The Politics of Music

Jazz as a Form of Subversion in the Early and Modern United States, 1850-1989

Universiteit Leiden

Name: Marianne Lesigne (2643936)
Supervisor: Dr. Mari Nakamura
MA International Relations: Culture & Politics

Acknowledgment

I would like to thank both of my supervisors Dr. Sanjukta Sunderason and Dr. Mari Nakamura for their valuable support and guidance throughout the research and writing process of this project. Their feedback was central in helping me bring the quality of this thesis to a higher level.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgment 1
Prelude 3
Methodology 4
Literature Review 5
The Cultural Turn: Redefining Hegemony 5
Political Sounds in IR Literature 7
Jazz as Resistance 9
The Forebearer of Jazz 9
Spiritual music, Meanings, and Anti-Ideologies 13
Conclusion 17
Playlist 19
Interlude 19
From Spirituals to Jazz 19
Jazz as Propaganda 21
Jazz in a Pre-Cold War Era 21
The Cultural Cold War 22
From African American to Americana Music 28
Conclusion 32
Playlist 33
Conclusion 33
Playlist 36
Bibliography 37

Prelude

Since the 1970s, we have seen an exponential scholarly focus on culture in both the humanities and social sciences, including in the field of International Relations This so-called cultural turn has made scholars recognize the importance of culture, be it "societal", "high" or "popular" culture, as essential in the shaping of our societies and our identities. First introduced in the 1920s by Antonio Gramsci, the idea of cultural hegemony was picked up and introduced to the field of International Relations (IR) in the wake of the cultural turn by Robert Cox, opening the discipline to an entire new set of thematic. Since then, various aspects of culture have been covered by IR scholars, such as visual art,[1] popular culture,[2] and music,[3] to name but a few.

What this body of research has demonstrated is that cultural forms as political tools can be extremely powerful, and this due to two aspects in particular: their pervasiveness and their invisibility. Indeed, culture as a soft power tool is often far- and wide- reaching, and makes use not of coercion, but attraction.[4] As such, it is generally not understood (and wrongly so) as a form of (political) power, which can produce additional or even more effective responses within international politics than forms of "hard" power. It is therefore an important exercise for international relations scholar to gain an awareness of that power by identifying its mechanisms and the impacts it can have. Unfortunately, the study of culture within International Relations remains a nascent field, and much work has yet to be done on the topic. Within the subfield of music as a political tool, literature remains particularly scarce, although it has been meeting growing interest over the past five years or so within the International Relations field. Much of that literature, however, focuses on the more visible use of music in diplomatic and nationalistic practices. Although a fascinating topic, this does not tell much to the scholar looking to understand the role of culture as a form of invisible politics.

My present research aims to contribute to this research gap by focusing on the impact of music as a form of political subversion. To this end, I turn to the case of jazz music, and more specifically its

[1] See for example Roland Bleiker, ed., *Visual Global Politics*, 1st ed. (London: Routledge, 2018) and Alex Danchev, *On Art and War and Terror* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).

[2] See for example Routledge's extensive book series on the topic: Davis et al., ed., "Popular Culture and World Politics", Routledge, accessed 4 April 2020, https://www.routledge.com/Popular-Culture-and-World-Politics/book-series/PCWP.

[3] See for example Frédéric Ramel and Cécile Prévost-Thomas, eds., *International Relations, Music and Diplomacy* (Cham: Springer Nature, 2018) and M.I. Franklin, ed., *Resounding International Relations: On Music, Culture, And Politics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005)

[4] Ty Solomon, "The Affective Underpinnings of Soft Power", *European Journal of International Relations* 20, No. 3 (2014): 736.

political use in two marking historical periods of the United States, namely the Antebellum era and the Cold War. Through these two case studies, I will explore the question: "*in what ways has the form of jazz been used as a mode of cultural subversion?",* which will give insights into the larger question of "*in what ways can music contribute to movements of resistance?*"

Methodology

In order to answer these questions, this research inscribes itself within an IR critical theory framework. This critical lens, by construing power as hegemonic and structural allows for a broad definition of what is considered political, more so than classical theories such as realism or liberalism. This theoretical angle will allow me to conceptualize culture as a political tool which can be used both to challenge and reinforce hegemonies. Within this framework, jazz music's performance as a cultural-discursive mean will be analyzed using Michael Halliday's "anti-languages" theory in the first section, and Antonio Gramsci's concept of "cultural hegemony" in the second section.

This thesis is structured chronologically, although it focuses more particularly on two eras' during which jazz was used a form of political subversion in American politics. This chronological approach is motivated by more than aesthetic reasons; indeed, it highlights the consistency of the underlying structure of the jazz form throughout the years, notably through the "Interlude" section. This, combined with two case studies demonstrating contrasting uses of jazz as subversion, helps emphasizing the importance of the political-historical context on the cultural politics discussed in this research. Furthermore, this approach helps pointing out the underlying hegemonic values in American society by showing the evolution thereof between both of the eras discussed. More generally, this approach contributes to providing an impression of the scope and the variety in which the same form can lend itself in multiple way as a form of cultural subversion.

Following a brief literature review, I will turn to the 19th century and look at spiritual music, a musical genre which led to the creation of jazz music. Although spirituals are generally considered a separate genre and not jazz music itself, its fundamental musical features make up the pillars of jazz. Spiritual music is as such an indiscernible part of jazz history. In this section, I first provide a background on spiritual music, its history and identify the aforementioned features. Then, I analyze the genre using the linguistic theory of "anti-languages". By showing how spiritual music was used not only as a secret mode of communication between African American slaves but also as an anti-language carrying an ideology of freedom, I demonstrate how the genre functioned as a counter-hegemonic ideology in the

19th century American Deep South. Finally, I further build on this analysis by showing how this made it the ideal cultural weapon for abolitionists in the American Civil War.

This section will be followed by a brief interlude, explaining the evolution of spirituals to jazz music in the period between both case studies. This section has two functions: first, it provides the reader with a "chronological bridge". Secondly, it breaks down the main structural features of the jazz form in a more technical way. This brief musicological analysis is a necessary step as, which as will be demonstrated below, the structure of the genre itself play a central role in the use of jazz as a discursive political tool.

In my second section, I turn to the mid-20th century, focusing on the use of jazz by the United States government as a part of its Cultural Cold War. This chapter first opens with a brief contextualization of the perception of jazz music in the pre-Cold War era US. Then, I lay out the workings of the American Cultural Cold War policy, focusing on the use of jazz within it. Lastly, using Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony, I analyze the effects of that policy both at national and international level, but also on the genre itself and its ambassadors. My analysis finds that labelling jazz as quintessentially American sped up the integration of the genre in American society, but also relegated African American musicians to a subaltern status within the jazz industry. Furthermore, I argue that the political events of this period contributed to redefining jazz music as primarily a musical genre rather than a musical *and* cultural resistance movement.

Lastly, I conclude with a summary and comparison of my two case studies, showing where the use of jazz as a form of subversion converges and diverges between both eras'. Additionally, I give a brief overview of one of the jazz subdomains in which we see the form functioning as a mode of subversion, namely non-western or "ethno" jazz.

Literature Review

The Cultural Turn: Redefining Hegemony

The sociologist Victoria Bonnel and culture historian Lynn Hunt attribute the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s such as antiwar, civil rights, or feminists' movements as the "trigger" for the exponential interest in various humanities and social sciences disciplines in social history and culture. Led by authors such as Clifford Geertz and Pierre Bourdieu, this became later known as the cultural or

"linguistic" turn.[5] The cultural turn aims at recognizing the importance of culture in the functioning of our societies, in our relationships to one another and in the shaping of our identities. One of the concepts which emerged from the cultural turn, on which this research will base itself, is that culture, in both its societal and artistic sense plays a hegemonic role in society. What is considered "culture" within a given society is a set of social norms developed through a dominant discourse held by the hegemony. This idea was first developed by Antonio Gramsci, (who, although cannot be historically considered part of the cultural turn was without doubts a precursor to it) and was later developed within the field of International Relations by Robert Cox.[6]

Gramsci is most famously known for having developed the idea of a cultural hegemony: a societal consensus, assumed to be "common sense", in other words, hegemonic structures of thought. Gramsci argues that "it is not possible to separate what is known as "scientific" philosophy "from the common and popular philosophy which is only a fragmentary collection of ideas and opinions".[7] This all-encompassing philosophy or ideology can, in a way, be considered the soft power of the hegemon. As Gramsci clarifies, this ideology covers all areas of society including art (and therefore, music) and is "a cultural movement, a "religion", a "faith".[8]

Robert Cox later develops this idea, introducing it to the academic field of International Relations. For Cox, the term "hegemony", goes beyond the IR realist understanding of the word, typically relating to power relationships between states. Rather, hegemony in the Coxian sense stands for an overarching "structure of values and understandings"[9] which concerns both states and non-states entities. These values are derived from the practices of the "dominant social strata"[10] and are understood by actors as the "natural order". Central to Cox's argument is the fact that these hegemonic values shape our culture and, subsequently, our very thoughts and actions.

---

[5] Victoria Bonnell, Lynn Hunt. Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1999. https://hdl-handle-net.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2443/2027/heb.04780. EPUB, 2.

[6] Tim, Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith, eds., *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, 3rd ed., (Oxford University Press, 2013), 162.

[7] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, ed. Quintin Hoare, and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1973), 328.

[8] Ibid, 328.

[9] Robert Cox, Timothy J. Sinclair, *Approaches to World Order. Cambridge Studies in International Relations*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) doi:10.1017/CBO9780511607905, 151

[10] Ibid, 151.

