	**Future Generations** – children often coded as innocent – here coded as potential, as optimism, confidence, power, empowerment, change, hope. BUT ALSO - pressure	03 - All my children of the sun. 05- ballad of the unknown soldier 06-blowing in the wind 14- future legend/diamond dogs	08- Dear Mr. President 11- we are the cops of the world 15 – Fight back 18- Jacob's ladder 19- let's go 20- line in the sand	COT: Likely pretty consistent over time. It appears that most of the Vietnam songs with this code are essentially a warning to future generations,

want to duck responsibility, or push for change, 'it is up to you now' 'this will be the generation to change the world' etc.		24- ball of confusion 30- Vietnam war (Hopkins) 35- silent homecoming	21- Letter from Iraq 23- Mosh 26- No one left keeping score 28- the 4th branch 29- rich man's war 32- not in my name/sept 12th 34 – twisted sense of god pt. 1 and 2	whereas the post 911 songs are more in line with the way I have described the symbolic code.
Complacency / apathy: Civil engagement is the opposite of these things, and we have a strong tradition of supporting civil engagement. We want people to be involved in their communities, to stand up for what is right. In the case of Vietnam songs this code also relates to larger countercultural discourses around 'conformity' vs open-mindedness. In the case of both time periods, this code also relates to protest itself, and attempts by protesters to garner support and spread the message. Quite	**Complacency / apathy-** Among protesters evoking the code: Anger, frustration, resentment, irritation, anger over free rider problem. Among sympathetic public: Guilt, embarrassment, awakening, excitement, frustration.	01 – peace, love, understanding 02- merman I shall be. 06-blowing in the wind 09- Ain't going to Vietnam 24- ball of confusion 28- the war is over 33- won't get fooled again 37 – the eve of destruction	01- a farewell to arms 17 – Iraq has deadly weapons 23- Mosh 26- No one left keeping score 29- rich man's war 30-flowers in the guns 32- not in my name/sept 12 33- To Washington 34 – twisted sense of	COT: Although the code signals "get involved" to both time periods, in the 911 songs more than the Vietnam songs this code also often signals "how could you let this happen" related to the sense of betrayal antiwar folks felt after many democrats in congress and

276

			god pt. 1 and 2	in the public
possibly also related to values around hard work and the hardworking/lazy binary.			god pt. 1 and 2 35 – state of the union 37- wolves in wolves clothing –	in the public supported the war.
Cops/Police – Ambivalent in US. For many, police = protectors, just, force for stability, rule of law. For Others, cops are pigs, they are brutal, the tool of social control and repression, of racism, of the unnecessary use of force, pigheadedness, power tripping.	**Cops /police:** for some: pride, reverence, respect, confidence. For others: fear, loathing, anger, resentment, mistrust, terror.		11- we are the cops of the world 17 – Iraq has deadly weapons	
Death and destruction: This code taps into several powerful symbolic codes around killing – i.e. that killing is bad, and that human life is precious, and around destruction- wrecking homes and livelihoods, destroying villages, destroying families – each component referencing a different set of powerful symbolic meanings – meanings of family and providers, meanings of communities and homes.	**Death and destruction:** Feelings evoked in audience: Anger, righteous indignation, sorrow, fear, shame, moral outrage.	02- merman I shall be. 06-blowing in the wind 07- born to kill 08- brother did you weep 09- Aunt going to Vietnam 14- future legend/diamond dogs 17- feel like I'm fixing to die rag 18- song for Hugh Thompson 22-run through the jungle	03- blessed are they who bash... 06- confrontation 10- Down from the sky 13- Harry patch (in memory of) 15 – Fight back 17 – Iraq has deadly weapons 19- let's go 24 – Need some sleep 27- bomb the world	COT: Shift over time from Death and Destruction itself being the source of feelings of moral outrage to death and destruction being one of several things that points to untrustworthy government which is the real source of moral outrage.

		27- White Boots marching in a yellow land 31- war 33- won't get fooled again 34 – Your flag decal won't get you into heave any more. 37 – the eve of destruction	32- not in my name/sept 12 33- To Washington 39- Baghdad blues-	
Radicals/Rioters (decent/protest)- Although there is a symbolic place for protest in American society (see protest, and decent/resistance code descriptions), the public generally has little sympathy or esteem for protesters/decenters coded as 'radicals' or 'rioters,' these dissidents are coded as suspicious, dangerous, and contemptable. Radical as a code also carries political meanings- generally referring to the political 'fringe' be it right or left. Rioter as a code also carries racial and class meanings and is generally used to refer to black, brown, or poor protesters coding them as irrational, violent, and	**Radicals/Rioters (decent/protest)-** Fear and skepticism of protesters, contempt, distain, resentment, rage, hostility, anxiety, threatened, hatred, embarrassment.	03 - All my children of the sun. 33- won't get fooled again 37- The eve of destruction	06- confrontation	COT: There appears to be some change over time in the symbolic meaning of these codes. While the meanings discussed in the first column have remained constant if not gotten more extreme, the discourse among activists has changed from one which upheld nonviolence above all else and stigmatized violent protest, to one which at

dangerous.				the least tends to recognize and attempt to understand the reasons behind violence. This shift has likely been the result of discursive legacies around the latter civil rights movement (e.g. Stokley Carmichael), the Black Panther Party, and the Nation of Islam. Violence may now be understood as a justifiable expression of righteous indignation and re-empowerment in a system which is itself violent.
Defection/ resistance: Dominant discourse: lowest of the low, traitor, coward, evil. BUT also courage and self-	**Defection/ resistance:** Dominant discourse: hatred, hostility, anger, disgust. BUT also carriage, resolve, tenacity, self-reliance,	05- Ballad of an unknown soldier 18- song for Hugh		COT: Obviously we see the loss of this code likely due to the

determination, agency, morally upstanding, standing up for what one believes in.	power, agency, courage and conviction	Thompson 22-run through the jungle 27- White Boots marching in a yellow land 04- ballad of the ft. hood 3 25- Vietnam potluck blues		shift from the draft.
Draft Resister – mostly condemned in culture for cowardice, but small cultural space for conscientious objectors, especially if for religious reasons	**Draft resister –** Contempt, disdain, suspicion, cowardice, BUT also respect, resolve, individualism, following gut/heart.	04- ballad of the Ft. hood 3 09- Aunt going to Vietnam 11- fortunate son 29- VietNam blues	02- an American draft dodger in thunder bay 25- no time flat	NOTE: Interesting that there are two post 911 songs about the draft. One is specifically about Vietnam
Enemy – evil, dangerous, dastardly, the lowest of the low, animalistic. Us v them.	**Enemy:** fear, anger, hatred, hostility, grief and anguish at lost lives, righteous indignation.	01- peace, love, understanding 05- Ballad of an unknown soldier 16- had any lately? 17- feel like I'm fixing to die rag 18- song for Hugh Thompson 32- killing for peace	18- Jacob's ladder 20- line in the sand 26- No one left keeping score 27- bomb the world 32- not in my name/sept 12 40- George W told the Nation -	
Family- (mothers, brothers, sisters, fathers) We have powerful codes	**Family:** caring, helpful, security, strength, support, helping each other, stung bonds,	05- ballad of the unknown soldier	01- a farewell to arms 12-	COT: Family codes as a whole fall

