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UNIVERISTY OF CALIFORNIA
SANTA CRUZ

CULTURAL MEMORY AND COLLECTIVITY IN MUSIC FROM THE 1991 PERSIAN GULF WAR

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

MUSIC

by

Jessica Rose Loranger

December 2015

The Dissertation of Jessica Rose Loranger is approved:

_____
Professor Leta E. Miller, chair

_____
Professor Amy C. Beal

_____
Professor Ben Leeds Carson

_____
Professor Dard Neuman

_____
Tyrus Miller
Vice Provost and Dean of Graduate Studies

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Abstract

Cultural Memory and Collectivity in Music from the 1991 Persian Gulf War

By

Jessica Rose Loranger

Although scholars have thoroughly documented the music associated with the Vietnam War and the post-9/11 wars, virtually no musicological study has been conducted on the 1991 Persian Gulf War. The present work attempts to fill this lacuna by investigating American music stimulated by this war and placing it into the context of the culture from which it emerged. In addition to its value as a reflection on the Middle Eastern crisis and US-Iraq relations, this music served as a vehicle for cultural memories of World War II and the Vietnam War. The demonization of Saddam Hussein blatantly evoked Hitler, making an emotional case for a just war; the ubiquitous "support our troops" campaign not-so-subtly elicited Vietnam.

A brief historical overview offers background to the conflict and a discussion of US memories of Vietnam and World War II. Collective remembering, revising, and forgetting bolstered support for the war, support for the soldiers, and antiwar sentiments. Commercial popular music responses reflected these memories through a combination of communality and sentimentality, while also circumventing the more difficult aspects of the war. Other less mainstream musicians, such as Fugazi and Ani Difranco, responded with scathing lyrics against war, government, and society. A virtually unknown Persian Gulf War Song Collection at the Library of Congress

contains more than 140 unpublished or self-published cassettes and 78s. Although of little commercial worth, the songs provide important insight into the way some Americans processed US involvement in the Gulf. Composers Lou Harrison, Jerome Kitzke, Laurie Anderson, and Aaron Jay Kernis also created musical responses to the conflict. Their expression of collective remembering relies on inclusive concepts of humanity, suffering, and empathy.

Gulf War music—whether mainstream or homegrown—reflected a widespread urge for solidarity, both for and against the war. Additionally, songwriters who addressed hostilities in the Middle East confronted the nation's past, with cultural memories that adhered to and resisted dominant narratives. The findings of this study hold particular importance for adequate consideration of the Gulf War not only as a reaction to the Vietnam War, but also as a precursor for post-9/11 politically engaged music.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The past is never dead. It's not even past. –William Faulkner, *Requiem for a Nun*

How does a nation remember its past? How do the stories we tell ourselves emerge and re-establish themselves as time progresses? These stories, while stimulating memories, also help us to forget aspects of the remembered, of our histories. What role does music play in the expression and formation of such memories? Popular culture generates artifacts that partially accomplish this task of cultural forgetting and remembering. Films, novels, and iconic imagery create a space for the recollection of events that may otherwise fade. At the same time, they emphasize certain aspects at the expense of others, inscribing a narrative that is necessarily selective. Monuments and memorials enshrine particular events or people, physically embodying the past. Music making, listening, and consumption play a part in the commemorative process when musicians and audiences engage with their shared cultural heritage. As George Lipsitz astutely notes, "Musical forms have meaning only as they can be interpreted by knowing subjects."[1] Despite the inherent difficulties and inevitable fallacies in attempting to unravel the complex of musical meaning, its exploration remains a culturally relevant endeavor. Through this process, "we can find dialogic traces of the past and discern their enduring utility in the present."[2]

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[1] George Lipsitz, *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 109.
[2] Ibid.

My personal memory of the Persian Gulf War stands out as a moment of political awakening. Barely a teenager, I remember sitting down to a mediocre American dinner at my grandparents' house. A small television set sat on the dishwasher blaring CNN. Green tracers of missiles covered the screen. I recall thinking how bizarre and tragic it was to be eating around a table while our nation engaged in war—and broadcast it for all to see. I can still identify with the unease I felt wondering why nobody else seemed to notice this grotesque juxtaposition. My memory, after writing this dissertation, has been revived in a way I never would have imagined. I may always remember the feeling I had that evening at my grandparents' house. But time and experience have changed and will continue to change my understanding of that memory. My research has shown me the precarious nature of memories, which are at once highly individual and social, fluid yet immortalized, and forever subject to evolution.

Purpose

Musicologists have historically considered the topic of war. Despite plentiful scholarship on the Vietnam and the post-9/11 wars, however, music scholars have yet to adequately consider the importance of the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Yet, without the full historical trajectory, we have an incomplete picture of American cultural ideology concerning long-standing tensions between the United States and Iraq, and how these and other narratives are musically expressed in US culture. My dissertation attempts to fill this lacuna by studying music in the United States stimulated by this war and

placing it into the context of the cultures from which it emerged. The study illustrates how music from the Gulf War simultaneously reflected, contradicted, and re-inscribed political rhetoric of the 1980s and early 1990s. As a result, memories of prior wars—especially Vietnam and World War II—proliferate in music from this time. While memories of World War II almost exclusively elicited pro-war sentiments, invocation of the Vietnam War drew a complex set of reactions that both supported and critiqued the war, as well as commented on the experience of veterans and the stigmatization of protestors. Using song as a marker of collective remembering, I examine these intricacies of cultural memory, and the ways it manifests in Gulf War music.

Considering the immediacy with which the conflict in the Gulf arose and the sheer number of US troops sent there, I suspected I could track down a body of music that dealt with the nation's first major military intervention since Vietnam. In my search, I was not entirely surprised to discover an overlooked archive of songs at the Library of Congress (LC), which served as an indispensable source for my study. The LC's Persian Gulf War Song Collection (PGWSC) turned out to be an invaluable archive of more than 140 cassettes, some containing a single song, others containing multiple songs reflecting reactions to the war. The recordings are predominantly unpublished or self-published; most were not commercially successful. However, these songs, most of them original, provide important insight into the way some Americans—unaffected by potential strictures of the recording industry—processed US involvement in the Gulf War. Of the limited sources I have found that deal with

music from this era, none mentions the collection. This virtually unknown archive has yet to receive scholarly attention, and its significance to American cultural and musicological studies has not heretofore been recognized.

Copyright submissions—mostly from unsigned, unpublished musicians—comprise the majority of the PGWSC. The collection is artificial; it did not come to the LC as an entity, but rather was compiled over time. As a whole, however, the myriad perspectives presented within the individual songs represent the variable American response to the Gulf War—patriotic, skeptical, hawkish, compassionate, supportive, and angry. In addition to the PGWSC, I began to compile a list of other music related to the war. This list grew steadily to include popular songs by Bette Midler, George Michael, Hank Williams Jr., The Rolling Stones, Roger Waters, Radiohead, Bad Religion, and Ice-T; and symphonic works by John Adams, Lou Harrison, Jerome Kitzke, Laurie Anderson, and Aaron Jay Kernis.

Once I started analyzing this diverse body of music, consistent themes emerged, particularly regarding the memory of Vietnam. Placing Gulf War music in its larger cultural context, I investigated the relationship between musical responses to war and political rhetoric in the United States during the 1980s and 1990s. The rhetorical stance of the Reagan and George H.W. Bush administrations, particularly concerning foreign policy, relied on national memories of prior conflicts. Whether it was to justify secret military operations or to garner support for overseas intervention, Reagan and Bush capitalized on fear and guilt engendered by World War II and the Vietnam War. The emotionally charged rhetoric continued through the early G.H.W.

Bush years and played a crucial role in shaping public opinion of the new war—and as a result, musical expression. In the analysis that follows, I examine how expression during the Gulf War, in music and political rhetoric, acted as a catharsis for the residual national trauma and shame from Vietnam. As a result, this study emphasizes cultural memories (as well as selective omissions), the inaccuracies inherent therein, and how this collective remembering functions in music.

I also discuss the effects of collective memory on pro-war and antiwar sentiment in the United States during the Gulf War. Music protesting the Vietnam War and the post-9/11 wars is plentiful. Music from the Gulf War, however, differs from that related to Vietnam and 9/11 in significant ways. The brief 1991 war simply left less time for musical expression—particularly from major record labels—to reach a wide audience. Additionally, antiwar music did not proliferate as it had in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Instead, lyrics voiced support for soldiers, demonized Saddam Hussein, and invoked the trauma of previous wars.

Before the first bombs were dropped in Iraq, there was strong opposition to the Gulf War within the United States, even within congress. Many hoped that economic sanctions would convince Saddam Hussein to withdraw his forces from Kuwait. Once the war began, however, the peace movement's momentum sharply declined.[3] Yellow ribbons symbolizing troop support became equated with war support, and antiwar activists risked being perceived as anti-soldier. Nevertheless, the country had been divided over becoming involved in the Gulf, and the music reflects

[3] Barbara Epstein, "The Antiwar Movement During the Gulf War," *Social Justice* 19, no. 1, World Order, Power, and Politics in the 1990s (Spring 1992): 115–137.

this contradiction. Thus, my study also illustrates the connections between political rhetoric and antiwar sentiments, as well as the role of musical dissent.

Literature, Theoretical Framework, and Terminology

Because of a lack of musicological sources on the Gulf War, the most valuable sources that inform my discussion focus on collective memory, political rhetoric, and the residual effects of the Vietnam War (the Vietnam Syndrome). Bernard von Bothmer's book *Framing the 60s: The Use and Abuse of a Decade from Ronald Reagan to George W. Bush* (2010) offers insight into the rhetoric of the Reagan and both Bush administrations, illustrating the tendency of the presidents to use national memories—accurate or not—for their own political agendas. Maurice Halbwachs's seminal study *The Collective Memory* provides theoretical underpinning for the concept of collective memory as socially mediated. George Lipsitz brings these ideas into the realm of popular culture in *Time Passages* through his critical reading of jazz performances, network television, novels, and rock 'n' roll. In *Tangled Memories* (1997), Marita Sturken examines the politics of remembering during the 1980s and 1990s. She looks at the lasting effects of the Vietnam Syndrome as well as the World War II narrative on the Persian Gulf War; the proliferation of yellow ribbons during 1990–1991; and the "co-constitutive processes" of collective forgetting and remembering.[4] Other vital sources center on the history of conflict in the Gulf; music related to the Vietnam War and the post-9/11 wars; political and

[4] Sturken, *Tangled Memories*, 2. Sturken also takes a critical look at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, the AIDS epidemic, and Gulf War Syndrome within this framework.

protest music; the politics of the 1980s and 1990s, and media studies. Using music as a primary source alongside a body of established scholarship has allowed me to evaluate how and why people in the United States responded musically to the Gulf War. As such, the dissertation not only fills a gap in existing musicological research, but also provides a crucial link between Vietnam-era and post-9/11 musical expressions.

Scholars in multiple disciplines have embraced theories of collective, cultural, or public memory.[5] My own notion draws heavily from Sturken and Lipsitz. My project as a whole owes its conceptual framework to Lipsitz's extension of Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogic criticism to analyze popular music in terms of its social context and historical situated-ness. Both Sturken and Lipsitz acknowledge the contested nature of memory and culture, and the nuanced interactions and results of this historically situated social process. Lipsitz argues that post–World War II mass media "reinforce[d] a mediated national consciousness rather than any kind of local knowledge or memory."[6] Paradoxically, however, "the very forms most responsible for the erosion of historical and local knowledge can sometimes be the sources of reconnection in the hands of ingenious artists and audiences."[7] While the industry apparatus of popular music may seem to whitewash the radio waves, there are artists who use their position to be outspoken and to reconnect. "Commercial culture enable[s] musicians, and their audiences, to understand more about their own memory

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[5] See, for example, the Introduction of *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010).
[6] Lipsitz, *Time Passages*, 260.
[7] Ibid., 261.

and experience by connecting with the memories and experiences of others."[8] Whether commercial or not, songs from the Gulf War embrace a concept of collective memory "envisioned more as a site of contestation than a form of information storage."[9]

Although Sturken's book doesn't interact with Lipsitz's study of memory and popular culture, her ideas about cultural memory closely resemble his. I have adopted Sturken's use of the term *cultural memory*. In many Gulf War songs, the process of collective remembering creates "cultural meaning," a "contested" arena in which "Americans interact with cultural elements to produce concepts of the nation, particularly in events of trauma, where both the structures and the fractures of a culture are exposed."[10] I also adopt Sturken's qualified use of the word "American" to refer to the people and the culture of the United States, with full acknowledgment that many Americans live outside the United States. Like Sturken, I use the word "to invoke its popular meaning." Especially during wartime, "that term is still quite operative in nationalist culture."[11] During the Gulf War, Lee Greenwood's "God Bless the USA" may have been the closest thing to an anthem that war had, with its declaration, "I'm proud to be an American…." This declaration of pride confirms that the expression of being "American," is meant to be inclusive, rather than exclusive (i.e. nationalism), and is closely tied to patriotism and group/collective identity.

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[8] Lipsitz, *Time Passages*, 270.
[9] James V. Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), Kindle Version, location 390 of 3154.
[10] Sturken, *Tangled Memories*, 2–3.
[11] Ibid., 261.

Themes of collectivity emerged naturally through the Gulf War music. Cultural memories of Vietnam and World War II resounded throughout many of the ephemeral songs written during and about the Gulf War, as exhibited in the PGWSC. These memories provided a common reference point for people to remember their past and reconcile with the present, while at the same time maintaining interconnectedness. Songs that expressed troop support and patriotism often did so from a first-person-plural perspective—one that projected a unified position. A version of the national anthem, as an emblematic representation and reiteration of collective American-ness, reached Top 10 status on the Billboard chart. Even in songs that became associated with the war, but weren't direct reactions to it, an overall spirit of community arose. Some of the most significant pop songs offered listeners a sense of community through the use of group singing and via sonic approximations of church.

Scope and Limitations

The following chapter provides necessary history and background to the conflict, as well as American politics concerning the Middle East. The rest of the dissertation builds on this background information to illustrate connections among political rhetoric, collective remembering, and Gulf War music. In the PGWSC songs, the memory of Vietnam and the promise to not repeat the same mistakes occur repeatedly in the lyrics. The rhetorical use of "we," "us," and "our" attempted to create an attitude of political unity, one in which standing together equated to winning

the war, treating veterans decently, and doing the "right" thing. Even most songs that voiced a desire for peace did so while justifying military action, adopting an attitude of "fight for peace." The PGWSC forms the backbone of my study, as an exemplary group of songs that transpired as a direct result of current events.

Many commercial pop songs were not originally about the war, but were coopted by artists and audiences during the emergent conflict. These songs offered comfort to families of troops, and provided a sense of communality via evocations of church and prayer, group singing, and messages of patriotism. I end the popular music chapter with a discussion of alternative versus mainstream music culture in the 1980s and 1990s in order to present a more complete picture of the cultural landscape of the time. This discussion rounds out the chapter by offering profiles of recording artists who maintained an ethos of independence from and resistance to the music industry.

This final section of the popular music chapter includes rap music as "alternative" in part because it is a cultural product of historically marginalized people. Musicologists must begin to, as Tricia Rose has said, "confront black popular presence other than as a stylistic effect ready for white popular consumption."[12] As Rose has noted, this tendency is an erasure all too common in cultural studies. I have tried to mitigate this invisibility, however slightly, in presenting the story of rapper Ice-T and Jewish alternative rocker Perry Farrell's joint performance of "Don't Call Me Nigger, Whitey" at a 1991 Lollapalooza concert. Although this music festival

[12] Tricia Rose, *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1994), 84.

came to represent a form of mass "white popular consumption" later in the decade, in its nascent stages the concerts strove for radical inclusivity. This example shows a "[capacity] to imagine the popular terrain as a site where contestations over black cultural forms take place…."[13]

As a final piece of American musical response to the Gulf War, I include a discussion of symphonic and experimental music. This repertory reflects cultural memory differently from the popular music. Rather than invoking Vietnam, these works explore broader concepts of suffering and empathy. Lou Harrison and Jerome Kitzke expressed their devastation over the war, while also honoring the decimation of Native Americans. Aaron Jay Kernis responded to the Middle Eastern conflict with his second symphony. Kernis's conceptual framework for the entire piece involves a melodic line that represents the individual. Over the course of the symphony, the machine—harsh, rhythmic material—overpowers the individual, eventually obliterating the line. Perhaps this metaphor for the destruction of humanity also relates to alternative culture of the late 1980s and early 1990s, which pushed against the overshadowing of the independent recording artist by major labels. The symphony's second movement "Air/Ground" represents both musical structure and the course of the war, which progressed from air assaults to a brief ground war. Laurie Anderson's groundbreaking multimedia works weave together vignettes of music, stories, and projected visuals to communicate her opposition to the war. John Adams's controversial *Death of Klinghoffer* was scheduled to premiere in Belgium

[13] Tricia Rose, *Black Noise*, 84.

the night before the initial bombings of Baghdad. After the government-requested delay, the opera premiered in March, at the end of the war. Although the world premiere turned out to be anticlimactic, the US premiere caused an uproar, and more recent shows in 2012 and 2014 have generated serious backlash.[14]

Just as the American relationship with terrorism has shifted in recent decades, so has our understanding of *Klinghoffer* and the tensions it provokes.[15] As Sara Ruth Longobardi suggests, examining the evolving reception and production of *Klinghoffer* can encourage a healthy discussion about our biases and misconceptions regarding terrorism, Arab identity, and the relationship between Jews and Arabs. Although *The Death of Klinghoffer* was not a musical reaction to the Gulf War, the two coincided, creating a fortuitous if disquieting culmination of anxieties around both terrorism and Arabs.

Some of the controversy with *Klinghoffer* likely resulted from its use of the recent past. According to James W. Loewen, dealing with such recent events creates anxiety for Americans, who may be accustomed to dealing with the distant past, but hesitant about confronting recent national failures. In his 1995 book, *Lies My Teacher Told* Me, Loewen wrote about this phenomenon extensively. The chapter "Down the Memory Hole: The Disappearance of the Recent Past" discusses the flagrant omission of recent events, such as the Women's Rights movement and the Vietnam War, from

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[14] On the English National Opera's 2012 production, see Roya Nikkhah, "English National Opera faces protest over 'pro-terrorist' hijacking opera," *The Telegraph*, 19 Feb 2012; regarding the NY Met's 2014 production, see: Anthony Tommasini, "Distress at Sea, and Offstage," *The New York Times,* 21 October 2014. The simulcast of the opera was cancelled.

[15] Ruth Sara Longobardi, "Re-producing Klinghoffer: Opera and Arab Identity Before and After 9/11," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 3, no. 13 (July 2009): 273-310.

high school history textbooks, depriving generations of young adults a connection with the recent past.[16]

Loewen frames his discussion by introducing a Kiswahili concept of time in which there is a period called the *Sasa* ("sasha" in the Loewen text). Kenyan scholar John Mbiti, who informed Loewen's theory, writes, "Events (which compose time) in the Sasa dimension must be either about to occur, or in the process of realization, or recently experienced. Sasa is the most meaningful period for the individual because he has a personal recollection of the events or phenomena of this period, or he is about to experience them."[17] Although the African concept of Sasa is far more complex than I summarize here, Loewen suggests that Sasa can serve as a cautionary example for Westerners. In his discussion of the lack of coverage given to the Vietnam War in US history textbooks, Loewen postulates:

> Authors of American history textbooks appear all too aware of the sasha—of the fact that teachers, parents, and textbook adoption boards members were alive in the recent past. They seem uncomfortable with it…. By definition, the world of the sasha is controversial, because readers bring to it their own knowledge and understanding, which may not agree with what is written. Therefore the less said about the recent past, the better.[18]

On the contrary, however, music from the Gulf War shamelessly confronted its recent past. When the Gulf War seemed imminent, Americans recalled and invoked their difficult past. In fact, the memory of Vietnam is one of the most recognizable thematic threads through music of various genres and styles. How can we account for

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[16] James Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996).
[17] John S. Mbiti, *African Religions & Philosophy* (Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 1990), 22.
[18] Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me*, 239.

this discrepancy? Even though mainstream channels of information dissemination operate in a particular way, music plays an entirely different role.

If post 9/11 music hadn't been so swiftly taken up, I might think that a fear of and discomfort with the *sasa*, accounted for the lack of musicological study on the 1991 Gulf War. I will show in the next few chapters how the war was intentionally presented to the public in a paradoxical framework of sentimentality and sterility. As a result, the music was largely ignored, then forgotten, shortly after the war's end. Perhaps the music was dismissed as either too topical or insignificantly political, especially given the brevity of the conflict. Or maybe the shadow of Vietnam was so formidable that the Gulf War became an afterthought, or a remedy to a much larger, more worthy political event. Certainly the Gulf War was presented as clean in a way that Vietnam or September 11th could never be. Whatever the reasons, my study strives to expose Gulf War music as political expression in its own right, despite the proliferation of Vietnam memories. This dissertation not only offers a view of American musical culture during the Gulf War and its intersections with collectivity, but also attempts to understand why the topic has been avoided in musicology.

CHAPTER 2
BACKGROUND AND BUILDUP TO THE PERSIAN GULF WAR

Historical Roots

The historical basis for the conflict between Iraq and Kuwait dates back to the early twentieth century. In 1990 Saddam Hussein claimed that Kuwait—a country with a substantial Persian Gulf coastline—originally belonged to the nearly land-locked Iraq. The border between the two nations, Saddam Hussein argued, was an artificial construction of Western colonial powers, who wanted Kuwait for themselves because of its Persian Gulf coastline and its rich oil reserves, discovered in the 1930s. Iraq itself, however, had been under Ottoman rule since the sixteenth century. Kuwait had been virtually independent, though nominally under Ottoman rule since 1871.

Due to the threat of the Ottoman Turks, Kuwait and Great Britain entered an agreement in 1899 under which Kuwait would allow British authority on foreign policy in exchange for both protection and an annual subsidy.[1] In essence, Kuwait became a protectorate of Britain. Britain and the Ottomans signed the Anglo-Ottoman Convention on 29 July 1913. This agreement meant that "Kuwait could be designated as an 'autonomous qaza' of the Ottoman Empire in return for Turkish recognition of Britain's role as Kuwait's protector."[2] Events leading to World War I, however,

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[1] Helem Chapin Metz, ed. *Persian Gulf States: A Country Study* (Washington, D.C.: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1993), http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35876.htm (accessed 12 Oct 2012).
[2] David H. Finnie, *Shifting Lines in the Sand: Kuwait's Elusive Frontier with Iraq* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 126.

prevented the agreement's final ratification.[3] The document was published anyway, and used as fodder for Iraq's claims to Kuwait.

British High Commissioner to Iraq Percy Cox, at what became known as the Uqair Convention of 1922, defined the borders between Iraq and modern day Saudi Arabia and between Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Iraqis (and others) believed that the British official who drew the boundaries intentionally cut Iraq's access to the Gulf.[4][5] These same concerns over a claim to Kuwait resurfaced in the late 1930s, when the king of newly independent Iraq amassed troops along the border. In fact, since Iraqi independence from Great Britain in 1932, schoolchildren had been taught that Kuwait was part of Iraq.[6] British diplomat Sir Anthony Parsons said, "In the Iraqi subconscious, Kuwait is a part of the Basra province and the bloody British took it away from them…. We created a situation where people felt they had been wronged."[7]

Although the Iraqi claim to Kuwait may seem as artificial as any other colonial boundaries—including Iraq's—issues of indigenously irrelevant (national) borders have often precipitated conflict in post-colonial twentieth century. When Britain left India and carved out the modern state of Pakistan in 1947, for example,

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[3] Ibid.
[4] Joe Stork and Ann M. Lesch, "Background to the Crisis: Why War?" in *Persian Gulf War: Views from the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, eds., Herbert Blumberg and Christopher French (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994), 16.
[5] Derek Gregory, *The Colonial Present: Afghanistan, Palestine, and Iraq* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2004).
[6] Finnie, *Shifting Lines in the Sand*, 126.
[7] Ibid.; Glenn Frankel, "Lines in the Sand" in *The Gulf War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions*, eds. Micah L. Sifry and Christopher Cerf (New York, NY: Times Books, 1991), 17.

disruptions between Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs ensued—conflicts that continue to the present day. Contested land between the African countries of Libya and Chad endured until a 1994 legal ruling gave the Aouzou Strip to Libya. A border dispute between Belize and Guatemala that began in 1940 remains unresolved as of today. These (and other) disputes reflect the problematic legacy of colonialism: artificially created states continue to claim rights to adjacent territories.

Once the British withdrew and Kuwait gained independence in 1961, territorial disputes between Iraq and Kuwait snowballed. The claims resurfaced repeatedly with varying degrees of intensity—in 1961, 1963, 1965, 1973, 1975, and 1978—until the Iran-Iraq War of 1980–1988.[8] In the shadow of the eight-year war, the Kuwaiti border dispute momentarily assumed secondary importance. In September 1980, shortly following the 1979 Iranian Revolution that brought Ayatollah Khomeini to power, Iraq invaded the non-Arab nation of Iran. Though Iran-Iraq tensions were multifaceted, the root of the conflict centered on two broad issues: long-standing border disagreements and historical tension between two branches of Islam—Shia and Sunni. The majority of the Iranian population is Shi'ite; in Iraq, the Sunni minority was in power.[9] According to Orrin Schwab, "The Iran-Iraq war can be viewed as a larger struggle between Sunni Arabs and Shi'ite Persians for

[8] Hugh Miall, "Could the Gulf Conflict Have Been Settled Peacefully?" in *The Persian Gulf War*, eds. Blumberg and French, 128-131; Finnie, *Shifting Lines in the* Sand, 140.
[9] There are also Shi'ite Arabs, Arabs in Iran, Sunnis in Iran, and Shi'ites in Iraq, etc. Also, in Iraq, there are Sunni Arabs, Kurds, and Turkmen, so their status as a minority is probably most accurate when looking at Arab Sunnis.

political dominance in the Gulf region."[10] Of course, other factors played a role as well. Saddam Hussein's Ba'athist regime championed pan-Arab nationalism, promoted modernization and Westernization, and supported secular rather than religious rule, which Khomeini had initiated. Immediately after the 1979 Revolution, the relationship between the two countries was civil, though a "pre-existing conflictual relationship" between Saddam Hussein and Khomeini simmered below the surface.[11] Later that year, however, Islamic militants replaced the moderate Iranian Prime Minister. Shortly thereafter, an Iranian group with ties to the new theocratic government attempted a number of assassinations on prominent Iraqi leaders.[12]

Saddam Hussein hoped to take advantage of Iranian post-revolutionary chaos and surprise Iran with the invasion and attack. His stated mission was to curb a non-Arab, fundamentalist rise to power in the Middle East. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the UAE contributed to these efforts through massive financial backing of Iraq during the war. The United States, an ally of the ousted Iranian Shah, also assisted Iraq during the war. During the Iran-Iraq war, the United States openly provided Iraq with multiple types of assistance beginning in 1982.[13] At first claiming neutrality in the

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[10] Orrin Schwabb, *The Gulf Wars and the United States: Shaping the Twenty-First Century* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2009), 34.
[11] Laura Sjoberg, *Gender, Justice, and the Wars in Iraq: A Feminist Reformulation of Just War Theory* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006), 116.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Though at first secretive, the sales eventually became public knowledge. During the Carter administration, the weapon sales were through Italy initially, then suspended on claims of US neutrality in September 1980. From 1980-1982, there were many debates in the Reagan administration

Middle Eastern conflict, the United States eventually became embroiled in what would prove to be an international arms scandal.

Previous to the Iranian Revolution and the expulsion of the shah, US relations with Iran were friendly. In fact, the United States sheltered the Shah when he fled. After the revolution, which called for a less secularized and Westernized culture and the establishment of theocratic rule, the nation became the Islamic Republic of Iran. Freezing assets and imposing strict sanctions, the United States cut off diplomatic ties with the newly restructured nation. The Reagan administration's clandestine weapon sales to Iran—a country still under an arms embargo after the 1979 attack of the US Embassy—while simultaneously assisting Iraq was part of what became known as the Iran-Contra Affair. Initially the United States worked through Israel. Beginning in 1985, Israel supplied Iranian moderates (who opposed Khomeini) with weaponry and the US reimbursed Israel.[14] Later the United States directly sold weapons to Iran at much higher prices in hopes of hostage release. Further, a plan developed for how the profits could be used to secretly fund the Contras in Nicaragua. The Boland Amendment of 1982–1984, however, specifically prohibited the United States from providing aid to the Nicaraguan rebels.[15][16]

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about the status of Iraq and of Iraq-US relations. By 1982, Reagan's team had removed Iraq from a list of countries supporting terrorism, thereby allowing the US to back Iraq's military efforts.

[14] New World Encyclopedia contributors, "Iran-Contra Affair," *New World Encyclopedia,* http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/p/index.php?title=Iran-Contra_Affair&oldid=980458 (accessed 14 August 2015).

[15] Brett Walker, "The Iran Contra Affair 1983–1988," https://bu.digication.com/BrettWalkerIranContra/The_Boland_Amendmen_Arms_for_Hostages (accessed 13 October 2012).

While secretly providing Iran with arms, the US government also continued to assist Iraq. Relations between the United States and Iraq began to break down towards the end of the war when, in 1988, the US Senate passed a bill (the Prevention of Genocide Act of 1988) that would have punished Iraq for its use of chemical weapons against the Kurds in March of 1988. Through intense lobbying by the administration and a threat of veto by President Reagan, the bill was defeated. Eventually, however, in May of 1989 the new Bush administration agreed to impose economic sanctions on Iraq—"subject to executive discretion"—to restrict the proliferation of chemical weapons.[17]

After the Iran-Iraq war ended in 1988, Saddam Hussein continued down the path to yet another war. The long-simmering border dispute was not Hussein's only grievance against Kuwait. In fact, the more compelling complaints were economic. During the eight-year war, Iraq had accrued a substantial debt to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, for which it requested reprieve. Saudi Arabia agreed on the basis that the war helped to curb (non-Arab) Iranian rise to power. To Hussein's dismay, however, Kuwait refused. Additionally, Iraq alleged that Kuwait was slant drilling into the Rumania Oil Field situated at the border of the two countries. Finally, Iraq insisted that Kuwait was intentionally driving oil prices down through overproduction, which was leading to economic instability in Iraq, already racked with its war debt. Saddam

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[16] Additionally, individuals from the Reagan administration—Oliver North, for example—personally benefitted from the profits. See, for example: David Johnston, Special to the New York Times, "Secord Is Guilty Of One Charge In Contra Affair," *The New York Times,* 9 November 1989.
[17] http://www.lexisnexis.com.oca.ucsc.edu/hottopics/lnacademic/? David B. Ottaway, "U.S. Gives Qualified Endorsement To Sanctions on Chemical Weapons," *Washington Post*, 5 May 1989.

Hussein considered the Kuwaiti disregard of OPEC oil prices a form of warfare against a fellow Arab nation, one that was still trying to rebuild after a war fought ostensibly to maintain Arab authority in the Middle East.

In the summer of 1990, Saddam Hussein formally accused Kuwait of stealing Iraqi oil from the Rumaila Oil Field and threatened to forcefully shut down the overproduction of oil in the UAE and Kuwait. Iraqi troops began to amass on the border of Kuwait; according to the *New York Times*, as many as 30,000 were stationed there by 23 July.[18] According to Bush administration officials, that number increased to 100,000 by the end of the month.[19] US Ambassador April Glaspie met with Saddam Hussein, at his behest, on 25 July to discuss his grievances. In the course of their discussion, Glaspie assured Hussein that the United States was not concerned with "Arab-Arab conflicts, like the border conflict with Kuwait."[20] This meeting—and particularly the comment voicing US lack of concern—gave implicit consent to the invasion. The tensions between Iraq and Kuwait reached the point of no return when, just days after assuring fellow Arab leaders there would be no aggression, Iraq invaded Kuwait.

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[18] Michael R. Gordon, "Iraq Army Invades Capital of Kuwait in Fierce Fighting," *New York Times*, 2 August 1990, http://www.nytimes.com/1990/08/02/world/iraq-army-invades-capital-of-kuwait-in-fierce-fighting.html (accessed 14 August 2015).

[19] Ibid.; Some journalists dispute the validity of the initial photograph confirming the presence of Iraqi troops. See for example, the documentary film by Audrey Brohy and Gerard Ungerman, "Hidden Wars of Desert Storm," Arab Film Distribution, 2000.

[20] "The Glaspie Transcript: Saddam Meets the US Ambassador (July 25, 1990)," in *The Gulf War Reader,* 130; "Excerpts From Iraqi Document on Meeting with U.S. Envoy," *The New York Times International*, 23 September 1990, http://msuweb.montclair.edu/~furrg/glaspie.html (accessed 20 October 2012).

Desert Shield and Desert Storm

The 2 August invasion sparked immediate international action. That same day, the UN's Security Council condemned the invasion and called for immediate withdrawal. A few days later the United Nations imposed economic and arms sanctions. Just four days after the invasion, President Bush initiated "Operation Desert Shield." On 8 August he announced the conditions that Saddam Hussein must meet in order to avoid military confrontation. Iraqi forces needed to withdraw completely and immediately from Kuwait and restore the legitimate Kuwaiti government. Hussein made more than one offer to withdraw his army, but always with pre-conditions: a promise from allied forces not to attack upon Iraqi withdrawal; a removal of WMDs from the region (particularly Israel); a resolution to the "Palestinian problem"; higher oil prices and curtailed production; and better access to the Persian Gulf. President Bush made no compromises, a decision for which he would be criticized for weak attempts at diplomacy.[21]

Bush's initial explanation for US involvement in the crisis was to protect Saudi Arabia, whose "sovereign independence is of vital interest to the United States. This decision…grows out of the longstanding friendship and security relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia."[22] Since Iraq had occupied neighboring Kuwait and overthrown the Kuwaiti government, Saudi Arabia was vulnerable to

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[21] Hassan A El-Najjar http://www.gulfwar1991.com/Gulf%20War%20Complete/Chapter%208,%20Peace%20Initiatives%20By%20Hassan%20A%20El-Najjar.htm (accessed 8 October 2012); Noam Chomsky, "The Gulf Crisis," *Z Magazine*, February 1991, http://www.chomsky.info/articles/199102--02.htm (accessed 8 October 2012).

[22] George Bush, "In Defense of Saudi Arabia (Speech of August 8, 1990)," in *Gulf War Reader*, 198.

Iraqi aggression, Bush claimed. "The mission of our troops," he declared in his 8 August address from the Oval Office, "is wholly defensive."[23] He also cited the United States' historical commitment "from President Roosevelt to President Reagan…to the security and stability of the Persian Gulf."[24] Additionally, Bush admitted to US dependence on Middle Eastern oil. "Our country now imports nearly half the oil it consumes and could face a major threat to its economic independence."[25]

By 15 August, barely two weeks after the invasion, at least 60,000 US troops had amassed in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf.[26] Just a week later, Bush called on nearly 50,000 United States reservists, their first call to duty since the Vietnam War.[27] Later that month Saddam Hussein appeared on TV with western hostages—whom he called "guests"—proclaiming they were being held to "prevent the scourge of war."[28] In response, the United Nations passed a resolution two days later, permitting the implementation of "measures commensurate to the specific circumstances as may be necessary under the authority of the Security Council to halt all inward and outward

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[23] Ibid., 197.
[24] Ibid., 198.
[25] Ibid.
[26] John Simpson, "Chronology of Events" from ACCESS Guide to the Persian Gulf Crisis, 1991 Washington D.C., in *The Persian Gulf War,* eds. Blumberg and French, 29–30; *New Straits Times,* "60,000 Troops in Saudi Arabia," 2 September 1990. http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=6qNUAAAAIBAJ&sjid=F5ADAAAAIBAJ&pg=6400%2C403198 (accessed 21 October 2012).
[27] Simpson, "Chronology of Events," 31.
[28] "Outrage at Iraqi TV Hostage Show," *BBC On This Day,* 23 August 1990. http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/august/23/newsid_2512000/2512289.stm (accessed 23 October 2012).

maritime shipping….”[29] This resolution effectively allowed the use of military force in the form of a naval blockade.

In the early months of the Iraqi invasion, it seemed the problem might be resolved without major military action. Perhaps the US troops stationed in Saudi Arabia could act as a deterrent to further Iraqi incursions, persuading the Republican Guard to back down and comply with the United Nations. Eventually, however, the situation began to escalate. Other nations joined US efforts, forming a coalition that included Saudi Arabia, the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Canada, and others. By early October, the *Washington Post* reported that 200,000 US troops had amassed in the Persian Gulf. As 1990 came to a close, the looming war became increasingly likely. Attempts at compromise failed, and the number of Coalition troops in the Middle East skyrocketed.[30] Early in November, President Bush announced that 200,000 more troops would be joining those already in the Middle East.[31] On 29 November the United Nations gave Iraq a 15 January deadline by which to withdraw from Kuwait. Despite both the auspicious release of hostages (mostly US/UK citizens in Iran and Kuwait) at the beginning of December and some attempts at diplomatic efforts between the US and Iraq, the conflict continued to escalate. Refusing to comply with the UN ultimatum, Iraq made no effort to evacuate Kuwait. On 12

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[29] Resolution 665 (1990), 25 August 1990.
[30] “Gulf War: A Chronology,” *Air Force Magazine,* 2001 http://www.airforcemag.com/MagazineArchive/Pages/2001/January%202001/0101chrono.aspx (Accessed 23 October 2012).
[31] Ann Devroy, “Bush Orders 200,000 More Troops to Gulf,” *Washington Post*, 9 November 1990.

January the US Congress authorized, by narrow margin of 52–47 in the Senate, the use of military force.

On 16 January 1991, after approximately five months of mobilizing soldiers in the Gulf, the US-led Coalition launched a major air assault on Iraq.[32] Operation Desert Storm had begun. In the first twenty-four hours of the war, Coalition air forces destroyed numerous key targets, including political headquarters, communications centers (e.g. TV and telephone switching stations), highway bridges, and electrical power plants.[33] This destruction was meant to disable the Iraqi army by cutting off communications and other infrastructure.

Over the next few days, Iraqi forces began to launch Scud missiles into Israel and Saudi Arabia. Intermittent Scud attacks continued throughout much of the war, though relatively few casualties resulted as many landed in uninhabited regions.[34] US PATRIOT (Phased Array Tracking Radar to Intercept On Target) anti-missile missiles reportedly intercepted some of the Scuds in Israel and Saudi Arabia, though statistics on their efficacy have changed since the initial assessment of their dramatic success.[35] In fact, as early as a few weeks after the war's end, scientists began to

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[32] Simpson, "A Chronology of Events."
[33] "Gulf War: A Chronology," *Air Force Magazine,* 2001 http://www.airforce-magazine.com/MagazineArchive/Documents/2001/January%202001/0101chrono.pdf (accessed 13 October 2012).
[34] George N. Lewis, Steve Fetter, and Lisbeth Gronlund, "Casualties and Damage from Scud attacks in the 1991 Gulf War," DACS Working Paper, March 1993, MIT.
[35] Ibid.; Fred Kaplan, "Patriot Games," *Slate Magazine,* 24 March 2003, http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/war_stories/2003/03/patriot_games.html (accessed 16 October 2012).

doubt whether the use of PATRIOTS was worthwhile.[36] Regardless of their effectiveness, however, before the end of the war, PATRIOT missiles garnered praise in US press for their assumed precision and their ability to out-"smart" Iraqi Scud missiles.[37] If nothing else, the PATRIOT anti-missile missiles could offer the people of Saudi Arabia and Israel a sense of security. In the United States, the perceived success of the interceptions, along with the convenient acronym PATRIOT and the correspondingly ugly-sounding Iraqi Scud missile, helped to foster patriotism and home front support of the war.

As the war continued, a few events besides Scud attacks and PATRIOT interceptions became infamous. One week after the war began, Iraq began to set Kuwaiti oil fields on fire and dumped millions of gallons of crude oil into the Gulf. A few weeks later, on 13 February (incidentally, the same date as the devastating World War II bombing of Dresden) US forces targeted and destroyed what they claimed to be a military communications and command center. In actuality, the building was a civilian air raid shelter.[38] The bombing of the Amiriyah shelter incinerated at least 400 women, children, and elderly.[39] Mainstream media portrayed the tragedy as

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[36] Patrick E. Tyler, "Did Patriot Missiles Work? Not So Well, Scientists Say," *The New York Times*, 17 April 1991, in Lexisnexis (accessed 18 October 2012).

[37] See for example: Guy Gugliotta, "Battle-New Patriot Missile Soars to Stardom," *The Washington Post,* 19 January 1991; Harvey Elliott, "American Expertise and Weaponry a Generation Ahead," *The Times*, 19 January 1991; Jon Stewart, "US Arsenal's 'Smart Weapons' Passing Combat Tests in Gulf Stealth Fighters and Missiles Prove Valuable," *The San Francisco Chronicle,* 19 January 1991; all in LexisNexis (accessed 18 October 2012).

[38] Nora Boustany, "Bombs Killed Victims as They Slept," *The Washington Post*, 14 February 1991.

[39] Felicity Arbuthnot, "The Ameriya Shelter St. Valentine's Day Massacre," http://www.uruknet.de/?p=m30603&hd=&size=1&l=e (accessed 13 Oct 2012).

propaganda concocted by Hussein.[40] This horrendous event attracted national attention and public protests in the United States; anti-war activists were arrested for splashing (probably fake) blood and oil on the steps of the Pentagon.[41] The Bush administration stood by the Pentagon's assertion that the building was a command center. The US later claimed that on the night of the bombing, military officials used the lower level of the structure while civilians slept on the top floor.[42] Saddam Hussein strategically sheltered civilians along with military communications center, the US military alleged, in a deliberate "co-location" operation devised to both discourage and exploit Coalition attacks.[43] Whatever the truth may be, many civilians lost their lives, and the tragic event spurred anger in many Americans, including some who previously supported the war.

On 22 February, President Bush ordered Iraq to begin withdrawing by 8pm the following evening. Iraqi forces instead continued their destruction of Kuwaiti's oil supply, setting more than six hundred oil wells aflame over the next few days; ground war erupted on 23 February. Three days later, as the ground war drew to a close, Coalition forces killed thousands of retreating Iraqis on what became known as the "highway of death."[44] Gulf War ended in overwhelming defeat of Iraqi forces, with a

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[40] http://pages.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/papers/gulfwar7.htm (accessed 2 Dec 2014).
[41] "Gulf War: A Chronology," *Air Force Magazine* 2001. http://www.airforcemag.com/MagazineArchive/Pages/2001/January%202001/0101chrono.aspx (Accessed 23 October 2012); Michael de Courcy Hinds, "Confrontation in the Gulf: Antiwar Effort Buds Quickly, Nurtured by Activism of 60s," *New York Times,* 11 January 1991.
[42] http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/ogc/apparatus/crafting.html (Accessed 27 Oct 2012).
[43] Ibid.
[44] Seymour Hersh, "Overwhelming Force: What Happened in the Final Days of the Gulf War?" *The New Yorker*, 22 May 2000, 49-82.

ceasefire declared on 28 February 1991. Iraqi uprisings leading to civil war began just days later.

The Rhetoric of Collective Memory

Towards the end of 1990 many in the United States began to realize that, for the first time since the Vietnam War, a war requiring substantial American military involvement might be on the horizon. From the five-month buildup to the war and through the end of the war, memories of both the Vietnam War and World War II played a significant role in the home front discourse of the Gulf War. These "two national memories," claims Orrin Schwab, also "contended for the control of public policy."[45] Because of the divergent circumstances of World War II and Vietnam, perceptions of the present through interpretation of the past also diverged. "While the president saw the Gulf War in the lens of his youth, namely, the Second World War," Schwab continues, "a larger group of younger Americans understood the confrontation…as a return to Vietnam."[46] President Bush had joined the Navy after the bombing of Pearl Harbor and served as a pilot in World War II. His own experience, therefore, contributed to his frame of reference for handling Saddam Hussein's aggression. Moreover, the kind of necessary intervention that World War II demanded undoubtedly would be easier to promote to the public than the

[45] Schwab, *The Gulf Wars and the United States*, 44.
[46] Ibid.

"unwinnable, immoral"[47] catastrophe that was the Vietnam War. At the same time, the press, president, and other officials also invoked the memory of the Vietnam War. Together the memories of two past wars inspired political rhetoric intended to unite public opinion of the war. Conversely, conflicting national memories divided those who felt the war was necessary and those who voiced varying degrees of reluctance over military involvement in the Middle East.

Connecting current experiences to history is a convoluted process, one that helps people make sense of the present through their understanding of the past. Often, however, knowledge of the past (and as a result, perception of the present) is tainted by the imperfect nature of human memory. Nevertheless, "cultural memory is a central aspect of how American culture functions," Marita Sturken claims, "and how the nation is defined."[48] Cultural (or collective) memory is a broad term used to explain the memory shared by a group of people. It is a complex interaction of individual memory, historical discourse, and shared memory.[49] This interrelationship is a basic tenet of collective memory, a concept developed by French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs. In his seminal work on the theory, Halbwachs writes, "While the collective memory endures and draws strength from its base in a coherent body of people, it is individuals as group members who remember."[50] Individual memory and collective memory are intricately intertwined. Individual memory

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[47] John Carlos Rowe, "The Vietnam Effect in the Persian Gulf War" *Cultural Critique*, no. 19, The Economics of War (Autumn 1991), 121–139.
[48] Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 3.
[49] Ibid., 5-6.
[50] Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), 48.

functions within collective memory; as a member of a group, an individual's memory is shaped by both social interaction and a shared past.

History and memory are similarly "entangled."[51] Sturken succinctly summarizes this complexity: "History operates more efficiently when its agents are dead. Yet the survivors of historical events are often figures of cultural authority and values."[52] For example, history and memory can become conflated in the testimonies of Holocaust survivors. These testimonies seem authoritative because personal experience attests to particular details. Memories, however, especially of traumatic events, are selective and imperfect. Additionally, the acquisition of survivor testimonies can be subject to the individual or collective assumptions of people outside the experience of the survivor.[53] The process of collective remembering makes use of historical discourse, but without necessarily relying upon factual data. Instead, cultural memories tend to comprise a subjective combination of history and legend. They are creations formed through individual and shared experiences, informed by both the past and the present.

The 1991 Gulf War naturally generated comparisons with previous conflicts. In the collective consciousness of many Americans, equating the Gulf War to World War II and the Vietnam War was instinctual. The rhetoric of the Bush administration

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[51] Sturken, *Tangled Memories*, 5.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Amy Wlodarski, "The Testimonial Aesthetics of 'Different Trains,'" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 63, no. 1 (2010): 99–141; Halbwachs, *Collective Memory*, 54. http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/classes/201/articles/80HalbwachsCollMemChap2.pdf

validated and reinforced this tendency to draw parallels.[54] Connections between the present and a shared past helped people understand more the looming possibility of war. By learning lessons about troop support and national morale, the aberration of Vietnam could be avoided—perhaps even permanently erased from our collective consciousness. This simultaneous need to remember and desire to forget adds to the complexity of cultural memory.

Similarly, but on the other end of the spectrum, World War II acts as an example of necessary and just war. Comparisons like these, however, rely on the *discourse* of past events rather than necessarily factual historical or current details. The way we remember and talk about our past transforms into a blending of history and myth. With the reinforcement of popular culture artifacts (films, books, TV shows, and songs that portray the past) and propaganda, this retrospective tendency oversimplifies subtleties of the present. Nevertheless, simplistic comparisons to complex and contradictory histories helped the US public to make sense of the 1990 intervention in Middle East.

Like World War II, the Persian Gulf War featured an identifiable super villain. If connections could be made between Hitler and Hussein, advocates of intervention could justify their militaristic stance. Immediately following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, Bush promoted the war through evocations of World War II. In his 8 August Oval Office Address, Bush referred to the Second World War at first somewhat

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[54] Richard A. Brody and Richard Morin, "From Vietnam To Iraq: The Great American Syndrome Myth," *The Washington Post,* 31 March 1991; Bill McAllister, "Troubled by Vietnam, Pentagon Attorney Had Opposed Bush Policy," *The Washington Post*, 18 January 1991.

vaguely, but with progressive degrees of specificity. This gradual approach appears to have been a deliberate rhetorical strategy intended to entice listeners to accept the analogy between Hitler and Hussein. Within the first moments of his speech, Bush used the term "blitzkrieg" (lightning war) to characterize the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The Germans famously used *blitzkrieg* tactics of surprise and overwhelming concentration of mobile forces in the 1939 invasion of Poland. As a result, the word has become connected to the cultural memory of World War II. Bush did not rely on this oblique insinuation alone, however. He continued to allude to the Second World War when he mentioned "the struggle for freedom in Europe…."[55] Again, the reference remained somewhat vague. Moments later, he clarified. "As was the case in the 1930s, we see in Saddam Hussein an aggressive dictator threatening his neighbors."[56] In case anyone had missed his reference, Bush finally explicitly indicated the "aggressive dictator" from the "struggle for freedom" of the 1930s—Adolph Hitler.

Bush's remarks opened the door for others to continue the evil dictator analogy. Following the invasion, *Washington Post* stories that couple Saddam

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[55] http://www.cfr.org/iraq/president-george-hw-bushs-address-iraqs-invasion-kuwait-1990/p24117 (accessed 20 Oct 2012).

[56] George H.W. Bush, "Oval Office Address," 8 August 1990, transcript available through various websites; Saddam Hussein had orchestrated the 1988 genocide of the Kurds, an ethnic minority in Iraq and other Middle Eastern countries. However, the United States had been supporting Saddam Hussein's regime—sometimes against Congressional judgment—during the Iran-Iraq War and was well aware of previous incursions against the Kurdish people.

Hussein and Adolph Hitler sharply increased.[57] In twelve cities, a Gannett Outdoor Advertising billboard featured—chronologically, from left to right—headshots of Hitler, Stalin, and Saddam Hussein with the caption, "Oh no, he's back again. Let's pray that this is the last time."[58] Instead of informing the public, the sensationalism of the billboard silenced historical complexities in favor of oversimplified propaganda. Left-leaning magazine *The New Republic* featured a doctored picture of Saddam Hussein with an adjustment that made his mustache resemble Hitler's.[59] Likening Hussein to Hitler granted moral clarity to an otherwise questionable military invasion. Through the cultural memory of World War II, we experienced a "nostalgic recapitulation of the war Americans remembered themselves to have loved," claims Marilyn Young.[60] The presence of an individual villain and the analogy of Hussein to Hitler allowed moral purpose to serve as validation for war and fostered rhetoric of "right versus wrong" or "good versus evil."

Building on this theme of might conquering evil, a second rhetorical strategy emerged: that war was necessary to achieve peace. Bush, in his 8 August address to the nation referred to this "peace through war" theme multiple times. "Today as

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[57] Donald Shaw and Shannon Martin, "The Natural and Inevitable Phases of War Reporting: Historical Shadows and New Communication in the Persian Gulf," in *Perspectives on Media and the Persian Gulf War,* ed. Robert Denton (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993), 53.
[58] Carolyn Wakeman, ed., *The Media and the Gulf: A Closer Look* (Berkeley, CA: Graduate School of Journalism, University of California Berkeley, 1994), 2; Associated Press, "Motorists Wonder Who's that Dictator?" 4 February 1991.
[59] Ella Shoat, "The Media's War," in *Seeing through the Media: the Persian Gulf War,* eds. Susan Jeffords and Lauren Rabinovitz (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 149; Marjorie Williams, "Monster in the Making: From Unknown to Arch-Villain in a Matter of Days," *Washington Post*, 9 August 1990.
[60] Wakeman, Media and the Gulf, 69.