The fact that music, more specifically, plays a role in this hegemony is acknowledged by Edward Said in particular in his book *Musical Elaborations*, where he discusses one of his lifelong passion, European classical music. Indeed, Said argues that classical music is an integral part of the elaboration of Western society: the musicians, through their social position as part of the intellectual elite, contribute to maintaining the hegemonic structure as described by Cox. For Said, thus, "[…] all we need to do is to look at the whole field of classical music as a mode of dominance […] or in its fate as a field of human endeavor challenged from time to time by […] alternative subcultures, to grasp something of the whole social contest in which music is often involved. To think of music […] is therefore to map an ensemble of political and social involvements, affiliations, transgressions […]".[11]

It follows from these ideas that, if a hegemonic power can be reinforced through culture, it can be also weakened by the imposition of another culture; in other words, that culture, such as music, can be used as a tool of subversion against forms of power. What this "musical resistance" or "transgressions",[12] can look like, under what circumstances, and how it manifests and sustains itself is precisely what this research seeks to answer. In *Musical Elaborations,* Said focuses on musical transgressions *within* the classical music genre, perpetrated by classical music composers. However, this term can also be applied more broadly to "inter-genre" transgressions. This is what this thesis will do, by discussing the role of jazz in "transgressing" European classical music-inspired standards of both the 19th American society and Western societies today. More importantly, it will discuss the political aspect of these transgressions by showing how their impact is not limited to the musical culture of these societies, but also extends to the social one.

Political Sounds in IR Literature

Indeed, music is not completely foreign to politics, as may be assumed at first. In fact, it is a topic which is encountering a growing interest among IR scholars. However, the debate of whether music truly has a place within the discipline of IR is still very much alive. Therefore, although the number of publications on the topic is on the rise, it would be wrong to say that music has become a "mainstream" topic within IR. Nonetheless, over the past six years, three notable books were written on the topic:

[11] Edward Said, *Musical Elaborations,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991. 70-71.
[12] Ibid, 55.

International Relations, Music and Diplomacy,[13] *Music and International History in the 20th century,*[14] and *Music and Diplomacy from the Early Modern Era to the Present*.[15] As their names indicate, these three books all focus on the use of music in diplomacy throughout the years. In other words, these are appropriate publications for the reader who wants to know about how governments throughout the years have used music for nationalistic ends. However, these publications focus on the more formal or "visible" forms of politics of diplomacy practices. Within International Relations, publications on the cross between music and micropolitics remains scarce, one of the reasons motivating this present research. One recent book however attempted to fill this gap by compiling articles from various International Relations scholars on the topic. Although *Resounding International Relations* deserves the praise of being innovative for its field both in content and in form, it remains broad. Indeed, it focuses not only on music but also sound, and their impact on not only the political but also the economic and the sociocultural.[16]

It is also is important to mention here two (recent) publications on the topic of the use of jazz in international relations, specifically; *The Global Politics of Jazz in the Twentieth Century*[17] by Yoshiomi Saito and *Satchmo Blows Up the World*[18] by Penny von Eschen. Both these sources focus on the use of jazz musicians in the Cultural Cold War as "ambassadors" sent abroad to promote of American music, culture, and, by extension, values.[19] Whereas von Eschen focuses more on the impact of this policy within the United States, Saito's account provides useful insights on its impact abroad, notably in Eastern Europe. Both these sources, however, remain niche in their account of jazz music as a political tool. This points at another literature "void", worth mentioning here: there is still surprisingly low amount of literature focusing on jazz as a social movement or as culture of subversion specifically. Although jazz is widely recognized as having contributed to the African American identity and movement of resistance, most of the literature retraces the history of jazz in a historical, descriptive manner rather than an analytical one, and only briefly mentions its role as a counter-hegemonic movement. This is curious, considering that subversion is truly a leitmotiv in the jazz genre; it can be found in its lyrics, but also in its melodic structure, which, at its beginnings, went radically against the Western musical "social norms". This is in large parts

[13] Ramel and Prévost-Thomas, eds., *International Relations, Music and Diplomacy*
[14] Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, ed., *Music and International History in The Twentieth Century* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015).
[15] Rebekah Ahrendt, Mark Ferraguto and Damien Mahiet, Music and Diplomacy from The Early Modern Era to The Present (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
[16] Franklin, ed., *Resounding International Relations*.
[17] Yoshiomi Saito, *The Global Politics of Jazz in The Twentieth Century*, (New York: Routledge, 2019).
[18] Penny von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2006).
[19] See Part II.

due to its origins, as its history is intrinsically tied to the history of African Americans, starting with spirituals sang among slaves in the plantations of Southern America. This research thus hopes to contribute to literature on the topic of jazz specifically as subversion by exploring two ways in which it contributed to social movements through its form.

The political importance of culture, and more specifically music as a mean to reinforce or transgress dominant ideologies was first recognized within IR during the 1960s "cultural turn" inspired by Gramscian thought. This can be best explained by the closeness between culture and social practices or "norms", both shaped by a hegemonic structure of values. It is as such surprising to see that within International Relations literature, this is still a topic seldom discussed. Although some literature discussing the topic of music as a political does exist within the field of IR, it either does not make it the central element of its research and only briefly discusses this or focuses on its more visible use within diplomatic practices. What the cultural turn literature was getting at, however, was that the strength of culture as a form power lies in its ability to imperceptibly shape our values, thoughts and actions. More literature going in that direction is therefore needed within IR. By focusing on the use of jazz as a form of subversion, this research hopes to contribute to filling this research gap. The following section will focus on the period marking the emergence of the ancestors of jazz music known as "spirituals" during the Antebellum era, and their use by African American slaves in the U.S. as an "anti-language", a language of resistance.

Jazz as Resistance

"In [the American slave's] songs and exhortations swelled one refrain, liberty"
— W. E. B. Dubois

The Forebearer of Jazz

The emergence of jazz as a musical genre can be retraced all the way back to the plantations of the mid-18th century[20] American South, where African American slaves would sing self-made songs evolving around Biblical themes known as "spirituals". Historical records show that music and dancing was an important part of life in many West African cultures such as among the Ashanti people (located in modern-day Ghana), in the Borgu Kingdom (now split between Nigeria and Benin) and in the Dahomey Kingdom

[20] Marcia Mitchell Hood, "William Levi Dawson and His Music: A Teacher's Guide to Interpreting His Choral Spirituals", DMA diss., (University of Alabama, 2004), 19.

(modern-day Benin) to name but a few.[21] In these cultures, music was central to both personal and communal life, including religious events.[22] Through the Atlantic slave trade, they were introduced to America, as a majority of slaves were taken from West Africa.[23] The combination of these cultures with the forced conversion of millions of slaves resulted in the emergence of the unique musical genre that are spirituals.[24] Due to their origins, many spirituals evoke Biblical scenes which evolve around the themes of oppression, liberation, or egalitarianism.[25] These were the themes that resonated the most with African American slaves at the time. Frederick Douglass, an American politician born into slavery, described spirituals as "songs of sorrow" singing "tales of woe", where "every tone was a testimony against slavery".[26] It is difficult, if not impossible, to trace back the "authors" or "composers" of these songs; they were generally not written down (that is, until they sparked the interest of some abolitionists who took it upon themselves to transcribe and publish them)[27] and circulated among the slave community on a mouth-to-ear basis.

More interestingly, spirituals were in fact used as a secret mean of communication between slaves, and this for two reasons: first, Christianity was one of the only forms of culture and education allowed by white owners at the time.[28] Secondly, slaves were actively coerced into singing while working in the field: silence could easily be interpreted by the overseers as a form of dissatisfaction on the slaves' part which would be met with physical retaliation. Additionally, overseers saw singing as an effective way to prevent any unwanted communication between slaves.[29] As a result, and as sociologist Jon Cruz points out, "through music slaves were able to [exercise] one of the few options available for a collective black voice".[30]

This is now known thanks in particular to the accounts of former slaves and abolitionists Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass, who revealed in their respective biographies the double meaning of

[21] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans,* 6-9.
[22] Ibid, 6-10.
[23] Ibid*,* 3.
[24] Hood, "William Levi Dawson", 20.
[25] Jon Cruz, *Culture on the Margins: The Black Spiritual and the Rise of American Cultural Interpretation*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), 87-88.
[26] Ibid, 3.
[27] Cruz, *Culture on the Margins*, 3.
[28] Louis T. Achille, "Les Negro-spirituals Et L'Expansion De La Culture Noire.", Présence Africaine, Nouvelle Série, no. 8/10 (1956): 227-37. Accessed May 1, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/24346902.
[29] Ibid*,* 52.
[30] Cruz, *Culture on The Margins*, 50.

some of the spirituals that they used to sing. Douglass cites the song "Run to Jesus" as an example, which goes as follows:

"I thought I heard them say,
There were lions in the way,
I don't expect to stay
Much longer here.
Run to Jesus—shun the danger
I don't expect to stay
Much longer here."

