Introduction

IN THE SPRING of 1967, a young rock music critic named Paul Williams visited San Francisco from the East Coast. Writing a few months later in *Crawdaddy!* magazine, Williams excitedly described the city's new venues for rock music as "induction centers." The metaphor was a powerful one given the escalating war in Vietnam and mandatory military conscription in the United States. In Williams's opinion, instead of processing young men into the Armed Forces, venues such as San Francisco's Fillmore Auditorium (figure 0.1) drafted a wide range of people into a new social configuration: the counterculture. "The teenyboppers," he wrote, "the college students, the curious adults come down to the Fillmore to see what's going on, and they do see, and pretty soon they're part of it."[1] Audiences went in to listen to music, but Williams believed they exited into an enlivened sense of community and possibility that was increasingly taking over San Francisco's streets, parks, and public spaces.

Comparing the Fillmore to an induction center implied that rock offered a very different experience of citizenship than the US military. Williams suggested that the Armed Forces turned male citizens into dehumanized soldiers while the Fillmore and other rock halls transformed all sorts of people into more fully realized democratic participants.[2] "If you examine San Francisco closely," he noted, "you'll find major changes taking place in almost every aspect of city life. New attitudes towards jobs, towards education, towards entertainment and the arts. Basic shifts in the relationships between man and his environment, shifts that have affected every facet of that environment." Rock was at the center of these developments,

FIGURE 0.1. "Induction center": The Jefferson Airplane at the Fillmore Auditorium, 1966. Photographer: George Hall.

which, according to Williams, were "changes that best can be communicated not in words but in music."[3]

Like Williams, other commentators thought of Vietnam when they analyzed the emerging counterculture in San Francisco. Taking stock of the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood that was fast becoming ground zero for countercultural life, one underground-newspaper letter writer argued, "There probably would be no Haight-Ashbury without the war."[4] Some thought that the counterculture in San Francisco might even stop America's ill-fated military intervention in Southeast Asia. Anticipating the 1967 Human Be-In in Golden Gate Park, Haight-Ashbury poet Allen Cohen and store owner Ron Thelin hoped that "[u]ltimately the energy generated in gatherings like this could shift the balances enough to end the war in Vietnam and revitalize many dead hearts."[5] For these and other participants in the San Francisco counterculture, it was diametrically opposed to the Vietnam conflict. But not all who experienced the scene up close agreed. The novelist and broadsheet publisher Chester Anderson, a friend and colleague of Williams, went so far as to contend that there were troubling similarities between the San Francisco counterculture and the war. According to Anderson, the cynical marketing of the 1967 Summer of Love turned the Haight into "a scale model of Vietnam." It had become a place where "minds & bodies are being maimed as we watch," "kids are starving to death," and "rape is as common as bullshit." This was because "Hip Merchants" such as Cohen and Thelin were too busy "polishing the Hippy Image &

persuading The System that hippies are solid, hard-spending consumers."[6] In Anderson's view, "Hip Merchants" should have devoted their time and resources to solving serious civic problems of housing, public health, and mental well-being for the millions of people—especially young people—flocking to San Francisco. Focused on marketing San Francisco to the world, countercultural leaders lost sight of the quality of public life at the local level. In doing so, Anderson believed, they wound up replicating the dehumanizing violence of "The System" of American consumer and military empire as epitomized by the war in Vietnam.

Anderson's critique manifested the ways in which the American military intervention informed understandings of San Francisco rock music and the counterculture; but moving in the other direction, San Francisco rock music and its countercultural associations also suffused the war effort. The very thing that Anderson protested—the commodification of phenomena such as hippies—allowed the US military and its personnel to transport the energies of the Fillmore and the Haight-Ashbury to Southeast Asia: troops brought rock on records and cassettes; family and friends sent countercultural materials such as posters, magazines, books, clothes, instruments, and hippie bric-a-brac to GIs; and the Armed Forces imported rock to Vietnam in hopes of raising morale among young troops. A poster for a touring soldier rock band in Vietnam, approved by the military for official use, featured a Haight-Ashbury-like neighborhood of head shops, music stores, and street art transposed to the confusing space of military struggle as if to suggest that American GI's could become hippies in their downtime even if they were still warriors at work (figure 0.2).[7] The poster seemed to come to life in an image by photojournalist Tim Page that captured an American GI sitting beneath a pink umbrella during the mini-Tet Offensive of May 1968; on his helmet in large letters, he had ostentatiously labeled himself a hippie (figure 0.3).[8] Another GI scrawled "San Francisco City of Love" across his helmet (figure 0.4).[9] Peace signs, symbols of the counterculture as it connected to the domestic antiwar movement, also turned up all over Vietnam on helmets, zippo lighters, and in graffiti. They were often accompanied by snippets from famous rock lyrics.[10] Tim Page photographed one American soldier wearing a large gold peace medallion; but in a paradox indicative of the war's dizzying swirl of countercultural fantasies of peace and military realities of violence, it dangled from his neck between a bullet-filled bandoleer (figure 0.5).[11]

Peace signs and bandoleers, helmets and hippies; guns and guitars, the induction center of the Fillmore Auditorium and an imagined Haight-Ashbury in Vietnam: moving between the "City of the Summer of Love" and the country in which the United States waged war, rock music became a crucial cultural form. It sustained a hyper-charged interplay of identity and community, personal experience

FIGURE 0.2. Visions of the Haight-Asbury transposed to Vietnam: A poster for The Local Board, A Cav Touring Show, South Vietnam, date unknown. NARA.

FIGURE 0.3. The paradoxes of the Vietnam GI: A hippie at war, 1968. CORBIS. Photographer: Tim Page.

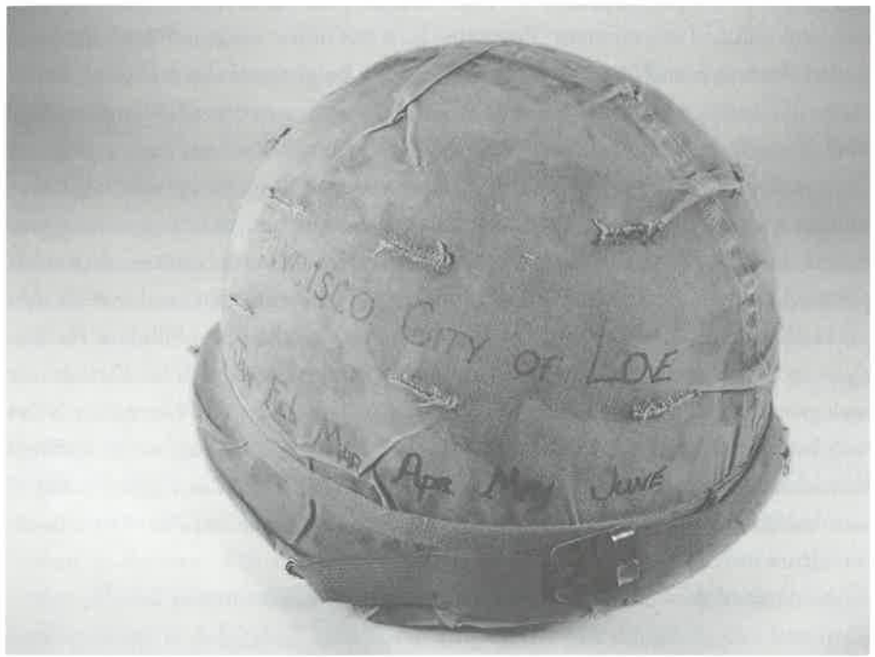

FIGURE 0.4. "San Francisco City of Love": GI helmet graffiti in Vietnam, 1970. Photographer: Gunbunny.

