

102. David Snowball, *Rhetoric of the Moral Majority*, 16; on the multiple origin stories of the organization, see 50–53. See also James Reichley, “Evangelical and Fundamentalist Revolt.”

103. Jerry Strober and Ruth Tomczak, *Jerry Falwell*, 167.

104. Wolf Blitzer, *Between Washington and Jerusalem*, 193; Grace Halsell, *Prophecy and Politics*, 75.

105. Jerry Falwell, ed., *Fundamentalist Phenomenon*, 215. Falwell had said this in print earlier as well, in the first issue of the *Moral Majority Report* (January 1980); see David Snowball, *Rhetoric of the Moral Majority*, 108.

106. Irving Kristol, “Political Dilemma of American Jews,” 25. Kristol’s intellectual background is discussed in Sidney Blumenthal, *Rise of the Counter-Establishment*, 148–157. Paul Boyer discusses Kristol’s article, and a similar one by Nathan Perlmutter, in *When Time Shall Be No More*, 205–206.

107. James Reichley, “Evangelical and Fundamentalist Revolt,” 79.

108. William Martin, *With God on Our Side*, 209.

109. Wolf Blitzer, *Between Washington and Jerusalem*, 193. On Reagan, see Paul Boyer, ed., *Reagan as President*, and Robert Dallek, *Ronald Reagan*.

110. *Ibid.*, 73. Blitzer was the Washington correspondent for the *Jerusalem Post* for fifteen years starting in the mid-1970s. He joined CNN in 1990.

5. IRAN, ISLAM, AND THE TERRORIST THREAT

1. Robert J. Donovan and Ray Scherer, *Unsilent Revolution*, 146.

2. *Ibid.*, 142. The hostage crisis was undoubtedly outstripped in intensity of coverage by the Gulf War in 1990–1991, but the daily coverage of that battle went on for only about six weeks. The sustained, near-daily reporting for more than a year of the hostage crisis was unique. See also Hamid Naficy “Mediating the Other.”

3. Edward Herman and Gary O’Sullivan, *Terrorism Industry*, 44. See also Marc Celmer, *Terrorism, U.S. Strategy, and Reagan Policies*.

4. See, for example, Nancy Armstrong and Len Tennenhouse, *Imaginary Puritan*.

5. Following Habermas, the debate over the public sphere has provided some of the most useful theorization of this distinction. See Nancy Fraser, “Rethinking the Public Sphere”; Miriam Hansen, “Early Cinema, Late Cinema”; Robert Westbrook, “‘I Want a Girl, Just Like the Girl.’”

6. This list is derived from Richard Weekes, ed., *Muslim Peoples*, vol. 2, appendix 1: “Muslim Nationalities of the World,” 882–911.

7. See especially Noam Chomsky, *Culture of Terrorism*; Edward Said and Christopher Hitchens, eds., *Blaming the Victims*; Edward Herman and Gary O’Sullivan, *Terrorism Industry*; Edward Herman, *Real Terror Network*; and Walter Laquer, *Age of Terrorism*.

8. Hamid Naficy (“Mediating the Other”) uses the concept of “mediawork” to explain the power of these images. See also Carl Conetta, “Terror: Seen and Unseen,” *Defense and Disarmament News*, July–August 1986, 1; and Bethami Dobkin, *Tales of Terror*.

9. *The Iran Crisis*, November 8, 1979. Tapes of the broadcast of “America Held Hostage” and later *Nightline* were obtained from the Vanderbilt University Television News Archives.

10. Iraq also did not participate in the embargo, despite Saddam Hussein’s anti-American stance, for reasons that had primarily to do with its rivalry with Saudi Arabia and the other conservative oil-producing states. Daniel Yergin, *The Prize*, 607–614.

11. Gary Sick, *All Fall Down*, 16.

12. *Ibid.*, 17; Thomas McCormick, *America’s Half-Century*, 207–208; Richard Cottam, *Iran and the United States*, 144–154.

13. Richard Cottam, *Iran and the United States*, 3.

14. Robin Wright, *In the Name of God*, 79–95; Gary Sick, *All Fall Down*, describes these negotiations in some detail on pages 222–227, 263–282, 298–328, 363–392.

15. Gary Sick, *All Fall Down*, 230.

16. Richard Cottam, *Iran and the United States*, 211.

17. Marc Gunther, *The House That Roone Built*, 99.

18. Robert J. Donovan and Ray Scherer, *Unsilent Revolution*, 141.

19. *Los Angeles Times* columnist H. Rosenberg, quoted by Hamid Naficy, “Mediating the Other,” 80.