Douglass explains that "In the lips of some, it meant the expectation of a speedy summons to a world of spirits; but, in the lips of our company, it simply meant, a speedy pilgrimage toward a free state, and deliverance from all the evils and dangers of slavery".[31] He also recalls singing "''O Canaan, sweet Canaan, I am bound for the land of Canaan'', which in reality referred to the North, where African American could live as free men.[32]

As Cruz puts it, "slaves and their overseers might mutually embrace the surface forms of culture, but beneath the cultural form, claimed Douglass, waged a subterranean struggle over the representation of meanings that involved not just the control over symbolic practices, but ultimately the control of a captured population".[33] Naturally, slave overseers and owners were not completely oblivious to this code, which could lack subtlety at times,[34] and some more "explicit" songs such as "Go Down, Moses" (Go down, Moses/Way down into Egypt's land/Tell old Pharaoh/To let my people go") were forbidden in some plantations.[35] Claims have been made that some spirituals were used as more than bearers of messages of hope and were, in fact, hiding specific escape routes and tips. However, these claims always refer back

[31] Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom,* 1855, Reprint, (New Heaven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), 222.
[32] Ibid, 108.
[33] Cruz, *Culture on The Margins*, 108.
[34] Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, 221.
[35] Sarah Bradford, *Harriet, The Moses of Her People*, 1869, Reprint, (Project Gutenberg, 2011), Accessed May 1, 2020. http://www.gutenberg.org/files/9999/9999-h/9999-h.htm

to only one specific spiritual, "Follow the Drinking Gourd", and cannot be retraced to any reliable source or research.[36]

Harmony-wise, research has shown a clear link between 17th century West African music and the spiritual tradition,[37] making it a very innovative music genre for its time as it brought sounds and concepts yet unheard of on the American continent, where European classical music dominated the musical scene. For example, spirituals often relied on irregular rhythms[38] such as syncopation,[39] a practice less popular in classical music. The rhythm of the spiritual was often drummed by the performers through hand clapping and feet thumping in an expressive manner.[40] This was a very unusual sight for people raised in the classical-music tradition, where one is required to remain attentive and silent at all times during concerts. Scholars have however warned about calling spiritual music "African music". Indeed, although West African influences be found in spiritual music, it is a genre of its own, born out of the combination of both European and African music.[41]

Furthermore, spirituals, due to the context they were born out of, and contrarily to classical music, were very much based on improvisation and personal interpretation. Whereas classical music is transcribed on paper with very specific instructions as to interpretation, spirituals were transmitted by word of mouth throughout the African American community.[42] This encouraged interpretation as the music was not transcribed and performers may forget parts of the melody or the lyrics and make up their own version.[43] Spirituals also used a "call and response pattern", a practice derived from West African music,[44] where a soloist sings a line which is then answered by a chorus, such as in "Go Down, Moses":

---

[36] J. B. Kelley, "Song, Story, or History: Resisting Claims of a Coded Message in the African American Spiritual 'Follow the Drinking Gourd' ", The Journal of Popular Culture, 41, no. 2 (2008): 262-280, doi:10.1111/j.1540-5931.2008.00502.x

[37] Hood, "William Levi Dawson", 20.

[38] Lawrence-McIntyre, "The Double Meanings of The Spirituals", 383.

[39] Syncopation is a type of rhythm in which the notes are place in opposition to the beat. In this example, you can hear how the melody is placed *between* the beat, represented by the sound of the metronome. In spiritual and jazz music, musicians typically prefer to put emphasis on the syncopated notes rather than on those which fall on the beat creating an "irregular rhythm" effect.
Audio extract from: Syncopation. Part 1. What the Heck Is Syncopation? How to Read Ties And Difficult Rhythms., video, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WbultyEVOqw.

[40] Ibid, 383

[41] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans,* 202.

[42] J. W. Johnson, ed, *The Book of American Negro Spirituals,* (Binghamton, NY: Vail-Ballou Press, 1925): 21.

[43] Ibid, 21.

[44] Hood, "William Levi Dawson", 20.

[soloist] "When Israel was in Egypt land"

[chorus] "Let my people go!"

Harmonically, spirituals swayed back and forth between European and West African musical practices. One musical study on spirituals dating from 1930 found that the main melody of the song used the West African-influenced pentatonic scale[45] but combined it with European harmonies. The use of the pentatonic scale was innovative at the time; it would spark interest among classical composers only in the 20th century when they sought to move away from the traditional seven-notes "heptatonic" scales.[46]

Spiritual music, Meanings, and Anti-Ideologies

Interestingly enough, the "language" of spirituals can be equated with the concept of "anti-language", as first coined by linguist Michael Halliday.[47] Making such parallel will show that it would be a grave mistake to limit the role of spiritual music as a form of resistance to its use as a form of secret communication. Before delving into such analysis, a clarification the meaning and mechanisms of these "anti-languages" is needed. Anti-languages are the mode of communication of anti-societies, "a society that is set up within another society as a conscious alternative to it. It is a mode of resistance, resistance which may take the form either of passive symbiosis or of active hostility […]".[48] In other words, an anti-language is typically a "dialect" of a given society's language developed by a marginalized group or minority. The anti-language exists solely in opposition to and in the context of the "main" language. An anti-language is typically only spoken by members of the anti-society and tends to be secret or coded.[49] Indeed, due to their marginalization by the "mainstream" society, anti-societies are typically anti-hegemonic. The secrecy of the anti-language allows anti-societies to criticize freely the mainstream society and share thoughts and concepts that go against the society's standards.

Anti-languages are powerful, Halliday argues, because language is a tool through which we express our conception of the world. By speaking the same language, a society will share the same conception of the world, creating what Halliday calls a "subjective reality". Where a society's language will contribute to *maintaining* this subjective-reality, an anti-language will *challenge* it by offering a

[45] A pentatonic scale is a scale which is based on five notes. It is most famously used in West African and East Asian music. The example presented here is the pentatonic scale of C minor.
[46] The example presented here is the (heptatonic) scale of C minor.
[47] M. A. K. Halliday, "Anti-Languages", *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 78, no. 3 (1976): 570-84.
[48] Ibid, 570.
[49] Ibid, 572.

counter-reality.[50] A simple example is the great number of expressions used in English which refer to one god, such as “god knows” or “oh my god”. These expressions are very casual in the English language as monotheist religions prevail in the Anglo-Saxon world. However, if one were to change these expressions to the plural form, such as “oh my gods” or “gods know”, the expressions would lose their casualness. A minimal change in an expression reveals a linguistic assumption, which itself is a reflect of the subjective reality in which Anglo-Saxons societies live. Anti-languages only exist in opposition to the society’s language; they rely on tension,[51] and are by offering a counter-reality, a form of resistance. As such, a successful anti-language will need a strong plausibility structure. In other words, the member of the anti-society must be able to "establish strongly affective identification" with each other, creating social cohesion.[52]

Lastly, they have two roles in a society: first, it is a social, “non-standard” dialect. Certain social groups, such as people from the same generation, or socio-economic background, tend to share similar intonations on words, which makes them easily identifiable as a member of said groups. Social dialects have a hierarchical function, Halliday argues, as “they express, symbolize, and maintain the social order”.[53] Social dialects do not offer an alternative reality, only a mildly different worldview. This however is enough to generate the vehement responses that one can witness among speakers of the standard dialect, such as “ ‘I don't like their vowels’, [which] symbolizes an underlying motif of ‘I don't like their values’ ”.[54] If successful, a social dialect may evolve into an anti-language, in which case it will not only act as a reflect of social hierarchy, but also generate a counter-reality and have its own “within language” social dialects and hierarchy.[55]

[50] Ibid, 574.
[51] Ibid, 756.
[52] Ibid, 575.
[53] Ibid, 580.
[54] Ibid, 581.
[55] Ibid, 581.

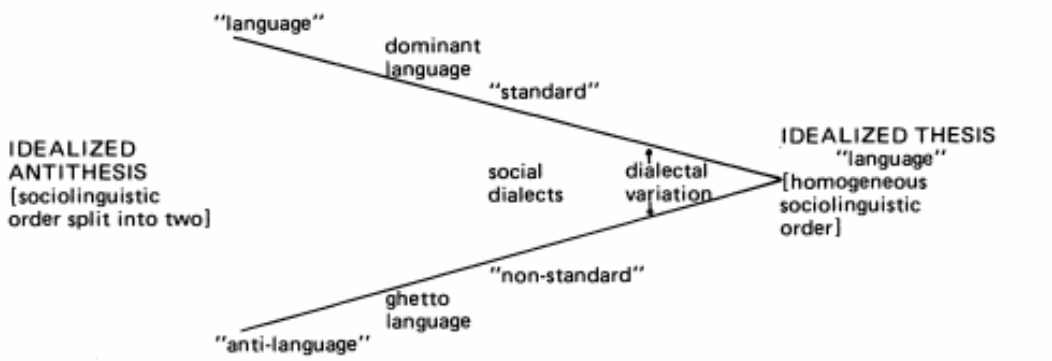

Figure 1: Halliday's "diglossic spectrum". The bottom line illustrates the evolution of non-standard social dialect into an anti-language, which stands in opposition to the societal language, represented in the top line[56]

An interesting parallel can be made between spirituals and the concept of anti-languages. First, a disclaimer: one may argue that spirituals cannot be qualified as a language, but that is not what is attempted to be done here. What makes or does not make a language is a debate which falls entirely out of the scope of this thesis. It is indeed not necessary to answer this question in order to equate spiritual music to an anti-language. The idea behind equating spirituals to an anti-language is that it allows this research to shed light on some of the "mechanisms of resistance" of spiritual music. As the above figure shows, the concept of anti-languages can best be apprehended as a spectrum. In other words, anti-languages do not always or at all times fit every single criterion as laid out by Halliday. This is therefore not the aim of this exercise. Nonetheless, as will be demonstrated, spirituals fit rather well into the definition of an anti-language.

First, it is undeniable that the African American slave community constituted an "anti-society": African Americans existed within the American society, but were, in every aspect possible, in opposition with the "mainstream society"; African American slaves went lived, ate, prayed and slept separately from European Americans, and certainly shared a sense of contempt towards this society that did not even recognize them as part of it. Due to the forced process of slavery and racial segregation, however, it cannot be argued that the creation of the African American community was a "conscious" process per say.