280

around the importance of family, the bonds, the connections, the networks, the support. BUT because we have such respect and esteem for importance of family, we do not want families to be destroyed. Also -family represents safety and comfort but also authority and conformity to tradition and traditional values	understanding, freedom, respect, acceptance, peace, love, understanding, encouragement, relaxation, serenity. BUT Moral outrage when families are destroyed or broken up. Should feel suspicious. Sad to leave family but excited for future	11- fortunate son 16- Had any lately? 20- mama bake a pie 23- stoned love 26- The end 33- won't get fooled again	Guantanamo bay 24 – Need some sleep 29- rich man's war 35 – state of the union	away over time.
Fathers – (proud) – His father feels proud of his son's service, asks him how they treat him, like he respects him, like he wants to talk shop. - **embarrassed** – father embarrassed by son's refusal to serve Authority figure- Father as seat of authority, of tradition, of social control KILLED: Death of father, of provider, of caregiver.	**Fathers – (proud) –** pride, respect for son, patriotism, care. - disgust, embarrassment, contempt for son who refuses to serve Should feel angry, should want to rebel, to kill authority, to kill father. Anger and resentment, insurgency, revenge	17- feel like I'm fixing to die rag 20- Mama Bake a pie 26- The end 27- White Boots marching in a yellow land	02-an American draft dodger in thunder bay. 38- stuck in Iraq	NOTE: Although there are relatively few songs with this code in general, they also represent a number of dimensions.
Freedom: A powerful symbolic code in the US dating back to the revolution and gaining incredible cultural	**Freedom:** pride, indignation, anger, Liberated, optimistic, spirited, joyous, thankful, ecstatic,	04- ballad of the Ft. hood 3 13- Freedom 26- The end	12- Guantanamo bay 15 – Fight back	COT: This code becomes more prevalent

power form the civil war and later the civil rights movements. Freedom from want, freedom of expression, freedom from oppression, freedom to move, to change, to progress, to speak up, to challenge the status quo. ALSO: freedom from authority freedom to live life as see fit	jubilant, BUT if not granted: anger, bitterness, alienation, powerlessness, loss, resentment,	29- Vietnam blues 40 – Ohio -	31-the price of oil 32- not in my name/sept 12 34 – twisted sense of god pt. 1 and 2 35 – state of the union 37- wolves in wolves clothing -	over due to a shift in the dominant discourse to attempt to use freedom and patriotism as justification for war. The development of this discourse forces movements and antiwar music to address freedom and to counter these discourses.
God/ Religion – Major code in America – god represents all kinds of hopes and fears among Americans, a force greater than themselves, and purpose and meaning in life. Also a major tradition in America of religious freedom, and religious practice.	**God/religion –** respect, reverence, power, meaning, love, fear, amazement, sympathy, compassion, righteous indignation.	08- brother did you weep 13- Freedom 21- Oh! Camil 23- stoned love 31- war 34 – Your flag decal won't get you into heave any more. 35- salient homecoming 37 – the eve of destruction 39- Give peace a chance	14 – Home to Houston 18- Jacob's ladder 20- line in the sand 21- Letter from Iraq 28- the 4th branch 33- To Washingto n 35 – state of the union	COT: while both periods use this code to condemn the war, there are also quite a few of the post 911 songs which engage with issues of religion due to the conflict itself and to the perceived use of religion as propaganda by the gov.
Government mistrust – Using propaganda to lead,	**Government mistrust** – anger, fear, mistrust, uncertainty,	04- Ballad of Ft. Hood Three.	01- a farewell to arms	COT: major change over time. Major

betrayal. American mistrust of the government runs deep, fears that go will infringe on our individual rights, fears that the government will use force to control us, fears that they are watching, that they are using propaganda to mislead.	disillusionment, skepticism, pessimism, uneasiness, indignation, infuriation, resentment, bitterness, Betrayed, offended, heartbroken, alienated, vulnerable	04- ballad of the Ft. hood 3 05- ballad of the unknown soldier 09- Aunt going to Vietnam 11- Fortunate son 11- fortunate son 14- future legend/diamond dogs 15- Gimme some truth 17- feel like I'm fixing to die rag 21- Oh! Camil 24- Ball of confusion 28- the war is over 31- war 32- killing for peace 37- The eve of destruction 39- Give peace a chance 40 – Ohio –	03- blessed are they who bash... 04- blinded by the right 06- confrontation 07- courage to resist 08- Dear Mr. President 09- Depleted Uranium is nuclear waste - 10- Down from the sky 11- we are the cops of the world 16- in a world gone mad 17 – Iraq has deadly weapons 18- Jacob's ladder 21- Letter from Iraq 22- Listen 25- no time flat 28- the 4th branch 31-the price of oil 32- not in my name/sept 12	code in both periods but in di9fferen ways. Vietnam use of the code is pretty general and it is one of several frames to evoke moral outrage. Post 911 this is THE code, this is the code that all other frames tap into and restate to., specific mistrust of the government as a cause for moral outrage.

			33- To Washington 34 – twisted sense of god pt. 1 and 2 35 – state of the union 36- who are you fighting for 37- wolves in wolves clothing – 38- stuck in Iraq 40- George W told the Nation -	
Hard worker/ provider for family- Value of hard work, protestant work ethic, providing for family, breadwinner. Leaving school to work for family. Putting family over self.	**Hard worker/ provider for family-** respect, admiration, perseverance, mobility, optimism, pride in overcoming adversity. BUT coupled with contempt for laziness, resentment, infuriation, indignation, disgust.	04- Ballad of Ft. Hood Three. 19- lucky man	03- blessed are they who bash... 08- Dear Mr. President 14 – Home to Houston 15 – Fight back	
Helping poor – it is moral and good to help the poor. American volunteerism – charity and philanthropy. Related to equality and justice, but also related to status and hierarchy. Poverty as an injustice, poverty harms society, BUT poverty is often	**Helping poor** – Compassion, kindness, care, charitable, magnanimous, mournful, melancholy, BUT also justice, righteous indignation.	04- Ballad of Ft. Hood Three. 06- Blowing in the wind 24- ball of confusion	08- Dear Mr. President 15 – Fight back 27- bomb the world	

