

Soothing the Savage Beast: Music in the
Cultural Cold War, 1945-1991

By

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Abstract:

From the beginning of the Cold War, music was recognized by governments as a powerful tool to persuade people that their particular way of life was superior, a “soft power” to be wielded in the cultural battle that resulted when atomic power raised the stakes of military conflict. Musicians and consumers, however, were not without agency in the messages they produced and embraced, and their messages frequently came into conflict with both communism and the Western world. Utilizing government documents, news sources, oral histories, and song lyrics, this paper examines the interplay of music, government, and the people during the Cold War. The study of the effects of music on Cold War politics and the relationships of people to their own governments provides evidence of the power of music to influence historical events, and illuminates the lengths to which government agencies have gone to control that influence.

Key Words: Cold War, Music, Cultural Exchange, Heavy Metal, Counterculture, Atom Bomb

Soothing the Savage Beast:

Music in the Cultural Cold War, 1945-1991

World leaders have long acknowledged the importance of “soft power,” or cultural influence, in promoting ideologies and popularizing their way of life in adversarial nations. Intended to undercut internal popular support, soft power is a means of creating desire for the cultural and material products of another nation, thereby assimilating other cultures and opening the door for governmental change. While the McCarthy era certainly proved government’s understanding and fear of the subversive potential of cultural products domestically, U.S. leaders hoped to exploit this subversive power by directing it against other countries. In addition to art, literature, and film, music became a weapon in the cultural cold war, and musicians, styles, and content were carefully considered by government officials before being selected to represent the United States as cultural ambassadors. Musicians and consumers of music were not as easy to manipulate as they may have hoped, however, and leaders were subject to push-back from the musicians they hoped to utilize. Leaders of both Eastern and Western nations eventually found themselves facing a force of musicians and consumers who were fed up with living under the cloud of a nuclear threat, and found their control of musical messages slipping from their grasp as fans created underground networks that eluded mainstream controls in the United States and slipped through the Iron Curtain.

Music had a particularly strong impact on young listeners around the globe, and helped the citizens of numerous countries express their concerns and protest the continuing atmosphere of mutually assured destruction, with certain genres gaining popularity in relation to the

perceived threat. From the legacy of subversive folk and country music, to the world peace/protest music and rock and roll of the 60's and 70's, to the creation of a worldwide underground heavy metal movement and nuclear-focused mainstream pop, the Cold War created a thread of music that reflected the refusal of generations of people to universally buy into the ideological polarization of the Cold War, and expressed their rejection of foreign policy, military spending and censorship based on fear mongering and the escalating danger of nuclear annihilation.

This paper will show the evolution of music as soft power from a tool of governments engaged in cultural warfare to a tool for organizing and expressing a growing backlash against the Cold War, focusing on the United States and the Soviet Union. It argues that this backlash eventually became a powerful component in pressuring world leaders to soften their stance, and in bridging the cultural differences exploited by cold war propaganda to create common bonds and gain support for building peace as the Soviet Union and other European communist countries began to decline. It also examines the relationship between political and corporate actors in the promotion and restriction of music with potentially political messages, and how this relationship has evolved since the end of the Cold War and the onset of the "War on Terror."

Chapter 1: Winning Hearts and Minds

The importance of cultural exchange in the Cold War is reflected in the dedication of numerous government agencies and massive budgets for the promotion of carefully selected cultural "ambassadors" of the American lifestyle. The passage of the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, or the Smith-Mundt Act, codified the terms of international propaganda. Georgetown University Master's candidate Sarah Bittner explained, "The goal of the legislation was to use all the modern tools of communications, including print, radio, film, exchange programs and exhibitions, to broadcast information about the United States abroad.

With the passage of the Smith-Mundt Act, the once-waning U.S. efforts were revived and a foundation was established for efforts to promote propaganda and culture abroad.”¹ The effect of this propaganda was meant to be increased by disguising the fact that it *was* propaganda, with agencies like the CIA quietly funneling money to numerous cultural ventures through a variety of front organizations. British journalist, historian, and producer Frances Stonor Saunders explained, for example, how a CIA donation of \$130,000 to fund a major festival of the arts, the Festival of Paris in 1952, was credited as a donation from “prominent individuals and associations.”² Saunders quoted composer Nicholas Nabokov saying of the festival, “...it is bound to have an extremely beneficial all-round effect upon the cultural life of the free world by showing the cultural solidarity of and interdependence of European and American civilization. If successful, it will destroy the pernicious European myth (successfully cultivated by the Stalinists) of American cultural inferiority.”³ Writer and editor Peter Coleman explained, “As well as celebrating the cultural freedom of the West, the Festival also made its anti-Soviet point indirectly by performing works by Sergei Prokofiev and Dmitri Shostakovich that were banned in the Soviet Union...”⁴

Tom Braden, assistant to Allen Dulles at the CIA, observed massive shortcomings in the State Department’s early handling of cultural exchange propaganda,⁵ and had saved a *New York Times* article “...criticizing ‘America’s foolish disregard of the importance of the ‘cultural offensive’”, and pointing out that the Soviet Union spent more on cultural propaganda in France

¹ Sarah Bittner, “Pop in the Bloc: How Popular Music Helped the United States Win the Cold War,” (Thesis, Georgetown University, 2012,) 12-13.

² Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*, (New York: The New Press, 1999,) 117.

³ Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War*, 113.

⁴ Peter Coleman, *The Liberal Conspiracy*, (Free Press Collier MacMillan, 1989,) 56, in Hilton Kramer, “What was the Congress for Cultural Freedom?,” *The New Criterion*, Volume 8 January 1990, 7.

⁵ Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War*, 114.

alone than the US did in the entire world.”⁶ He clearly felt that Nabokov’s festival had merit in countering these shortcomings, and helped obtain CIA approval for it in 1951. Braden had proposed the creation of the International Organizations Division in 1950. While directing U.S. psychological warfare efforts, the IOD operated secretly to minimize the appearance of propaganda generation. Braden’s dictates were to “Limit the money to amounts private organizations can credibly spend; disguise the extent of American interest; protect the integrity of the organization by not requiring it to support every aspect of official American policy.”⁷ This organization was sanctioned by National Security Directive NSC-68, which stated, “The political, economic, and psychological warfare which the U.S.S.R. is now waging has dangerous potentialities for weakening the relative world position of the United States and disrupting its traditional institutions by means short of war, unless sufficient resistance is encountered in the policies of this and other non-communist countries.”⁸ Recognizing the devastating impact of war in the atomic age, NSC-68 took note of Soviet approaches, and recommended similar “psychological” means to combat communism. Its authors asserted, “Practical and ideological considerations...both impel us to the conclusion that we have no choice but to demonstrate the superiority of the idea of freedom by its constructive application, and to attempt to change the world situation by means short of war in such a way as to frustrate the Kremlin design and hasten the decay of the Soviet system.”⁹ By determining the necessity of both increased atomic power as a method of deterrence and cultural evidence of the “superiority of freedom” as a method of destabilization from within, NSC-68 helped to increase the budget and scope of efforts aimed at

⁶ Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War*, 115.

⁷ Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper: The CIA and the Cultural Cold War*, (London: Granta Books, 2000,) 98.

⁸James S. Lay, Jr, “A Report to the National Security Council on United States Objectives and Programs for National Security,” or NSC-68, (Washington D.C., April 14, 1950,) NSC 20/4, recommendation 15, confirmed in NSC-68, 60.

⁹ NSC-68, 11-12.

cultural exchange as a weapon in the Cold War. Beyond the IOD, the CIA helped fund the Congress for Cultural Freedom, (later the International Association for Cultural Freedom,) along with its British publication *Encounter*, providing \$200, 000 in its first year.¹⁰

Sponsoring and promoting propaganda agencies covertly was a practice explained by socialist writer James Petra, “The most effective propaganda was defined by the CIA as the kind where ‘the subject moves in the direction you desire for reasons which he believes to be his own.’”¹¹ In addition, previous failures of low quality cultural exchanges had taught government officials the prudence of distancing themselves from the process publicly. Author and musician Adam Krause explained, “The need for secrecy in these activities became...obvious in 1947 when the exhibit “Advancing American Art” was sent to Europe (quite openly) at taxpayer expense. President Truman and numerous members of Congress loudly voiced their disgust.”¹² Funding began to be funneled through organizations such as the Fairfield, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations, and others, “...unveiled in 1964 by Congressman Wright Patman—the Gotham Foundation, the Michigan Fund, the Price Fund, the Edsel Fund, the Andrew Hamilton Fund, the Borden Trust, the Beacon Fund, and the Kentfield Fund. These were all little more than addresses to send money before it went elsewhere,” according to Krause.¹³

In spite of previous failures and the necessity of remaining unobtrusive, growing government support for musical exchange is evidenced in a 1955 memo from National Security Council executive officer Elmer Staats to Dale Smith, when he referred to music as a “secret

¹⁰ Cassandra Pybus, “CIA as Culture Vultures,” *Jacket Magazine*, Jacket 12, (July 2000.)

¹¹ James Petra, “The CIA and the Cultural Cold War Revisited,” *Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine*, Volume 51, Issue 06, (November 1999.)

¹² Adam Krause, “Did the CIA Propagate Rock ‘n’ Roll?,” *The Awl*, December 18, 2013. <http://www.theawl.com/2013/12/did-the-cia-propagate-rock-n-roll> Accessed 2/26/15.

¹³ Adam Krause, “Did the CIA Propagate Rock ‘n’ Roll?”

weapon” in the Cold War.¹⁴ In the battle for the hearts and minds of communists and Americans alike, the U.S. government would need all the weapons it could get.

Chapter 2: Fear Creeps In...

Fears related to the atomic bomb and Cold War atmosphere were widespread after the end of World War Two, when most of the globe had witnessed the destruction of conventional warfare culminating in the monstrous new destruction of nuclear weapons. At the March 1949 Cultural and Scientific Conference of World Peace, University of Pittsburgh social worker Grace Markus said, “...the American people...are now being assailed by fear caused by the Cold War.”¹⁵ A 1950 National Security Council document also acknowledged, “...The people of the world yearn for relief from the anxiety arising from the risk of atomic war.”¹⁶

In response to these fears, almost immediately after the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August of 1945, music began to address the topic of nuclear warfare. While the bomb was meant to save American lives, it was immediately understood that the United States would not remain a lone nuclear power. The 1947 gospel song “Atom and Evil” cast the atomic bomb as “...an honest, hardworkin’ man/ He wanted to help out the human clan,”¹⁷ until he met “Evil,” a reference to any communist country. The song implies that, while the bomb was a positive, helpful element for the United States, the union of any

¹⁴ Elmer Staats, “briefing Notes on Porgy and Bess to Moscow,” memo to Dale Smith, Sept 19, 1955, OCB (File #2) (6) box 15, White House Office, NSC Staff: papers, 1948-61, OCB Central File Series, DDEPL in Emily Abrams Ansari, “Shaping the Policies of Cold War Musical Diplomacy: An Epistemic Community of American Composers,” *Diplomatic History: The Journal of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations*, Vol 36, No. 1, (January 2012,) 41.

¹⁵ “Panel Discussions of the Cultural Conference Cover Wide Range of Topics,” *New York Times*, March 27, 1949.

¹⁶ NSC-68, 4.

¹⁷ Zaret Singer, “Atom and Evil,” The Golden Gate Quartet, Columbia Records, 37236, 1947.

communist country with the atomic bomb would be catastrophic for the world. "...if Atom and Evil should ever be wed/ Lord, then darn near all of us are goin' to be dead."¹⁸

Country music embraced atomic imagery immediately, and related the power and destructive capacity of nuclear weapons to the apocalyptic capability of God, a theme which also intertwined with a patriotic image of an all-powerful America. Fred Kirby's "Atomic Power"¹⁹ was written the morning after the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, although his own recording of the song was trumped in popularity by the simultaneous release of a Buchanan Brothers version, which was a *Billboard* hit. The song makes clear that atomic power is a gift from God, and must be used judiciously for good, as it was in Japan, saying "Hiroshima, Nagasaki paid a big price for their sins/ when scorched from the face of earth their battles could not win."²⁰ While earlier songs recognized the double-edged sword inherent in nuclear power, they also generally supported its righteous use for the American cause. Kirby's 1950 song "When That Hell Bomb Falls"²¹ specifically mentions the Korean conflict and requests divine intervention in the pursuit of freedom.²² The lyrics recall the argument that the atomic bomb saved American lives at the end of World War Two, and invoke the painful memory of the losses suffered during that war. "Oh, the fathers and the mothers,/ Sisters, wives, and children, brothers/ Are still weeping from their losses/ In the last war, cold and still/ Oh, Lord, please lend a helping hand/ We know that You will understand/ Save us all these heartaches/ If it be Your blessed will."²³ Professor Charles Wolfe explained, "The song stops short of advocating our use of the atomic bomb in Korea, but

¹⁸ Zaret Singer, "Atom and Evil".