20. Quoted in Robert J. Donovan and Ray Scherer, *Unsilent Revolution*, 144.

21. Marc Gunther, *The House That Roone Built*, 104.

22. Hamid Naficy, “Mediating the Other,” 78.

23. Gary Sick, *All Fall Down*, 258–259.

24. ABC, *Nightline*, March 24, 1980.

25. Tad Tuleja, “Closing the Yellow Circle,” and George Marsical, “In the Wake of the Gulf War,” have traced the evolution of the yellow ribbon as a symbol, from the Civil War, when it was a somewhat bawdy signifier that a particular girl was “cavalry goods,” to its appearance as a sign of chaste loyalty in the John Ford drama about the cavalry, *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949). The 1973 pop hit by Tony Orlando and Dawn, “Tie a Yellow Ribbon (Round the Old Oak Tree)” was about a convict returning home; the song resurfaced as a hit in 1979, when it became something of an anthem of the U.S. response to the Iranian hostage situation.

26. The best analysis of the news coverage and its limitations is Edward Said, *Covering Islam*.

27. CBS *Evening News*, February 14, 1980.

28. David C. Martin and John Walcott, *Best Laid Plans*, 7–8.

29. CBS reported that one former CIA official who sometimes publicly identified U.S. agents had his passport revoked, even though he had vowed not to identify any intelligence agents until after the hostages were released; CBS *Evening News*, December 21, 1979. On Carter’s response: ABC *World News Tonight*, December 24, 1979; Gary Sick, *All Fall Down*, 273.

30. ABC *World News Tonight*, November 9, 1979.

31. CBS *Evening News*, November 17, 1979.

32. *ABC World News Tonight*, November 18, 1979. U.S. officials quoted by James Coates, *Chicago Tribune*, November 22, 1979, as recounted by Edward Said, *Covering Islam*, 99.

33. Said discusses several of these in *Covering Islam*, 78–87.

34. ABC News Special Report, *The Iran Crisis: America Held Hostage*, December 21, 1979.

35. David C. Martin and John Walcott, *Best Laid Plans*, 6–42.

36. Richard Harwood, "Series of Mishaps Defeated Rescue in Iran," *Washington Post*, April 26, 1980, A1; "Tragedy in the Desert: Rescue That Failed," *U.S. News and World Report*, May 5, 1980, 6ff.; Alan Mayer et al., "A Mission Comes to Grief in Iran," *Newsweek*, May 5, 1980, 24ff. A special commission was formed to investigate the failure; after it released its report in August 1980, a new flurry of articles appeared. For example: Richard Burt, "Military Report Says Hostage Raid on Teheran Could Have Succeeded," *New York Times*, August 24, 1980; George C. Wilson, "Over-secretive Planning Seen as Downfall of Raid," *Washington Post*, August 24, 1980, A1.

37. *ABC World News Tonight* and *CBS Evening News*, April 24, 25, 26, and 27, 1980.

38. David C. Martin and John Walcott, *Best Laid Plans*, 29.

39. *CBS Evening News*, August 7, 1980.

40. *ABC World News Tonight*, August 7, 1980.

41. These are mentioned by both Edward Said, *Covering Islam*, 117, and Hamid Naficy, "Mediating the Other," 81–82.

42. Hamid Naficy, "Mediating the Other," 82. Lou Albano et al., *Complete Idiot's Guide to Pro Wrestling*, describes the characters of the Iron Sheik in the early 1980s, including his famous 1984 bout with Hogan, 158–160.

43. Robin Wright, *In the Name of God*, 82–88; Richard Cottam, *Iran and the United States*, 222–224.

44. "Lost in the Terrorist Theater," *Harper's*, October 1984, 43.

45. Charles Krauthammer, "Partners in Crime," in *How the West Can Win*, ed. Benjamin Netanyahu, 111–113.

46. Edward Herman and Gary O'Sullivan, *Terrorism Industry*, 104–106; Bethami Dobkin, *Tales of Terror*, 95.

47. *Washington Post*, June 25, 1984. The press coverage for both conferences is discussed in Edward Herman and Gary O'Sullivan, *Terrorism Industry*, 198–201.

48. Dennis DeConcini on the front page of the *Los Angeles Times Book Review*, July 20, 1986; Robert McFarlane on the cover of the *Washington Post Book World*, May 18, 1986. The book was also reviewed positively by John Gross in the *New York Times*, April 25, 1986; by Merle Rubin in the *Christian Science Monitor*, May 2, 1986, B1ff., and then again in the same paper by Robin Wright, August 1, 1986, B8; and by Shaul Bakhash in the *New York Review of Books*, August 14, 1986, 12–14.

