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The benefit's place in cultural-political imaginings

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THE BENEFIT'S PLACE IN CULTURAL–POLITICAL IMAGININGS

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Abstract: The Benefit's Place In Cultural–Political Imaginings

The proliferation of large-scale benefits over the last thirty years has led to debate about the place of the benefit in cultural and political spheres. Acknowledging that cross-cultural flow takes a number of forms, that politics and culture increasingly intermingle, and that the West has a long history and geography tied to exploitation and occupation of other countries, this project discusses four benefits in relation to ideas about myth, narrative, celebrity, and memory. Such benefits as the Concerts for Bangladesh, the Sun City project, Freedomfest (The Nelson Mandela Seventieth Birthday Tribute), and America: A Tribute To Heroes, are explored in relation to cultural-political movements and Western imaginings of Bangladesh, South Africa, and Afghanistan. In so doing, the positional superiority of the West is necessarily reconsidered. Benefits are directional pointers through which music narrates storied sociality, mapping the beats of particular histories and geographies. Emphasizing the importance of hearing, and thereby challenging the visual focus of Western culture, readers are encouraged to *hear* the maps that benefits project through the traces they inevitably leave in popular landscapes.

Acknowledgements

Dedication

I dedicate this work in its entirety to *Mayson*, my partner, for agreeing to share me with the dog and this project. And, as always, for showing me pockets full of prairie dust ... overflowing.

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For twenty five centuries, Western knowledge has tried to look upon the world. It has failed to understand the world is not for the beholding. It is for the hearing. ... Our science has always desired to monitor, abstract, and castrate meaning, forgetting that life is full of noise and that death alone is silent: work noise, noise of humanity, noise of beast. Noise bought, sold, or prohibited. Nothing essential happens in the absence of noise. Now we must learn to judge a society more by its sounds, by its art, and by its festivals, than by its statistics (1985: 3).

<div align="right">Jacques Attali</div>

Introduction: Affecting Change: Music, Politics, and Story(telling)

> There's no question in my mind that music affected things, because we really
> did make it clear that there was another way. We made it clear that you could
> believe in life instead of death. In peace and freedom, instead of war and
> hatred. And we told that story every way you could tell it. We sang it with a
> thousand voices (2000:233).
>
> David Crosby and David Bender

Music, politics, narrative, and cultural memory intermingle and intertwine in dynamic

and often unpredictable ways. On August 28th 1963, for example, Martin Luther King led the

March on Washington for civil rights. Approximately one quarter of a million people marched to

the Washington Monument, and on to the Lincoln Memorial, where King spoke the words that

have been ingrained in Western cultural-political memory: "I have a Dream." King's speech,

delivered to the largest gathering of people Washington had seen to date, now holds presence and

place within popular culture,[1] bringing forward ties of nationalism, ideas of nation, and on a

more local level, a sense of empowering community and nonviolent activism. These nationalistic

ties interweave with other circulating and compelling symbolic images of freedom, equality, and

social justice. King had a dream of social and political understanding; by uttering his dream, he

shared it with participants of the march and viewers of the television broadcast and entrenched it

within and throughout a popular-cultural landscape for later generations to hear:

> I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, sons of former
> slaves and sons of former slave-owners will be able to sit down together at the
> table of brotherhood.
> I have a dream that one day, even in the state of Mississippi, a state
> sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression,
> will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.
> I have a dream my four little children will one day live in a nation
> where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of
> their character. I have a dream today! (Washington, 1992: 104-5).

2

King had a dream and he told a story. He explained the injustices black Americans were suffering as targets of racial prejudice; skin colour was the central motivation for discrimination and an excuse for the prejudice bleeding throughout Southern society in the United States. King explained the plight of black individuals by constructing a narrative of his desire for change. His appearance at the Lincoln Memorial has been marked by a story of struggle and survival that has transgressed time and space to maintain the narrative of hope uttered that day.

Decades later, King's speech is reremembered, continuously reimagined, and presented to subsequent generations through history books and popular media. The event is narrativized, woven into traditional narratives of fantasy and reality through a process of constantly becoming in the collective memory and imagination. The man and the speech have been mused about, theorized on, and ultimately mythologized into the West's dominant self/other narration. The phrase "I have a dream" is now a culturally symbolic one that points towards the struggle for black equality in the American South. King is remembered as a leader who fought for social justice so that black people might gain cultural and political space in the West's exclusionary mindset. Imaginings about King in the West incorporate fact and fiction, effectively rendering him as both subject and object.

Myths[2] explain the past, present, and future to willing audiences and generate feelings of solidarity and participation among groups. They incorporate a meeting of chaos and order, temporalities, and reason and emotion, a mixture of the sacred and profane. Mythic stories weave a cyclical pattern throughout memorial landscapes, offering at times truth,[3] knowledge, interpretation, assumption, and conjecture. Images, imagination, and (individual and collective) memory are intimately linked through narrative. Individual stories therefore, provide one frame through which we imagine our world: its settings, contained conflicts, and the characters who

move across its landscapes. We remember King now through the distancing filters of time and space. As we recall the events of August 28th, 1963, we reconstruct and reorganize our relationships to the phrase "I have a dream." As Christine Boyer explains, "[t]he activity of recollection must be based on spatial reconstruction" (1996: 26). We can rethink and renegotiate our own relationships to the March on Washington through the thoughtful reconsideration of our identity, through the repositioning of selves beyond the "us" and "them" oppositions that lead to such simplistic binaries as inferiority/superiority, white/black, right/wrong, dream/reality. Such renegotiations – (re)imaginings that help to construct a space of oppositionality within which cultural obsessions and their decay are visualized – interweave fragments and noncommensurable forms to establish new connections and narrative strands. We, like Martin Luther King, can dream and are in many ways still dreaming, still looking for the complete freedom King openly imagined in Washington in 1963. King's dream however, was almost never revealed to the world. "What most people don't know [about the speech]," explains David Crosby[4], "is that he hadn't planned on using those words in it. King's original speech didn't contain the phrase *I have a dream*" (2000: 13). It was an artist, so the story goes: "one of America's greatest singers – who inspired him to say it. But I am getting ahead of the story" (Crosby and Bender, 2000: 13). And so we witness music, politics, narrative, and memory folding over, each into and across the other.

A number of popular artists performed during the course of the protest in Washington. Joan Baez was the first to perform that day in front of the Washington Monument at ten o'clock in the morning. Her set was followed by performances from Odetta,[5] Josh White, Peter, Paul & Mary, Bob Dylan, and Len Chandler. "As the hot August sun bore down on the crowd," Crosby recounts, "the program shifted in the afternoon from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln

Memorial. This was also the moment when all three television networks decided to go live in order to show this historic event to the whole country" (2000: 16). As Crosby unpacks the story, we learn that two artists were asked to sing one song each before King would deliver his closing address. Marian Anderson sang "He's Got the Whole World in His Hands," and Mahalia Jackson sang an old slave spiritual "I Been 'Buked and I Been Scorned." For her encore, Jackson delivered the gospel number "How I Got Over." Jackson's delivery had an affective impact on King: "Years later," Crosby explains, "a friend told me that Jackson's performance so moved Dr. King that, on the spot, he said, "Haley, when I die I want you to sing at my funeral," and she agreed" (2000: 17). It would be less than five years later that Jackson would honour this commitment. Another speaker followed her performance, then Martin Luther King stepped up to the podium. "Every speaker had been held to an absolute maximum of seven minutes and even King was to be no exception," writes Crosby, "[h]is prepared text ran just under seven minutes, and that was the speech he intended to give. Until he got to the microphone" (2000: 17). What happened during King's journey to the podium remains a mystery, but what he did say would be remembered for decades to come, and would be the stuff of great stories and myriad cultural imaginings. "Shouts of *Martin* filled the air," continues Crosby,

> and an ocean of black and white faces stretched out in front of him as far as he could see. As he neared the end of his written speech, King began to improvise. His words took on the cadence he used from the pulpit, urging this huge congregation not to "wallow in the valley of despair." Then, as he searched for some way to bring it all to a close, he heard Mahalia Jackson's powerful voice booming out from behind him. Because she'd performed at so many rallies with King, she'd already heard him speak many times before. And she knew exactly what he hadn't yet told the crowd. As if she *was* in church, she shouted out: "Tell them about the dream, Martin!" (2000: 17).

And so Martin told the world about his dream, about his vision for peace and equality. He told everyone about freedom and his desire to let it ring "from every village and hamlet, from every

state and every city" (Crosby and Bender, 2000: 17). The March on Washington successfully combined music, political speech, and narrative to create social awareness through protest, thereby securing its place in public memory.

There has long been a relationship between music and social protest. "Music and song," explain Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, "have been important in the formation, and remembrance, of a wide range of social movements" (1998: 7). Songs can prompt a dramatization of space, an opening for conversation about fears and desires. Individual and collective movements and shifts can take place within the moments of a song's duration. Music leads us to places near the end of things physical and the beginning of things imaginary, but in many ways no less real. With songs there can be something more – transcendence, as it were, something beyond the words being sung can be conveyed to the listener. Listening to music can be an experience that continues to resonate even after the song is over. Songs provide a mechanism through which we explain or remind ourselves of important beliefs and attitudes valued in our day-to-day lives: "'One of the mechanisms that works best when you're facing a life-threatening moment,' explains Harry Belafonte, 'is a song'" (Crosby and Bender, 2000: 23). Music can be a source from which to draw courage during turbulent times. Belafonte describes his own experience with the social and political power available through song as uplifting and the experiences of those around him as mesmerizing:

> [w]hen we were incarcerated in the white prisons of the South run by racist
> sheriffs who had no qualm about snuffing out a black life – and things seemed
> to be the most desperate – someone would break into song. Not only did it take
> our spirits to places we never dreamed of, but what it did to the enemy was also
> a remarkable thing to behold. I watched men of power become impotent, I
> watched men of ruthlessness become tamed, I watched them become
> hypnotized' (Crosby and Bender, 2000: 23).

Music, as Belafonte's remembrance indicates, pulls at the language of affect, linking body with soul, and pushes us through various levels of intensity. "The affective power of music," Gregory Seigworth explains, "lies in its ability to fold the space of lived contexts into temporal moments in your lived history" (1999: 5). Affect arises out of seeming insignificances, gathered up aspects of a particular context that register for a few moments. As time passes, that immediate feeling might slip away, but the aura of the lived experience remains. Songs can, and do, inspire physical and mental change. Harry Belafonte tells another story that is a remarkable example of the dynamic pairing of music with politics and its resulting affective charge for change:

> We did a concert with Dr. King at the University of Maryland in their big field house and thousands of people showed up. Dr. King was delivering his speech and there was a redneck sheriff who was part of the state police force there. And when I walked into the holding area for the artists, I saw him watching us with a scathing look on his face, I saw how unyielding he was. And then at the end of the event, after Dr. King's speech and Mahalia Jackson's magnificent singing, I went back to the holding pen and there was that same sheriff. And he stood, tears came to his eyes and he started to make a remark and couldn't. He just turned and walked away. The next morning, as we were leaving to go on to our next stop, the attendant at the desk gave me an envelope. And in this envelope, which felt very heavy, there was a note and with the note were six bullets. That same trooper – I still have the letter – wrote this: 'I give you the bullets from my weapon because I know they will never be used. I have found a force far greater than any I have ever imagined. What you all did with song and what Dr. King did with words showed me that the gun is not the way and I will resign from such a role and find something to do with my life that will make a difference.' And it proved the wisdom of what Dr. King had always said, 'Judge not your enemy even though he may do deeds of evil, for somewhere in him there may be something redemptive. It is up to you to find that redemptive place and bring him to your cause' (Crosby and Bender, 2000: 23-4).

The sheriff moved from a mindset of violent confrontation to one marking a desire for peace and equality; he experienced a life-altering shift brought about through the affective coupling of Jackson's song with King's speech, the coupling of music with social protest.

Affective charges are powerful cultural-political forces changing imaginaries and linking temporalities: the past, present and future. "It speaks to the variably lived infinities of the past, to the resolute urgency of the living present, and to your potential to become what you're not" (Seigworth, 1999: 6). Affect is part of our lived experience, our sense of being, and more specifically our sense of being alive. As our most fundamental relationship with the world around us, affect has a direct bearing on how we process emotion and how we make sense of the world around us. This primary sense-making function, or what neurologist Antonio Damasio calls "bodily background feeling" (1994: 150-55), and Lawrence Grossberg describes as "the feeling of life" (1992: 80), like the affect of song, is difficult to comprehend, difficult to explain and organize, cloaked as it is within the mystery of need and desire. "Music," writes Attali, "is a way of perceiving the world" (1985: 4). Songs combine needs, desires, and stories, search out identity, and grapple with struggles in lived history. "If I knew where the good songs came from," remarks Leonard Cohen, "I'd go there more often. It's a mysterious condition. It's much like the life of a Catholic nun. You're married to a mystery" (Zollo, 1997: x).

The relationship between culture[6] and politics, and between music and social movements, is a collective learning process in the politics of everyday life marked by shift(s) and struggle(s). Power is organized into a variety of structures that operate at various levels; "[p]ower," explains Grossberg, "is organized around every value and resource in human life" (1992: 98). Popular culture and daily life incorporate struggles over power. Political power is not limited to economic relations, but includes social differences of race, class, gender, sexuality, age, nationality, and ethnicity, that are considerations in the articulation and the organization of power in everyday life. The relationship between people and cultural practice is constantly in motion, circulating from one place to another, but always constrained by the everyday

rearticulation of boundaries. The relationships between politics and culture, and music and social

movements, are myriad and sometimes contradictory, informing feelings of pleasure,

displeasure, jouissance, anxiety, guilt, insecurity, fragility, empowerment, and disempowerment.

Structures might not only constrain and oppress; they might also enable and empower. But as

Grossberg points out, "[e]mpowerment is never total, never available to everyone, never

manifested in exactly the same way; moreover, its success is never guaranteed" (1994: 95). The

relationships between pleasure, resistance, and struggle are also complex and never guaranteed in

advance. This uncertain terrain over which politics and culture, and music and social protest,

cross and criss-cross contains battlegrounds simultaneously marked by passion and indifference,

dogma and secularism. The West is marked by an oscillation between arrival and departure,

sanity and insanity, passion and emotional stoicism, tradition and innovation. The West,

Grossberg acknowledges, is "a society of immigrants and migrants, criminals and fanatics,

caught between the need to hold on to old identities (for they are all they have), and the desire to

achieve that elusive dream – of freedom, but perhaps even more of comfort – which will relieve

them from the burden of their past" (1992: 13). Subtle shifts in attitude, it seems, have taken

place; pessimism and inconsistency are continuously favoured over optimism and consistency.

"It is a population cutting across generations, class, gender, and, to a lesser extent, race," explains

Grossberg, "that no longer expects consistency in its life; that no longer seems to care about

many of the things that have traditionally motivated people" (1992: 13). While people may be

individually and collectively outraged, they remain, by and large, politically inactive. The

relationships between culture and politics are being redefined and are becoming increasingly

interconnected.

A shift continues to take place in political culture, a movement linking the traditionally serious and the pleasurable through the deployment of cultural rather than overtly political strategies. This general shift in political culture, as P. David Marshall explains, "has been developing over at least the last half century" (1997: 249). The blending and blurring of political and cultural discourses[7] by way of engaging and discussing issues in the public sphere has led to the identification of what Marshall, for instance, has called "cultural politics" and "affective politics" (1997: 249), and what Grossberg describes as "a new conservatism" (1992: 15). Politics is marked by general feelings of disinterest, dissatisfaction, boredom, and resentment on the parts of citizens. Conversely, culture is seen as interesting, intriguing, and entertaining. Alan Wolfe's observations of American attitudes toward politics and culture are by extension a dynamic illustration of similar attitudes within the Western imagination. "Americans [and for our purposes, Westerners], are increasingly oblivious to politics," explains Alan Wolfe,

> but they are exceptionally sensitive to culture. What constitutes for other
> countries the meat and potatoes of political conflict – distribution of income
> among classes, regulation of industry, protectionism vs free trade, sectional
> antagonisms – captures in this country only the attention of the interests
> immediately affected. Politics in the classic sense of who gets what, when and
> how is carried out by a tiny elite watched over by a somewhat larger, but still
> infinitesimally small, audience of followers. The attitude of a great majority of
> Americans [and Westerners] to such traditional political subjects is an unstable
> combination of boredom, resentment, and sporadic attention ... Culture, on the
> other hand, grabs everyone's attention all of the time ... Because they practice
> politics in cultural terms, Americans cannot be understood with the tool kits
> developed by political scientists ... Unable to abolish war, they have abolished
> politics; the state has not withered away, but the amount of attention paid to its
> affairs has withered away (1991: 139-40).

With the amount of attention toward traditional political subjects decreasing, and the interest in culture remaining steady and passionate, the relations between culture and politics are being reorganized. The personal has become political, indicating, as Marshall explains, "a different intersection with the public sphere and a new engagement with areas of life formerly unheard,

hidden, or devalued" (1997: 249). Celebrity offers one channel through which the personal has been debated. Increasingly we see celebrities attached to/representing/performing for particular causes, charities, and/or social political movements. Celebrities bring significant cultural capital to political arenas. "Celebrities," explains Marshall, "are human agents in the public sphere who act as proxies. In a very pervasive way, the reading of politics openly in terms of celebrities articulates the transformation of politics" (1997: 249).

Martin Luther King, for example, recognized the cultural, and by association, political power wielded by Western celebrities and pushed to have some of the biggest Hollywood stars of the 1960s participate in the March on Washington. "A special plane from Hollywood came in carrying some of the biggest white stars of the day," recounts Crosby,

> Marlon Brando, Burt Lancaster, James Garner, and even the once-liberal
> Charlton Heston (who still says he's proud he was there). Black perfomers like
> Lena Horne, Sammy Davis Jr., Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee, and Dick Gregory
> also lent their enormous stature to the march. Even the legendary singer from
> the twenties Josephine Baker, flew in from Paris wearing her Free French
> uniform (2000: 14-15).

King was particularly conscious of the affective power of music and the influence music can have in the furthering of political protest. According to Jesse Jackson, "King was constantly working to recruit major Hollywood celebrities to participate in the movement" (Crosby and Bender, 2000: 14). The use of music in political rallies and protests can lead to the empowerment of participants, leading to the overall progress of the movement. Caught in the intersection of culture and politics in the West is a sense of celebrity obligation to "give back" to society – on the basis that celebrities "owe" their fame to the public in a large sense – by lending a name to and/or performing for political struggles and social causes. Jesse Jackson says that artists "bring oxygen to ... politics" (Crosby and Bender, 2000: 14). He goes on to articulate the relationship between art and politics as a mixture of myth[8], obligation, conviction, power, and progress:

The Bible teaches us that since the days of David, the athlete and musician who slew Goliath, since then people who have extraordinary gifts or the gift of charisma also have obligations to save nations, not just to glorify themselves. There is a tradition of artists in our country, whether it is Paul Robeson or Harry Belafonte or whether it is Stevie Wonder, there's a generation of artists who have stood for racial reconciliation rather than racial polarization. And they've used their platforms, their stages, to break down ancient barriers. They operated outside the political box and they made politics better. They bring oxygen to our politics. We are all indebted to artists who have the capacity to write and the courage to project their convictions. When there is no music there is no power. When there is no power there is no progress (Crosby and Bender, 2000: 14).

Artists' music may add an extra surge of cultural power to a particular movement by way of helping advance a political cause, as Jesse Jackson suggests, but complications arise when the stage is used as a political platform.

Popular music artists inform many varied places in popular culture, from performance and entertainment functions to political, socialization, and community negotiations. Artists may distract audiences from the mundane, provide fun and amusement avoiding anything resembling heavy-handed politicization, but can also point citizens toward the acknowledgement of cultural-political needs and cross-cultural inequalities. While musicians and singers are entertainers – "Our main job," explains Crosby, "is to make you feel good, make you feel something, make you *feel*. That's really what we do" (2000: ix) – there are other sides, other senses, other aspects to the entertainer – one of which Crosby goes on to describe as being akin to a "town crier," a social watchdog of sorts, a public informer who focuses people's attention on specific issues impacting everyday life. "[T]here's another, older part of our job that comes from the tradition of the troubadours," Crosby continues,

We've been carrying those messages for hundreds of years. It's a very tricky balance. First of all you have to be very careful. You have to have your information right. And you can't preach. It just won't work. But you *can* focus people's attention on issues and ideas; and we've learned that you can use music to gather people together for a cause (2000: ix).

Musicians and singers have the power to focus fans' attention on cultural-political issues within and across borders and boundary lines. Politics has a strong cultural filter and changes are apparent on both sides of the cultural-political coin. Musicians and singers are pictured with political slogans and organizations. Increasingly thrust into the realm of popular culture, politicians are more image and media savvy. Former Reform leader Preston Manning has given up his gaudy checked slacks and nerdy spectacles in favour of hip designer suits and cool coloured shades, and Bill Clinton has more time to play the saxophone since the presidential inauguration of George W. Bush. In his first Editor's Letter for *George* magazine, John F. Kennedy Jr. wrote "[p]olitical figures are increasingly written about as the personalities and pop icons they have become.[9] Politics has migrated into the realm of popular culture and folks can't turn away" (Marshall, 1997: 248). Popular musicians/singers and politicians, each keeping tabs on the other's movements, each seeking to focus public attention on important issues, are increasingly finding themselves rallying behind the same causes.[10]

Over the last thirty years artists have lent their celebrity to many different causes, ranging from charity concerts for Amnesty International, environmental issues, race relations, aid-relief for famines and war-torn countries, and support for various political parties.[11] Extensive media undertakings such as Live Aid and Freedomfest are remembered as much for their organizational successes as for the controversies over which networks did or did not air the shows; the accusations of network censorship by participants, and the questions of which versions or variations of the concerts were shown to viewers in different countries around the world. Long after the moments in which celebrities interact with socio-political causes, the images of their collaborations remain, continuously circulating in the narrativized Western landscape. To this day, we see Bob Geldof organizing Live Aid, Willie Nelson performing for Farm Aid; Little

Steven Van Zandt in the studio working on the *Sun City* album with other Artists United Against Apartheid; Susan Sarandon working with Amnesty International for human rights; and Lady Diana Spencer campaigning on behalf of the British Red Cross against landmines and the sufferings of amputees injured by them. Celebrity in this cultural-political terrain is a floating signifier of meaning and value in contemporary society, representing the tension between the invested and the ephemeral.

The system of popular reproduction continually produces new celebrities, yet the celebrity of the individual is imagined as unique. Stars connote many ideas that fans support: originality, authority, and authenticity. "[T]he fan," explains Konstanze Kriese, "... at once creates and maintains the star" (1995: 186). Celebrities bring an aura of adoration, both real and imagined, along with them as they step into the political arena. Their lives are watched, narrated, and discussed in popular media. Stars are members of the consumer, and now political, community. They offer an appeal to the simultaneous construction of a consumer, citizen, and voter in one. The modern conception of celebrity merges ideas of culture and capitalism.[12] The star is directly tied to profit and economic survival. "Today, the search for the sales hit, the bestseller, the star is the most necessary of capitalistic survival strategies" (Kriese, 1995: 189). As celebrities move through the realm of politics, they bring along their ties to capitalism and the economy. Celebrity has become to politics what the star is to capitalist ideas of profit, namely a commodity. The linkage of celebrity to politics provides a public anchor, a guarantee by way of star association, that certain issues and causes will receive increased public exposure and money over those that are not linked with celebrity personae. Celebrities already have a loyal audience watching and discussing them regularly; operating as a conduit of sorts, celebrities move their audience rather seamlessly into the political arena. The cause, political party, or particular public

issue moves to the forefront of public agendas and is narrativized into discussions with and about the star. Thus politics enters the world of popular culture.

Stories detailing the association of popular entertainment celebrities with political causes abound in the popular-cultural landscape. For example, *The Toronto Star* reports that on Friday, 12 October, 2001, Irish rock star Bono met with Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien to discuss the state of world debt. The pair spoke privately for approximately ninety minutes at 24 Sussex Drive, "going over the agenda for next summer's meeting of Group of Eight leaders in Kananaskis, Alta., which Chretien has said should focus on poverty, health and other developmental problems in Africa," according to Les Whittington of the Ottawa Bureau. Bono and fellow Irish singer and activist Bob Geldof have been campaigning for Drop the Debt, a group whose mandate is to encourage so-called First World countries to dissolve the $200 billion debt owed by poorer nations to multinational lending organizations. A spokesperson from the Prime Minister's Office said that Friday's meeting between Bono and Chretien "was a continuation of their talk on Africa in Genoa, Italy." While Bono's political encouragement of wealthy countries to "drop the debt," on the one hand functions as a method of resistance to capitalist notions of economy, market, and debt, the rocker's petitioning does nothing to alter the economic system of inequality in which many African nations are contained. Popular culture, by extension, does not necessarily inform modes of resistance in a pure sense, but it is, as Stuart Hall explains, "the ground on which … transformations are worked" (Middleton, 1997: 7). I will explore further the construction of a meaningful ground of transformation and contestation within popular culture.

Political and popular-musical discourses interconnect and touch in meaningful ways and cannot easily be disentangled. "Nothing completely coincides," write Gilles Deleuze and Felix

Guattari, "and everything intermingles or crosses over" (1987: 354). The intimate relationship between politics and popular culture involves passions and judgements, pleasure and power, identity and belonging, and moments of transformation and confirmation. Popular culture and politics make us *feel*, push us inwardly, allow us to experience such emotional sensations as laughter, sadness, and rage. Emotional responses to films, television programs, and songs indicate that cultural texts do not simply echo our states of mind, but move us and give us a stage on which to act out our dreams. Rock, or popular, songs are, as Kriese explains, prisms of "text and context" and bearers "of cultural symbols" (1995: 185). Songs outline and mark social negotiations in everyday life. "Pop songs," writes Simon Frith, "do not simply reflect emotions ... but give people romantic terms in which to articulate their emotions" (1988: 123). Songs provide a space in which to explore and challenge public and private relationships, to rearticulate and redefine identities. Through our engagement in this process of (re)articulation, popular culture links us to worlds of socialization and conversation, to narratives of adventure and fantasy, and to places of famine and/or war. No simple cause-and-effect relationship exists between politics and popular culture; it is a relationship continuously conditioned by histories, ideologies,[13] and institutions. Popular culture is, therefore, an integral part of our politics.

In this image-dominated age that places a critical stress on visuality, it is not surprising that the movement between politics and popular culture allows leaders of rock bands to meet with political leaders and discuss world issues such as Bono and Chretien have done, nor is it surprising that celebrities often become politicians as in the well-cited cases of Ronald Reagan, Sonny Bono, Clint Eastwood, and most recently, Jesse Ventura. After all, popular culture provides many of the cultural forms through which we communicate, and political communications depend upon symbols and gestures as much as on words and sentences.

Politicians have been known to borrow techniques from popular entertainment artists to promote their party and their image.[14] Bill Clinton played the saxophone on MTV and, as John Street explains, "he also studied carefully the ways in which television performers establish a rapport with their audience, and how they manage the emotions on display" (Street, 1997: 15). In the movement between popular culture and politics a constant flow of representations and forms of identity become entangled with politics. While popular culture can be used to reinforce the legitimacy of a political order, it can also become a site of political resistance, effectively narrativizing forms of defiance, weapons with which to challenge and transgress existing power structures. Acts of political resistance are often played out in popular culture, from films and television specials depicting historical accounts of domination, to *The Simpsons* and *Saturday Night Live* parodying daily events and artifacts. The ability to harness passion and express dissent positions popular culture within a field of political management capable of both liberating and oppressive outcomes. Drawing on culture's ability to move us, some organized events within the popular music imaginary encourage compassion, charity, and at times, political movement. "The connection between popular music and good causes," writes Reebee Garofalo, "has long been a part of the popular music landscape. The use of popular music to address topical issues on a grand scale has a more recent history" (2002: 1).

The mixing of popular music and political cause has garnered a number of labels conveying, primarily, a positive sensibility: "charity rock," "philanthropic pop," "political pop," "conscience rock," or "benefit concert." Organized events like Band Aid, Live Aid, Concerts for Bangladesh, Farm Aid, Hearing Aid, We Are The World [USA for Africa], Hands Across America, Rock Against Racism, Freedomfest, Sun City, Tibetan Freedom Concert, and America: A Tribute to Heroes are identified under such umbrella terms of give-and-take relations. The

terms "philanthropy," "charity," "politics," "conscience," and to some extent "benefit," are encased in a rather moralistic one-way power flow of monetary services, with a general interest in universal love and/or in the good of mankind. The term "benefit," while possibly referring to a performance whose proceeds go to a particular cause, connotes the idea of *right*, an entitlement of sorts, a right specifically in the form of money and service enjoyed under social security or government provision. It is this notion of right, this claim of entitlement, which in my mind repositions the present giver-receiver relationship in a way that complicates its traditional simplicity. Need is accompanied with right, indicating a movement beyond the actual moment of give and take, a movement toward histories, toward the totalizing systems of symbolic and economic inequality in which the receivers perpetually find themselves, a result of actions the "giver" has and continues to take. With this argument in mind, I will thus use the term "benefit" from this point on when describing the mixing of music with politics in the form of large-scale concerts.

While, generally speaking, the terms under which large-scale aid-related concerts are narrativized position and tend to fix each side within the confines of giver and receiver, the number of these concerts has grown considerably within their approximately thirty-year history. In granting activist musicians and singers a global stage, these events have promoted a humanitarian and politically active image of both the artist and the music industry, and have yielded profits through the exploration of previously untapped audience markets. Despite the often inevitable relationship between music-aid and album sales, the potential of these events to influence a mass movement from charity to political awareness, or even change, appears to outweigh the hindrances brought forth through the entanglement of economy and cultural politics. "The task of building a better world," acknowledges Garofalo, "necessarily entails

organizing mass movements" (1992: 55). Benefit concerts are mass movements organized within the parameters of popular music and are, by extension, a part of popular culture. These concerts are responses to historical developments within nations and communications technologies; they depend upon social conditions and contexts, ideas of global and local, and incorporate both subject and object.

Cross-cultural flow in popular music takes a number of forms, from albums to music videos, to musical movements and phenomenons. Recent examples include Ry Cooder's involvement with the Buena Vista Social Club album (1996) and subsequent documentary, or rather, as director Wim Wenders suggests "musicumentary" (1998) which explores the mixing of Western with Cuban sounds, stories, and musical traditions. More recently, Bruce Springsteen's latest "The Rising" discusses ambiguities and feelings of anger, loss, and hope in the wake of September 11th. Festivals like Monterey, Woodstock, the Tibetan Freedom Concert, and local celebrations of styles inviting performers from all over the world, like the International Jazz Festivals held in major Canadian cities annually, invite consideration and enjoyment of musics typically located outside of the traditional Western imaginary. These cross-cultural forms are indicative in a general way of the world music phenomenon that has exploded the intermingling of musics from other places to various degrees and with various results. Cross-cultural flow in popular music inhabits moments and is as fleeting as it is lasting. Albums and videos recorded during one time period form traces in the landscape for immediate enjoyment, but also for finding much later; the effects of these forms are thus ongoing. Benefits are also married to particular moments in the popular music process and leave similar traces, similar openings for cultural-political reconsideration and reimagining.

