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THE FRAMING OF POLITICAL DISSATISFACTION
IN MUSIC BY NEIL YOUNG DURING THE
VIETNAM WAR AND THE WAR IN IRAQ.

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Abstract

Neil Young has been an inspiring artist for decades. He does not hesitate from discussing political matters in his music. He does this as a solo artists as well as a member of Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young (CSNY). This essay will make a distinction between the Vietnam War era and the era surrounding the war in Iraq, the 2000s. In these two eras, political dissatisfaction was abound. This was related to events such as the ongoing Vietnam War, the Kent State Shootings, and the war in Iraq. Young did not only use specific events as a subject of his songs, he also incorporates criticism towards political figures, and other types of authority, in his songs. He criticizes president such as President Nixon and President Bush. Both Presidents continued a war that should not have taken place in the first place. Lyrics will be the focus point for analysis in this essay, a variety of theoretical background, such as Deena Weinstein's dimension of protest songs, Beate Kutschke's theory shows strategies for using music effectively and John Street's theory that shows how musicians can successfully get their message across. The first chapter includes a theoretical background on the origins of folk and rock music, combined with their relation to protest music. The second and third chapter are related to either the Vietnam War or the war in Iraq. Both chapters start with a theoretical background related to politics and music and this is followed by an analysis of songs by Neil Young. The fourth and final chapter will investigate how the reaction of the audience, towards Young's music, has changed over time. In contemporary music, this is now again relevant, because the current president, President Trump, is causing unrest in the country. My hypothesis is that Young uses various forms of political unrest and dissatisfaction in his protest songs.

Keywords: *Neil Young, CSNY, protest music, Vietnam War, War in Iraq, dissatisfaction, rock music*

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Introduction

Neil Young is a Canadian musician who found inspiration in American folk music. He has been part of the music industry for over fifty years, as he started in the 1960s. His experiences and emotions are key elements to his songs, as they offer him inspiration. Young has lived through a lot of injustice, which is reflected in his music, either as a solo artist or as part of the band Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young. Young can be regarded as one of the most prominent members of the band as he was the latest and final addition to it. In this essay, I will take a closer look at how he framed his political discontent in his music, either as a solo artist or as part of CSNY.

There will be a distinction of two eras: 1) the Vietnam War, from the mid-1960s until the early 1970s, and 2) the war in Iraq, which contains the first part of the 21st century. Both eras revolved around a prominent war, a war that created a significant division between US citizens. They also served as a source of inspiration and information for many musicians in both eras. Young has written songs in both eras and he therefore figures as a key musician who can give an insight in how political dissatisfaction was framed in protest songs, and whether this has changed over time.

Previous research has already remarked Young as a protest songwriter. "Ohio" is one of CSNY's song, which is often used as an example of a protest song. Various other artists from the Vietnam War era have also been researched and placed in the context of the Vietnam War. Some notable artists that have been researched are Johnny Cash and Bob Dylan. Research that is more recent involves Young's *Living with War* album and the war in Iraq. However, there appears to be no study that combines these, or other, war torn eras and links them to music by one artist or band.

The first chapter will consist of an introduction to folk and rock music. Furthermore, these two musical genres will be linked to politics. I will examine how both folk and rock music emerged, which in return provides a better understanding in political and social issues surrounding the United States. The second part of the chapter will dive deeper in the understanding of protest music as well as protest cultures. Various theoreticians have studied the dimension of protest songs and they will serve as a framework in analyzing songs, more specifically lyrics, in this essay. These theoreticians are Deena Weinstein, John Street and Beate Kutschke.

The second and third chapter will give an insight in how Young, both as a solo artist and as a member of CSNY, framed his political discontent in his music. Both chapters will again start with background information of political dissatisfaction in the US, during the specific era, which in return is linked to music. How do politics and music intertwine in the mid-1960s to early 1970s and in the 2000s? The wars caused a division between US citizens. During and after the Vietnam War era, various musicians started to frame their political discontent in music. The framing of political dissatisfaction was mainly incorporated in the lyrics, and the musical instruments often supported this dissatisfaction. The albums that will be used for analysis for the Vietnam War era are *CSNY 1974*, *Decade*, and *Journey through the Past*. The most important album concerning the war in Iraq is *Living with War*. In addition two songs from two other albums will be used, these albums are *Are You Passionate?* and *Le Noise*. The theories that have been set out in chapter 1 will provide a framework by which the protest songs will be analyzed. How did Neil Young frame his political dissatisfaction in these two war torn eras?

The fourth and final chapter will look at the reaction of the audience, not just the attendees of a concert, but also the reviewers of albums. CSNY's documentary *Déjà Vu* will give

in insight in performances, and the reaction of the audience, of their 2006 'Freedom of Speech Tour'. Various (online) magazines feature album reviews that will provide a more indirect reaction to Young and CSNY. Without an audience a band would not sustain, therefore their reaction is relevant as this shows how they perceive a band. Their reaction indicates whether they understand the music and message of the band. Everyone is different thus a reaction will not always be the same, and lyrics often offer more than one interpretation. How did the audience react to Young's music in the Vietnam War era, and during the 2000s?

1. The origins of folk and rock music

The 1960s marked a new height in the folk music revival, besides the revival of folk music, rock music marked a new musical genre. Neil Young, a Canadian born musician, was inspired by American folk music. Young was not the only Canadian who found inspiration in American folk music. "For musicians like Gordon Lightfoot, Bruce Cockburn, Neil Young, and Joni Mitchell, folk was a medium perfectly suited to express what they, as Canadians, were seeing in the world around them" (Wright 35). Young managed to combine folk with rock music. Both rock and folk music have their distinct approach to instruments, lyrics and sound that will be discussed in this chapter. During the 1960s it was especially rock that gave the counterculture a voice, as lyrics became an important means of conveying a message through music. This chapter will further focus on the relation between folk and protest and rock and protest. Both genres were used as a means of protest in a time of dissatisfaction. Yet, how were both folk and rock music used as a means of protest? This chapter will give a better insight in how the evolution of these music genres formed Young as a musician.

1.1. The rise of folk and rock music

Folk music did not originate in the 1960s, but it went through a revival starting in the late 1930s. However, folk music “continued to flourish during the early days of rock ‘n’ roll and into the 1960s” (Starr and Waterman 288). “In the 1930s American folk music was, in an important sense, invented by an urban intellectual elite ... This invention was shaped within a context constituted by political and social movements responding to problems of modernization accentuated by the Great Depression” (Eyerman and Barretta 503). “The revival of widespread public interest in folk music in the early 1960s grew out of traditions with roots in the 1930s and maintained through the 1950s” (531). During the 1950s, folk singers invaded a musical vacuum on college campuses (Rodnitsky 18). The ones that attended college did not relate to rock ‘n’ roll, and thus a vacuum was created. The white middle class youth, who were in these vacuums on college campuses, now had a music genre that appealed to them. This is because these young adults were at the forefront of the various movements that were established during the 1960s (Weinstein 5). Just as during the 1930s, folk music during the 1960s was again responding to ongoing problems, such as the civil rights struggle and the Vietnam War (5). However, folk music was not the only genre that attracted new listeners. Rock music was also on the rise.