FIGURE 0.5. A GI's bandoleer and peace sign together: War and counterculture in DMZ, South Vietnam, 1968. CORBIS. Photographer: Tim Page.

and public participation, self-expression and collective scrutiny, cultural exploration and political engagement. Revisiting how the music resonated with listeners in San Francisco and Vietnam reveals how rock heightened the stakes of democratic life during wartime.[12] To be sure, other locations mattered—London, New York, Detroit, Los Angeles, Paris, Chicago, and clubs, bedrooms, cars, and street corners all around the world—but none at the level of these two places in relation to each other. The circulation of rock music between the city of peace, love, and flowers and the country of war, turmoil, and Napalm created a counterculture that pulsated with life-or-death questions of belonging, dissent, hope, and fear. As if to prove this point, a few years after Paul Williams described the Fillmore Auditorium as San Francisco's countercultural induction center, a popular Vietnamese rock group, the CBC Band, performed nightly in Saigon. The CBC played the latest rock hits to both American GIs and local youth. One might not expect to discover such a mingling of Americans and Vietnamese in civil association in the midst of war, but the concerts became key spaces for the infusion of San Francisco's counterculture into Vietnam.

The name of the venue where the band played? The Fillmore Far East.[13]

HOW DO WE more deeply understand the role of rock in shaping the sixties counterculture? As historian Howard Brick points out, despite many studies we still

only have a "sketchy formula" of the counterculture's significance.[14] This book looks at (and listens to) the responses that rock generated in San Francisco and Vietnam to fill in the picture more fully. Examining new archival and oral sources, I argue that rock most of all inspired a counterculture defined by issues of citizenship.[15] As the music moved between San Francisco and Vietnam—from the Fillmore West to the Fillmore Far East and back again—it gave rise to a strange new federation of participants.[16] I call this polity of sound the republic of rock. Appearing most vividly in San Francisco and Vietnam, the republic of rock circulated within the mass-mediated channels of American empire during the 1960s and into the early 1970s. It was a stateless entity, more accurately thought of as a state of being or a state of becoming than a state in the conventional political sense. It was constituted by voluntary participation rather than by mandated policies. Like the Enlightenment republic of letters, it was more a mindset than a set of sovereign governmental institutions.[17] The republic of rock had no borders, no formal administration, no official laws, and no army. Nonetheless, for those who took refuge in it simply by listening and responding to music, this country of sonic experience mattered immensely.[18] Along with hallucinogenic drugs and new mores about sex, rock became a means of addressing, through culture, two of the core mysteries of democratic citizenship: how do disparate *persons* legitimately assemble into a *people*? And when they do, how does this affect them as individuals and a community?[19]

The term counterculture itself originally appeared in academia, in the abstract theorizing of Talcott Parsons's functionalist sociology. Following Parsons, J. Milton Yinger used the term "contra culture" in a famous 1960 article in the *American Sociological Review* about juvenile delinquency.[20] The concept moved into common usage after historian and social critic Theodore Roszak borrowed, and slightly altered, it for the title of his best-selling 1969 book, *The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition*.[21] Only by the end of the decade did the two words collapse into one and become shorthand for the effort, usually by young people, to reimagine and change the world through cultural means. From its origins in the academy to its entrance into popular usage to its continued presence in popular memory (whether vilified by the right or nostalgized by sectors of the left), the counterculture has remained a vexed label.[22] Even the dates of it remain uncertain, which is why I use "sixties" rather than "1960s" in the title of this book.

Not only the periodization, but also the ideological coherence of the countercultural concept is debatable. Two competing narratives dominate the historical interpretation of the phenomenon. The first imagines the counterculture as an authentic underground social movement ultimately co-opted by mainstream mass

culture. The second frames the counterculture from the opposite perspective: it was a marketed, commodified "lifestyle" that substituted fashion for substance, harmless cultural expression for radical political resistance. But to reduce the counterculture to a unitary definition of any sort is problematic. This is because, as historians Peter Braunstein and William Michael Doyle contend, "The term 'counterculture' falsely reifies what should never properly be construed as a social movement. It was an inherently unstable collection of attitudes, tendencies, postures, gestures, 'lifestyles,' ideals, visions, hedonistic pleasures, moralisms, negations, and affirmations."[23] They rightly suggest that the counterculture was hybrid and syncretic, always an uneasy aggregation of tendencies and developments.

Howard Brick similarly emphasizes the contradictions of the counterculture. It improbably brought together an older "romantic-bohemian critique of modern life" which "aimed to free libidinal energy and expand consciousness" and "a large constituency shaped by mass culture" and "built around a market-mediated form of popular expression (rock music) inflected with the rebellious sentiments of the working class and oppressed peoples, particularly African Americans."[24] Many historians, like Brick, rightfully notice how counterculturalists, many though not all of them middle-class and white, appropriated older working-class and African-American modes of leisure and culture to open up their own spaces of freedom. But they also note the ways in which counterculturalists took these inspirations in surprising directions.[25] Rock music most of all provided access to an associational life that transcended older familial ties: friendship increasingly replaced kinship and sometimes even substituted for it.[26] As Braunstein and Doyle remind us, counterculturalists were most interested in rethinking the "essential ground of identity."[27] They did not seek to stabilize their senses of self or community, but to uproot and challenge assumptions about individuals and their social relationships. Using rock to do so, they called the very nature of citizenship into question.