The West has a long history and geography tied to exploitation and occupation of other

cultures. "We are told over and over again, in a chant of certainty, that the story of America is

the story of the West verses the rest," explains Kathleen Stewart, "of capitalism and

modernization, of individualism, materialism, education, reason, democracy" (1996: 3).

Considerations of the cultural-political movements incorporated within, and influenced by, large-

scale benefits are necessarily tied to this history of expansion and exploitation. In this project I

will look more closely at how culture engages with politics through an exploration of four

benefits: the Concerts for Bangladesh on August 1st 1971 at Madison Square Garden in New

York City; Sun City, a collaborative album by Little Steven and Artists United Against

Apartheid recorded in 1985; Freedomfest (The Nelson Mandela Seventieth Birthday Tribute) on

June 11th 1988 at Wembley Stadium in London; and America: A Tribute To Heroes on

September 21st 2001 at an undisclosed location in Hollywood.

In tracing the modern large-scale benefit chronologically, these benefits draw from

differing cultural-political moments in time: the early 1970s, the early and later 1980s, and the

early twenty-first century. By foregoing extensive consideration of more "popular" benefits, such

as Live Aid and We Are the World – yet acknowledging their contributions to the cultural-

musical-political landscape – I draw from lesser-examined benefits by way of opening up spaces

of inquiry in which to (re)articulate the benefits' place(s) in Western collective memory while at

the same time adding to the ongoing critical debate surrounding the benefit. Images of need and

disaster from "Eastern" places are incorporated into the Western news imaginary on a day-to-day

basis. I will explore movements from culture to politics and politics to culture and will consider

the Concerts for Bangladesh, Sun City, Freedomfest, and America: A Tribute To Heroes in

relation to Western imaginings of Bangladesh, South Africa, and Afghanistan respectively. By

examining the construction of these places, I am necessarily reconsidering the West's construction of its own positional superiority. While I understand that America and Britain alone do not represent the West geographically, they do reflect the West ideologically. The absence of any sustained exploration of a Canadian benefit reflects the tendency for large-scale benefit organizers to book space, for example, at Madison Square Garden in New York City rather than, say, at the Saddledome in Calgary for reasons both cultural and economic, in an attempt to secure greater exposure and publicity for the events. I will explore the place of the benefit concert in the popular music imaginary via moments of movement back and forth between cultural and political landscapes, considering narrativizations of celebrity positioning and ideas of place. The relationship between celebrity, politics, and popular music moves against, across, and within time and space, through moments of crossing and uncrossing, as chords and causes alike become curiously intertwined.

1: Placing Bangladesh:
Remembering the Concerts for Bangladesh in Cultural-Political Landscapes

Isn't it a pity,
Isn't it a shame
How we break each other's hearts
And cause each other pain
How we take each other's love
Without thinking anymore
Forgetting to give back
Isn't it a pity

Some things take so long but how do I explain?
When not too many people
Can see we're all the same
And because of all their tears,
Their eyes can't hope to see
The beauty that surrounds them –
Oh isn't it a pity
> George Harrison, "Isn't it a pity,"
> *All Things Must Pass*, 1970

"Joi Bangla" (2000: 218).
> Ravi Shankar[15]

With western eyes and serpent's breath,
We lay our own conscience to rest.
> Porishead, "Western Eyes,"
> *Portishead*, 1997

Contemporary geographies are connected to public and private histories. The people living and moving through the area that is now Bangladesh have witnessed a number of presidential assassinations, political and economic unrest, and various natural disasters since approximately 1200 A.D.[16] The socio- and geopolitical events leading up to the Concerts for Bangladesh that caught Ravi Shankar's attention and led to George Harrison's involvement, are spatially territorial and incorporate specifying and opposing ideas of nation and nationality. The dismantling of the British Empire, for example, brought about a number of shifts in boundaries and borders, pointing towards subsequent reterritorializations. Remembrances of the events

leading to the Concerts for Bangladesh are both public and private in nature: public because of

the official documentation of historical facts and figures of physical events in relation to date and

place; private because of the existence of human relationships to date and place, of feelings,

roots, and imaginary ties. Ashok K. Dutt recounts the official history:

> After the British left India in 1947 the subcontinent was divided into India and
> Pakistan. The latter consisted of two geographically separate divisions, East
> Pakistan (present-day Bangladesh) and West Pakistan (present-day Pakistan).
> When the East Pakistan-based Awami League candidates won a majority in the
> Pakistan National Assembly in the 1970 elections, a power struggle within the
> country was the result. The West Pakistan-based government began cracking
> down on East Pakistan, unleashing one of the most severe repressions in
> history upon the Bengali people. Almost ten million refugees fled to
> neighbouring India. Late in 1971 East Pakistan was liberated from West
> Pakistan and on December 16, 1971, it declared its independence and gave
> itself a new name, Bangladesh[17] (1997: 1).

The recounting of this story about conflict and territorial struggle between West and East

Pakistan, while acknowledging ties of historical events to time and place, describes nothing

about the traumatic experiences of the people; their stories and feelings about these geo-political

changes. Knowledge about a culture's beliefs, morals, laws, customs, is a view from the outside

in, characterized by learning and loss. "Culture is not just learned," explains Dipankar Gupta,

"nor passed on as an artifice. Culture is really about experience and interaction with its other

members" (2000: 28). Culture, and its politics, are products of people interacting in various

settings. "Culture," Gupta explains of A. L. Kroeber's work in anthropology, "[is] superorganic

and [can]not be understood outside of the density of social interactions" (2000: 28). For Shankar,

the brutal occurrences in Bangladesh prove more of a social remembrance than Dutt's geo-

political retelling.

Shankar, while physically removed from the region of Bangladesh, experiences the

cultural and political upheaval in relation to his experience with time and place in both the West

and East. He maps his location in the West when certain events unfolded in the East; he

acknowledges the turmoil and subsequent relocations caused by political events, and he

identifies his family ties and roots to the place now known as Bangladesh. "In 1971, while I was

living in my Highland Avenue house in Hollywood," Shankar remembers,

> there developed the big Bangladesh problem. Bangladesh, or East Pakistan as it
> was then known, wanted its independence from West Pakistan's domination.
> The trouble originated with the language issue.[18]
> Bengali is the mother tongue in what is now Bangladesh, just as it is for
> the West Bengal people in India; though in Bangladesh the population is
> mainly Muslim (which is why that region became East Pakistan in 1947), while
> West Bengal is predominantly Hindu. Hindus remain in a minority of about 10-
> 15% in Bangladesh today. In 1971 the Government in Islamabad (West
> Pakistan) was attempting to make Urdu the national language throughout both
> Pakistans. The Bengalis, who already considered that they were treated like
> second-class citizens, objected strongly.
> From the language issue the troubles escalated into a large-scale conflict
> between the Islamabad Government and the huge Bengali-speaking population
> in the Eastern side. The Bengalis wanted freedom and the war inevitably
> followed. India then intervened, and unfortunately the bad feeling remains even
> today between India and Pakistan, with the main issue now of course being
> Kashmir. The India Army stepped in as a liberator, established the Bangladeshi
> Government and then left. It was admirable that they did not dominate the area,
> as the Russians did with the countries they liberated in Europe.
> While all this was going on I learnt that many of my distant relatives,
> along with hundreds of thousands of other refugees, were fleeing to Calcutta. I
> felt very concerned. It was not political or religious feeling on my part; it was
> more linguistic. Being Bengali-speaking myself I felt sympathetic towards
> Bangladesh, but even more so for the refugees who had crossed the border into
> India and were suffering so much, especially the children (1999: 217).

Shankar's remembering and reimagining of events leading to the organization of the

Concerts for Bangladesh are personal and interpretive. While he is not specifically a member of

the Bengali community and locality, he offers a recounting that is informed by learned and

experienced social movement. Since the Concerts for Bangladesh in 1971, Shankar has visited

Bangladesh at least three times, enjoying the warm reception of the people. Due to his ancestry,

on his second visit, Shankar is marked by the people of Bangladesh as one of their own:

> In 1988 I went to Bangladesh as a state guest of their Government, and was invited back again in 1992 and 1997. I cannot express what a tumultuous reception I was given on those visits, from the President right down to the common people. Everyone showered me with such love and expressed gratitude for helping to arrange the concerts in 1971. On the second visit I brought my wife Sukanya with me, and she was given such adoration by the people. Bangladeshi are so similar to my people from West Bengal: full of love, temperamental and emotional, passionate for poetry, literature, music, theatre, cinema and celebrities. We went gaga over the food, with its tasty vegetables and especially the wonderful variety of fish. Because my ancestors were from Jessore, the people even claimed me as their own – a Bangladeshi! (1999: 220-1).

Memories of the "Concerts for Bangladesh" are necessarily connected with the past, and present-day geographies are intertwined with public and private histories.

The familiarity of the "Concerts for Bangladesh" is preserved, situated, and recalled in the cultural-political landscape through public and private remembrances. Memory, on the surface, offers some relief in ever-changing cultural and political geographies, in freezing moments from the past in a particular time and space, to be recalled in the present and future. But memory, like landscape, is subject to the shifts and changes brought on by time. Memory then, as paradoxical and provoking as landscape, is dubious, and must be constantly reasserted and rearticulated. Many texts of remembrance circulate throughout the popular-cultural landscape: books, films, television shows, plays, concerts, artworks, and songs. Music is an interpretive and interpreted thread found in cultural and political reassertion and rearticulation processes from within and outside of national boundaries. Perhaps the most well-known song referencing the war and turmoil in Bangladesh is Harrison's "Bangla Desh." But this is not the only song written about the war in the region. Joan Baez composed "Song Of Bangladesh," released after the Concerts for Bangladesh, rearticulating the conflict as something plague-like in nature characterized by sadness and ignorance, brutal casualties, environmental disasters and severe illness, and urging the West into political and cultural awareness through storytelling:

Bangladesh, Bangladesh / Bangladesh, Bangladesh / When the sun sinks in the west / Die a million people of the Bangladesh // The story of Bangladesh / Is an ancient one again made fresh / By blind men who carry out commands / Which flow out of the laws upon which nation stands / Which is to sacrifice a people of a land // Bangladesh, Bangladesh / Bangladesh, Bangladesh / When the sun sinks in the west / Die a million people of the Bangladesh // Once again we stand aside / And watch the families crucified / See a teenage mother's vacant eyes / As she watches her feeble baby try / To fight the monsoon rains and the cholera flies / And as the students at the university / Asleep at night quite peacefully / The soldiers came and shot them in their beds / And terror took the dorm awakening shrieks of dread / And silent frozen forms and pillows drenched in red // Bangladesh, Bangladesh / Bangladesh, Bangladesh / When the sun sinks in the west / Die a million people of the Bangladesh // Did you read about the officer's plea / For donor's blood? It was given willingly / By boys who took the needles in their veins / And from their bodies every drop of blood was drained / No time to comprehend and there was little pain // And so the story of Bangladesh / Is an ancient one again made fresh / By all who carry out commands / Which flow out of the laws upon which nations stand / Which say to sacrifice a people for a land // Bangladesh, Bangladesh / Bangladesh, Bangladesh / When the sun sinks in the west / Die a million people of the Bangladesh (1972).

Baez's "Song of Bangladesh" indicates continued public awareness of the horrors endured by the people of Bangladesh. Songs provide us with ways to remember, positioning events in our minds, and constructing frames of familiar reference. George Harrison, for example, with his song "Bangla Desh," tells the story of his indirect experience with the cultural and political upheaval in Bangladesh during 1971:

> My friend came to me,
> With sadness in his eyes,
> He told me that he wanted help,
> Before his country died,
> Although I couldn't feel the pain,
> I knew I'd have to try,
> Now I'm asking all of you,
> To help us save some lives
> (Swimmer, 1971).

The friend Harrison speaks of in the song is, of course, Shankar, who offers his own remembering of their discussion about the political problems unfolding in Bangladesh and their

effects upon the Bengali people and those who had chosen to flee to India. "The idea also occurred to me of giving a concert to raise money to help these refugees," remembers Shankar,

> something on a bigger scale than normal. While I was thinking of this, George Harrison was in Los Angeles. He would come to my house in the mornings and spend time there, and he understood what I was going through. I asked him frankly, 'George, can you help me?' because I knew that if I gave a concert myself I would not be able to raise a significant amount. He was really moved and said, 'Yes, something should be done.' That was when he wrote his song 'Bangla Desh' (1999: 217-9).

Harrison remembers Shankar providing him with newspaper clippings about the political instability and the great number of deaths in the region in order to inform and fill in the gaps in his knowledge of events. Shankar attracted Harrison's attention to happenings in Bangladesh, and Harrison would in turn attract greater public attention to, and involvement in, the situation with the organization of the Concerts for Bangladesh.[19] "The war had been going on for a bit," explains Harrison,

> and I had hardly even heard of it, so he fed me a lot of newspaper articles about it. He was saying, 'I'm going to have to do something to help. Attract a bit of attention to it, raise a bit of money, much more than I could make doing my own concert, maybe like ten to twenty thousand dollars.' That for him was like doing a big one. And so I got involved. The priority was to attract world attention to what was going on. It wasn't so much the money because you can feed somebody today and tomorrow they will still be hungry, but if they are getting massacred you've got to try and stop that first of all.
> I said, 'Ok, I'll go on the show and I'll get some other people to come and help. We'll try and make it into a big show, and maybe we can make a million dollars instead of a few thousand.'[20] So I got on the telephone trying to round people up. We pinpointed the days which were astrologically good, and we found Madison Square Garden was open on one of those days – 1st August (Shankar, 1999: 220).

The Concerts for Bangladesh raised much more than Harrison's goal of a million dollars: more than $10 million in fact was raised, but most of the money did not reach the people who needed it most at the time. "The 1971 Concert[s] for Bangladesh raised more than $10 million for the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)," reports Christopher

Connelly, "[b]ut until last month, only about $2 million had reached the charity. The reason: a

nine-year Internal Revenue Service audit of the Apple Corporation, the label through which the

proceeds from the concert[s] and subsequent record and film were to be funneled. Based on

figures supplied by UNICEF, at least 6 million children died in Bangladesh during the period of

inquiry, from 1972 through 1981" (1982: 39). While the concerts might have fueled an open

space for cross-cultural interaction, the distribution system for the proceeds of the events was

incompatible with the urgency of the situation for the people of Bangladesh. The problem

appears to stem from a taxation issue, as Connely explains:

> Why were proceeds from an obviously charitable event taxable at all?
> "This is not an unusual situation," said [Robert] McQuiston [a Philadelphia tax
> lawyer who worked with UNICEF on the case]. "You have entertainers who've
> done concerts and turned the money over. The question is, who earned the
> money? Was it the charity or was it the entertainer? That whole morass
> attracted the attention of the IRS."
> [Hugh] Downs [host of ABC's 20/20] credits Harrison with bringing
> about a resolution. "The Apple people were worried about [what would
> happen] if they just handed the gross over to UNICEF as it accumulated and
> then the IRS said, you gotta pay taxes on that. So George put up a personal
> guarantee of $4 million to insure them against that. He really broke the logjam
> single-handedly and along with our lawyers, got the thing wrapped up" (1982:
> 42).

From his position in the West, Harrison asserted his ability to draw on both cultural and

economic capital vis-à-vis the power of celebrity during both the creation of the Concerts for

Bangladesh and the subsequent handling of proceeds years later. Since Harrison knew many

other well-known musicians, he was able to call and ask for their help in putting together a

concert that would attract public attention and increase awareness of the happenings in

Bangladesh. The focus of world attention on a region influences and can even help determine

what happens in a region, performance here is perfomative. Harrison "gave back" by doing good,

helping out where and when he could in a time of need. Harrison attempted to put himself in the

place of those suffering in Bangladesh and, while recognizing the difficulty in doing so, asked

his audience to attempt the same exercise. Through his song "Bangla Desh," appearing as the

final song of the Concerts for Bangladesh, Harrison points toward the physical and imaginary

distance of Bangladesh and his determination to move past the idea of associated inaction:

> Bangla Desh, Bangla Desh / Where so many people are dying fast / And it sure
> looks like a mess / I've never seen such distress / No won't you lend your hand
> and understand / Relieve the people of Bangla Desh // Bangla Desh, Bangla
> Desh / Such a great disaster – I don't understand / But it sure looks like a mess /
> I've never known such distress / Now please don't turn away, I want to hear you
> say / Relieve the people of Bangla Desh / Relieve Bangla Desh // Bangla Desh,
> Bangla Desh / Now it may seem so far from where we all are / It's something
> we can't neglect / It's something I can't neglect / Now won't you give some
> bread to get the starving fed / We've got to relieve Bangla Desh / Relieve the
> people of Bangla Desh [repeat last two lines] (Swimmer, 1971).

There is no just way that the past can be severed from the present. Even as we understand

and acknowledge the pastness of the past, we must recognize that the past and present inform

each other; each implies the other, and both co-exist. How we formulate and come to represent

the past shapes our understandings of the present. The shadows of European imperialism

continue to fall over recent and current times. "Hardly any North American, African, European,

Latin, American, Indian, Caribbean, Australian individual – the list is very long," Edward Said

explains, "who is alive today has not been touched by the empires of the past" (1993: 5).

Territorialing and bordering lines have altered and shifted because of social, political, and

economic wars and struggles, but their imaginary counterparts, the imaginary lines and

demarcations of strict separation and control, continue to inscribe and situate the present.

"History, in other words, is not a calculating machine," explains Bazil Davidson, "[i]t unfolds in

the mind and imagination" (Said, 1993: 3). We search for ways past the rigorous old physical

and imaginary maps of traditional history by acknowledging histories from *other* places and

voices, that is, the reimaginings and retellings of experiences through stories that reposition and rethink old ideas of place, geography, and symbolic categorization.

New and interesting interactions between cultures and politics are reclaiming a sense of place within popular culture through music, television, and radio programming. We see the building up of old boundaries between subjectivity and identity just as we see their reconsideration via their reformulations and repositionings. Sanitized, that is to say white-washed, dominant-ideologically-approved ideas of interaction between, and appropriation of, culture and music bring with them all sorts of questions, doubts, polemics, and ideological premises. "We live of course in a world not only of commodities but also of representations," acknowledges Said, "and representations – their production, circulation, history, and interpretation – are the very element of culture" (1993: 56). The acknowledgement of uncertainty and complexity behind anxious repetitions of representational, and consequently spatial, separations brings forward the potential for other stories that incorporate reconstructions and rerememberings of past events, musical and otherwise, to be heard. The Concerts for Bangladesh[21] dismantled, for a few moments, the strict traditional symbolic boundaries separating West from East, and thereby brought together ideas of West and East into the same space, that they might cross, intermingle, and co-exist. Moving away from a Western collective sense of an Eastern cultural and political invasion, the concerts facilitated opportunities for cultural and political exchange through the popular medium of music. The event is now remembered and rearticultated, individually and collectively, within the Western cultural political imaginary. Retellings of the stories surrounding the Concerts for Bangladesh in the popular music landscape are necessarily both public *and* private historical, geographical, and mythic (re)constructions.

What has become known as the "Concert for Bangladesh" is actually the title for two concerts for Bangladesh that were performed and are collectively remembered. On Sunday, August 1, 1971, George Harrison walked on stage at Madison Square Garden twice, once in the afternoon and once in the evening, to commence the benefit shows to help the people of Bangladesh. Both times, Harrison stepped out to greet a sellout crowd of over twenty thousand people. The two benefit shows were very nearly the same, "the evening perhaps slightly more lustrous" ("The Bangla Desh Benefit," 1971:1). Harrison performed and acted as MC and narrator at both concerts. "I'd just like to say before we start off with the concert," Harrison began the evening show, "that, uh, to thank you all for coming here. And, um, as you all know it's a special benefit concert. We've got a good show lined up, I hope so anyway" (dir. Paul Swimmer, 1971). The concert began, rather unconventionally, with an Indian music section. "The first part of the concert is going to be an Indian music section," explained Harrison as he looked out over the crowd, "[y]ou are going to hear a sitar and sarod duet. And, uh, as you realize the Indian music's a little more serious than our music and I'd appreciate if you could, uh, try and settle down and get into the Indian music section." Harrison proceeded to introduce Ravi Shankar on sitar, "master of [the] sarod" Ali Akbar Khan, Ravi's tabla player Alla Rakha, and Kamala Chalevavarty playing tamboura. The crowd responded with cheers and applause after each introduction. When the performers were all on stage, Harrison turned back to the audience, "[s]o I hope you all enjoy the concert. Thank you," and then walked out of the spotlight and into the darkness backstage.

Ravi Shankar, his fellow musicians, and their music effectively entered Western cultural-political place, both physically and imaginatively at this time. Shankar, seated with his sitar, smiled and addressed the crowd. "Friends," he began, "[a]s George told you just now, they will

be participating in the second part, the first part is going to be us playing for you on the Indian instruments, the Indian music." Shankar, with an acute awareness of his venue in New York City and his audience, and perhaps its propensity for restlessness, rearticulated the reverence and seriousness of Indian music to the largely Western crowd, bearing in mind that the audience was drawn to Madison Square Garden with the promise of seeing such performers as Billy Preston, Ringo Starr, Leon Russell, Eric Clapton, Bob Dylan, and of course George Harrison, all yet to take the stage. "This is the type of music," explains Shankar, "which needs a little concentrated listening. And I would request you have a little patience. I know you are very impatient to hear your favourite stars who will be in the second part." That night a largely Western audience witnessed the juxtaposition of popular-Eastern and popular-Western music performed on the same stage. The unconventionality of the situation was not lost on Shankar, who took the opportunity to connect the cultural and political reasons for the Concerts for Bangladesh. "We are trying to set the music to this special event, this historical program, which is just not a program as usual, but which has a message," said Shankar. "And this is to just make you aware of the very serious situation that is happening [in Bangladesh]." Shankar, acknowledging the affective power of music, expressed his desire to convey the burden of the many feelings experienced by the people of Bangladesh for the largely Western audience, and through his ties to and experiences with this place, acts as a conduit of sorts, connecting East and West. "We are not trying," Shankar explained, "to make politic [sic], we are artists. But through our music we would like you to feel the agony and also the pain and lot of sad happenings in Bangladesh, and also the refugees who have come to India." Notions of feeling, music, and storytelling interweave in some interesting ways. The idea of conveying feeling through music is important to Shankar, by way of telling stories about the hardships in Bangladesh; the idea that music is a

way to cope and overcome a feeling, a moment, to provide stories about experiences, is important to Harrison. "Mainly the object has been to get something out of my system," explains Harrison,

> as opposed to 'being a songwriter'. The note that you use can make you think in a certain way. Listening to a sitar, for example, you think in those terms, anyway some people write riffs to which you can go out and beboop and some compose good stuff that's well-planned and thought out and musical. It seems to me that for a certain type of writer, it is not so much what he feels or stories about what he's going through, but it is more like a craft.
> ... this Indian music we are listening to now is directly conveying the feelings of the player. So to try and write a song is, to me, more a case of being the vehicle to get over that feeling, of that moment, of that time (1980: 59).
> "One such song was [Harrison's] "Bangla Desh," Derek Tylor explains, "a song for the times, terrible times in the unhappy seventies" (Harrison, 1980: 59).

The intertwining of culture and politics through raga, coupled with Shankar's desire that everyone might feel the agony of the people of Bangladesh – their despair and desperation, and their faith and hope – pushed toward a movement across historical and geographical boundaries, that threatened to shatter the physical and imaginary distances between West and East. The need for aid in Bangladesh and the necessity of the audience to *feel* something, was further emphasized with the screening of images. "During the intermission ... they screened a disturbing film of the Pakistani refugees: it showed [c]rows picking at carrion, children bloated with malnutrition, the dead and dying victims of cholera" ("The Bangla Desh Benefit," 1971: 1). The combination of Indian music and documentary images shown during the intermission, while highlighting a sense of need – and reiterating to a Western crowd the humanitarian purposes of the concerts – also showed a tremendous cultural vibrancy and the strong determination of the people of Bangladesh. The concerts provided both visual and auditory stimuli of the turmoil and suffering of the Bangladeshis and along with the beautiful sounds of the sitar, sarod, and tabla,

brought the geographically distant place of Bangladesh inside the Western imaginary for a few

moments, disturbing Western lived and policed spaces of so-called ordinary life.

Every traditional cultural and political narrative in the West is marked with an

identifiable beginning, middle, and ending, its events positioned within a framework of linear

understanding and logical development. Territories are marked and boundaries clearly defined.

Stories begin when a beginning is chosen. "When you think of huge rock and roll benefit

concerts, Live Aid, Farm Aid, and more recent shows like The Concert for Monserrat, Free

Tibet, and The Paris Concert for Amnesty International probably come to mind," writes Michael

Riesenbeck, "[t]he rock benefit that started it all though was The Concert[s] for Bangladesh"

(2001: 1). Markers of beginning and points of origin, while appearing as fixed, are arbitrary

markers of time and place within Western imagination. They are provisional, unstable,

contradictory, and increasingly contested in the popular cultural landscape. The importance of

events deemed significant is not always agreed upon. In the act of recognition, there is choice –

choice between different names, different ideas, and different perspectives that may serve in

imaginings of the same event. In narrating the placement of what Garofalo calls "charity rock" in

the popular music landscape, he constructs the importance of the Concerts for Bangladesh,

differently from Riesenbeck. "With Woodstock as its spiritual touchstone, and capitalism as its

enabling force," explains Garofalo,

> charity rock allowed the music industry to put on a humanitarian face, even as
> it exploited a gold mine of untapped markets. It also provided activists
> musicians with a global platform, and they pushed the humanitarian impulse
> toward more overt political activism. Charity rock clearly has historical
> antecedents in such events as George Harrison's Concert[s]for Bangla Desh in
> 1971 and the No Nukes concert series of 1979. Still, the story of charity rock as
> a named phenomenon began with Bob Geldof. Inspired by a BBC documentary
> on Ethiopian famine, he co-wrote (with Midge Ure) 'Do They Know It's
> Christmas?' and organized the British pop elite into an ensemble, Band Aid, to
> record the song, with proceeds donated to famine relief (2002: 1-2).

While Garofalo acknowledges that "charity rock" was influenced by the Concerts for

Bangladesh, he does not single it out as a clear marker of origin as Riesenbeck does. Like

Garofalo, I am not claiming the Concerts for Bangladesh as a marker of beginning, middle, or

ending, of benefit concerts in the popular cultural landscape. What interests me about the

Concerts for Bangladesh is its occupation in time and space and the cultural political movements

within its duration. The concerts brought together music from the West and East, and

consequently, ideas about historical fact and fantasy, and physical and imagined geography. On

that August night in 1971, the guitar and sitar shared a stage, intermingling Western and Eastern

histories and geographies within Western popular culture.

Historical and geographical remembrances span across cultural and political landscapes,

both real and imaginary. Physical landscapes are intimately linked with ideas of place, ideas of

belonging and home. Landscape is paradoxical in its ability to shift and alter the traditional

perceptions of cultural, political, geographical, and narrative boundaries. Land is, as W. H. New

explains, "an icon of stability and a medium of change" (1997: 6). It is filled with trees, parks,

oceans, lakes, mountains, buildings, cities, and deserts; inhabitable and uninhabitable sites

incorporating different shapes, textures, and geologies. We know, for example, that Bangladesh

is surrounded by India on its western, northern, and northeastern borders, by Myanmer (Burma)

on its southeastern, and by the Bay of Bengal on its southern side. The land of Bangladesh is

made up of mangrove forests, an extensive water system of fresh and tidal waters, plains and

active flood plains, land depressions, foothills, coastal plains, islands, ridges and valleys.[22] While

appearing as fixed, landscape informs spaces or places challenging the traditional borders of

power, as the Bangladesh landscape can well illustrate. "Between 1960 and 1970," explains

Ashok K. Dutt, "nine cyclones accompanied with floods hit Bangladesh during the October

through December period" (1997: 1). Subject to destructive flooding, particularly from June to November, the people of Bangladesh are used to dramatic changes in the country's physical landscape and in their own day to day lives during these months. The appearance of fixity in both physical and imaginary landscapes is nothing more than an illusion, masking perpetual changes. Fixity vies controversially with fluidity in popular imaginings of landscapes. Narratives about [or over] land are as paradoxical and ambivalent as the landscape itself, bringing to the fore hidden longings and secret actualities. "I would like there to exist places that are stable," writes Georges Perec, "unmoving, tangible, untouched and almost untouchable, unchanging, deep-rooted; places that might be points of reference, of departure, of origin" (1997: 90). Landscape is not simply either static or moving, but the shape, and shaping, of the land is determined by the friction between stasis and movement; the earth, as still as sound is to the naked eye, pulses subtly with the potential for affect and growth. It simultaneously embodies paradigms of origin and departure, pleasure and terror, physicality and imagination. The desire for stability within cultural and political landscapes is linked with notions of belonging and conceptions of home. Perec continues by listing the places where he wants stability: "[m]y birthplace, the cradle of my family, the house where I may have been born, the tree I may have seen grow (that my father may have planted the day I was born), the attic of my childhood filled with intact memories" (1997: 91). Along with speaking about the past, and trying to recount the specifics of events, comes the realization that we can never really fully know or explain historical happenings; the past as we recall it in the present is a product of both fact and fiction. A thread of uncertainty, Perec points out, weaves through the tellings and retellings of past events, particular details are sketchy and become subject to memory and positionality. No place is really ever stable; everything changes. Places and spaces are "fragile," explains Perec, "time is going to wear them

away, to destroy them. Nothing will any longer resemble what it was" (1997: 91). Places that once existed in the physical world are now relegated to the mind, like the house were Perec may have been born, or the tree he may have seen grow, or the Concerts for Bangladesh, which may have been the birthplace of the modern-day benefit concert.