President, I ask for your support in a decision I've made to stand up for what's right and condemn what's wrong, all in the cause of peace…. No one, friend or foe, should doubt our desire for peace; and no one should underestimate our determination to confront aggression…. This new era can be full of promise, an age of freedom, a time of peace for all peoples. But if history teaches us anything, it is that we must resist aggression or it will destroy our freedoms."[61] Bush's speech carefully juxtaposed powerful words such as "determination," "confront," "aggression," and "destroy" with utopian evocations of the United States ushering in "peace for all peoples." Both the powerful image of Hussein as Hitler and the war against evil to protect "what's right" and bring peace fostered a connection to World War II.[62]

Even more convincingly than memories of World War II, government officials and the press invoked the Vietnam War. The "persistent power of the 1960s," according to historian Bernard von Bothmer, has encouraged US presidents since Reagan to routinely use the decade as a benchmark from which to compare the present. In particular, presidents Reagan and GHW Bush spoke of exorcising "the Vietnam Syndrome." This rhetoric manifested in multiple ways. In the early 1990s, it appeased fears of another extended war with heavy losses and coalesced public approval for the Gulf War. According to von Bothmer, Bush "primarily blamed" war protestors for hindering potential victory in Vietnam, as well as continuing to damage

[61] http://www.cfr.org/iraq/president-george-hw-bushs-address-iraqs-invasion-kuwait-1990/p24117 (accessed 16 October 2012).
[62] Ibid.

national morale.[63] In a 1968 letter responding to a friend's antiwar attitude, Bush wrote that the antiwar contingency "definitively strengthened Hanoi's will."[64] Insolent protestors caused the defeat and retreat of Vietnam. Furthermore, the cultural legend recounts, these same antiwar activists spat upon returning Vietnam veterans. Whether or not the opinions can be corroborated, many Americans came to believe them, and felt guilty for their nation's past treatment of troops. (By this reasoning, they felt guilty enough to not engage in another large-scale antiwar effort.) As a result, a recurrent rhetorical theme resulting from the promise not to experience "another Vietnam" was that support of "our" troops would ensure victory. From a military perspective, learning from the "failures" of Vietnam allowed for "success" in Desert Storm.[65]

The discourse and symbolism of troop support dominated political rhetoric during the 1990 crisis in Kuwait and the subsequent war. Yellow ribbons, which had become a popular symbol of honor for faraway and endangered loved ones during the Iran hostage crisis of 1979, appeared on trees, lapels, bumper stickers, and front porches.[66] Network news stories paired imagery of yellow ribbons around trees and hanging on doors with images of waving flags—the ultimate patriotism.[67] As the war

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[63] Bernard von Bothmer, *Framing the Sixties: The Use and Abuse of a Decade from Ronald Reagan to George W. Bush* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010), 99.
[64] Ibid., 100.
[65] PBS Frontline, *The Gulf War: Oral History*, Interview with Charles Horner, Commander of the US Ninth Air Force. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/gulf/oral/horner/1.html (accessed 20 Oct 2012).
[66] http://www.loc.gov/folklife/ribbons/ribbons.html (accessed 10 Oct 2012).
[67] Dana L. Cloud, "Operation Desert Comfort," in *Seeing through the Media,* eds. Jeffords and Rabinovitz, 166.

grew closer and more soldiers and reservists were deployed overseas, support for the troops became delicately intertwined and easily confused with approval of the war.

Remembering Vietnam

Vietnam Syndrome (with no preceding article) originally described a psychological condition that afflicted those who had been in combat in Southeast Asia. By 1979, however, *the* Vietnam Syndrome had a different meaning. Bothmer notes the phrase was "used primarily to explain the reluctance of the U.S. to intervene militarily overseas."[68] This understanding of the Vietnam Syndrome would expand over the coming years in the political rhetoric of presidents Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush. Reagan, who relied on repeated invocations of the war during his presidential candidacy, continued to recall the Vietnam Syndrome once elected, effectively reinforcing it (through rhetoric) as he sought to eradicate it through his foreign policy. In a 1980 speech to the VFW, he criticized the Vietnam Syndrome for making "Americans timid and apologetic for their opposition to aggression."[69] Reagan's stance implied that Americans lacked the old-fashioned ideal of a strong defense, and that only the dangerously unpatriotic would fail to endorse American aggression.

In the face of US reluctance towards military operations, Reagan continually indicted the Vietnam Syndrome. First, Reagan blamed these lingering worries for

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[68] Bernard von Bothmer, "Blaming 'The Sixties': The Political Use of an Era, 1980–2004" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2007), 227. Retrieved from ProQuest, http://search.proquest.com/docview/304856974?accountid=14523.

[69] Howell Raines, "Reagan Calls for Military Buildup," *New York Times*, 19 August 1980.

widespread disapproval of proposed US intervention in El Salvador's escalating Civil War (1979–1992). Some people feared that if Reagan sent troops there, another protracted conflict might ensue.[70] Reagan promised not to send "fighting forces" to Central America, instead only authorizing the involvement of US military advisers. He assured the public of the "profound" difference between Vietnam and El Salvador.[71] Second, when he authorized the 1983 invasion of Grenada, Reagan did not seek congressional approval. He felt confident that congress would resist the intervention because of post-Vietnam apprehension. In keeping these military actions relatively limited, Reagan repeatedly attempted to rid the nation of its wounds. At the same time, his continued reference to the Vietnam Syndrome—as validation for secrecy, as an excuse for non-intervention—also confirmed its existence in 1980s American consciousness.

Broadly defined, the Vietnam Syndrome now included not only a reluctance to fight wars abroad, but also fears of inefficacy, war lasting longer than anticipated, and heavy casualties. It threatened what Reagan considered noble causes for military interventions as well as the traditional American ideal of militant bravery. In the eyes of interventionists, collective fears and guilt from the Vietnam Syndrome also hampered morale. Low morale not only threatens the ability of a leader to muster support for his policies, but it also breeds apathy. For 1980s Republican foreign

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[70] Charlotte Cahill, "Fighting the Vietnam Syndrome: The Construction of a Conservative Veterans Politics, 1966–1984," (PhD diss, Northwestern University, 2008); Associated Press, "Reagan Insists El Salvador Won't Be Another Vietnam," *Eugene Register Guard,* 4 March 1981.
[71] Ibid.

policy and international intervention, the Vietnam Syndrome was a nuisance. It was something that must be overcome.

With the help of this continued reinforcement through Reagan's two terms, the shadows of the Vietnam War persisted through the end of the 1980s.[72] President G.H.W. Bush, elected in 1988, continued Reagan's legacy of conjuring cultural memories from the turmoil surrounding the later years of the Vietnam War. According to von Bothmer, President Bush thought that the effects of the Vietnam Syndrome reached beyond, but included, international intervention.[73] Bush also viewed the Vietnam era as the root of social problems such as crime and excessive drug use, as well as a divided public that would second-guess military officials in favor of civilian opinion.[74] As Bush saw it, the potential conflict in the Gulf would allow him to eliminate "once and for all" the problems spawned by the late 1960s.[75] "Saddam Hussein," says political historian Robert Mann, "gave [Bush] an opportunity to exorcise the demons of Vietnam."[76] The Persian Gulf War would be the first conflict with major US troop involvement since Vietnam, but it would not repeat of the follies of the past. The administration would ensure dissemination of information to the public through careful control of press pools. The stated goal was

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[72] Bernard von Bothmer, in *Framing the Sixties*, notes the tendency for every president since, including Obama, to use the 1960s as a point of reference.
[73] Von Bothmer, *Framing the Sixties*, 95.
[74] Ibid., 95, 101.
[75] Maureen Dowd, "After the War: White House Memo," *The New York Times*, 2 March 1991 http://www.nytimes.com/1991/03/02/world/after-the-war-white-house-memo-war-introduces-a-tougher-bush-to-nation.html (accessed 12 July 2015).
[76] Robert Mann, *Wartime Dissent in America: A History and Anthology* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

strategic safety; but the effect would, the administration hoped, ensure that most citizens would not oppose their government as they had during Vietnam. Antiwar sentiment suffered from the government's efforts to generate broad acceptance of the war. Troop support was the crux, however, of home front war approval.

Sociologist Jerry Lembcke has disputed the perceived lack of troop support during the Vietnam War, claiming that US collective imagination—aided by films, news reports, and political rhetoric that reinforced the legacy—created a situation that did not exist for most Vietnam veterans.[77] Instead popular myths reinforced stories of returning veterans being spat upon by antiwar activists. However, suggests Lembcke in his book *The Spitting Image*, the few occasions in which this disrespect actually occurred took hold of the popular imagination. Lembcke's book responded not only to a cultural memory, but also to a previous publication by *Chicago Tribune* columnist Bob Greene. Greene, in a 20 July 1987 syndicated column, "If You're A Veteran, Were You Spat Upon?" questions his own previously presumed belief of the stereotypical protester spitting on a uniformed soldier who has just stepped off a plane. Revealing the nature of his doubts, he wrote:

> Hippies, no matter what else you may have felt about them, were not the most macho people in the world. Here's a burly member of the Green Berets, in full uniform, walking through an airport. Here's a hippie crossing his path. Do you think the hippie would have the nerve to spit on the soldier? And if the hippie did, do you think the soldier—fresh from facing enemy troops in the jungles of Vietnam—would just stand there and take it? That's how legend has it. The soldiers got off the planes, and the hippies spat on them. Which brings us to our survey.

[77] Jerry Lembcke, *The Spitting Image: Myth, Memory, and the Legacy of Vietnam* (New York: New York University Press, 1998).

Greene then requested that any Veterans who experienced this kind of abuse reply to the column. He received more than a thousand letters from veterans, some of whom said they had been spat upon, and some of whom didn't believe that their fellow veterans had been. Accounts were published in later columns, and in 1989 Greene compiled the responses and published *Homecoming: When the Soldiers Returned from Vietnam*.[78] Lembcke's 1998 book questions the veracity of the claims in Greene's book, chalking them up to collective imagination.

But just because claims of spat upon veterans are unverifiable doesn't mean that veterans felt welcomed upon their return. Bill Hunt, a retired army advisor who fought in Vietnam, remembers feeling alienated by his war experience more than harassed by protestors.[79] The quickest way to end a conversation, Hunt says, was to talk about the Vietnam War. Americans were embarrassed by the defeat, and by senseless civilian atrocities such as the My Lai Massacre. This kind of abandonment, in which soldiers were silenced by a looming national guilt, could have easily stoked anger and rumors of harassment. Another Vietnam veteran, Bill Purdin, remembers returning to his family. Like Hunt, Purdin felt disconnected from his pre-war life. Returning to California the day Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin walked on the moon, the soldier felt camaraderie with the two astronauts as they stepped onto alien

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[78] Bob Greene, *Homecoming: When the Soldiers Returned from Vietnam* (New York: Putnam, 1989).
[79] Bill Hunt, "How Vietnam Vets Were Treated Upon Arriving Back in the United States," http://www.deanza.edu/faculty/swensson/interview_hunt_cominghome.html; This story (and many others) comes from DeAnza College's website, *The Vietnam Conflict: An Academic Information Portal for Education and Research*, put together by John Swennson, English Professor http://www.deanza.edu/faculty/swensson/ewrt2vn.html (accessed 8 Nov 2012).

territory.[80] Veteran Mike Kelley recalls a similar feeling of alienation. On the other hand, he also remembers a cab driver kindly refusing pay for the long ride to Kelley's small hometown outside of Sacramento.[81] These soldiers' memories speak to a larger problem than that of antiwar extremists harassing returning troops at airports. This widespread problem had something more insidious at its roots than isolated instances of harassment. Perhaps they experienced guilt resulting from awareness of or participation in atrocities (such as the My Lai Massacre) beyond what John Kerry characterized as "the normal ravage of war" in his April 1971 testimony before the Senate Committee of Foreign Relations.[82] In the same hearing, Kerry also commented on the feelings of returning soldiers:

> The country doesn't know it yet, but it has created a monster, a monster in the form of millions of men who have been taught to deal and to trade in violence, and who are given the chance to die for the biggest nothing in history; men who have returned with a sense of anger and a sense of betrayal which no one has yet grasped.[83]

Soldiers—whether or not they were spat upon—came home *feeling* alienated from and mistreated by their fellow citizens, as well as betrayed and "used in the worst fashion by the administration of this country."[84] They felt unable to be candid about their service, and many of them experienced post-traumatic stress disorder.

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[80] http://www.legendinc.com/Pages/ArchivesCentral/COTDArchives/MoonLanding.html (Accessed 8 Nov 2012).
[81] Michael Kelley, "Coming Home," 1998, from *The Vietnam Conflict: An Academic Information Portal for Education and Research* http://www.vietvet.org/mkcomhom.html (accessed 8 Nov 2012).
[82] John Kerry, *Vietnam Veterans Against the War: Statement to the Senate Committee of Foreign Relations,* 22 April 1971, complete transcript available at: http://www.wintersoldier.com/index.php?topic=Testimony (accessed 15 August 2015).
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.

Lembke (and others) dispute whether anti-troop stories were as prevalent in the past as they are in our nostalgic memory.[85] But this story's multi-decade retelling reveals the depth of trauma experienced through the Vietnam War more than it exposes actual events. "We need not ask whether a memory is true," Sturken writes in her discussion of cultural memory, "but rather what its telling reveals about how the past affects the present."[86] Whether or not soldiers were treated as unfairly (by fellow Americans) as Hollywood might have us believe, the story of returning troops victimized by citizens (not their VA hospitals) influenced the public sentiment towards Gulf War troops. The characterization of antiwar activists as angry and hateful lingered, creating an environment that equated antiwar with unpatriotic.

Collective memory sometimes revises the past; it interacts with history, the present, and individual memory, sometimes creating half-truths that Coy, Woehrle, and Maney call "discursive legacies."[87] A discursive legacy from the Vietnam Era that reemerged during the Gulf War era was:

> a peace movement that [had] been hostile to soldiers since the Vietnam War and whose activism was somehow responsible for the U.S. defeat. In the intervening years this discursive legacy served as midwife to what is now a deeply embedded cultural mythology that continues to confront later iterations of the peace movement: that soldiers returning from Vietnam were routinely taunted and even spat upon by peace movement members.[88]

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[85] Jack Shafer, former editor-at-large of *Slate* magazine, ran a series of columns in 2007 in which he attempts to debunk the spitting accusations, calling them an "urban myth." http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/press_box/2007/01/newsweek_throws_the_spitter.html (accessed 14 July 2015).
[86] Sturken, *Tangled Memories*, 2.
[87] Coy, Woehrle, and Maney, "Discursive Legacies: The U.S. Peace Movement and 'Support the Troops,'" http://www.kent.edu/cacm/faculty/upload/discursive-legacies-the-u-s-peace-movement-and-support-the-troops.pdf (accessed 11 October 2012).
[88] Ibid.

Surely, returning veterans encountered an array of reactions—from warm welcome to utter rejection. Cultural memory, however, has simplified soldiers' multifarious experiences, entrenching an image of their widespread condemnation. It must have been extraordinarily isolating for these young men to return to a country embroiled in war protests. Yet to blame the discontent of veterans and defeat in war on the peace movement absolves the government of its full responsibility. Regardless of culpability, the collective American consciousness internalized the anti-soldier stories as truth. The mythological status of protestors spitting on returning soldiers combined with Bush's ethical frame of World War II weakened the potential for broad popular support of peaceful diplomacy, especially once the war began.

The Antiwar Movement

With such a swift move towards war, along with compelling rhetoric and media campaigns, it may seem at first like the American public—and indeed the entire international community—unanimously favored a military response to the invasion of Kuwait. In fact, initial support for the war was not united. US public opinion was quite divided during the pre-war Operation Desert Shield. Schwab claims that "the nationalist impulse to strike at an imminent threat to vital national interests was opposed by a vigorous antiwar sentiment in the Congress, the public, and even the military…."[89] Nevertheless, by November 1990, Bush had already requested that the United Nations grant permission to use necessary force. In the last few months of

[89] Schwab, *The Gulf Wars and the United States*, 44.

1990, Bush's bellicose rhetoric escalated and his intention to go to war became increasingly clear, despite objections of congress, conservative politicians, and military officials.

Some opposition to Bush's war efforts called for the implementation of sanctions before an attack. On 28 November, the day before the United Nations would authorize the use of force (Security Council Resolution 678), retired chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, former Navy Admiral William J. Crowe and former Air Force General David C. Jones both spoke before the Senate Armed Services Committee. To avoid the impending war, both advocating for continued economic sanctions.[90] Crowe thought that although "Hussein must be pushed out of Kuwait…. it [is] highly desirable to achieve this goal in a peaceful fashion…."[91] Marine Corps Commandant General Alfred Gray urged the administration to patiently allow economic sanctions to work.[92] The chairman of the US Senate Committee on Armed Services, Sam Nunn, (Democrat, Georgia) also advocated for longer sanctions and voted against the war, a vote that would later cost him a viable presidential candidacy.[93] While even General Colin Powell and General H. Norman Schwarzkopf

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[90] Nancy Mathis, "Ex-Military Chiefs Urge Wait in Gulf," *Houston Chronicle*, 29 November 1990 (accessed 16 Oct 2012) http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/0ED7B071B0F74F1E?p=AWNB.
[91] Mann, *Wartime Dissent*, 156.
[92] Michael Gordon, "Mideast Tensions: 2 Ex-Military Chiefs Urge Bush to Delay Gulf War," *The New York Times,* 29 November 1990 http://www.nytimes.com/1990/11/29/world/mideast-tensions-2-ex-military-chiefs-urge-bush-to-delay-gulf-war.html.
[93] http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp?id=h-1389 (accessed 16 October 2012).

pushed for patience and sanctions, Vice President Cheney and the president, as early as September 1990, prepared for offensive action.[94]

Some senators became concerned that Bush would not seek their approval, as the Constitution requires, before declaring war against Iraq. Senator Patrick Leahy, in a 10 January 1991 speech to Congress, echoed Crowe's assertion that Iraq must leave Kuwait and that sanctions had not been given enough time to be effective. Leahy cautioned the president to work with Congress, and not to act unilaterally. Public opinion, said Leahy, cannot be disregarded in a democracy. He reiterated that Congress and the President have the same goal of preserving international security by driving Hussein out of Kuwait. However, they had "a far different perception of the right course of action to attain what really are shared goals in the Persian Gulf…."[95] Senate Majority Leader, George Mitchell, though he opposed military escalation, nevertheless expressed concern for "undermining" the President's "diplomatic efforts."[96] Ultimately, dissent remained relatively unproductive and on 12 January Congress gave its approval.

Besides the dissent from within the government, some civilian groups also opposed pre-emptive military action. These groups conveyed more explicit objections to the war. Coalitions of Christian, Baptist, and Catholic church groups released statements condemning war.[97] Large work unions banded together to denounce

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[94] http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/gulf/script_a.html
[95] Mann, *Wartime Dissent*, 158.
[96] Ibid., 149.
[97] John Dart, "Churches' Response to Gulf War Emphasizes Its Victims," *Los Angeles Times,* 26 January 1991,

possible war.[98] Peace organizations and other social action groups banded together to act against the impending war. The Gulf Peace Team, an international group with roots in Britain, hoped to keep the Middle East area peaceful by forming a human blockade.[99] In a testimonial book *War and Peace in the Gulf*, members chronicle their experiences while at "peace camp" on the border between Saudi Arabia and Iraq before and during the war.

Although the Vietnam War has a reputation for inspiring mass protests, many of those demonstrations did not begin until years after the war was underway. The majority of Gulf War protests, on the other hand, took place prior to the war's declaration. It was, claims Noam Chomsky, "the first [war] in recent memory when huge protest demonstrations, involving hundreds of thousands of people, were organized before the war even began."[100] Barbara Epstein corroborated Chomsky's observation in an anecdotal essay comparing the 1991 and 2003 antiwar movements.[101] The 2003 conflict also sparked numerous pre-war demonstrations; however, these more recent protests had a markedly international character that sustained activity "well into the war."[102] In another article based on her personal

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http://articles.latimes.com/1991-01-26/entertainment/ca-779_1_persian-gulf (accessed 10 January 2013); Michael Hirsley, "War and Peace: As Gulf Force Expands, So Do Pacifist Feelings," *Chicago Tribune,* 2 December 1990, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1990-12-02/news/9004090852_1_peace-movement-opposition-movement-saudi-arabia (accessed 10 March 2015).

[98] Michael deCourcy Hinds, "Antiwar Effort Buds Quickly, Nurtured by Activism of 60s," *New York Times* 11 January 1991.

[99] Bela Bhatia, Jean Drèze, Kathy Kelly, eds., *War and Peace in the Gulf: Testimonies of the Gulf Peace Team*, eds. (Chicago: Cornerstone Press 2001).

[100] Noam Chomsky, foreword to *War and Peace in the Gulf*, vi.

[101] Barbara Epstein, "Notes on the Antiwar Movement," *Monthly Review* 55/3 (July–August 2003). Available online: http://monthlyreview.org/2003/07/01/notes-on-the-antiwar-movement/

[102] Ibid.

experience in the 1991 Bay Area peace movement, Epstein recalled its substantial presence during the buildup to the war. However, momentum sharply declined once fighting began and it became clear there was no broad national antiwar support.[103]

Collective memories infused this pre-war activism. Epstein makes numerous comparisons between the Gulf and Vietnam wars' peace movements. A *New York Times* article from 11 January 1991 noted that "before a shot has been fired…an antiwar movement has been building quietly in the United States since late October, drawing on the legacy of Vietnam War peace activists." Some activists from the earlier era made public reappearances to protest the Middle Eastern war. Jesuit priest Daniel Berrigan, well-known for protesting Vietnam, was arrested in the Washington D.C. area in December 1990 for protest activities that included throwing red dye (as a symbol of blood) on White House grounds.[104] Daniel Ellsberg, who leaked the famous Pentagon Papers to the public and Congress during the Vietnam War, remained outspoken against the Gulf War. The day the ground war began, he was arrested during a silent vigil at the White House.[105] Chemist and peace activist Linus Pauling wrote an open letter to the President on 18 January. He urged Bush to:

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[103] Barbara Epstein, "The Antiwar Movement During the Gulf War," *Social Justice* 19/1 (1992): 115.
[104] Ted Bartimus, "Peace Activists Back on the Streets," *The Desert News,* 3 March 1991 http://www.deseretnews.com/article/149850/PERSIAN-GULF-WAR-PUT-MANY-PEACE-ACTIVISTS-BACK-ON-THE-STREETS.html?pg=all (accessed 8 October 2012); deCourcy Hinds, "Antiwar Effort Buds Quickly."
[105] Bartimus, "Peace Activists Back on the Streets."

"Cancel the ultimatums!" "Fight against the immorality and barbarism of war!" and "Initiate negotiations with Saddam Hussein!"[106]

As in the Vietnam era, universities were the seat of antiwar activities. Teach-ins, protests, peace vigils, and blockades took place on campuses in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Santa Cruz, Washington DC, Hanover (Dartmouth University), Madison, and Missoula, among others.[107] Action continued once Congress authorized war, although the peace movement would eventually decline in the face of rapid, overwhelming victory and what Barbara Epstein suggests was the movement's own "internal divisions."[108] Despite any weaknesses, the Coalition Against a Vietnam War in the Middle East and the National Campaign Against the War in the Middle East organized major national demonstrations for 19 and 26 January. When Bush declared war (17 January), an estimated 10,000 peace activists in San Francisco "turn[ed] public life upside down for about 10 days, with countless demonstrations, teach-ins, forums, and other public events."[109] In Santa Cruz around 8,000 protesters took to the streets after the declaration of war, effectively shutting down the small city for two days. [110] On 26 January, a Washington DC protest drew a

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[106] "Linus Pauling and the International Peace Movement: A Documentary History," Oregon State University Special Collections, http://scarc.library.oregonstate.edu/coll/pauling/peace/corr/corr33.12-lp-bush-19910118.html (accessed 19 March 2015).
[107] Hirsley, "War and Peace,"; Epstein, "The Antiwar Movement."
[108] Epstein, "The Antiwar Movement," 135.
[109] Ibid., 115.
[110] Ibid.; Hirsley, "War and Peace,"; Epstein, "The Antiwar Movement," 115.

crowd estimated at 75,000 according to the Parks Services, and 150,000 according to event organizers.[111]

Shortly thereafter, however, enthusiasm deteriorated. Epstein noted that after about ten days of war, public opinion seemed to shift, and as a result the Bay Area peace movement "began to collapse."[112] Epstein surmised, however, that its "absence of any forum for arriving at a national strategy " was at the root of the movement's demise.[113] "The weakness of the antiwar movement," she wrote, "was that it expressed what amounted to a counterculture, rather than a national political force."[114] Epstein's active participation in several antiwar organizations (the East Bay's Middle East Peace Action, UCSC's Faculty Against the War, and a "left-leaning Jewish group") offers a more nuanced view of the internal issues centered around identity politics that contributed to the movement's vulnerability.[115]

Leftist historian and activist Max Elbaum also acknowledged the role of identity in the movement—especially for Jews, Arab-Americans, women, and blacks—as well as internal disagreements on tactical methods (how should protest be expressed). The membership of other groups, based around these identities, bolstered the movement's numbers, but divisive strategies caused insurmountable tensions. Elbaum observed the importance of (some) antiwar activists adopting the pro-troop

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[111] Peter Applebome, "Antiwar Rallies: Day of Protests is the Biggest Yet," 27 January 1991 http://www.nytimes.com/1991/01/27/us/war-in-the-gulf-antiwar-rallies-day-of-protests-is-the-biggest-yet.html (accessed 20 March 2015).
[112] Epstein, "The Antiwar Movement," 135.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid.
[115] These identity politics issues concerned race, gender, sexuality, and also included positions on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

yellow ribbon, and even the American flag. With these symbols, conveying the message that peace is patriotic, protesters might attract support from sympathizers who were otherwise disinclined to participate openly. Furthermore, he noted that in some areas of the United States, these symbols protected protestors from pro-war demonstrators and residual anger towards protestor "maggots." For some, the conflation of troop support with war support weakened messages of peace when they accompanied yellow ribbons.

So while demonstrations initially appeared strong and effective, their energy eventually dwindled. President Bush's refusal to make concessions moved the United States quickly to war and overwhelming 'victory.'[116] The brevity of the Gulf War affected the peace movement's ability to mobilize its forces, and more broadly played a role in the apparent lack of antiwar sentiment across the United States. Furthermore, the movement lacked widespread popular appeal. Emotionally charged rhetoric posed a moral ambiguity for people who may have not been activists in a formal sense, but who were generally inclined to believe in peace efforts before military action. With publicity campaigns depicting Hussein as an evil dictator and championing the idea of resolution through war, there was little room for those who believed in achieving peace through non-military means. Epstein characterized the disintegration of the anti–Gulf war protest movement as the "worst defeat that the US peace movement has suffered since the late 1940s, when…the peace movement of the time was

[116] Ongoing airstrikes throughout the 1990s, however, illustrate that the overwhelming defeat did not actually stabilize unrest in the Middle East.

successfully labeled as un- or anti-American." Only the most steadfast would oppose an impending war that proposed to "liberate Kuwait" and eliminate the next Hitler.

Cultural memories of both World War II and the Vietnam War, and the resulting political rhetoric, strongly influenced US public opinion and experience of the Gulf War. Pro-intervention propaganda relied on discursive legacies of the Vietnam era to garner approval of the Gulf conflict. The impending war in the Middle East became rhetorically equated with the Vietnam War in two important ways: in how the government would handle itself abroad and towards the American media and general public; and in terms of supporting the soldiers so that they would not have to return home, as Vietnam veterans purportedly did, to antiwar protestors spitting in their faces. The association of Saddam Hussein with Hitler was another powerful tactic to rally pro-war (or at least ambiguous peace) sentiment in the United States. By superimposing a moral framework on the Gulf conflict, the administration successfully swayed public opinion in favor of a conflict that had little to do with the safety of most Americans (although the threat to Israel did resonate with Jews). Whether framed as soldier support or preserving "what's right" under the auspices of good versus evil, rhetoric reinforced war efforts and, by extension, demonized antiwar activities. The discursive legacy of Vietnam veterans upon their return home contributed to the understanding of the 1991 Gulf War's overt expression of troop support, even within antiwar movements. Additionally, the peace movement's own internal weaknesses led to its eventual decline.

Finally, the role of the press was severely limited in the Gulf War. In the shadow of Vietnam, US government restricted journalists through the careful use of press pools, and prohibited unescorted reporting.[117] The implementation of press pools began with Reagan's 1983 intervention in Grenada. The *Encyclopedia of Media and Politics* defines pool journalism as "several types of arrangements used by government officials to provide for broad media coverage of events that, for various reasons, can only be covered by a limited number of journalists…. [They] cover the event on the condition that they share their notes, images, and news copy….[118] Press pools, used for routine events such as inaugurations, can be useful; but during the Gulf War, insufficient access and military security review of copy upset many journalists. The progressive *Nation Magazine* filed a lawsuit on 10 January 1991 against the Department of Defense (DOD), citing a violation of the First Amendment.[119] Other left-leaning news organizations joined the suit, including *The Village Voice, Harper's, Mother Jones,* and Pacifica Radio News.[120]

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[117] This press restriction is well-documented. See for example: Suggested reading list on "The Gulf War: Press Coverage," PBS Frontline 1996, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/gulf/appendix/press.html (accessed 21 March 2015); Michelle D. Boydston, "Press Censorship and Access Restrictions During the Persian Gulf War: A First Amendment Analysis," *Loyola of Los Angeles Law Review* 25/3 (1992), available at: http://digitalcommons.lmu.edu/llr/vol25/iss3/25 (accessed 23 March 2015); and numerous *New York Times* articles from February 1991.

[118] Scott L. Althaus, "Pool Journalism," in *Encyclopedia of Media and Politics*, eds. Todd Schaefer and Tom Birkland (Washington DC: CQ Press).

[119] For details on the inconclusive results of this lawsuit, see: Stephen D. Cooper, "Military Control Over War News: The Implications of the Persian Gulf." *The New Jersey Journal of Communication*, 4: 1-20, http://mds.marshall.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1012&context=communications_faculty (accessed 15 August 2015).

[120] Ibid., 15.

Mainstream journalists, mostly via op-eds, also objected to the restrictions.[121] Special to the *New York Times* R.W. Apple Jr. wrote on 12 February that, "No reporter from the six-member bureau of The New York Times had spent a single day as an authorized correspondent with American ground forces" until 10 February, twenty-five days into the forty-two day war.[122] James LeMoyne from the *New York Times* reported: "Three Pentagon press officials in the gulf region said they spent significant time analyzing reporters' stories in order to make recommendations on how to sway coverage in the Pentagon's favor."[123] LeMoyne's experience was mixed, however: at times press officials and military officers were "guarded or hostile," and at other times cooperative and "eager."[124] Even more strongly, Malcolm W. Browne, who won a Pulitzer Prize for reporting the Vietnam War, asserted that the pool system and Pentagon policies made reporters de facto "unpaid employees of the Department of Defense."[125]

In a more matter-of-fact account, CBS anchorman Walter Cronkite, when asked if the public was receiving a fair depiction of the war, replied, "I'm not sure. That's the point. I don't know because the American press is not able to go

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[121] For a discussion on the failure of the press to work together and successfully indict the DOD, see: Michelle Tulane Mensore, "The First Amendment Fights Back: A Proposal For The Media To Reclaim The Battlefield After The Persian Gulf War," *Washington & Lee Law Review* 49 (1992): 1145–1182, http://scholarlycommons.law.wlu.edu/wlulr/vol49/iss3/11 (accessed 15 August 2015).
[122] R.W. Apple, "The Press: Correspondents Protest Pool System," *New York Times*, 12 February 1991.
[123] James LeMoyne, "A Correspondent's Tale; Pentagon's Strategy for the Press: Good News or No News," *New York Times,* 17 February 1991, http://www.nytimes.com/1991/02/17/weekinreview/a-correspondent-s-tale-pentagon-s-strategy-for-the-press-good-news-or-no-news.html (accessed 8 August 2015).
[124] Ibid. [LeMoyne]
[125] Richard L. Berke, "The Press: Pentagon Defends Coverage Rules, While Admitting to Some Delays," *New York Times*, 21 February 1991.

everywhere. We have no independent monitor on whether the system is working or not."[126] To facilitate communication between the press and the military, Wisconsin Senator Herbert H. Kohl (Democrat) organized a 20 February 1991 hearing before the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee. DOD spokesman Pete Williams defended the restrictions, claiming they were essential to "protect the lives of troops and the security of military operations."[127] Whether or not the Pentagon's decisions were justified, however, a climate of distrust between the military and the press resulted. Moreover, it is impossible to know how this restrictive environment affected public opinion and whether it would have aided antiwar efforts.

Conclusion

Although the Persian Gulf War lasted for only six weeks, complex histories in both the Middle East and the United States contributed to stateside understanding of the conflict. Many Americans probably were not aware of the deep root of tension between Iraq and Kuwait. In addition, political rhetoric aimed at curing the United States populace of its military malaise (the Vietnam Syndrome) capitalized on cultural memories of Vietnam and World War II. The active, collective remembering of these two wars as characteristically disparate played a major role in forming a post-Vietnam US military image. Discursive spaces within these memories coalesced into legacies. Corrective and bellicose rhetoric during Reagan and Bush's presidencies, as

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[126] Ibid. [Berke, NYT]

[127] Richard L. Berke, "The Press: Pentagon Defends Coverage Rules, While Admitting to Some Delays," *New York Times*, 21 February 1991, http://www.nytimes.com/1991/02/21/world/war-gulf-press-pentagon-defends-coverage-rules-while-admitting-some-delays.html (accessed 8 Aug 2015).

well as discursive legacies living in American cultural memory gave credence to the need for military intervention. This combination also led to an intense focus on supporting the troops, creating a challenging climate for peace activists.

CHAPTER 3
POPULAR MUSIC, POPULAR MEMORY

Everybody's talkin' 'bout civil war, revolution, Armageddon, no solution; Are we facing Vietnam? We don't want to drop the bomb. ("Give Peace a Chance," revised 1991)

Part I

John Lennon's "Give Peace a Chance," famously written during his Montreal "bed-in" honeymoon with Ono in 1969, became the anthem of anti-Vietnam protests.[1] Its malleable verses and simple, memorable chorus offered the perfect climate for sing-alongs. The song was relevant and catchy. It didn't matter whether listeners knew all the words; the refrain is repeated frequently enough to invite participatory singing. Cementing the song's relationship to peace activism, legendary folk singer Pete Seeger (1919–2014) led a crowd of more than 200,000 protesters as they sang Lennon's refrain at the 15 November 1969 Moratorium to end the Vietnam War.[2] "Are you listening Nixon?" he improvised. "Are you listening Agnew?" Like "We Shall Overcome" during the Civil Rights Movement, "Give Peace a Chance" became the soundtrack to a time of intense political turmoil. These songs gave a voice to the collective desire for change; they enacted a collective opposition to the status quo of violent imperialism: *All we are saying is give peace a chance.*

In 1991, twenty-one years after the song's composition and eleven years after Lennon's tragic death, Lenny Kravitz, Sean Lennon, and Yoko Ono revised its lyrics for a recording by the Peace Choir, an ad hoc celebrity choir including Iggy Pop,

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[1] "Get Up, Stand Up: The Story of Pop and Protest," http://www.pbs.org/wnet/getupstandup/music_peace2.html (accessed 14 July 2014).
[2] Ibid.

Randy Newman, Cyndi Lauper, M.C. Hammer, Al Jarreau, Yoko Ono, Lenny Kravitz, and Sean Ono Lennon.[3] The new lyrics reference current concerns, including hip-hop, censorship, and HIV.[4] Although the Gulf War peace movement didn't have the momentum of the Vietnam era, if only because of the brevity of the conflict, Americans hoping to find another solution besides war (or perhaps reminiscing about an idealized past) nevertheless pushed the revised version of John Lennon's classic anthem to number 54 on the Billboard Hot 100. Though the updated song never achieved the kind of widespread recognition that the original enjoyed, the legacy of "Give Peace a Chance" persisted as powerful symbol of group action. The 1991 remake unambiguously conjured the memory of Vietnam. Updated lyrics spoke to the way Americans associated the current conflict with its predecessor. Even though the Vietnam War had ended decades earlier, in a time when many of the choir participants in the Gulf War version weren't alive, everybody was "talkin' 'bout" it. The song's historical reputation evokes sit-ins, picket lines, and general protests. Especially during the later years of Vietnam, the US public had engaged in an unprecedented level of large-scale public protest. While it simultaneously recalls national trauma, "Give Peace a Chance" also conjures an era fondly remembered for

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[3] The revised version was slightly more realistic than the original version, which mentioned "this-ism, that-ism" and "Bishops and fishops." Of course, John Lennon's ultimate message was clear: it doesn't matter what everyone is talking about, we must consider peace. Other Peace Choir participants: Amina, Adam Ant, Sebastian Bach, Bros, Felix Cavaliere, Terence Trent D'Arby, Flea, John Frusciante, Peter Gabriel, Kadeem Hardison, Ofra Haza, Joe Higgs, Bruce Hornsby, Lee Jaffe, Jazzie B, Davey Johnstone, Little Richard, L.L. Cool J, Michael McDonald, Duff McKagan, Alannah Myles, New Voices of Freedom, Tom Petty, Q-Tip, Bonnie Raitt, Run, Dave Stewart, Teena Marie, Little Steven Van Zandt, Don Was, Wendy &Lisa, Ahmet Zappa, Dweezil Zappa, and Moon Zappa; *Instant Karma!,* Issue #49, January 1991, http://www.instantkarma.com/warisoverissue50.html (accessed 19 Aug 2014).

[4] Ibid.

its galvanizing power. The song itself has come to represent the Vietnam War and the strength of that antiwar movement—and perhaps signifies on a broader level the power of protest.

"The Desert Ain't Vietnam"

Icons serve as memory aids and help to create cultural memories. Inherently visual, they memorialize events, crystallizing the past into concrete images that can be relived and experienced in the present. Visually, the two wars differed dramatically: the Vietnam War was accompanied by strong human-centered iconic imagery; the Gulf War, in contrast, was machine-centered.[5] The visual terrain of the Gulf War centered on weaponry and technology and the "surgical" accuracy of these weapons. People watched launched missiles from their comfortable living rooms. At times, they even saw the war quite directly from the point of view of so-called smart weaponry. Marita Sturken noted that because weapons were the subjects of this war, many people perceived it as sterile and high-tech. The video game quality to line-of-sight images and the avoidance of discussions of violence on CNN's 24-hour coverage distanced viewers from real human casualties. Memorable images of Vietnam, in contrast, are painfully human—the soldier being shot by the General, the My Lai Massacre carnage, naked and frightened children running. These pictures initially represented the turmoil and horror the nation experienced in Vietnam. Over time, they have become icons of a nation's thorny past.

[5] See Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories,* Chapters 1 and 4.

The substitution of weaponry—and even news media (CNN) personnel—for soldiers and civilians as the visual spectacles of the Gulf War also fostered this distance from human loss. (At the same time, the focus on Gulf War troops as heroes served to revise the nation's embarrassing past and restore its emasculated self-image.) Even photos from the notorious "Highway of Death" showed mostly a bird's eye view of vehicle carnage.[6] Disturbing photos did exist, but US networks declined to share them due to strict press controls imposed by the US military.[7] Emotionally and physically distant imagery helped to desensitize the public, while also ensuring widespread support. At the same time, network newscasters emphasized human interest stories that focused on, for example, adults talking to children about war and (usually) women coping with the challenges of having endangered, far-away spouses.[8] When other "harder" war-related stories ran, they were typically followed by family support segments that featured "stressed out women (military wives) and children" and examples of strategies for coping.[9] An ever present focus on supporting the troops was the ultimate manifestation of this hyper-personalization.

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[6] Sturken comments on the focus on "mangled and burned corpses of cars and trucks rather than the people who had been killed inside." *Tangled Memories*, 133.

[7] http://rarehistoricalphotos.com/dont-photograph-people-like-mom-will-think-war-see-tv-gulf-war-1991/ (accessed 19 July 2014) In the UK, the London Observer did publish Kenneth Jarecke's graphic image of an incinerated Iraqi soldier. His accompanying quote: "If I don't photograph this, people like my mom will think war is what they see on TV;" See, for example, the following PBS article on press coverage during the Gulf War http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/gulf/appendix/press.html (accessed 20 Aug 2014); Jason DeParle, "After the War: Long Series of Military Decisions Led to Gulf War News Censorship," *New York Times*, 5 May 1991. http://www.nytimes.com/1991/05/05/world/after-the-war-long-series-of-military-decisions-led-to-gulf-war-news-censorship.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm (accessed 20 Aug 2014); and Torie Rose DeGhett, "The War Photo No One Would Publish," *The Atlantic,* 8 August 2014.

[8] Dana L. Cloud, "Operation Desert Comfort," In *Seeing Through the Media*, eds. Susan Jeffords and Lauren Rabinovitz, 155–170.

[9] Ibid., 158, 162.

Communications scholar Dana Cloud argues in "Operation Desert Comfort" that contradictory stories presented one after the other "domesticated dissent by rearticulating political outrage as personal anxiety and reconfiguring the will to resist as the need to 'support our troops.'"[10] Indeed, this kind of "yellow ribbon journalism" prevailed across the political spectrum.[11] During the Gulf War even antiwar protestors included "support our troops" in their rhetoric.[12] Cloud asserts that the news frequently "translated political problems into personal and emotional terms." Reframing the war in emotional terms had the effect of making peace supporters seem insensitive to the trauma of others. Through careful juxtaposition of "hard" stories with softer themes to wrap up the evening news, "themes of therapy—consolation, coping, support, and adaptation" diluted edgier material such as "danger, prisoners, [and] protests."[13]

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[10] Ibid., 155.

[11] Ibid., 158; Marc Hughes Cobb, "Role of Media In War Remains A Divisive Issue," *The Tuscaloosa News*, 28 June 1991. http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1817&dat=19910625&id=wTgdAAAAIBAJ&sjid=06UEAAAAIBAJ&pg=6709,7178732 (accessed 17 Sept 2014); Dana L. Cloud, *Control and Consolation in American Culture and Politics: Rhetoric of Therapy* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 1998), 90.

[12] Examples include: Peter Applebome, "War in The Gulf: Antiwar Rallies, Day of Protests Is the Biggest Yet," *New York Times*, 27 Jan 1991, http://www.nytimes.com/1991/01/27/us/war-in-the-gulf-antiwar-rallies-day-of-protests-is-the-biggest-yet.html (accessed 12 September 2014); Andrea Lamberti, "Students Respond To Gulf War," 23 January 1991, *The Tech* (MIT) Volume 110, Issue 60. (http://tech.mit.edu/V110/N60/war2.60n.html). The angle most often taken by those who held simultaneous anti-war and pro-troop convictions was that the avoidance of war would support and protect the troops. Conversely, Lance Selfa argues in *Socialist Worker* (February 1991, page 13) that protestors adopted the phrase in defense of conservative accusations. He urges anti-war activists to reject "support our troops," largely because it is a phrase used by "pro-war forces…to whip up patriotism and support for the war." http://socialistworker.org/2004-2/500Supp/500S_199102_TroopsHome.shtml; An article in the 15 Feb 1991 *Chicago Workers' Voice* (a local Marxist-Leninist Party paper) also vehemently argues that it is a mistake for the antiwar movement to use the phrase "support our troops." http://www.communistvoice.org/WA9102Support.html#Spat

[13] Cloud, "Operation Desert Comfort," 157.

Vietnam's unbearably human images engendered mass public outrage that eventually helped to undermine the government's war efforts. Suffering a post-Vietnam aversion towards national morale and military pride, the nation arguably was more accepting of a different kind of war: a tidy one with a decisive victory. In this sense, the Gulf War could be remembered as uncomplicated if the lasting iconic images remained distant and cold. With the requirement for journalists to have a military escort "at all times," the US military intended to ensure a sympathetic depiction of the war. "The escorts helped choose whom reporters could talk to," wrote Jason DeParle in a revealing *New York Times* article about military controls over the press. "Some hovered over interviews and others stepped in front of cameras to interrupt ones they did not like."[14] Furthermore, immediate news coverage also supplanted personal interest stories for deep political engagement.

"From a Distance"

Like the "therapeutic discourse"[15] found in many news stories, much of the mainstream pop music associated with the Gulf War underscored human concerns. This emotional focus seems to contrast and complement the impersonal iconic imagery of the war. Instead, overly personal discourse together with dehumanized imagery undermined political agendas.[16] Through both lyrics and musical devices,

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[14] Jason DeParle, "After the War: Long Series of Military Decisions Led to Gulf War News Censorship," *New York Times*, 5 May 1991. http://www.nytimes.com/1991/05/05/world/after-the-war-long-series-of-military-decisions-led-to-gulf-war-news-censorship.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm

[15] Cloud, *Control and Consolation*, 1998.

[16] I will show later in the chapter that other genres besides contemporary radio hits—punk, rock, folk, and country—did address war concerns directly.

songwriters and their body of listeners accentuated the safety and comfort of human communality. This focus was achieved in two ways: through the evocation of church (in its most generic, non-denominational sense) and prayer (as an intimate, personal experience); and through the emphasis on cohesion via group singing. Lyrics focused on divine security offered a sense of comfort that one might feel during prayer or as a member of a congregation, gathered under a single roof for a common purpose. Musically, songs evoked this kind of togetherness through the aural iconography of Christian church and prayer: organs, gospel choirs, and hymn-like ballads. Struggling to ameliorate the shame of Vietnam, the aural and visual icons of the Gulf War attempted to construct an uncomplicated memory of the war.[17]

Bette Midler's 1990 recording of "From A Distance" included many of these signifiers. With backing vocals by New Jersey's Radio Choir of New Hope Church and a lyrical emphasis on divine protection, the song spoke to the families of faraway troops and anyone else struggling with wartime fears. The music video featured Midler smiling blissfully, exuding a peaceful countenance. Midler's perpetual smile only stops when she veils her face with a thin black scarf, and her overall presence reflects a meditation on hope and peacefulness. Her performance at Radio City Music Hall for the 1991 Grammy Award ceremony maintained a similar composure. Bordering on levity, Midler waves and looks up with a smile the first time she sings the phrase "God is watching us." During an instrumental break between verses, she

[17] Sturken writes about what later complicated the Gulf War: its veterans, many of whom are afflicted with various debilitating symptoms now known as Gulf War Syndrome. See Chapter 4.

says breathlessly and unnaturally, "My name is Bette, what's yours? Peace on earth, goodwill to men—all men."[18]

By the time of this performance on 20 February, the song had exploded in popularity. In the first week of November 1990, Midler's recording reached the top ten of the Hot 100 radio songs and remained there for twenty-six weeks, only dropping from the top ten in mid-January. Meanwhile, the song remained in the #1 position of the Adult Contemporary chart throughout most of November and December 1990. Over the course of those few months, the song became an uplifting expression of reassurance for the families of troops, as well as many other Americans.[19] As a result, "From a Distance," despite its emphasis on peace, carried undercurrents of war support. Moreover, the devastating bombing of the Iraqi civilian air raid shelter, which took place just a week prior to the Grammy Awards, complicated the song's already multi-layered meaning.

In what will emerge as a trend among songs that became popular on mainstream radio at the time, "From a Distance" had a musical life prior to the war, albeit distinct from the mainstream success of Midler's version. Julie Gold, an aspiring songwriter and HBO secretary, wrote the song in 1985.[20] Shortly after, Grammy award winning singer-songwriter Nanci Griffith heard the demo and

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[18] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VCWl-KScscE (Accessed 23 July 2014)
[19] The Adult Contemporary chart comprises mostly easy listening or "soft rock" ballads, and usually excludes dance songs; chart position is based solely on radio play. Ratings for Hot 100 songs result from a combination of radio play and single sales, and now also include digital sales and streaming data.
[20] Lydia Hutchinson, "From a Distance," *Performing Songwriter,* 3 Feb 2011 http://performingsongwriter.com/from-a-distance/ (accessed 5 July 2014).

recorded the song for her fifth album, "Lone Star State of Mind" (1987).[21] It marked her first deal with a major label (MCA). Griffith, a folk-country artist, had already amassed a solid fan base since her 1978 debut, but "Lone Star State of Mind" (the title song) gave Griffith her first Top 40 country hit, and the album was later considered "one of those rare commercial moves that actually improves an artist's music instead of compromising it."[22] Her recording of "From A Distance," while charting modestly in the United States, reached the #1 in Ireland and the United Kingdom.[23]

In an undated video (probably from 1989 or 1990), Griffith gave a live performance for Irish television, backed by her Blue Moon Orchestra.[24] Although the proximity of the show to the start of the Gulf War is unclear, Griffith showcased her deep emotional conviction to the song's message of peace and hope. She wanted this song to become the next peace anthem. "I think that every generation deserves an anthem," she said wistfully before she began singing. "I hope that…hundreds of people record this song so that people around the world get a chance to hear [it]." Dressed in white, she holds her hands close to her heart, sometimes forming a fist and holding it in the air to emphasize certain lyrics, other times simply resting her arms beside her body. This posture, along with the unassuming way she stands at the microphone without her guitar, adds to her emotional vulnerability. Her performance

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[21] Judy Collins and the Byrds also included the song on their albums in 1989 and 1990, respectively.
[22] Thom Owens, Review of *Lone Star State of Mind*, in *AllMusic Guide to Country: The Definitive Guide to Country Music*, eds. Vladimir Bogdanov et al (Milwaukee, WI: Backbeat Books, 2003), 298–299.
[23] Steve Hendershot, "A Mellow Stop on a Musical Journey," *Chicago Tribune*, 7 July 2006.
[24] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jF4BralTQW8; Hawkeye Hurst, "Nanci Griffith Finds Audience, Social Consciousness In Ireland," *Orlando Sentinel*, 2 July 1989.

intensifies with the sudden climax of the otherwise pensive song. This moment arrives at the point when the lyrics, for the first and only time, move into the first-person perspective. The phrase begins softly, providing contrast and strengthening the effect of the climax. *From a distance we look like friends even though we are at war*. She closes her eyes and throws her head back as she sings, nearly growling as she roars out the end of the phrase: *From a distance,* ***I can't comprehend*** *what all this war is for*. Whether or not she was referring to the Gulf War specifically, Griffith conveys simultaneous sadness, confusion, and outrage.[25] As the band finishes playing, she maintains her grave facial expression, holding a place for the audience to contemplate the song's message.[26]

Contrasting Midler's oddly upbeat performances of the song, Griffith's convincing delivery reflects a solemn tone. She smiles sparingly, keeping an earnest countenance throughout most of the song. Her body language conveys a level of seriousness—and sincerity—absent in the two Midler performances. While Midler's version communicated the kind of heartwarming levity the 1991 audience was demanding (as evidenced by the recording's enormous success), Griffith's nuanced vocal inflections, emotive facial expressions, and convincing body language imbued her rendition with anger. With its decidedly weaker political undertones, the Midler

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[25] See video here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jF4BralTQW8 (accessed 20 June 2014). The (1987) album version of the song does not include the "growl," although the song does peak at this same moment.

[26] In a 1993 show in Norway, Griffith sings changes "what all this war is for" to "what all these wars are for." In another performance circa 1996, Griffith sang the song with the Boston Pops Orchestra. She substitutes a few phrases in French and Spanish and included at the end, "it's the song of every woman, man, and child" instead of "every man" as the lyrics indicate. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K2JLt0RvnUY

recording did not quite reach the anthem status Griffith had hoped the song would achieve; yet it became wildly popular during the months preceding the Gulf War, winning Julie Gold a 1991 Grammy Award for "Song of the Year." Although the war had ended early in the year, the song maintained its popularity, remaining at position 15 of the Billboard Hot 100 year-end chart (1991).

The lyrics of the Griffith and the Midler versions are nearly the same, except near the end of the song (Midler's changes in boldface).