¹⁹ Fred Kirby, "Atomic Power," The Buchanan Brothers, RCA Victor, 20-1850A, 1946.

²⁰ Fred Kirby, "Atomic Power."

²¹ Fred Kirby, "When That Hell Bomb Falls," Columbia, 20 740-4, 1950.

²² Charles K. Wolfe, ed. James Akenson, *Country Music Goes to War*, (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2005,) 120.

²³ Fred Kirby, "When That Hell Bomb Falls."

the implication is certainly there.”²⁴ Yet, while many Americans did accept the idea that nuclear power offered God-given protection for freedom and democracy, they were not entirely comforted by its existence, nor comfortable with using it lightly.

The destructive capability of nuclear weapons pushed most Americans beyond their comfort zones. According to a 1958 *New York Times* article, “The bomb was too powerful a technology for people to integrate in their lives the way they did their washing machines or radios ... So in ‘Old Man Atom,’ a song by Vern Partlow in the talking blues style, listeners hear that Einstein is chastened by the power his work helped unleash, ‘and if he’s scared, brother, I’m scared.’”²⁵ Popularized by a 1950 recording by Sam Hinton, “Old Man Atom”²⁶ addressed the fear that the discovery of the atom bomb had opened a Pandora’s Box of destruction for mankind which could eventually be turned back on the United States. It proclaimed, “We hold these truths to be self-evident/ All men may be cremated equal,” and acknowledged the nationalist concerns the bomb was meant to protect, “To get a corner on atoms and maybe extinguish/ every darn atom that can’t speak English.”²⁷ The song was an instant hit, but drew heavy criticism from those who considered it pro-Communist, and intense pressure caused RCA Victor and Columbia to pull the song from distribution, a move met by accusations of censorship in a *Life* magazine editorial of September 11, 1950.²⁸

As the arms race escalated, rising fears were reflected in songs like Glenn Barber’s 1955 “Atom Bomb,” which described one man’s plans to flee the city for the mountains

²⁴ Charles K. Wolfe, 120.

²⁵ “Music Exchanges with Reds Urged: Sessions, Back from Tour, Says Free Communication could Avert Conflict,” *New York Times*, Sunday November 2, 1958.

²⁶ Vern Partlow, “Old Man Atom,” Sam Hinton, ABC Eagle 230, Columbia 38 929, 1950.

²⁷ Conelrad: Atomic Platters; Cold War Music from the Golden Age of Homeland Security, http://www.atomicplatters.com/more.php?id=90_0_1_0_M Accessed February 2, 2015.

²⁸ Conelrad: Atomic Platters; Cold War Music from the Golden Age of Homeland Security, http://www.atomicplatters.com/more.php?id=90_0_1_0_M Accessed February 2, 2015.

in the hope of surviving a nuclear attack. “They're buildin' an atom bomb/ Gonna blow me out of this place/ They're buildin' a bigger bomb/ What a crazy human race/ Let 'em kill us all and we'll stand and watch/ Well, brother that ain't for me/ I'll be runnin'; and a-jumpin and a-skipin' and a-bumpin'/ When they blow me to smithereens.”²⁹ Interestingly, “Atom Bomb” was not released until 1986, in a much later phase of Cold War tensions, although no explanation was given for withholding it.

Chapter 3: Learn to Love the Bomb

The suppression of songs like “Old Man Atom” or “Atom Bomb” is not surprising in light of the political climate. Produced during the McCarthy era, music that suggested a downside to massive American nuclear power was at risk of being considered pro-communist, and the witch-hunt and blacklisting that pervaded the entertainment industry made record companies and radio stations reluctant to promote anything that might land them in the crosshairs of the House Un-American Activities Committee. A 1950 government document asserted, “The free society attempts to create and maintain an environment in which every individual has the opportunity to realize his creative powers. It also explains why the free society tolerates those within it who would use their freedom to destroy it,”³⁰ yet widespread anti-communist propaganda helped persuade the American public of the importance of supporting censorship and blacklisting measures. One 1950s tract warned Americans, “The REDS have made our Screen, Radio and TV Moscow's most effective Fifth Column in America...,” (*Figure 1*) and stated in plain terms that patronizing entertainment produced by “Reds” was “aiding and abetting communism,” and

²⁹ Glenn Barber, “Atom Bomb,” D Records, 1955.

³⁰ NSC-68, 7.

helping to destroy America.³¹ Other publications, such as “Red Channels: The Report of Communist Influence in Radio and Television,”³² (*Figure 2*) listed the names of over 150 people it linked as potential supporters of a communist takeover of the United States, including musicians such as Aaron Copland, Pete Seeger, Leonard Bernstein, and Lena Horne. The publication took great care not to make direct accusations in order to avoid libel suits, but simply pointing out that specific entertainers had been investigated by the FBI or the HUAC was often enough to do significant damage to a career. Created as a for-profit publication marketed to government agencies and others, Red Channels was produced by former FBI agents who had access to investigative files. The publication also held broadcasters responsible for the containment of communist ideas, saying, “It is the duty of the station licensee (and the network to which a portion of that responsibility is necessarily delegated) to ascertain that those who harbor views contrary to our form of government be denied access to our microphones.”³³ Contrary views under the auspices of the communist hunt included support for civil rights, academic freedom, and world peace, landing composer and conductor Leonard Bernstein in the publication for involvement with or support of groups such as the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace and the National Negro Congress.³⁴ Actor and director Meredith Burgess also found himself in the pages of Red Channels for participating in a Winter Clothing Campaign for Yugoslav Relief, as well as signing an advertisement protesting the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings.³⁵ The publication’s descriptions of the people and

³¹ Anti-communist literature, figure 1. Karl F. Cohen, *Forbidden Animation: Censored Cartoons and Blacklisted Animators in America*, (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2004 [1997],) 168. *Figure 1*.

³² “Red Channels; The Report of Communist Influence in Radio and Television,” Francis McNamara, ed, *Counterattack, the Newsletter of Facts to Combat Communism*, New York, June 22, 1950. *Figure 2*.

³³ Red Channels, 6.

³⁴ Red Channels, 16-17.

³⁵ Red Channels, 109.

activities the FBI and HUAC chose to investigate often illustrated how little it required to fall under suspicion of communist activity or support.

The dismissal of government and private employees and blacklisting of entertainers, often based on nothing more than unsubstantiated accusations or false testimony, and McCarthy's investigation into communist infiltration of the U.S. military finally prompted a backlash within the government and the people, who began to question McCarthy's methods and view his communist accusations as more of a smear campaign than a legitimate attempt to protect national security. Donald A. Ritchie of the Senate Historical Office later wrote, "Senator McCarthy's zeal to uncover subversion and espionage led to disturbing excesses. His browbeating tactics destroyed careers of people who were not involved in the infiltration of our government. His freewheeling style caused both the Senate and the Subcommittee to revise the rules governing future investigations, and prompted the courts to act to protect the Constitutional rights of witnesses at Congressional hearings."³⁶ McCarthy was eventually censured, and his actions led to a movement for an election recall in Wisconsin to remove him from the Senate. Many of those convicted during the McCarthy trials were later released and their convictions overturned. The backlash against McCarthy and his extreme methods did not stop U.S. concerns about communism, but it did change the methods it used to identify and accuse possible communists.

The line between artists and communism was often unclear. Prescott Reed's 1958 "Russia, Russia (Lay that Missile Down)"³⁷ was a quirky song written by folk singer Tom Glazier to encourage recognition of shared interests such as music, food, and sports, humanizing

³⁶ Donald Ritchie, Preface to "Executive Sessions of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations, Vol. 1, 83rd Congress, First Session, 1953," Made Public 2003, xi.

³⁷ Tom Glazier, "Russia, Russia, (Lay that Missile Down,)" Prescott Reed, Brunswick, 9-55104, 1958.

Americans and Soviets to one another in the hope that nuclear war could be avoided. In a move to ensure the song's message reached, and hopefully influenced, world leaders, *The Billboard* announced, "... Towne (Music) and Brunswick are sending the first two pressings of the disk to President Eisenhower and Khrushchev."³⁸ In spite of its anti-war message, "Russia, Russia" does not appear to have met with much opposition from anti-communist forces, presumably because its overarching message promoted Russian disarmament.

Chapter 4: Soft Power

While it is obvious some forces were interested in controlling the effect of music on the opinions of Americans, intensive efforts were also made to utilize music to engage citizens in communist countries and promote the American way of life. Radio stations for American troops stationed in Germany, such as the American Forces Network, had enormous influence on the people of East Germany, who could easily listen in on broadcasts. Listeners may have simply wanted to hear music, but for the increasingly deprived citizens of East Germany, images of the plentiful American life had to have offered some attraction. Journalism expert R. Stephen Craig explained, "The 'real America' portrayed on American media, both in the U.S. and in Germany, was an upbeat land of plenty where capitalism and hard work paid off for everyone... By providing ... 'the tantalizing glimpses of an affluent and swaggeringly self-confident life style' AFN successfully promoted American culture, and in so doing promoted American ideology."³⁹ AFN was all the more convincing because it also aired programming that discussed U.S. shortcomings, so it was not perceived as propaganda by the East German people, who were otherwise surrounded by carefully crafted and controlled political and cultural messages. Craig

³⁸ "Music Pubs off on Topical Lyric Kick," *The Billboard*, October 20, 1958, 6.

³⁹ R. Stephen Craig, "American Forces Network in the Cold War: Military Broadcasting in Postwar Germany," *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, Vol. 32, No 3, (Summer 1988,) pp307-321, 318. Referencing J. Sandford, *The Mass Media of German-Speaking Countries*, (Ames; Iowa State University Press, 1976,) 94.

explained, "...it was just these characteristics that provided ... "unconscious propaganda;" that is, AFN, without intent, displayed to its shadow audience what many found to be a positive and appealing image of the U.S."⁴⁰

This cultural battle did not go unchallenged by communist nations. In 1955, East Germany passed a 'youth protection law,' which according to historian Uta Poiger, "...made the containment of American influences its explicit purpose."⁴¹ Fearing the growing appetite for U.S. entertainment, officials in East Germany "linked American culture directly to juvenile delinquency and political deviance."⁴² Some Soviet commentators claimed that Russian audiences did not embrace jazz and other "experimental" styles, eliminating the necessity of an official ban,⁴³ yet another law dictated a required percentage of Soviet-produced music programming, aimed at limiting Western influences as well as limiting royalties paid to Western composers. The directive stated, "For all events involving light music and dance music, the program should be arranged such that at least 60% of all works performed were created by composers who have their residence in the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union, or the people's democracies."⁴⁴ It encompassed radio broadcasts, public playback of recordings, and virtually any music played outside of private homes.

Legislation could not prevent people from admiring western music when they heard it, though, or from questioning official communist criticism of it. One Russian musician explained, "We were raised...on propaganda that portrayed Soviet society as the wave of the future, while

⁴⁰ R. Stephen Craig, 318.

⁴¹ Uta G. Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000,) 67.

⁴² Uta G. Poiger, 33.

⁴³ T. Khrennikov and D. Shostakovich, "Muzyka družby," *Pravda*, (December 11, 1959,) in Kevin Bartig, "Aaron Copland's Soviet Diary: 1960," *Notes*, (June 2014,) 577.

⁴⁴ "Directive on Programming for Light Music and Dance Music", (January 2, 1958.) *Gesetzblatt der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (Legal Gazette of the German Democratic Republic)*, Part I, (1958,) p. 38; reprinted in E. Schubbe, ed., *Dokumente zur Kunst-, Literatur- und Kulturpolitik der SED (Documents on the Artistic, Literary, and Cultural Politics of the SED)*. Stuttgart: Seewald Verlag, (1972.) Translation Thomas Dunlap.

the West was decadent and doomed. And yet, from that ‘decadent’ West there came to the Soviet Union truly great symphony orchestras with sounds that were electrifying... We asked ourselves how could the decadent West produce such great orchestras? Cultural exchanges were another opening to the West, and additional proof that our media were not telling us the truth.”⁴⁵

Musician Aaron Copland expressed a similar sentiment in a diary of his Soviet tour in 1960.

“What do I find...but a 15-piece orchestra of so-called “light music,” playing in absolute perfection a Stan Kenton big orchestra style jazz. This obviously highly organized and popular group had not been mentioned by anyone in Riga to us. It was in startling contrast to what I had heard downstairs and dramatized the problem of the “authorities,” and makes clear that nothing short of outright suppression can stop the fascination with American jazz. The jazz group had not one iota of originality, but, the degree of imitation was deeply flattering to America by implication. It made me wonder as to what other musical manifestations we are not being told about.”⁴⁶

Chapter 5: Jazz Diplomacy

The well-documented battle over jazz music in communist countries examined the style’s lack of solid rules and sometimes interpreted it as rebellious, while young people embraced the style. Joaichim-Ernst Behrendt noted the volatility of jazz in communist Europe in 1953, stating, “For the second time in fifteen years, there are people in central Europe who live in constant fear

⁴⁵ Yale Richmond, “Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: How the West Won,” *Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, Vol. 35, No. 3, (Fall 2005,) 241.