attributed to the poor, victim blaming. It is moral and good to help the poor. Charity, philanthropy, and volunteerism as American values				
Home (homecoming): Safety, security, stability, warmth, protection, familiarity, friends and family, loved ones near. BUT – far from home, not safe, not secure, lack of protection. ALSO: feeling like one no longer belongs, PTSD, like one cannot simply return to the daily routines after seeing and feeling such pain.	**Home (Homecoming):** Feeling safe, secure, stable, warmth, love, caring, feeling at home, belonging, growing and changing but staying the same. BUT loss or distance from home – lost, hopeless, disillusioned, terrified, unstable. ALSO: Fear and anxiety, disillusionment because one no longer fits in to daily life. f	12- Freckle faced soldier 20- Mama Bake a pie 35- salient homecoming	14- home to Houston	COT: Interesting that we largely see this code/narrativ e falling away. Likely a result of the end of the draft.
Home: Safety, security, stability, warmth, protection, familiarity, friends and family, loved ones near. BUT – far from home, not safe, not secure, lack of protection. Home Also constraining, safe and secure but also constraining and limiting	**Home:** Feeling safe, secure, stable, warmth, love, caring, feeling at home, belonging, growing and changing but staying the same. BUT loss or distance from home – lost, hopeless, disillusioned, terrified, unstable. Fear and excitement of leaving home	01- peace, love, understandin g 13- Freedom 26- The end	08- Dear Mr. President 14 – Home to Houston	
Hungary children/ US poverty- Child poverty = particularly egregious – related to meanings of children and innocence. Helping poor –	**Hungary children/ US poverty-** – Compassion, kindness, care, charitable, magnanimous, mournful, melancholy, BUT also anger,	09- Aunt going to Vietnam 24- ball of confusion	08- Dear Mr. President 27- bomb the world 28- the 4th branch	

285

American volunteerism – charity and philanthropy. Related to equality and justice, but also related to status and hierarchy.	resentment, indignation			
Imperialism: discursive legacy of empire, Rome, colonialism – imperialism is a countercultural term for the wars the US wages for hegemony. For some – empire is great – the us as a superpower as the top dog. For others, it is evidence of our dark aims. Counter to American values- doomed	**Imperialism:** - For some: pride, excitement, respect. For others: fear, anger, frustration, disillusionment. Compassion for those suffering under our yoke, power, strength, leadership	04- ballad of the Ft. hood 3 05- ballad of the unknown soldier 06- Blowing in the wind 27- White Boots marching in a yellow land 32- killing for peace 34- your flag decal won't get you into heaven anymore.	03- blessed are they who bash... 06- confrontati on 10- Down from the sky 11- we are the cops of the world 12- Guantanam o bay 15 – Fight back 17 – Iraq has deadly weapons 22- Listen 24 – Need some sleep 32- not in my name/sept 12 37- wolves in wolves clothing - 40- George W told the Nation -	COT: Big change over time from imperialism in general to imperialism as a manifestatio n of global anti- imperialism.
Individualism – Doing what you think is right, taking matters into own hands, single decenter, outspoken. Self-sufficiency,	**Individualism –** Power, confidence, self- sufficiency, bravery, competition. standing up for what one believes in – going	02- 1983 (Merman I should Turn to be). 03 - All my children of	06- confrontati on 22- Listen	COT: falling away over time. Not sure if this plays out in the actual

agency, decision making. doing what he thinks is right for the group, but he is alone in doing it, and he takes matters into his own hands. Single decenter, outspoken, savior. Becoming own person	it alone – (from audience) pride, reverence, but also jealousy, and envy. (in person) - pride, tenacity, eagerness, duty, mission.	the sun. 05- Ballad of an unknown soldier 11- Fortunate son 19- lucky man 26- The end		use as well as the frequencies, but it would appear that anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist sentiments would be less likely to discuss individualism.
Innocent Victims - Women, and children – Coded as innocents in society, one of principle symbolic codes used to define war as immoral. Built on symbolic meanings of women, children, and civilians. Women and children are the most egregious killings – truly innocent. Built upon patriarchal and paternalistic discourses around the 'weakest' members of society, as well as upon understandings of 'just' war versus 'unjust war' – soldiers are fair game, non-soldiers are not. Related to discourses around family as well – value of family in society, sacred.	**Innocent Victims - Women, and children** – Anger, fury, resentment, enraged, outraged, disgusting, pained, offended. BUT also heartbroken, grieving, mourning, animated by indignation, compassionate, sympathetic.	08 – Brother did you weep? 16- Had any lately? 18- song for Hugh Thompson Ballad of Ft. hood 3	01- a farewell to arms 03- blessed are they who bash... 07- courage to resist 09- Depleted Uranium is nuclear waste - 10- Down from the sky 21- Letter from Iraq 24 – Need some sleep	COT: this one surprised me, after reading the songs I was expecting this to go the other way, but it would appear that more post 911 songs discuss women and children.
Innocent victims (general)– Innocent v. non-innocent victims	**Innocent victims (general) –**Anger, fury, resentment, enraged, out	04- Ballad of Ft. Hood Three.	03- blessed are they who bash...	COT: Again same think surprised

– often women and children, but also civilians. Implied good wars and bad wars, good victims and bad victims. Interestingly condemning the killing without actually condemning the war – in theory there could be a war in which only enemy soldiers (coded as evil die.)	raged, disgusting, pained, offended. BUT also heartbroken, grieving, mourning, animated by indignation, compassionate, sympathetic.	08 – Brother did you weep? 21- Oh! Camil 27- White Boots marching in a yellow land 31- War 32- killing for peace 34- your flag decal won't get you into heaven anymore.	04- blinded by the right 05- Bushism 06- confrontation 11- we are the cops of the world 12- Guantanamo bay 15 – Fight back 16- in a world gone mad 17 – Iraq has deadly weapons 22- Listen 28- the 4th branch 32- not in my name/sept 12 33- To Washington 34 – twisted sense of god pt. 1 and 2 39- Baghdad blues-	me, but a little more equitable distribution than the other one.
Insanity- Long history of using insane, mad, or some variation of this as an insult. We have a very powerful –	**Insanity-** Fear, embarrassment, anger, mistrust, disdain, disgust, skepticism.	1- peace, love, understanding 14- future legend/diamo	16- in a world gone mad 19- let's go 27- bomb the world	COT: overall reduction over time. The Vietnam songs focus