Rock ‘n’ roll may have thrived during the 1950s, yet new technologies made it possible for the baby boom generation to create new music to enjoy. This so-called baby boom generation was born at the end and after World War II. They shared specific and important characteristics of group cultural identity (Starr and Waterman 199). What this generation shared is the willingness to buy records of songs and musicians who would be heard on the radio (212). The baby boomers did not only play a role in the rise of rock ‘n’ roll, they also signified the rise of rock in the 1960s. Starr and Waterman note that: “rock music – the 1960s descendent of the 1950s rock ‘n’ roll – was an essential part of the definition of the counterculture, which demonstrates once again the

remarkable degree of identification between the baby boomer generation and the music they chose to make and hear” (299). This counterculture came into being because there was a social and political discontent that brought the people together. This can also be seen in the rise of folk music. Weinstein argues: “the majority of rock protest songs of the 1960s can be seen as folk music or at best, folk-rock” (6). This indicates that there is not much difference between rock and folk music after all. There is one notable difference between rock and folk music and that can be heard in the lyrics. “Contrast rock with a style of music noted for protest songs, folk, where the music clearly backgrounds the lyrics” (10). Lyrics became less important in rock music, mainly because with the use of the electric guitar, the sound of the instrument could represent the emotions, rather than the lyrics. In addition, Starr and Waterman argue that “the words were of paramount importance in urban folk music, and the acoustic guitar accompaniments enabled the words to be heard clearly” (294). This did not stop folk musicians to turn to rock music when they went electric.

The electric guitar meant a new way of expressing oneself as a musician. Musicians could create new sounds and revolutionize music. Amplifiers extended the range of sound at shows and festivals. The coming of the electric guitar meant that folk musicians, who usually used an acoustic guitar, exchanged the acoustic guitar for an electric one. “The folk music that influenced the emergence of rock was, in fact, a folk revival that had been gaining wider interest throughout the 1950s” (Keightley 121). One example of a folk musician who traded an acoustic guitar for an electric one is Bob Dylan. The folk music community however did not like this as they saw Dylan’s move as a betrayal and as a sell-out, as he went mainstream according to his audience (122). Neil Young was, and still is, a huge fan of Dylan’s music, which can also be heard in his music, which will be examined in chapters 2 and 3.

Rock music opened new doors for songwriters. A new genre meant new possibilities. “Rock adopted and adapted aspects of their worldviews, their aesthetics and political sensibilities and their varied approaches to relations between music, musicians, and listeners in a mass mediated, commodity-driven, corporate society” (199). Rock music was for the masses, while folk music was not intended to be for the masses, as this would mean that they would have sold-out. Folk music was “a reaction to the developments of the masses” (Keightley 121). Both rock and folk musicians incorporated their political views in their music. Rock music could further express a musician’s point of view by changing either their tone of voice or the tone of their instruments. An electric guitar could produce more noise and sounds than an acoustic guitar, which could add to for example the anger expressed in a song. Vocally there were also limitations: “vocal inflection and style can, in fact, work against the ostensible meaning of the lyrics” (Street 248). This means that a musician has to keep in mind how he or she sings a particular song to get a certain message across. In folk music, lyrics were the most important element, in rock one now also needed to make sure that the vocals were correct.

The 1960s brought a reemergence of folk music, while rock saw the light through new musical technologies. Both genres are now heavily linked to protest music. Nowadays there are many songs that can be regarded as protest songs. The baby boom generation began to include their social and political dissatisfaction in their music, either acoustically or electrically.

1.2. Folk and rock music as political protest

To gain a better understanding of rock and folk music as political protest, it is best to first explore the meanings of protest and protest cultures. “Protest includes *nonroutinized* ways of affecting political, social, and cultural processes” (Della Porta 13). Protest has different characteristics: First, it is being relational (13), second, it is on the rise as channel of political

expression and mobilization (13), and third, there are different types of typologies, which means that some protests are less radical than others (14). These characteristics come together in protest cultures. Rucht mentions the following four functions of protest cultures: 1) "aside from vandalism that often comes without an explicit message, every collective protest expresses a concern, a problem, or a critique that is the driving, though not sufficient, factor to engage in joint action" (28), 2) the social background of the participants (28). 3) "Protest cultures tend to reflect the activists' ideological leaning" (28) and 4) "the preferred forms of action" (29). Thus if one can relate to an activist by shared ideologies and when this they message they convey is relatable, it makes it easier for an individual to join the protest.

Rock music was part of the counterculture. Countercultures emerged because of a growing social and political discontent. What were the origins of discontent? First, there was the struggle for civil rights, which eventually gave the African American society a voice, in life as well as in music (Starr and Waterman 299). Second, the baby boom generation, mainly from the white middle class, focused "on a critique of the values and social habits of the middle-class family" (300). They mainly criticized their parents and the social values. They wanted to live their lives differently than their parents. Third and last, the ongoing Vietnam War (299). Many US citizens were against the Vietnam War as they felt that they should not be involved in the war at all. These three elements show different ways in which countercultures emerged during the 1960s.

Protest cultures can easily be related to music and musicians. Starting in the 1960s, new "record label and executives, and managers allowed artist to do their own thing, and one of their things was protest songs" (Weinstein 6). In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the radio also opened up to these songs (6). These changes made it possible for artists to incorporate their own social

and political views in their music for the masses. Anyone who could relate to their ideologies displayed in their music could and would understand the meaning of a song. Yet, how did these musicians incorporate their social and political views in their music?