⁴⁶ Aaron Copland, *Tour Diary*, April 2, 1960, in Bartig, 590.

for their lives simply because they like to hear or play jazz...,”⁴⁷ a reference to the aversion of totalitarian regimes such as Hitler’s to the African American creation. Russian writer Vasily Aksyonov explained the attraction to jazz, “Perhaps for the same reason the Communists (and the Nazis before them) hated it. For its refusal to be pinned down, its improvisatory nature. Living as we did in a totalitarian society, we needed relief from the strictures of our minutely controlled everyday lives, of the five-year plans, of historical materialism. In Eastern Europe, jazz became more than music; it took on an ideology or, rather an anti-ideology. Jazz was a rendezvous with freedom.”⁴⁸

The image of jazz in communist countries remained controversial. Interestingly, it was the black roots of jazz music that eventually made it a formidable tool for communist governments, who were able to use their young people’s embrace of jazz music as a platform to criticize deplorable race relations in the United States and, by extension, American and capitalist culture. This argument for communism as a socially superior system for racial equality put a spotlight on the escalating racial conflicts occurring in the United States, and forced U.S. officials to respond. Frances Saunders explained,

“The problem of race relations in America was much exploited by Soviet propaganda, and left many Europeans uneasy about America's ability to practice the democracy she now claimed to be offering the world. It was therefore reasoned that the exporting of African-Americans to perform in Europe would dispel such damaging perceptions. An American military government report of March 1947 revealed plans

⁴⁷ Pro and Contra Jazz: Joachim Ernst-Behrendt and Theodor W. Adorno, (1953,) 2. *Merkur. Deutsche Zeitschrift für europäisches Denken* [*Merkur. German Newspaper for European Thought*], Nr. 67, 7. Jahrgang, 9. Heft (Stuttgart, 1953), pp. 887-93.

⁴⁸ Yale Richmond, *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003,) 206.

‘to have top-rank American Negro vocalists give concerts in Germany ...’ The promotion of black artists was to become an urgent priority for American cultural Cold Warriors.”⁴⁹

Hoping to capitalize on Eastern youths’ love of jazz, U.S. officials began arranging tours for musicians to engage in “jazz diplomacy,” although only with the grudging promotion of the Department of State’s Music Advisory Panel. MAP member Virgil Johnson claimed the only reason to support jazz was “because the State Department boys have a mania for it,”⁵⁰ their preference for classical music being overridden by foreign policy concerns. Socialist writer James Petras explained, “The CIA was especially keen on sending black artists to Europe—particularly singers (like Marion Anderson), writers, and musicians (such as Louis Armstrong)—to neutralize European hostility toward Washington’s racist domestic policies. If black intellectuals didn’t stick to the U.S. artistic script and wandered into explicit criticism, they were banished from the list...”⁵¹

These tours appear to have had at least some of their intended effect. Almost fifty years after touring Poland, jazz pianist Dave Brubeck recalled reconnecting with a fan who had followed his band. The man told him, “What you brought to Poland wasn’t just jazz. It was the Grand Canyon, it was the Empire State Building, it was America.”⁵² This embrace of a uniquely American style did not, however, mean that music fans embraced the U.S. government in general. Historian Penny M. Von Eschen wrote, “Officials viewed the tours as a legitimizing and

⁴⁹ Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War*, 18.

⁵⁰ MAP Minutes, December 2, 1964, folder 19, box 99, CU Collection, 2, in Emily Ansari “Shaping the Policies of Cold War Musical Diplomacy: An Epistemic Community of American Composers.”

⁵¹ James Petra, “The CIA and the Cultural Cold War Revisited.”

⁵² Fred Kaplan, “When Ambassadors had Rhythm,” *New York Times*, (June 29, 2008.)

humanizing force...useful in the effort to make critics of U.S. policy identify with America...,”⁵³ but noted that fans “never confused or conflated their love of jazz and American popular culture with an acceptance of American foreign policy.”⁵⁴ In fact, many jazz fans in communist countries equated the struggle of black Americans for civil rights with the struggles they faced in their own countries, uniting the challenges of people of different nations through music.

Black musicians were, on occasion, able to harness the power of their musical ambassadorships to effect change at home. Louis Armstrong, loved by jazz fans around the world, protested President Eisenhower’s failure to enforce Arkansas school integration by canceling a 1957 trip to Moscow. Journalist Larry Lubenow quoted Armstrong as saying, “The way they are treating my people in the South, the government can go to hell...It’s getting so bad, a colored man hasn’t got any country.”⁵⁵ Armstrong’s stance added to increasing federal government concerns about Southern race relations poisoning foreign relations, and weeks later, Eisenhower finally sent the National Guard to Arkansas. In this manner, the cultural exchange programs produced during the Cold War impacted American culture and domestic policy as well as influencing young people in communist countries, and music was wielded by performers and consumers as a tool for change in government policy on both sides of the cold war.

Chapter 6: Rockin’ in the Free World

Rock and roll was another controversial Western export. According to journalist Max Frankel in a 1958 *New York Times* article, “The average Russian not only hates Rock and Roll, he doesn’t know what it is...The official (Russian) line incessantly lumps rock ‘n’ roll with

⁵³ Penny Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War*, (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2004,) 176.

⁵⁴ Fred Kaplan, “When Ambassadors had Rhythm,” quoting Penny Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows up the World*.

⁵⁵ Fred Kaplan, “When Ambassadors Had Rhythm.”

abstract art and other aspects of Western culture which, according to the Kremlin, debase human beings to the point where they become incompetent cogs in the capitalist machine.”⁵⁶ Frankel assumed that the ‘average Russian’ completely subscribed to ‘the official Russian line’ in his analysis, inextricably linking Soviet citizens with their Communist government. An enormous body of documentation clearly disputes his assessment. History professor Sergei Zhuk explained that, by the mid-sixties, “...rock-and-roll music became the most important component of Westernization for an entire way of life, especially for urban youth. According to contemporaries, rock music shaped the behavior, tastes, and ideas of Soviet youth during the 1960s.”⁵⁷

Wary Soviet authorities asked music experts to evaluate the music of bands such as the Doors, Creedence Clearwater Revival, and the Beatles, and were not encouraged by the reports they received, including one from V. Sapelkin, which according to Zhuk’s interpretation deemed the music “...was not intended for normal human psychology or psychological health.”⁵⁸ Zhuk experienced the impact of Western music on Soviet youth first hand, and collected the stories of others who were teens in Soviet Ukraine between the 1960s and 1980s, interviewing them and reviewing their written records, including journals, diaries, and correspondence, for his book. Those interviewed were united in their assessment of the high importance of Western music in the lives of Soviet youth, and how efforts to prevent them from listening to it alienated them from the Soviet government during the Cold War.

⁵⁶ Max Frankel, “Russia: Unheard, Unseen Enemy,” *New York Times*, (April 20, 1958.)

⁵⁷ Sergei Zhuk, *Rock and Roll in the Rocket City: the West, Identity, and Ideology in Soviet Dniepropetrovsk, 1960-1985*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010,) 79.

⁵⁸ Sergei Zhuk, 103, referencing Sapelkin’s report in DADO, f.19, op.54, d.113, ll, 11-12.

Those efforts proved to be insufficient with the advent of new recording technology, such as the cassette tape. Nuclear Assault vocalist and educator John Connelly explained the difficulties faced by Soviet authorities in the Sixties and Seventies, who were able to control previous innovations such as the printing press, and later, photocopiers, because of their limited availability. “Cassette tapes come along, it’s not this big...vinyl album that’s hard to transport in quantity...you can’t really copy vinyl to vinyl at that point...but with a cassette tape, you can bang out any number of cassette tapes.”⁵⁹ Because of their ease of duplication and compact size, cassettes made copying and sharing rock music easier than ever, and helped Soviet fans hide the circulation of rock music from the authorities. The technology and the messages it helped to carry were revolutionary. Andras Simonyi, Hungarian economist, diplomat, and former Ambassador to the United States, explained, “I do believe today, what the satellite and VHS was for the '80s and what the Internet is today, was rock and roll and rock music in the '60s and the early '70s. It was about sending a strong message of freedom through the Berlin Wall to us who were living behind the Iron Curtain.”⁶⁰

Chapter 7: Waist Deep in the Big Muddy

The United States government also faced increasing problems with citizen alienation and with its image at home and abroad as the Cold War progressed. The high-profile violence employed by some Americans against the Civil Rights movement created sympathy for African Americans, and undermined the official stance that support for civil rights was related to communism. U.S. involvement in the Vietnam conflict further divided the nation, and distrust in

⁵⁹ John Connelly, interviewed by Shellie Clark, Worcester, MA, April 18, 2015.

⁶⁰ Andras Simonyi, “Rocking for the Free World: How Rock Music Helped to Bring down the Iron Curtain,” speech delivered at the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame, November 8, 2003. Transcript available at http://www.windsofchange.net/archives/guest_blog_rocking_for_the_free_world_23.html. Accessed April 16, 2015.

the government grew as people questioned the methods and motives of foreign and domestic policies. The counter-culture movement that grew in the early 1960s produced a vast array of anti-war songs with highly political lyrics, met by predictable criticism from a U.S. government determined to control political messages about the war. Media professor Liesbet Van Zoonen described how, "...during the Vietnam War, the Nixon administration had a clear political purpose when it accused performers who were siding with the anti-war movement of undermining national strength and when it investigated and harassed artists for their views on U.S. policies. Those interventions were reminiscent of the McCarthy hearings in the 1950s that produced political victims among popular musicians who were blacklisted for their supposedly "un-American" messages."⁶¹ Efforts to squelch antiwar sentiment in the 1960s and 1970s, however, met with far less success. As described by journalist J. Clark,

"The French had 'the Marseillaise,' the Nazis the *Horst Wessel* song. The (Nineteen) Sixties was the first decade in which the power of music and words was communicated to a mass culture via electronic amplification. For the first time the musician became the focus for the sort of mass hysteria which until then had been confined to the political revolutionary and the religious revivalist... In that decade, the Beatles were every bit as effective as, say, the great 18th century radical political propagandist Tom Paine was in his."⁶²

Clark's analysis of the growing political power of music is supported by the examination of Vietnam era music, and the efforts of government agencies and U.S. corporations to control its

⁶¹ Liesbet Van Zoonen, *Entertaining the Citizen: When Politics and Popular Culture Converge*, (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2005,) 41.

⁶² J. Clark, "Would Our Lives Be Different if they'd Never Got Together," *Daily Mail*, (London, November 18, 1995,) in Richard D. Barnett, Larry L. Burriss, *Controversies of the Music Industry*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2001,) 50.

message and reach. As with all military conflicts since the invention of the atomic bomb, the specter of nuclear war loomed throughout the Vietnam Conflict. John Connelly recalled, “When you woke up in the morning in the Sixties, the first thing you heard after the weather report was... (Statistics from the arms race...) So as an elementary school child, you were being bombarded with this information every day.”⁶³ Connelly also recalled the atomic drills performed in schools, and his awareness of their futility even as a child. This atmosphere of heightened nuclear threat is reflected in the music produced during the Vietnam Era.

From early in the hostilities, songs such as Bob Dylan’s “Masters of War”⁶⁴ and “A Hard Rain’s A-Gonna Fall,”⁶⁵ both released in 1963, questioned the government and reminded people of the horrors of war. Included in those horrors was the devastation of nuclear war, an ever-present threat in Cold War-era conflicts. Tom Lehrer’s satirical 1965 song, “So Long, Mom (A Song for World War III,) included the lyrics, “So long, mom, I'm off to drop the bomb/ so don't wait up for me/ But though I may roam/ I'll come back to my home/ Although it may be a pile of debris/ Remember Mommy/ I'm off to get a Commie/ So send me a salami/ and try to smile somehow/ I'll look for you when the war is over/ An hour and a half from now.”⁶⁶ Another song to ponder the apocalyptic possibilities of war was P.F. Sloan’s “Eve of Destruction,” popularized by Barry McGuire’s hit recording in 1965. Its lyrics stated, “Don't you understand what I'm tryin' to say/ Can't you feel the fears I'm feelin' today?/ If the button is pushed, there's no runnin' away/ There'll be no one to save with the world in a grave.”⁶⁷ The song also questioned the nation’s hypocritical stance toward other countries in light of its own racial divisiveness. “Think of all the

⁶³ John Connelly, interview.

⁶⁴ Bob Dylan, “Masters of War,” *The Freewheelin' Bob Dylan*, Columbia Records, 1963.

⁶⁵ Bob Dylan, “A Hard Rain’s A-Gonna Fall,” *The Freewheelin' Bob Dylan*, Columbia Records, 1963.

⁶⁶ Tom Lehrer, “So Long Mom (A Song for World War III),” *That Was the Year That Was (1965)*, Reprise/Warner Brothers Records, 1965.