Citizenship—which we might understand as the relationship between individuals and the larger political and social modes of organization in which they are enmeshed—became intensively opened up to scrutiny in the countercultural milieu. When historians, political theorists, and other analysts examine phenomena such as the counterculture, they typically distinguish between culture and citizenship. Culture, for them, involves beliefs, values, worldviews, practices, and aesthetics. Citizenship, by contrast, refers to formal, governmental, political, and legalistic definitions of membership, rights, and duties. Yet sociologist Nick Stevenson calls our attention to how "notions of cultural citizenship offer an opportunity to link the way changes in the economic and political sphere have had impacts upon the ways in which citizenship is commonly experienced."[28] For

Stevenson, culture is the medium through which abstract, institutionalized categories of citizenship affect people's immediate lives. Many participants in the counterculture shared this reasoning. They added to it the notion that everyday experiences in the cultural arena could also influence economic and political citizenship.[29] For them, the culture-citizenship dynamic flowed in both directions.

Rock music became important to the claim that citizenship was both political and cultural because as it offered spaces of aesthetic interaction in the realm of leisure and entertainment, it also connected individuals to larger structures of power.[30] To enjoy commercial recordings and concerts, to "rock out" while listening to roaring electric guitars, thundering drums, and intense amplification was, at some level, to join larger forces of technological control even if one opposed them or felt ambivalent about them. Some participants in the counterculture grew suspicious of rock's uses of the technologies of mass mediation. They felt that these made the music complicit with the exploitations and horrors of Cold War American consumer and military empire. But others in the counterculture were struck by how rock's "incorporated" qualities were precisely what allowed for reflection on the kinds of citizenship available in the historical moment of the sixties: the music's complicity was what made it useful for civic engagement.[31] As it generated varied responses, rock defied typical definitions of outside and inside, rebellion and incorporation, escape and engagement. It raised questions and challenged listeners, enlivening a counterculture that did not supplant larger norms of citizenship so much as charge them intellectually, emotionally, and physically with all the dilemmas of modern democratic belonging and autonomy.[32]

Because San Francisco and Vietnam were both actual places and potent symbols during the sixties, they provide good vantage points for glimpsing how rock did this—how it mattered to the formation of the counterculture as a civic phenomenon. In these two places, rock offered great fun and a chance to escape into the pleasures of sound, light shows, psychotropic substances, spirituality, erotic encounters, and communal fellowship. At the same time, escaping into the music also led back to engagement.[33] Rock allowed listeners to probe the nature of human individuality, liberty, freedom, community, commitment, and coercion. It did so not by presenting a stable ideological position for listeners to adopt, but rather by mediating uncertain questions of citizenship through what ethnomusicologist Steven Feld calls "feelingful activity."[34]

ROCK RAISED ISSUES of citizenship up for scrutiny just as the ideology of Cold War liberalism was losing authority in the 1960s. As the pressures of war abroad and conflicts over civil rights, equality, and justice at home tore apart the consensus politics that arose out of the New Deal and World War II, rock provided one resource

for grappling with the dissolution of liberalism.[35] Because rock was so ambiguously embedded within consumerism and militarism, so strangely connected to the technological means of producing American power both domestically and internationally, the music provided immediate access, in cultural form, to urgent political questions about the nature of rights and obligations, freedom and its limits. What has made the counterculture so difficult to understand is that while its participants largely rejected liberalism in its Cold War form, they did not consistently advocate or adopt one alternative ideology. They neither definitively embraced a libertarian emphasis on rights, nor endorsed a communitarian emphasis on obligations. The counterculture, instead, remained poised between these opposing tendencies. In the libertarian vein, counterculturalists longed to wrest individual liberty away from the tyranny of larger systems of control they discovered in the military-industrial complex. In the communitarian tradition, they found themselves asking what obligations ensued once they did. As the liberalism of the Cold War consensus gave way, the counterculture that emerged in responses to rock became a way to grapple with the fraught question of what might replace it.[36]

The political stresses of war abroad and dissent at home were not the only factors undermining Cold War consensus liberalism and contributing to the rise of the counterculture; economic transformations were also at work. The 1960s were a time of unprecedented abundance. As President Lyndon Johnson tried to maintain a "guns and butter" economy by escalating the war in Vietnam and expanding the social safety net at home, he created a monetary policy that overheated the economy.[37] The counterculture arose, paradoxically, on this cresting wave of prosperity even as it seemed to oppose it. The 1960s also saw the United States begin to shift from a Fordist economic order to a post-Fordist one as the mid-twentieth-century system of large-scale industrial production coupled with mass consumption gave way increasingly to a "symbolic economy" of postindustrial, information-driven "flexible accumulation." A new kind of consumerism appeared as part of post-Fordism's fragmentation of production: in place of one mass market, niche markets appeared as corporations, advertisers, and marketers began to segment consumers into taste groups.[38]

Rock and the counterculture were at the cutting edge of these changes. By the middle of the 1960s, mass consumerism in the United States was rapidly transitioning from what historian Lizabeth Cohen describes as a national "consumers' republic" to a far more fractured polity.[39] Differences among consumers, and by extension citizens, came to replace similarities. Numerous taste groups came to be defined not by commonalities, but by the contrasting goods and services they aspired to own and use. But the demise of the homogenous consumers' republic, contrary to Cohen's arguments, did not mean the end of political engagement with

civic life. While the republic of rock was in some sense merely a niche market that emerged from the breakup of the mass consumers' republic, it also provided new kinds of spaces for civic investigation.[40] Cohen celebrates the mid-twentieth-century consumers' republic and bemoans its decline; others, such as sociologist Daniel Bell, thought it contained built-in tensions that could not be sustained in the first place. But Bell too did not notice the civic dimensions of rock.

To Bell, the mass consumer system was illustrative of the "contradictions of capitalism": it functioned through a combination of disciplined labor and hedonistic leisure, the Puritan work ethic on the one hand and the urge for immediate self-gratification on the other.[41] By the 1960s, these were increasingly in tension, unleashing instability into the system without replacing it with something better. Within this framework, Bell thought rock was merely noise, sound and fury signifying nothing other than the "repeating in more raucous form" of "the youthful japes of Greenwich Village bohemia a half century before."[42] Worse yet, he argued that, "[b]eginning with the 'new sound' of the Beatles in 1964, rock reached such soaring crescendos that it was impossible to hear one think, and that may have indeed been its intention."[43] But responses to rock in San Francisco and Vietnam belie Bell's analysis. Many listeners did use rock to think. They were not mindless hedonists. And they did not merely replicate the ideology of a previous generation's youthful rebels. Instead, they used rock to confront the confusing transformations in consumer capitalism that Bell himself had noticed.[44]