> [a] From a distance the world looks blue and green
> And the snow-capped mountains white
> [a] From a distance the ocean meets the stream
> And the eagle takes to flight
> [b] From a distance there is harmony
> And it echoes through the land
> [c] It's the voice of hope, it's the voice of peace
> It's the voice of every man
>
> [a] From a distance we all have enough
> And no one is in need
> [a] There are no guns, no bombs, no diseases
> No hungry mouths to feed
> [b] From a distance we are instruments
> Marching in a common band
> [c] Playing songs of hope, playing songs of peace
> They're the songs of every man
>
> [d] God is watching us, God is watching us
> God is watching us from a distance
>
> [a] From a distance you look like my friend
> Even though we are at war
> [a] From a distance I can't comprehend
> What all this war [**fighting**] is for
> [b] From a distance there is harmony
> And it echoes through the land
> [c] It's the hope of hopes, it's the love of loves
> It's the heart of every man
> [c] It's the hope of hopes, it's the love of loves

It's [**this is**] the song of every man

[d] God is watching us, God is watching us
God is watching us from a distance
[d] God is watching us, God is watching us
God is watching us from a distance

First, Midler's recording substitutes "fighting" for "war" in the line, *I just can't comprehend what all this war is for.* While recording the song, Midler's producer had called Julie Gold to ask her permission for the changes. Gold said, "[Bette Midler] liked the way it felt to *sing* it, if memory serves me. It wasn't so much about the meaning as it was the *feeling* when she *sang the words*." (Emphasis hers.) The alteration was an artistic decision on Midler's part, which Gold did not find unusual or offensive. "I'm honored when *anyone* records [From A Distance] or sings it," she said, "and unless they change the meaning of it entirely, I have no objection to a word or phrase being slightly altered."[27] The use of the word "fighting" maintained a rhythmic flow that the earlier version lacked. Griffith's version, on the other hand, included a pause after the word "war" that emphasizes its gravity. Midler's lyrical change also made the song's message more universal, enhancing its ability to appeal to interpersonal as well as military conflicts.

Second, and more importantly, Midler emphasizes the religious element of the song through repetition, reassuring listeners with a prayer-like comfort. *God is watching us, God is watching us, God is watching us, from a distance.* Like Griffith

[27] Julie Gold, email with author, 25 July 2014.

and Gold, she sings this section [d] after the second complete verse.[28] Griffith does not repeat this line in her performance of the song. Midler, on the other hand, adds it to the end of the song, repeating it for emphasis, and essentially creating a refrain for the song. Perhaps Midler and her producers were concerned that the song's lack of a clear refrain would hinder its success on pop radio. Regardless of audience expectation and pop song convention, when a song ends with "God is watching us" repeated six times rather than "It's the hope of hopes, it's the love of loves, it's the heart of every man" sung twice, the effect on the listener is remarkably different.

Musically, the saccharine vocals, drum machines, and synthesizers of Midler's cover signal the sound of the late 1980s and early 1990s. The instrumentation and a change in production sound (from Griffith's version) move the song into a sonic world inhabited by mainstream pop radio. But it was the lyrics of "From a Distance" that resonated with Americans. During the crisis and war in the Gulf, Midler's recording was consumed and construed as broadly pro-human, but more specifically, pro-soldier. Gold noted that "it was the most requested song on Saudi Band Radio during the first Gulf War."[29] Based on the song's alleged popularity on Armed Services radio, families of soldiers and soldiers themselves felt a connection to the song;[30] perhaps they felt reassured that God was watching.[31] This appropriation by

[28] This d section appears as the "bridge" in sheet music of the song, but it could also be heard as an extension. I have refrained from labeling [d] either way because it functions differently in the two recordings.
[29] Julie Gold, Email with author, 25 July 2014.
[30] I haven't been able to corroborate Gold's assertion, but it was repeated in a number of news articles around the time of the war. Armed Services Network broadcasts would also include written or called-in dedications from soldiers' loved ones; "From a Distance" was one such song. See for example this

soldiers and their families, in addition to the song's mainstream success (which coincided with mainstream acceptance of the war), may have diminished for some listeners its power as an antiwar song.

In the same way that the phrase "support our troops" became synonymous with "support the war," the politically diluted message of "From A Distance" allowed for a multiplicity of meanings. Years later, varied interpretations still clashed. In a January 2009 blog post titled "'From A Distance' is Depressing and Creepy," a debate in the comment section perhaps offers insight to the contested meaning of the song during its prime. DaisyDeadHead wrote, "It's always been used as a pro-war song, ever since the Gulf War. I guess we could 'take it back,' but frankly? I don't want it….They played it over there to inspire the troops, even. Now, maybe that isn't the song's fault, but I will always *hear it* as propaganda."[32] To DaisyDeadHead, the song was inextricably tied to pro-war sentiment; it didn't matter that the lyrics promoted peace and understanding. On the other hand, Decnavda remembers the opposite feeling attached to the song. "I have never been a particular fan of the song, but I have always thought it was anti-war…and I specifically remember it being played at peace rallies…. Frankly, the song seems rather unambiguously antiwar to me."[33] Clearly, the two listeners derived divergent meaning from the same song.

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interview with an Armed Forces Radio DJ: Bob Banta, "Military Disc Jockey Does His Part With Tunes for Desert Storm Troops," *The Baltimore Sun*, 23 January 1991.

[31] Email correspondence with Julie Gold; Jean Marbella, "Melancholy Song Is the Unofficial Gulf War Anthem," *The Baltimore Sun*, 19 February 1991.

[32] http://amptoons.com/blog/2009/01/04/%E2%80%9Cfrom-a-distance%E2%80%9D-is-depressing-and-creepy/ (accessed 25 July 2014).

[33] Ibid.

"Here in the South," Daisy retorts, "the song was played at pro-war political rallies, usually before a prayer…. People would sing along. My point is that I cannot separate that in my consciousness. 'God is watching us' was a way of saying 'Make sure you make God PROUD and kick lots of ass!'" The debate itself acts as a commentary on memory, and reveals some of the intricate interactions among individual and shared memory, historical events, and the passage of time.

Of course, blog comments cannot be taken uncritically as representative of larger groups of listeners; however, "From a Distance" is far from unique in engendering appropriation by opposing ideologies. Serge Denisoff claimed a similar phenomenon with the 1969 song "Okie From Muskogee," which carried appeal both to southerners rallying for the pro-segregation governor of Alabama, George Wallace, and to fans of folk singer Arlo Guthrie, who often sang out against social injustices.[34] Michael J. Kramer, in his study of 1960s counterculture, noted antithetical meanings in rock music during the Vietnam era as well. "The US military appropriated rock music even though the music seemed associated with the antiwar movement, the counterculture, and a general sense of rebellion on the home front."[35] In this case, it was a strategic "cooptation" by the military, which sought to "bring home to the war" by "paralleling the turn toward hip capitalism in the domestic consumer market."[36] Hippies in San Francisco rocked out to the Jefferson Airplane at antiwar benefit

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[34] Richard D. Barnet and Larry L. Burriss, *Controversies of the Music Industry* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2001), 50–51. Quoting Denisoff in *Sing a Song of Social Significance,* 1972.
[35] Michael J. Kramer, *The Republic of Rock: Music and Citizenship in the Sixties Counterculture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 137.
[36] Ibid.

concerts, while "soldier bands in Vietnam played Jefferson Airplane songs to raise morale within the war effort itself."[37]

Like 1960s rock music's dual-meaning for soldiers and the counterculture, the contradictory receptive meaning of "From A Distance" in 1990 reflected a political climate that sought to de-politicize war through the rhetoric of troop support. The dual meanings also accounted in part for the song's massive success: anyone listening to "From A Distance" could potentially identify with the message, regardless of political orientation. Or perhaps the message conveyed in this song merely reinforced a listener's pre-existing beliefs. At the same time, Midler's reiteration of "God is watching us" at the end of the song stifled the pacifist message of the song that Griffith had envisioned. Daisy's interpretation of the song as a call to arms (i.e., "kick ass" so God, who is watching, will be proud) may seem extreme, but we can imagine she was not the only American to hear this implication. In any case, "From A Distance" conveyed spiritual protection, giving Americans hope that our troops would be safe under God's watch, and the defeats of Vietnam would not be repeated.

George Michael and Styx

If "From A Distance" offered comfort to listeners, George Michael's 1990 song "Mothers Pride" [*sic*] allowed listeners to acknowledge the anguish of wartime. Like most of the mainstream, commercial popular songs associated with the Gulf War, "Mothers Pride" was not written for the occasion. The album *Listen Without*

[37] Kramer, *The Republic of Rock*,16.

Prejudice Vol. 1 was released 3 September 1990, suggesting the song was composed before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The lyrics address war without specific reference to the Gulf War, telling the story of a boy too young to understand his father's duty as a soldier. His mother "prays the child will understand." *At the door they watch the men go by.* Somber piano figurations and ethereal synthesizer panpipes set the tone for Michael's yearning vocals, which fall off the pitch center in micro-tonal inflections, a strained sound reminiscent of sobbing. *They make no difference…your daddy died a hero.* Excessive reverb on the vocal track accentuates the sibilance of each word. *At the shore she waves her son goodbye.* Michael's voice is situated in the front of the mix, unencumbered by backing vocals or overactive synthesizer riffs. His vocal timbre evokes the image of pain and grief—perhaps someone hunched over, head in hands. *Mother's pride, baby boy, his father's eyes.*

As the narrative continues, the young boy becomes a soldier himself, fulfilling his own obligation. Intuitively knowing he will not return, his mother mournfully waves goodbye. *And in her heart the time has come to lose a son.* Just as she had suspected, "his lifeless eyes" later confirm her greatest fear. Michael's delicate falsetto accentuates some of the most emotional moments. Although the lyrics leave no question as to the fate of the boy, the music ends without returning to the tonic. This lack of resolution underscores the paradoxical fate of the song's protagonist—fatally wounded and perpetually a soldier. *He's a soldier now forever more. He'll hold a gun till kingdom come.*

"Mothers Pride" approaches a painfully human subject matter—the loss of a husband and a child. As an act of commemoration and a mother's lament, the song conveys a ceremonial gravity. In the recording, digital reverb approximates the acoustics of a large physical space, perhaps a cathedral, where a mother might find herself consumed by sorrow, or comforted by prayer. The depth of feeling required to even imagine the mother's pain draws the listener in, facilitating a feeling of intimacy between singer and listener. The excruciating subject matter comes through not only via the lyrics, but also in Michael's vocal performance. Sparsely textured music and highly effected vocals that preside in the front of the mix, along with the affect of powerful grief, facilitate a prayer-like intimacy. Given that grief is commonly expressed ceremonially in places of worship, the song also evokes the act of prayer.

Like Michael's song, Styx's hymn-like power ballad, "Show Me The Way" suggested prayer, but through feelings of hope rather than despair. Styx, a rock band that became popular in the late 1970s and early 1980s, had already broken up by 1984. During a brief reunion in 1989–1992, however, they released the album *Edge of the* Century (1990) to little acclaim. With a handful of singles that reached Billboard charts, the comeback album had its greatest success with "Show Me The Way." Written by lead singer Dennis DeYoung, and originally a song about a personal journey of losing faith, the song became connected to the Gulf War after its opportune December 1990 release. The song was charting, but lingering around number 40 when WAVA-FM's Music Director Chris Taylor secured the song's popularity—and its relationship to the war.

As music director of the Washington D.C. Top 40 station, Taylor's job was to report each week to the program director on what songs were trending, and what should be played in the upcoming week. Taylor had a personal affinity for Styx, and particularly the song "Show Me the Way." Even though "Styx was not necessarily a Top 40 band [anymore]," Taylor regularly pushed for the song to be programmed. When the situation in the Gulf began to escalate, radio stations attempted to make sense of current events. "In that time frame," recalls Taylor, "we had never seen anything like that. War was…history."[38] One way that radio personnel would connect with the public during difficult times is through what Taylor calls tribute songs. In commercial radio, tribute songs are constructed using preexisting songs with the addition of voiceovers, news clips, and sometimes sound effects to communicate a particular message. WAVA's program director approached Taylor, suggesting he put together a tribute song using George Michael's "Mothers Pride." Taylor was resistant, feeling the subject matter of the song was too "dense" and "heavy."[39]

While flipping through the channels the following Saturday morning, he came across C-SPAN's coverage of the congressional debate on whether to authorize war. Typically uninvolved politically, Taylor nonetheless found it "fascinating" and "unbelievably heavy…to have to make that call."[40] He began recording the news footage with a VHS tape to add to his tribute song. Once he had finished the song, he called his program director and said, "I got good news and I got bad news. The good

[38] Chris Taylor, interview with author, 15 July 2014.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.

news is we have a tribute song. The bad news is I didn't use George Michael."[41] In the studio, Taylor followed his intuition and created a mix of "Show Me the Way."[42] Taylor played the final product over the phone for the program director, who promptly recognized its great potential. "I don't care what's on the radio next," he said. "Whatever comes up, get rid of it. Put that on the radio right now." Taylor's remix was an immediate local success. Shortly thereafter Styx's label, A&M Records, picked up Taylor's version, releasing it to multiple radio stations. As a result, the contemplative comeback song eventually reached number 3 on the Billboard Hot 100 and Adult Contemporary charts.

Chris Taylor's radio remix used excerpts of Congress's debate, rather than bellicose presidential rhetoric, to highlight what he felt was public confusion over whether the war was "right or wrong." "I didn't want to make a political statement. [My mix] was about the emotion that everyone was feeling."[43] Whether or not Taylor wanted to make a political statement, however, his connection to "Show Me the Way" reflects the historical moment, which was laden with political agendas. For Taylor, the emotional appeal of the original song lies somewhere between the music and the lyrics. The existential words contributed to his intense connection to the song, but it was more than just lyrics. Yet it was not merely the melody; the appeal for

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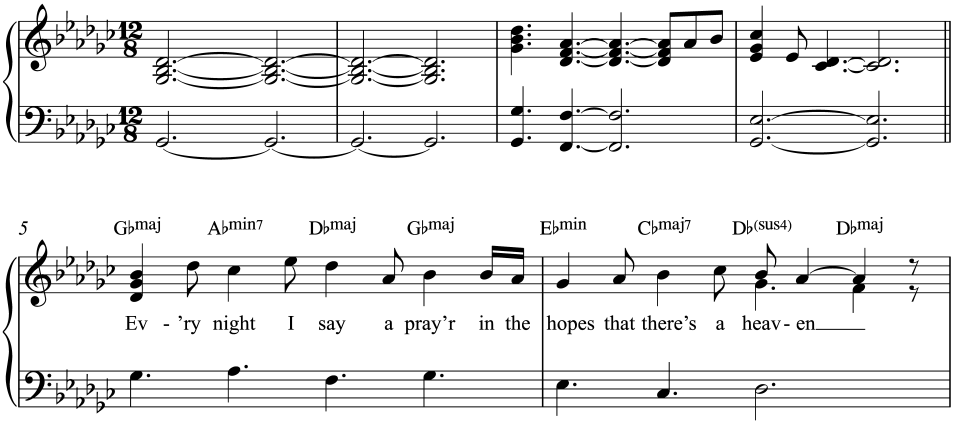
[41] Ibid.
[42] An earlier remix of "Show Me The Way" had been created by a Knoxville DJ. The remix appealed to Taylor, but its message wasn't what Taylor himself would have communicated. He wanted to put his own spin on it—one that would ostensibly allow listeners to decide for themselves how they felt about the war.
[43] Chris Taylor, interview with author, 15 July 2014.

Taylor included the way that Dennis DeYoung performed the song, and the emotion exuded.

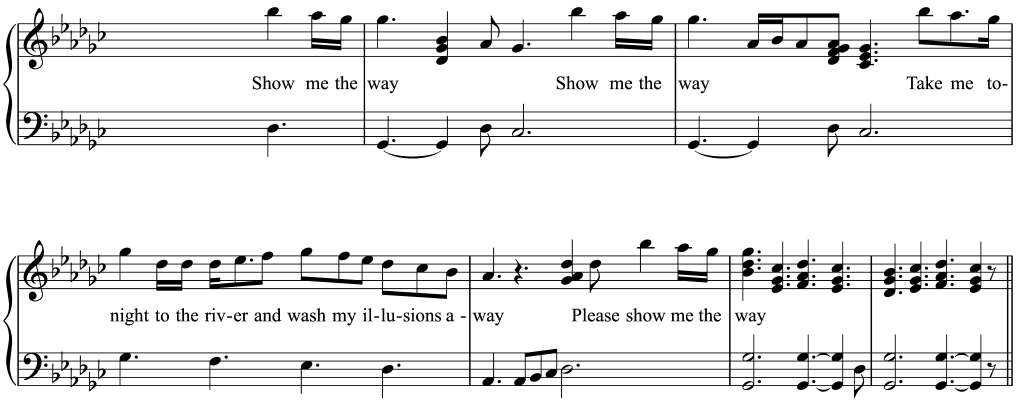
"Show Me the Way" opens with sustained organ chords, and moves into DeYoung's slow, meditative hymn: *Every night I say a prayer in the hopes that there's a heaven*. There is no rhythm section at this point, and DeYoung sings with rubato.

Example 3.1 Styx, "Show Me the Way," organ introduction and first line, mm. 1–6. (© Grand Illusion Music, 1991).



As the first verse continues, the protagonist becomes more bewildered by evils of the world. *And every day I'm more confused as the saints turn into sinners.* Disillusioned, he worries that he has lost his faith. With the arrival of the chorus, backed by a gospel choir, we hear the singer's ultimate plea. *Show me the way…take me tonight to the river and wash my illusions away.*

Example 3.2 Styx, "Show Me the Way," refrain, with gospel choir. Note the plagal progression in the last two measures (© Grand Illusion Music, 1991).



His fears recur in the second verse—when the full rock band instrumentation joins in—only to be assuaged again by the chorus. Besides the direct lyrical reference to prayer, the refrain also functions as a musical prayer, a request for divine guidance. The gospel choir backing vocals, along with the lyrical content, plagal motion recalling the standard "amen cadence," and instrumentation, all serve to reference the togetherness and intimacy of church and prayer, and the emotional comfort experienced therein. A final iteration of the opening line (mm. 5–6), stripped of electric guitars and drums, reminds us that this song is a conversation with God. With this suddenly stark texture, we regain the sense of intimacy and prayer imparted in the first verse. As in the beginning of the song, the singer is accompanied only by organ.

In addition to signifying church and prayer, the sound of the organ may have carried other referential resonance. For some listeners, hearing the organ (specifically, the Hammond B3 with a Leslie speaker) could have stimulated memories of the Vietnam era, with varying levels of specificity. As a staple of the psychedelic and prog rock band, the instrument's unmistakable sound signifies 1960s and 1970s

counterculture for those familiar with the repertoire.[44] The genre, whether the songs feature organ or not, carries the legacy of psychedelic drug use and many songs lyrically and sonically evoke such activities. Within a less than wholesome legacy, however, exists that of the Vietnam antiwar movement to which the genre was closely tied.[45]

Regardless of the presence or absence of the organ in psychedelic rock, the instrument was closely associated with the genre, and many fans affiliated with the antiwar movement. By extension then, and given the persistent presence in popular culture of representations of the Vietnam era (both antiwar and veteran perspectives) throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, the sound of the organ may have signified, for some, the sound of an unprecedented (and perhaps either nostalgic or reviled) time when "the people" waged enormous political power.[46] This type of signification diverges from other kinds of musical markers generally found in music related to battle. When a marching rhythm sounds on a snare drum or melodic instruments intone bugle calls, listeners may be reminded of war. The organ, in contrast, does not signify war in a generic sense. Nor does it stand for a specific genre of music. Instead, the organ represents a particular moment in history. Whether or not this music

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[44] Edward Macan, *Rocking the Classics: English Progressive Rock and the Counterculture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[45] For example, Deep Purple's song "Child in Time" and The Doors' "The Unknown Soldier," explicitly protest the Vietnam war and feature the sound of the organ. For a discussion on the ways prog rock approached the Vietnam War see Macan, *Rocking the Classics,* 78–80, 90–91.

[46] By the late 1930s, Hammond organs were beginning to replace pipe organs in churches, on radio soap operas, and at stadiums. Ethel Smith helped to move the organ into popular culture, with her performance in the 1944 film *Bathing Beauty.* By the mid 1950s, the B3 came to be, with Jimmy Smith popularizing its sound, particularly the combination with the Leslie speaker cabinet. By the mid-1960s, rock and jazz artists used the B3 commonly.

incorporated any inkling of protest, the ubiquitous inclusion of the Hammond B3 organ became a musical marker of this tumultuous decade.

Creating Camaraderie: Patriotism, Country Music, and Group Singing

Throughout the buildup to the Gulf War, the Bush administration repeatedly invoked the memory of Vietnam. Although Bush sought to distinguish the two wars, his invocations nevertheless fostered the collective remembering of gloomier details: the death of more than 58,000 soldiers, a decline of the military's reputation, and the reportedly abhorrent treatment of returning veterans.[47] As a result of these ignominious memories, some Americans feared a possible Middle Eastern war. Once the war began, this apprehension did not immediately dissolve.

People typically turn to both prayer and collective musical expression during times of political upheaval, either seeking solace through God or attempting to find common ground with other members of their society, subcultures, and community. During the Gulf War, group singing and expression of patriotism were two manifestations of such camaraderie. Along with the highly personalized discourse that emphasized private emotions, an esprit de corps arose that bonded Americans through a desire for either victory or peace, as well as concern for the troops. Gulf War patriotism, characterized by *New York Times* writer Isabel Wilkerson as

[47] There are 58,307 names of soldiers killed or missing in action; per the Department of Defense, this number does not include deaths from the effects of Agent Orange or suicide deaths resulting from PTSD.

"comforting, almost fashionable,"[48] was a pro-war expression that bordered on jingoism. The discourse of patriotism (or lack thereof) united people experiencing social and political disturbances, and the music mirrors this connection.

Patriotic songs express nationalist devotion, helping to voice a collective feeling of camaraderie among citizens. These songs typically communicate their messages through straightforward language, but descriptive lyrics are not a requisite. The mere act of singing together can encourage political unity, as well as feelings of togetherness and psychological well-being.[49] Colin Roust's article on communal singing among women imprisoned in Paris during World War II argued the act was political, although some songs displayed no obvious lyrical association with the war. Roust noted that even when the song seemed unrelated to the current situation, the group activity "[carried] messages of communal solidarity."[50] Singing together—whether or not lyrics connect directly to the cause—can support political cohesion. In American history, "Give Peace A Chance" served this function during Vietnam, just as "We Shall Overcome" did in the Civil Rights struggle, though these songs of course had lyrical connection to their causes. At the same time, to Roust's point, if a

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[48] Isabel Wilkerson, "After War, Patriotism Unfurls for Fourth of July," *New York Times,* 4 July 1991, http://www.nytimes.com/1991/07/04/us/after-war-patriotism-unfurls-for-fourth-of-july.html July 4, 1991.

[49] Marianne Judd and Julie and Pooley, "The Psychological Benefits of Participating in Group Singing for Members of the General Public," *Psychology of Music* 42, no. 2 (March 2014): 269-283; Betty A. Bailey and Jane W. Davidson, "Effects of Group Singing and Performance for Marginalized and Middle-Class Singers," *Psychology of Music* 33, no. 3 (July 2005): 269-303; Dianna T. Kenny and Gavin Faunce, "The Impact of Group Singing on Mood, Coping, and Perceived Pain in Chronic Pain Patients Attending a Multidisciplinary Pain Clinic," *Journal of Music Therapy* 41, no. 3 (2004): 241-258.

[50] Colin Roust, "Communal Singing as Political Act: A Chorus of Women Resistants in La Petite Roquette, 1943–1944, *Music Politics* 7, no. 2 (Summer 2013), http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mp/9460447.0007.202/--communal-singing-as-political-act-a-chorus-of-women?rgn=main;view=fulltext (accessed 2 July 2014).

large group of people attending a protest (or imprisoned during a war) were to sing "Oh! Susanna" in unison, the song would assume, at least temporarily, political significance.

During periods of intense nationalist fervor, and particularly wartime, the national anthem serves as both a medium for the expression of patriotism and an act of collective singing. Professional ballgames provide another, albeit less politically charged, venue for the song. After her performance at the 1991 Super Bowl, Whitney Houston's version of the "Star Spangled Banner" achieved unanticipated commercial success, reaching the top twenty of the Billboard chart. Jon Pareles, in his 24 February "Pop View" column suggested that Houston's version "[found] seductiveness in the rockets' red glare." But, he continued, "Despite the gleaming high-tech weapons paraded on the nightly news, the pop public hasn't joined her." Notwithstanding Pareles's declaration that Houston had glamorized the war and the public wasn't buying it, as early as 31 January, Associated Press reported the national anthem heading towards Top 40 status.[51] Clive Davis, president of Houston's label Arista Records claimed (perhaps with a bit of hyperbole), "The calls have come in from all over the country. Radio stations have called in, the public has called in. The switchboard here was jammed for two days."[52] The single, released by Arista on February 12, reached the top twenty. (Houston donated her profits to the American Red Cross Gulf Crisis Fund; the Florida Orchestra, near bankruptcy, sued Arista for

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[51] Associated Press, "Country Loves Houston's 'Star-Spangled Banner,'" *Bangor Daily News*, 31 Jan 1991, 21. http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=PK1JAAAAIBAJ&sjid=cg4NAAAAIBAJ&pg=3154,4978051&dq=whitney+houston+star+spangled+banner&hl=en (Accessed 24 June 2014);
[52] Ibid.

royalties after the single's major success. The two parties reached an agreement and Arista paid approximately $100,000 to the orchestra in 1991 and 1992.[53] A lawsuit and out-of-court settlement also occurred following the post–9/11 re-release of Houston's greatest hits.[54]) The recording's extraordinary popularity illustrates the urge that many citizens felt to express national identity during the war.

After decades of the continual reframing of Vietnam through Oliver Stone films, television series, and political rhetoric, perhaps Houston's national anthem also acted as a referential cue of that era. In fact, until that point, the only other time "The Star Spangled Banner" had reached the Billboard Hot 100 was in 1968, at the height of anti-Vietnam protests.[55] Puerto Rican pop star José Feliciano performed his slow, bluesy version at the World Series, angering many listeners who felt his departure from the traditional rendition was disrespectful. Perhaps in 1991, some listeners also recalled Jimi Hendrix's wordless, yet sonically and politically charged rendition from the same era. As Mark Clague's discussion of this version shows, Hendrix actually performed the song often between 1968 and 1970 as a multilayered statement of his citizenship.[56] His legendary Woodstock performance has settled as a symbol of protest in American cultural memory.

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[53] Associated Press, "Whitney Houston's 'The Star-Spangled Banner' Suit Dropped," 21 December 2001, http://top40-charts.com/news.php?nid=1890 (accessed 17 August 2015).
[54] Associated Press, "Orchestra Drops 'Star-Spangled' Lawsuit," 19 December 2001, http://www.billboard.com/articles/news/77388/orchestra-drops-star-spangled-lawsuit (accessed 17 August 2015).
[55] After the 2001 World Trade Center attacks, Houston's recording reached the top ten, a record for the national anthem since Billboard began the Hot 100 chart in 1958.
[56] Mark Clague, "'This Is America': Jimi Hendrix's Star-Spangled Banner Journey as Psychedelic Citizenship," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 8, no. 4 (Nov 2014): 435–478.

In addition to the national anthem, some patriotic country songs gained extraordinary popularity. Patriotic songs strengthen togetherness, generally through unremarkable and predictable rhetoric, familiar chord progressions, and catchy melodies. Country music often utilizes these same musical devices, emphasizing lyrics and exploiting listeners' expectations.[57] *Washington Post* pop music critic Richard Harrington claimed that country artists were among the first to respond musically to the war. On 30 January 1991, Harrington wrote, "R&B and rock-and-roll may have provided the soundtrack for Vietnam in much the way big bands did for World War II, but country music is (for now) first to the turntable with musical takes on the Persian Gulf War." Harrington cited Waylon Jennings's "The Eagle" and Johnny Cash's "Goin' By the Book" as two of the well-loved songs, both of which were performed at the 1991 American Music Awards ceremony. "The Eagle" metaphorically espouses the eagle's need for freedom. "Lord knows I am peaceful when I'm left alone. I've always been an Eagle, been awhile since I have flown…." In a double entendre, the song speaks either to the latent pro-military sentiments of red-blooded Americans or accuses an over-zealous lover of emotional suffocation. "You've jeopardized my freedom, my natural place to roost; I can fly when I have to, if they turn the Eagle loose." The song reached number 22 on the Hot Country Singles chart.

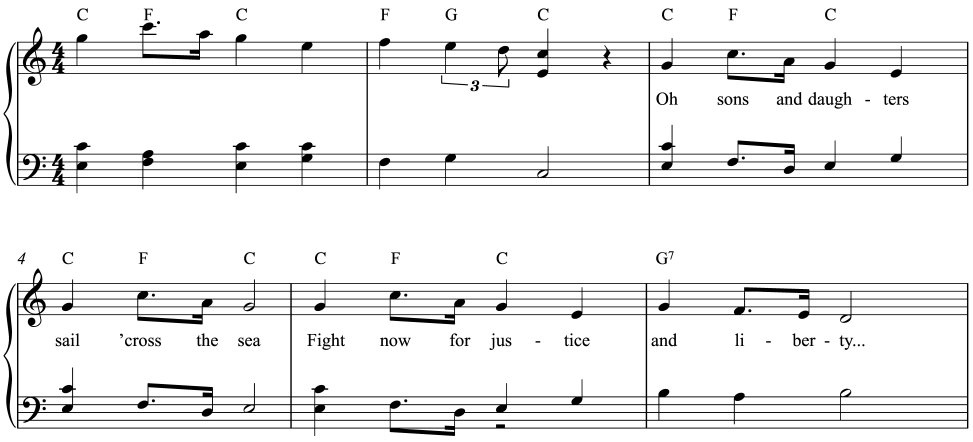
[57] Barbara Ching, *Wrong's What I Do Best: Hard Country Music and Contemporary Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Jocelyn Neal, "Narrative Paradigms, Musical Signifiers, and Form as Function in Country Music," *Music Theory Spectrum* 29, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 41–72.

A few country artists released less than enthusiastic responses to the war. Cash's song achieved less recognition on the Billboard charts, perhaps due to its lack of pro-American fervor. "Somebody's army is always on the loose…" pines Cash in his defeatist depiction of the woes of the world, which included acid rain, starvation, and war. Randy Newman's lilting ballad "Lines in the Sand" earnestly wished troops well in a less-than-polished Americana style. Recording the evening before the war began, the song was only made available to radio stations, and was not released commercially until Newman's 1998 box set.[58] Nevertheless, the song received publicity through its coverage in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (22 Jan 1991), the *Washington Post* (23 Jan 1991), and the *Los Angeles Times* (24 Jan 1991) only a week after its limited distribution.

The thinly textured song features Newman's characteristic warbling voice, with simple piano and strings accompaniment that mirror the vocal rhythm. As in the beginning of a hymn, there is an instrumental introduction that picks up the last two measures of the song. Newman, who also participated in the celebrity re-make of "Give Peace a Chance," at first seems to be singing in tribute to the troops. *Oh, sons and daughters, sail 'cross the sea; fight now for justice and liberty.*

Example 3.3 Randy Newman, "Lines in the Sand," mm 1–6 (transcription by author).

[58] Chuck Philips, "Drawing His Own 'Lines in Sand': Randy Newman Records a Pointed Commentary on the Gulf War," *Los Angeles Times*, 24 January 1991.



But as the song continues, a sardonic tone imbues the lyrics, though the music continues with what *Inquirer* critic Tom Moon characterized as "the solemnity of a Civil War hymn."[59] *Blood of these children, a stain on the land; if they die to defend some lines in the sand.* Newman pauses briefly after he sings "some," and then immediately continues the cadential melodic descent [f – e – d – c] of "lines in the sand," leveling a pointed critique at the propagandistic use of the phrase. The downward motion of the melody, along with Newman's fatigued-sounding vocals and his use of the word "some" do not convey a hawkish push for enforcing said lines. Instead, "some" implies the lines may be cursory, while the soft-spoken intimacy of Newman's voice suggests he may not have believed in the war as much as he felt saddened by it.

Known for its autobiographical subject matter and intimate singing style, country music also has developed a reputation for asserting patriotic values. Both Presidents Nixon and Bush suggested that the (overwhelmingly white) genre

[59] *Inquirer*, 22 January 1991.

conveyed American values.[60] "Country music makes America a better country," declared Nixon in a 1974 appearance at the Grand Ole Opry.[61] Bush was no less hyperbolic in a 1994 *Forbes* article. "It captures the essence of the American spirit," he claimed.[62] These sweeping statements generalize a complex style of music that encompasses multiple sub-genres; yet the remarks represent a widespread understanding of country music as a vehicle for expressing national identity.

Characterized as a "class-conscious" genre by musicologist Aaron Fox and cultural critic Barbara Ching, country music explicitly sets itself in opposition to white-collar Americans, hippies and the educated class.[63] The implication here, in the case of the Gulf War, is the polarization of working-class country fans and those oppose the war. Fox calls country music "an authentic working-class art of enormous value to its blue-collar constituency."[64] He depicts in lively, descriptive language the "bizarre and ironic landscape for the working-class American dreamer"—or simply,

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[60] There are, of course, black country artists; however, the genre tends to be heard and understood by many Americans as a white, working-class genre. For further discussion see: Geoff Mann, "Why Does Country Music Sound White? Race and the Voice of Nostalgia," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31, no. 1 (January 2008): 73–100. Mann notes that President Bush declared (Presidential Proclamation 6358) October "Country Music Month" in 1991, but Mann erroneously claims that this proclamation took place in the midst of the war, which had ended in Mach 1991, and overestimates its importance. First, Presidential Proclamations are routinely issued on holidays such as Veterans Day and MLK Jr. Day, so it's hardly remarkable. Additionally, Bush had done the same in October of 1989 and 1990. Furthermore, President Nixon was the first to declare October Country Music Month with Proclamation 4007 in 1970. See: Richard Nixon: "Proclamation 4007 - Country Music Month, 1970," September 25, 1970, online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=105822 (accessed 20 July 2015). Country Music Month was proclaimed in the years: 1970–77, and 1989–1994.
[61] Ching, *Wrong's What I Do Best*, 5.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Aaron Fox, *Real Country: Music and Language in Working-Class Culture* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004); and Ching, *Wrong's What I Do Best*, 44.
[64] Ibid., ix.

'the country.'[65] Patriotism, Fox notes, is embodied by this working class. It's not simply that some of the music expresses patriotic sentiments; this "real country" culture fosters a deeply embedded patriotism. At the time of the Gulf War, this national loyalty was nurtured by memories of Vietnam, despite what could have been construed as disillusionment with public policy.

> Militaristic patriotism swirling through America in late 1990 provided many working-class people a powerful, if (in my opinion) obfuscatory symbolic compensation for perceived injustices of the still vivid past…. The Gulf War provided a chance to redress these injustices by mustering unwavering support for US soldiers abroad, an unstinting criticism of any antiwar argument, and a class-conscious rejection of the antiwar movement as unpatriotic and bourgeois.[66]

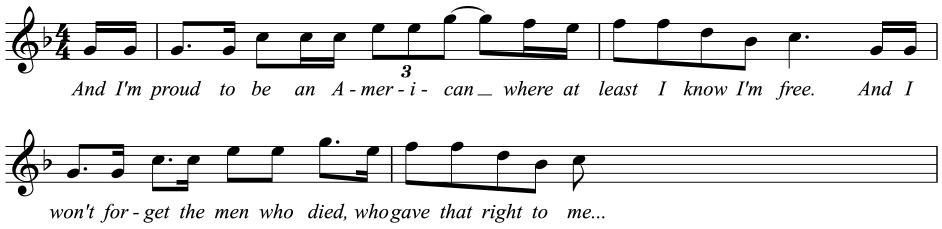
Many of Fox's ethnographic subjects harbored resentment over the Vietnam War due in part to "the disproportionate load working-class soldiers had carried in that long and bloody war without appreciation from the broader society."[67] The tendency for Vietnam veterans, as opposed to Korean War or World War II veterans, to be "alcoholic, depressive, physically disabled, and mentally injured" was seen as a symptom of the widespread disapproval of the war, rather than a neglected responsibility of the government or Veterans Affairs. (The image of the downtrodden Vietnam veteran became an archetype in popular culture. See, for example, the well-known films *Taxi Driver, First Blood,* and *Born on the Fourth of July.*) Working-class country fans, jaded over how many of their sons had served (and died), felt

[65] Ibid., 76.
[66] Ibid., 52–53.
[67] Ibid., 52.

historical animosity towards antiwar movements, and the sentiment lingered through the Gulf War era.

Two unequivocally patriotic country songs popular during the Gulf War were Hank Williams Jr.'s "Don't Give Us A Reason" and Lee Greenwood's "God Bless the U.S.A." Williams's jingoistic song serves as a warning to Saddam Hussein; Greenwood's lyrics attest to freedom, military appreciation, and American pride. Both artists refer to Vietnam: Williams explicitly in the line "no the desert ain't Vietnam," and Greenwood implicitly with, "I won't forget the men who died." Greenwood's song had reached the top ten on the Hot Country Singles Billboard chart after its initial release in 1984. It resurfaced on the country chart in 1991, acquiring greater significance in light of the war. (Like Houston's recording of the national anthem, Greenwood's song also enjoyed a resurgence of popularity after 9/11.) Unambiguous lyrics and a catchy major chord arpeggio refrain granted the song easy sing-along status.

Example 3.4 Lee Greenwood, "God Bless the U.S.A," chorus (transcription by author).



Greenwood's morale boosting song gave a collective voice to patriotism, while also expressing support for the soldiers. The message of "God Bless the U.S.A." was so

powerful that General Norman Schwarzkopf used it as a preface to announcing to his staff when the war was about to begin.

> I asked the chaplain to say a prayer, and then I played "God Bless the USA"—a blatantly chauvinistic piece of music [chuckle], but I think it characterized the pride that all of us have in our profession….Whenever I hear Lee Greenwood's "God Bless the USA," even today, I still get very, very emotional. Particularly that business about, you know, men who have died. Because of course that brings back memories of Vietnam to me, as well as Desert Storm.[68]

Other personnel present at the briefing attested to the powerful effect of this particular song. Even "Stormin' Norman" had tears in his eyes. Music sometimes communicates the unspeakable, stands in for speaking, and creates a momentary space for emotions that cannot be otherwise accommodated. Furthermore, music can at once stimulate and collapse the memory, transporting us to another time and place and connecting disparate events.

Just as patriotism fosters togetherness, group singing produces a similar esprit de corps. Because singing together often occurs at church, it could musically signify its locale. The kind of group singing referred to here is instead more secularized (or less overtly religious), such as might be encountered at a ball game, at a political protest, or around a campfire. The 1991 Peace Choir's rendition of "Give Peace A Chance" exemplified this kind of collaborative expression. Coupled with the use of celebrity power, "Give Peace A Chance" emulated the nostalgic era of anti–Vietnam War protests, both through the song itself and through group singing.

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[68] PBS *Frontline: The Gulf War* "Oral History: Norman Schwarzkopf," http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/gulf/oral/schwarzkopf/1.html (accessed 31 July 2014).

"Give Peace A Chance" was not the only song that used the recognition of the celebrity supergroup and the strength of collective singing to represent a shared opinion on the war. In one of the few Billboard hits written explicitly about the Gulf war, producer David Foster gathered recording artists, professional athletes, and actors for the song and accompanying documentary, "Voices That Care." Michael Jordan, Bobby Brown, Kenny G, Meryl Streep, and Celine Dion were just a few of the celebrities involved. The song's lyrics pledged staunch support of the troops and epitomized the power and pervasiveness of the "support our troops" rhetoric. The cultural memory of Vietnam makes a lightly shrouded appearance in the first verse. *I won't turn my back again, your honor I'll defend*. Listeners knew exactly how to interpret this phrase. Shared understanding of such few words illustrates the strength of the Vietnam War in American public memory, and its place as an aberration. Regardless of what the lyrics might have revealed about American culture, the refrain of the song professed support of the soldiers, and by extension, the war. *Stand tall, stand proud. Voices that care are crying out loud. And when you close your eyes tonight, know in your heart that our love burns bright.* Celebrity recognition brought credibility (for some) to the group's message of solidarity with the troops.

Etymologically, the word *chorus* connotes togetherness. The Greek chorus functioned as a single character—a collective voice offering plot commentary. In more recent times, singing together has historically brought cohesion to movements and communality to daily life. A number of studies in music psychology on group

singing have shown positive benefits of singing together on various populations.[69] Neuroscientist, author, and musician Daniel Levitin said recently that singing in a choir, "activates a part of the frontal cortex that's responsible for how you see yourself in the world, and whether you see yourself as part of a group or alone."[70] He claims that evidence-based studies show that singing together releases oxytocin, a hormone believed to be responsible for feelings of trust and intergroup bonding.[71]

Of course there is historic precedence, particularly surrounding wartime, for the sense of well-being and camaraderie engendered by song and singing together. From the Revolutionary War to the most recent Iraq War, music has boosted morale in preparation for and on the battlefield, as well as helped soldiers cope with boredom and homesickness.[72] A US Army publication states: "The mission of Army bands is to provide music throughout the spectrum of military operations to instill in our forces the will to fight and win, foster the support of our citizens, and promote our national interests at home and abroad."[73] On the home front, group singing—or mass

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[69] Marianne Judd and Julie and Pooley, "The Psychological Benefits of Participating in Group Singing for Members of the General Public," *Psychology of Music* 42, no. 2 (March 2014): 269-283; Betty A. Bailey and Jane W. Davidson, "Effects of Group Singing and Performance for Marginalized and Middle-Class Singers," *Psychology of Music* 33, no. 3 (July 2005): 269-303; Dianna T. Kenny and Gavin Faunce, "The Impact of Group Singing on Mood, Coping, and Perceived Pain in Chronic Pain Patients Attending a Multidisciplinary Pain Clinic," *Journal of Music Therapy* 41, no. 3 (2004): 241-258.

[70] http://www.npr.org/2013/06/03/188355968/imperfect-harmony-how-chorale-singing-changes-lives%5D Ari Shapiro talks with author Stacy Horn and Daniel Levitin.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Jonathan Pieslak, *Sound Targets: American Soldiers and Music in the Iraq War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009). Raoul Camus, *Military Music of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976), 6.

[73] Army Regulation 220-90, *Field Organizations: Army Bands*, rev. Dec 2007. This document is very similar to a now obsolete version of AR 220-90 (1986), which characterizes the mission, among other rationale, as "promot[ing] and maintain[ing] the morale and esprit de corps of troops." AR 220-90: Army Bands, 30 Aug 1986, p 4-5. From the Combined Arms Research Library Digital Library.

representation of group singing via commercial radio—also boosts morale and fosters cohesiveness necessary for either expressing patriotism or dissent. Furthermore, in the context of the imminent war in the Gulf, the act, the sound, and the psychological affect of group singing could have consciously or subconsciously evoked cultural memories of Vietnam.

According to a series of participation surveys sponsored by the National Endowment for the Arts in the 1990s, choir singing was the public arts activity most commonly pursued by Americans.[74] For many Americans, however, outside of sporting events and perhaps birthday parties, collective singing was an activity far less common than it had formerly been. In its place, there emerged a new "collective repertoire."[75] Pop music, particularly the kind of pop music perpetuated by Top 40 or Contemporary Hit radio, filled this gap. In an imagined community created by commercial radio and recording technology, Americans felt a sense of togetherness in knowing the same repertoire.[76] "Instead of relating to the past through a shared sense of place or ancestry," writes George Lipsitz, "consumers of electronic mass media can experience a common heritage with people they have never seen; they can

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https://server16040.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/p4013coll9&CISOPTR=432&CISOBOX=1&REC=1 (accessed 18 Sept 2014).

[74] Cindy Bell, "Update on Community Choirs and Singing in the United States," *International Journal of Research in Choral* Singing 2, no. 1 (2004): 40. http://www.choralresearch.org/volumetwo/ijrcs2_1_bell.pdf; http://www.cpanda.org/stage/studies/a00004 (accessed 17 Sept 2014).

[75] Karen Loew, "How Communal Singing Disappeared From American Life And Why We Should Bring It Back," 28 March 2012, *The Atlantic*. http://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2012/03/how-communal-singing-disappeared-from-american-life/255094/ (accessed 2 July 2014).

[76] Jason Loviglio writes about a similar phenomenon in the early history of radio. Jason Loviglio, *Radio's Intimate Public: Network Broadcasting and Mass-Mediated Democracy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

acquire memories of the past to which they have no geographic or biological connection."[77] In listening to widely popular songs, we become excessively familiar—at times, to the point of annoyance—with particular radio hits. The songs become so ubiquitous that we hear hackneyed, wordless versions of these (at times already banal) pop songs, deprived of their original instrumentation, while grocery shopping and riding in elevators. The infectious and insidious refrains stick in our minds whether we like it or not. Nevertheless, sharing this repertoire and being a member of a community of listeners contributes to a feeling of solidarity. In the absence of communal singing as an integrated part of daily life, popular music helps to bond otherwise disconnected members of our individualistic culture.

Commercial pop music from the Gulf War played on collectivism—both secular and devotional, for which Americans were perhaps nostalgic—as well as a kind of individualism that has become a part of American cultural identity. Much of the music that appealed to mainstream listeners during the Gulf War communicated an overarching concern for human emotions and themes of strength through togetherness, despite (or because of) the deceptively unifying yet decidedly fragmented listening experience of commercial radio. Whether through supporting the troops, assuaging fears of human and political losses, or conjuring the simultaneous intimacy and community embodied in a generic concept of church, the music expressed humanistic concerns.

[77] Lipsitz, *Time Passages*, 5.

Gulf War imagery communicated a detached, sterile picture of precision, a bloodless war with technology and "smart" weaponry as (American) protagonists rather than humans. At the same time, inescapable yellow ribbons were a visible reminder of far away loved ones; but their function was to express not sadness or fear of loss, but support and hope. The combination of sentimentality and sterility worked together to stifle difficult political expression. The music reflects these contradictory trajectories. Songs avoid discussion of the morality of war and musicians express a general desire to remain apolitical, while also commenting broadly on humanity without becoming overly emotive. Chris Taylor, for example, decided to remix "Show Me The Way" instead of "Mothers Pride" because of the latter song's "dense" and "heavy" subject matter. He wanted the remix to address emotions rather than politics. His decision, while partially due to his preference for the Styx song, also reflects the mainstream media's paradoxical reluctance to confront the details of war candidly while simultaneously overemphasizing emotions—as long as the emotions were more therapeutic than heart-wrenching.

Although lyrics of some songs invoked Vietnam, they did so in order to dissociate with its objectionable history, namely to redefine American ambivalence and indifference towards returning soldiers. Nostalgia for the 1960s persisted in spite of this distancing. As a result, some sonic elements of Gulf War music drew upon Vietnam's memory by reviving sounds of the past, such as the organ and group singing, to recall an unprecedented social movement of the American public. The commercial success of the national anthem in 1991 also acted as a referential cue of

the "persistent power of the 1960s," perhaps reminding some listeners of Jimi Hendrix's wordless, yet sonically and politically charged 1969 rendition.

Media and politics scholar Daniel Marcus has written about the prominent role that nostalgia played in conservative political agendas during the 1980s.[78] This legacy reveals itself repeatedly in Gulf War songs that hearkened back to Vietnam. Fox also writes about the central role of invoking nostalgia in country music, while also acknowledging its inherent distortions.[79] Nostalgia, Lipsitz would argue, cannot account completely for the continued negotiation of the past in popular music. Instead, "its 'voices' resonate with the vernacular and sacred traditions of the past, incorporating musical and linguistic figures into readily understood icons and images."[80] That "Give Peace a Chance" still resonated with Americans in 1991 speaks to the power of shared cultural memories, as well as the potential for a simple song to sustain a political message. As an expression of the ineffable, music transgresses boundaries of time and place, bridging people with their pasts through lyrical, emotional and musical signs. Whether through nostalgia or through more nuanced interactions, these songs connect people with their pasts through lyrical, emotional and musical signs.

Part II

[78] Daniel Marcus, *Happy Days and Wonder Years: The Fifties and the Sixties in Contemporary Cultural Politics* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2004).
[79] Fox, *Real Country*, 75
[80] Lipsitz, *Time Passages*, 100.

This chapter perhaps could have been divided along lines of the commercial mainstream and anti-commercial underground, or along political divisions of pro and antiwar. In some ways, it is. Dichotomies such as these, however, give a false impression of neat categories with clear definitions. Indeed, simple categorizations would make popular music easier to discuss. Music in the late 1980s and early 1990s poses a particular ideological problem, which sociologist and author of *Grunge: Music and Memory*, Catherine Strong, attributes to

> the tension between the autonomous principle associated with artistic fields—the idea of 'authenticity' and the rejection of commercial success—and the heteronomous principle associated with the surrounding field of popular music and wider capitalist society.[81]

For alternative music (and its sub-genre of grunge) this contradiction stemmed from a surge in the commercial viability and mainstream popularity of music that had been previously "underground"—anti-commercial, surviving solely on local venues and underground fan networks.

> While the rejection of capitalist values gained grunge bands symbolic capital with journalists and audiences who related to this attempt to redefine success, the more these audiences grew and the more positive was the press that bands received, *the greater the tension became between rejecting commercial values and being commercially successful* (emphasis mine).[82]

This particular tension is not unique to grunge, or even alternative music in the 1990s. Michael Kramer discusses similar moral crises within the 1960s "countercultural dream," which valued both "authentic community and enlivened individualism."[83] Yet, in reality, hip capitalism made this very dream a source of profit. "The music

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[81] Catherine Strong, *Grunge: Music and Memory* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 83.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Kramer, *Republic of Rock,* Kindle file, location 1501.

became big business by the end of the 1960s even as it was marketed as anti-authoritarian, anti-commercial, rebellious, or even revolutionary."[84] Like countercultural rock music, 1990s alternative music was "embedded within the very mass culture from which it ostensibly emerged."[85] In order for there to be a counterculture in the 1960s or a 1990s alternative, a mainstream or dominant mode had to exist, providing a point of comparison and departure.

The problematic nature of grunge's struggle to remain "authentic" despite commercial success also accounts for the academic perception of the music as "an apolitical 'poor cousin'" to the more overtly political punk rock, claims Strong. "Punk rock has always been about more than music," writes Mark Andersen, long-time punk activist and founder of Positive Force (discussed below), encapsulating this preferential status and polarizing conception.[86] Whereas punk has the reputation for remaining true to its roots—or authentic—alternative musicians were "selling out" by the mid-1990s.[87] Despite ideological tensions between perceptions of grunge and punk doctrines, both genres exhibit more diversity than the overall labels might imply. Many grunge artists perpetuated a generalized attitude of gender equality, diversity, and tolerance with a focus on power relations.[88] And although numerous punk bands remain true to their reputed anti-establishment ethos, neo-Nazi punk problematizes punk's otherwise leftist identity as inclusive and open-minded. Of

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[84] Kramer, *Republic of Rock,* 19.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Mark Andersen, "The Clash and Fugazi: Punk Paths Toward Revolution," in *Political Rock,* eds. Mark Pedelty and Kristine Weglarz (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 1–22.
[87] *Faking It: The Quest for Authenticity in Popular Music*, eds. Hugh Barker and Yuval Taylor (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2007), 4–5.
[88] Strong, *Grunge,* 19.

course, plenty of grunge and punk bands are apolitical. Some punk bands eventually hit the mainstream, too—even the politically charged ones like Bad Religion—eliciting accusations of selling out.[89]

There will be no in-depth discussion of grunge songs here; the delineation of the genre post-dates the time frame of my study. But grunge's diametric success within the confrontation of anti-commercialism and capitalism illustrates an important point. Mythologies of 1990s music construct false dichotomies: grunge musicians as apolitical sellouts versus punks as authentic grassroots activists; or mainstream recording artists as pawns of the major labels, and independent artists as free-thinking, free-spirited, self-starters who renounce popularity. Just as these stereotypes remain fluid and contested during the 1990s, so do "the mainstream" and "the underground." During this time, the mainstream radio soundscape became infiltrated with previously underground genres, particularly hip-hop and alternative music. As such, the following examples feature artists with underground roots, regardless of eventual mainstream recognition. The profiles, presented as examples of ways artists pushed against the status quo, strive to present a more complete picture of the popular music culture around the time of the Gulf War.