Secondly, spirituals are an anti-language in the sense that they were the articulation of another subjective reality where African Americans were not mere "chattel objects",[57] but humans, who deserved the same freedom and respect than European Americans. Cruz tells us that "slaves […] emphasized […]

[56] Ibid, 581.
[57] Cruz, *Culture on The Margins*, 68.

narratives of Hebrew bondage and escape from slavery (which became crucial analogues to black slavery), the tenets that souls were principally equal under the eyes of God, and the ideas of radical individualist egalitarianism, which emphasized that no person had the dispensation to be another's person's master".[58] Furthermore, a lot of spirituals such as "Nobody Knows the Troubles I've Seen" or "Sometimes I Feel Like A Motherless Child" narrated the hardships experienced by slaves. These songs too were bearer of another reality, especially prior to the Civil War, as they showed a reality in which slaves were not forced to repress their thoughts and emotions, particularly in regard to their situation. These songs created a space which was denied to slaves everywhere else, a space where they may expose their capacity to "[possess] spiritual depth, and [be] authors and makers of meanings".[59] This anti-language went against the discourse, the "language" held by the mainstream society.

Thirdly, on the emotional involvement that an anti-language requires, Halliday explains that changing the perception of one's world requires the members of the anti-society to share a strong emotional bond, which was indeed the case within slave communities for reasons that are obvious enough not to be cited. This is due to the fact that in its most extreme forms, an anti-language will give the impression to the speaker that they are "switching world"; the transformation "will be apprehended as total".[60] It is safe to assume that such a drastic cognitive change will be emotionally intense. However, I would like to argue that for the same reason, an anti-language will require a strong personal emotional involvement on the speaker's part, "faith" so to say. Only then will the convictions born by the anti-language survive, as it exists only in opposition to "the society" and its beliefs, strained by ideological tensions. This is the case of spirituals, as there are several recollections of the important emotional role that these songs played in the slaves' lives. Theologist James H. Cones, for example, argues that one cannot understand the history of African American resistance without understanding spirituals, as "for blacks, their *Being* depended upon a song. Through song, they built new structures for existence in an alien land. The spirituals [provided] both the substance and the rhythm to cope with human servitude."[61] The message born by spirituals was so strong that these songs played a role in helping slaves simply *survive*. Arguably, this deep emotional involvement by the slaves' part in their spirituals shows that they very much bore a discourse that was not a mere "suggestion" of a possible reality, but rather a subjective

[58] Ibid, 88.
[59] Ibid, 68.
[60] Ibid, 575.
[61] James H. Cone, "Black Spirituals: A Theological Interpretation", Theology Today 29, no. 1 (April 1972): 54–69. doi:10.1177/004057367202900107.

reality in which the slaves deeply believed. Indeed, Frederick Douglass explains that "slaves sing to *make* themselves happy".[62]

Finally, spirituals were an anti-language in the sense that they had a coded, secret meaning that was only understandable by the anti-society. The ability that slaves had to understand their spirituals was not limited to its textual, double-meaning aspect, but also included the musical language of spirituals. Indeed, until spirituals gain popularity in the abolitionist movement leading to the Civil War, the West-African inspired melodies of the spirituals were perceived as mere noise by the European American public: "throughout the eighteenth century, slavers and their associates wrote of the "crude," "barbaric" noise that their human commodities emitted."[63] Spiritual melodies bore a "secret meaning" in the sense that they were only meaningful to those who knew how to listen to it, which, up to the 19th century, was almost solely limited to its creators. As such, this "coded meaning" was not a product of conscious making, but rather a result of the incomprehension of the white public towards this new form of music.

In a way, the harmonies of spirituals can be seen as an intrinsic part of what makes spirituals an anti-language. Everything about spiritual music went against the "standards" set by classical music: the harmonies, rhythms found, body rhythmic and freedom to improvise, as well as the call-and-response basis on which spirituals functioned were simply previously unheard of. Spiritual music was an anti-language not only due to the ideological message that it spread, but also because its melodies offered a "musical" alternative reality, in which its speaker saw spirituals as a legitimate form of music, and more importantly, a legitimate form of culture. Where classical music can be seen as the musical "language" of the 19th century American society, spiritual music can be seen as its "anti-language".

Conclusion

Through the above analysis, I have shown how 19th century spiritual music was used as a tool of resistance by African American slaves. Spirituals were not only used as secret way of communicating between slaves but was also used as the bearer of ideological messages of freedom and equality. Spiritual music can be seen as an anti-language, i.e., the language of an anti-society, bearing a different set of values than the "mainstream" society, offering an alternative subjective reality than the one the anti-society is living in.

Although spiritual music was not labelled as an "anti-language" at the time, its potential as a cultural tool of resistance was in fact identified by the abolitionist movement, who used it as "cultural

[62] Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, 82, emphasis added.
[63] Cruz, *Culture on The Margins*, 195.

weaponry".[64] Spirituals, which had up to the abolitionist movement been spread on a word-to-mouth basis, were suddenly shared to the American public as abolitionists collected, transcribed, and published the music.[65] Spirituals were a powerful mean of gaining the sympathy of the white public, and this for two reasons:

First, spirituals tended to be sorrowful songs, full of heart wrenching melodies, which appealed to the listener's empathy. An example of this can be found in the diary of Mary Boykin Chestnut, the wife of a slave owner, who was deeply moved after attending an African American religious service.[66] The following entry dates from October 13th, 1861: "[The prayer leader's] voice rose to the pitch of a shrill shriek, yet was strangely clear and musical, occasionally in a plaintive minor key that went to your heart. […] I wept bitterly. It was all sound, however, and emotional pathos […] To me this is the saddest of all earthly music, weird and depressing beyond my powers to describe."[67]

Secondly, spirituals touched upon Christian themes, directly confronting the white public with their own religious values. Biblical values had been previously used by slaves owners to justify their practices, by emphasizing servitude and submission to God, represented by the masters. With spirituals, a new interpretation was offered, which highlighted the incompatibility between the practice of slavery and the Christian doctrine. This new angle was effective, and "by the 1830s, a growing number of antislavery sympathizers had also emerged who sided with the view of many budding black abolitionists that slavery was an abomination, a profound sin, and a worldly evil."[68]

By appealing to the empathy and Christian values of the listeners, spiritual music was popularized among the American public. More importantly, as a direct result, the message, the "alternative subjective reality" that these spiritual bored was also popularized, making it an effective "cultural weapon" for the abolitionist movement. Furthermore, spiritual music was central in the creation of an African American identity, culture and community. As will be discussed in the second part of this thesis, as the conditions of African American people evolved, so did their folk music. This eventually gave birth to multiple new musical movements, the merging of which eventually gave birth to jazz in the 1920s.[69] The

[64] Ibid, 3.
[65] Ibid, 129.
[66] Ibid, 29-30.
[67] Ibid, 29-30.
[68] Ibid, 87-88.
[69] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans,* 361.

aforementioned structural features of spiritual music were carried through in all of these new genres, and eventually made up the basis of what is known today as jazz music[70].

Playlist

Below a few examples of some famous spirituals. It is worth noting that as spirituals were recorded decades after they first emerged, the recorded performances do not fully reflect how these songs were originally interpreted.[71] However, these recordings still reflect the depth and sorrowful character that their original counterparts carried. For an idea of how spirituals originally sounded, please refer to the recording as performed in movie "12 Years a Slave".

Louis Armstrong, "Go Down, Moses", track 3 on *Louis and the Good Book*, Decca, 1958, LP. https://youtu.be/r_vhBMWWnBE

Nat "King" Cole, "Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen", track 9 on *Every Time I Feel the Spirit*, Capitol Records, 1960, LP. https://youtu.be/Xd0UwkN_zKY

Paul Robeson, "Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Chile ", track 12 on *Ballad for Americans and Great Songs of Faith, Love and Patriotism,* Vanguard, 1958, CD. https://youtu.be/KiJx1Hbn_KM

Topsy Chapman Feat. Chiwetel Ejiofor And Cast, "Roll Jordan Roll", track 14 on *12 Years A Slave (Music from And Inspired By)*, CD. https://youtu.be/S7iCMNIPNf8

Interlude

From Spirituals to Jazz

Before moving on to the following section, it is important here to discuss the evolution of spirituals to jazz music, which will highlight the structural continuation between both genres. Indeed, the musical features first observed in spiritual music, used as the fundamental expression of a musical anti-language in opposition to Western classical music during the Antebellum era, were carried through to jazz music. During the Cold War era, and as will be demonstrated below, these same characteristics played a central role in making jazz a propaganda tool for the U.S. government. Indeed, although the political use of jazz differed in both eras', the message carried by its very structure was the same: one of freedom.

[70] Ibid, 364.
[71] Finkelstein, *Jazz: A People's Music*, 90-91.

Eileen Southern, author of one of the leading books on African American music, describes the period which followed the American Civil war up to WWI as a transitional era, one crucial for the development of the African American musical canon.[72] As the condition of African Americans evolved, so did their folk music. Although the African American population of the early 20th century remained largely discriminated and underpaid, the slight "increase" in purchasing power of former slaves allowed them to invest in new instruments, notably the guitar, giving birth to blues music, brass instruments, used in band music, and the piano, from which ragtime music emerged.[73] Blues, ragtime and band music are generally seen as three distinctive genres both each other and from jazz music, but they all share the same intrinsic features which first appeared in spiritual music: syncopation, the use of harmonies and scales not found within the European Classical music tradition, and the "call and response" pattern.[74] The latter was renamed in the jazz world "riffs" and "breaks", where the riff is a repetitive melody which sets the foundation or theme of the piece, creating contrast with the break.[75] Whereas the riff provides an "easy to listen to" melody which is not too daring with rhythm, the break is a generally improvised solo which challenges the riff with unexpected rhythms and harmonies.[76] The combination of these three musical genres led to jazz music in the early 20th century through the dance bands of New Orleans.[77]