"Once upon a time – *it was and it was not so,*" explains the narrator of Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses*, "as the old stories used to say, *it happened and it never did* -- maybe, then, or maybe not," (1997: 35). Maybe the Concerts for Bangladesh *were* the beginning of the wave of benefit concerts that would continue throughout the eighties and nineties, or maybe not; maybe the concerts influenced the format and organization of future benefit concerts as Garafalo suggests, or maybe not. We recognize the Concerts for Bangladesh as public events that occurred on August 1, 1971, at Madison Square Garden in New York. The concerts themselves are relived on many different levels, from many differing perspectives. We can never fully know the past through the historical factualizing of date, place, and set lists (the order of songs on the album *The Concert for Bangladesh* is different from the order of songs on the video); the events encompass many conversations and relationships that weave in and out of the performances, the songs, and the audience's experiences. At a press conference in 1971, Harrison was asked by a reporter about his choice to involve himself with, what were at that time recent happenings in Bangladesh. "Mr. Harrison, with all of the enormous problems in the world, how did you happen to choose this one to do something about?" Harrison responded: "[b]ecause I was asked by a friend if I'd help, you know, that's all" (Swimmer, 1971). Harrison continued his response after a pause:

> Really it was Ravi Shankar's idea. He wanted to do something about this and
> he was talking to me and telling me about his concern and asked me if I had
> any suggestions. Once I decided that I was going to go on to the show, I
> organized things with a little help from my friends.

Imaginings and reconstructions of the Concerts for Bangladesh involve the knowledge of date

and place but also an awareness and acknowledgement of conversations, friendships, myths,

histories, differences, and movements from West to East and East to West that extend outwards,

well before the concerts in 1971. Remembering the Concerts for Bangladesh necessarily entails

the acknowledgement of the interconnectedness of different socialites and constructed worlds

touched upon during the performances and negotiated prior to the concerts.

The Concerts for Bangladesh trace a cross-cultural intersection and exchange of Western

and Eastern cultures and political movements in time and space within the Western music

imaginary. "To live," as Walter Benjamin explains, "means to leave traces" (1978: 155). These

concerts, these lived events, these cultural political movements in the West are responses to the

cultural political upheavals in Bangladesh. The Concerts for Bangladesh exist alongside

collective social constructions of Orientalist and Indianist discourses, and racial imaginaries that

circulate within the popular cultural landscape despite geographical shifts in boundaries

accompanying the dismantling of Empires throughout history. In their co-edited book *Music And*

The Racial Imagination (2000), Ronald Radano and Philip V. Bohlman discuss and

> define the "racial imagination" as the shifting matrix of ideological
> constructions of difference associated with body type and colour that have
> emerged as part of the discourse network of modernity. As a crucial aspect in
> the constitution of identities and groups, it carries profound social meaning. As
> an ideology, however, the racial imagination remains forever on the loose,
> subject to reformation within the memories and imaginations of the social as it
> blurs into other categories constituting difference (2000: 5).

Indeed, as Radano and Bohlman point out, the West is "historically and musically centred ...

[and its] cultural and artistic boundaries, despite centuries of global encounter, remain tidy and

distinct" (2000: 3). This intersection of Eastern music with Western imaginary, for example, did

not occur without some awkwardness. The arena audience, being unfamiliar with Indian musical

traditions, mistook the minutes of tuning by the musicians for the end of a raga, and began to

applaud. Shankar diffused the moments of tension through humour. "The show was started by

Alubhai and me playing a duet accompanied on tabla by Alla Rakha, with Kamala playing

tamboura," remembers Shankar, "lasting for about half an hour. A funny incident happened at the

beginning. After we had tuned up we were silent just before playing, whereupon the audience

broke out in applause! So I said immediately, 'If you like our tuning so much, I hope you will

enjoy the playing more'" (1999: 220). In order to see and hear itself, the West constructs its

exotic and inferior Other through a racial imagination. Western imaginings can thus create entire

other places filled with its burden of entire populations, the so-called "white man's burden,"

heavy yet attractive, repulsive yet desirable. The external Other in these visions is easy to

identify and control. By keeping them at bay, the West is able to suppress fears and anxieties and

reassert their superiority. The Concerts for Bangladesh, with its featured Indian performers and

Indian music, brought sounds from an "Other" place past all the geographical and imaginary

borders, through the symbolic annihilations of the past and into Western place, thereby

provoking and disturbing Western conceptions of home, of belonging. Suddenly the Western

audience was not at "home" in Madison Square Garden. Audience members did not understand

the intricacies nor the structure of raga; Western popular music traditions did not "belong" in this

interaction of audience with Indian music, nor did these traditions facilitate any understandings

about the practices and sociality of Indian music performance. A break in playing did not signify

the end of a performance, but rather its beginning. Two different musical discourses met that

night in 1971; what incurred was a negotiation in meaning between the two musical practices

evident through moments of awkwardness. "Music exists and generates meaning in a number of

different, simultaneous forms," Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh explain,

as musical sound, and this is mediated by notations, by technological and visual forms, by the practices and sociality of performance, by social institutions and socioeconomic arrangements, by language in different guises (lyrics and dramatic narratives, theoretical and critical exegeses, and other discourses) and, relatedly, by conceptual and knowledge systems (2000: 37).

Music is filtered across the social landscape of identity formation, recounting stories of belonging, ownership, and conditions of difference. We are constantly rediscovering our spatial and temporal sociality. "Mikhail Bakhtin has talked about this beautifully when he talks about the relationship between I and the other [sic]," explains Helmi Jarviluoma; "[o]ne of the problems of being a human being is that I can't see myself. That is why I have to observe myself in the eyes of the Others" (1995: 159). Imaginative space between the West and Bangladesh keeps them at bay and our fears in check. We are as scared of their poverty as much as their perceived hunger for economic equality. Western and Eastern performers shared the same physical space and as the discomforts of this pairing became evident, they moved into symbolic negotiations. The Concerts for Bangladesh brought the view of Shankar, Khan, Rakha, and Chakvavarty, and Indian music closer to Western audiences, effectively shattering preconstructed boundaries and distances separating two worlds. As the fissure between the two worlds began to narrow, Western imaginings were brought into focus, all our fears and insecurities about hungry Asian hordes over whom we have no power, were, for a few moments, reflected back to us in their eyes. We fear the poverty of the Bangladeshis as much as their hunger for As Born and Hesmondhalgh explain, "[i]t is precisely music's extraordinary powers of imaginary evocation of identity and of cross-cultural and intersubjective empathy that render it a primary means of both marking and transforming individual and collective identities" (2000: 32). The performers saw us as we, gazing at the performers, saw ourselves. Here, finally, was cultural exchange.

Voices are enabled in places of cultural exchange that trace the paths of history from the past into the present, connecting the individual stories and experiences from before the Concerts for Bangladesh with the events themselves. Traces of stories from the past weave through the present and into the future. In his autobiography *Raga Mala* (1999),[23] Ravi Shankar recounts the sequence of events in his life through stories and personal remembrances which he acknowledges are subject to contradictions, the passing of time, and changes in perspective. "We all contradict ourselves," explains Shankar,

> and inevitably so. You can all too easily write an autobiography in which you praise one person to the heavens – your lover, your cook, or whomever – and omit to mention another person who was years ago the object of all your plaudits. In another ten or twenty years you may have a different partner, a different chef, a different perspective. Nothing is permanent in this life, and I can say this with true confidence of one who frequently goes through changes of heart! Some of my views expressed here would have been different fifty years ago or twenty-five years ago – or sometimes last week! I make no apology for this because it is unavoidable, but it is always worth bearing in mind (10).

Shankar collects the transitory moments in his life, fleeting yet eternal, and places and fits them into a sequence of autobiographical time. "Autobiography," according to Benjamin, "has to do with time, with sequence and what makes up the continuous flow of life" (1978: 28). I have chosen from Shankar's genealogy of events a collection of musings and reminiscences to illustrate the way conversations and stories are re-remembered and relocated. Taken from his ordering, his flow of recollection, these anecdotal threads construct and occupy detached moments and discontinuities as we remember the personal and popular events preceding the Concerts for Bangladesh and acknowledge these chosen threads of remembrance and their repositioning as an act of reconstruction.

Harkening back to my discussion of points of origin earlier, Oliver Craske calls Shankar the "Godfather of World Music …. Time and time again he has showed it possible to introduce

an apparently alien art form successfully into the heart of another culture" (Shankar, 1999: 213). There are apparently a number of originary markers associated with the Concerts for Bangladesh, if one chooses to recognize them as such. Shankar met George Harrison in June 1966 at a friend's house in London. Shankar, while aware of Western popular culture and The Beatles, was unfamiliar with the group's music. "At that time," Shankar explains, "although I had heard of the Beatles, I knew only that they were an extremely popular group" (1999: 189). The conversation during their first meeting was a mixture of questions and answers about Indian music and religion, "Norwegian Wood," and the sitar. "From the moment we met George was asking questions, and I felt he was genuinely interested in Indian music and religion," remembers Shankar:

> He appeared to be a sweet, straightforward young man. I said that I had been
> told he had used the sitar, although I had not heard the song 'Norwegian Wood'.
> He seemed quite embarrassed, and it transpired that he had only had a few
> sittings with an Indian chap who was in London (a student of the late Motiram,
> my disciple in Deli) to see how the instrument should be held and to learn the
> basics of playing. 'Norwegian Wood' was supposedly causing so much
> brouhaha, but when I eventually heard the song I thought it was a strange
> sound that had been produced on the sitar! As a result, though, young fans of
> The Beatles everywhere had become fascinated by the instrument (1999: 189).

The power of Harrison's celebrity is shown in his ability to influence the interests of his fans. As Shankar suggests, Beatles fans map Harrison's interest in the sitar, and in Indian music and religion, and then by association, experiment with the instrument, music, and religion themselves. Harrison's power as a celebrity to draw the interest of crowds would be shown again five years later in the organization and execution of the Concerts for Bangladesh. But I am, as Crosby was prone to do in the retelling of Mahalia Jackson's influence on Martin Luther King's speech, getting ahead of the story. Shankar's reverence for the seriousness and sacredness of

Indian music caused him to caution Harrison when the "quiet Beatle"[24] expressed his desire to

learn to play the sitar under his instruction. Shankar explained to Harrison that

> learning to play the sitar is like learning Western classical music on the violin
> or the cello. It is not merely a matter of learning how to hold the instrument and
> play a few strokes and chords, after which (with sufficient talent) you can
> prosper on your own, as is common with the guitar in Western pop music. I
> told him this nicely, getting him to understand the seriousness of Indian music
> (1999: 189).

Shankar continued to impress upon Harrison the technical and spiritual complexities of the

sitar.[25] "Then I asked him if he could give time and total energy to work hard on it," remembers

Shankar; "[h]e said he would do his best, and we arranged a date then and there" (1999: 190).

Shankar went to Harrison's house twice within the week, and provided basic instruction

on holding the sitar, proper fingering, and gave some playing exercises. "I also wrote down the

names of all the notes in the sargam (Indian solfeggio) to make him familiar with them," Shankar

explains. "That was all. We fixed it that he would come to India for a couple of months to learn

in more depth" (1999: 190). Harrison's relationship with Shankar bloomed into a friendship

characterized by learning and exchange. Harrison devoted time to learn about both the sitar and

Indian culture, while Shankar learned more about the Beatles and their position of popularity in

the West and East. "After meeting George I found out about how popular he was as a Beatle,"

Shankar explains,

> even without the other three. I also heard some of the group's records, and
> acquainted myself with what they stood for as artists. Many of their songs and
> melodies were beautiful.[26] All my young nieces and nephews were gaga about
> The Beatles, and when they heard I had met them they were so excited! I knew
> about Frank Sinatra and Elvis Presley[27] creating such a frenzied atmosphere
> wherever they sang – especially from the footage of girls shrieking before
> Elvis even started a song – and I was told there were the same situations, only
> much more crazy, with The Beatles (1999:192).

Harrison's global popularity, while at times forcing some creativity of disguise on his part, did not hinder his determination to travel to India in an attempt to satisfy his curiosity concerning Indian music and religion.[28]

Physical movement through landscape links the far and near, what is here with what is over there, one state to the next, surprise and disappointment, latitudes with longitudes. The body, as a living thread, as it were, weaves in and out of spaces and places through the act of traveling. The body can be located and relocated; and it can also be dislocated as it restructures senses of identity, difference, boundary, and memory. "Movement," explains Shelley Hornstein, "is a counterpoint to the fixity of place" (2000: 45). Travel, by way of incorporating both voluntary and involuntary movements, pushes us to the edge and challenges us to acknowledge the lines of a map and their imaginary manifestation in the physical world. We know when we have entered a different geopolitical place; coloured markings on maps made real in the form of signposts that outline the name of a region, often coupled with population data and street signs (streets are often themselves geopolitical markers and give names to the lines on a map). Travel forces us to see and feel distance, to move physically between and through one line to the next on a map, to experience the representation of landscape on paper as a multi-dimensional signification. The need to record, to map out, to map onto, the landscape and experiences of it, are attempts to fix places in physical and memorial worlds. Registering the physicality of land on maps informs particular viewpoints, codes of marking, and, ultimately, imagination to connect the lines with the actual landscape. "[A]ll geographies," James Duncan and Derek Gregory explain, "are imaginative geographies" (1999:5). Paper maps, recorded personal experiences, narratives put down in books, oral renditions of cultural myths, visual displays on slides and pictures, in music

and films are all fabrications of place(s) in a literal sense, informing access to the world through various modes of representation. "To write," acknowledges Perec, "[is] to try meticulously to retain something, to cause something to survive; to wrest a few precise scraps from the void as it grows, to leave somewhere a furrow, a trace, a mark or a few signs" (1997: 91). To write about traveling, about remembrances, is to leave traces of your experiences, to mark your sense of place in the vast imaginary void of landscape, to mark a few signposts for future travelers, friends, family, and in Harrison's case, for his fans.[29]

Harrison traveled to India in September, 1966, for more sitar instruction from Shankar, and for more knowledge about Indian philosophy and religion. "When I went to India," he recalls,

> I had a desire to know about the yogis. So it was like a parallel interest for me:
> Indian music and the yogis of the Himalayas were both high on my agenda at
> the time – and they still are now .... A lot of people might have thought it was
> a trendy thing – and for some people it was only a trend – but for me, I knew it
> had a certain intensity, and there was a certain intensity to my desire to pursue
> that (Shankar, 1999:195).

Harrison's recognition of the Indian music trend in the West during the late 1960s was not lost on Shankar, who was dismayed, shocked, and offended at the shallowness with which people consumed Indian culture. "Then there was the shallowness and the hotch-potch of ideas," explains Shankar:

> I felt very offended and shocked to see India being regarded so superficially
> and its great culture being exploited. Yoga, tantra, mantra, kundalini, ganja,
> hashish, Kama Sutra – they all became part of a cocktail that everyone seemed
> to be lapping up! This was bugging me, especially upon the opening of my
> school. Of all the hundreds of kids who were enrolling at Kinnara in LA, I
> found only one or two of them genuinely interested in the music and working
> hard at it. Most of them were doing it simply because it was the fad or the
> vogue (1999: 203).

Shankar's school would close in less than three years. He realized quickly that this place of cultural meeting between West and East was not facilitating the learning and serious study he hoped it would; its closure was, it seems, inevitable. "Within a few weeks of its opening I had realized that the school was not going to work," Shankar remembers,

> but I couldn't stop it at that point (it remained open for about two and a half years). Amiyo Das Gupta and a few other advanced students of mine were engaged to run it, so I wasn't giving that much time; I would show my face once in a while to supervise. But the kids all expected me to be sitting there like a guru, giving some spiritual guidance and discoursing on life and meditation. Maharishi Mahesh Yogi was doing very well in this area of our great heritage, but my main language is music. I did my best to make them understand this (1999: 203).

Upon Harrison's request to learn more about the Yogi, Shankar's brother, Rajendra, gave Harrison a number of books to read, and Shankar gave him a book entitled: *Autobiography of a Yogi*.[30] "The moment I looked at that picture of Yogananda on the front of the book," says Harrison, "his eyes went right through me and zapped me, and to this day I have been under the spell of Yogananda. It's a fantastic great truth" (Shankar, 1999: 195). In his writings and remembrances of India, Harrison constructs a composite, a text of spatialities, and a paradoxical medium of expressions and absences, and incorporates domesticating and foreignizing translations.

Representing the body's movement in narrative form through and across landscape – from West to East and East to West – necessarily involves translation. Travel writing is a record of whatever the eye sees and whatever the mind thinks. Inscribing paper with platial experiences for others to read is an active translation "that constantly works to produce a tense 'space in-between'" (Duncan and Gregory, 1999: 4). Stories that mark spaces between that which is imaginary and that which constitutes physical geography become modes of exploring and recognizing difference, as it appears for Harrison, or ways of articulating place by giving voice

to the unspoken. "Translation," explains J.H. Miller, "[literally] means to be transported from one place to another, so that it is caught up in a complex dialectic between recognition and recuperation of difference" (Duncan and Gregory, 1999: 4). In representing or repackaging notions of place in different cultures, Harrison and Shankar, in their reflections, make known or 'translate,' one place into another, positioning their languages as ones that contain concepts necessary to represent another culture's platial imaginings sufficiently. Harrison's teachings in India, for example, are necessarily translated through and his Western experiences. For Shankar, his travels to the West are configured and grounded within his experiences in the East. Just as a textual translation from one language to another cannot fully capture the symbolic connotations contained in the "original" text, so "the translation of place into the cultural idiom of another," as Duncan and Gregory explain, "loses some of the symbolic loading of the place for its inhabitants and replaces it with other symbolic values" (1999: 5). The act of translation is never neutral, that is, constructed narratives envision gain and loss in both physical and imaginary landscapes. Harrison, after gaining experiences of Indian culture and philosophy, refused to be rendered paralyzed by racial imaginings of Bangladesh, lost inhibition, and become actively involved in bringing the country into the Western imaginary. Shankar, as we have seen, expressed consternation over the shallow manner in which Indian culture was consumed by the West. Harrison and Shankar, in their narratives about travel and experience, incorporate their own senses of ambivalence and circulate questions about mapping strategies, cultural assumptions, and conceptions of power, fear, and desire that weave through the spaces in between physical and imaginary geographies.

Harrison, in linking music and celebrity with public and private remembrances, brought about a sort of communal consideration of the paradoxical yet unavoidable relationship between

myth and memory. Even though the audience in 1971 was likely unaware of the significance of this interconnectedness, the "Concerts for Bangladesh" pushed Harrison to the forefront of modern, and specifically Western, imaginings of the Good Samaritan figure of Christian mythology.[31] At a time when Western artists might have avoided becoming involved with a distinctively foreign political concern, Harrison saw a way to help his friend raise money and awareness. With the organization and performance of the benefit and through his song "Bangla Desh," Harrison challenged those who were comfortable with the traditional Western imaginings of politics and culture to move across established boundaries and enter a popular musical landscape inhabited equally by such figures and signifiers as Shankar, Starr, Rakha, Russell, Chalevavarty, Clapton, Dylan, Khan, Preston, and himself. This shift in perspective entails a move from the comforts of pity and "charity" into the unpredictable terrain of mercy and shame. We in the West are the ones to be pitied. We are the ones who should be ashamed. Myths provide frames of reference within which to recall events of the past, cultural stories with which to prescribe placements and identities for remembrances. Myths and what Gupta calls "root metaphors"[32] are responsible for the establishment of a moral social order. Through the stories of the Good Samaritan and Harrison's involvement with the Concerts for Bangladesh, we in the West are implored to *feel* what is just and unjust, what is the right action and what is the wrong one through compassion and empathy. We are provided with a particular conception about what a "good life" entails. Helping someone in need is encouraged in our society, and is often publicly and/or privately acknowledged. Celebrity giving on a large scale creates and helps to maintain a positive public image for artists and is often a public act accompanied by acknowledgement from fans and various media outlets of the star's generosity and goodwill. Strong moral values are reaffirmed for members of society via positive publicity for the celebrity. Celebrities are lauded

and exalted for their donations of time and money to various humanitarian cultural-political causes.

The slope between public celebrity cross-cultural giving and perceived cultural invasion is slippery. All too quickly good works crossing differing cultural-political landscapes are caught within simple binaries of cause and effect relations and are considered in isolation from other geo-political events like, for example, the relationship between giver and receiver. The isolation and simplification of the cross-cultural giver-receiver relationship informs stereotypes and categorizations that perpetuate the binaries of need and desire, attraction and repulsion. What we need is the continued construction of events that inform spaces and places where cross-cultural interaction is not allowed to collapse into this situation so easily. We need spaces of cross-cultural meeting that are categorized by an awareness of physical and imaginary geographies and histories, of exchange rather than invasion; we need spaces that include room for both public and private stories and an acknowledgement of the fundamental uncertainty of memory and rememberings. The Concerts for Bangladesh signify one such cultural-political space of acknowledgement and reimagining.

The passing of time reveals spaces or gaps within the remembering of cultural-political events. These spaces are viewed with suspicion, and as fixity vies with fluidity, they become spaces that must be conquered. The desire to look upon the past and fix moments to a particular time and place is great and far-reaching. The Concerts for Bangladesh opened up cultural-political space in which to reimagine Indian music and in the West. Bangladesh was repositioned within Western geography as a place of cultural vibrancy, and its people and their suffering were articulated and felt through music. Much time has passed since the Concerts for Bangladesh in 1971. Memory is provisional, fallible, and insecure. "My memories will betray me," confesses

Perec, "I shall look at a few old yellowing photographs with broken edges without recognizing them" (1997: 91). The passage of time causes perceptions to alter, perspectives to change, and images in the mind to shift. Time allows for spaces of remembrance, but also of forgetting. "Space melts," explains Perec, "like sand running through one's fingers. Time bears it away and leaves me only with shapeless shreds" (1997:91). Spaces in memory, like landscape, are textured and formed. The Concerts for Bangladesh as traces in popular-cultural memory landscapes, like culture, are neither stationary nor static, but subject to spatial and temporal movement. Our world is written and marked by coloured maps that outline geographical place but also by maps of the mind that project and articulate cultural-political landscapes, tracing images of fixity along meandering paths which cross musical boundaries shifting through the past, present, and future. The Concerts for Bangladesh provided the West with opportunities to feel the enforcement of lines on maps, to feel the agony of their invisibility and the reality of their brutality.

2: Imagining South Africa:
Sun City, Freedomfest, and the West[33]

We're rockers and rappers united and strong
We're here to talk about South Africa we don't like what's going on
It's time for some justice it's time for the truth
We've realized there's only one thing we can do

I ain't gonna play Sun City (1985).

Artists United Against Apartheid

It is said that you can kill a man and not an idea. Nelson Mandela is a
man who has become an idea (1988).

Peter Davis

"In the '80s, which is a barren era, we look back at the '60s as a great
reservoir of talent, of high ideals, and the will and desire to change things"
(Szatmary, 2000: 259).

Bono

Just as remembrances are temporally and spatially reconstructed, different genres of

music are associated with different time periods and places. The 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s

retrospectively are characterized by, and have come to represent, fairly distinct musical trends.

Songs of protest and the revival of folk music permeated the 1960s, carried from the turn of the

century by the Wobblies in Washington, to Woodie Guthrie travelling through Southwest

America, joined by Pete Seeger, and The Kingston Trio who, according to David Szatmary,

"started the folk revival" of the '60s, beginning on college campuses (1996: 83). The commercial

folk of the Limeliters and the New Christy Minstrels helped generate renewed interest in

traditional folk music. "Commercialization has actually helped folk music," explains Pete

Seeger, "[i]t revived interest in it in the cities where it had almost died. Country interest never

really stopped. Now, there are kids all over the nation plinking their banjos, and folk music is a

living, vibrant thing again" (Szatmary, 1996: 83-4). By the early 1960s, folk music was back in

the limelight; it was the latest craze. "Like, I mean, it's not esoteric anymore," said Israel Young

in 1961, head of Greenwich Village's Folklore Center (Szatmary, 1996: 84). "Coffee houses began to open in Boston, Chicago, Minneapolis, Denver, and San Francisco" where fans could relax and enjoy a steady stream of local folk bands (Szatmary, 1996: 84). The civil rights movement with its songs of protest, cries for equality, and at times its violence, influenced and shaped the folk revival and brought forward new protest folk stars. "The convergence of the civil rights movement and folk music on college campuses," explains Szatmary, "led to the mercurial rise of Bob Dylan[34] and his brand of protest folk music" (1996: 88). Eric Anderson describes Dylan and his music as "sowing the seeds of a decade," and Joan Baez suggested that "Dylan says what a lot of people my age feel but cannot say" (Szatmary, 1996: 91).

The North American popular music scenes of the 1960s were personified by a number of celebrities and reflected through landscapes of cultural-political unrest, marking to various degrees the intersection of culture and politics: Joan Baez, Phil Ochs, Tom Paxton, President John F. Kennedy and his assassination, the emergence of folk rock, Dylan's electric sound, Simon and Garfunkel, The Lovin' Spoonful, the Byrds, Beatlemania, the Mods, the Rockers, the Skiffle craze, Brian Epstein, numerous British rock bands, the Monkees, The Rolling Stones, The Who, the blues onslaught, The Yardbirds, The Animals, Berry Gordy, Motown, Mary Wells, the Marvelettes, the Vandellas, the Supremes, the Temptations, the Four Tops, acid rock, Jefferson Airplane, the Grateful Dead, Quicksilver Messenger Service, the Doors, the Beats, the Velvet Underground, Andy Warhol, Allen Ginsberg, the Fugs, hippie culture, LSD, soul music, James Brown, Ray Charles, Wilson Pickett, Otis Redding, Aretha Franklin, Stax Records, Percy Sledge, Sam and Dave, Vietnam protests, violence on college campuses, Psychedelic Blues, Jimi Hendrix, the Experience, Cream, Janis Joplin, the MC5, Creedence Clearwater Revival, heavy metal, Led Zeppelin, Black Sabbath, Deep Purple, blues rebirth, Johnny Winter, Steve Miller,

Canned Heat, the Allman Brothers, ZZ Top, and The Woodstock Music and Arts Festival,[35] among many other musical and political influences. The 1960s is marked as a period of change, of social and political upheaval that would, according to Bono, come to inspire future artists with "the will and desire to change things" (Szatmary, 2000: 259).

The 1980s witnessed such a resurgence and increase in the number of benefit concerts in the cultural-political landscape that the decade is recognized as a period of the revival of conscience in popular music, "a renewal and reassertion of the long-dormant notion that rock & roll can change the world" (Coleman, 1990: 69). Events like Live Aid, We Are The World, Farm Aid, Freedomfest, and Sun City informed the 1980s musical imaginary and gave fans renewed hope in an industry dominated by commercial priorities and bottom lines. "For a short, heady period in the wake of Live Aid," explains Coleman, "it really did seem like the pop world had undergone a fundamental reexamination, maybe even a change of heart" (1990: 71). But just as there is conflict in placing The Concerts for Bangladesh in the popular musical imaginary as a point of origin, so too there exists discrepancies with respect to the appropriate framework in which to imagine the benefits of the 1980s. While some critics proclaim a "conscience revival" during the 1980s, others do not. "I wouldn't say there was a reawakening of conscience in the Eighties," Sting counters, "[i]t's always been there. And I don't buy the idea that topical songwriting died off in the late seventies either" (Coleman, 1990: 71). Revival or not, people were putting their money where their consciences were [or were not] in the eighties to a degree that was unmatched in any earlier era. The combined revenue of Live Aid, We Are The World, and Band Aid was more than $100 million – money used, for the most part, to help people in need of shelter and food. We Are The World, for example, distributed funds primarily to Ethiopia and the Sudan, but money was also given to Chad, Niger, Mozambique, Mali, Burkina

Faso, and Mauritania (Coleman: 1990: 71). The number of fans and supporters watching what might be called "super-star conscience" at work was impressive. "Between 1.5 billion and 2 billion people watched the televised Live Aid concert, on July 13th, 1985, making Live Aid the most widely viewed program in history, with telethons in twenty-two countries" (Coleman, 1990: 69). But some critics suggest the popularity of these mega-benefits was merely momentary and their power to effect change fleeting. "There's always that danger when something becomes popular," Jackson Browne explains, "[a]nything that's fashionable can become unfashionable. I think that's inherent in the whole way our media works. Anything that gets a lot of attention will eventually *seem* to disappear" (Coleman, 1990: 71). Some artists were disappointed with the simple-minded conception of "charity" that the shows conveyed. "Live Aid made people believe in miracles," muses Sting, "but there are no miracles" (Coleman, 1990: 71). More specifically, the cultural-political power evident during Live Aid was scrutinized, and its permanence was questioned. "Now I'm not critical of Bob Geldof's efforts," Jack Healey explains, "but there was no structure for people to join after they made a donation to Live Aid. They joined for a minute" (Coleman, 1990: 76). This perceived fast, quick-cash answer Live Aid offered – what politicians might call a Band Aid solution, ironically recognized in the title of a later benefit – for long and complicated socio-economic problems in countries around the world left some feeling uneasy. Sting, for example, would like activism to move beyond momentary acts of charity, to involve his audience "as part of a *process*, to make a continuing effort. We can't just raise $1 million, give it to the Indians and tell them to go ahead and save the rain forests" (Coleman, 1990: 71).

Other artists, like Natalie Merchant, expressed mixed feelings about Live Aid, both questioning the longevity of its impact and recognizing the moments of inspiration it provoked. "I think those mega-concerts left people with mixed feelings," Merchant explains; "I applaud the

effort, but I question the long-lasting power of it. Look, I got swept up by the energy of Live Aid, too. I donated money; it was inspiring. The young people of the Western world made their statement" (Coleman, 1990: 74). Donors made a symbolic statement through the act of giving money to support aid relief, and performers made statements as well, not all of which were considered a positive reflection upon the issues at hand. "A lot of people who were involved [with Live Aid] didn't devote a lot of attention to the cause through their art," Merchant continues. "For instance, it was a hypocrisy for Madonna to perform at Live Aid. It seemed almost grotesque to see her singing 'Holiday' and then to see live telecasts of starving children in the desert" (Coleman, 1990: 74). With all the hype and criticism generated, some still find value in the provocation of youth awareness of world poverty and the conversations such concerts about cultural-political concerns inspired. Such a conversation is alluded to, albeit tentatively, by Jackson Browne: "I think Live Aid and Band Aid were the beginning of an awareness. In the Sixties, people believed they could change things just by saying things were changed. Everybody said, 'We choose life,' in a general way and there was a revolution of consciousness. That did take place, and it continues to be in place to a certain degree, but we never took the step of challenging the control mechanisms" (Coleman, 1990: 71). The degree to which these mega-benefit concerts challenged Western control mechanisms is debatable, but some concerts were more radical and overt in their cries of protest, and some were silenced altogether. But I am, once again, getting ahead of the story.

