Spring 5-10-2017

Music for the International Masses: American Foreign Policy, The Recording Industry, and Punk Rock in the Cold War

Mindy Clegg
Georgia State University

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/history_diss

Recommended Citation

Clegg, Mindy, "Music for the International Masses: American Foreign Policy, The Recording Industry, and Punk Rock in the Cold War." Dissertation, Georgia State University, 2017.
doi: https://doi.org/10.57709/10068640

MUSIC FOR THE INTERNATIONAL MASSES:

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, THE RECORDING INDUSTRY, AND PUNK ROCK IN

THE COLD WAR

by

MINDY CLEGG

Under the Direction of ALEX SAYF CUMMINGS, PhD

ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the connections between US foreign policy initiatives, the global expansion of the American recording industry, and the rise of punk in the 1970s and 1980s. The material support of the US government contributed to the globalization of the recording industry and functioned as a facet American-style consumerism. As American culture spread, so did questions about the Cold War and consumerism. As young people began to question the Cold War order they still consumed American mass culture as a way of rebelling against the establishment. But corporations complicit in the Cold War produced this mass culture. Punks embraced cultural rebellion like hippies. But they more stridently rejected the culture industries which they viewed as producing inauthentic culture purely for profit. Punk sought to create more authentic music, which they did through a network of independent record

labels and punk zines. Punks shared this core idea across borders in translocal communities—

where the action was localized, with an authentic punk identity shared and refined across

national borders through the sharing of music and writing punk zines. In doing so, punks shaped

the recording industry and anticipated modern peer-to-peer networks that typifies the distribution

of music today.

INDEX WORDS: Cultural Cold War, Recording Industry, Punk, Consumerism, Subcultures,

Counterculture

MUSIC FOR THE INTERNATIONAL MASSES:

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, THE RECORDING INDUSTRY, AND PUNK ROCK IN

THE COLD WAR

by

MINDY CLEGG

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

PhD

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2017

MUSIC FOR THE INTERNATIONAL MASSES:

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, THE RECORDING INDUSTRY, AND PUNK ROCK IN

THE COLD WAR

by

MINDY CLEGG

Committee Chair: Alex Cummings

Committee: John McMillian

Denis Gainty

Montgomery Wolf, UGA

Electronic Version Approved:

Office of Graduate Studies

College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

May 2017

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my family. All of them. There's a lot of them. Here is a list of them now. I'm sure you'll forget the first people on the list by the time to get to the end of the list. But here is that list anyways. My mother's family includes my aunt Amy and her sons Donovan, his wife Vicky and their kids Cash and Maddox, and Collin and his partner Kylie.

On my late father's side includes: Jude, partner of my late aunt Linda; Christine, and her sons DJ; Vince, his wife Lynn, and their daughter Anna Jean; Brian, and his wife Joanna, and their children Kayleb, and Mimi; and Nathan; Aunt KT, and her daughters, Rene and her husband Mel, and their children Tristian, and Marzena; and Colleen. Uncle Brian, and his wife Diane, and their children (grown!) Scott, and Cara; aunt Shelia, her husband, Russell, and their sons, Sean, Zack, and Rian. Sláinte!

My brother in law, Jason, and his kids, Emily, Megan, and Lily. My mother, Beth, my sister Michelle, her husband Ron, and their kids Brandon, Kelly, and Jordan.

And always, of course, Rome and Fiona for putting up with me all these years! The end is finally here. Now what will we do with all our family vacation time?

I dedicate this work to those who did not live to see it finished. This includes, on my mother's side: Joe and Betty (2016 and 2010); my stepfather Jerry (2016). On my father's side: my grandparents, Tom and Jean (2008 and 1993); my aunt Linda (2016); and my dad Michael (2013). My father-in-law Jerry (2012). Denis Gainty (2017), one of my committee members and a talented musician, passed away one week before my defense date. All will be missed and all will be remembered with the fondness and love. "Of all the money that e'er I spent/ I've spent it in good company/ and all the harm that ever I did/ alas, it was to none but me/ and all I've done

for want of wit/ to memory now I can't recall/ so fill to the parting glass/ good night and joy be with you all..." (from *The Parting Glass*)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to thank my committee for their hard work in helping me finish this dissertation – John McMillian, Denis Gainty, and Montgomery Wolf. My adviser Alex Cummings offered indispensable advice over the course of my PhD. There aren't enough thanks in the world, translocal or otherwise!

Working on my dissertation, I visited several archives including Special Collections at Georgia State University, William Fulbright Archives in University of Arkansas, Popular Music Archive at Middle TN State University, the National Archives in College Park, and the Library of Congress in DC. Dr. Harcourt Fuller shared his knowledge of the legendary Black President, Fela Kuti. Allyson Tadjer, Lauren Thompson, Sara Patenaude, and Dylan Ruediger all read drafts at various points in this process and I thank them for their criticism and friendship. Andrea Scionti, another cultural Cold War historian who received his PhD from Emory also occasionally weighted in on my work.

Part of this dissertation came from my MA thesis. Michelle Brattain and Isa Blumi advised me through that project and I appreciate all their hard work on my behalf. Some of my earliest thinking on this topic began as an undergraduate in Isa Blumi's Balkan history course and in Ian Fletcher's class on global social movements as a MA student. Mohammad Al-Habib, Musemma Sabancıoğlu, Supad Ghosh, Michelle Lacoss, Kevin Baker, Casey Cater, and Jon Schmidt were all indispensable during the my time as an MA student.