49. Edward Said, "The Essential Terrorist," *Nation*, June 14, 1986, 828–833; quotation on 832. Walter Laquer, writing in the *New Republic*, October 6, 1986,

42–44, was less than enthusiastic, and Marvin Zonis's review in the *New York Times Book Review*, May 18, 1986, 7, was critical.

50. From the back cover text of the Avon Books edition, April 1987.

51. Paul Johnson, "The Cancer of Terrorism," in *How the West Can Win*, ed. Benjamin Netanyahu, 31–40; quotation on 31.

52. George P. Shultz, "The Challenge to the Democracies," in *How the West Can Win*, ed. Benjamin Netanyahu, 16–24; quotation on 18.

53. Bernard Lewis, "Islamic Terrorism?" in *How the West Can Win*, ed. Benjamin Netanyahu, 65–69; quotations on 66, 78. Edward Said talks about this kind of essentialist argument in *Covering Islam*, 75–88.

54. P. J. Vatikiotis, "The Spread of Islamic Terrorism," in *How the West Can Win*, ed. Benjamin Netanyahu, 77–84; quotation on 82.

55. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, "The Totalitarian Confusion," in *How the West Can Win*, ed. Benjamin Netanyahu, 56–60; quotation on 57.

56. The *Harper's* version of the journalists' symposium differs slightly from the version published in *How the West Can Win*. In the book, several participants were allowed to expand their extemporaneous comments into separate essays, while the liberal commentators were removed altogether. My discussion draws primarily on the *Harper's* version.

57. Besancon was a columnist for *L'Express*; O'Sullivan wrote for the *London Daily Telegraph*. Daniel Schorr went on later to join National Public Radio.

58. Ted Koppel, "Terrorism and the Media: A Discussion," *Harper's*, October 1984, 47. Koppel's comments were not included as an essay in *How the West Can Win*.

59. This comment by Schorr appears in the *Harper's* version of the conference symposium, October 1984, 53, but it was edited out of the version printed in *How the West Can Win*.

60. Both Woodward and Schorr were on President Nixon's list of media enemies in the early 1970s, which is perhaps the most straightforward testament to their liberal credentials.

61. Charles Krauthammer, "Partners in Crime," in *How the West Can Win*, ed. Benjamin Netanyahu, 111–112.

62. The phrase is another of Krauthammer's quotable aphorisms. His suggestion was that the media voluntarily refuse to cover hijackings and hostage takings. "Partners in Crime," in *How the West Can Win*, ed. Benjamin Netanyahu, 111–113; quotation on 112.

63. "Terrorism and the Media: A Discussion," *Harper's*, October 1984, 50.

64. *Ibid.*, 54.

65. Walter Laquer, "Missing the Target" (review of *How the West Can Win*), *The New Republic*, October 6, 1986, 42–44; quote on 42.

66. James Bamford, "Bankrolling International Murder and Extortion, review of *The Financing of Terror*, by James Adams," *Washington Post Book World*, February 8, 1987.

67. Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 6. The academic and semiacademic books on terrorism in this period number in the hundreds. By the time of the publication

of *How the West Can Win*, the list included Ovid Demaris, *Brothers in Blood* (1977); Walter Laquer, *Terrorism* (1977); and Claire Sterling, *Terror Network* (1981), among others.

The watershed year in the production of intellectual discourse about terrorism was probably 1986, which, in addition to Netanyahu's collection, also saw the publication of at least a half dozen other "major" books on terrorism and an associated spate of reviews and surveys of the field, including Steven Anzovin, ed., *Terrorism*; Uri Ra'anan, *Hydras of Carnage*; Ray S. Cline and Yonah Alexander, *Terrorism as State-Sponsored Covert Warfare*; Gayle Rivers, *The Specialist*; Lawrence Freeman et al., eds., *Terrorism and International Order*; and Neil Livingstone and Terrell Arnold, *Fighting Back*. Note also the publication of a long, get-tough article by Conor Cruise O'Brien, "Thinking about Terrorism," *Atlantic*, June 1986.

For a discussion of the experts and think tanks that became the main sources of advice and knowledge about terrorism, see Edward Herman and Gary O'Sullivan, *Terrorism Industry*.

68. Inside cover advertising copy, 1986 paperback edition, of Ken Follett's *On the Wings of Eagles*. On the TV movie, Tom Shales, "'Eagles' to the Rescue on NBC," *Washington Post*, May 17, 1986, C1ff.

69. The top-grossing films of the 1980s, in terms of box office receipts, were: *E.T.* (\$187 million); *The Return of the Jedi* (\$162 million); *Terminator 2* (\$112 million); *Back to the Future* (\$96 million); *Ghost* (\$95 million); *Tootsie* (\$95 million); and *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (\$90.4 million). Susan Jeffords, *Hard Bodies*, 197 n. 16, source not cited.