Similarly to, and influenced by, its predecessors, jazz music displays the same three basic characteristics as cited above. The emphasis in jazz on solo's was influenced by the individualism displayed in blues music, a style in which a solo artist expresses their personal feelings; the "riff", which creates a rhythmic and melodic base on which the soloists can base themselves, was provided by band music, which privileges ensemble sound; and ragtime, in which syncopation is foundational, brought irregular rhythms to jazz.[78] Furthermore, the use of dissonant or "unusual" notes and harmonies in jazz was foreshadowed by the spirituals' used of the pentatonic scale, which was reused in blues music. Indeed, the famous "blues scale", used in early jazz, essentially consists of a pentatonic scale with the addition of one note known as the "blue note" which function is to "stand out", giving this particular "jazzy flavor" to blues. Finally, improvisation, an essential part of jazz, consisting at first of occasional modulations on a given melody,

[72] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans,* 355.
[73] Finkelstein, *Jazz: A People's Music*, 35-36; Southern, *The Music of Black Americans,* 355.
[74] [74] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans,* 363-365.
[75] Finkelstein, *Jazz: A People's Music*, 79.
[76] Ibid, 79.
[77] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans,* 361.
[78] Ibid, 364.

came from spirituals,[79] where the oral tradition of the genre naturally encouraged personal takes, as the melody was more-or-less well remembered.[80] This later turned into full-blown improvisation where the soloist was free to create their own melodies.[81] Today, countless styles of jazz exist such as swing, free jazz, bebop, or latin jazz, to name but a few. Nonetheless, all of these styles retain the same characteristics as cited above, which is what links them together. One may be surprised at the number of subgenres of jazz which exist today; however, as cultural critic Sidney Finkelstein puts it, "jazz can be defined, but only in terms of a flexible, growing art, which changes as the conditions under which it is performed change […]. Experiment and change are in the essence of jazz".[82]

Jazz as Propaganda

"America's secret weapon is a blue note in a minor key"
– the New York Times, 6th November 1955

Jazz in a Pre-Cold War Era

The reputation of jazz music in the post-WWII era among the white middle-class "visible" American public was generally not a positive one, despite the fact that, a decade or two earlier, swing music had met great success among all strata of the American society. When a new jazz subgenre, bebop, emerged in the 1940s, it was quickly labeled as "deviant" in the puritan and still-segregated America. The multi-racial and -cultural interactions that jazz culture encouraged, merged with the echoes of both real and alleged drug use among musicians, led to public disapproval within the "visible" America which associated it to black militancy and criminality.[83] Jazz music in the pre-Cold War period was, ironically enough, also seen as too close to communist ideals. Due to the undeniable link between jazz music and race, many jazz musicians in the 1950s sided held left-wing discourses, motivated by ideals of racial reunification in the U.S. As "voicing concerns over racial problems was almost akin to declaring oneself a Communist, which in turn ran counter to the notion of Americanism",[84] several notorious members of the

[79] Ibid, 364.
[80] Finkelstein, *Jazz: A People's Music,* 79.
[81] Southern, *The Music of Black Americans*, 364.
[82] Finkelstein, *Jazz: A People's Music,* 171.
[83] Eric Porter, What Is This Thing Called Jazz?, (Berkeley: Univesity of California Press, 2002), 87-88.
[84] Saito, *The Global Politics of Jazz,* 33.

jazz industry were summoned to testify in front of the U.S. House Committee on Un-American Activities.[85] As such, Penny von Eschen, author of one of the leading books on the topic, states that "the triumphant European tours of the music's black pioneers were "greeted with total silence" in America (with the exception of the black press)".[86] Leonard Feather, a jazz specialist of the time also denounced the "white curtain which hung over an Afro-American art form".[87]

The Cultural Cold War

By the beginning of the Cold War, jazz music was well known in Western Europe. Popularized by African American soldiers who chose to remain in Europe following the first and second World Wars, the music encountered great enthusiasm in countries such as France, Germany or Britain.[88] Jazz artists such as Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington were regularly touring in and celebrated throughout the Old Continent.[89] Simultaneously, the United States government developed an interest in cultural diplomacy. Starting from the end of WWII, a policy of "gradual cultural infiltration"[90] aimed at Eastern Europe and formerly colonized countries was put in place by Washington. Indeed, in an era of decolonization shaped notably by the Bandung conference, the U.S. was getting bad press for being too imperialist, seen as an attempt by the U.S. of gaining control and influence over newly independent states.[91] For many Global South nations, the U.S. represented white supremacy. This view was further encouraged by the echoes of the treatment of African Americans in this pre-civil rights era, where several states still enforced Jim Crow laws. For communist Soviet Union, the behavior of the United States as a country which did not give equal chances and treatment to all of its citizens was a golden opportunity for anti-US propaganda.[92] This was done through means such as boosting international reports of lynching in the U.S., and the diffusions of animated movies depicting segregation in America.[93] Realizing that their success in the Cold War would not only depend on battles fought overseas and technological successes, but also on gaining the support of the Global South nations before the USSR would, the US understood set out to "rectify" their image

[85] Ibid, 31.
[86] von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, 9.
[87] Ibid, 9.
[88] Ibid, 8.
[89] Ibid, 8.
[90] Walter L. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, And the Cold War, 1945-1961* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), IX.
[91] Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, 7.
[92] Hixson, *Parting the Curtain,* 129.
[93] Hugo Berkeley, *The Jazz Ambassadors*, documentary (USA: Thirteen Productions LLC, 2018)

through cultural diplomacy, promoting themselves as a multi-colored nation and as the international guardian of freedom.

America's new cultural image thus had to be everything that the Soviet Union's was not: it had to represent the highest ideal of American freedom, it had to promote art forms which had not been already appropriated by the USSR, whose ambassadors excelled in most high classical arts (ballet, orchestral and choral music, figure skating, etc.), and more importantly, it had to be *American*. Indeed, what was considered to be American "high-culture" up to the Cold War was in large part European-inspired,[94] be it in architecture, visual arts, or music. On one-hand, this made the creation of a true American culture a herculean task; on the other, it provided a tabula rasa on which the U.S. could conveniently inscribe its own narrative. American policymakers thus turned to American modernism, where truly original works by American artists could be found. These works aimed at transcending the traditional rules laid out by classical European art, carrying an "independent, self-reliant, true expression of the national will, spirit and character",[95] and acted as the perfect metaphor for American freedom.

Ironically enough, American modernism had had its first break-through a little less than a decade prior to the Cold War within the socialist fringes of the American society as response to a Europe seemingly lost to fascism, and its cultural patrimony with it. Through initiative such as the Popular Front, socialist and communist avant-garde visual artists alike had been encouraged to develop their art and become the new preservers of "civilized", high culture.[96] Ten years later, and although political sidings had switched continents, the same idea was revived. Modernism was used a part of the larger cultural campaign led by America against the USSR in the name of freedom and employed in the war efforts as actively as economic and military means.[97] This, coupled with a desire from artists to move away from artistic standards set by Paris and relocate the Western heart of all things high culture on the other side of the Atlantic, led to the creation of American abstract expressionism.[98] Abstract expressionism, a bold, and aggressive artistic form which claimed to be an unstructured, free expression of the artists' minds with a universalist rather than nationalist or internationalist intent,[99] acted as the perfect metaphor for

[94] Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and The World Of Arts And Letters*, (New York: The New Press, 2013) 213.
[95] Ibid, 214.
[96] Serge Guilbaut, How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), 33-47.
[97] Ibid, 177.
[98] Ibid, 166-194.
[99] Ibid, 174-178.

the American spirit that the U.S. government sought to preach beyond the liberal frontier. And as such, so did jazz, interpreted by the policymakers as the avant-garde, musical equivalent to abstract expressionism.

Using ambassadors from all corners of the American contemporary arts such as modern dancer Martha Graham,[100] abstract expressionist Jackson Pollock,[101] and jazz artist Louis Armstrong, the U.S. government encouraged and actively sped-up the development of the American modernist canon. American art was promoted both through public policies, such as the jazz ambassadors program discussed below, but also through covert operations, such as the CIA's International Organization Division (IOD). The IOD operated notably through its front of the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), an anti-communist cultural organization. The CCF, in charge of coordinating events featuring the best of "truly American" art through events such as exhibitions, conferences and public performances, was a considerable operation which at its highest point employed people in thirty-five countries and published twenty different magazines.[102] However, having met resistance from the more conservative side of Congress,[103] these events were designed to be for "export only", preserving the sensibilities of both the conservative American politicians and of the American public at large.

It was under the Eisenhower Administration, starting in the mid-1950s that this cultural policy grew exponentially in size.[104] This was motivated by Eisenhower's concern that the U.S. was primarily perceived abroad as a materialistic state, stating that "[America's] successes are described in terms of automobiles and not in terms of worthwhile culture of any kind'",[105] thereby supporting Soviet propaganda lines. The central role that jazz was given in the Cultural Cold War can notably be credited to African American congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr. Powell, a music afficionado married to popular jazz singer Hazel Scott. Powell is best known to be the only American political representative to have attended the 1955 Bandung Conference despite being forbidden by the U.S. government to do so, fearing that this would be interpreted as a show of support for the Conference. Understanding at Bandung the

[100] von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World,* 41-42.
[101] Frances Stonor Saunders, "Yanqui Doodles" in *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and The World of Arts And Letters*, (New York: The New Press, 2013), 212-234.
[102] Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War*, 1.
[103] Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War*, 215-216; von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World,* 23.
[104] Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War*, 228; Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, 4
[105] Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, 4.

need for the U.S. to improve its international reputation, Powell proposed upon his return to use jazz as the medium to spread a new image of America.[106]