Hip-hop in the 1990s, like alternative music, also challenged clear definitions. And like punk music, hip-hop maintains a reputation for political engagement, despite

[89] Neal Rodgers, "The Good, the Bad and the Very Ugly: Punk stalwarts Bad Religion get zealous about their music on Thursday at the Santa Cruz Civic Auditorium," *Metro Santa Cruz*, 9 May 1996; "Sleeping With the Enemy: Bad Religion Tries to Sell Out," *Addicted to Noise*, February 1996, http://www.thebrpage.net/media/item.asp?itemID=647.

the latter's reputation for misogyny and violence.[90] When rap began to explode in popularity in the late 1980s and early 1990s, racism and censorship marginalized this music. Gangsta rap, which emerged in Los Angeles in the 1980s,[91] held an especially precarious place as a burgeoning commercial genre while also being a prime target of institutionalized bigotry and a scapegoat for ongoing social problems in black communities. NWA's notorious "Fuck tha Police" (1988) epitomized the profanity, anger, violence, and controversy embodied by the genre's typically incendiary content.

Meanwhile, other hip-hop groups—like those who were a part of the Native Tongues hip-hop collective—countered the extreme attitude of gangsta rap. The Jungle Brothers song "What's Going On" from their 1988 album *Straight Out the Jungle* directly criticizes the violent lifestyle that gangsta rap seemed to glorify, while also acknowledging difficulties that young black men face. At the same time, some in the collective wrote apolitical party songs, such as Tribe Called Quest's "Left My Wallet in El Segundo" and De La Soul's "The Magic Number." Other songs by the same groups tackled difficult topics such as date rape and childhood sexual abuse. Semi-underground California rap groups such as Freestyle Fellowship and Hieroglyphics challenged the more widespread, hard-edged West coast gangsta rap trend. Of course, plenty of hip-hop artists remained truly underground, playing local venues, subsisting on word of mouth, and making and selling their own cassettes. The

[90] In this section, I use hip-hop and rap interchangeably, although there is some debate within the culture regarding distinctions between the two terms.
[91] For more on the emergence and cultural critique of gangsta rap see: Eithne Quinn, *Nuthin' But a 'G' Thang: The Culture and Commerce of Gangsta Rap* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

hip-hop underground, like alternative rock, emerged and thrived due to the mass commercialization of the genre.[92]

Ice-T and Lollapalooza

California rapper Ice-T had his first contract with major record label Sire (acquired by Warner in the late 1970s) in 1987. His 1991 album *O.G. Original Gangsta* included the song "Ya Shoulda Killed Me Last Year." With a casual speaking-style rap, Ice-T reflects more specifically on the Gulf War, addressing both violence both abroad and in his neighborhood, and unable to decide which he found more reprehensible.

> This album was completed on January 15th, 1991
> By now the war has probably started
> and a whole bunch of people have probably died out there
> in the desert over some bullshit
> There's a war going on right now in my neighborhood,
> but I can't really determine which one is worse

The last two lines reflect a sentiment within the antiwar movement, which argued that the war would divert valuable resources from the needy at home. "You Shoulda Killed Me Last Year," in its position as last on the album, sounds like a shout out track. Ice-T pays respect not only to "all the brothers and sisters gettin' pulled right out of their neighborhoods…[who] go over there and fight for that bullshit," but also to his "homies in jail, brothers that are dead locked up right here on earth." He asks

[92] James Braxton Peterson offers a comprehensive explanation of the hip-hip underground in his book *The Hip-Hop Underground and African American Culture* (2014). "The broadest range of conceptualizations of the underground in hip-hop extend from spatial references, literal allusions, and anti-market sentiments to figurative spatial constructs, notions of authenticity, and a bevy of concepts that emerge from the history of the Black experience in America" (page 63).

listeners to reconsider whether slavery has truly been abolished. The song ends with Ice-T's final denouncement:

> Fuck the police, fuck the F.B.I., fuck the D.E.A., fuck the C.I.A.
> Fuck Tipper Gore, Bush and his cripple bitch
> This is Ice-T, I'm out of here
> Told you, you should've killed me last year.

This last stanza highlights the angst between African American men and the law—specifically the Los Angeles Police Department's reputation in the early 1990s and legal censorship efforts.

In 1989 Ice-T formed a heavy metal band, Body Count, with guitarist and high school friend Ernie C. The band released the song "Shallow Graves," probably inspired by the Gulf War, on their 1994 album *Born Dead*. Helicopter and explosive sound effects infiltrate the song, which relies on the archetypal distortion of heavy metal guitar. Likening military service to slavery, the lyrics scathingly criticize the government, the military, and war. *Far from home, all alone, it's a sin; all you get in return is a shit shallow grave; 'cause in war there's no way you can win…. Once in you're owned by the man; Uncle Sam is his name, you're his slave; Shallow graves.* The chorus expresses disillusionment with the military over their treatment of returning vets and the defiance of young American black men, who are disproportionately represented in US armed forces.[93]

> Chorus:
> You give me for honor (graves)
> Where your soldiers lay (graves)

[93] Isabel Wilkerson, "Blacks Wary of Their Big Role as Troops," *New York Times,* 25 January 1991 http://www.nytimes.com/1991/01/25/us/war-in-the-gulf-the-troops-blacks-wary-of-their-big-role-as-troops.html (accessed 25 June 2015).

They're so far away (graves)
The home of the brave (graves)
I won't die in your bullshit wars no more
I won't fight to my death for you
I won't watch my poor mama cry no more
Muthafuck your red, white and blue.

Arguably even more provocative than the lyrics of "Shallow Graves" was Ice T and Body Count's debut on the main stage of the first Lollapalooza. Founded by members of the band Jane's Addiction, the first of these traveling music festivals was held in July 1991. It was conceived as a farewell tour for the band; the lead singer, Perry Farrell, was losing his voice. Unlike its Vietnam-era precursor Woodstock, Lollapalooza was a touring festival with multiple dates and locations between 1991 and 1997.[94] The concerts typically were venues for alternative rock bands.

In 2011, for the festival's twentieth anniversary, Jonathan Zwickel interviewed musicians, managers, and promoters about the history of the event. Their discussion, along with Zwickel's minimal commentary, was published in a *Spin Magazine* article entitled "An Oral History of the First Lollapalooza."[95] Festival founder Perry Farrell reflected on the significance of 1991, saying, "There were some heavy things going on right at that time: Michael Jordan's first championship with the

[94] After a six-year hiatus, the festival was revived in 2003. Since 2005, the concerts have found a permanent home at Grant Park in Chicago.
[95] Jonathan Zwickel, "An Oral History of the First Lollapalooza," 17 May 2011. http://www.spin.com/articles/oral-history-first-lollapalooza/ (Accessed 27 June 2014); Although it is unclear, it appears that Zwickel may have interviewed some of the participants individually and then pieced the responses together to give the impression of live conversation.

Bulls, the beginning of the World Wide Web, and Lollapalooza. That's really what is remarkable about 1991."[96] The Gulf War is notably absent in this list.

Nevertheless, local activist groups were present at each tour stop, and an attitude of inclusivity promoted.[97] Zwickel's points out:

> Farrell intended Lollapalooza to blend art and activism, presenting the full spectrum of opposing viewpoints, from the ACLU to the KKK. Things didn't pan out that way in the festival's first year, but nascent organizations such as the Surfrider Foundation and Rock the Vote, among others, did gain national exposure.

In a way, though, the festival was more radical than Zwickel's comment suggests. When Body Count performed, the mere appearance of a band of young, angry (sounding), black men playing heavy metal was provocative. "In those days," said Farrell, "it wasn't very common — it still isn't very common —for a bunch of black kids to get together and blaze on metal."[98] In fact, rock and rap seemed to be polarized, though in reality the two genres overlapped musically. Public discourse, at least, presented the genres as racial binary opposites—white versus black.[99] At the same time, the two genres shared the attention of political organizations advocating for censorship such as the Parents' Music Resource Center, the American Family Association, and Focus on the Family.[100] But the difference in how this attempted

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[96] Jonathan Zwickel, "An Oral History of the First Lollapalooza," 17 May 2011. http://www.spin.com/articles/oral-history-first-lollapalooza/ (Accessed 27 June 2014)
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid., 3. Run DMC's 1986 cover of the Aerosmith song "Walk This Way" paved the way for rock/rap collaborations. Other early and notable examples of this combination include Tone-Loc's "Wild Thing" and the 1991 collaboration between metal band Anthrax and Public Enemy on PE's "Bring the Noise."
[99] Will Turner, "Crossing Police Lines: Body Count and the Politics of Intercultural Miscommunication," in *Rapper, Writer, Pop-Cultural Player: Ice-T and the Politics of Black Cultural Production*, eds. Josephine Metcalf and Will Turner (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 87–113.
[100] Tricia Rose, *Black Noise*, 129.

censorship was approached reveals the depths of institutionalized racism. Tricia Rose notes the

> critical differences between the attacks made against black youth expression and white youth expression…. For antirock organizations, heavy metal is a "threat to the fiber of American society," but the fans (e.g. "our children") are *victims* of its influence. Unlike heavy metal's victims, rap fans are the youngest representatives of a black presence whose cultural difference is perceived as an internal threat to America's cultural development. *They* victimize *us*. These differences in the ideological nature of the sanctions against rap and heavy metal are of critical importance….[101]

Epitomizing the inclusive energy and radical possibilities of the concerts, and deconstructing this musical-racial binary, Farrell and Ice-T sang Sly and the Family Stone's "Don't Call Me Nigger, Whitey" at some of the 1991 Lollapalooza shows. During one such performance, Farrell declared himself a Jew, and invited an outspoken skinhead to speak his mind into the microphone. At another, Farrell tells a racist "joke" before Ice-T walks on stage, looking ready for a confrontation. Through their performance, Farrell and Ice-T dramatize (and mock) the situation to which they are drawing attention. Lollapalooza, a fixture of 1990s alternative culture therefore (performatively) expressed some of the decade's deepest tensions, bringing race relations to the surface of a mostly white, suburban youth audience.

Just as Lollapalooza capitalized on alternative culture, West Coast gangsta commodified the rap genre in unprecedented ways. But in spite of gangsta's popularity in the mainstream, hip-hop had its roots in the East. Erik B and Rakim were at the forefront of the scene on the East Coast during the mid 1980s. The Long Island duo, comprised of DJ Erik B. and rapper Rakim, performed together from 1986

[101] Tricia Rose, *Black Noise*, 130.

to 1993.[102] The song "Casualties of War," released as a single off of Erik B. & Rakim's 1992 album *Don't Sweat the Technique,* offers a traumatized soldier's perspective:

> So I wait for terrorists to attack
> Every time a truck backfires, I fire back
> I look for shelter when a plane is over me
> Remember Pearl Harbor? New York could be over, G
>
> Kamikaze strapped with bombs
> No peace in the East, they want revenge for Saddam
> Did I hear gunshots or thunder?
> No time to wonder, somebody's goin' under
>
> Put on my fatigues and my camouflage
> Take control 'cause I'm in charge
> When I snapped out of it, it was blood, dead bodies on the floor
> Casualties of war, casualties of war, casualties of war.

The simple backbeat allows the verse lyrics to be easily understood. Two samples comprise most of the song: Johnny Hammond's 1971 "Breakout" and "Amen, Brother" (1969) by the Winstons.[103] "Amen, Brother" derives from a traditional gospel song, "Amen," popularized in the United States by the Impressions in late 1964 and early 1965. The chorus, consisting of the line "casualties of war" repeated four times, also includes a brief, funky blues saxophone melody. Like "Shallow Graves," "Casualties of War" thus recalls the Vietnam War. A critical success, the

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[102] *Paid in Full* (1987) was the first album, and *Don't Sweat the Technique* (1992) was the last, besides some post-breakup compilation albums in the 2000s.

[103] Colloquially known as "the amen break," the four bar drum solo in this song has been heavily sampled in hip-hop, jungle, and rock, even though the band didn't receive royalties for many years. See: Daniel Kreps, "'Amen Break' Creator Getting Long-Delayed Compensation for Iconic Sample," 22 February 2015. http://www.rollingstone.com/music/news/amen-break-creator-getting-long-delayed-compensation-for-iconic-sample-20150222 (accessed 23 April 2015).

1992 album peaked on the Billboard 200 at number 22 and Top R&B Albums at 9.[104] In addition to the eerie prophecy of terrorist attacks in New York, Rakim's lyrics speak to a pervasive problem of post-military service violence and PTSD, which reach across racial lines.[105]

Michael Franti

In the 1992 Disposable Heroes of Hiphoprisy song "Music and Politics," Michael Franti muses about what he might do "if ever [he] was able to stop thinking about music and politics." He raps smoothly over jazz-tinged acoustic bass and guitar accompanied by no drum beat—a sound influenced by the rise of jazz fusion in the late 1980s that was beginning to appear in hip-hop.[106] Franti's gentle rap style in "Music and Politics" sounds akin to spoken word or poetry recitation.[107] The song eventually becomes more a personal reflection than a political one, an overlap that Franti recognizes with his line, "The personal revolution is far more difficult and the first step in any revolution."

Franti had previously been in another band, the Beatnigs, which combined the sounds of industrial punk, hip-hop, and spoken word. Douglas McLeod recalled

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[104] http://www.robertchristgau.com/xg/cg/cgv1092-92.php (accessed 22 April 2015).
[105] This article on veterans and domestic violence: http://www.sfgate.com/opinion/article/High-risk-of-military-domestic-violence-on-the-5377562.php (accessed 31 March 2015).
[106] See the *Spin* article and interview regarding the peaking of this style with Us3's "Cantaloop (Flip Fantasia)" and its use of Herbie Hancock's "Cantaloupe Island." Kory Grow, "Biddy Biddy Bop: The Oral History of Us3's Bold Jazz-Rap Breakthrough," *Spin,* 24 October 2013 http://www.spin.com/2013/10/us3-cantaloop-flip-fantasia-herbie-hancock-lou-donaldson/ (accessed 23 July 2015).
[107] http://www.allmusic.com/artist/the-beatnigs-mn0000032938

seeing the Beatnigs open for English activist/musician Billy Bragg in Minneapolis. He described the band as having "an industrial punk funk sound with a political edge. Several members of the band used power tools and car parts as instruments."[108]

Disposable Heroes of Hiphoprisy was a hip-hop group from San Francisco active between the years 1990 and 1993. Their first album, *Hypocrisy is the Greatest Luxury* (1992) achieves a forward-thinking commentary on topics that have remained surprisingly relevant. Other songs on the album tackle social issues prevalent in the United States: immigration, addiction to television, bullying, racism, homophobia, pollution, and bank bail-outs. Performing with the Beatnigs and Disposable Heroes was no foray into politics for Franti. Rather he has maintained a commitment to social justice and action in his still thriving musical career. Continuing to fill his albums with a mix of bluntly political and openly personal songs, he has achieved recent mainstream recognition with his gentler, funkier band Spearhead. Although the 1992 album did not achieve widespread commercial success, rock critic Robert Christgau applauded the group, bestowing them a grade of "A minus" and designating the album his "pick hit" of the month. "I'd like to think the two could penetrate right to hip-hop's fragmented core," Christgau wrote. "But if they never achieve full cultural resonance, their art will have to suffice. And it will."[109]

Regardless of Christgau's reservations regarding the band's longevity, the political resonance of the album was direct and current. Disposable Heroes dedicated

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[108] Douglas M. McLeod, "Billy Bragg: Mixing Pop and Politics," in *Political Rock*, 100; The best guess on the concert date, not given by McLeod, is sometime in 1988. Michelle Shocked, whom McLeod remembers seeing play at the same show, has documented her tours. In 1988, Shocked opened for a series of Bragg concerts, along with the Beatnigs.
[109] Robert Christgau, "Consumer Guide," *Village Voice*, 21 April 1992.

the entire 1992 album to an African-American conscientious objector of the Gulf War.

> This album is dedicated to Tahan K. Jones, the first African-American conscientious objector from the Iraqi slaughter, and to all others who refused to kill or be killed in the name of the New World Order, and to the infamy of those who did and were.

When soldiers declared themselves conscientious objectors of the Gulf War, they were still required to deploy to Saudi Arabia until the application could be processed, which at times took months. The war was moving forward at lightning speed: military officials couldn't wait for paperwork on the estimated 1700 soldiers who filed for C.O. status. Furthermore, officials questioned the integrity of soldiers' requests.[110] At the same time, soldiers worried that they might end up being forced to compromise their ethics if they deployed and, therefore, their status as conscientious objectors. The other option, however, was desertion. Some conscientious objectors were considered deserters by default and given AWOL status, if their deployment date arrived before application processing or legal action.[111] Tahan Jones, a 21-year-old Bay Area Marine Reservist, risked time in jail and financial security, but said, "At least I'm standing up for my beliefs."[112]

In addition to the dedication, Franti's most poignant and direct antiwar song on the album was "The Winter of the Long Hot Summer." In a subdued tone, Franti recites his dissent to the Gulf War over an electronic, effected beat that shows the

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[110] Louis Sahagan, "Objectors' Sincerity Doubted," *Los Angeles Times,* 24 February 1991.
[111] Brad Bonhall, A Pacifist on the Battlefield : Air Force Reservist and Conscientious Objector May Lose Teacher Credential After Time in Prison," *Los Angeles Times*, 10 May 1992.
[112] Sahagan, "Objectors' Sincerity Doubted," 24 February 1991.

influence of trip-hop (a genre that blends elements of electronica, ambient, and hip-hop music.) He rants against Congress and the military, the oil industry, media bias and depiction, the plight of veterans, and the long-term debt generated by the war.

> The pilots said their bombs lit Baghdad like a Christmas tree.
> It was the Christian thing to do you see
> They didn't mention any casualties

Franti's lyrics also recall Vietnam. Even for those of us too young to remember Vietnam, said Franti, the Gulf War still affected us viscerally. Franti also wondered, when the war ended, who would be vilified. *Will we hate those who did the shelling or…those who weren't willing to do the killing*. This lyric speaks to the confusion of the post–Vietnam era, in which Americans seemed to have turned against either soldiers or peace activists. Born in 1966, Franti can't possibly remember the Vietnam War in any depth. Instead he speaks to the cultural memory of the war, responding to the popularized imagery of the conflict between peace activists and soldiers.

Ani DiFranco

Singer songwriter Ani DiFranco started Righteous Babe Records in 1988. After ten years, the company began recording other artists. "In the beginning," she said in a 2004 interview, "it was more of a joke than a real business."[113] DiFranco started her own label to present her music and combat expectations of the mainstream recording industry. With songs that approached topics such as abortion and

[113] Bo Burlingham, "Don't Call Her An Entrepreneur," *Inc. Magazine*, 1 Sept 2004. http://www.inc.com/magazine/20040901/difranco_5.html (accessed 12 April 2015).

bisexuality quite frankly, the young singer felt she would need the artistic freedom afforded by running her own label. On her second studio album, *Not So Soft* (1991), lyrics from "The Next Big Thing" candidly reveal DiFranco's sentiment regarding her artistic independence.

> I'd rather pay my dues to the six people sitting at the bar
> than to all those men in their business suits
> who say I'll take you away from this if you'll just get in the car

A few songs from the same album touch on politics outside of the recording industry. "Looking for the Holes" wonders whether the listener's "politics fit between the headlines" or if they are closer to DiFranco's own leanings, which she describes as "crossing an empty parking lot, they are a woman walking home, at night, alone; six strings that sing, and wood that hums against my hipbone." DiFranco's politics are bold, brave, and communicated musically.

Later in the same song, she seems to obliquely refer to the Gulf War, and those who were against it:

> When we patch things up
> They say a job well done
> But when we ask why
> Where did the rips come from
> They say we are subversive
> And extreme, of course
> We are just trying to track a problem to its source

"Not So Soft," the eponymous song of the album, also makes broad reference to war with the critique: "Those who call the shots are never in the line of fire. Why, when there's life for hire?" Even more direct, the song "Roll With It" mocks the traditional

role of a woman who waits for her man to return from war, while also preserving her dignity.

> Packed his uniforms and drove him to the base, she was crying all the way
> The world looked her in the face and said:
> [**chorus**] Roll with it, baby, make it your career
> Keep the home fires burning till America is in the clear

As the song continues, the woman questions the integrity of those who vote for war. The critique climaxes, only to fizzle with the reentry of the chorus:

> What if the enemy isn't in a distant land?
> What if the enemy lies behind the voice of command?
> The sound of war is a child's cry; behind tinted windows, they just drive by
> All I know is that those who are going to be killed
> Aren't those who preside on Capitol Hill
> I told him, don't fill the front lines of their war
> Those assholes aren't worth dying for
> But he said,
> [**chorus**] Roll with it, baby, make it your career
> Keep the home fires burning till America is in the clear.

Difranco's sarcastic commentary engages with both war politics and feminist confrontation of a passive acceptance of militaristic, patriarchal society.

Bad Religion

While still in high school in 1979, four Los Angeles boys started the California punk band Bad Religion. The teenagers sought to be non-conformist, with their logo (see Figure 3.1) eventually representing a disavowal of the lack of personal freedom afforded by many religions, and more broadly, an anti-establishment attitude, with religion being just one of many problematic spheres. There were elements of shock value and goading involved in the group's name. Brian Baker,

guitarist from 1995 until the present said, "The name Bad Religion and what is now called the 'crossbuster' logo came to pass in the minds of two fifteen-year-olds who were trying to find the most offensive name and image they could possibly find for the punk band they were starting in their garage…. These are not people who thought that 21 years later they would be on the telephone doing interviews."[114]

Figure 3.1 Bad Religion's logo, known as the crossbuster by fans. (Image is in the public domain.)

In 1991 Bad Religion recorded a seven-inch EP, *New World Order: War #1*. They included poster-sized artwork filled with written antiwar propaganda and a speech by Noam Chomsky. The album cover announces "music of resistance by Bad Religion, political analysis by Noam Chomsky, [and] printed material on 'Mideast History, The War That Didn't Have to Happen, and The Media's Role.'" The two songs "Heaven is Falling" and "The Fertile Crescent" use poetic language to draw attention to the tragedy of the Gulf War. Both songs are just over two minutes long in a guitar-driven up-tempo punk style. They feature three-part vocal harmonies, part of

[114] Interview by Luke Harlow, http://www.decapolis.com/musicreviews/interviews/badr.shtml (accessed 26 April 2015).

Bad Religion's signature sound. The opening lyrics from "Heaven is Falling" derive from, and mock, the 23rd Psalm.[115]

Figure 3.2 First line of Bad Religion Song Modeled after 23rd Psalm

"Heaven is Falling"	Psalm 23
As I walk beneath the valley, I shall fear no evil For thanks to King George and his rainbow cabinet, today murder is legal	Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil

One side of the "split 7 inch" record contains the two songs; the other side features a speech by Chomsky. Although not entirely clear, it appears that Project Braintrust, of which Chomsky was a part, provided the written and visual components. This material is in the form of an oversized leaflet: the album artwork unfolds to dimensions of 22 by 29 inches with various articles, some with authors' names, and some unattributed. Illustrations include a map of the Middle East, pictures of missiles flying at night, a photograph of a protest, and a political cartoon depicting President Bush wearing a swastika. The album was distributed by *Maximumrockandroll* [MRR] magazine, which began in 1977 as an underground punk radio show at KPFA in Berkeley. The "zine" has been around since 1982.[116] Besides being a way for fans to connect with new music from either their favorite band or a new, obscure band, the magazine

> is also a vehicle for critical politics, via its articles and news section, at a time when many punk rockers are wondering how and when to act in response to a stormy political climate. By remaining stable on the one hand, flipping the

[115] note here regarding Ministry album with same name as song and parallel from another Psalm, see MD doc

[116] http://maximumrocknroll.com/about/ (accessed 29 April 2015).

> bird with the other, MRR's controversial personality has affected—or infected—the history of punk rock for all time.[117]

Figure 3.3 Cover of the *New World Order* issue, *Maximumrockandroll* magazine.

Members of Bad Religion reached out to Chomsky, to see if he'd participate in their album. Before providing the band with his recorded speech, Chomsky knew nothing of the band.[118]

> Back in 1990, I got a letter from a punk rock group called Bad Religion. I liked the name. They asked me if I would talk for eight minutes about the invasion of Iraq. At that time, you couldn't say a word about it. Literally it was banned like North Korea. So I thought, okay, but I didn't have any way to

[117] Ibid.
[118] A Youtube interview https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S3lJGlVaC6c (Accessed 5 August 2014); *The Chomsky Effect: A Radical Works Beyond the Ivory Tower*, 17.

> do it so they sent me a tape and somebody had a tape recorder. I took the tape and I talked for eight minutes and mailed it back to them. In a little while they sent me a forty-five inch record with my eight minutes on one side and what they called an anti-war song on the other side. I couldn't make heads or tails out of the anti-war song, so I sent it to a friend who had a fourteen-year-old daughter. She wrote me back a lengthy disquisition on the meaning of the song and where it fit in popular culture and so on…. When I give talks people want books signed—but for years, the main thing that people wanted signed, all over the world, was that record.[119]

On Side B, Chomsky begins speaking: "As I talk at the end of January, we are in the midst of a disaster that could turn into a huge catastrophe. The US Air Force is pounding large parts of Iraq and Kuwait to dust, killing no one knows how many people. American troops are about to march into what could be a meat grinder."[120] His eight-minute speech derides the "two radical militarist states" conducting the war (the U.S. and Britain).

More than any piece discussed so far, *New World Order* reigns as a protest album. (Some Bad Religion fans have speculated that the band recorded *New World Order* in response to those who were unquestioningly willing to go to war.)[121] The songs have a direct antiwar message, a speech by a prominent antiwar pundit, and album artwork comprising leftist propaganda. Its distribution via a popular fanzine ensured that its message would be delivered. Bad Religion began as a group of fifteen year old boys choosing a band name that would gain attention. Throughout their long and successful existence, the band has taken on real issues, with an explicit goal of

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[119] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S3lJGlVaC6c
[120] Bad Religion, *New World* Order, Maximumrockandroll MRR006, 7-inch vinyl, 1991.
[121] See: http://www.thebrpage.net/theanswer/?article=heaven_is_falling#cite_note-2 Guitarist Brett Gurewitz allegedly expressed anger and frustration regarding others' willingness to go to war; the link to the quote is broken, however, so I can't corroborate this claim. Regardless, it seems that fans have taken this quote as truth.

spreading awareness and questioning systems that embrace top down power dynamics such as religion, government, and the military.

Fugazi

Whereas some musicians wrote and recorded songs about the war, or added extra-musical materials to recordings and in concert, others also participated in direct action. In perhaps the most confrontational example from this era, punk rock group Fugazi played an outdoor antiwar concert in January 1991 at Lafayette Park, across from the White House. Being confrontational was part of Fugazi's ethos, as well as their musical sound. Charles Fairchild calls the band "an object lesson in the direct connection between the sound of a band, their musical groove…and their social groove," which is closely tied to the group's "process of negotiating self-definition from outside of the 'music industry.'"[122] Fugazi revolutionized not only the punk sound, but also the genre's attitude. The group played its first concert in Washington DC in September of 1987 and the last in November 2002. Since then, they have been on "indefinite hiatus, whatever that means," according to lead singer Ian MacKaye.[123]

In 1980 a pre-Fugazi MacKaye debuted his band Minor Threat. The band (and MacKaye himself) became influential for its adoption of straight edge, a stance that eschews drug and alcohol use, as well as sexual promiscuity. Along with Bad Brains and other DC bands, Minor Threat was one of the seminal bands of the DC-based

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[122] Charles Fairchild, "'Alternative'; Music and the Politics of Cultural Autonomy: The Case of Fugazi and the D.C. Scene," *Popular Music and Society* 19, no.1 (1995): 17.
[123] Ian MacKaye, "Post-Hardcore Band Fugazi Upload 800 of Their Live Gigs," *BBC News* video, 3:17, produced by Bill McKenna, 20 Dec 2011, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-16259663.

"harDCore" punk movement, which embraced the subculture of abstinence and a DIY (do-it-yourself) attitude. These groups "ignite[d] an unprecedented and massively influential scene…."[124] This rise in popularity not only pushed hardcore music and culture into the spotlight, but also changed the perception of Washington DC, according to punk activist Mark Andersen.

> Long derided as a cultural wasteland where people imported art rather than created it, DC began to be seen as perhaps the single most significant cutting-edge punk underground in the USA, contending with much larger scenes such as New York and Los Angeles for influence. But while NYC and LA—like London—were also entertainment industry strongholds, DC came to represent just the opposite: the embodiment of the DIY punk ideal.[125]

Andersen also commented on the ideological stance of MacKaye, who exhibited a "belief in rock music as a communal force for transformation—be it personal or political—with possibilities far transcending mere entertainment."[126] MacKaye maintained his integrity, in part, by founding the Dischord Records label in 1980. The label, which also recorded friends' bands, not only "survived [but] prospered without any direct ties to the mainstream of the music industry."[127] Dischord doesn't even sign contracts with bands who recorded with them, affording them "total artistic control."[128]

Minor Threat dissolved in 1983 and, after playing with a few other short-lived bands, MacKaye and others formed Fugazi. Relying solely on local and word-of-mouth recognition, Fugazi never received backing from a major record label in their

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[124] Andersen, "The Clash and Fugazi," in *Political Rock*, 7.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Fairchild, "Music and the Politics of Cultural Autonomy," 28.
[128] Eric Brace, "Punk Lives! Washington's Fugazi Claims It's Just a Band, So Why Do So Many Kids Think It's God," *Washington Post*, 1 August 1993.

fifteen years of playing together. "It is not possible to assert autonomy, counter-hegemonic practice, and that elusive conceptual integrity," Fairchild says, "while working for the big six (recording corporations), either directly or indirectly."[129] Furthermore, the band maintained a policy of playing all-ages shows and charging a five dollar admission.[130] Their policy ensured accessibility, particularly for young people. Fugazi also preferred to play benefits and rallies over "regular gigs" at bars or clubs.[131] "It was a model few outside observers believed could be sustained, yet it was."[132] Local papers began to notice the influential band; a local paper even dubbed 1990 "the year of Fugazi."[133]

Later that summer, MacKaye decided to plan an outdoor winter concert near the White House to raise awareness of the problem of homelessness. He reached out to Positive Force, a DC-based social action collective, with whom the band closely worked. Cofounded by Mark Andersen and Jenny Toomey, Positive Force grew out of the DC punk scene around 1985 and still exists as an "activist collective seeking radical social change, personal growth, and youth empowerment."[134] Many of Fugazi's concerts were collaborations with Positive Force (including their 1987 debut), a symbiotic effort that allowed both groups to "more fully accomplish their

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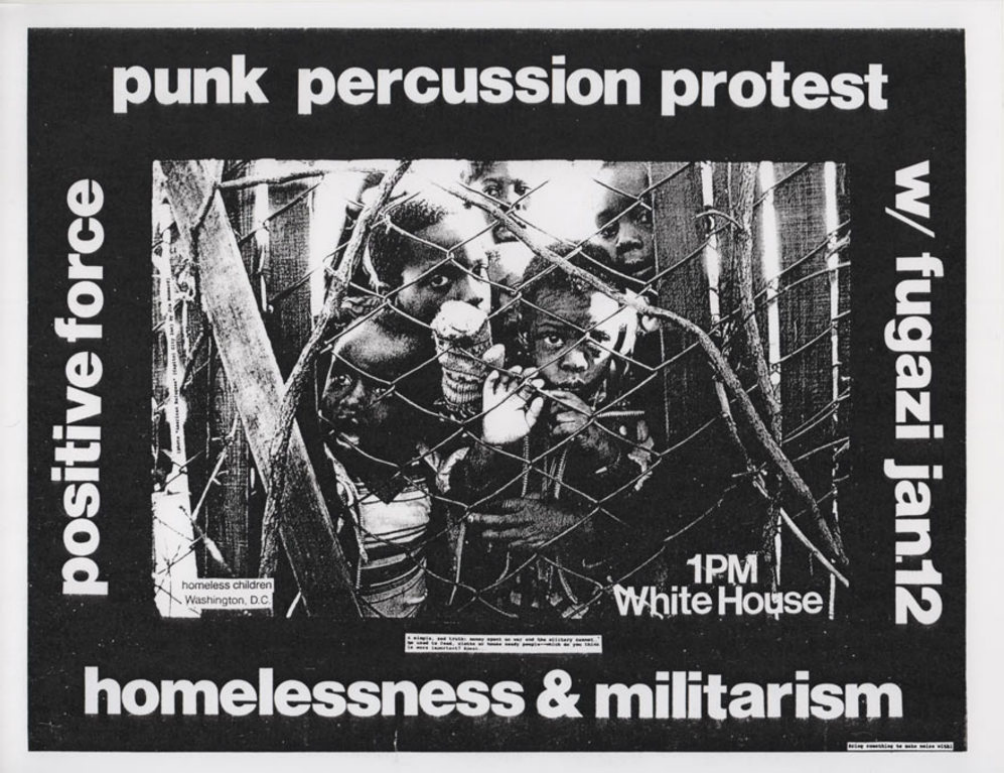
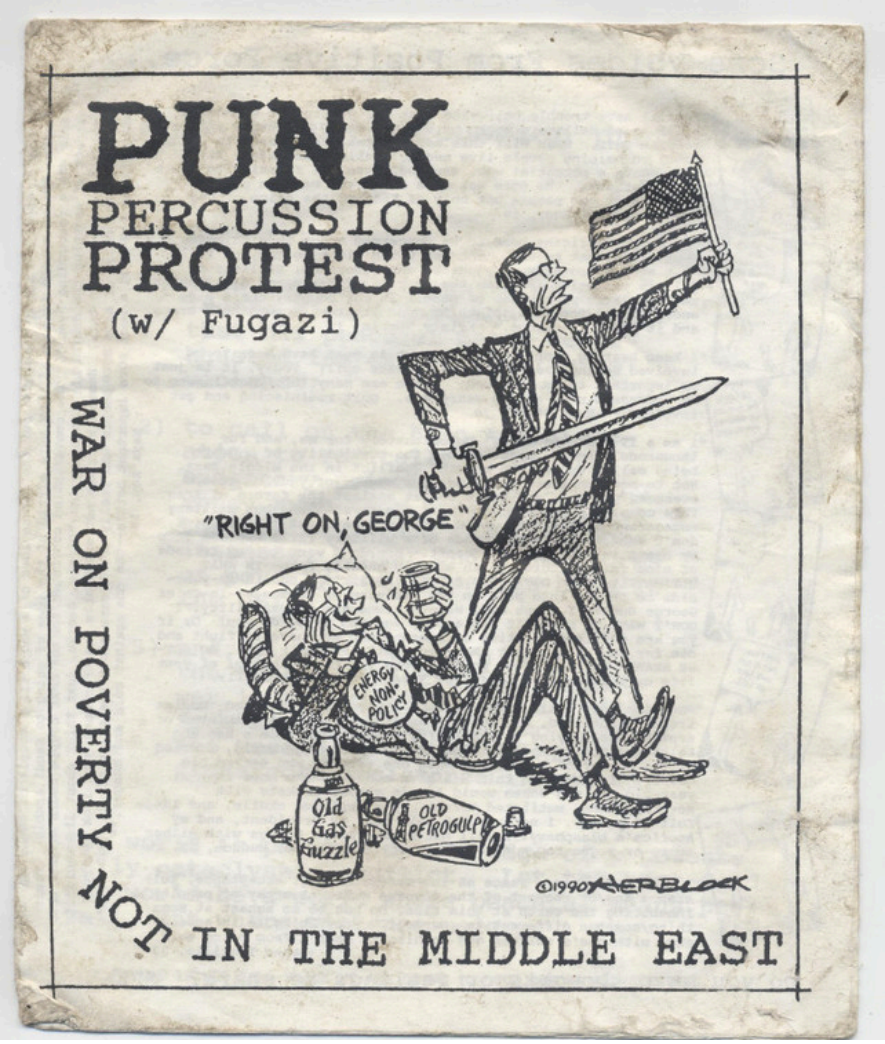
[129] Charles Fairchild, "Music and the Politics of Cultural Autonomy," 28.
[130] Eric Brace, "Punk Lives!"
[131] Mark Jenkins, "Fugazi, Live at the White House, 1991," 13 June 2014, *Daily Red Bull Music Academy.* Mark Jenkins was a music critic in DC and co-authored *Dance of Days: Two Decades of Punk in the Nation's Capital* with Mark Andersen.
[132] Andersen, "The Clash and Fugazi," in *Political Rock,* 9.
[133] Ibid., 10.
[134] http://www.positiveforcedc.org/ (accessed 20 April 2015).

separate—if connected—aims."[135] One such aim was to raise social consciousness around domestic social issues. As Positive Force personnel organized the mid-winter concert, tensions in the Middle East intensified. Although permits for the musical protest were secured months prior, "as fate would have it, our January date turned out to be the Saturday before the deadline President Bush had set for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait."[136]

Figure 3.4 Concert fliers to Positive Force's Protest Against the Gulf War with Fugazi, January 1991



[135] Andersen, "The Clash and Fugazi," in *Political Rock*, 9.
[136] Ibid., 10.



The 12 January 1991 Lafayette Park concert was free, and approximately 1500 people attended, despite an "inhospitable police presence."[137] Before the concert, a percussion protest and a rally took place. Cold, wet weather nearly prevented the concert, which relied on electric equipment set up on an uncovered stage. The group decided to play anyway, "feeling the immense gravity of the

[137] Fugazi Live Series FLS0308, Fugazi, Washington DC. http://www.dischord.com/fugazi_live_series/washington-dc-usa-11291 (accessed 22 April 2015); Andersen, "The Clash and Fugazi," in *Political Rock,* 10.

political moment."[138] Behind the stage, a banner ominously declared "There Will Be 2 Wars." It was meant as "a promise that the American people would resist the Gulf War" though it seems prophetic given the later war in Iraq.[139] Despite the freezing rain, the band piled on to a makeshift stage supported by milk crates, playing for a rowdy audience. Video footage of the concert shows audience members jumping in unison. One attendee, Erik Barnes, recalls his experience:

> Such an amazing show. The crowd was raging. The cold weather felt good in the sweaty mosh pit. The crowd was rocking so hard that the cheap wooden stage they built was starting to come apart, and we had to pause the show and push the flats back together.[140]

Songs originally about other topics took on new meaning in light of the situation in the Gulf. MacKaye spoke before the concert began, bringing attention to the war and the numbness that surrounds it. Like Ice-T, who questioned the wisdom of waging a war in Kuwait when his own neighborhood felt like a battleground, Positive Force and Fugazi drew attention to domestic issues such as homelessness and poverty while also protesting intervention in the Gulf. Along with Fugazi's willingness to perform despite terrible weather, Ian MacKaye's opening speech to the audience before the band's set illustrates their depth of political commitment, as well as his personal convictions about interconnectedness.

> Initially this was supposed to be a concert in the park, figuring that if people had to live out in the cold, we sure as fuck could come out and play for an

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[138] Andersen, "The Clash and Fugazi," in *Political Rock*, 11.
[139] Jenkins, "Fugazi, Live," *Daily Red Bull Music Academy.*
[140] Barnes's comment can be found on the Dischord Records website, which has catalogued more than 750 recordings of live shows in their "Fugazi Live Series A to Z." Visitors can download the digital recordings for a suggested fee of five dollars, although a sliding scale allows users to pay more or less. The archive includes fan-submitted photographs of concerts and fliers (see below).

> hour and a half, do a little bit of a protest in support of the homeless groups who are working to give people shelter. In DC, there are thousands of people living on the streets. If you live here, you just start to walk by them after a while. It's inconceivable to me at least that with the billions and billions of dollars that are being spent in the Middle East, that we can't spend more for the people who are dying in the streets here.
>
> In effect, there is a tie between the homeless problem and the healthcare problems and everything else. As this country begins to fold up on itself economically, we throw ourselves into yet another war to divert people's attention from the problems here in America. Everything ties together; there is a connection. We are Fugazi from Washington DC. Thank you vey much for coming out.[141]

Conclusion

A shared anti-establishment ethos among punk, hip-hop, and alternative/indie music connected these disparate styles in their resistance against not only industry norms, but also the Gulf War. Protesting the Gulf War was only one part of their multilayered resistance. Part of their resistance included the music's direct critique. Hip-hop band Disposable Heroes of Hiphoprisy aimed their attention towards the Gulf War in 1990, in addition to speaking out on broader issues of combining music and message. Acoustic guitar wielding singer-songwriter Ani Difranco sang about the patriarchal view of a woman's role during a war. West coast gangsta rapper Ice-T and the seminal east coast hip-hop duo Erik B. & Rakim took on post-war issues that confronted soldiers, dead and alive. Fugazi and Bad Religion, two mainstays of punk rock for decades, engaged in extra-musical anti-Gulf war activities in addition to writing protest songs.

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[141] Fugazi Live Series FLS0308, Washington DC, 12 Jan 1991, http://www.dischord.com/fugazi_live_series/washington-dc-usa-11291

Unlike the Vietnam era, the late 1980s/early 1990s is not a time known for its protest music.[142] Instead, it has a reputation for a preponderance of female singer-songwriters (e.g. Ani DiFranco, Edie Brickell, Tracy Chapman); an explosion of alternative rock and grunge (e.g. Nirvana, R.E.M., Sonic Youth, Pixies, Jane's Addiction); and the infiltration of various forms of hip-hop and rap (Public Enemy, MC Hammer, N.W.A., De La Soul) as well as alternative music into the commercial mainstream. The values and trends of 1990s popular music did not appear out of nowhere, nor did they instantly dissolve. Lipsitz contends that "rock and roll is nothing if not a dialogic process" in which its practitioners are continually negotiating the present through their revisiting of the past. Mark Andersen characterizes (hardcore) punk rock as "a reaction to the self-indulgent excesses and perceived failure of the Sixties rock/revolution…."[143] Quite literally, rap artists make use of the past through musical samples.[144]

In contrast to war related songs from mainstream radio, some of which supported multiple interpretations, these antiwar songs contain unmistakable messages. Within a wide range of musical styles, these artists all used their music and their social position to convey explicit political views. These views also cover an array of charged topics such as feminism, racism, and post-war trauma. However diverse, these indie, rap, and punk rock musicians shared an attitude of resistance to

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[142] Whether or not the assertion that the 60s and 70s generated tons of protest music is true, the mythical status exists in popular culture.
[143] Andersen, "The Clash and Fugazi," in *Political Rock,* 1.
[144] Examples include Dr. Dre's use of Leon Haywood's 1975 "I Want'a Do Something Freaky To You" in the 1992 hit, "Ain't Nuthin' But A 'G' Thang" and the sampling of Lou Reed's "Walk on the Wild Side" (1972) in A Tribe Called Quest's 1990 song "Can I Kick It?"

recording industry norms, mainstream (white, patriarchal) American culture, and to the Gulf War. As a result, most of these songs garnered limited recognition and commercial success; yet the musicians have cultivated a strong fan base over time, edging them into the liminal space between mainstream and underground.

Popular music has the peculiar ability to both reach across political lines and to be quite divisive. Examples such as "Okie From Muskogee" and "From A Distance," from both the Vietnam and Gulf wars, illustrate how audiences co-opt songs for their particular purpose, even when these purposes might be polarized. Probably the most well-known example of this kind of cooptation was the use by Reagan's presidential campaign of the song "Born In the USA." The lyrics paint a bleak picture of a Vietnam veteran returning home, unable to get a job or any help from the V.A.; he is "ten years burning down the road, nowhere to run, ain't got nowhere to go." Neglecting to comprehend the song's full meaning, and in the spirit of "true irony," Reagan's campaign coopted the sardonic chorus, but in its most literal, patriotic sense.[145] *Born in the USA, I was born in the USA*. "Amid the patriotic fervor of 1984," writes von Bothmer, the song became "an unintended staple of Reagan rallies."[146] During the Persian Gulf War, even when this kind of co-optation was not obvious, the ubiquity of supporting the troops across the political spectrum also meant that songs professing hope and longing for faraway loved ones would be meaningful to a wide cross-section of Americans. As we will see in the following

[145] von Bothmer, *Framing the Sixties,* 81.
[146] Ibid.

chapter, soldier support songs proliferated as a symbol of solidarity, whether the ultimate message of the song swayed hawkish or dovish.

In popular music, as this chapter has illustrated, collectivity expressed itself in conflicting ways at the time of the Gulf War. Some songs focused on togetherness, via patriotism and the aural iconography of church. Mainstream media and music offered a complex combination of communality and sentimentality, while also circumventing the more difficult aspects of the war. Other songs by alternative artists—with scathing lyrics against war, government, and society at large—perhaps seemed more isolating. Participating in protests and making political statements during concerts can polarize an audience. But the community-based approach many of these musicians took in recording and distributing records, playing shows, and eschewing an impersonal capitalism that dominates the music industry speaks to an inherent spirit of collectivity.

CHAPTER 4
PERSIAN GULF WAR SONG COLLECTION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

As shown in the previous chapter, mainstream popular music from the time of the Gulf War avoided difficult or negative subjects (as pop music tends to do) in favor of emphasizing themes of unity and the comfort therein. Most of these commercially successful radio songs were not direct war responses; a few alternative artists expressed protest, but they were in the minority. It would appear, then, that only a handful of musicians acted quickly enough to produce direct musical reactions to the war. Americans did, however, engage musically with current events, as this chapter will show. In fact, hundreds of amateur, nonprofessional musicians (and some regionally known professionals) submitted Gulf War-related recordings to the Library of Congress for copyright protection.

At the time, the Motion Picture, Broadcast, and Recorded Sound Division (MBRS) of the Library of Congress, the recipient of items awaiting copyright protection, had a collection development policy of keeping nearly all the published recordings received. However, many cassettes claiming to be published seemed to not be, at least not professionally. The recordings that appeared homemade or self-published were slated to be discarded. "We don't like to make such distinctions," said Sam Brylawski, LC's reference librarian at the time, "but we simply cannot keep the 25,000 or more music items the Copyright Office receives each year."[1] Despite this policy, however, the amateur recordings weren't summarily discarded. "We thought

[1] Barbara Bryant, "Arms and the Music," *Information Bulletin*, Library of Congress, 20 September 1993.

that 'topical' music might be of interest to scholars in the future," said Brylawski. "So processing technicians were instructed to cull the suspect 'published' music cassettes for songs about current issues—not only the war, but also abortion, politics, and whatever else was in the headlines at the time. We observed a surge in songs about the war, both pro and con, and thought that they would be worth retaining for the collections."[2] As a result, the Persian Gulf War Song Collection (PGWSC) took shape.

According to an article in the Library of Congress's September 1993 *Information Bulletin*, "Arms and the Music: Persian Gulf War Inspires Budding Songsters," recording technicians Richard Handal and Neil Gladd sorted through the copyright submissions, first looking for those that appeared unaffiliated with a major record label. Cataloger Tom Nichols and intern Max Shubert analyzed the tapes in order to produce a finding aid to the collection.[3] This finding aid appears to have been lost, or perhaps never completed. Without this documentation, it has been difficult to determine exactly which songs belong to the PGWSC.

When the bibliographic record was created for the Library's main catalog (LC Online Catalog or ILS), the ongoing nature of the collection's procurement was taken into consideration. For this reason, the record describes the collection as containing <140> items (with the brackets indicating that the number is approximate). A single item, however, may be a recording that contains multiple songs—anywhere from two

[2] Email correspondence with the author, 5 October 2014.
[3] Whether this finding aid exists remains uncertain. The finding aid referenced in the 1993 *Information Bulletin* seems to either be merely a list or not exist anymore. Nevertheless, the bibliographic entry claims that "a list providing titles, performers, sample lyrics, style of song, and shelf numbers…is located in the Library of Congress Recorded Sound Reference Center."

to twelve or more. This collection level entry also includes a list of call numbers—RYB 3407–RYB 3453, RYB 6403–RYB 6496, etc.—with "etc." included to accommodate the possibility of future additions.[4] As a further complication, the ranges of call numbers contain gaps: for example, RYB 3412 and RYB 3414 do not exist, even though the list encompasses those call numbers. Consequently, it is difficult, if not impossible, to confidently determine the contents of the collection.

For the purpose of this study, and for the sake of clarity, the contents of the PGWSC have been limited here to online, publicly searchable items. These items exist in either the LC's main catalog (ILS) or the Sound Online Inventory and Catalog (SONIC), usually without overlap.[5] The following statement from the library clarifies:

> The Recorded Sound Section of the Library of Congress maintains a collection of nearly 2,500,000 recordings, with receipts averaging from 75,000 to 100,000 items in recent years. Historically, a large portion of the collection remained un-cataloged, but could be accessed through inventories and the careful ordering of commercial recordings by label name and issue number on the shelves. A major effort to reduce the arrearage starting in the 1990s has led to a great increase in the number of processed sound recordings in the Library's catalog and a database, now available on the Web, known as SONIC (Sound ONline Inventory and Catalog). What follows is an estimate of the percentage of certain categories of material to be found in SONIC, the percentage available in the Library's main catalog (the Integrated Library System or ILS)….

[4] A collection level entry is "a single bibliographic record for groups of library materials that have been intentionally brought together at the technical processing stage." Definition from the Cornell University Library website. https://lts.library.cornell.edu/lts/pp/cat/1colecat (accessed 25 June 2015).
[5] http://www.loc.gov/rr/record/Soniccont.html A search on SONIC yields 107 results when "Persian Gulf War" is entered as a keyword search term. This number is consistent with the number given on the SONIC "contents" page under the "Desert Storm Cassettes" Collection.

The following table delineates in which catalog one can find particular kinds of sound recordings.

Table 4.1 Recorded Sound Collection Bibliographic Location Matrix (from the SONIC website, http://www.loc.gov/rr/record/matrices.html).

Type of Recording	**% in ILS**	**% in SONIC**	**% Available by contacting Reference Staff**
Pre-1948 commercial recordings	1	50	49
Unreleased broadcast recordings	1	80	19
Commercially released broadcast recordings	33	33	33
Performers' private collections	40	50	10
Audio cassette and CD-R copyright deposits	5	95	
45 rpm discs	1	99	
LPs	50		50
Newport Jazz Festival (unpublished)		100	
Newport Jazz Festival (commercial)	100		
Library of Congress Music Division Concerts	100		

The PGWSC consists of copyright deposits, with SONIC representing a large portion of these types of recordings.[6] Therefore, the majority of the PGWSC is represented by SONIC, and I have relied largely on this database to help determine the items in the collection (shown in Table 4.2). However, a limited number of items from the main catalog are also included (see Table 4.3).

Although SONIC has increased the online visibility of the sound recordings at the Library, it is not without its problems. Because the database is meant to represent

[6] A copyright deposit is an item that somebody has sent to the Library of Congress, along with the appropriate paperwork, for copyright protection.

a wide array of materials, the Library employed a "quantity over quality" mentality when adding to the database. As such, "users may note some inconsistencies in their search results obtained. Users are encouraged to execute multiple searches employing a variety of search strategies if satisfactory results are not obtained on the first search."[7] One can see, again, the challenges in assessing the database's available contents. Despite these difficulties, however, SONIC offers researchers previously unavailable information regarding Recorded Sound holdings, particularly unpublished materials.