In San Francisco, rock provided a way to grapple with what has been called *hip capitalism*, a tactic by which, as Tom Frank and others have argued, rebelliousness against mass consumerism turned out merely to establish a new consumer niche market.[45] From its emergence in the 1950s, the genre of rock 'n' roll had always been an oddly commodified expression of revolt; at the same time, as a music of cross-racial, gender-bending, class-defying dimensions, it never lost noncommercial energies of civic confrontation and experimentation. San Francisco's counterculture witnessed a particularly volatile mix of commerce and civics with the result that it featured intensive struggles over the contradictions of capitalism. In Vietnam, rock was part of a strategy that paralleled domestic *hip capitalism*: what I call *hip militarism*. Faced with declining morale among young draftees, the managers of the US military tried to use the "new mod" sounds of domestic entertainment to help personnel make it through a year of duty in Vietnam. They modeled warfare on a mass consumer model: put in your hours in the war effort and enjoy your time off however you wished. This meant that rock music arrived as a component of a more tolerant military culture. Hip, rebellious styles could be bent toward the war effort. As far as the Armed Forces were concerned, countercultural modes of leisure were fine in Vietnam; access to them might even improve morale. Accommodating the urge for nonconformity among a

segment of GIs became, the military hoped, a way, paradoxically, to get these troops to conform. Rock also marked the growing realization in 1968 that as the Armed Forces began a slow shift toward an all-volunteer military, they would need to attract troops to enlist rather than coercively drafting them.[46] The acceptance, even cultivation, of rock music in the military was one way to do so. But just as rock marked both an example of hip capitalism and a response to it in San Francisco, so too in Vietnam, it was indicative of the Armed Forces' new tactic of hip militarism and it was also a source of critical engagement with a terrifying and confusing war.

THE EMERGENCE OF hip militarism in Vietnam could only have occurred after the countercultural dynamic of rock music, citizenship, and hip capitalism coalesced in San Francisco. In the Bay Area, many participants in the counterculture were well aware of hip capitalism. They grappled with the new kinds of commerce they were surrounded by and, at times, helping to invent. As the political street theater group known as the Diggers wrote in October of 1967, "Media created the hippie with your hungry consent." The Diggers went so far as to organize a parade called "Death of Hippie" at which they urged fellow counterculturalists to move beyond the hippie identity. The group was especially concerned about rock music's corruption of a purer countercultural movement. As early as 1966, they had published a broadsheet that asked, "When will the JEFFERSON AIRPLANE and all ROCK-GROUPS quit trying to make it and LOVE?"[47]

Yet even associates of the Diggers, such as Chester Anderson, the very same person who had critiqued the troubling turn to commercialism in the Haight, wondered if rock music might also offer insights into contemporary problems. Despite his complaints of exploitation by so-called Hip Merchants, Anderson held out high hopes that rock was "evolving Sturgeonesque homo gestalt configurations," "superfamilies," and "pre-initiate tribal groups" through its "intensely participational & nonlinear art form." The music was "far from being degenerate or decadent." Instead, by responding to "technological & population pressures," rock became a "regenerative . . . art, offering us our first real hope for the future." Despite its "apparent domestication by record companies & top-40 DJs," no one could "counteract its political effects," Anderson claimed.[48] For Anderson, the Diggers, and others in San Francisco, rock provided a useful perspective on consumer processes of co-optation precisely because it was part of them.[49]

Participants in the San Francisco rock scene drew upon their experiences of rock music to address their own historical moment—to think, feel, and dance their way more deeply into the conditions behind the contradictions of capitalism. Rock fostered heightened feelings of community among strangers who, both alone and together, confronted the very issue of what a public was and how it might function

both within and against the new forces of hip commerce. As critic Sandy Darlington put it, the community that rock engendered was "complete with all the contradictions of people who advertise Peace & Freedom, Record City, Pepsi Cola, and the Highway Patrol." This was, for Darlington, precisely why the music was so crucial to sustaining encounters with contemporary dilemmas. "Week after week we go inside the music," Darlington reported of attending rock shows at the Fillmore and other psychedelic ballrooms, "and as [the bands] play and we listen and dance, the questions and ideas slowly germinate in our minds like seeds." Darlington insisted that even though the music was commercial, it was also "more than entertainment"; it "helps us to define a way of life we believe in." Rock was, he argued, "our school, our summit conference."[50] In doing so, it did not offer solutions, but rather what the Bay Area rock critic Greil Marcus described, in a 1968 essay, as a "feeling for the political spaces."[51] Even as the music incorporated fans within larger, contradictory structures of control, it also became an arena for negotiating one's way through them.

As a medium for inquiry, rock also offered a powerful perspective on the war in Vietnam. Reg E. Williams, a San Francisco State College student who later helped to run the Straight Theater, a psychedelic ballroom in the Haight-Ashbury, remembered how while living in San Francisco, he and his friends continually drew sketches and doodles that combined images from the war with the burgeoning counterculture around them. "It was like I was over in Vietnam and still here all at the same time," one of Williams's friends remarked.[52] Glimpsing Navy ships headed out to the South Pacific in the fog below the Golden Gate Bridge one moment and dancing to the Grateful Dead and other groups the next, Williams and others found themselves struggling to make sense of the collapse of vast distances between war overseas and the fervent pursuit of peace all around them in San Francisco. Rock helped them to do so.

The connections between Vietnam and the Bay Area were further solidified whenever antiwar activists featured bands as the main attraction at benefit concerts.[53] These events brought together the bohemian and artistic milieu of the counterculture with the more explicitly political antiwar movement. A "Rock and Roll Dance Benefit" for the Vietnam Day Committee at the University of California–Berkeley on March 25, 1966, was indicative of the overlap. The show, which featured the Jefferson Airplane, became infamous when California gubernatorial candidate Ronald Reagan portrayed the dance's details as "so contrary to our standards of human behavior that I couldn't possibly recite them to you." Then he did just that, reading a report that described "three rock and roll bands . . . playing simultaneously all during the dance" while psychedelic films projected gyrating nude bodies and the smell of marijuana permeated Cal's Harmon Gymnasium.[54] Reagan went on to win the 1966 California governorship in part by associating the hedonism of

rock music with unruly student protest against the war.[55] As a leading figure in the rising New Right conservative movement, Reagan skillfully effaced the boundaries between cultural experimentation and overt political engagement. While his comparisons were distorted, designed to stir controversy, he was not entirely wrong to make the connection. The March 1966 benefit was just one among many that featured rock bands. Others included "Peace Rock 3" at Cal, with the Grateful Dead; the Loading Zone at the Steppenwolf club on San Pablo Avenue to benefit the Vietnam Day Committee; and a "Folk Rock Festival" at San Francisco State College in April of 1967 for "Angry Arts Week West," a series of cultural events protesting the war.[56]