The majority of the benefit concerts in the 1980s provided relief for persons and/or countries within the continent of Africa. Africa is geographically and imaginatively distanced from the West. It is a far-away place imagined as continuously enveloped by poverty, famine, and war in the cultural-political landscape. Images of Western organizations of aid relief for

Africa permeate the West's collective memory and form the basis through which relations with African nations occur and are continuously configured and reinforced. Benefits were organized to help Africans starving for both food and freedom. Throughout the 1980s, South Africa, in particular, fell under Western scrutiny and open to condemnation for its Apartheid policies. The emergence of intelligent, decentred popular representations of South Africa by Westerners has been gradual and the number of quality cultural productions disturbingly few. Western representations of South Africa reflect the tension found in the act of cultural enunciation that oscillates between the recirculation of a false image, the essentialized "white man's symptom" (Chow, 1993: 31), and those which inhabit a reflexive, hybrid space in which multiple perspectives can coexist. A number of benefit concerts were staged in political protest, to spread awareness about the oppressive apartheid regime, and to raise money for various political organizations within South Africa to aid blacks in their fight for freedom: Sun City in 1985, Festival For Freedom in 1986, Freedomfest [The Nelson Mandela Seventieth Birthday Tribute] in 1988, and spilling into the 1990s, The International Tribute for a Free South Africa in 1990.[36] Nelson Mandela was a featured figure whose leadership role in the struggle for freedom was continuously imagined and articulated in the latter two concerts. These benefit concerts are inextricably tied to each other; they tell stories, project ways of seeing, denote tensions in cultural enunciation, and ultimately come to embody the oscillation between intelligent and decentred popular representations of South Africa in the West, and those caught within, and fooled by, the recirculation of a false image. An examination of the contrasts between the Sun City project and Freedomfest, forms a base from which to consider the myth surrounding the man Nelson Mandela.

Since the beginnings of cross-cultural contact, notions of Africa have been fabricated by Westerners who have talked about it, analyzed it, managed it, and even produced it for Western commodity and exotic tourist consumption. The gaze of the West upon Africa has been marked by a program of "individualizing observation, with characterization, [and] with the categorization of space" (Foucault, 1977: 203); akin to the relationship between the prisoner and the panoptic guard, the relationship between the West and Africa is informed by "binary division and branding" (Foucault, 1977: 203). The West decides how the culturally diverse continent of Africa must be (re)cognized and (re)characterized, and which controlling mechanisms are to be imposed upon cultural Others within a process of normalized exclusion. All Others are controlled and contained within a disciplinary framework of power. "With We Are [T]he World," explains Browne, "I know what that *meant*, but on the other hand, that's the problem with North America [and the West]. We think we *are* the world!" (Coleman, 1990: 71). Africa is symbolically registered in the West's utopic construction of self. The Western pole of this binary is constantly privileged; the West locates itself at the centre of its own vision. In order for the West to gain a sense of itself, it must have a sense of its Other. Edward Said's conception of Orientalism incorporates a place called the Orient, a homogeneous paradise, described by Said as "the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other" (1995: 87). The Other is rendered entirely visible through the West's gaze. The recurring Other is seen but does not see; he/she is the object of information, never a subject in communication. The existence of the Orient, as Said explains, "has helped to define Europe [the West] as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience" (1995: 87). Orientalism is a sutured discourse that "depends for its strategy on this flexible *positional* superiority," explains Said, "which puts

the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him in the relative upper hand" (1995: 90). Africa, an "Oriental" continent, is purposefully mapped outside the West's sense of itself, thereby validating the discourse of inferiority that anchors Africa's place, and particularly, in the latter half of the twentieth century, South Africa's place, in the West's imaginary cultural geography. Africa of course is not just inferior, but a living reminder of the West's colonial history and its shame.

The identity of place is a combination of physical space and social interaction within that place. Physical location and territory are articulated and remembered within narrative frameworks of physical and symbolic boundary construction and their constant maintenance. Within the categorizing discourse of the West, the so-called first-world country of third-world Africa is South Africa. Before South Africa and South African's became objects in a Western discourse of inferiority, the country and its inhabitants had to be located on the Western world map. Russel Vanden-broucke recounts that "[w]hen Alan Paton's *Cry, the Beloved Country* was published in 1948, a review in *The Atlantic Monthly* noted [that] "[t]here [was] no large area of the civilized world which we have read less about than South Africa"" (1985: xiii). This knowledge gap was because the South African Other was simply not located on the Western world map. During the last three decades, however, much has been reported about South Africa: the politics of apartheid, riots, boycotts, censorship, political prisoners, the murdering of tourists; and since the 1980s reports have included the assassinations of prominent party leaders prior to the country's first democratic election in 1994, projections about the future of the Rainbow nation, and the political roles of Desmond Tutu, Winnie and Nelson Mandela in the New South Africa. Despite the increased visibility of stories pertaining to South Africa in Western media, the country's socio-political complexity is often reduced to black-and-white outlines. The

positional superiority of whiteness is secured in the West, rendering blackness visible through

white eyes and placing cultural differences as central to boundary formation within a Western

"whitewishing" fantasy. Michael Dyson explains that "[whitewishing] is the fulfillment of a

fantasy of whiteness as neutral and objective, the projection of a faith in whiteness as its own

warrant against the error of anti-universalism because it denies its own particularity" (1999:

223). Whiteness, that is, is encased in a politics of purity that informs fixed categorization(s) of

the Other and "has developed, over the past two hundred years, into a taken-for-granted

experience structured upon a varying set of supremacist assumptions (sometimes cultural,

sometimes biological, sometimes moral, sometimes all three)" (Bonnett, 1999: 213). The so-

called non-white identity is rendered singular, simple, and static through the practice of what

Dyson calls whitewishing.

The cultural, biological, and moral misrepresentations of Africa are acts of symbolic

violence. "The problem of writing about a place as remote as Africa," recounts George Parker of

The National, "and getting it right is more than academic. Events on that continent come at us

like intermittent dispatches from a distant front... No causes, no connections, no patterns"

(Wekesser, 1992: 92). Whitewishing allows the West to configure such dispatches into a

coherent, systematic series of events marked within a comfortable pattern of cause and effect. It

is time, as Alastair Bonnett suggests, that whiteness be rearticulated "from a natural to a political

category" (1999: 214). The recognition of single-sided representations and monolithic modes of

politically-charged seeing opens up spaces in which to rethink and reconsider cultural-political

events. Cultural difference would not be tied to physical location and territory but replaced by

many peopled places[37] and criss-crossed variances of public and private histories and

acknowledgements influenced by race, gender, class, and sexuality. Music is a key means with

which to encourage and mobilize this transition of natural occurrence to cultural-political

acknowledgement.

As a concert and album featuring performances by well-known musicians dubbed Artists

United Against Apartheid, Sun City challenged Western stereotypes about the nature of events

and occurrences in South Africa by opening up spaces in which to reposition the peoples of

South Africa as fighters rather than victims, and to reconsider the role of popular entertainers in

promoting political awareness. The story of the Sun City project, as a public event tied to

histories and struggles for freedom in both the West and East, was envisioned by Steven Van

Zandt. Van Zant, or "Little Steven," is a professional musician who has worked in a variety of

bands in New Jersey; he was a part (and is again) of the E Street Band for Bruce Springsteen and

produced such artists as Southside Johnny, Ronnie Spector, and Gary "U.S." Bonds before

starting his solo career in 1983. "Van Zandt's interest in South Africa was awakened one night in

1980 in a Hollywood revival theater," explains David Marsh:

> the kind of place where music between shows is provided by the projectionist's
> custom-made cassettes. This projectionist had the good sense to play "Biko," a
> Peter Gabriel song about Steve Biko, the thirty-one-year-old black leader
> murdered in 1977 while in South African security police detention. (Biko was
> at that time the forty-sixth such person to die while in custody of the security
> police; the number of such deaths has grown steadily every year) (1985: 22).

Songs have the power to mark time and place, and to present audiences with a form of social

history; more specifically, each record collection, by way of tracing a personal history with the

threads of public readings, becomes part of cultural-political memory through which the histories

of all peoples and societies are told and retold. "'Biko'[38] really planted the seed," explains Van

Zandt: "After that, I always had that song on the tape before my live shows, it always stayed with

me" (Marsh, 1985: 22). Van Zandt is not alone in feeling the affective power of "Biko."

Recounting cultural-political events through song can prove powerful in creating awareness and spreading feeling across generations, as Cornia testifies:

> [T]he particular song that struck me hard when I saw it (on the video of the PoV concert in Greece, available at most fine music stores) was Biko ... He [Peter Gabriel] sang it as an accusation: It took that monstrosity to get our attention and we're watching now, and they're still killing, and we're not doing anything. He looked like he couldn't believe it, like he was disgusted and disappointed in the world. But keep in mind, he was not preaching, he was keeping a feeling alive. And I felt it again, the rage, the horror, not just a sense of remote tragedy, but of immediate grief. By the end of the song the audience was singing the dead man's name almost louder than he was, and I, along with countless others who never met the man (I was born a week before he died), was now aware and really upset ... Music can definitely be powerful, and the power it has can make people remember what is good in life. After watching that performance I contacted Amnesty International and am joining again after many years. But the real point is that the song woke me up, that he reached through all my indifference and yanked out a conviction (http://ddi.digital.net/~solsbury/Biko.html).

The powerful affective combination of music and politics in "Biko" fueled Van Zandt's curiosities about the political situation in South Africa. As he began to travel outside of America, troubling realizations about his own country and its role in supporting repressive regimes surfaced, and as Marsh explains,

> Van Zandt resolved to do something that would awaken his own countrymen to what their government does in their name and to make it clear to the rest of the world that not all Americans agreed with making "endless enemies" of every liberation movement in the world (1985: 22).

As we saw with Harrison's journeys to India, travel is both a real and imagined state of movement through landscape, a means of viewing and reviewing ways of knowing. "Travel pushes our noses up against the glass of differences, boundaries, and identities and forces us to unsettle ourselves, realign our equilibrium, and rearrange our processes of thought" (Hornstein, 2000: 48).

Van Zandt traveled to South Africa, thanks to EMI Records, as a result of a conversation

that developed between himself and two other men at a convention in Los Angeles. "The record

company down there [South Africa] did a very smart thing," Van Zandt explains; "[t]hey sent a

white guy and a black guy to this convention in Los Angeles, and I happened to be at the same

hotel. I thought, 'Now that is interesting!' I started talking to them, and I told them I wanted to

write about South Africa" (Marsh, 1985: 22). One of the men, Peter Ritchie, who had lived most

of his life in South Africa, encouraged Van Zandt to visit, helped him set up meetings, and

showed him around. At that time, Van Zandt was skeptical about the cultural and sporting

boycotts against South Africa formulated in 1980. "I had a lot of questions to ask about the

boycott [before I went]," Van Zant explains:

> Partly because I didn't realize what stage the war was at, that the war was
> already on and that it was late in the day. After all, there was nothing in the
> papers in the States. I thought maybe there was a more effective plan, a more
> selective boycott, all kinds of ideas that would advance a peaceful solution. It
> wasn't until I got there that I understood that I wasn't correct in my thinking so
> much as too late (Marsh, 1985: 22-3).

Van Zandt returned to South Africa sooner than he expected because some of the meetings he

wanted to schedule during the first trip proved too difficult to arrange. "Especially since I had

three strikes against me already," explains Van Zandt: "I was white, I was American, and I had a

Dutch name – it didn't do any good to try to explain that I was an Italian-American who had been

adopted by my father. Plus, I was a rock musician, an entertainer to them, which didn't help

either" (Marsh, 1985: 23). Van Zandt persevered, and with the help of friends he made in South

Africa, was able to arrange a number of meetings

> [with] representatives of UDF (the United Democratic Front), AZAPO
> (Azanian People's Organization), two directors of the South African Council of
> Churches, and Beyers Naude, the seventy-year-old Dutch Reformed Church
> minister who is probably the leading Afrikaner opponent of apartheid and who
> later assumed leadership of the SACC when Bishop Desmond Tutu was

prevented from doing so by the government. He also met with the head of the South African Sports Institute and with leaders of Black Sash, the free legal aid organization, as well as with numerous doctors, lawyers, teachers, and trade unionists (Marsh, 1985: 24-5).

During his meetings and through his travels within Southern Africa, Van Zandt recognized the large disparities between black and white living areas, and *felt* the friction, the tension of being caught between two extreme imaginaries and localities, each looking nothing like the other. "[I]t caused so much tension – you can't ever relax, you constantly feel like the sky is about to fall, [like] you're the only one who knows, and no one will believe you," explains Van Zandt. "You go ten miles down the road and there's Soweto; the riots[39] had already started so people were being killed every day, and yet in the white neighbourhoods nothing was going on, no one was concerned. Just picture a regular, white, suburban neighborhood. You start to feel like you're insane" (Marsh, 1985: 25). The ultimate cultural-political tension for Van Zandt came, it seems, when he arrived in Sun City.

The Sun City resort is a whitewished tourist attraction located in the homeland of Bophuthatswana.[40] "Featuring a casino, an artificial lake, soft-porn movies, discotheques, and scantly clad chorus girls," Marsh explains, "the enormous complex boasts a Superbowl – a large auditorium that regularly attracts big-name international entertainers and athletes, lured there by exorbitant fees and South Africa's assurances that the audience – indeed, the homeland of Bophuthatswana – is not a part of the apartheid system" (1985a: 8). As will become more evident, Sun City embodies the West's fantasy of South Africa as a far-away exotic place marked by dreams of discovery. Sun City, with its "Palace of the Lost City" casino complex, and its ancient-palace aura, proves a stark contrast to the extended dry savannah land of Bophuthatswana. It is, ostensibly, the ultimate whitewished image of discovery in a barren land. Bophuthatswana is, as Van Zandt explains, "more or less representative of the homelands: it's

way out in the middle of nowhere, very desolate, there's no work, no schools, no agriculture, no hospitals, nothing" (Marsh, 1985: 25). Bophuthatswana is an economic, educational, and agricultural desert. During his meetings with various South Africans, Van Zandt "found that there were many different views on how to defeat apartheid," explains Arthur Baker: "But what they all agreed on was that American entertainers should not play Sun City" (George, 1985a: 48).[41]

At Sun City the essence of the past is the future; the past of imagined ancient ruin is fixed and continuously recirculated for tourist consumption. Tourists come to "discover," to see and experience an "ancient" city in a desert. What they "discover," of course, is nostalgia in the desert, a longing for a complete and "lost" past, an escape into the way life used to be a long time ago for wealthy, affluent individuals. Sun City is this longing imagined into physical existence; it is a physical manifestation of a whitewished imaginary in a geographically and morally barren landscape. As Eddie Amoo explains, "Sun City is an Afrikaner's paradise in a black man's nightmare" (Marsh, 1985: 8). Narratives which involve the movement of persons through the desert, and other barren lands, are understood, according to Bracha Lichtenberg-Ettinger, as tales "analogous to physical, psychological transformations, aesthetic experiences and patterns of cognition" (1994, Robertson et al: 2). What we have here, however, is not a movement through a desert, but a purposeful, albeit ignorant, movement to and from a place that is fixed in the landscape. Tourists move *to* Sun City for an understood period of time and then move *from* the resort when their vacation is over. They do not move though a desert in a way that would suggest a journey, a crossing, or an exploration of temporalities; but rather, the tourists insert themselves in an artificial world in the middle of a barren land. This desert landscape is fluid and constantly undergoing transformation, but the whitewished imaginary of Sun City remains unchanged. The

fluidity of the dry savannah landscape is interrupted by this dazzling, $90-million Las Vegas-like resort. Located in the so-called "Valley of the Ancients," The Lost City of Sun City incorporates the ideals of historical luxury with modern convenience. Casinos, televisions, movies, and entertainment shows are situated within imperialist wealth, ancient ruin, and narratives of discovery. Sun City is both imposing and impressive but ultimately impermanent. An "ancient palace" rising from the desert savannah incorporates the illusion of fixity, the illusion of having always been there, and of having been only recently "found." Dick Hebdige describes the desert metaphor "as a place of origins, endings, and hard truths: the place at the end of the world where all meanings and values blow away; the place without landmarks that can never be mapped; the place where nothing grows and no one ever stays put" (1994: Robertson et al: 2). Sun City, in its audacity, is mapped onto a shifting landscape. The sands shift, change, and erase tracks and footprints. Desert or arid land are places of indeterminacy, spaces where there is no here and no there. Sun City, on the other hand, clearly establishes boundaries between here and there. Its preferred vision is akin to the way in which the West's whitewishing fantasy of South Africa operates; it too is mapped onto shifting cultural-political landscapes, bound by real and imaginary spatial allocation and categorization; it is not politically nor culturally neutral.

The myth of neutral discursive space in cross-cultural contact can no longer be afforded. de Kerckhove describes the myth of neutral space as "something that can be divided neatly into public and private property. Space, in and of itself, used to be considered neutral in a Western perspectivist mindset... The air is not empty anymore" (1995: 164). The identification of the myth of neutral space brings forward the recognition of the impossibility of fully translating from "the subaltern discourse to the imperialist discourse" (Chow, 1993: 35). Different strategies inform the two discourses, thereby contributing to the loss of specificity in the process of

translation. This untranslatability is acknowledged in the coexistence of differing perspectives in what Homi Bhabha calls a single Third space. In his consideration of cultural difference in a Third space, Bhabha posits that a Third space a "split-space of enunciation [that] may open the way to conceptualizing an *inter*national culture, based not on the exoticism or multiculturalism of the diversity of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture's *hybridity*" (1995: 209). Bhabha calls for a kind of dialectical reorganization, a rethinking of "our perspective on cultural identity" (1995: 207). By exploring notions of cultural hybridity, Bhabha argues, in "this Third space, we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of ourselves" (1995: 209). Representations reflecting the polarity of Orientalism, like the Sun City resort, continue to be refashioned within the West's, and more specifically the Afrikaans', white homogeneous cultural geography.

The disparity between the wealth of Sun City and the poverty of the population of Bophuthatswana is vast, and the difference in lifestyle is striking. "Although ostensibly in a different nation (ie. the homeland of Bophuthatswana), Sun City is conveniently located only a few hour's drive from Johannesburg," Marsh explains: "The main strip leading to the resort is slightly upgraded, but Sun City itself is surrounded by a ghetto which gives the lie to the notion that the theoretically "black ruled" homelands are an improvement over black life in the rest of South Africa" (1985a: 25). Encroaching on the wealthy fantasy world of Sun City is the economic reality of the people who live in Bophuthatswana. "You walk around, and you're transported to yet another world," explains Van Zandt; "[i]t's very much like Las Vegas or Atlantic City, except there's just one big hotel and casino and there's an arena attached to it. A mile away is the shanty town where people actually live" (Marsh, 1985: 25). Van Zandt, in contrasting the affluence of Sun City with its surrounding landscape and poor population,

recognizes the large gaps of economic, cultural, and political capital, and feels the resulting tension made manifest through his physical condition. "The mind-boggling aspects of it really got me there. I got sick, as sick as I've ever gotten in my life," explains Van Zandt; "[t]he doctor said it was not something I ate or drank, it was just psychological – the old tourist-in-hell syndrome" (Marsh, 1985: 25). For Van Zandt, Sun City was the ultimate symbol of the oppressive apartheid regime.

As challenging and depressing as the experience was for Van Zandt, he managed to write most of an album about his experiences and observations of apartheid while in South Africa. Having returned home to some business turmoil, he was uncertain about how to make the record, and also had some trouble gaining the interest of record companies due to the political nature of the album. "You know what the record companies told me?" asks Van Zandt: "That rock & roll and politics don't mix!" (Ginsberg,1985: 10). It's easier, apparently, to attract the attention of record companies when Africans are starving from hunger, rather than starving for freedom.

In March of 1985 Van Zandt met Danny Schechter[42] who was to interview him. Because of their common interests, they became friends. "Danny really inspired the thing," Van Zandt explains; "[h]e said, 'It's a shame you haven't started an album yet. It would be great to get something out this year.' Finally, he said, 'Why don't you just do a single?'" (Marsh, 1985: 25).[43] The lack of Western coverage of apartheid made Schechter anxious. Schechter, explains Marsh, "was especially concerned because the only images of Africa in the U.S. media at that time were those of the famine in Ethiopia" (1985: 25). It was during this time that Bob Geldof and others organized and performed famine-relief concerts such as Live Aid and We Are The World [USA for Africa]. While most entertainers who were approached about the Sun City project were enthusiastic, some artists felt that the well of benefit rock had dried up in the wake of Live Aid

and We Are The World. "A few of the people we've approached to be on the record turned us down and said that we didn't need another benefit record," explains Baker:

> That's absurd. If you can make great records, say something and help people out at the same time, why not keep making them? Just because there were two records made trying to help people who were starving in Ethiopia, there's no reason [why] there shouldn't be a record to help the people starving for freedom in South Africa (Guterman, 1985: 16).

The perceived geographic and symbolic distance between the West and South Africa is vast, as Harry Schipper illustrates. "A recent New York Times poll showed 39% of those queried 'didn't know enough about apartheid to have an opinion about it,' one Sun City organizer noted," Shipper reports. " [The] Sun City recording packaging, he added, will be geared towards 'heavy-duty education'" (1985: 88).

Van Zandt, in attempting to "humanize politics," attempts to link the West and South Africa, and to engage an audience in a dialogue by acknowledging the real and symbolic distance between the two places. With regard to his attempts he says "[Y]ou try to humanize … politics, filter the history and detail, and try to maintain the emotional connections so people can see that it's very much the same as their own lives" (Schruers, 1986: 17). To inspire interest in and, to convince them to locate apartheid on the West's symbolic map requires a compelling and concise education such as a benefit album is able to provide. "Though inspired by the hugely successful We Are The World and Live Aid anti-famine projects," explains Schipper, "the [Sun City] anti-apartheid recording is aimed at 'change more than charity,' organizers say, with education, not fundraising, the primary goal" (1985: 88). And so Van Zandt and Schechter began to secure the foundations of a project that would fuse music with education, human rights awareness, *and* a cultural-political statement challenging the West's involvement in apartheid.

The Sun City project was more radical in its cultural-politics than the hunger-related benefits. The challenges the project advocated, realistically, would not fundamentally transform the record industry, but were more than merely political challenges to Reagan's policies in South Africa. "It's necessary that a group from the United States make some kind of major pro-freedom statement," explains Van Zandt, "considering our government's policies. All our government is sending out is negative signals. The great majority of people I spoke to in the black community there support sanctions against their government. They're tired of the atrocities" (Guterman, 1985: 16). In support of the cultural boycotts against South Africa, "Sun City challenged musicians to consider the deepest implications of their work and their success," explains Neal Ullestad, "taking thoughtfulness far beyond the tentative steps of Live Aid" (1987: 73). The project openly urged popular music artists not to schedule concerts at the Sun City resort in Bophuthatswana. The demo of the Sun City song written by Van Zandt, provoked controversial comments over the naming of artists who had violated the South African entertainment boycott. "In the midst of the demo," Marsh explains,

> the music falls away to just the log drum and BLT, who taunt:
> > Linda Ronstadt, how could you do that?
> > Rod Sewart, tell me that you didn't do it
> > Julio Iglesias, you oughta be ashamed to
> > show your face
> > Queen and the O'Jays, what you got to say? (1985: 34).

The inclusion of the verse presented some political and ethical problems. For example, while the O'Jays had played the Sun City entertainment complex, they later issued an apology for doing so through the United Nations, which, explains Marsh, "is all that is required to have one's name removed from the list of boycott violators" (1985: 34). The verse singled out only a few entertainers who had violated the boycott, while other violators such as Elton John,[44] Ray Charles, and Frank Sinatra, for example, were not named. The verse also tended to displace the

emphasis of the song, "changing it," as Marsh explains, "from a positive statement of commitment to ending apartheid to a lambasting of boycott violators (not that they didn't deserve a lambasting). By consensus, not everyone finally agreed that the song should *not* name names" (1985: 34). By this time, the demo had been mixed and sent out, creating mild controversy within the music community and, perhaps more importantly, it appeared in the newspapers, as Marsh notes, "through Nelson George's "The Rhythm and the Blues" column in *Billboard*" (1985: 34). Indeed, George's coverage of the Sun City project during that time considered it "an attack on entertainers" while the reasons for the development of the project were not discussed. "Arthur Baker and Little Steven are close to placing their anti-apartheid single, Sun City, with a national label," explains George; "The record, an attack on entertainers who have played the South African resort area, has attracted a wide and quite hip collection of musicians, who have either already contributed to the record or agreed to" (1985b: 49). George's column turned into a conduit for other media sources. "From there," Marsh continues, "the story was picked up and syndicated; predictably, the reports focused almost solely on the idea of the song as an attack on boycott violators, without bothering to explain why the boycott was important or the basically positive message of the song – or, for that matter, that the lyrics in question had already been dropped" (1985: 34).[45] These considerations, plus Van Zandt's own decision not to impose value judgements on entertainers who violated the boycott – "People have gone [to Sun City] for all kinds of reasons. The important thing is that they don't go back" (Marsh, 1985: 34) – resulted, ultimately, in the omission of the verse. All the attention the Sun City single was receiving in the media, however, caught the attention of South African businessman Tony Bloom, who offered his own proposal in place of cultural sanctions. "One of South Africa's most prominent and

influential businessmen is offering to stage a multi-racial anti-apartheid concert in the center of

Johannesburg," reports Nick Robertshaw and John Miller,

> to present 'a microcosm of what South Africa could be like if apartheid were
> abolished.'
> The dramatic proposal comes from Tony Bloom, chairman of the
> Premiere Group, a conglomerate whose companies include South Africa's
> largest record company, Gallo Records, the Gallo/PolyGram joint venture
> Trutone, and large flour milling and retailing operations.
> ... "Instead of telling artists to stay away from my country, why don't we
> get together and stage a concert with black and white musicians before 200,
> 000 people?' Bloom asked (1985: 1).

Bloom's idea for a multi-racial concert was dismissed by Steven Van Zandt and Arthur Baker as

"more South African propaganda ... This is just an effort to fight the cultural boycott ... and it

just shows that the [Sun City] record is a success. They are trying to neutralize its impact"

(Hennessey, 1985: 3).

No previous rock benefit brought together the incredible range of popular music

performers: rockers and rappers, African, Latin, reggae and jazz musicians, both male and

female. "The musics are genuinely *fused* on the album and in the songs," explains Ullestad,

"[a]nd the interaction of the musicians has other radical implications in its diversity: young and

old, different styles, various ethnic and racial heritages, known and unknown" (1987: 73).

This idea of fusion extends to the B-side of the Sun City record, which Van Zandt calls the

"spoken word" side, on which various sounds inhabiting the South African cultural-political

landscape intermingle. "[I]t includes," as Eliza Wing explains, "fragments of speeches by Nelson

Mandela and Desmond Tutu, sounds from South African funerals and chanting by the

Malopoets, a South African band" (1985: 20). These fusions, of musics and of music with

spoken word, shattered the perceived geographic and imagined distances between the cultures

represented on the album, uniting them in a common goal in the fight for freedom in South

Africa. Rock, rap, pop, and jazz were brought into the same musical space, and shared on the same stage, informing a cultural-political exchange of ideas between participants. The generation, production, and technical aspects of the accompanying video also served to push the project across old boundaries and into new musical paradigms, as Ullestad outlines: "The generation of the album was equally radical, with various individuals working together and alone to build on the original demo and to contribute tracks and eventually even entire new songs. Technically, the production of the album and video also explored new ground" (1987: 73). The project allowed for an intermingling of different places through the medium of music, a spatial opening that invited intersections and criss-crossings which lingered beyond the album's release and through the circulation and recirculation of the project's popular cultural materials that included, as Ullestad indicates, "physically tangible [artifacts], including recorded albums, singles, and video-cassettes, residence on *Billboard*'s charts, as well as certain follow-up activities" (1987: 74), such as a book and a documentary.[46] The Sun City project offered a discussion about cultural-political and artist accountabilities by exposing threads carefully woven within hegemonic discourse.[47] The exposure of these threads continues beyond the moments spent recording the album, particularly within the folds of the project's follow-up activities like the creation of a book outlining the making of the record and the reasons for the project's conception.

Sun City: The Making of the Record, organized by Dave Marsh, is not a traditional "rock book," but a compilation of public and private stories about apartheid and the making of the Sun City album; the book is another medium with which to educate, spread awareness about the struggle against oppression, and promote additional cultural-political actions for the fight in South Africa and elsewhere.[48] "In this book," Van Zandt explains,

you will find photographs of the "Sun City" sessions, comments by the artists involved, and the lyrics to the songs. There's the inside story of how the record and video came together. It's the story of what we did, how we did it, and why we did it. And we are hopeful that it will inspire others to tackle similar projects.

This is not a "rock book" in a traditional sense. If anything, we view it more as a *rock* of the kind David hurled at Goliath – a compendium of the type of information that moves people of conscience to become involved, to act. We want it to be useful and hope it reaches readers unfamiliar with the vast literature on apartheid. Perhaps it will stimulate readers to seek out more comprehensive sources of information (Marsh, 1985: 5).

Van Zandt, publicly vocal about the allocation of funds generated by the record sales of Sun City,[49] remains just as open about the book's royalties and encourages readers to make a donation to The Africa Fund:

The royalties from this book, as well as from the record, are being donated to The Africa Fund, a nonprofit charitable trust registered with the United Nations. The money will support political prisoners and their families inside South Africa, the educational and cultural needs of exiles, and the educational efforts of anti-apartheid groups. Readers who want to contribute to these projects can send their own tax-deductible donations to:
The Africa Fund
198 Broadway
New York, New York 1003 (Marsh, 1985: 5).

While understanding the importance of global awareness about happenings in South Africa, Van Zandt also reaches into communities, into localities, to encourage people to make a difference for South Africa from their own neighbourhoods. "The Africa Fund also publishes a list of organizations working against apartheid," offers Van Zandt: "Why not find out if there is one in your community?" (Marsh, 1985: 5). Indeed, the West's geographic and, perhaps more importantly, its imagined distances from South Africa are challenged as Van Zandt recognizes the linkage between global movements and local action. It *is* possible to effect change in South Africa through local donation. Suddenly the imagined distance between the West and South Africa is not so vast; Van Zandt brings the two places closer together as he offers a Third space

within which one might rethink distance, reconsider symbolic geography, and as a result, reconfigure South Africa's place in the Western imaginary by marking the connection between the global and the local.

All the public and private artifacts incorporated within the Sun City project – the songs, the album, the book, the documentary – open up spaces for cross-cultural consideration and exchange between cultures in the West and as a dialogue about apartheid between Westerners and South Africans. This opening up of space and widening of existing gaps in representation, by way of moving from the simple binary of giver-receiver to a more complex, more thought-provoking partnership in the struggle to dismantle apartheid in South Africa, allow for the reconfiguring of Westerners' relationships with South Africans. Black South Africans are no longer mapped and categorized within the Western whitewished vision of inferiority; they are fighters, strong individuals engaged in symbolic and sometimes physical combat in the war for freedom. Cultural-political events in South Africa cannot be considered in isolation but rather as part of a whole network of histories, geographies, and public and private stories. Tension, displacement, and anxiety inform the emergence of thought-provoking Western representations of South Africa, as Van Zandt and the co-organizers of Sun City have shown.

