University of Hradec Králové
Philosophical Faculty

Bachelor Thesis

2023 **Gabriela Marques Garcia De Souza**

University of Hradec Králové
Philosophical Faculty
Department of Political Science

Music as a Cultural Diplomacy Instrument: The Jazz Diplomacy during the Cold War

Bachelor Thesis

Author: Gabriela Marques Garcia De Souza
Study Program: Political Science
Supervisor: Mgr. Stanislav Myšička, Ph.D.

Hradec Králové, 2023

Univerzita Hradec Králové
Filozofická fakulta

Zadání bakalářské práce

Autor:	**Gabriela Marques Garcia De Souza**
Studium:	F202
Studijní program:	B6701 Political Science
Studijní obor:	Political Science
Název bakalářské práce:	**Music as a Cultural Diplomacy Instrument: The Jazz Diplomacy during the Cold War**
Název bakalářské práce AJ:	Music as a Cultural Diplomacy Instrument: The Jazz Diplomacy during the Cold War

Cíl, metody, literatura, předpoklady:

This study aims to explore the role of jazz as a cultural diplomacy instrument during the Cold War through a constructivist theoretical framework. Cultural diplomacy, particularly music diplomacy, has received limited attention in the fields of Political Science and International Relations, due to mainstream approaches to culture based on realist or liberal theories. Therefore, the main goal of this research is to highlight and expand discussions on the relevance and power of music and cultural diplomacy, by looking to the role of jazz as a diplomatic instrument during the Cold War as a case study.

Keywords: cultural diplomacy, music diplomacy, jazz diplomacy, constructivism, cold war.

Ahrendt, R., Ferraguto M. and Mahiet D. (2015). Music and Diplomacy- From the Early Modern Era to the Present. Palgrave Macmillan: New York.

Cooke. M. (1998). *The Chronicles of Jazz. Michigan:* Abbeville Press.

Cox, R. W. (1981). Social Forces, States and World Orders. Millennium: Journal of International Studies. p. 126–55.

Crow, Bill. (1990). Jazz anecdotes. New York : Oxford University Press

Cummings, M. C. (2009). *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey.* Washington D.C: Center for Arts and Culture.

Davenport, L. E. (2009). Jazz diplomacy: promoting America in the Cold War era. University of Mississippi Press.

Fosler-Lussier, D. (2012). Music *Pushed, Music Pulled: Cultural Diplomacy, Globalization, and Imperialism.* Diplomatic History, Vol 36. Available in: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7709.2011.01008.x

Gienow-Hecht, J. C. E. (ed.). (2015) *Music and International History in the Twentieth Century.* Berghahn Books.

Gienow-Hecht, Jessica C. E.; Donfried, Mark C. (eds.). (2010). Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy. New York: Berghahn Books.

Hobsbawm, Eric. (1993). The Jazz Scene. London: Faber and Faber. [Ebook ed.]

Hobsbawm, Eric. (1994). The Ages of Extremes: The short twentieth century 1914-1991. Great Britain: Abacus [1995 ed.]

Hopft, Ted. (2012). Reconstructing the Cold War : the early years, 1945–1958. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jackson, R.; Sørensen, G. (2013). Introduction to International Relations. Theories and Approaches, fifth ed. London: Oxford University Press

Meridian International Center. Jam session: America's jazz ambassadors embrace the world. Washington D.C.: Meridian, 2008. Available in: JAM SESSION (meridian.org)

Nye, J. S. (2004). Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics. Canada: Public Affairs Books.

Nye, J. S. (2008). Public Diplomacy and Soft Power. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *616*, 94–109. Available in: http://www.jstor.org/stable/25097996

Prévost-Thomas, C., Ramel, F. (eds.). (2018). International *Relations, Music and Diplomacy: Sounds and Voices on the International Stage.* International Relations and Economy series. Palgrave Macmillan Paris.

Saddiki, Said. El Papel de La Diplomacia Cultural En Las Relaciones Internacionales. *Revista CIDOB d'Afers Internacionals*, no. 88, 2009, pp. 101-111-111. Chapter 101-111-111. Chapter 107-18. *Available in:* http://www.jstor.org/stable/40586505.

Schneider, Cynthia P. (2006). Cultural Diplomacy: Hard to Define, but You'd Know It If You Saw It. *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 13, no. 1, 191–203. Available in: http://www.jstor.org/stable/24590653

Villanueva, César Rivas. (2010). Cosmopolitan Constructivism: Mapping a Road to the Future of Cultural and Public Diplomacy. Public Diplomacy Magazine.

Von Eschen, P. (2004). Satchmo Blows up the world. Jazz ambassadors play the Cold War. Harvard: Harvard University Press

Wendt, A. (1999). Social Theory of International Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yalvaç, F. (2017). Critical Theory: International Relations' Engagement With the Frankfurt School and Marxism. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies.*

Zamorano, Mariano Martin. (2016). Reframing Cultural Diplomacy: The Instrumentalization of Culture under the Soft Power Theory. Culture Unbound Journal of Current Cultural Research.

Zadávající pracoviště:	Katedra politologie, Filozofická fakulta
Vedoucí práce:	Mgr. Stanislav Myšička, Ph.D.

Datum zadání závěrečné práce: 15.11.2023

Declaration

I declare that I have written this Bachelor thesis independently under the supervision of Mgr. Stanislav Myšička, Ph.D. and stated all employed sources and literature.

In Hradec Králové, 17.12.2023 Signature: _____

Gabriela Marques Garcia De Souza

Abstract

Marques, G. (2023). *Music as a Cultural Diplomacy Instrument: The Jazz Diplomacy during the Cold War*. (Bachelor thesis). Hradec Králové: Philosophical Faculty, University of Hradec Králové.

This study aims to explore the role of jazz as a cultural diplomacy instrument during the Cold War through a constructivist theoretical framework. Cultural diplomacy, particularly music diplomacy, has received limited attention in the fields of Political Science and International Relations, due to mainstream approaches to culture based on realist or liberal theories. Therefore, the main goal of this research is to highlight and expand discussions on the relevance and power of music and cultural diplomacy, by looking to the role of jazz as a diplomatic instrument during the Cold War as a case study.

Keywords: cultural diplomacy, music diplomacy, jazz diplomacy, constructivism, Cold War

Anotace

Marques, G. (2023*). Hudba jako nástroj kulturní diplomacie: Jazzová diplomacie během studené války*. (Bakalářská práce). Hradec Králové: Filozofická fakulta, Univerzita Hradec Králové.

Tato studie si klade za cíl prozkoumat roli jazzu jako nástroje kulturní diplomacie během studené války s využitím konstruktivistického teoretického rámce. Kulturní diplomacie, zejména hudební diplomacie, získala v oblasti politických věd a mezinárodních vztahů omezenou pozornost kvůli mainstreamovým přístupům ke kultuře založeným na realistických nebo liberálních teoriích. Hlavním cílem této studie je proto zdůraznit a rozšířit diskuse o relevanci a síle hudební a kulturní diplomacie, přičemž se zaměřuje na případovou studii jazzu jako diplomatického nástroje během studené války.

Klíčová slova: kulturní diplomacie, hudební diplomacie, jazzová diplomacie, konstruktivismus, studená válka

Acknowledgements

I extend my deepest gratitude to my family, especially my mom Edilena and my dad Marcos, for their endless unconditional support, to my friends who became family during my journey living across five different countries, and to all the music — and jazz — lovers who inspire me every day. Without them and without music, especially the connections I made around the world because of it, I would not be here today.

Table of Contents

Table of Figures

Introduction

Music, politics, and diplomacy are deeply interconnected. The fusion of these three elements in the form of cultural diplomacy has played a significant and powerful role in international relations. The use of music as an instrument of cultural diplomacy can be traced back to the early modern period and has significantly influenced the relations between nations and individuals. However, in the sphere of Political Science, the topics involving culture of any kind lack attention, even though culture is inherently part of every nation and shapes our very perceptions of the world and the way it functions.

Consequently, cultural and music diplomacies are also a neglected topic within the field. This lack of relevance can be explained by the symbolic struggle that exists in these fields, in which mainstream theories, such as Realism and Liberalism, predominate and do not consider culture as a relevant dimension of analysis. In fact, culture only started to be considered after the recent 'cultural turn' in the discipline of International Relations (IR). However, even after the rise of critical theories and such 'cultural turn', culture has been predominantly approached from a neoliberal perspective, which reduces its significance to a mere element subordinate to economic and political structures. Hence, music as a cultural diplomacy instrument is often coined as a mere tool of dominance to maintain state power and hegemony, rather than recognizing its full potential for fostering international cooperation and harmony.

Therefore, this thesis intends to add one more contribution to the already limited body of work concerning cultural diplomacy and music in IR, using jazz diplomacy as a case study and a Constructivist approach. Constructivism views IR through the lenses of ideas and considers that the social reality, including the international structure, is socially constructed by identities, ideas, and beliefs. Thus, variables such as culture and music actively contribute to shaping international relations. Jazz, on the other hand, was chosen because it is a unique example that represents the powerful dimensions of music diplomacy on the

international stage. Jazz itself encompasses a diverse range of political and cultural expressions; it is a manifestation of the most diverse interpositions of ethnicities, nations, and styles. Due to its worldwide popularity and the values it represents, such as egalitarian diversity, freedom, and integration, it has been used for multiple political purposes, particularly in the period of the Cold War.

In this sense, the leading research question guiding this study is: *What is the role of jazz as a cultural diplomacy instrument during the Cold War?* The goal is to explore the relevance and power of music diplomacy in international relations and to broaden discussions on this topic within the field of Political Science. Understanding the connections between music, diplomacy, and politics, along with their dimensions of power in the international sphere, expands the analytical possibilities for examining the global system and what shapes its interactions, as well as our perceptions of international history.

In this regard, the methodology employed in this research involves qualitative analysis within a constructivist paradigm. A bibliographic review will be conducted using primary sources, such as the US State Department reports about jazz diplomacy and photographs of musicians as 'jazz ambassadors', along with major literature on the topic as a secondary source, such as the remarkable books *International Relations, Music and Diplomacy: Sounds and Voices on the International Stage* (2018) and *Music and Diplomacy- From the Early Modern Era to the Present* (2015), for instance. Moreover, diverse articles, documentaries, and lyrics of music are going to be used as secondary sources as well.

The structure of this thesis consists of three chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter introduces the theoretical framework and key concepts necessary to understand the significance of cultural diplomacy. It provides an analysis of how the IR field has traditionally addressed culture and the practice of cultural diplomacy. Furthermore, it delves into the 'cultural turn' in IR, elucidating key theories that arose from it and introduces Constructivism as the most favorable approach to cultural diplomacy for the purpose of this thesis. Thus, it also reunites various definitions and perceptions about the concept of cultural diplomacy based on a constructivist paradigm, aiming to understand its role in a broader and

multidimensional way. The second chapter focuses on the 'acoustic turn' in IR and explores music as an instrument of cultural diplomacy, intending to understand the multifaceted dimensions of music diplomacy in international relations. The third chapter delves into jazz and explores its role as a cultural diplomacy instrument during the Cold War. It introduces a concise history of jazz and contexttualizes it in Cold War, and then illustrates various cases in which jazz was used as a diplomatic instrument by different actors and for different purposes, revealing that it directly influenced the international relations of the period.

Chapter 1. Cultural diplomacy and International Relations

In Political Science, diplomacy is often studied in the sphere of international politics, and, in a broader sense, it refers to the 'conduct of human affairs by peaceful means, employing techniques of persuasion and negotiation' (Lee & Hocking, 2011: 1). Since the advent of International Relations (IR) as an academic discipline, diplomacy has been associated with the IR field. 'Diplomacy has come to be regarded as one of the key processes characterizing the international system and a defining institution of the system of sovereign states - often referred to as the "Westphalian" system after the 1684 Peace of Westphalia' (Ibid).

The concept of culture, on the other hand, is extensive and requires a detailed analysis of its anthropological, political, economic, and even biological depth. Culture is inherently diverse and resistant to condensation or hegemonization on a global scale, despite the efforts of certain nations. For the purpose of this thesis in looking to diplomacy through music, particularly to jazz, culture will be seen through a broader definition presented by UNESCO, the organization that created the International Jazz Day because it 'believes in the power of jazz as a force for peace, dialogue, and mutual understanding', as well as its 'diplomatic role in uniting people in all corners of the globe' (UNESCO, 2011). According to UNESCO's *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (2001): culture should be regarded as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual, and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs.

In this regard, diplomacy has many practices, processes, and modes, ranging from conventional inter-state relations to non-conventional intercultural relations. It possesses economic, cultural, social as well as political forms and functions. Cultural diplomacy has long played a role in international relations, dating back to ancient times when different kingdoms exchanged cultural goods for diplomatic purposes. Similarly, music, as a fundamental aspect of culture, has been used as an instrument of cultural diplomacy since early modern Europe, when concealed music and classical music were used in diplomatic ceremonials to achieve certain political

purposes, for instance. State and non-state actors have been using sounds and harmony as diplomatic instruments to disseminate their cultural values, address conflicts, influence allies and enemies, as well as to foster harmony and mutual understanding.

However, cultural diplomacy is a neglected topic in IR, due to the predominance of mainstream theories based on realist and liberal perspectives, which do no not consider the cultural dimension as relevant as the economic, political, and military dimensions that have traditionally dominated IR structure. When culture is considered, it is often coined as an obstacle or merely as a tool of dominance to maintain state power and hegemony, rather than recognizing its full potential for fostering international cooperation and harmony. Nevertheless, as this research argues, understanding its dimensions of power broadens the possibilities of analysis of the global system and what shapes its interactions, as well as our perceptions of international history. Thus, this thesis intends to add one more contribution to the already limited body of work concerning cultural diplomacy and music in IR, through a non-mainstream perspective, such as Constructivism, since it views IR through the lenses of norms and ideas.

To comprehend the role of music as a cultural diplomacy instrument, particularly jazz diplomacy as a case study, it is necessary to first understand how the IR field has traditionally approached culture and, consequently, the practice of cultural diplomacy. Thus, this chapter will briefly look at the history of IR to understand why culture has not been considered relevant in the field. Furthermore, it will present constructivism as the most favorable theory to discuss culture in IR and then look at the definition of cultural diplomacy based on a constructivist perspective.

1.1 Culture in IR

The establishment of International Relations (IR) as a distinct academic field is recent, beginning in the first half of the twentieth century, and it occurred not from a natural process of theoretical development, but as a response to the

historical context of that time. The first professorship was established in 1919, the year following the end of the First World War, and it was 'driven by a widely felt determination never to allow human suffering on such a scale to happen again' (Jackson & Sørensen, 2013: 34). It was materialized as a discipline in the 1940s, a period marked by the Second World War and the onset of the Cold War. As IR emerged in an era characterized by conflict, the debates in its early stages revolved around the issue of conflict among nation-states, considering them as the key actors in the international system. The studies in IR were dedicated to the examination of these nation-states, delving into their security concerns, and their national interests within the international system, among other aspects.

The roots of IR, however, are mainly connected to the realist tradition in the study of international politics, which can be traced back to the works of classical political philosophers, such as Thucydides, Niccolò Machiavelli, and Thomas Hobbes, who explored the nature of power, statecraft, anarchy, and conflict among sovereign entities. Political realists inspired by the thought of these philosophers, such as Hans Morgenthau, one of the pioneers of IR realism, assumed that international politics is characterized by an anarchic nature and thus is a constant pursuit of power. According to him, 'International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power. Whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is always the immediate aim' (Morgenthau, 1960: 29). Moreover, based on the Hobbesian view of human nature expressed in Leviathan (1651), realists assume that humans in their natural condition are self-centered, act in their self-interest and are in permanent 'state of war' (Jackson & Sørensen, 2013: 71). Thus, in the civil condition, humans need a social contract that establishes a powerful sovereign authority so they can live in order and achieve well-being.