Table 4.2 gives the 107 records listed in SONIC as the collection of "Desert Storm Cassettes." Some of these recordings contain multiple songs; additional songs not accounted for by the record title are cross-listed. The table is arranged using SONIC's alphabetization rules, and according to "Title Order." (Reflecting the "functionality of the software" with which the librarians were working, alphabetization includes initial articles.) Anyone can retrieve these same items by searching SONIC with a "keyword anywhere" query using the terms "Persian Gulf War" or "Gulf War." All of the following recordings have been analyzed for this study.

[7] SONIC: How to Search, http://www.loc.gov/rr/record/Sonichow.html (accessed 25 June 2015)

Table 4.2 SONIC listing of PGWSC recordings, sorted by title order.

No.	Title As Given in SONIC	No. of relevant songs/ total songs	Relevant Song Titles (if diff from SONIC title)	Artist/ Group	Style/Genre
1	319008	2/12	Intro: Desert Storm, Who Fired That Shot (best guess based on titles)	Foster	Rock (instrumental)
	90… (see no. 55)			Cardamone (et al)	
2	A Collection of Songs by Max Verna	1/9	Holy War	Verna	Rock
3	A Soldier's Prayer	1/1		Vickers	Spoken Word (w/musical accomp)
4	A Song from the Dessert [sic]	1/1		Nelson, Karl	Pop?
5	All Nation's Dream	1/1		Wright, Hagerty	Patriotic (Contrafactum: America the Beautiful)
	America the Beautiful (see no. 39, 97)				Patriotic (arrangement)
	American (see no. 100)			Davis	Country
6	American Kid on Arabian Sand	1/1		Ellers	Folk/country
	Bought Me a Flag (see no. 31)			Easy Access	Folk/Americana
7	Bring ‘em Home	1/1		Kennedy	Patriotic
	Bring the Troops Home Now (see nos. 9, 10)			Hildebrand/ Cross Current	Folk, protest
	Bullets and Blood (see no. 18)			Hahn	Folk, protest
8	Christmas Time			Weathers	Christian/ country
	Clouds Over Baghdad (see no. 23, 46)			Brown/ Hamilton	
9	Collected Songs of Ginny Hildebrand: No. 2	1/4	Bring the Troops Home Now	Hildebrand	Folk, protest
10	Cross Current	1/7	Bring the Troops Home Now	Cross Current (Hildebrand, Mullen)	Folk, protest
11	Dave Kraus "War song" Demo	1/1	War Song	Kraus	Folk?

	Dear Daddy (see no. 53)				
	Dear Mommy (see no. 53)				
	Desert Club Mix (see no. 57)			De Yarza	
12	Desert Song	1/1		Mabry	Electronic, pop
	Desert Storm (see nos. 15, 23, 46)			Hamilton	
13	Desert Storm	1/1		Downer	Patriotic
14	Desert Storm	1/1	Johnny Bought A Wedding Ring	Conley	Folk
15	Desert Storm; In Harm's Way	2/2		Hamilton, Hamilton	Patriotic, mixed
16	Desert Storm; You Are the One	1/2	Desert Storm	Max	Country
17	Desert Storm Blues	1/1		Brown	Blues
18	Difference of Opinion	4/14	Bullets and Blood, Drafted by Poverty, Perfect War, We Are Strong	Hahn	Folk, protest
	Dove (see no. 55)			Cardamone (et al)	
	Drafted by Poverty (see no. 18)				
	Episode (see no. 55)			Cardamone (et al)	
	Fall of Jericho (see no. 33)				
	Fear the Name Saddam (see no. 28)				
19	Fighters of Freedom	4/4	U.S. – U.N., USA (includes instrumental versions of each of the songs)	Eilken (et al)	Patriotic
20	Fire in the Sand	1/1		Thomas	Country
21	First Class to Saudi	1/1		Wooldridge	Rock
22	For Every Soldier; Give Thanks to God	1/2	For Every Soldier	Koepf	Country/gospel
23	For the Love of God and Country	5/9	For the Love of God and Country, The Spirit of America, In Harm's Way, Clouds Over Baghdad, Desert Storm	Hamilton, Hamilton	Patriotic, mixed
24	Forgotten Soldier	1/1		Cullivan, Comeau	Rock/Alt?
25	Freedom for the World	1/1		Anka, White	Pop/Soft Rock
26	Freedom is Our Family Name	1/1		Grimes	Country

27	Frozen Toys; Line In the Sand	1/2	Line In the Sand	Reich	Rock
28	Fun in the Endtimes	1/2	Fear the Name Saddam	Gelosi	Rock
	Give (see no. 70)				
29	God Bless America II	1/1		White, Miller	Rock/alt
30	God Bless Our Soldiers (in Operation Desert Storm); Help Me, Lord (To Be More Like Thee)	1/2	God Bless Our Soldiers (in Operation Desert Storm)	Adams	Country
	Grand Old Flag (see no. 39)				Patriotic (arrangement)
31	Heart of a Hero	3/12	The Cold Wind, Bought Me A Flag, Heart of a Hero	Easy Access (McMahon, Gervich)	Folk/Americana
32	Heart of America	1/1		Heart of America Singers (Rehnborg)	Patriotic (Contrafactum: Battle Hymn of the Republic)
	Holding the Gun (see no. 33)				
	Holy War (see no. 2)				
33	Holy War	4/12	Holy War, Fall of Jericho, In Cold Blood, Holding the Gun	Czyszanowski	Rock
34	Home for Christmas	1/1		Stoller, Rigsby	Jazz, ballad
35	Husseinitis	1/1		Inks	Country
36	I Hate Commuting to the City	1/9	Liberate Kuwait	Holy Joe Rock and Roll (Moses)	Rap
37	I Wanna Wreck Iraq	1/1		Murphy	Country/Rock
38	I Wear a Yellow Ribbon Everyday	1/1		Smyke	Country
	In Cold Blood (no. 33)				
	In Harm's Way (see nos. 15, 23, 46)			Hamilton, Hamilton	
	Intro: Desert Storm (see no. 1)			Foster	
	I'll Be Coming Home Again (see no. 43)				R&B
	Johnny Bought a Wedding Ring (see no. 14)				
	Just A Box of Memories (see no. 100)				
39	Just a Piece of Cloth	4/4	Just A Piece of Cloth, Grand Old Flag, America	Gordon, Davis	Patriotic (Arrangement)

			the Beautiful, Star Spangled Banner		
40	Keep the Home Fires Burning	1/1		Plyler	Pop
41	Know Better; Shuffle Off to Baghdad; Mary's Song	1/3	Shuffle Off To Baghdad	Poncy, Baileys	Blues
42	Kuwait Can't Wait	1/1		McGregor	Pop *written by soldier
43	Letter From a Soldier	4/10	Standing at the Bridge, I'll Be Coming Home Again, Letter From a Soldier, We're Getting Down in the USA	Frienz (Caver, Wallace, et al)	R&B
44	Letter From My Son	1/1		Foreaker, Brown	Patriotic
45	Letter From Saudi	1/1		Lynch, Griffin	Country
	Letter To a Soldier (see no. 66)			Figueroa	
46	LG Brown (related to no. 23)	5/10	For the Love of God and Country, The Spirit of America, In Harm's Way, Clouds Over Baghdad, Desert Storm	Brown (aka Hamilton), Hamilton	Patriotic, mixed
	Liberate Kuwait (see no. 36)				
47	Like 1965	1/1		Shepeard	Folk/country
	Line in the Sand (see no. 27)			Reich	
48	Mama, Say a Prayer for Me	1/1		Bullock	Country
49	May God Bless the Foreign Land	1/1		Daigle	Country
50	Mess With the Eagle, You Get the Claw	1/1		Campbell	Country
51	Messengers of Freedom: A Patriotic Medley	2/2	A Patriotic Medley: Oh, How I Hate to Get Up in the Morning / God bless America / Over There / Anchors Away / Don't Sit Under the Apple Tree / Boogie-woogie Bugle Boy / Ballad of the Green Beret / God Bless the U.S.A. / Why Are You Marching Son?; A Patriotic Medley (instrumental)	Paddyfields (Dark)	Patriotic (arrangement)
52	Michael Buric's Demsko	1/25	Saddamm [sic]	Buric	Punk/rock
53	Middle East Christmas	2/2	Dear Daddy, Dear	Peterson,	Pop? Ballad

			Mommy	Peterson	
54	Momma's Gone to War	1/1		Hoffer	Patriotic, pop? Ballad
55	Nirvana	4/6	90…, Episode, Dove, Promise (Let It Rain)	Cardamone	Rock
56	Old Glory	1/1		Montney	Patriotic, country
57	On the Edge: Desert Storm	2/2	Radio Storm, Desert Club Mix	De Yarza	Dance/R&B
58	Our Nation's Pride	1/1		Frazier	Patriotic, Folk/country
59	Over There	1/1		Bays, Schiller	Country
60	Past the Hat	1/6	The Line In the Sand	EXI's	Alternative/folk
61	Peace All Around the World	1/1		Harlow	Folk
62	Peace on Earth	1/1		Cameron, Huxley	Rock
	Perfect War (see no. 18)			Hahn	
63	Persian Bay	1/1		Bone	Rock
64	Post Card From Home: Dear GI	1/1		Monroe	Pop/Soft Rock
65	Pray a Prayer for Peace	1/1		Walker	Gospel
	Promise (Let It Rain) (see no. 55)			Cardamone (et al)	
66	Pursian [sic] Tension Trilogy	3/3	Rock Iraq, Letter to a Soldier, The End of War	Figueroa	Rock, ballad
	Radio Storm (see no. 57)			De Yarza	
	Rock Iraq (see no. 66)			Figueroa	
	Saddam (see no. 82)			Bussey	
	Saddamm [sic] (see no. 52)			Buric	
67	Saddam's Rap; Bar-B-Que	1/1	Saddam's Rap	Genovese	Rap
68	Saudi Arabian Sands	1/1		Sioux Country (Stensland)	Country
69	Searchin'	2/4	Skuds and Patriots (radio edit, extended version)	Oliver	Reggae
	Shuffle Off to Baghdad (see no. 41)			Poncy, Baileys	Blues
	Skuds and Patriots (see no. 69; radio and extended versions)				
70	Soldier's Story; Give	2/2	Soldier's Story, Give	Maddalena, Vaillancourt	Rock

71	Soldiers of Freedom, Heros [sic] of Liberty	1/1	1/1	Nixon, Willenberg	Patriotic (partial contrafactum)
72	Somewhere	2/10	Somewhere, We Welcome You Home	Gonzales	Country/Tex-Mex
73	Speak the Truth	1/4	Desert Sands	Vanguard Party (Hoke)	Rock
74	Stand Proud	1/2		O'Quinn, Wood	Patriotic, ballad
	Standing at the Bridge (see no. 43)			Frienz	
	Star Spangled Banner (see no. 39)				Patriotic
75	Stop the War	1/1		Lewis, Hason	R&B/ dance
76	Thank You, Mr. Soldier	1/1		Alford	Patriotic, country
77	The American Way	1/1		Stone, Wells	Patriotic, spoken word
78	The Baghdad Boogie	1/1		Holaway, Paris	Boogie-woogie
79	The Ballad of Desert Storm	1/1		Nickles, Galla	Patriotic
	The Ballad of the Desert Trooper (see no. 84)			Geiger	Patriotic, country
80	The Ballad of the National Guard	1/1		Sefton	Patriotic, country
81	The Big War on TV	1/1		Seeke	Country
	The Cold Wind (see no. 31)				
	The Desert Storm (see no. 85)				
82	The Early Years	1/5	Saddam	Bussey	Rock/alt
	The End of War (see no. 66)			Figueroa	
	The Line In the Sand (see no. 60)			EXI's	
83	The Price of Freedom: The Final Price	1/1		Rogers	Country, rock
84	The Rally the Nation in Prayer Movement	1/2	The Ballad of the Desert Trooper	Geiger	Patriotic, country
	The Spirit of America (see no. 23, 46)				
85	There Should Be More In Our Hearts; The Desert Storm; Border of Paradise; Heart	2/4	There Should Be More In Our Hearts, The Desert Storm	Shelly, Parker (et al)	Country, gospel
86	They're Coming Home	1/1		Simmons	Blues (patriotic)
87	Through Children's Eyes	1/1		Hagerty	Folk, ballad

88	To Saudi with Love	1/1		Elliott	Folk
89	Tribute to Our Soldiers; The Story of Jesus and Me	1/2	Tribute to Our Soldiers	Adams	Patriotic, country
90	Trouble	1/1		Elliott	Folk, blues
91	United Power (We're Gonna Win)	1/1		Jefferson	Rap/R&B
	U.S.A. (see no. 19)				
	U.S.–U.N. (see no. 19)				
92	War Medals	1/1		Simone, Wales	Folk/country
93	War Piece (Scared Isn't the Word)	1/1		Kraemer, Booth	Electronic
	War Song (see no. 11)				
94	War Song Medley	1/1	Reveille, You're A Grand Old Flag, Over There, Yankee Doodle, When Johnny Comes Marching Home	N/A	Patriotic, electronic
	We Are Strong (see no. 18)			Hahn	Folk, protest
95	We Can Have Victory	1/1		Yeje	Inspirational
	We Welcome You Home (see no. 72)				
	We're Getting Down (in the USA) (see no. 43)				
96	Welcome Home	1/1		DelVecchio	Patriotic, pop
97	Welcome Home	2/2	Welcome Home, America the Beautiful	Alberts	Patriotic
98	Welcome Home Heroes; God Bless Our Soldiers (in Operation Desert Storm)	2/2		Adams	Christian/Country
99	Wham Bam Saddam; Don't Take Drugs	1/2	Wham Bam Saddam	Evangelos	Blues
100	What Next?	2/16	American, Just A Box of Memories	Davis	Country
101	When You Come Home	1/1		Rodden, Wilder	Country
	Who Fired That Shot? (see no. 1)			Foster	
102	Who's Sane, Hussein?	1/1		Frank	Country
103	Yellow Ribbons	1/1		Elliott	Pop
104	Yellow Ribbons	1/1		Walliczek	Folk
105	Yellow Ribbons (Until They're Home Again)	1/1		Meserry, Tannen	Country, patriotic

106	You Are Our Pride	1/1		Classen	Patriotic
107	You Don't Mess With Uncle Sam: A Message to Hussein	1/1		Jones, Hallmark	Country

In addition to these 107 items listed in SONIC, the LC holds other recordings related to the Gulf War, listed in Table 4.3. These songs also may be listed in SONIC, but under search terms such as Saddam Hussein or Desert Shield. The LC main catalog also contains related songs, retrievable under multiple search terms. It is unclear whether or not these songs are a part of the PGWSC, and it is impossible to make a positive determination for the reasons given above (i.e., ongoing nature of collection, inconsistencies with ILS call numbers). Because some recordings contain multiple songs, within the 107 items, there are actually a total of 137 songs. Table 4.3 accounts for the remaining items analyzed for this study, found via SONIC using different search terms or via ILS, for a grand total of 129 items containing 167 songs.

Table 4.3 Remaining songs used in present study. This chart does not claim to represent all of the Library's holdings that relate to the Gulf War. Results retrieved via keyword search (Gulf War, protest song, Saddam, Desert Shield) in LC's main catalog (ILS) or SONIC.

No.	**Title**	**No. of relevant songs/ total songs**	**Relevant Song Titles (if diff from SONIC title)**	**Artist**	**Style**
108	A Letter From Home (LC, keyword search: Gulf War)	1/2		Timm (et al)	Christian, Ballad
	America The Beautiful (see no. 122) (LC, keyword search: Gulf War)				Patriotic (arrangement)
	Back From Overseas (see no. 127)				
109	Blinded by the Media (SONIC, key word search: protest song)	1/1		Fish	Blues

110	Christmas in Kuwait (LC, keyword search: Gulf War)	1/2		Rev. Nate & the Brotherhood	Funk
111	Desert Storm (Libby's Song) (LC, keyword search: Gulf War)	1/1		Homefront	Rock, ballad
112	Do What You Must Do (LC, keyword search: Gulf War)	1/1		Neff	Pop
	Don't Cry Soldier Boy (see no. 127)				
113	Don't Let Them Down (LC, keyword search: Gulf War)	1/1		Daly	Country
	Flag Song (see no. 127)				
114	First Class to Saudi (see no. 21) (LC, keyword search: Gulf War)	1/2		Blue Boy	Rock
115	God Bless Our Soldier Boys (LC, keyword search: Gulf War)	1/1		Pastell	Country
	Honoring Those That Returned (see no. 127)				
116	Hey, Hey, Hussein (SONIC, key word search: Saddam)	1/1		Defecting Iraqis	Rock
117	I'm Coming Home (LC, keyword search: Gulf War)	1/2		Magic Eye	R&B/soul
	Indian Boys From Desert Storm (see no. 120)				
118	Iraq (LC, keyword search: Gulf War)	1/1		Jellyroll Blues Band	Blues
119	Let Peace Rule the World (LC, keyword search: Gulf War)	1/2		Brigade	Rock, Christian?
120	Nan Beeson's Radio Songs, New Artist Masters '91 (SONIC, keyword search: Desert Shield)	2/2	To Joey (c/o Desert Shield), Winds of Peace	Beeson	Country?
121	No Quiero que Vayan (LC, keyword search: Gulf War)	1/2		Trujillo, Trujillo	Tex-Mex
122	Quale in da Bush [sic] (SONIC, key word search: protest song)	1/1		Dudiak	Rap
123	Saddam, This Bomb's For You (LC, keyword search: Gulf War)	2/2	Saddam, This Bomb's For You; America The Beautiful	Jacoby	Patriotic (spoken word; arrangement)
124	Satanic Verse (LC, keyword search: Gulf War)	1/2		Fresh and Blood	Rock, metal
	Soldier Boy (see no. 127)				
125	The Line in the Desert Sand (LC, keyword search: Gulf War)	1/1		Holt, King	Christian/country
126	The War is Over (I never Knew it Began (LC, keyword search: Gulf War)	1/2		Pritchard	Rock, metal
	To Joey (C/o Desert Shield) (see no. 120)				
127	Veterans' Honor Songs (LC, keyword search: Gulf War)	8/10	Flag Song, Indian Boys From Desert	Black Lodge	Native American

			Storm, Don’t Cry Soldier Boy, Solider Boy, Honoring Those That Returned, Vietnam–Desert Storm, War Mother Don’t Cry Be Strong, Back From Overseas	Singers	
128	Victors & Victims (SONIC, keyword search: protest songs)	1/1		LaBranche	Pop/folk
	Vietnam–Desert Storm (see no. 127)				
	War Mother Don't Cry Be Strong (see no. 127)				
	Winds of Peace (see no. 120)				
129	Yellow Ribbons (LC, keyword search: Gulf War)	1/1		Maitland	Country, ballad

The technicians chose recordings for inclusion in the PGWSC based on titles and first verse lyrics. This selection process—perhaps a practical approach—yielded particular results: all of the works in the collection relate to the Gulf War through obvious titles and opening texts. So although the PGWSC offers a glimpse into the minds of average Americans during the war, the collection also may exclude any songs with more subtle, sarcastic critiques (such as Randy Newman's "Line In the Sand") or double entendre (such as Waylon Jennings's "The Eagle"). Due to this basic inclusion criteria, many PGWSC songs use overwhelmingly transparent lyrics to convey simple narratives.

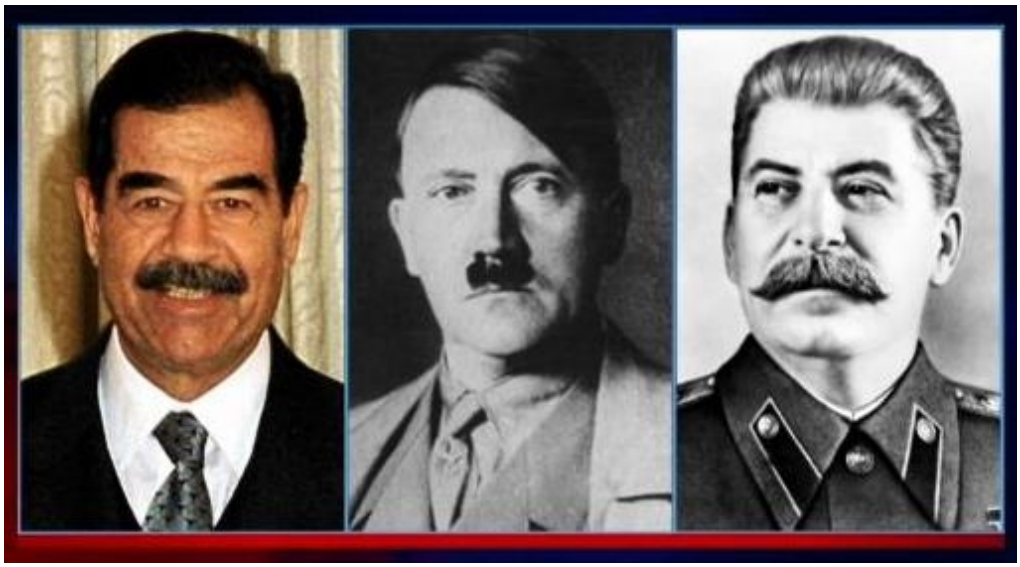
This ad-hoc collection exhibits a hodgepodge of attitudes, musical styles and artistic finesse. Just as the Library personnel suspected, many recordings sound homemade. A few even sound as if they were recorded over other previously recorded music.[8] A large proportion of the songs are country, and many of these feature the distinctive sound of a slide or lap steel guitar. Other musical styles include reggae, metal, folk, rock, Christian/Inspirational, blues, Tex-Mex, rap, R&B—and as a catchall for the hard-to-categorize songs, pop. A few are contrafacta of patriotic tunes, such as "America the Beautiful" and "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." A number of the newly composed songs include excerpts of familiar patriotic songs as introductions and interludes, or as background music to spoken word.

[8] For example, the recording of "Soldier's Story" (no. 70), after about 9 minutes, cuts to the song "Back Door Man" by the Doors. After that, there is one song each by INXS, Jane's Addiction, the Beatles, and U2. Those of us who grew up in the 1980s and 1990s probably remember making "mix tapes" like this one. They were made by simply keeping a blank tape at the ready while listening to the radio, or by using a dual cassette deck or boombox.

In terms of form, most of the PGWSC songs have a straightforward verse-chorus structure. One exception, "For the Love of God and Country" (nos. 23 and 46) stands out. Perhaps envisioned as a concept album or musical suite, LG Brown's twenty-seven minute work employs a variety of musical forces: high school and middle school bands, a high school chorus and soloists, sound effects, news samples, and an electronic orchestra. The suite, comprising five songs, returns repeatedly to two refrains, one about the "spirit of America" and another that reminds Americans that "freedom is everybody's business."

Because these were created in wartime, many of the lyrics, like those of "For the Love of God and Country," espouse patriotism. Common themes include declarations of American military might, pleas to stop the war, and expressions of support and gratitude towards the troops. Mirroring the concerns of US culture at large, the songs emphasize a variety of topics: television coverage of the war, mothers and women at war, achieving peace (without or through war), freedom, God and prayer, oil, Saddam Hussein, yellow ribbons, and past conflicts. Among these topics, two predominant rhetorical themes existed both in public discourse (as discussed in Chapter 2) and in the songs: troop support and a fixation on Saddam Hussein. This combination proved essential for drawing on powerful memories of past wars. The rhetoric of troop support evoked Vietnam; a focus on Saddam Hussein, whose evils merged with Hitler's, thrived on memories of World War II.

Figure 4.1 Anti-Saddam Hussein Propaganda from the Persian Gulf War



The following analysis of individual songs in the PGWSC leans more on lyrical than musical content. This emphasis makes sense for two reasons. First, the songs are topical. While the music might be heard as an aesthetically pleasing (hopefully) background to the politics, the message is more the point. Second, to examine a pop song without giving enough attention to the lyrics denies the work of its true potency.

In many pop songs, the lyrics are far more interesting than the three or four chords that comprise the musical component. At the same time, to completely divorce the words from their setting—treating them as a literary text—often proves inadequate. Simon Frith notes: "Song words are not about ideas ('content') but about their expression."[9] Lyrical analyses of songs look at "not words, but words in performance." [10] The PGWSC songs were crafted for a particular stage, an intended performance context: the pre-Gulf War and wartime atmosphere in the United States. As such, examination of their lyrics inherently takes into account what Frith describes as "the persuasive relationship set up between singer and listener."[11] That "song language is used to say something important about both the singer and the implied audience" is a main assumption in the following analysis.[12] As expressions of wartime pride, anxiety, cynicism, and triumph, PGWSC songs reveal important social attitudes.

Through the lens of prior wars, many PGWSC songs convey pro-war fervor and patriotism, some enabled by the moral framework of World War II, and others in an attempt to redress lingering national shame over Vietnam. In addition to these pro-war songs, the collection also includes some that espouse peace. Others express emotional turmoil over the possibility of losing loved ones. By far the most common theme, however, promotes standing behind national policy and, most importantly, those sent to execute it—the troops.

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[9] Simon Frith, *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1996), 164.
[10] Ibid., 166.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.

Yellow Ribbons: Symbols and Symptoms of Cultural Memory

During the Gulf War, the discourse and symbolism of soldier support dominated political rhetoric and popular culture. Not surprisingly, the songs in the PGWSC reflect the concurrent political rhetoric. Compared to other lyrical themes, pro-soldier songs greatly outnumber the others: more than sixty percent of the songs espouse support and sympathy for soldiers and veterans. As outlined in Chapter 2, many Americans viewed the impending war in the Gulf through the lens of either Vietnam or World War II. The PGWSC, as a microcosm of American sentiments, reflects the trauma of both of these historic conflicts.

Email was not a routine contact method in the early 1990s, making it difficult, if not impossible, today to locate the PGWSC contributors. Many of the songwriters have receded into obscurity. A few, however, have remained musically visible. One such artist, Carlos De Yarza, wrote his "On the Edge: Desert Storm" as a tribute to Gulf War soldiers. He now manages digital services at St. Thomas University in Miami Gardens, Florida, where he takes care of various websites and audio visual needs for special events, ceremonies, and presentations.[13]

At the time of the Gulf War, De Yarza was in his early twenties and had just built a recording studio with a few friends. This song was the first one recorded there. The studio (at the time Bayside Records and later Bayside Music) acted as a launch pad for De Yarza's long-term career as a music writer and producer. Five years later,

[13] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bKzPRiSCJ6Q

in 1996, De Yarza and two other producers, collectively known as the Bayside Boys, remixed the Spanish dance song, "Macarena." Their English language remix remained at the number 1 position on Billboard's Hot 100 chart for fourteen weeks. De Yarza continued his work in the music industry long after his success with "Macarena." Though the popular song remains "the one blip that everybody knows," De Yarza was writing and producing music before 1996, and did so for years to follow.[14] His work with Latino pop artists has included a 2006 Latin Grammy nomination for production on Puerto Rican pop artist Chayanne's album *Cautivo* (2005).

De Yarza realized his identity as a songwriter at a young age. He wanted to "sell out" from the time he was twelve. "I want my grandmother to like [my music]," he said.[15] De Yarza did not consider himself especially political—musically or otherwise—nor did he know personally anyone who was heading overseas. He was moved nonetheless to profess his support for the Gulf War troops. "I always write pop songs—songs that are intended to be played on pop radio. This song happened to be political in a way, but I wrote it as I would write a pop song. I wanted it to have a pop feel to it…. It didn't have a particular party point of view; it was just a song."[16] De Yarza's comments about his apolitical intentions, whether or not he succeeded at this endeavor, reflect a common sentiment in the United States at the time. After avoiding any overt, major military action since the Vietnam War, many Americans

[14] Carlos De Yarza, interview with author, 11 April 2014.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.

were understandably reluctant to become politically charged. (Commercial pop music, as discussed, also reflects this reluctance.) For De Yarza, though, this avoidance more accurately demonstrates his identity as a pop writer than it speaks to an active dissociation from American politics.

The recording of "On the Edge: Desert Storm" (1991) contains two versions, or mixes, of the same song: "Radio Storm" and the "Desert Club Mix." The two are not substantially different, but their names imply one is radio ready, while the other is meant for dancing. Overall, the song fits in the R&B or dance pop category, and echoes the popular sound of the early 1990s dance music duo, C&C Music Factory. To put the song together, De Yarza used a VHS tape to record clips of CNN for the news sound bytes; other non-musical sounds such as evacuation sirens, explosions, and jets taking off were sourced from De Yarza's library of special effects. A self-proclaimed aviation buff, he had collected related sounds for his personal library. A studio singer, whose stage name at the time was Isis, provided the "oo and ah track."[17] De Yarza's business partner mixed the song, but other than that, De Yarza was the primary creative force behind it.

The song begins with a loud siren sound effect and an announcement, unaccompanied by drums. *16 January 1991, 6:35 pm Eastern standard time, Allied coalition forces, led by the United States of America, began carpet bombing of Iraq and occupied Kuwait. Operation Desert Shield has become Desert Storm.* The bass and drums enter with a strong, medium tempo dance beat. Female vocals on "oo" and

[17] Ibid.

"aah" layer with repeating speech samples, "Desert Storm, de-de-de-Desert Storm," and "We say that no neighbor of Iraq is safe." This opening section, along with various war-related news excerpts, becomes the refrain as the song continues. When DeYarza raps the first verse, he tells the story of Saddam Hussein's forces invading Kuwait.

> Mad man from the Middle East
> With the force of Iraq, a destruction beast
> Rapes its neighbor Kuwait
> Now for Iraq it's much too late

The second stanza describes high-tech warfare at the beginning, and moves towards a focus on the troops. Even once the lyrics end, the backbeat continues, accompanied by news samples, background vocals, and sound effects. Towards the end, a synthesized trumpet plays the melody to "America the Beautiful."

Unlike other songs from the PGWSC, "Desert Storm" maintained a life beyond its initial creation. In the Miami area, a popular AM radio "shock jock" Neil Rodgers obtained the recording. Known as an abrasive talk-show personality, and vehemently antiwar, Rodgers understood the song's message as De Yarza had intended: pro-troop rather than explicitly pro-war.[18] Not long after Rodgers began playing the song, he passed it along to the FM sister station Power 96, located in the same building. According to De Yarza, Power 96 then played the song almost every hour, "like an anthem."[19] Once the song aired on the radio, De Yarza decided to sell it, but donate the proceeds to the USO. Twelve-inch records and cassettes went into

[18] Ibid.
[19] Quotations from De Yarza in this section come from an interview with the author, 11 April 2014.

the local record stores, and De Yarza and his partner even performed live concerts. At concerts De Yarza told the audience that the song was not a war cry (despite somewhat bellicose lyrics such as "lets the rockets fly," "search and destroy," and "support Operation Desert Storm.") Instead, he said he wanted the song to convey his deep personal convictions.

> War is not a good thing by any means, but these guys were my age [21] that were going over there. They deserved our one hundred percent support…. I wanted, as much as possible, to sway opinion that way. These are the good guys. We are them, they are us, and we should be behind them no matter what your particular stance may be about war or this particular conflict….[20]

De Yarza remained dedicated to the cause by pledging profits from record sales and live performances to the USO. One underlying meaning that De Yarza felt the audience missed was his reference toward the poor treatment of Vietnam veterans.

> Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines,
> More courage than we've ever seen
> This time won't be like the last:
> We're gonna go in and kick his…[sound effect]

The sound of an explosion (instead of an explicative) completes the line of this final verse. With the third line, "This time won't be like the last," De Yarza compactly communicated his hope that the Gulf War veterans would feel more supported than their predecessors. As a common media trope, this desire for reversal of what went wrong in Vietnam was perhaps more recognizable than De Yarza may have thought.

The widespread idea that the Gulf War, conducted correctly, could rectify the nation's undesirable past wedged its way into presidential speeches, news broadcasts, and songs. The most prevalent manifestation of this concept was troop support; no

[20] Ibid.

symbol conveyed this message more than the yellow ribbon. As the war brewed, these ribbons appeared on trees, jacket lapels, and front porches. Many of the PGWSC songs mention this symbol of troop support and home front loyalty. Some of them assert their political position unambiguously. More often, however, yellow ribbon songs sidestep politics in favor of emotions, particularly gratitude, love, and hope. Their symbolism roots the subject matter as more humanistic than political, although troop support can be (and was) easily equated with support for the war.

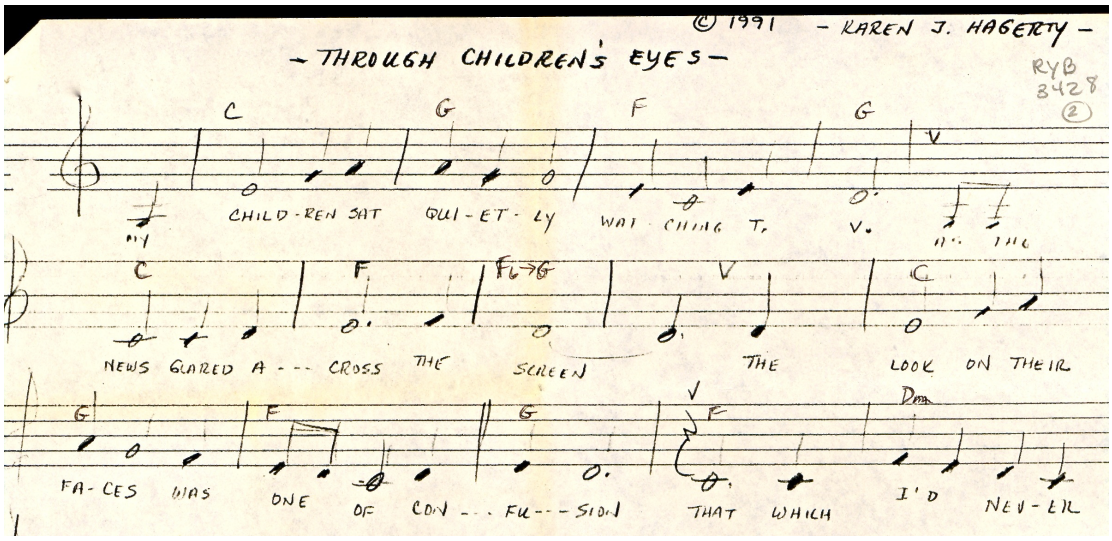
Irene Maitland's country ballad "Yellow Ribbons" strives to convey hope via ribbons "the color of sunshine." A country ballad in 6/8, Maitland's song describes feelings of comfort, with a pedal steel guitar adding to the overall warm sound. *Yellow ribbons, the color of sunshine, to warm the heart and the soul, to say that we love you all.* In Peter Smyke's "I Wear A Yellow Ribbon Everyday," a female singer tells of heartbreak over her lover's absence during the war. *A little yellow ribbon covers shades of deeper blue, gives me hope and helps me cope with what we're going through.* The country song includes a walking bass and a pedal steel—musical mainstays of the style. Roger and Ann Simmons's "They're Coming Home" rejoices in the post-war return of the troops. Over a twelve bar blues, the song reminds Americans to welcome their soldiers home with parades, flags, music, and singing. *Strike up the band and sing out loud, united we stand and we're standing proud.*

Parents and Children

In addition to being an expression of support for the troops, the yellow ribbon also conveyed an apologetic remembering of the mistakes of Vietnam. Due to the emphasis in 1980s and early 1990s US culture on "kicking the Vietnam Syndrome," the subject of troop support in the PGWSC often implies the memory of Vietnam, even without its explicit mention. Like De Yarza's promise that "this time won't be like the last," PGWSC songwriters sought to re-imagine a difficult past.

Some of these comforting yellow ribbon songs have in common lyrical themes centered around childhood (and parenthood). This use of children as subjects, narrators, and victims of war was another way that songwriters emphasized emotional over political content. Perhaps some songwriters simply were parents, thinking of how to explain war to their own children, as the narrative in Hagerty's "Through Children's Eyes" implies.

Figure 4.2 (no. 87) Karen J. Hagerty's "Through Children's Eyes." Hagerty's inclusion of musical notation was more an exception than a rule.



Linda Alford's "Thank You, Mr. Soldier" expresses gratitude from a child's perspective. Backed by a synthesizer rendition of "America the Beautiful," a young child narrates his letter to a soldier. *I'm just a little child in the second grade; while you fought for me I ran and played.* "Yellow Ribbons" (no. 104) by Lois Walliczek, features vocals sung by her two children, who proclaim their need to be "brave while Daddy's gone."

Perhaps this emphasis on the perspective of children stemmed, at least in part, from a new reality: the Gulf War was the first for which women had "expanded military roles."[21] Although female soldiers technically were prohibited from combat roles, at times "the difference between combat and noncombat was razor-thin."[22] This new role presented new problems. Women who were still pregnant received their orders; they were required to leave their newborn infants, even if the other parent had already been deployed.[23] Estimates upwards of 36,700 children were left with friends or family when custodial parents were called to duty, a situation that received plenty of media attention and sparked policy debates on Capitol Hill.[24] A few PGWSC songs react to this emergent predicament. Bonnie and Adam Peterson, for example,

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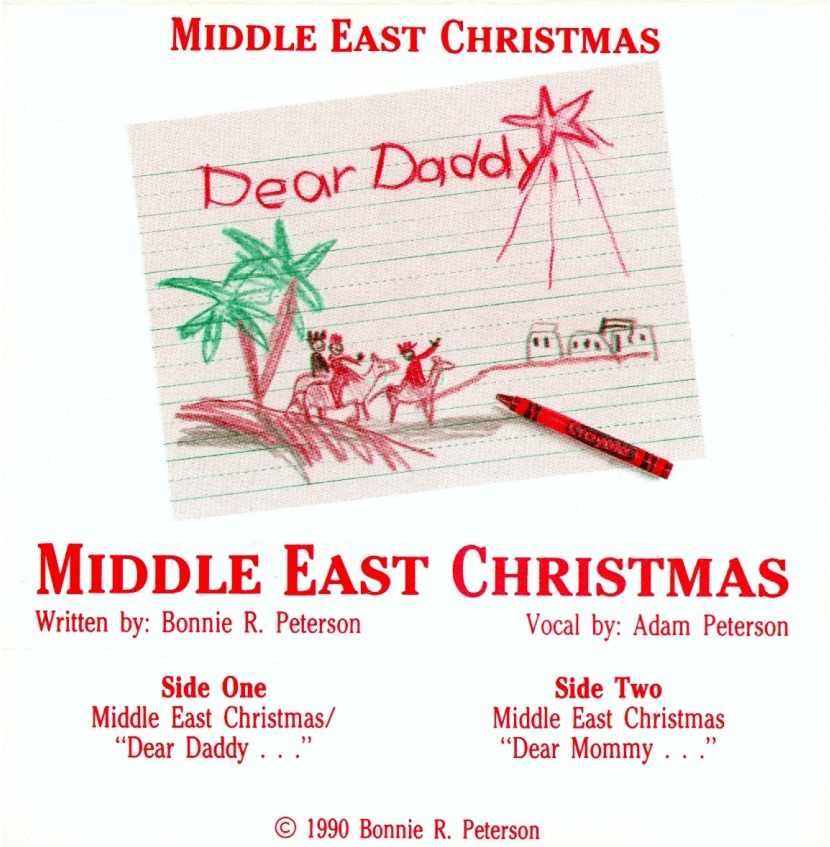
[21] Jon Nordheimer, "Women's Role in Combat: The War Resumes," *New York Times,* 26 May 1991.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Susan Baer, "Parents Call to Duty Raises Worry for Welfare of Children Left Behind," *Baltimore Sun,* 15 Feb 1991. http://articles.baltimoresun.com/1991-02-15/news/1991046139_1_zales-gene-vincent-fort-lee (accessed 12 May 2015). This article discusses two cases of female Reservists, married to previously deployed servicemen, receiving their call while pregnant. Then they needed to petition for the maximum (42 day) maternity extension, and leave their very young infants.
[24] Adam Clymer, "In Capitol, Debate on Parents in Gulf," *New York Times,* 16 Feb 1991. http://www.nytimes.com/1991/02/16/us/in-capitol-debate-on-parents-in-gulf.html (accessed 12 May 2015); Some service members were single parents, others were married to other military personnel. Estimate from: Congressional Record, V. 149, Pt. 11, June 20, 2003 to June 19, 2003 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office), 14569, reprinted from (no author) "Mothers at War," *Washington Post*, 25 March 2003.

recorded *Middle East Christmas* (no. 53), which features two versions of the same song, one entitled "Dear Daddy," the other, "Dear Mommy" both sung by a child. The cassette's artwork features a crayon drawing of camels, palm trees, and a large star shining above a city, ostensibly representing the Star of Bethlehem that led the Magi to a newborn Jesus.

Figure 4.3 *Middle East Christmas* (no. 53), album artwork, Adam and Bonnie Peterson.



The lyrics of Ori Brandon's "Momma's Gone to War" (no. 54) speak from the perspective of a child whose mother has gone to the Gulf. The narrator and her siblings, who "do the chores without a fuss," remain at home with "Daddy" who

"does the cooking." Like good Americans, they hang not just a flag, but also yellow ribbons. The last verse recounts the child's experience at school that day:

> At school today, the teacher said
> That FREEDOM is our RIGHT,
> And we should all support the TROOPS
> Who're fighting day and night!
> I want my Momma home soon, so
> I'm sending up a prayer,
> 'Cause war takes Moms and Dads away
> From Children EVERYWHERE! [emphasis in original]

Another approach using children and parenthood was the presentation of soldiers as (grown) children, often from a parent's point of view. Some songs are in the form of letters between parents and soldiers. Rock band Blue Boy's "First Class to Saudi," for example, voices the perspective of a soldier who recounts his joining the military so he could afford college. His dad was supportive, while his mom was unsure—until she saw her son in uniform. LG Brown and Rebecca Foreaker contributed "Letter From My Son" (no. 44). Backed by an electronic orchestra, a woman's voice begins to read a letter from her Marine son who has been called to duty. After a few lines, her voice fades, and his voice takes over. The lyrics reference Vietnam and the nation's notorious response to the returning veterans with the line, "From this position, to the east and down the hill sits Kuwait. Hopefully this war is over: to come home I cannot wait. I cannot imagine what it would be like to come home to a nation full of hate." Like DeYarza's commentary, this coded allusion to the reputed mistreatment of returning Vietnam vets would have easily been detected, despite the overall lack of specificity. Implicitly chastising Americans for not

supporting Vietnam soldiers, these songs also remind listeners that supporting the troops is the right, or patriotic, thing to do.

R&B/pop band Frienz's song "Letter from a Soldier" (no. 43) opens with narrated text, excerpts of letters from soldiers. Two of the opening remarks are letters to lovers at home. The other two, and one more in an instrumental interlude later in the song, encompass themes of children and parents. Another reads, "Dear mother, I received your package in the mail the other day." Speaking to the publicized incidents of mothers leaving their babies, a female voice pleads, "Dear Mommy, take care of the babies for me. I'm praying every night like you taught me." Finally, towards the end of the song, a male voice reassures his worried wife, "Sweetheart, in spite of everything I miss you and the kids and with God's grace, I will be home." At least one band member, Richard Crawford, is a Vietnam veteran. Crawford, a PTSD sufferer who claims antiwar protesters spat on him when he returned from war in 1970, remained active with band mate Gregory Thompson through the 2003 Iraq War. An AP article discussing Frienz's involvement in troop entertainment abroad mentions the 1990 recording, which allegedly sold more than 100,000 copies.[25] Adding to the earlier album, Frienz later released another called "Ten Page Letter From a Soldier." In 2005, the duo and their supporting members went on multiple overseas tours to support the soldiers stationed in Iraq and elsewhere.[26]

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[25] James Hannah, "Vietnam Vet's CD Supports Troops in Iraq," 20 September 2004, http://www.enquirer.com/editions/2004/09/20/loc_loc4cd.html (accessed 29 July 2013).
[26] Don Thrasher, "Troops Stationed Overseas Have Frienz in Dayton: Local Musicians to Embark Upon Second Performing Tour," *Dayton Daily News*, 24 Sept 2014.

Although his career was cut short by health problems, Terry C. Bullock was an aspiring country and Gospel singer who was "trying to get into the music field in a big way."[27] After a medical discharge from a six-year service in the Army, Bullock began pursuing a music career, though he'd performed with family since childhood. His prior service, along with the impending war, inspired Bullock to pen two songs in honor of the soldiers. Bullock's publicist released the following statement about the recording:

> For the men and women of Desert Storm and their families, T.C. has just released two songs "Mama Say a Prayer For Me" [and] "21 Guns," and dedicated them to these fine, brave troops. We are sure when you hear "Mama Say a Prayer For Me" it will warm your heart and you will see that this is a different kind of war song. We hope you will give this song a spin.

"Mama Say a Prayer For Me" conveys the feelings of a soldier at war, who is writing home to his parents. He'll be home in the spring, he assures them, but war will have changed him. Despite the inherent political connotations of the song's narrative, TC attempted, like many during the Gulf War, to present himself as apolitical, and instead focus on supporting the troops. "Terry was not really political," claimed his widow, Ann Bullock, in 2014. "He loved the USA and tried to write songs that would be of interest to people and [help him become] a recording artist." Bullock met his wife about a year after the release of "Mama Say A Prayer For Me." The two had both been booked at the same shows, including a 1991 "Desert Storm" concert in New York. These concerts likely were benefits for soldiers or the U.S.O., although it is impossible to determine now their exact nature. In 1992, TC toured Norway,

[27] Ann Bullock (TC's widow), email with author, 26 May 2014.

Sweden, and Denmark. He'd hoped to return to Europe, bringing Ann along. Sadly, his health began failing, and he was unable to resume touring. He eventually was forced to quit the music business altogether due to "bad lungs."[28] TC passed away in 2003.

The American Way

Many of these examples focus on either soldier support or implicit recollections of previous wars. Some PGWSC songs, however, directly evoke Vietnam; others refer to multiple wars of America's past, conveying a generic sense of patriotism and military pride. Judi Downer's 'Desert Storm" lists place names associated with past foreign conflicts: Tripoli, Cam Ranh Bay, Normandy, and the Mekong Delta. The first stanza ends with the line, "Voices whisper to me of the sacrifice that keeps us strong and free," communicating not only lessons learned from history, but also the necessity of war. These lyrical references, along with a prominent snare drum, triplet rhythms, a brief sample of President Bush speaking, as well as quotations from "America the Beautiful" and "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," express broad military support. Downer's song touches on the memory of Vietnam in mentioning of Cam Ranh Bay and the Mekong Delta, but the end of the second stanza and the refrain anchor the song more specifically in 1991.

> First our gallant legions were a guarding shield
> Then our sword for justice that we proudly wield
> Now the battles join on eagle's wing
> As the thunder and lightning of the Desert Storm

[28] Ibid.

Refrain:
Through the heat of battle in a foreign land
When your strength is fading, we will hold your hand
May our prayers to heaven keep you safe and warm
As our hearts go with you through the Desert Storm

The reference to "Desert Storm," in its call to support the soldiers, alludes to Vietnam less directly.

On the other hand, J.T. Shepeard's "Like 1965" overtly focuses on the Vietnam War. Before the song begins, a narrator dedicates it "to all the men and women that have served in the Armed Forces. In the times that have gone by and at this very present time, just think of a soldier writing a letter back home for the one he loves." The first sung line immediately situates the lyrics in relation to the Gulf War. *Desert Shield half a world away, and the way it feels is just like a dream.* The song continues from the first-person perspective of a soldier, voicing the soldier's longing, belief in God, and desire for peace. The refrain emphasizes the memory of Vietnam, and its (real or) imagined presence in the minds of Gulf War soldiers. *It feels like 1965, and we're here to risk our lives. Like the men who fought and died, back in 1965.* Despite the internal struggles of this soldier, he acknowledges the military and its goal "to keep up the American way."

The idea of an "American way" appears in a number of the PGWSC songs, and typically entails the ideals of freedom, liberty, and peace—even peace achieved through war. Billy Stone's "The American Way" encompasses these ideals, while also taking a similar approach to Downer's listing of place names, in this case Tripoli,

Iwo Jima, the "foxholes of Korea," and the "rice paddies of Vietnam." "The American Way" reads as a letter to Saddam Hussein, but it is also a statement of American pride. The entirety of the text is narrated, over a musical background of synthesizer and snare drum. Before the recitation of the lyrics, a choir sings, in four part harmony, the first few lines of "My Country 'Tis of Thee." The narrator then recites the beginning of this patriotic song before redirecting the commentary towards Hussein.

> My country tis of thee, sweet land of liberty
> God shed his grace on thee
> These are great words that Americans love to hear;
> Saddam Hussein, do you know what these words mean to Americans?
> It means more than words
> It's a way of life, the American way of life

As the narration continues, Stone's concept of freedom begins to emerge. Although it seems clear the text is pro-military, if uninspired and predictable, Stone leaves a space for freedom of speech.

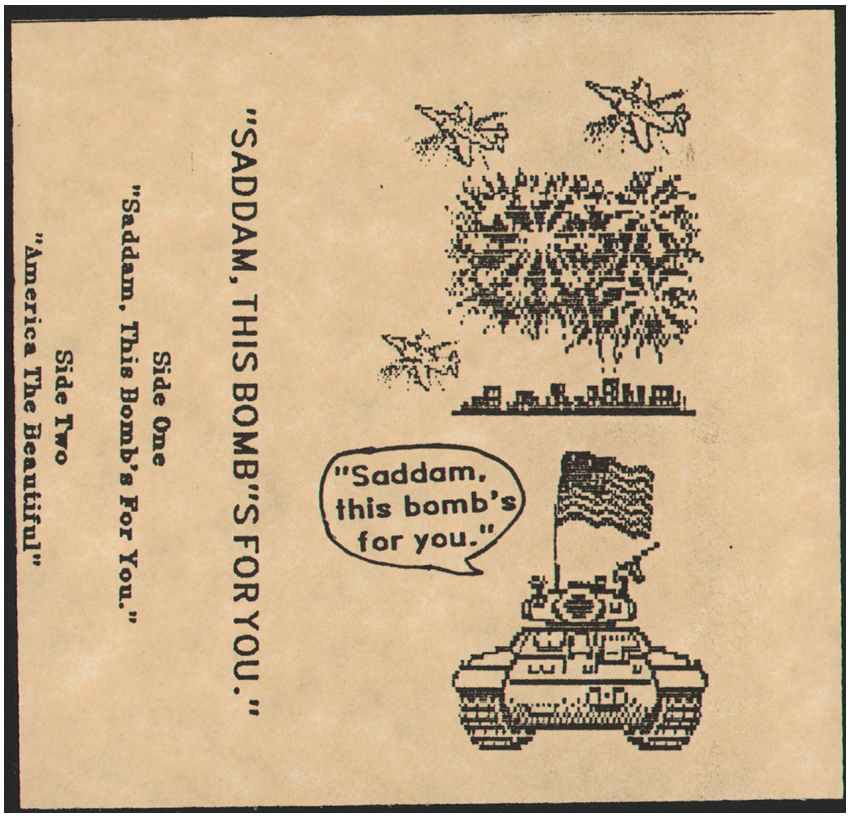
> You thought we were not united in our resolve
> But one last bit of advice:
> Don't take any comfort from the war protesters
> you see marching in our streets
> These people are not Saddam supporters;
> The irony of it is,
> our men and women will die by the line in the sand
> So that these war protesters can have the freedom
> to express their concern
> No Saddam, this is not a sign of weakness either
> It's all part of the American way
> The great American way

Unlike other PGWSC songs that vilify protestors (e.g. nos. 36, 122), Stone acknowledges that, along with military superiority, freedom to dissent is also part of

the “American way.” Despite its lack of nuance and an unimaginative use of blindly patriotic clichés (e.g. “united in our resolve”, “the American way of life”), the text is remarkably open-minded. The song ends with the choir singing over synth trumpets, piano, and snare drum. The piano plays slow, rising sixteenth notes, and along with the synth horn, creates the aural impression of triumph.

