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Rhythm and Statecraft, The Evolution of Percussion from an Instrument of Military Force to a Tool of Cultural Diplomacy

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Rhythm and Statecraft
The Evolution of Percussion from an Instrument of Military Force to a Tool of Cultural
Diplomacy

Senior Project Submitted to
The Division of Social Studies
of Bard College

by
Juliana L. C. Maitenaz

Annandale-on-Hudson, New York
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This thesis is dedicated in memory of my grandfather, Bernard Maitenaz.

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Introduction

Diplomacy, in order for it to be successful, depends heavily on communication. Traditionally, we think of that communication as taking place through the means of spoken language. When applied correctly, language can protect against an outbreak of war, yet when it fails, language may also launch it. Similarly, throughout history, music has operated alongside spoken language as a means of both conducting and preventing conflict. In this thesis, I explore whether war, diplomacy, and music have shared an inextricable link throughout the past centuries, and if so, how the link has expanded and evolved into modern day soft-diplomacy. I also aim to identify the broad period of transformation of music, percussion specifically, from a means of hard power on the battlefield during the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, to a tool of soft power employed by the United States and other nations during World War I, II, the Cold War and in 21st century foreign policy. This thesis also looks to identify current power dynamics of the 21st century as they are defined by the information revolution, ongoing technological developments, and globalization.

From the very beginning of humankind, rhythm has existed as a code for universal communication. Percussion can serve specific linguistic functions in certain societies, but also as a tactic of intimidation, therefore it is no surprise that rhythm, and music subsequently, can be associated with both hard and soft power. In West Africa, Asia, and the Amazon, drumming serves as a complex language of long distance dispatching. University of Cologne linguist Frank Seifart explains that this form of communication is not separate from the spoken languages in

these areas, rather it is a simplified version that lacks traditional consonants or vowels and uses rhythm and length of pauses or silence to indicate the meaning of the sound.¹

Moreover, the history of modern percussion can be linked with that of modern battle. Zildjian cymbals first created in the Ottoman empire during the 17th century remain the most popular cymbal manufacturer to this day, and rudimentary styles of snare drumming from the civil war have informed decades of drum lines and Drum Corps. I identify a period of Janissary musical advancement and Ottoman Turkish battles against Western rivals as a starting point in my research, and advance chronologically. After focusing on musical applications during the American Civil War, I depart from the subject of percussive warfare to focus on developments of modern cultural diplomacy, conflict, and propaganda in relation to United States foreign policy, with its increasing 21st century emphasis on soft and smart power.

Soft power, to clarify, is a state or non-state entity's ability to affect outcomes through means of attraction, appeal, and persuasion, rather than through use of coercive measures, i.e. hard power. Professor of International Relations Carola Lustig differentiates soft and hard power simply as ideational capacities and material capacities.² Rhythm, an age-old tool of hard and soft power, has both a physical quality that may be quantified, and an intangible, emotional essence, one that is simply felt.

¹ Frank Seifart et al., "Reducing Language to Rhythm: Amazonian Bora Drummed Language Exploits Speech Rhythm for Long-distance Communication," *Royal Society Open Science* 5, no. 4 (April 2018): <https://doi.org/10.1098/rsos.170354>.

² Carola M. Lustig, "Soft or Hard Power? Discourse Patterns in Brazil's Foreign Policy toward South America," *Latin American Politics and Society* 58, no. 4 (2016): <https://doi.org/10.1111/laps.12004>.

Chapter 1

Ottoman Empire Military Use of Music

Janissaries: Formation, Organization, and Function

War and music have long shared an inextricable link, often forging history in tandem. While many instruments, the bugle, the fife, or the boru; a Turkish trumpet,³ for example, have functioned as tools of communication or psychological intimidation on the battlefield, there is no instrument more associated with military action than percussion. The Ottoman Empire provides us with an instance of a highly structured military organization, with some regiments strictly dedicated to the musical components of war.⁴ One such example were the Janissaries—derived from Turkish word for new soldier; *yeniçeri*,⁵ the first iteration of the modern standing army.⁶

Most commonly known as an elite military and infantry unit, (although the *bölük* division functioned primarily as the Sultan's bodyguards) the Janissaries were central to the Ottoman Empire's long standing military might.⁷ Though originally formed by Murad I,⁸ Sultan of the Ottoman Empire from 1362-1389,⁹ "new evidence indicates that the growth of the Janissary corps was part of a general military expansion that started under Sultan Süleyman I and accelerated during the Ottomans' Thirty Years War (1578–1611) against the Safavids and Habsburgs."¹⁰ The Janissaries were split into three divisions, or companies; first, the *seğmen*, or

³ Virginia Danielson et al., *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 6.

⁴ Virginia H. Aksan and Veysel Şimşek, "Armed Forces of the Ottoman Empire, 1683–1918," in *Military History* (Oxford University Press, 2013), <https://doi.org/10.1093/OBO/9780199791279-0106>.

⁵ Edmund A. Bowles, "The Impact of Turkish Military Bands on European Court Festivals in the 17th and 18th Centuries," *Early Music* 34, no. 4 (2006): <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4137306>.

⁶ Godfrey Goodwin, *The Janissaries* (London: Saqi Books, 1997), 42.

⁷ Goodwin, *The Janissaries*, 119.

⁸ Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*, 8th ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

⁹ "The Sultans," *The Ottomans*, last modified 2002, <http://www.theottomans.org/english/family/murat1.asp>.

¹⁰ Gábor Ágoston, "Firearms and Military Adaptation: The Ottomans and the European Military Revolution, 1450–1800," *Journal of World History* 25, no. 1 (2014): <https://doi.org/10.1353/jwh.2014.0005>.

hounds-keepers. They were discernible by a uniform including red boots, and were made up of 34 ortas [regiments].¹¹ “The second or cemaat division, the Assembly, numbered 101 ortas and garrisoned the important fortresses. The officers had the right to ride in the presence of their agha [General] and wore yellow boots.”¹² The cemaat trained and served most frequently as frontline soldiers, and was the largest division of the three. Lastly, the bölük division consisted of 61 ortas, and their soldiers were often attached to the Sultan’s palace. A çorbaçı, literally translating to Soup Cook, served as a Janissary Colonel, and was at the helm of each division.¹³ The corps was in fact quite fond of what *The Janissaries* author Godfrey Goodwin refers to as Cookhouse terminology.

The ateşçibaşı (Chief Cook) was the quartermaster-general and provost marshal. He wore a black leather dalmatic, adorned with silver knobs; his girdle was hung with hooks from which dangled chains carrying spoons and a bowl and kitchen instruments including two immense carving knives. All these objects weighed so much that he had to be supported by two janissaries when he walked and propped in his saddle when he rode.¹⁴

Many ranking officers bore titles derived from the kitchen lexicon; çörekçi translates to baker of round bread, and soup-related iconography was ever present.¹⁵ The çorbaçı’s badge was indeed a ladle, and the military insignia of the Janissary corps was a cauldron.¹⁶

¹¹ New World Encyclopedia, "Janissary," New World Encyclopedia, <https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Janissary>.

¹² Goodwin, *The Janissaries*, 119.

¹³ Goodwin, *The Janissaries*, 119.

¹⁴ Goodwin, *The Janissaries*, 119.

¹⁵ Izabela Miszczak, *Edirne: Gateway to the Balkans* (n.p.: ASLAN Publishing House, 2021).

¹⁶ Arthur Leon Horniker, "THE CORPS OF THE JANIZARIES," Xenophon Group International, <http://www.xenophon-mil.org/milhist/modern/janizar.htm>.



Figure 1: an example of a Janissary warrior's uniform.¹⁷

Many of the soldiers who filled the ranks of the Janissary corps were, by origin, neither Turkish, nor Muslim.¹⁸ Under the rule of Murad II, the Ottoman army conscription system experienced a series of amendments, and the Devşirme system came to dominate their draft process.¹⁹ The Devşirme system, “consisted of taking male children from subject Christian populations, chiefly in the Balkans, forcibly converting them to Islam, and raising them to join the elite military corps, the Janissaries, or to enter other branches of government service.”²⁰ The

¹⁷ Christa Hook, *Schematic layout of Ottoman army encampment at Brandkirken in 1683, based on a plan in Marsigli, L'Etat Militaire de l'Empire Ottoman*, 1995, image, https://backup.kjeks.io/Screenshots/Osprey%20Series%20-%20World%20History/2_1_1%20-%20Crusades%20and%20Islamic%20Armies/Osprey%20-%20Elite%20058%20-%20The%20Janissaries.pdf.

¹⁸ Goodwin, *The Janissaries*, 51.

¹⁹ Cyril Glassé, *The New Encyclopedia of Islam*, reprint. ed. (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2003).

²⁰ Glassé, *The New Encyclopedia*.

boys were usually of Greek, Albanian, Serbian, or Bulgarian descent, and were forcibly abducted by Ottoman troops across the Balkans.

While this method was almost always implemented through use of force, Cyril Glassé notes in *The New Encyclopedia of Islam* that there were documented instances of Ottoman families attempting to pass their own sons through the military conscription system in the hopes of establishing a secure and righteous future for their children, and by proxy, their family. “At first every fifth boy [was] drafted in a levy carried out every four or five years, but later every able-bodied boy between the ages of ten and fifteen was liable to be taken in a draft carried out annually.”²¹ Once initiated and properly trained, the boys, most often aged between 8 and 20, were assigned a division and *orta*, and began their military service. However by the conclusion of the seventeenth century and in conjunction with the decline of both the prestige and population of the Janissary corps, the *Devşirme* system was rendered obsolete.²²

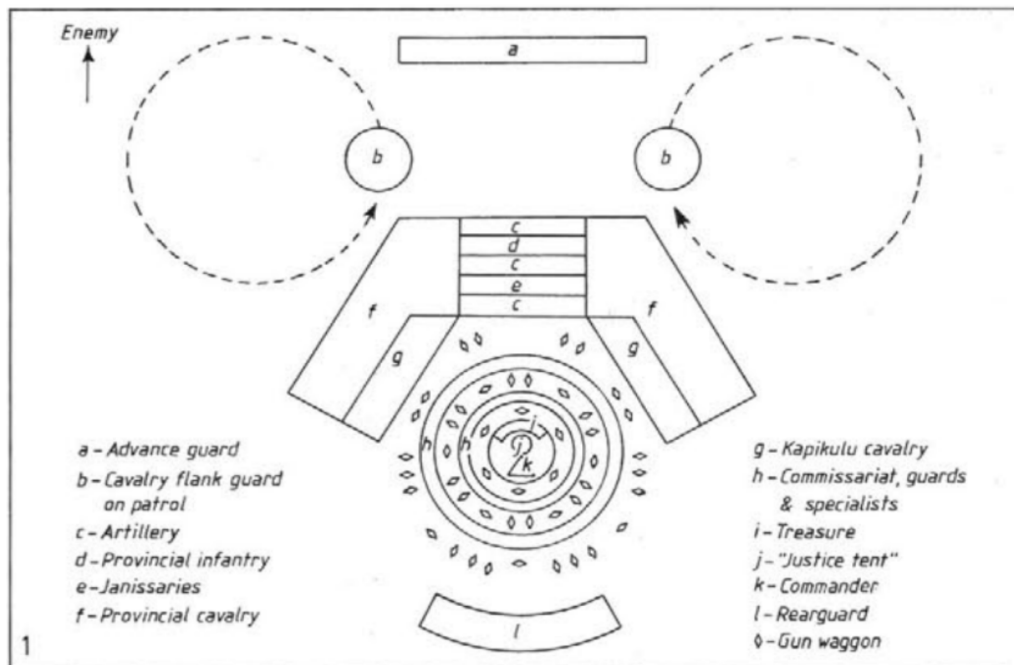


Figure 2

²¹ Glassé, *The New Encyclopedia*.

²² Glassé, *The New Encyclopedia*.

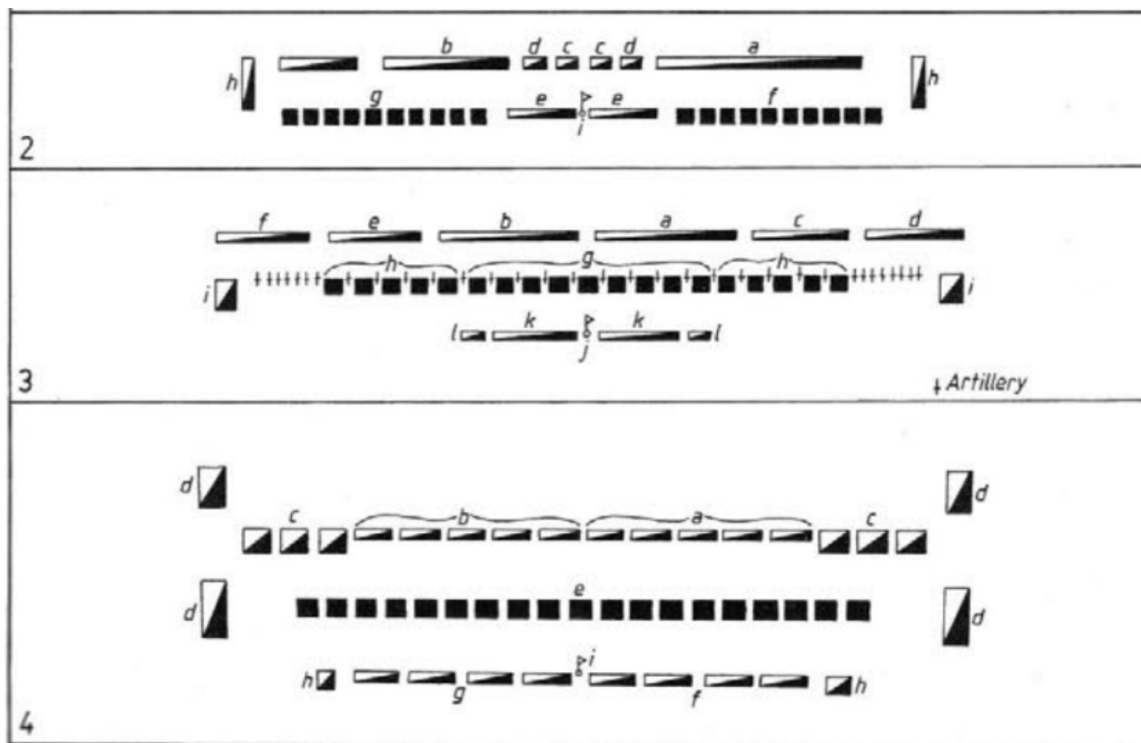


Figure 3

War strategy and plan reproductions shown in figures 2 and 3 depict the position of the Janissary Corps and band during battle.²³

Ottoman Mehterane Instruments

In the Ottoman Empire, the word “mehter” was used to refer to tent makers, Janissary band players and the music they performed. As it entered the Turkish language the term was used to refer to the officers who maintained the sultan’s tent and carried the banner of the sultanate.²⁴ Size, class, or rank of Mehter ensembles and the instruments the musicians played corresponded to the official or leader under which they performed.²⁵

²³ Hook, *Schematic layout*.

²⁴ Ali Tüfekçi, "Mehter military band and Alla Turca style: Ottoman impact on European music," Daily Sabah (İstanbul), August 19, 2020, <https://www.dailysabah.com/arts/music/mehter-military-band-and-alla-turca-style-ottoman-impact-on-european-music>.

²⁵ Graeme Francis, "European Cultural Appropriation of Percussion Instruments from the Ottoman Empire" (PhD diss.) <https://www.pas.org/docs/default-source/thesisdissertations/european-cultural-appropriation-of-percussion-instruments-from-the-ottoman-empire-by-graeme-francis.pdf>.

Mehter music was known for employing repeated rhythmic patterns that often contained accents, aimed at keeping soldiers awake and their movements uniform and synchronized. “The Janissary band had an impressive and sonorous slow march which sounded disagreeably menacing and was symbolic of an implacable quality that lingered on into the eighteenth century, if only musically.”²⁶ Pitch and tone of Mehter music was often major, (a scale in which whole step and half step patterns are arranged to evoke a bright and happy quality), although there were marches composed in minor scales and modes as well. While the size of both the ensembles and instruments varied, as a manner of displaying his power, the reigning Sultan consistently retained the largest, which was correspondingly one of the only ensembles to include the *kös* drums.

Early iterations of large kettledrums, (smaller versions were called *Nakkare*, or *Nakar/Naqara*) the *kös* were drums with a body made out of wood, clay, or copper mine, with animal skin stretched over the opening of the bowl-like structure.²⁷ The *Nakur* were “used to add rhythmic colour between the melodic lines and also to signal the beginning of the march.”²⁸ They are recorded as being played both while seated on flat ground, and while on horseback.²⁹ Apart from their larger size, *kös*, their name likely derived from the word *Kus*—a middle-Persian term meaning to march—are very similar to kettledrums, or *timpani*, first developed in 19th century Dresden.³⁰ In ceremonial events or performances, the bands were often organized in a semi-circle, or crescent, with the *kös* player slightly forward or in the middle, signifying their

²⁶ Goodwin, *The Janissaries*, 145.

²⁷ "Instruments," *Bursa Mehter*, last modified 2016, <http://www.bursamehter.com/en/index.php?sayfa=mehter&alt=2>.

²⁸ Hugo Pinksterboer and Rick Mattingly, *The Cymbal Book* (Milwaukee, WI: Hal Leonard, 1992).

²⁹ Francis, "European Cultural."

³⁰ Reza Taher-Kermani, "Persia by Way of Paris: On Arnold's 'Sohrab and Rostum,'" *Middle Eastern Literatures* 18, no. 1 (January 2, 2015): <https://doi.org/10.1080/1475262X.2015.1067015>.

D. Doran Doran Bugg, "The Role of Turkish Percussion in the History and Development of the Orchestral Percussion Section" (PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 2003), https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1026&context=gradschool_majorpapers.

importance. Instances that called for these types of celebrations during peacetime included religious feasts, royal weddings, or at diplomatic gatherings.³¹

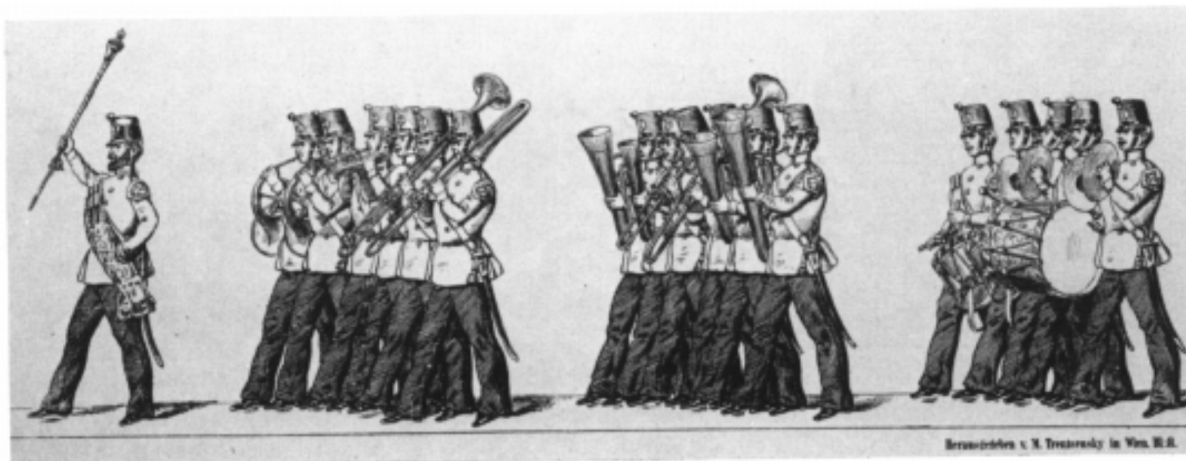


Figure 4

Figure 4 depicts both the standing army and musical aspects of the Janissary corps, the group on the right shows the percussion section.³²

When used in battle, Ottoman kettledrums and other percussive instruments were mounted on horseback, one on each side of the horse and warrior.³³ (See figure 5) Like bass and kettledrums, *kös* provided a steady and deep pulse. “First-hand accounts describe the sonic effect of the *kös* as that of the ‘sky being torn apart.’”³⁴ The *davul*, sharing most resemblance to a large, concert style bass drum, was sizable, though not as large as the *kös*, and featured double heads, each perpendicular to its shell. “One head was tuned lower than the other, and each head was struck with a different sized beater to better differentiate between the accented and unaccented beats in a given rhythmic cycle.”³⁵ (See figure 4) Lastly, the Janissary percussion section

³¹ Francis, "European Cultural."