In this sense, the core assumption of realism in IR is that international anarchy is the permissive cause of war and sovereign states are the primary actors in the international system, acting in their self-interest. Thus, to avoid their own domination, they are in a constant struggle for power to maintain or enhance their security and position relative to other states. However, the realists` emphasis on power and self-interest disregard the social aspect and ethical norms in the relations

among states, ignoring that the interests, decisions, and especially the ideas underlying everything belong to individuals —individuals possessing formed ideas within a cultural context— who act behind the entire facade of the state. These ideas, however, may serve other purposes that are not necessarily aligned with state interests. Thus, realism tends to reduce IR to power politics and consider only 'hard power' methods — coercive approaches, such as military power — as essential in IR. Cultural aspects, in this sense, as well as cooperative and peaceful means of foreign policy, such as cultural diplomacy, are not considered relevant on the international stage.

As an opposition to the realist perspective, the early 20th century gave rise to idealism, rooted in liberal thought. Liberalism was pioneered by thinkers of the Enlightenment era, such as John Locke and Immanuel Kant, who emphasized principles of individual liberties, social contract, rule of law, democracy, and international cooperation. After the First World War, idealist thinkers, such as Woodrow Wilson, advocated for the establishment of the League of Nations as a means to prevent future conflicts.

Idealists focused on studying the world to make it more peaceful, emphasizing cooperation, international organizations, interdependence, and peace, while realists focused on studying means available to states to ensure their survival, centered on power politics, security, and conflict. Yet, both, liberalism, and realism, share notable similarities, such as state-centrism and the permanent state of anarchy. Even though liberals have a more optimistic view of world politics and recognize the potential for states to cooperate through diplomacy, trade, and international organizations to achieve mutual benefits, they do not fully recognize the role of culture in IR. Culture is predominantly viewed as a Global Culture, a World Culture, or a shared International Political Culture. 'Cultural diversity is not considered, because it is argued to be unimportant or even dangerous for the accomplishment of cooperation between states' (Valbjørn 2006, as cited in Bernart 2018: 23). Thus, the creation of IR as an academic discipline revolved around these two main approaches.

However, 'liberal idealism was not a good intellectual guide to international relations in the 1930s. Interdependence did not produce peaceful cooperation; the League of Nations was helpless in the face of the expansionist power politics conducted by the authoritarian regimes in Germany, Italy, and Japan. Academic IR began to speak the classical realist language of Thucydides, Machiavelli, and Hobbes in which the grammar and the vocabulary of power were central' (Jackson & Sørensen, 2013: 39). With the failure of the League of Nations and the onset of the Second World War, realism became a dominant position and the primary approach in the field in this period.

During the Cold War era, however, the dynamics of international relations created new questions, such as the process of decolonization, which led to the emergence of several newly independent countries, new actors in IR, such as international organizations, and diverse political agendas from non-dominant countries as the United States and the Soviet Union. Topics like trade and development began to gain prominence where security issues had previously prevailed. At the same time, the mid-twentieth century marked the behavioral revolution, bringing new scientific methodologies to the study of IR. Behaviouralism, however, had its roots in positivism and sought to ground the discipline in more rigorous methodologies, focusing on the use of empirical analysis in the study of political phenomena. In this sense, behaviouralists believed that there is 'no place for morality or ethics in the study of IR because that involves values, and values cannot be studied objectively' (Jackson & Sørensen, 2013: 45). Nevertheless, it had significant importance for the development and autonomy of the discipline, as it developed new methods of studying IR.

Realism remained the predominant approach to IR during the Cold War but underwent revision incorporating positivist methodological aspects, influenced by behaviouralism. This gave rise to the neorealist theory of IR, propelled by Kenneth Waltz's 1979 *Theory of International Politics*. Waltz aimed to reboot realism, 'moving it on from a foundation in human nature towards a Structural Realism more associated with the international system, where Waltz recognized that units, i.e. nation-states, could co-act in such an anarchical environment, but that their

functional similarities or differences would still determine the extent of such relations' (Waltz, 1979, as cited in Benneyworth, 2011: 3).

As a response to the domination of neorealism, neoliberalism emerged as a new IR theory emphasizing the role of international institutions, cooperation, and economic interdependence. Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye are the most prominent scholars on neoliberalism. They developed the idea of complex interdependence, that 'there are many forms of connections between societies in addition to the political relations of governments, including transnational links between business corporations. There is also an absence of hierarchy among issues, i.e., military security does not dominate the agenda anymore. Military force is no longer used as an instrument of foreign policy (Keohane and Nye 1977, as cited in Jackson & Sørensen, 2013: 47). At the same time, neoliberalism and neorealism share common assumptions in their analytical starting points, such as state-centrism, self-interest, and the anarchic international system, as well as interrelated entities and challenges associated with cooperation. While neorealism views IR from a competitive relation point of view, neoliberalism acknowledges competitiveness but also advocates cooperation for mutual benefits among states. Nevertheless, both are positivistic in methodology and struggle to address diverse themes such as identity, culture, and ethics, among others.

However, as the world transitioned from the Cold War to a new era, it also marked a re-evaluation of existing IR theories. In the 'post-positivist turn' of the social sciences during the 1980s, a plurality of theoretical and epistemological positions emerged questioning the validity and efficacy of dominant mainstream approaches. The dichotomy between 'positivism versus post-positivism' gave rise to the critical theories of IR as an alternative perspective. 'Critical theorists reject the objectivist conception of truth as a correspondence to the real world. Objects of knowledge are not given as the positivists assume but are constituted by different powers and interests' (Yalvaç, 2017: 4). Critical theories in IR include Poststructuralism, Constructivism, Critical Security Studies, Post-colonialism, Critical Theory and the Frankfurt School, Feminism and Green Theory. They share a common ground in questioning ontological and epistemological issues in

mainstream state-centric IR theories, such as Neorealism and Neoliberalism, aiming to formulate new approaches to understanding International Relations (Ari & Toprak, 2019: 5).

Taking this into consideration, it is clear that all theories have a history. 'They can be located in terms of space, time, and cultural attachment. In that sense, theories are not separate from the world, they are part of it.' (Jackson & Sørensen, 2013: 237). 'There can never be a "view from nowhere", and all theories make assumptions about the world, both ontological ones (what features need explaining) and epistemological ones (what counts as explanation). (Smith, 2010, as cited in Jackson & Sørensen, 2013: 237). As the critical theorist Robert Cox famously said: Theory is always for someone and for some purpose (Cox, 1981).

1.2 The cultural turn in IR

Following the emergence of new approaches to explain changes in international relations, the late 1980s also gave rise to what is known as a 'cultural turn' in the IR field, some scholars also refer to it as an 'aesthetic turn'. According to Jackson (2008):

> The rise of culturalist international history is part of a wider 'cultural turn' that has developed within the historical discipline since the late 1970s. This development, which was influenced by engagement first with anthropology and then with the emerging disciplines of cultural studies and literary theory, was a reaction against the perceived elitism and 'assumption of unchanging rationality' at the heart of 'traditional' political and diplomatic history. (Ibid: 157)

It is important to stress here, however, that addressing culture in IR was not a revolutionary attempt post-Cold War. The concept was indeed explored by thinkers in the field throughout the century. However, it was not a relevant approach to studying IR, as preferences were given to addressing more conventional issues through traditional theories, such as realism and liberalism. Most of the scholars in

the field tended to neglect the subject of culture, and consequently diplomacy through culture, until the late 1980s.

> This trend began with analyses of the way culture has been used as a tool of state policy in the ideological battle for 'hearts and minds'. Latterly, however, it has expanded to a much broader approach embracing the role of ethnicity, race, gender, race, and religion in shaping the social imagination of policymakers. Such an expansion is most emphatically to be welcomed. Cultural approaches have both broadened and deepened our understanding of the nature of international politics and the sources of policymaking. They have helped to breathe new life into the study of international history — often viewed as the most conservative branch of a conservative discipline. (Jackson, 2008: 155)

For the aim of this thesis, I will present two primary approaches that are often used to address culture and cultural diplomacy in IR: the concept of soft power by Joseph Nye and the Critical Theory of Robert Cox.

1.2.1 Soft Power

Following the fall of the Berlin Wall and the advent of new theoretical perspectives aiming to explain the new multipolar and globalized world, Joseph Nye, in the context of neoliberalism, introduced the concept of soft power in his book *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (1990), which he further elaborated in *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (2004). In simple terms, soft power is 'the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment' (Nye, 2008: 94).

The concept is categorically distinguished from hard power, which is the use of coercive and tangible elements to influence the behavior of another actor in the international system, such as the use of military force, economic sanctions, or diplomatic pressure, for instance. According to Nye, a country's soft power rests on its resources of culture, values, and policies:

> The ability to establish preferences tends to be associated with intangible assets such as an attractive personality, culture, political values and institutions, and policies that are seen as legitimate or having moral authority. If I can get you to want to do what I want, then I do not have to force you to do what you do not want. Soft power is not merely influence, though it is one source of influence. Influence can also rest on the hard power of threats or payments. And Soft power is more than just persuasion or the ability to move people by argument, though that is an important part of it. It is also the ability to entice and attract. In behavioral terms, soft power is attractive power. In terms of resources, soft power resources are the assets that produce such attraction. (Nye, 2008: 95)

He further develops the concept of smart power, a strategy that combines hard and soft power resources. Moreover, in Public Diplomacy and Soft Power (2008), he stresses that 'public diplomacy has a long history as a means of promoting a country's soft power and was essential in winning the Cold War' (Nye, 2008: 94). He also argues that nations with high levels of soft power can achieve their objectives more cost-effectively and sustainably than those relying solely on hard power.

Since this concept emerged in the sphere of international politics, most studies on the role of culture in IR, and consequently cultural diplomacy, have been framed through this perspective. However, even though the soft power approach acknowledges the significance of culture in IR and has raised awareness on the matter, it has concurrently reduced the usage of culture to be a mere subject of state interest and as a tool for the maintenance of power in the international system, causing a form of 'cultural blindness' within the field (Valbjørn 2006, as cited in Bernart, 2018: 24).

1.2.2 Critical Theory

First, it is valid to stress that critical theory in lower case letters refers to postpositivist theories such as feminism, historical sociology, poststructuralism, constructivism, and postcolonialism, which are united in their critique of the

mainstream, particularly, of neorealism. Critical Theory (CT) with capital letters refers more directly to the critical theory originating from the Frankfurt School (Yalvaç, 2017: 4).

The Frankfurt School is a school of sociology and critical philosophy associated with the Institute for Sozialforschung (Institute for Social Research) at the University of Frankfurt in 1923. It was 'part of the regeneration of critical thinking in social sciences due to the rise of fascism, the development of world economic crises, the New Deal, and the degeneration of the Russian Revolution into Stalinism' (Ibid: 5). The Frankfurt School's influence on the cultural turn in IR is significant, particularly in terms of the School's critical approach to culture, ideology, and power. Scholars such as Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse, and Walter Benjamin, contributed key insights that have influenced how scholars in IR think about culture and its role in shaping global politics.

The first stage of the CT intervention in IR, however, is mostly associated with the Canadian political scientist Robert Cox, 'who defined critical theory in the context of his famous landmark distinction between problem-solving theory and critical theory' (Ibid: 2). According to him, 'problem-solving theories are preoccupied with maintaining social power relationships and the reproduction of the existing system' and 'critical theory is self-reflexive, criticizes the existing system of domination, and identifies processes and forces that will create an alternative world order' (Cox, 1981: 129-30).

Cox belongs to a line of CT that is known as 'structural critical theory', which 'provides a more materialist and social-structural understanding of critical theory' (Yalvaç, 2017: 12), 'incorporating neo-Gramscianism and Marxist historical sociology counterposed with the idealist normative critical theory originating from the Frankfurt School' (Ibid: 3). In this sense, Cox's contributions to IR adopts a neo-Gramscian perspective, particularly on the topic of culture. As the name suggests, neo-Gramscianism is based on the ideas of the Italian Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci, who has left an enduring legacy in the fields of political theory, sociology, and cultural studies. His theoretical framework was predominantly formulated

during his incarceration under the Italian Fascist regime in 1926, where he wrote his renowned *Prison Notebooks* (1929-1935).

Viewed from the perspective of IR theory, a key aspect of neo-Gramscianism is the understanding of state and hegemony, which differs from mainstream definitions. In neo-Gramscianism, the state is interpreted in the realms of relations between social classes. The state for Gramsci is not solely considered in its institutional dimension but also the social dimension, especially the way societal forces impact the functioning of the state. The 'class nature of the state' becomes apparent when observing the way the state maintains and supports the conditions necessary for the reproduction of the capitalist mode of production (Yalvaç, 2017: 13). In the same vein, hegemony is also defined based on the social relations under capitalism. Thus, neo-Gramscians understand hegemony as the way dominant social classes or a dominant state organize their dominations by concentrating material power (Ibid). Neo-Gramscians also emphasize the importance of counterhegemony: 'the way people develop ideas and discourse to challenge dominant assumptions, beliefs and established patterns of behavior' (Cox; Schilthuis, 2012).

Regarding culture, another key concept of Gramsci's theoretical approach is 'cultural hegemony', which he used to address the relation between culture and power under capitalism. According to Cox, Gramsci saw the state and the bourgeois as the dominant ruling class in capitalist societies, and, through cultural ideology, they developed a hegemonic culture to control and maintain their power (Cox, 1983: 163-164). This perspective is rooted in Karl Marx's theory that the dominant ideology of a society reflects the beliefs and interests of the ruling class. Moreover, Gramsci also emphasized the role of intellectuals in producing and disseminating cultural narratives that legitimize the existing social order. Thus, cultural production, including arts, literature, media, and education, becomes a battleground for competing ideologies.

Therefore, Cox's critical theoretical approach to IR opens room for the role of ideas in shaping the international system, relating it specifically to Gramsci's concept of hegemony to understand problems of the world order (Cox, 1983: 162).

His critical theory 'is not confined to an examination of states and the state system but focuses more widely on power and domination in the world generally' (Jackson & Sørensen, 2013: 234). In this sense, based on Gramsci's thought, these ideas and the production of knowledge for Cox (1983) are embedded in power structures, which dominant groups in society shape to maintain their hegemony in capitalist societies. Thus, this has implications for the way international relations is interpreted.

The CT has contributed to significant critical perspectives on the role of culture in IR theory. However, cultural diplomacy, on the other hand, is often coined only as a tool for hegemony through this perspective, similar to the soft power approach. Cultural diplomacy, in this sense, would be used by the ruling classes of a state to maintain hegemony in capitalist societies. Therefore, it tends to limit the influence of cultural diplomacy to hegemony and overlooks its potential for fostering harmony and mutual understanding. Nevertheless, when examining music as a cultural diplomacy instrument, it becomes evident that beyond its use as a 'hegemonic' tool, it can also function as a 'harmonic' tool to both state and non-state actors.

1.3 Constructivism

The rise of a multipolar world at the end of the Cold War and the theoretical discussion between IR scholars gave rise to a constructivist approach in IR as a response to the predominance of mainstream approaches, especially neorealism. Constructivism is a theoretical perspective with roots in the fields of psychology, philosophy, and sociology. It encompasses various perspectives in terms of focus and methodology, it is both a meta-theory about the nature of the social world and several different substantive theories of IR (Jackson & Sørensen, 2013: 209).

An important concept to understand constructivism is the concept of structuration, introduced by the sociologist Anthony Giddens (1984) to examine how structures and actors interact. According to him, structures, such as the rules and conditions that guide social action, do not mechanically dictate the behavior of

the actor. This stands in contrast to the neorealist perspective, which implies a deterministic influence of the anarchic structure on state actors. Instead, Giddens suggests that the connection between structures and actors involves a shared understanding and meaning among individuals. While he recognizes that structures indeed constrain actors, he claims that these actors can also transform structures by thinking about them and acting on them in new ways. 'The notion of structuration therefore leads to a less rigid and more dynamic view of the relationship between structure and actors. IR constructivists use this as a starting point for suggesting a less rigid view of anarchy' (Ibid: 210).

In this regard, constructivism at its core suggests that reality is socially constructed, and it is in permanent construction. Thus, everything inherent to the social world of individuals, including politics and international relations, is actively being constructed by their own understanding and knowledge of the world, based on their experiences and interactions. In this sense, human relations consist of thought and ideas, not solely of material conditions or forces as materialist and positivist theories assume (Jackson & Sørensen, 2013: 211). The social and political world for constructivists is not part of 'natural' laws that are inherent to humans, or 'an external reality whose laws can be discovered by scientific research and explained by scientific theory, as positivists and behaviorists argue' (Ibid). Instead, the social world is made of human consciousness, based on their thoughts, ideas, beliefs, languages, discourses, and understandings among individuals or groups of humans, which includes states and nations (Ibid: 212).