enlightenment based-fascination with rationality and reason, and insanity represents a symbolic threat to that. Crazy people are unpredictable, and cannot be trusted. Letting go: embracing the crazy, the chaos.	Fear and apprehension but also excitement	nd dogs 15- Gimme some truth 24- ball of confusion 26- The end 9- Aunt going to Vietnam	37- wolves in wolves clothing -	on disillusion men are likely the cause for this.
Love (in general)– in 19th century has come to be love between 2 people, romantic, life long and infatuated. Here is it being applied more broadly, as in love of mankind, or brotherly love, both of which do hold symbolic meaning in US, but not as powerful as romantic meanings of code.	**Love (in general)–** Warmth, companionship, caring, affection, tenderness, passion, admiration, growth. - BUT also passion in sense of danger, love as a trap, as a snare, a vulnerability, weakness.	01 – what's so funny about peace love and understanding. 02- merman I shall be. 13- Freedom 23- stoned love 24- Ball of confusion 30- Vietnam war (Hopkins) 31- war 36- What's going on	15 – Fight back	COT: Absolutely fall away over time-loss of counter-Cultural vision
Love/couples: love of a couple, caring, companionship, trust	**Love/couples:** Warmth, tenderness, affection, passion, trust, companionship	02- 1983 (Merman I should Turn to be). 07- born to kill 14- future legend/diamond 19- lucky man 23- stoned love dogs	09- depleted uranium is nuclear war 12- Guantanamo bay 25- no time flat 29- rich man's war	COT: pretty stable over time.

Mechanized destruction/ war machines – Related to fears and uncertainty around science, and the desire for death to be a personal thing, related to notion that life is sacred, honor, etc. We feel if people are to be killed we should at least have respect for them as we kill them, it is egregious therefore to kill systematically or with technology, it seems shameful and cowardly for the killer, and inhumane and insensitive moreover.	**Mechanized destruction/ war machines** – Fear, shame, guilt, suspicion, anger, sympathy, compassion, horror, disgust.	02- merman I shall be. 08 – Brother did you weep? 09- Aunt going to Vietnam 27- White Boots marching in a yellow land 37 – the eve of destruction	03- blessed are they who bash... 10- Down from the sky 11- we are the cops of the world 13- Harry patch (in memory of) 17 – Iraq has deadly weapons 22- Listen 26- No one left keeping score 28- the 4th branch 34 – twisted sense of god pt. 1 and 2	COT: although both uses relate to imperialism, the rise over time results from the change in the meaning of imperialism.
Middle class – a huge symbolic code in the US. The middle class is a huge source of pride, related to American dream, to mobility, to hard work, to many American values. Middle class often said to be paying for the gov's exploits	**Middle class:** pride, reverence, tenacious, respect. BUT when exploited or destroyed – anger, moral outrage, fuming, indignant, pained, desperate, pessimistic.		- blinded by the right 11- we are the cops of the world 16- in a world gone mad 30-flowers and the guns 38- stuck in Iraq	COT: didn't even exist before.
Military – Much like soldiers – heroes, protectors of freedom,	**Military:** Pride, support, intimidation, safety, security, BUT	05- Ballad of an unknown soldier	11- we are the cops of the world	

protectors of country, peace keepers, righters of wrongs – BUT also imperialists, villainess, killers, murders, war criminals, human rights violators, occupiers.	also fear, loathing, hatred, domination, alienation, indignation, resentment. BUT also: strength, resolve, metal, perseverance, toughness, masculinity, courage, bravery, power.	20- mama bake a pie	13- Harry patch (in memory of) 32- not in my name/sept 12	
Military families - Much like soldiers – heroes, protectors of freedom, protectors of country, patriots – Combination of patriotism and family codes – BUT also dupes, brainwashed, tools, being used.	**Military families -** pride, support, strength, resolve, metal, perseverance, toughness, masculinity, courage, bravery, power, loyalty. BUT also skepticism, judgement, condemnation, doubt, annoyance, frustration,	05- ballad of the unknown soldier 11- Fortunate son 20- Mama Bake a pie	29- rich man's war 38- stuck in Iraq	
Mobility- Freedom to move to take ones live into one's hands (agency) and do as one pleases (freedom)	**Mobility-** alive, liberated, optimism, Tenacity,	21- Oh! Camil 16- had any lately?	08- dear Mr. president	
Mothers (mother's loss) - Protector, care taker, loving figure, guiding figure, strength but passive sometimes. Deepest love imaginable. Self-sacrificing. Loss beyond any compare – moral outrage at loss of children.	**Mother / Motherhood (Mother's loss)–** caring, loving, passionate, Self-sacrificing, strong, emotional, sensitive, - BUT her emotions at loss of child – Rage, depression, sadness, outrage, hatred, bitterness, pain, suffering, horror, torment.	12- Freckle-Faced Soldier 17- feel like I'm fixing to die rag 30- Vietnam war (Hopkins) 31- War 36- What's going on	08- Dear Mr. President 21- Letter from Iraq 24 – Need some sleep	
Mothers/motherhood (sad/lonely) – Care taker, loving figure, guiding figure, Deep love. Security stability. Loss, suffering, missing her son. Lonely with our	**Mothers/motherhood (sad/lonely) –** Caring, loving. Lonely, sad, despair, loss, Fear, uncertainty, woe, worry, confusion, terror.	20- Mama Bake a pie 30- Vietnam war (Hopkins)		

child, fearing for their safety.				
Mothers/motherhood (in general) - Protector, care taker, loving figure, guiding figure, strength but passive sometimes. Deepest love imaginable. Self-sacrificing, security, stability. BUT – loss of mother, feeling lost and unsafe, feeling unstable, terrified, frustrated angry. Earth, life, instincts, emotions	**Mothers/motherhood (in general)-** caring, loving, passionate, Self-sacrificing, strong, emotional, sensitive, wise, knowledgably, trust, security, freedom from fear, safety, stability BUT: loss of mother – fear, uncertainty, woe, worry, confusion, terror,	13- Freedom 14- future legend/diamond dogs 26- The end	08- Dear Mr. President 15 – Fight back 16- in a world gone mad 34 – twisted sense of god pt. 1 and 2 (SOLID!)	
Mothers/motherhood (Killing mothers)- motherhood is sacred **Protector**, care taker, loving figure, guiding figure, strength but passive sometimes. Deepest love imaginable. Self-sacrificing, security, stability. BUT – loss of mother, feeling lost and unsafe, feeling unstable, terrified, frustrated angry.	**Mothers/motherhood (killing mothers)-** moral outrage, sadness, loss, rage, anger, fear, - mix of innocence and love.	16- Had any lately?	3- blessed are they who bash... 24 – Need some sleep	
Nerd/intellectual – egghead as a moniker implies he is bookish and intellectual, again often also implying outspoken. - here related to American anti-intellectualism, a competing value against an appreciation for and respect for the	**Nerd/intellectual – Anti-intellectualism –** suspicion, weariness, gendered feelings, contempt, shame. **Education as value –** pride, reverence, respect.	03 - All my children of the sun. 04- ballad of the Ft. hood 3 15- game some truth		