Anna Baumstark offered to read and critique some chapter drafts. I appreciate her sharp eye and her friendship (namaste!). Rome, my very patient husband, also read various drafts of various papers over the years and never once wavered in his love and support of this project. I couldn't have asked for a better partner in life.

My thanks for all the kindnesses shown me by everyone listed here! They all helped make this a better work and made me a better person. And I'm sure I forgot many people who helped me along the way.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1   INTRODUCTION: EVER GET THE FEELING YOU'VE BEEN CHEATED?

"Piss stain" tends to be a phrase not ordinarily associated with an institution like the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. But in 2006 Sex Pistols and Public Image Limited (PiL) frontman John Lydon—better known as Johnny Rotten—selected that term to describe the museum in his missive to them. The Sex Pistols had been inducted into the Hall of Fame, but the still living members of the band refused to attend that year's festivities. Long having ignored punk as an influential musical genre, official sanction came with induction of the proto-punk pioneers the Velvet Underground in 1996. Later bands that made up the first wave of punk rock slowly garnered attention from the recording industry through the Hall. True to form, Lydon would have none of it. He cited the Museum's role in perpetuating corporate control of popular music. "Your [sic] not paying attention," he wrapped up the letter where he explained the bands' refusal to attend.[1] But the fact was that the recording industry finally saw fit to include punk bands into the mainstream of the industry by acknowledging their role in shaping tastes and influencing the mainstream of popular music.

By the time the Sex Pistols were inducted into the Hall of Fame, the market finally agreed on punk's musical influence and the museum responded. Starting with the Seattle band Nirvana's big break through in 1991, bands influenced by the genre broke through to the mainstream during the alternative music craze that conquered the airwaves. Lead singer Kurt Cobain often cited punk bands as Nirvana's primary musical inspiration.[2] As a result of the success of Nirvana's breakout single "Smells Like Teen Spirit," punk and postpunk musics

---

[1]   John Lydon, "The Rock and Roll Hall of Fame is a Piss Stain," *Letters of Note*, September 21, 2010, http://www.lettersofnote.com/2010/09/rock-and-roll-hall-of-fame-is-piss.html, (accessed September 27, 2016).

[2]   Cobain's influences came from across genres, but he certainly found punk central to his work. See for example, Lars Gotrich, "50 Artists Who Inspired Kurt Cobain," *The Mix: NPR*, September 19, 2011, http://www.npr.org/2011/09/19/140487084/the-mix-50-artists-who-inspired-kurt-cobain, (accessed January 17, 2017).

received new attention. Many bands that had previously found little success outside of college radio, indie record shops, and independent record labels followed the path set by Nirvana to MTV, carried along by the new explosion of alternative but corporate radio stations and chain record stores. Punk bands Bad Religion and the Henry Rollins Band (fronted by the former singer of Black Flag) appeared on regular rotation on MTV. Postpunk genres also got a new boost in popularity. Industrial-inspired act Nine Inch Nails had a series of hits off their album *The Downward Spiral* with the album peaking at number 2 on the Billboard charts. Bands steeped in punk and postpunk music hit the big time, which many heralded as rock's return to supremacy in popular music. Despite the attempt at the normalization of punk and postpunk styles in the American soundscape, the industry could not undo the changes that punk brought to the recording industry. The do-it-yourself ideas about the production of popular music punks developed during the Cold War still dominated how many of them understood their music and culture. John Lydon spoke directly to those beliefs that the production of authentic music still mattered. It should be of little surprise that this normalization of punk and postpunk musics came after the end of the Cold War. But can we find connections between the rise of punk and the Cold War, the era in which it developed? Are there Cold War roots to the punk insistence on DIY forms of making music? In fact, this dissertation argues you can not understand the rise of punk outside of the context of the Cold War which saw the rise of politicized youth and consumerism.

Although what happened in the Cold War creates many debates, many historians tend to agree on one thing: few aspects of life in the second half of the twentieth century escaped being shaped by it. The Cold War—rather than bypassing historical developments–channeled the flow of global history into often unexpected directions. The roots of today's geopolitical conflicts can

be traced back to that era of intense conflict and competition between the United States and Soviet Union. For example, the rise of Islamist parties across the Middle East intensified during the Cold War, while anti-racist and anti-colonial movements grew, withered, and emerged again within changing political landscapes. American foreign policy sought to privilege Islamists over secular pan-Arab movements. The many conflicts—political, military, and economic—of the period intensified the process of globalizing the capitalist economy, pushing the United States to shape its allies (and potential allies) into its economic image. Even the very structures on which we often hash out interstate problems reflect the Cold War world order, with institutions such as the United Nations and NATO being only two obvious examples. The political and economic structure of the world bears the mark of the Cold War, as the United States edged out the Soviet Union in setting the direction and tone of modern globalization. Beyond large geopolitical and economic structures, much of everyday life came to reflect the expectations of capitalism—including the production and consumption of popular music. The embrace of American popular culture by the United States government as a weapon of the Cold War helped to create a greater sense of politicization of the production of music. Punk took the notion of a politicized popular culture and expanded it to include the idea that how one *produces* music constitutes a political act.