> The American way
> The great American way
> listen to these words we so proudly say
> For freedom’s call
> Americans may fall
> But we’ll never give up
> the American Way

Figure 4.4 *Saddam This Bomb’s For You*, (no. 123) Album Artwork, John Jacoby Sr.



Stone's "American Way" speaks directly to Hussein, warning him that although "we fear war," our "fear of a loss of freedom" is greater. John Jacoby Sr.'s "This Bomb's For You" (see Figure 4.4) also features narrated text over background music, this time a simplistic, synthesizer arrangement of "America the Beautiful." Jacoby's song includes sound effects such as explosions and jets engines, as well as a prominent snare drum. Furthermore, there are thematic similarities between the two songs. Jacoby's text, in part, is directed towards Saddam Hussein, and the idea of defending freedom reappears when Jacoby says, "These young women and men are not fighting just for you and me. They're fighting so their sons and daughters can live in the land of the free." But unlike Stone's encompassing concept of "freedom," Jacoby describes protesting as unpatriotic, equating protesters with flag burners.

> This fight's not over oil
> We're just tryin' to keep this war from American soil
> You protesters just don't understand
> About this ruthless, enraged man
> Kuwait was just the start
> Taking all the neighboring countries was in his heart
> I just don't understand a flag burning man
> He should get down on bended knee
> And thank God he lives in the land of the brave, the proud, and the free….
> If a protester or a flag burner can't understand a young military lad
> I can tell them this: I'm one very, very proud marine corps dad

Throughout Jacoby's rant, the text moves between first and second person perspectives, alternately directing lyrics to Saddam and sharing personal opinions.

Like "American Way" and "This Bomb's For You," a few other songs speak directly to Hussein, using the second person narrative voice. Mark Evangelos's "Wham Bam Saddam," (no. 99) a twelve-bar blues in G, chastises the Iraqi leader for

his poor decisions, with both sung and spoken words. In a far less serious tone than Jacoby, Evangelos intersperses speech sections between verses. He says in a somewhat playful tone, in a southern dialect:

> Now it's about time, Saddam, that you see the light. If you don't watch your step, we gonna getch-you ova here an' putch-you on professional wrestlin'. Then we'll really teach you a lesson. So you better straighten up your act real quick, ya hear Saddam?

After a final stanza and refrain that combines speech and singing, the song ends with another spoken word section directed at Hussein, over a guitar solo.

> [*Final refrain*]
> I said a wham bam Saddam (*spoken*: Whatcha doin' there boy? Get outta there!)
> A wham bam Saddam (*spoken:* Don't cause no more trouble now)
> A wham bam Saddam
> I said a what's the matter with you
> [*Spoken, over 12-bar blues guitar solo*]
> Get outta there Saddam, cut that stuff out. We gonna leave you here. We don't want any more trouble over there. They done had enough of your….cut that nonsense. Cut it out and letch-your people be good. They can be good people Saddam—they don't need your bad influence—without you. What do you think you are Saddam? You think you the Godfather or something? What do you think you are Saddam? You think you the Godfather or something? Huh Saddam?

In a similar vein, Mark Poncy and Mary Baileys wrote "Shuffle Off to Baghdad," (no. 41) expressing their anger towards Hussein, and wishing he would leave Kuwait. Like Evangelos's song, "Shuffle" ends with a spoken word section berating the Iraqi leader.

> Go home Saddam. Come on, go home now.
> That's right, take the camel.
> Come on leave your toys and go.
> Yeah, and hey take that republican guard with you, okay?
> Oh, and another thing! Saddam, that mustache…

What? You leave those SCUDS alone.
You go. Get on that camel and ride baby!

The exotic appeal of the unknown—the Middle East—prompted songs such as "Shuffle Off to Baghdad," "I Wanna Wreck Iraq," and "The Baghdad Boogie." It is likely that none of the songwriters had been to these places described in their songs. Most depictions are simplistic, stereotyped, and lacking in nuance: featuring camels, sand, and the desert.

The linguistic possibilities engendered by the sound of Saddam Hussein's name also sparked imaginations, generating titles such as: "Who's Sane Hussein," "Wham Bam Saddam," "Husseinitis," and "So Dam Insane" [sic]. The refrain from "Shuffle" illustrates some of the word play involved.

Saddam
You make me Saddam mad Hussein
Who's sane? (*spoken:* He is not sane)

This ridicule was the immature counterpart to a deeper sense of fear towards a leader who displayed the capability to commit atrocious acts of injustice and violence. The Bush administration repeatedly invoked this fear by comparing Hussein to Hitler, and using the comparison as moral justification for the Gulf War. In US popular imagination, Hussein was next in the line of ruthless dictators that the United States needed to squelch.

Hussein and Hitler

Despite the fact that both Hitler and Hussein persecuted minorities, the ideologies that provoked these men to torture and kill greatly differed, argued author

and syndicated columnist William Pfaff. Hitler "was driven by an uncompromising ideology that envisaged a European empire ruled by Aryans"; Hussein, on the other hand, was "simply another Third World leader…[whose] ideology is national aggrandizement."[29] To equate the two would only "feed hysteria and confusion."[30] For some, however, the resemblance was eerie. German journalist Hans Enzensberger made his case that the comparison of Hitler to Hussein was apt, not merely a "journalistic metaphor." Although journalists certainly capitalized on any similarities, using hyperbole for political ends, Enzensberger argues that conceiving of Hitler as an anomaly only appeases the fear of "enemies of humanity" when the "anthropological reality" is that despite their many differences, the two leaders have more in common than we'd like to believe.[31] Certainly President Bush seemed to agree, and whether or not it was a marketing tool to sell approval the Gulf War on moralistic terms, the demonization of Hussein as a diabolical monster, be it Hitler or the devil himself, reverberated in the songs of the PGWSC. Approximately 28 percent of the songs invoke Saddam Hussein either directly or through mention of Hitler and World War II.

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[29]William Pfaff, "The False Comparison of Saddam to Hitler," 6 November 1990, http://community.seattletimes.nwsource.com/archive/?date=19901106&slug=1102653

[30] Ibid.

[31] Hans Magnus Enzensberger, "Perspective on Saddam Hussein: Like Hitler, His Enemy Is the World: Germany then, the Arab Masses now, Mirror One Another in Dynamics That Can Be Turned to War," 14 February 1991. Preface to article: "The author, a leading leftist intellectual in Germany, played a prominent role in that country's 1968 student movement. But, today, with students throughout Germany marching in protest of the allied attack on Iraq, Enzensberger condemns Saddam Hussein, whom he calls an heir to Hitler. The following is adapted from a commentary in Der Spiegel and translated by Anna and Mark Wurm." http://articles.latimes.com/1991-02-14/local/me-1357_1_saddam-hussein/2

LG Brown's *For the Love of God and Country* (nos. 23 and 46) calls Saddam Hussein "the devil's colleague," characterizing him as a bully on an international schoolyard. With a melody reminiscent of stereotyped Middle Eastern scales, but played on synthesized steel drums, the song "Desert Storm" reprises the refrain from the opening track that "freedom is everybody's business." As the last in the group of songs related to the conflict in the Gulf, "Desert Storm" portrays President Bush (or the United States) as a kind teacher who is attempting to keep the playground safe from evil.[32]

> There's a teacher on the schoolyard who's a kind and gentle man
> And he's enforcing justice with a [very gentle] hand
> He keeps the playground safe from the evil that he [sees]
> After all this is America, the land of the free

Shortly after this sung stanza, a deep male voice, made unnaturally low with an octave effect, speaks:

> Thunder's roaring, rain is pouring, and no one is ignoring
> The oppression, the aggression,
> Or atrocities and countless transgressions
> Inflicted by the hand of a ruthless diabolical
> Inflicted by the hand of a ruthless diabolical

On the repeat of the last line, the voice becomes increasingly deep. This section ends with a booming, sinister laugh, "Ah, ha, ha ha, a mad man!" The song finishes with a choir professing troop support and the importance of freedom, all over a back beat and air raid sirens.

[32] The recording also has four unrelated tracks. Three of these relate to a love for God; the fourth professes pride in being from Oklahoma.

While Brown's lyrics paint Hussein as the "devil's colleague," other songs specifically refer to Hitler. For example, John Rogers's "The Price of Freedom" speaks to the strength of the memory of World War II:

> Those who were against us, and those who didn't care
> Ought to turn to history and make themselves aware
> Justice isn't easy, and Freedom isn't cheap
> Those that Hitler laid to rest would be the first to speak
> It's pay now or pay later, it's us or it's him.
> Duty calls from hallowed halls, it's time to sink or swim

The Defecting Iraqis, a rock band, contributed the song "Hey, Hey Hussein" that draws a direct line from Hitler to Hussein in the opening line. *We've been wise to guys like you ever since World War Two, Hitler had the same look in his eyes.* The liner notes suggest that the band members truly were "defecting Iraqis": "The defecting Iraqi's [sic] are composed of the following five brave people, however their real names are disguised to protect them from Saddam, 'Madd As(s)' Hussein." Besides depicting Hussein as evil, this particular song encompasses two of the previously mentioned thematic trends in the PGWSC songs. First, the song includes word play on Hussein's name: *You know Saddam spelled backwards is Madd As(s). You Baghdad Bandit, you wacky Iraqi.* The refrain simultaneously recalls and disavows the Vietnam War:

> Hey, hey Hussein, let 'em go or suffer the pain
> Our boys are on their way, it's getting late
> Hey, hey Hussein, the whole world knows that you're to blame
> This ain't Vietnam, we ain't Kuwait

Other songs vilify Hussein, but without explicit connections to Hitler. "Liberate Kuwait" takes a didactic approach, explaining in three stanzas why Hussein must be

stopped, while also denigrating "protestor maggots" in the process. "Mess With the Eagle You Get the Claw" calls Hussein an "evil man" who "trampled Liberty" and "wouldn't listen to international law."

The presence of a Gulf War villain had the effect of negating an entire country of civilians. Jim Naureckas, the editor of FAIR's (Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting) magazine *Extra!*, wrote about this phenomenon in April 1991. "Journalists constantly asked, 'How long will it take to defeat Saddam Hussein?' or 'How badly are we hurting him?'—as if wars are fought against single individuals, rather than nations."[33] But the idea of attacking a scoundrel like Hussein obviously held more appeal than the real, wartime possibility of bombing schools, civilian housing, or air raid shelters. Besides the resulting de-personalization of Iraqis, the rhetoric (and resulting mentality) that the war staged against a single individual—Saddam Hussein—recast the conflict as a fight of good versus evil.

Antiwar/Peace songs

Although the PGWSC predominantly contains pro-soldier and pro-war songs, a minority of examples endorse peace or express antiwar sentiments. Some do not articulate a desire to avoid conflict altogether, but instead advocate for achieving peace through war by highlighting the peace-keeping role of soldiers during Operation Desert Shield. Considering all songs in this vein, even those that only

[33] Jim Naureckas, "Gulf War Coverage: The Worst Censorship Was At Home," *Extra!,* 1 April 1991. http://fair.org/extra-online-articles/Gulf-War-Coverage/ (accessed 15 June 2015).

briefly express a desire for peace, and those that promote peace through war, pro-peace songs account for approximately 26 percent of the PGWSC.

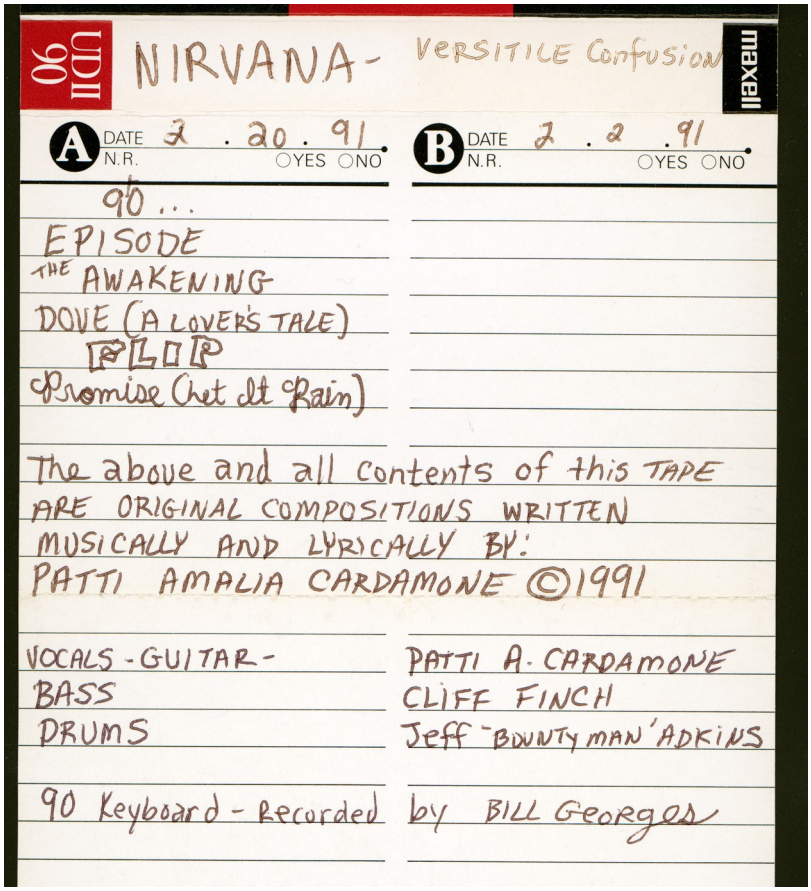
The apparent lack of antiwar songs seems to mirror the shift in the United States towards supporting the war. But because of the way in which the collection developed, and due to the political and rhetorical climate in the United States at the time of the war, it is likely that antiwar sentiments may have been lurking in second verses or hiding behind symbolism in other copyright submissions at the time. Such songs may have escaped the notice of the LC compilers more easily than those with blatant references to the war in their titles or first lines. Furthermore, given the widespread popularity of the campaign for troop support, people were hesitant to seem hostile towards those fighting the war. Even antiwar protestors carried "Support Our Troops" signs to prove that although they were against the war, they were different from the caricatured Vietnam protestor who spat on young, traumatized soldiers.[34] In that respect, perhaps the pro-soldier bent of the PGWSC accurately reflects US public opinion, at a particular moment in history.

Two artists, Patti Cardamone (no. 55) and the group Desert Storm (no. 85), have songs that combine messages of peace with professions of love for God. Of course, the group derives its name from the US codename for the war in the Gulf (Desert Storm), making the association with the war conspicuous. Cardamone, on the other hand, keeps her lyrics oblique, but includes a dedication with her copyright

[34] Peter Applebome, "War in the Gulf: Antiwar Rallies," 27 January 1991, *New York Times* http://www.nytimes.com/1991/01/27/us/war-in-the-gulf-antiwar-rallies-day-of-protests-is-the-biggest-yet.html (accessed 15 June 2015).

submission that reads, “The contents, lyrically, are dedicated to all of the soldiers of the Gulf War. And most importantly the entire text is in appreciation of God who has gifted me with the talent of song.” Without this addition, Cardamone’s album, *Nirvana*, would likely have gone unnoticed.

Figure 4.5 *Nirvana*, list of songs, Patti Cardomone (no. 55).



“Promise (Let it Rain),” the last of six songs, is the most direct, yet it’s still poetically ambiguous. *Souls of war sail out to sea searching for the day when there is unity…returning with the sign of peace, so let it rain.*

One PGWSC musician, Johnny Hahn, has released at least eleven albums—most of them independently through CD Baby. Local news outlet KPLU reported in

2014 that Hahn had been an active busker in Seattle's Pike Place Market for twenty-eight years.[35] At least five days a week, Hahn wheels his piano from a nearby storage unit to perform; he has become known locally as "the piano man."[36] *Difference of Opinion* (no. 18), the album included in the PGWSC, features fourteen songs, most of them explicitly political. Hahn's playing style includes many fills, runs, and arpeggios, creating a thick texture. His rather thin, tenor voice contrasts with the lush solo piano accompaniment. (Interestingly, iTunes has classified Hahn's CD as New Age, rather than folk, probably due to the style of piano playing.) "Our Planet" calls for more care towards Earth, including avoiding the destruction of war. "We Are Strong" affirms nonviolent principles and the sacredness of all life. "Things Happen," "Bullets and Blood," "Drafted By Poverty," and "Perfect War" make more specific references to the Gulf War. "Bullets and Blood" is the darkest; it paints a grim picture of war, while also acknowledging the 1991 war in Iraq.

> We will kill ours, we will kill theirs
> Doesn't matter how many, 'cause we don't care
> Like in Iraq we'll sacrifice our young
> No turning back, the deed's been done

As the song continues, the imagery grows increasingly disturbing, portraying the military and its supporters as rabid animals.

> They froth at the mouth, and their eyeballs spin
> They lick their lips, can't wait to begin
> To prove their manhood, push and shove
> With missiles and planes, bullets and blood

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[35] Ed Ronco, "Listen: What It's Like to Perform Through the Rainy Season at Pike Place Market," *KPLU*, 3 Nov 2014 http://www.kplu.org/post/listen-what-its-perform-through-rainy-season-pike-place-market (accessed 16 June 2015).
[36] Ibid.

Like most of the other songs on the album, "Bullets And Blood" alternates between sung verses and solo piano passages, providing Hahn with many opportunities to demonstrate his keyboard proficiency. "The Perfect War" is no exception. In this sarcastic song, the piano sections stagnate tonally on a pedal, sharply contrasting with the jumpy movement of the stride piano in the verses and refrain. Scathing lyrics contrast with the upbeat, major, and bright music. Hahn's criticisms summarize aptly a multitude of problems associated with the Gulf War: rampant militarism, questionable American foreign policy, press control, apathetic citizens, bigotry towards Arabs, the demonization of Hussein, new weaponry, and the environmental impact of the war. Stylized repetition emphasizes the message of each line.

> [*Refrain*]
> It's a perfect war, a perfect war
> What more could anybody ask for
>
> It's right on time, it's right on time
> This war arrived just in time
> We needed a fight, a brand new fight
> We needed a fight to prove we're right
> To prove we're tough, tough enough
> Show the world we're really rough
> Bribed our enemies, bribed our friends,
> Bought off congress once again
> The press is ours, locked up tight,
> No dissent anywhere in sight
>
> [*piano passage, on pedal*]
> [*Refrain*]
>
> The public's with us, they're so easy
> Minds of mush hooked on TV
> Mass hypnosis can be fun
> By the time they wake, we'll have won
> Not to worry, not to fret,

Peace need not be a threat
Military spending, keep it up
Pump it, pump it, pump it up
They'll pay their taxes, we won't spend
One red cent on the peace dividend

[*piano passage, on pedal*]
[*Refrain*]

The other side, the other side
Speak a funny language on the other side
Not like us, not like us
They're easy to hate, they're not like us
Their leader's a freak, a big fat creep
Call him Hitler, he's a creep
It was just last week, oh my, he was our ally
But we need a demon, yes we do
Gotta have a demon, he'll do
There's no more Cold War, no more fear
The Russians are our friends this year

[*piano, pedal*] *sung:* friends this year, friends this year
[*Refrain*]

Call out the troops, call out the troops
Put us at a half a million troops
Bring on the bombs, bring on the tanks,
Bring more guns, bring more planes
No way we can lose,
The mode of slaughter is ours to chose
Come on girls, come on boys
Let's test our brand new toys
It's no big deal, no big deal
Bombs in the desert, no big deal
It's just a lot of sand, lots of sand
Who could care about a lot of sand

[*piano passage, on pedal*] *sung:* lots of sand, lots of sand
[*Refrain*]

It's a moral war a good war
By good, by golly what a great war

Hahn touches on the prevalence of the television in Gulf War discourse. Popular magazine *Entertainment Weekly* succinctly summed up the role of the cable network CNN in a 1 February 1991 article, referring to the initial air campaign, "It was the most-watched event in TV history, and CNN owned it."[37] The article then outlines the shift in public perception towards CNN, which had previously (and derisively) been known as the "Chicken Noodle Network."[38] When CNN sent three reporters—Peter Arnett, Bernard Shaw, and John Holliman—to Baghdad in 1991, the face of war reporting suddenly shifted. Real-time coverage, along with CNN's 24-hour airing, drove the ten-year-old network, whose ratings usually lagged far behind its competitors, into the spotlight. CNN was the only news outlet with live coverage from reporters inside Baghdad—and Americans consumed it voraciously.

Another PGWSC song, "Big War on TV," by Michael Seeke, also offers commentary on the mind-numbing qualities of television, screen addiction, and the consumption of the Gulf War as entertainment. With a sarcastic flair similar to Hahn's, Seeke invites his listeners to "gather round" and "pay attention" to the "live broadcast of the war." He further speaks to the commentary of the CNN reporters, as well as other journalists and military commanders, who described the bombs exploding as "a marvel,"[39] and evoked imagery of fireworks, fireflies, and Christmas trees.[40] In contrast to "The Perfect War," Seeke's song has no musical refrain, and

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[37] Tim Appelo, "Behind the Scenes at CNN," 1 February 1991, *Entertainment Weekly,* http://www.ew.com/article/1991/02/01/behind-scenes-cnn (accessed 14 June 2015).
[38] Ibid.
[39] Naureckas, 1 April 1991.
[40] Jeffords and Rabinovitz, *Blinded By the Media,* 131–132.

very few internal lyrical repeats. The following excerpt, the final two stanzas, illustrates the apathy that both Hahn and Seeke condemn.

> Let's get on with the land war
> This air war's getting old
> My six packs are damn near empty
> And my popcorn's getting cold
>
> Let's get right down to the action
> We're as ready as can be
> To watch young men and women die
> In the big war on TV
>
> To watch young men and women die
> In the big war on TV

The unique aspect of Seeke's song is in its musical style: as an antiwar country song, "Big War On TV" is a PGWSC outlier. Perhaps Seeke intended this musical irony, using a genre overwhelmingly tied to traditional American values to express doubt and cynicism towards fellow citizens and impending war.[41] "Big War on TV" highlights political complacency, obsession with violence, and the absurdity of war as entertainment.

Other songs communicate mixed messages. Ellen Harlow submitted "Peace All Around the World" for copyright protection. Although the title, derived from the refrain, seems to profess peace, a subtle pro-war sentiment sneaks into the second verse. *Instead of protesting what we're all going through, we should all support the red, white, and blue.* Of course, patriotism and peace can co-exist; but Harlow suggests an inherent lack of patriotism in protesting, framing the two as dichotomous.

[41] See Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of country music.

In the third and final verse, Harlow further convolutes her message, urging citizens to voice collective support just before the final chorus, which calls for peace.

> We've go to stand firm, yes we've got to stand tall
> A country that's united by all
> So when we're feeling helpless and so all alone
> We've just got to keep on singing this song
>
> *Refrain*:
> Singing 'bout peace all around the world
> Goodwill to men
> Singing 'bout peace all around the world
> Until this war does end

Standing "firm" and "tall" implies a pro-military stance, a position that should be supported "by all." Had the chorus not been a repeated call for peace, the song could have been construed as a pro-soldier song. Instead, the ambiguity insinuates a non-pacifist attitude of achieving peace through war.

Notable for its promotion of religious tolerance, Jeff Cameron and Craig Huxley's rock song "Peace on Earth" (no. 62) encourages "Arabians and Americans" to "call off the alarms." Speaking to the vilification of Saddam Hussein (and by extension, Arabs) the second stanza cautions against ethnocentrism. *It's a small blue world we're livin' on, just might be the only one; [It] Gives life to the lies when we demonize the misread alien tongues*. The refrain implicitly acknowledges that religious differences have caused major turmoil throughout history.

> *Refrain*:
> Peace on Earth
> Sunni, Sikh, and Hindu
> Peace on Earth
> Muslim, Christian, and Jew

The first and third lines of the refrain are sung by a choir; a solo male sings the second and fourth. The contrast is striking both in sound and symbolism. The lone singer emphasizes the individual religious groups represented in the lyrics, while the choir stands for the kind of collective spirit necessary for intercultural understanding.

Collective language, Group Singing, and Patriotism

As in some of the popular music related to the war, themes of collectivity also arise in the PGWSC. In pop songs, group singing functioned as a statement of camaraderie during a time of heightened political sensitivity. Nearly half (49.7 percent) of the PGWSC songs exhibit this same tendency in various ways: through the use of group singing, well-known patriotic tunes, and collective language (first-person-plural narrative voice). As outlined in Chapter 3, this emphasis on togetherness in song created a sense of communality, alleviating upheaval that some people experienced—whether emotional or actual—during the war. Furthermore, the use of group singing may have acted as an aural signifier of the Vietnam era, a time remembered for a broad public movement against the war, as well as revered protest rock and folk music.

Although not as common as collective language, group singing—or its representation via synthesized choirs—also communicates togetherness. Because many of the PGWSC songs are self-published, budget constraints and recording challenges likely precluded frequent inclusion of multiple singers or instrumentalists. Al Alberts's jubilant "Welcome Home" emphasizes cheer and collectivity through his

use of a children's choir. The choir consisted of the Amerikids, a group still in existence that combines community service work with vocal performances by middle and high school students. The group often performs at nursing homes, hospitals, and veteran facilities, "providing patriotic, inspirational musical performances and community service."[42] The organization is based in West Chester, Pennsylvania, close to where Alberts hosted a Pennsylvania youth talent show for 32 years.[43] When he wrote "Welcome Home," he'd hoped it would prove to be a successful, grass roots anthem for returning troops. "We're off and running," said Alberts in March 1991, "and we'll know in the next three weeks or so if it's going to catch on."[44] With high hopes, Alberts recorded, mixed, distributed, and promoted the cassette independently. Despite all this hard work for the Gulf troops, Alberts's true legacy remains as the host of the talent program, Al Alberts' Showcase, one of the longest running television shows in Philadelphia.[45]

A small handful of other PGWSC songs employ choirs or groups of singers. LG Brown's "For the Love of God and Country" features the Duncan High School Chorale in some sections; Miller and White's sarcastic "God Bless America," includes group backing vocals. Choirs also sing in Cameron and Huxley's "Peace on Earth," George Nixon's "Soldiers of Freedom, Heros [sic] of Liberty," and Billy Stone's "The American Way." As a relatively small proportion of the collection,

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[42] http://amerikidswc.org/meet-the-amerikids/ (accessed 17 June 2015).
[43] Dan Hardy, "*Showcase* Host Pens Homecoming Anthem," *Inquirer*, 31 March 1991. http://articles.philly.com/1991-03-31/news/25791936_1_al-alberts-showcase-radio-stations-military-bases
[44] Ibid.
[45] Kev Monko and Mike Walsh, "The Al Alberts Experience," *Expresso Tilt!* No. 7, 1988 http://www.missioncreep.com/tilt/alberts.html (accessed 7 Feb 2015).

these songs intensify the affect of camaraderie that was cultivated in so many other ways.

Classen's "You Are Our Pride" has the effect of a choir singing through the use of vocal overdubs. Sometimes when actual group singing (trios, quartets, or choirs) does not exist, but the effect is desired, synth choirs stand in. The following songs use synthesizers in place of actual singers: Gordon Davis's "Just A Piece of Cloth," Judi Downer's "Desert Storm," and Richard Vickers's "A Soldier's Prayer."

In Naureckas's criticism of US media painting the war as "us" against "him" (Saddam Hussein), the author also noted the widespread use of the first person plural in journalistic language.[46] Not surprisingly, the use of collective language in the PGWSC mirrors the tendencies of public rhetoric. For example, Genovese and Week's "Saddam's Rap" presents—from Hussein's point of view—the conception that war was being waged against a single villain.

> I marched to Kuwait, conquered it easily
> Thought you'd roll over not care a bit
> Teasing me with sanctions that you slapped on me….
> I said come on over and bomb me

The song has a humorous slant, and cannot be taken literally. However, in light of the US trend of painting the war as "us against him," lyrics implying that sanctions and artillery fire would only affect Hussein take on significance.

Many other PGWSC songs use plural perspective, conveying a group mentality. The viewpoint usually is of either soldiers or, more frequently, a group of like-minded Americans—those supporting the war, supporting the troops, or calling

[46] Naureckas, 1 April 1991. http://fair.org/extra-online-articles/Gulf-War-Coverage/

for peace. “The Ballad of Desert Storm” offers the outlook of an individual soldier who represents the “half million strong.” The song is a profession of military might, with a focus on weaponry and aircraft as part of its rallying cry for “Stormin’ Norman’s Boys.” Carol Yeje’s song “We Can Have Victory” assures “us” we can win the war with faith in God. *We can win, not of ourselves, but if we trust in the power of God.* Country gospel song “For Every Soldier” tells the story of a soldier away. Although the lyrics do not center around the plural perspective, the refrain drives home the message. *Yes, we’re all in this together, from sea to shining sea.* Inez Walker Adams expresses gratitude for the troops on behalf of citizens of “the great country USA” with her refrain:

> We thank them for their service
> And the sacrifice they made
> And the memory of those who gave their life
> Will never fade

Folk singer, feminist, and activist Ginny Hildebrand’s band Cross Current spoke for peace supporters in “Bring the Troops Home Now.” Even with an explicit anti-war agenda, Hildebrand makes a dedication in a spoken segment before the song, “to all the young women and men stationed in the Persian Gulf.”

> Politicians and the media
> Say we’ve got to support this war
> But they’re a little bit shaky
> When they try to explain just what it is we’re fighting for
>
> The young and the bold have been sent out to fight
> And die in the desert sand
> So we gather here today to support their lives
> By raising this demand
>
> *Refrain*:

So we say, bring the troops home now
We don't want another dirty damn war
We've got more in common with the people we're fighting
Than the people we are fighting for

We've had enough of the profit makers' power and greed
So the war cries of the politicians we won't heed
We can stop this war we know exactly how
Bring the troops home now

These various examples illustrate that across the political spectrum, songwriters employed collective language in their Gulf War songs. This approach, while less common in the mainstream pop music explored here, can be expected in politically oriented songs, especially those that either have a didactic communication style or profess to convey some sort of truth. At the time of the Gulf War, Americans were inundated with the rhetoric of togetherness ("Support **Our** Troops" instead of "Support the Troops").

Another way that PGWSC songs added to the rhetoric of collectivity was through the use of well-known patriotic songs. These quotations not only signaled togetherness, but also implied an attitude of unified support for the military efforts of the United States. Stone's "The American Way" displays all three facets of togetherness that this study emphasizes: first person plural pronouns, group singing, and the quotation of a patriotic song. In addition to the use of "My Country 'Tis of Thee" performed by a chorus, as cited above, the narrator speaks on behalf of Americans during a spoken word section.

> We are not a nation of aggressors. We're not looking to conquer any nation. Yes, we fear war. But Saddam, we have a greater fear: the fear of a loss of freedom. You threaten Americans with a loss of freedom and we become united with but one thought: that threat must be stopped. Yes we're many

> different people, with many different beliefs, different desires, but we're tied together by a thread of red, white, and blue that runs through us all.

Wright and Hagerty's "All Nation's Dream" is a contrafactum medley of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "America the Beautiful." Linda Alford's "Thank You Mr. Soldier" uses "America the Beautiful" as opening, background, and closing music. In all, twenty of the 136 PGWSC songs (approximately 15 percent) use patriotic songs, military cadences, and familiar bugle calls such as "Taps" and "Reveille." (Interestingly, the national anthem only occurs three times.)

As a culmination of the inclusion of patriotic tunes, two recordings contain medleys of such songs. One is of unknown authorship; it features "Reveille," "Grand Old Flag," "Over There," "Yankee Doodle," and "When Johnny Comes Marching Home," all over a synthesizer backbeat. The second medley is much more elaborate, with a narrator, three-part harmonies, and excerpts of nearly twenty patriotic songs. The Paddyfields was a trio of singing sisters from Maryland. The regionally-known group, dubbed "the Chamber of Commerce for country music,"[47] performed at Fourth of July and other patriotic celebrations, as well as other concerts. "Messengers of Freedom: A Patriotic Medley" (no. 51) included their narrator, a local radio personality named Johnny Dark, along with the pre-recorded instrumental backing of an electronic orchestra. Over the singers' three-part harmonization of "Oh Shenandoah," Dark begins his narration. In this first section, he invokes pivotal battles in the definition and formation of the United States: the Revolutionary and

[47] Michael R. Driscoll, "4 Paddyfields Sisters Sing the Praises of Country Music," *Baltimore Sun*, 23 Aug 1991, http://articles.baltimoresun.com/1991-08-23/news/9113008720_1_country-music-paddyfields-sisters (accessed 6 Aug 2015).

Civil Wars, and the Battle of the Alamo. "Why are you marching son? I'd really like to know. Because of Valley Forge or the Alamo? Or one if by land, two if by sea?...Our fathers died from sea to sea and blessed the torch of liberty."

The singers move seamlessly from fragments of "You're In the Army Now" (1917) to the Andrews Sisters' World War II hits "Boogie Woogie Bugle Boy" (1941) and "Don't Sit Under the Apple Tree" (1939). After the women sing the refrain from the British World War I song "Keep the Home Fires Burning," Dark reenters with a monologue that personifies the American flag over an instrumental version of "The Ballad of the Green Berets" (1966).

> On Flanders Field in World War One, she got a big hole from a bertha gun.
> She turned blood red in World War II, she hung limp and low a time or two.
> She was in Korea, in Vietnam.
> She went where she was sent from her uncle Sam.
> She waved from our ships upon the briny foam.
> And now they're about quit waving here at home [sounds a bit sadder].
> And now she's gettin' threadbare and she's wearin' thin,
> but she's in good shape for the shape she's in.
> 'Cause she's been through the fire before
> and I believe she can take a whole lot more.
> So we raise her up each morning, we take her down every night,
> we don't let her touch the ground, and we fold her up right.
> On second thought, I do like to brag.
> Because I'm mighty proud of that ragged old flag.

This speech leads to portions of "Grand Old Flag," and "God Bless America." Over humming and an instrumental rendition of "God Bless America," the narrator speaks from the perspective of a present-day soldier. "Yes, I'm proud to be an American and I'm proud of our great land. That's why I'm in the desert behind a line drawn in the sand." The proud narration has a tragic ending, however, as the Gulf War soldier meets his demise.

So into hell we went today, not knowing if we'd return.
We saw dead soldiers lying there. We watched the oil fields burn.
I felt great pain deep in my chest and knew what it was from
A bullet found it's mark today; for me, the time has come.

Immediately following, the singers enter with "America the Beautiful," poignantly justifying the soldier's line of duty death; the medley ends shortly after. The whole piece lasts approximately twelve minutes, also beginning with "America the Beautiful" and closing (in a sudden mood shift from reverence to patriotism) with the unofficial anthem of the Gulf War, Lou Greenwood's "God Bless the USA."

Conclusion

The PGWSC did not come to the Library of Congress as a collection. Yet as a body of work that reflects the concerns of many Americans and mirrors the population's mixed emotions about the Gulf War, the collection provides important insight into the ways Americans perceived US involvement in the Gulf War. Unlike many of the commercial pop songs, those in the PGWSC arose in direct response to the war. At the same time, songwriters such as TC Bullock and Carlos De Yarza attempted to distance themselves from controversy by claiming their songs were apolitical. The PGWSC also (re-)established and reproduced cultural memories of both World War II and the Vietnam War. But this remembering surfaced as a random collection of composite views, most of the individual works oversimplifying complex political situations and propagating national mythologies. Songs that equated Saddam Hussein with Adolph Hitler provided moral justification through the lens of World War II, without consideration for the many reasons not to wage war in the Middle

East. Yellow ribbon songs often invoked the Vietnam War either directly or through the implication that stronger citizen support for soldiers would ensure military success, healing Vietnam's still painful wounds.

In addition to remembering World War II and Vietnam, PGWSC songs expressed patriotism, love, protest, and soldier support, conveying an overall spirit of collectivity. Themes of parenthood and childhood highlighted the role of family, also as an articulation of togetherness. Moreover, the presentation of soldiers as children and the use of the child's perspective had the effect of framing support for the war as natural and innocent. Through the use of choirs, synthesized choir effects, familiar patriotic tunes, and the first person plural point of view, both lyrics and music created a sense of community among songwriters and listeners. These expressions of camaraderie, in turn, created an environment that fostered collective remembering. Through song, many Americans processed the impending and ongoing 1990–91 crisis in the Middle East. Using either World War II as a touchstone of a just war or Vietnam as a reminder of American losses and missteps, PGWSC songwriters tried to make sense of the present by conjuring and reimagining the past.

CHAPTER 5

MODERN COMPOSERS REACT

Rounding out the picture of musical responses to the Gulf War, this chapter analyzes a symphony, an opera, a chamber piece for gamelan and western instruments, a multimedia performance piece, and an experimental theatre/chamber piece. Although the individual compositions vary widely in terms of instrumentation, style, and stage presentation, they represent a genre distinct from popular music. (Admittedly, the descriptive terminology "popular" and "classical" can be problematic; yet the following compositions, however diverse, share "the Western classical tradition [as their] anchor.")[1] In addition to these stylistic differences, collective remembering in this repertoire also differs from that seen in popular music. As the previous two chapters have shown, Gulf War popular music overwhelmingly exhibited persistent memories of the Vietnam War, which were closely tied to political rhetoric and mainstream media imagery and information. The following compositions, on the other hand, do not reflect this same cultural memory. Nor do they overtly express the kind of collectivity found in the pop music.

Although the music discussed in the present chapter does not exemplify cultural memories of Vietnam, acts of collective remembering do emerge. Lou Harrison and Jerome Kitzke pay homage to Native Americans. The decimation of the American Indians reaches beyond recent memory, yet remains a powerful symbol of

[1] For a discussion, see Greg Sandow, "Miniatures," *Sandow*: *Greg Sandow on the Future of Classical* http://www.newmusicbox.org/articles/jerome-kitzke-stories-that-must-be-told/ (accessed 28 July 2015).

genocide and war. John Adams's *Death of Klinghoffer* deals with a much more recent tragedy—the 1989 terrorist killing of a Jewish-American man—and generates controversy as a result of still-tender emotions. In this case, the memory of Leon Klinghoffer's tragic death was too recent and painful for many audience members, including Klinghoffer's surviving family. More broadly, in responding musically to the Gulf War, these composers have enshrined their own reactions, creating a kind of sonic memorial. As time passes, their musical responses will eventually represent the memory of this historical event.

The following pieces also engage with collectivity differently than Gulf War popular music. Rather than observing a group identity and finding comfort in that camaraderie, these composers question the moral integrity of the group to which they belong. In remembering the destruction of the Native American race, Harrison and Kitzke examine the collective history of Americans, questioning the country's role as an imperial power. Anderson critiques "the established framework of American identity" in works such as the well-known song "O Superman (for Massanet)" (1981), which was part of the larger piece *United States; Empty* Places (1989); *Voices From Beyond* (1992, discussed below); and The *Speed of Darkness* (1998).[2] John Adams asks his audience to consider, however challenging, the collective identity and histories of both Jews and Palestinians. The opera's difficult subject matter pushes Americans to attempt an understanding of the depth of conflict between the two

[2] Woodrow B. Hood, "Laurie Anderson and the Politics of Performance," *Postmodern Culture* 4, no. 3 (May 1994) http://www.maths.lth.se/matematiklu/personal/apas/laurie/lap.html (accessed 28 July 2015).

ethnic groups, as well as the role of the United States in this conflict. Like Adams, Aaron Jay Kernis speaks to the broader issue of human suffering. Kernis's second symphony acts as a meta-critique of human suffering: he conceived the entire piece as a battle between humanity and violence, with violence as the eventual, devastating victor. In varying degrees of specificity, these composers reacted to the Gulf War, and war in general, through the lens of collective identities, tragedies, and memories.

John Adams: *The Death of Klinghoffer* and American Perception of Arabs

As war loomed in the Persian Gulf, John Adams's *The Death of Klinghoffer* (1991) neared its premiere. The Théâtre Royale de la Monnaie in Brussels had scheduled the production, but staff became concerned about potential violence due to the inflammatory subject. Commissioned by San Francisco Opera (with others), Adams's second opera tells the story of the Palestinian Liberation Front's 1985 hijacking of the *Achille Lauro,* a luxury cruise ship filled with tourists.[3] Hijackers shot Leon Klinghoffer—an elderly, retired, wheelchair bound Jewish-American man—and threw his body overboard. Why the hijackers killed him and nobody else remains a mystery. As the premiere began to collide with real-life political tensions, and with memories of the recent hijacking still so emotionally raw, rehearsals in

[3] Daniel Cariaga, "S.F. Opera Commissions 'The Death of Klinghoffer,'" *Los Angeles Times,* 12 Nov 1989.

Belgium were held in secret and guarded by armed police.[4] Fearing controversy or even bomb threats, officials requested a delay of the performance until the war's end.[5]

John Adams collaborated with librettist Alice Goodman, choreographer Mark Morris, and director Peter Sellars, who originally envisioned the idea of the opera. The four creators had worked together on Adams's first opera, *Nixon in China* (1987), another work that dealt with recent events, though much less controversial ones. The Belgian premiere of *Klinghoffer* finally took place on 19 March 1991, just nineteen days after the Persian Gulf War ended. English critic Rupert Christiansen recalled the atmosphere at opening night: "I have never experienced such nervous tension in an opera house as I did at the premiere of John Adams's *The Death of Klinghoffer*."[6] In the end, however, the tension fizzled. Fears of violence proved unfounded. In a (largely negative) review of the premiere, critic Samuel Lipman made two important points to underscore the controversy that plagued the opera for at least a decade. First, Lipman (known for his neo-conservative political and cultural views) argued that the title itself expressed a political opinion by calling Klinghoffer's killing a death rather than a murder. The opera's creators, he said, expressed sympathy for the terrorists. "In treating the murder of Klinghoffer as a 'death,' and in viewing the incident through the lens of moral equivalence, the opera for all practical purposes endorses the claims of the Palestinian assassins." Lipman

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[4] Rupert Christensen, "The Death of Klinghoffer: Terrorism on the High Seas," *The Telegraph,* 25 Feb 2012, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/music/opera/9101783/The-Death-of-Klinghoffer-terrorism-on-the-high-seas.html (accessed 12 May 2013).
[5] Robert Fink, "Klinghoffer in Brooklyn Heights," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 17, no. 2 (July 2005): 173–213.
[6] Christensen, "The Death of Klinghoffer."

also emphasized the challenges inherent in using "highly visible contemporary subjects" as characters in opera.[7] "Poor Leon Klinghoffer," Lipman lamented, "murdered first in real life, has now been killed for a second time in art."[8]

The opera's US premiere took place six months later in September 1991 at the Brooklyn Academy of Music (BAM), setting into motion a cascade of personal and artistic criticism in the United States. The Klinghoffers' two daughters attended anonymously. Shortly thereafter they released a statement denouncing the "exploitation of our parents and the coldblooded murder of our father as the centerpiece of a production that appears to us to be anti-Semitic…."[9] The Klinghoffer daughters found the "juxtaposition of the plight of the Palestinian people with the coldblooded murder of an innocent disabled American Jew…both historically naive and appalling." In a 2012 statement issued one week prior to the opera's opening with the English National Opera, one of the daughters said, "The murder of our father is still our nightmare, and not something to be used as a tool to provide entertainment and make political statements."[10]

John Adams, on the other hand, justified the subject in symbolic terms. Comparing this opera to *Nixon in China*, he said, "We know very little about the real Leon Klinghoffer. He was not a particularly interesting figure in himself in the way

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[7] Samuel Lipman, "The Second Death Of Leon Klinghoffer," *Commentary* 92.5 (1991): 46. *Academic Search Complete*. Web. 20 Apr. 2013. *Commentary* magazine is a neo-conservative monthly publication founded by the American Jewish Committee.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Allan Kozinn, "Klinghoffer Daughters Protest Opera," *The New York* Times, 11 Sept 1991. http://www.nytimes.com/1991/09/11/arts/klinghoffer-daughters-protest-opera.html
[10] Roya Nikkhah, "English National Opera Faces Protest Over 'Pro-terrorist' Hijacking Opera," 19 Feb 2012. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/music/music-news/9091118/English-National-Opera-faces-protest-over-pro-terrorist-hijacking-opera.html (accessed 17 July 2013).

that Nixon and Mao were. But he was a symbol. He was a symbol of an American tourist, a modestly affluent American tourist, a modestly affluent Jewish-American tourist, and, last but not least, a modestly affluent handicapped Jewish-American tourist who was caught in the wrong place at the wrong time."[11] Subtly (and probably unintentionally) negating Klinghoffer's real life, Adams describes instead the *character* Leon Klinghoffer. This conflation of the real and fictitious Leons reveals the heart of the daughters' complaints: their father was not respected as an individual, and was made into a symbol for a struggle that, for the real Leon, had no immediate relevance. Furthermore, Goodman and Adams naively overlooked their depiction of the Klinghoffers "as stereotypical self-absorbed Westerners," seeming to forget that they had been traumatized.[12] Instead of portraying the Klinghoffers in all their complex emotional personas, the opera creators depicted the family as generic, well-off, materialistic American Jews. Using the recently murdered Leon Klinghoffer as a "symbol"—yet still including very real details, and therefore involving his surviving family members—was, in retrospect, naïve even if the creators were not deliberately insensitive.

Negative reactions also came from outside the family. *New York Times* critic Edward Rothstein felt that the creators portrayed the Palestinian terrorist characters

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[11] David Beverly, "Klinghoffer and the Art of Composing," interview with John Adams, 25 October 1995, http://www.earbox.com/klinghoffer-and-the-art-of-composing/ (accessed 13 April 2013).
[12] Anthony Tommasini, "In a New Generation, A Searing Opera Breaks Free of Polemics," *New York Times,* 1 Feb 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/02/arts/music/02klin.html?_r=0 (accessed 20 April 2013).

compassionately, giving "historical resonance to Palestinian wounds."[13] Meanwhile the Klinghoffers came off as money-grubbing Jews. "Who could tell from this work just what the Jewish side really is," leveled Rothstein, "a sort of touristy attachment to an ancient land?"[14] Adams, Goodman, and Sellars defended their work, saying they were trying to be even-handed in representing the Palestinian plight. However, the producers underestimated the backlash that would follow, particularly from the New York audience and the Jewish community.

The perceived anti-Semitic tone of the opera was perhaps most apparent in a later deleted "scene of everyday life," featuring the Klinghoffers' Jewish friends, the Rumors. [15] Rothstein characterized it as a "bourgeois fricassee."[16] "Everyday life" in this case came off as belittling, showing mundane conversation about petty concerns. The deleted scene fell between the two opening numbers, "The Chorus of the Exiled Palestinians" and "The Chorus of the Exiled Jews," thereby setting it in prominent relief to the suffering conveyed in the first chorus. Rather than emphasizing commonalities between the two groups of exiled people, the juxtaposition set them apart.

In the scene, the Rumor family sat around their living room. Mr. Rumor hassled his wife for spending too much on vacation souvenirs and trinkets. In turn,

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[13] Edward Rothstein, "Seeking Symmetry Between Palestinians and Jews," *New York Times*, 7 Sept 1991. Rothstein was generally unimpressed by most aspects of the opera, not only the portrayal of Jews and Palestinians. He also complained about the opera's lack of "a coherent libretto and convincing score."
[14] Ibid.
[15] John Rockwell, "From an Episode of Terrorism, Adams's 'Death of Klinghoffer,'" 21 March 1991, *The New York Times.* http://www.nytimes.com/1991/03/21/arts/review-opera-from-an-episode-of-terrorism-adams-s-death-of-klinghoffer.html (accessed 20 April 2013).
[16] Quoted in Fink, "Klinghoffer in Brooklyn Heights," 183.

Mrs. Rumor chided him for spending too much time in the bathroom when they travel, while also suggesting a possible sweetheart for her son. This satirical portrayal immediately followed a lyrically poetic and harrowing chorus of Palestinians, underscoring the negativity of the Jewish-American bourgeois stereotype. Furthermore, as Rothstein complained, the seamless transition from the domestic scene to the Jews' chorus detracted from the chorus's potential "historical weight." Unfortunately, this scene of trivialities and banal conversation became the lens through which many critics examined the opera.[17]

Klinghoffer's producers removed the Rumors scene from later productions, perhaps under pressure by both critics and audience, though Adams has insisted that the decision to cut was his. The ousted segment, for some listeners, "sent the wrong message, making it very difficult for them to take the rest of the opera seriously."[18] Even though he deleted the questionable scene, the opera's New York reception had tarnished the creators' reputations. Librettist Goodman said, "I couldn't get work after Klinghoffer. I was uncommissionable. John was almost uncommissionable."[19] [sic] Sellars, Goodman, and Adams had risked their reputations and careers in engaging with this sensitive issue. Regardless of the changes made, *Klinghoffer* had upset, offended, and dismayed some of its audience—particularly in New York—and continues to do so to the present day.

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[17] Fink, "Klinghoffer in Brooklyn Heights."
[18] Beverly, "Klinghoffer and the Art of Composing."
[19] Stuart Jeffries, "Alice Goodman: The Furor that Finished Me," *The Guardian*, 29 Jan 2012, http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2012/jan/29/alice-goodman-death-klinghoffer-interview (accessed 20 May 2013). As an interesting note, Goodman converted to Christianity from Judaism as an adult. She is now an Anglican priest in England.

Robert Fink's 1991 article suggests a connection between the opera's negative reception in New York and recent events in Brooklyn.[20] One month before the Brooklyn performances, riots erupted in Brooklyn's Crown Heights neighborhood after a car in a motorcade for a local rabbi accidentally struck and killed a seven year old Guyanese-American boy. Some members of the black community began to riot, resulting in the stabbing death of twenty-nine-year-old Yankel Rosenbaum. The rioting lasted for three days, with violence directed towards the Hasidic community. At the time of *Klinghoffer's* premiere, sensitivity to anti-Semitism lingered.[21] The casting of an African-American man as one of the Palestinian terrorists may have heightened underlying tensions.

Furthermore, Fink observed that the Klinghoffers came across to the audience as non-operatic because of their portrayal as ordinary rather than heroic. Fink also responded to the criticism that the opera presented a "false moral equivalence" between terrorists and their victims.[22] Most importantly, said Fink, New Yorkers felt "uniquely hostile" to the opera because of the deleted scene and its negative stereotyping. "American audiences," Fink argued, "reacted vehemently not so much to an ideological position on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but to specific nuances in the satirical portrayal of American Jewish characters in one controversial scene later

[20] Fink, "Klinghoffer in Brooklyn Heights."
[21] The Crown Heights Riot resulted from the accidental killing of an eight-year-old African American child by a motorcade of a prominent Hasidic rabbi. Riots lasted for three days and took the lives of one Orthodox Jewish man and another non-Jewish man, who may have been mistaken for being Jewish.
[22] Fink, "Klinghoffer in Brooklyn Heights," 174. The phrase 'moral equivalence' originated from Lipman's review, "The Second Death Of Leon Klinghoffer."

cut from the opera."[23] Although Fink's argument is strong, "ideological positions" undoubtedly weighed heavily in the hearts of Jews and Palestinians alike after the recent PLO hijacking and killing of a Jew. The Klinghoffer daughters, who decried the "juxtaposition of the plight of the Palestinian people with…cold-blooded murder" clearly felt that the librettist, at least, articulated an ideological position. No doubt others perceived the opera in a similar vein.

Despite the controversy, *Klinghoffer* attempts to emphasize the universality of suffering. One underlying message conveys that *there is a plight* of the Palestinian people. Although their actions are not justified, the hijackers' anger has a root. The opera attempts to show that Palestinians and Jews have in common the experience of exile. The creators don't make excuses for terrorists' actions, but offer an opportunity for reflecting on the kind of suffering that drives some people to desperate violence. Adams said in a 1995 interview, "We certainly don't let the terrorists off the hook morally—they murdered a defenseless old man, after all—but we do try to examine what their backgrounds were, what the forces were that brought them to this moment."[24] The opera's creators strived to convey a message: that all suffering is painful, and that American suffering is no more important than any other.