The antiwar movement was but one way in which the military conflict in Vietnam affected life in San Francisco. The Bay Area as a whole was diverse. As a university town, Berkeley attracted political activists.[57] Working-class cities in the East Bay were more conservative. Oakland was a center of African-American life on the West Coast. The Peninsula to the south contained the affluent suburbs around Stanford University. San Francisco itself possessed a colorful history of artistic bohemianism, radical labor unions, and a tolerance for outlandish behavior.[58] But Vietnam's presence transcended these particularities, in part because the Bay Area served as a center for military operations across the Pacific. Much of the war was managed and administered from the Army's enormous base in San Francisco's Presidio, and many troops left for Vietnam from the Oakland Army Base.[59] This meant that while the burgeoning counterculture in the Bay Area and the war in Southeast Asia were geographically distant from each other, they were also fundamentally linked. For instance, when the Oakland-based airline World Airways won a large government contract to fly GIs to Vietnam, flight attendant Cherri Olson traveled constantly between the two places. Rock music helped her make sense of her journeys. She remembered spending "weekends listening to rock groups like the Jefferson Airplane in Golden Gate Park and Crosby, Stills and Nash at the Fillmore Auditorium," "'Then Monday,'" Olson told historian Charles Wollenberg, "'we left for Vietnam, putting people off on the tarmac at Tan Son Nhut air base.'" For Olson, rock contributed to a sense of surreal contrasts and connections occurring all at once. "'It was instant,'" she remarked to Wollenberg, "'We were there, we were back . . . San Francisco-Berkeley-Vietnam.'"[60]

If Olson had lingered in Vietnam, she might have noticed how the circuit of rock was not unidirectional.[61] While the Jefferson Airplane performed the music for antiwar benefits in the Bay Area, soldier bands in Vietnam played Jefferson Airplane songs to raise morale within the war effort itself. Rock was far from the only genre of popular music in the Vietnam War, but it was the one

that best exemplified the logic of hip militarism. In response to growing resistance, dissent, and even outright mutiny by lower-level GIs, Richard Nixon's secretary of defense, Melvin Laird, even went so far as to encourage decentralization and "participatory management" in the command structure itself, echoing a central political idea of the early New Left student movement.[62] In this context, rock became part of the war machine. But as it did so, the music also connected GIs to the domestic counterculture and its civic energy of questioning the war. As Charles Perry wrote in *Rolling Stone* magazine after conducting a mail-in survey of GIs, "There is a flowering of rock and roll and dope among the unwilling soldiers of today."[63]

By the later years of the war, the managers of the American Armed Forces grew increasingly concerned that they could not maintain order among troops. "By every conceivable indicator," retired officer and military analyst Robert Heinl wrote after touring Vietnam in 1971, "our army that now remains in Vietnam is in a state of approaching collapse, with individual units avoiding or having refused combat, murdering their officers and noncommissioned officers, drug-ridden and dispirited where not near-mutinous."[64] Hip militarism seemed to be one way to channel dissent, paradoxically, into morale building. By allowing for the appearance of antiauthoritarian anger and disenchantment in the sounds of rock, the military hoped to keep troops fighting. Rock indeed kept the war effort going at times by providing emotional release for the bitter alienation felt by younger, lower-level GIs, but in doing so, the music also allowed for the awakening of civic identity among soldiers caught within a conflict whose surreal confusions and frustrations resonated powerfully with rock's psychedelic style. Brought in to Vietnam as a taste of the latest domestic consumer culture, rock provided a framework for making sense of old-fashioned military imperialism even though it was also a striking example of the new tactic of hip militarism.[65]

WITHIN THE TWIN dynamics of hip capitalism and hip militarism, listeners to rock became what the hit song "San Francisco (Be Sure to Wear Flowers in Your Hair)" called "people in motion." They were physically moved to dance to the music. They were also moved by rock emotionally. Many joined explicit political movements against racism, sexism, and the war. But many more were "people in motion" because it was through rock that they faced, in ways both large and small, the possibilities of creating a sense of democratic citizenship in the ungrounded, instant flow of electricity, mass communications, militarized leisure, and tactics of control that made the line between rebellion and acquiescence more elastic, more flexible, more confounding than ever before.[66]

The story of the song "San Francisco (Be Sure to Wear Flowers in Your Hair)" itself demonstrates how rock raised questions about citizenship by increasingly occupying the main currents of American popular culture yet also seeming to oppose them. Musically, the song was an odd fit for the countercultural rock scene it was supposed to celebrate. It was far more melodic—and melodramatic—than much of the dissonant, experimental, blues-based music actually emanating from San Francisco's rockers such as the Jefferson Airplane, Grateful Dead, Big Brother and the Holding Company, and Quicksilver Messenger Service. Yet it became a theme song for the 1967 Summer of Love in the Bay Area. Written by John Phillips, leader of the group the Mamas and the Papas, "San Francisco" was a smash hit for his friend Scott McKenzie.[67] Though Phillips and McKenzie resembled a good number of San Francisco rock performers in that they had roots in the folk music revival of the late 1950s and early 1960s, they were not part of the loose consortium of musicians, bands, promoters, and artists in the Bay Area.[68] They were from the East Coast and, by 1967, they had moved to Los Angeles to seek success within the mainstream recording industry.[69] "San Francisco" had not even been written for the city. Phillips wrote the song for the Monterey International Pop Festival, which he and his manager Lou Adler helped to organize just south of San Francisco in June of 1967. The festival featured many Bay Area bands, but behind the scenes it was as much a Los Angeles recording industry affair as anything else.[70]

The growing popularity of the so-called "San Francisco Sound" at the Monterey festival and its integration into the mainstream recording industry revealed the increasingly permeable boundaries between rock and pop.[71] By 1967, rock retained a vague association with youthful energy, electric-guitar raucousness, rebelliousness, and a new spirit of avant-garde experimentation, but the music was moving to the center of popular music. The Beatles, already occupying the rock-pop intersection, released the groundbreaking *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* album just a few weeks before Monterey Pop, and rumors were rampant that they would make a surprise appearance at the festival. At Monterey itself, the British band The Who famously smashed their instruments, while the American guitarist Jimi Hendrix, who had gained fame in London, one-upped them by lighting his guitar on fire. Janis Joplin, lead singer of the San Francisco group Big Brother and the Holding Company, was also a big hit at the festival with her mix of blues anguish and ecstatic calls for audience participation. These were examples of rebellious rock attitudes breaching the mainstream of mass culture. Monterey included plenty of other sounds too: the rootsy soul of Stax artists such as Otis Redding and Booker T. and the MGs, the more melodious pop of the Mamas and the Papas and the Association, the folk harmonies of Simon and Garfunkel, the folk-rock jangle of the Byrds and Buffalo Springfield, white versions of the blues by Canned Heat and the Butterfield Blues Band, and the proto–world music sounds of Indian sitar player Ravi Shankar and South African jazz trumpeter Hugh Masekela. If Monterey was a pop festival, then pop music seemed to be cracking open, with rock as the blunt instrument doing the breaking up of old norms and boundaries.