In the discipline of IR, the term 'constructivism' was introduced by Nicholas Onuf in his book *World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations* (1989), but the theory was popularized by Alexander Wendt in his article *Anarchy is What States Make of It* (1992), followed by his book *Social Theory of International Politics* (1999), which is considered by many the founder of IR Constructivism. Wendt expresses 'severe criticism of traditional IR approaches that fail to see the importance of identity, norms, and culture in the field' (Villanueva, 2010: 46). He argues that state interactions and behaviors in the international system are socially constructed and not solely determined by an

anarchic structure. The very nature of anarchy is shaped by how states perceive and relate to each other: anarchy is what states make of it. According to him, 'the structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces', and 'the identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature' (Wendt, 1999: 1). Thus, material factors, such as the meaning of power or the content of interests, are always in function of ideas, and these ideas constitute the material foundation of the system.

To demonstrate the importance of ideas in international politics, Wendt presents the debate between materialism and idealism. According to him, both arguments acknowledge the role of ideas, but they do not agree on the effects of these ideas on social life. In the materialist perspective, held by neorealists and neoliberals, ideas do not really matter. Because of anarchy, international politics is guided solely by power and national interests, which constitute the material forces that determine politics. In the ideational perspective, held by social constructivists, ideas always matter (Jackson & Sørensen, 2013: 213). 'The material world is indeterminate and is interpreted within a larger context of meaning. Ideas thus define the meaning of material power' (Tannenwald 2005, as cited in Jackson & Sørensen, 2013: 213). Nevertheless, Wendt does not disregard the importance and effects of power and interest to explain international phenomena, but he argues that the very meaning of power and interests are formed by ideas, and it is due to the interaction between these ideas that the material forces can have an effect in international politics:

> The claim is not that ideas are more important than power and interest, or that they are autonomous from power and interest. The claim is rather that power and interest have the effects they do in virtue of the ideas that make them up. Power and interest explanations presuppose ideas, and to that extent are not rivals to ideational explanations at all. […] When confronted by ostensibly 'material' explanations, always inquire into the discursive conditions which make them work. When Neorealists offer multipolarity as an explanation for war, inquire into the discursive conditions that constitute the poles as enemies rather than friends. When Liberals offer economic

> interdependence as an explanation for peace, inquire into the discursive conditions that constitute states with identities that care about free trade and economic growth. When Marxists offer capitalism as an explanation for state forms, inquire into the discursive conditions that constitute capitalist relations of production. And so on. (Wendt, 1999: 135-136)

Hence, constructivists in IR claim that political reality is not based solely on material forces and IR should not be simplified to a constant search of power and interest. The focus on thoughts and ideas leads to a better theory about anarchy and power balancing, in contrast to the conventional neorealist and neoliberal assumptions that the international system is inherently anarchic. Instead, the international system is dependent on minds, values, and ideas, which are dynamic and constantly changing relationships with each other, and so is the system. Hence, culture also shapes the structure of the international system.

It is also important to stress that liberals did began to focus more on the role of ideas after the Cold War, such as Francis Fukuyama (1989), who proclaimed 'the end of history' endorsing the progress of liberal ideas in the world. 'But he and other liberals are mostly interested in the concrete advance of liberal, democratic government in the world. Even if constructivists are sympathetic to several elements of liberal thinking, their focus is less on the advance of liberal ideas; it is on the role of thinking and ideas in general' (Jackson & Sørensen, 2013: 210).

Moreover, in a broad philosophical consideration, social constructivism 'is about seeing human consciousness changing, adapting to, and participating in international (or global) life' (Villanueva, 2010: 47). Therefore, as constructivists have demonstrated that 'ideas matter' and culture also define the interests and constitute the actors in IR (Jackson & Sørensen, 2013: 210), Thus, I consider the constructivist approach as the most favorable one in analyzing cultural diplomacy and music diplomacy in IR for the purpose of this thesis.

1.4 Cultural diplomacy

As evidenced in the history of IR, culture has historically received minimal attention within the discipline, gaining significance only with the recent cultural turn. Concurrently, it has been influenced by diverse approaches and perspectives, leading to a continuous re-evaluation of its role in IR. Despite the increasing recognition of its significance in the field, culture remains a relatively neglected dimension, as analyses are predominantly conducted through mainstream theories. Cultural diplomacy, in this sense, follows the same principle. This can be explained by the intrinsic subjectivity inherent in the concept of culture, which makes it difficult to explain its connection with diplomacy and international relations in regular quantitative terms, as there is no universal approach to the matter. However, this fact should not be viewed as an obstacle, but rather as a positive stimulus for its exploration as a variable within the complex framework of IR.

Based on the constructivist premise that individuals are, understand, produce, and orient themselves through ideas, that are embedded in culture, and this, therefore, impacts the relationship between historical structures created by humans, it is logical to assert that international relations are influenced by all these complex interactions. Following this logic, cultural diplomacy is no different. Until today, however, scholars do not unanimously agree on a shared definition of cultural diplomacy and there is no consent on how to define, structure, or approach it. Some definitions focus on the supposed key agent of cultural diplomacy, governments. From this perspective, only arts initiatives that include the official participation of governments to achieve foreign policy goals count as cultural diplomacy. Others focus on cultural diplomacy's desired effect—greater mutual understanding. By this standard, unofficial activities that do not include the direct involvement of governments can count as cultural diplomacy because such efforts can achieve the desired outcome (Goff, 2020).

In the realms of this thesis in analyzing diplomacy through music and the diplomatic role of jazz, it becomes clear that music diplomacy was used in many forms and by different actors, depending on the context. At the same time, I recognize the significance of both the soft power approach and the critical theoretical perspective on cultural hegemony as important advancements in

analyzing the use of culture in IR. However, in order to understand the full capacity of cultural diplomacy through music, a constructivist view on cultural diplomacy is the most favorable one, since it considers the importance of ideas and cultural expressions in shaping the international system, without coining it in a one-dimensional way. Thus, I agree with the contributions of scholars who have taken this into consideration and looked at cultural diplomacy in multi-dimensional ways, such as Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, Mark C. Donfried, Cynthia P. Schneider, Milton C. Cummings, Mariano Martín Zamorano, Danielle Fosler-Lussier, Said Saddiki, César Villanueva Rivas, among many others. Hence, I will present some of their views in order to have a multilateral understanding of cultural diplomacy.

The book *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy* (2010), for instance, provides a rich representation of the depth and complexity of cultural diplomacy, showing that it is much more than a one-dimensioned way. The book brings together diverse scholars and their perspectives on cultural diplomacy, illustrating that its practice had different intentions around the world, depending on the actors and contexts. Through the examples they provide, showcasing different cases of cultural diplomacy, it becomes evident that 'the intentions inherent in cultural diplomacy depend very much on the cultural mindsets of the actors involved as well as the immediate organizational and structural circumstances' and 'the strategies of cultural diplomacy in one and the same region or era differs according to their respective historical context' (Gienow-Hecht, 2010: 9). According to Gienow-Hecht (2010):

> What complicates the definition of cultural diplomacy is the fact that unlike in other areas of diplomacy, the state cannot do much without the support of nongovernmental actors such as artists, curators, teachers, lecturers, and students. The moment these actors enter, the desires, the lines of policy, the targets, and the very definition of state interests become blurred and multiply. What is more, these actors frequently assume a responsibility and an agenda of their own, regardless of the program or organization to which they are assigned. While the degree of state involvement remains negotiable, the criteria of "state interest" -defined in the broadest possible terms and to the extent that informal actors likewise represent the state-

remains stable. In itself, cultural diplomacy has no political meaning or leaning, no special advocacy nor any particular constituency. In addition, people previously not associated with state interest or governmental affairs can direct its mechanisms. For all these complications, however, in the end, cultural diplomacy is an action and an instrument quite like classical political diplomacy — a tool and a way of interacting with the outside world. (Ibid: 11)

She further develops with Mark C. Donfried (2010) that:

Alongside the development of governmental cultural diplomacy during the twentieth century came a proliferation of civil societies. Made up of a myriad of NGOs, charities, and institutions, many of them are dedicated to doing the very work that governments today are challenged to complete alone. To 'succeed' here is to establish a sustainable relationship based on dialogue, understanding, and trust between the civil societies of different nations. Where governments alone have been unable to create sustainable relationships of this nature, civil society organizations have proven capable of building and maintaining these relationships. Where state bureaucracy has hindered governmental officials from realizing their well-intended initiatives, civil societies have often had more freedom to pursue their own mission statements, at times idealistic, at others pragmatic. (Gienow-Hecht & Donfried, 2010: 23)

Additionally, the US diplomat Cynthia P. Schneider in her article *Cultural Diplomacy: Hard to Define, but You'd Know It If You Saw It* (2006) points out that 'public diplomacy consists of all a nation does to explain itself to the world, and cultural diplomacy—the use of creative expression and exchanges of ideas, information, and people to increase mutual understanding—supplies much of its content' (Ibid: 191). She also emphasizes that, especially during moments of tension and conflict, 'cultural diplomacy can emerge as an effective—and sometimes the only viable—means of communication. Creative expression crosses cultures, helping people from diverse backgrounds to find common ground' (Ibid: 196). Furthermore, considering the quote of the Nigerian Pulitzer Prize-winning Wole Soyinka 'Art humanizes while politics demonize', Schneider makes the following list to highlight the aspects of the US cultural diplomacy:

- Cultural diplomacy is a two-way street.
- Cultural diplomacy operates in the long term.
- Cultural diplomacy does not explain or compensate for unpopular policies.
- Cultural diplomacy can increase understanding between different peoples and cultures.
- Cultural diplomacy can divert or entertain while communicating aspects of U.S. culture, such as diversity, opportunity, individual expression, freedom of speech, and meritocracy.
- Cultural diplomacy can open doors between U.S. diplomats and their host countries, even when relations are strained.
- Cultural diplomacy cannot be effectively measured; it makes a qualitative, not quantitative, difference in relations between nations and peoples.
- Cultural diplomacy works best when it caters to the interests of a host country or region. In todays climate of tight budgets, cultural diplomacy needs to be creative, flexible, and opportunistic.
  (Ibid: 196)

Furthermore, in her article *Cultural Diplomacy: Why It Matters, What It Can – and Cannot - Do?* (2006), she emphasized that public/cultural diplomacy does have the power to influence public opinion in the face of despised policies, but at the same time 'cultural diplomacy does not compensate for or explain away unpopular policies; rather cultural diplomacy increases understanding and builds respect as part of a long term relationship' (Ibid: 4).

Moreover, the American political scientist Milton C. Cummings in his article *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey* (2009) contributed to a significant definition of cultural diplomacy based on mutual understanding. According to him, cultural diplomacy refers to 'the exchange of ideas, information, art, and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding. But 'cultural diplomacy' can also be more of a one-way street than a two-way exchange, as when one nation concentrates its efforts on promoting the national language, explaining its policies and point of view, or 'telling its story' to the rest of the world' (Cummings, 2009: 1).

The Spanish Ph.D. in Culture and Heritage Management, Mariano Martín Zamorano, in his article *Reframing Cultural Diplomacy: The Instrumentalization of Culture under the Soft Power Theory* (2016), provides a historical analysis of the uses of cultural diplomacy and contributes to an important insight on how framing cultural diplomacy only through a soft power approach reduces it to a tool for accumulating power, which is a very limited view on its role. According to him, when cultural diplomacy is approached from the soft power concept, it 'reveals the common political and conceptual prescription of cultural imperialism, neo-propaganda, and nation branding' and 'puts forward an instrumentalist interpretation of cultural diplomacy in many of its logical and prescriptive aspects'. In the context of the US, for instance, 'soft power and cultural policies have been conceptualized and deployed as tools to improve the way the U.S. is viewed abroad' (Djerejian 2003; Lenczowski 2007, 2011, as cited in Zamorano, 2016: 167). In this sense, the concept of soft power often 'promotes a 'deculturization' of the coercion methods by limiting them to material relations and omitting the fact that they can be part of imperialist or colonialist policies, which are noticeably cultural' (Ferguson 2005, as cited in Zamorano, 2016: 177).

The American music professor Danielle Fosler-Lussier in her article *Music Pushed, Music Pulled: Cultural Diplomacy, Globalization, and Imperialism* (2012) also contributes to understanding the 'fluid' and multi-dimensional aspect of cultural diplomacy. She challenges the hypothesis that cultural diplomacy is used only as a cultural imperialistic tool by analyzing the role of music in US cultural diplomacy. According to her, 'music was not only pushed across borders by nation-states seeking to impose their influence: music was also pulled across borders by people who actively wanted it' (Ibid, 2012: 60). In this regard, cultural diplomacy does not provide only 'a wholesale, unilateral cultural invasion, but rather several simultaneous forms of engagement: nurturing the desire for particular styles of American music among subcultural groups abroad, building practical working relationships with people of local importance, and creating imagined connections across vast distances' (Ibid). Thus, while looking at cultural diplomacy, it is necessary to also take into consideration the complex relationship between the

actors and receivers of given diplomacy, such as 'the naive quality of interactions between touring musicians and the public; the extent to which musicians were actively sought out by citizens in the host countries; and the degree to which audience members differentiated among various parts of the U.S. message, accepting some parts and rejecting others' (Ibid: 63).

In the same vein, the Morrocan professor of International Relations and International Law, Said Saddiki, in his article *The Role of Cultural Diplomacy in International Relations* (2009), the main role of cultural diplomacy is to promote transnational dialogue between cultures and nations. He also recognizes that cultural diplomacy does not exclusively belong to nation-states, as they are not the only actors on the contemporary international stage. Non-state actors, including civil society, NGOs, universities, and scholars, among others, also play a protagonist role in the field (Ibid: 107). According to him:

> La diplomacia cultural se refiere al papel que desempeñan los factores culturales en las relaciones internacionales. Para algunos académicos, la diplomacia cultural es uno de los fundamentos clave del siglo XXI; un fundamento sobre el cual podemos construir una confianza y comprensión mutuas. [...] La diplomacia cultural no significa solamente la transmisión y la difusión de cultura y valores nacionales. Un elemento importante de la diplomacia cultural también es el hecho de escuchar a las demás naciones del mundo, comprender su propia forma de vida y buscar un terreno cultural común para compartirlo con ellos. Así pues, la diplomacia cultural no debe basarse exclusivamente en contar nuestras historias al resto del mundo; hay que tener en cuenta también que "el éxito de la diplomacia cultural depende del diálogo intercultural y del respeto mutuo" (Ibid: 109).
>
> [Cultural diplomacy refers to the role that cultural factors play in international relations. For some scholars, cultural diplomacy is one of the key foundations of the 21st century; a foundation upon which we can build mutual trust and understanding. Cultural diplomacy does not mean only transmitting and disseminating national culture and values. An important element of cultural diplomacy is also the act of listening to other nations worldwide, understanding their way of life, and seeking a common cultural ground to share with them. Therefore, cultural diplomacy should not be exclusively based on telling our stories to the rest of the world; it must also

be considered that "the success of cultural diplomacy depends on intercultural dialogue and mutual respect" (My translation)]

Moreover, the Mexican professor of International Relations and Public/Cultural Diplomacy, César Villanueva Rivas contributed to an important perspective of cultural diplomacy through Cosmopolitan Constructivism, 'a theory philosophically based on multilateral diplomacy, cosmopolitan theory and constructivist politics' (Villanueva, 2010: 46). In his article *Cosmopolitan Constructivism: Mapping a Road to the Future of Cultural and Public Diplomacy* (2010) he has brought a 'self-reflexive sense for cultural diplomacy', claiming that 'the natural mission of Cultural Diplomacy is the plural representation of cultural identities abroad, for the purposes of making it possible for people to understand their common needs and reconcile their differences' (Ibid: 22). Furthermore, he stresses that 'the bottom-line of Cosmopolitan Constructivism is straightforward: people, cultures and states matter, and cultural and public diplomacies collaborate in the inter-subjective construction of ideas, norms and identities towards cooperation, welfare and understanding' (Ibid: 48). He also recognizes that cultural and public diplomacies can benefit from social facts proposed by constructivist theory, such as collective identities:

> Constructivists contend that not only are identities and interests of actors "socially constructed," but also that they must share the stage with a whole host of other ideational factors emanating from people as cultural beings. A core feature of cultural and public diplomacy may be precisely the construction of collective identities of peace, understanding, and diversity at the international level. For the constructivist camp, values, norms, interests, and behaviors are dependent on the collective identity a group assumes. In constructivist lenses, there is nothing more to the point than MacLeish's UNESCO preamble, which reminds us that, "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed." Public and cultural diplomacies will play a role in shaping those ideas and identities accordingly. (Ibid: 47)

Finally, paraphrasing Paul Sharp (1999) cited by Villanueva (2010: 51):

> Once diplomacy is seen again in terms of representation rather than as an instrument of more substantive foreign policies, then it becomes possible to see how it expresses a human condition that precedes and transcends the experience of living in the sovereign, territorial states of the past few hundred years.