³² *Lithograph No. 8 from a Series Edited by Michael Trezentsky*, 1830, image.

³³ Edmund A. Bowles, *Mounted Turkish Musicians*, 1953, image, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4137306?seq=4#metadata_info_tab_contents.

³⁴ Francis, "European Cultural."

³⁵ Francis, "European Cultural."

included the zil, two twin metal plates of several millimeter thickness, complete with ties at the center of each plate for grip.³⁶ These were invented in 1618 by Avedis I, a 22 year old Armenian blacksmith and alchemist who resided in Constantinople.



Figure 5

Figure 5 depicts Turkish musicians mounted on horseback, the musician in the center strikes a drum while the other two play winds and brass instruments.³⁷

Lithograph No. 8 from.

³⁶ "Instruments," Bursa Mehter.

³⁷ Bowles, "The Impact," 536.

Avedis Zildjian

While casting [the process of pouring molten metal into a mold]³⁸ originally with the hope of creating gold, Avedis I stumbled upon a new alloy, one with unusual and impressive sonority.³⁹ Using this new compound, a combination of non-precious metals such as copper, silver, and tin, Avedis I created his first prototype of the zil, what we call cymbals. Avedis I made sure to maintain the secret nature of his compound, (it is still not general knowledge to this day) and presented the cymbals to Sultan Osman II, otherwise known as Osman the Young. Upon hearing the sound of Avedis' unique compound, "the Sultan invited Avedis to live at court (Topkapi Palace) to make the new instruments for the Sultan's elite Janissary Bands."⁴⁰ Aside from their use on the battlefield, the zil, like other Turkish percussion instruments, were found at weddings, feasts, and were also used as a call to prayer.

Along with a payment of 80 gold pieces, Sultan Osman II granted Avedis I the title and family name of Zildjian. Hovik Torkomyan provides the etymology of the title: "Zil is Turkish for 'cymbal,' dj means 'maker' and ian is the Armenian suffix meaning 'son of.'" The zil produced an imposing and spine-chilling spectacle on the battlefield in combining both the glitter of the metal plates and the sheer force and volume of their crashes. In 1623, Avedis I was permitted to leave the palace of Osman II in order to construct his own cymbal making business in Constantinople. The Zildjian business flourished under its successive leadership—Avedis II succeeded in transporting his family's products all the way to London in 1851⁴¹—and to this day

³⁸ "Metal Casting Definition, Types and Processes," Engineering Articles: A Portal of Engg Lectures, Notes and Software, <https://www.engineeringarticles.org/metal-casting-definition-types-and-processes/>.

³⁹ Hovik Torkomyan, "How Zildjian Cymbals Made It From The Ottoman Empire To Now," History Of Armenia, last modified May 25, 2017, <https://historyofarmenia.org/2017/05/25/zildjian-cymbals-made-ottoman-empire-now/>.

⁴⁰ Torkomyan, "How Zildjian," History Of Armenia.

⁴¹ Lara Pellegrinelli, "A Family's 400-Year-Old Musical Secret Still Rings True," *The New York Times*, August 3, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/03/arts/music/zildjian-cymbals-400-years.html>.

remains at the forefront of cymbal manufacturing and production within the realm of modern percussion.

The Battle of Vienna and its Aftermath

Just sixty years after Avedis I's creation and the Janissary band's adoption of the refurbished zil, the second siege of Vienna, September 1683, once again upset the balance of powers of late 17th century Europe. The Ottoman defeat at the combined hand of the Holy Roman Empire, Habsburgs, and Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, (led by King Jan III Sobieski) marked the end of their agenda of western territorial expansion. This in turn contributed to the propulsion of Janissary band instruments and Mehter music across Europe.⁴² "[As] the Ottomans were pushed away from Vienna, their military bands left their instruments on the field of battle and that is how the Holy Roman Empire (and thus the other Western countries) acquired cymbals and the timpani."⁴³ The particular military blow of the second siege demarcated the beginning of the long lasting decline that the Ottoman Empire would experience throughout the coming centuries—a trend that garnered them the deprecatory title of the 'Sick Man of Europe.'⁴⁴

Following their second failure to capture Vienna, the empire subsequently lost significant momentum and power in the surrounding territories. Swift and consecutive Ottoman military losses would ensue; first in Petrovaradin 1716, next in Belgrade 1717, and then Passarowitz 1718.⁴⁵ However despite their various defeats across the continent, the Ottoman Empire held on to much of their land in the Mediterranean, which served as a locus for interaction and trade

⁴² Brendan Simms, *Europe: The Struggle for Supremacy, 1453 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 2013), 57.

⁴³ "Battle of Vienna," ARTOUR, <https://ar-tour.com/guides/vienna-centre-guide/battle-of-vienna.aspx>.

⁴⁴ "1800 - 1900," The Ottomans, last modified 2002, <http://www.theottomans.org/english/history/history1800.asp>.

⁴⁵ Lale Babaoğlu Balkış, "Defining the Turk: Construction of Meaning in Operatic Orientalism," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 41, no. 2 (2010): <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41203366>.

between the two empires. Looking to generate reliable sources of income, the Ottoman government agreed to various concessions and capitulations with neighboring powers. For instance, “in 1740, the Ottoman Empire entered into an agreement with France that gave French citizens the right to travel and trade in any part of the Ottoman Empire.”⁴⁶ Other European states to gain Ottoman capitulations included Sweden (1737), the Two Sicilies (1740), Denmark (1756), Prussia (1761), and Spain (1782).⁴⁷ The series of defeats to their neighbors generated the newly economic and politically subordinate position that the Ottoman empire found itself from the 17th century onward, and significantly altered the course of European history and development.

Western Adoption and Commodification of Mehterane Music

Their new geographical circumstance coupled with their rather compulsory entrance into the various trade agreements and capitulations outlined above allowed for swift transportation of Ottoman goods and culture across the continent. Additionally, due to the severely weakened state of the empire and the newly constructed trade relationships between the Habsburgs, the French, and the Ottomans, the general European preconception of the Ottoman empire had shifted and softened.⁴⁸ The Peace of Passarowitz, a treaty forged in modern day Serbia in 1718, resulted in significant loss of Ottoman territory in the Balkans to the Habsburgs, but more specifically

⁴⁶ Michael Talbot, "British-Ottoman Relations, 1713-1779: Commerce, Diplomacy, and Violence.," *State Papers Online, Eighteenth Century 1714-1782 (Part IV)* Cengage Learning (EMEA) Ltd, (2018): https://www.gale.com/binaries/content/assets/gale-us-en/primary-sources/intl-gps/intl-gps-essays/full-ghn-contextual-essays/gps_essay_spo18_4_talbot1_website.pdf.

"1700s-1800s-The Decline of the Ottoman Empire," Century Welfare Association, <https://www.centuryassociation.org/islamic-history-and-personalities/26-articles/islamic-history-and-personalities/26-42-1700s-1800s-the-decline-of-the-ottoman-empire>.

⁴⁷ Lucius Ellsworth Thayer, "The Capitulations of the Ottoman Empire and the Question of Their Abrogation as It Affects the United States," *American Journal of International Law* 17, no. 2 (April 1923): <https://doi.org/10.2307/2188106>.

⁴⁸ "Ottoman Institutions, Capitulations: 1250 to 1920: Middle East," in *Cultural Sociology of the Middle East, Asia, and Africa: An Encyclopedia* (SAGE Publications, n.d.), [Page #], <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452218458.n95>.

generated a shipping agreement that allowed for increased trading, and gave the Austrians access to Ottoman land and goods through commercial rights.⁴⁹

Ottoman musical tradition held profound cultural clout as it traveled west by way of both war and diplomacy. It did not take long for composers such as Gluck and Beethoven (the Turkish march in the finale of his Symphony No.9, for instance) to incorporate, aestheticize, and exoticize elements of Ottoman, specifically Mehter, conventions into their own works. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, for example, infatuated with the sounds produced by the Turkish empire, imported several key elements of Janissary music into his opera, “The Abduction from the Seraglio.”⁵⁰ Mozart, like many of his counterparts during the era of exoticism, used singular characteristics of Janissary music to denote an heir of foreign nature, without truly capturing the complexity and polyrhythmic qualities of Mehterane.

Prior to experiencing the sound of cymbals and the triangle, the sole percussion employed by composers in the 18th and 19th century Western canon were the kettledrums. Through battle and trade, a synthesis of both hard and soft power, these composers and their audiences were introduced to a more complex array of percussive instruments that they swiftly began to incorporate into their arsenal of sound. The geographic diffusion of percussion instruments not only influenced the acceptance and expansion of the instrument family within the classical genre, it also provided further historical instances of employment of drums on the battlefield.

During the 18th and 19th centuries, the side drum, what English speakers called “the military snare drum, Germans the *Militärtrommel*, the French the *tambour militaire* and the Italians the *tamburo militare*,” became widely popular throughout Europe, and later North

⁴⁹ Jean-Pierre Farganel, "Capitulations," Shared Heritage, <https://heritage.bnf.fr/bibliothequesorient/en/capitulations-article-eng>.

⁵⁰ "Mozart's 'The Abduction from the Seraglio,'" in *NPR World of Opera*, podcast, audio, <https://www.npr.org/2007/03/30/9146854/mozarts-the-abduction-from-the-seraglio>.

America.⁵¹ Manuals detailing approaches to basic principles of drumming and rhythm pattern comprehension simultaneously appeared in Europe and later America by way of English imperialism. With the increase in manufacturing of side drums and of technique development, the role of the drum in the setting of armed conflict was reinforced throughout the following decades.

⁵¹ "Snare Drum - History," Vienna Symphonic Library, https://www.vsl.co.at/en/Snare_drum/History.

Chapter 2

Nineteenth Century American Military Drumming

Civil War

What purpose did the drum and its player serve during the American Civil War, both in the Union and Confederate armies? The Civil War provides a second instance in which we have authentic examples of percussion instruments serving crucial roles on the battlefield. Drummer boys would employ snare drum roles of different lengths to indicate positions and commands and drum calls to communicate with other nearby drummers to create a boisterous and intimidating atmosphere in time for a unit to charge ahead.⁵² Because of the age limit imposed by both the Union and Confederate armies during the Civil War, the drum corps served as a means of participation and camaraderie for those who were too young to officially participate in battle.

Many musicians on the battlefield were young boys, some as young as eleven or twelve-years-old. This is especially remarkable, as musicians in the military were frequently asked to participate in active combat roles, such as assisting with medical duties in the field.⁵³ The youngest soldier formally documented was Johnny Clem of Ohio, who joined the Union Army as a drummer boy and mascot when he was refused a position as a soldier due to his age and small stature. After two years as a drummer in the 22nd Michigan, spending time with soldiers who pooled their money to pay him the \$13 a month soldier's salary, Johnny Clem

⁵² Thomas R. Fligel, "Communications in the Civil War," Essential Civil War Curriculum, <https://www.essentialcivilwarcurriculum.com/communications-in-the-civil-war.html>.

⁵³ Fligel, "Communications in the Civil," Essential Civil War Curriculum.

became officially enlisted in 1863, at age 11.⁵⁴ Despite their young age, drum corps, cavalry and infantry bands provided immense service to the battlefield and their respective regiments.

Making use of the penetrating nature of their instrument, army drummers would signal officers' orders and battle calls down the line by playing distinct patterns that could be clearly heard and understood by the soldiers in need of instruction. "According to the military, there are four specific physical barriers to effective communication: distance, terrain, weather and other ambient noise."⁵⁵ Without the clarity provided by the calfskin covered shell known at that time as the side drum, confusion and otherwise avoidable fatalities became inevitable.

Drummers in the army were required to learn several calls and patterns in order to signal properly. Major General Frederick Von Steuben, author of *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States*, detailed the various rudiments that were found on the battlefield during the Revolutionary War. These were derived directly from 18th century British tradition.⁵⁶ *The General* indicated that it was time to strike the tents and prepare for a march. "*To go for wood*: poing stroke and a ten-stroke flam; *To go for water*: two strokes and a flam. *Front to halt*: two flams from right to left, and a full drag with the right, a left hand flam and a right hand full drag."⁵⁷ Below is a modern transcription of the drum signals outlined above, found in United States Marine Corps Drum Major Charles Stewart Ashworth's *A New Useful and Complete System of Drum Beating*.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ "Civil War | Biography, John Clem," American Battlefield Trust, <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/biographies/john-clem>.

⁵⁵ SFC Joseph D. Hart, Jr., "Keeping Peace With A Different Drum: A Note On Military Music," Association Of The United States Army, last modified August 17, 2020, <https://www.ausa.org/publications/keeping-peace-different-drum-note-military-music>.

⁵⁶ Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States*. Part I, illus. Pierre Charles L'Enfant., comp. United States Continental Army Inspector General (Place of publication not identified: GALE ECCO, PRINT EDITIONS, 2018), <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.rbc/batch.30726>.

⁵⁷ von Steuben, *Regulations for the Order*, 92.

⁵⁸ Charles Stewart Ashworth (Drum Major, the United States Marine Corps Band.), *A New, Useful and Complete System of Drum Beating* (n.p.: Reformatted: Will Ott, Drummer 1st US Regiment, 1812).





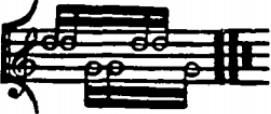





<p>Roll.</p> 	
<p>Mother or 5 S. Roll.</p> 	
<p>Faint Roll.</p> 	
<p>Poing Stroke, hard.</p> 	
<p>Hard Flams.</p> 	

Figure 6

Figure 6 shows a set of five examples of rudimentary commands, transcribed into modern musical notation.⁵⁹

Musicians, drummers specifically due to the invigorating and rhythmic nature of their instrument, often served to rally soldiers about to enter battle. SUNY Fredonia musicologist James Davis writes specifically of Civil War era music, that “in fact, gallantry best defined how music could function during a battle. Musical performances became recognized acts of bravado.

Selected Rudiments from Ashworth (1812) with Transcription into Modern Notation (1812), 16, https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=&httpsredir=1&article=5900&context=gradschool_dissheses.

⁵⁹ *Selected Rudiments*, 16.

Soldiers could be motivated by an obvious display of musical courage in the same way they found inspiration in the exhibition of bravery by their commanding officers.”⁶⁰ More prosaic uses of the drum, (often performed alongside the bugle) included waking soldiers, signaling meal-and bedtimes for the camp, and commanding various routine tasks or assemblies throughout the day.

In assessing the transformation American communications and messaging during the Civil War period, Dr. Thomas R. Flagel splits methods of transmissions into categories such as spoken word, newspapers articles, signal corps, battle flags, drums and bugles—reviewed above—and perhaps most interestingly, soundscapes.⁶¹ What distinguishes soundscapes from other aural-audio mediums is its immersive qualities and a human perception in relation to the context in which it is heard. The application and study of soundscapes is incredibly vast, ranging from ecology and healthcare, to urban studies and architecture. As explained by R. Murray Schafer, a contemporary composer credited with intensely exploring and popularizing the use of the term, soundscapes are the presence of a complex sonic environment and contain elements such as keynotes, signals, and soundmarks.⁶²

While signals and soundmarks are defined by the conscious observation of their occurrence and presence, keynote sounds are unique in their sub-currant-like characteristics. Schafer writes that “Keynote sounds do not have to be listened to consciously; they are overheard but cannot be overlooked, for keynote sounds become listening habits in spite of themselves... Even though keynote sounds may not always be heard consciously, the fact that they are ubiquitously there suggests the possibility of a deep and pervasive influence on our behavior and moods.”⁶³ This last matter is what signified the importance of local soundscapes

⁶⁰ James A. Davis, "Music and Gallantry in Combat During the American Civil War," *University of Illinois Press* 28, no. 2 (2010): 141-172, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/americanmusic.28.2.0141>.

Flagel, "Communications in the Civil," Essential Civil War Curriculum.

⁶¹ Flagel, "Communications in the Civil," Essential Civil War Curriculum.

⁶² R. Murray Schafer, *The Soundscape: The Tuning of the World* (Rochester, Vt.: Destiny Books, 1993).

⁶³ Schafer, *The Soundscape*.

during the Civil War to Dr. Fligel as unique means of messaging. Fligel points to the Union occupation of the South and the shift in power dynamics brought on by the accompanying sounds of unwanted army presence.

Another factor that Fligel highlights in the creation of the unfamiliar sonic landscapes were the voices of African American soldiers. Former slave owners (what Fligel refers to as the ruling class) were unused to coexisting with an objectively more powerful force, and Union armies made sure to consistently exhibit their power, in part through generation of incessant, foreign sound. Furthering their sense of discomfort was the previously unheard sound of African Americans, speaking, strategizing, singing, and shouting. Fligel writes that on the battlefield, soldiers “learned that one of the most intimidating weapons they possessed involved the noise and motion of their own rank and file. When the 49th and 55th USCT regiments transferred from Corinth to Memphis in late 1863, they announced their arrival with strident speech, stomping feet, and grinding wheels.”

Citing American psychologist Stephen Handel, Fligel notes the power of undesired, redundant sound on the psyche, stating “prolonged exposure to invasive sounds tends to induce resignation and even submissiveness, particularly if such noises are so overpowering that they fatigue the intended audience.”⁶⁴ The use of percussion as a consistent and purposeful layer of sound was echoed by Civil War Institute fellow Cameron Sauers, who pointed to drums as a tool of concealing the cries of the wounded on the battlefield and in camps. This served to sustain the morale of soldiers who were still engaged in combat, as well as band members, locals and others within the immediate hearing range. Hostile and malicious use of sound is a continued trend that

⁶⁴ Stephen Handel, "6," in *Listening: An Introduction to the Perception of Auditory Events* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Pr., 1993).

will be further explored in this thesis paper when discussion of modern, state-sponsored torture tactics via use of sonic tools, known as enhanced interrogation, arises.

Of course, it should be noted that music was not the totality of the soft power element of the Civil War. Much like the components in the Southern battlefield soundscapes, social and cultural aspects were monumental in determining the morale of both the North and the South, along with their success. Joseph Nye, Former Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs and longtime practitioner of international relations, views the culture of a nation as its set of values and the tangible expression of its ethos, and believes it to be a primary source of soft power. If a nation possesses and projects commonly shared views and values, it increases its capability of strength and attraction abroad. In *The Future of Power*, Joe Nye writes, “During the American Civil War, some British statesmen considered supporting the South, but despite their obvious commercial and strategic interests, British elites were constrained by popular opposition to slavery and attraction to the cause of the North...Because it is a form of power, only a truncated and impoverished version of realism ignores soft power.”⁶⁵

Double Drumming and the Trap Set

As the Civil War ended, drummers—including those who were formerly army employed—began to experiment with the idea of playing more than one drum at a time. Many had migrated to theater pits and the quickly developing Vaudeville bands in New Orleans, and conductors and band leaders everywhere were looking to cut non-essential musicians from their rosters in order to pay less in salaries.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Joseph S. Nye, *The Future of Power* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2012), 82.