For many at the time, rock was a term reserved especially to describe a "psychedelic" sound. Many associated it with hallucinogenic drugs and "taking a trip." As musicologist Sheila Whiteley points out, a set of sonic codings signified the genre: manipulation of timbres to make them blurred, bright, and overlapping; a sense of upward movement connoting psychedelic flight; oscillating and lurching harmonies; a mix of regular and irregular rhythms; a movement between foregrounded and background sounds; and a focus on juxtaposition and collage.[72] But sound alone did not suffice to define rock. As music critic Ellen Willis wrote in a 1967 essay on Bob Dylan, "psychedelic music . . . was a catch-all label."[73] It represented the merging of 1950s rock 'n' roll with other genres, such as folk, blues, soul, classical, British music hall sounds, and various kinds of music from around the world.[74] Many began to use the term as a veritable synonym for pop music as a whole. This was not inaccurate, at least in a commercial sense. By the end of 1967, sales of music marketed as rock had overtaken the pop category. By the end of the 1970s, rock would account for 80 percent of all recorded music.[75]

However one defined rock, the music became big business by the end of the 1960s even as it was marketed as anti-authoritarian, anti-commercial, rebellious, or even revolutionary.[76] By 1968, people under twenty-five—the much-heralded Baby Boom Generation—were spending over one billion dollars per year on music recordings.[77] Yet in the republic of rock, listeners were not merely passive consumers, but rather an active citizenry within a shifting economic and political order. When mainstream Columbia Records incongruously advertised "The man can't bust our music" in the pages of San Francisco's hip new *Rolling Stone* magazine, many in the counterculture knew that something odd was occurring. "Guess who 'busts' more music than anyone else, often for periods of time longer than the usual grass or draft sentence?" Richard Mangelsdorff playfully asked in another rock magazine, *Creem*. "Sure, it's the record companies."[78] Rock sparked engagement with its own pop qualities, helping to form the counterculture as a sphere of inquiry embedded within the very mass culture from which it ostensibly diverged.

All of this is not to claim that rock was a miraculous panacea. It could foster civic engagement, but just as often it asserted existing stereotypes, reinscribed inequities without redressing them, and justified overly simplistic and inadequate answers to larger structural and cultural problems. For instance, critic Robert Christgau noticed how Jimi Hendrix seemed to be celebrated as "a psychedelic Uncle Tom" at

Monterey Pop as he performed a limiting kind of hyper-masculinized blackness for white audiences. Janis Joplin, who rocketed to fame after Monterey, became a star, the ultimate "hippie chick," but she was also restricted in her options as a countercultural woman.[79] Yet for all of rock's inadequacies, fans also used the music to unravel, unpack, and at times even undo existing assumptions about race, gender, class, ethnicity, region, nation, and the world. Coded as white, rock drew participation and attention from Americans of color, who used the genre to ponder larger issues of culture, commerce, and politics.[80] Coded as hyper-masculinized and misogynist, rock also made available spaces for public expressions of nonnormative female, gay, and queer desire, sexuality, and power.[81] Coded as middle-class, rock combined middle-class and working-class cultural styles, so that even as it drew middle-class youth toward a romanticized vision of "realness" associated with working-class life, the music also provided passage to middle-class formations of art, bohemianism, and creativity for working-class youth.[82]

None of this was pure or perfect, but for those who adopted rock as their own, the music sparked powerful encounters with pressing cultural and political dilemmas of both self and society. When listeners used the music to grapple with questions of justice, happiness, and collective participation, what political theorists call a *counterpublic sphere* emerged.[83] But that term suggests something too coherent and precise for the messiness of rock. It is better pictured as a tessellated social body, a psychedelically mutating set of spaces and moments in motion, proliferating to millions through the mechanisms of American mass culture. Difficult to glimpse because it was always in motion, rock inspired what the art critic Dave Hickey evocatively called a "motley republic . . . of freakdom."[84] It generated a radically pluralistic spirit of democratic belonging that merged a kaleidoscopic sense of individuality with a polyglot ideal of togetherness.[85]

It did so in large part by connecting everyday life to grand-historical transformations.[86] This is why participants and observers alike have often emphasized the spiritual dimensions of rock: in a secular setting, the music evoked religious feelings. "The Grateful Dead, the Airplane, the Anonymous Artists of America, Big Brother and the Holding Company played the music that was our hymnal," Elizabeth Gips wrote of her favorite San Francisco bands in her memoir, *Scrapbook of a Haight-Ashbury Pilgrim*. These groups and others "lifted both spirit and body into a timeless space." Rock pulled listeners out of their day-to-day worlds, and even out of history itself, bringing them toward visceral experiences of the sacred. But paradoxically, it did so by heightening the immediacy of the moment. At rock shows, Gips remembered feeling like a vessel for God as she and others strove to "get into our bodies so intensely that we could be granted out-of-body experience." The music's power for Gips was that it created an environment in which to discover

the mysterious sources of identity and community, of self and world. The relationship between interiority and exteriority, me and we, the close at hand and the far away, the here and now and the then and there, became up for grabs in the rock dance.[87]

The liminality that Gips and many others discovered in the rock experience—the ways in which the music evoked the feeling that the immediate, the grand-historical, and even the eternal were at stake in the dance—linked the music to spirituality and religion.[88] For many, the rock concert was a path to American popularizations (and often exoticized distortions) of the mysticism found in Eastern religions such as Hinduism and Buddhism. As Gips wrote, "Moving to the rhythms and light shows at The Fillmore, Avalon or Family Dog, or, more likely, at the free concerts in the park or even on Haight Street itself, we felt as though we had been dancing forever, drums beating in Africa, China, India."[89] But rock also transposed Judeo-Christian traditions to a secular milieu. Particularly in the Protestant prophetic tradition, the music sparked demands for action against complacency. It did so directly, in its lyrics and sound, but also as a resource for mounting arguments about the proper path to a revolution in human spirit. "We feel that a rock dance should change your life," wrote Chester Anderson as he outlined his philosophy for organizing an upcoming concert in San Francisco. Anderson believed his event had to draw upon the power of religion to achieve its aim of social transformation: "Any rock dance that isn't a religious event is a stone drag," he decided.[90]

As a secular musical form infused with religious energies, rock was not just part of the unholy trinity of sex, drugs, and rock 'n' roll; it also inspired calls for moral inquiry and activity. Many historians have thus argued that rock's spiritual dimensions were part of a larger countercultural turn toward "prefigurative politics."[91] Like many religious movements, the music seemed to offer the sensation—and even the preliminary structures—of a better future. Attending a free concert in the Golden Gate Park Panhandle or listening to a psychedelic rock record imported from stateside to an American barracks in South Vietnam seemed like a gateway to a new utopia—all you had to do was join in; if everyone did, then global social transformation would surely follow. This was a powerful quality of rock, but far less acknowledged by historians is how the music also became a means of critically confronting the present. Rock was *figurative* as well as prefigurative. As much as it served as the setting for starting to live as if the revolution had already arrived, rock also provided a medium in which to work through the conundrums of the moment. It did so especially when it came to questions of economic and military power.