Punk as a social movement and popular culture phenomenon came out of a longer history of popular culture as a location for political struggle. The rise of consumerism as a primary economic element in capitalism only heightened the political aspect of punk—even among bands that ignored or disavowed a political stance. Punk expanded into a translocal phenomenon over the course of the 1980s. The election of conservatives to public office in the West, most notably Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, politicized punks in the Anglo-American scenes. At the

same time, communist parties across the socialist world cracked down on punks who initially professed an apolitical stance in their music. As either state officials or community leaders in communist and capitalist countries respectively declared punk to be clear evidence of a moral decline among their youth, punks fashioned their own alternatives to major labels and corporate-owned music journalism. Their music and fashions came to look more similar than the first wave punk scenes across national borders.

The changes that punks employed to mark themselves as distinct from corporate music, continues to bedevil the details of producing music. The dissemination of music in the past twenty or so years changed radically. Peer-to-peer networks on the internet allowed for more direct relationship between consumers and musicians, which major labels considered a direct threat to their business model as the mediator. The sharing of music in a more direct fashion grew out of frustration with the control of distribution networks by the recording industry. But much as earlier eras of globalization are often ignored in discussions on the current one, there is little actual novelty in this sort of cultural sharing except for the platform that facilitates it.

Prior to the proliferation of the internet, the American recording industry saw challenges to its hegemony over the mode of production of popular music. In other words, the networks that supposedly upended the recording industry at the beginning of the twenty-first century really came into being well before the modern technologies of file sharing existed on a grand scale. American popular music long ago found eager audiences the world over, in part thanks to the programs which promoted music as part of the "Cultural Cold War," an evocative phrase coined by Frances Stonor Saunders in her work on the CIA and high culture.[3] One unexpected result of the private-public partnership of sharing music through sound recordings and fan zines globally

---

[3]   Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*, (New York: The New Press, 2001). The book was originally published in the UK under the title *Who Paid the Piper* in 1999.

was a youthful "global ecumene" (or a shared sense of identity among young people) opposed to the increasingly violent and exploitative aspects of the projection of American and Soviet power abroad.[4] The youth revolt as a shared, global experience was intimately tied to the expansion of the American culture industries. The changes to the American recording industry over the course of the Cold War (and by extension, the global marketplace for music) reflect the attempt by the industry to benefit from global political realities while catering to youthful disaffection. The center could not hold, however, as the very real tensions between the industry putting out political-charged albums aimed at criticizing the Cold War (mainly Vietnam and real or perceived American imperialism) while benefiting from government largess abroad eventually created a backlash among youths accustomed to seeing their mores reflected in the culture they consumed. Although not solely a product of Cold War ennui, punk emerged as a manifestation of this set of tensions, as they more strongly criticized the recording industry then earlier generations of youth rebels.

This dissertation connects the rise of punk as a translocal community to the relationship between the American state and the recording industry. It argues that the rise of punk as a translocal musical movement in the late 1970s and 1980s stemmed in part from the American recording industry working hand in hand with the American government to promote both American political and economic interests around the world. Punk rose out of a very specific historical set of events: the Cold War; the emergence of the concept of the teenager as a critical phase in human development; commodities aimed at this demographic of consumers; and major changes to the technology base of the production of music. The development of particular cultural movements connected directly to political and social realities in their historical time.

---

[4]   Ulf Hannerz, "Notes on the Global Ecumene," *Public Culture*, 1, 2 (Spring 1989), 66-75.

Political and economic struggles between the United States and the Soviet Union shaped how people engaged with and used popular culture in their lives. Over the course of the postwar period in the United States the field of consumption became an increasingly central location for hashing out political and social issues within American society. As such, consumption came to take on a political aura.[5] The Cultural Cold War acted as an intensifier of the process of American-led consumerist globalization, privileging American products and culture in the global marketplace. The United States government worked to conflate American popular music with their goals in the Cold War. But consumers around the world imbued popular music with their own set of meanings. The genuine affection for American music held by many people around the world helped create a sense of a shared, global cultural language through music. Locally, young people embraced American music and sought to create their own versions of that music. But the ability to do so came from the expansion of the culture industries on the back of American political expansion around the world.

In the United States during the turbulent 1960s, discontent with the mainstream culture writ large was often expressed through the embrace of what came to be understood as "underground" culture. But much of the culture they consumed was still made by corporations who had a vested interest in working with the United States government in the projection of American power abroad during the Cold War. The 1970s saw the emergence of a break between the people who considered themselves to be "underground" and the recording industry itself. If the 1960s protests had a strong anti-state dimension aimed at curbing American imperialism abroad, then young people in the 1970s and 1980s added a stronger anti-corporate sentiment vis-à-vis the culture industries. Punk emerged as a globalized social community, in part due to the

---

[5]   Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America*, (New York: Vintage Books, 2003).

preexisting expansion of youth culture as part of the Cold War. The cultural pathways created by

the Cold War already allowed for a shared language across national borders. Without a doubt,

the anti-state language of the 1960s counterculture found its way into punk culture around the

globe, especially as détente began to fall apart in the late 1970s. Punks challenged the hegemony

that the recording industry held over the production of popular music aimed at the newly

globalized youth market. In addition to creating culture with political content, punks also

embraced alternative modes of production and distribution to signal their disaffection and

alienation from corporate control of culture in the global marketplace of music. As such, this

dissertation seeks to illustrate the lines of continuity between the countercultural movements of

the 1960s and the punk scenes of the 1970s and 1980s, as well as to explore how and why two

the eras differed.