Chapter Conclusion

As demonstrated, even after the cultural turn in IR, the cultural dimension still receives little attention in the field and mainstream approaches often coin its role in a unilateral perspective based on state-centric assumptions. Nevertheless, this chapter aimed to illustrate that culture is intrinsically intertwined with international relations and the practice of diplomacy. Within the constructivist framework, it is possible to conclude that culture actively contributes to shaping international relations, since it considers how the international structure is socially constructed and capable of being transformed by ideas.

Based on the different contributions to culture diplomacy above mentioned, this thesis sees cultural diplomacy through a multilateral perspective, recognizing that it cannot be effectively measured (Schneider, 2006), and its intentions and strategies depend on the cultural mindsets of the actors involved, as well as their historical context (Gienow-Hecht, 2010). Although states may use it to promote their interests or as a tool for imperialist desires in some contexts, non-state actors may also direct its mechanisms (Fosler-Lussier, 2012; Gienow-Hecht & Donfried, 2010; Schneider, 2006). Cultural diplomacy is not only government-to-government communication but also communication between governments and foreign people (Gienow-Hecht & Donfried, 2010). It is a means of communication through cultures that help people from diverse backgrounds to find common ground (Schneider, 2006), however, its definition should not be reduced to a concept or viewed unilaterally (Zamorano, 2016; Fosler-Lussier, 2012; Gienow-Hecht & Donfried, 2010; Schneider, 2006). Nevertheless, under a constructivist approach, it can be concluded that cultural diplomacy indeed collaborates in the construction of

ideas, norms, and identities toward cooperation, welfare, and understanding (Cummings, 2004; Saddiki, 2009; Villanueva, 2010).

Chapter 2. Music diplomacy

> 'In a world of diversity where often values clash, music leaps across language barriers and unites people of quite different cultural backgrounds. And so, through music, all peoples can come together to make the world a more harmonious place' (Annan, 2004)

The Ghanaian diplomat and seventh Secretary-General of the United Nations (1997-2006), Kofi Annan, delivered a remarkable speech on the power of music and its ability to unite people of different backgrounds during a lecture by the conductor Leon Botstein titled 'Why Music Matters'. According to him:

> Music penetrates almost every part of our lives: our rest, our entertainment, our education, and our worship. Throughout history, it has celebrated the triumphs and tragedies of life. As Plato said, music "gives soul to the universe, wings to the mind, flight to the imagination". Music both shapes and reflects society. Dancers follow its beat; protesters use it to find their voice. It can promote ideals — like peace and solidarity — but it can also prepare armies for battle. It is part of almost every important personal and collective moment. But it is also mysterious. Rhythm and pitch can be expressed as mathematical formulae; and musicians know the techniques by which they produce a certain sound. But no scientist or musician can explain the power that music has over our emotions. (Annan, 2004)

Based on UNESCO's definition of culture, which encompasses art as a fundamental aspect of culture, and aligning with the constructivist and multilateral perspective on cultural diplomacy introduced in the first chapter, this section aims to explore the connections between music and diplomacy in international relations. In this regard, it will elucidate about the 'acoustic turn' in IR and the dimensions of music diplomacy, seeking to demonstrate how music as a cultural diplomacy instrument has played a long and significant role in international relations,

transcending singular purposes, nations, or genres. Much of this chapter is based on two major literatures on this topic: *Music and Diplomacy from the Early Modern Era to the Present* (2014) and *International Relations, Music and Diplomacy: Sounds and Voices on the International Stage* (2018). Both volumes bring together multidisciplinary perspectives, ranging from musicology to political science, on the multifaceted dimensions of music diplomacy throughout international history.

2.1 The acoustic turn in IR

Before delving into music diplomacy, it is valid to clarify what is known as 'acoustic turn' in IR, which has laid the groundwork for research like this one to exist. In simple terms, it is a result of the merging of three trends: the international concerns in musicology, the aesthetic turn in international relations (IR), and the cultural turn in international history (Prévost-Thomas & Ramel, 2018: 2). In this sense, an acoustic turn emerged in IR due to the concerns of musicologists about the role of music in international relations. Their concerns, along with the rise of IR critical theories and the 'cultural turn' in the discipline, raised interest in investigating the role of sounds in the field. Thus, it is clearly not an initiative of realist or liberal theories; it is the critical theories that support the development of links between aesthetic and international relations (Ibid: 2). These movements together have given rise to several clusters of research in the field, the largest is dedicated to music during the Cold War era, which is the focus of this thesis.

However, the acoustic turn goes beyond music, it englobes the role of sound and auditory elements in general to the analysis of international phenomena. This perspective emphasizes the significance of sonic experiences and the impact of sound on the understanding of global events and power dynamics. The acoustic turn encourages scholars to explore how soundscapes, music, speeches, and other auditory aspects contribute to shaping international relations. Some researchers even depict international relations as 'an audible world' that can be 'studied and experienced as sound—music, noise, silence' (Franklin, 2005, as cited in Prévost-Thomas & Ramel: 3). The book *International Relations, Music and Diplomacy:*

Sounds and Voices on the International Stage (2018) for instance share different ideas regarding the acoustic turn, demonstrating that 'sounds and voices are not restricted to music per se, the voices (speech) of musicians in the international arena are also taken into account and examined' (Ibid: 7).

Moreover, the professor of International Relations, Roland Bleiker published an article in the journal Millennium (2001) promoting core pillars to this approach in IR: to adopt post-modern categories and tools; to highlight the cross-fertilization use of discordant faculties that are needed to understand politics as Kant pointed out (reason and imagination are part of political action); to explore new objects and new ways of dealing with the dilemmas in world politics (Bleiker, 2001, as cited in Prévost-Thomas & Ramel, 2018: 3).

2.2 The dimensions of music diplomacy

'An art like music is not an artifice or an ornament in diplomatic practices'
(Prévost-Thomas & Ramel, 2018: 12)

> To understand musical diplomacy is not only to gain access to the musical scenes "made" by ambassadors. It aims at capturing the moments during which these ambassadors think of the diplomatic stage as a musical scene, how international music scenes emerge, where the musical challenges become some objects of diplomatic negotiations and interactions per se. All these phenomena show that sounds, musics and musicians are movements of deterritorialization because they generate trans-local scenes, they promote technical norms across borders and they contribute to transnational advocacies. But these sounds, musics and musicians may also provide opportunities for states and national actors to further express their peculiarities and identities in the international realm. Music as movement of deterritorialization is thus ambiguous, making all the more relevant the assertion by Claude Lévi-Strauss: music is "the supreme mystery of the science of man, a mystery that all the various disciplines come up against and which holds the key to their progress." Sounds and voices make diplomacy and even more, world politics. (Ibid: 12-13)

In this sense, music diplomacy has many dimensions, especially because music itself can assume diverse perceptions and meanings depending on the context. Musical institutions, ideas of global harmony and order, and the experience of music making have all contributed to the idea that music can enact social alternatives and cause political change, however, it can also have unpredictable effects (Mahiet, Ferraguto & Ahrendt, 2014: 2). A good case to exemplify this is Beethoven's music, particularly his Ninth Symphony:

> Beethoven became an important national symbol in Germany for the same reason that he appealed to other political and cultural groups: because his music embedded a universalism that made it accessible to people of all creeds. Romantics saw the "Ode to Joy" as the climax of their art, German nationalists as a symbol for heroism and "Germanness," French republicans as the Marseillaise de l'humanité, communists as a prophecy for a world without class distinctions, Catholics as the Gospel, Adolf Hitler as his favorite birthday tune, Rhodesia as a national anthem, the European Union as a unifying hymn, UNESCO as part of the world heritage register, and so on. (Gienow-Hecht, 2015: 3)

Furthermore, there are documented cases where a musical experience directly influenced an individual's decisions. For instance, a decorated U.S. airman testified that he refused to bomb 'the city where Beethoven was born and educated' during the Second World War (Mahiet, Ferraguto & Ahrendt, 2014: 2). Taking this in consideration, it becomes clear that music role is multidimensional and has indeed the power to shape the international relations, as it provides a form of communication and affiliation, and constitutes one out of many devices by which individuals, regions, nations, and unions can be either united or driven apart (Gienow-Hecht, 2015: 5). Therefore, it is important to recognize that music diplomacy, like cultural diplomacy, is not a one-dimensional concept. It has been employed by various actors for diverse purposes, depending on the context.

In every chapter of the book *Music and Diplomacy from Early Modern Era to the Present* (2014) is demonstrated a different case of how music has shaped the exercise of diplomacy and the conduct of international relations long before the

terms 'cultural diplomacy' or 'musical diplomacy' even existed. In the sixteenth century, kings were using music in diplomatic ceremonials to express power and gain influence abroad. Anne Spohr in her chapter *Concealed Music in Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial* (2014) demonstrates how music represented an integral part of early modern court ceremonials and had various functions in this context.

Generally, it 'represented cultural capital, demonstrating to outside visitors that a prince was conversant with current cultural developments and could compete with his rivals on this level'. In this sense, music was 'heard during services in the court chapel, at table, and in court entertainments such as tournaments, plays, ballets, masques, and operas, as well as during receptions of diplomats' (Ibid: 19). She presents the case of the king Christian IV of Denmark (1588-1648), who used 'concealed' music in court ceremonials aiming 'to demonstrate and communicate princely power as being rooted in transcendent truth' (Ibid). Musicians were concealed from view, hidden in a separate wall, so only their sound could be heard in a way to create effects of 'magic and mystery', in order to communicate an image of 'majesty, power and authority' (Ibid: 20). The king thus invited foreign monarchs to the Rosenborg Castle and, through the sound of concealed music, impressed them with the 'hidden magical illusion' caused by it. Music without visible performers was both a rarity and a delight in early modern Europe (Fosler-Lussier, 2014: 267). This formed a 'media-strategic system for the creation and maintenance of power' (Berns, 2008, as cited in Spohr, 2014: 19). This type of strategy left a significant impact on European monarchs, and some of them adopted the same use of music in their nations. This is one of the many examples that shows how music has the ability to express power and has been used since early modern period, evidencing that it is not merely decorative in politics.

Besides the use of music by kings, music also became a central element in the practice of diplomacy by ambassadors in the early modern period. Giulia Giovani in *Serenatas in the Service of Diplomacy in Baroque Venice* (2014) shows how ambassadors of the Holy Roman Empire and France in Venice, during the early eighteenth century, invested in the political significance of music by using serenatas in their diplomatic duties. The performance of serenatas served as a 'locus for social

and political activity as well as a source of competition among diplomats' (Ibid, 2014: 45). In the same line, in *International Relations, Music and Diplomacy: Sounds and Voices on the International Stage* (2018), the authors Michela Berti and Mark Ferraguto also demonstrates how music became a central element of diplomacy.

Berti, in *Europe in Rome/Rome in Europe: Diplomacy as a Network of Cultural Exchange* (2018), describes how diplomats from different parts of Europe communicated with each other through the organization of musical events, such as 'feste' — a medium through which ambassadors, cardinals and nobility could show their magnificence (Ibid: 23). These festive occasions functioned in terms of both political and religious power and facilitated cultural exchange across Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Ibid: 23). In the same vein, Ferraguto in *Eighteenth-Century Diplomats as Musical Agents* (2018) offers a new way of thinking about music as a diplomatic resource, by showing that diplomats who served in Vienna in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had a role of 'musical agents' in the name of their kings and emperors. One of their main diplomatic duties was disseminating music across Europe through musical events. By doing that, they could facilitate musical interaction between the different actors of the music scene and create connections that would benefit the national identity. Moreover, diplomats also played a key role in the transfer of musical manuscripts and printed editions throughout the continent, due in large part to imperial commissions (Ibid: 46). They also exchanged information through musical reports, which 'not only portrayed the cultural atmosphere at a foreign court or capital but also provided details about such matters as the engagement or dismissal of personnel and even the musical tastes of the reigning sovereign and the public' (Ibid: 48). This created exchanges of musical staff and goods, collaborations and interventions with composers and performers, and connections within the 'salon networks' (Prévost-Thomas & Ramel, 2018: 8).

The end of the eighteenth century, however, marked a new understanding of nation and power, becoming more anchored in world affairs. In this sense, with a new understanding of the modern state, policymakers began to place real significant

expectations on music as a means of representing the nation (Gienow-Hecht, 2015: 267). Not only policymakers, but also non-state actors, including bankers, clerics, aristocrats, intellectuals, academics, agents in the performative arts, and, of course, musicians, also played a central role as cultural diplomats. Music became a 'national marker' throughout Europe and North America in the nineteenth century. Cultural markers, including rhythms and musical idioms, were increasingly identified with specific national styles (Ibid). Composers such as Antonín Dvořák, for instance, inspired by Bedřich Smetana's musical nationalism, 'strove to create music reflecting the national soul, then crossed borders to pitch that music to global audiences' (Ibid: 268). By incorporating folk influences and effectively spreading them in the international arena to represent the nation, Dvořák's musical style is recognized as a full recreation of a national idiom into the symphonic tradition. Thus, even though non-state actors had no official mandate for musical contact and exchange, their musical activities had a profound diplomatic effect: 'They addressed and sought to bridge the discrepancy between foreign and self-perceptions of their own and other countries' (Gienow-Hecht, 2015: 268). This serves as one of numerous cases showcasing the power of music in shaping a nation's image and identity.

However, in *Of Dreams and Desire: Diplomacy and Musical Nation Branding Since the Early Modern Period* (2015), Jessica Gienow-Hech points out an important aspect of the use of music through the concept of 'nation branding'. According to her, nation branding as a concept makes no distinction between 'positive' cultural diplomacy in search of 'mutual understanding' and 'unscrupulous' propaganda. Ideology is likewise insignificant: a state may be authoritarian or democratic. In this sense, any actor, any state official, and any non-state group may be part of nation branding (Ibid: 265).

Furthermore, the connection between music and national identity intensified during the interwar period and music was used as an integral part of warfare as well. Since propaganda was institutionalized during the First World War, both authoritarian and liberal states, along with NGOs and other actors, used music as a propaganda device. Music diplomacy, in this sense, was used to promote national

values and political ideologies. During the Second World War, the use of musical power as a propaganda tool drastically increased. A well-known case is Richard Wagner's music as a soundtrack for Nazi Fascism. Hitler promoted Wagner's operas as the symbol of German nationalism and culture, aiming to spread his anti-Semitic ideologies. In *Sound Diplomacy: Music and Emotions in Transatlantic Relations, 1850-1920* (2009), for instance, Jessica Gienow-Hecht explores how Germany promoted its 'breed' of classical music, particularly in the context of American-German relations in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. German government sought to create an idealized concept of German culture to develop emotional affinity between Americans and Germans. However, she emphasizes especially the way that culture was exported as an instrument of nongovernmental diplomacy and focuses on the significance of conductors and musicians who served as 'an army of informal ambassadors for their home country' (Ibid: 1). In this context, besides improving relations between American and German governments, music diplomacy paved a way for emotional affinity also between non-state actors, surviving broken treaties and several wars, and continues to the present (Ibid).