⁶⁷ P.F. Sloan, “Eve of Destruction,” Barry McGuire, Dunhill/ RCA, 1965.

hate there is in Red China/ then take a look around to Selma, Alabama.”⁶⁸ The creation of music that questioned the war and the American image was frequently met with resistance by American government and media, just as attempts to restrict peace and protest music were often publicly criticized. A 1966 *New York Times* article reported, “Nearly a year ago there was the P.F. Sloan song “Eve of Destruction,” a “message” song which reportedly was kept off many juke-boxes and radio stations for its implicit stand against America’s role in the Vietnamese war.”⁶⁹

Songwriter P.F. Sloan commented, “The media frenzy over the song tore me up and seemed to tear the country apart... The media headlined the song as everything that is wrong with the youth culture... The United States felt under threat. So any positive press on me or Barry (McGuire) was considered un-patriotic.”⁷⁰ The reluctance of radio stations to play music with an anti-Vietnam message was noted again in 1967, when journalist Tom Phillips wrote, “Opposition to the Vietnam War in this country has produced...some songs, from both the under 30 generation and the veteran folk singers of the American left. At this point, none of the songs is widely known, largely because most radio and TV stations will not touch this kind of material. Pro-war songs about Vietnam are usually considered acceptable for the air-waves, and two have been commercial hits: Sargent Barry Saddler’s ‘Ballad of the Green Berets,’ and Pat Boone’s ‘Wish you were here, Buddy.’”⁷¹

Allegations of censorship of anti-war songs continued when Pete Seeger’s “Waist Deep in the Big Muddy”⁷² was edited out of his performance on “The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour” in September 1967, after Seeger refused to drop a verse critical of U.S. involvement in

⁶⁸ P.F. Sloan, “Eve of Destruction”.

⁶⁹ Robert Shelton, “Censors and the New Reality,” *New York Times*, September 25, 1966.

⁷⁰ P.F. Sloan, “In His Own Words: The Stories Behind the Songs,” P.F. Sloan Website, <http://www2.gol.com/users/davidr/sloan/aboutsongs.html> Accessed 3/9/2015.

⁷¹ Tom Phillips, “Vietnam Blues,” *New York Times*, (October 8, 1967.)

⁷² Pete Seeger, “Waist Deep in the Big Muddy,” *Waist Deep in the Big Muddy and Other Love Songs*, Columbia Records, 1967.

Vietnam. In a *New York Times* interview, Seeger noted, “I think what they did was wrong and I’m really concerned about it. I think the public should know that their airwaves are censored for ideas as well as for sex.”⁷³ The verse the network objected to said, “Now every time I read the papers/ that old feelin’ comes on/ We’re waist deep in the Big Muddy/ and the big fool says to push on.”⁷⁴ While the network denied having requested the verse be dropped, the *New York Times* reported that a CBS representative “...admitted that the network’s program practices office had objected to the song.”⁷⁵ Program hosts Tom and Dick Smothers supported Seeger, and were able to convince CBS to invite Seeger back on the show to perform the song again in 1968.

Chapter 8: Beatlemania

The United States was not alone in its struggle to control access to certain messages in music or its influence on the public. British pop sensation The Beatles, whose music was loved by and highly influential with young people in communist nations, became a problem for leaders behind the Iron Curtain. Russian Beatles fan Koyla Vasin recalled, “I was arrested many times, accused of ‘breaching social order’. They said anyone who listened to the Beatles was spreading western propaganda.”⁷⁶ Yale Richmond, former Director of the Office of Soviet and East European Exchanges in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs wrote, “Many Russians tell us that Rock music and the Beatles helped to bring down the Soviet Union. As Pavel Palazchenko, Gorbachev’s English-language interpreter put it:

⁷³ George Gent, “Seeger Accuses CBS Over Song: Act Cut When He Refused to Drop Verse,” *New York Times*, September 15, 1967.

⁷⁴ Pete Seeger, “Waist Deep in the Big Muddy.”

⁷⁵ George Gent, “Seeger Accuses CBS Over Song: Act Cut When He Refused to Drop Verse.”

⁷⁶ Ed Vulliamy, “For Young Soviets, the Beatles Were a First, Mutinous Rip in the Iron Curtain,” *The Guardian*, (April 20, 2013.)

‘We knew their songs by heart...In the dusky years of the Brezhnev regime they were not only a source of musical relief. They helped us create a world of our own, a world different from the dull and senseless ideological liturgy that increasingly reminded one of Stalinism . . . the Beatles were our quiet way of rejecting ‘the system’ while conforming to most of its demands.’”⁷⁷

Palazchenko identified the importance of the Beatles to his generation as they distanced themselves from strict communist ideals and created their own identities. Leslie Woodhead, author of How the Beatles Rocked the Kremlin, (2013,) quoted Russian writer and critic Art Troitsky, "In the big bad west they've had whole huge institutions that spent millions of dollars trying to undermine the Soviet system. And I'm sure the impact of all those stupid cold war institutions has been much, much smaller than the impact of the Beatles."⁷⁸ Troitsky's statement may be impossible to prove, but the impact of the Beatles on communist culture is difficult to deny. Journalist Ed Vulliamy offers a quote from Mikhail Safonov of the Institute of Russian History, "Beatlemania washed away the foundations of Soviet society," and Russian musician Sasha Lipnitsky, "The Beatles brought us the idea of democracy. For many of us, it was the first hole in the Iron Curtain," as evidence of the impact of the Beatles on Soviet culture and politics.⁷⁹

The group proved problematic for U.S. propaganda efforts, however, when some band members' cultural sway and conflicting political positions became reminiscent of the influence of jazz musicians with people around the world. The United States was particularly threatened by

⁷⁷ Yale Richmond, "Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: How the West Was Won," 244.

⁷⁸ Leslie Woodhead, in Ed Vulliamy, "For Young Soviets, the Beatles Were a First, Mutinous Rip in the Iron Curtain."

⁷⁹ Ed Vulliamy, "For Young Soviets, the Beatles Were a First, Mutinous Rip in the Iron Curtain."

the popularity of former Beatles member John Lennon and his message of world peace. When Lennon showed interest in joining a U.S. anti-war tour in 1972, an election year for incumbent President Richard Nixon, the FBI put Lennon under surveillance, his visa renewal was denied, and the INS began deportation proceedings. FBI documents, uncovered by historian Jon Weiner after a lengthy battle for their release, show the lengths to which government agencies were willing to go to prevent a strong anti-war sentiment from disrupting Nixon's campaign. A 1972 directive to acting FBI Director Gray encouraged Miami law enforcement agencies to arrest Lennon in a drug bust, suggesting he be "...arrested if at all possible on possession of narcotics charge...Local INS has very loose case in NY for deporting subject. . . . if Lennon were to be arrested . . . he would become more likely to be immediately deportable."⁸⁰ Deportation would have separated Lennon from his family, a fact not lost on the FBI. Lennon's wife, Yoko Ono, was expecting their first child together and could not leave the country with him due to a custody battle involving her child from a previous relationship. The FBI kept Lennon under surveillance for years, and the threat to have him deported appeared to be successful, as Lennon abandoned the idea of an antiwar tour.

Neutralizing Lennon did not stop the increasingly critical messages produced by musicians as the unpopular Vietnam conflict dragged on, or the growing distrust of the U.S. government following public discovery of the 1968 My Lai massacre and subsequent attempts to cover it up, the 1970 Ohio National Guard killings of four students during a protest at Kent State University, and the 1971 exposure of the Pentagon Papers.

⁸⁰ FBI Airtel, New York, HQ-24, July 27, 1972. <http://www.lennonfbifiles.com/fbi4b.html> Accessed March 26, 2015.

The Kent State shootings directly resulted in the highly critical song, “Ohio,” by Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young, which included the lyrics, “Tin soldiers and Nixon’s coming/ We’re finally on our own/ This summer I heard the drumming/ Four dead in Ohio.”⁸¹ Dr. Richard Barnet, professor of the recording industry, explained, “Although (Ohio) Governor James Rhodes orders radio stations in Ohio not to play the song, few comply. The song becomes something of an anthem for counterculture elements in society.”⁸² Barnet’s quote illustrates the growing popularity and power of music in the backlash against both Vietnam and the U.S. government’s attempt to control protests at home. Stevie Wonder’s hit “You Haven’t Done Nothin’” clearly expressed much of the nation’s distrust and disapproval of the U.S. government. The lyrics state, “We are amazed but not amused/ by all the things you say that you’ll do/ though much concerned but not involved/ with decisions that are made by you.”⁸³ The song obviously hit a nerve with scandal-weary Americans, and it rose to number one on the *Billboard* charts in the fall of 1974, just months after the resignation of President Nixon in the wake of the Watergate scandal.

Chapter 9: Pop, Rock, and the Cold War Revival

The Vietnam conflict and the treatment of protesters did lasting damage to the relationship between the U.S. government and its citizens, and the expression of that doubt, disapproval, and uncertainty in music remained after the conflict ended. Nixon and Brezhnev’s 1970’s détente, a result of Vietnam war-weariness and the desire for increased trade, declined after the USSR’s invasion of Afghanistan, and Cold War tensions led to a renewed increase in nuclear proliferation during Ronald Regan’s presidency in the 1980’s. The growing political

⁸¹ Neil Young, “Ohio,” Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young, Atlantic Records, 1970.

⁸² Richard D. Barnet, Larry L. Burriss, *Controversies of the Music Industry*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2001,) 204.

⁸³ Stevie Wonder, “You Haven’t Done Nothin’,” Tamla, 1974.

conflict did not escape the notice of musicians and fans around the world. Exodus vocalist Steve Souza explained, “I think everybody was aware of it...It was so forefront...If you were a kid from the Eighties, or a young adult from the Eighties, there was no way you could not know about it. There were musicians my age writing about it.”⁸⁴

Eighties pop music revealed growing Cold War tensions and escalating fears about nuclear war. Prince’s 1982 hit song “1999” included the lyrics, “Yeah everybody’s got a bomb/ We could all die any day,” with the overall theme of the song announcing the apocalypse while protesting nuclear stockpiling.⁸⁵ 1983 saw the release of the anti-war song “99 Luftalloons”⁸⁶ by the German band Nena, with a subsequent English language version recasting the lyrics to focus on nuclear power. The English version, “99 Red Balloons,”⁸⁷ detailed the release of red balloons into the sky, which were mistaken by war ministers for nuclear weapons, causing a retaliatory strike which ended in nuclear devastation. In 1984, the song “Two Tribes”⁸⁸ became a smash hit for Frankie Goes to Hollywood, spending nine weeks at the top of the charts in the U.K. The video for the song featured a wrestling match between Soviet leader Konstantin Chernenko and Ronald Reagan. Singer William Holly Johnson explained, “‘Two Tribes’ is just about peace, peace...When two tribes go to war... There’s two elements in the music — an American funk line and a Russian line. It’s the most obvious demonstration of two tribes that we have today.”⁸⁹ The video for “Two Tribes” was aired multiple times at the 1984 Democratic National

⁸⁴ Steve Souza, Interviewed by Shellie Clark, April 20, 2015.

⁸⁵ Prince, “1999,” *1999*, Warner Brothers Music, 1982.

⁸⁶ Carlo Karges, Uwe Fahrenkrog-Petersen, “99 Luftballoons,” Nena, CBS Schallplatten, 1983.

⁸⁷ Kevin McAlea, Uwe Fahrenkrog-Petersen, “99 Red Balloons,” Nena, CBS Schallplatten, 1984.

⁸⁸ Peter Gill, Holly Johnson, Mark O’Toole, “Two Tribes,” Frankie Goes to Hollywood, *Welcome to the Pleasuredome*, ZTT Records, 1984.

⁸⁹ Neil Tennant, “Frankie Goes to Hollywood in the War Game,” *Smash Hits*, April 26, 1984.

Convention.⁹⁰ Mario Cuomo's statement at the DNC seemed to represent the musical message as much as it did the people's message, when he said, "'...we speak for reasonable people who are fighting to preserve our very existence from a macho intransigence that refuses to make intelligent attempts to discuss the possibility of nuclear holocaust with our enemy.'"⁹¹ "Land of Confusion," a hit song for the band Genesis in 1986, was also well known for its video, featuring Ronald Reagan and other Cold War politicians as puppets, and ending with Reagan accidentally launching nuclear warheads while reaching for a nurse's call button.⁹² The 1985 Tears for Fears song "Everybody Wants to Rule the World" included the lyrics, "There's a room where the light won't find you/ Holding hands while the walls come tumbling down.../ So glad we almost made it/ So sad they had to fade it/ Everybody wants to rule the world."⁹³ Band member Curt Smith explained the song, saying, "Its concept is quite serious- it's about everybody wanting power, about warfare and the misery it causes."⁹⁴

Behind the Iron Curtain, music was helping to unite the people of communist countries in a desire for cultural change and increased personal freedoms, in addition to expressing their concerns about the Cold War and increasing nuclear tensions. AC/DC front man Brian Johnson explained to the Associated Press in 1991, "Opera and ballet did not cut the ice in the Cold War years. They used to exchange opera and ballet and circus companies, but it takes rock n' roll to

⁹⁰ The Classic Café, July 11, 2012. <http://www.2st.com.au/features/the-classic-cafe/65338-frankie-goes-to-hollywood-two-tribes> Accessed April 30, 2015.