Punk histories are often written from the self-contained insider perspective, assuming that

all can be understood by looking from the inside-out. Many histories on the topic come from

scene insiders rather than historians.[6] Some books have bucked this trend, delving deeper into the

roots of punk scenes, their causes, and meaning.[7] Rather than seeing punk as disconnected from

its historical context, we can think of the genre and social movement as representing both

changes to the recording industry and attitudes within the larger geopolitical context of the Cold

War. Punks existed as part of their historical moment, which included: the politicization of youth

---

[6] See for example Legs McNeil and Gillian McCain, *Please Kill Me: The Uncensored Oral History of Punk*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1996), Brendan Mullen and Marc Spitz, *We Got the Neutron Bomb: The Untold Story of L.A. Punk*, (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2001), Brendan Mullen, *Lexicon Devil: The Fast Times and Short Life of Darby Crash and the Germs*, (Los Angeles: Feral House, 2002), Simon Reynolds, *Rip it Up and Start Again: Postpunk 1978-1984*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2006), among many others.

[7] This includes the classic on the London punk scene, Jon Savage, *England's Dreaming: Anarchy, Sex Pistols, Punk Rock, and Beyond*, (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1991), Dewar MacLeod, *Kids of the Black Hole: Punk Rock in Postsuburban California*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), and the forthcoming Montgomery Wolf, *We Accept You, One of Us?: Punk Rock, Community, and Individualism in an Uncertain Era, 1974-1985*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

culture; the heightening of tensions between the United States and Soviet Union with events such as the invasion of Afghanistan; the election of the first wave of neo-liberal leaders Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan; and the death of long-time Yugoslav president Josip Broz Tito among many other factors. All these events signaled a set of changes that would unfold over the course of the 1980s and create important new dynamics which fed into the end of the Cold War itself. Afghanistan became known as the Soviet's Vietnam and laid the foundation for the current war on terror. Reagan and Thatcher set the compass for globalization in the 1990s. Tito's death allowed new players to rise to power in Yugoslavia, including some who used jingoistic nationalism that tore the country apart later.

Youth culture continued to politicize, even as the 1960s ran aground over increased violence and general disaffection. The 1970s saw an intense period of shared music culture due to the global expansion of the American recording industry. But it also saw a major backlash as a result of corporate support of what was viewed as American cultural imperialism. Punk emerged at a time when popular culture in general was becoming more politicized in the United States and elsewhere. The expansion of the mass media during the Cold War into a globalized entity that enabled a complex set of cultural flows allowed for both the expansion of familiarity with American popular music, but of discontent with its limitations and blind spots. If rock had come to be connected not only with youth, but also with certain political ideals, it would make sense that later young people, looking askance at the cozy relationship between corporations that produced culture and the United States government, would seek out forms of rebellion against that reality.

Punk represented one globalized reaction against the industry and the state in the form of a translocal, youth-centric social and cultural movement. Even when claiming an apolitical

stance, punk took on both overt and less obvious forms of political engagement. The mode of production represents one of the most central aspects that tied together scenes across the world. How one made and distributed a punk album—as much as if not more than some mythical purity of sound or how one dressed—came to represent the core of punk authenticity. Mode of production meant how the music was produced, broadcast, and distributed outside of the structures built by the global recording industry over the course of the Cold War. The ability to operate outside of the mainstream music industry, relying primarily on the transnational punk community for sales and tour support, came to be the primary focus of members of local scenes eager to prove their loyalty to punk idealism. They sent their tapes to college or other independent radio stations and to punk zines for reviews in order to share their music with the community. They constituted other aspects of communal life across national borders through zines that facilitated person-to-person and scene-to-scene connections. Punks also often shared a sense of alienation from the national body, wherever they lived. Punks placed a sense of authenticity in cultural production and shared community above all else. That meant engaging with the community through punk counterpublics, consuming punk music, and supporting the community of punks wherever they were to be found.

But punks were doing more than just reacting to the political and economic structures—they drew on the concepts found in the 1960s counterculture and built their scenes on the backs of (and in the ashes of) those older scenes. Some who cut their teeth in the countercultures in the 1960s went on to provide spaces, influences, or direct engagement in the new punk culture in cities like New York, London, and Los Angeles. Bands that directly influenced later punk scenes sprang up in the late 1960s. In fact, the punk bands that engaged their audiences with explicit political content in the late 1970s and 1980s found inspiration in some of the more politically

charged artists favored by hippies in the 1960s. The entire concept of a youth-centric

countercultural movement emerged in the 1960s and continued to shape how young people saw

their relationship to popular culture. In addition to that, punk was also a byproduct of the

recording industry's involvement in the Cultural Cold War. As punks embraced an anti-state

view that also articulated a strong anti-corporate view aimed primarily at the recording industry.

In doing so, they shaped the industry and opened up the options that artists in the digital age can

effectively exploit to their economic advantage.

Over the course of this dissertation, I will engage with several major sets of literature in

order to advance a greater understanding of all of these fields. The first set of literature examines

the Cold War itself, giving us a temporal background against which to understand changes

within the recording industry that facilitated the rise of punk. The field of Cold War studies

evolved dramatically over the past few decades once the era drew to a close. The earliest

literature on the Cold War (written during the Cold War) seriously underplayed the complexity

of the events and assumed the only important historical agents were powerful individuals in the

United States and Soviet Union. These tended to focus on questions such as which side was most

aggressive and assigning blame for the emergence of the Cold War in the first place. In English,

of course, much of the Cold War historiography came from the American and British point of

view. The opening of the Soviet archives at the end of the Cold War allowed for new lines of

inquiry. These works expanded our understanding of the Cold War from inside of the Soviet

Union. It allowed historians to take on new issues, such as consumerism and youth culture from

within the communist bloc far more holistically. Historians of the Cold War eventually expanded

their definition of historical agents in the Cold War. A whole host of works on the Non-Aligned

or Third World nations and non-state actors has emerged in the past decade. The "cultural turn"

that swept academia more generally explored the ways that people utilized culture in their daily lives as well as the development of broader understandings of the Cold War in the public imagination.[8] Given the breadth and depth of the field, our engagement here will be brief, with the bulk of the focus on the cultural Cold War literature.