educated.				
Nuclear war – incredible ambivalence over the nukes. Some people think they're a sign of our power, of our exceptionalism, of our strength, of a form of protection. Others – see them as a sign of utter annihilation, doom, the fall of humanity,	**Nuclear war-** SOME: security, strength, resolve, power, confidence. OTEHRS; fear, terror, anger, hostility, worry, frightened, pessimism, disillusionment.	17- feel like I'm fixing to die rag 37 – the eve of destruction	03- blessed are they who bash... 35 – state of the union	
Outspoken Decenter – he stands up to authority, speaks his mind and pays the price for it. There is a cultural space whereby decenters and especially outspoken people are revered for their free thinking. Likely related to American values of revolution – standing up to power, and to free speech, value of outspokenness	**Outspoken Decenter –** Righteous indignation, courage, bravery, confidence, Tenacity, pride and reverence for that courage. BUT also annoyance, irritation, threatened (those in power feel this).	01- peace, love, understanding 02- merman I shall be. 03 - All my children of the sun. 10 – for what it's worth 11- fortunate son 15- gimme some truth 18- song for Hugh Thompson 39- Give peace a chance	02-an American draft dodger in thunder bay. 22- Listen 23-Mosh 32- not in my name/sept 12 5-Bushism	
Patriotism/ patriotic people – pride in country, caring about homeland, being part of history, Us V them. - BUT also dupes, stupid, tricked, hoodwinked, used, propaganda	**Patriotism/ patriotic people -** Pride, patriotism, Affection for country, freedom, tenacity, bravery, aggressiveness, confidence. BUT also skeptical, disillusioned, distrustful, pessimistic. appalled at use as propaganda, dupes,	11- Fortunate son 19- lucky man 29- VietNam blue 34 – Your flag decal won't get you	22- Listen 27- bomb the world 27- bomb the world 29- rich man's war 32- not in my	COT: development of the use of patriotism as a major form of propaganda for the war machine

	embarrassment.	into heave any more. S	name/sept 12 33- To Washington 34 – twisted sense of god pt. 1 and 2 35 – state of the union 36- who are you fighting for 37- wolves in wolves clothing – 38- stuck in Iraq	
Peace (general) (we need some) Peace is often feminized and devalued as the opposite of strength (a definite value), however, there is a space for the value of peace especially in religion and the christens tradition specifically. Peace is possible and good, peace is beneficial to people, we deserve to have it, not to live in fear	**Peace (general) -** contentment, righteousness, carefree, judgmental respect, reverence, good will, and sympathy BUT Suspicion timidity, fainthearted, cautious, lack of courage, tenacity, and strength.	01 – what's so funny about peace love and understandin g. 02- merman I shall be. 10 – for what it's worth 13- Freedom 16- Had any lately? 1983 (Merman I should Turn to be). 23- stoned love 24- ball of confusion 24- Ball of confusion2-	07- courage to resist 16- in a world gone mad 20- line in the sand 27- bomb the world 30-flowers and the guns 39- Baghdad blues	COT: overall falling away of the general peace code with the falling away of the countercultu re.

		25- Vietnam potluck blues 28- the war is over 31- war 36- What's going on 37 – the eve of destruction		
Politicians – We have an ambiguous symbolic relationship with politicians in American culture. On the one hand we elect them, and they represent us, we respect them and the rule of law. On the other, we are suspicious and skeptical of them, of their decisions, of their motives, of their self-serving greed.	**Politicians –** Fear, anger, uncertainty, skepticism, doubt, hesitance, disillusionment, BUT also Respect, reverence,	11 - Fortunate son 15- Gimme some truth 17- feel like I'm fixing to die rag 37- The eve of destruction Ball of confusion	01- a farewell to arms 04- blinded by the right 06- confrontation 08- Dear Mr. President 10- Down from the sky 13- Harry patch (in memory of) 15 – Fight back 16- in a world gone mad 22- Listen 25- no time flat 27- bomb the world 28- the 4th branch 29- rich man's war 30-flowers and the guns 33- To	COT: development of Gov mistrust overtime to be much more specific and much more focused on the Bush admin.

295

			Washington 34 – twisted sense of god pt. 1 and 2 39- Baghdad blues- 40- George W told the Nation -	
Poverty (using the poor) – see poverty code for discussion of meanings of poverty in us, but this code refers to notions of the rich waging war and the poor dyeing. Because we see the poor as vulnerable and weak, we find their exploitation egregious, it is like they are double exploited. There is also a fair amount of identity politics at play here – Us rather than them.	**Poverty (using the poor) –** Anger, moral outrage, fear, injustice, resentment, shame, righteous indignation.	04- ballad of the Ft. hood 3 11- fortunate son	01- a farewell to arms 06- confrontation 10- Down from the sky 28- the 4th branch 29- rich man's war 36- who are you fighting for 38- stuck in Iraq 34 – twisted sense of god pt. 1 and 2	COT: development of the class warfare narrative over time. Using the poor to fight the wars of the rich.
Poverty/ Helping the poor: Poverty as an injustice, poverty harms society, BUT poverty is often attributed to the poor, victim blaming. It is moral and good to	**Poverty, Helping poor** – Compassion, kindness, care, charitable, magnanimous, mournful, melancholy, BUT also justice, righteous indignation.	04- ballad of the Ft. hood 3 24- Ball of confusion	8- Dear Mr. President	

help the poor. Charity, philanthropy, and volunteerism as American values				
Prisoners – a bit ambiguous. For SOME: prisoners deserve their punishment, rule of law, morality, etc. For OTHERs- prisoners are exploited alienated and oppressed people placed there by an unjust system.	**Prisoners:** For SOME: joy, safety, satisfaction, protection. For OTHERS- anger, resentment, moral outrage, embarrassment, irritation	27- White Boots marching in a yellow land	07- courage to resist 12- Guantanam o bay	
Progress – manifest destiny – push on and push forward, we are destined to succeed, we are the chosen people.	**Progress – manifest destiny** – boldness, brashness, perseverance, pride, overcoming adversity- pride and reverence for hat, contempt for those who do not support the goal.	03 - All my children of the sun. 32- not in my name/sept 12	35 – state of the union	
Protesters (as deviants)– disorganized and trivialized, hippies – unwashed, disheveled, deviant, lazy, stupid/silly/immature. Disregarding ideas of young people more broadly. - Song is fighting this script pretty hard, and attempting to use the other two to do so.	**Protesters (as deviants)**– shame, embarrassment, annoyance, frustration, contempt, disgust (at lack of patriotism/group support)	01 – what's so funny about peace love and understandin g. 29- VietNam blues		
Protesters (general)- Protesting has a symbolic place in American culture- it is an expression of the frustration of the masses, a sign to the	**Protesters (general) -** carriage, resolve, tenacity, self-reliance, power, agency, courage and conviction BUT also: shame, embarrassment,	28- the war is over 36- What's going on 40 – Ohio - 10 – for what it's worth	01- a farewell to arms 04- blinded by the right 06- confrontati	