In San Francisco and Vietnam, rock bent but never broke the emerging apparatus of hip capitalism and hip militarism. The music streaked through the wires,

lines, and channels of mass-mediated society with what Walter Benjamin famously called "profane illuminations," but it never blasted away the dominant system.[92] Rock was too much a part of the new strategies of control to do so. But this was precisely what made it important for generating a counterculture that was not so much a glimpse of post-revolutionary society as a corrupted setting in which to examine contemporary dilemmas.[93] By countering existing systems of communication without overthrowing them, the music became part of what cultural studies scholar Stuart Hall described, in 1969, as a "modern 'bush-telegraph'" among countercultural participants around the world.[94] All along this communications mechanism, which connected the imagination to deliberation, rock developed into a form—and a forum—for addressing what was wrong in both American and global society.[95] As participant-historian Nick Bromell has written, "Rock was fun, but it was also a vital and spontaneous public philosophizing, a medium through which important questions were raised and rehearsed, and sometimes focused, and sometimes (rarely) answered."[96] The music became a means for registering wrongs; and it served as a medium for trying to envision solutions.

Taking experiences of rock in San Francisco and Vietnam more carefully into account suggests that the flowering of flower power in the counterculture was never just the naïve blossoming of a simplistic ideology of peace and love, nor only the torrid pursuit of ecstasy in a hothouse of sex, drugs, and rock 'n' roll, nor solely the deceptive growth of American consumer capitalism and military might through their seeming opposites. It was all these things, but it was also something more: the music fostered an efflorescence of civic engagement that continues to matter because the need remains to invent modes of citizenship suitable for the difficult conditions of more recent times. Rock, the counterculture, and the whole sixties mythos are important not because they come from some lost magical era, some garden to which we must get back, some time when "you had to be there, man," but rather because they offer a history of how struggles over citizenship often take place in surprising ways: within dominant systems as well as against them; simultaneously at levels of deep philosophical and intellectual questioning and through intensely sensorial bodily experiences; both in immediate contexts and across vast distances; and most of all through commodified forms of leisure, pleasure, and culture that intersected with the conventional sphere of politics.

THIS BOOK INTERPRETS the history of rock music's connections to citizenship within the new economic and political dynamics of hip capitalism and hip militarism. My focus on San Francisco and Vietnam is not meant to downplay other centers of rock music.[97] Nor is it to render invisible nonmusical participants in the counterculture: rural communards, techno-utopian idealists, environmentalists,

cultural feminists, and political activists.[98] It is to illuminate how these places—San Francisco and Vietnam—were dialectically related as no two other locations were, and to argue that rock brought them together to render citizenship a defining countercultural issue. To document this entanglement, I draw upon new archival and oral sources to probe what "actually happened" during the late 1960s and early 1970s. But what actually happened was fundamentally tied to the countercultural imaginary—the visions, desires, and wishes that people used rock to express about their lives.[99] As much as concrete realities, what film critic J. Hoberman calls the "dream life" of the 1960s also produced struggles over citizenship. For participants in the counterculture, representation as an aesthetic *act* corresponded to representation as a political *fact*, and it did so in ways that ask us to take culture seriously in the making of history.[100]

Starting in San Francisco during the mid-1960s, this book documents rock's relationship to citizenship within the new context of hip capitalism. Chapter 1 recovers a forgotten aspect of a familiar story. Many know the adventures of Ken Kesey and the Merry Pranksters from Tom Wolfe's best-selling book, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, which positioned the novelist and his high-flying friends as important founders of the counterculture. What has not been recognized is the way in which they invoked citizenship, particularly American citizenship. At the Acid Tests, the seminal happenings of LSD ingestion, rock music, and festive technological experimentation that Kesey and his acquaintances organized in 1965 and 1966, issues of citizenship arose repeatedly. The deeply imperfect but powerful responses that emerged at the Acid Tests provided the blueprint for rock music in the Bay Area and beyond for years to come.

Chapter 2 turns from Kesey and the Pranksters' Acid Tests to the unlikely story of a labor strike at a hippie radio station. This work stoppage was not your typical industrial union affair. In 1968, disc jockeys at KMPX-FM, one of the first "underground" rock radio stations in the country, walked off the job. In the postindustrial factory of hip capitalism, they struck as much for the right to a more creative and fulfilling civic life as they did for better wages and working conditions. Their strike, in fact, revealed the links between citizenship and labor in the context of hip capitalism.

These links continue in chapter 3, which turns to another important but forgotten story: the effort by various rock music promoters and bands to put on a large arts and music festival in Golden Gate Park during the summer of 1969. There is a good reason why few remember the Wild West Festival—the event never occurred. Planned for the weekend after Woodstock, the epic gathering of rock stars was canceled at the last moment due to a strike and boycott against the festival by none other than participants themselves, who protested that Wild West violated

the principles of countercultural citizenship. Chapter 3 assesses the ambitious effort by various Bay Area rock impresarios to put on Wild West as a free, cooperatively organized, cross-arts gathering. And it chronicles the ensuing struggle over who, exactly, "the people" were in the counterculture, and how they, exactly, would benefit from a gathering such as the festival. The ill-fated Wild West Festival brings to light much about the civic ideals—and the uncivil conflicts—that rock music unleashed in San Francisco during the late 1960s.

The second half of the book follows rock across the Pacific Ocean to Vietnam. I investigate rock's place in the quotidian spaces of the war. For American GIs, this was largely, though not entirely, a zone of men, which meant that issues of citizenship were entangled with questions of masculinity.[101] On the front lines, music was sometimes available during the downtime from active fighting, but it was in the rear echelon—in offices, barracks, clubs, and other venues—where rock could be heard more often. GIs took many genres of music with them to war, from country to soul to pop. Rock was just a part of this commercial mix of sounds imported by the military apparatus itself. But rock also delivered the style, and some of the substance, of the domestic counterculture to Southeast Asia. The music was loaded with the sense that an alternative to normal American life was emerging on the home front. Glimpsing this alternative life, GIs used the music to begin to renegotiate, in nascent but powerful ways, their relationship to the military. In the moments when they listened to rock, GIs returned to a civilian identity that now assumed countercultural dimensions. In doing so, they confronted issues of what it meant to serve as a citizen-soldier in a confusing war far from home. The stakes of being a civilian and being a citizen intermingled. Particularly after 1968, as the war effort went increasingly awry, rock blared forth in Vietnam with contradictory forces, at once incorporating dissent into the war machine through the Armed Forces' tactic of hip militarism and unleashing intense civic questioning.