⁶⁶ *History of the Drumset - Part 1, 1865 - Double Drumming*, performed by Daniel Glass, Vic Firth, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ds04UIj3GJY>.

While in competition to keep their gigs, drummers began experimenting with the possibility of doing more than one musician's job, and later, an entire section's. During the 1860s, marching band music was still the most prominent American instrumental genre, as blues, jazz and rock had yet to be formally introduced to the American auditory mainstream.⁶⁷ The expansion of the tonal and instrumental vocabulary of the American drummer at this stage resulted in a familiarly rudimentary style, with slight variations and embellishments that came with the augmentation in drum count. As the bass drum pedal had yet to be invented, double drumming typically consisted of a large concert style bass drum positioned on its side (shell to the ground), with a snare or side drum positioned at an angle to its left. The player would accent beats 1 and 3 with the bass drum in standard marching fashion, while playing rudiments, tunes, and embellishments on the higher pitched snare. "Within a few years, the technique known as "Double Drumming" [became] popular in theater orchestras and dance bands."⁶⁸

As part of his 2011 Harvard University lecture series *Music as Metaphor*, American jazz trumpeter Wynton Marsalis, accompanied by his band, details the evolution of the drumset via live demonstration by drummer Ali Jackson. He begins by astutely coupling the consolidation of the drumset with "the consolidation of our states."⁶⁹ Marsalis explains that the American drum style is comprised of a traditionally African polyrhythmic style and a military marching band concept. As Marsalis points out, the drumset and the rhythms that bring it to life are largely an African American invention. Prior to the civil war and the abolishment of slavery, African American slaves were kept from playing and accessing instruments. PATTIN' JUBA, or the Juba dance, was a method of keeping an identity alive in the most condemnable of conditions. It

⁶⁷ *History of the Drumset*.

⁶⁸ Daniel Glass, "A Century of Drumming Evolution," Vic Firth, <https://vicfirth.zildjian.com/education/drum-set-history.html>.

⁶⁹ *The Evolution of the Trap Drum Set*, narrated by Wynton Marsalis, Harvard University, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WkHmnUbUmIw>.

consisted of keeping time and accenting rhythm by stomping feet on the ground while patting arms and legs, often creating a 3 beat over 4 polyrhythm.⁷⁰ These rhythms and cultural traditions were maintained throughout the course of the abolition, and later define American styles of music.

As technique of double drumming took hold, each new added element of the drum set was applied and then standardized. Jackson provides auditory examples as Marsalis outlined each of these developments, joking that with each new advancement another drummer lost their job. In fact, once William Ludwig invented the bass drum pedal in 1909, all previously accepted norms and customs of double drumming were abandoned (see Figure 7).⁷¹

In conjunction with the advent of the snare stand, (a three-legged base with an opening to cradle the drum right-side-up) the bass drum pedal created new opportunities for additions to the set, both spatially and dexterously. Cymbals, once an entire section of a military band or theater orchestra, then became the next logical accompaniment to the snare, now that a hand had been freed by the new bass drum pedal. Before mounted crash and ride cymbals became standard components of a drum set, the “low boy”, the first iteration of the hi-hat, was added to the mix. As Marsalis jokes, band leaders noticed that drummers still had one foot free, so two small cymbals were rigged to a foot pedal, thus creating the low boy.⁷² Because it was incredibly low to the ground (as its name would suggest), and leaning at such an angle not only made playing slightly difficult, but wreaked havoc on drummers’ postures, Joe Jones, drummer for Count

⁷⁰ Haley Olsen, "'Juba This, Juba That:' the History and Appropriation of Patting Juba," Music 345: Race, Identity, and Representation in American Music Student Blogs and Library Exhibit Companion, last modified February 24, 2015, <https://pages.stolaf.edu/americanmusic/2015/02/24/juba-this-juba-that-the-history-and-appropriation-of-patting-juba/>.

⁷¹ "History of the Drum Set," Corey's Drum World, <https://sites.google.com/site/coreysdrumworld/background-of-drums>.
William F. Ludwig, Drum and cymbal playing apparatus., US Patent 922706, filed 1909, <https://www.madeinchicagomuseum.com/single-post/ludwig-drum-co/>.

⁷² *The Evolution*.

Basey, “raise[d] the low boy to elbow height, and the sock cymbal was born.”⁷³ Auxiliary instruments such as the cowbell, the triangle, woodblocks, and small pitched drums were added to the set up, evoking the image of a contraption, hence the name; trap set.

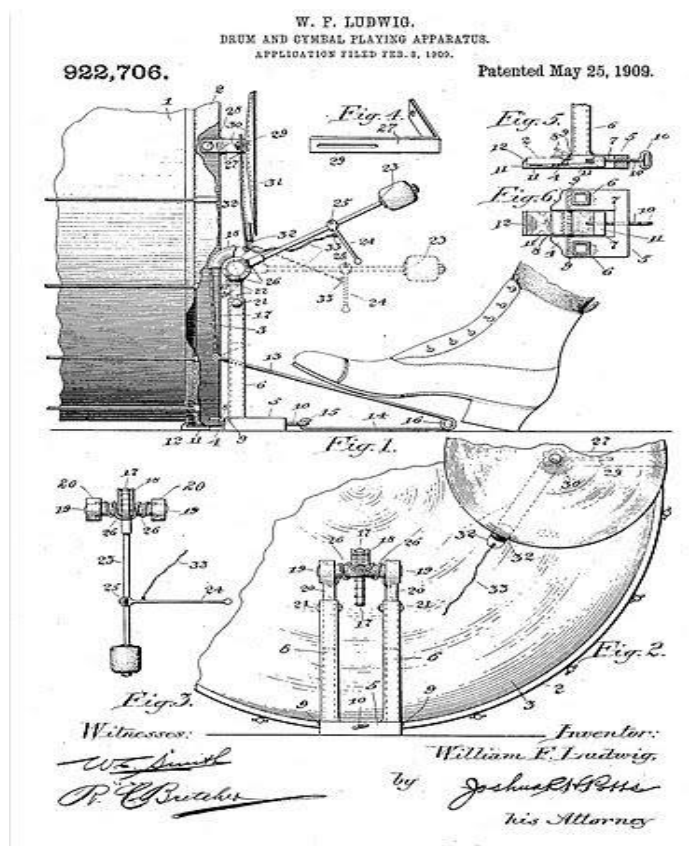


Figure 7

Figure 7 shows an illustration from the original foot pedal patent.⁷⁴

While the trap set in comparison to our modern drum set may seem sparse, the sonic capability in texture and range suddenly at the hands of a single musician was previously unheard of. As Ragtime music, the precursor to jazz, garnered praise and popularity during the

⁷³ *The Evolution.*

⁷⁴ William F. Ludwig, Drum and cymbal playing apparatus., US Patent 922706, filed 1909, <https://www.madeinchicagomuseum.com/single-post/ludwig-drum-co/>.

1890s and at the turn of the century, drummers had acquired the capability of generating dynamic movement, both physically and lyrically, across their trap sets.⁷⁵ Ragtime was largely defined by African American and Black rhythms, and most importantly, syncopation.⁷⁶ The divergence from strict emphasis on strong beats (the aforementioned 1 and 3) that so defined military style marching music allowed for the development of a new musical language; improvisation.

Ragtime drumming was not a total departure from the previous popular American music genre, as drummers still kept rudiments and drum calls in their lexicon. Rather, the elasticity and non-conformity of syncopation and the ragtime style and swing allowed musicians, drummers specifically, to experiment with enhanced technique, and expand their capability to communicate rhythmically. As Ragtime style developed and later morphed into blues and then jazz in the early 1900s, a shift in percussive language from that of battlefield commands to expressive and communicative phrases indicative of a new form of speech was realized.

⁷⁵ "History of Ragtime," Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200035811/>.

⁷⁶ *History of the Drumset - Part 2, 1890 - Ragtime Drumming*, performed by Daniel Glass, Vic Firth, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xm7Q2vwQrWI>.

Chapter 3

Jazz, Soft Power, Foreign Policy, and Diplomacy during WWI and WWII

Define Soft power

As American instruments and musical genres experienced an explosion of development at the turn of the 20th century, so too did the tool box from which diplomats and state officials drew when aiming to generate support abroad. This was notably advantageous, as the new century would bring intense international strife and hostility, from which the United States could only distance itself temporarily. Soft power (not yet defined as such)⁷⁷ would vastly augment our options for projecting strength overseas.

Joseph Nye explains that “the soft power of a country rests heavily on three basic resources: its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when others see them as legitimate and having moral authority).”⁷⁸ The concept of power inspires a multitude of definitions, though for the purpose of engaging with the components of soft power indicated above, philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche’s comprehension of power as a ‘resistance that is overcome’⁷⁹ provides us with an intriguing lens through which to consider viable projection capabilities. While a state may seek to do its will abroad through coercive or forceful methods, it has in the past proved much less costly, both in lives and material expense, to attain goals by attracting cooperation through aesthetic appeal and persuasion. Nye writes, however, that it is not simple for states to

⁷⁷ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics," *Foreign Affairs*, May 2004, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/capsule-review/2004-05-01/soft-power-means-success-world-politics>.

⁷⁸ Nye, *The Future*, 84.

⁷⁹ Maudemarie Clark, "Suffering and the Affirmation of Life," *Journal of Nietzsche Studies* 43, no. 1 (2012): <https://doi.org/10.5325/jnietstud.43.1.0087>.

implement tools of soft power.⁸⁰ In order to wield effectively the resources of attraction and persuasion, a nation must maintain credibility and authenticity in its output.

Considering the factors that produce attraction, Nye cites Professor Alexander Vuving, who divides into three categories characteristics that determine the success of the attraction by the agent or the action; “benignity, competence, and beauty (charisma)... These clusters of qualities are crucial for converting resources (such as culture, values, and policies) into power behavior.”⁸¹

Over the course of World Wars I and II, the United States had lost all hope of reliance on benignity. Therefore, the importance of its brilliance and beauty only increased. “‘Brilliance’ or ‘competence’ refers to how an agent does things, and it produces admiration, respect, and emulation. ‘Beauty’ or ‘charisma’ is an aspect of an agent’s relation to ideals, values, and vision, and it tends to produce inspiration and adherence.”⁸² The musical identity of the United States was formidable, and performance provided the perfect outlet to display cultural dominance. Thus promotion of both musical events and collaboration was useful in the peaceful projection of power and influence.

Propaganda and American Folk Tunes

American use of propaganda dates back to the very moment of the nation’s inception. Yankee Doodle, once an insulting tune hurled by the British forces at the American Continental Army, was repurposed as the Americans’ marching cry as they defeated British forces in the

⁸⁰ Nye, *The Future*, 83.

⁸¹ Nye, *The Future*, 92.

⁸² Nye, *The Future*, 92.

Northeast.⁸³ In manipulating occasional stanzas and embracing the rugged nature mocked by the British in the lyrics of the ditty, the Americans co-opted a morale-targeting mechanism that once functioned to lower their own.⁸⁴ Use of musical propaganda would persist as an essential tool of battle and national identity throughout the future centuries of American conflict. To this day, John Philip Sousa's "The Stars and Stripes Forever," composed in 1896, remains relevant as the current National March of the United States.⁸⁵

In conjunction with the rapid technological advancements of the early 20th century, such as improved weaponry, complex battle strategy, and the ability to record along with the ability to redistribute sound, military music began its gradual transition off of the battlefield to fulfill a capacity more concerned with the psychology of the American public, and our friends and foes abroad.⁸⁶ Internationally targeted political messages concealed within pleasing disguises such as music and art became a mainstay during World War I, and were ever present throughout the 20th century.

In concert with the American sentiment of isolationism regarding participation in World War I during the mid 1910s, alongside an opposition towards 'preparedness,' a song entitled "I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier," written by Alfred Bryan and composed by Al Piantadosi in 1915, evoked the hesitancy of the public to join a growing European conflict.⁸⁷ Ethics of

⁸³ "Yankee Doodle :The story behind the song," The Kennedy Center, <https://www.kennedy-center.org/education/resources-for-educators/classroom-resources/media-and-interactives/media/music/story-behind-the-song/the-story-behind-the-song/yankee-doodle/>.

⁸⁴ David Segal, "That Diss Song Known as 'Yankee Doodle,'" *The New York Times*, July 1, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/01/sunday-review/that-diss-song-known-as-yankee-doodle.html>.

⁸⁵ Colonel Jason K. Fettig, "The Stars and Stripes Forever," audio, The Official Website of the United States Marine Corps, <https://www.marineband.marines.mil/Audio-Resources/The-Complete-Marches-of-John-Philip-Sousa/The-Stars-and-Stripes-Forever-March/>.

⁸⁶ "A Brief History of Modern Warfare Technology: From Gunpowder to Drones," Technology Org, last modified January 30, 2018, <https://www.technology.org/2018/01/30/a-brief-history-of-modern-warfare-technology-from-gunpowder-to-drones/>.

⁸⁷ Jennifer Camplair, "'I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a... ' Mothers, Music, and Obligations of War," *National History Day*, <https://www.nhd.org/sites/default/files/IDidntRaiseMyBoytoBeA.pdf>.

nonviolence derived from ideologies of pacifism, socialism, and Protestant Christianity also influenced the message of the tune.⁸⁸ The lyrics of the chorus were as follows: “I didn’t raise my boy to be a soldier / I brought him up to be my pride and joy / Who dares to put a musket on his shoulder / To shoot some other mother’s darling boy?”⁸⁹

Within three months of its recording and release, the song sold 650,000 copies, reaching an unexpected level of national popularity.⁹⁰ The anti-war ditty, one of the first to reach this level of influence, “helped make the pacifist movement a hard, quantifiable political reality to be reckoned with.”⁹¹ As it became evident that the United States was going to enter the growing conflict, the military decided to alter the lyrics of the anti-war tune, renaming it “I didn’t Raise My Boy to Be a Slacker” co-opting a musical and cultural moment for its own, vastly differing purposes.⁹²

⁸⁸ SHEC: Resources for Teachers, "I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier," American Social History Project · Center for Media and Learning, <https://shec.ashp.cuny.edu/items/show/841>.

⁸⁹ Camplair, "I Didn't."

⁹⁰ "1914–1917 Conflict in Europe—America's Business I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier," Greenwich Faces the Great War, <http://greenwichfacesthegreatwar.org/boy-to-be-a-soldier.php>.

⁹¹ Mark W. Van Wienen, *Partisans and Poets: The Political Work of American Poetry in the Great War*, digitally print. version. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009).

⁹² Theodore Baker, *Image 3 of I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Slacker*, 1911, image, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/ihas.200198479.0/?sp=3>.



Figure 8

Figure 8 shows the poster that accompanied the military propaganda adaptation.⁹³

Propaganda tows an unusual line in regards to soft power. By nature, it frequently engages in a level of persuasion akin to the coercive methods that so define its antithesis; hard power. Nye writes that “Soft power depends upon credibility, and when governments are perceived as manipulative and information is seen as propaganda, credibility is destroyed... The best propaganda is not propaganda.”⁹⁴ A true belief in the message one is promoting, whether it be at home in hopes of swaying the opinion of the public or abroad, aiming to garner increased international support, is essential to the message’s success.

⁹³ Theodore Baker, *I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Slacker*, 1917, illustration, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/ihas.200198479.0/?sp=1>.

⁹⁴ Nye, *The Future*, 83.

American music most often proved a medium genuine enough to uphold, rather than harm, the international perception and reputation of the United States during wartime. It provided for the United States an identity so strong that a propaganda campaign reliant on musical components was able to withstand a test of authenticity. State agencies and programs such as the Federal Music Project and later, the Office of War Information (OWI), made use of the thriving cultural character of the United States during the early and mid 20th century, both to boost the spirits of American citizens at home and to attract support from potential allies amidst the consistent international conflicts.⁹⁵ Composers such as Aaron Copland, Elliot Carter, Henry Cowell, and Samuel Barber were all once employed by the OWI.⁹⁶

Author Annegret Fauser explains in *Sounds of war: music in the United States during World War II*, that sonic propaganda, whether obviously produced to be exported to a government and populace of a different nation, or formulated to follow a general, programmatic theme, was not only incredibly effectual, but produced some deeply influential works of American art, (ie. Copland's "Fanfare for the Common Man.")⁹⁷

In his article 'Shaping Music for Total War' (1946), Henry Cowell recounted his experience as a senior music advisor for the Office of War Information, the U.S. propaganda agency during World War II. On the one hand, the use of music in warfare, he argued, had served to open channels of communications so as to win over the hearts and minds of the citizens of Allied and neutral countries; on the other, it had contributed to creating a positive view throughout the world of the United States as a cultured and peace-loving nation whose rich and sophisticated music life was reflected in both performance and composition.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Annegret Fauser, *Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 57.

⁹⁶ Mark Derewicz, "Songs as Bullets, Music as Bombs," endeavors, last modified February 17, 2011, http://endeavors.unc.edu/songs_as_bullets_music_as_bombs.

⁹⁷ Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 57.

⁹⁸ Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 57.

Nye, in addressing the concerns of critics, explains “that if governments eschew imposition or manipulation, they are not really exercising soft power, but mere dialogue. Even though governments face a difficult task in maintaining credibility, this criticism underestimates the importance of pull, rather than push, in soft power interactions.”⁹⁹ The OWI, through sleek posters, advertisements, and musical campaigns, aimed to use the pull of American music for the war effort at a time when many other agencies and programs, some established under President Roosevelt’s federal projects, were themselves harnessing American sound for identical purposes.

Just as there were several organizations capitalizing on the cultural prominence of the United States, there was an expansive range of sound that these agencies could choose to draw from. Due to the cultural specificities of the second World War, classical music maintained great importance despite the immense popularity of jazz and swing music at home and amongst soldiers engaged in battle abroad.

Classical Music in the Military

Prior to and during World War II, two thirds of the Axis coalition, Nazi Germany and the Kingdom of Italy, were both leading nations in classical and operatic music. Their rich musical history served as a means of cultural pull, and an area in which they could tout their superiority over Allied powers and others. This international cultural dynamic worked to further the intersection between war and music in the United States. Embarrassed by and unhappy with their appearance of lesser classical musical talent and capability in camps and on the battlefield, the U.S. military sought to promote its musical prowess, both in the style of typical band formation and in classical performance.

⁹⁹ Nye, *The Future*, 83.

[An] aim was to prove wrong those who criticized the American people as being uneducated and lacking in high culture. Charles Seeger noted that the Germans and Italians ‘had been using music as one of the ways of discrediting the United States. ‘Oh they’re nothing but money grubbers and jazz addicts, drinkers. If you want to study music, you come to Italy,’ say the Italians. ‘If you want to study music, you come to Germany. All good music is either German or Italian.’ That sort of thing.’ Therefore it became vital to demonstrate that classical music was flourishing in the United States.¹⁰⁰

As Fauser later notes, World War II generated ample work opportunities for classical composers, as the U.S. was looking to augment not only the level of its technical performance skill, but to curate a collection of American classical repertoire as well. “For the first time in their lives composers had commissions coming out of their ears...And the government was a major funding source.”¹⁰¹

An additional layer to the contentious international competition of war time music tradition were immigrants fleeing the ever-expanding grasp of the Axis powers, as many of them relocated to the United States. Among those who left for America were incredibly talented, established musicians and composers who had maintained prominent careers in the countries they left behind. Béla Bartók, a celebrated Hungarian composer, pianist, and historian, departed Hungary in October of 1940, just a month before the country joined forces with the Axis powers.¹⁰² Although having performed in Italy as late as 1939, Bartók once arriving in the United States, vehemently denounced Nazi Germany and worked to dispell the ‘enemy-alien’ title automatically assigned to him by the U.S. due to his nationality and Hungary’s membership in the Axis coalition.¹⁰³ One way in which he distanced himself from the facist dictatorship was to explore the historical roots

¹⁰⁰ Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 201.