government that it needs to rethink what it is doing – at same time – protesters are held with suspicion, trivialized, and even contempt.	annoyance, frustration, contempt, disgust (at lack of patriotism/group support)	32- not in my name/sept 12	on 07- courage to resist 09- Depleted Uranium is nuclear waste - 15 – Fight back 23- Mosh 23-Mosh 27- bomb the world 30-flowers and the guns	
Racial Equality – equality as a primary American value, as a worthy goal.	**Racial Equality –** Freedom, understanding, sympathy, anger, frustration, alienation, powerlessness, pessimism, despair. Perseverance.	04- ballad of the Ft. hood 3 06- Blowing in the wind 13- Freedom	23- Mosh 37- wolves in wolves clothing -	
Racism: Racism since the civil rights movement has taken on an interesting set of meanings, we don't want to be called racist, yet we don't want to acknowledge race either, we just don't want to hear about it. BUT there is another powerful symbolic code around race which makes it central and equates it with justice and freedom. We think we are just- but we oppress our own	**Racism:** Fear, Hatred, Frustrated, offensive, aggressive, inflamed, infuriated, irritated, detestable, disgusting, BUT disaffected, annoyed, insensitive, weary, disinterested,	24- Ball of confusion 27- White Boots marching in a yellow land 32- killing for peace 32- not in my name/sept 12 37- The eve of destruction	12- Guantanam o bay 34 – twisted sense of god pt. 1 and 2	

people. We dehumanize the Vietnamese and turn them into animals				
Repression: don't step on me, don't skivvy my back (?)	**Repression:** frustration, anger, hostility, annoyance, alienation, powerlessness. Disillusionment.	03 - All my children of the sun. 07- born to kill 09- Aunt going to Vietnam 10 – for what it's worth 14- future legend/diamond dogs 21- Oh! Camil 32- not in my name/sept 12 36- What's going on	06- confrontation 07- courage to resist 15- fight back 23- Mosh 24- need some sleep 28 – 4th branch 4- blinded by the right	COT: interesting that we don't see a change over time in amount, not sure about change in orientation or meaning, would need to dig into the codes as I have done with others such as Gov mistrust, or Death and destruction.
Resistance/decent - (GIs) - GI resistance as a value- resistance more broadly as a value – truth and justice --- There is a cultural space whereby decenters and especially outspoken people are revered for their free thinking. Likely related to American values of revolution – standing up to power, and to free speech, value of outspokenness. FOR GI's – binary, on the one hand, they are heroes for standing up to authority, on the	**Resistance/decent - (GIs) –** Righteous indignation, courage, bravery, confidence, Tenacity, pride and reverence for that courage. BUT also annoyance, irritation, threatened (those in power feel this). FOR GI's – duality of feeling proud of them for coming forward and respecting them for this, AND also feeling like they have betrayed country, feeling angry and resenting them, disgust.	05- ballad of the unknown soldier 21- Oh! Camil 25- Vietnam potluck blues 4- Ballad of Ft. Hood Three.	7- courage to resist 38- stuck in Iraq	

299

other they are traitors/disgraced for failing to support country.				
Resistance/decent (general) - There is a cultural space whereby decenters and especially outspoken people are revered for their free thinking. Likely related to American values of revolution – standing up to power, and to free speech, value of outspokenness.	**resistance/decent (general)-**Righteous indignation, courage, bravery, confidence, Tenacity, pride and reverence for that courage. BUT also annoyance, irritation, threatened (those in power feel this).	01- peace, love, understanding 09- Aunt going to Vietnam 10- for what it's worth 11- Fortunate son 24- ball of confusion 26- The end 28- the war is over 32- not in my name/sept 12 39- Give peace a chance 40 – Ohio –	01- a farewell to arms 02-an American draft dodger in thunder bay. 04- blinded by the right 15 – Fight back 22- Listen 34 – twisted sense of god pt. 1 and 2 340- flowers and the guns 35 – state of the union 36- who are you fighting for	
Rich people – Material wealth as value- stuff as a measure of success, related to American values around thrift and mobility, but also deep skepticism of the very wealthy, especially 'old money' concern over greed, and exploitation of	**Rich people -** success, thrift, perseverance, mobility, etc. BUT also hatred, disdain, jealousy, envy, skepticism, frustration, annoyance, indignation, anger, thinking they are greedy, self-serving, manipulative. alienated	11- Fortunate son 17- feel like I'm fixing to die rag 19- lucky man	01- a farewell to arms 04- blinded by the right 06- confrontation 10- Down from the sky 15 – Fight	COT: development of class warfare narrative over time.

			back
			16- in a world gone mad 28- the 4th branch 29- rich man's war 34 – twisted sense of god pt. 1 and 2 38- stuck in Iraq	
Rights - - powerful code in America- we have strong feelings about what our rights are and we don't want to lose any of them.	**Rights:** pride, joy, confidence, liberation, animation about rights, enthusiasm. BUT if they are taken away: fear, anger, resentment, moral outrage, fury.		01- a farewell to arms 04- blinded by the right 06- confrontati on 08- Dear Mr. President 32- not	COT: development of the patriot act discourse and the furthering of the Gov mistrust.
Riot police / national guard. -repression and social control, authority of government. Almost universally negative symbolic meaning, standing for the removal of rights from people. Possible acceptation would be civil rights movement in which they did represent negative meanings for southern whites, but represented protection and the support of the	**Riot police / national guard. -**. Righteous indignation, courage, bravery, confidence, Tenacity, pride and reverence for that courage. BUT also annoyance, irritation, threatened (those in power feel this).	10- for what it's worth 40 – Ohio -	06- confrontati on 30-flowers and the guns	