Chapter 4 examines how the dynamic of hip militarism and countercultural citizenship played out over the airwaves in a war fought through highly mediated and technological means that were part of the new logic of military "corporatization" in Vietnam.[102] Many know the story of disc jockey Adrian Cronauer as acted by Robin Williams in the film *Good Morning, Vietnam*.[103] The film suggested that rock was censored on the radio in Vietnam, and it was in certain instances. But after 1968, for the most part the music blared out on the Armed Forces Vietnam Network's officially sanctioned broadcasts. Rock also appeared on what became known as the "bullshit band," the unused radio channels that GIs used to socialize and converse. Pirate and "underground" rock radio stations even came to exist in Vietnam. As it was absorbed into the continued waging of the war, the music also established zones of heightened civic consciousness. These ranged from spaces in

which GIs registered their own personal feelings to moments when they articulated a sense of the incomprehensible tragedy of the American intervention to instances in which they expressed outright dissent and resistance.

Chapter 5 moves from the airwaves to the live performance of rock music in Vietnam. It documents a little-known United States Army Entertainment Branch program, the Command Military Touring Shows. The CMTS organized soldiers into rock bands to entertain fellow troops. These groups created odd moments of civic dissonance when with official sponsorship they performed counterculturally tinged songs such as "War (What Is It Good For? Absolutely Nothing!)."[104] Here hip militarism rendered Vietnam into a surreal and hedonistic leisure playland in which the effort at morale building may have indeed improved spirits, but also inspired unexpected engagements with issues of citizenship among America's citizen-soldiers.[105]

Americans were not the only ones to use rock to grapple with questions of citizenship. Chapter 6 tells the story of the CBC Band, a Vietnamese rock group. After 1968, CBC became one of the top ensembles in the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam). Comprised primarily of siblings, the group sang for a mix of Vietnamese youth, American troops, and the international community stationed in Saigon. They used rock to explore the politics of the US intervention. Wearing American flag t-shirts, they performed cover songs such as Grand Funk Railroad's "People, Let's Stop the War," delivering what they called a "little peace message, like straight from Saigon."[106] As they appropriated music from the very country that was waging war in their homeland, the members of CBC were not flunkeys of colonialism, but rather aspiring citizens in what many called, by 1970, Woodstock Nation.[107] They used rock to access the cosmopolitan modernity that the Western counterculture offered. But as a family band, CBC also connected countercultural ideals of fellowship and community to the traditional Vietnamese focus on the family. In the process, they were among those who hybridized new and old in the republic of rock.

The epilogue of the book takes up the nature of Woodstock Nation, which might more accurately be called the Woodstock Transnational.[108] Out of the San Francisco–Vietnam dialectic, a circuit of civic participation emerged worldwide, especially among young people in disparate locales who used rock music to navigate questions of identity and social belonging. Whether in the so-called Third World or even behind the Iron Curtain, rock music brought individuals and groups within the wavelengths of American consumerism. But it did not merely win them over to American hegemony.[109] Instead, rock connected what Czechoslovakian playwright and future president Václav Havel called the "hidden sphere" of "prepolitical" life to larger public and political concerns. The music inspired an effort to

confront the existential challenge of "living within the truth" in a global "post-totalitarian society" that was not exclusive to the communist bloc, but rather was a "consumer and industrial (or post-industrial) society" spanning both the obviously undemocratic East and the supposedly democratic West.[110]

A conveyer of fleeting experiences of hybridized, cosmopolitan freedom, rock allowed participants in the Woodstock Transnational to seek out what Havel calls the true "aims of life": happiness, dignity, freedom, togetherness, solidarity, conviviality, community. It did so within the complexities of a consumer system that operated around the world not by dictatorial domination but rather through more subtle and calibrated (and often hip) mechanisms of ideological manipulation. Offering passage to a global countercultural imaginary within this context, the Woodstock Transnational provided a fantastical, stormy space of music, masses, electricity, and mud in which all had to confront the deepest, most basic dilemmas of civic participation. Though it appeared at first as an escape, a way out of the problems of contemporary society, the Woodstock Transnational produced a counterculture that was most of all a startling *encounter*: a reaching toward what it might mean to become citizens of the world.

In San Francisco, Vietnam, and beyond, rock music inspired a counterculture marked by a robust engagement with citizenship: its norms, possibilities, dreams, and problems. As rock musician Joe McDonald muttered to a young radical political activist who pestered him before a concert in 1969, "You're no revolutionary, you're just a young American citizen in the twentieth century."[111] This was a surprising comment coming from a Bay Area red-diaper baby who took his moniker from Joseph Stalin's nickname and led a band named after a Chairman Mao slogan.[112] But despite his political background, McDonald decided that rock did not offer easy categories of analysis. It did not place its listeners within the domains of politics or culture in any definitive way, and it neither fostered opposition nor achieved co-optation. Instead, rock rang out in the murkier realms of civic life.

McDonald pointed out that his band's music was "nothing to believe in. I mean . . . it's just sound." At the same time, he argued that all the music his group produced was dissent; it was "all noise . . . protest noise."[113] As the singer's inconsistent position indicated, rock was contradictory. It immersed listeners in its paradoxes, circulating a social energy of uncertainty, of doubt. The music could, at times, become a pointed and sharp political weapon for a mass social movement, but just as often, it was only the soundtrack for a pseudo-rebellion that undercut its very own radical potential. Rock was part of the problem, but in being so, it became a means of searching for the solution. It cleared out temporary spaces and moments for involvement with the issues of how to seize—or reject—American commercial and military power from within its expansive networks, institutions,

and cultural conundrums. The music did not provide any answers or clear guidelines, but it did awaken engagement. At its best, rock encouraged people to become citizens in the fullest cultural and political way possible: by determining themselves, through widespread individual and collective exploration, what their citizenship might entail.

Decades after the 1960s, we still struggle to understand the nature of democratic citizenship within the context of American consumerism and militarism. While future generations may not wear flowers in their hair and may not even want to rock out at all, they still might draw upon the fraught civic legacy of rock and the counterculture. If they do so, let us hope they discover a freedom far more powerful than the one Janis Joplin sang about in her famous version of Kris Kristofferson and Fred Foster's countercultural anthem, "Me and Bobby McGee"—a freedom that is more than just another word for nothing left to lose.[114]