⁹¹ Mario Cuomo, Speech at the Democratic National Convention, 1984.

⁹² Mike Rutherford, Phil Collins, "Land of Confusion," Genesis, *Invisible Touch*, Atlantic, Virgin Records, 1986.

⁹³ Roland Orzabal, Chris Hughes, Ian Stanley, "Everybody Wants to Rule the World," Tear for Fears, *Songs from the Big Chair*, Phonogram, Mercury, Vertigo records, 1985.

⁹⁴ Curt Smith, "Today in Music History- July 13, 1985- Tears for Fears "Songs from the Big Chair Hits Number One," RTT News, <http://www.rttnews.com/media/slideshow/slideshow.aspx?id=746> Accessed March 19, 2015.

make no more Cold War.”⁹⁵ Countless sources confirm Johnson’s assessment of the impact of rock and roll on cultural exchange. Zhuk provides direct ties between rock music and demands of Soviet citizens for personal freedom, citing numerous court cases where violators of music laws invoked a “...Western idea of human rights,” and concluding, “...rock music fans now opposed not only the local ideologists and police but also Moscow, the center of their ‘ideological and cultural oppression.’ As a result, by the mid-1980s, fewer young consumers of Western cultural products ...identified with Moscow as their cultural center.”⁹⁶ Zhuk’s assessment echoed the opinion of many others, that the strict crackdown by Soviet authorities on rock and roll created a forbidden fruit syndrome, leading to an increasing push-back from Soviet youth and an alienation from communist ideologies which separated them from the music they loved.

Zhuk’s research, in agreement with numerous sources, shows that government efforts to limit access to music often politicized citizens and music even when language barriers prevented people from understanding lyrics, or when lyrics were not necessarily political. Similar to the earlier impact of jazz, rock and heavy metal as musical styles influenced listeners. Former Ambassador Simonyi explained, “Rock and roll music is universal; it is a universal language. It’s easy to embrace. It speaks to the people. That is why it was so useful and meaningful in penetrating communist society.”⁹⁷ John Connelly pointed out that non-political metal bands, such as Venom, which dealt largely with occult themes, may have been preferred in some instances. “...I think, if I was a Soviet citizen and I got caught with one of two tapes, do I want to get caught with a band that has a political message, or a band whose message is ‘Satan

⁹⁵ Brian Johnson, "Monsters of Rock hit Moscow," *The Eugene Register-Guard*, p5A, Associated Press, (September 29, 1991,) in Boris Von Faust, “Banned in the U.S.S.R.: Counterculture, State Media, and Public Opinion during the Soviet Union’s Final Decade,” (Dissertation, Rutgers University, 2014,) 52.

⁹⁶ Sergei Zhuk, 278-279.

⁹⁷ Andras Simonyi, “Rocking for the Free World: How Rock Music Helped to Bring down the Iron Curtain.”

rules?’’⁹⁸ While avoiding political content may have averted one potential problem for fans, Soviet censorship of certain styles and themes, including the occult, made listening to bands such as Venom a political action nonetheless, and turned many types of non-political music into a cultural battleground. This cultural battleground was recognized by Soviet leader Yuri Andropov in a July 1983 speech, when he said, “It is intolerable to see the occasional emergence on a wave of popularity of musical bands with repertoires of a dubious nature,” and suggested ‘special counter propagandist efforts’⁹⁹ to protect Soviet youth from Western degeneracy and confusion.

Polish songwriter Andrzej Mogielnicki articulated the impact of music behind the Iron Curtain in the 2009 documentary *Beats of Freedom*, saying “From the very beginning, rock music was more than just words, more than just songs. First, it expressed a certain dissatisfaction with the world around us. Second, it stirred people to action and change.”¹⁰⁰ Mogielnicki’s description reflected the feelings of musicians and fans as well as government officials tasked with reducing dissatisfaction and preventing action for political change. Polish musician Wojciech Waglewski, member of the band VooVoo, echoed the sentiment, saying “In music, I was looking for freedom, whatever kind of music it was, jazz, rock, or any other kind...I don’t remember any songs about what was happening in Poland in the sixties and seventies, for obvious reasons, right? You couldn’t sing songs like that.”¹⁰¹ Diplomat Simonyi, in his 2003 speech at the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame, explained the importance of music to the changing ideological beliefs and morale of people behind the Iron Curtain.

⁹⁸ John Connelly, interview.

⁹⁹ Yuri Andropov, Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union speech, (July 1983,) in Zhuk, 265.

¹⁰⁰ Andrzej Mogielnicki, *Beats of Freedom*, directed by Leszek Gnoinski, Wojciech Slota, (Poland, 2010, DVD.)

¹⁰¹ Wojciech Waglewski, *Beats of Freedom*.

“When we were listening to the radio, we were part of the free world, if only for a few moments, whether the system we lived under liked it or not. Rock and Roll, culturally speaking, was a decisive element in loosening up communist societies and bringing them closer to a world of freedom. Rock is not a commercial success...rock is a cultural success. You have kept millions going. You have kept millions and millions hoping. You have warmed up the hearts of many millions of people behind the Iron Curtain. The message went through the airwaves and through the Iron Curtain, it went through the Berlin Wall. It was a bridge.”¹⁰²

Simonyi’s impassioned speech clearly illustrates the deep emotional and political impact of music for fans in communist countries during the Cold War, and its eventual contributions to cultural and political changes. Journalist Bill Nichols also noted the importance of music in the crumbling of communism in Eastern Europe. “Vaclav Havel, the dissident Czech playwright, has credited rock music as a major inspiration in his years of fighting communist oppression. When Havel became president of the Czech Republic after the Soviet empire crumbled, he entertained rockers such as the Rolling Stones at the presidential palace. Havel requested that Lou Reed, leader of the infamous 1960s group, the Velvet Underground, perform at a 1998 State Dinner hosted in his honor by President Clinton.”¹⁰³ Havel and Simonyi’s rock backgrounds along with their eventual entrance into politics illustrate the potential for music to infiltrate and change the direction and outlook of political actors as well as fans. Hungarian band Kontroll Csoport’s singer Peter Sziami Müller explained, “There was a cultural opposition, a movement all over Eastern Europe, an underground network...We all wanted to bring together those who belonged together, and to liberate the soul.” Band saxophonist Arpad Hajnoczy went on to detail the result,

¹⁰² Andras Simonyi, “Rocking for the Free World: How Rock Music Helped to Bring down the Iron Curtain.”

¹⁰³ Bill Nichols, “How Rock and Roll Freed the World,” *USA Today*, November 6, 2003.

being labeled an “ultra-right-wing group” and to “always have a white Lada at the corner, watching and following us.”¹⁰⁴ The band’s experiences were indicative of the difficulties faced by fans and musicians in the communist world.

As cultural and political pressure pushed for changes, restrictions were relaxed in some areas. In a 1984 article, *New York Times* journalist Tom Wicker wrote, “Nothing crosses cold-war barriers more effectively than music. That's why a group of rock-loving youngsters recently stopped Philipp Jenniger on an East Berlin street to thank him for an agreement permitting Western recordings to be legally imported and sold in East Germany. Before that, disks and cassettes from the West had to be smuggled into East Germany and distributed on the black market... Mr. Jenniger, a state secretary in the West German Chancellery, said the agreement marked one of the "small steps" the two Germanys have been able to take to improve relations once as hard and cold as the Iron Curtain itself.”¹⁰⁵ The relaxation of restrictions did not, however, mean the end of attempts to control the impact of music in communist countries.

Music business trade journal editor Vanessa Bastian and coauthor David Liang, in an article about censorship, described how in 1986, “Soviet authorities issued a ban on music that ‘depicts our life in a distorted way and makes propaganda for ideals and attitudes alien to our society.’”¹⁰⁶ Since Soviet officials, like American officials, could see propaganda and alien attitudes in nearly any conceivable circumstance, this ban could potentially be applied to anything. Censorship also affected fans’ ability to communicate with the bands they enjoyed. Dan Lilker, bassist for bands including Anthrax, Nuclear Assault, and S.O.D., discussed more recent conversations about the Cold War era with people who lived in communist countries,

¹⁰⁴ Larry Rhoter, “Musicians Who Poked at the Iron Curtain” *New York Times*, November 8, 2009.

¹⁰⁵ Tom Wicker, “In the Nation: The Two Germanys,” *New York Times*, September 28, 1984.

¹⁰⁶ Vanessa Bastian, Dave Liang, “Twenty Years of Music Censorship around the World,” in *Policing Pop*, ed. Martin Cloonan, Reebee Garofalo, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003,) 52.

explaining, “It was harder to talk to people back then, they’d write you letters and hope they get through...”¹⁰⁷ Nuclear Assault vocalist John Connelly also remembered the difficulty of communicating with fans. “I remember getting mail from somebody in the Soviet Union, obviously our material wasn’t released there...I sent her a package, I don’t know if it ever made it.”¹⁰⁸ The repression of musical influences could also be seen in Berlin in 1987, when a three day West German concert, which could be heard across the wall, attracted thousands of East Germans, who were met by police determined to disperse them. Over the course of the three day festival, East German police erected walls and fences, which fans tore through, and gave chase to fans who threw bottles and stones at them. Author James Mann described, “Suddenly, politicians on both sides were presented by the uncomfortable reality that pop culture operates within its own dynamics, its own diplomacy.”¹⁰⁹ That dynamic became more obvious when communication between consumers and producers of pop culture *was* possible. Immolation vocalist and bassist Ross Dolan explained,

“People are people...I learned that right away when we started getting fan mail from all over the world, countries I’d never even heard of...you found that the common thread was, people are all the same, we all had the same likes and dislikes, we were all on the same page politically...we all had the same needs and wants...we were all fans of music, and...music was that common bond between everybody...it was not about politics...it was about that unification through the music and bringing people together.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Dan Lilker, interviewed by Shellie Clark, April 23, 2015.

¹⁰⁸ John Connelly, interview.

¹⁰⁹ James Mann, *The Rebellion of Ronald Reagan: A History of the End of the Cold War*, (New York: Viking Press, 2009,) 189.

¹¹⁰ Ross Dolan, Interviewed by Shellie Clark, Yonkers, New York, April 12, 2015.

Chapter 10: Metal Health Will Drive You Mad

As Cold War tensions escalated and nuclear proliferation once again heightened fear and anger over the concept of mutually assured destruction, pop music could not fully articulate the reactions of young people around the globe, giving rise to darker, angrier expressions in music with the rise of heavy metal. History professor Mark Levine explained, "...most of the violence in heavy metal is depicted as part of a critique of the violence of society at large, especially its warlike propensities...In its early days, Black Sabbath could be a very political band, as exemplified by the seminal Sabbath song, "War Pigs" in which (Ozzy) Osbourne railed against "generals gathered in their masses/just like witches at black masses."¹¹¹ Black Sabbath lyricist Geezer Butler described the song as "...totally against the Vietnam War, about how these rich politicians and rich people start all the wars for their benefit and get all the poor people to die for them."¹¹² After leaving Black Sabbath to pursue a solo career, singer Ozzy Osbourne continued to create anti-war music, and in 1980 recorded the hit "Crazy Train," which addressed Cold War fears and advocated peace.¹¹³ The lyrics began, "Crazy, but that's how it goes/ Millions of people living as foes/ Maybe it's not too late/ To learn how to love, and forget how to hate." The third verse of the song clarifies, "Heirs to a cold war/ that's what we've become/ Inherit your troubles/ I'm mentally numb." Both Black Sabbath and Osbourne were routinely discredited by allegations of Satanism, and their political messages drown out by coverage of drug and alcohol abuse, but the music remained popular with underground fans, and eventually gained mainstream radio play.

¹¹¹ Mark Levine, *Heavy Metal Islam: Rock, Resistance, and the Struggle for the Soul of Islam*, (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2008,) 11.

¹¹² Geezer Butler, in Martin Popoff, *Black Sabbath: Doom Let Loose: An Illustrated History*, (Toronto: ECW Press, 2006,) 33.

¹¹³ Ozzy Osbourne, Randy Rhodes, Bob Daisley, "Crazy Train," *Blizzard of Oz*, Jett, Epic Records, 1980.