The Brooklyn premiere was not the last time this politically motivated work would provoke controversy. The 1992 show went on in San Francisco, but was protested by the Jewish Information League.[25] The group picketed each performance,

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[23] Fink, "Klinghoffer in Brooklyn Heights," 175.
[24] David Beverly, "Klinghoffer and the Art of Composing."
[25] Ibid.

and sent angry letters to the local press.[26] Shortly following, Los Angeles and Glyndebourne, also co-commissioners, cancelled scheduled performances. Plagued by its difficult reputation, the opera has only been performed sporadically.[27] In 2001, yet another controversy arose. The Boston Symphony Orchestra had programmed choruses from the opera for late November 2001. Following the attacks on the World Trade Center on 11 September, the BSO withdrew the pieces from their program on the premise of sensitivity. Richard Taruskin praised the BSO's decision in a *New York Times* editorial, a lengthy piece in which he discusses the pros and cons of music censorship. Taruskin's letter, "Music's Dangers and the Case for Control," provoked a heated dialogue between Taruskin, Adams, *New York Times* critics, and others in which they discussed the opera as well as broad issues of music censorship. Taruskin argues that Adams's music, even more than Goodman's libretto, underscores the sympathetic treatment of Palestinian, yet Taruskin fails to mention the musical moments that seem to contradict the libretto.

The English National Opera's (ENO) 2012 production caused considerably less uproar, though the Klinghoffer daughters released statements denouncing the opera once again, citing its rationalization of their father's murder.[28] Otherwise, very

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[26] John Adams, "On the Death of Klinghoffer," http://www.earbox.com/stage-works/the-death-of-klinghoffer (accessed 7 August 2013).
[27] In 1997, the opera was staged in Germany. Not another took place until it was presented by the Finnish National Opera in 2001. http://www.boosey.com/pages/opera/moredetails.asp?musicid=6372 (Accessed 25 July 2013). The English National Opera produced the opera in 2012.
[28] Nikkhah, "English National Opera Faces Protests."

little protest emerged initially.[29] ENO's Artistic Director John Berry even claimed, "The work was warmly received in London and deemed a great success."[30] A co-production with New York's Metropolitan Opera, *Klinghoffer* came under scrutiny in 2014, however, due to rising global anti-Semitism. With concerns that the opera would further agitate extremists, the Met cancelled its scheduled international simulcast. The Met's manager Peter Gelb does not believe the opera is anti-Semitic, but he "[became] convinced that there is genuine concern in the international Jewish community that the live transmission of *The Death of Klinghoffer* would be inappropriate at this time of rising anti-Semitism, particularly in Europe."[31] Live performances scheduled for October and November 2014 in New York took place amid protests that included participation by Mayor Guiliani.[32]

Ruth Sarah Longobardi observed that the post-9/11 interpretation of the opera shifted concurrently with US perceptions of Arab identity.[33] With a focus on Palestinian representation and how multiple productions differed over the course of twelve years, she examines the 1991 BAM performance and two from 2003. In the later productions—one a film and the other a "semistaged version" at BAM—

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[29] Norman LeBrecht, "*The Death of Klinghoffer*—Worth a Protest," 26 Feb 2012. http://www.artsjournal.com/slippeddisc/2012/02/the-death-of-klinghoffer-worth-a-protest.html (accessed 25 July 2013).

[30] Sean Michaels and Imogen Tilden, "New York's Met Cancel *The Death of Klinghoffer*," *Guardian*, 18 June 2014, http://www.theguardian.com/music/2014/jun/18/new-york-metropolitan-opera-cancel-death-of-klinghoffer-simulcast (accessed 2 Sept 2014).

[31] Michaels and Tilden, "New York's Met Cancel." See the Anti-Defamation League website for a list of global acts of anti-Semitism.

[32] Michael Cooper, "Protests Greet Metropolitan Opera's Premiere of *Klinghoffer*," 20 October 2014, *New York Times*, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/21/arts/music/metropolitan-opera-forges-ahead-on-klinghoffer-in-spite-of-protests.html?_r=0 (accessed 26 July 2015).

[33] Ruth Sara Longobardi, "Re-producing Klinghoffer: Opera and Arab Identity Before and After 9/11," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 3, no. 13 (July 2009): 273-310.

producers and audiences alike began "reevaluating the hijacking as terrorism."[34] To summarize part of Longobardi's argument, the hijackers in the 1991 production lacked distinguishing visual markers. All those on stage wore the same "nondescript" costumes that "erase[d] perceptible differences among characters."[35] Additionally, some singers portrayed both Western and Arab characters. The actress who played of the hijackers, for example, also sang the role of the Klinghoffers' friend, Mrs. Rumor. This kind of obfuscatory doubling is not confined to the visual realm. "The music, too," argues Longobardi, "by means of shared harmonic, melodic, instrumental, and textural gestures, undercuts boundaries between characters."[36] Both a descending stepwise melody and particular oboe passages serve as "connecting tissue" that present "a sonic realization of the ties that bind all people on board the *Achille Lauro*."[37] Longobardi argues that the 2003 Penny Wolcock film version presents Palestinians as markedly distinct from westerners. The gaze of the camera favors strong visual cues at times overpowering the music (relegated to soundtrack status), and a narrative becomes prominent. Moreover, the film contained actual newsreel footage of Holocaust victims during the "Chorus of the Exiled Jews." The semistaged BAM production also featured strong visual markers, such as "historically realistic costumes that clearly differentiate among hijackers and passengers," and a lack of character doubling.[38]

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[34] Ibid., 274; Longobardi describes this 2003 semistaged version: The chorus appears in concert attire, there are no dancers or sets, and little movement takes place on stage (305).
[35] Ibid., 283.
[36] Ibid., 284.
[37] Ibid., 287.
[38] Ibid., 305.

Further, the contrasting visual representations of Arabs and Westerners in both 2003 versions reveal "shifts in broader cultural and political spheres around the topic of terrorism after 9/11," Longobardi contends.[39] Indeed, this perceptual shift had already appeared immediately following 9/11. Taruskin's December 2001 *New York Times* article presented a "case for control" rather than official censorship. Though Taruskin may never have resonated with the opera's "even-handed" depiction of American Jews and Palestinian terrorists, the recent trauma of 9/11 prompted him to suggest restraint in the form of what he called "self-control" or what others may call self-censorship.[40] "In the wake of Sept. 11, we might want, finally, to get beyond sentimental complacency about art. Art is not blameless. Art can inflict harm. The Taliban know that. It's about time we learned," Taruskin concluded. He urged readers to consider that particular moments may require sensitivity—and that exercising this sensitivity is compassionate, not undemocratic. Nevertheless, Taruskin's conflation of the Israel-Palestine conflict—the ostensible root of conflict in *Klinghoffer*—with the terrorist attack on the United States, not carried out by Palestinians or the PLO, illustrates Longobardi's point that recent events can and will color the perception of this controversial work. Speaking to the shift in American understanding of terrorism and terrorists, she argues that *The Death of Klinghoffer* is not a single, fixed entity, but an ever-changing body of interactions with and representations of American

[39] Ibid., 278.
[40] Richard Taruskin, "The Danger of Music and the Case for Control," in *The Danger of Music and Other Anti-Utopian Essays* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: California Press, 2009), 168–180; Martin Cloonan, "Call That Censorship? Problems of Definition," in *Policing Pop,* eds. Martin Cloonan and Reebee Garofalo (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), 13–29.

cultural ideology concerning Arab identity. As such, the opera's controversial material provides an opportunity for ongoing, relevant, and valuable dialogue.[41]

Lou Harrison and Jerome Kitzke: Remembering American Indians through the Gulf War

Lou Harrison (1917–2003) began studying composition in high school, and met Henry Cowell—a relationship that would prove to be very influential—shortly after he began college at San Francisco State.[42] Through Cowell's New Music Society concert series in the city, and through the connections he made via Cowell, Harrison attended concerts of diverse musical styles, including music of Schoenberg and Varèse, as well as Japanese chamber music and even a puppet opera.[43] Cowell inspired and encouraged Harrison's use of non-traditional or found percussion instruments and his combination of western and Asian musics. Harrison's early cross-cultural explorations would prove to be a life-long compositional path. He later built his own American *gamelan* (an Indonesian pitched percussion ensemble), and composed works for gamelan, gamelan and western instruments, Asian instruments, and combinations of western and non-western instruments.

Harrison's earliest work mixing Asian and western instruments was *Pacifika Rondo* (1963). He wrote the piece for flute, trombone, organ, celesta, piano,

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[41] The protests and riots of the Arab Spring, increase in international anti-Semitism, an escalating war between Israel and Gaza, and the rise to power of ISIS all contribute to the more recent western understanding of Arab identity. Issues surrounding the 2012 and 2014 ENO/New York Met productions, as Longobardi originally had argued, stem from these major events, and shape perceptions of the opera.

[42] Leta E. Miller and Fredric Lieberman, *Composing a World: Lou Harrison, Musical Wayfarer* (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 8–9.

[43] Ibid., 9.

vibraphone, percussion, and strings; *p'iris* (Korean double reed instrument), sheng (Chinese free-reed instrument), psalteries, *cheng* (or *gu-zheng*, Chinese zither), *kayagum* (Korean zither), Chinese reed instrument *pak*, and *jalatarangam* (Indian melodic percussion instrument comprised of bowls of water tuned to various pitches.)[44] Even before *Pacifika Rondo*, however, Harrison approximated the sound of gamelan instruments with creative combinations of western melodic and percussion instruments.[45]

Besides his devotion to Asian musical cultures, Harrison expressed his strong political viewpoints in his music. He nurtured a life-long commitment to various social and political causes, and as a pacifist considered war profoundly troubling. One of his first pieces that focused this concern was *France 1917–Spain 1937* (1937). The work for percussion and string quartet was prompted by the first World War and the Spanish Civil War, a favorite cause of left-wing artists in the 1930s, including dancers such as Martha Graham. In 1939, Harrison composed *Mass to Saint Anthony* for chorus and percussion. He began writing it the day that Hitler invaded Poland. (He revised the piece in 1952, eliminating percussion and rescoring it for strings, harp, and trumpet.) Later, Harrison was so affected by the 1945 atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki that he began to refer to the periods of his own life as B.B. "before bomb" and A.B. "after bomb."

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[44] Ibid., 299.
[45] For example, *Suite for Violin, Piano, and Small Orchestra* (1951), *Solstice* (1950) and *Concerto in Slendro* (1961). See: Leta E. Miller and Frederic Lieberman, "Lou Harrison and the American Gamelan," *American Music* 17, no. 2 (Summer, 1999): 146–178.

In 1953, Harrison became a supporter of the left-leaning public radio station KPFA of Berkeley, which first aired in April 1949. The radio station was the first of five that the Pacifica Foundation, itself born of the antiwar movement of World War II, would eventually broadcast. Pacifist and World War II conscientious objector Lewis Hill (1919–1957) founded the listener-supported station—the first of its kind in the nation. Hill wanted to broadcast divergent viewpoints because, he said, "the privilege of hearing is a precedent condition to making up one's mind."[46] He aspired to provide the public with opinions and news they couldn't get anywhere else. Hill's aim held true even after his death. For example, KPFA covered civil rights, free speech, and the gay rights' movements in the 1950s and 1960s;[47] broadcasted HUAC hearings in 1960; and was the first media outlet to break the story of the 1968 My Lai Massacre.[48] For those seeking alternative news, KPFA was the clear choice; there was no NPR (founded February 1970) or PBS (founded October 1970).

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[46] Quoted in Amy Goodman, "Pacifica Radio at 60: KPFA Remains a Sanctuary of Dissent Six Decades After Its Founding," *Democracy Now*, 15 April 2009 http://www.democracynow.org/2009/4/15/pacifica_radio_at_60_kpfa_remains (accessed 10 June 2013). Original quote from a documentary film by Veronica Selver and Sharon Wood, *KPFA on the Air* (2000).

[47] Matthew Lasar, *Pacifica Radio 2E* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000),181-182.

[48] Seymour Hersh later won a Pulitzer Prize for his reporting of the event. KPFA's website claims that in 1969, "Pacifica is the only news organization willing to break Seymour Hersh's story of the My Lai massacre. Hersh later wins the Pulitzer Prize for exposing the atrocities committed by U.S. troops in Vietnam." (http://www.kpfk.org/index.php/aboutkpfkpacifica/92-historyofpacificaradio#.VbowDzBVhHw) It's difficult to confirm the veracity of this claim, but KPFA also featured an in-depth discussion with Hersh that offers some clues (Seymour Hersch, Interview with Steve Bookshester, *Pacifica Radio Archives*, December 1969, https://archive.org/details/TheStoryBehindTheMyLaiIncidentSeymourHershInterviewedBySteve.) See also: http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/seymour-hersh-breaks-my-lai-story, this website claims that more than 30 newspapers picked up the stories once Hersch released the story to "Dispatch News Service." The release, according to this source, occurred on 12 November 1969. *New York Times* released their story on 17 November 1969 (http://learning.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/03/16/march-16-1968-u-s-soldiers-massacre-vietnamese-civilians-at-my-lai/?_r=0);

In 1959 or 1960, Harrison delivered a lecture on KPFA that he later named the "Crackpot Lecture." Among the more novel ideas he advanced here was a "separation of war and state." This separation would allow "those persons who are interested in war [to] pursue it on a private basis… to buy a certain number of battlefields…where they could pursue their pleasure…. But they should on no account be allowed to injure anyone outside of their particular, as it were, battle camps. On pain of public ostracism and boycott for the rest of their lives."[49]

This utopian vision of compartmentalizing war seems bizarre and naïve, albeit an eerie parallel to the grim, post-apocalyptic story of *The Hunger Games* (a recent novel and film in which teenagers must fight to the death on television). Yet Harrison held deep convictions. War in general—and in particular, the atom bomb—was central to more than a few of his compositions. The 1968 Cabrillo Music Festival programmed a number of these thematic pieces: *Peace Pieces 1 and 2* (1953, rev. 1968), the second of which features a virulent anti–Vietnam War text;[50] the sixth movement of *Pacifika Rondo*, entitled "A Hatred of the Filthy Bomb"; and *Nova Odo* (1961–68), in which Harrison mentions the atomic bomb's "mushroom cloud" and calls for global and inter-galactic peace and cooperation.[51]

According to Kendrick Oliver, *The My Lai Massacre in American History and Memory*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 41–43. Dispatch News Service was formed in 1968 by David Obst. It was a "small news agency…located at the interstices of the mainstream press and the alternative media of the New Left." The news service's "principal market…was college and radical counter-cultural publications." Given this information, and the fact that Obst had attended University of California, it is quite possible that Pacifica Radio was among the first to run the story.

[49] Lou Harrison, "Crackpot Lecture," KPFA, circa 1959–60, transcription by Leta Miller.

[50] A recording of *Peace Piece 2* is included on the CD accompanying Miller and Lieberman's *Composing a World.*

[51] Leta Miller and Frederic Lieberman, *Lou Harrison,* American Composers Series, (Chicago and Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 102.

Harrison's pacifism extended through the Vietnam War and into the 1990s, when he became enraged over US involvement in the Persian Gulf War. (Had he lived a few more years, he likely would have been involved in post-9/11 antiwar expression.) Harrison, so distraught over the war, found himself unable to write a note. As a composer, he felt a social responsibility: he thought of composers as spokespersons for their society. If the American government was committing atrocities of war, Harrison could not, in good conscience, support that behavior by sharing his musical voice. But in September of 1991, the Pacifica Foundation built a new KPFA headquarters in Berkeley, and commissioned a piece by Harrison for its dedication ceremony. Breaking his war-induced composer's block, he wrote *Homage for Pacifica* for the building's opening. "Tonight KPFA celebrates the opening of a new home in a beautiful building with a major new composition by one of the most honored and revered composers in the United States, Lou Harrison, called *Homage to Pacifica*," announced composer and KPFA volunteer Charles Amirkhanian.[52]

Homage for Pacifica—for gamelan, harp, bassoon, percussion, chorus, and female vocalist—expresses Harrison's anger over the Gulf War. Its six movements at first glance seem unrelated: the first features a singer in Indonesian style (*pesindhen)* freely singing "We Shall Overcome" and the call letters of Pacifica's radio stations; one is dedicated to Handel; one uses text from Mark Twain on the Philippine War; another refers to the "untied snakes of America"; one lists, in a dramatic spoken text, Native American tribes that were "screwed"; and the final movement features the

[52] Goodman, "Pacifica Radio at 60."

words of Chief Seattle testifying that all things in the world are connected. Upon closer examination, however, we can see how these movements are indeed connected—even beyond Chief Seattle's declaration.[53] To varying degrees, each movement addresses American imperialism or tyranny.

The first movement of *Homage for Pacifica* is a prelude for gamelan and harp. The piece opens with a driving ostinato in the gamelan, accompanied by drums. This faster section slows to lead into the gamelan melody, which serves as an introduction to the vocal entrance. After this gamelan melody, the tempo slows again and the mood shifts to more serene and quiet. Vocalist Jody Diamond (Harrison's gamelan teacher in 1975), who suggested using the call letters of the radio stations in her improvisatory singing, enters accompanied by the gamelan. After she sings, the gamelan melody from the beginning of the movement returns, completing an ABA form.

"In Honor of the Divine Mr. Handel," the six-minute second movement for gamelan and harp opens with a gamelan introduction (*buka*) and has an ABABA

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[53] Despite its mythological status, the most recognized version of this text probably derives from a film script (full of anachronisms) by Ted Perry for *Home* (prod. by the Southern Baptist Radio and Television Commission, 1972), reprinted in Rudolf Kaiser, "Chief Seattle's Speech(es): American Origins and European Reception," *in Recovering the Word: Essays on Native American Literature*, ed. Brian Swann and Arnold Krupat (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 525-30 http://www.washington.edu/uwired/outreach/cspn/Website/Classroom%20Materials/Reading%20the%20Region/Texts%20by%20and%20about%20Natives/Texts/8.html (accessed 13 June 2013). Another version, its veracity also disputed, was translated by Henry A. Smith and published in the *Seattle Sunday Star* on 29 October 1887. The character of this speech is much more dismal (and believable) than the 1972, and contradicts the other text's proclamations of connectedness. An excerpt reads: "If we have a common Heavenly Father, He must be partial, for He came to His paleface children. We never saw Him. He gave you laws but had no word for His red children whose teeming multitudes once filled this vast continent as stars fill the firmament. No; we are two distinct races with separate origins and separate destinies. There is little in common between us." This speech is a reply to

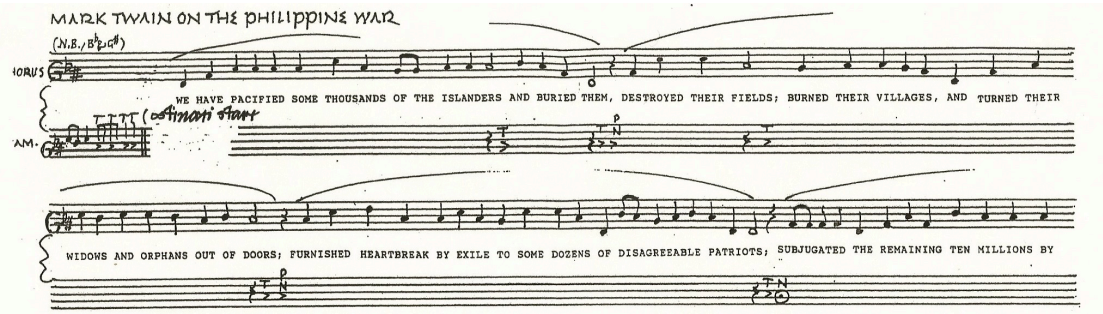
form. The first gamelan-only A section repeats twice, with the additional embellishments by the gamelan the second time. On the third repeat of A, the harp solo takes over the previous gamelan melody, leaving the gamelan instruments to play embellishing patterns and complementary lines to the harp solo. After one time through A, the harp plays the B section, with the gamelan backing off significantly, and providing only harmonically structural notes, usually at the rate of one note per measure. Finally the A returns to complete the form. The political connotation of this movement is the least clear of all, besides the assertion that all things are connected. Perhaps the dedication to Handel refers to the speculation over Handel's sexuality, and the persecution of homosexuals.

"Mark Twain on the Philippine War," scored for chorus and gamelan, features a text that condemns the Spanish-American war. Twain famously opposed this war through a series of published articles and essays.[54] Harrison sets some of the text from an essay that decried the Philippine annexation: "[We have] subjugated the remaining ten millions by benevolent assimilation, which is the pious new name of the musket."[55]

Example 5.1 Lou Harrison, *Homage to Pacifica*, third movement, chorus and gamelan.

[54] "The World of 1898: The Spanish-American War, Mark Twain," *Hispanic Division, Library of Congress,* http://www.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/1898/twain.html (accessed 3 June 2013). The author opposed as a member of the American Anti-Imperialist League, along with other prominent individuals such as Samuel Gompers and Andrew Carnegie. The League was founded in 1898 to fight the annexation of the Philippines by the United States.

[55] Mark Twain, "The Philippine Incident" (1902), quoted in Harrison's score.



The fourth movement, "Interlude & Ode," begins with an instrumental introduction for solo bassoon and a metallophone in just intonation. A "Horation Ode" written by Harrison follows. He composed this text on 15 March 1991, just weeks after Coalition Forces had declared victory over Iraq in the Persian Gulf War (and in the midst of the popular uprisings that began as soon as the official war ended). Harrison's poem speaks to the destruction of war, and his disillusionment with American militancy.

> The 'untied snakes of America' drive down
> With stinking speed-and-gleam to pierce sweet ancient things,
> To pain earth's elders' bones, to leave red poison pools—
> school buses shattered.
>
> The 'untied snakes of America' drive down
> With speeding strike to pox earth's flesh, to bomb out birds,
> To corrupt a mountain, and to gut these sands, for
> mad and evil men.

The fifth movement, "Interlude and Litany," consists of a speaking chorus following a gamelan and bassoon introduction. Harrison wrote this text just two days after the previous poem, on 17 March 1991. After unison recitation of twenty-four Native American tribes, soloist Milton Williams says, "All the fine people." Twenty-four more tribal names follow; then "All the fine people on this original land." On the

third verse, the chorus chants twenty-one tribe names before the final spoken solo: "All the fine people on this original natural land—screwed." The sixth and final movement continues with the theme of Native American tribes and their destruction, as well as the destruction of the planet. The text, commonly attributed to the testimony of Chief Seattle, emphasizes interconnectedness: "All things are connected….The earth does not belong to man; man belongs to the earth….Whatever befalls the earth befalls the sons of the earth…."[56] The gamelan accompanies the chorus, as they sing the pentatonic melody.

In these last two movements—and indeed, the whole piece—Harrison draws parallels between the destruction of the planet, the war against the Native American race, and war in general. Though Harrison wrote the composition around the time of the Persian Gulf War, it does not directly reference the conflict. Nevertheless, the piece clearly expresses Harrison's concern over war. Struck by composer's block, he was only able to regain his compositional voice by unleashing his opposition to the war. In addition to *Pacifika Rondo*, Harrison's lifelong devotion to pacifism reveals the depth of his commitment to these ideals. His music, poetry, lectures, and other writings confront political issues, without making excuses or worrying about how his declarations might affect his career.

Like Harrison, Jerome Kitzke openly and unapologetically combines his political views with his music. The two men also shared the opinion that as composers, they have a level of social responsibility. But whereas Harrison also

[56] Quoted in Harrison's score. See note 53 regarding authenticity of the speech.

explored and constructed multicultural worlds of sound based on lifelong manipulations of eclectic combinations (while also comfortably expressing his political leanings when he wanted), Kitzke has said that he only writes music in order to relate to issues about which he feels strongly. "If I were writing music without any content attached to it other than the fact that I…had a commission to write a string quartet," he said in a 2003 interview, "I don't think I'd be interested in doing that…. I think very strongly about issues in our culture, and in our world, and in my life. I'm a composer, so it feels very natural to try and express the feelings through concert music."[57] He continued, puzzled by the "ill feeling" harbored by the "new music concert world" to programmatic music or music with political content, "—like somehow that's too pure a place to state your views about our impending war, let's say." Kitzke has exhibited a particular interest in the plight of the Native Americans. And like Harrison (and probably the rest of us!), Kitzke is horrified by the idea of dropping bombs.

In the liner notes to Jerome Kitzke's album *The Character of American Sunlight*, Kyle Gann attempts to describe Kitzke's music. He instead rattles off a list of things it isn't: "jazz, though there are certainly jazzy moments. It isn't minimalist, or serialist, or free improv, or postminimalist, or Third Stream, or 'New York noise,' or totalist." Gann had seen Kitzke perform his own music many times in Manhattan, and writes not from the perspective of someone who has heard just one recording or seen a performance or two. Gann finally settles on "very deeply human.

[57] Preston Wright, "An Interview With Jerome Kitzke," *American Public Media* March 2003. http://musicmavericks.publicradio.org/features/interview_kitzke.html (accessed 29 July 2015).

Embarrassingly human…" to describe Kitzke's intense engagement in his music with life, humanity, emotion, and the composer's own "omnipresent concern for the people this continent was stolen from."[58] As Harrison does in *Homage to Pacifica*, Kitzke makes connections between the unlawful, inhumane destruction of the Native American race, the general destruction of war, and the specific case of the Persian Gulf War.

Kitzke's interest in Native American issues began in the late 1980s, when he decided to write a piece to celebrate the centennial of the Wounded Knee Massacre of the Lakota people in South Dakota's Black Hills.[59] *Mad Coyote Madly Sings*, among other pieces, expresses Kitzke's anger over the killing of Native Americans. More than that, however, the piece cries out against the Persian Gulf War. Kitzke leaves no doubt as to his intention: the piece is vehemently antiwar, and Kitzke wishes his performers and audience to know it. Multiple textual inclusions, along with an antiwar poem as the text, cement the composer's intention. The top left corner of the score reads, "Again at war—1991—this, my response." A program note further explains:

> Mad Coyote Madly Sings was written in response to the Persian Gulf War and is intended to be a voice crying out against not just that war, but war in general. It reminds us that the madness which causes war, no matter how cloaked in righteousness, can never erase the fact that when a bomb is dropped, we too do the dropping, and when that bomb strikes, it strikes us all, and that ultimately no matter what humans do to each other while on the earth,

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[58] Kyle Gann, Liner Notes, *The Character of American Sunlight: Seven Works of Jerome Kitzke,* Koch International Classics 3-7456-2 HI, 1999, compact disc.
[59] Preston Wright, "An Interview With Jerome Kitzke," *American Public Media*, March 2003 http://musicmavericks.publicradio.org/features/interview_kitzke.html (accessed 20 June 2012).

> it will be the earth alone that will survive. This work is dedicated to the redefinition of manhood.[60]

The nine-minute amplified piece for tenor sax, 4 voices, double bass, and drum kit features Allen Ginsburg's poem "Hum Bomb?" (Kitzke has been able to use other Ginsburg poems as well due to the poet's relaxed attitude about royalties. Ginsburg apparently realized Kitzke wasn't profiting much from the use of his poetry, and "didn't want to get a nickel and dime" for small, sporadic performances.)[61] Two short American Indian songs, one from the Tewa and the other from the Lakota, surround the longer poem. The vocalists, called "actors," must perform beyond their written parts. "The performance should be dramatic," Kitzke instructs, "both aurally and visually." They should accompany their emphatic vocal interjections with choreographed movements that create a spectacle. With fast bebop-like riffs and moments of swing punctuated by shouts and lurching rhythms, the piece is, as Gann aptly described, "jazzy but not exactly jazz." The three texts provide structure to the piece, with the musical sections corresponding to the poetry. The first section utilizes the Tewa poem, "Mad Coyote madly sings, then roars the West wind!"[62] The bulk of

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[60] Jerome Kitzke, program note to *Mad Coyote Madly Sings,* (New York: Peermusic Classical, 1991).
[61] Preston Wright, "An Interview With Jerome Kitzke."
[62] This text is from a Tewa poem. Apparently, among the Pacific Northwest natives, "where neither clans nor warriors' societies had developed, there was an unusual number of mad coyote songs, the result of visions which ensured military success." Herbert Joseph Spinden, "Essay on American Indian Poetry," in S*ongs of the Tewa*, (New York: Exposition of the Tribal Arts) 1933, sacred-texts.com (accessed 29 July 2015).

the piece sets the much longer Ginsburg poem, and the final section sets a Lakota "Song After Battle."[63]

Along with the three poems, the score also includes, both at the beginning of the score and above the staff in small print, an additional text written by Kitzke.

> At war anew, the raw ugliness of the inevitable gun pierces and shoots, shoots and pierces deeply into our souls made jittery-crazy by the memories of past madness. The memories shake us, hard—until we feel the gun at our heads as it fires the bullets of forced acceptance we fend off by saying "**funk you, we do not accept this**!" We sing crazy and chant "**Funk You, funk you**!" But their subtle sly weight presses down, down, down, until we feel funked by denial and silence. So crazier we sing, "**Ahh, funk you, funk**," so that their gun of suppression is drawn again and fires away in blind bursts, both raw and insistent, but ultimately powerless to the Truth, which gives us the **blues**—a dirge both raw and mournful. We sing to our Mother with hard hearts, bitter hearts, tender hearts, confused hearts, loving hearts, sad hearts until we cry for her and the tears cleanse our souls, or so we hope for we always seem to feel and hear the echo of the gun which pierces and shoots into our souls made jittery-crazy by today's madness. We pray loudly. [emphasis added]

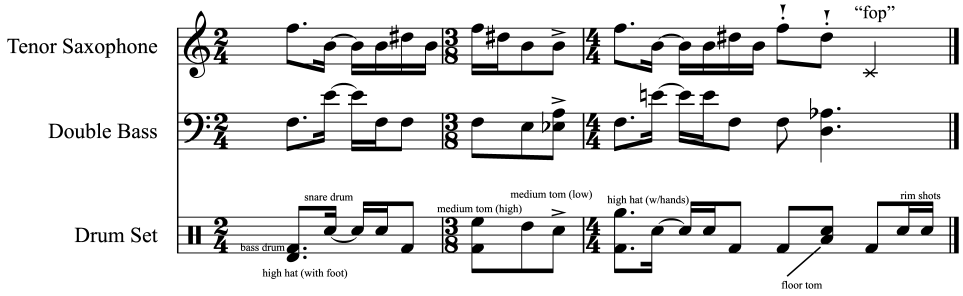
This text informs the work in spirit, at times even seeming programmatic; however, the vocalists do not speak the words aloud. Kitzke further provides performance indications (in the score) to the players such as "intense and questioning," "intensely tender," and "with a calm but firm understanding." The additional text and these subjective instructions encourage instrumentalists to adopt a particular mindset, beyond mere technique, that also adds to the emotive quality of the performance.

Mad Coyote begins with a cymbal and snare roll, with the vocalist-actors uttering "Shhh—oom" while increasing in volume to the instrumentalists' first note. This opening leads to a fast and frantic saxophone riff, its rhythm mirrored by the

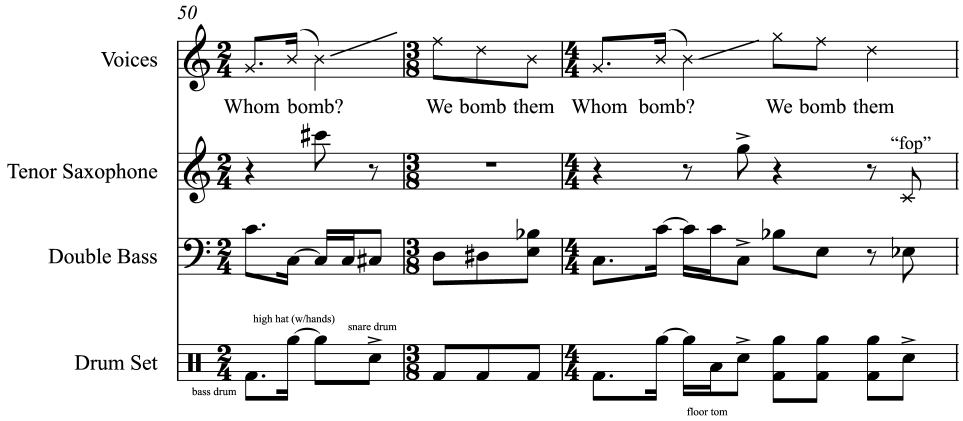
[63] This Lakota song probably first translated by Francis Densmore. See Kenneth Rexroth, "American Indian Songs: the United States Bureau of Ethnology Collection," *Perspectives USA* 16 (Summer 1956).

drum set. Then the actors shout the Tewa text with the same intense energy as the music. The quick tempo and sixteenth-note figures continue, creating an urgency—a madness. The vocalists, “intense and questioning,” enter with the Ginsberg text about a minute into the piece (m. 50). They repeat “Whom bomb? We bomb them,” four times. Just before this interrogation, one of the few recurring musical themes appears, corresponding to Kitzke’s accompanying text, “Funk you.” (see boldface above). This theme (or a close version of it) occurs again in measures 44, 64, 108, and 141. It is the only easily recognizable melodic theme that repeats with such regularity.

Example 5.2 Jerome Kitzke, funk you theme, mm. 44–46.

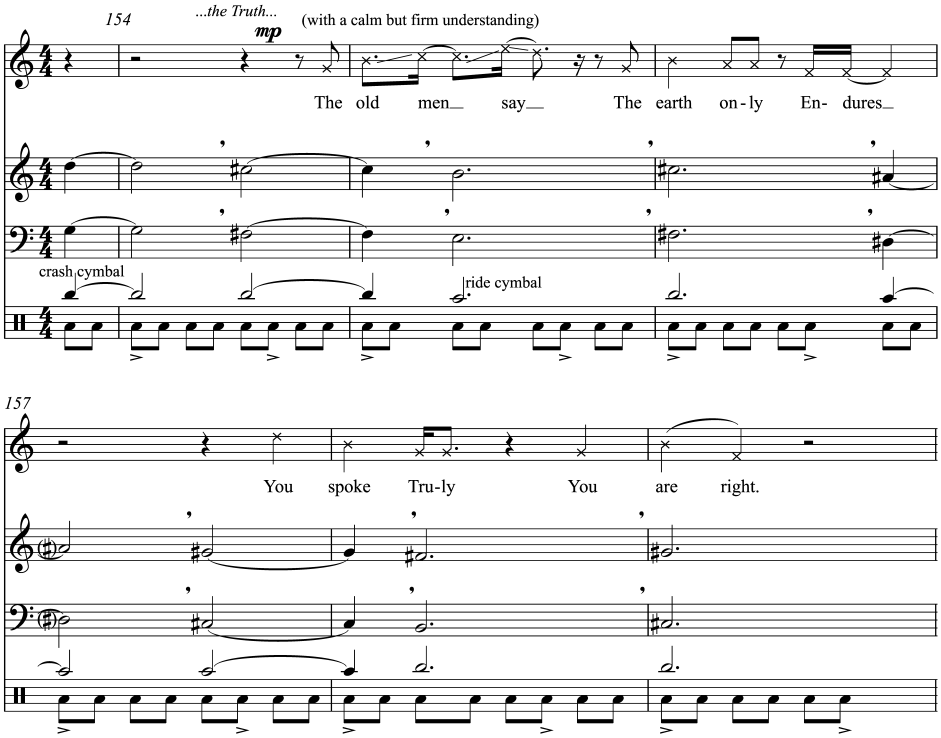


Example 5.3 Jerome Kitzke, whom bomb section, mm. 50–52.



The middle section alternates through the “funk you” theme, sections of silence, shouting, and shushing. Three minutes into the piece (m. 149), the mood shifts dramatically, as the third and final section begins. The tempo decreases, and the saxophone and bass drop out; when they re-enter three measures later, they are instructed to be “intensely tender” and play with no vibrato on their sustained notes. Along with this mood shift, the drum patterns change from fast and syncopated over multiple time signatures to slow, deliberate eighth-notes in 4/4, the floor tom accents mimicking American Indian drumming. The vocalists enter at m. 155 “with a calm but firm understanding” (per Kitzke’s additional instructions) on the Lakota text.

Example 5.4 Jerome Kitzke, Lakota poem, mm. 154–159.



After the Lakota poem, the music remains mellow but begins to sound bluesy (corresponding to the word "blues" in Kitzke's additional text above the score, see boldface above), with a swing feel over 3/8 and 5/8 time signatures. Between m. 165 and m. 241, the actors only utter "Sh." Suddenly, at m. 241, the snare drum rolls, and the vocalists shout "Ah!" They cry for Mother Earth, in a tone that falls off the pitch dramatically after the initial attack. This dramatic wailing continues for eight measures, after which there is an abrupt four measure silence.

Although it differs musically from the opening section, the remaining minute of the piece moves between loud and quiet sections similar to the beginning. This concluding section begins with vocal "shushing" and tribal drumming, punctuated by silence. A saxophone melody and a snare drum solo abruptly interrupt. Then, the rhythm returns to simple drum patterns. With a return to Ginsberg, the end of the piece powerfully and finally implicates all of us with the line "You bomb you." Silence follows the declamation. Mirroring the beginning, and bringing the arch form to completion, the piece ends with a snare drum roll that crescendos to a sudden halt.

"I often call my pieces theatrical music," Kitzke said in a 2015 interview, "especially when [they have] a text." With its multiple texts and theatrical movements and utterances of the vocalists, *Mad Coyote Madly Sings* fulfills this description. However, Kitzke continued, "Even pieces that don't have a text are about something—a current event or an anti-war piece, for instance. I still feel these are theatrical because I want the musicians to *not just be playing the notes*. I try to encourage them to feel like they're telling some kind of story." [Emphasis added.]

Through additional texts—such as the "funk you" paragraph and the emotional instructions offered to the player—Kitzke hopes to make this kind of performance possible for the players by providing them with "voluminous program notes." He has even suggested to players of his music that they read a book that inspired a particular composition.[64] Although it has been difficult to track down *Mad Coyote's* performance history, the Zeitgeist New Music Ensemble performed the piece in 1993, and the piece has been performed as recently as June 2015 by Chicago's Fulcrum Point New Music Project.[65]

Perhaps as a metaphor for American society, *Mad Coyote Madly Sings* paints a picture of terror and destruction, dappled with moments of beauty. Although Kitzke openly professes that the Gulf War inspired this piece, its intensity derives not only from the text, but also from the music. The wail of human voices along with urgent, insistent yet non-abrasive, saxophone melodies and speech-like drum patterns give a human quality to the music—yet, as Gann said, it is "embarrassingly human." It is the dark side of humanity, loud and vicious with only fleeting moments of silence and tenderness. Kitzke captures something painful to admit about being human, and in particular, about being American: "When a bomb is dropped, we too do the bombing."

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[64] Quotes in this paragraph from Oteri interview, "Jerome Kitzke: Stories That Must Be Told," Feb 2015, newmusicbox.org

[65] Preston Wright, "An Interview With Jerome Kitzke"; "American Howl: Music and Poetry from Bauhaus to Beat," 17 June 2015, Fulcrum New Music Project and the Poetry Foundation Performance, http://fulcrumpoint.org/event/american-howl-music-and-poetry-from-bauhaus-to-beat/ (accessed 19 August 2015).

Laurie Anderson

Just as Kitzke's music crosses boundaries between jazz and classical, polemics and poetry, and theatre and music, Laurie Anderson (b. 1947) and her work defy categorization. With her unexpected pop sensation "O Superman" (1981), and experimental performance techniques, she floats stylistically somewhere between art rock and the avant-garde. Anderson is most often described as a performance artist, yet she is also a composer, violinist, poet, vocalist (as singer and storyteller), multimedia artist, filmmaker, instrument inventor, and visual artist. Born in Chicago, she played violin from a young age and frequently plays in her pieces, although she did not study music academically. She moved to New York in the mid 1960s, earning a BA in Art History from Barnard College (1969) and an MFA in Sculpture from Columbia University (1972). Her connection with New York's downtown scene and its aesthetic of conceptual, cutting-edge experimentation helped to foster Anderson's sense of politically and intellectually charged art that combined mediums, styles, and forms with little concern for traditional divisions. Anderson's oeuvre poses several analytical difficulties, including its multimedia nature, a lack of clear documentation (e.g. audio or video recordings), and a candid fusion of art and politics.

Before her rise to fame, Anderson worked in various sound and performance art media during the 1970s. By the early 1980s, her works were becoming increasingly engaged with social and political critiques. *United States I–IV,* one of her most significant pieces, premiered at the Brooklyn Academy of Music in 1983. It was an eight-hour masterpiece of what she called "live art" that appealed to avant-

gardists, yet remained accessible to general audiences. The show incorporated slides, film, photomontages, shadow puppets, "paintings made of light," and text collages—all accompanied by her own songs. These songs utilized original instruments, keyboard synthesizer, Vocoder and other sound effects, tape loops, live musicians (accordion, flute, saxophone, clarinet, vocalists, drums, keyboards, bagpipes), and Anderson's own violin playing. *United States* included the song "O Superman," which unexpectedly reached the top of the pop charts in the United Kingdom. With its accompanying video, "O Superman" is arguably her most famous piece.

Considering the diversity of her output, and the difficulty in categorizing it discretely, can we consider Laurie Anderson's work music? She relies on the visual realm at least as much as the aural, so classifying her simply as a musician or composer seems inadequate. But securing a seven-album contract with Warner Brothers, collaborating with John Zorn and Lou Reed, releasing numerous singles and music videos, and composing soundtracks to two Spalding Gray movies, she cannot be excluded from musical analysis. Nevertheless, musicologists have not done a serious study of her work. Because she weaves music into a multilayered texture of visual, audio, and theatrical components, rather than placing it as the central focus, Anderson tends to be discussed in terms of theatre, postmodernism, or performance art.

One challenge for musicologists is the absence of systematic preservation of Anderson's work. Even if recordings were available, the essence of multimedia pieces cannot be captured by audio, or even video, recording alone. Without seeing a

live performance, then, gaining an understanding of a piece is nearly impossible. Newspaper reviews can offer a comprehensive—but still inadequate—picture of a particular piece when a recording is unavailable. Anderson does not regularly record and release films of performances, an omission that appears to be intentional. Anderson has confirmed she does not value posterity in her artwork, but rather immediacy. "One of my jobs as an artist is to make contact with the audience, and it has to be immediate. They don't come back later to look at the details in the background."[66] A musicologist, on the other hand, must examine "the details in the background" to complete a thorough analysis.

Anderson's position on immediacy and posterity—as well as the fluid and flexible nature of solo performance art—explains the lack of detailed written analysis of her work. When asked in a 1995 interview about the availability of her collaborations with her now-husband and famed rock musician Lou Reed, Anderson responded, "Why do people think if you play it, that you have to put it out? …We're really just doing this for fun. When you do a record, it's such a production. You get the studio, get everything organized, and often you forget it's about the fun, the sheer fun of making sounds."[67] She is not trying to sell herself, or the idea of Laurie Anderson, reviewer Sherrill suggested, as popular culture would require, yet her work has been described as bridging popular culture and performance art. Nevertheless, her commercially released albums tend to incorporate excerpts from larger stage works

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[66] Roselee Goldberg and Laurie Anderson, *Laurie Anderson* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000), 82.
[67] Martha Sherrill, "Laurie Anderson's Endless Search for Something New," *Washington Post*, 16 April 1995 http://www.washingtonpost.com/pb/archive/lifestyle/style/1995/04/16/laurie-andersons-endless-search-for-something-new/0f63ff29-194c-4ccc-9038-8d47238605a6/?resType=accessibility (accessed 12 Nov 2012).

that, for a general audience, remain relatively obscure.[68] Anderson's diverse performance venues—from MTV to art museums—mirrors her eclectic output and reflects her artistic freedom.

Musicologist and feminist Susan McClary discusses musicology's lack of comprehensive coverage of Anderson, whose work resists musical analysis due to nontraditional structure and lack of technically complex music—and sometimes, lack of music altogether.[69] McClary instead analyzes musical space and time in Anderson's works, focusing on the artist's inclusion of the physical body in her music making. Western art music, claims McClary, avoids this physicality in part because of historical puritanical ideals, but also because of the "division of labor" inherent in the practice of Western music. In its most traditional and academic Western model, music making involves a composer who thinks up the music and then passes it to a performer, keeping the separation of mind and body distinct. Performance art in general, and specifically Anderson's work, merges the conceptual realm with the physical. Of course, many other examples follow this model, but according to McClary, a main characteristic of performance art is its "insistence on the artist as performing body."[70] At the same time, Anderson mediates her physical involvement with electronics and other technology.

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[68] Kenneth R. Fletcher, "Laurie Anderson," *Smithsonian Magazine,* August 2008, http://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/atm-qa-anderson.html#ixzz2CPA4HtlS (accessed 15 Nov 2012).
[69] Susan McClary, "This Is Not a Story My People Tell: Musical Time and Space According to Laurie Anderson," *Discourse* 12, no. 1 (Fall-Winter 1989–90): 104–128.
[70] Ibid., 109.

Voices from Beyond, a series of spoken word vignettes stitched together in her typical patchwork storytelling fashion, relies completely on the artist as composer/ performer. The piece contains no music in the traditional sense of the word. It is included here because of its direct relationship to the Gulf War, and its relationship to a later piece, also inspired by the Gulf War, that does include music. This stripped down monologue offers a stark contrast to, for example, Anderson's two-evening extravaganza *United States I-IV*. *Voices from the Beyond* began as a talk that accompanied New York City's Museum of Modern Art's 1990 exhibit "High and Low: Modern Art and Popular Culture."[71] The unexpected success of "O Superman" planted Anderson in the center of this dichotomy, which resonated particularly for New York artists who found themselves in the midst of divisions between the scenes of uptown and downtown.

Anderson herself admitted that she "wasn't sure whether *Voices from Beyond* was actually art, and neither were the audiences."[72] As the war in the Gulf was "heating up," the spoken monologue expanded over the next few months into a "three-hour, free-form ramble on censorship, power, art, women, Communism, AIDS, and Anita Hill," who attracted national attention when she was called to publicly testify in October 1991 against the confirmation of Clarence Thomas for the Supreme Court, accusing him of sexual harassment. "As national and world events unfolded," Anderson said, "I incorporated them into the talk, which I presented at many colleges

[71] Goldberg, *Laurie Anderson*, 193. This exhibit featured "Six Evenings of Performance," by Anderson, Brian Eno, John Cale, and others. Anderson's talk was on 8 January 1991.
[72] Laurie Anderson, *Stories From the Nerve Bible* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1994), 268.

and theatres."[73] In a July 1991 performance at Alice Tully Hall, Anderson's narrative included the backdrop of a single slide of an empty road, a keyboard, and a voice filter that made her voice deeper and ominous.[74] Stephen Holden, reviewer for the *New York Times* noted how, in this monologue especially, Anderson revealed her strength as a storyteller, while also becoming comfortable with direct political critique. At times more oblique in her reference to political issues (e.g., the double entendre of "arms" in O Superman!), Anderson directly addressed the Persian Gulf War in *Voices*, criticizing it for being a "feel-good war," whose overwhelming victory had engendered what Anderson called a "postwar gloating," a marked contrast from post–Vietnam malaise.[75] Her emphasis on the recent (1991) conflict in the Middle East was not lost on Holden. "The Gulf war theme was amplified by her recitation of an eerie, allusive poem," said Holden, "comparing the spectacle of nighttime precision bombing with Christmas tree lights and fireflies on the Fourth of July."[76] He characterized it as a "pessimistic," "disturbing," "ominous and powerful" political piece.[77] Anderson would later incorporate the text from this poem, "Night in Baghdad," into her multimedia production *Stories from the Nerve Bible.*

Holden found that *Voices* avoided some of the pitfalls of politically charged performance art, which can carry an "angry, polemical tone." Other reviewers, however, did not share his opinion. A review in the *Christian Science Monitor* also noted Anderson's gift as a storyteller, citing her "smooth, melodious" voice as the

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[73] Ibid.
[74] Stephen Holden, "Worry About Freedom and the Artist," *New York Times,* 29 July 1991, 11.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.

only real attraction.[78] But the reviewer (April Austin) called the performance a "harangue against George Bush, Congress, the Supreme Court" and "not the humor of tragedy inverted" but "satire laced with cynicism."[79] In her most scathing comment, Austin wrote, "It was as if Anderson had taped together all the liberal columns printed in every newspaper in the United States, threw in a handful of genuinely funny observations of her own, and called it art."[80] This comment reveals unfamiliarity—or at least limited familiarity—with the breadth of Anderson's work, and perhaps even a narrow definition of art. Austin had apparently pigeonholed the performer as the "pixi-ish, spike-haired wonder woman who practically invented performance art in the 1980s" and who had become known for "O Superman."[81] This kind of criticism might be expected when an artist achieves commercial success and then appears to take a step backwards by creating something esoteric, strange, or inaccessible to mass culture.

Anderson initially wrote *Stories from the Nerve Bible* as the situation in the Persian Gulf escalated. When asked about the title, Anderson said that "nerve bible" is a metaphor for the human body as well as a "retrospective of the future."[82] The piece, which includes a denunciation of the media's treatment of the war, took shape slowly. Although it is difficult to obtain a clear chronology of this piece, the production probably evolved, as *Voices* did, depending on context of the

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[78] April Austin, "Laurie Anderson Misfires on Political Satire," *Christian Science Monitor*, 18 Feb 1992 http://www.csmonitor.com/1992/0218/18123.html (accessed 27 May 2012).
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Jon McKenzie, "Laurie Anderson for Dummies," *The Drama Review* 41, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 30–50, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1146623 (accessed 29 July 2015).

performance, as well as current events. The show premiered at the World Expo in 1992 in Seville, Spain; Anderson later took the show on tour in Spain, Germany, and Israel. A few months before the summer Expo premiere, the work previewed at The Kitchen in downtown New York City, with the (apparently tentative) title *Halcyon Days: Stories from the Nerve Bible*. (I haven't continued to find the work referred to as Halcyon Days). In 1994, Anderson released *Stories From the Nerve Bible*, a retrospective book. The following year, she toured an act that consisted of her reading excerpts of the book with minimal accompaniment. Publicized as her first major performance in five years, this later version of *Stories from the Nerve Bible* was a two-act, evening length multimedia show.

On 17 April 1992 *New York Times* reviewer Edward Rothstein described an early version of the piece as continuing Anderson's "previous play with images and media." This early and incomplete review alludes to some of the corporeal aspects of her work: Anderson plays an invisible violin while attached to multiple sensors that respond to the movements of her body.[83] Rothstein's specific critique was that the work eventually took on the tone of an angry polemic. Clearly familiar with her previous works, he stated, "Even in the midst of political polemics, Ms. Anderson can be an exceptionally wry narrator, evoking a fantastical mixture of knowing irony and sad bewilderment." This time, however, Rothstein called the *Nerve Bible*, at times, clichéd "performance art turned agitprop."[84] Rothstein was disappointed, perhaps

[83] Rothstein noted that Anderson "asked that it not be formally reviewed."
[84] Edward Rothstein, "With Avant-Garde Polemics, A Self-Referential Video," *New York Times,* 17 April 1992.

because the work was still in need of fine-tuning. He described (and derided) in detail a piece for women's chorus, the "Blue Dot Chorus," which wove together shouted "bitter questions about sexual politics" and popular song fragments.[85] Perhaps, Rothstein posited, this is "demonstration art," particularly because of the women's chorus that included a female drum corps marching up and down the aisles. Either way, the show was in its early stages at the time. Anderson had even asked Rothstein not to fully review the piece (at its NYC preview), ostensibly to leave critical space for impending developments.