An artist can incorporate their views in their music in many forms: musically, lyrically and vocally. This essay involves a lyrical analysis of Neil Young's music. Therefore, I will only clarify the ways in which artists can write a lyrically successful protest song. Deena Weinstein mentions three dimension of protest songs:

One ... is the type of authority that is deemed unjust. Another is the specificity of the injustice – whether it is power in general, some particular policy or a specific instance of abuse of power. Songs in this last category are sometimes referred to as ‘re-ax’ or reaction songs.... A third dimension for classifying protest songs is their impact. (3)

Corn adds that re-ax songs are “songs that concentrate their fury upon a single act of injustice” (qtd. in Weinstein 3). The first two dimension can only be applied to the lyrics of the song, while the third dimension can also be applied to other aspects of a song. Weinstein notes that:

Protest songs are defined as such by virtue of their words, but many make their impact in tandem with their sonic elements, the emotionality of the music, the strength and confidence of the vocals, or their simplicity and repetitive phrases, which allow the audience to sing along. (4)

John Street, another prominent scholar, argues that “vocal inflection and style can, in fact, work against the ostensible meaning of the lyrics” (Street 248). This means that a musician has to keep in mind how he or she sings a particular song if he wants to get a certain message across. Rock musicians can also change the meaning of a song by its performance (248). This shows that a musician can put a political message in his or her music in different ways. It is always up to the

listener whether the message will come across. Street mentions that: “the political analysis may be correct but unless the listener is moved, unless the song works as a song (as melody and rhythm), then its politics may become irrelevant” (249). Thus for a songwriter to get a political message across, the song must be written in an unambiguous way, sung correctly, performed correctly and the listener must be moved. If that does not happen the song is unsuccessful as a political song. The third and final scholar, Beate Kutschke argues that:

There are essentially three strategies for using music effectively despite its equivocality in political context: 1) the composer complements the musical piece with less ambiguous *verbal language* that defines the political message. 2) The composer might trust that the *context* in which her composition is performed will clearly define its political orientation. 3) Most importantly, the composer chooses musical means to which Western listeners usually attribute an expression that corresponds with the mood of the political camp whose ideas, ideologies, critiques, and aspirations [they] want[] to support (265).

Thus here again the meaning of a song mainly depends on the listener. The listener either ‘gets it’ or does not. If the listener gets it, meaning will be derived from the protest song. To succeed in writing a protest song, the songwriter should be unambiguous, the words and the music should align, and vocally the emotions must be represented in a correct manner. In this essay, I will use these theories, by the previously mentioned scholars, to gain a better insight in Neil Young as a protest songwriter.

2. Neil Young and the Vietnam War

The importance of the counterculture became obvious during the 1960s and early 1970s. Dissatisfaction, related to national and international social and political issues, among Americans increased. One of these main issues was the ongoing war in Vietnam. Many US citizens believed

that the US should not have been involved in the war in Vietnam. Social and political issues on national ground also sparked unrest between US citizens. The media, especially the television, which was gaining popularity amongst US citizens, had a significant role in the growing unrest. US citizens could now see what happened around the world. One of these events was the largely televised war in Vietnam. Many artists, who either watched or read the news on various media, started to incorporate their unrest, their dissatisfaction, in their music, among them were artists such as Neil Young, CSNY, The Doors, Black Sabbath and Creedence Clearwater Revival.

2.1. Politics and music in the mid-1960s and early 1970s

The 1960s were not an easy decade for many Americans. The United States were involved in a war in Vietnam, the Vietnam War. With the rise of television sales, more and more American households could watch the news. The Vietnam War marked the first American war that was broadcasted all over the world (Hill 47). For the first time in history US citizen could see how their fellow citizens were killed in a war, this eventually sparked a sense of aversion. Many musicians had seen these events on their television and started to write songs about it. The audience could relate to the lyrics, as musicians dared to say what US citizens had thought. The images that were shown on the news contradicted the happy everyday lives that most Americans were leading at the time. The US citizens were not sure what the US was doing in Vietnam, especially after the Korean War, which the Americans did not win. However, they did not lose either:

In July 1951, President Truman and his new military commanders started peace talks at Panmunjom. Still, the fighting continued along the 38th parallel as negotiations stalled. Both sides were willing to accept a ceasefire that maintained the 38th parallel boundary, but they could not agree on whether prisoners of war should be forcibly “repatriated.”

(The Chinese and the North Koreans said yes; the United States said no.) Finally, after more than two years of negotiations, the adversaries signed an armistice on July 27, 1953 (“Korean War” par. 12).

Faith in US foreign policy was gone (Hill 47). Music became an important source of expression. Musicians incorporated social and political issues in their music. They did not only write about the Vietnam War, but also of other issues during the 1960s, most prominently the Civil Rights Movement. As of now, it was not only the news that discussed political issues and views, but political views were also expressed through music. So, how can music from the mid-1960s and early 1970s be seen and described?

The year 1968 is a dark year in American history. There were two prominent assassinations as well as other startling events: Martin Luther King was assassinated as well as Robert F. “Bobby” Kennedy, during the Olympics in Mexico City two US athletes gave the Black Power salute, there was racial unrest, police aggression, and there were also demonstrations against the Vietnam War (Hill again 46). “Given the many political and social upheavals of 1968, it is perhaps surprising that remarkably little direct protest emerged from the US that year; rather there are gestures towards message, sonic signifiers of unrest and a foreshadowing of confrontations ahead” (Hill again 46). The year 1968 also marked a turning point in American music. One of the main events that emerged from these events was Woodstock in 1969 (Hill again 46). During Woodstock, many musicians gathered to play music, however a political emphasis was present. Woodstock brought music, politics and drugs together as a social event. “Politics and drugs (and some would say sex) created a community of protest sentiment that expressed itself in rock music” (Heilbronner 694). Other examples of music festivals, which were largely attended by the growing counterculture of the 1960s, are Monterey Pop Festival,

Newport Folk Festival and Altamont Speedway Free Festival. These festivals, during the late 1960s, often involved protest in the form of rock music, while the early 1960s protest song was often characterized by a singer and his or her guitar (Hill 51), which is a sign of folk music (Heilbroner 690). Late 1960s protest songs were rock songs that “introduced political sentiment into the mainstream by their method of attack” (690). Rock music was “conveyed with direct sonic images of war or an exposure of the injustices of US society” (691). Thus, even though protest songs have always played a role in folk music (Rodnitzky 105), protest songs were brought to the masses by rock music.

At the end of the 1960s, many US citizens were unhappy with the Vietnam War. “Between 1968 and 1970 the war grew unpopular and opposition to the war gained respectability as prominent politicians and opinion-shaping elites began to speak out” (Bindas and Houston 13). Two years later fifty-six percent of the Americans “viewed the war as a mistake and sixty-one percent advocated early withdrawal” (16). These four years showed an increase in protest songs, not only by American artists, but also by British musicians, such as Black Sabbath and John Lennon (17). Not only Americans regarded the Vietnam War as a negative matter, but also the British and many other countries around the world. “By the spring of 1968, some 30 colleges a month were protesting with sit-ins, occupations and marches, and the anti-war movement had moved to the streets, and from America all around the world” (O’Hagen par. 25). A European example: “In Germany a strong anti-Vietnam war movement had grown on campuses in 1967” (par 26). Many believed that the Vietnam War should not have taken place at all. Once musicians from the US started to contest the Vietnam War, others around the world followed. Everyone seemed to grow tired of this never-ending war. Dissatisfaction grew massively among Americans

after 1968, which can be seen in music by Neil Young. Political and social issues inspired him and he started to incorporate this in his music.