¹⁰¹ Derewicz, "Songs as Bullets," endeavors.

¹⁰² Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 204.

¹⁰³ Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 204.

of Hungarian folk music, (music deemed impure by the Nazis) and compose in a the character of his homeland, “thus styliz[ing] an ‘authentic’ and pastoral Hungary.”¹⁰⁴ After residing in the United States for three years, Bartók wrote Concerto For Orchestra, one of his most renowned compositions, premiered in 1944 by the Boston Symphony Orchestra.¹⁰⁵ “The Concerto for Orchestra has since become a *cause célèbre* in the discussion of exile celebration composition in the United States during World War II.”¹⁰⁶

Additionally mentioned by Fauser; Kurt Weill, a German Jewish composer, escaped Nazi Germany in 1933, and after a brief stay in Paris traveled to New York, where he would eventually settle. After leaving Europe, Weill began to compose in an entirely new style, essentially splitting his career into two distinct and contrasting segments; “Weimar-era Berlin,” and post-Europe, American Popular.¹⁰⁷ His earlier works include his well-known musical entitled “Threepenny Opera,” yet his success truly arose when he began composing in the style of American popular music. Weill collaborated with poet Langston Hughes on a coalescence of Broadway and Opera style music for his work *Street Scene*, which won him the inaugural Tony Award for Best Original Composition.¹⁰⁸ Bartók and Weill are only two examples of the many musicians that departed from their homes for the United States to escape the Axis powers, but together provide clear evidence of the cultural and political specificities of classical music during the time of World War II.

¹⁰⁴ Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 204.

¹⁰⁵ Marianne Williams Tobias, "Concerto for Orchestra Béla Bartók," Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra, <https://www.indianapolissymphony.org/backstage/program-notes/bartok-concerto-for-orchestra/>.

¹⁰⁶ Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 204.

¹⁰⁷ Joshua Barone, "Kurt Weill's Path From Europe to Broadway Was a Straight Line," *The New York Times*, March 25, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/25/arts/music/kurt-weill-classical-music.html>.

¹⁰⁸ "Tony Awards," Broadway World, <https://www.broadwayworld.com/tonyawards.cfm?catname=Score>.

Aside from combatting German and Italian accusations of American cultural impotence, the United States military had another purpose in promoting classical music within its ranks overseas. The attacks on Pearl Harbor in December of 1941 resulted in mass military enlistment.¹⁰⁹ The surge in enlistment along with the draft, (or as it was titled, the Selective Training and Service Act) signed into law by President Franklin D Roosevelt in 1940, resulted in the largest military population that the United States has ever witnessed, to this day.¹¹⁰ By 1945, there were 12 million active military personnel in the United States.¹¹¹ The OWI came to recognize that at its fingertips was a pool of Americans able to represent and communicate popular sentiment, and therefore decided to survey active duty military members on matters pertaining to culture. One such study yielded results stating that the most appreciated form of music among the surveyed pool was swing, followed by classical.¹¹²

Classical, or “serious music”¹¹³ as it was sometimes referred to, was thought to calm the nerves of soldiers engaged in combat, and uplift troops by providing a tangible sound of patriotism. As reviewed during the period of the Civil War, there is a long history in the United States, and in many other cultures to be sure, of using music as a tool of comfort during periods of combat and in war zones. However, “the military’s turn

¹⁰⁹ "Enlistments and the Draft," *Living History Farm*, https://livinghistoryfarm.org/farminginthe40s/life_02.html#:~:text=In%20the%20days%20after%202%2C400,enlist%20in%20the%20armed%20forces.&text=So%20for%20many%20young%20Americans,survival%20as%20well%20as%20patriotism.

¹¹⁰ "Enlistments and the Draft," *Living History Farm*.

David Vergun, "First Peacetime Draft Enacted Just Before World War II," U.S. Department of Defense, last modified April 7, 2020,

<https://www.defense.gov/Explore/Features/story/Article/2140942/first-peacetime-draft-enacted-just-before-world-war-ii/#:~:text=On%20Sept.,to%20register%20for%20the%20draft>.

"U.S. Military Manpower 1789 to 1997," *Alternate Wars*,

https://www.alternatewars.com/BBOW/Stats/US_Mil_Manpower_1789-1997.htm.

¹¹¹ R. Alton Lee, "The Army 'Mutiny' of 1946," *The Journal of American History* 53, no. 3 (December 1966): 557, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1887571>.

¹¹² Derewicz, "Songs as Bullets," endeavors.

¹¹³ Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 126.

in 1943 towards music therapy as a medical discipline, at the instigation of the Surgeon General, profoundly changed both the theoretical discourse and the practical strategies surrounding music in reconditioning.”¹¹⁴ The stage of intense international competition produced by WWII and the mental and physical benefits that classical music provided soldiers ensured that its value remained recognized throughout the course of the war. Fauser emphasizes that “Classical music was hailed as ‘the heritage of all people regardless of race, color, creed and economic status.’”¹¹⁵

The Radio and Jazz: Swing Music for Soldiers

The new technologies that so defined the character and course of World War II were crucial in the distribution and dissemination of communication, both strategic and recreational. Radio programming not only allowed soldiers hoping to tune into the sounds of home both the comfort and inspiration reviewed above as they completed their military service, it also broadcasted the beloved big bands of Count Basie, Glenn Miller, and Benny Goodman, transporting the music found in U.S. clubs into the camps of soldiers overseas.

Jazz music, much like classical, would inform a style of military performance along with providing entertainment for those on active duty. Mel Powell, a pianist and arranger for Benny Goodman in his teenage years prior to being drafted, served in the “U.S. Army during WWII and [was] an alumni of the Army Air Force Band directed by Glenn Miller.”¹¹⁶ Like Powell, a “number of notable jazz performers spent their military

¹¹⁴ Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 126.

¹¹⁵ Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 126.

¹¹⁶ Ricky O'Bannon, "Composers in Uniform," Baltimore Symphony Orchestra, last modified July 22, 2016, <https://www.bsomusic.org/stories/composers-in-uniform/>.

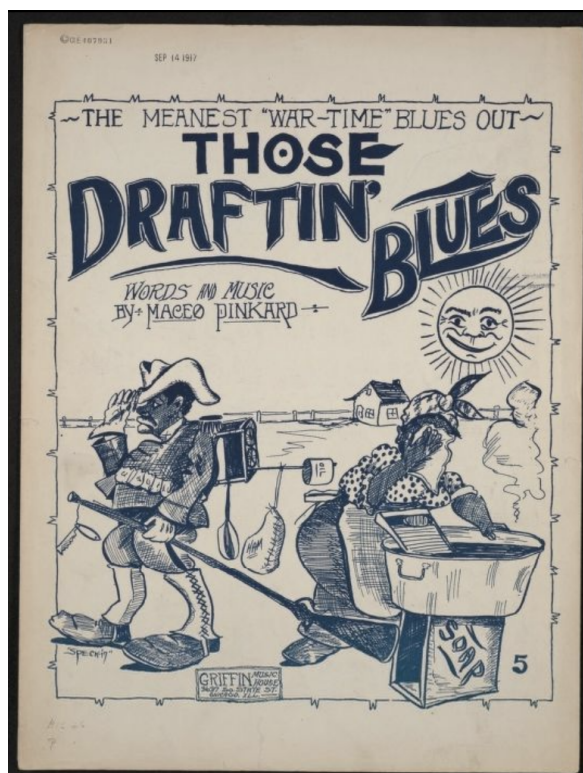
service years in that ensemble, which became a model for many existing military bands.”¹¹⁷ The convergence of swing with United States military operations would continue via the patriotic output by jazz musicians at home. Count Basie released “Draftin’ Blues,” endorsing the U.S. military draft. The lyrics to the immensely popular blues tune are as follows; “Now if you’ve got a loving man / You’d better love him while you can / Perhaps he’ll have to do his share / To help defend this dear old land / They’re draftin’ many men right now / To give Democracy a hand.”¹¹⁸

“THOSE DRAFTIN’ BLUES”
Words and Music by
MACEO PINKARD
“The King of Blues”
“The Blue Melody” etc.
Moderato (vary alone) Until ready.
VOICE (vary alone)
1 Now if you've got a lov - ing man, You'd bet - ter love him while you can. Per - haps he'll have to go to
2 You know it's go - na break your heart, To let your hon - or go a - way. The night will grow long to
war. You'll soon be look - ing old and gray. No mat - ter how you love your man, His
fight the Ka - ser and his got to an - swer to his call. I've told you in my lit - tle way. I'm sure you'll un - der - stand it all.

TRY THIS ON YOUR PIANO
PIANO OR TALKING MACHINE
AT YOUR DEALER - GREAT

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Griffin Music House
Chicago, Ill.



Figures 9 and 10 show the sheet music and cover illustration for Basie’s “Draftin’ Blues.”¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ O'Bannon, "Composers in Uniform," Baltimore Symphony Orchestra.

¹¹⁸ Bud Kliment, *Count Basie* (Los Angeles: Melrose Square Pub., 1994).

¹¹⁹ Maceo Pinkard, *Those Draftin' Blues* (Griffin Music House, 1917), <https://www.loc.gov/item/2014562592/>.

As the United States military employed jazz to boost domestic morale and foreign perception, across the Atlantic, Germany imposed a strict moratorium on any works that did not keep with the style of the works of Beethoven, Wagner, Handel, or Bruckner¹²⁰ (all four German.) The Nazi Regime disparaged works containing any hint of modernism or impressionism, while vilifying American swing and jazz under the racist pretence that it was lesser, labeling it *entartete musik*, or ‘degenerate music.’¹²¹

Despite the persistent and bigoted condemnation of American jazz, the influence of the contemporary style was undeniable. Fauser writes that “even in Nazi Germany there was an undercurrent, a subculture that embraced the jazz and big band sound coming from the west. By the end of the war, Goebbels commissioned a Nazi swing band called “Charlie and his Orchestra” in an effort to win the propaganda war.”¹²² While classical music and American folk songs held prominent listenerships in the early 20th century, by the conclusion of WWII, the genre of Jazz had captured the attention not only of the American public, but of the entire world. The syncopated styles of swing and jazz would continue to hold immense cultural weight throughout the second half of the 20th century, and would again provide the United States with a soft power source to pull from during its future international conflicts.

¹²⁰ Florida Center for Instructional Technology, College of Education, University of South Florida, "Nazi Approved Music," A Teacher's Guide to the Holocaust, <http://fcit.usf.edu/holocaust/arts/musreich.htm>.

¹²¹ Mike Dash, "Hitler's Very Own Hot Jazz Band," Smithsonian Magazine, last modified May 17, 2012, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/hitlers-very-own-hot-jazz-band-98745129/#:~:text=In%20public%20speeches%2C%20the%20Nazis,or%20at%20least%20tame%20it.>

¹²² Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 4.

Chapter 4

The Cold War: U.S. USSR Competition as a Propellent of Soft Power

Jazz Diplomacy

At the conclusion of World War II, the two combatants that emerged the strongest (the United States and the Soviet Union) entered a prolonged period of heightened tension, drawing other nations into their ideological battle. Originally defined by the United States' staunch opposition to communism and the USSR's deep suspicion of Western motives and intentions, the Cold War took on many faces and contexts. Despite the fact that the decades-long conflict was deemed 'cold' (a term originally coined by George Orwell)¹²³ due to the lack of direct military conflict between the two superpowers, violence and volatility continually arose through proxy wars (Korea, Vietnam, and Afghanistan for example) and repeated international interventions by both parties.¹²⁴

The Cold War saw nine US presidential administrations and featured a constantly changing trajectory. Yet there was one American policy constant: ensuring the success of capitalism over communism, and therefore degrading the Soviet Union's position in global affairs. Winning on a 'cold' and often intangible battlefield required unusual and experimental battlegrounds and tools. This conflict was deep rooted, ideological, cultural, and promised to establish the primary global superpower of the 20th century. It took humans into space, the deep seas, and ushered in the era of nuclear power (along with the concomitant new concept of mutually assured destruction.)

¹²³ Michael Kort, *The Columbia Guide to the Cold War* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2001).

¹²⁴ Daniel Immerwahr, "The Lethal Crescent Where the Cold War Was Hot," *The Nation*, last modified January 14, 2019, <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/cold-war-killing-fields-paul-chamberlin/>.

How was the United States to engage in battle without directly employing its strongest asset (the military) against the Soviet Union? One approach was to attract and entice populations around the world—even Soviet citizens—via the exportation of American national culture. As Chas. W. Freeman Jr. wrote in *Arts of Power; Statecraft and Diplomacy*, “national culture is the projection abroad—in the form of prestige—of moral, intellectual, scientific, artistic, economic, and cultural achievements at home. The foreign image of a state and its people is an intangible but powerful underpinning of their influence and other states and among other peoples.”¹²⁵ At the onset of the Cold War, there was no element of American culture more influential abroad than jazz music.

While a primary function of jazz diplomacy during the Cold War was to woo neutral or even pro-Soviet peoples via popular music native to the United States, it also served as a tool to blunt Russian and communist criticisms of American racism such as segregation, Jim Crow laws, and other discriminatory and violent policies, actions, and structures that negatively affected the lives of those who had invented the swing style.¹²⁶ “With anti-Communist fervor at its height in the mid-1950s, racial oppression in the United States sometimes mirrored the pervasive tyranny in the Soviet sphere, despite campaigns to buttress the image of American democracy.”¹²⁷ As proxy wars raged in Southeast Asia and Africa, rising anticolonialism movements only enhanced the U.S. government’s motivation in sending African American and Black jazz musicians abroad.¹²⁸ The hypocrisy implicit in this “soft power” projection was not lost on the musicians sent abroad by the State Department to improve America’s image.

¹²⁵ Charles W. Freeman, *Arts of Power: Statecraft and Diplomacy* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2010), 41.

¹²⁶ Lisa E. Davenport, *Jazz Diplomacy: Promoting American in the Cold War Era* (Jackson: Univ Pr Of Mississippi, 2013), 36.

¹²⁷ Davenport, *Jazz Diplomacy*, 36.

¹²⁸ Davenport, *Jazz Diplomacy*, 37.

Professor Jim Ketterer points to the fact that Louis Armstrong would almost never perform his tune “Black and Blue” in the United States, reserving it for concert abroad; most notably in Berlin, and in the British West African colony of The Gold Coast (present day Ghana), bringing visible emotion to the face of Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah.¹²⁹ Its lyrics poignantly emphasize the racism endured by Black musicians such as Armstrong in America; “I’m white - inside - but that don’t help my case / Cause I can’t hide what is in my face / How would it end? Ain’t got a friend / My only sin is in my skin / What did I do to be so black and blue.”¹³⁰

Adding to the hypocrisy of US jazz diplomacy programs, African American and Black musicians experienced a caliber of treatment (equal) overseas that was strictly unattainable in the United States, a rising superpower still struggling internally with longstanding regressive and oppressive attitudes toward its Black population, attitudes often reflected in its policies and legislation. This painful paradox was voiced by Josephine Baker, performer and civil rights activist, who as the only official female speaker at a 1963 Martin Luther King civil rights march, said; “I have walked into the palaces of kings and queens and into the houses of presidents. And much more. But I could not walk into a hotel in America and get a cup of coffee, and that made me mad. And when I get mad, you know that I open my big mouth. And then look out, ’cause when Josephine opens her mouth, they hear it all over the world...”¹³¹

Sensing the criticism and growing calls denouncing American duplicity as Soviet leaders and others drew attention to racism in the United States, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, acting on the advice of Harlem Congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr. decided it was imperative to

¹²⁹ *The Jazz Ambassadors*, directed by Hugo Berkeley, 2018, <https://www.pbs.org/wnet/jazz-ambassadors/video/jazz-ambassadors-full-film/>.

¹³⁰ “Black and Blue (1929),” Jazz Standards, <https://www.jazzstandards.com/compositions-4/blackandblue.htm>.

¹³¹ Srdjan Garcevic, “Politics, Serbia, the Belgradist: An African-American Star in 1920s Yugoslavia,” *The Nutshell Times*, last modified June 4, 2020, <https://thenutshelltimes.com/2020/06/04/an-african-american-star-in-1920s-yugoslavia/>.

employ jazz musicians as ‘cultural emissaries’¹³² in a bid to counteract Soviet and communist messaging.¹³³

It became clear that, for Eisenhower, the Cold War would be won on the level of ideas. Thereafter, in August of 1954 the U.S. Congress authorized the President’s Emergency Fund for Participation in International Affairs. The International Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act of 1956 granted this fund permanent status... The act of 1956 additionally called for the creation of an Advisory Committee on the Arts (ACA), imbued with the power to help choose the program’s participants and to evaluate its effectiveness... In 1954 the State Department also approved the creation of several panels to select American performing artists to tour abroad for the United States. These included panels for drama, dance, music, and, later, jazz. When the music panel first met in New York City in October 1954, American officials elucidated the CPP’s primary purpose: to ‘counteract Russian propaganda.’¹³⁴

Reflecting on the formal introduction of government-funded jazz diplomacy in conjunction with the burgeoning Civil Rights movement, Professor Ketterer recalled one of the United States Information Agency’s (USIA) most accomplished practitioners, Ambassador Robert Gosende, who said many times to Ketterer as his employer: “You have to show the good, the bad and the ugly or it's useless agitprop.”

Having been chosen for the first U.S. State Department sponsored jazz diplomacy tour, Dizzy Gillespie (a friend of Congressman Powell) and his band, which notably included African American, white and female musicians, “went overseas in the name of cultural diplomacy.”¹³⁵ The diversity of the band was certainly no accident; Gillespie himself noted that foreign audiences “could see it [racism] wasn’t as intense because we had white boys and I was the

¹³² Hugo Berkeley, "When America's Hottest Jazz Stars Were Sent to Cool Cold-war Tensions," *The Guardian*, May 3, 2018, [Page #], <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2018/may/03/jazz-ambassadors-america-cold-war-dizzy-gillespie>.

¹³³ *The Jazz*.

¹³⁴ Davenport, *Jazz Diplomacy*, 35.

¹³⁵ Karen Grigsby Bates, "Dizzy Gillespie's Cold War Jazz Diplomacy," October 16, 2006, in *Day to Day*, podcast, audio, <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=6276832#:~:text=Dizzy%20Gillespie's%20Cold%20War%20Jazz%20Diplomacy%20%3A%20NPR&text=Dizzy%20Gillespie's%20Cold%20War%20Jazz%20Diplomacy%20In%20the%20midst%20of,ambassador%20for%20the%20United%20States>.

leader of the band.”¹³⁶ While in Turkey, Dizzy’s band was interrupted by a dispute seemingly regarding the race and class of certain audience members. Declaring to the Associated Press that he refused to play for a segregated audience, the members whose identity were in question, described as “casually dressed laborers” were admitted through the gates of the Turkish-American Association as welcomed guests.¹³⁷

Instances such as these served to promote ideals of American democracy through genuine interaction and cultural exchange. While tours such as Gillespie’s were conceived as part of a propagandistic approach to winning an ideological battle, the direct interactions between members of Dizzy’s band and both the state officials and general public of other nations (such as Greece, Syria, and Pakistan) allowed for discourse in a most authentic setting.