In the context of the Cold War, formal cultural diplomacy initiatives experienced a peak, and music was extensively used as its instrument. During the US-USSR ideological battle, the US government was the pioneer in making cultural diplomacy a pillar of its foreign policy to express its power and influence other nations through the so-called 'American exceptionalism' belief. Both superpowers of the Cold War used music diplomacy to advance their ideologies and promote a positive national image to the world, aiming to win 'the hearts and minds' of people. While the US State Department used jazz, the USSR used classical music along with ballet as part of their foreign policy strategies. Nevertheless, during the twentieth century, music diplomacy also assumed a crucial role in resistance movements and labor unions, serving as a form of protest and resistance against injustices and inequalities. As the US Ambassador Cynthia Schneider (2006) wrote:

> Leaders in politics and in culture, ranging from Vaclav Havel to Dizzy Gillespie, have testified to the powerful impact of creative expression. For

> Havel, music was "the enemy of totalitarianism"; he described at a 2000 White House Millennium evening, how listening to jazz kept hopes of freedom alive in the darkest days of oppression in communist Czechoslovakia. In addition to the music itself, jazz's power as a cultural ambassador stemmed from the inherent tension created by Black musicians traveling the globe trumpeting American values during the Jim Crow era. Dizzy Gillespie, Louis Armstrong and others refused to sugarcoat segregation; they spoke openly about conditions in the US, and insisted on "democratizing" their concerts, often adding free events to their schedules (Ibid: 2)

Not only jazz, but different musical genres ranging from rock and rap to Brazilian samba emerged primarily as a form of resistance. Through music diplomacy, people can connect, protest, expose realities, and see possibilities for social change and mutual understanding. The third chapter will delve into the particular case of jazz and its paradoxical role as a cultural diplomacy instrument during the Cold War.

Danielle Fosler-Lussier in *Music Pushed, Music Pulled: Cultural Diplomacy, Globalization, and Imperialism* (2012) has evidenced the complex relationship between music, cultural diplomacy, and power. She claims that even though imperial power may be evident in the planning and intent of some music diplomacy projects, such as the US State Department that have made clear these projects are important vehicles for American influence and advancing US propaganda strategies, it does not mean that music itself will have the same message or effect because the musicians and the recipients of such diplomacy are not passive actors (Ibid: 54). Moreover, the political scientist Joseph L. Jones (2009) has demonstrated that in recent US public diplomacy initiatives, hip-hop has been massively used an instrument of cultural diplomacy. However, he shows that even though US State Department goals were imperialistic, music 'played no significant role' in the imperial process (Jones, 2009, as cited in Fosler-Lussier, 2012: 55). In fact, hip-hop has raised awareness of questions regarding race and class struggles inside the country. As Fosler-Lussier (2012) notes, musicians not only perform but also establish informal connections with their audiences (Ibid: 56). Consequently,

the purpose of musical performances extends beyond merely captivating people with national cultural products and ideological values; often, music plays a subsidiary role in the relationships formed within a specific context (Ibid: 57). In addition to fostering personal contact, musical presentations also encourage the musicians and their audiences to see themselves as participants in a shared political and musical scene (Ibid: 58). Therefore, music diplomacy can establish connections that undoubtedly serve as a viable channel for further communication (Ibid: 59).

A contemporary example showcasing the power of music diplomacy in fostering intercultural communication is the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, created in 1999 by the Argentinian-Israeli conductor Daniel Barenboim and the Palestinian-American scholar Edward Said. The orchestra was established with the goal of fostering mutual understanding between Israelis and Palestinians. To this day, it remains a distinctive platform, providing rare opportunities for Palestinians and Israelis, along with other musicians from the Middle East, to interact together in the musical scene and exchange experiences. In the words of Barenboim, interviewed by Ed Vulliamy for *The Guardian* (2008):

> The Divan was conceived as a project against ignorance. A project against the fact that it is absolutely essential for people to get to know the other, to understand what the other thinks and feels, without necessarily agreeing with it. I'm not trying to convert the Arab members of the Divan to the Israeli point of view, and [I'm] not trying to convince the Israelis to the Arab point of view. But I want to — and unfortunately I am alone in this now that Edward died a few years ago — [...] create a platform where the two sides can disagree and not resort to knives (Barenboim, 2008)

Moreover, in the recent US context, President Joe Biden signed the *PEACE Through Music Diplomacy Act* (2022), which authorizes 'music-related exchange programs facilitated by the Department of State' because it recognizes that:

> (1) music is an important conveyer of culture and can be used to communicate values and build understanding between communities;

(2) musical artists play a valuable role in cross-cultural exchange, and their works and performances can promote peacebuilding and conflict resolution efforts;
(3) the music industry in the United States has made important contributions to American society and culture, and musicians and industry professionals in the United States can offer valuable expertise to young musical artists around the world; and
(4) the United States Government should promote exchange programs, especially programs that leverage the expertise and resources of the private sector, that give young musical artists from around the world the chance to improve their skills, share ideas, learn about American culture, and develop the necessary skills to support conflict resolution and peacebuilding efforts in their communities and broader societies.
(S.4195 - 117th Congress, 2022)

Furthermore, on September 27, 2023, the US Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken launched the *Global Music Diplomacy* initiative, a worldwide effort to 'elevate music as a diplomatic tool to promote peace and democracy, and support the United States' broader foreign policy goals' (US Department of State, 2023):

> The Initiative aims to leverage public-private partnerships to create a music ecosystem that expands economic equity and the creative economy, ensures societal opportunity and inclusion, and increases access to education. It will build on current public diplomacy music programs to create public-private partnerships with American companies and non-profits to use music to meet the moment, convey American leadership globally, and create connections with people worldwide (Office of the Spokesperson, 2023)

> In addition, at the September 27 launch, the Department announced the first Peace Through Music Award. The award recognizes and honors an American music industry professional, artist, or group, that has played an invaluable role in cross-cultural exchanges and whose musical work advances peace and mutual understanding globally (US Department of State, 2023)

In this sense, Danielle Fosler-Lussier in *Writing Music into the History of Cold War International Relations* (2015) makes a significant statement about how

music offer us way for understanding the complex politics of allegiance that have influenced the behavior of individuals and populations:

> Music is not an "extra" as we write history: rather, it is part of the fabric we seek to describe, a site of interaction where people meet, work together, and learn from one another. In some cases, they leave this interaction with power relations among them altered or a new definition of self. Taking music seriously as a factor in diplomacy means not only its adoption as our subject of study, but also a commitment to knowing how music does its work in the world. Scholars of music have long understood that musical performance is not only about sound, but also about status, affiliation, identity—in short, about social relations of many kinds. Historical studies that fail to recognize music as a social activity run the risk of idealizing performance and thereby misunderstanding soft power. As the music critic Christopher Small has described it, music creates "relationships among the performers, between the performers and the listeners, among the listeners and anyone who may be present, and even between those who are present and those who are not. It is in those relationships … that the meaning of a musical performance lies (Ibid: 118).

Finally, to conclude this section, another notable statement comes from Barack Obama during an official visit to Vietnam in 2016. Answering a question from a 26-year-old rapper about the role of music in international relations, he said:

> Music, poetry, representations of life as it is and how it should be—those are the things that inspire people. And if I listen to a Vietnamese rap and it connects to the things I'm feeling, now I feel closer to a country on the other side of the world. (…) Let's be honest. Sometimes art is dangerous, though. And that's why governments sometimes get nervous about art. But one of the things I truly believe is if you try to suppress the arts, then I think you are suppressing the deepest dreams and aspirations of the people (Obama, 2016, as cited in Prévost-Thomas & Ramel, 2018: 13).

Paraphrasing the authors Prévost-Thomas & Ramel (2018) based on that answer, music also makes an important analytical resource for understanding ideas and conducts in the international realm (Ibid: 13).

Chapter Conclusion

The emergence of critical theories in IR and growing concerns in Musicology about the role of music on the global stage have led to the development of an acoustic turn in the field of IR. The different clusters of research provided by the acoustic turn made room to investigate the connections between music and diplomacy throughout international history. As illustrated in this chapter, music, politics, and diplomacy are deeply interconnected. Since the early modern period, music diplomacy has been employed by different actors for a range of purposes, varying from violent to peaceful goals, depending on the historical context and actors involved. Music as an instrument of cultural diplomacy has the power to cross barriers, promote and advance interests, protest, integrate, and foster harmony and mutual understanding among peoples around the globe. Therefore, music diplomacy is a relevant and powerful means of communication and serves as a significant analytical resource in the realms of international relations.

Chapter 3. Jazz diplomacy

As demonstrated in the last chapter, music diplomacy has assumed different roles and purposes throughout international history and can significantly influence international relations. Thus, this chapter aims to explore the power of music diplomacy using jazz as a study case. The goal is to elucidate the role of jazz as an instrument of cultural diplomacy during the American-Soviet Cold War of 1947–1991, the period in which it lived its peak as both a musical genre and an instrument of diplomacy. For that, I will briefly introduce the history of jazz and the context of the Cold War, and then analyze how it became a diplomatic instrument during this period. Given that jazz is a musical genre born in the United States but deeply rooted in African traditions, the goal is also to understand the paradoxical relationship between jazz diplomacy and the US foreign policy.

3.1 History of Jazz

'The story of Jazz is written into the quest for human dignity, democracy and civil rights. It has given strength to the struggle against discriminations and racism.'
(UNESCO, 2011)

The origins of jazz are linked to the history of slavery in the United States from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. As said Paul Whiteman (1926), 'jazz came to America three hundred years ago in chains' (Whiteman, 1926, as cited in Cooke, 1998: 17). Mervyn Cooke, in *The Chronicles of Jazz* (1998), notes that 'slaves transported from West Africa to the New World took their musical traditions with them and adapted their tribal work songs and dances to sustain them in their forced labors' (Ibid: 17). As observed by Eric Hobsbawm in *The Jazz Scene* (1993), even though slaves were deprived of their traditions, whether they were musical or religious, an exception would occur to certain religious cults, such as the Haitian and Louisianan 'voodoo' with its ritual music, which survived under Catholic slave owners because they 'did not greatly worry about their slaves' souls and tolerated a barely Christianized paganism among them' (Hobsbawm, 1993: 55). In Protestant regions, African cults went underground or were 'transmuted into shouting revival music with far greater European admixtures' (Ibid). Therefore, Africans managed to maintain their hereditary culture, albeit in a controlled or clandestine manner, while simultaneously being influenced by the prevailing European musical tradition in the colonies. Concurrently, they carried with them diverse African musical traditions with distinct musical patterns, non-classical musical scales, and rhythmic complexity (Hobsbawm, 1993: 55). Observers of slave music in the nineteenth century noted the unorthodox use of syncopation — variety of rhythms played together — in their melodies, as 'slaves habitually used the regular pulsation of hand-claps or axe-blows to set up a solid rhythmic foundation above which they could sing in catchy cross-rhythms' (Cooke, 1998: 27). This method, essentially a simplified version of the complex polyrhythms found in African music, soon became the foundation for the dynamic rhythms characteristic of jazz.

Therefore, Black Africans maintained their hereditary culture, albeit in a controlled or clandestine manner, while simultaneously being influenced by the prevailing European musical tradition in the colonies. Many slaves also learned European musical styles and became proficient on Western instruments, such as piano and violin, in order to perform popular white music and please their 'masters' (Cooke, 1998: 27). Concurrently, they carried with them various African musical traditions with rhythmic complexity, non-classical musical scales, and distinct musical patterns (Hobsbawm, 1993: 55). Observers of slave music in the nineteenth century noted the unorthodox use of syncopation — variety of rhythms played together — in their melodies, as 'slaves habitually used the regular pulsation of hand-claps or axe-blows to set up a solid rhythmic foundation above which they could sing in catchy cross-rhythms' (Cooke, 1998: 27). This method, essentially a simplified version of the complex polyrhythms found in African music, soon became the foundation for the dynamic rhythms characteristic of jazz.

In this sense, Africans from diverse backgrounds managed to develop a shared musical language using their voices and bodies through 'work songs' and 'field hollers' — vocal expressions, consisting of various hollers, shouts or cries, sung by slaves in the United States to communicate and express feelings while they labored in plantations. As observed by Hobsbawm (1993), one of the most characteristic African folk music patterns is the 'call-and-response', a pattern associated with slave work songs where 'passages for a solo lead voice were answered by a choral response from the workers' (Cooke, 1998: 27). This pattern was preserved in the primitive Black gospel congregations, such as Spirituals, and further influenced the blues musical genre — the heart of jazz.

Moreover, as noted by Robert Palmer in *Deep Blues* (1981), 'Through singing to themselves, hollering at each other across the fields, and singing together while working and worshiping, they developed a hybridized musical language that distilled the very essence of innumerable African vocal traditions' (Ibid: 34). Such singing tended to sound familiar to Europeans, 'as if the melodies were based on the major scale but with flattening or wavering in pitch around the third and sometimes the fifth and seventh notes' (Ibid). This gave rise to the concept of 'blue

note' — and later the development of the blues scale—, which in music theory refers to the flattened third, fifth, or seventh notes in a musical scale. In other words, it refers to a specific pitch or tone that is often played or sung at a slightly lower pitch than expected in traditional Western music. This slight lowering of the pitch, typically by a half step, is responsible for the characteristic expressiveness and soulful emotional impact of blues music. Therefore, the blue notes, together with rhythmic polyphony and improvisation, symbolize not only African musical traditions and the musical heritage of slaves but also stand as a form of resistance against strict European tonal conventions. This dynamic interplay gave birth to blues, constituting the essence of jazz.

After the Civil War (1861-1865) in the United States, slavery was finally abolished through the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment to the US Constitution in December 1865. Nevertheless, this legislative act did not eradicate racism; instead, racism became increasingly violent and deepened racial segregation, diminishing the rights of African Americans for over a century. In this context, blues as a music genre started to develop in the southern US at the beginning of the twentieth century as a response to the suffered segregation and as a distinct cultural manifestation. Throughout the century, blues persisted and developed as a form of resistance against the oppressive reality experienced not only by African Americans but also by all those who felt socially and culturally marginalized, serving as a means to overcome challenges and survive within the daily conventions and established rules.

Besides blues, another precursor to jazz is ragtime, which has been aptly described as 'white music played Black' (Cooke, 1998: 8). As noted by Cooke (1998), ragtime 'derived from white dance forms such as the polka and march, and superimposed a syncopated rhythmic style reminiscent of Black banjo music and plantation songs on simple harmonic structures built from western chords' (Ibid). In this sense, its name derives from the syncopated, or 'ragged', rhythmic patterns and reflects the aspiration of the new generation of African American musicians to create a new Black music style in the US. Ragtime composers such as Scott Joplin hoped that they would create a new Black American classical music. Thus, unlike

blues, ragtime was not improvised; it was pre-composed and circulated in printed music sheets, becoming famous especially when adapted for solo piano. At the same time, 'the harmony of ragtime may seem tame when compared with classical music of the same era, but the importation of blue notes from the blues marked the next important step toward the early jazz style' (Ibid: 20). Ragtime is recognized as one of the first times that Black African American music and white European music equally intersected forming one music genre. It influenced the development of early jazz, the evolution of jazz piano to 'Harlem stride' piano in the 1920s, and even European classical composers such as Claude Debussy, Igor Stravinsky, and Eric Satie. As New Orleans jazz gained popularity, ragtime began to disappear during the 1920s but experienced revivals later in the 1940s and 1970s (Ibid). Blues, on the other hand, continued to develop and followed its own path, influencing the emergence of not only jazz but also rock and roll and R&B (rhythm and blues) in the mid-twentieth century.