2.2. Music by Neil Young in the mid-1960s and early 1970s

Neil Young, solo and as part of CSNY, manifested himself as a rock star in the 1960s. As a singer-songwriter, Young uses his lyrics as a textual means of transferring meaning. In his texts, he tries to convey a message to the listener. If the listener understands, he or she will find meaning in his words. Young knows that lyrics are an important component of a song. He knows this because he was touched by Bob Dylan's words when he heard them on the radio (Young ch. 17). He remembers: "One day he came over the speakers of my radio singing "How Does It Feel?" over and over. The lyrics pounded their way into my psyche, this new poetry rolling off his tongue" (ch. 17). Lyrics prove to be of utmost importance of a song, which can be heard in CSNY's "Ohio". "Ohio" is one of the most prominent protest songs by Young from the Vietnam War era, other important protest songs include: "Military Madness", "Soldier", "Goodbye Dick" and "Campaigner",

The song "Ohio" was written after four people were killed during the Kent State shooting in 1970 (Young ch. 33). "On May 4, 1970 members of the Ohio National Guard fired into a crowd of Kent State University demonstrators, killing four and wounding nine Kent State students" (Lewis and Hensley par. 1). "Richard Nixon was elected president of the United States in 1968 based in part on his promise to bring an end to the war in Vietnam (par. 5). During his first year, his involvement in Vietnam decreased, however in April 1970 "the United States invaded Cambodia and widened the Vietnam War" (par. 5). This was announced on television and radio on April 30, the next day, May 1st, protests occurred "across United States campuses where anti-war sentiment ran high" (par. 6). The National Guard was called after demonstrators

started bonfires and started throwing bottles at police cars (par. 8). On May 4, “shortly before noon, General Canterbury made the decision to order the demonstrators to disperse” (par. 15). It is not sure why the Guardsmen fired, it could either be self-defense and thus be justified, or they were not in immediate danger and thus it could not be justified (par. 18). Young had seen an image related to the shooting in a magazine, picked up his guitar and started to compose a song (Young ch. 33). The image was “full of this disbelief and sadness” (ch. 33). Young tried to convey this disbelief and sadness in his song “Ohio”. One of the tactic that he uses is repetition, which is one of the defining elements of a protest song as mentioned by Weinstein. The line “four dead in Ohio” is mentioned in the first verse as well as 8 times at the end of the song. Young’s simplistic and clear language also makes it easy for the listener to understand the song. The quick release of the song also made it possible for the audience to be moved.

Before a week had passed it was all over the radio. It was really fast for these times; really fast. All the stations played “Ohio”. There was no censoring by programmers.

Programming services were not even around; DJs played whatever they wanted on the FM stations. We were underground on FM. There was no push-back for criticizing the government. This was America. Freedom of speech was taken very seriously in our era.

We were speaking for our generation. We were speaking for ourselves. It rang true (ch. 33).

The lyrics could therefore speak directly to the masses as they had heard about the incident on the news or had read about it in magazines. The freshness of the event was still in people on people’s minds and thus Young could transfer his feelings of the event to the audience. The role of the media can also be seen in “The Unknown Soldier” by The Doors:

Breakfast where the news is read

Television children fed

Unborn living, living, dead

Bullet strikes the helmet's head

They also wrote a song once they had seen images on the news. The media had a huge influence on artists, it inspired them to write songs about the events they witnessed on the news. The audience could relate to these, because they had seen the same.

“Four dead in Ohio” was not the only part that was repeated, the first verse and the chorus were repeated as well. Here the directness and clearness of the lyrics are again visible. The first verse:

Tin soldier and Nixon coming,

We're finally on our own.

This summer I hear the drumming,

Four dead in Ohio.

The chorus:

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?

The quick release of the song meant that it could leave a mark and have an impact on the audience. Young spoke his mind and his view was repeatedly played on the radio. The shooting did not make sense to Young and his audience. Even now, years later, the real reason of the

shooting is still unknown (Lewis and Hensley par. 18). According to Weinstein, this song can be regarded as a 're-ax' song. The song is about one single governmental act that is seen as unjust, which is the firing by the Guardsmen. Young criticizes the soldiers as well as Nixon. Nixon should have left Vietnam when he could and he should not have broadened the war to Cambodia. Young sings: "should have been done long ago", which refers to the fact that Nixon should have left Vietnam long ago. Thus the quick release, the clarity, the directness all account for the song being a protest song.

Two other songs, "Military Madness" and "Soldier" can also be categorized as re-ax songs, as they are about a specificity of injustice. Graham Nash wrote "Military Madness" and it is part of CSNY's repertoire. At first glance, this song is not about the Vietnam War, but about World War II. Nash was born, in England, during World War II: "The army had my father / And my mother was having me". He did write the song once he was in the States: "After the school was over and I moved / To the other side". The other side is the US. Nash moved to the US during the Vietnam War. "Military madness is killing your country" could therefore not only relate to World War II, but also the Vietnam War, because this was written in the present tense. Nash could imply that the military involvement in Vietnam is not only killing Vietnam, but also the United States. Either way, this military madness has to stop, as many deemed the military actions by the US, during the Vietnam War era, as an abuse of power. His repetition of the word 'war' puts extra emphasis on it. Nash is not the only foreigner who wrote songs related to the Vietnam War, Black Sabbath also did this. Black Sabbath contest the political abilities of the United States in the song "War Pigs":

Politicians hide themselves away

They only started the war

Why should they go out to fight?

They leave that role to the poor

This song indicated the growing political dissatisfaction around the world, not only the US citizens felt the consequences of the war. The United States had already established itself as a world leader. The world looked at the US as a figure of authority. When the US started to get involved in foreign issues, many allies followed, however when they saw that this involvements was deemed unjust, some frowned upon the action. This is why not only American wrote protest songs about the Vietnam War.

“Soldier”, a song written by Neil Young, has a critical tone in relation to soldiers. There is a comparison between a soldier and Jesus, but neither of them seems to be able to deliver. This can be observed in the following lines: “You can't deliver right away”. Another comparison is made in two different verses: “Soldier, your eyes / shine like the sun / I wonder why”. Here the soldier’s eyes are shining like the sun, while in the final verse Jesus’ eyes are shining like the sun: Jesus, your eyes / shine like the sun / I wonder why. Young has no faith in Jesus, and there is a doubt about the ability of the soldier as well. This again shows that the use of military actions in Vietnam was pointless. The news showed the soldiers who were fighting in Vietnam. The military involvement in Vietnam is an element that Nash, Young and many others frowned upon. Many people could understand and relate to “Military Madness” and “Soldier” because they shared the same ideologies about the war. The increasing number of casualties only reduced the faith of US citizens in their government.