Figure 11

“Dizzy Gillespie (first on right) and his orchestra – including Quincy Jones (third from right at back) – in Turkey, 1956.”¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Davenport, *Jazz Diplomacy*, 42.

¹³⁷ Davenport, *Jazz Diplomacy*, 42.

¹³⁸ Michel Martin, “The Jazz Ambassadors”: Cold War Diplomacy And Civil Rights In Conflict,” May 5, 2018, in *All Things Considered*, podcast, audio, <https://www.npr.org/2018/05/05/608802931/-the-jazz-ambassadors-cold-war-diplomacy-and-civil-rights-in-conflict>.

In May 1956, continuing with the Eastern European leg of their tour, Gillespie and his band made a stop in Belgrade, Yugoslavia.¹³⁹ While currently six sovereign nations, the Balkan territory of the Former Yugoslavia once held a unique position, both geographically and politically during the Cold War. Although it remained communist, in 1948 Yugoslavia split with the USSR and the Eastern Bloc, aiming to depart the ‘Soviet sphere,’ due to a fundamental difference in governing practices of Joseph Stalin and Josip Broz Tito.¹⁴⁰

Yugoslavia’s reception of Gillespie reflected its increasing cultural autonomy. The Yugoslav jazz federation served as the local sponsor for the group. Joseph C. Kolarek, PAO [public affairs officer] to Belgrade, described what he saw as Gillespie’s incomparable appeal during his performance: ‘Jazz lovers, diplomats, and gentle white haired ladies alike jostled elbows and squeezed sardine-like into Belgrade’s Kolarac Hall on May 9 for the only first-hand contact the Yugoslavia public had to date with American jazz...’ Kolarek concluded that Gillespie’s performance had become a ‘triumph for the West’—it extolled ‘self-expression’ as a defining facet of American culture.¹⁴¹

The nation’s ecstatic reception of this uniquely Western art form, one suggestive of wild individualistic expression, was an indication of its own independent impulses. Demonstrating an alternative party system and mode of governance at great geographic proximity to the Soviet Union, all the while remaining unaffiliated with both Eastern and Western Blocs, Yugoslavia provided Nikita Khrushchev and the Soviet leadership with an acute awareness of the impact of jazz in the battle to win hearts and minds. As the Cold War progressed, in 1961, the Yugoslavian state became the founding party of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM), an organization (still

¹³⁹ Ingrid T. Monson, *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call out to Jazz and Africa* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2010).

¹⁴⁰ "The Breakup of Yugoslavia, 1990–1992," Office of the Historian, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1989-1992/breakup-yugoslavia#:~:text=While%20ostensibly%20a%20communist%20state,states%20during%20the%20Cold%20War.>

¹⁴¹ Davenport, *Jazz Diplomacy*, 44.

active today with its headquarters in Jakarta) of nations wishing to remain independent and neutral in the battle between East and West.¹⁴²

This period of economic departure from Eastern Bloc norms set the stage for the U.S. sponsored jazz diplomacy tours that took place just a few years later. The character of swing music itself encouraged individuality and identity through its syncopation and modal ingenuity. The steady background of the almost constant quarter note pulse of the hi hat provided a strong rhythmic structure that allowed for complex and detailed melodic improvisation. Willis Conover, forty year broadcaster of *Voice of America*, noted in film *Jazz Ambassadors* that “some music scholars have said that jazz, which was born here in the United States, is the one new art form in the world. Others say jazz is more than an art. It's a way of life. Jazz guarantees each musician absolute freedom within a framework of cooperation.”¹⁴³

The rigid structural constraints of the Stalinist and successive communist regimes of the Soviet Union were directly challenged by the form and sound of jazz music. The emphasis on improvisation not only allowed for freedom of expression, but also redistributed the power of conventions (such as the written score, traditional band instrumentations, and the conductor) to the musician, denoting a sense of liberation in practice. University of Southern California public diplomacy professor Nicholas Cull noted, “in jazz, you are not afraid to improvise. In jazz, you have to listen... And those are both profoundly central aspects of the American political system. And you could not listen to this music without experiencing those principles and sharing in that freedom.”¹⁴⁴ Jazz, therefore, embodied ideals of post World War American democracy, creating

¹⁴² "Non-aligned Movement (NAM)," Nuclear Threat Initiative, last modified February 25, 2021, <https://www.nti.org/learn/treaties-and-regimes/non-aligned-movement-nam/>.

¹⁴³ Jennifer Robinson, "The Jazz Ambassadors," KPBS Public Media, last modified April 26, 2021, <https://www.kpbs.org/news/2021/jan/26/jazz-ambassadors/>.

¹⁴⁴ "Archive Remembering Dizzy Gillespie's Jazz Diplomacy," *VOA News*, October 31, 2009, <https://www.voanews.com/archive/remembering-dizzy-gillespies-jazz-diplomacy>.

an identity, both collective and individual, so strong that it could (and would) successfully undermine the global influence of the Soviet Union via means of cultural projection and pull.

Jazz diplomacy concert tours would continue throughout the next decade and a half, garnering massive praise in non-aligned nations, satellite states, and within the borders of the Soviet Union as well. Duke Ellington, Dave Brubeck, Ella Fitzgerald, and others carried out the tradition until its eventual conclusion during the 1970s.¹⁴⁵ In 1962, following the disastrous events of the Bay of Pigs, (and just months before the Cuban Missile Crisis) jazz clarinetist Benny Goodman and his orchestra took off on an official jazz tour to the Soviet Union. Goodman's performances in Moscow and Leningrad were enthusiastically received, "several newspapers noted that Goodman even appealed to Khrushchev, who, although mystified, voiced sincere appreciation for Goodman's music. *The New York Times* reported that 'Benny Goodman's Concert Pleases But Puzzles Khrushchev.'"¹⁴⁶

Duke Ellington departed for the Soviet Union in 1971 for what was later viewed as his most significant State Department tour of the Cold War. Alongside President Nixon's efforts to "establish detente at the height of the Cold War between the United States, the Soviet Union, and China," Ellington's orchestra played 22 sold out shows, providing a backdrop of international collaboration as President Nixon prepared for his historical visit to communist China.¹⁴⁷ While Jazz diplomacy served to demonstrate the primacy of U.S. cultural development and creativity, its purpose was not solely propagandistic. The authenticity of the music and live performances provided a true means of enhancing communication and easing tensions internationally.

¹⁴⁵ Mike Janssen, "Jazz Ambassadors revisits time when Cold War diplomacy got hip," *Current*, last modified November 4, 2014, <https://current.org/2014/11/jazz-ambassadors-revisits-time-when-cold-war-diplomacy-got-hip/>.

¹⁴⁶ Davenport, *Jazz Diplomacy*, 94.

¹⁴⁷ Harvey G. Cohen, "Visions of Freedom: Duke Ellington in the Soviet Union," *Popular Music* 30, no. 3 (September 21, 2011): 299, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261143011000237>.

The emphasis Professor Cull places on the importance of listening cannot be overstated. Within the language of jazz, skilled listening is indispensable. Modes of inter-instrument conversation such as trading fours—a structured method of quick improvisations, and call and response melodies rely heavily on the musician's ear and ability to produce sound in such a manner that interacts with the previous player's contribution requires an ear finely attuned to their colleagues. As we saw above with the examples of Khrushchev and Goodman, and Nixon and Ellington, swing often presented initial opportunities for open communication, and even in some outstanding cases, collaboration. The rewards of listening, so aptly communicated to their foreign audiences by the on stage performers, led to a greater receptiveness toward Western values as a whole.

The Vilification of the Saxophone: Jazz in Russian Media

The influence of jazz music could be felt throughout the duration of the Cold War, when the Iron Curtain fell in 1989,¹⁴⁸ and for decades thereafter. Time allowed jazz to morph into an acceptable artform in the Soviet Union. No longer brushed aside as a bourgeois and Western trend, jazz culture was incorporated into the Soviet, and later Russian, visual media mainstream. For instance, premiered in 1983, Karen Shakhnazarov's *мы из джаза*, or *We Are From Jazz*, follows a young 1920s era Russian dixie band struggling to build a career, yet intent on “bringing their beloved American-rooted music to the Soviet masses.”¹⁴⁹ The fractious nature of the band's counter-cultural determination to perform jazz music in the Soviet Union was the perfect portrayal of the true effect and reach of American culture in the East, even prior to the official start of the Cold War.

¹⁴⁸ Padraic Kenney, *A Carnival of Revolution: Central Europe 1989* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

¹⁴⁹ *Мы из джаза*, directed by Карен Шахназаров, 1984, https://play.google.com/store/movies/details/Nous_sommes_du_jazz?id=A2C2924E1E9C194CMV&hl=mn.



Figure 12

Figure 12 shows a poster of Shakhnazarov's Film, *We Are From Jazz*¹⁵⁰

Released 25 years later, *Stilyagi* (*стиляги*), a musical-comedy film about the rebellious subculture of affluent youth looking to shed the cultural confines and conformity of the mid 1950s Soviet Union, follows a group known for “donning brightly colored black-market clothing, adopting American nicknames and reveling in forbidden jazz.”¹⁵¹ The real-life *Stilyagi* were Russian youth, usually children of affluent and connected Soviet parents with disposable income. Captivated by American jazz and alternative cultures, these literal “style chasers,” or hipsters, spent their money on *Vogue* magazines and counterfeit jazz and rock records. Their

¹⁵⁰ *We Are From Jazz*, 1983, image, <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0085981/>.

¹⁵¹ “стиляги - Hipsters (2008) Plot,” *imdb*, <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1239426/plotsummary>.

(loudly) alternative dress and preference for American jazz sowed deep mistrust amongst their communist peers, yet they also served as walking mannequins, flaunting a liberty of individual expression usually found in the West. The movie highlights the “challenge to Soviet ideology” that American culture posed to the USSR. Before Mels, the main character, transitions into a saxophone-playing Stilyagi, his commissar (an official in the Soviet government) remarks to him that “every Stilyaga is a potential criminal... It’s only one step from the saxophone to the knife.”¹⁵²

The emphasis placed upon the saxophone in Stilyagi was no accident. Interestingly, the saxophone stood out to the Soviet Union specifically as a tool of American deception, as it was almost never featured in classical instrumentation, the predominant musical form in the Soviet Union at that time. Like the ‘American’ drumset, the saxophone presents as a western symbol, invented in France in the early 1840s by a Belgian named Antoine Sax, and eventually adopted into western music traditions such as jazz and classical rock.¹⁵³ As such, those in the Soviet Union who controlled cultural consumption were opposed to the saxophone, viewing it as a threat. (The saxophone curiously, was also banned by the Vatican in 1903, and Nazi Germany.)

The editor of the *Cambridge Companion to the Saxophone*, Richard Ingham remarks that “the saxophone was the embodiment of jazz, which in turn was the embodiment of bourgeois American imperialist culture, so that would be a good enough reason to ban the saxophone.”¹⁵⁴ During Stalin’s Soviet Union, orchestra and big band performers were required to forfeit the stage if they were saxophonists, while others received much harsher punishments such as arrest

¹⁵² *стиляги*, directed by Валерий Тодоровский, 2008, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cmHO-Whzv4E>.

¹⁵³ *The Evolution*.

Wally Horwood, *Adolphe Sax, 1814-1894: His Life and Legacy*, 3rd ed. (Baldock, Herts: Egon Publishers, 1992).

¹⁵⁴ Anna Kelsey-Sugg, "It was banned by the Nazis, Stalin and the Vatican. This is the surprising history of the saxophone," ABC News, last modified February 24, 2020, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2020-02-25/saxophone-history-of-musical-instrument-brutal-and-beautiful/11960922>.

or imprisonment.¹⁵⁵ Not only did the saxophone symbolize ‘the West,’ it also evoked a more specific enemy, that of an expressively extravagant, excessive USA. Stilyagi underscored the stratification of east and west, capitalist and communist cultural discourse, and the importance placed on the repression of individualism by the Soviet Union.

[The Stilyagi] listened to fairly old-fashioned jazz. Their musical idols were Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, and above all Glenn Miller, whose ‘Chattanooga Choo-Choo’ was considered something of an anthem. The most important thing is this: the stilyagi were the first effort at a youth subculture, the first group of offbeat ‘monkeys’ and ‘parakeets’ striving to separate themselves from the grey, respectable world of ordinary ‘grown up’ life. Stilyagi were not only after kicks; one of their main traits was a hunger for information. But the Cold War and the ‘Iron Curtain’ put an artificial and cruel limit on the exchange of cultural ideas, For a country as developed and urbanized as the USSR this was unnatural, if not plain outrageous.¹⁵⁶

The youth of the USSR’s profound hunger for knowledge and information from beyond the Iron Curtain maintained energy and interest in American culture, and subsequently The US’ relevance in the Eastern Bloc.



¹⁵⁵ Kelsey-Sugg, "It was banned," ABC News.

¹⁵⁶ Artemy Troitsky, *Back in the USSR: The True Story of Rock in Russia* (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1988), 15.



Figures 13 and 14 - the first shows actual Stilyagi, the second is a shot from the film.¹⁵⁷

American Rock n Roll

In conjunction with the persistence of the Cold War, American sound and culture continued to evolve at a rapid pace. The United States, seeking to increase popular support in the East, orchestrated an infiltration of the Soviet Union's national musical landscape (one that was only starting to accept jazz music) with American rock and roll. Platforms such as *Radio Free Europe* and *Voice of America* introduced the genre to the USSR, and amassed a particular following amongst Russian youth.¹⁵⁸ Rock had a pulse, it was energizing, it was relatable, and it encouraged rebellion. In that sense, it served the goals of the United States as it reached out to populations abroad.

¹⁵⁷ *Stilyagi Capture*, 2008, image, <https://www.npr.org/2012/02/23/147295117/in-soviet-russia-communism-cant-stop-the-beat>. "Stilyagi (Soviet subculture of the 50-60s - young fans of American fashion). Kuibyshev (now Samara), 1962.," Twitter, October 12, 2020, https://twitter.com/kgb_files/status/1315612876812546050?lang=en.
¹⁵⁸ *Free to Rock: How Rock and Roll Helped End the Cold War*, directed by Jim Brown, 2017, <https://arts.stanford.edu/event/free-to-rock-how-rock-and-roll-helped-end-the-cold-war/>.

Winning hearts and minds is key to any diplomatic strategy. Dialogue and discourse may win minds, but on the ideological battleground, the United States needed help with winning hearts. Rock is distinguished by a percussive encouragement of movement. The rebellious nature of the music was tangible, encouraging youthful resistance to communist control of cultural consumption. Rock music, like jazz, pioneered an enhanced American musical genre, in placing great emphasis on not only auditory, but corporeal perception. Body to body communication, such as on a battlefield, engages some of the deepest forces motivating human life. In the Soviet Union, rock music served as a method of “humanizing the west.” What is so very human about rock, jazz, or in today’s context, rap, is the highly rhythmic and percussive qualities of each genre. They rely on a pulse, much like our own bodies. This form of expression goes beyond verbal limitations, it is primal in its extra-linguistic capabilities. John Mowitt, author of *Percussion: Drumming, Beating, Striking* draws similar connections, writing, “Equally important, however, is that the drum is a richly catachrestic instrument...possessing a body, a skin, a head, and a voice...It is as though the drum cannot be represented without figuring it through the body; in this sense the drum links the musicological with the psychoanalytical.”¹⁵⁹

Further resembling jazz, rock n roll functioned as dance music, a way for subgroups to expand their own expressive cultures and connect. Its faster tempos and energetic basslines inspired new styles of movement such as the Jive and the Jitterbug, therefore generating more cultural capital and new modes of physical communication. Rock and roll quickly came to embody the culture and identity of youth rebellion against the establishment, whether that establishment be free market or communist.

Along with the original sound of Rock, derived from a uniquely American blend of Black and traditional rural music, came new clothing styles, thus new marketing opportunities for U.S.

¹⁵⁹ John Mowitt, *Percussion: Drumming, Beating, Striking* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 6.

record and clothing labels to employ domestically and abroad.¹⁶⁰ As seen in the capture from *Stilyagi*, fashion was integral to the development of the multifaceted exportation of American culture. The visual markers that accompanied the rebellious sound of the mid to late 20th century could be considered almost as important as the music itself, as it created readily available optic presentation easily understood to indicate an alternative belief or approach to life.

American-style blue jeans became a commodity as sought after in the Soviet Union as jazz records during the 40s and 50s.¹⁶¹

Of course, the United States was not alone in the export of cultural power. The Soviet Union employed various methods and media to enhance their aesthetic pull, reciprocally sending Russian musicians to the United States. When Soviet pianist and composer Dmitri Shostakovich toured the U.S. in March of 1949 for instance, he gained enough popularity and influence in the West to become the target of CIA sponsored propaganda, portraying him as a “Soviet stooge shackled by Socialist Realism.”¹⁶² Moreover, the Beatles song “Back In the USSR,” one that poked fun at the American Beach Boys’ musical style, revealed the influence of communism and in Western pop culture, with lyrics such as: “Well the Ukraine girls really knock me out / They leave the West behind / And Moscow girls make me sing and shout / That Georgia's always on my mind / Aw come on!”¹⁶³ The United States and Soviet governments volleyed cultural offensives via print format as well. Published by the USIA, America engaged with the Soviet Union in a trade of lifestyle magazines, each nation looking to stoke interest amongst ordinary citizens residing within its competitor’s borders.

¹⁶⁰ Ed Ward, *The History of Rock and Roll: 1920-1963* (New York: Flatiron Books, 2017).

¹⁶¹ Dat’o Turašvili, *Jinsebis T’aoba: Kinoromani* (T’bilisi: Bakur Sulakauris gamomc’emloba, 2008).

¹⁶² "Secret Music Skirmishes of the Cold War: The Shostakovich Case," Washington National Cathedral, <https://cathedral.org/event/secret-music-skirmishes-cold-war-shostakovich-case/>.

¹⁶³ "Back In The U.S.S.R.," AZ Lyrics, <https://www.azlyrics.com/lyrics/beatles/backintheussr.html>.

Soviet Life and Amerika

Despite its immense significance, jazz and rock were not the only mediums used to distribute Cold War propaganda and generate soft power pull. An example of non-sonic use of national culture during the Cold War was the publication of an American Magazine in The Soviet Union, called *Amerika* (*Америка*).

After briefly suspending American publications in the Soviet Union during the 1940s, the United States and the Soviet Union came to an agreement brokered by Ambassador Averill Harriman and Foreign Minister Molotov in October 1946 that each nation could reciprocally display a cultural magazine.¹⁶⁴ Despite an outlined supply restriction of 30,000 magazines per new copy issued, these journals, *Soviet Life*—bound for the States, and *Америка*—for the USSR, had broad cultural impact abroad and served to shape perception of the United States in the Soviet Union and their satellite states.¹⁶⁵ In fact, due to its success, a Polish-language edition, *Ameryka*, was created and disseminated to the west of the USSR.¹⁶⁶ The magazine was widely popular in the Soviet Union, so much so that its income transformed it into a self-supporting endeavor of the State Department, (something that was and is rather difficult to come by.) In his piece “Russian "Amerika," a Magazine about the U.S. for Soviet Citizens,” author Creighton Peet asserts that “there has been evidence many times...from observers in the field, that each copy [of *Америка*] is seen by at least twenty persons, bring the readership of a single issue up to around 1,000,000.”¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ Creighton Peet, "Russian 'Amerika,' a Magazine about U. S. for Soviet Citizens," *College Art Journal* 11, no. 1 (1951): <https://doi.org/10.2307/772791>.