In this regard, jazz is rooted in the work songs, spirituals, blues, and ragtime, but the main place that gave birth to jazz as a recognized music genre was New Orleans in 1900. New Orleans served as a melting pot for diverse peoples and cultures. It was founded in 1718 by Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville and remained French until 1762. From 1763, with the Treaty of Paris (1763), the city became under Spanish dominion until 1800. Subsequently, from 1803 onward, it became part of the United States when it was acquired as part of the Louisiana territory. Besides French and Spanish dominion, the city also accommodated English, Italian, German, and Slavic populations, along with a significant presence of Africans who were brought in as part of the slave labor force. As described by Hobsbawm (1993):

> Jazz arose at the point where three different European cultural traditions intersected: the Spanish, the French, and the Anglo-Saxon. Each on its own had produced a characteristic Afro-European musical fusion: Latin-American and Caribbean music, Caribbean-French music (as in Martinique), and various forms of Afro-Anglo-Saxon music, of which the spiritual gospel song, and country blues are, for our purposes, the most

> important. […] The Mississippi Delta, with its Protestant Anglo-Saxon hinterland, its arms opening on the Spanish-Caribbean, and its native French culture, combined all these as no other region did (Ibid: 56).

The French musical tradition was entirely absorbed by a new emerging class of freed slaves in New Orleans, named 'gens de couleurs' or Creoles, who were typically former mistresses of French colonizers and their descendants (Hobsbawm, 1993: 57). Thus, New Orleans jazz was deeply influenced by French traditions. The instrumental techniques and the use of wind instruments in jazz were influenced by French military bands present in New Orleans, as well as its repertoire including marches, quadrilles, and waltzes. As demonstrated by Hobsbawm (1993), the dialect and the names of many of the early (Creole) New Orleans musicians were French, such as Bechet, Dominique, St Cyr, Bigard, Picou, Piron, and the rest (Ibid: 58). Moreover, the profusion of public festivals, parades, carnivals, such as Mardi Gras, and funeral ceremonies in which jazz musicians participated, can be attributed to the French social tradition, more specifically the Catholic-Mediterranean tradition. Therefore, it was within this context that the evolution of New Orleans jazz and the creation of jazz bands took place. 'The jazz band, after all, is the most characteristic product of jazz, and only an area with a very large and constant demand for bands was likely to produce it (Ibid). Despite the notable contributions of the French to the birth of jazz, other essential components for the creation and development of the musical genre in New Orleans had Anglo-Saxon origins, as indicated by Hobsbawm (1993):

> The Anglo-Saxon components are in many respects the most fundamental. They consist of the English language, the religion and religious music of the colonists and, in a smaller way, their secular folk songs and folk-music. […] The English language provided the words of black speech and song, and in it black Americans have created, with the jazz idiom, the finest body of English folk-poetry since the Scots ballads: the work-song, gospel song, and secular blues. The secular music of the colonists— perhaps mostly the Scots-Irish poor whites of the South—provided a mass of songs many of which, taken up and modified by the black travelling minstrels, entered the jazz repertoire (Ibid: 58).

In this sense, as pointed out by Cooke (1998), while several characteristics of jazz reveal similarities with techniques prevalent in Black African music, jazz could not have developed in the way it did without the extensive adoption of European harmony, undertaken by Black musicians under strong white influences (Ibid: 19). As seen, even if the harmonic dimension of jazz is thoroughly Western, its harmonies are distinctively colored by blue notes, which are one of the most important harmonic characteristics of jazz. In terms of structure, jazz adopted the call-and-response patterns seen in slave work songs. In the sphere of rhythm, the main characteristic of jazz is its syncopation and polyrhythms from Black African music, along with the process of melodic improvisation (Ibid).

The origin of the word 'jazz' and its association with the music genre, however, remains a mystery until today and there are several theories about it. Some believe it derived from the African American slang 'jasm', which in the *Historical Dictionary of American Slang* (1979) means spirit, energy, and vigor. Others suggest that it derived from sexual slangs, such as 'jazzing', which in the late 1800s used to be a popular slang for sex. In the documentary *Jazz: A History of America's Music* (2000) by Ken Burns and Geoffrey Ward, the word is associated with the word 'jasmine', based on the popular jasmine flower perfume that prostitutes wore in New Orleans brothels — where jazz music had significantly developed in its early phases. Moreover, as written by Christian Blauvelt in an article for BBC, named *The Mysterious Origins of Jazz* (2017):

> On 14 November 1916, the New Orleans Times-Picayune newspaper referred for the first time to "jas bands". That particular spelling suggests "jas" could have come from jasm. Or perhaps it referred to the jasmine perfume that prostitutes in New Orleans' famed Storyville red light district often wore […]. Early jazz pioneer Jelly Roll Morton, whose own name was a euphemism for sex, first developed his own style playing piano in these 'sporting houses'. (Blauvelt, 2017)

This theory is also confirmed by the jazz musician Garvin Bushell in the book *Jazz from the Beginning* (1988), which reunites a series of his interviews

conducted by the jazz scholar Mark Tucker. According to him, the French perfume industry was big in New Orleans, and they made the oil of jasmine flower a popular ingredient among the perfumes. They usually added it to the perfume to put 'more force to the scent' and referred to it as 'jazzing it up' (Bushell, 1988). In the same line, Bill Crow in *Jazz Anecdotes* (1990), also demonstrates the perfume theory by describing the way prostitutes used the word to express an erotic connotation. According to him, they used to say to customers phrases like 'Is jass on your mind tonight, young fellow?' (Crow, 1990). Thus, this term became synonymous with erotic activities and was largely associated with the music playing in the context, which was jazz. Furthermore, the first band to ever record jazz music commercially was *The Original Dixieland Jass Band* in early 1917. Their songs significantly contributed to the popularity of jazz as a musical idiom and genre across the US. However, due to the potentially sexual connotation of the word 'jass,' the band changed its name in late 1917 to *The Original Dixieland Jazz Band*, as noted by Crow (1990).

The expansion and development of jazz, however, relates to the mass migration in the US amid the industrial boom caused by the First World War. The migration was facilitated by riverboats navigating the Mississippi River and pushed New Orleans musicians especially northwards, to cities like Memphis, St. Louis, and Chicago, as well as eastwards to New York. This period contributed to the fame and peak of New Orleans jazz in other cities, particularly in Chicago. If New Orleans gave birth to jazz, Chicago became its incubator. Chicago concentrated most of the jazz knowledge of that time and, for many years, represented the quintessential city of jazz. According to Cooke (1998), the first jazz recordings appeared in 1917 and began to proliferate after 1923, by which time the centers of musical activity were Chicago and New York. 'In the 1920s jazz developed further at the hands of many brilliant pioneers, including the innovative composer Jelly Roll Morton and virtuoso improviser Louis Armstrong' (Cooke, 1998: 9).

According to Hobsbawm (1993), from 1900 until 1941, jazz went through the following phases:

> 1900–17 when jazz became the musical idiom of Black popular music all over America while some of its gimmicks (e.g. syncopation and ragtime) became a permanent component of Tin Pan Alley; 1917–29 when 'strict' jazz expanded very little, but evolved quite rapidly, and when a highly diluted infusion of jazz became the dominant idiom of Western urban dance music and pop songs; 1929–41 when 'strict' jazz began its conquest of European minority audiences and avant-garde players, and a much less diluted form of jazz ('swing') permanently entered pop music. The real international triumph of jazz, the penetration of yet 'purer' jazz idioms into pop music—New Orleans jazz, avant-garde modern jazz, and the country and gospel blues—have come since 1941. (Ibid: 68)

During the Prohibition years (1919-1933) in the US, however, jazz had still not quite succeeded in shedding its early links with sex, illicit drinking, addiction to hard drugs, and low living (Cooke, 1998: 10). In Europe, jazz seemed 'more respectable' because it 'had not endured social problems of such magnitude as those in the US arising from slavery and racial disharmony' (Ibid). In this sense, many jazz musicians emigrated to France and other European countries 'where greater social status and appreciative audiences made them welcome' (Ibid). It was during the 1930s until the early 1940s that jazz gained worldwide popularity, especially because of gramophone records, big band tours, and the emigration of several jazz musicians to Europe. During this period, the swing genre emerged and became synonymous with US pop music. Swing is associated with the big bands, where Black and white jazz musicians often mixed, and together created jazz 'dancing' music. According to Hobsbawm (1993), 'the characteristic product of the swing era was the touring big band giving concert or variety performances as well as playing for dances: a formula which has lasted' (Ibid: 82).

However, particularly white big bands, such as those led by Benny Goodman and Glenn Miller, achieved great commercial success in Europe. As noted by Cooke (1998), 'white commercialization of jazz seemed at its height in the later 1930s, and the attempts of Black musicians to regain the artistic initiative ultimately led to the decline of the swing band after World War II' (Ibid:11). This led to the creation of the bebop jazz style in the 1940s, which emerged primarily

because swing became a musical mainstream, transforming jazz in a 'cliché' commercial music and distancing from its essence, which is improvisation. After performing in jazz orchestras, many big band musicians frequently visited other clubs for jam sessions, engaging in free play, improvisation, and the exploration of new musical perspectives. In this sense, bebop is considered a jazz and cultural revolution, since it 'was allied to a political need to reclaim jazz for the Black Americans who had invented it in the first place' (Cooke, 1998: 12). It also marked a division between the traditional jazz and the modern jazz, bringing back the essence of improvisations and variations. Among the pioneers of bebop are Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, Thelonious Monk, Bud Powell, Miles Davis, and Art Blakey. Furthermore, along with bebop, other styles emerged, such as the 'cool' jazz pioneered by Miles Davis, who aimed 'to temper the unfortunate aggressiveness of bop' (Ibid).

According to Hobsbawm (1993), the period from 1930 to 1941 saw intellectuals 'going to the people':

> America Roosevelt's New Deal gave them a powerful political impetus. An era which proudly claimed to go back to the grass roots of American politics among the poor, the disinherited, the Radicals, revolutionaries, and Populists, found it only natural to go back also the grassroots of American culture, and to rediscover the astonishing wealth of the American popular idiom (Ibid: 83).

Therefore, by the mid-1950s, jazz became a world idiom (Ibid: 86). Simultaneously, amid the ideological tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War, the US government seized the opportunity to establish the American cultural industry as a dominant position in the national and international realm. In this sense, it appropriated jazz to disseminate the 'American way of life' along with various ideologies and propaganda. However, as importantly noted by Hobsbawm (1993):

> Jazz — especially authentic jazz in its various forms — has made its way under its own considerable power. Only when it had done so did the

> American Government recognize it as an agent of propaganda for the 'American way of life' in the Cold War, and use it to penetrate the East-West barrier, flooding the air with daily jazz broadcasts and sending prominent musicians abroad as 'cultural ambassadors'. Since 1947 the expansion of jazz has therefore almost certainly owed something to official sponsorship. However, jazz had traveled a long way without it, and would undoubtedly have continued to do so in any country in which jazz records were freely available. (Ibid: 87)

In conclusion, this brief introduction to the complex history of jazz reveals that jazz extends beyond a music genre; it symbolizes resistance, freedom, revolution, and integration. It is a manifestation of a diverse cultural heritage that encompasses customs and traditions of different ethnicities and backgrounds, establishing deep connections with social and political issues. As said by Hobsbawm (1993), jazz is about 'an extraordinary conquest and a remarkable aspect of the society in which we live' (Ibid: 29).

> The world of jazz consists not only of the noises which emerge from particular combinations of instruments played in a characteristic way. It consists also of the musicians who play them, black and white, American and non-American. […] It consists of the places in which they play, the business and technical structure which is built round the sounds, the associations they call up. It consists of the people who listen to it, write about it, and read about it. […] It also consists of that vast section of modern popular entertainment and commercial music which has been profoundly transformed by the influence of jazz. (Ibid)

Finally, paraphrasing Lisa Davenport (2009), jazz represents a form of African American artistic expression arising out of the experience of racism and segregation. It symbolizes a cultural ideal, that even in the most adverse social conditions, an oppressed people could achieve cultural integrity and expressive freedom (Ibid: 25).

3.2 Cold War

The so-called Cold War refers to the period of geopolitical and ideological tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union, and their respective allies, such as the Western Bloc and the Eastern Bloc, that emerged after the Second World War and lasted until the dissolution of the USSR in 1991. According to Eric Hobsbawm in The Ages of Extremes (1994):

> The forty-five years from the dropping of the atom bombs to the end of the Soviet Union do not form a single homogeneous period in world history. […] Nevertheless, the history of the entire period was welded into a single pattern by the peculiar international situation which dominated it until the fall of the USSR: the constant confrontation of the two superpowers which emerged from the Second World War the so-called 'Cold War'. (Ibid: 225-226)

In this sense, it has this name because it did not involve direct large-scale military actions between the two superpowers. However, it is important to stress that the Cold War was anything but cold for most of the world. Both the US and the USSR violently competed in arenas where they could avoid directly fighting each other (Hopf, 2012: 7), such as Korea (1950-1953), Vietnam (1955-1975), Cuba (1961-1962), Czechoslovakia (1968), Angola (1974-1975), Mozambique (1977-1992), Afghanistan (1979-1989), among others. Many political scientists, internationalists, and historians using systemic theories such as neorealism refer to the Cold War as the era of 'bipolar stability', but this affirmation dangerously masks the bloody 'hot' reality it meant for the almost 20 million people who lost their lives in the rest of the world due to their conflict, especially the decolonizing world (Hopf, 2012: 7). With that made clear, this section will present a brief introduction to the American-Soviet Cold War in order to further understand the rise of jazz diplomacy during this period.

After the Yalta Conference and the Potsdam Conference in 1945, where the leaders of the United States, United Kingdom, and Soviet Union reunited to discuss the post-war organization of Europe and Asia, the ideological and political differences between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union became evident, setting the stage for the beginning of the Cold War era. Moreover, as Hobsbawm

(1994) notes, the Cold War 'was based on a Western belief, absurd in retrospect but natural enough in the aftermath of the Second World War, that the Age of Catastrophe was by no means at an end; that the future of world capitalism and liberal society was far from assured' (Ibid: 230).

As the US and the USSR emerged from revolutions, they carried ideologies with global aspirations. Thus, gaining spheres of influence around the world seemed to be the means through which they would achieve their global and national aspirations. In this sense, the controversial ideological and geopolitical views between the American democratic-capitalist principles conflicting with Soviet socialism led them into a dispute for the position of a global superpower. To defend their interests and gain influence, both the US and the USSR began to invest in spreading their values and ideologies, while simultaneously investing in their military arsenals, especially nuclear ones, to demonstrate power and to threaten the possibility of a nuclear war. In this context, this era was marked by constant danger and tension in the international arena that a nuclear war could arise at any time.

Under these circumstances, the US political agenda during the administrations of Harry S. Truman (1945-1953), Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953-1961), John F. Kennedy (1961-1963), and Richard Nixon (1969-1974) revolved around the policies of the Soviet Union and it 'communist threat'. In March 1947, the means by which the US aimed to contain this threat were expressed by the Truman Doctrine, a foreign policy strategy establishing that the US 'would provide political, military and economic assistance to all democratic nations under threat from external or internal authoritarian forces' (Office of the Historian, US Department of State). Moreover, the US Secretary of State George Marshall announced in June 1947 a European Recovery Plan, or the 'Marshall Plan', for all European countries, aiming to gain influence in Europe and build dependent relations with the US (Hopf, 2012: 3). This initiative to assist especially Western European countries to rebuild their economies after the Second World War, 'provoked the Soviet Union to embark on the Stalinization of Eastern Europe' (Ibid).

Additionally, Lisa E. Davenport in Jazz Diplomacy: Promoting America in the Cold War Era (2009), emphasizes the significant creation of the Smith-Mundt

Act of 1948, also known as the US Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, which marked a new cultural approach in the US public diplomacy. The act aimed 'to promote the better understanding of the United States among the peoples of the world and to strengthen cooperative international relations' (US Congress, 1948). However, as Davenport (2009) notes:

> In 1947, when the American containment policy began to typify American political thought, the 'distinction between politics and ideas' disappeared in American cultural policy. Congress also passed the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948, calling for cultural exchange to oppose the Soviet's Cold War activities. Additionally, American Cold War policy began to target Europe and Asia, the main theaters of cultural competition in the 1940s and early 1950s. (Ibid: 15)

According to Davenport (2009) by 1950, during the onset of the Korean War, the US formalized the 'use of ideas' to fight the Cold War and culture became an explicit component of the American containment policy, especially with the enunciation of National Security Council (NSC) Paper #68, and the 'loss' of China (Ibid). In 1953, the United States Information Agency (USIA) was created, which the goal was 'to understand, inform, and influence foreign publics in promotion of the U.S. national interest, and to broaden the dialogue between Americans and U.S. institutions, and their counterparts abroad' (USIA, 1998: 7). However, as noted by Davenport (2009), USIA was formed explicitly for the purpose of conducting propaganda activities, even though it did not adopt ‘an explicitly propagandistic tone’ when promoting its activities abroad (Davenport, 2009: 14).