One year later, *New York Times*'s Jon Pareles reviewed the 1993 US premiere at Philadelphia's Annenberg Center as part of the American Music Theatre Festival.[86] In a more complete description of the work, Pareles offers a clear image of the stage, and the general setting of most of the piece, which featured two acts of an hour each:

> The stage has a row of bright television monitors and large video screens, sliding (like Japanese shoji screens) and suspended. Ms. Anderson sometimes sits at a keyboard, sometimes strolls with an electric violin, sometimes gestures with airport-signal flashlights or plays a synthesizer, trademarked Bodysynth, that is triggered by arm and hand movements. Guy Klucevsek on accordion and keyboard, Greg Cohen on bass and Cyro Baptista on percussion supplement Ms. Anderson's music and voice, creating understated funk vamps and soothing or foreboding sustained chords.

The work as a whole did not present a single narrative, but rather a stream of consciousness commentary on topical issues such as communication, time, power,

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[85] Rothstein, 17 April 1992.

[86] Jon Pareles, "Vaudeville, Complete With a Tornado," *New York Times,* 17 April 1993. Pareles says world premiere, but it must be the US premiere, because (some version of the) show has already toured in Europe, with its premiere taking place at the Expo 92 in Seville. It's quite possible, however, that the US version differed substantially from the earlier European performances. See McKenzie, "Laurie Anderson for Dummies," 32.

technology, militarism, and war.[87] Much like her other works, *Nerve Bible* was a pastiche of vignettes, combining songs, spoken word pieces, visual spectacles, and sound effects to create a mood, "evoke a reaction," and provide a time and space for the audience to consider artwork as it relates to the outside world.

Anderson wrote The *Nerve Bible*'s poignant vignette "Night in Baghdad" during the Gulf War. In 1994 she referred to the conflict as "absolutely the biggest multimedia spectacular in the last few years…an incredible plot, wonderful graphics, a hidden monster we were supposed to get, and high-tech equipment."[88] "Night in Baghdad" is probably the most well known part of *Nerve Bible* due to its inclusion on the studio recording *Bright Red* (1994). Anderson's poem speaks from the perspective of CNN journalists (Peter Arnett, Bernard Shaw, and Peter Holliman) describing the sights of bombs exploding via telephone.

> And oh it's so beautiful
> It's like the Fourth of July
> It's like a Christmas tree
> It's like fireflies on a summer night.
>
> And I wish I could describe this to you better
> But I can't talk very well now
> Cause I've got this damned gas mask on
> So I'm just going to stick this microphone out the window
> And see if we can hear a little better
> Hello California? What's the weather like out there now?
>
> And I only have one question: Did you ever really love me?
> Only when we danced

[87] Pareles, "Vaudeville."
[88] Pamela McCorduck, "America's Multi-Mediatrix," *Wired* 2, no. 3 (March 1994) http://archive.wired.com/wired/archive/2.03/anderson.html (accessed 29 July 2015).

And it was so beautiful
It was like the Fourth of July
It was like fireflies on a summer night.

Anderson's voice sounds eerily soothing as she mocks the reporters' alluring language, which seemed to glorify war. She copied the descriptive metaphors—fireflies, Fourth of July, Christmas lights—verbatim from news coverage.

As her work reacting to the Gulf War illustrates, Anderson became increasingly political through the mid-1980s and into the 1990s. Describing her reactions to the rise of Republican Party ideals through the 1980s and Bush's election, she wrote at the beginning of 1990, it is "driving me even further into the politics of pop culture. I want to know what the motor is, what is driving the country further and further to the right. Consequently, much of my work has become political and engaged. I'm not even sure I'm an artist anymore. More like a thinly disguised moralist."[89] She admitted that the line between art and political agitprop can be precarious, and she wondered where her work fit along this spectrum. Anderson, like some of her own critics, questioned the artistic value of her own political engagement.

With her unique combination of text, music, film, sound, lighting, storytelling, and imagery, Anderson commits to the elusive task of expressing politics through art—whether or not she is deemed successful by critics. Her non-reliance on one discipline grants her work a certain freedom, and allows for flexibility of expression. Rather than performing, for example, a three-minute song jam-packed with abrasive

[89] Goldberg, *Laurie Anderson*, 85.

propaganda bent on delivering a particular message, Anderson mitigates this clichéd intensity through careful negotiation of aural, visual, and theatrical realms. Though some reviewers might disagree that she is always able to achieve this equilibrium, Anderson manages—at least sometimes—to communicate political and social commentary, while also creating beautiful art and maintaining her unique integrity.

Aaron Jay Kernis: Second Symphony

Though he tends to shy away from direct programmatic representation, Aaron Jay Kernis (b. 1960) has written a number of pieces inspired by war. Born in Philadelphia, Kernis began composing as a young teenager. He later studied with John Adams, Charles Wuorinen, Morton Subotnick, and Jacob Druckman. He has written more than twenty-five orchestral works, nearly twenty solo pieces, and more than forty chamber ensemble pieces. Trained in the Western classical tradition, Kernis's compositional voice engages with tonality, but is not restricted by it. Instead, his music moves fluidly between consonance and dissonance, between tonally-centered sections and atonal sections, and between stark and elaborate textures. His rich expressive language ranges from deeply haunting to fiercely angry; pieces feature lush orchestrations, lyrical solos, a strong pulse, and atonal tension. Quite accomplished at a young age, he was the youngest composer to win the Pulitzer Prize in 1998 (for *String Quartet No. 2*) and the Grawemeyer in 2002 (for *Colored Field*).

Kernis's war works during the years 1991–1995 encompass both the Persian Gulf War and the Bosnian War, with a few pieces that relate to the Holocaust.[90] Beginning with his Second Symphony (1992), Kernis's response to the Gulf War, this dark period included some of his most troubled, angry music, as well as some of his most gorgeously melancholy moments. Kernis reacted to the tragedies of the Bosnian War with his elegiac *Still Movement with Hymn* (1993) for piano quartet. One reviewer likened its piercing opening piano chords to the musical equivalent of stop-action photography.[91] A 1989 trip to former concentration camps in Birkenau and Auschwitz inspired Kernis's English horn concerto, *Colored Field* (1994). Kernis later revised the piece for cellist Truls Mørk and the Minnesota Orchestra. The cello version (2002) won the prestigious Grawemeyer award. *Lament and Prayer* (1995), a twenty-five minute piece for solo violin, string orchestra, offstage oboe, and on and offstage percussion, commemorates the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II. Instead of evoking images of the terror of the Holocaust, the emotionally expressive piece both laments the lives lost and prays for healing from devastation.

Kernis began composing the Second Symphony just after the start of the Gulf War. He wrote in the program note that the war "woke me to the brutality and hollow moralizing of which nations are all too easily capable and led me to examine the culture of war and genocide in our time. The Gulf War was the first war in which, as

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[90] Leta Miller, *Aaron Jay Kernis*, (Chicago and Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), Chapter 5.
[91] Lon Chaffin, "Aaron Jay Kernis' Colored Field and Still Movement with Hymn: A Review of the Recording." http://www.lcsproductions.net/MusicHistory/MusHistRev/Articles/ColoredField.html (Accessed 28 May 2013). Argo/Decca recording.

an adult, I 'witnessed' (through the media) my country's participation."[92] Vaguely programmatic subtitles frame Kernis's rude awakening, and offer apt impressions of the musical content. "Alarm" opens the symphony with a jolting ferocity; the second movement "Air/Ground" contemplates the more solemn aspects of war and makes reference to baroque music: the movement is a melody ("air") over a ground bass. In "Barricade," the third movement, Kernis finalizes his compositional intent to use "obliteration as a metaphor for the powerlessness of the individual to control or affect the larger sweep of events… in war and politics."[93] By the end of the symphony, the *machine*—or the "larger sweep of events"—does in fact obliterate the powerless melody, or what Kernis calls the *Line*. This Line, not necessarily a single melody, acts as "a metaphor for humanity— touching, appealing and humane;"[94] the *machine* is a "metaphor for war, violence, and conflict."[95] In contrast to the melody-based Line, the machine comprises "rhythmic-based material…[that] constantly intrudes on The Line."[96] Indeed the brutal nature of war resounds in the final moments of the symphony as four percussionists beat two tam-tams into a deafening conclusion.

Even with explicit mention of the war in the program notes and suggestive titles for each movement, Kernis wanted to disassociate his music from blatant representations. "This Symphony," he claimed in his program notes, "is not

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[92] Aaron Jay Kernis, Program note to *Second Symphony,* (Schirmer, 1992) http://www.schirmer.com/default.aspx?TabId=2420&State_2874=2&workId_2874=29558 (accessed 27 May 2013).
[93] Xi Wan, "An Analysis of the Second Symphony of Aaron Jay Kernis," (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2009), 53–54.
[94] Ibid., 9.
[95] Ibid., 11.
[96] Ibid., 9.

programmatic: it describes no progression of images or engagements…."[97] Perhaps he worried that his subtitles would foster direct connections between the symphony and the Gulf War. He likely hoped his piece would transcend the immediate circumstances that prompted its composition, and have more than a fleeting topical relevance. Perhaps he was aware of the controversy surrounding *Klinghoffer*, and wished to distance himself from similar complications. Already established as a composer by 1991, yet still quite young, he might have risked his credibility or viability as a serious, classical composer by openly addressing political topics. At the same time, the war profoundly influenced the symphony. Kernis needed to find a balance in venting his anger at world events without risking being pigeonholed for literalist representation. By giving the movements titles that alluded to events or war imagery, while remaining vague, he kept a distance from overtly programmatic music. Although program notes mention "the absurdity and cruelty of this war, in particular [its] 'surgical' nature," Kernis did not want listeners to be constricted by his own impetus for the piece. But with the Persian Gulf War being the first major conflict with US involvement during Kernis's adulthood, he felt he needed to lash out in protest.

So why, then, did the composer include in the notes, along with his statement of the "enormous and lasting impression" the war made upon him, this programmatic music disclaimer? Perhaps he was protecting his budding career by maintaining this distance—so that he might still be taken seriously by those who prefer classical music

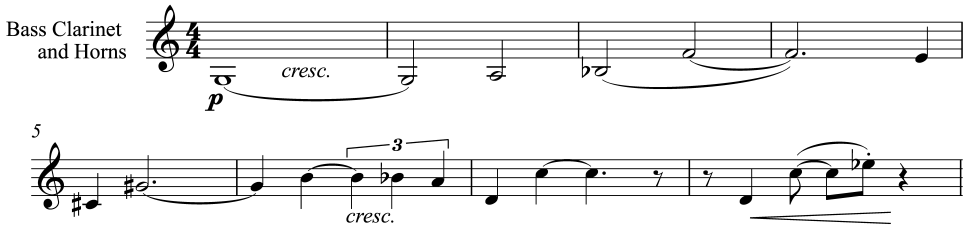
[97] Aaron Jay Kernis, Program note to *Second Symphony*.

to remain abstract. Perhaps he worried that he'd be dismissed by critics as a topical composer whose music would quickly become irrelevant. However, Kernis's view of his own music reveals that his denial of programmatic tendencies is actually an adherence to a different mindset of 'program.' He says: "When I would write a program note, I would give the background of what I had experienced. Did that mean the people listening to the piece should attempt to experience it in that way or through those eyes?" No, he continues, "I'm only setting up a context. I'm not saying, 'Follow this; here is where this happens in the music, and this is a representation of this battle….' There's always some color, some image, but that is not the foundational thing that got it all started. It comes along with it."[98] Although his music may include programmatic references or titles, he emphasizes its non-representational essence. As a visual person, he often sees pictures or colors along with his music, but he does not expect—or even desire—audience members to align their perception with his. Any accompanying text (i.e. program notes, subtitles) aims towards the descriptive rather than prescriptive.

The first movement of the symphony, "Alarm," begins with a foreboding melody in the low brass and horns accompanied by dark, swirling and repetitive rhythmic flurries in the low woodwinds and strings.

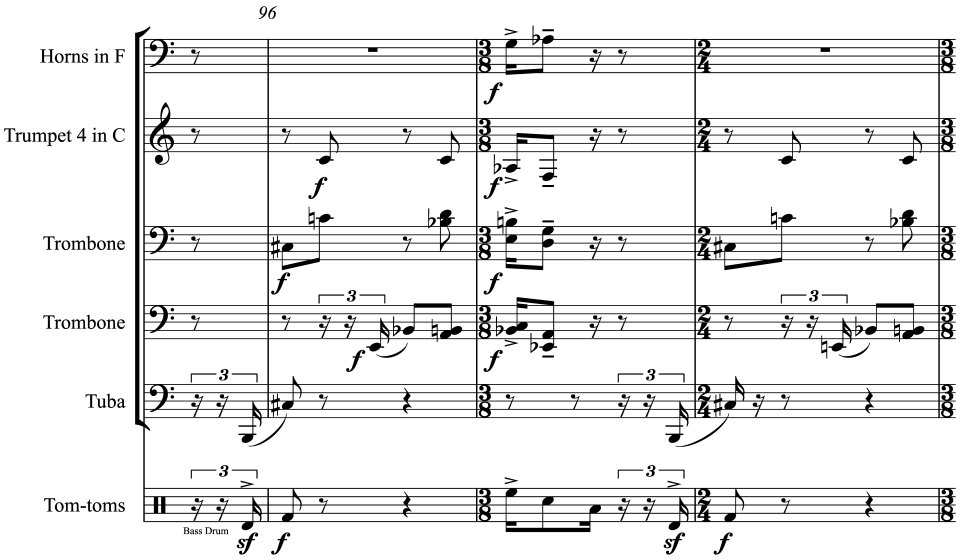
Example 5.5 Kernis, Bass clarinet and horn opening melody, first movement, mm. 1–8; first occurrence of the Line.

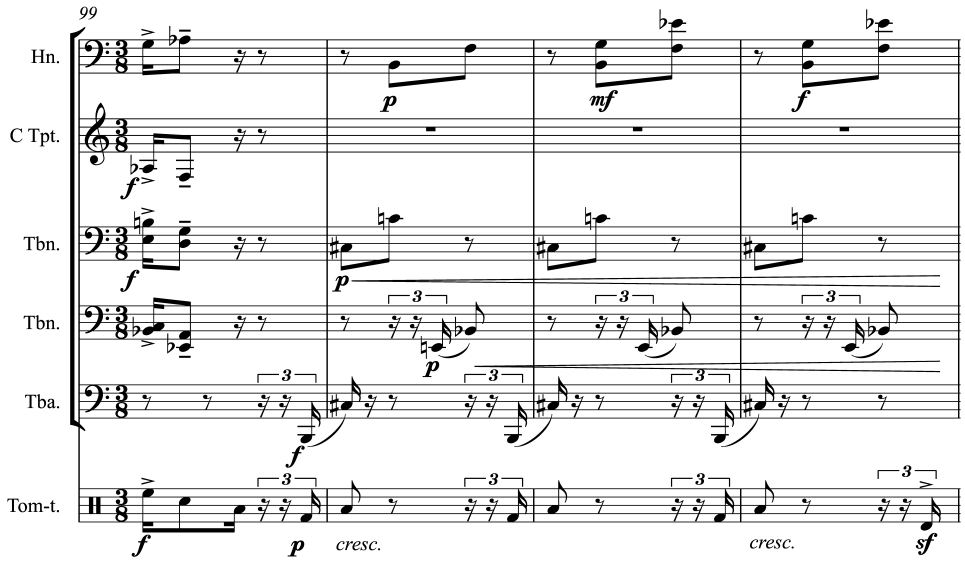
[98] Aaron Jay Kernis, Interview with author, 30 July 2012.



This passage lasts about a minute before the strings and woodwinds transition the opening brass melody into a higher tessitura. A quick, accented sixteenth-note melody takes the foreground at m. 54. This mostly homo-rhythmic section builds in intensity until the cymbal crash and climax give way to a sudden drop in dynamics and an intricate woodwind melody in mm. 78–96. Contrasting to the intertwining strings and woodwinds in the previous section, the brass and horns interject a strong and unified rhythmic component at m. 96.

Example 5.6 Kernis, Brass and percussion, first movement, mm. 96–98, the Machine.

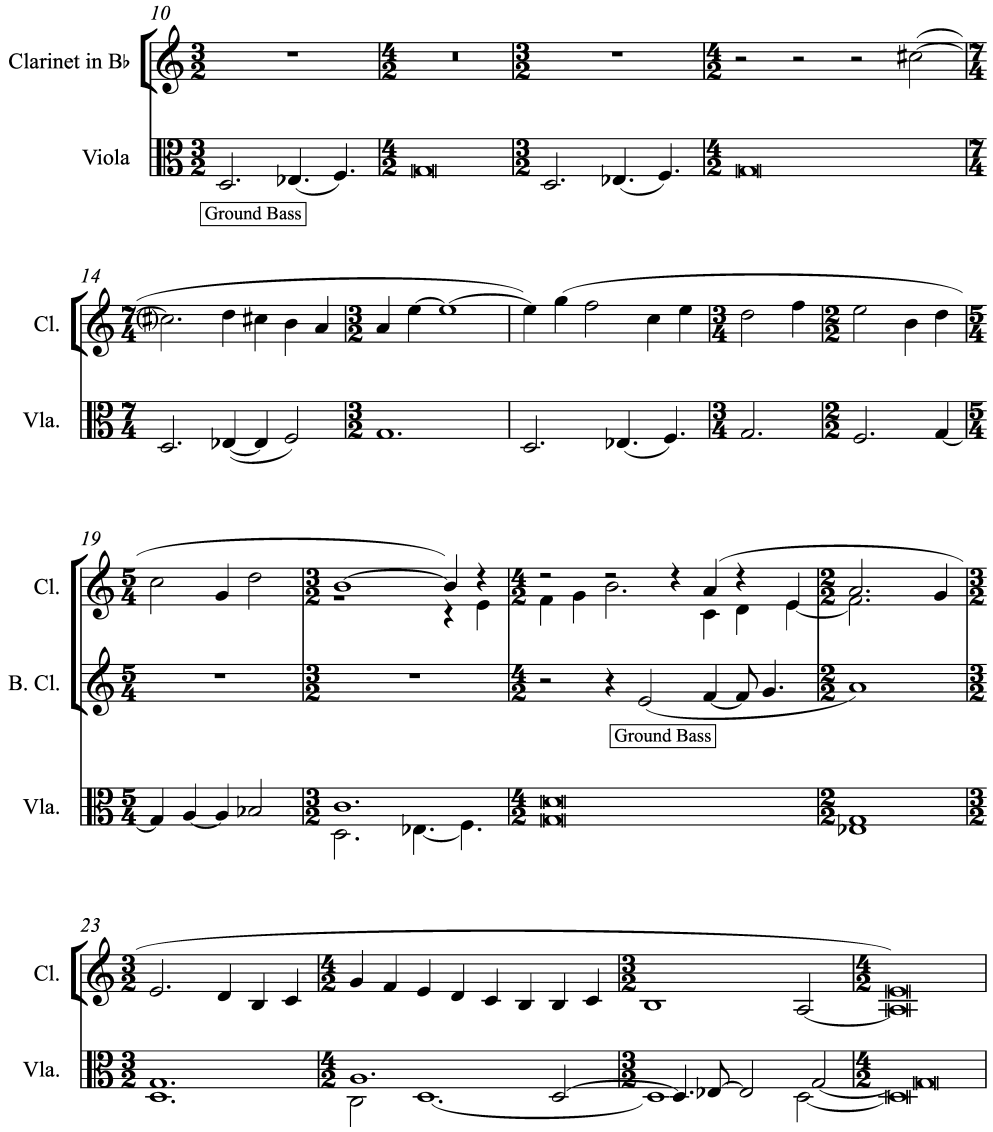




This powerful statement remains brief, however. The texture shifts dramatically again at m. 105 when solo clarinet, oboe, and flute dialogue over the string section's murmuring triplet background figure. Tuba, then bass clarinet, then bassoon quietly reiterate, in turn, variations of the opening low brass melody. The first movement continues to follows this pattern of alternation between different textures, orchestration, and sudden loud and quiet sections.

"Air/Ground," the second movement, has the most suggestive title. The double entendre refers to the progression of the war from air assault to ground war, while also carrying musical meaning. The clarinet melody rises above a four-note ascending line that acts as a ground bass, though it does not behave strictly. First it appears in the viola, and then dissolves into the texture of the other strings. Towards the end of the movement, the ground returns in the viola, but evolves slightly as the intensity increases. The clarinet melody—or air—floats over the repeating, ascending four-note ostinato.

Example 5.7 Kernis, clarinet and viola, second movement, mm. 10–24.



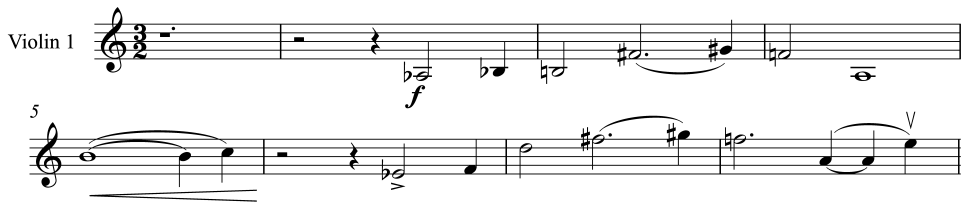
Kernis eventually obscures the melody, as he does with the ground, adhering to his compositional plan of "an overall progression of growing swells of sound which gradually obscure the melodic ideas."[99] By the end of the movement, the air

[99] Xi Wan, "Second Symphony," 7.

returns in the violins and woodwinds (m. 100) and the ground returns in the viola briefly (m. 110). This recap is short-lived, however, and the material evolves almost immediately (m. 114). A brief coda at m. 117 faintly mirrors the introductory section, giving the movement a loose arch form.

The third movement, "Barricade" contrasts with the sweet melodic nature of the second movement. Kernis began writing the movement after hearing the news about Allied forces bombing the Amiriyah Shelter (see Chapter 2). His palpable anger over the tragedy manifests musically through dissonance and tense crescendos. Punctuating percussion and sparse melodies, stripped of their prior contrapuntal complexity, dominate the movement. Here, the idea of obliterating melody climaxes. The movement is in three parts. The first section presents the Line, a disjunct and often unaccompanied melody that recalls the theme at the beginning of the first movement: rising in stepwise fashion and then leaping upwards (see example 5.5). It begins quietly in the strings, then moves to brass and woodwinds.[100] In this opening section, the Machine lies in wait: cymbals and snare drum roll softly behind the Line, reminding humanity of the pervasive violence in our culture.

Example 5.8 Kernis, violin, movement 3, the Line, mm. 1–8.

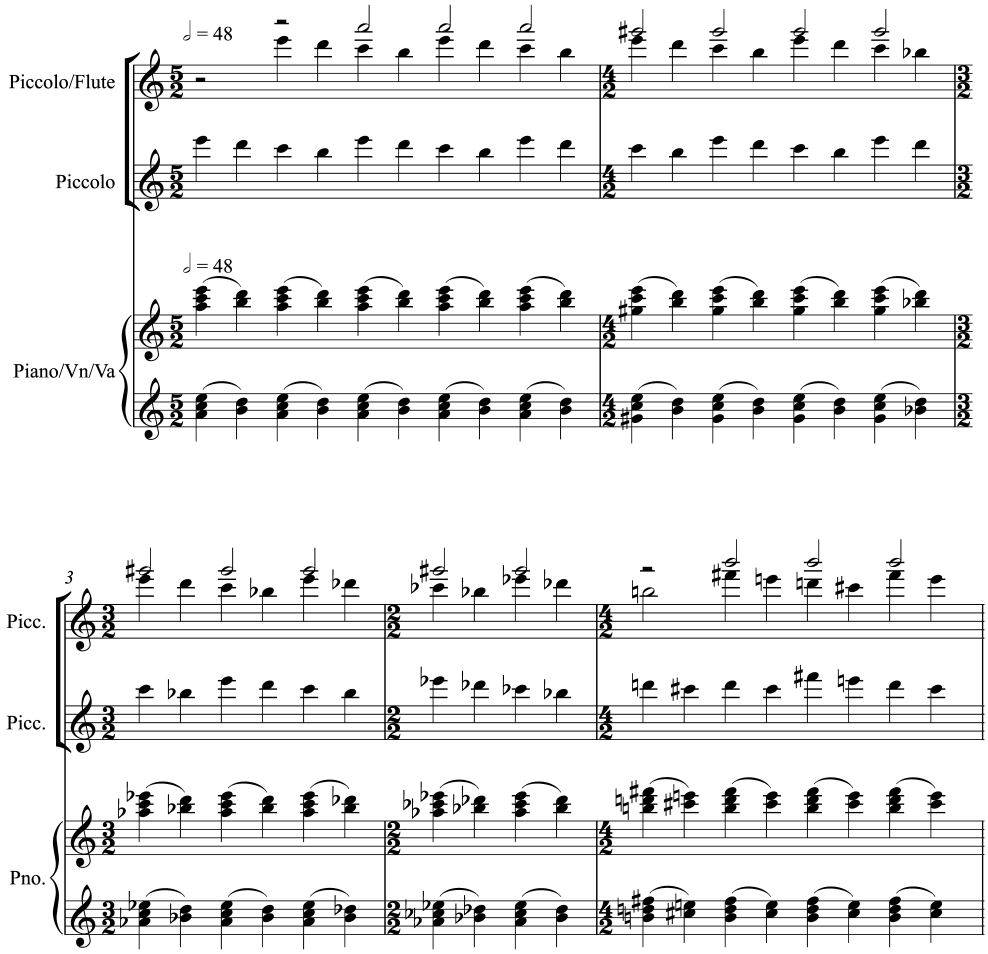


[100] Ibid.

As the first section progresses, the strings become increasingly higher and more dissonant. The opening melodic theme moves through the clarinets and bassoons, then oboes and flutes, as it rises in pitch. At m. 28, tuba, trombone, and horns join, playing the Line with cello and bass. The melody grows fierce and angry, but the snare drum asserts itself at mm. 35–38, momentarily quieting the melody. At m. 39, the strings and winds fight back, the tension climaxing to a sudden quiet. The horns enter unaccompanied at m. 43, loudly announcing a version of the opening melody. Gradually, bass clarinet, trombone, and bassoon join the horns in melodic unison. All the while, a cymbal rolls in the background quietly, threatening to take over the Line. Over the course of fifteen measures, these cymbal rolls crescendo, then subside. This foreshadowing of the eventual disappearance of melody, of the individual, introduces the second section (m. 63), characterized by snare drum solos and percussion, string section, and brass hits with rhythms mimicking the sound of weaponry (the Machine). The melodic line attempts to return, at times recalling the four-note ascending ground from the second movement, but never fully develops again. Overcome by rhythmic interruptions, it eventually begins to dissolve.

In the final third of the movement, the Line is finally overtaken, buried under violence. At m. 93, a legato quarter-note theme in the woodwinds, strings, and piano supports the Line. Its melancholic sound, however, signals the beginning of the end, with the descending figure evoking both a sigh motive and the historical four-note ground bass typical of laments.

Example, Kernis, strings/winds/piano, third movement, mm. 93–97.



Eventually, this melodic material decays into a slow crescendo of four percussionists rolling on two large tam-tams. The tam-tams overpower the melody, and by the end of the symphony, all that remains is the deafening sound of defeat. The percussionists allow the sound to fade naturally for 25–30 seconds, giving the audience the duration to absorb the intensity of this ending. At the premiere, some of the violinists covered their ears; most orchestra members actually don earplugs for the dramatic ending.

Commissioned as a part of Carillon Importer's effort to bring Absolut Vodka to the States, the symphony received its premiere on 15 January 1992 by Hugh Wolff and the New Jersey Symphony at Avery Fisher Hall in Lincoln Center. Reviewers raved about the exuberant energy of the symphony, but sometimes equivocally. Allan Kozinn described the first movement as a fluctuation between "virtuosity and chaos,….control and mechanistic power gone wild."[101] Although Kozinn felt "there [was] much to admire," he "missed the inventive spark that made several of Mr. Kernis's earlier works so persuasive."[102] The critic also recognized the difficulty of the piece, which he felt "reached beyond the technique of the New Jersey players."[103]

A year later, the west coast premiere fared much better. After the Berkeley Symphony's performance, Joshua Kosman wrote in the *San Francisco Chronicle* that the piece "elicited the strongest playing from the orchestra" though there were a few ensemble problems in the last movement.[104] Kosman considered the symphony "unmistakably Mahlerian…though Kernis's musical language is contemporary." He placed Kernis "among the most imaginative and clear-sighted of young neo-Romantic composers."[105] Characterizing the symphony as "fiery, impassioned, and beautifully put together," Kosman preferred the "sumptuous, gorgeously scored" second movement "Air/Ground." The finale, marked by extremely loud percussion, he wrote,

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[101] Allan Kozzin, "3 Premieres, and Debut of a 29-Year-Old Work," *New York Times*, 19 January 1992.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Joshua Kosman, "Wilson Takes Berkeley Symphony to Another Time," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 29 Oct 1993.
[105] Ibid.

"seems to drown out all sound, all light, all human endeavor."[106] Other reviewers of later performances found the end of the symphony similarly powerful. After a 2002 performance by the San Francisco Symphony, reviewer Allan Ulrich called the end of the piece, "a moment for deep reflection, not an occasion for the ritual clap-happiness endemic to the ordinary concert experience."[107] In 2004, Atlanta critic Pierre Ruhe dramatically described the last minute of the piece as "an end to everything, a percussion blast that obliterates all that came before it, and then silence. Nothingness. Finito. No catharsis, no resolution. Madmen, munitions, death."[108]

Critics also commented on the symphony's genesis as a reaction to the Gulf War. For the most part, however, this topical reference did not spark disapproval. In reviews, critics responded with comments such as "the news of the day is not reported with more brutal clarity than this"[109] and "its outer movements register [Kernis's] shock and horror."[110] Although Kernis made the impetus for the piece known, the reviews reflect his stance that the piece was not explicitly programmatic, and instead a "response to a range of dehumanizing contemporary developments."[111] Despite the forgiving nature of these reviews, for Kernis's generation, and particularly in the tradition of Western classical music, composing topical music can be looked upon disparagingly. Perhaps this potential criticism was one reason Kenris disavowed

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[106] Kosman, "Wilson Takes Berkeley Symphony to Another Time."
[107] Allan Ulrich, "An Onslaught of Anguish; Symphony Performs Kernis' Potent '91 Work," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 8 March 2002.
[108] Pierre Ruhe, "ASO, on War Footing, Captures Fury of Battle." *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 7 May 2004.
[109] Peter G. Davis, "Freshening Up," *New York Magazine*, 19 May 1997, 96.
[110] Jan Smaczny, "The Gulf Between Them: Sound and Fury," *The Independent* (London), 13 May 1995, 28.
[111] Joshua Kosman, "Wilson Takes Berkeley Symphony to Another Time."

strong programmatic connections in the symphony. With the only consistent criticism of the piece being its difficulty (and resulting weak performances), however, Kernis seems to have succeeded at this task of balancing emotion, politics, and music. Nevertheless, Kernis acknowledges the position composers put themselves in when approaching topical concerns. After the rise of post-World War II ultra-modernism, he notes, for composers to engage in not only politics, but "anything that made a concrete, non-musical relationship to the music…was taboo."[112] Kernis speculates that non-abstract music—music with a message or that is easy for the masses to grasp—may have reminded people of fascist restrictions placed on composers. "Modern music," Hanns Eisler said, "became the enemy of fascism."[113] As a backlash to these politically imposed musical restrictions, ultramodern music became fashionable and anything "programmatic or imagistic" outmoded and indulgent.[114]

When asked whether he feels there are inherent drawbacks to writing politically inspired music, Kernis replied:

> In a way, any response that I had to war was [personal]—and I'm not saying that it wasn't political, that it wasn't a very strong negative reaction to what the American government was doing to rile up the nation to support the war…but…with the bombing of the air shelter, a lot of it was the sense of personal grief, sharing in this destruction, sharing in this feeling of people's loss through this destruction. So it's probably a little more of a humanistic response to suffering, of people and the sense of protesting: Why does this have to happen at all? Why does this kind of destruction have to happen?

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[112] Kernis, Interview with author, 30 July 2012.
[113] Hanns Eisler, "Contemporary Music and Fascism," typescript of lecture circa 1944. http://tagg.org/others/eisler/contempmusfascism.html (accessed 17 June 2013).
[114] Kernis, Interview with author, 30 July 2012.

Although he doesn't completely disavow the political inclinations in his music, Kernis distances himself by emphasizing his "humanistic response" over political concerns. For Kernis, his "empathy with people who had experienced tragedies" played a larger role in inspiring these pieces than his anger over specific historical events or his own political positions.[115] But whether or not Kernis wanted to present a political position, because of the titles and the program notes, the symphony carries the ability to evoke memories of the Gulf War. Kernis, rather than insist on a singular significance, relies on his audience to politicize the music in a way that is personally meaningful.

Conclusion

Within classical music that responded to the Gulf War, questions of reception, meaning, and art as politics arise. The production of music (and other artwork) through a political lens can be especially problematic for composers of music rooted in the Western classical tradition. Jerome Kitzke, who feels that he must communicate a message through his music, wonders why "there's a bit of ill feeling toward that being done in the new music concert world."[116] Aaron Jay Kernis acknowledges this "ill feeling," attributing it to post–World War II development of new music. Composers navigate this challenge in various ways. While some (Kitzke, Harrison) comfortably express direct political viewpoints in their compositions, others prefer a more open-ended approach (Kernis, Anderson) that allows listeners to

[115] Aaron Jay Kernis, Interview with author, 30 July 2012.
[116] Preston Wright, "An Interview with Jerome Kitzke."

develop their own associations, and to make their own connections. Through both approaches, the composers engage with collectivity and cultural memory through an evaluation of "American-ness." They examine shared and difficult histories, expressing both hope for and dismay in humanity.

Composers and artists engaging with topical issues may be criticized for doing so. They may be accused of capitalizing on a political moment to which they typically would pay no attention. They can be censured for creating mere propaganda, favoring message over musical integrity; or accused of banally preaching to the choir. Like John Adams, composers may be denounced for approaching issues that are too recent, controversial, or sensitive. Political art therefore requires a delicate balance between immediacy and distance, sincerity and humor, truth and exaggeration, straightforwardness and innuendo.

Experimental composer Frederic Rzewski, in a 1983 lecture at University of Wisconsin River Falls, spoke about the combination of music and political ideals, although he claimed to be no expert on the topic.

> Art and politics are not the same thing. There are points where they converge, and points where they diverge. One cannot easily be put into the service of the other without weakening it, depriving it of some of its force as a vehicle of communication….The kind of art [that] satisfies the political world is often pretty feeble as art. An effective combination of the two is nonetheless theoretically possible….

Rzewski's reaction reflects a judgment with which some composers struggle: a piece of art that effectively combines politics and aesthetics is possible theoretically, but difficult to achieve. When it does happen, either the message will probably be compromised or the art deemed "feeble." Such pieces risk criticism for

conveying "an angry, polemical tone," (as Anderson's *Voices* and *Nerve Bible* did) at times even jeopardizing their status as art. Rzewski himself attempted to merge the two in his pieces *Coming Together* (1971) and *Attica* (1972). He may have been speaking to criticism of his own works, to the generalized attitude in academia that music cannot or should not communicate a particular message, or to his own inner struggles with how to approach politics in his music.

This chapter reveals some of the ways that composers nurtured by the Western classical tradition have navigated this challenge. However different these composers and their work may be, they share, to varying degrees, a merging of politics and music. (Or perhaps they are in varying stages of admitting to it.) "Lou has never separated politics from his music," said Leta Miller, Harrison's biographer.[117] Kitzke similarly can't imagine himself composing a piece that doesn't relate to the world around him. As musicians and performance artists, Kitzke and Anderson both embrace their roles as modern-day storytellers. They recount and relate stories of destruction and rebirth, struggling with their American-ness. Kitzke has said that he "wants the musicians to not just be playing the notes. I try to encourage them to feel like they're telling some kind of story."[118]

Laurie Anderson has a reputation for being a storyteller, but at the same time, she wishes to hold a space for audience interpretation. When asked in 2008, "What's the message in your work?" she replied, "I want to evoke a reaction more than

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[117] Leta Miller, quoted in Barbara McKenna, "UCSC Celebration of Lou Harrison's 80th Birthday Kicks Off with Inaugural Lecture," *University of California Santa Cruz Currents* 1, no. 27, 21 April 1997, http://www1.ucsc.edu/oncampus/currents/97-04-21/miller.htm.
[118] Oteri, "Jerome Kitzke: Stories that Must Be Told."

explain anything clearly. I don't like things to be confused, but I like them to be multifaceted."[119] Later in a 2012 interview she said, "What I'm going for is not so much telling people anything, but creating a situation where they can watch themselves suddenly thinking about it."[120] Anderson's comments echo Kernis's desire to encourage multiple individual perceptions of his symphony, to create a mood for reflection. But with its provocative movement titles and program notes—along with a powerful musical metaphor of melody as humanity and its obliteration by percussive blasts—his symphony does in fact strongly suggest imagery of war. (To be clear, Kernis has no problem with listeners hearing a program; he merely doesn't want to force one on listeners.)

The composers discussed here exhibit varying degrees of comfort with their political engagement. They achieve a balance of art and politics in part through a broad-reaching approach to their topics. In looking at the history of the Native American genocide, Kitzke and Harrison ask us to remember those before us, and pay homage to their memory. Even Adams' *Klinghoffer*, which to its critics seemed too personal and raw to undertake, was meant to have broader significance—and likely did for some viewers—beyond the individual death of Leon Klinghoffer. For Kernis, his response was more about the "humanitarian empathy with people who had experienced tragedies" than it was about writing politically inspired music.[121]

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[119] Kenneth Fletcher, "Laurie Anderson," *Smithsonian Magazine*, August 2008 http://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/laurie-anderson-779875/?no-ist (accessed 15 Nov 2012).
[120] Philip Bither, "Stories from the Never-Ending War," *Walker Art,* 24 October 2012 http://www.walkerart.org/magazine/2012/laurie-anderson-stories-never-ending-war (accessed 15 Nov 2012).
[121] Kernis, Interview with author, 30 July 2012.

Although somewhat less overt than the topical popular music, the presence of collective remembering in the above material relies on inclusive concepts of humanity, suffering, and empathy. In making antiwar statements, these composers remind us that being American means confronting our own imperialism, racism, and violent militancy, both in history and in the present day. They ask us to become sensitized to these tragedies, rather than to anesthetize ourselves to inhumanity. They remind us that being human automatically connects us to others. However diverse their approaches, the composers convey a deep respect for humanity, and for peace, in their works. Despite questions of authenticity, the legendary words attributed to Chief Seattle still ring true today: "Like the blood which unites one family, all things are connected."

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

When flight surgeon and pilot Major Rhonda Cornum was taken captive during the Persian Gulf War after a helicopter crash, she sang "every time [she] was awake" not only to keep herself occupied while a prisoner of war, but also to alert others to the presence of a female American.[1] She later recalled her Iraqi captors not allowing her to talk, but permitting her to sing. During her weeklong captivity—with two broken arms, a broken finger, torn knee ligaments, and a bullet in her shoulder—singing allowed Cornum to cope with a frightening unknown. In addition to the pragmatic reason of allowing someone to hear her, Dr. Cornum sang during her captivity to ease her mind and avoid thinking about her injuries. In a 2003 oral history video available through the Library of Congress's Veterans History Project, Cornum's interviewer asks her, "I know this is a dumb question, but do you remember some of the songs you sang?" Twelve years later, Cornum's unequivocal yes—Andrew Lloyd Weber show tunes, James Taylor, Cat Stevens, and some rock songs—reveals the depths of memory that music can inhabit, particularly in challenging situations.[2] These songs were part of Cornum's experience; years later, the act of singing, including *what* she sang, remained potent in her memory.

Many other Americans during the Gulf War, in situations far less harrowing than Cornum's, used music as a cathartic tool. Music gave people an outlet to express

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[1] Rhonda Scott Cornum Collection, (AFC/2001/001/19247),
Veterans History Project, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress
http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/vhp/story/loc.natlib.afc2001001.19247/#vhp:clip (accessed 12 May 2012).
[2] Ibid., Also see: Rhonda Cornum as told to Peter Copeland, *She Went to War* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press), 1992.

anxieties regarding endangered loved ones and to confront generalized fears of war. Musicians who addressed hostilities in the Middle East also confronted the nation's problematic past. Popular music often evoked memories that variously disavowed or reinforced the country's military history. The demonization of Saddam Hussein simultaneously evoked Hitler, making an emotional case for a just war. The ubiquitous "support our troops" campaign not-so-subtly elicited the trauma of Vietnam, as well as commented on the stigmatization of protestors. Classical pieces expressed anguish over the Gulf War, imperialism, and war in general, as well as empathy for human suffering. Altogether, in addition to their value as reflections on the Middle Eastern crisis and US-Iraq relations, these musical compositions served as vehicles for cultural memories.

A nation experiencing impending or ongoing war is fertile ground for group action, whether via pro-war rallying, protesting, or collective remembering. French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, following Émile Durkheim's idea of collective consciousness, coined the term "collective memory" to examine the entanglement of individual memory, social interactions, and history. Individual memories, Halbwachs argues, are always socially mediated. Music parallels this interplay between the individual and social; as such, it cannot be separated from its broader context. This dissertation has strived to integrate historical, cultural, and musical components, presenting a snapshot of American socio-musical practices regarding war.

Remembering History Through Music

Music and memory are inherently connected. We memorize key signatures. We memorize music for gigs, marching bands, and recitals. In learning to read music, we must recall which notes land on the spaces and which ones fall on lines. When we learn to play an instrument, we must remember where to put our hands and fingers, how to sit, and how to hold the instrument. At first we need constant reminders; but eventually, music performance becomes habit, reflex—or as music teachers call it, muscle memory. We stop having to think about correctly determining piano fingerings, covering the finger holes of the clarinet, adjusting the trumpet embouchure, or holding the bow at a certain angle. Eventually, our memory naturalizes things that were once foreign.

Our memory for war and other traumatic events functions similarly—at first we are constantly reminded and the event seems fresh. Over time, we receive fewer reminders through public culture and the intensity lessens, some details dissolve, while others remain. As time passes, some specifics are forgotten while other aspects of an event become culturally engrained, facilitated by society, cultural biases, individual memory, and media outlets. After the 2001 World Trade Center bombing, for example, even for those who were not in Manhattan, the world—and especially the US public—became intimate with the tragedy's details. In the early aftermath, and with the help of intense media coverage, we learned what time the first plane hit and how many minutes later the second plane hit. We learned the names of the passengers who attempted to overthrow the terrorists. Perhaps we even knew the flight numbers.

As time passed, however, many of us lost these specifics, but we probably will always remember what we were doing when we first learned of the attacks.

Despite any parallels to individual memory, cultural memory functions differently. Both types are informed by individual experiences and cemented over time. But instead of the relatively linear process of memorizing music, cultural memory comprises an intersection of historical accounts, political rhetoric, and popular culture artifacts. As a result of this complex of interactions, individuals tend to internalize memories of events they never experienced.[3] Furthermore, with the blurring of shared histories and individual memories, these deep-rooted collective memories become *discursive legacies*, defined by Coy, Woehle, and Maney as "well-established, repetitive, restrictive, and culturally recognized ways of talking and writing about a particular issue over time."[4] The stories reveal and reinforce social values, regardless of their veracity.[5] In the context of 1990–1991, Coy and his coauthors describe how "a faulty historical memory about the Vietnam War peace movement was a robust cultural resource elites used to mobilize popular support for the Gulf War and to trivialize dissent."[6] Song lyrics from the Gulf War reflect this remembering, through both unwavering support for the troops and denigration of war protestors. However, these same "faulty" cultural memories of the mythologized Vietnam peace movement, seen from the other side, may have empowered some

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[3] James Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2002), 4.
[4] Patrick G. Coy, Lynne M. Woehrle, and Gregory M. Maney, "Discursive Legacies: The US Peace Movement and 'Support the Troops,'" *Social Problems* 55, no. 2 (2008): 161.
[5] Ibid., 163.
[6] Ibid., 162.

musicians to articulate their opposition to the 1990–91 war. Cultural memories both adhere to and resist dominant cultural narratives.

Posterity and Immediacy

The music prompted by the Gulf War not only transmits cultural memories of the past but also raises questions regarding the future of the compositions. When a piece of music reacts to an ongoing political crisis, how does that connection affect the music's ability to be meaningful once the moment has passed? Do popular musicians approach songwriting with a different attitude towards immediacy than do classically-rooted composers? Do they approach politics in their music differently? Music inspired by current events or political causes can be subject to myriad criticisms: pandering, capitalizing on tragedy, conveying an "angry, polemical tone," or simply insinuating something inconsistent with audience expectations.[7] These works further have the potential to become quickly irrelevant, especially if they directly reference an ongoing crisis.

A desire for universality and lasting musical impact drives some composers and songwriters to attempt to disentangle their works from external judgments and circumstances. TC Bullock's widow declared that the singer "was not really political," yet his song honoring the soldiers connects directly to the politics of the Gulf War. John Adams has defended himself repeatedly for using the terrorist killing of Leon Klinghoffer as a subject for his opera, despite robust and public objections

[7] Stephen Holden, "Worry About Freedom and the Artist," *New York Times*, 29 July 1991, 11.

from Klinghoffer's bereaved daughters. Aaron Jay Kernis claimed his symphony "describes no progression of images or engagements….,"[8] yet I personally found it natural to construct a series of images related to war when listening to this piece.

Despite any disavowal (of politics, sympathy for terrorists, or program) in attempting to separate their art from undesirable critiques, composers cannot truly control how their work will be heard and understood. The urge to defend one's work, to preserve compositional intent, and potentially sustain its relevance is understandable, and perhaps an instinctive reaction. Yet these musicians effectively downplay receptive meaning in their declarations of compositional intent. Conversely, audience-attributed connotation—as evidenced by mainstream pop songs not originally connected to the war—can move music towards unintended posterity.

Pop music is widely considered to be fleeting, whether or not it is tied to politics. Many of the PGWSC songs refer directly to the conflict in the Gulf, and as such, can perhaps be viewed as ephemera. In the case of the PGWSC, this assumption is probably true; most of the songwriters have not achieved public recognition and their songs remain in obscurity. Mainstream popular music differs, of course, but its relevance is still seen as transitory. An NPR article "Will We Remember Today's Pop Stars in 50 Years?" takes this viewpoint to task, however. "People have been saying the same thing for generations," wrote Stephen Thompson, "about music that has *absolutely* been remembered for 20 years, 50 years, or longer. At the very least, each

[8] Aaron Jay Kernis, Program note to *Second Symphony*.

generation latches on to the music of its youth, so each era is bound to produce songs that are integral to the sense memories of millions."[9]

The presence of an argument defending the longevity of pop music illustrates that the question of its sustained relevance is contentious. Comebacks by bands well past their prime, such as the Rolling Stones and Bad Religion, also complicate the notion of pop music as temporary and youthful. Nevertheless, the attitude that pop is ephemeral persists. Conversely, the idea that classical music is meant to last for centuries is promulgated by its institutions, and by virtue of the fact that we still study Bach. Although longevity is likely a chief goal for many of those writing music in the classical tradition, many composers probably know all too well the concept of ephemera. A lone performance of a particular piece during the composer's lifetime can sometimes be an accomplishment.

Popular and classical music have different social origins; when they are compared, some complications arise. Animosity generally involves perceptions of elitism in classical music and the sub-standard quality of pop. Greg Sandow claims that "The Myth of Classical Superiority" is alive and well.[10] He writes:

> Inside the classical music world, the myth isn't dead. There we encounter — often enough, right in this blog, in the comments — many people who think, often angrily, that classical music really is superior. Which often then leads them to angry denunciations, not just of pop music, but of all popular culture.

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[9] Stephen Thompson, "Will We Remember Today's Pop Stars in 50 Years?" *All Songs Considered, NPR*, 13 June 2015, http://www.npr.org/sections/allsongs/2015/06/13/413922791/the-good-listener-will-we-remember-today-s-pop-stars-in-50-years (accessed 10 August 2015).

[10] Greg Sandow, "The Myth of Classical Superiority," *Sandow: Greg Sandow on the Future of Classical Music*, http://www.artsjournal.com/sandow/2010/06/the_myth_of_classical_music_su.html (accessed 10 August 2015).

In regards to immediacy and ephemera, the problem with comparing pop to classical is that on the one hand, the intention of the classical composer is considered. Meanwhile, discussions concerning the longevity of pop songs center on their consumption, on the listeners. How will the audiences remember the songs? How long are the songs relevant (to listeners)?

This disparity in perception adds to (or likely derives from) the already problematic task of attempting to compare pop and classical. In a thoughtful BBC article about classical musicians playing with pop bands, Clemency Burton-Hill argues that despite any differences, the two genres have more in common that we might assume.

> Classical and pop music may sound different, feel different, and even be driven by different objectives. But at the heart of it, their concerns are identical: to transport and affect people through beauty and joy; to open their hearts and minds; and to entertain them. Like human beings, all music boils down to the same essence, and we should celebrate that commonality and harmony, not enforce the dissonance.[11]

With Burton-Hill's quote in mind, the dissertation chapter divisions might have been drawn along lines of political message, rather than style in order to highlight similarities among genres. At the same time, however, dividing the Gulf War repertory the way I have has created a space for discussions of topics unique to the different genres. Popular songwriters are subject to a different kind of scrutiny than are classical composers. Furthermore, the divisions allow the PGWSC to be

[11] Clemency Burton-Hall, "What Pop Can Teach Classical Music," BBC Culture, 21 October 2014, http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20130701-classical-music-lessons-from-pop (accessed 11 August 2015). The author discusses classical musicians who play, either in studio recordings or live show, with pop bands, and how their experiences are generally positive and stimulating.

analyzed as a distinct body of works, as a collective representation of the populist understanding of the Gulf War.

Considerations for Future Research

If the Persian Gulf War only lasted for six weeks, how significant is it to our current reality? With much more substantial repertoires related to other conflicts, why should we care about Gulf War music, let alone a little known archive of mostly vapid songs at the Library of Congress? This study illustrates the role that the Gulf War played in forming and recreating memories, as well as how people used music to connect both with their remembered pasts, and with others as members of social groups. A few lines of inquiry not taken up in this dissertation may lead to other fascinating studies: the musical experience of veterans; and the relationship between Gulf War music and more recent war responses.

In a 2006 article, Kay Kaufman Shelemay urged ethnomusicologists not to "[deny] the relationship between memory and history."[12] My study relies far less on ethnographic methods than Shelemay's research on Syrian Jews, but I have taken her advice to embrace my role as historian and "to explore fully the ability of music to inform us about the past."[13] To this end, I examined the integrated roles of music-making and reception, history, political rhetoric, collectivity, and memory. These relationships are fraught with complexities, including performer-audience

[12] Kay Kaufman Shelemay, "Music, Memory and History: In Memory of Stuart Feder," *Ethnomusicology Forum* 15, no. 1 (2006): 17–37.
[13] Ibid.

relationships; disputed histories (or counter-memories); challenges within the music industry; ideologies of posterity and immediacy; and collective remembering problematized by individual experience.[14]

Attempts to disentangle some of these complications have illuminated how details of the past contribute to an understanding of the present, and plant seeds for the future. Multiple experiences and perceptions within American musical culture create a soundscape equally as diverse as its landscape, and the peoples who inhabit it. With its encompassing consideration of mainstream, underground, and homegrown popular songs; classical and experimental works; and glimpses of Middle Eastern and American history, this dissertation strives to present a comparable breadth while bringing to light a modest-sized repertory related to a brief conflict. I hope that this study will encourage others to adequately consider the importance of the Gulf War not only as a reaction to the Vietnam War, but also as a precursor for post-9/11 politically engaged music.

[14] George Lipsitz, *Time Passages*, 211–231. Counter-memory exists in the space between history and myth. It is "not a rejection of history, but a reconstitution of it" (227).

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