government for blacks trying to integrate.				
Senseless killing- Life is precious and killing for no good reason is immoral and wrong. Killing for thrills, racism, profit, or ideology are all forms of senseless killing.	**Senseless killing-** anger, indignation, fury, rage, sadness, remorse, grief.	07- born to kill 08- brother did you weep 09- Aunt going to Vietnam 16- had any lately? 18- song for Hugh Thompson 19- lucky man 31- war 32- killing for peace 34 – Your flag decal won't get you into heave any more. 40 – Ohio -	13- Harry patch (in memory of) 18- Jacob's ladder 19- let's go 26- No one left keeping score 32- not in my name/sept 12 33- To Washington 39- Baghdad	
Skepticism/free thought – long tradition of skepticism and free thought in certain situations (although not a lot of institutional support for skepticism) and as long as it is not relation or patriotism the government, capitalism, or power that is being critiqued... - here we see the mobilizing of this code and value but used to critique patriotism government military and wealth.	**Skepticism/free thought –** Skepticism, free thought, courage, bravery, confidence, tenacity, confrontation, assertiveness, wisdom, individualism, agency. BUT also condemnation, hatred, skepticism (of skeptics...) fear.	03 - All my children of the sun. 33- won't get fooled again 37- The eve of destruction	6- confrontation	
Solider (as villain) General suspicion of	**Soldier (as victim):** Angry, moral outraged,	04- Ballad of Ft. Hood	01- a farewell to	

soldiers as agents of social control, coercion, repression and violence	righteous indignation, pain, mistrust, frustration, suffering.	Three. 05- Ballad of an unknown soldier 12- Freckle-Faced Soldier 17- feel like I'm fixing to die rag 20- Mama Bake a pie 21- Oh! Camil 22-run through the jungle 25- Vietnam potluck blues 27- White Boots marching in a yellow land 30- Vietnam war (Hopkins) 35- salient homecoming 36- What's going on	arms 07- courage to resist 09- Depleted Uranium is nuclear waste - 13- Harry patch (in memory of 14 – Home to Houston 18- Jacob's ladder 20- line in the sand 21- Letter from Iraq 23- Mosh 31-the price of oil 38- stuck in Iraq 39- Baghdad blues- 40- George W told the Nation -	
Soldier (as hero): Soldiers as heroes, as patriots, as defenders of freedom, soldiering as duty, calling. Soldiering as duty, calling. Honor, glory, fame. To 'enemies' or protesters – they are also repressors, occupiers, tools of imperialism.	**Soldier:** SELF – –Strength, passion, patriotism, masculinity, honor, power, courage, aggression, duty, calling. PUBLIC- pride, respect, Thankful, admiration, patriotism, empathy, sadness. Soldiers - Strength, Passion, patriotism, masculinity, power, courage,	04- Ballad of Ft. Hood Three. 05- Ballad of an unknown soldier 11- fortunate son 12- Freckle-Faced Soldier 17- feel like I'm fixing to die rag 18- song for	01- a farewell to arms 07- courage to resist 09- Depleted Uranium is nuclear waste - 11- we are	COT: development over time as part of support the troops discourse

303

	aggressive, duty, calling. 'ENEMIES'/PROTEST ERS: fear, anxiety, threatened, weary, forced, Annoyed, resentful, skeptical, indignant about their treatment.	Hugh Thompson 20- Mama Bake a pie 21- Oh! Camil 25- Vietnam potluck blues 29- Vietnam blues 35- Silent homecoming 35- salient homecoming	the cops of the world 13- Harry patch (in memory of) 14 – Home to Houston 18- Jacob's ladder 20- line in the sand 21- Letter from Iraq 23- Mosh 23-Mosh 31-the price of oil 32- not in my name/sept 12 33- To Washingto n 38- stuck in Iraq 39- Baghdad blues- 40- George W told the Nation -	
Soldiers (Duty/Calling) - Soldiers think they are fighting for their countries, for patriotism, for god, but really it is just for war	**Soldier (Duty/Calling):** Public **-** pride, respect, Thankful, admiration, patriotism, Soldiers - Strength, Passion, patriotism, masculinity, power, courage, aggressive, duty, calling.	07- born to kill 19- lucky man 21- Oh! Camil 28- the war is over 29- VietNam blues	02-an American draft dodger in thunder bay. 23- Mosh 29- rich man's war 38- stuck in Iraq 40- George	

304

		35- salient homecoming	W told the Nation -	
Son of immigrants – Melting pot – Elis island, diversity, immigrant stock.	**Son of immigrants –** pride, patriotism, nationalism, optimism, perseverance, sympathetic. BUT also fearful, hatred, mistrust, resentment.	4- Ballad of Ft. Hood Three	22- Listen 35 – state of the union	
Student: education and learning as important values and qualities for young people	**Student:** respect, perseverance, admiration, devotion, intelligence, wisdom, BUT also skepticism, annoyance, and resentment.	- Ballad of Ft. Hood Three. 17- feel like I'm fixing to die rag 25- Vietnam potluck blues 40 – Ohio -		COT: as youth codes fall away over time.
Superpower – cold war term we have appropriated with pride. Feeling like top dog, American exceptionalism.	**Superpower-** pride, excitement, confidence, strength, justice, power. BUT also skepticism, fear, anger, resentment		11- we are the cops of the world	
Terrorists: A newer symbolic code – really post 911, code invented by government ostensibly to describe a tactic which involves terror, but really describing a group of people (Muslims). Coded as evil, dangerous, haters of freedom, haters of American way/values	**Terrorists:** Evil, hate, fear, terror, anguish, grief, rebellion, bitter, aggressive,		12- Guantanam o bay 15 – Fight back 17 – Iraq has deadly weapons 18- Jacob's ladder 21- Letter from Iraq 23- Mosh 24 – Need some sleep 29- rich man's war 34 – twisted	

			sense of god pt. 1 and 2	
Truth Teller/ bard – Man with a guitar on a stage, signal of truth telling, of 'this is about to get serious' – related to Wanderer code discussed elsewhere. Wise man.	**Truth Teller/ bard –** Respect, receptivity/openness, reverence. BUT also Skepticism – because he has an agenda.	04- Ballad of Ft. Hood Three. 05- Ballad of an unknown soldier 15- gimme some truth	06- confrontation 15 – Fight back 23- Mosh 32- not in my name/sept 12 34 – twisted sense of god pt. 1 and 2	
Truth, transparency – We expect truth and transparency from those in power. Truth – because we give so much honor to the office and to leadership in general, we hold leaders to higher expectations. Transparency because we don't actually trust our leaders all of the the time.	**Truth, transparency –** We expect truth and transparency from those in power. Truth – because we give so much honor to the office and to leadership in general, we hold leaders to higher expectations. Transparency because we don't actually trust our leaders all of the time.	15- Gimme some truth 21- Oh! Camil 33- won't get fooled again	16- in a world gone mad 31-the price of oil 33- To Washington	
Understanding: Sympathetic understanding, empathy, valuation of experiential reasoning (my experience has been, Me personally, etc.). Take a walk in my shoes, see this from my perspective etc. There is a space in American culture for a	**Understanding:** care, sensitivity, acceptance, sympathy. But also skepticism, mistrust.	01 – what's so funny about peace love and understanding. 23- stoned love 24- Ball of	02-an American draft dodger in thunder bay. 30-flowers and the guns	