Furthermore, the transition from the Truman to the Eisenhower administration maintained a consistent political alignment, particularly in the use of culture within the American containment foreign policy. In this regard, Eisenhower became the first president to make culture a real pillar of US public diplomacy. He initiated worldwide cultural programs sponsored by the US Department of State, such as the Jazz Diplomacy instituted in 1956. On the other hand, policymakers faced a political paradox: ‘Race relations reflected a contradiction in American democracy that undermined the nation's ability to

implement the policy of cultural containment, inside and outside the world of people of color' (Davenport, 2009: 15).

In this sense, one of the most contested elements by the USSR against the US was the segregation and oppression suffered by people of color, who were violated and deprived of various social, civil, and political rights in a country that claimed to be egalitarian and democratic. Thus, the USSR depicted the US through anti-American campaigns as a racist and contradictory country, challenging its portrayal as a democratic and 'free' nation. This led both the US and USSR to use cultural diplomacy as their main strategy of foreign policy, aiming to promote a positive national image to the world to advance their ideologies. In this sense, the Cold War can be recognized as an ideological battle between the two superpowers, revealing the influential role of ideas and culture in shaping international relations.

3.3 Jazz diplomacy during the Cold War

As illustrated in the second chapter, music has embodied diverse roles on the international stage throughout history, and jazz is no exception. Through its unique sense of freedom and improvisation, as well as the values it represents, such as egalitarian diversity and integration, it was used as a diplomatic instrument for multiple purposes, ranging from a soft power strategy to a tool of resistance to foster mutual understanding between peoples and nations. In the context of the Cold War, jazz diplomacy played a pivotal role, especially in recontextualizing the American-Soviet cultural rivalry.

Jazz diplomacy is usually associated with the US initiative of launching a foreign policy with the same name during the Cold War, however, it is important to stress that jazz diplomacy itself has a multinational dimension and was a 'broadly Western practice with transnational repercussions' (Dunkel, 2014: 147). In fact, jazz emerged as an instrument of foreign policy since the Second World War and was used not only by the United States but also by countries like Britain and Germany, particularly for propaganda purposes. Its use played an important role in shaping the dynamics of relationships between Axis and Allied policies and projects

at that time (Studdert, 2014). Moreover, in the already mentioned book *Music and Diplomacy from the Early Modern Era to the Present* (2014), Mario Dunkel in his chapter *"Jazz- made in Germany" and the Transatlantic Beginnings of Jazz Diplomacy*, points out that jazz is not limited to the United States, but it also played an increasingly significant role in other Western diplomatic organizations such as the Canadian World University Service Program and the West German Goethe Institute (Ibid: 148). The author presents the case of Western Germany, which used jazz diplomacy during the Cold War to create a new image for the nation. According to him:

> West German jazz diplomacy differed greatly from American jazz diplomacy as a signifying practice. If American jazz diplomacy was primarily employed in order to represent the United States as a benevolent, egalitarian, multiethnic, and multiracial nation, countering negative images of racial discrimination and US expansionism, West German jazz diplomacy tended to be concerned with the representation of West Germany as an equal member of a peaceable, and non-communist, world community that had once and for all discarded fascist ideology and was fundamentally different from its East German counterpart. The cultural impact of jazz diplomacy, however, varied greatly depending on its ever-changing contexts and audiences, which often defied the performances' intended functions by responding in unexpected ways (Ibid).

As seen, amid the ideological battle of the Cold War, national representation became one of the most important aspects of foreign policy agendas, as a positive image was considered essential to secure the support of 'neutral' states and prevent them from being influenced by the ideology of the opposing side. In this regard, the major player of jazz diplomacy was undeniably the United States, as it gave birth to jazz. During most of the Cold War period, the US State Department sent the most famous jazz musicians on sponsored tours abroad, naming them as Jazz Ambassadors. Among the first selected for these tours were Dizzy Gillespie, Benny Goodman, Dave Brubeck, Duke Ellington, and Louis Armstrong. They managed to reach different countries in Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Central and Southern Asia, Africa, and South America. The main goals of these tours were to enhance the

reputation of American culture, create a positive image of the United States, and compete with the many Soviet performers for influence in the international stage.

Penny Von Eschen in her book *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (2004), illustrates that the first jazz tour sponsored by the US State Department happened before Jazz Diplomacy was officially institutionalized as a foreign policy strategy. Dizzy Gillespie went on tour in 1956 with his interracial big band to countries such as Iran, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Greece, Syria, Pakistan, and Lebanon (Von Eschen, 2004: 32). Additionally, as observes Davenport (2009):

> Gillespie helped the United States launch cultural containment into Eastern Europe, a region that continually struggled to define its own independent culture while under the control of Moscow's ubiquitous authority. Gillespie's band found an enthusiastic reception in Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia's leader, Marshall Tito, had successfully challenged Moscow's central authority by establishing less oppressive Communist rule in the country, and Yugoslavia's reception of Gillespie reflected its increasing cultural autonomy (Ibid: 51).

After Gillespie's successful tours, American officials 'increasingly sanctioned jazz as an effective weapon in the cultural Cold War' (Ibid), fully absorbing it into its cultural diplomacy and sending many other 'jazz ambassadors' on government-sponsored tours. During these tours, jazz musicians also engaged with the local people and artists by improvising and creating new arrangements that blended jazz with the traditional music of the countries, besides fostering a closer relationship between the US and the governments of selected tour countries.

Figure 1. Dizzy Gillespie leads the first State Department tour. Dizzy at a reception with Princess Shams Pahlavi, elder sister of the Shah of Iran, and her husband in Abadan, Iran, 1956.

Retrieved from: Meridian International Center, 2008.

Figure 2. Dizzy Gillespie with Yugoslav musician and composer Nikica Kalogjera and fans, in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, 1956.

Retrieved from: Meridian International Center, 2008.

After Gillespie, Benny Goodman performed with his band on a six-week tour in late 1956, in places such as Bangkok, Indonesia, Malaya, the Philippines, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Vietnam, Burma, and Cambodia (Davenport, 2009: 55). As Von Eschen (2004) notes, Goodman was 'widely credited with helping jazz to be taken seriously' and while on tours he 'held firmly to the view that jazz was a race-transcending music', often calling jazz as 'a completely democratic music' that 'neither a difference of race, creed, or color has ever been of the slightest importance among the best of the jazz bands' (Von Eschen, 2004: 44), helping to create a positive image of US government abroad. Moreover, Goodman is also recognized as the first jazz musician to go on a large tour in the Soviet Union for the US State Department for five weeks in six different cities. The tour took place between the Berlin Crisis of 1961 and the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962.

Figure 3. Benny Goodman performs for a young audience in Red Square in Moscow, Soviet Union, 1962.

Retrieved from: Meridian International Center, 2008.

Figure 4. Benny Goodman meeting Khrushchev at the U.S. Embassy Fourth of July party in Moscow, Soviet Union, 1962.

Retrieved from: Meridian International Center, 2008.

Another notable jazz ambassador sponsored by the US government was Dave Brubeck, who in 1958 became the first jazz ambassador to go across the Iron Curtain. Together with his Quartet, the group entered East Germany to get visas for their tour in Poland and further continued touring cities like Stockholm, Turkey, India, Ceylon, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, and Iraq. The US sent them 'straight into the middle of Cold War hotspots and global crises' (Von Eschen, 2004: 27). Via jazz diplomacy, they established connections and created a communication channel not only among state actors but also with the local audience.

Figure 5. Dave Brubeck, Iola Brubeck (left), and their son Michael (extreme right) attract the attention of a crowd in Krakow, Poland, 1958.

Retrieved from: Meridian International Center, 2008.

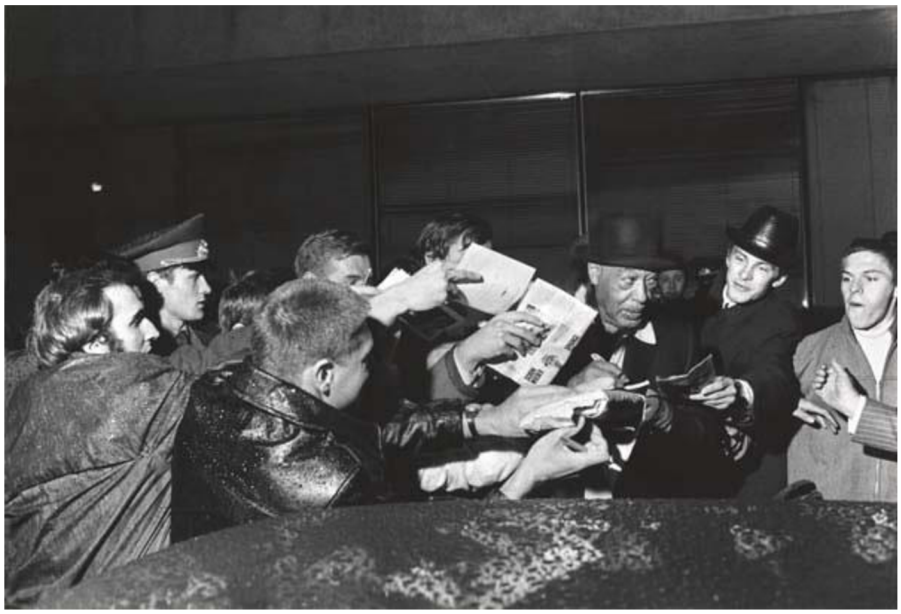
Figure 6. Dave Brubeck receives a bouquet upon arrival at the airport in Baghdad, Iraq, 1958.

Retrieved from: Meridian International Center, 2008.

In the same vein, the jazz ambassador Duke Ellington and his orchestra embarked in 1963 on the first of its numerous tours sponsored by the US State Department. On the first tour, they spent three months touring the Middle East in cities such as Syria, Jordan, Afghanistan, India, Ceylon, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, and Turkey. According to Von Eschen (2004), these cities were one of the main strategic points of the US government because of their oil-rich regions — the Cold War commodity:

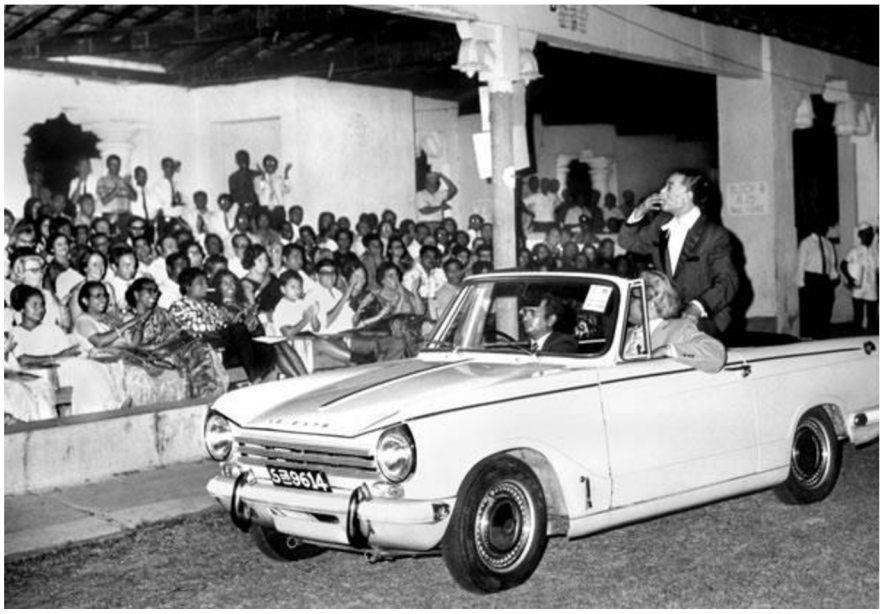
> The Dave Brubeck Quartet and the Duke Ellington Orchestra would even find themselves in the middle of Iraqi coups in 1958 and 1963 respectively. Looking at the itinerary Swinging into Action 31 of Gillespie's tour, one can trace America's increasing assumption of the former role of the British in assuring Western access to the region's oil. (Von Eschen, 2004: 31-32)

Figure 7. Duke Ellington mobbed by fans during his tour of the USSR in Soviet Union, 1971.



Retrieved from: Meridian International Center, 2008.

Figure 8. Duke Ellington greets the audience at the Tamil Union Oval before his performance in Colombo, Sri Lanka, 1972.



Retrieved from: Meridian International Center, 2008.

Louis Armstrong, on the other hand, is recognized as one of the premier jazz ambassadors as he was already spreading jazz diplomacy in many different forms since the 1930s when he began his first tours in Europe. Felix Belair, a correspondent for the New York Times, proclaimed in 1955, three weeks before the approval of the first government-sponsored jazz tour, that 'America's secret weapon is a blue note in a minor key' and Louis 'Satchmo' Armstrong is its 'most effective ambassador' (Belair, 1955, as cited in Von Eschen, 2004: 10). Armstrong, or Satchmo, is especially recognized by his ability to easily connect with people of diverse cultures and backgrounds. Besides revolutionizing jazz music when he migrated to Chicago, he also was one of the pioneers in successfully bringing jazz to the African continent. He also openly spoke about the racial paradox inside the US and used jazz diplomacy not only to foster mutual understanding or represent the 'American way of life', but also to protest and fight for the civil rights of his people.

Figure 9. Louis during his Africa tour meets Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto and Premier of the Northen Nigerian Region in Kaduna, Nigeria, 1960.

Retrieved from: Meridian International Center, 2008.

Figure 10. Louis Armstrong carried into the King Baudouin Stadium in Leopoldville, Republic of the Congo, 1960.

Retrieved from: Meridian International Center, 2008.

Figure 11. Louis Armstrong entertains children at the Tahhseen Al-Sahha Medical Center in Cairo, Egypt, 1961.

Retrieved from: Meridian International Center, 2008.

In sum, the combination of the events happening during that particular context, such as the American Cold War policy, the African American liberation movements, struggles against racial segregation, and changes in US cultural life converged to create the dynamics upon which the cultural diplomacy of Eisenhower, and later Kennedy and Nixon, was based. As noted by Davenport (2009), to compete with the USSR, the US saw the urge to adopt a genuine and authentic American cultural source that could not be replicated by any other nation and saw in jazz, which was already quite popular among different ethnicities, a perfect opportunity to persuade an image of racial equality inside and outside the country.

> The United States addressed the issues of race and jazz in a global context only to align its cultural policies with its anti-Communist agenda—to win the Cold war, counter Soviet cultural propaganda, and defeat Communism. Jazz diplomacy thus remained steeped in both America's cultural realism

> and its cultural idealism. It became a unique and enigmatic instrument of ideological and intellectual warfare. In the midst of cultural tours that included high culture, science, technology, athletic groups, and many other American cultural products, jazz held a unique place in American cultural policy (Davenport, 2009: 5).

By propelling jazz on the international stage as a form to transform relations between nations, the US jazz diplomacy thus arises from a paradox: the United States promoted Black artists as ambassadors and symbols of American democracy, while the country was still suffering the effects of Jim Crow laws that legalized racial segregation. However, as demonstrated in Chapter 2, even though the use of jazz diplomacy by the US government appears to be an imperial project and a truly soft power tool, if seen from the perspective of its planners, the recipients of jazz diplomacy and the jazz musicians themselves were far from passive receivers, as they could accept or equally reject these tours (Fosler-Lussier, 2012; 2015). Moreover, individuals, organizations, and countries that hosted visiting musicians also made several demands. American jazz bands were closely observed and were subject to thorough evaluation and criticism if they did not meet the expected level of performance (Ibid).