¹⁶⁵ "Soviet Life," Marxists Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/history/ussr/culture/soviet-life/index.htm>.

¹⁶⁶ "Air Force Brigadier General Eugene A. Stalzer Dies at 70," *The Washington Post*, [Page #], <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1990/06/15/air-force-brigadier-general-eugene-a-stalzer-dies-at-70/60dd1871-2308-49db-bf38-9220094c0f5a/>.

¹⁶⁷ Peet, "Russian 'Amerika.'"

While generally well received, the magazine did occasionally spark tensions and malaise within the USSR. An issue of *Америка* that included information regarding standard living wages and the rising population of the middle class—a economic structural concept that Russian officials felt inherently threatened the relevance of communism—was met with stark backlash in the national newspaper *Правда* (*Pravda*-direct translation being ‘truth.’)¹⁶⁸ Chas Freeman wrote that “Cultural intercourse with a foreign people is a path to political influence over them. It is also a catalyst for increased economic penetration of their society.”¹⁶⁹ The literary scuffle outlined above shows a path of dominance, and as Freeman put it, economic penetration, abroad employed by the United States during a war that lacked the “hard” methods typically used at the forefront of international animosity and conflict.

¹⁶⁸ Peet, "Russian 'Amerika.'"

¹⁶⁹ Freeman, *Arts of Power*, 53.

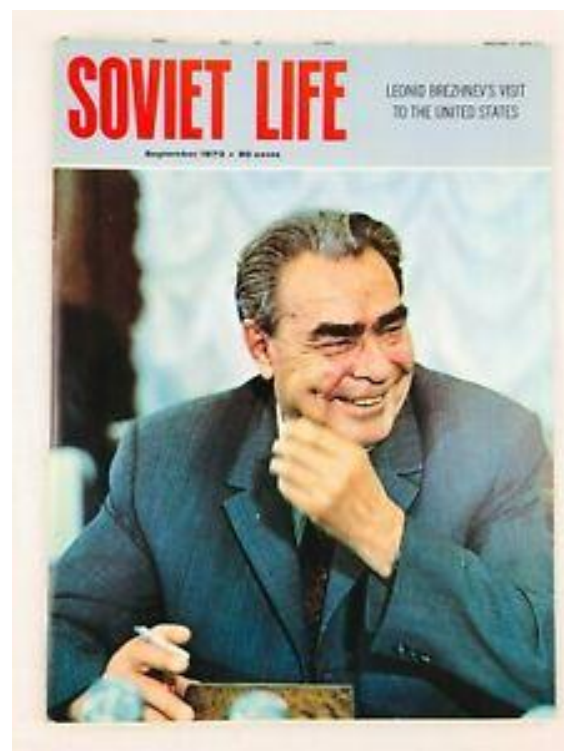
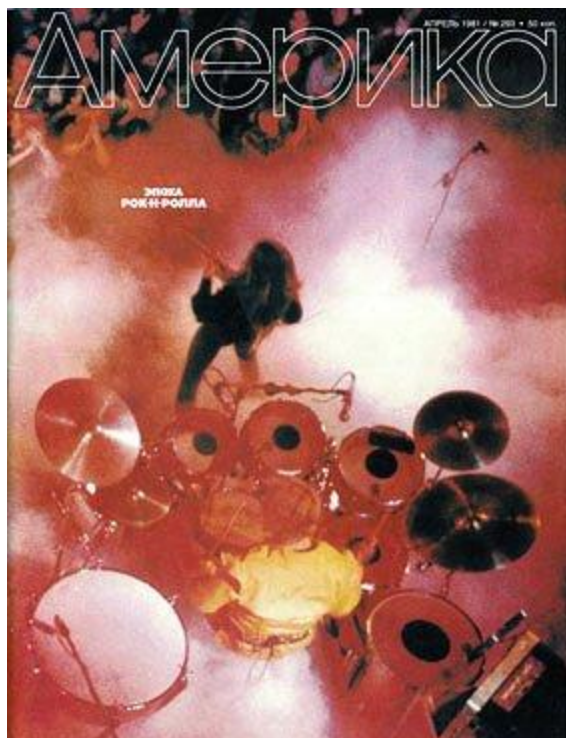


Figure 15 (left) shows a cover of a 1981 *Америка* Cover, 16 (right) shows a 19-- *Soviet Life* Cover.¹⁷⁰

National culture, portrayed in the forms of jazz, rock n roll, classical, folk, or propagandist publication, was vital to the ideological battle that so defined the Cold War tactics of both the Soviet Union and the United States. Without the syncopation of swing and the percussive energy of rock n roll, the (often youth-led) counter culture movements in the Soviet Union that propelled the American upperhand in the battle for hearts and minds would not have existed. Operating within the framework of international ideological combat, the U.S. government's use of soft power via innovative deployment of live musicians by the U.S. State Department, and export of rock music to the Soviet Union, contributed to the success of the

¹⁷⁰ *Rock music - yesterday and today*, 1981, image, <https://www.beatles.ru/books/paper.asp?id=2393>.
Vintage Soviet Life Magazine September 1973 USSR News - Leonid Brezhnev, photograph, <https://www.ebay.com/itm/363140327183?mkevt=1&mkcid=1&mkrid=711-53200-19255-0&campid=5338722076&toolid=10001>.

American bid to become the sole global superpower. A program that had its genesis as a form of disguise and apology for racism became, over time, a potent weapon for the projection of American soft power.

Chapter 5

Case Studies

At the conclusion of the Cold War and as the new millenia was ushered in, a new world order had been established, and along with it, revised norms of international interaction. Cultural soft power had seen extensive use by both nations in the East and West throughout each conflict of the 20th century, and would be adopted by many states by the conclusion of the century and onwards. The attraction and persuasion of soft power not only existed in propogandistic means, it also encouraged genuine interaction and thus eased tensions between states.

France, for instance, exemplifies long-standing expertise in the use of soft power.¹⁷¹ The nation is home to a myriad of global institutions, and its national language has remained one of international diplomacy, and the official mode of communication in organizations such as the United Nations, Amnesty International, and Interpol, to name a few.¹⁷² The French Revolution spread concepts of democratic representation within a republic, and for centuries the immense cultural capital of Paris has attracted visitors from far and wide, generating significant tourist revenue.¹⁷³ Below are three instances of nations successfully exploiting their soft power, and specifically musical, resources.

¹⁷¹ Portland, "Overall 2019 Ranking," The Soft Power 30, <https://softpower30.com/>.

¹⁷² Florian Coulmas, *An Introduction to Multilingualism: Language in a Changing World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 121.

¹⁷³ Madeleine Planeix-crocker, "Paris from 1945 to today : the portrait of a cultural capital. Initial reflections for a further study," Politiques de la Culture, last modified November 28, 2016, <https://chmcc.hypotheses.org/2450>.

Brazil

Constituting the first initial in the regional power BRICS acronym (the five emerging economies, the four others being Russia, India, China, and South Africa) Brazil is often thought of as possessing a wealth of soft power resources.¹⁷⁴ During the 2000s and early 2010s under the leadership of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2011) Brazilian culture was made a centerpiece in their foreign policy strategy. In accordance with the prioritization of cultural soft power, President Lula tapped Gilberto Gil, well known Brazilian musician and political activist, as the new Minister of Culture.¹⁷⁵

At the helm of Latin America's leftist political trends of the beginning of the 20th century, under Lula da Silva, Brazil "incentiviz[ed] cultural production through tax breaks for big companies, spawning an explosion in new Brazilian art, movies and music, Gil's ministry became key to a progressive nation-building project, and Brazil's own soft power."¹⁷⁶ Brazil's soft power encapsulates a wide range of highly popular cultural productions, including soap operas, football, Carnival, cinema, and Bossa Nova music (a jazz syncopation infused samba style, native of 1950s and 60s Rio de Janeiro.)¹⁷⁷

Carnival, a national parade (the largest of its kind) takes place in coastal cities of Brazil throughout a period of several days, and includes intense celebrations before the Lent fasting period begins. Its food, drinks, costumes, music, and dance draw tourists from all over the world,

¹⁷⁴ "What is BRICS?," BRICS Brazil 2019, <http://brics2019.itamaraty.gov.br/en/about-brics/what-is-brics>.

¹⁷⁵ Larry Rohter, "A Government Gig For Brazilian Pop Star; Gilberto Gil Becomes Culture Minister, But Not Everyone Sings His Praises," *The New York Times*, December 31, 2002, <https://www.nytimes.com/2002/12/31/arts/government-gig-for-brazilian-pop-star-gilberto-gil-becomes-culture-minister-but.html>.

¹⁷⁶ David Hunt, "Art, music and resistance in Brazil," *ArtReview*, last modified September 5, 2019, <https://artreview.com/ar-september-2019-feature-bossa-nova/>.

¹⁷⁷ "The Tumultuous Story of Brazil's Soft Power," *USC Center on Public Diplomacy*, April 12, 2018, <https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/story/tumultuous-story-brazils-soft-power>.

Albrecht Moreno, "Bossa Nova::Novo Brasil the Significance of Bossa Nova as a Brazilian Popular Music," *Latin American Research Review* 17, no. 2 (1982): <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2503147>.

and in years recent Carnival has generated up to 9.35 billion reais (approximately \$1.65 billion dollars) in tourism revenue. The unique look and sound of Carnival, with its vast diversity of traditions makes it a powerful cultural export. *Fair Observer* notes that “footage of its parades is sold to hundreds of TV channels worldwide,” maintaining a cohesive cultural narrative of Brazilian soft power and attraction, while generating a welcoming, affable, and pluralist national image.

Soap operas and telenovelas reached levels of global distribution that at times dwarfed those of American films and other cultural giants. Brazilian newspaper *Folha de S. Paulo* notes that “in 2012, national productions were shown in 92 countries, in 33 languages... ‘Escrava Isaura’ was seen by 450 million people, thanks to the success in China... and there are journalistic reports that the first version of the ‘Sinhá Moça’ interrupted the war conflicts in Bosnia, Croatia and Nicaragua.”¹⁷⁸ Such rates of global artistic dissemination are crucial to building the charismatic pull of a nation.

Samba and Bossa Nova are some of the most recognizable exports of Brazilian soft power. During the late 1950s and 1960s, Bossa Nova achieved immense popularity both globally and in the United States. The publisher of Ruy Castro’s *Bossa Nova: The Story of the Brazilian Music That Seduced the World*, noted in 2012 that “The Girl from Ipanema” is “the fifth most frequently played song in the world.”¹⁷⁹ “Black Orpheus,” the 1959 film largely responsible for popularizing the sound of Bossa Nova outside of Brazil, “was seen as a sign of Brazil’s rising globalization, even as the film that made Brazilian cinema internationally known as ‘one of the

¹⁷⁸ Donny Correia, "'Soft power' da cultura também é arma de países colonizados, diz autor" [Culture 'soft power' is also a weapon of colonized countries, says author], *Folha de S. Paulo*, May 20, 2018, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/ilustrissima/2018/05/soft-power-da-cultura-tambem-e-arma-de-paises-colonizados-diz-autor.shtml>.

¹⁷⁹ Ruy Castro, *Bossa Nova: The Story of the Brazilian Music That Seduced the World* (Chicago, IL: Cappella, 2000).

strongest creative forces in the medium of cinematic arts”¹⁸⁰ As the Black Orpheus gained international popularity, a song from its soundtrack, “Manhã de Carnaval” acquired new importance as it became a U.S. jazz standard. American Historian Thomas E. Skidmore recounts a U.S. State Department-sponsored trip on which guitarist Charlie Byrd discovered a record of Brazilian musician João Gilberto that he made sure to return with. “That record was an inspiration for a new collaboration between Byrd and saxophonist Stan Getz, and the beginning of a working relationship between these American performers and famous Brazilian bossa nova musicians like Jobim, Gilberto, and Luiz Bonfá.”¹⁸¹ The most culturally recognizable and important items of 20th century Brazilian cultural export were these bossa rhythms. Musicologist Arthur Nestrovski explains that Bossa Nova is “a product of a brief period of democracy, between the early 1950s and the mid-60s, in between two spells of military dictatorship... the highest flowering of Brazilian culture.”¹⁸²

Latin American music as a whole, the category to which these genres belong, holds immense cultural capital in the United States and globally (ie. Shakira, Ricki Martin). Brazilian MC Fioti’s “Bum Bum Tam Tam,” a song with an extensive feature list, including J Balvin and American rapper Future, was the first Brazilian song to hit one billion views on YouTube.¹⁸³ MC Fioti’s hit belongs to the style of Reggaeton, a genre born out of Jamaican dance hall, Latin Merengue, Trinidadian Soca, and Puerto Rican music tradition.¹⁸⁴ Its sound is defined by heavy

¹⁸⁰ “Black Orpheus An International View of an 'Authentic' Brazil,” Brown University, <https://library.brown.edu/create/fivecenturiesofchange/chapters/chapter-6/black-orpheus/#:~:text=In%20some%20circles%2C%20Black%20Orpheus,in%20the%20medium%20of%20cinematic>.

¹⁸¹ “Bossa Nova An Interlude of Optimism,” Brown University, <https://library.brown.edu/create/fivecenturiesofchange/chapters/chapter-6/bossa-nov/>.

¹⁸² John Lewis, “Why Bossa Nova Is 'the Highest Flowering of Brazilian Culture,’” *The Guardian*, October 1, 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2013/oct/01/bossa-nova-highest-culture-brazil#:~:text=%22Bossa%20nova%20is%20a%20sacred,or%20on%20Strictly%20Come%20Dancing>.

¹⁸³ Frantjesco Ballerini, “Latin Music Is Seducing the World All Over Again,” *Fair Observer*, July 29, 2020, <https://www.fairobserver.com/culture/frantjesco-ballerini-latin-music-bossa-nova-funk-reggaeton-streaming-billboard-charts-news-18819/>.

¹⁸⁴ Simon & Schuster, “Reggaeton – Pimsleur's Guide to Latin Music,” Pimsleur, <https://blog.pimsleur.com/2018/12/06/pimsleurs-guide-to-latin-music-reggaeton/#origins>.

percussiveness (staccato and energetic rhythms) and typically features Spanish or Portuguese lyrics. Shabba Ranks' 90s hit "Dem Bow," introduced the 'boom-ch-boom-chick' rhythm (notated below) that would inspire the modern reggaeton backbeat.¹⁸⁵ Luis Fonsi and Daddy Yankee's 2017 reggaeton anthem "Despacito," which garnered immense popularity after its remix featuring North American musical artist Justin Bieber, essentially put the genre on the global map. It broke several Guinness world records, including "Most streamed track worldwide - 4.6 billion times worldwide as of 19 July 2017."¹⁸⁶ Both original song titles and their remixes with international features are excellent examples of the kind of musical dialogue that enhances national cultural identity. Through the enhanced connectivity of the internet, we see instances such as the ones described above of soft power developed by those who most often hold the most authentic forms of credibility: citizens.

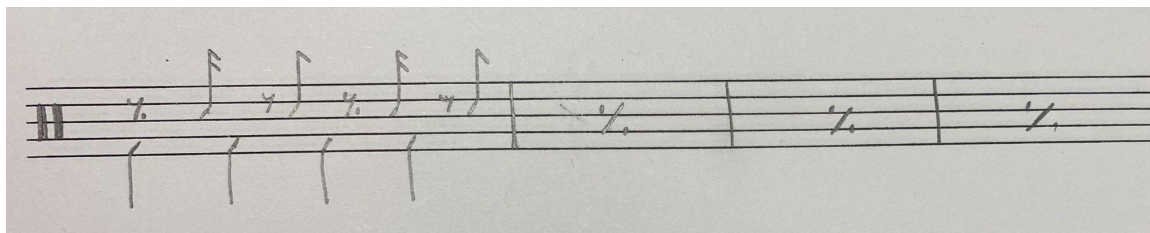


Figure 17

Figure 17 is my own musical notation of the reggaeton rhythm discussed above.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁵ Suzy Exposito and Elias Leight, "Dembow Took Over the Dominican Republic. Can It Take Over the World?," *Rolling Stone*, November 7, 2019,

<https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-latin/the-rise-of-dembow-el-alfa-lirico-en-la-casa-907678/>.

¹⁸⁶ Elizabeth Montoya, "Luis Fonsi Receives Seven Guinness World Records Titles for Global Chart-topper Despacito," Guinness World Records, last modified October 17, 2018,

<https://www.guinnessworldrecords.com/news/2018/10/luis-fonsi-receives-seven-guinness-world-records-titles-for-global-chart-topper-d-544436>.

¹⁸⁷ Juliana Maitenaz, *Photograph of Dem Bow Reggaeton Rhythm*, April 12, 2020, photograph.

The intense popularity of Brazil's cultural output presents a unique case study for the conditions of soft power. Concurrent with their rise in regional and global influence, the country has experienced myriad political corruption scandals and impeachments, the most recent of which have heavily damaged the image and soft power projection capability of the nation.¹⁸⁸ As previously reviewed in Chapter 3, Joe Nye notes that in order for soft power to carry palpable weight, the state in question must be politically credible and live up to rhetoric that it espouses via its cultural dissemination. This trend is reflected in Brazil's fall on the Soft Power 30 classification scale, (an index developed in 2015 by media company Portland with a forward written by Nye himself) by a drop in their ranking from 23 in 2015 to 29, second to last, in 2018.¹⁸⁹

President Jair Bolsonaro openly displays intolerance antithetical to Brazil's soft power icons through homophobic tweets, "Brazil can't be a country of the gay world, of gay tourism. We have families," alongside racist, and misogynistic policies. Brazilian cultural characteristics such as Carnival, then, lose their potency as soft power tools. "Brazil's Ministry of Citizenship not only announced an abrupt reduction of investment in cultural events and products like theater plays, musicals, films and TV shows, but also started an ideological campaign against all cultural manifestations that undermine 'traditional family values.'"¹⁹⁰ While detrimental political administrations can inflict immense damage to the effectiveness of international aesthetic export, the potential harm need not develop into a national mainstay. If the nation can weather the consequences of a far-right presidency, Brazil is likely to once again wield vast cultural soft power.

¹⁸⁸ Portland, "Overall 2019," The Soft Power 30.

¹⁸⁹ Portland, "Overall Ranking 2015, Overall Ranking 2018," The Soft Power 30, https://softpower30.com/?country_years=2015%2C2018.

¹⁹⁰ Frantjesco Ballerini, "Is Brazil's Soft Power Under Threat?," *Fair Observer*, February 21, 2020, https://www.fairobserver.com/region/latin_america/brazil-football-carnival-culture-soft-power-jair-bolsonaro-news-15521/.

China

In recent decades, China has poured massive efforts and resources into its soft power diplomacy. A *Council on Foreign Relations* (CFR) backgrounder titled “China’s Big Bet on Soft Power” notes that Chinese government officials and others emphasized the importance and weight of their national culture during the 1990s, but like Joe Nye, author Eleanor Albert points to Former President Hu Jintao’s 2007 statement highlighting the need for soft power prowess as the first “explicit reference” and outward-facing recognition of the dynamic tool.¹⁹¹ In his 2007 speech at the 17th National Congress, Hu Jintao is quoted as saying, “The great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation will definitely be accompanied by the thriving of Chinese culture... We must enhance culture as part of the soft power of our country... and strengthen international cultural exchanges to enhance the influence of Chinese culture worldwide.” That is exactly what China proceeded to do.