Much early Cold War historical literature discussed government officials such as diplomats, Presidents, and policy makers as the key actors. These works present a top-down perspective on this era. Some works still focus on the powerful men who made history, such as with the works of historians such as John Lewis Gaddis, David Painter, Vladislav Zubok, and Melvyn Leffler, all of whom focused on the major events and players.[9] They wrote from a bit of an all-or-nothing approach to the Cold War. These works tend to focus on assigning blame and illustrating how these major players shaped the direction of the world through their interactions with each other and other states. Even here, themes of dominance and lack of agency of anyone but the most elite members of these societies tend to pepper these accounts. In recent years, there has been a push to give voice to other states, including Non-aligned countries. Historians such as Odd Arne Westad and Vijay Prashad have shown how smaller nations shaped the Cold War.[10] Even here, the focus tends to fall on more powerful individuals working within various

---

[8]   The phrase was coined in the 1980s in Jeffery C. Alexander, "The New Theoretical Movement," *Handbook of Sociology*, ed. Neil J. Smelser, (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1988), 103-130. For works prior to that which were later seen as such, Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in the Nineteenth Century*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973), but also in other fields such as in the work of Clifford Gertz.

[9]   See John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2006), David Painter, *The Cold War: An International History*, (London: Routledge, 1999), Vladislav M. Zubok, *Failed Empire*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), and Melvyn Leffler, *For the Soul of Mankind: The United States, the Soviet Union, and the Cold War*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 2008).

[10]   Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 2007) and Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, (New York: The New Press, 2008).

governments—it has just been expanded to new states that are not necessarily considered global powers.

Another subset of Cold War historiography to emerge in recent years are focused on the Cultural Cold War. My own work fits within this subset of Cold War historical literature. Writers such as Frances Stonor Saunders examined the history of the CIA's funding and direction of the Congress of Cultural Freedom in *The Cultural Cold War*.[11] A more nuanced work about covert propaganda operations, Hugh Wilford's *The Mighty Wurlitzer* discussed the role the CIA played on the home front during the Cold War. He revealed how the CIA manipulated civic groups and cultural fields, but not quite like puppet masters, often failing to keep the funded organizations under their thumbs.[12] Historians such as those who contributed to Christian Appy's edited volume, *Cold War Constructions*, also bring together a wide variety of voices on the topic of the Cultural Cold War. Collectively, they discussed such issues as the messy connections between domestic culture and foreign policy and they dealt with the cultural hegemony of an American empire that denies such hegemony.[13] Still—government officials or leaders of major organizations often tend to be the key actors in these works.

My work also focuses on popular music, which many scholars have focused on in their Cultural Cold War works. In doing so, they often discuss individual artists and consumers in addition to government officials. Historian Timothy Ryback argued in *Rock Around the Bloc* that rock music helped to put pressure on Communist regimes in Eastern Europe and was a factor in their disintegration at the end of the Cold War.[14] Reinhold Wagnleitner's classic study *Coca-*

11 Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*, (New York: The New Press, 1999).

12 Hugh Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer: How the CIA Played America*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).

13 Christian G. Appy, *Cold War Constructions: The Political Culture of United States Imperialism, 1945-1966*. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000).

14 Timothy W. Ryback, *Rock Around the Bloc: A History of Rock Music in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union,*

Colonization discussed how American popular culture found a ready audience among Austrian youth and the role of the the Department of Defense and the State Department in facilitating that relationship. It proved especially important in Austria, as early on the country was divided between the Western powers and the Soviets, though the Soviets eventually pulled out of Eastern Austria. Wagnleitner's work highlights the role of government agencies in promoting American culture as part of the Cold War. But he illustrated too how Austrian youth embraced American popular culture.[15] Uta Poiger's *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels* shows how individuals in East and West Germany shaped policy toward American popular culture.[16] In *Satchmo Blows Up The World* Penny Von Eschen discussed how jazz artists both acted as diplomats for American culture on tours set up by the State Department and sought to engage directly with the people they met on these tours, at times in ways not approved of by the State Department.[17] Filmmaker Leslie Woodhead made a recent foray into the Cultural Cold War in his book (based on a documentary) *How the Beatles Rocked the Kremlin*. He argued that rock music played an important role in creating a space of freedom of thought among oppressed Soviet youths, which contributed to the fall of the Soviet Union. He described events from the Russian rock fan's perspective. But much like Ryback, he likely overstated the case that rock music brought down communism.[18] Overall, these works tend to avoid the messier question of the role corporate interests played in the spread of American culture abroad, even as they give consumers themselves more agency—an often

---

[15] *1954 to 1988,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).
Reinhold Wagenleitner, *Coca-Colonization: The Cultural Mission of the United States in Austria After the Second World War*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).
[16] Uta G. Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).
[17] Penny Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).
[18] Leslie Woodhead, *How the Beatles Rocked the Kremlin: The Untold Story of a Noisy Revolution*, (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013).

common trope in books about rock music, especially popular histories. Proactive diplomats, politically engaged artists, or eager, hip consumers often helped drive the action in these works.