> Among citizens of other nations, desire for Western music was carefully cultivated by radio and through U.S. government efforts to distribute sound recordings, printed music, texts about music, and live performances; yet this desire was perceived and lived by those foreign citizens not as artificial but as a genuine passion for the music - or as serving their local interests. (Fosler-Lussier, 2012: 62)

Therefore, American musicians not only performed but also made informal connections with their audiences whenever possible. Like any type of music diplomacy, through jazz diplomacy, people could connect, expose interests, dialogue, and see possibilities for social change and mutual understanding. As expressed by Fosler-Lussier (2015):

> […] Music is a means by which people determine their mutual and distinct interests, build personal relationships around these interests, and have their values changed or reaffirmed. Musical diplomacy was not enacted solely in the performance of musical works: it was made real in the negotiations about priorities that surrounded these performances and in the symbolic value the performances held for all the participants (Fosler-Lussier, 2015: 119).

In this sense, even though the jazz ambassadors were going on government-sponsored tours representing American values, many of them openly spoke about the racist segregationist conditions suffered by people of color inside the US (Schneider, 2006: 2). As Davenport (2009) demonstrates, even in the jazz world there was a growing barrier between Black and white people, as white musicians and white big bands started to gain more prominence (Ibid: 40). However, 'both Black and white jazz musicians spoke out loudly against discrimination and segregation and made considerable strides in fighting racism' (Ibid). Musicians such as Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, Dizzy Gillespie, Benny Goodman, and Dave Brubeck fought to secure opportunities for Black jazz musicians, striving to eliminate discriminatory barriers and ensure their inclusion. In this sense, 'interracial collaboration became an important component of the fight for justice' (Ibid).

Louis Armstrong, for instance, in the context of the Little Rock crisis, canceled an official tour as a jazz ambassador to the Soviet Union and exposed the racial paradox inside the country that 'the leader of the free world was committed to democracy only in theory' (Davenport, 2009: 63). As Davenport (2009) demonstrates:

> On September 19 the New York Times reported that in Grand Forks, North Dakota, "Louis Armstrong, Barring Soviet Tour, Denounces Eisenhower and Gov. Faubus." Armstrong asserted that "the way they treat my people in the South, the government can go to hell." Moreover, he reportedly remarked that "it's getting so bad a colored man hasn't got any country." Armstrong, "a voice long quiet in world affairs," had "unloaded a verbal blast echoed virtually around the world." He even called President

> Eisenhower "two-faced" and claimed that Eisenhower was an "uneducated plow boy" who "let Faubus run the country." (Ibid: 63-64)

Another significant case of a jazz ambassador expressing resistance through jazz diplomacy is the case of one of the main jazz icon singers: Billie Holliday. In the American biographical film, *The United States vs. Billie Holiday* (2021), directed by Lee Daniels and based on the book *Chasing the Scream: The First and Last Days of the War on Drugs* (2015) by Johann Hari, her struggles against racial oppression and her determination in using jazz as a form of activism are explored. The film revolves around the constant efforts of the US government, particularly the FBI, to silence her while singing the powerful and controversial song *Strange Fruit*, originally composed by Abel Meeropol. Billie Holiday made history as the first singer to record this song in 1939. Its lyrics expose the racial violence and lynchings that the US government was trying so hard to hide, and it significantly impacted civil rights awareness during the early Cold War years. The song lyrics are as follows:

> Southern trees bear a strange fruit
> Blood on the leaves and blood at the root
> Black bodies swinging in the Southern breeze
> Strange fruit hanging from the poplar trees
>
> Pastoral scene of the gallant South
> The bulging eyes and the twisted mouth
> Scent of magnolia, sweet and fresh
> Then the sudden smell of burning flesh
>
> Here is a fruit for the crows to pluck
> For the rain to gather, for the wind to suck
> For the sun to rot, for the tree to drop
> Here is a strange and bitter crop

Thus, despite facing numerous threats from the FBI, she persisted in singing this song and using jazz as a means of communication against systemic racism. Similarly, Nina Simone also refused to sing only mainstream jazz songs without an

apparent political significance, as the US cultural industry wanted. She proudly used her fame to compose and interpret songs that expose the racist reality inside the country, such as *Mississippi Goddam*, *Ain't Got No - I Got Life-*, *Backlash Blues*, *I Wish I Knew How It Would Feel To Be Free*, *Forbidden Fruit*, as well as her version of *Strange Fruit*, among many others. Her music contributed to shedding light on racial inequalities of her period as well as to celebrate Black African American culture.

As Sunsaria Cox, J. Jenks, and Nora Gordon wrote in a recent article on the US Department of State official website named *Jazz Diplomacy: Then and Now* (2022):

> The Jazz Ambassadors' success while traveling abroad also focused the domestic lens of American society even further on the racial inequities that those artists experienced at home, helping to usher in the Civil Rights era. Even though subject to discrimination, the Jazz Ambassadors evoked the essential American values of inclusion, freedom of expression, creativity, innovation, and respect for others by their example. (Cox, Jenks & Gordon, 2022)

In conclusion, jazz's profound global influence inspired people from different parts of the world, especially the youth, and fostered an appreciation of African American culture. At the same time, jazz became 'an instrument for expanding Western power—and black culture became a paradoxical symbol of that power' (Davenport, 2009: 88). As Davenport notes:

> Decidedly, in the Saturday Review, Stearns declared that jazz in foreign lands, more than American art forms derived from Europe, revealed the "sincerity, joy, and vigor of the American way of life"—a phenomenon that knew no political boundaries. Discovering the vitality of "America's classical music" was like the "old story of finding the blue bird in your own garden" (Ibid).

Chapter Conclusion

Passing through a brief history of jazz and the Cold War, this chapter explored the case of jazz as an instrument of cultural diplomacy during the Cold War, demonstrating its complex multidimensional and influential role in international relations. As seen through excerpts from texts, photographs, and song lyrics, jazz diplomacy has the power to connect people from diverse ethnicities, express interests, influence thoughts and beliefs, penetrate 'hearts and minds', promote revolutions, and foster mutual understanding among individuals and nations. Throughout the Cold War era, jazz diplomacy marked a paradoxical relationship with the US government, as it revealed its varied use by both state and non-state actors, for imperialist and pacifist purposes. Nevertheless, it is the relations between the actors involved that define its true power and impact.

Conclusion

In summary, the role of music and cultural diplomacy has been a neglected topic in Political Science and IR, due to the predominance of mainstream theories in the field, such as Realism and Liberalism. Traditionally, these theories did not acknowledge the cultural dimension as a relevant aspect in international politics. However, with the rise of critical theories and the recent 'cultural turn' in IR, different theoretical approaches and clusters of research emerged aiming to explore the role of culture in the international arena.

Using Constructivism as a lens to understand IR and the significance of cultural diplomacy, it is revealed that culture indeed contributes to shaping international relations. Through a constructivist approach, it is taken into consideration that individuals understand and orient themselves through ideas and beliefs, which are embedded in culture and constantly changing. This, therefore, impact the relations between historical structures created by humans, including political structures. Hence, the significance of cultural diplomacy within a constructivist framework cannot be coined or simplified in a one-dimensional way.

Through international history, cultural and music diplomacy have been used by both state and non-state actors for diverse purposes, ranging from a tool for propaganda, 'nation branding,' and a ‘soft power weapon’ to a tool for education, resistance, and the promotion of peace. Its effects differ depending on the specific context and the actors involved; the recipients of such forms of diplomacy are not passive actors. By exploring the case of jazz as an instrument of cultural diplomacy during the Cold War, it becomes clear the diverse and powerful effects that music diplomacy can have in the international stage.

Jazz, with its inherent sense of freedom to improvise and integrate, became an important diplomatic instrument without borders, capable of moving within transnational political, cultural, and economic circuits at the same time it promoted, change, liberation, and revolution. It played a significant role in helping the US break through the Iron Curtain at the same time it promoted mutual understanding by connecting people from different backgrounds around the world, including policymakers and nations. Hence, cultural and music diplomacy merits recognition at least as a significant dimension in the study of politics and IR.

Bibliography

Ahrendt R., Ferraguto M. & Mahiet D (Eds.). (2015). *Music and Diplomacy- From the Early Modern Era to the Present*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ari, T. & Toprak, E. (Eds.). (2019). *Theories of International Relations II*. Eskisehir: Anadolu University Press.

Benneyworth, I. J. (2011*). The 'Great Debates' in international relations theory.* E-International Relations. Retrieved from: https://www.e-ir.info/2011/05/20/the-%e2%80%98great-debates%e2%80%99-in-international-relations-theory/ [Accessed: 13 Oct. 2023]

Bernart, Y. M. (2018). *Swinging Diplomacy: The Role of Jazz in U.S.-Japan Relations*. [Master's thesis]. Ca'Foscari University of Venice. Retrieved from: http://dspace.unive.it/handle/10579/14338 [Accessed: 23 Mar. 2023]

Blauvelt. C. (2017). *The mysterious origins of jazz*. BBC Culture. Retrieved from: https://www.bbc.com/culture/article/20170224-the-mysetrious-origins-of-jazz [Accessed: 27 Nov. 2023]

Cooke. M. (1998). *The Chronicles of Jazz*. Michigan: Abbeville Press.

Cox, R. W. (1981). *Social Forces, States and World Orders*. Millennium: Journal of International Studies. 10: 126–55.

Cox, R. H. & Schilthuis, A. (2012). *Hegemony and Counterhegemony*. Wiley Online Library. Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470670590.wbeog265 [Accessed: 19 Nov. 2023]

Cox, S., Jenks, J.P. & Gordon, N. (2022). *Jazz Diplomacy: Then and Now*. United States Department of State: Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. Retrieved from: https://www.state.gov/jazz-diplomacy-then-and-now/ [Accessed: 28 Nov. 2023]

Crow, Bill. (1990). *Jazz anecdotes*. New York: Oxford University Press

Cummings, M. C. (2009). *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey*. Washington DC Center for Arts and Culture. Retrieved

from: https://ww2.americansforthearts.org/publications/cultural-diplomacy-and-united-states-government-survey [Accessed: 21 Mar. 2023]

Davenport, L. E. (2009). *Jazz diplomacy: promoting America in the Cold War era*. University of Mississippi Press.

Fosler-Lussier, D. (2012). *Music Pushed, Music Pulled: Cultural Diplomacy, Globalization, and Imperialism.* Diplomatic History, Vol 36. Available in: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7709.2011.01008.x [Accessed: 21 Mar. 2023]

Gienow-Hecht, J. C. E. (Ed.). (2015) *Music and International History in the Twentieth Century*. Berghahn Books.

Gienow-Hecht, J. C. E., Donfried, M. C. (Eds.). (2010). *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Goff, P. (2020). *Cultural Diplomacy*. International Relations Oxford Bibliographies Online. Retrieved from: https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/display/document/obo-9780199743292/obo-9780199743292-0202.xml [Accessed: 12 Oct. 2023]

Hobsbawm, Eric. (1993). *The Jazz Scene*. London: Faber and Faber. [Ebook ed.]

Hobsbawm, Eric. (1994). *The Ages of Extremes: The short twentieth century* 1914-1991. 1995 ed. Great Britain: Abacus.

Hopft, T. (2012). *Reconstructing the Cold War: the early years, 1945–1958*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jackson, P. (2008). *Pierre Bourdieu, the "cultural turn" and the practice of international history*. Review of International Studies, 34(1), 155–181. Available in: http://www.jstor.org/stable/41307944 [Accessed: 12 Oct. 2023]

Jackson, R.; Sørensen, G. (2013*). Introduction to International Relations. Theories and Approaches*. 5th ed. London: Oxford University Press

Kofi, A. (2004). *Music Unites People of Different Background*. Introductory Remarks at the Lecture on "Why Music Matters" by Leon Botstein

on November 8 2004. New York: United Nations Press. Retrieved from: https://press.un.org/en/2004/sgsm9580.doc.htm [Accessed on: 13 Nov. 2023]

Lee, D. & Hocking, B. (2011). *Diplomacy*. In: International Encyclopaedia of Political Science, Sage. Retrieved from: https://www.academia.edu/4641813/Diplomacy [Accessed: 7 Oct. 2023]

Meridian International Center. *Jam session: America's jazz ambassadors embrace the world*. Washington D.C.: Meridian, 2008. Retrieved from: https://www.meridian.org/jazzambassadors/ [Accessed: 23 Nov. 2023]

Morgenthau, H. J. (1960). *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. 3rd ed. New York: Knopf.

Nye, J. S. (2004). *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. Canada: Public Affairs Books.

Nye, J. S. (2008). *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power*. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 616, 94–109. Retrieved from: http://www.jstor.org/stable/25097996 [Accessed: 18 Oct. 2023]

Palmer, R. (1981). *Deep Blues*. New York: Penguin Books.

Prévost-Thomas, C., Ramel, F. (Eds.). (2018). *International Relations, Music and Diplomacy: Sounds and Voices on the International Stage*. International Relations and Economy series. Palgrave Macmillan Paris.

S.4195 – 117th Congress (2021-2011): Promoting Peace, Education, And Cultural Exchange (PEACE) through Music Diplomacy Act. 117th Congress. (2022). https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/senate-bill/4195 [Accessed: 28 Nov. 2023]

Saddiki, S. *El Papel de La Diplomacia Cultural En Las Relaciones Internacionales*. Revista CIDOB d'Afers Internacionals, no. 88, 2009, pp. 107–18. Available in: http://www.jstor.org/stable/40586505 [Accessed: 13 Nov. 2023]

Schneider, C. P. (2006). *Cultural Diplomacy: Hard to Define, but You'd Know It If You Saw It*. The Brown Journal of World Affairs 13, no. 1, 191–203. Available in: http://www.jstor.org/stable/24590653 [Accessed: 21 Mar. 2023]

Schneider, C. P. (2006*). Cultural Diplomacy: Why It Matters, What It Can – and Cannot - Do?*. Georgetown University: American Political Science Association Philadelphia. Retrieved from: https://dokumen.tips/documents/cultural-diplomacy-why-it-matters-what-it-can-and-cultural-diplomacy.html?page=3 [Accessed: 21 Mar. 2023]

Studdert, W. (2014). *Music Goes to War: How Britain, Germany and the USA used Jazz as Propaganda in World War II*. [PhD thesis]. University of Kent: Kent Academic Repository. Retrieved from: https://kar.kent.ac.uk/44008/ [Accessed: 17 Nov. 2023]

UNESCO. (2001). *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*. UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Retrieved from: https://en.unesco.org/about-us/legal-affairs/unesco-universal-declaration-cultural-diversity [Accessed in: 28 Oct. 2023]

UNESCO. (2011). *International Jazz Day*. Retrieved from: https://www.unesco.org/en/international-jazz-day [Accessed: 28 Oct. 2023]

US Department of State (2023). *Global Music Diplomacy Initiative*. Retrieved from: https://www.state.gov/music-diplomacy/ [Accessed: 28 Oct. 2023]

United States Information Agency (USIA). *The United States information agency: a commemoration*, 1999. Retrieved from: http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/usia/abtusia/commins.pdf [Accessed: 28 Mar. 2023]

Villanueva, C. R. (2010). *Cosmopolitan Constructivism: Mapping a Road to the Future of Cultural and Public Diplomacy*. Cultural Diplomacy/Public Diplomacy Magazine. Retrieved from: https://www.academia.edu/9254324/Cosmopolitan_Constructivism_Mapping_a_Road_to_the_Future_of_Cultural_and_Public_Diplomacy [Accessed in: 14 Oct. 2023]

Von Eschen, P. (2004). *Satchmo Blows up the world: Jazz ambassadors play the Cold War*. Harvard: Harvard University Press

Vulliamy, E. (2008). *Bridging the gap, part two*. Classical Music and Opera, The Guardian. Retrieved from:

https://www.theguardian.com/music/2008/jul/13/classicalmusicandopera.culture [Accessed in: 13 Nov. 2023]

Wendt, A. (1999). *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yalvaç, F. (2017*). Critical Theory: International Relations' Engagement With the Frankfurt School and Marxism*. Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies. Retrieved from: https://oxfordre.com/internationalstudies/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.001.0001/acrefore-9780190846626-e-109 [Accessed: 14 Oct. 2023]

Zamorano, M.. (2016). *Reframing Cultural Diplomacy: The Instrumentalization of Culture under the Soft Power Theory*. Culture Unbound Journal of Current Cultural Research. Retrieved from: http://dx.doi.org/10.3384/cu.2000.1525.1608165 [Accessed: 22 Oct. 2023]