Another song that could be categorized as a protest song is “Goodbye Dick”. In this song, Young does not sing about a single act, but instead he targets a person, namely President Nixon. Weinstein’s theory would classify this song as protest song that is about the type of authority that

is deemed unjust (3). Nixon resigned in 1974 following the Watergate scandal. His resignation was a relief for many US citizens, among them Neil Young. Even Nixon himself realized that the US needed healing, which he mentioned during his resignation speech: “By taking this action, I hope that I will have hastened the start of that process of healing which is so desperately needed in America”. After few years after the release of “Goodbye Dick”, Young appears to be less critical of Nixon in the song “Campaigner”. He wrote this song when Nixon’s wife Pat had suffered a stroke, which was televised: “The broadcast was interrupted by an emergency bulletin. Pat Nixon had suffered a stroke, an announcer said over a filmed report of the sad and beaten Richard Nixon tearily moving through the hospital's revolving doors” (Crowe par. 109). The lyrics even show compassion for a man he slandered in “Goodbye Dick”.

Hospitals have made him cry,
 But there's always a free way in his eye,
 Though his beach just got
 too crowded for his stroll.
 Roads stretch out like healthy veins,
 And wild gift horses strain the reins,
 Where even Richard Nixon has got soul.
 Even Richard Nixon has got
 Soul.

Young acknowledges that even Nixon might have a soul, and could thus be considered as a human being. However, in an interview Young says, “guess I felt sorry for [Nixon] that night” (par. 111). His compassion was only temporary.

The release of “Ohio” ascertained the presence of a protest song in Young’s and CSNY’s repertoire. However, in *Déjà Vu* Crosby says:

The only time that songwriters should, you know, react to stuff that is going on, is when they’re absolutely moved to do so, when it just smacks them in the face and they gotta react. I don’t think you should go out and look for, you know, causes, in order to have a cause, or because it’s hip this week. And I think the only time that it’s legitimate is when an event goes down like a Kent state [sic]. We were at odds in this country, at that moment, there’s no question.

The media may indeed play a huge role in a songwriter’s life. One should not look for events to write about, the event should move you to write about it instead. Young was moved by the Kent State shooting, as well as the ongoing war in Vietnam. These events spoke to him, and in return, he wrote clear and direct songs that spoke to his audience. He created emphasis in his songs either through his voice or through repetition.

3. Neil Young and the war in Iraq

The War in Iraq has many similarities with the Vietnam War. Both wars caused a division between US citizens and they both marked a rise in the release of protest songs. However, there is a main difference as well, and that is that in the 2000s many of these songs were only known in the underground music scene. Eventually some famous artists wrote mainstream protest songs, artists such as Green Day, Pink and REM. How did politics and music intertwine in the 2000s? It becomes apparent that not only the war caused a division between US citizens. President Bush was also regarded as cause. He gained a prominent role in the framing of political protest songs in the 2000s. Just as with the Vietnam War, many believed that the war in Iraq should not have

taken place. The protest songs from the 2000s are largely arranged around Bush and the war in Iraq, which can be seen in the songs released by Neil Young in the 2000s.

3.1. Politics and music in the 2000s

September 11, 2001 marks a dark day in US and world history. On this day the United States were under attack by terrorists. Many people lost their lives that day. This day marked the start of two new wars, the war in Afghanistan and the war in Iraq. “That the decision to go to war in Afghanistan and Iraq was facilitated by the 9-11 attacks is obvious” (MacGregor and Zarembka 142). This was the dawn of the War on Terror by President George W. Bush. The US went to war in Afghanistan in 2001 (Nye and Welch 242). It was not until 2002 that the US decided to go to war in Iraq (243). The intention of going to war in Iraq is what caused annoyance by many nations. Nye and Welch observed:

The United States called its actions against Iraq “preemptive,” but many other countries saw the United States’ proposed invasion as a “preventive” war of choice because the threat posed by Iraq was not imminent. (243)

In the summer and fall of 2002, US musicians and artists started to mobilize against a possible war in Iraq (Roussel 374). It was not until the 2004 electoral campaign that they started to speak their mind, and started to endorse the Democratic Party (374). Music that was released in or around 2004 also reflects this. In 2004, Bush ran against John Kerry. Bush was re-elected by only a small margin, which sparked new rage across Democrats. With the re-election of Bush, it was clear that the war in Iraq would continue, even though many already believed that the US had nothing to do there. Various US citizens had the same sentiments as with the Vietnam War.

One substantial difference between the Vietnam War and the war in Iraq is the supply of protest songs to the masses. Protest songs released during the Vietnam War were played on the

radio, repeatedly, while during the war in Iraq these songs were “abound in the underground” (Weinstein 9). This can be related to a change in the music industry. In the 1960s, many consumers bought records. By the 2000s, mp3s had already gained prominence over a CD or LP. Temple wrote: “the major record companies have succeeded in erecting a pay-to-pay industry that effectively shuts out any band whose label cannot pony up hundreds of dollars for radio, video, retail and print promotion” (qtd. in Weinstein 9). Some notable artists such as Green Day (*American Idiot*), Pink (“Mr. President”), Eminem (“Mosh”), Pearl Jam (“Bu\$hleaguer”) and Neil Young (*Living with War*) could spread their views to the masses, because they had the means to do so. In the meantime, many underground artists can be heard on the two volumes of *Rock against Bush*. Censorship moderately there during the 1960, by the 2000s this had changed. It can be seen that both mainstream and underground artists spoke their minds in music with one major element in common: their dislike towards Bush and his actions.

3.2. Music by Neil Young in the 2000s

The early years of the new millennium were not easy for Neil Young. In 2005, he was treated for a brain aneurysm (Mar par 1; Young ch. 54). This did not slow him down. Political unrest in the world, following the 9/11 terrorist attacks, increased. Young, and many others, were not pleased with Bush and his war policies. This can be noticed on Young’s album *Living with War*, which was released in 2006. He did not only record a protest album, he also turned his website into a CNN equivalent on which he displayed news related to the war in Iraq. This part of the website, called LWW, is still operational, it still plays music, has an up-to-date news feed and it features a list of protest songs submitted by visitors of the website. The internet has expanded

Young's spectrum of distributing his political discontent. Aside from the website, how did he frame his political discontent on his 2006 album?

Even before the release of *Living with War*, Young released a re-ax song in relation to the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The song "Let's Roll", which is featured on the 2002 album *Are You Passionate?*. This song features as a tribute to the victims of the attacks. The lyrics imply that Young favored the invasion of Afghanistan initially:

No one has the answer
 But one thing is true
 You've gotta turn on evil
 When it's coming after you
 You gotta face it down
 And when it tries to hide
 You gotta go in after it
 And never be denied

"You've gotta turn on evil / When it's coming after you" and "You gotta go in after it" shows that Young wants to eradicate the evils, in this case the ones who were behind the attacks.