Some historians have dealt more directly with corporate interests and the evolution of consumer culture especially in Europe. They often connect the Cold War with the spread of American-style consumerism. Some focused attention on fears of Americanization and the rise of a European consumer culture, such as French historian Kristin Ross. She argued in *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies* that as the French fought to retain some vestige of their colonial empire— specifically during the Algerian War—Parisian citizens struggled with what many viewed as the American cultural colonization of France.[19] Victoria de Grazia contended in *Irresistible Empire* that American cultural norms came to dominate Europe beginning with the interwar period. She noted that the Marshall Plan expedited the spreading US culture and cultural values in postwar Europe. Her focus on film especially helps the reader understand the role of corporate interests in spreading American culture abroad.20 Michael J. Kramer's *The Republic of Rock* connected San Francisco and Saigon through the rise of hip consumerism and hip militarism during the Vietnam War. He showed how the Department of Defense was concerned enough about troop morale that they actively promoted rock at the height of domestic dissent with American involvement in Vietnam. But Kramer sought to clarify the shared sense of a youthful consumer identity created by rock music across national boundaries.[21] These works were not primarily Cold War histories yet dealt directly with events during this historical period, often referencing it as a central organizing factor in the world during that era. De Grazia covers the twentieth century, and while

---

19 Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture*, (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1995).
20 Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance Through 20th-Century Europe*, (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2005).
21 Michael Kramer, *The Republic of Rock: Music and Citizenship in the Sixties Counterculture*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Kramer's citizens existed in the Cold War, he constructed a new understanding of citizenship through culture. Much like Wagnleitner, de Grazia and Kramer provide useful models for pursuing this line of inquiry. Ross connected fears over consumption with decolonization and the re-colonization of French identity, especially in light of the perceived American cultural hegemony, another issue of tension found in this dissertation.

This dissertation engages directly with the field of cultural studies. Marxist historians blazed a trail here by taking popular culture seriously in the first place. They were especially interested in understanding the role that mass-produced culture played in people's lives. One of the first Marxists to try and situate popular culture in modernity in any sort of systemic way was Italian theorist and dissident Antonio Gramsci. While held by the Italian fascist government for his political views, he wrote his famous prison notebooks in which he discussed a number of issues he deemed critical to class struggle and historical development of society. Culture, among other issues, took center stage in Gramsci's analysis of class in Italy. He sought to contextualize the conflicting roles mass culture could play in class struggle and the role that hegemony played in the cultural field of production. Gramsci argued that the proletariat needed culture that spoke to their concerns and desires for a more equitable society. Although certainly incomplete due to his untimely death in prison, Gramsci opened up a new mode of thinking about the class struggle through a society more awash in what we now recognize as mass media.[22] Gramsci's inclusion of culture opened up new lines of inquiry for all scholars, but especially those with a Marxist grounding. He also highlighted culture as a means of better understanding class struggle, the Marxist engine of history.

---

[22] Antonio Gramsci, *An Antonio Gramsci Reader*, ed. David Forgacs, (New York: Schocken Books, 1988), especially 363-378.

The Frankfurt school emerged during the Weimar period in Germany also engaged directly with the rising tide of fascism in interwar Europe. Their collective work remains a touchstone of the literature on popular culture, even as it has moved beyond it and challenged the Frankfurt's often skeptical view of mass culture. Two particular scholars associated with Frankfurt made an indelible mark on the academic view of mass culture, Theodor Adorno and Walter Benjamin. Adorno, a classically trained musician himself, bristled against the commodification of music viewing it as a dangerous means of channeling popular opinion. He railed against jazz especially. In Adorno's view, jazz represented a musical form that had little historical and cultural value to share with the listener, primarily due how jazz was produced and marketed. But in doing so he flattened the complex relationship between the supposedly top-down culture industries, which despite their problematic nature, gave some voice to an oppressed people—African Americans—in the United States as Amiri Baraka argued in *Blues People*.[23] In renouncing whole cloth the culture industries and jazz as a representative sample of that industry, Adorno threw the baby out with the bath water. But he began a conversation about the role of corporate interests in mass culture that continues today. His work was in part a response to his colleague, Walter Benjamin, who wrote theoretical works on art and culture prior to his wartime suicide in 1940. Benjamin's most notable and lasting contribution to the understanding of the role that mass produced culture could play in the modern world came in his famous essay "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." He never ignored the coercive possibilities of mass production while voicing a strong hope that it could create a greater unified working class movement. Benjamin certainly brought a more optimistic view than Adorno would later;

---

[23] Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception," *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2002), 94-136 and LeRoi Jones (Amiri Baraka), *Blues People: Negro Music in White America*, (New York: Harper Perennial, 2002).