Levine wrote, “Metalheads like to brag- and there’s at least a measure of truth to their claims- that metal helped bring down the Iron Curtain by serving as an important source for alternative, antigovernment identities for young people in the last decades of communist rule.”¹¹⁴ Levine’s assessment is supported by Sergei Zhuk’s research. Zhuk wrote, “Fearing the imitation of Polish anti-Soviet cultural developments among local heavy metal fans, the KGB and Soviet administration tried to suppress this hysteria.”¹¹⁵ He quoted a Ukrainian KGB officer identified as Igor T., venting his disgust, “We lost the entire young generation. Instead of loyal Soviet Ukrainian patriots we now had Westernized imbeciles who had forgotten their national roots and who were ready to exchange their Soviet motherland for Western cultural products.”¹¹⁶

The impact of Western music, including heavy metal, was a clear threat to Soviet leadership, and the messages of many metal acts helped to unite fans in the Western world with fans in communist countries, creating an underground network of global heavy metal fans who refused to quietly accept any government’s reliance on nuclear threat to gain power and government attempts to foster hatred and distrust between the people of communist and capitalist countries. These fans forged their own identities as citizens of a global community opposed to government interference in music and nuclear proliferation. Zhuk commented, “...through the consumption of Western heavy metal and punk music, both rock enthusiasts and the young Komsomol activists involved in the disco club business were trying to form their own notion of human rights, which became an important part of their self-identity.”¹¹⁷ Of course, some fans simply enjoyed the music, and were wither unaware of or unconcerned with its political

¹¹⁴ Mark Levine, *Heavy Metal Islam*, 42.

¹¹⁵ Sergei Zhuk, *Rock and Roll in the Rocket City*, 3.

¹¹⁶ Igor T., in Zhuk, 3-4.

¹¹⁷ Sergei Zhuk, 311.

messages, yet they too were often swept up in Cold War politics by government restrictions on music.

Countless metal bands produced Cold War-related music. Suicidal Tendencies' 1983 debut album included the song "Memories of Tomorrow," with the lyrics "B-1 bombers in flight/ Trident missiles in the air/ MX missiles underground/ Protect us til we're dead," and described the potential conditions of life in a world devastated by nuclear war.¹¹⁸ Iron Maiden's 1984 song, "2 Minutes to Midnight," a reference to the highest point ever reached on the "Doomsday Clock" in 1953, reminded listeners that the danger of nuclear warfare was rising once again. It hit a nerve in both the UK and the US, where it was number 25 on the *Billboard* charts.¹¹⁹ Iron Maiden was one of the bands consistently identified by Soviet authorities as dangerous, citing the band's "hellish, antihuman imagery, fascist symbols, and anti-Soviet lyrics."¹²⁰ The band Anthrax rejected divisive anti-communist ideology in the 1987 song, "One World," which stated, "Russians, they're only people like us/ Do you think they'd blow up the world, don't they love their lives less?/ America, stop singing hail to the chief/ Instead of thinking SDI, he should be thinking of peace." The song also addressed fears of nuclear holocaust, and asked, "What kind of sentence would you serve for killing the earth?"¹²¹

The band Nuclear Assault referenced the Cold War nuclear threat in their name, artwork, and numerous songs, including "Letter after the Holocaust," which said, "People's lives are ruined/ By men they've never seen/ A choice for death made for man/ By leaders behind the scenes," a clear criticism of the power of world leaders to make decisions that could lead to the

¹¹⁸ Mike Muir, "Memories of Tomorrow," *Suicidal Tendencies*, Bug Music, American Lesion Music, You'll Be Sorry Music, 1983.

¹¹⁹ Bruce Dickinson, Adrian Smith, "2 Minutes to Midnight," Iron Maiden, *Powerslave*, Universal Music Publishing Group, 1984.

¹²⁰ Sergei Zhuk, 270.

¹²¹ Anthrax, "One World," *Among the Living*, Megaforce, Island Records, 1987.

deaths of millions of people.¹²² Singer John Connelly explained, “Listening to Nuclear Assault, in a sense, is kind of like watching a news broadcast,”¹²³ a sentiment echoed in a 1986 music video for Megadeth’s “Peace Sells,”¹²⁴ when a father tries to change a TV channel as his son is watching a metal music video, to the news. The teen turns the channel back to the video, with scenes of war, and tells his father, “This *is* the news.”

The band Heathen’s 1987 release *Breaking the Silence* included the song “Pray For Death,” which offered another view of life after nuclear holocaust, and held governments accountable for the tensions that could lead to the destruction of mankind, saying, “The government builds machines that kill/ And they use our money against our will/ When will they build a means of peace/ And maybe the future can live with ease?”¹²⁵ Former Heathen guitar player Lee Altus experienced the Cold War from both sides, having been born and raised in the Ukraine and moved to the United States in 1981 at the age of 15. A 1987 interview for CBS news related the difficulty Altus encountered sending tapes of his music to friends in the Soviet Union until 1986. Altus said, “My friends in Russia, when they hear it, they are just really surprised that I’m doing this.”¹²⁶

Megadeth’s 1988 album *So Far...So Good...So What?* included the song “Set the World Afire,” which also detailed the horrific aftermath of nuclear war, and questioned the concept of mutually assured destruction with the lyrics, “Racing for power, all come in last/ No winning first stone cast/ This falsehood worldly peace/ Its treaties soon will cease.”¹²⁷ The band

¹²² Nuclear Assault, “Letter after the Holocaust,” *Game Over*, Combat Records, 1986.

¹²³ John Connelly, interview.

¹²⁴ Dave Mustaine, “Peace Sells,” *Peace Sells...But Who’s Buying*, Megadeth, Combat, Capital Records, 1986.

¹²⁵ Heathen, “Pray for Death,” *Breaking the Silence*, Combat Records, 1987.

¹²⁶ Lee Altus, CBS News 5, San Francisco, (1987,) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jITmn2pHv9M> Accessed 4/2/2015.

¹²⁷ Dave Mustaine, “Set the World Afire,” Megadeth, *So Far...So Good...So What?*, Capital Records, 1988.

Exodus's 1989 release *Fabulous Disaster* featured a title song that expressed the emotional toll of living under nuclear threat with the lyrics, "We're angered by fear/ because the time is near/ When some lunatic will finally pull the plug," and encouraged people to exercise their right to vote in an attempt to make some lasting changes, although the lyrics also note the futility of this approach, "It will always be the same/ because they lie in their campaigns/ Promise through their teeth for total world peace."¹²⁸ Exodus vocalist Steve Souza, who wrote the lyrics for "Fabulous Disaster," explained that the song was about "...the two world powers at that time, which were the USSR and the USA, having the power to push the button at any time, and all of us in the world just having to succumb to that...so the song was written out of fear."¹²⁹

Souza described Exodus' visit to Berlin almost immediately after the album's release, and the contrast between the vibrant nightlife in West Berlin versus the dark, empty streets of East Berlin visible over the Berlin Wall, as well as the recent grave markers of people who had been shot and killed trying to cross it, and noted the irony of the short timespan between the creation of *Fabulous Disaster*, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the collapse of the Soviet Union.¹³⁰ Dan Lilker also recalled the stark difference between East and West Germany visible from the Berlin Wall. "We were right near the Wall, and, being tall...you could almost peer over, and it was almost like looking into a black and white movie. It was just all drab and gray over there..."¹³¹ Ross Dolan recalled an Immolation tour in East Germany shortly after the fall of the Berlin Wall, "We got to see what it was like on that side of the Wall, and how grim it was...you could tell it was rife with oppression...it was just so gray and bleak...it was like nothing over

¹²⁸ Exodus, "Fabulous Disaster," Exodus, *Fabulous Disaster*, Relativity Records, Music for Nations, CBS Sony, 1989.

¹²⁹ Steve Souza, Interviewed by Shellie Clark via telephone, August 20, 2015.

¹³⁰ Steve Souza, Interview.

¹³¹ Dan Lilker, Interview.

there progressed since the forties...since the end of the war.”¹³² Dolan, Lilker, and Souza’s comments reveal the dramatic differences between the communist East and the capitalist West obvious to musicians and fans alike, and reflect a time of political unrest and volatility that culminated in seismic changes in communist countries and saw the massive redistribution of world power as the Soviet Union crumbled. Souza and Lilker both recalled traveling through East Berlin to reach shows in West Berlin, through a narrow highway surrounded by high walls with no exits. Souza recalled giving recordings and T shirts to the East German guards as they passed through, explaining, “These were young kids, they were seventeen, eighteen years old, everybody had to serve in the army.”¹³³ Souza’s experience, like Zhuk’s research, showed how Western music was often collected, enjoyed and distributed by authorities, or their children, within the Soviet system.

In the United States, heavy metal was frequently portrayed and discredited as violent music that encouraged drug use and Satanism, and was the subject of numerous television specials, political attacks, and media campaigns warning parents of the dangers of metal music. In a 1987 20/20 television special titled “The Children of Heavy Metal,” journalist Stone Phillips described the “...screaching guitars, flamboyant bands, lyrics obsessed with sex, Satanism, and even suicide...,”¹³⁴ and highlights cases of teen suicide which were linked to metal by evidence as slim as a cassette case from a metal band found at the scene. Taking lyrics entirely out of context, the show offers a sample from Ozzy Osbourne’s “Suicide Solution” in a report about a teen who committed suicide after listening to the song. The lyrics provided are

¹³² Ross Dolan, Interview.

¹³³ Steve Souza, Interview.

¹³⁴ “The Children of Heavy Metal,” Barbara Walters, Stone Phillips, Prod. Danny Schechter. 20/20, ABC, (May 21, 1987.)

“Where to hide/ Suicide is the only way out/ Don’t you know what it’s really about?”¹³⁵ The program seems to land a solid blow with this evidence, yet ignores the very obvious message of the song, which clearly states that alcohol overindulgence is a slow form of suicide. The first verse of the song states, “Wine is fine, but whiskey’s quicker/ Suicide is slow with liquor/ Take a bottle, drown your sorrows/ Then it floods away tomorrows,” hardly a rousing endorsement of alcoholism *or* suicide. In spite of the seemingly obvious message of the song, Osbourne and CBS were sued twice by parents who were convinced that the song contributed to their children’s suicides, one because the record was found on a teen’s turntable and the parents could think of no other cause. The boy’s father, Jack McCollum, said, “No one (could) explain it, the only thing we know is he was listening to this music.”¹³⁶ In the other case, parents accused Osbourne of inserting subliminal messages into the song which led to their son’s suicide. Both cases were eventually dismissed.

Notations of overtly sexual or satanic lyrics were also applied liberally, and failed to differentiate between the vast majority of bands whose lyrics were more political and / or fantasy based from the bands which had sexual or occult themes. Regularly lumped in with heavy metal were glam bands, such as Poison, who were included in the “Children of Heavy Metal” special. Glam bands far more often dealt with sexually explicit lyrics, but were never considered heavy metal by themselves or actual metal fans. Their inclusion, however, gave parents and politicians another convenient method of discrediting metal and the political messages it often provided.

Also ignored was the theatrical nature of violent and occult themes. Steve Souza explained, “...This is all an act. It’s all show, it’s all for shock. You see people yell, ‘Satan,

¹³⁵ Ozzy Osbourne, Randy Rhoades, Bob Daisley, “Suicide Solution,” *Blizzard of Oz*, CBS Records, 1980.

¹³⁶ Matthew Wilkening, “30 Years Ago: An Ozzy Osbourne Fan Commits Suicide, Leading to “Suicide Solution” Lawsuit,” *Ultimate Classic Rock*, (October 26, 2014.) <http://ultimateclassicrock.com/ozzy-osbourne-fan-suicide/> Accessed April 17, 2015.

Satan, Satan, kill, kill, kill,' it's all shock value....how extreme can you make it?"¹³⁷ Souza pointed out that he, like so many musicians, has a family, parents and successful children, and conventional values. Anthropologist Sam Dunn covered the psychological and sociological aspects of violent and occult themes in heavy metal in his 2005 documentary, "Metal: A Headbanger's Journey," offering expert opinions about the utility of metal music in confronting death and gaining power over fears of the unknown by exploring them in graphic lyrics.¹³⁸ Dunn's findings confirm one attraction of heavy metal songs that dealt with nuclear fears during the escalation of the Cold War in the 1980s.

Tipper Gore, wife of then-Senator Al Gore, along with other prominent "Washington Wives," formed the Parents' Music Resource Center in 1985, ostensibly to help parents make informed choices about what they allowed their children to listen to, and campaigned to have the music industry put parental advisory stickers on music which it deemed had "explicit lyrics." Gore claimed to have no interest in censorship, but the labeling initiative quickly resulted in limiting access to music deemed explicit when many retailers refused to carry releases that bore the label. During Congressional hearings, the danger of this subjective system of classification became apparent when Twisted Sister front man Dee Snider and unlikely ally John Denver both testified about having their lyrics completely misconstrued by censors.¹³⁹

The efforts of the so-called "Washington Wives" and the PMRC provide evidence of the attempts of politically connected individuals to impose restrictions on access to music based on subjective interpretations of content in a manner reminiscent of McCarthy-era intimidation that

¹³⁷ Steve Souza, Interview.

¹³⁸ "Metal: A Headbanger's Journey," directed by Sam Dunn, Warner Home Video, 2005, DVD.