Through projects such as the global construction of Confucius Institutes and the creation of the Belt and Road Initiative (一帶一路) China has amplified their voice on the international stage. Sometimes called the New Silk Road, The Belt and Road Initiative, or BRI (a combination of the Silk Road Economic Belt and the Maritime Silk Road) promotes soft power through economic and infrastructural development, extending a vast network of ventures such as regional construction of ports, skyscrapers, pipelines, and railroads married with aid programs and investments (estimated dollar amount in the trillions) within 70 different countries.¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ Eleanor Albert, "China's Big Bet on Soft Power," *Foreign Affairs*, February 9, 2018, <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/chinas-big-bet-soft-power>.

¹⁹² Andrew Chatzky and James McBride, "China's Massive Belt and Road Initiative," *Foreign Affairs*, January 28, 2020, <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/chinas-massive-belt-and-road-initiative>. Jonathan E. Hillman, "How Big Is China's Belt and Road?," *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, April 3, 2018, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/how-big-chinas-belt-and-road>.

The Belt and Road Initiative provides an incredibly ambitious and unmistakable instance of Chinese expansion, one the United States geographically—and arguably financially, cannot quite replicate, (thus leading the U.S. to respond by increasing foreign investment in Asian territories.) Aside from the BRI, other Chinese soft power initiatives include the aforementioned Confucius Institutes (CIs), partnerships between Chinese and foreign schools and educational centers. The Institutes function as “Chinese government-funded outposts that offer Chinese language and culture classes.”¹⁹³

While they have seen immense success in sheer growth (with 530 Institutes currently active on six continents) they have also met with copious criticism, which raises concerns related to Chinese propaganda, academic censorship and spying on Chinese students within host countries. The 2018 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) barred American Universities from funding Confucius Institutes, while the 2019 NDAA forced schools to choose between funding for CIs or for all alternative language program funding.¹⁹⁴ The Confucius Institutes still powerfully broadcast Chinese influence abroad, as evidenced by the strength of the corresponding resistance in the United States and elsewhere.

Chinese soft power targets its objectives through an extensive network of subtler initiatives. A music-centric example close to home would be Bard Conservatory of Music’s participation in a collaboration with the Central Conservatory of Music in Beijing, the US-China Music Institute, one that “promotes the study, performance, and appreciation of music from contemporary China, and supports musical exchange between the United States and

¹⁹³ Racquel Legerwood, "As US Universities Close Confucius Institutes, What's Next?," *Human Rights Watch*, January 27, 2020, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/01/27/us-universities-close-confucius-institutes-whats-next#>.

¹⁹⁴ Jamie P. Horsley, "It's time for a new policy on Confucius institutes," *The Brookings Institution*, April 1, 2021, [Page #], <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/its-time-for-a-new-policy-on-confucius-institutes/>.

China...creating several groundbreaking projects, including the first degree-granting program in Chinese instrument performance in a U.S. conservatory.”¹⁹⁵

Other means of Chinese soft power projection include promotion of technological advancements via culturally relevant social media platforms such as WeChat (WeiXin, 微信) or, perhaps even more pertinently, TikTok. Developed by ByteDance, the multinational technology company responsible for the advanced algorithm that is responsible for the app’s success, TikTok is a social media platform that allows users to upload short video content (often in the form of dancing or singing along to music) while also dueting, and thus promoting, other pre-created user content.¹⁹⁶ The TikTok application in fact, much like the Confucius Institutes, inspired much suspicion on the part of the U.S. government under the former Trump administration. One might recall the highly publicized quarantine era battle former President Trump and associates engaged in with the Chinese social media platform, citing its user privacy settings, going as far as to declare a national emergency.¹⁹⁷ Again, as reviewed above, stark reactions to such initiatives, while in some instances warranted, demonstrate the effect of Chinese soft power influence.

The United Kingdom and Lebanon

In his work *The Naked Diplomat*, English Ambassador Tom Fletcher outlines the immersive campaign arranged by the English government to, in his own words, “win the argument for democracy, politics and coexistence,” in Lebanon.¹⁹⁸ England, while having

¹⁹⁵ "US-China Music Institute," Bard Conservatory, <https://www.bard.edu/conservatory/uschinamusic/>.

¹⁹⁶ John D. McKinnon and Alex Leary, "TikTok Sale to Oracle, Walmart Is Shelved as Biden Reviews Security," *The Wall Street Journal*, February 10, 2021, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/tiktok-sale-to-oracle-walmart-is-shelved-as-biden-reviews-security-11612958401>.

¹⁹⁷ Exec. Order No. 13942 Fed. Reg. (Aug. 6, 2020). <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2020/08/11/2020-17699/addressing-the-threat-posed-by-tiktok-and-taking-additional-steps-to-address-the-national-emergency>.

¹⁹⁸ Tom Fletcher, *The Naked Diplomat: Understanding Power and Politics in the Digital Age* (London: William Collins, 2017), 43.

experienced a massive decline of international reach and influence throughout the last century, still possesses vast resources of soft power. From the Royal Family to the Beatles, English culture maintains steady global engagement and viewership in several arenas.¹⁹⁹

Serving as the British ambassador to Lebanon, Fletcher was charged with arranging cultural events such as Britweek, what he referred to as their most ambitious soft power project, an event in which, “Over six days, with over sixty events, hundreds of thousands of participants and a £1 million budget – all raised from sponsors – we showcased a Britain that was modern, outward-looking and attractive.”²⁰⁰ Musical aspects of Britweek included “a concert of British music ‘from Elgar to Adele’ hosted by the Lebanese prime minister,” and a presentation of British music on Radio 1 by Fletcher himself.²⁰¹ The Lebanese response to the event was overwhelmingly positive, garnering praise and favorable media coverage. An immediate response included a 43% increase in user visitation and traction on their British embassy affiliated website.²⁰²

In September of 2019, in the wake of Brexit, a UK-Lebanese trade deal was forged, ensuring continued economic alliance between the nations despite Britain’s departure from the European Union. The agreement details, “among other trade benefits, tariff-free trade of industrial products together with liberalisation of trade in agricultural, agri-food and fisheries products... these preferential terms deliver significant savings, helping to support British jobs and also providing a positive boost for Lebanon's economy.”²⁰³ In another instance of friendship

¹⁹⁹ "20 facts about London's culture," Greater London Authority, <https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/arts-and-culture/vision-and-strategy/20-facts-about-london%E2%80%99s-culture>.

²⁰⁰ Fletcher, *The Naked*, 236.

²⁰¹ Fletcher, *The Naked*, 237.

²⁰² Fletcher, *The Naked*, 237.

²⁰³ "Uk and Lebanon Sign Trade Continuity Agreement: It Demonstrates Strength of Lebanese Uk Partnership," National News Agency, last modified September 19, 2019, <http://nna-leb.gov.lb/en/show-news/107760/nna-leb.gov.lb/en>.

between the nations, the United Kingdom in early 2021, continuing their trend of military collaboration with the state, sent the Lebanese Armed Forces 100 armored Land Rovers to be used as patrol vehicles to aid their mission of increased border security.²⁰⁴

Soft power prowess does not succeed alone; the instances described above reflect a multifaceted approach to political and economic relations. However, soft power allows, as Fletcher points out, a nation to curate its image and story in hopes of attracting fruitful partnerships. Only carrying the big stick, in Rooseveltian terms, weakens the prospect of authentic long term alliances, as the power dynamic remains unbalanced and stagnant.²⁰⁵

The new post 20th century and Cold War millennium has brought innumerable changes to the ways in which states interact with and conceive of sovereignty. As means of exercising one's will over other entities augment and expand, soft power remains essential as a method of achieving goals without engaging in traditional physical conflict. The beginning of the 21st century insured the presence of modern technology in methods of combining and exercising power, thus bringing to the international landscape realities such as hybrid warfare, and the advent of smart power.

²⁰⁴ Agnes Helou, "Lebanese military to receive 100 armored vehicles from UK to secure borders," Defense News, last modified January 2021, <https://www.defensenews.com/land/2021/01/19/lebanese-military-to-receive-100-armored-vehicles-from-uk-to-secure-borders/>.

²⁰⁵ Fletcher, *The Naked*, 9.

Chapter 6

Modern Application

Emergence of Smart Power

Essentially an amalgamation of both hard and soft power, the first use of the term smart power can be traced back to Joe Nye, as well as a 2004 article in *Foreign Affairs* magazine, penned by Suzanne Nossel, former Deputy to the Ambassador for UN Management and Reform.²⁰⁶ In discussing the future of liberal internationalism under the Bush administration, Nossel wrote that progressive policy makers must focus “on the smart use of power to promote U.S. interests through a stable grid of allies, institutions, and norms. They must define an agenda that marshals all available sources of power and then apply it in bold yet practical ways to counter threats and capture opportunities.”²⁰⁷

Smart power, according to Nossel, also implies a shared charge with one's friends and allies abroad. Pointing to the United States' success during the Cold War, she credits NATO and the UN as institutions that furthered the American agenda while promoting ideals of international cooperation. “Smart power means knowing that the United States' own hand is not always its best tool: U.S. interests are furthered by enlisting others on behalf of U.S. goals, through alliances, international institutions, careful diplomacy, and the power of ideals.”²⁰⁸ A collective burden also relieves spending on U.S. undertakings abroad, a facet often stressed in smart power strategy.

A 2006 CSIS report co-chaired by Joseph Nye and Richard Armitage, titled “CSIS Commission on Smart Power, A smarter, more secure America” found that in order to amend the

²⁰⁶ Laura Rozen, "The Origins of 'Smart Power,'" *Foreign Policy*, January 14, 2009, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2009/01/14/the-origins-of-smart-power/>.

²⁰⁷ Suzanne Nossel, "Smart Power," *Foreign Affairs* 83, no. 2 (2004): 132, <https://doi.org/10.2307/20033907>.

²⁰⁸ Nossel, "Smart Power," 138.

diagnosed decline of The United States' global standing, five areas should be focused upon.²⁰⁹ They include Alliances, partnerships, and institutions, Global development, Public diplomacy, Economic integration, and lastly, Technology and innovation. Such an approach would lower overall U.S. spending on foreign policy without compromising efficacy where possible.

CSIS continues their assessment by explaining that smart power strategies already in place at that time, were lacking in “institutional grounding.”²¹⁰ Along with over-reliance on hard power, and the inability of the State Department and other government branches to develop effective soft power tools, this institutional reticence is a third element undermining the establishment of a cohesive and ‘smart’ foreign policy. The commission states the lack of efficient non coercive instruments is in part due to the fact that states are often in difficult-to-define conflict with non-state actors within their own borders, but also because tangible benefits of such tools are difficult to identify in the short term.

Just as it is essential to soft power, perception is central to the proper development and usage of smart power. A BBC 2017 Country Ratings report shows that “Global views of the United States have continued to deteriorate since 2014 in the majority of countries surveyed. In the 17 tracking countries polled about U.S. influence in the world in both 2014 and 2017, an average of 34 percent of respondents hold positive views, while 49 percent hold negative views.”²¹¹ Methods of amending global perceptions of the U.S. outlined by CSIS include an exportation of optimism, rather than fear.²¹² Citing September 11th as a catalyst of this trend, the authors of the report write that the U.S. has been emitting anger in the place of “more traditional

²⁰⁹ Richard L. Armitage and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "CSIS Commission on Smart Power, A smarter, more secure America," *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, 1, https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy_files/files/media/csis/pubs/071106_csissmartpowerreport.pdf.

²¹⁰ Armitage and Nye, "CSIS Commission," 7.

²¹¹ "Sharp Drop in World Views of US, UK: Global Poll," *BBC World Service*, July 4, 2017, 1, https://globescan.com/images/images/pressreleases/bbc2017_country_ratings/BBC2017_Country_Ratings_Poll.pdf.

²¹² Armitage and Nye, "CSIS Commission," 7.

values of hope.”²¹³ Potential methods for improving our outward facing attitudes would include responsibly ending what the Biden administration has called our “forever wars,” and outlining new tactics for combating the war on terror. Moreover, actions such as closing Guantanamo Bay and a departure from our notably harsh immigration laws would “eliminate the symbols that have come to represent the image of an intolerant, abusive, unjust America,” an issue addressed in the report as well.²¹⁴

Both Nossel and the CSIS commission’s understanding of smart power rely heavily upon attention to leveling expenditure, as well as resource allocation and reorganization. The financial capacity of the United States at the time of each publication was not as dire as the circumstances we find ourselves in now. U.S. national debt has now exceeded \$28 trillion, 2008 brought a time of great financial hardship, and now, only a little over a decade later, Covid-19 has once again brought the U.S. towards a precarious economic position.²¹⁵ The emphasis on proper resource allocation is even more important fifteen years later.

These analyses of smart power both additionally highlight the importance of a smart-power-inflected policy on American affairs at home. The CSIS report and Nossel’s article were each written only a few years after the attacks of September 11, and while the American public has not faced a violent catastrophe of the same caliber, post Trump presidency and the insurrection of the Capitol on January 6th, current and future administrations must address the agitated nature of U.S. domestic affairs, as well as an attempt to reconcile the fractious and polarized American population.

²¹³ Armitage and Nye, "CSIS Commission," 10.

²¹⁴ Armitage and Nye, "CSIS Commission," 11.

²¹⁵ "The National Debt Is Now More Than \$28 Trillion. What Does That Mean?," Peter G. Peterson Foundation, <https://www.pgpf.org/infographic/the-national-debt-is-now-more-than-28-trillion-what-does-that-mean#:~:text=The%20%2428%20trillion%20gross%20federal,funds%20and%20other%20government%20accounts.>

Now recognized as an asset to the U.S. global influence, (in part thanks to Hilary Clinton's adoption of the term during her time as Secretary of State), smart power should see an increase in targeted application by the U.S. government. The authors of the CSIS report write that, "Wielding soft power is especially difficult, however, because many of America's soft power resources lie outside of government in the private sector and civil society, in its bilateral alliances, or through its participation in multilateral institutions."²¹⁶ Attempts to centralize caches of U.S. soft power and to align the organisations and governmental offices that synthesize such forms of power with their hard counterparts are therefore key to a successful U.S. foreign policy that makes use of smart power.

A return to traditional prudence must be part of a twenty-first-century smart power narrative. Nye writes "Global leadership does not require global interventionism... With prudence, American military primacy can represent an economic asset, not a liability."²¹⁷ He continues his assessment of America's role in the 21st century, underscoring encouragement of a democratic and open international economy and community, and arbitration and de-escalation of international conflict, and the establishment of sound global institutions and regulations.

Information Revolution

As Nye and Armitage indicate in the CSIS Commission on Smart Power, the exploitation of technological tools has proven crucial to the ability of the U.S. to maintain its smart power capabilities. Additionally, the information revolution, a phenomenon referred to by Nye in his work "The Information Revolution and Soft Power," has created a vastly different landscape for statecraft from that of the century prior.

²¹⁶ Armitage and Nye, "CSIS Commission," 9.

²¹⁷ Nye, *The Future*, 230.

The information age has heightened political consciousness, but also made political groupings less cohesive. Small, adaptable, transnational networks have access to tools of destruction that are increasingly cheap, easy to conceal, and more readily available. Although the integration of the global economy has brought tremendous benefits, threats such as pandemic disease and the collapse of financial markets are more distributed and more likely to arise without warning.²¹⁸

Nye pinpoints Moore's law (essentially the prediction made in 1965 "that the number of transistors per square inch [on a computer chip] would double approximately every 12 months") as the beginning of the information revolution. He clarifies his choice, explaining, "computing power doubled every couple of years," thus increasing the accessibility to such technology, connecting millions around the world during the following centuries.²¹⁹ Nye emphasizes the immense drop (to one thousandth) in cost to communicate as the primary item of interest during the information revolution, writing "If the price of an automobile had declined as rapidly as the price of computing power, one could buy a car for \$10-15."²²⁰

One effect of this evolution is increased general access to information, and therefore an altered distribution of power from that of the earlier 20th century decades and before. As the manner in which information dissemination changed, a shift of power occurred away from state governments to non-state actors, democratizing the control of information. Additionally, the information revolution introduced new domains for both soft power creation and dissemination: cyberspace. The vast improvement in communications abilities of course also affects the ways in which diplomacy can be conducted, thus ushering in a new era of what some have called cyber diplomacy.

²¹⁸ Armitage and Nye, "CSIS Commission," 10.

²¹⁹ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "The Information Revolution and Soft Power," *Digital Access to Scholarship at Harvard*, January 2014, 1, <https://dash.harvard.edu/handle/1/11738398>.

²²⁰ Nye, "The Information," 1.

The CFR defines cyber diplomacy as “the use of diplomatic resources and the performance of diplomatic functions to secure national interests in cyberspace.”²²¹ The dominance of cyberspace and relations also implies what Jan Melissen in *The New Public Diplomacy Soft Power in International Relations* refers to as “the compression of time and space and the impact that... has on the way in which people view their place in local and global environments.”²²² Often acting as a propellant of globalization and sometimes evolving alongside it, the technological developments of the past decades have drastically altered the way in which states, non-state entities, and populations interact with each other, both cordially, and through means of conflict.

Hybrid Warfare

A form of military engagement also referred to as gray zone conflict or low-intensity conflict, hybrid warfare has become a reality of sovereignty and statehood in the 21st century. Defined by U.S. Department of Defense reporter Jim Garamone, “Hybrid warfare is the effort to achieve strategic objectives without using significant force... It is an amorphous definition for an amorphous strategy.”

This process began in the 1940s with Mao Tse-Tung’s efforts to innovate a strategy capable of defeating a major advanced industrial state with only a peasant army. His “revolutionary guerrilla warfare” strategy turned out to have very little to do with Communism, and everything to do with nationalism; and it eventually succeeded in defeating the U.S.-supported Kuomintang with no outside material support... In the years since, Russia, Iran, North Korea, and China have all proven adept at innovating ways to

²²¹ "The Emergence of Cyber Diplomacy in an Increasingly Post-Liberal Cyberspace," *Council on Foreign Relations* (blog), entry posted June 10, 2020, <https://www.cfr.org/blog/emergence-cyber-diplomacy-increasingly-post-liberal-cyberspace>.

²²² Jan Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, nachdr. ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 30.

thwart U.S. efforts without challenging the U.S. military and its alliance partners head on, as Iraq (1991, 2003) and the Taliban (2001) attempted to do in the early 2000s with predictable results: they lost decisively.²²³

Russia's presence in, and later formal annexation of Crimea provides an instance in which state application and manipulation of power involved use of extended contexts such as social, informational, propagandistic, economic, and irregular forces, in conjunction with military force.²²⁴ Reviewing the 2013 Russian Ukrainian conflict in their Master's Thesis, Jens Uglvig writes, "Curiously, resonating with Nye's assertion that the ability to achieve desired outcomes with exclusively military strategies has been impaired, the modalities of modern warfare have changed, with the concept of 'hybrid warfare'"²²⁵

Following Euromaidan, the large-scale peaceful protests against former Ukrainian president Viktor Yanukovich, unmarked and unidentified Russian paramilitary troops arrived in Crimea, and "took control of capital buildings in Simferopol and Sevastopol... Later in 2014, similar troops were found in the Donbass regions of Ukraine, taking control of important buildings and equipment, as well as leading separatist groups in the regions."²²⁶ Russia's clearly successful manipulation of social and informational contexts, especially in their infiltration of the 2016 American general election, indicates that 1989 was not the irrevocable conclusion to the Cold War era the West once believed.

Hybrid warfare is also unique in that, as Tufts professor Monica Duffy Toft writes, "adversaries have worked tirelessly to identify and exploit U.S. vulnerabilities; and to innovate

²²³ Monica Duffy Toft, "Why is America Addicted to Foreign Interventions?," National Interest, last modified December 10, 2017, <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/why-america-addicted-foreign-interventions-23582?page=0%2C1>.