The realization that colonial pieces no longer fit within a postcolonial world is unsettling; or perhaps the pieces never actually completed the puzzle, despite appearing to fit together. The Sun City project is action taken by citizens who realized, and thus acknowledge, the extensive and violent ways in which cartographies are mapped. Sun City opened participants in popular culture to the possibility of a more hybrid, heterogeneous space that involves the decentring of the whitewishing paradigm in shaping cross-cultural experience. Simultaneously, other voices spoke from other places through the intermingling of musics and fueled the possibility in the

Western world for knowing cultural difference differently. To this day, homogenized messages produced through Western media outlets inform the perception of the South African subject as object. These messages, not surprisingly, do not sufficiently recognize the complexity of cultural difference; instead they provide pleasure by mapping difference for the purpose of simple coherence, while a sort of disorderly polyphony is needed to reexamine the tropes that inform the Other's place in the imaginary museum. Furthermore, the need for a new representational cultural geography is acknowledged in the emergence of a cross-cultural hybrid space. The Sun City project provided a bridge from one system of thinking to other – more open, more hybrid – ways of seeing and hearing through music. "Something that is obvious to many of us who have been around – that music can matter – is new to a whole generation," Van Zandt explains. "People are having their heads turned around by all of this" (Tamarkin, 1985: 62).[50]

A number of benefit concerts advocating a free South Africa developed in the years following the Sun City project: Festival For Freedom in 1986, Freedomfest in 1988, and The International Tribute For A Free South Africa in 1990. The heads of interested artists and concerned fans, it seems, continued to turn around and look toward South Africa after the Sun City project. These concerts existed as a series of moments within the popular cultural landscape. The concerts, as moments of Western resistance, emerge within the gaps in the West's imaginary geography. All the pieces in the whitewishing imaginary do not completely fit together; occasionally there is recognition, an acknowledgement that the vision is incomplete, even though it is mapped as natural and commonsensical.

The concept of "separate development" and the subsequent political action taken by black individuals in the struggle for freedom, however, is not unique to South Africa; it mirrors the experiences of many citizens of the American South that led to such demonstrations as the

March on Washington. Paradoxically, South Africa is marked as the West's Other and is at the same time the West's mirror-image. The ambivalence of the reflection creates tension in the gaps between moments of resistance and the continuous and meticulous whitening over of those very gaps. The potential threat reflected in this mirror is contained through a constant symbolically framing cartography. The potential for Western acknowledgement of its similarity to South Africa is ironically contained in the distancing of Self from Other. Consequently, the South African Other has moved from an uncharted position in the West's imaginary geography to a charted one as a subject of constant cartographic attention in the Western socio-political landscape. "Perhaps South Africa is singled out," suggests Karl Magyer, "precisely because of its substantial European population and consequent embarrassment to the West. The plethora of other offenses occurring routinely in other distant third world and Asian lands are to be 'expected,' due to the assumed but unmentioned general lack of civilization as understood in terms of the Judeo-Christian ethos" (Boles, 1988: 6-7). While the Western eye regards South Africa with shameful embarrassment, such embarrassment is embedded in another emotion that perhaps spurs more socio-political action: namely fear. Whitewishing helps enforce Western authority in the Western imagination by whitewashing the fear of the Other. Since this fear must be contained so too must the West's recognized Other. "The most likely and dangerous threat to Western interests," explains Andrew Pierre, "[is] the internal deterioration of South Africa into a state of civil war. This failure, [Elizabeth Boles] argues, stems from the existence in the West of a large number of myths and misconceptions about South Africa itself" (Boles, 1988: vii). The West deploys whitewishing as a line of defense against an apparently uncivilized, unruly Other, paradoxically informing the myths and misconceptions to which Boles refers. Within the confines of these myths and misconceptions, the South African Other is symbolically contained

and mapped by Western force lines of categorization. While in a position to promote awareness

about the apartheid system in South Africa and raise money to help aid political prisoners and

their families, the Sun City concerts battled external and internal forms of censorship and

containment, all the while illustrating the oscillation between the moment of resistance and its

covering over. One concert in particular, Freedomfest in 1988, as evidence of this oscillation and

forms a base from which to launch a necessary reconsideration about the myth of Nelson

Mandela in the West, and the role of that myth in whitewishing the apartheid regime in South

Africa.

Jerry Dammers, founder of the British Artists Against Apartheid, initiated Freedomfest –

The Nelson Mandela 70th Birthday Tribute Concert – performed on June 11th, 1988, at Wembley

Stadium in London, England. "There is a very sad and bitter side to [apartheid in South Africa],"

explains Dammers; "[t]he situation is actually getting worse, despite the authorities' attempts at

cosmetic propaganda. The real situation is worse than it's ever been in terms of repression. All

organizations are banned and so are all forms of peaceful or democratic opposition" (Clerk,

1988: 8). The Concert featured performances by such popular entertainers as Dire Straits,

Whitney Houston, Maxi Priest, Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, Sly & Robbie, Stevie Wonder,

Eurythmics, Natalie Cole, Al Green, Fat Boys, Chubby Checker, Sting, The Bee Gees, Bryan

Adams, Joe Cocker, Paul Young, Wet Wet Wet, Peter Gabriel, UB40, and Chrissie Hynde

(*Freedomfest* :1988). "Helping out on compering duties," explains Jeremy Coopman by way of

noting the diversity of celebrity participation, "were Harry Belafonte, Richard Gere, Whoopi

Golberg, Sir Richard Attenborough, Scottish comedian Billy Connolly, and Monty Python

members Michael Palin and Graham Chapman" (1988: 59). The event raised money for the

British Anti-Apartheid Movement and seven children's charities in South Africa (Coopman, 1988: 59).

Freedomfest began with Harry Belfonte's comments: "Our celebration today is the most spectacular rock concert since Live Aid!" Belfonte exclaimed to a sell-out crowd of 72, 000 (Gett, 1988: 1). The estimated world-wide audience was over 500, 000, as the "[c]oncert feed was taken live by some 39 countries, about 20 of which broadcast all or most of the 10 hours of musicmaking. A further 12 territories took taped tv versions for delayed runs" (Coopman, 1988: 59). And one country's network censored the show for its audiences – but once again – I am, as David Crosby is prone to do, getting ahead of the story.

The concert was supposed to be held a year prior, in 1987, to commemorate Mandela's 25th year in prison, but it proved too difficult to organize in time. "Simple Minds, however, promised to appear no matter how long it took to arrange," reports Clerk, "and armed with this important selling point, Dammers, in collaboration with Bishop Trevor Huddleston, began writing to all the biggest bands in the country. Having started the ball rolling, he then handed over the organisation to Elephant House Productions" (1988: 9). Dammers had few qualms about transferring the organizational aspects of Freedomfest over to Elephant House Productions since he had organized the Festival for Freedom held at Clapham Common in 1986 and experienced first-hand the financial headache of such responsibility; as he explains: "Once was enough" (1988: 9). The financial pitfalls of organizing a benefit concert are easier to fall into than one might initially expect. "A lot of organizations and charities think that putting on rock concerts is an easy way of making money," explains Dammers, "but it's actually a very, very, risky business and the sooner people realise that the better. One day someone is going to lose a hell of a lot of money on one of these things" (Clerk, 1988: 9). The success of Freedomfest in attracting

performance commitments from popular artists "came as a complete contrast to the failures of the following Amnesty International two-day event at Milton Keynes and the AIDS benefit which was called off when the organisers were unable to secure any big names for the bill," explains Clerk; "[i]t was generally suggested that many of the major bands opted for the Mandela show because of the tv coverage" (1988: 9). Dammers, however, is more hopeful. "I think quite a few of the artists got involved before we know [sic] about the tv," Dammers offers, "I think that the majority were there for the right reasons, I really do" (Clerk, 1988: 9). The identification of the "right reasons," however, is not always clear. "[The] commentators constantly exhort viewers to remember 'the message,'" explain Keyan Tomaselli and Bob Boster, "though it is not clear what this is" (1993: 10).

Holding a birthday party for an incarcerated man and advocating for freedom, while perhaps an interesting political strategy, places the cultural-political focus entirely on *Nelson Mandela* and leaves little possibility for continuing the more meaningful dialogue about apartheid begun with the Sun City project. Through popular music and celebrity, Freedomfest concert organizers sought to "focus world attention on the campaign for Mandela's release, galvanize global pressures and speak for millions around the world who deplore his unjust imprisonment" (Pitman, 1988: 117). This statement speaks to public interest in Mandela, not to apartheid as an unjust political system. It pertains to Mandela and *his* individual struggle, reducing considerations of apartheid to the backdrop in front of which Mandela is mythologized in the Western imaginary. When asked whether he was aware of any South African responses to Freedomfest, Dammers responded affirmatively: "It was like front page news there. It said things like 'Mandela-mania sweeps the world'" (Clerk, 1988). Nelson Mandela has indeed become an idea, "a symbol of political injustice the world over," as Anthony DeCurtis posits. But the West's

continued narrativization of the myth of Mandela does not stand in for discussions about apartheid. It serves an antithetical purpose: the whitening over of apartheid injustices endured by all South Africans. This is the danger of, and power in, representation.

Remembering the myth of Mandela is necessarily coupled with forgetting the many injustices endured by countless South Africans under apartheid rule. The entire anti-apartheid struggle is effectively collapsed in the reification of one man. As Mandela is exalted, raised to the status of cultural saviour, the world's attention is focused on him – his struggle, his personal life, his children, his burden, his durability, his loneliness, his perseverance, his prison sentence ... *him*. Mandela's 70th birthday was on July 18th, 1988, while the date of the concert (June 11th) marked the 24th anniversary of his conviction. Jack Pitman informs that Mandela's conviction was "for allegedly attempting to subvert the state. [C]ounting pre-trial time in jail he will have spent more than 25 years in prison" (1988: 117). The struggle marked here is between Mandela and the state, not between millions of oppressed citizens and the state. Whitney Housten, for example, as Tomaselli and Boster explain, "saw the matter [of apartheid] as one simply affecting Mandela: 'One courageous individual has been imprisoned for so long and taken away from his family. It's important to realize this. Nelson Mandela will save the day! He will, I know he will'" (1993: 15). Events and details of the riots in Soweto and the shootings at Sharpville never arrive in the Western imaginary because the myth of Mandela, the individual, the hero, necessarily excludes them. Fundamental biases exist within the very narrative structures through which we in the West tell our and others' stories. Private stories and remembrances of South Africans are overshadowed by the continuous public imaginings of Mandela. But the myth, as Mike Ketchum outlines, is good for the business of protest: "Membership of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement doubled in little more than a month. The name of Nelson Mandela is now better

known in Britain than those of many British politicians" (1988: 2). Everyone, it seems, wants justice for Mandela; the myth, of course, narrates only one logical and morally sound course of action: his release. "A Gallup poll in July showed that 70 per cent of British people support the call for Mandela's release," explains Ketchum, "and 58 per cent think the British government should do more to help secure it" (1988: 2). World attention is focused on the freedom of *one* man, but that one man, no matter how popular he is, no matter how loaded the myth becomes, does not stand-in for the population of black South Africa. Interpellated by the myth, some believe they are discussing apartheid when they are really talking about the myth of Mandela. "Every second of it [Freedomfest] was political," says Chitra Karve of the Anti-Apartheid movement, "because it was the Nelson Mandela Seventieth Birthday Tribute. You have to put it in the context of the whole campaign we're running. That was one aspect of the Nelson Mandela: Freedom at Seventy campaign, and as such it was a celebration by artists and a tribute by the artists to Nelson Mandela" (DeCurtis, 1988: 33). The context of the whole campaign *was* the myth of Mandela. Freedomfest was part of a five week campaign in Britain that aimed, as Coopman explains, "to focus attention on the jailed leader of the African National Congress, with marches, rallies and other concerts lined up" (1988: 59). Since focusing attention on the campaign for Mandela's release was the concert's largest goal, Freedomfest was a success. "The Anti-Apartheid Movement has just done a poll," Dammers explains, "and 92 or 94 per cent of people in this country now have heard of Nelson Mandela. Something like 74 per cent have a pretty good idea of who he is. Three or four or five years ago, the percentage would have been tiny (Clerk, 1988: 9).

While there are positive outcomes to Mandela as icon: he is a widely recognized political figure discussed publicly and privately, creating one way, one path with the potential to incite

critical discussions of apartheid internationally. Stories are important in the cultural-political

landscape; they narrate current social conditions against the backdrop of history and

simultaneously comment upon the future. The story of Nelson Mandela, his remarkable

perseverance and refusal to simply give up hope despite facing tremendous obstacles, in turn,

gives people hope, and the feeling of hope during times of unrest and conflict is very important

both for the individual and for the success of equal rights movements. With this realization,

however, follows the acknowledgement of the power of representation, the power in positioning

Mandela as political figure and the power displayed through the West's recirculation of his story.

The monolithic treatment of the South African condition through the myth of Mandela

produces a disembodied knowledge that allows the West to reinscribe itself at the centre. The

pervasiveness of this strategy suggests that whiteness is not considered aesthetic at all but

"natural," despite evidence to the contrary. Mandela no longer speaks for himself, or the peoples

of South Africa; rather, the West speaks for him in this whitewishing context. Freedomfest is a

birthday celebration without the guest of honour. Mandela is configured in a single-sided

discourse of imagining. Mandela the persona is as incarcerated as Mandela the man. The threat

of the South African Other is contained within a narrative paradigm informing the West's sense

of cartographic categorization.[51] This grand narrative map of an imaginary world reciprocally

and recursively constitutes the self that reproduces it. The West is culturally and politically stable

within this imagining, and whiteness is reified. "The reification of whiteness," Bonnett explains,

"has enabled people of European [and Western] extraction to imagine that their identity is stable

and immutable and, relatedly, to remain unengaged with the anti-racist historicization (and de-

naturalization) of "racial" meaning" (1999: 200-1). Mandela is a cultural saviour figure

configured within the context of the North-American imaginary, reinforcing a relationship

between dream and representation that Paul Feyerabend describes as one of necessity: "We need a dream-world in order to discover the features of the real world we think we inhabit" (Nichols, 1991: 43). The South African political world is presented through the West's sutured representation of Mandela, reflecting the whitewishing gaze of a Western eye.

Nelson Mandela is a cultural-political star. In the film *Sarafina!* (1992), a young black woman living in Soweto longs to play the role of Nelson Mandela in her school play. Sarafina also dreams of being a Western movie star, idolizes Mandela, and frequently dreams of his release from prison. Interestingly, a photograph of Mandela occupies the traditional place of Christ's picture within the Christian mapping of the home. Sarafina strikes a match in the darkness of the crowded family bedroom; a warm glow envelops her face and the framed picture hanging on the wall. Sarafina smiles: "Morning Nelson." Sarafina often talks with Mandela as a Christian might speak with God. "Why," she asks, "can't I be a star? What do stars do?" Sarafina's line of questioning and the responses she provides serve a critical function in deconstructing the Mandela of cultural myth. Sarafina answers her own question: "Nothing. Look at the camera. *Flash.* Smile at the camera. *Flash.* Look at everybody; big eyes, say nothing. Stars don't do, stars just be." Mandela is a cultural star, whom Sarafina idolizes within Western imaginings of Southern Africa. During her monologue, Sarafina describes a silenced Other, Mandela, whose star persona is framed within a Western whitewished context. As Bonnett suggests, whiteness is a defining, not a defined category (1999: 205). The Mandela of Freedomfest, for example, looked at everybody and said nothing. Mandela the man was narrated into Mandela the myth by the organizers, artists, and fans at Freedomfest. In his physical absence, the myth was built up around the huge picture of him onstage, in front of which artists sang and fans cheered. Mandela the myth informs a defined category, one that is incarcerated, as

Mandela the man was imprisoned on Robben Island, by the Western whitewishing imagination. "White," Bonnett explains, "is allowed to 'speak for itself.' It is permitted the privilege of having an obvious meaning" (1999: 205). Mandela, raised to saviour status becomes a mythic figure as his representation is bathed in Western whiteness. The West needs Mandela as its cultural savior in South Africa to contain its fear of the cultural Other. The specificity of the Afrikaans and Western identity is acknowledged. The Western imagination is akin to the Afrikaans cultural memory; both are built upon "[p]athos, terror, guilt, the joy of power and acquisition, the weight of responsibility and the resentment of such responsibility" (Crapanzano in Hartigan, 1999: 189). Through the recognition and subsequent deconstruction of the myth surrounding Mandela, whiteness is drawn into further engagement, and opportunities for the opening and acknowledgement of more hybridized spaces of representation and reconsideration emerge.

Indeed, the myth of Mandela is part of the West's whitewishing fantasy, a dream-like reinforcement and pseudo-representation of a remarkable man, from media coverage of Steven Biko's death to the lack of media coverage of Freedomfest. While Biko was alive, his political philosophy and campaign were sporadically reported by the large American newspapers (Tomaselli and Boster, 1993: 3). But his death in 1977 and the circumstances surrounding his murder caught and ignited the imaginations of reporters and journalists, and Biko became a martyr figure in the West. "[O]n his death on September 12, 1977, and the brutal way he was killed by the [South African] Security Police who had become a law onto themselves," Tomaselli and Boster explain, "the U.S. media asserted that Biko was one of South Africa's most important black leaders (Brown). None of the previous 19 detainees who had died in detention had received anything like the saturation of media coverage given to Biko's death" (1993: 3). The Western media's portrayal of Biko paved the way for the West's reification and subsequent mythologizing

of Mandela, as Tomaselli and Boster acknowledge: "The martyrdom of Biko provided the foundation for the later emergence of Nelson Mandela as a folk hero in the U.S. and British media" (1993: 3). This act of positioning Mandela at the centre of the West's whitewishing vision of South Africa is marked by a "nostalgia" for the future that is tied to a longing for a past that in some ways never existed. Mandela the myth becomes a form of symbolic compensation for a culture that has been symbolically annihilated by whiteness many times over. Mandela, once slave to white domination, is raised to saviour status. Even though, as Jamaica Kincaid suggests, "All slaves of every stripe are noble and exalted" (1989: 80), Mandela's savior status is granted within the whitewishing paradigm, a placement that simultaneously exalts as it contains Mandela the man as a cultural Other. It is a curious but clever strategy: glorify Mandela, feel less national guilt about satisfying a vicious, imperialistic desire for wealth and power, perpetuate his myth beneath the guise of acknowledgement, and remain safe within the policed boundaries of whiteness. While "[t]he characteristics of whiteness," Bonnett explains, "are removed from social context and set outside history and geography" (1999: 206), the actions informed by whiteness greatly influence and alter history and geography.

The media coverage of Freedomfest, or the lack thereof, exemplifies the attempted symbolic erasure of the South African condition in the West's imaginary geography. Western media coverage of Freedomfest was plagued by attempts and reported acts of censorship. In Britain "[m]ost performers defied attempts by promoters to tone down overtly political statements," reports Coopman: "Sensitivity was caused by fears that the BBC, under criticism from rightwingers for broadcasting the event, would censor such comments. In the end, the BBC let the concert run as scheduled" (1988: 59). The BBC proclaimed the concert apolitical, while the artists "involved insisted on its political nature" (Tomaselli and Boster, 1993: 9). In America,

censorship accusations were leveled at Fox Broadcasting Inc. by Steven Van Zandt who claimed

that the network "trivialized the event by deleting virtually every reference to the political

situation in South Africa" and thus "censored free expression by many of the participants"

(Bessman, 1988: 6). In an article appearing in the New York Times, Van Zandt explained that

his plea for sanctions against South Africa, and political statements made by fellow performers

such as Harry Belafonte, Whoopi Goldberg, and Peter Gabriel, were included in British

broadcasts of Freedomfest, but excluded from American versions (Bessman, 1988: 6). "Celebrity

gossip substituted for informational segments and inane chatter depoliticized the coverage,"

wrote Van Zandt; "While all the facts are not yet in, it appears that Fox Television Network and

Westwood One ... decided that Americans were not interested in learning more about apartheid"

(Bessman, 1988: 6). Elliot Mintz, a Westwood One media consultant, claimed to be surprised by

Van Zandt's suggestion that their coverage of the event may have been influenced by pressure

from a sponsor. "Westwood One has never allowed any of our sponsors to direct programming

policy and never will," explains Mintz:

> We produce and distribute to our affiliate stations the kind of programming that
> will have the greatest appeal to our radio audience. In the case of Freedomfest,
> we paid a substantial fee for the right to carry the best and most exciting
> comments from the benefit, which included original songs about Nelson
> Mandela. We also carried all of Little Steven's music as well as his spoken
> remarks. In addition, we provided the artists an opportunity to use our airwaves
> in exclusive live backstage interviews to discuss their reasons for participating
> in the event.
>   We didn't carry individual speeches made from the stage because we felt
> that we could best communicate the spirit and intent of the event through the
> music itself (Bessman, 1988: 71).

Mitz went on to assert that "[a]nyone listening to the broadcast knew exactly what it was about,"

despite Van Zandt's opposing view that "[people] weren't any better informed after five hours of

programming" (Bessman, 1988: 71 and 6). After further research and investigation of Westwood

One's coverage of the benefit, however, it was found that the network did not broadcast all of Van Zandt's comments, as Mintz had indicated. "Mintz said the network did break for a one-minute Coke commercial directly following Little Steven's performance of "Sun City," reports Jim Bessman, "and that some of his following remarks may have been lost during that time and the ensuing two minutes of "free time" given to the local stations" (1988: 71).

The relationship between celebrity, global benefit concerts, and global soft-drink advertising is one of curious entanglement. "What's at issue here is not hypocrisy but necessity," explains Simon Frith; "rock stars are now tied into global charity and global soft-drink marketing – global charity *as* global soft-drink marketing – whether they like it or not … what the Mandela concert made clear, confirming the Live Aid lesson, was that the music business's economic dependence on television is really a dependence on a new sort of advertising deal" (1988: 71). The Fox network, on the other hand, had little to say in response to Van Zandt's accusations of censorship. "Let the concert speak for itself," said Micheal Binkow, Vice President of Fox Inc., Fox Broadcasting's parent company (Bessman, 1988: 71). The public event of Freedomfest is narrated by organizers, performers, fans, Mandela supporters, reporters, journalists, and the networks broadcasting the event, a mixture of public and private recountings; how the concert is supposed to "speak for itself" remains elusive and vague. The concert proved to be a mixture of voices: some, we in North America are told, spoke out against apartheid in South Africa, some encouraged Mandela's release from prison, and some, it seems, attempted to surpress political commentary for their own ends. The act of suppressing information by Western and South African media appear to be intentional attempts of symbolic oppression informed by a whitewishing narrative bound by binary categorizations of inclusion and exclusion. Related is the South African government's banning of two concerts intended to celebrate Mandela's 70th

birthday that were to be held in Johannesburg and Cape Town on July 17,[th] and the arresting of nine of the concerts' organizers (Miller, 1988: 66). South Africa at that time was under a state of emergency, and as John Miller explains, "the government [was] not required to give any reasons for the banning of the concerts" (1988: 66). This silence and the silencing action of the government further deteriorates its relationship with the South African people, especially black South Africans. "In a sense," Ray Phiri explains, "[the government is] taking away the music of a nation" (Miller, 1988: 66). Forced lines of historical and geographical difference are projected onto the black South African condition through the absence of critical media coverage of Nelson Mandela's birthday celebrations from both inside South Africa's national borders and outside its national boundaries by parties embracing and those opposing the myth of Mandela.

While Mandela the myth is perpetuated through his saviour placement within the West's whitewishing narrative, Mandela the man acknowledges the existence, perpetuation, and his own discomfort with the myth of Nelson Mandela, cultural icon, during an episode of the *Oprah Winfrey Show* that first aired on 27 November 2000. Nonetheless, the very structure of the show, perpetuates the myth about which Mandela voices consternation. "Do you find it difficult," Oprah asks Mandela during the interview, "to live up to that [Mandela] myth, or did you when you first came out of prison?" Mandela responds:

> Well, that is one of the things that worried me, to be raised to the position of a semi-god. Because then you are no longer a human being. I wanted to be known as Mandela, a man with witnesses, some of which are fundamental. That worried me a great deal. Especially because I knew that it was not the contribution of an individual which would bring about liberation, and the peaceful transformation of the country. And my first task when I came out was to destroy that myth; that I was something other than an ordinary human being. Whatever position I occupy it was as the result of my colleagues and my comrades in the moment, who had decided in their wisdom to use me for the purpose of focusing the attention of the country and the international community on me. Not because I had any better virtues than themselves, but because this was their decision.

Mandela is aware of the existence of the myth that is constructed about him and of the power invested in such a representation.[52] While the purpose of Mandela's colleagues might have been to focus South Africa's attention on him by way of informing a particular political stance, the noted "international community," while participating in the process of narrowing political focus, reinforced the myth of Mandela. Even as Mandela sits on stage with Oprah, citing the desired defeat of the myth, it is continuously constructed around him. The interview time between Mandela and Oprah is short in duration with as much time spent imagining and disseminating the myth.

"Today," Oprah announces near the beginning of the show, "a legend comes to life as we welcome one of the world's great heroes, Nelson Mandela." As Oprah recounts Mandela's personal and political history, he is not present on stage; he does not speak for himself. Mandela's story is told through Oprah's voice-over narration as various photographs of Mandela and newsreel coverage of turbulence in South Africa are shown. Occasional soundbite recordings of Mandela delivering some of his most famous speeches are included in this segment. These inserts enforce the construction of Mandela the myth that Oprah reinforces. "Nelson Mandela's life story," she explains, "has become almost mythical – a testament to the power of the human spirit and one man's ability to change the world by standing up for what he believed in." Oprah's narration identifies Mandela's social and political actions as those of an individual, not as part of the collective socio-political movement of which he was a member, and she participates in the very distortion that Mandela later expresses concern over during the interview. Mandela the man is seated next to Oprah onstage, but Mandela the myth is constructed and disseminated throughout the show.

Oprah's account of Mandela's personal and public histories is told within a Western white public space: "Few have ever had the global impact of Nelson Mandela. He is revered by the worlds' political figures..." *images of Mandela pictured with Bill Clinton and the Pope* "...respected by our spiritual leaders..." *footage of Mandela conversing with the Dalai Lama, then with Lady Diana Spencer* "... and admired by other legends of our century ..." *pictures of John F. Kennedy Junior, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, and Queen Elizabeth II.* Mandela is confined within a Western narrative that whitewishes him as myth. Mandela, the cultural savior acting against white rule in South Africa, is rendered non-threatening to the West by the marked reconstruction of Mandela as myth. The idea of Mandela as friend to Western leaders renders him a pleasing cultural icon through association.[53] Mandela the man is defined by Mandela the myth, the latter of whom is recycled by Oprah. The representational oscillation between Mandela and Oprah over Mandela as myth informs the ambivalence inherent in the construction of history and the symbolic strategies pertaining to marked and unmarked identities.

Nelson Mandela has become an idea – a mythical figure in the Western white-wishing cultural imagination. The myth of Mandela is tied to both global and local imaginings, moving across international and national boundaries.[54] Mandela the idea, the noble and exalted myth perpetuated by the West, informing a contemporary master-servant relationship, incarcerates Mandela the man. "Of course, the whole thing is, " Kincaid recounts, "once you cease to be a master, once you throw off your master's yoke, you are no longer human rubbish, you are just a human being. So, too, with slaves. Once they are no longer slaves, once they are free, they are no longer noble and exalted; they are just human beings" (1989: 81). Nelson Mandela *is* a remarkable man. But he is just a man.

The struggle for freedom in South Africa continues, of course, beyond Freedomfest, Mandela's release, and the official legislative conclusion of apartheid. Mandela is not black South Africa's cultural saviour. Mandela is the West's cultural saviour in South Africa, to whom the whiteness of moral, cultural, and territorial fantasy is shackled. The myth of Mandela is a construction packaged by Western media outlets for the West's own cultural consumption and oscillates between the binaries of desire and fear, attraction and repulsion, acknowledgement and denial.

Occasionally spaces become visible, ruptures occur in the West's whitewishing fantasy of histories and geographies creating more hybrid, more open spaces of cultural-political exchange, including discussions about apartheid, as the Sun City project has indicated. "The record, *Sun City*, marked the turning point of the music industry's inclusion of the anti-apartheid struggle," affirms Tomaselli and Boster, "and its incorporation within ... political issues in popular music" (1993: 4). Sun City generated substantial discussion in popular media about apartheid and its atrocities, placing pressure on the South African government and recording companies. The project's support of cultural sanctions increased pressure on popular entertainers to remain accountable to each other, to fans, and to the political situation of inequality in South Africa. Freedomfest also generated discussion in popular media, not through specific support of cultural sanctions against South Africa, but through the confirmation of support for Mandela in a general way. Freedomfest offered conversation about Mandela the myth, not apartheid, and did little to spread awareness in the West about the oppression and struggle of black South Africans. Benefits help to narrate popular imaginings of difference, territory, and cross-cultural communication. The resulting narratives, both progressive and regressive, exist side-by-side in the popular music imaginary through rememberings and storied spaces.

3: America: A Tribute To Heroes:
Narrativizing Trauma and Territory through Benefit[55]

I woke up this morning
I could barely breathe
Just an empty impression
In the bed where you used to be
I want a kiss from your lips
I want an eye for an eye
I woke up this morning to an empty sky

Blood on the streets
Blood flowin' down
I hear the blood of my blood
Cryin' from the ground

On the plains of Jordan
I cut my bow from the wood
Of this tree of evil

Of this tree of good
I want a kiss from your lips
I want an eye for an eye
I woke up this morning to an empty sky

Empty sky, empty sky
I woke up this morning to an empty sky
Empty sky, empty sky
I woke up this morning to an empty sky (2002)

Bruce Springsteen

This is a story about the construction of a narrative both during and after the interruption

of everyday life. This is a story about the intersection of differing histories, geographies, and

imaginaries. This is a story about shock, trauma, and loss. This is a story about the convergence

of public and private memories, marked and unmarked identities, fixity and fluidity, and of order

and rupture. This is a story that cannot be told from a safe distance. "It is a story," explains

Kathleen Stewart, "in which there is always something more to be said" (1996: 7). It is formed

through moments of encounter, shock, nervous recognition, and retreat. On the morning of

September 11th I sat in my livingroom, drinking coffee and thumbing through the course readings I needed to work through that day. Lisa Lafleme, of *Canada AM*, was talking softly in the background, the flicker of light from the television just beyond the edge of the page I had started to read. And then, – "oh my god" – I thought I heard Lafleme's voice, "we are hearing reports …" The change in tone startled me and I looked up. Lafleme looked shaken, trying to mouth the words as fast as she was hearing them through the ear-piece. What *was* happening? I could hardly hear. I reached for the volume control. The rest of my day was spent in front of the television, switching from channel to channel. I watched the footage of the planes striking the towers … the first … then the next … then the reports from the Pentagon … the plane crash in Pennsylvania … reports that the White House had been evacuated … and then the towers fell. I watched and watched; I listened to the reports of emerging stories about survival. Was this a Hollywood screenplay? "It's an attack," the reporters were saying. I watched, in partial disbelief, as events unfolded before me on the screen, the building of shock upon confusion upon death. "Terrorist attacks" news anchors were saying. Perhaps this was the beginning of World War III. By the end of the day my eyes were burning and I was exhausted.