¹³⁹ Dee Snider, PMRC Senate Hearing Speech, "Record Labeling: Hearing before the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation," United States Senate: First Session on Contents of Music and the Lyrics of Records, (September 19, 1985.)

demanded retailers and record companies take responsibility for policing the messages available through music. Van Zoonen, arguing that regulation and censorship was “counterproductive to political citizenship,” wrote, “As was clear in...censoring popular music, fans of the targeted genres- often working class white and black youth- are positioned as objects of policy rather than as legitimate political actors who have a right to participate in discussions about their tastes and pastimes.”¹⁴⁰

The 20/20 special did make brief reference to political issues in heavy metal, including nuclear annihilation. If metal could be compared to the protest music of the 1960s set to a different beat, it also reflected a growing impatience and anger with world leaders’ failure to slow or eliminate nuclear stockpiles and achieve peace. The show provided a clip of the video from Megadeth’s 1986 “Peace Sells,” with the chorus lines, “If there’s a new way/ I’ll be the first in line/ But it better work this time.”¹⁴¹ The imagery of the video, with clips of bombers and global violence taken directly from news broadcasts, contrasted with the lyrics of the song, which reflected the discredited and misrepresented image of metal fans and musicians, while the images portray governments and media as the real purveyors of violence and aggression. When Iron Maiden front man Bruce Dickinson was asked to respond to accusations of heavy metal inciting “...outrageous, even sick, behavior,” he replied, “You mean like selling arms to Iran, or you mean like all these guys doing insider dealing, or you mean like all these companies dumping toxic waste everywhere? But because they wear suits and ties, it’s okay. They’re not sick.”¹⁴² The 20/20 special’s inclusion of Dickinson’s statement and those of metal fans helped

¹⁴⁰ Liesbet Van Zoonen, 51.

¹⁴¹ Dave Mustaine, “Peace Sells,” *Peace Sells...But Who’s Buying*, Megadeth, Combat, Capital Records, 1986.

¹⁴² Bruce Dickinson, in “The Children of Heavy Metal.”

to show that metal was often a rational, political, and cathartic expression of fear and anger in response to world events, including the Cold War.

Heavy metal and other ‘underground’ music was not readily accepted by Communist governments, either. Like Lee Altus, historian Boris Von Faust was born in Odessa, Ukraine, and witnessed Soviet attempts to control Western music and its messages into the late 1980s. His 2014 thesis, “Banned in the USSR: Counterculture, State Media, and Public Opinion during the Soviet Union’s Final Decade,” explained Soviet authorities’ concern over the power of underground music, despite its more limited audience. He wrote “...even the presumably marginalized and maligned social and cultural movements can emerge as powerful factors in the discourse between the state, the media, and the public within the milieu of political restructuring.”¹⁴³ Those factors posed a very real threat to communist ideology, and were often met with harsh penalties. Bastian and Liang described how, “...members of the punk rock band Coitus were jailed for two years in 1985 for performing a song opposing nuclear weapons.”¹⁴⁴ Von Faust’s research shows that violators of Soviet music restrictions were often expelled from schools, lost their jobs, or were imprisoned, and he found, “In Moscow and Leningrad, a number of blacklisted musicians, underground concert organizers, and unauthorized music distributors that managed to avoid lengthy prison terms for their activities were instead relegated to mental hospitals, where they were administered psychotropic medication, used to treat schizophrenics and the violently insane.”¹⁴⁵ Von Faust’s research provides more evidence of the link Soviet officials tried to make between the consumption of heavy metal music and psychological damage.

¹⁴³ Boris Von Faust, “Banned in the U.S.S.R.: Counterculture, State Media, and Public Opinion during the Soviet Union’s Final Decade,” *iii*.

¹⁴⁴ Bastian and Liang, *Policing Pop*, 58.

¹⁴⁵ Boris Von Faust, 28.

Soviet authorities, like those in the U.S., used the media to discredit the messages of counterculture music and discourage people from embracing it. Von Faust showed a pattern of altered, and sometimes utterly fabricated, interpretations of lyrics provided by the Soviet press and authorities. He described Soviet writer Alexander Naloev's presentation of Metallica's 1984 song "Ride the Lightning,"¹⁴⁶ clearly an indictment of the death penalty, as "an anthem to alcohol over-indulgence," backed by a fabricated confirmation from the band, and Manowar's "Blood of My Enemies,"¹⁴⁷ as anti-Soviet rhetoric. Von Faust wrote, "Naloev insisted that the song, which in reality deals with Viking mythology and a fallen warrior's ascent to Asgard, contains the appeal to 'kill the Russians by dozens, by hundreds, by thousands'— although that line does not appear anywhere in the song's actual lyrics."¹⁴⁸ Zhuk also provides sources that show misinterpretations of heavy metal songs, including a Dniepropetrovsk journalist who claimed, "...the musicians of AC/DC call themselves the devil's children. Their song "Back in Black"¹⁴⁹ became an anthem of the American Nazi Party."¹⁵⁰ The song was actually a tribute to deceased AC/DC singer Bon Scott, written by his replacement Brian Johnson, who said the band asked him to write the lyrics with the instructions, "...it can't be morbid- it has to be for Bon and it has to be a celebration."¹⁵¹ The lyrics to the song included the line "Forget the hearse 'cause I'll never die," in recognition of the lasting impression Scott left before his death just ten months before the song's release, and included nothing which could be realistically construed as pro-Nazi.

¹⁴⁶ Cliff Burton, James Hetfield, Dave Mustaine, Lars Ulrich, "Ride the Lightning," Metallica, Megaforce Records, 1984.

¹⁴⁷ Joey Demaio, "Blood of my Enemies," Manowar, *Hail to England*, Music for Nations, 1984.

¹⁴⁸ Boris Von Faust, 16, referencing Alexander Naloyev, "Diavoly 'Metallicheskogo Roka,' ili Kto Seet Anti-Communism v Dushakh Molodikh" ("Devils of the 'Metallic Rock,' or 'Who Sows Anti-Communism in the Young Souls'), *Sobesednik* 38 (September, 1986). Translation Boris Von Faust.

¹⁴⁹ Angus Young, Malcolm Young, Brian Johnson, "Back in Black," AC/DC, *Back in Black*, Atlantic Records, 1980.

¹⁵⁰ Sergei Zhuk, 275.

¹⁵¹ Brian Johnson, *Mojo Magazine*, Issue 192, (October 2009.)

Von Faust provided translated Soviet documents which list music groups banned by Soviet authorities, including frequent misspellings and misleading interpretations of the bands' content, which revealed a disproportionate amount of heavy metal acts. He also documented the pseudo-scientific smear campaign engaged in by the Soviet press under the direction of the state. He wrote, "To affirm the harmful effects of hard rock music on the psyche, productivity, and social behavior of the young people, *Sovetskaya Rossia* conducted an interview with a chair of the Psychiatry Department of Bashkirian State University, who authoritatively contended that heavy metal's influence on the human organism is equivalent to the effects of drug addiction and psychological trauma."¹⁵² This treatment of music as a threat to psychological health paralleled the earlier portrayals of counterculture rock presented by Soviet musical expert V.Sapelkin and the stance of the PMRC and media outlets in America.

Chapter 11: The Cold War Thaws

As the end of the 1980s approached, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev embraced policies of glasnost, (openness,) and perestroika, (restructuring,) initiating radical changes in the Cold War, decreasing nuclear tensions, and opening the country to more Western influences. In 1989, this openness allowed for the production of the Moscow Music Peace Festival, featuring bands such as Ozzy Osbourne, Motley Crue, the Scorpions, and Gorky Park playing to an audience of over 250,000 people in Lenin Stadium. The festival inspired Scorpions singer and songwriter Klaus Mein to write the song, "Wind of Change,"¹⁵³ which expressed the feelings of hope that surged through Eastern European citizens as communist restrictions were finally eased. Later

¹⁵² Boris Von Faust, 35.

¹⁵³ Klaus Mein, "Wind of Change," Scorpions, *Crazy World*, Mercury Records, 1990.

that fall, when peaceful East German protests demanded the opening of the Berlin Wall, Gorbachev chose not to interfere. Gorbachev later explained, "If the Soviet Union had wished, there would have been nothing of the sort (the fall of the Wall) and no German unification. But what would have happened? A catastrophe or World War Three."¹⁵⁴ The subsequent fall of the Berlin Wall symbolized the end of the Cold War, and the Scorpions' "Wind of Change," as described on their website, "became the hymn to glasnost and perestroika, providing the soundtrack to the opening of the Iron Curtain, the fall of Communism and the end of the Cold War."¹⁵⁵ The band's self-promotion was not entirely unwarranted, as the song reached the top of the charts in Germany, the UK, the US, and all across Europe by 1991, reflecting a strong worldwide desire for peace. Ross Dolan recalled that while recording in Berlin in 1991, "It (Wind of Change) was being played constantly. There wasn't any moment when you had on MTV or one of the music channels on over there where you didn't hear the whistle opener...it was just ubiquitous over there."¹⁵⁶

As communist regimes collapsed, the governments succeeding them often sought to embrace the cultural forms their predecessors had rejected in an effort to illustrate their support for change and increased freedoms. After communist dictator Nicolae Ceausescu was violently overthrown, Romanian vocalist Adrian Plesca of Timpuri Noi recalled, "In the course of a single day, Dec. 22, 1989, we went from being underground to mainstream...The same guys remained

¹⁵⁴ Guy Faulconbridge, "Moscow Could Have Started WW3 over Berlin Wall: Gorbachev," *Reuters*, (November 3, 2009,) <http://www.reuters.com/article/2009/11/03/us-germany-wall-gorbachev-idUSTRE5A23TB20091103> Accessed March 19, 2015.

¹⁵⁵ The Scorpions- History, <http://www.the-scorpions.com/english/history.asp>, Accessed November 11, 2014.

¹⁵⁶ Ross Dolan, Interview.

in charge of the state cultural apparatus...they asked, ‘Who do we have around here who is anti-Communist?,’ which turned out to be us.”¹⁵⁷

Chapter 12: The More Things Change...

As the United States’ focus evolved from the ‘war on communism’ to the ‘war on terror’ in the wake of the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, it became apparent that attitudes toward music that did not support U.S. hostilities against other nations had not changed, and the lessons learned from Cold War protest music had not been forgotten. Immediately following the attacks, broadcast giant Clear Channel distributed a list of songs to its radio stations that the corporation considered “lyrically inappropriate” for listeners in the aftermath of the tragedy, including old anti-war haunts like John Lennon’s “Imagine”¹⁵⁸ and Black Sabbath’s “War Pigs,”¹⁵⁹ along with over 150 other titles.¹⁶⁰ Deemed a “graylist” rather than a blacklist, the “voluntary” nature of the directive is questionable coming from a corporation with the power to swallow radio stations whole. This list of “recommendations” was eerily similar to those issued by Soviet authorities in the 1980s, who also denied that the lists were “an official decree.”¹⁶¹ It is also interesting to note that, in 14 years of “war” that have followed the attacks, very few anti-war songs have emerged in mainstream music, while a number of pro-American songs, such as Lee Greenwood’s “God Bless the USA,”¹⁶² originally released in 1984, have been in frequent rotation on the airwaves. Greenwood’s song spiked in popularity in accordance with not only the 9/11 attacks, but with the 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq

¹⁵⁷ Larry Rhoter, “Musicians Who Poked at the Iron Curtain.”

¹⁵⁸ John Lennon, “Imagine,” Apple Records, 1971.

¹⁵⁹ Tony Iomi, Geezer Butler, Ozzy Osbourne, Bill Ward, “War Pigs,” Black Sabbath, *Paranoid*. Vertigo Records, 1970.

¹⁶⁰ Neil Strauss, “Music: Waiting for our John Lennon,” *New York Times*, September 30, 2001.

¹⁶¹ Boris Von Faust, 26.

¹⁶² Lee Greenwood, “God Bless the USA,” MC Nashville, 1984.

and the 2011 killing of Osama bin Laden, reminiscent of popular pro-American songs from the Vietnam era. Aaron Tippin recorded and released the song “Where the Stars and Stripes and Eagles Fly” within days of the attacks, and Toby Keith’s “Courtesy of the Red, White, and Blue” followed the pro-American Country music tradition in 2003.

Conversely, Dixie Chicks singer Natalie Maines met fierce opposition, and boycotts when she responded to U.S. plans to invade Iraq in 2003 by saying, ““We don't want this war, this violence, and we're ashamed that the President of the United States is from Texas”.¹⁶³ While President Bush supported Maines’ right to express her opinion, saying “...if some singers or Hollywood stars feel like speaking out, that's fine. That's the great thing about America. It stands in stark contrast to Iraq...,”¹⁶⁴ the band received death threats and were banned from over forty radio stations, including many owned by Clear Channel,¹⁶⁵ and an NBC affiliate reported that two Colorado disc jockeys were actually suspended for violating the ban.¹⁶⁶ The backlash faced by the Dixie Chicks was not far removed from that experienced by earlier artists during the Cold War, who found that, while their right to free speech may be legally protected, government and corporate pressure could make exercising that right extremely difficult.