²²⁴ Jens Uglvig, "Russian 'Hybrid Power' A Case Study on Russian Power Projections through Hybrid Warfare in Eastern Ukraine" (master's thesis), <https://projekter.aau.dk/projekter/files/306333752/RussianHybridPower.pdf>.

²²⁵ Uglvig, "Russian 'Hybrid,'" 10.

²²⁶ Robert Andrew Wilson, *Ukraine Crisis: What It Means for the West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 126.

new ways to coerce without provoking an armed response.”²²⁷ While by definition soft power is noncoercive, it does indicate the potential for weakening an adversary through its reverse deployment, or re-import, to the nation of origin: i.e. an outside actor can surreptitiously render its target nation’s culture abhorrent to its own unwitting citizens. For example, in the case of the Kremlin’s documented attempts to preclude a potential 2016 Clinton administration, Russian media troll farms generated content through fake social media accounts that is estimated to have reached 126 million users on Facebook alone, co-opting gun rights activism and the like.²²⁸ Soft power, sometimes a component in grey zone conflict, and hybrid warfare are similar in their multidimensional realities, differing in that soft power does not rely on manufactured chaos as a means of overcoming resistance.

Contemporary Examples of Music and Sound as Hard Power

Although this thesis focuses on the evolution of music and percussion specifically from a tool of hard power to soft (and smart), the reality is that percussion and sonic resources are still literally weaponized against threats and opponents today. In recent years, several extremely discreet attacks were presumed to have been carried out against United States diplomats using high frequency waves emitted by a covert sonic device.²²⁹ During 2016 and 2017, there were reports of American diplomats and other personnel employed at the U.S. embassies in both Cuba

²²⁷ Toft, "Why is America," National Interest.

²²⁸ "Russia-linked posts 'reached 126m Facebook users in US,'" *BBC News Services*, October 31, 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-41812369>.

²²⁹ Memorandum, "Cuba Travel Advisory," n.d., <https://archive.ph/20180130085013/https://travel.state.gov/content/travel/en/traveladvisories/traveladvisories/cuba-travel-advisory.html>.

and China suffering brain injuries, yet without any physical trauma to account for the symptoms.²³⁰

What was later labeled “Havana Syndrome,” was explained by the *Journal of the American Medical Association* as “a new syndrome in the diplomats that resembles persistent concussion” A CNN report cited law enforcement conclusions that indicated ““microwaves beamed from a nearby location and that the ‘sounds’ were merely a means of masking the microwave attacks.””²³¹ Despite the ongoing presence of symptoms among embassy employees, there has been a persistent rejection of these accusations both from American and international scientists, such as those in Cuba. *National Public Radio* (NPR) dismissed the attacks as cricket noises, yet the international incident that the allegations generated was irreversible.²³² If microwaves were indeed the culprit, this was not the first incident of its kind. During the Cold War, from years 1953 to 1976, the Soviet Union was accused of targeting the U.S. embassy located in Moscow with low intensity microwaves (a range of 2.5 to 4 gigahertz), prompting further distrust amongst the two powers at the height of the international conflict.²³³

²³⁰ Elliott C. McLaughlin and Elise Labott, "Microwaves suspected in 'sonic attacks' on US diplomats in Cuba and China, scientists say," *CNN*, September 2, 2018,

<https://www.cnn.com/2018/09/02/health/cuba-china-state-department-microwaves-sonic-attacks/index.html>.

²³¹ Raul "Pete" Pedrozo, "The International Legal Implications of 'Havana Syndrome,'" *Lawfare* (blog), entry posted December 23, 2020, <https://www.lawfareblog.com/international-legal-implications-havana-syndrome>.

²³² Jon Hamilton, "Doubts Rise About Evidence That U.S. Diplomats In Cuba Were Attacked," March 25, 2019, in *All Things Considered*, podcast, audio, <https://www.npr.org/sections/health-shots/2019/03/25/704903613/doubts-rise-about-evidence-that-u-s-diplomats-in-cuba-were-attacked>.

²³³ "Moscow Signal," Google Information, <https://en.google-info.org/56259943/1/moscow-signal.html>.

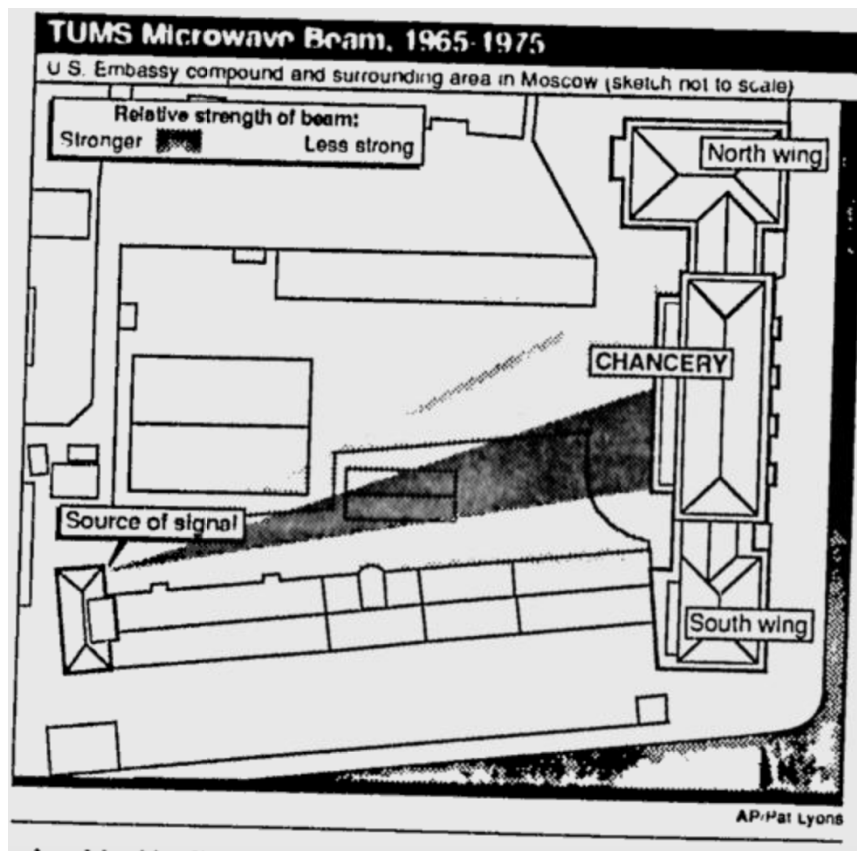


Figure 18

Figure 18 shows an illustration of the “Moscow Signal” incident found in a 1988 *Times Daily* report.²³⁴

Other devices, known as long range acoustic devices (or LRADs) have been used as crowd control tactics employed by police forces. These devices often blast a “deterrent tone” that is capable of permanently damaging human hearing. LRADs are built to concentrate the sound emitted by the machine in a single direction, compounding the already devastating consequences of the device.

[H]earing damage occurs whenever human ears are exposed to any sound above 85 decibels (db), though it also depends on length of exposure. Certain LRADs are capable of creating sounds exponentially louder, up to 160 dB, which is louder than a jet taking off (that is between 120 and 140

²³⁴ Times Daily, May 22, 1988. <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1842&dat=19880522&id=hRkrAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=WZ0FAAAAIBAJ&pg=1482,3660202&hl=en>.

db). The technology company Genasys Inc., which manufactures LRADs, admitted in a statement earlier this month that its devices have been used by "police departments in Portland OR, San Jose, CA, Colorado Springs, CO, Phoenix, AZ, Columbus, OH, Charleston, SC, Ft. Lauderdale, FL, and other cities." They (sic) statement claimed that the devices were used to "communicate unlawful assembly and other orders to crowds after recent protests turned violent." Genasys denies that LRADs are "weapons," though clearly they are being used (or misused) by police to that end.²³⁵

A subtler use of sonic aggression serves as one of the non-physical torture techniques used by the United States military against prisoners (along with sleep deprivation, and extreme fluctuations in room temperature.) Playing a single song repeatedly at punishing volume for an extended period was a torture method favored at Guantanamo Bay, according to the Associated Press.²³⁶ Unsurprisingly, heavy metal music, such as Metallica's "Enter Sandman," Rage Against the Machine's "Killing in the Name Of," and Deicide's "Fuck Your God," often ends up on the CIA's 'torture playlist.' More perversely, the most popular song used to torture prisoners at Guantanamo and other detention centers in Iraq or Afghanistan was "I Love You" by Barney the Purple Dinosaur.²³⁷

Aside from sonic weapons and torture through repetition, music has been used to hostile and deceptive effect by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agents, who have been known to play regionally popular folk songs along the United States-Mexico border in hopes of luring those seeking refuge in the United States from their covert positions to undercover ICE vehicles, exploiting the nature of music as an eternal reinforcer of group identity

²³⁵ Matthew Rozsa, "Police are using sonic weapons against protesters that can cause permanent hearing loss," *Salon*, June 22, 2020, <https://www.salon.com/2020/06/22/police-are-using-sonic-weapons-against-protesters-that-can-cause-permanent-hearing-loss/>.

²³⁶ Associated Press, "Songs forced on detainees by US jailers," Internet Archive, <https://web.archive.org/web/20081219225605/http://www.google.com/hostednews/ap/article/ALeqM5hJwF0o-W0CViiBuvIAepcXZc711QD94VDI7G0>.

²³⁷ Associated Press, "Songs forced," Internet Archive.

and affiliation.²³⁸ No matter the period or environment, music has helped opponents to both leverage hard power, and orchestrate soft.

Future of Soft Power

The United States no longer finds itself as the sole great power in a unipolar international landscape. September 11, the subsequent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the 2008 financial crisis, the Trump Presidency, and the recent “once in a century” pandemic have each contributed to the weakening of U.S. global primacy.²³⁹ Faced with the rapid rise of Russian and Chinese economic and political influence alongside the ascent of regional powers, the United States must evolve and adapt to the modern power landscape if it wishes to retain longstanding global relevance during the 21st century. As the evident military failures in the Middle East demonstrate, hard power alone will most certainly not preserve what power the U.S. has left. While the United States may have irreparably departed from its role of ‘superpower,’ if it wishes to sustain a position of influence, integration of soft and smart power tools into foreign policy is necessary.

The Biden administration in their (impressively) quickly developed Interim National Strategy does in fact place a large emphasis on both soft and smart power, leading with statements such as, “We will strengthen and stand behind our allies, work with like-minded partners, and pool our collective strength to advance shared interests and deter common threats. We will lead with diplomacy. We will renew our commitment to global development and

²³⁸ Jason De León and Michael Wells, *The Land of Open Graves: Living and Dying on the Migrant Trail*, nachdruck. ed. (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2017).

²³⁹ Tom McTague, "Remember the '90s, Don't Long for a Return," *The Atlantic*, August 20, 2020, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2020/08/brexit-trump-china-90s-golden-era/615406/>.

international cooperation...”²⁴⁰ If the administration is to stand by these statements, soft power will surely be employed as a means of achieving these goals.

If the United States wishes to continue to exploit its cultural capital as means of international influence as it did during the prior century, it must—as the National Strategy advises, revitalize partnerships and alliances through means of authentic and open communication. As Nye states, “There is no contradiction between realism and soft power. Soft power is not a form of idealism or liberalism. It is simply a form of power, one way of getting desired outcomes.”²⁴¹ Citizen diplomacy, much like what the U.S. government employed with Jazz Diplomacy during the Cold War, would help to reinsert authenticity into the diplomatic dialogue of the United States. Cultural diplomacy, whether carried out via American citizens, diplomats, or military programs, has often served the United States well.

Analyzing U.S. efforts in Afghanistan to improve governmental collaboration and salvage positive future relations, long-time diplomat and government practitioner Bill Rugh writes, “Accordingly, the most effective way to gain and maintain influence in Afghanistan is through communication and education...strategic communications, as with traditional public diplomacy, should be about credible dialogue, not a monologue, to ensure that the population is part of the conversation.” In one such example of public (or cultural) diplomacy, U.S. Army soldiers of the 10th Mountain Division Band Music Performance Teams engaged with the Afghanistan National Institute of Music (ANIM) in a musical and educational collaboration. While we might by default associate the military with strictly hard power operations, this presupposed limitation is too constrictive. Author Francisco Javier Noya writes, “in fact any

²⁴⁰ Renewing America's Advantages, Interim National Security Strategic Guidance, Rep. (Mar. 3, 2021). <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/NSC-1v2.pdf>.

²⁴¹ Nye, *The Future*, 82.

resource—including military capacity—may be soft as long as it is socially legitimized for a specific purpose. This means that perception becomes a key element.”²⁴²



Figure 19

Figure 19, “SSG Johnston performs on the xylophone as the students jam along with him.”²⁴³

As seen above, there is a wide range of possible applications for musical dialogue and diplomacy as means of soft power. Through skillful application, the soft power of music specifically, should continue to enhance U.S. alliances and partnerships, thus uplifting its global position. As Rugh and many others have emphasized, the successful use of soft power and diplomacy requires healthy, bilateral dialogue and communication. Music and rhythm, languages themselves, are a perfect means of approaching new and old allies and competitors alike in a bid to increase the U.S. web of influence, and hold its position as an influential actor in the global landscape.

²⁴² Carola M. Lustig, "Soft or Hard Power? Discourse Patterns in Brazil's Foreign Policy toward South America," *Latin American Politics and Society* 58, no. 4 (2016): 112, <https://doi.org/10.1111/laps.12004>.

²⁴³ "U.S. Army 10th Mountain Division Brass Quintet – ANIM Cultural Engagement," n.d., PDF.

Conclusion

Music, percussion, and rhythm have always played a role within a variety of power-dynamic contexts, whether as a tool of hard power or of soft. Percussion, experienced throughout the body, can inspire hair-raising fear on the battlefield, or, conversely, establish an atmosphere of shared festivity and cultural attunement. Percussion can eclipse distance to align individual bodies into vast, intimidating military formations, or draw thousands on separate continents to sway to identical rhythms. Evolving within such defined domains, percussion remains a corporeal experience. There is no tool of communication more primal nor more infectious than rhythm, the whoosh of respiration, a tide of blood delivering oxygen to the heart and brain. The African-American tradition of ‘Pattin Juba.’ (described in Chapter 2) which introduces the concept of the body as an instrument of percussion, foregrounds the importance of rhythm as an shared, irreducible factor in human experience.

The practice of assessing patient health via sonic and tactile methods has existed since the time of 10th century Avicenna and is still used today to evaluate the condition of the abdomen and thorax.²⁴⁴ Mowitt draws similar connections, writing, “....the body has also long functioned as a site of percussive beating. I am thinking... of the medical practice—indeed, a practice that, in the West, dates back to the classical period—of "percussing" the body to determine, well before the advent of the clinical gaze, the state of the subject’s health.”²⁴⁵

Percussive tapping is the most basic form of language, bridging barriers both formidable and intimate. The telegraph made instant communication across vast distances possible in advance of the telephone. Twentieth century tenement neighbors made a habit of staying in touch

²⁴⁴ Laleh Bakhtiar et al., *The Canon of Medicine (al-Qānūn Fī'l-ṭibb)* (Place of publication not identified: Great Books of the Islamic World, 1999).

²⁴⁵ Mowitt, *Percussion: Drumming*, 6.

with each other by knocking on steam pipes. The ambient cadence of voices, the amniotic bassline of maternal bodily processes, are the preverbal soundtrack to our pre-birth existence, a sign of the other's still-unseen presence. My mother, for example, tells me that she used to tap the rhythm of the Beatles song, "8 Days a Week" with its dramatic rhythmic pauses, to me day after day, perhaps awakening my own desire to be a percussionist then. The body *is* a kind of drum, with its resonant hollows and taut, dynamic surfaces. Before the mass production of plastic (and to this day) drums were created by stretching animal skins over the shell of the instrument.

At its most humane, the shared language of rhythm is reciprocal and bi- or multilateral. Unlike a formal press conference or transmissions between foreign officials, the diplomacy of music is democratic and widely accessible, a non-discriminatory means of fostering communication. Over the last century, we have seen jazz, Samba, rock, and hip-hop emerge to win hearts and minds in the world-wide battle of diplomacy and bid for soft power attraction. Pop music's appeal is largely a matter of rhythm, the ability to inspire movement, so that minds will eventually follow. Loud while "soft" could describe the persuasive power of the uniquely American pop music forms that have burnished our global cultural status for generations, as reflected in Chapters 3 and 4.

"Building soft power has to be, in the words of Martin Davidson, the former British Council head, a 'slow-burn activity'."²⁴⁶ Credibility, a quality Joe Nye indicates as essential to the practice of soft power projection, can't be rushed. A state's perceived integrity relies on years of image curation and projection, alongside vital efforts in building lasting alliances with international partners. The model of pleasure, cooperation, and joy in the transcultural human experience of sharing music allows for the most successful plays of soft power diplomacy. As

²⁴⁶ Fletcher, *The Naked*, 242.

states navigate the ever-morphing landscape of global politics, they will continue to benefit from non-coercive means of discourse. Cultural diplomacy and soft power projection are indispensable adjuncts to any program that seeks to strengthen individual international standing.

Performance Aspect

Below is the program from my April 23rd degree recital, which featured musical selections that each correlated to concepts reviewed in my senior project.

Bard College Conservatory of Music

presents

A Degree Recital:

Juliana Maitenaz, *percussion*

Friday, April 23, 2021, at 7:00 PM

Outdoors on the Blum/Avery Patio

Hexyl for solo drumset

Chad Floyd (b. 1977)

Caméléon for solo marimba

Eric Sammut (b. 1968)

Breath Contained for solo bubble wrap & live electronics

Tonia Ko (b. 1988)

Projections of What Might for solo drumset

Glenn Kotche (b. 1970)

~Intermission~

Faded Lines for multiple percussion duo

Andrea Venet (b. 1983)

Arnav Shirodkar, *percussion*

Blues for Gilbert for solo vibraphone

Mark Glentworth (b. 1960)

Montagues Foundry for multiple cymbals

James Campbell (b. 1946)

The Drum Also Waltzes for solo drumset

Max Roach (1924-2007)

Program Notes

The first half of the degree recital features four pieces that aim to demonstrate the versatility of the percussion family. “Hexyl” and “Projections of What Might,” while both drumset solos, are vastly different in their sound and execution. The complex melodic lines and harmonies of marimba solo “Caméléon” are contrasted with the intricate sonic texture of bubble wrap and electronics in Tonia Ko’s “Breath Contained.”

The pieces of the recital’s second half directly engage with themes and ideas found in Juliana’s Global International Studies senior thesis, which analyzes the evolution of percussion from adjunct to military hard power (cymbals and drums on a battlefield) to a tool of soft power (Cold War jazz diplomacy) and the implications of that transition holds for international relations and foreign policy. In her senior project, Juliana discusses the impact of (specifically Zildjian) cymbals in Ottoman Empire and Janissary warfare, hence the selection of the solo for multiple cymbals, “Montagues Foundry.” “Faded Lines,” duo for snare drum, side drum and bass drum, was chosen to complement her discussion of the use of snare and side drums on the battlefield during the American Civil War as a means of strategic communication amongst soldiers. As the thesis progresses, Juliana examines the importance of jazz as a tool of American soft power projection in the 20th century, exemplified by the vibraphone solo “Blues for Gilbert” and Max Roach’s “The Drum Also Waltzes” to complete the second half of her recital.

Links to view a live recording of the recital can be found here:

https://youtu.be/0nUW_Y3xuFo

<https://youtu.be/tkDYBso0a-g>

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