The public and private tellings and retellings of events on the morning of September 11,th and the days following, incorporate frustrations, illusions, presences, and absences; they are contained within an oscillation between knowing and not knowing, between decidability and undecidability. My own efforts to re-remember events on September 11th grow thick in the dense landscape of this storied sociality. Happenings on that day are told and retold in ways that draw people together or push them further apart. Storied spaces are mapped according to the fears and desires of their narrators through invisible lines of perceived knowledge and experience. Stories are told for many reasons: to entertain, to inform, and/or to pass along moral and cultural values

to listeners. Stories are moving threads with which to make sense of happenings within fragmentary existences. They can be read – or seen, or heard, or felt – through the desire to bear witness, to leave a trace, or series of traces, for others to reimagine and rearticulate hours, days, or generations later. "But whatever its presumed motives or traceable effects, and whether it takes a relatively authoritative, monologic form or a more open, dialogic form," Stewart suggests, "narrative is first and foremost a mediating tool through which 'meaning' must pass" (1996: 29). Stories are productive; they point toward cultural-political conventions, relations of authority and inequality, and relations between time and space. Stories mark a space of searching or scanning landscapes, sometimes with nervous intensity and sometimes with fatigue, incorporating an excess of meaning that complicates simplistic imaginings of subject and object. "The question of narrative in culture, then, is not so much the question of the meaning of any particular story or narrative structure," explains Stewart, "but the question of the meaning of narrative itself – of narrativizing the world" (1996: 30).

Stories circulating through cultural-political landscapes are textured and varied, simultaneously inclusive and exclusive. Narrative brings us, as Anne Friedbery explains, "into other spaces, other times, other imaginaries" (1993: 121). Through stories we travel. We identify with characters and personae. We act out fantasies and gratify desires. Like culture itself, storied landscapes of narrativized moments and ambiguities continuously move and shift. "Meaning," explains Stuart Hall, "floats" (228). It cannot be finally fixed. Any attempt to fix meaning is the work of representational practice emerging between situations of stasis and movement. Collective imaginings of September 11th are anchored with words through stories – conjunctions of image and text. Storytelling "is one of the oldest forms of communication," Walter Benjamin explains; "it does not aim at transmitting the pure in-itself of the event [as information does] but

anchors the event in the life of the person reporting, in order to pass it on as experience to those listening" (Buck-Morss, 1989: 336). The events that unfolded on September 11th are narrativized, discussed, and continuously told and retold through a storied sociality of experience and proximity. "The event is not what happens," explains Allen Feldman, "the event is that which can be narrated" (1994: 414). Rememberings and re-rememberings necessarily entail the construction of narrative through which to discuss and reflect upon a past event. Collective memory, then, is not a conception inherent to a group or groups, but is, rather, a socially constructed discourse, a curious intermingling of public and private recollections. "In this view," Daniel J. Sherman explains, "as culturally specific beliefs about a historical event merge with individual memories and take on visible and legible form, collective memory emerges as a construct of the political, social, and economic structures of that condition, if they do not determine, the production of those forms" (1994: 258). Representation is therefore a *practice*, a constant negotiation between constructions. The narration of discourse and practice involves the reconfiguration of certain cultural-political forms such as films, literature, cartoons, posters, postcards, television shows, and benefit concerts.

A number of benefit concerts, compilation records, and individual recordings were organized in the days and weeks following September 11th to provide financial aid for persons and families impacted by the Terror Attacks. For example: God Bless America [record], What's Going On: To Benefit the United Way's September 11th Fund and Artist Against Aids Worldwide [record], The Spirit of America [recording by Daniel Rodriguez], The Concert for New York City [concert and record], and the benefit concert I will discuss here: America: A Tribute To Heroes [concert and record], among others. These cultural-political events provide similar narratives of the events of September 11th, constructing a particular point of view,

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projecting a certain way of seeing, and remembering the day in the Western public imaginary. These narratives incorporate a variety of such discursive and practical binaries as local/national, commercial/artistic, high/low, space/place, and history/memory. America: A Tribute To Heroes, for example, narrates across the fissures that the moments of arrest during September 11th helped to realize. The concert and companion recording inform a protectionist narrative that is the result of a perceived cultural-political invasion, a representation of reality that is, once again, bound to binaries of self and Other. The consideration of this narrative strategy forms a basis from which to discuss Western imaginings of Ussamah bin Ladin and Afghanistan.

The gap between reality and representation manipulates our sense of history, geography, and time. The experience of the actual disappears behind a screen perpetuating a continual flow of discontinuous images. On September 10th, 2001, physical and imaginary projections of history and identity, curious blends of pleasure and terror, fear and desire, were firm and extensive. The very next day much of the world watched two commercial planes collide with and ultimately explode the World Trade Towers. Stories of trauma and devastation emerged through these moments of arrest. People trapped in the upper floors of the towers jumped to their deaths before the buildings collapsed; amateur videographers captured the sound of bodies hitting the pavement for the world to hear. Every part of the city near Ground Zero was covered by a thick and suffocating, we are told, layer of soot. People were burned, crushed, and killed. Shops, playgrounds, homes, and day-care centres were destroyed. Suddenly images of explosion and devastation shifted from far-away places depicted on newsreels to become part of the Western landscape. So accustomed to narrating stories of trauma about other places, the destruction of September 11th needed to be narrated by the West about its own geography. Suddenly, for a few moments, the West was poised between cultural fantasies and their constructions. Suddenly there

were no pleasurable diversions, no control measures, and no words of description, just the powerful presence of incredible loss. The Western mapping imaginary was disrupted by these moments of arrest, these moments of geographical and personal trauma. Thoughts and mapping strategies gave way to imploded tensions and miserable shocks.

Moments of arrest occur through circulation and impact, marking transformations of matter and image in moments of recognition that change the nature of recognition itself. Thinking stops, quite severely, in the face of imploded tension. "Thinking," explains Benjamin, "involves not only the flow of thoughts, but their arrest as well. Where thinking suddenly stops in a configuration pregnant with tensions, it gives the configuration of a shock" (1969: 262). Arresting images of September 11th hit the West during everyday experience; the essence of these images is fluid and elusive – at once familiar and uncharted, they intermingle the strange and the ordinary. The West, at once in the midst of events and trying to make sense of them, was caught within a doubled frame. "This is the space of the gap," Stewart explains, "in which signs grow luminous in the search for their elusive yet palpable meanings and it becomes hauntingly clear that ... [things] are not what they seem" (1996: 4). Flashes of truth jumped up and smacked Western faces, but its sting was fleeting. These moments of encounter passed as quickly as they arrived.

The West narrativized and thus reconstructed its truth through a storied sensibility of imagining and spectacle. An interim repositioning manifesting instability, heterogeneity, and profound absence wandered through cultural space. But only for a few moments. The simplistic, binary imagining soon began to take over, reclaiming roots in cognitive construction, reaffirming boundaries between "us" and "them," "here" and "there," and at once, like whiteness, was and continues to be everywhere and nowhere. September 11th is known as the day of the "Terror

Attacks," marking Western nationalized fear and anxiety. The Other's place was reaffirmed within an elaborate terrorist framework, attaching those clear moral judgements and ideologies of inferiority that the West is accustomed to mapping on far-away places. "Whenever one encounters a new situation (or makes a substantial change in one's viewpoint)," explains Marvin Minsky, "[one] selects from memory a structure called a frame: a remembered framework to be adapted to fit reality by changing details as necessary" (1996: 174). Visual perception was once again directed and strictly organized according to mattering maps of whitewishing history and geography. The "storied sensibility," Stewart acknowledges, "is a 'truth' that is performed and imagined in precise practices of retelling" (1996: 9). Senses were saturated with repeated images of events on September 11th – pulsating pixels mapped over-exposed pictures onto retinas, stories were recounted over and over again, in the weeks and months that followed, by survivors, their families, and the families and friends of victims, and feelings of anguish, rage, but also messages of faith and hope were voiced – narrativized from within a framework of cultural-political amnesia that so easily and necessarily informed Western imaginings of the rest of the world prior to September 11th.

Within a narrative formation that has been used to benefit and construct imaginings of Other places, the West constructs itself simultaneously as victim and hero in collective imagining through the incorporation of Hollywood and popular-music celebrities in its televised America: A Tribute To Heroes. The benefit concert/telethon on the night of September 21st at an undisclosed location in Hollywood, featured musical performances by such popular artists as Bruce Springsteen ["My City of Ruin"], Neil Young ["Imagine"], The Goo Goo Dolls ["Wish You Were Here"], Billy Joel ["New York State of Mind"], Mariah Carey ["Hero"], Sting ["Fragile"], Sheryl Crow ["Safe and Sound"], Willie Nelson ["America the Beautiful"], and

Celine Dion ["God Bless America"], who sang, for the most part, songs for which they were made famous, or hits that already have deep cultural-political roots in the traditional Western imaginary. The goal throughout this benefit was not the fashioning of a cultural-political hybrid space through which to consider the tragedy on par with disasters in other places, like that which was opened during The Concerts for Bangladesh or the Sun City project, but rather to reaffirm a long-held collective Western value system by way of protecting previous imaginings contained in cause-and-effect relations, for example, in songs like "America the Beautiful" and "God Bless America." Such songs are testimony anthems to exclusionary imaginings of Western power and patriotism The use of these anthems and other popular songs, while serving to unite Americans across the United States through "imagined community" relations, pushes Other countries and peoples away from the centre of experience toward the margins of territorialization. Imagined as a nation of victims and heroes, America cannot lose the symbolic struggle for power in which it is continuously engaged. The monolithic narrative strategy the West mapped outside its geographic borders prior to September 11th through benefit concerts like Freedomfest, for example, marks a similar strategy now reasserted to cope with the traumas endured after September 11th. No fundamental imaginative shift has taken root in the gap between representation and actuality opened up by events on September 11th.

America: A Tribute To Heroes is a seamless text that maps lines of cartography as it memorializes Americans killed on September 11th. Hollywood celebrities like Tom Cruise, Cameron Diaz, and Julia Roberts, among others, offered scripted remembrances about the impacts of September 11th on individual Americans who lost loved ones or were killed themselves. These narrations are framed by ideas of triumph in adversity, of hope and courage in times of tribulation, and defiance against a perceived cowardly enemy. Through these narrations,

America constructs its place in the world as a nation constantly seeking justice, as a nation populated by citizens willing to fight against wrongdoers to claim the ultimate victory. In the narrating of America as victim and hero, the Terror Attacks appear to come out of nowhere; they are removed from their own historical and geographical contexts and repositioned within the West's own hero-victim imagining. The narration of cultural-political spaces is brought into being through what is said and what remains unspoken. Through the fabrication of its own essentialized imaginary, Americans are exonerated from all responsibility for the attacks against them. By adding "victim" to an already heroic narrative, the West is both martyr and its own saviour. America, according to its own imagining, cannot be saved by any other nation, but, of course, is capable of saving other nations from terrorists.

The omnipresence of ideas of celebrity within the American narrative landscape is fundamentally a narrative device employed to get the American citizenry back to everyday life. By way of further encouraging Westerners to provide aid to Americans in need, both Hollywood and popular-music celebrities were shown answering phones as audience members called in to make donations to The September 11 Telethon Fund during the broadcast of America: A Tribute To Heroes. Fans could potentially speak with a celebrity, or further still, speak with a celebrity they actually admire, but only if they decided to make a donation. Such tactics are familiar in the narrativizing of Other places, when ideas of celebrity and celebrity performance are drawn upon to encourage ticket sales or donations to various cultural-political causes. The presence of both Hollywood and popular-music celebrities in America: A Tribute To Heroes, while encouraging donations from fans, also functions as part of America's collectively imagined healing process. "Celebrity forms a symbolic pathway," explains Stewart Ewen, "connecting each aspiring individual to a universal element of fulfillment: to be someone, when 'being no one' is the norm"

(1988: 95-6). Celebrities narrativize this imaginative healing process through example. They are busy answering telephones, taking pledges, speaking and smiling with people on the other end of the phone. These celebrities are, while in the process of a show devoted to remembering, moving forward with their lives. Fulfillment in the days following September 11th involves simply moving along with daily activities. America: A Tribute To Heroes points towards Western identity formation as not simply being, but that which is constantly becoming one with its own imagined integrity.

In the weeks and months following September 11th, ideas of celebrity and the fight against terrorism continued to overlap. Cultural-political narratives intimately link images, imagination, and both individual and collective memory, so it makes sense that pictures, whether real or imaginary, are an important part of storytelling. Hollywood understands the narrative power of imagery and the aura of the star in the Western imaginary, but interestingly, so does George W. Bush. The White House recently enlisted "studios in [the] battle to fan the flame of patriotism and tell the world 'what we are fighting for'" (Walker, 2001: B1). Soon, apparently, moviegoers will see short films, essentially propaganda in support of the Western war on terrorism, tagged onto feature films. "Similar public-service announcements," explains William Walker, "will also appear on television" (2001: B1). The United States government sought Hollywood's help in narrating the after-effects of September 11th within the West's whitewishing imaginary exactly two months to the day of the Terror Attacks, a day, interestingly, that Canada has traditionally given over to the annual marking of collective remembrance, but the United States has not. Walker reports:

> Hollywood was enlisted at a Beverly Hills meeting on Nov. 11, directed
> by Karl Rove, Bush's top political advisor, and Mark McKinnon, the spin
> doctor who crafted Bush's message in last year's election campaign.

The meeting included the heads of all the major studios: Walt Disney Co. (which also owns ABC), Sony Pictures Entertainment, Metro-Goldwyn Mayer Inc., Paramount Pictures Inc.

The moguls were asked to establish a Hollywood "war committee," to be chaired by Washington-based Motion Picture Association of America president Jack Valenti, the industry's powerful lobbyist.

Sticking to the new script, the studios and TV networks have named a 40-member executive war committee (2001: B1).

Critics of this war-support strategy through the establishment of a "war committee" question whether the film and television communities will become extended arms of the government, aguing that "times have changed since the mid-1940s when the industry cranked out propaganda films and messages to support the World War II effort of the United States and its allies" (Walker, 2001: B1). Whether or not times have changed since the 1940s is debatable, but the intermingling of images and imagination within cultural-political memory has not changed. Hollywood and the White House are counting on this interconnectedness. The pictorialization of space and time in this cultural-political venture creates a symbolic ordering that may amuse, lull, or possibly entertain us, but it neither provokes the reconsideration of the West's positioning, marks accountability, nor sustains resistance within the Western popular-cultural landscape. Events on September 11th will be historically situated within a linear sequence of cause-and-effect relations in these short tag-on films. These stories will take their patriotic place in cultural memory over and over again in theatres, just as images of the falling Trade Towers are recycled throughout the Western popular landscape since September 11th as a way of maintaining public support for the war on terrorism. We hear rehearsed lines and carefully chosen phrases projected onto anxiously repeated images positing America's renewal of its narrative of victim and hero in the Western imaginary. Identity appears fixed and unchanging within this totalizing and territorializing narrative framework which subscribes to the comfort so often provided by stories beginning with the phrase 'once upon a time.' A disembodied history will be written for the

viewer, or imaginer in these trailers, in true triumphant Hollywood style. Imaginings of the past will ripple into the present and future narratives of cross-cultural communication. It is uncertain whether America will ever find Ussamah bin Ladin, but his fate is already narratively sealed.

Since the days following September 11th, narratives incorporating a montage of images of private traumas have been unearthed and narrativized within public remembrances of the Terror Attacks. The merging of real and imagined worlds can result in confusion and uncertainty, exactly the sort of situation the West attempts to narrate over through benefits like America: A Tribute To Heroes and the Hollywood-White House partnership. We are lately experiencing a frenzy of the visible through representations mediating between perceptions of reality and its actuality. Continuous images, phantasmagorical and commodified, spark public and personal memories of September 11th. Memory and recollection are subject to physical and imaginary sites of constant exchanges and relays of information in which images and messages swirl about. "The activity of recollection," Christine Boyer explains, "must be based on spatial reconstruction" (1996: 26). But the continuous act of spatial reconstruction need not necessarily lull or anesthetize citizenry. Reimaginings can offer an array of oppositions by visualizing representational obsessions and their decay, and by interweaving fragments of different imaginaries to establish new connections. The recovering of differences in memory, in cultural-political re-imaginings, communicates zones of uncertainty and complexity provoking and showing ruptures in memory landscapes. But there is so much excess in the West's cultural-political landscape since the physical and imaginary rupture of September 11th that is continuously narrativized into place by the popular collective, it becomes difficult to locate moments of resistance across this consistently storied sociality.[56] Many of the persons declared "missing" after the fall of both Trade Towers, for example, have by now been confirmed or

presumed dead. These absences become increasingly magnified through the acknowledgement, and remembrance, of their former presences. Feelings of surprise, bewilderment, confusion, and anger of loved ones reacting to this final narrative closure were for months contained and relayed within a single purpose of redemption, united in one goal: to find the man responsible for all these deaths, to find bin Ladin.

The West, in narrating bin Laden as enemy, as an evil cultural-political Other, has simultaneously made him the meat of consumerist ideologies, a bloated public figure, a myth. For while bin Laden is narrativized as the West's ultimate enemy, and while claims are made that all possible resources are being deployed to capture him, his location and whereabouts continue to elude the most "powerful" nations in the world. The idea of bin Ladin has become the material of fantasy and mystery both within the West and without. bin Ladin is a hero to many anti-America enthusiasts, not just within Muslim nations, but all over the world. bin Ladin's supporters are often identified under the blanket description of "Muslim." Since bin Ladin is imagined as evil, his supporters, by association, are also evil. Identifying his supporters as "Muslim" is an effective way to symbolically annihilate these nations, putting them in their sinister place. "The hero worshiping of bin Laden," Bodansky explains,

> already has had dire ramifications for the security of the United States and its allies – namely, the radicalization and motivation of Muslim youth for generations of jihad ... Giving the name "Osama" to babies throughout the Muslim world has dramatically increased. Therein lies the epitome of bin Laden's populist appeal and long-term impact – the sense of historical continuity of the Islamist jihad. "If we can't take revenge from the Americans during our life time, our own Osamas will teach a lesson to them," explained one Pakistani Talib (religious student), whose Osama is only six months old (2001: 405-6).

The West's narration of "the Muslim world" is continuous and circular, with no discursive end in sight. "We search," explains Sontag, "for Messiahs of the Mind, the Prophets Within" (1998: 2),

for those who will inspire and inform cultural-political memories. The idea of bin Laden is similar to the cultural-political workings of the idea perpetuated in the West of Nelson Mandela, only each is narrativized on completely opposite ends of the Western imaginary. Mandela is symbolic of tolerance, patience, and endurance. bin Ladin symbolizes hatred, violence, and the death of innocent Americans. The linkage between Western cultures and consumerist ideologies, evident in such early examples as the March on Washington and Woodstock, frame cultural-political narratives of power and celebrity capital. The irony of bin Ladin's image plastered everywhere from newspapers to T-shirts is somewhat comical and disturbing on one hand, but its flashy absurdity enforces some Islamic criticisms of American (and indeed Western) way of life. "Followers of the Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran," Yossef Bodansky explains, "view the United States as a land preoccupied with the adulation and worship of money;" Majid Anaraki, described by Bodansky as an Iranian who lived for several years in southern California, narrates America as "a collection of casinos, supermarkets, and whore-houses linked together by endless highways passing through nowhere, all dominated and motivated by the lust for money" (2001: xiii-xiv).

The parceling and distribution of rationalized images have created the persona of bin Ladin. The West, through its own narration, has rendered bin Ladin a cultural-political star who is sought after, wondered about, and discussed over and over again in Western popular culture. We know that paradise has disintegrated, and that the politics of representation is informed by constant struggle. bin Ladin, despite the West's repeated attempts to narrate his physical existence outside of its borders, has been made a part of Western popular culture. Like the need for the idea of Mandela, the West needs the idea of bin Ladin to map and perform its continued victim-hero narration.

America: A Tribute To Heroes, the Hollywood-White House partnership, and the myth of bin Ladin are informed by larger structures of mediation and inequality that remove the Middle East from Western interior imaginings. From my positioning in the West, I cannot presume to speak about West-Middle East cross-cultural relations without acknowledging the structuring role of transliteration and translation from Arabic to English. Everything, for example, that bin Ladin has said, has been accused of saying, will say, and will be cited as saying, is defined by an unavoidable and inescapable loss. In the movement from one language text to another, a loss of specificity occurs. The spelling, for example, of Arabic names poses a challenge to Westerners attempting to convert them to English. T. E. Lawrence acknowledges this series of linguistic discrepancies, engaging in a discussion of his English writing of Arabic space and place in the *Seven Pillars of Wisdom I* (1939):

> It should be recognized that only three vowels are recognized in Arabic, and that some of the consonants have no equivalents in English. The general practice ... in recent years has been to adopt one of the various sets of conventional signs for the letters and vowel marks of the Arabic alphabet, transliterating Mohamed as Muhammad, muezzin as mu'edhdhin, and Koran as Qur'an or Kur'an. This method is useful to those who know what it means, but this book follows the old fashion of writing the best phonetic approximations according to ordinary English spelling. The same place-name will be found spelt in several different ways, not only because the sound of many Arabic words can legitimately be represented in English in a variety of ways, but also because the natives of a district often differ as to the pronunciation of any place-name which has not already become famous or fixed by literary usage. (For example a locality near Akaba is called Abu Lissan, Aba el Lissan or Abu Lissel) (22).

The uncertainty surrounding the pronunciation of Arabic names and places, and the linguistic attempts Lawrence makes at narrating these pronunciation variances in English, will always be characterized according to loss due to the adaptation of the Arabic alphabet to its rough English-language imagining. Narrations of terrorist actions then are projected into the Western imaginary through pre-established frames and well-designed scenes of symbolic theft, pointing to the

double process of remembering and forgetting. The West remembers bin Ladin as a cultural type, a symbol of evil, but forgets the loss that is rendered unspeakable within frameworks of categorization. The impact of this lack of representations and remembrances of bin Ladin remains largely unacknowledged within popular cultural-political imaginings of September 11th.

The problems of transliteration and translation and their negative representational implications filter through Western conceptions of historical and geographical distance from Middle Eastern place. "Any book [and for our purposes, any representational imagining, musical or otherwise] dealing with the Muslim world," explains Bodansky in *bin Laden: The Man Who Declared War on America* (2001), "is bound to be full of strange names and terms. This one is no different" (2001: xix). While Bodansky recounts his knowledge of Arabic-English language translation tribulations, he does so from within an orientalist framework, at once positioning the Other as "Arabic" and very "strange." "Moreover," Bodansky continues,

> there are several codes of transliteration for both Arabic and Persian – from the academically precise to what is commonly used in the media. To make the book as reader-friendly as possible, I opted to use the popular spelling of names as they appear in most newspapers and magazines. For example, although the proper transliteration of the name would be *Ussamah bin Ladin*, I go along with the commonly used *Osama bin Laden*. Similarly, instead of the proper *Umar Abd-al-Rahman*, I use the familiar *Omar Abdul Rahman*, and instead of *Tsaddam Hussayn*, *Saddam Hussein* (xix).

To translate a persona literally from one culture into another and proceed to engage the world in a discussion about that persona from a comfortable and familiar narrative position necessarily and essentially binds the practice of representation and remembering to inequality and demonstrates a profound ignorance and narrow-mindedness on the part of the narrator. While frustrating at times, the West's narrative role in this dilemma is not surprising. The West is, and continues to be, the invisible centre of its own vision, wielding powerful cultural-political projections onto Othered places and peoples, rendering them very visible and thus mappable and

containable. Naming, as we have acknowledged in relation to Mandela, is a form of symbolic

branding, one mechanism among many within the extensive and systematic Western imagining

that perpetuates dysfunction and deprivation. The formation of a series of imagined communities

united against Islamic fundamentalist terrorist nations are no less real or painful because they are

symbolic constructions. Western imaginings of bin Ladin are mapped onto entire nations in the

Middle East. bin Ladin is perceived as the head of the Taliban army bound to attack the West at

any time. The power of language and ideology, the politics of articulation and, to borrow from

Stuart Hall, its "arbitrary closures" (1987: 45), inform the hegemonic product of identification.

This is the West's cultural-political capital: the power to place, to position a nation, to construct a

narrative for bin Ladin the colonial subject and, by association for entire nations within a

language of a particular historical framework. "Whenever possible," continues Bodansky, he

> translated terms, albeit losing precision, and left in the original language only
> commonly known terms such as *jihad* or organizational names such as *al-*
> *Jamaah al-Islamiyah*. For non-translated terms [he] also used the common
> transliterations – for example, *jihad* rather than *gihad*. This should help the
> reader to relate the story told here to unfolding world events (2001: xix).

bin Ladin is a character narrated into being within Western imaginings that favour familiarity

over precision. Bodansky, as Western narrator, positions the loss of precision associated with

translation as a form of potential aid for Western readers as they make sense of recent world

events within the clearly laid out and mappable paradigm before them. Hall's discussion of

migration describes the general flow of information from the West to the Middle East: "a one

way trip" (1987: 44). Identities, formed within this unequal process of categorization, are

inventions from their perceived beginnings. These fictions of identity, constructed "at the

unstable point where the 'unspeakable' stories of subjectivity meet narratives of history of a

culture" (Hall, 1987: 44), are based upon suspicion and conjecture, products of the simultaneous desire and fear of the Islamic Other.

The nature of truth is uncertain, at best, and notions of concrete reality are questioned through ideas of position and positionality; the only solid and withstanding texture is found in the imagination. Imaginings are spaces of refuge from which to map out clear boundaries between good and evil, self and Other, here and there. Boundary imaginings are carried through time and space from childhood to perceived adulthood. "Anywhere I am is HERE," declares muppet Grover; "Anywhere I am not is THERE" (Borgenicht, 1998: 19). The recognition of the impossibility of identity, its necessary fiction, its contradictory undecidability, causes a yearning to isolate, to reach out and grab hold of an imagining text or product like America: A Tribute To Heroes in order to classify, define, and freeze moments within a cultural narrative, thereby rendering identity, once impossible to pin down, relatively easy to understand and acknowledge. Difference is thus recognized but defined according to loss within a cognitive framework of cause-and-effect relations. Imaginings offer a double escape: relief from the world and its complications coupled with the dissolving of all accountability relationships. Therein lies the illusion of imagination: total escape. Just as the past inhabits the present, so the physical world intermingles with the metaphysical one. Full and total escape is never possible; the slippage of ideological interpellation between recognition and misrecognition is unavoidable.

Images of Afghanistan in the West are continuously recycled, oscillating between the desire to remember and the impulse to forget. Images of Afghanistan passing through media outlets are now familiar: starving Afghanis, war-torn landscapes, scantly-clad children peering out from city and town ruins, women in burkhas hurrying past, soldiers re-entering the American embassy in Quandahar, people bleeding, army vehicles winding down roads with bodies piled

off to the side. It is a place rendered far away in the Western imagination. "The human mind," Frederick Sontag explains, "often strays afar and dwells ... in far-out worlds, many of which are not in any way beautiful and some of which are perhaps even terrifying" (1998: 1). The Western imagination dwells in Afghanistan long enough to capture news footage of its blown-up landscape and images of its people, physically wounded and symbolically annihilated, only to move away to and narrate these pictures as total and complete within a whitewishing framework of enunciation. The Western vision sees nameless and sometimes faceless people in places marked by strong senses of disorder and poverty. Place-names are not acknowledged; interviews are conducted with people who remain unidentified, described only as "this Afghani," or "one Afghani says that...," with very little specificity. These images of poverty and desolation of Afghanistan are rendered familiar in the Western imaginary through association, for example, with imagery from World Vision. The people and places projected on news images of Afghanistan and through images appearing on World Vision programs are emptied of individuality and blend each within the other. These images of people and places are incorporated into Western imaginings of freedom and sponsorship. Life in the East becomes virtually impossible to imagine without Western aid. So many images blurring together through the lenses of the West articulate the essential and generic imaginings of Afghanistan. The West narrates Afghanis' stories through the frame of its own historical sight and provides them humanitarian aid as it bombs their villages.[57] In denying Afghanis a voice, the West inscribes its narrative onto their landscape.

The West will never know the place or people of Afghanistan through the continuous mapping of its own imaginings of history and geography through benefits like America: A Tribute To Heroes. All that the West has seen of September 11th and attempted to fix is on the

surface, covering a spatial opening that is continuously and systematically mapped over. The immediate, traumatic surface of September 11th is shocking, appalling, and disastrous. The totalizing structures sustaining the West's sense of place are well policed, and the West's distance from Afghanistan is viciously maintained. The system within which the West pronounces its representational superiority depends on it.

Within Western imaginings, Afghanistan is a fictive place. The West needs to remember bin Ladin in order to imagine him continuously as evil and insane, a figure to be narrativized, an image of the enemy to be anxiously repeated in earnest.[58] If the West's perceived distance from Afghanistan is shattered, people will be forced to recognize its physical existence, to acknowledge its peopled geography, and face its own constructed fictions. The West was very close to confronting the cultural-political differences of fantasy and reality on September 11th. But it is easier to narrate a story about good versus evil than to acknowledge representational and national shortcomings. The West, as a result, now faces the very real possibility of narrating World War III. The impossibility of locating bin Ladin has spurred the "rediscovery" of and renewed interest in Tsaddam Hussayn and his weapons of mass destruction in Iraq.

In the days and weeks post-September 11th the Western world watches its own news footage of Afghanistan, benefits like America: A Tribute To Heroes, and recycled images of Hussayn, searching for bits and pieces of images that will move imaginations from absence to presence, from deficiency to excess. Western eyes watch television screens, longing for a sign of movement but remaining fixed within their own pre-packaged narrative connecting physical and temporal realities with imagined and projected existences. Popular music, within this benefit imaginary, forms "a social cement" (Adorno, 1941: 39) through which to reaffirm Western

articulations of a Middle Eastern history, geography, and place in the world – an old strategy by

which to narrativize recent Western trauma and map an Other's territory clearly.

Conclusion: Music, Maps

An unseen ruler defines with geometry
an unruleable expanse of geography
straining eyes try to understand
the works incessantly in hand
the carving and the paring of the land
the quarter square the graph divides,
beneath the rule, a country hides.
                Wire, "Map Ref. 41° N 93° W" (Herman et al., 1998: 9).