70. Other hostage-rescue films in this period included *Commando* (1985), *Death before Dishonor* (1987), *Hostage* (1987), *Let's Get Harry* (1986), *Navy Seals* (1990), and *Omega Syndrome* (1987), among others. I would also argue that *Aliens* (1986) is essentially a hostage-rescue film.

71. Vincent Canby, "Don't Mess with Us Celluloid Tigers," *New York Times*, February 23, 1986, sec. 2, p. 19ff.

72. The construction and valorization of muscular masculinity is also a common trope in the action films, and indeed several studies have analyzed action films as the site of reconstituted masculinity and/or reconstructed imperial adventurism. See, for example, Yvonne Tasker, *Spectacular Bodies*; Elizabeth Traube, *Dreaming Identities*; and Susan Jeffords, *Hard Bodies*.

73. Interview with ADC staff member, March 4, 1996.

74. Bethami Dobkin describes the event briefly in *Tales of Terror*, 16.

75. For an analysis of 1980s action films that does argue for the centrality of Iran, see Fredric Jameson, *Geopolitical Aesthetic*.

76. Vincent Canby, "Delta Force," *New York Times*, February 14, 1986, C14ff. See also Paul Attanasio, "Hijack Chutzpah: Norris in 'Delta Force,'" *Washington Post*, February 14, 1986, D3; Roger Ebert, "The Delta Force," *Chicago Sun-Times*, February 14, 1986.

77. Two other films about Entebbe were produced in 1977: *Raid on Entebbe*, and *Victory at Entebbe*. For a historical account of the raid, see Yeshayahu Ben-Porat, Eitan Haber, and Zeev Schiff, *Entebbe Rescue*.

78. Marita Golden, "Her Husband's Captive," *New York Times*, December 27, 1987; Maude McDaniel, "Repression in Iran," *Washington Post Book World*, September 21, 1987.

79. Carol Stocker, "Mother's Iran Ordeal Draws Fire at Home," *Boston Globe*, January 24, 1991.

80. Betty Mahmoody, *Not without My Daughter*. Further references given within the text.

81. Richard Cottam, *Iran and the United States*, 232–242; Robin Wright, *In the Name of God*, 108–153.

82. Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 170.

83. *Ibid.*, 209–231.

84. Sander Gilman, *Jew's Body*; Albert Lindemann, *Esau's Tears*.

85. Nina Easton, "Movies' Mideast Myopia: U.S. Activists and Academics Fear the Negative Stereotypes Depicted in Films Will Lead to More Hostility toward Muslims," *Los Angeles Times*, January 10, 1991. The paperback was number two on the list for February 10, 1991, and it remained in the top ten until May 19, 1991; from *New York Times*, paperback best-sellers list for each date. On sales, see Dona Munker, "Driven to Extremes," *New York Times*, September 27, 1992.

6. MILITARY MULTICULTURALISM IN THE GULF WAR AND AFTER

1. Both the "police action" in Korea (1950–1953) and the undeclared war in Vietnam (1963–1973) were larger in terms of number of troops engaged. But the intensity of the conflict with Iraq, and the fact that so much happened so quickly, meant that the concentration of U.S. troops and matériel present at any one time is unrivaled in the postwar period.

2. "While the world waited, Saddam Hussein systematically raped, pillaged, and plundered a tiny nation no threat to his own." George Bush, "The Liberation of Kuwait has Begun" (speech from the Oval Office, January 16, 1991), reprinted in *The Gulf War Reader*, ed. Micah Sifry and Christopher Cerf, 311–314.

3. George Bush, "In Defense of Saudi Arabia" (speech of August 8, 1990, announcing the deployment of troops to Saudi Arabia), reprinted in *The Gulf War Reader*, ed. Micah Sifry and Christopher Cerf, 197–199.

4. Peter Steinfels, "Armageddon: Book on Middle East Feeds Hunger for Meaning in Chaos," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 16, 1991, 10A; Charles Solomon, "Paperbacks: Armageddon, Oil, and the Middle East Crisis," *Los Angeles Times Book Review*, March 10, 1991, 10.

5. Greenpeace provided the higher estimate. The lower numbers can be found in John Heidenrich, "The Gulf War: How Many Iraqis Died?" Official estimates also vary: the Defense Intelligence Agency estimated one hundred thousand Iraqis dead, plus or minus 50 percent (!). Margot Norris suggests the confusion is strategic in "Only the Guns Have Eyes."

6. Allied casualties altogether were 343 dead.