Indeed, jazz music reunited all the right conditions for a successful pro-American propaganda. First, jazz music had emerged in America, and consisted one of the few music genres not borrowed from the Old Continent. Although not considered quintessentially American at home (and rather as a music made primarily by and for the African American community) it had the potential to be *promoted* as such, the hope being that it would gain popularity and prove the superiority of the American arts, and by extension American values, over those of the USSR's.[107] Furthermore, jazz music had already proven itself by encountering great success in Western countries, and as such had the potential to become equally popular in the rest of the world. Secondly, its structure itself was also full of symbolisms: the improvisation character of jazz represented freedom, which, in the words of Willis Conover, presenter of "Music USA's Jazz Hour" on the international radio "Voice of America" (VOA), reflected "the spirit of America; […] there are previously agreed upon rules by which everyone will abide, and within those rules everyone has complete freedom. […] [It] is the truest expression of America, because it's true of American life"[108]. The use of a non-western scale and the syncopation, on the other hand, moved away from the rules of "traditional" western classical music; this helped depict "America's classical music" as new, modern, and innovative, contrarily to Soviet classical music who adopted a conservative approach, working within the European classical music canon.[109] Last but not least, if the freedom message of jazz were to be carried internationally by African Americans musicians and mixed bands, the image of the US as a white supremacist country would be brought down.[110]

The jazz cultural campaign was propagated through two main means: the broadcast Voice of America, and the so-called "jazz ambassadors" program. The VOA, a US-government-owned radio originally created in 1942 under the Roosevelt Administration as a way to spread pro-liberal propaganda during the WWII, was (and still is) a radio exclusively diffused abroad. During the Cold War, the VOA was used as one of the main media to diffuse pro-American stances and broadcasted past the Iron Curtain, offering broadcasts in multiple Eastern languages such as Russian. The VOA programming originally consisted of both a mix of anti-Soviet diatribes and cultural and informative programming. However, it

[106] Berkeley, *The Jazz Ambassadors.*
[107] Saito, *The Global Politics of Jazz*, 46.
[108] Berkeley, *The Jazz Ambassadors.*
[109] Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, 6.
[110] Saito, *The Global Politics of Jazz*, 3.

was quickly noticed that the latter encountered greater success among the Soviet public and was less likely to be jammed by the USSR, and the VOA was eventually enjoined by the State Department to switch towards a less aggressive type of propaganda. This was the reasoning that led to the creation of "Music USA" in 1955.[111] To ensure that the VOA would reach the public that it was intended for, the United States Information Agency (USIA), in charge of "public diplomacy" during the Cold War, distributed thousands of transistors radios throughout Asia, Africa and the Middle East.[112] This move was critical in boosting the popularity of "Music USA" throughout the world, to the point where the one historian later called it ""'probably the most effective propaganda coup in [U.S.] history'". [113] Surveys conducted by the USIA found, that, in fact, that Music USA was the most listened to VOA program in Europe, Africa, and Eastern Europe; and in Poland, Conover was found to be the "best-known living American".[114] Within the Soviet Union, millions illegal recordings of Conover's Jazz Hour were made on medical X-ray scans instead of vinyl's, despite a ban of these *roentgenizdat* or "jazz on bones" and state policing through "music patrols".[115] According to musicologist and history Rüdiger Ritter, this fervent enthusiasm for Conover's program can be retraced to a sense of longing for personal freedom among the Soviets, the kind that "pupils enjoy away from their teachers, youths enjoy away from their parents, and adults enjoy away from the state" .[116] This was in fact a sensibly different result than the one envisaged by the U.S. government, who aimed to display *political* freedom and its association to liberalism through their cultural campaign.[117]

The second major actor of this cultural campaign, namely the jazz ambassadors program, was launched a little over a decade later than the VOA, starting in 1956. Under the Eisenhower Administration, a fund dedicated to financing the touring of jazz musicians throughout the Middle East, Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe was created. The first recipient, Dizzy Gillespie, was sent on a tour throughout the Middle East, financed by what was then "the President's Emergency Fund".[118] The tour was an immediate

---

[111] Hixson, *Parting the Curtain,* 115-16. An audio extract of Music USA's "Jazz Hour" can be found here: VOA News, *Willis Conover Jazz Hour Clip*, video, 2012, https://youtu.be/TZVpHOSqJpE. As can be heard in the extract, part of the "Jazz Hour"'s success was Willis Conover's pace of speech, making the program accessible to its international audience. Furthermore, although propaganda was more veiled within the VOA's programs such as "Music USA", this audio demonstrates clearly that it was present nonetheless.

[112] Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World, 15.*

[113] Hixson, *Parting the Curtain,* 118.

[114] Ibid, 118.

[115] Ibid, 117.

[116] Gertrud Pickhan, and Rüdiger Ritter, eds., *Meanings of Jazz in State Socialism,* Jazz under Socialism, Vol. 4, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition, 2016), 34.

[117] Gertrud Pickhan, and Rüdiger Ritter, eds., *Meanings of Jazz in State Socialism,* Jazz under Socialism, Vol. 4, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition, 2016), 34.

[118] Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, 1.

diplomatic success. A telling anecdote is the last-minute rerouting of Gillespie's tour from Turkey to Greece for an emergency concert, where an anti-American riot was taking place. Angered by the U.S. support of Greece's right-wing dictatorship, students had stoned the U.S. Information Office. Gillespie recalled later playing for what was "a seething audience of anti-American students".[119] By the end of the concert, Gillespie said, "they loved us so much that […] they tossed their jackets into the air and carried me on their shoulders through the streets of the city".[120] The following day, a local newspaper headline read "Students Drop Rocks and Roll with Dizzy" .[121] Following the success of Gillespie's tour, the "jazz ambassadors" fund was formalized and renamed "President's Special International Program".[122] Several tours were subsequently organized with the most renowned jazz artists and (mixed) bands, such as Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, and Dave Brubeck. The "jazz ambassadors" program culminated in 1962 when Benny Goodman and his band were offered to tour throughout the Soviet Union, where the "jazz fever" had reached the people on such level that the Communist Party had given up on efforts to contain or censor it, focusing instead on ensuring (unsuccessfully so) that the musicians would not have the opportunity to directly interact with the population.[123]

It is important at this stage to point out the double standards which rigged the use of jazz as cultural diplomacy by the American government. A "color-blind" campaign, the jazz ambassadors program very much depended on African American musicians in order to present an image of a democratic America which was open to all. This irony was further aggravated by the fact that simultaneously, and for a large part of the Cold War (up until the 1964 Civil Rights Act), Jim Crows laws were still in effect throughout the country.[124] This was recognized by the African American musicians whose tours were financed by the government, and whose music was promoted by the VOA. For them, however, the cultural campaign was also an opportunity to be recognized by America and to contribute to the advancement of the African American cause. Furthermore, the tours were an opportunity for these jazz ambassadors to discover new musical influences and further develop jazz music, a genre which was already, by its origins, multicultural in nature.[125]

[119] Ibid, 34.
[120] Ibid, 33.
[121] Ibid, 34.
[122] Ibid, 6.
[123] Berkeley, *The Jazz Ambassadors.*
[124] Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, 4.
[125] Ibid, 250.

By the time the Cold War had reached its end, the jazz ambassadors program in its original form was virtually ended. In the late 1970s, the political urgency which shaped the Cultural Cold War as its beginnings was not as present, leading to the downsizing of the program until it was eventually transferred from under the State Department to the USIA. After the dissolution of the USSR, the tours turned out to be "more routine and less […] politics", and as such, financial contributions by the U.S. government were eventually discontinued.[126] As for the VOA, it still exists and broadcasts abroad, although its iconic program "Music USA" was canceled after more than three decades of existence.[127]

From African American to Americana Music

This use of jazz music by the American government as a cultural weapon in the Cold War resulted eventually in the "legitimization" of the genre in American society. This new image given to jazz as part of pro-U.S. propaganda was adopted by the American public itself by the end of the Cold War. However, as the values associated to jazz evolved, the new image given to jazz resulted in its redefinition as primarily a musical movement rather than both a musical genre *and* a mode of cultural subversion. This can be best explained using the concept of cultural hegemony.

As discussed in the introduction of this paper, cultural hegemony, as first introduced by Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci, can be defined as a "structure of values".[128] All cultural products such as art forms, symbols, traditions, are associated with a certain set of values. Those associated with "positive" values, in other words, which fit or are made to fit the narrative of the hegemony, are integrated in mainstream society. Kate Crehan, an anthropologist and expert on Gramsci, explains that "the narratives that become hegemonic are those that reflect the world as seen from the vantage point of the rulers rather than the ruled. Those that emerge from less privileged locations are forced to exist within the interstices of the dominant explanations".[129] In other words, the values associated to these narratives are not fixed. A cultural product may be "re-evaluated" as a society evolves, and its narrative redefined. A counter-hegemonic product may be re-evaluated to fit the narrative of the hegemony, and associated with new, hegemonic values. It thus follows that in order for the hegemony to appropriate a such product, it needs to change the narrative to strip it, or at the very least, put in the background, the features which

[126] Ibid, 251.
[127] Ibid, 13.
[128] Cox et al., *Approaches to World Order*, 151.
[129] Kate A. F. Crehan, *Gramsci's Common Sense: Inequality and Its Narratives* (Durham & London: Duke of University Press, 2016), 51.

precisely make it up to be a cultural product of the subaltern. In other word, in an effort of compatibility, the integration of a counter-hegemonic cultural product into mainstream society will automatically strip this product of its counter-hegemonic character. It is important to note that in any process of "re-evaluation", the hegemony must gather a minimum amount of public support, and this in two ways: on one hand, it must offer a narrative that is attractive to a sufficient number of people; on the other, this narrative must convince these people that the interests it defends are not those of the dominant group, but of the society as a whole. This implies that the narrative may at times have to be revised in order to attract subordinate groups and gather enough support.[130] Indeed, adaption of the narrative is a crucial step as a new ideology needs to be adhered to by the subaltern, whether through "active commitment" or passive consent.[131] Furthermore, a certain plausibility is required of the claim, as cultural hegemony is perpetrated by authoritative members of the society, i.e. "parents, preachers, teachers, journalists, literati, "experts" of all sorts, as well as advertising executives, entertainment promoters, popular musicians, sports figures, and "celebrities"-all of whom are involved (albeit often unwittingly) in shaping the values and attitudes of a society". [132] By their social positions, these figures have the (cultural, economic, and/or political) power to define and re-define what is seen as "common sense" in a society, by approving of some opinions and discarding others.[133]

With the establishment of the U.S. cultural propaganda policy, jazz music was re-evaluated in such a manner: its narrative was renewed, and it became associated with new, more "American" values. This had two effects: first, it resulted in the integration or "acceptance" of the genre within American society and was redefined as "true Americana". However, and secondly, in order for the narrative of jazz "to exist within the interstices of the dominant explanations", the genre was stripped of its African American origins and redefined as colorblind, in a similar fashion to that universalist spirit which animated the abstract expressionism scene.[134] This effectively turned jazz from a cultural weapon against segregation, in other words, a counter-hegemonic movement, into a new manifestation of hegemonic power, reinforcing the discrimination against African American in the jazz industry.