valuation of diverse perspectives (at lease on the surface) – melting pot, diversity of ideas etc. **Learning --- Doing** away with ignorance and beginning to cultivate understanding.		confusion 36- What's going on		
Vietnamese – enemy – labeling them the enemy so that we can kill them **Enemy** – evil, dangerous, dastardly, the lowest of the low, animalistic. Us v them	**Vietnamese – enemy –** fear, anger, hatred, hostility, grief and anguish at lost lives, righteous indignation.	?? - Killing for peace 05- ballad of the unknown soldier 08- brother did you weep 16- Had any lately? 17- feel like I'm fixing to die rag 18- song for Hugh Thompson 25- Vietnam potluck blues 27- White Boots marching in a yellow land 22-run through the jungle 29- VietNam blues		
Villagers/ the international poor / crops– Coded as innocent/simple/deserving pity – related to legacy of colonialism and especially paternalistic colonialism, it is as if we are saying, look they are already poor,	**Villagers/ the international poor / crops**– Sympathy, compassion, empathy, caring, justice, rage, fury, shame, guilt, disgust.	08 – Brother did you weep? 16- had any lately? 18- song for Hugh Thompson 27- White Boots	24- need some sleep 29- rich man's war	COT: falling away as part of falling away of general death and destruction code.

and now we are destroying what little they have.		marching in a yellow land		
Wanderer / Wise person - Wise and worldly wanderer traveling throughout the wo world, evokes imagery of the Buddha or Jesus, an enlightened soul traveling in a wicked world	**Wanderer / Wise person-** Respect, reverence for wisdom of wanderer- especially old people, and enthusiastic young people – Serenity, poise, enlightened.	01 – what's so funny about peace love and understanding. 02- merman I shall be. 26- The end	13- Harry patch (in memory of)	
War – leads to death and destruction. War as a byproduct of man's callousness and greed	**War** – Fear, insecurity, powerlessness, disillusionment, alienation, frustration.	02- 1983 (Merman I should Turn to be). 06- Blowing in the wind 14- future legend/diamo nd dogs 24- Ball of confusion 31- war	32- not in my name/sept 12	
War profiteers – dating back to WWI and WWII concerns over companies and induvial making huge profits on the destruction of lives. Related to sacredness of life, and skepticism of wealthy.	**War profiteers-** anger, moral outrage, resentment, contempt, disgust.	17- feel like I'm fixing to die rag	11- we are the cops of the world 04- blinded by the right 28- the 4th branch 31-the price of oil 38- stuck in Iraq 40- George W told the Nation -	COT: Creation of the class warfare discourse
Wicked world – The world is a chaotic and dangerous place of misery and confusion	**Wicked world –** Skepticism, frustration, indignation, fear, contempt, disillusioned.	01 – what's	16- in a world gone mad 17 – Iraq	COT: falling away of the countercultu re

(darkness of insanity). Related to Christianity and other post axial age religions which view corporeal world as dangerous, chaotic and corrupting. Also related simply to the times, post WWII period was one of great upheaval and uncertainty.	Also optimistic dynamic, potential for change.	so funny about peace love and understanding. 07- born to kill 14- future legend/diamond dogs 22-run through the jungle 39- Give peace a chance	has deadly weapons 22- Listen 24 – Need some sleep 36- who are you fighting for	
Wife/Girlfriend – Femininity, love and companionship, caring, Related to value of family and of marriage. **-** From soldier's perspective- also sheltered and unable to understand what he has endured.	**Wife/Girlfriend –** Caring, loyal, devoted, loving, passionate, BUT loss- Rage, depression, sadness, outrage, bitterness, pain, suffering, horror, torment. BUT also fear and apprehension over the potential damage done to soldier.	12- Freckle-Faced Soldier 20- Mama Bake a pie 29- VietNam blues 35- Silent homecoming	12- Guantanamo bay 21- Letter from Iraq 29- rich man's war	
Work ethic – Paddle harder, pull tighter, everyone pulling his own weighted. Value of hard work all on its own.	**Work ethic –** respect and reverence for hard work, contempt for laziness, resentment, infuriation, indignation, disgust.	02- merman I shall be. 03 - All my children of the sun. 04- ballad of the Ft. hood 3 33- won't get fooled again	03- blessed are they who bash… 08- dear Mr. president 14- home to Huston 23 – mosh	
Young people (in general)- Freedom, innocence, and idealism of youth, cultural maligns of young people/teenagers – they are rebellious,	**Young people (in general)-** free, reckless, courageous, impulsive, spirited, inexperienced – suspicion, reluctance to take seriously, Rebellious, Bold, daring, annoyed,	10- for what it's worth 23- stoned love 24- ball of confusion	02-an American draft dodger in thunder bay. 23-Mosh	

they are idealistic, they are students, and they are more of less innocent. We often trivialize their ideas as well, as immature and inexperienced	skeptical,	25- Vietnam potluck blues 26- The end 29- VietNam blues 31- war 36- What's going on 6-blowing in the wind	30-flowers and the guns 32- not in my name/sept 12	
Young people's lives - "old enough to kill but not to vote" - implied – that we treat young people as disposable- that we fail to take their lives seriously. War is an immoral because it takes young people's lives. Sacredness of youth, future generations, promise of future, whole lives ahead of them. dreams and resistance - War is immoral because it takes young people's lives. Sacredness of youth, future generations, promise of future, whole lives ahead of them.	**Young people's lives:** Anger at loss of life, sadness at youth, Outrage, disillusionment, tragedy, sorrowful,	03 - All my children of the sun. 05- Ballad of an unknown soldier 11- fortunate son 12- Freckle faced soldier 17- feel like I'm fixing to die rag 22-run through the jungle 30- Vietnam war (Hopkins) 31- War 35- Silent homecoming 36- What's going on 37- The eve of destruction 40 – Ohio -	13- Harry patch (in memory of) 14 – Home to Houston 18- Jacob's ladder 27-Bomb the world 29- rich man's war 34 – twisted sense of god pt. 1 and 2 39- Baghdad blues-	
Young Person/ teenager (Boy and Girl)- Freedom, innocence, and idealism of youth, passions. Boys – rowdy	**Young Person/ teenager (Boy and Girl)-** Free, innocent, reckless, impulsive, passionate, spirited, inexperienced, lost, confused, silly,	35- Silent homecoming 12- Freckle-Faced Soldier 31- war		

rambunctious, arrogant, strong, idealistic, aggressive, competitive, potential. Girls: Caring, sweet, nice, pretty, loving, devoted, innocent, passionate, emotional.	Reluctance to take seriously. Anger at loss of life, sadness at youth, Outrage, disillusionment, tragedy, sorrowful,			