Benjamin thought that mass-produced culture could challenge traditional authority and animate the masses for positive change.[24]

This tense debate over the constraints and possibilities of mass produced culture started during the interwar period carried on into the second half of the twentieth century. The debates began to focus on whether mass produced culture can carry revolutionary feelings or not. Most tended to lean toward Adorno's more critical stance on the role of mass media in the modern world. The recent experiences of the Second World War loomed large in the public imagination—even if the American view of the war tended to be rosier than their European counterparts. The New Left produced some cultural critics such as Marshall McLuhan, who discussed the role of the media in modern society. Though not engaging directly with the production of popular music, his arguments linked the production of culture with its mode of production, arguing for understanding the culture through the way it was delivered to the consumer.[25]

A less critical view of mass culture emerged out of Britain during the 1960s and 1970s. Studies of mass produced culture came to be taken more seriously in fields such as history and ethnomusicology. The study of popular music emerged as an important subfield of cultural studies during this time. The recording industry and social movements connected to the consumption of popular culture also found traction as a topic of historical inquiry. These works fit under the category of studies of "everyday life." A real desire to better understand the culture that many people—especially young people—participated in animated many of these newer

---

[24] Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Mechanical Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*, (Boston: Belknap Press, 2000).

[25] The phrase orginated in Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964) and came out as a stand along book McLuhan, *The Medium is the Massage: An Inventory of Effects*, (London: Penguin Books, 1967).

cultural studies. The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at the University of Birmingham in the UK led the way in the modern wave of cultural studies. Founded by Richard Hoggart, Stuart Hall, and Raymond Williams in the mid-1960s, the center became a shining example of a rigorous academic engagement with popular culture. Hoggart's earliest work sought to better understand "massification" on British working class life. He drew a sharp line between mass and popular culture in his 1957 study on the rise of mass media.[26] Sociologist Stuart Hall arrived in Britain from Jamaica on a Rhodes Scholarship in the early 1950s. Works such as *The Popular Arts*, written together with Paddy Whannel, dug into these new cultural studies he helped pioneer. The authors explored the importance of understanding the new centrality of mass media and the rise of the teenager to a place of prominence in modern life.[27] The edited volume *Resistance Through Ritual* became a touchstone for those interested in studying the phenomena of youth subcultures.[28] For his part, Raymond William's studies on new forms of media. In his book *Television*, he explored how the medium was becoming ubiquitous in British and American life.[29] These scholars led the way in serious studies of culture for a new generation.

A later generation of scholars trained at the CCCS carried on in this tradition of exploring both the limitations and possibilities of mass culture including Dick Hebdige, Paul Gilroy, and Angela McRobbie. Hebdige studied postwar youth subcultures among the British working class, making him one of the first scholars to write on skinheads and punks.[30] In his insightful book *The Black Atlantic*, Gilroy focused his attention on the Atlantic world and race. He highlighted how the African diaspora spoke to each other across national borders, in part through popular

---

[26]   Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy: Aspects of Working Class Life*, (London: Penguin Classics, 2009).
[27]   Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel, *The Popular Arts*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965).
[28]   Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson eds., *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-war Britain*, (London: Routledge, 1993).
[29]   Raymond Williams, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, (London: Fontana, 1975).
[30]   Dick Heddige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, (London: Routledge, 1979).

culture that originated in the New World.[31] McRobbie brought a feminist analysis to her studies

of popular culture and focused on young women as historical agents in their own right in works

such as *Feminism and Youth Culture*.[32] All of these CCCS scholars went on to influence the field

of cultural studies today. Without ignoring the serious limitations of rebellion through

consumption, they drilled down on the new possibilities found in the mass media.

Studies of consumerism also came to figure into historical scholarship as an American

and global phenomenon. John F. Kasson wrote on Coney Island in 1978, showing how it shaped

ideas about popular, public entertainments. He effectively illustrates in his slim volume *Amusing

the Million* how the struggle over spaces like Coney Island as popular amusements shaped the

direction of consumer culture for decades to come.[33] In *Land of Desire*, William Leach discussed

the power base of merchants in the early part of the twentieth century, examining the rise of the

modern merchant class and showing how they made Americans into the quintessential

consumers.[34] Lizabeth Cohen focused more attention on the consumers themselves in her work.

She connects labor, class, and consumerism in *Making a New Deal* and argued that mass culture

gave the labor movement a common social context and cultural language. In her book *A

Consumer's Republic* she explored the general redefinition of American citizen as a consumer.

Many aspects of American life came to be understood through consumption, including political

activities.[35] American consumerism emerged as a category of study in part largely due to its

---

[31] Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

[32] Angela McRobbie, *Feminism and Youth Culture: From 'Jackie' to 'Just Seventeen'*, (London: Palgrave, 1990).

[33] John F. Kasson, *Amusing the Million: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978).

[34] William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1993).

[35] Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939*, (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1991) and *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America*, (New York: Vintage Books, 2003).

increasing importance in the American economy throughout the twentieth century. But the above works also hint at the social changes brought about by these economic changes.

If consumerism reached something of an apex in the United States, it certainly was not unique to it. One study by Neil McKendrick, *The Birth of a Consumer Society,* looked at the growth of consumerism in England in the eighteenth century.[36] That period in British history marks the early days of what eventually became the Market Revolution in the United States and charts the rise of modern consumerism. Sometimes, consumerism functions as a sideshow to a larger story, as in Sidney Mintz's classic study of the role of sugar in creating slavery and the British working class, *Sweetness and Power.*[37] Historian Peter N. Stearns argued in his short book *Consumerism in World History* that consumerism as an important historical force in the modern era needed to be better understood—not just an exceptional American phenomena. He focused on how consumerism changed the concept of desire globally speaking.[38] Studies focused on the twentieth century contribute to our understanding of just how broad based consumerism has become in the modern world, and that calling it an American-centric phenomenon does history a disservice. *The Modern Girl Around the World* provides a critical example of understanding consumerism as being globalized well before the age of American consumerist hegemony. That volume also helps the reader to better understand the gendered view of consumption.[39]

---

[36]   Neil McKendrick, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth Century England*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982).