---

[130] T. J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities", The American Historical Review 90, no. 3 (1985): 567, doi:10.2307/1860957, 571.
[131] Ibid, 569-70.
[132] Ibid, 572.
[133] Ibid, 572.
[134] Serge Guilbaut, How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), 33-47.

First, as previously discussed at length, it was actively promoted as quintessentially American. Jazz music became the music that all American and were recognized and admired for, not only because jazz was born on American soil, but also because it bore the American values of freedom and democracy. By the end of the Cold War, these new values had been assimilated within the American society, turning jazz music into Americana music,[135] its African American origins put in the background, and its "deviant" image forgotten. The history of jazz was retold as a "doctrine of progress", where simple, folk forms with unclear origins had evolved not into not unpleasant, nonsensible music, but rather "complex patterns of greatness". [136] Furthermore, jazz was promoted as American "modernism", in an attempt to counter the Soviet propaganda displaying the U.S. as a materialistic and superficial nation. This re-definition and re-evaluation of jazz was successful, I argue, because the hegemony was able to "claim with at least some plausibility that their particular interests are those of society at large",[137] despite the criticism it met at first. Indeed, the Jazz Ambassadors program originally met objections domestically, with one politician calling the music "pure noise" and raising concerns that promoting jazz abroad would picture Americans as "barbarians".[138] However, as the State Department showcased the triumph of jazz music abroad as a uniquely American genre representing "freedom, vitality and a new kind of expression'",[139] it was eventually able to convince the American Congress and Senate of the diplomatic interest that the genre represented for the U.S. While this "re-evaluation" of jazz music was successful in bringing in a more positive outlook on the music among the American public, it also resulted in the genre being stripped of its identity as a product of "subaltern" African American community. In the American imaginary, the newfound elite status of jazz music was not compatible with the African American working-class culture from which it had emerged. The degree of modernity and complexity that jazz music displayed, now recognized, could not for many critics be linked to such "low origins". As such, the music and the culture were dissociated, so that the elevation of the former to modernism could be completed. [140]

What is important to note here is that even by the 20th century, jazz had never lost the spirit of resistance first observed in spiritual music. Indeed, it was often used as a form of expression against a segregated society in the early 20th century: "musicians understood that jazz [was] a site for African American artistic achievement but that it was also symbolic of the restrictions that American society

[135] Saito, *The Global Politics of Jazz*, 152-53.
[136] Eric Porter, *What Is This Thing Called Jazz?*, (Berkeley: Univesity of California Press, 2002), 110.
[137] Lears, "The Concept Of Cultural Hegemony, 571.
[138] Saito, *The Global Politics of Jazz*, 51.
[139] Ibid, 51.
[140] Ibid, 51.

placed on their lives as artists and human beings".[141] Songs like "Black and Blues" showed than even a century later, musicians still made use of music as a form of speaking up against the African American condition in America:

What did I do to be so black and blue?/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

Even throughout the Cold War, and while the American government was using jazz as its latest cultural weapon, others were using it as a way to protests against the hypocrisy displayed by the Eisenhower Administration.[142] However, as jazz was turning "colorblind" through the work of its most famous musicians, it lost its association as a cultural product of the African American community. This resulted in jazz music being stripped of its counter-hegemonic character. What is meant by this is not necessarily that African American musicians stopped using jazz music as a form of political expression, but rather that they were no longer *heard*: "the discourse of racial integration functioned to cover up the privileges white musicians held in the music industry, in the sense that problems became defined in terms of an individual's ability or talent, rather than racial factors or the extant social structure". [143]

One of the telling signs of the success of the "re-evaluation" of jazz, and its integration into American society is undoubtedly the introduction of so-called "Jazz Resolution", which was agreed to in 1987.[144] In it, the American Congress declares the genre to be "hereby designated as a rare and valuable national American treasure to which we should devote our attention, support and resources to make certain it is preserved, understood, and promulgated".[145] At the very beginning of the resolution, jazz was described as "an outstanding artistic model of individual expression and democratic cooperation within the creative process, thus fulfilling the highest ideals and aspirations of our republic",[146] a very telling sign of the successful re-evaluation of the music genre, which in only thirty years went from being perceived as the music of depravity to the very best that America had to offer.

[141] Porter, *What Is This Thing Called Jazz ?,* 2.
[142] Berkeley, *The Jazz Ambassadors*
[143] Saito, *The Global Politics of Jazz*, 66.
[144] Ibid, 153.
[145] U.S. Congress, House, *Jazz – Designation as an American National Treasure*, H Con. Res. 57, 100th Cong., Dec. 4th, 1987.
[146] Ibid.

Conclusion

In this second chapter, I have discussed the use of jazz in American diplomacy during the Cold War as a way of gaining international support through cultural propaganda. Inspired by the American modernism art movement, the U.S. government promoted its ideology through the use of American-branded visual and musical arts. The jazz genre, due to its origins stemming from within the U.S., as well as its structure, acted as a metaphor through which the U.S. government was able to propagate liberal views of freedom. This was notably done through the overseas radio Voice of America, as well as the jazz ambassadors program, both of which met high success within the Eastern block and beyond.

Furthermore, I have shown how the perception of jazz music among the American public evolved as a result of this cultural policy and used Antonio Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony to explain this phenomenon. Using this theory, I concluded that that jazz music was given a new narrative by the American hegemony and was subsequently stripped of its identity as being primarily a cultural product of the African American community. As a result of this process, jazz music was stripped of its counter-hegemonic character: whereas jazz was previously used as a mean to foster conversations around the issue of racial discrimination in the U.S., its newfound "colorblindness" contributed to sustaining institutional racism within the jazz industry. With this case study, I wish to make the broader point that there are multiple ways in which forms of counter-hegemony may come to an end: indeed, what can be seen through the history of jazz music is that "soft" integration can have a similarly powerful (if not more) effect as, for example, aggressive state repression, as has been repeatedly seen in movements of resistance throughout the world.

Although this will not be discussed in this research due to its scope, it is important to point out here that in the same period that jazz music was used abroad as propaganda means, new forms of jazz were developing at home within the context of the Black Nationalist movement. While some of jazz's biggest names at the time were touring the world as ambassador, others such as Charles Mingus and Max Roach were experimenting with what would become known as "free jazz". This subgenre of jazz was strongly influenced by the desire of some musicians to bring back "African sounds" to the music, and, by extension, to promote "self-recognition" and "self-promotion" of an identity "sheltered from white values".[147] In other words, while more structured forms of jazz were being mainstreamed both abroad and at home through the U.S. propaganda efforts, jazz was equally being politicized within the U.S. itself.

[147] Philippe Carles and Jean-Louis Comolli, *Free Jazz, Black Power* (Paris: Gallimard, 2008), 145-147.

Playlist

Dizzy Gillespie, “Groovin’ High”, track 15 on *Dizzy Gillespie Big Band*, 1992, CD.
https://youtu.be/owXzBNcZ7jk

The Duke Ellington Orchestra, “Take the A Train”, side A on *Take the A Train,* Victor, 1941, Shellac 10” .
https://youtu.be/YKDSfx5d2pc

Louis Armstrong, “(What Did I Do to Be So) Black and Blue”, side B3 on *Satch Plays Fats*, Columbia, LP.
https://youtu.be/tyg8aB9qtr8

Conclusion

"One thing I like about jazz, kid, is that I don't know what's going to happen next. Do you?"
- Bix Beiderbecke

One thing is left to do, which is to answer the original question posed in this research, namely “'in what ways has the form of jazz been used as a mode of cultural subversion?”. The answer is plural, as the political strength of music and culture in general lies in the fact that touches people on a fundamental level, namely their sense of identity. At least two ways in which jazz was used as subversion were identified in the case studies above: first, it can be used to spread, or undermine ideologies, such as was the case during the Cold War. Secondly, it can also be used to *create* and *reinforce* communities, which in turn generate resistance movements, as was the case with spirituals. Because of the metaphors it carries with it, its capacity to touch people on an emotional level, as well its accessibility both in economic and social terms, jazz, but also the arts and culture in general make up for formidable political tool that, in the right circumstances, can prove more effective than economic or military measures.