According to President Bush, these evils were present in the Middle East:

There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries. They are recruited from their own nations and neighborhoods and brought to camps in places like Afghanistan, where they are trained in the tactics of terror. They are sent back to their homes or sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction (Bush).

Young may have favored the Afghanistan initially. He surely did not favor the war in Iraq. This can clearly be heard on *Living with War*.

“After the Garden”, the first song of the album, is a perfect example of a re-ax song. The first three lines set the tone for the rest of the song, perhaps even for the rest of the album: “won’t need no shadow man / runnin’ the government / won’t need no stinkin’ WAR”. Young emphasizes the word ‘war’ when he is singing. He does this with a change in tone, yet he is not screaming or yelling. It can be considered as a folk song as the lyrics are the most important element of the song, and he is not yelling or screaming the lyrics to get the message across. The added emphasis is enough to understand that he criticizes the war. The strength and confidence of Young’s voice is enough to leave an impact on the listener.

The title song, “Living with War”, is as direct as the opening track. “And on the flat-screen we kill and we’re killing again”. This war was also broadcasted on a global scale, just as the Vietnam War. Everyone knew what was going on. US soldiers killed and were killed. A *PLOS Medicine* survey “point to around 405,000 deaths attributable to the war and occupation in Iraq from 2003 to 2011. At least another 56,000 deaths should be added to that total from households forced to flee Iraq” (Vergano par. 5). That is almost half a million Iraqis who lost their life during the war, compared to 4523 US military casualties (*ICasualties*). “And when the night falls, I pray for peace / try to remember peace (visualize)” indicates that Young is ready to live in peace again, just as many others. Young signals that one had even forgotten what peace was like, as the US had been involved in wars in Afghanistan and Iraq since 2001.

“Shock and Awe” and “Flags of Freedom” can also be considered as re-ax song. These songs are concerned with policy, power and an abuse of power. “Shock and Awe” is concerned with the effects of war. Young discusses that “history was the cruel judge of overconfidence”, which implies that Bush was overconfident to continue the war. Especially after Bush delivered his ‘mission accomplished’ speech on national television.

“Having marched U.S. troops through Iraq and deposed of Saddam Hussein's regime (and his statue), Bush called Operation Iraqi Freedom "a job well done." "Major combat operations in Iraq have ended," Bush said, the infamous "Mission Accomplished" banner hovering over him. "In the battle of Iraq, the United States and our allies have prevailed” (Cline par. 5)

Cline adds: “Instead, the speech and the banner became a symbol of the unpopular war, which would last another eight brutal years” (par. 9). Bush should have left Iraq because he himself mentioned that it was a ‘mission accomplished’, yet somehow the US military stayed in Iraq for another eight years. Young criticizes Bush on his decision to stay in Iraq, which can be seen in the closing lines of the song:

We had the chance to change our mid
 But somehow wisdom was hard to find
 We went with what we knew and now we can't go back
 But we had the chance to change our mind

Young essentially implies that Bush was not a reliable President and that he condemns some of his actions related to power and war. It could be said that, according to Young and many others, Bush abused his power, he could and should have left Iraq, but he did not. Young and many others around the world did not take this decision lightly. Green Day's *American Idiot* also provides an excellent example in which President Bush is put to shame. The title song “American Idiot” presents the listener with a negative idea of America's action to go to war:

Don't wanna be an American idiot
 One nation controlled by the media
 Information Age of hysteria

It's calling out to idiot America

According to Green Day, the media has had too much control in the United States, and this may have been the reason why Bush was re-elected. Bush ran against John Kerry and Bush only won by a small margin, which again sparked new rage across the Democrats in the country. With the re-election of Bush, it was clear that the War in Iraq would continue.

“Flags of Freedom” takes a different standpoint, as it mainly relates the war in Iraq to the Vietnam War. “Fighting in the age old battle / we’ve sometimes won before”. Young does not only criticize the war in Iraq, but also almost every other war fought by the United States. Freedom had left the United States, just as soldiers had to leave the US to fight. Indirectly this song could be regarded as a tribute song to Bob Dylan, one of the main musicians who started it all for Neil Young. Young refers to him directly and he uses one of Dylan’s famous songs in his lyrics: “Blowin’ in the Wind”.

Today's the day our younger son

Is goin' off to war

Fightin' in the age old battle

We've sometimes won before

Flags that line old main street

Are blowin' in the wind

These must be the flags of freedom flyin'

Young also mentions that the US has won some battles. Going to war also appears to be something for the whole family, as the US is ‘fightin’ in the age old battle’, and now even the youngest son has to join the military to go to war. One had hoped that going to war would not be

necessary anymore. Young managed to be critical of a leader's decision, while he also praises as fellow musician in one song.

The album also features two songs, "The Restless Consumer" and "Let's Impeach the President", in which the type of authority is deemed unjust, in these cases it is the presidential power of President Bush. In "The Restless Consumer", Young briefly addresses Bush: "When you could do so much more / you're not even trying". Preceded by: "How do you pay for war / and leave us dying?". The presented restless consumer is wondering why Bush uses money that could be of use on national soil for a pointless war in Iraq. Bush should focus on his own people, his own country first, before spending it on a war, as his country has problems as well. This can be seen in a different interpretation of the song, namely as a tirade against the consumer culture: "the restless consumer lies / asleep in her hotel / with such an appetite / for anything that sells". Even the ones in the United States are spending money on things they do not need. Not only the focus of President Bush is wrong, many US citizens also tend to ignore the problems in their own country. They would rather spend money on themselves than use it to help others. Bush essentially does the same, yet he uses the money from the government to do so. It could be said that Young wants everyone to spend their money wisely and not only on themselves, as there are too many people who need help.