The convergence of music, politics, narrative, and memory evokes some dynamic and often unpredictable meetings in time and space. Cultural-political imagining incorporates ideas about representation and practice, remembrance, sight, history, geography, sometimes binaries of fear and desire, self and other, and conceptions of the physical and imaginary. The popular-cultural landscape is littered with storied spaces, affective narrations, pointing as much to the importance of sound as to the significance of sight. Events in storied sociality are remembered and reremembered, and they hold presence and place in physical and imaginary landscapes. Recollection is necessarily a spatial reconstruction of facts and fictions in the renegotiation of identity through movements across the past and present with a vision, or imagining, of the future. We tell stories; we narrate our public and private relationships according to experiences, remembrances, and past performances. Enmeshed in everyday life, though, is power. Empowerment is never available to everyone, however – never facilitated in exactly the same way. The relationship between culture and politics is marked by power shifts and power struggles. Hollywood and popular music celebrities, as some of the most powerful personae in the West, symbolically shake hands with political figures as they narrate each other's stories for public consumption. The linkage of celebrity with politics articulates passions and judgements, pleasure and power, identity and belonging, and moments of transformation and confirmation. Popular culture contains physical and imaginary structures that can enable and empower, but that

can also and often do constrain and oppress. These differing structures exist side-by-side within Western cultural-political imaginaries. The relationship between celebrity, politics, and popular music moves against, across, and within temporal and spatial moments. Benefits are unique and dubious in their inhabitance of particular times and places along the popular music imaginary from which discussions of the continuous narration of cultural-political relationships through moments of crossing and uncrossing arise. The intertwining of chords and causes narrates cultural-political spaces through which to consider cultural difference and exchange, but also cultural invasion and narrations of Others' containment.

Cultural-political narratives within the Western imaginary acknowledge the historical and geographic program (and paradigm) of continued colonial-like expansion, but other stories narrate over this imagining of the past through a similar reiteration of the present and the future. Through benefits we see the narrativization of spatial stories constructing modern notions of cartographic exploration and inscription. Benefits can either protect or provoke the ordering of events in a particular world view within a storied sociality. Benefits offer an opportunity for the facilitation of meaningful cross-cultural communication, as in the cases of The Concerts for Bangladesh and Sun City; but also, as Stewart indicates, they can also inform mapping strategies through which to enshrine and encase Others within a Western narrative of fear and desire, as in the cases of Freedomfest and America: A Tribute To Heroes.

The idea of the large-scale benefit throughout the 1970s and 1980s points toward the promotion of aid for places located outside of the West's geographic boundaries. Rememberings of the Concerts for Bangladesh necessarily entail both public and private historical, geographic, and mythic stories. These reconstructions and reimaginings are brought forward from within a space of cultural-political exchange via the familiar medium of popular music. Ideas of Western

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and Eastern musics physically and imaginatively intermingled in the same geo-political space within the West, effectively exploding traditional symbolic narratives of distance that separate the two perceived polarities. Similarly, through the Sun City project, we see the shattering of Western narratives of perceived distance from South Africa through Van Zandt's movement against and across the differing geographical and symbolic cultural-political landscapes of America and South Africa. Just as travel to India opened up spaces for the reconsideration and repositioning of Indian music within Western space for Harrison, so too Van Zandt explores cross-cultural relations between the West and South Africa. The Sun City single is a form of travel writing through which Van Zandt recognizes the whitewishing symbolism of the Sun City resort. The Concerts for Bangladesh and the Sun City project form cultural-political traces, weaving throughout the Western music landscape, narrating the spread of protest and awareness about Bangladeshi refugees and apartheid.

Conversely, the oscillation of Western representations of South Africa is evident in the production of Freedomfest, a benefit concert that operated under the guise of a discussion of apartheid, while actually serving to perpetuate the myth of Nelson Mandela, the West's cultural-political saviour in South Africa. Remembering the myth of Mandela is coupled with forgetting the many injustices endured by South Africans under apartheid rule; once again we see the reification of whiteness mapped onto Western imaginings of the East. Events on September 11th are remembered and re-remembered through a storied space, a storied sociality; symbolic travel occurs through public and private testimonies of struggle and survival but also through devastation and death. Narrative control becomes crucial in the symbolic reconstruction of the Western imaginary in the days, weeks, and months following the Terror Attacks. As a benefit that is both similar to and different from a concert like Freedomfest, America: A Tribute To

Heroes marks a shift in the modern benefit from a cross-cultural communication between West and East to an interior communication. The West, reacting to the horrible events of September 11th, proceeded to map the recent destruction of its own physical and symbolic geography through a narrative of control and containment, systematically mapping out the symbolic annihilation of a Middle-Eastern Other as it memorialized Westerners killed on September 11th.

Western imaginings and structuring narratives at once mythologize and Other its objects. Mandela, as we have seen, is positioned on one end of the representational spectrum as the epitome of humility, perseverance, and sainthood, while bin Ladin is positioned as Mandela's antithetical persona, imagined as destructive, merciless, and evil. While we understand that discussions about the myth of Nelson Mandela do not stand in for considerations and subsequent reconsiderations of the sufferings endured by South African people under the apartheid regime, they are projected as one in the same through such popular imaginings as Freedomfest. Similarly, in the West's narrativizing of bin Ladin, he is projected as standing in for entire Muslim nations as indicated through America: A Tribute To Heroes and the Hollywood-White House partnership. Whitwishing bin Ladin as evil serves to locate Muslim nations within an Othering framework of enunciation further impounded by the loss of specificity through transliteration and translation from Arabic to English. Through these narratives both Mandela and bin Ladin are cultural-political stars within the Western popular imaginary. As the first anniversary of the September 11th attacks passes, sites of immediate mourning become sites of continuous public and private remembrance, storied spaces in the West's cultural-political landscape. In recalling events on the morning of September 11th we see flashes of images: the towers falling, the soot and ominous clouds of debris hovering over New York City, the wreckage of flight 93 in Pennsylvania, the damage to the Pentagon, and later the anthrax scares. These moments of

arrest, these jolts of narrative interruption push us closer to the recognition of representational gaps in our constructed fictions. But coupled with these moments of arrest follow moments of narrative affirmation of the Western symbolic order: we remember Bush's proclamation to the world that bin Ladin is "wanted: dead or alive;" we are made increasingly aware of new border initiatives between Canada and America utilizing technologies for identification and categorization by way of keeping desirables in and undesirables out. Systematic narrativization has lead to the covering over of the cultural-political gaps in Western imaginings of history and geography that were ripped open by the terrorist attacks on September 11th. We see flashes of news footage of the past recirculated in the present marking a collective desire to remember. We see the images of banners hung across buildings in New York City inscribed with the phrase "We will never forget." But the action of remembering is necessarily accompanied with forgetting. September 11th brought forward moments of choice, opportunities to reconsider, reimagine, reposition our own places within Western cultural-political history and geography, or not. Representation is an ongoing process complete with gaps and choices. Narrations with a view toward cultural-political exchange exist alongside those supporting invasion. Popular music may reiterate and reinforce either imagining.

Benefits are directional pointers through which music narrates storied sociality, mapping the beats of particular histories and geographies. Benefits map an oscillation within the Western cultural-political landscape, showing the uncertainty and fundamental instability of representation and practice. They mark the opening up of cross-cultural hybridized space, and the narrativizing of this space onto the Western imaginary. Within this space, relations between the West and its mapped Others can be reconsidered, renegotiated, and ultimately rearticulated. Conversely, benefits may also illustrate Western projections of simultaneous attraction and

repulsion through the extensive mapping of Western territory and place that systematically narrativizes and condemns Eastern history and geography. The popular music cultural-political imaginary incorporates spaces of opening and spaces of closing narrated through public and private storied socialities.

Just as narrative beginnings are subject to random linear and categorical designations, so too are narrative endings forms of arbitrary closure. "Physically, of course," Peter Schwenger says of reaching the "end" of a story, "the covers are closed and the book is put away, but inside the covers is a constellation of elements capable of almost infinite variations" (1999: 146). Inside our heads, narrative maps, defining and exploring history and geography, project outward and onward. We move through landscapes of sound where social codes are constantly dissolved and reconstructed. "Imagine the kind of place where, when something happens, people make sense of it not by constructing an explanation of what happened," explains Stewart, "but by offering accounts of impacts, traces, signs" (1996: 57). Imagine a place where connections are always partial, where narratives produce fresh gaps in understanding and provoke further questions and new associations, where hearing is distinct from listening, where people listen in order to retell.

Jacques Attali acknowledges the stifling and at times suffocating nature of Western knowledge and the limitations of its sight when he explains that "[f]or twenty five centuries Western knowledge has tried to look upon the world. It has failed to understand the world is not for the beholding. It is for the hearing. ... [And that] nothing essential happens in the absence of noise" (1985: 3). Life is full of noise. In judging "a society more by its sounds, by its art, and by its festivals, than by its statistics" (Attali, 1985: 3), we hear the sounds of physical and imaginary trauma: sirens, screams, and shots. And we hear music. In this sounded sociality, we not only see but hear Mahalia Jackson sing "I Been 'Buked and I Been Scorned" at the March on Washington.

We hear the cries of "Martin" filling the air as King stepped up to the microphone. We hear blacks in the American south voice their desire for freedom and equality. We hear Shankar playing the sitar, Harrison singing "it sure looks like a mess / I've never seen such distress" (Swimmer, 1971), coupled with the cries of the people of Bangladesh. We hear popular artists' contributions to the Sun City project, its strong lyrics of challenge and conviction mingling with the monolithic messages of Freedomfest in the cultural-political landscape. We hear the voices of both the man himself and the narrators of the myth of Nelson Mandela. We hear the shots fired at Sharpville and the Soweto Riots. We hear the trade towers falling; the loud *thud* of bodies hitting the pavement. We hear the stories and cries of family members and friends mourning their "missing" relatives and loved ones. We hear Hollywood celebrities and popular entertainers lend their voices to America: A Tribute To Heroes. We hear narrations of opening and of containment; narrations relying on sound as much as sight. These cultural-political sounds intermingle public and private stories from differing times and places in Western and Eastern imaginaries. The continuous reacknowledgement of our spatial and temporal sociality, bridges the fissure between Western and Eastern worlds. Benefits map out representational choices incorporating particular views of world histories and geographies.

Memory incorporates a mixture of sights, smells, and sounds. Music crosses and criss-crosses throughout physical and imaginary landscapes, connecting cultural-political events with socially negotiated commentary, interweaving the past with the present and the future. We remember events in Bangladesh, South Africa, and America and understand that these places have necessarily deposited interruption and contradiction into the Western imaginary. "Since that Tuesday morning [of September 11th for example], when we turned on our televisions and, in succeeding days, barely turned them off," explains Alex Strachan, "much has changed and, in a

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strange and yet similar way, nothing has changed" (2002: D23). If we are to carry with us anything meaningful from the March on Washington, the Concerts for Bangladesh, Sun City, Freedomfest, and America: A Tribute To Heroes, we must learn, as Strachan explains, "to hold two contradictory thoughts in our heads at the same time" (2002: D23). These benefits inspire hope about cultural-political situations but also dread and pessimism; they are comforting and disturbing; they are capable of energizing world awareness but also debilitating world acknowledgment. There is, of course, always something more to be said about the benefit's place in storied sociality. Music, as we have seen, maps and these maps matter. In his writings about the relationship between music and politics, music and social protest, David Crosby is prone to get ahead of the story, marking a desire to utter the excess, to provoke further associations and complications within the Western imaginary. The future of benefits in the West is linked to past and present understandings and experiences of them. Getting ahead, in this sense, is far more challenging to traditional mapping strategies than falling behind.

[1] I borrow my thoughts and understandings of popular culture for this paper from Lawrence Grossberg who acknowledges the term in relation to ideas about affect and the body, boundaries between high and low culture, "mattering maps" (1992: 82), pointing to "an assemblage of formations, to other sensibilities and to another plane of effects" (1992: 78). See (Grossberg: 1992, 69-87).

[2] Chris Cutler offers four key points in his discussion of myth that I find to be particularly refreshing reminders of the centrality of myth in popular culture; its provisionality, myth as "living form of knowledge," myth as a form of wisdom, and its place in memory:

> 1. Myth is never *definitive*, it is always provisional – but at any time it does embody a current and more or less universally held 'truth'. These truths, because expressed in pre-scientific terms (elliptically, allegorically, symbolically, ironically) are no less truths for that. (Our prejudices about what truth is cannot contain it: truth itself can only be tested; it is not here to be trusted).
> 2. As a living form of knowledge, Myth is never in contradiction with those who use it, who pass it on, elaborating it to include new knowledge, who express their attitudes towards the world through it. For as it is *objectively* through work, so it is *subjectively* through Myth that people come to terms with the world it discovers and which discovers it.
> 3. Myth is wisdom. It changes organically as reality itself changes in order to express that reality and to give it a human quality. In this respect Myth is a mirror of truth.
> 4. Belonging to no one, Myth has no life outside the context of its immediate use. Its prolongation in human memory is necessarily also its transformation (unlike a book, for instance, whose letter is inviolate. The crucial point here is that a book can never respond to its reader – by its nature indeed it *forces the reader to respond to it*. Myth, on the other hand, exists only in the space between teller and hearer – and the telling as well as the hearing is a responsive act) (1993: 55-6).

[3] The relationship between notions of truth, temporality, and perspective is one of curious entanglement as Ravi Shankar illustrates in his (re)consideration of the stories contained in his autobiography:

> What is truth, anyway? It is like beauty – in the eye of the beholder. The great Akira Kurosawa has shown this so wonderfully in his film *Rashoman*. Perspective plays a crucial role: I have tried to be as truthful as possible in stating the past and the present in relation to everyone and everything mentioned, including myself, but what I have told you here is the story of my life as I see it now (1999: 9).

[4] *Stand and Be Counted* (2000) while co-authored by David Crosby and David Bender, contains stories that are recounted through first-person narration in the voice of David Crosby. I acknowledge Bender's contribution, but will from here on refer to David Crosby as storyteller, to avoid textual inconsistencies and awkwardness in my retelling of these stories.

[5] Geoff Chapman declares Odetta a "matriarch of music as social protest - she's put her beliefs front and centre, and along the way has implanted her fine performances in the memory of millions" in a profile appearing recently in *The Toronto Star* (2002: G3). Odetta is one of a number of performers taking part in the Harbourfront three-day blues festival in Toronto. "Music can be part of a healing process for the young," says Odetta, "[i]n school we were taught that America's slaves were happy and singing in the fields all day, but when I learned the true history I was attracted to the music. It touched me where I live" (Chapman, 2002: G3) Odetta's comments speak to the overlappings between music, politics, and memory: "[t]he history of people is embedded in its music and I just hope I've helped people survive that history" (Chapman, 2002: G3).

[6] I borrow, again, from Grossberg's discussion of culture and difference, and culture and lived reality, and culture and articulation, in positioning my thoughts about culture for this paper. See (Grossberg, 1992: 37-67).

[7] This blending of culture with politics risks the development of populisms that can be misleading and ultimately damaging ways of seeing. "The blending of politics and popular culture," explains John Street,

> runs the risk of seeing politicians as simply representing the people, and popular culture as being just a form of popular expression. I want to reject both these views. Certainly, there is a strong desire on the part of the political order to claim that it represents the people. Running parallel to this political populism is a cultural populism, one that allows broadcasters, artists, cultural analysts and others to claim that popular culture expresses the wishes and desires of the people. Both political and cultural populism are, however, highly suspect ideas, at least in their unqualified form (1997: 17).

[8] While I speak of myth here in relation to Jackson's comments about popular entertainers and their linkage to the cultural myth of Christianity, Gilbert B. Rodman offers some interesting comments about the role of myth in popular

music. He discusses Lester Bangs' comment "rock'n'roll comes down to myth. There are no 'facts'" (Frith: 1983, 271) in relation to ideas of truth and belief circulating in popular culture. "I want to argue," writes Rodman, "that the truth, while not irrelevant, doesn't matter nearly as much as we tend to think it does ... In terms of cultural impact, however, Bangs' seemingly false claim is quite accurate, as what people *believe* the facts to be usually matters much more than the facts themselves" (1995: 237).

[9] *George* magazine, defunct since Kennedy's death in 1999, offered an interesting and dynamic blending of culture and politics. Its trademark phrase, "not just politics as usual," points toward the celebration of the intersection of culture and politics, preparing the reader for the awaiting visual and written juxtapositions. "On the inaugural issue cover," explains Marshall,

> the supermodel Cindy Crawford vogues her way into a George Washington pose with stylized eighteenth century garb combined with de rigueur exposed midriff ... *George* looks like a fashion magazine, with its collection of advertisers such as Uomo, Clinique, Calvin Klein, Chanel's Egoiste, Donna Karan, Lagerfeld, and Guess Jeans. Its articles comfortably blend political with entertainment celebrities into a system of stars and intersecting lifestyles, interests, and issues (1997: 248).

[10] And sometimes, celebrities and politicians remain at odds; celebrities may, for example, publicly express displeasure over current government policies or actions, aligning more with the cultural watchdog function Crosby outlines.

[11] Prior to thirty years ago, artists did, of course, publicly support different political causes. Woody Guthrie, for example, supported the union movement and "continued the legacy of the protest song" throughout the 1930s and the decades that followed (Szatmary, 1996: 80). Aware of the dynamic social power created through the coupling of music and politics, Guthrie inscribed the phrase "This machine kills fascists" on his guitar (Tony Watts in Guthrie, 1998: 1). Guthrie showed audiences that music is a powerful force with which to displace current oppressive power structures, opening up space(s) to renegotiate and reimagine political encounters in public space. Guthrie's musical influence has carried over into contemporary music: British folk-singer and political activist Billy Bragg and American "alt-country" band Wilco recorded two compilation cds, *Mermaid Avenue* (1998) and *Mermaid Avenue* Volume II (2000). On both albums, Bragg and Wilco wrote the music to accompany lyrics Guthrie left behind after his death in 1967. Bragg describes *Mermaid Avenue* as a "collaboration ["not a tribute album"] between Woody Guthrie and a new generation of songwriters who until now had only glimpsed him fleetingly, over the shoulder of Bob Dylan or somewhere in the distance of a Bruce Springsteen song" (1998: 2). While I recognize the legacy of early artists and their role in connecting music to politics, for this paper I am primarily interested in the large-scale interactions between popular entertainment artists and political causes via benefit concerts that have developed over the last thirty years or so.

[12] *Forbes Online* indicates this merger between culture and capitalism via celebrity in its annual Celebrity 100 and Power 100 listings. Celebrities connote brand names; they embody, in many cases, advertisements for various corporations. Celebrity couples money with power. As the website informs us,

> 'To become a celebrity is to become a brand name,' Philip Roth said more than 20 years ago. He was right, of course, but the novelist wasn't thinking big enough. Exploited correctly, celebrity can be converted into something more durable than a mere brand. That is indelibly evident in this year's annual ranking of fame and clout, the Celebrity 100.
>
> Money is still the most important metric of celebrity, and we calculate which entertainers and athletes have earned the most in the past year; in the interest of diversity, we've selected top earners from different professions. But the measure of celebrity entails much more--media mentions and Web buzz and other touchstones of fleeting fame. Thus our Power 100 list combines earnings with media exposure to calculate the relative status of a vast array of stars ("Celebrity 100" and "Power 100," 2002).

Forbes Online incorporates a distinction between income and power. A celebrity's power according to this listing is determined by the number of web hits, press clips, cover stories, and television and radio appearances. According to this year's Celebrity 100, George Lucas made the most money [$200 million] but sits at number eleven on the power ranking with only 327 000 web hits, 6909 press clips, no cover stories, and 95 television and radio appearances. Britney Spears, on the other hand, is the most powerful celebrity with 997 000 web hits, 25 856 press clips, 10.5 cover stories, and 373 television and radio appearances, but remains merely twenty-fifth on the income ranking [$39.2 million]. This cultural capital makes for interesting and prosperous overlappings with politics.

[13] Hayden White gives further consideration to the relationship between ideology and narrative. "The question of ideology," explains White,

> is central to contemporary discussions of narrative inasmuch as narrativization is viewed as the principal discursive instrument of ideologization – considered as the production of self-repressing or self-disciplining social subjects. In this view, ideology is less a specific thought-content or worldview than a process in which individuals are compelled to introject certain master narratives of imaginary social and life histories or archetypal plot structures, on the one side, and are taught to think narrativistically, on the other, that is, to imagine themselves as actors or characters in certain ideal story types or fables, and to grasp the meaning of social relations in narrational, rather than analytical, terms (year: 155-6).

[14] Stories circulate about politicians having also been known to use popular entertainment artists for their own political agendas, especially in attempting to secure young voters' attention at the poles, as John Storey outlines:

> [t]he prospect of the votes of the young has tempted many a politician into pop music. In 1965 Harold Wilson's courting of the Beatles resulted in their being awarded MBEs ... Of course, the relationship soured somewhat in 1969, when John Lennon returned his award in protest at Britain's support for America's war in Vietnam ... There are many other illustrations of such relationships. Jimmy Carter tried to use Bob Dylan, both Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale tried to use Bruce Springsteen (1996: 109).

This relationship works in the other direction as well; popular entertainers also use politicians to benefit their own agendas. The instances of politicians using entertainers, however, appear to be publicized and discussed to a greater extent in popular media.

[15] Ravi Shankar, sitar guru, is marked by George Harrison as contributing to the acceptance of Indian music around the world: "Ravi laid down the groundwork," Harrison recounts,

> for other Indian musicians who were later able to perform all around the world because of him. The world is now more permeated with the acceptance of Indian music. But for him to go and study for seven years, eighteen hours a day, and become a master of an instrument which was obscure in most of the world, and for which nobody was particularly craving outside India, and then spend the rest of his life trying to hip everybody to it – what a thing to do!
>
> Music is his life. He's spent so many years in this life practicing and playing. He is the music and the music is him. Having toured for over fifty years, it's hard to stop. It drives him on, so he'll just keep going, I'm sure (Shankar, 1999: 7).

[16] For a fairly concise glance at Bangladesh's rich historical and cultural past, please see: [http://www.virtualbangladesh.com/history/overview.html].

[17] To reiterate, "Bangladesh" means "Bengal Nation" ("The Bangla Desh Benefit," 1971: 4).

[18] Shankar, in his own way, worked to combat the language issue between Hindus and Muslims by writing and singing songs that incorporated both languages and referenced both religions. "I wrote some songs in Bengali and recorded them as an EP for Apple Records," remembers Shankar,

> [o]ne was 'Joi Bangla', which means 'victory to Bangladesh'. Another was a lamentation, 'Oh Bhaugowan'. The first line of this was, 'Oh Bhaugowan, Khoda tala.' 'Bhaugowan' is the Hindus' word for God, while 'Khoda' is the word for the Muslims, so it means 'Oh God ' to people of both religions. I sang: 'Oh God, where are you? To see us suffer like this, in this flood and this fight and this hunger. Why should we suffer so, with all these calamities?' (1999: 218).

[19] "Overnight," Shankar explains, "the word 'Bangladesh', the name of the country, was all over the world because of the press coverage. It created such a good wave of publicity for the newborn country" (1999: 220).

[20] The Concerts for Bangladesh were an artistic and economic success. "The Concerts for Bangladesh were made into a Grammy-winning triple album and a film," explains Oliver Craske,

> which along with the proceeds on the night raised huge sums of money for Bangladesh, the money being administered by UNICEF. (At last count – since the album and video are still selling – the receipts were fourteen million dollars.) Yet arguably the biggest benefit of the night was the international attention it brought to a hitherto remote and unfashionable conflict, and a new country (Shankar, 1999: 220).

[21] Two different spellings for the region appear in this section of my paper: "Bangladesh" and "Bangla Desh." I have searched for reasons to explain this difference, but all I can offer at this time is speculation. The phrase is Bengali meaning Bengal Nation ("The Bangla Desh Benefit," 1971: 4). Current and recent writings typically use

"Bangladesh," while older writings favour "Bangla Desh," although this is not always the case. Bengal Nation is, obviously, two words, similar visually to "Bangla Desh." Over time and the intermingling of peoples of different places, perhaps, the structure of the word has simply altered, as language is prone to do, to one word: "Bangladesh." Perhaps this change was spurred forward by an English-language influence and interaction with Bengali, pointing towards the "international history" of which Albert C. Baugh and Thomas Cable outline: "[t]he political, social, and cultural history of the English language [and by association, other languages too] is not simply the history of the British Isles and of North America but a truly international history of quite divergent societies, which have caused the language to change and become enriched as it responds to their [peoples'] own special needs" (1993: 2). Languages change according to the cultural and political influences of people speaking them. "Old words die out, new words are added," explain Baugh and Cable, "and existing words change their meaning ... [c]hanges likewise occur in the grammatical forms of language. These may be the result of gradual phonetic modification, or they may be the result of the desire for uniformity commonly felt where similarity of function or use is involved" (1993: 2-3).

[22] For further details about the population, culture, and geographies of Bangladesh, see Compton's Interactive World Atlas, 1997 edition.

[23] The title of Shakar's autobiography *Raga Mala*, a musical reference, mirrors the patchwork construction of the book in the way memories, facts of date and place, are organized largely by association. "The title of this book is *Raga Mala* – 'Garland of Ragas,'" Shankar explains,

> Raga mala is a style of playing in which the performer refers to many different ragas while always returning to the main one. In a similar way, while writing the book I have time and again found that one recollection has sparked off another, which I might pursue before coming back to where I was. So perhaps you will find that reading this book is a little like listening to our raga mala style (1999: 10).

[24] Harrison is most often identified in relation to his categorization and positioning as the "quiet one" or "quiet Beatle." "[P]eople have been referring to George Harrison simply as 'The Quiet Beatle,'" Frank Andrejasich points out, "proving once again that no member of the Fab Four will ever really be able to establish an identity completely outside of the famed band" (2001: 1). That said, Andrejasich proceeds to mark Harrison with an identity outside of the Beatles. "In a perfect world," Andrejasich explains, "Harrison would be known as both "The Quiet Beatle" and "The Father of the Benefit Show" (2001: 1).

[25] Shankar explained to Harrison the encompassing and never-ending spiritual and technical journey of Indian music. "I have given so many years of my life to sitar, and by God's grace I have become very well known," said Shankar,

> but I still know in my heart of hearts that I have a long way to go. There's no end to it. It is not only the technical mastery of the sitar – you have to learn the whole complex system of music properly and get deeply into it. Moreover it's not just fixed pieces that you play – there is improvisation. And those improvisations are not just letting yourself go, as in Jazz – you have to adhere to the discipline of the ragas and the talas without any notation in front of you. Being an oral tradition, it takes many more years.
>   And there is more to it than exciting the senses of the listeners with virtuosity and loud crash-bang effects. My goal has always been to take the audience along with me deep inside, as in meditation, to feel the sweet pain of trying to reach out for the supreme, to bring tears to the eyes, and to feel totally peaceful and cleansed (1999:189-90).

[26] Shankar further explains his curiosity about The Beatles' music, and other popular bands, after meeting Harrison:

> After meeting George, I was curious about The Beatles' music. I was not attracted by their voices, since they mostly sang in a high falsetto pitch, which seems to have remained in vogue ever since. I also had trouble understanding the words they sang! But I do like a number of the songs they wrote, especially George's 'Here Comes The Sun' and 'My Sweet Lord' and many by John and Paul. There was definitely a lot of music in them, and the chords and harmony in the orchestration and also the instrumentalisation are great (for which I believe part of the credit goes to their producer, George Martin). Around the same time I heard The Rolling Stones, who were so lively and exciting, and from Eric Clapton's Cream days onwards I also appreciated his wonderful musicianship (1999:202).

[27] Harrison, having met Elvis, shares his memories of that meeting in amusing contrast to his first meeting with Shankar:

> Ravi was very friendly and easy to communicate with. By this time The Beatles had met so many people – prime ministers, celebrities, royalty – but I got to a point where I thought, 'I'd

like to meet somebody who could really impress me.' And that was when I met Ravi. He was the first person who impressed me in a way that was beyond just being a famous celebrity. Ravi was my link to the Vedic world. Ravi plugged me into the whole of reality. I mean, I met Elvis – Elvis impressed me when I was a kid, and impressed me when I met him because of the buzz of meeting Elvis – but you couldn't later on go round to him and say, 'Elvis, what's happening in the universe?' (Shankar, 1999: 190).

[28] Both Harrison and Shankar offer amusing recounts of the direct effects of Harrison's popularity on his studies during his first working trip to India in September 1967, which literally led to a change in learning place. "He [Harrison] was booked into a suite at the beautiful Taj Mahal Hotel," explains Shankar:

It was all kept quiet and nobody knew about it. I visited him in his hotel and he also came to my apartment on a couple of occasions. The training got underway. In ten minutes I could show him so much but he needed to practice, and for this reason I brought along Shambu Das, an advanced student whom I put in his service to guide him as he practiced the lessons I gave him, and to help him with any fingering problems.

By the second or third day, George felt no one had recognised him. He became overconfident and went down to the hotel lobby to see or buy something, but when he was coming up again he was recognised by the young elevator attendant, who happened to be a young Christian boy and amateur musician (1999: 193).

"Ravi had written to me saying, 'Maybe you could disguise yourself? Maybe grow a mustache or something?'" Harrison remembers, "[t]he idea that a moustache could be a disguise – it was all pretty naïve in those days. And anyway a moustache on a Beatle was kind of 'unexpected' ..." (Shankar, 1999: 193).

"That was when the big hullabaloo erupted," continues Shankar, "with thousands of boys and girls on the street outside the hotel shouting, 'We want George!' It was impossible to learn anything like that, so we ran away to Srinagar in Kashmir" (1999: 193). This first visit to India would lead to further inquiry and explanation. Harrison returned to India several times (Harrison, 1980: 53).

[29] The relationship between popular music celebrities and their fans proves a curious entanglement of public and private imaginings, vicarious existences, and temporal monitorings. Harrison's death in 2001caused fans to remember the many traces he left behind through his music, and to reflect on the Beatles and the place of their music and personae in popular culture. Memories and reimaginings of the past readjusted to cope with Harrison's death, bringing forward the consideration of projected celebrity immortality and the actuality of physical mortality. "If you happen to be over 35 or so," Richard Lacayo explains,

the Beatles are too deeply imprinted in your synapses to let them go. If they live, so do your own youthful energies. If five-year-olds everywhere love *Here Comes the Sun*, if *The Beatles Anthology* is a best seller, it's just confirmation of what we already knew: that the Beatles are immortal. Therefore us too.

All the while we know that they are not immortal in the flesh. The Beatles have been like a great clock. Year after year we have looked at them – at the aging of those faces, at the mellowing of their lives – to see what time is for all of us. When one of them dies, the hour seems very late. Even so, Harrison's death is not a shot to the heart, as Lennon's was. It was Lennon's murder that truly snuffed out the baby-boomer fantasy of eternal youth. If the presiding imp of the golden 1960s could be snatched away so suddenly, what hope was there for the rest of us? Harrison's death, however premature, feels different. It is more in the ordinary course of things, a reminder that the simple passage of time is all that will be needed to complete the work that Mark David Chapman began, subtracting the Beatles from the world (2001: 87).