Although in one case study the jazz form was used to *challenge* segregation practices, and one to *reinforce* American soft power, in both eras’, the idea of freedom formed the backdrop against which a movement of subversion was able to organize itself. The jazz form in particular is quite effective at conveying such a message, because it is fundamentally about innovating; in other words, jazz music is about challenging set norms. Jazz music can never mainstream; when a subgenre of jazz becomes mainstream, a new genre emerges. As Duke Ellington once told Dizzy Gillespie: “Dizzy, the biggest mistake you made was to let them name your music bebop, because from the time they name something, it is

dated".[148] This subversion character of jazz, which we see emerging over and over again, is due to its origins. Jazz did not emerge from the elite; in fact, it emerged as a way to challenge it, and the hegemonic discourse that it had established. Of course, other genres of music such as western classical music have also faced innovation throughout their history. But, for example, in the case of western classical music, this process of reinventing the genre was only able to be taken so far until the music was no longer "classical" music but became "contemporary". In jazz music, regardless of how "experimental" one may be with the form, it can still be given the label of "jazz", because this constant evolution is what forms the base of the genre. The jazz form is the rejection of norms: atypical, syncopated rhythms; atypical, dissonant sounds; and improvisation, ensuring that no norm can be set on the interpretation of a given song. In short, the one rule about the jazz form is that it should not follow any. Given this, it is clear how jazz music became an ideal form to represent subversion, "the undermining of the power and authority of an established system or institution".[149]

Today, jazz music still challenges norms, notably within the subgenre of so-called "ethno" or "world jazz". This fusion genre, where "traditional", American jazz music is mixed with non-western traditional or folkloric music, emerged in the 1980s, in part due to the success of the American Cultural Cold War policy. Indeed, the ambassadors' tours gave for musicians an opportunity to discover new sounds. Collaborations arose, "from Gillespie's meeting with the pianist Lalo Schifrin in Buenos Aires, to Brubeck's incorporation of the sitar sounds of Abdul Jafar Khan during his tour in Bombay, to Ellington's collaboration with Ethiopian jazz-fusionist Mulatu Astatqé"[150], giving rise to new, more international jazz music.[151] This genre is particularly popular among musicians from a non-western background such as, to name but a few, Lebanese-born artist Ibrahim Maalouf, Armenian pianist Tigran Hamasyan, or the Israelian bassist Avishai Cohen.

While acting in a more subtle manner than the one observed at the beginnings of jazz and in the Cold War, ethno-jazz also acts as the challenger to a cultural hegemony, namely western musical dominance. Due to their common European musical heritage as well as the phenomenon of globalization, western societies share extremely similar musical cultures. This western musical culture still uses today harmonies and sounds that are in large part inspired from European classical music. As such, it is a culture

[148] Philip V. Bohlman and Goffredo Plastino, eds., *Jazz Worlds/World Jazz* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), xiii.
[149] "Subversion", Oxford Languages (Oxford University Press).
[150] Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World,* 256.
[151] Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World,* 256.

that is not familiar with, or generally interested in, non-western musical traditions. Indeed, these musical cultures often use different scales and even notes than those that Westerners are familiar -and aurally comfortable- with. The combination of jazz with non-western music is effective way to introduce these musical traditions in western societies, raise interest for them, and challenge western musical norms. For the above-cited artists, all of whom have gained international-level fame and are regularly sold out both in Western and non-western countries, ethno-jazz carves a space for these artists within which to claim their musical heritage. From a postcolonial point of view, it provides a stage to display and share musical heritages from all around the Global South. In an era where western pop music dominates, and the existence of traditional forms of music are being threatened due to a lack of interest, this genre of jazz acts as a form of resistance against this American-led musical hegemony. At the same time, the musical traditions from which ethno-jazz is inspired do not remain static either; it also challenges the various forms of folkloric music that it inspires itself from.

What this genre shows us is that cultural forms of resistance or subversions do not necessarily need *intention* to function as such. Indeed, some ethno-jazz artist may have the political meaning of the genre in mind when practicing it and performing it among a Western public. Some, however, do not, and may play for the sake of playing. Like many cultural forms, the politics of jazz are invisible, partly because they do not need a "conscious" advocate to exist. As cultural turn scholars in the 1960s pointed out, this is one of the biggest strengths of culture as a key player on the political field. The academic exercise of retracing a cultural movement's path is not only a way to unveil this invisibility cloak and identify past and current power plays, but it is also incredibly helpful to predict future cultural trends, and hopefully, gain some insights into the political future of our societies.

In this sense, this work is limited by its historical scope; although this research has shown insights into the mechanisms of culture as a form of subversion, it looks back rather than forward. In an age of globalization, however, the speed at which cultural trends spread as well as their reach is exponentially increasing, in particular through virtual means such as social media. It would be as such interesting in future literature to look at the way in which cultural forms of resistance are impacted by this newfound scale of operation. For example, in the two case studies discussed above, the hegemonic mechanisms of power were primarily identified at national level. However, in the wake of a global culture, can we still argue that dominant cultural values are defined at the scale of the state? And if not, who then shapes tomorrow's culture?

Playlist

Ibrahim Maalouf, “Maeva in Wonderland”, track 4 on *Diagnostic*, Mi’ster Production, 2011, CD.
https://youtu.be/OGznLOuFwpM

Tigran Hamasyan, “Mother Where Are You?”, track 13 on *A Fable*, Verve Records, 2011, CD.
https://youtu.be/Y5ogerZedws

Avishai Cohen, “Song for My Brother”, track 2 on *Almah*, Parlophone, 2013, CD.
https://youtu.be/-WU6YT1zJjA

Bibliography

Achille, Louis T. "Les Negro-spirituals Et L'Expansion De La Culture Noire." Présence Africaine, Nouvelle Série, no. 8/10 (1956): 227-37.

Ahrendt, Rebekah, Mark Ferraguto, and Damien Mahiet. *Music and Diplomacy from The Early Modern Era to The Present*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Bohlman, Philip V., and Goffredo Plastino. *Jazz Worlds/World Jazz*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016.

Bonnell, Victoria and Hunt, Lynn. *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1999.

Bradford, Sarah. *Harriet, The Moses of Her People*. 1869. Reprint, Project Gutenberg, 2011. Accessed May 1, 2020. http://www.gutenberg.org/files/9999/9999-h/9999-h.htm

Carles, Philippe, and Jean-Louis Comolli. Free Jazz, Black Power. Paris: Gallimard, 2008.

Cone, James H. "Black Spirituals: A Theological Interpretation." Theology Today 29, no. 1 (April 1972): 54–69. doi:10.1177/004057367202900107.

Cox, Robert and Sinclair, Timothy. *Approaches to World Order*. Cambridge Studies in International Relations, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511607905.

Crehan, Kate A. F. *Gramsci's Common Sense: Inequality and Its Narratives*. Durham & London: Duke of University Press, 2016.

Cruz, Jon. *Culture on The Margins: The Black Spiritual and The Rise of American Cultural Interpretation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Douglass, Frederick. *My Bondage and My Freedom*. 1855. Reprint, New Heaven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014.

Dunne, Tim, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith. Eds. *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*. 3rd ed. Oxford University Press, 2013.

Finkelstein, Sidney. *Jazz: A People's Music*. New York: Citadel Press, 1948.

Franklin, M. I. *Resounding International Relations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2005.

Gienow-Hecht, Jessica C.E., ed. *Music and International History in The Twentieth Century*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2015.

Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Ed. Quintin Hoare, and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith. New York: International Publishers, 1973.

Halliday, M. A. K. "Anti-Languages." *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 78, no. 3 (1976): 570-84.

Hixson, Walter L. *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, And the Cold War, 1945-1961*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.

Hobsbawm, E.J. *The Jazz Scene*. 1960. Repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1975.

Hood, Marcia Mitchell. "William Levi Dawson and His Music: A Teacher's Guide to Interpreting His Choral Spirituals". DMA diss. University of Alabama, 2004.

Hugo Berkeley. *The Jazz Ambassadors*. Documentary, USA: Thirteen Productions LLC, 2018.

Jackson, Maurice, and Blair A. Ruble. *DC Jazz: Stories of Jazz Music in Washington, DC*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2018

Kelley, J. B. "Song, Story, or History: Resisting Claims of a Coded Message in the African American Spiritual 'Follow the Drinking Gourd' ". The Journal of Popular Culture, 41, no. 2 (2008): 262-280, doi:10.1111/j.1540-5931.2008.00502.x

Lawrence-McIntyre, Charshee Charlotte. "The Double Meanings of The Spirituals". Journal of Black Studies 17, no. 4, 379-401. 1987. DOI:10.1177/002193478701700401.

Lears, T. J. Jackson. "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities". The American Historical Review 90, no. 3 (1985): 567. doi:10.2307/1860957.

Pickhan, Gertrud and Rüdiger Ritter, eds. *Meanings of Jazz in State Socialism.* Jazz under Socialism, Vol. 4. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition, 2016.

Porter, Eric. *What Is This Thing Called Jazz?*. Berkeley: Univesity of California Press, 2002.

Ramel, Frédéric, and Cécile Prévost-Thomas, eds. *International Relations, Music and Diplomacy*. Cham: Springer Nature, 2018.

Rosenberg, Daniel. "Sidney Finkelstein: An Appreciation of The Great Marxist Cultural Critic". *Culture Matters*, 2018. https://www.culturematters.org.uk/index.php/arts/music/item/2710-sidney-finkelstein-an-appreciation-of-the-great-marxist-cultural-critic.

Said, Edward. *Musical Elaborations*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.

Saito, Yoshiomi. *The Global Politics of Jazz in The Twentieth Century*. New York: Routledge, 2019.

Saunders, Frances Stonor. *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and The World of Arts and Letters*. New York: The New Press, 2013.

Solomon, Ty. "The Affective Underpinnings of Soft Power." *European Journal of International Relations* 20, no. 3 (2014): 720-741.

Southern, Eileen. *The Music of Black Americans: A History.* 2nd ed. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1971.

"Subversion". *Oxford Languages*. Oxford University Press.

Syncopation. Part 1. What the Heck Is Syncopation? How To Read Ties And Difficult Rhythm. Video, 2017. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WbultyEVOqw.

U.S. Congress, House. *Jazz – Designation as an American National Treasure*. H Con. Res. 57. 100th Cong.. Dec. 4th, 1987.

VOA News. *Willis Conover Jazz Hour Clip*. Video, 2012. https://youtu.be/TZVpHOSqJpE.

Von Eschen, Penny. *Satchmo Blows Up the World*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2006.