The most prominent and direct song on the album is "Let's Impeach the President". The title already suggests that this is a protest song in regard of President Bush. In 2002, Young may still have stood behind Bush when he invaded Afghanistan. Nonetheless, by 2006, this had changed. Young did not stand behind Bush when he invaded Iraq. The four opening lines:

Let's impeach the President for lying

And misleading our country into war

Abusing all the power that we gave him

And shipping all our money out the door

These lines spell out what is wrong with the country and its leader. According to Young, Bush misled the country by going to war, this was a wrong decision. Wars cost money, and Young believes that Bush is “shipping all our money out the door”. This relates back to “The Restless Consumer” as here again, Bush would rather spend money on a war than on national issues. “The U.S. war in Iraq has cost \$1.7 trillion with an additional \$490 billion in benefits owed to war veterans, expenses that could grow to more than \$6 trillion over the next four decades counting interest” (Trotta par. 1). It did not only cost money then, they, the taxpayers, are still paying for it now. In this song, Young does not only address the war as a dissatisfying issue, he also addresses the fact that the President is a spy by tapping telephones and computers:

Let's impeach the President for spying

On citizens inside their own homes

Breaking every law in the country

By tapping our computers and telephones

Besides that, Young also indicates that Bush has racist tendencies: “dividing our country into colors / and still leaving black people neglected”. One example, also mentioned in the lyrics, is the lack of help during hurricane Katrina:

What if Al Qaeda blew up the levees

Would New Orleans have been safer that way

Sheltered by our government's protection

Or was someone just not home that day?

“Strange as it may seem at this time of instant communication and the 24-hour news cycle, Bush didn't pay attention to the biggest news story of the moment because he was on vacation and allowed himself to get isolated from the country” (Walsh par. 1). Young therefore believes that the president is not capable of leading a country, which leads to the next song on the album, which is “Looking for a Leader”.

In “Looking for a Leader”, Young is looking for a new president who can “re-unite the red, white and blue”. This should also be someone who can “clean up the corruption / and make the country strong”. Young had observed the decline of the United States as a reliable world leader. He noticed that other countries, and even some US citizens, were turning against the Bush Administration, and thus against the United States. Change was needed. Young believed that the next president needed to be more capable than Bush was. What the country needed was a healer and not a destroyer. Fortunately, Young received what he had wished for when Obama won the 2008 elections.

Young was critical in his songs about Bush and his decisions. Yet he still loved his country. This can be seen in the final song of the album. “America the Beautiful” indicates that there still is hope for America to rise again. It still is the beautiful country that it has always been. Young probably hoped that once Bush left the scene that America would return to its beautiful self. In 2010, Young released *Le Noise*, which features the Grammy Award winning song “Angry World”. This song indicates that he is not completely satisfied yet. Although he has hope “it's an angry world / and everything is going to be all right”. Sadly, this takes time and even though Obama may have tried to accomplish this, Trump has already undone most of Obama's work.

In the 2000s, Young used most of the same tactics in writing songs as in the Vietnam War era. He does not spare President Bush in his songs. He is honest, direct and to the point. He

condemns the president and his actions, which clearly features as an overall theme on *Living with War*. The added dimension is his interactive website, which is still in use today, on which news related to the war in Iraq is still being added. He was moved by events shown on media in the 1960s, and now in the 2000s he uses it to move others.

4. The changing reactions towards Youngs music during the Vietnam War era and the War in Iraq

The re-ax song “Ohio” boosted CSNY’s career. The quick release of the song was the main reason. The audience could relate instantly to this song because the event discussed in the song had only just happened. Shortly after its release, they rose to fame. Now, over forty-five years later the song is still important. It features in many lists, such as *Rolling Stone*’s ‘500 greatest hits of all time. “Ohio” comes in at number 395. That the audience can still appreciate the song becomes clear when in 2009 the song was inducted in the Grammy Hall of Fame.

CNSY reunited in 2006 and toured the US with their ‘Freedom of Speech Tour’. “This summer’s Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young ‘Freedom of Speech Tour’ is bringing their music full circle by connecting the dots to the American experience then and now”(CSNY *Freedom of Speech Tour 2006*). The band did not only play their old songs, but they also played many songs of Young’s latest album *Living with War*. It appears that CSNY reunited to spread a political message, which they had done previously in the 1960s. However, the ‘Freedom of Speech Tour’ brought two generations together. On the one hand, the ones who had lived and endured the Vietnam War, and on the other hand the ones who were now living through the war in Iraq. America was a war again, and this war also divided the country.

During the 1960s and 1970s, CSNY never seemed to hit a wrong nerve with the audience. The audience seemed to enjoy their performances as well as what the band stood for. The audience shared the same ideology as the band. This was bound to change after the release of *Living with War*. Young's ideology and political message was not shared with all of his, and CSNYs, fans. The war in Iraq had divided the country, the Republican South backed Bush, while the Democratic North seemed to distrust him. This can be seen in *Déjà Vu*. There clearly is a divided audience present, which is most prominently visible during the song "Let's Impeach the President". The audience boos them off stage. Before this is shown, in the *Déjà Vu* documentary, individual members of the audience speak their minds about CSNY and their music. They mention that they are there for the music and not for the band members' opinions. These images are from the Atlanta show, a southern city. However, when the politically charged song "Let's Impeach the President" starts, a part audience starts to boo and raise their middle fingers. The other part raises peace signs in the air and sings along. The audience may be there for the music, they surely do not mind to speak their mind about the band members' political opinions. The aftermath of the show really shows the anger that some concertgoers carry. They are not pleased, they yell towards the cameras and storm out of the venue. This division of the audience coincides with the division of the country. Some agree with the president, and his actions, while some do not.

In 2006, Young appears as a guest on *The Colbert Report*. They discuss Young's latest release *Living with War*. It becomes clear that the host, Stephen Colbert, agrees with the statement that Young tries to make with his latest album, but when Young starts to sing "Let's Impeach the President" it is out of line as he is slightly forced to stop playing. It appears that Young is not allowed to play this song on air, even though he has the host on his side. It could be

that the programmers do not want the show to turn too political as they might lose viewers. The United States may still be too conservative.

Stephen Colbert is not the only one who has made a statement about *Living with War*. Various reviewers also engaged in reviewing the album and they all mentioned the political messages on it. A review on *AllMusic* reads as follows:

To some, the specificity of Young's writing on *Living with War* will forever date it, but that's a risk with any topical folk, rock, or pop, from "We Shall Overcome" to "We are the World"-- or "Ohio," for that matter. Young is aware of this and embraces the allegedly short shelf-life of his songs for *Living with War* by directly addressing the political turmoil in the U.S.A. in 2006 and the real human wreckage it has left behind. As such, it will function as a vivid document of its era, as much as any journalism of its time, but *Living with War* isn't rock-as-CNN: it's a work of art, and it's a canny one at that, with Young drawing on familiar words and music to create both historic and emotional context for his songs (*Living with War* Erlewine).

Erlewine implies that the album will soon be outdated because of the political messages. Yet, how can it be explained that many songs that were written and released during the Vietnam War are still 'alive'. Many of these songs may not be directly relevant in today's context, but many of these songs are still regarded as all-time favorites. Mitchum, a contributor at *Pitchfork*, starts with an uplifting element in his review: "this album features an elder rock statesman making an effective protest record thanks to a raucously communal approach" (par. 1) However, he as well suggest a brief shelf life of this album (par. 4). *Rolling Stone's* Fricke calls *Living with War* a "one man's opinion: Young reports, you decide" (par. 2). He does not seem to judge Young by

his lyrics, but lets the audience decide. This is exactly what can be seen during live performances, where the division becomes visible. Thus, many may conclude that *Living with War* has a short shelf life because of Young's political statement, while others imply that it is in fact an effective protest album because of how he framed his political statement. Reviewers are as divided as the country.