[30] Harrison marks the contrast between his experience of Western religion and condemnation with that of Eastern philosophy and acceptance: "... one book Raju gave me," explains Harrison, "that was a great influence on me was *Raja Yoga* by Swami Vivekananda. Vivekananda says right at the beginning:

Each soul is potentially divine. The goal is to manifest that divinity. Do this through work and yoga and prayer, one or all of these means, and be free. Churches, temples, rituals and dogmas are but secondary details.

As soon as I read that, I thought, 'That's what I want to know!' They tried to bring me up as a Catholic, and for me it didn't deliver. But to read, 'Each soul is potentially divine. The goal is to manifest that divinity' – and here's how you do it! – was very important for me. That's the essence of yoga and Hindu philosophy (Shankar, 1999: 195).

[31] The story of the Good Samaritan is found in Luke 10:30-37 (Student NIV), where Jesus explains the parable:

> ... A man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, when he fell into the hands of robbers. They stripped him of his clothes, beat him and went away, leaving him half dead. A priest happened to be going down the same road, and when he saw the man, he passed by on the other side. So too, a Levite, when he came to the place and saw him, passed by on the other side. But a Samaritan, as he traveled, came where the man was; and when he saw him, he took pity on him. He went to him and bandaged his wounds, pouring oil and wine. Then he put the man on his own donkey, took him to an inn and took care of him. The next day he took out two silver coins and gave them to the innkeeper. 'Look after him,' he said, 'and when I return, I will reimburse you for any extra expense you may have.'
>
> "Which of these three do you think was a neighbor to the man who fell into the hands of robbers?"
>
> The expert in the law replied, "The one who had mercy on him."
>
> Jesus told him, "Go and do likewise" (1124).

[32] Root metaphors are polysemic in nature, and inform notions of belonging and cultural membership, as Gupta explains the term in more detail:

> ... root metaphors, as with all metaphors, are polysemic or multivocal, but not equivocal. There is a range of meanings that polysemy allows, but as Paul Ricoeur points out, the most literal meaning hovers over them all like an *eminence grise* (Ricoeur 1974: 12, 32-33). This point can be made more accessible with the help of an example provided by Melville Herskovits. Herskovits drew our attention to the fact that there are at least 315 variants of the Cinderella story, but in all of them the central factors are more or less the same (Herskovits 1965: 392).
>
> If culture is seen through the optic of root metaphors then that presumes a membership of those for whom the root metaphor is meaningful. There are times when these metaphors become strident and are blazoned on one's consciousness, and at other times they lie quiescently. Moreover, it is not as if there is one root metaphor for each culture. There are several root metaphors in every culture because human beings in live social interaction do not lead one-dimensional lives. As there are significant overlaps between the bearers of these metaphors it is possible to draw membership groupings – though these are rarely exclusionary (see also Herskovits 1965: 415). This is because there are root metaphors at different levels of generality. Thus a defined set of people may belong to a certain caste as against other castes, and then again they might at another point of time identify themselves as belonging to the category Hindu against non-Hindu, and so on. Even so cultural membership cannot be simply left at the level of root metaphors. Culture, as Parsons insisted, was primarily affective. These root metaphors are then just not another linguistic device, but are symbols that evoke cathectivity, partisanship and aesthetic commitment (2000:32-3).

[33] Passages of this section develop from ideas explored in a paper I wrote for Theories of Communication and Culture entitled: "Throwing Off the Yoke to Carry the Man: Deconstructing the Myth of Nelson Mandela" (2001).

[34] Szatmary recounts an entertaining tale marking the mythic arrival of an icon in the Western music landscape:

> Early on a Saturday night in April 1961, a 20-year-old singer carrying an oversized guitar case walked into a dimly lit folk club, Gerdes Folk City in Greenwich Village, New York City. He was dressed casually: worn brown shoes, blue jeans, and a black wool jacket covering a plain yellow turtle-neck sweater. A jumble of rumpled hair crowned his head, which was topped by a black corduroy Huck Finn cap. He pressed his lips together tightly and glanced at the tables of patrons, who sipped espresso and seemed to be arguing feverishly about current events. The singer looked serious and exhibited a nervousness that a friend had earlier tried to calm with four jiggers of Jim Beam bourbon. He slowly mounted the stage, opened his guitar case, and carefully took out an old, nicked, six-string acoustic guitar, which he treated like an old friend. He fixed a wire harmonica holder around his neck and pushed a harmonica into place. As the singer stood alone on stage, motionless, a hush descended upon the coffeehouse.

The audience, mostly white middle-class college students, many of them attending nearby New York University, politely applauded the singer. For a moment the scene appeared to epitomize Eisenhower gentility and McCarthy repression: boys with closely cropped hair, button-down shirts, corduroy slacks, Hush Puppy shoes, and cardigans; and rosy-cheeked girls dressed in long skirts, bulky knit sweaters, and low-heeled shoes who favored long, straight, well-groomed hair.

The singer shattered the genteel atmosphere when he began to strum a chord and sing. He was young Bob Dylan, who had just recently arrived in New York City to sing songs of social protest.

Many college-age youths raptly listened to Bob Dylan deliver his hymns of social protest. As civil rights marchers protested in Birmingham and as President John F. Kennedy announced plans for a New Frontier, they heard the stirring message of Bob Dylan, who leveled his guitar at racism and the hypocrisy of corporate America. By 1963, the first baby boomers had entered college and were starting to become aware of the world around them (1996: 79-80).

[35] The Woodstock festival is continuously mythologized within the Western landscape, upheld and imagined as a unified celebration of love for music, marking the end of an era in musical and political history. Ravi Shankar debunks the myth of glory since perpetuated around the idea of Woodstock as he unravels a rather dismal and dissatisfied account of his experience at the festival from the weather, his performance, and lack of communication with the audience, to the criminal activity. Music at Woodstock was not necessarily central in the happenings, but rather, according to Shankar, "incidental:"

My few experiences at the rock festivals continued until Woodstock, in August 1969. This was a terrifying experience. If Monterey was the beginning of a new movement or beautiful happening, I think Woodstock was almost the end. We had to go by helicopter from the motel where we stayed many miles away, and landed just behind the stage. I performed with Alla Rakha accompanying me on tabla, in front of an audience of half a million – an ocean of people. It was drizzling and very cold, but they were so happy in the mud; they were all stoned, of course, but they were enjoying it. It reminded me of the water buffaloes you see in India, submerged in the mud. Woodstock was like a big picnic party and the music was incidental.

I wish I hadn't performed there, but because of my commitment I had to. The thought of my instrument getting wet and spoilt was worrying me so much that it was not a very inspired performance, although I did my best. When I looked out there was no way of communicating to the crowd – it was such a vast audience. I learnt that, apart from the abundance of drugs, there was violence, theft, robbery and raping at Woodstock. It was not what people try to glorify it as today (1999: 211).

[36] Nelson Mandela was invited to speak at this event in 1990 by concert organizers; his first speech outside of South Africa since his release from prison earlier that year in February. "In April 1990, I flew to London to attend a concert at Wembley, held in my honor," Mandela remembers:

Many international artists, most of whom I never knew, were performing and the event was to be televised worldwide. I took advantage of this to thank the world's anti-apartheid forces for the tremendous work they had done in pressing for sanctions, for the release of myself and fellow political prisoners, and the genuine support and solidarity they had shown the oppressed people of my country (1994: 500).

Incidentally, The International Tribute For A Free South Africa was not seen by American audiences, as Danny Schechter explains:

The whole world was watching on television when rock stars paid tribute to Nelson Mandela at the London gala in April – the whole world except the U.S. Why didn't a single American network carry the concert, or even the news that it was not being covered? Was the reason political, commercial, cultural, or just a reflection of the American media's neglect of African issues? (1990: 64).

The American television blackout of this event is perhaps the logical extension of the cries of censorship that accompanied U.S. coverage, or rather the lack thereof, of Freedomfest two years before. "The artists at Wembley were shocked when told about this total TV blackout, encompassing every cable and broadcast network including MTV, which begged off in part because it had committed to airing an all-star muscular dystrophy benefit later,"

explains Schechter. "'It's a scandal,' fumed Little Steven. 'It's shameful and embarrassing.' Equally embarrassing was the lack of news about the blackout itself. A *New York Times* story reported that the concert would not be shown in South Africa, without mentioning that its readers in America would not get to see it either" (1990: 66).

[37] I borrow my conception of peopled places from Ian Chambers and his discussion of maps. "The very idea of a map," explains Chambers,

> with its implicit dependence upon the survey of stable terrain, fixed references and measurement, seems to contradict the palpable flux of fluidity of metropolitan life and cosmopolitan movement. Maps are full of references and indications, but they are not peopled (1993: 188-9).

[38] "Biko," written by Peter Gabriel, appears on his *Third Album* (1980):

> September '77 / Port Elizabeth weather fine / It was business as usual / In police room 619 / Oh Biko, Biko, because Biko / Yihla Moja, Yihila Moja / The man is dead / When I try to sleep at night / I can only dream in red / The outside world is black and white / With only one colour dead / Oh Biko, Biko, because Biko / Oh Biko, Biko, because Biko / Yihla Moja, Yihila Moja / The man is dead / You can blow out a candle / But you can't blow out a fire / Once flames begin to catch / The wind will blow it higher / Oh Biko, Biko, because Biko / Yihla Moja, Yihila Moja / The man is dead / And the eyes of the world are / watching now / watching now.

[39] The reverberations of the Soweto riots, to which Van Zandt refers, continued long after they started in 1976. Nelson Mandela, imprisoned on Robben Island during the time of the riots, offers his account of the student uprising, illustrating but one act of symbolic violence taken against the schoolchildren of Soweto by the South-African government:

> In June of 1976 we began to hear vague reports of a great uprising in the country. The whispers were fanciful and improbable: the youth of Soweto had overthrown the military and the soldiers had dropped their guns and fled. It was only when the first young prisoners who had been involved in the June 16 uprising began to arrive on Robben Island in August that we learned what truly happened.
>
> On June 16, 1976, fifteen thousand school children gathered in Soweto to protest the government's ruling that half of all classes in secondary schools must be taught in Afrikaans. Students did not want to learn and teachers did not want to teach in the language of the oppressor. Pleadings and petitions by parents and teachers had fallen on deaf ears. A detachment of police confronted this army of earnest schoolchildren and without warning opened fire, killing thirteen-year-old Hector Pieterson and many others. The children fought with sticks and stones, and mass chaos ensued, with hundreds of children wounded, and two white men stoned to death.
>
> The events of that day reverberated in every town and township of South Africa. The uprising triggered riots and violence across the country. Mass funerals for the victims of state violence became national rallying points. Suddenly the young people of South Africa were fired with the spirit of protest and rebellion. Students boycotted schools all across the country. ANC organizers joined with students to actively support the protest. Bantu Education had come back to haunt its creators, for these angry and audacious young people were its progeny (1994: 420-1).

[40] A brief public history recount of Bophuthatswana can be found in The Columbia Encyclopedia Online, 6th edition:

> (bp´tätswän´´) (KEY) , former black "homeland" and nominal republic, c.17,000 sq mi (44,000 sq km), N South Africa. Bophuthatswana comprised seven separate areas, one along the Botswana border, the remainder landlocked enclaves. The capital was Mmbatho. Under acts of the South African Parliament, land was set aside for blacks in pseudoindependent territories (originally called "Bantustans"), allegedly to allow to the blacks self-government and cultural preservation. In reality the homelands allowed the white government to control blacks and exclude them from the political process. Bophuthatswana was designated as a homeland for Tswana-speaking people.
>
> Bophuthatswana achieved "self-government" under the Homeland Constitution Act of 1971. In 1977 it was granted "independence," and the South African citizenship of those relocated to the homeland was revoked. Bophuthatswana was not recognized outside South Africa as an independent state. In 1988, the South African government forcibly reinstated Kgosi Lucas Mangope as head of state after a coup attempt. Early in 1994, Mangope was

removed by the Pretoria government, which installed an interim government in the homeland. After South Africa's first all-race elections later that year, Bophuthatswana was reincorporated into the country (2001).

[41] Van Zandt further discusses the symbolic role of the Sun City resort in normalizing apartheid in an interview with B. McIlheney. "It's all to do with a [resort] called Sun City which as you probably know is this big entertainment complex in one of the South African homelands where quite a few top international acts have played over the years," explains Van Zandt:

> I've just spent some time in Africa and while I was there every single black leader I met asked me to try to do something about this state of affairs. It's a very important issue for the South African government because every time a big name plays there they can use that as justification for their whole relocation policy. It gives the whole thing a false veneer of normality" (1985: 12).

Sun City resort management, on the other hand, claims that "Western opinion is misguided in seeing the venue as a symbol of apartheid." As John Miller explains, "[i]t believes that black South African artists now achieving international recognition can turn the boycott around, claiming these artists are themselves well aware 'that the reputation is undeserved'" (1987: 76).

[42] David Marsh describes Danny Schechter as "a journalist and television producer who made his early reputation as 'The News Dissector' at Boston's WBCN, where he was one of the most innovative broadcasters ever to wield a splicing blade" (1985a: 25).

[43] Schechter's idea for a single, of course, became the song "Sun City," with words and music by Little Steven. "Our song targets Sun City [the resort]," explains Van Zandt, "but we use it as a symbol of the whole apartheid system, with its programs of forcibly relocating Africans into barren artificial homelands, and stripping them of their rights and economic sustenance" (Schipper: 1985: 88):

> We're rockers and rappers untied and strong (Run-DMC) / We're here to talk about South Africa we don't like what's going on (Grandmaster Melle Mel & Duke Bootee) / It's time for some justice it's time for the truth (Afrika Bambaataa & Kurtis Blow) / We've realized there's only one thing we can do (Big Youth & All Rappers) / I ain't gonna play Sun City / Relocation to phony homelands (David Ruffin) / Separation of families I can't understand (Pat Benatar) / 23 million can't vote because they're black (Eddie Kendrick) / We're stabbing our brothers and sisters in the back (Bruce Springsteen) / I ain't gonna play Sun City / Our government tells us we're doing all we can (George Clinton) / Constructive Engagement is Ronald Reagan's plan (Joey Ramone) / Meanwhile people are dying and giving up hope (Jimmy Cliff & Daryl Hall) / This quiet diplomacy ain't nothing but a joke (Darlene Love) / I ain't gonna play Sun City / Bophuthatswana is far away (Run-DMC) / But we know it's in South Africa no matter what they say (Kurtis Blow, Run-DMC, Afrika Bambaataa) / You can't buy me I don't care what you pay (Duke Bootee, Grandmaster Melle Mel, Afrika Bambaataa) / Don't ask me Sun City because I ain't gonna play (Linton Kwesi Johnson & All Rappers) / I ain't gonna play Sun City / It's time to accept our responsibility (Bonnie Raitt) / Freedom is a privilege nobody rides for free (Ruben Blades & John Oates) / Look around the world baby it can't be denied (Lou Reed) / Why are we always on the wrong side (Bobby Womack) / I ain't gonna play Sun City / Relocation to phony homelands (Jackson Browne & Bob Dylan) / Separation of families I can't understand (Peter Garrett) / 23 million can't vote because they're black (Nona Hendryx & Kashif) / We're stabbing our brothers and sisters in the back (Bono) (1985).

[44] Elton John's previous boycott violation did not keep him from Sun City once the venue was declared culturally-politically acceptable for engagements. He was the first "superstar" to perform at the Sun City entertainment complex once the boycott was lifted in 1993. "Four December concert dates by Elton John at Sun City will mark the first superstar appearance since a cultural boycott of the venue was lifted," reports Arthur Goldstuck. " The booking was confirmed by John's management company in London" (1993: 8).

[45] The attention the Sun City single was receiving in the media caught the attention of South African businessman Tony Bloom, who offered his own proposal in place of cultural sanctions. "One of South Africa's most prominent and influential businessmen is offering to stage a multi-racial anti-apartheid concert in the center of Johannesburg," reports Nick Robertshaw and John Miller,

> to present 'a microcosm of what South Africa could be like if apartheid were abolished.'

The dramatic proposal comes from Tony Bloom, chairman of the Premiere Group, a conglomerate whose companies include South Africa's largest record company, Gallo Records, the Gallo/PolyGram joint venture Trutone, and large flour milling and retailing operations.

... "Instead of telling artists to stay away from my country, why don't we get together and stage a concert with black and white musicians before 200, 000 people?' Bloom asked (1985: 1).

Bloom's idea for a multi-racial concert was dismissed by Steven Van Zandt and Arthur Baker as "more South African propaganda ... This is just an effort to fight the cultural boycott ... and it just shows that the [Sun City] record is a success. They are trying to neutralize its impact" (Hennessey, 1985: 3).

[46] The difficulties Van Zandt experienced in finding a record company for the Sun City album extended, at times, to the search for channels in the United States through which to show the project's documentary *The Making of Sun City*, a spin-off of the song and video. It was, it seems, easier to hold the interest of television networks outside the United States. A rejection letter for Van Zandt from PBS programming executive Barry Chase claims that airing the documentary would jeopardize the "journalistic integrity" of the network. "PBS is not 'your public broadcasting system' in the sense that it is required to endorse your effort to persuade other performers to avoid Sun City," writes Chase, "[or] congratulate you for your moral position on apartheid, or help stimulate sales of the 'Sun City' video or album" (Schipper, 1986: 137). Van Zandt was, of course, angered by the note of rejection. "Van Zandt and other Sun City reps are outraged by the PBS position, especially the 'terse and arrogant' tone of Chase's letter," reports Schipper,

which, in dismissing "Sun City" as a self-promotional exercise, "impugns the motives and integrity" of the artists involved they say. All 54 performers donated their time and royalties to the project.

Moreover, "Sun City" backers allege the rejection of their documentary, recently nominated as a finalist in the Intl. Documentary Awards, constitutes a "ban" of their work. Conservative political pressure, they speculate, may have influenced the move.

PBS's decision about "Sun City," which the network had been thinking of running for months, was made, project organizers say, shortly after the launch last month of PBS' controversial "African" series, which has drawn right-wing fire for its allegedly anti-American slant.

Controversy began in June, when Van Zandt first approached PBS with the idea of running the 51-minute "Sun City" chronicle which had run on MTV and Black Entertainment TV, and was being lined up for broadcast in parts of Europe, Asia and Africa.

... "It is hard not to suspect that this decision reflects politically conservative values, inflexible guidelines (which have yet to be shared with us), and possible behind-the-scene pressure," Van Zandt told PBS in a letter asking it to review its decision.

... Indeed, Chase described the documentary as "a one-line joke," and said the "Sun City" stars "fall in the category of spoiled brats, including Little Steven."

"They may be people for whom others fall down in hotel lobbies but that ain't the case at PBS" (1986: 137 and 173).

[47] It seems that tourist sensibilities remained unaffected by the Sun City project. According to Mark Gleeson, the Sun City resort "reported a 40% increase in operating profit, despite ... being hit by an international boycott of its Superbowl venue and bad publicity as a result of the "Sun City" record" (1986: 84).

[48] This book, like the making of the Sun City album, incorporated a number people's contributions, as Van Zandt acknowledges:

this book was finished so quickly because a number of friends agreed to donate their efforts. Danny Schechter suggested a book project and helped produce it. Dave Marsh sat down with us and wrote a text on the making of the record, which summarized four months of dedication, commitment, and hard work of dozens of people, including over fifty artists. Rick Dutka, a member of the "Sun City" record project offered invaluable help. And special thanks to Chris Kinser and Barbara Becker of Cloverdale Press for editorial wizardry, and to Paul Matarazzo and J.C. Suares for art direction. David Seelig of Star File and other committed photographers made pictures available. Writer Bill Adler contributed artist's bios. Zoe Yanakis was coordinator extraordinaire. Friends at anti-apartheid groups shared their work as well. The information presented comes from various sources, notably the publications of The Africa

Fund, the Washington Office on Africa, Donald Woods and the Lincoln Trust, International Defence and Aid, and the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid (Marsh, 1985a: 5).

[49] On the Sun City compact disk jacket updated in 1992, for example, is a letter written by Van Zandt to purchasers of the album. Van Zandt outlines the goals of the Sun City project and provides a breakdown of the total monies raised and the funds to which this money has been allocated. Van Zandt reports that as of November 1992, the total funds raised by Sun City is $1, 000, 500 (Artists United Against Apartheid).

[50] Van Zandt's cultural-political commitments extend prior to and after his extensive contribution to the Sun City project. "The eight songs on *Freedom – No Compromise* addresses such issues as apartheid, imperialism in Latin America and the struggles of American Indians," explains Anthony DeCurtis.

> They follow the path of political commitment blazed by Van Zandt's 1984 LP *Voice of America* as well as his work on *Sun City*. This time, however, anger – which Steven jokingly describes as "one of the main motivations in life" – is not as prominent an emotion in the songs. "I wanted *Voice of America* to have that shock of betrayal, the shock of discovery," says the former E Street Band guitarist. "With this one, I wanted to take a little more time, build it rhythmically – have the rhythm communicate first – which I always feel is the best way to do it" (1987: 19).

[51] Related to this notion of cartographic categorization is naming as a form of symbolic branding. The English name Nelson was given to Mandela on his first day of school at age seven. "On the first day of school," Mandela recounts,

> my teacher, Miss Mdingane, gave each of us an English name and said that from thenceforth that was the name we would answer to in school. This was the custom among Africans in those days and was undoubtedly due to the British bias of our education. The education I received was a British education, in which British ideas, British culture, British institutions, were automatically assumed to be superior. There was no such thing as African culture. Africans of my generation – and even today – generally have both an English and an African name. Whites were either unable or unwilling to pronounce an African name, and considered it uncivilized to have one. That day, Miss Mdingane told me that my new name was Nelson. Why she bestowed this particular name upon me I have no idea. Perhaps it had something to do with the great British sea captain Lord Nelson, but that would be only a guess (1994: 12).

[52] Mandela also acknowledges the impact the myth has had on his personal life, or more specifically, his marriage to Winnie Mandela. "Perhaps I was blinded to certain things because of the pain I felt for not being able to fulfill my role as a husband to my wife and a father to my children," explains Mandela, "[b]ut just as I am convinced that my wife's life while I was in prison was more difficult than mine, my own return was more difficult for her than it was for me. She married a man who soon left her; that man became a myth; and then that myth returned home and proved to be just a man after all" (1994: 523).

[53] Another example of Mandela being framed in accordance with Western celebrity occurs as Mandela enters and Tony Bennett leaves the Four Seasons hotel in downtown Toronto on 16th November 2001. "Mandela paused briefly to acknowledge on lookers with a broad smile and wave," recounts Maureen Murray of *The Toronto Star*,

> and he received a brief impromptu greeting from singer Tony Bennett, who was leaving the hotel as the former South African president arrived. Bennett once sang for Mandela at Royal Albert Hall in England and the normally staid audience was enchanted as the lion of Africa sprang to his feet and danced.
>
> Bennett later told Gordon Cressy, a vice-president at Ryerson University, that Mandela is the only remaining living icon, on par with great leaders like Martin Luther King Jr. and Gandhi. "There are three great names of the last century and he's the one who is still with us," said Cressy, who was also at the hotel to greet Mandela. Cressy was moved by the brief encounter. "It's a magical moment," he said (A26).

Perhaps it was a moment more constructed within the confines of cultural myth grounded within Western discourses of celebrity and iconicity, than an occurrence defined strictly by hocus-pocus.

Mandela was in Toronto to attend the ceremonial renaming of Park Public School in Regent Park to "Nelson Mandela Park Public School" and that himself and his wife, Graca Machel, might receive honorary degrees from Ryerson University on 17 November 2001. I attended the latter event and was, admittedly, surprised to see a few empty seats. The crowd was electrically charged with expectation, as people craned to catch a look of Mandela in the flesh, to experience, perhaps, Mandela the man function as Mandela the myth.

[54] Nelson Mandela's mythical narrative directly permeates our national borders. He is now, essentially, one of us. "My name is Nelson," Allan Thompson recounts Mandela's words, "and I am Canadian" (2001: A17). The myth of

Nelson Mandela is simultaneously constructed as local and international. "Nelson Mandela," Thompson continues, "African Statesman. Freedom fighter. Icon. Canadian" (2001: A17). The decision to grant Mandela Canadian citizenship however was not initially unanimous. The sole dissenter has been duly criticized as James Travers iterates: "Rob Anders, the Alliance MP ... foolishly and temporarily blocked the symbolic gesture" (2001: A16). Even Mandela the myth as well as the man himself encounters opposition in curious moments marked by the discontinuity of cultural imaginings. Mandela the myth wins once again within Western constructions, and the hero proceeds onward to claim the "prize" of Canadian citizenship.

[55] Passages of this section have developed from ideas explored in two essays I wrote during the course of the last school year; one for Subjectivity and Identity, and the other for Symbolic Anthropology. Chronologically, the first paper is entitled: "Cocktails and Vertigo: Bert and Ussamah bin Ladin in Cities at the End of Things" (2001), and the second paper, "Making Sense of It: June the Hitchhiking Mannequin" (2002).

[56] With his latest album, *The Rising* (2002), Bruce Springsteen offers direct and indirect commentary upon the events of September 11th. The album, with a little help from the E Street Band, incorporates moments of affirmation of the West's victim-hero storied sociality, moments of self-doubt, and interestingly, moments of narrative resistance to threads of protectionist ideologies. In "Empty Sky," for example, Springsteen sings about revenge, "I want an eye for an eye / I woke up this morning to an empty sky." But in "Lonesome Day," he cautions against quick acts of revenge, of immediate reaction to action, opting to open a space of examination and inquiry before retaliating. "Better ask questions before you shoot / Deceit and betrayal's bitter fruit / It's hard to swallow, come time to pay / Their taste on your tongue don't easily slip away / Let kingdom come / I'm gonna find my way / Through this lonesome day."

[57] This idea of "Western historical sight," or Western way of seeing/constructing, is effectively illustrated in a song performed by Portishead entitled "Western Eyes:"

> Forgotten throes at another's lie, / The heart of love is their only light, / Faithless greeds consolidating, / Holding down sweet charity, // with western eyes and serpent's breath, / We lay our own conscience to rest. // But I'm aching, / At the view, / Yes I'm breaking, / At the scenes just like you. // They have values of a certain taste, / The innocent they can hardly wait, / To crucify invalidating, / Turning to dishonesty.// With western eyes and serpent's breath, / They lay their own conscience to rest. // But then they lie and then they dare to be, / Hidden heroes candidly. // So I'm aching, / At the view, / Yes I'm breaking, / At the scenes just like you. / I feel so cold, // On hookers and gin, / This mess we're in (1997).

[58] bin Ladin was preceded by Tsaddam Hussayn as villain in the Western imaginary. Enemies of the past have a curious way of being narrated into the present. The reintroduction of an old archenemy uniting with a new enemy pushes forward the West's urgent narration of the war on terrorism:

> Saddam Hussein ordered his son Qusay, commander of the Special Security Forces, to form a new terrorist force for joint operations with the Islamists. Called the al-Nida (the Call) Force, it will consist of thousands of fighters specially trained in guerrilla warfare and special operations tactics. Al-Nida squads are expected to soon be assigned a number of "secret missions" all over the world. One of the first moves undertaken by Qusay in connection with the establishment of the al-Nida Force was the activation of long-term dormant networks of Iraqi intelligence planted in the West in the wake of the Gulf War in order to support joint operations with bin Laden's Islamic terrorists (2001: 401).

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Glossary

1. Geography: pertains to both real and imaginary, physical and cultural, to the study of physical and human geographies, including maps, boundaries and borders, ideas of local and national, and links with (national) identity and its formation. Geography, as I use it in this dual sense – *and* instead of *or* – informs conceptions of place and their necessary narrated fictions: the idea, for example, that a geographical expanse is narrated over and over again into existence. Geography is a description of the earth and its inhabitants, indicative of the features and arrangements of occupied place and signs of social components in a physical landscape: i.e., houses, roads, schools.

2. Imaginary: I use this term less in the Lacanian sense (psychoanalysis) and, more simply, to indicate the symbolic nature of our constructed worlds. This idea of the imaginary incorporates responses to the past and ideas of belonging that we grasp with our imaginations, responses which inform the complex articulation of certain tropes – fetishism, metaphor and metonymy, and identification and ordering – mapped out of fear(s) and desire(s). The imaginary is a mixture of fact and fiction, of visibility and invisibility, a palimpsestical layering of traces of the past that are both entertaining and informing. The imaginary points also toward the positioning of factual events within a narrative framework that opens up the problematics of subject and object, power and powerlessness, distance and proximity, certainty and doubt. Nervous and overstuffed, the imaginary is perpetuated by mimicry, impact, encounter, restlessness, states of exile, and dreams of return.

3. Landscape: refers to both physical and imaginary terrain and their social articulations. Storytelling forms a part of landscape in its oral and written traditions and is indicative of a constructed world in which people/characters/events are positioned. Stories are told and

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retold as objects, and traditional iconography is recontextualized. Landscape is intimately linked with history and transgresses the permanence of recorded history; landscape is perceived as stable but in actuality is ever-changing. Landscape offers the continuous connectivity of storied scripts and vestiges of living piled up to form a web of traces: talk, remnants, relics, souvenirs, bodies, social performance, encounters, spectacles, social hierarchies, and ruins. Landscape incorporates a dense and textured signification of social memory and meaning.

4. Memory: both individual and collective, is a subjective recall and reconstruction of past events and experiences. Memory is linked to space and imagination, to codification and identification. Since time acts as an agent of memory, memory incorporates impressions of presence, but also absences through forgetting. Memory is institutionalized in archives, museums, cemeteries, monuments, and memorials; memory incorporates a fear of losing the past and valorizes place. Collective memory inhabits the space between what is documented in history and that which encompasses everyday life. Memory is perceived as an absolute, while history is always relative. Akin to an invisible library of images and ideals, memory incorporates ideas about nationalisms and nationhoods. Remembering is an action that binds communities, and enforces social identities. Remembrance then is a social process, and memory is its product. Memory is the mind's theatre in which sensory impressions are retained and reproduced.

5. Space: conceptualized in relation to time, geography, and the imaginary, generally refers to a gap in a structure, to the ways an experience of absence is given meaning. Space connotes an emptiness that does not console but provokes reconsideration. Human movement through space provides basic indices for measuring space and time. Indices point toward an

interstitial space of the in-between. Space offers an opening into the everyday stories through an interruption in the order of meaning. In-filled with texture, force of imagination, and desire, space connotes the possibility of narrative(s) to fashion a gap in representational order. Space incorporates a sense of disconnectivity and placelessness, and is storied and subjective.