Following earlier thinking that the best propaganda is invisible, corporate directives aimed at limiting anti-war music may seem separated from government censorship, yet there are numerous links. After the 1996 deregulation of radio, media giants such as Clear Channel bought

¹⁶³ "Shut Up And Sing': Dixie Chicks' Big Grammy Win Caps Comeback From Backlash Over Anti-War Stance". *Democracy Now!*, February 15, 2007.

¹⁶⁴ "Full Text of Brokaw's Interview with Bush", *New York Times*, (April 25, 2003.)

¹⁶⁵ Matthew Murray, “Censorship,” in *The Concise Encyclopedia of American Radio*, ed. Christopher Sterling, Cary O’Dell, (New York: Routledge, 2010,) 139.

¹⁶⁶ “Radio Jocks Suspended for Playing Dixie Chicks: Deejaays Violated Station Ban,” NBC News6, Colorado Springs, CO. (May 6, 2003.)

<http://web.archive.org/web/20060303055537/http://www.nbc6.net/entertainment/2185232/detail.html> Accessed March 19, 2015.

up hundreds of radio stations, and controlled many television and news outlets as well. Former Clear Channel board of directors' member Vernon Jordan was an advisor to Bill Clinton, and former vice-chairman Tom Hicks was a close friend of George W. Bush. In 2008, Clear Channel was bought by Bain Capital, LLC, a company founded by former Republican presidential nominee Mitt Romney. Later changing its name to iHeartMedia, Inc., the corporation also bought media news outlets such as Fox News Radio, and parent company Bain Capital owns music labels including Warner Music Group. In doing so, corporations frequently owned by or closely connected to political interests have gained control over what is recorded and access to television and radio airplay.

Government officials harnessed the power of nuclear fears after 9/11 by arguing the presence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq as a justification for invasion, again invoking Cold War era fears of nuclear annihilation to justify action in Iraq, yet there was a noticeable lack of outcry in mainstream music. Songs such as Neil Young's 2006 song "Shock and Awe,"¹⁶⁷ which included the lyrics "Thousands of children scarred for life/ Millions of tears for a soldier's wife/ Both sides are losing now," did address the war directly and were critically acclaimed, but failed to garner the attention or airplay of earlier war critiques, such as Young's "Ohio." In an interview about his album, *Living with War*, which included "Shock and Awe," Young said, "I was hoping some young person would come along and say this and sing some songs about it, but I didn't see anybody, so I'm doing it myself. I waited as long as I could."¹⁶⁸

John Connelly described one dramatically different aspect of more current nuclear tensions versus earlier incarnations while discussing the concept of mutually assured destruction.

¹⁶⁷ Neil Young, "Shock and Awe," *Living With War*, Reprise Records, 2006.

¹⁶⁸ Ben Rayner, "U.S. Musicians Slowly Warmed to Burning Bush," *Toronto Star*, (November 2, 2008.)

“It worked beautifully because everybody involved was a rational actor. Everybody knew that nobody could gain enough of an advantage from a first strike to be completely successful...The problem with mutually assured destruction, it only works if all the players are rational...Today, with nuclear combat, all the players are not necessarily rational. You have people with religious motivations to start a nuclear war, where according to their ideology, they’re helping to bring about the second coming...where destruction *is* the goal.”¹⁶⁹ This difference in religious and cultural outlook may be a contributing factor in the dearth of music being created during conflicts with the Middle East that could help music fans identify with one another and unite against their governments’ involvement in war.

R. Andre Hall wrote, “From the Vietnam War to today’s Iraq War, and from the advent of the sexual revolution to today’s “culture wars,” music is recognized as a potential source of power to change values, ideas, and beliefs – as well as to influence actions. Those who fear this change try to stop it by censorship, even when, as history has shown us, censorship is futile when change is inevitable.”¹⁷⁰ Hall’s quote, reflective of successes in the past, misses the current power of mega-media-conglomerates to control the messages that reach mainstream audiences, including music. The countervailing power to that consolidated corporate control can be found in the proliferation of independent internet sources and “underground” music like heavy metal and hip hop. Journalist Fred Kaplan, discussing Jazz diplomacy in the Cold War cultural exchange, asked, “What aspect of American culture would present such an appealing face now — not to potential dissidents in Poland or Russia but, say, to moderate Muslims in Syria or Iran? And in a multipolar world, what would make them turn to the United States as an alternative to their own

¹⁶⁹ John Connelly, Interview.

¹⁷⁰ R. Andre Hall, “Music Censorship,” <http://www.lehigh.edu/~infirst/musiccensorship.html> Accessed 03/12/2015.

regimes?”¹⁷¹ Mark Levine offers a view of heavy metal and hip hop music as a more modern source of cultural exchange, bypassing government sanction and remaining outside the propaganda machine by allowing musicians and fans from around the world to communicate directly with one another and find their similarities, rather than focusing on the differences that divide their nations. While these less-than-moderate musical styles may not hold the mass appeal of earlier cultural exchanges, it is important to remember that rock and roll and even jazz were once considered controversial, but their influence on people and politics grew over time.

While more aggressive and politically oriented music like rap and heavy metal remain mostly relegated to the underground because of the limitations imposed by corporate control over the music industry, these forms of music have been utilized in more current conflicts nonetheless. Author Jonathan Pieslak investigated the roles of music in his book Sound Targets: American Soldiers and Music in the Iraq War, (2012,) and found that American troops often used rap and metal to prepare for combat, to block out the sounds of war, and to intimidate the enemy.¹⁷² Dan Lilker explained, “Our music, ironically enough, some people don’t understand this, is soothing and comforting in those situations, because it’s a good way to exorcise those emotions...”¹⁷³ Ross Dolan also heard from fans in the military, and explained, “...They would crank certain extreme metal bands through speakers when they were out there...in the deserts fighting...they would be blasting these speakers playing metal music to kind of intimidate the enemy.”¹⁷⁴ Pieslak also found extensive use of metal and rap by the military for recruiting purposes, and as a tactic of psychological warfare used during interrogation of prisoners,

¹⁷¹ Fred Kaplan, “When Ambassadors Had Rhythm.”

¹⁷² Johnathan R. Pieslak, *Sound Targets: American Soldiers and Music in the Iraq War*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012,) 3.

¹⁷³ Dan Lilker, Interview.

¹⁷⁴ Ross Dolan, Interview.

revealing a willingness on the part of officials to harness the very aspects of these musical styles which have so often been portrayed negatively.¹⁷⁵ Pieslak's research, along with feedback from military members to musicians like Lilker and Dolan, exposes a radical shift in the use of music, from its employment to appeal to citizens of communist countries during the Cold War and encourage an appetite for Western culture, to a force of intimidation, alienation, and even torture in the "War on Terror" in the Middle East.

This shift in the use of music by the United States military shows an understanding of the lessons learned during the Cold War- that music was persuasive enough to garner serious concerns about its effect on war and anti-war sentiments, that music was powerful enough to stimulate citizens in the United States and other countries to question their own governments, that overt attempts to censor music created more demand for it and generated backlash against government control, and that private corporate control of the music and broadcast industries were more effective than state censorship in limiting the production of and access to music that could be viewed as anti-nationalist, anti-war, or generally subversive. The control of these corporations by politically involved investors and boards leaves them inextricably linked with the government, yet their control of national media helps this inconvenient link remain out of the national spotlight. This control is somewhat mitigated by the continuing strength of underground music scenes whose musicians, fans, and independent recording labels continue to support music that defies the mainstream's unwritten rules. The advent of the internet has helped counterculture music reach fans all over the world in much the same way illicit vinyl and tape recordings and homemade fanzines did during the Cold War, with a reach that is exponentially greater.

¹⁷⁵ Johnathan Pieslak, 10, 27.

Conclusion

The Cold War was an era far too long, extensive, and complicated to be ended by any single factor. The dissolution of the Soviet Union at the end of 1991 eliminated the cornerstone of the Communist world and drained the urgency from the ideological battle, although the United States has retained a strong anti-communist position toward countries like North Korea, China, and Cuba. The fall of the Soviet Union also involved numerous political, economic, ideological, and military factors too complex to allow for any single component to bear the credit, or blame, for its dissolution. As a contributing factor, the role of music in U.S. and Soviet efforts at exercising soft power and in cultural exchange, and its utilization by musicians and fans to connect with one another and promote peace and nuclear disarmament, cannot be underestimated. The efforts of the United States and Soviet governments to control music and the messages it contained should also not be disregarded if future producers and consumers of music are to retain the ability to express their views and, just possibly, help to change the world.

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Appendix

AMERICANS

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 2) The REDS of Hollywood and Broadway have always been the chief financial support of Communist propaganda in America . . . 3) OUR OWN FILMS, made by RED Producers, Directors, Writers and STARS, are being used by Moscow in ASIA, Africa, the Balkans and throughout Europe to create hatred of America . . . 4) RIGHT NOW films are being made to craftily glorify MARXISM, UNESCO and ONE-WORLDISM . . . and via your TV Set they are being piped into your Living Room—and are poisoning the minds of your children under your very eyes ! ! !

So REMEMBER — If you patronize a Film made by RED Producers, Writers, Stars and STUDIOS you are aiding and abetting COMMUNISM . . . every time you permit REDS to come into your Living Room VIA YOUR TV SET you are helping MOSCOW and the INTERNATIONALISTS to destroy America ! ! !

figure 1

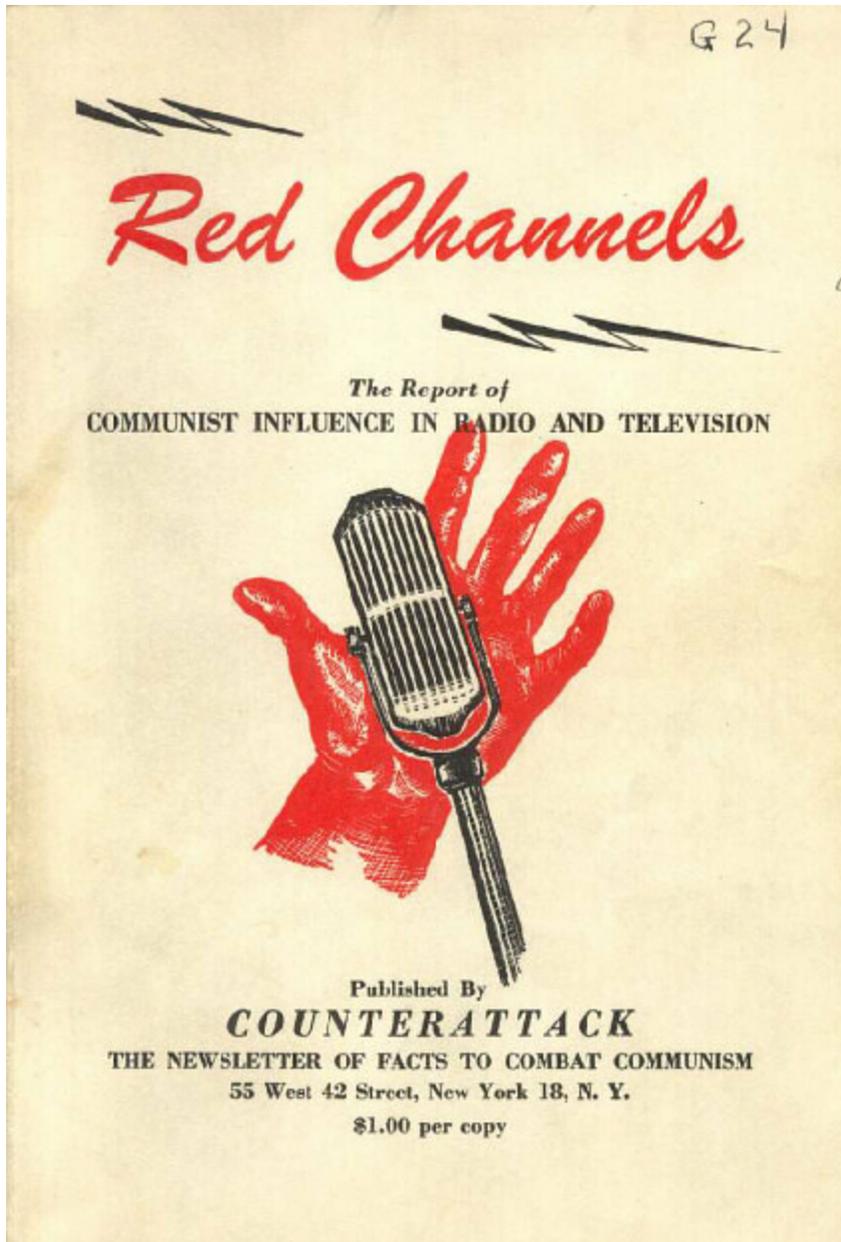


figure 2