The political issues that are addressed on the album are not the only target. CSNY's *Déjà Vu Live* reviews also address the issue of age. The men in CSNY are not the youngest anymore. The *AllMusic* review: "There's no disguising what this is: this is a set of aging hippies lamenting the way things are now by connecting to who they were back then, reuniting for the new songs and mixing up relevant older ones" (*Déjà Vu Live* Erlewine). He addresses the men as aging hippies. Surely, they can be regarded as such, as they still play their older songs, but they have also updated their message and ideologies in their new songs. Kemp, a contributor at *Rolling Stone*, also addresses their hippie past: "The trio's harmonies provide a blanket of old-hippie warmth for Young's raw protest songs, even as Nash goes on a Woodstock nostalgia trip, warning the crowd not to "eat the brown acid"". They may have aged, but they still manage to sell out venues. The audience is still willing to listen to their music, whether these are old or new songs. If they do not appreciate the political message, they will speak their minds. The *Déjà Vu* documentary also shows that the band had a rough start of the 'Freedom of Speech Tour'. The band members know that they are aging rock stars, yet once the tour progressed, they felt that it went better. Mirkin, a writer at *Variety*, attended one of the shows and observed that "the band is looking a little worse for wear" (par. 6). Age does not play a role in selling out venues, they still manage to do so as well as many other aging rock stars, such as the Rolling Stones. CSNY's

1960s fan base has also aged, while they also gained a younger audience, either through their parents or through new releases by the band or individual band members.

The reviewers and the audience have shown that even though that Young and other band members have aged, they still make relevant and good records. They still manage to sell out venues and tour the country. Surely not everyone agrees with the political message, but they do not have to. It should be about the music in the first place, and if the lyrics happen to share the same ideology as a listener it makes it easier for them connect to it. The reaction of the audience does show that the listener is moved by the lyrics, otherwise they did not need to boo the band of stage. One does not always have to be moved, by a song, in a positive way. Negative reactions are also allowed as they also indicate that the framing of political discontent was successful.

Conclusion

In a time of political unrest, it only appears to be logical that musicians start to use their dissatisfaction, with wars, political leaders, and actions, in their music. Young has done so during the Vietnam War and the war in Iraq. During the Vietnam War, the framing of political dissatisfaction happened occasionally and it is most prominently visible in the song "Ohio". This song put Young and CSNY on the map as protest songwriters. The US citizens, who grew more dissatisfied with the US government, understood the message that the band tried to convey. It showed that the citizens were not the only ones affected by the events around them musicians were too. Musicians turned these feelings of discontent in songs. Young is one of the musicians who did so during the mid-1960s and the early 1970s. Musicians dared to say what the public felt. The main group of people involved in political protest during the 1960s and 1970s were part of the counterculture. These likeminded people connected over music, music that shared their

ideology and worldviews. The more musicians started to incorporate political elements in their music the more people started to understand what was really happening. Politics did not change, which led to an increase of protest, not only in the US, but also all over the world. These protests were adhering to the political unrest in the US.

Weinstein, Street and Kutschke are important scholars in the field of protest and protest music. Their theories helped in defining the framework of this thesis. Their work was used to analyze politically charged songs written by Neil Young in the two war torn eras. It has become that when time progressed Young also started to write protest songs about political leaders. This shows that he framed his discontent in various ways. In his song he uses repetition for emphasis, as well as an occasional change in voice. He uses clear words that lead to, an overall, unambiguous meaning of a song. Some songs can be interpreted in multiple ways, yet it always turns out that the main subject of the song is shown in a negative light.

Young's "Ohio" is his most prominent protest song, a 're-ax' song, during the Vietnam War era, while during the war in Iraq he released an album which was full with protest songs. These songs range from 're-ax' songs to songs that condemn a type of authority. Here again he also uses repetition for emphasis, although much less than is shown in "Ohio". The politics around him are more prominent in his songs. The songs can all be connected to Bush and the war in one way or another. He believed that Bush was a bad leader, yet he always had hope that once Bush's turn was over, things would get better again. This is also visible in some of his songs. The songs on the album may have different targets, yet it seems that as time progresses, Young dared to say more in his songs. Perhaps there still was some censorship present in the 1960s, even though freedom of speech was celebrated or perhaps the music industry has not set fewer limitations for musicians. However, the audience did not always appreciate this change.

CSNY documentary *Déjà Vu* shows a division of the audience during the 'Freedom of Speech Tour' in 2006. The audience was as divided as the country. Perhaps the country's division was more prominent during the War in Iraq than during the Vietnam War. Many people believed that Bush should have never went to war in Iraq, just as many people that the US should never have been involved in the Vietnam War.

Politics and music are ever changing. This means that new protest songs will be written in the future. Further research could involve the current US president, President Trump. He has only been in office for a couple of months and the many protests have already taken place. There have already been protest songs written about him. One of these protests songs is Eminem's "Campaign Speech". Protest songs are originating in various musical genres, perhaps a study can compare different musicians, who have written protest songs, to one specific event or person, and see whether they have similarities or differences in how they frame their political dissatisfaction.

The future of protest songs is quite unsure. Surely, they will exist for as long as there are political issues that one is dissatisfied with. With Trump in charge, there could also be a rise in protest songs. It will be interesting to see how musicians deal with the framing of political discontent concerning President Trump. The type of political dissatisfaction in songs may change, but protest songs will be there. As long as political unrest exists, it will be framed in music.

I have shown, with the example of Neil Young's music, that political events will be used as a starting point of protest songs. A limitation of the study was the size of it. Young's repertoire spans decades and multiple wars. Therefore, I only used the songs that clearly stood out as protest songs, in the two eras. Overall, each protest song has to convey a message to which an audience

can relate, whether this may be an older or newer fan base. If they cannot relate to the song, it will not be successful. Weinstein's categories of protest songs provide a helpful framework in analyzing protest song.

In contemporary music, there will be musicians who release protest songs during the War in Iraq and who will know or in the future, criticize Trump in new songs. This essay can pose as an example of portraying how musicians changed their musical framing of political discontent over time. Whether there will be more ways in which a political protest song can be framed, can only become visible as time progresses. Rock and folk music are not the only genres that deal with political dissatisfaction. Other genres may have different means of framing political dissatisfaction. Music changes and people change, yet some political events will always call for a musical response.

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