[37]   Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1986).

[38]   Peter N. Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire*, (London: Routledge, 2001).

[39]   The Modern Girl Around the World Research Group, *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Civilization*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

Consumerist studies often address specific aspects of the economy or look at particular industries, such as the recording industry. Scholars in various fields have acknowledged the role music has played as a social force and as an industry during the modern era. The scholarship on popular music and the recording industry falls into two categories. First, scholars have illuminated the problems of consumption and community in rock music and how that intersects with the social processes around the production of music itself. These often revolve around questions of agency, culture, and individuals as consumers. Simon Frith's groundbreaking sociological study of the music business and youth culture, *Sound Effects*, argued that the fixed definitions of rock music handed down by the industry do not fully reflect the ways people consume and use music in their lives. He addresses the question of identity and authenticity in a mass-produced culture.[40] In works such as *Producing Pop* ethnomusicologist Keith Negus laid out the basic operations of record labels in Britain and the United States.[41] Mat Callahan—a musician and cultural critic—discussed the question of art in the age of mass production in his polemical *The Trouble with Music*. He argued for a firm distinction between music and what he calls "anti-music," which he defines as music created specifically to enhance corporate bottom lines, not to share in a common cultural and social experience. He left little space for overlap between these categories.[42] Evan Eisenberg deals directly with the role that recording made on music in his meditation on records as a distinct artistic category in *The Recording Angel*.[43]

Others focus on the music industry as an industry. David Suisman examined the commercial roots of American popular music in his book *Selling Sounds*. He argued that it

---

[40]   Simon Frith, *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure, and the Politics of Rock and Roll*, (New York: Pantheon, 1981).
[41]   Keith Negus, *Producing Pop: Culture and Conflict in the Popular Music Industry*, (London: Hodder Education, 1993).
[42]   Mat Callahan, *The Trouble with Music*, (Oakland: AK Press, 2005).
[43]   Evan Eisenberg, *The Recording Angel: Music, Records, and Culture from Aristotle to Zappa*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

radically altered how Americans interacted with music on a daily basis from the 1880s to the 1930s. Suisman generally focused on the industry as a discrete unit of analysis and does not make connections to US policy making—foreign or domestic.[44] In *Beatlemania*, Andre Millard placed the rise of the Beatles within a particular "perfect storm" moment in the recording industry. He showed how the consumption of music was shaped by new technologies and new ideas about youth and popular culture.[45] In *Democracy of Sound*, Alex Cummings illustrated how piracy in the music industry helped to define how we construct and legally define intellectual property.[46] Scholars have begun to explore the very real economic, political, and social effects of the commodification of popular music.

Many scholars have spent years struggling with the meaning of punk rock, both as a socio-cultural phenomenon and as an historical event. Dick Hebdige's work was particularly crucial to later studies on punk. Early on he examined punk and its place within subcultural theory in his book *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. He wrote a generally sympathetic view of punk rock, focusing primarily on the mode of dress of punks, among other things.[47] Music critic Greil Marcus connected punk to twentieth century avant-garde movements in his book *Lipstick Traces*. He tied it to an attempt to upend social conventions through art and culture.[48] Historian Dewar MacLeod examined the punk scene in Los Angeles. He charted punk's origins as a suburban phenomenon during the rise of the southern Californian conservative movement in the 1970s in his book *Kids of the Black Hole*. This work helps to chart how punk and post-punk

---

[44]   David Suisman, *Selling Sounds: The Commercial Revolution in American Music*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

[45]   Andre Millard, *Beatlemania: Technology, Business, and Teen Culture in Cold War America*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2012).

[46]   Alexander Sayf Cummings, *Democracy of Sound: Music Piracy and the Remaking of American Copyright in the Twentieth Century*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[47]   Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, (London: Routledge, 1987).

[48]   Greil Marcus, *Lipstick Traces: A Secret History of the Twentieth Century*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).

changed how the industry operated domestically in the late 1970s and early 1980s and how the

rise of independent labels eventually helped to fragment the music industry as a whole.[49]

Montgomery Wolf argued in her dissertation that while punk was individualistic, punks were

also deeply community-minded. She contended that such a world view illustrated the

contradictions and tensions of the post-Nixon era in American history.[50] These studies add to our

understanding of music as a cultural and social phenomenon by drilling into the past of one

highly contested genre of popular music.

     Studies of punk thus far tend to downplay the position of punk within the recording

industry itself. Nor have scholars of the genre on the American side placed it within a Cold War

context. My work shows that treating recorded popular music only as a counter-hegemonic force

gets us only so far in understanding the work music did during the Cultural Cold War. Music as a

commodity is tied into the expansion of American power abroad during the period of the Cold

War, making the history of the international music industry a history of global political economy.

This dissertation illustrates how bringing together these distinct fields—Cold War history,

consumer history, and cultural and music history—allow for an interesting historical intersection

that can help us to better understand all of these fields.

       In the following pages, the argument will move across the course of the Cold War

as well as through three key musical genres as they developed as part of the industry. In the first

chapter, jazz will be the primary focus. Popular music like jazz emerged as an important weapon

in the Cultural Cold War. A series of jazz tours spread out across the world during the 1960s.

The primary goal of the tours was countering the (entirely correct) perception of the United

---

[49] Dewar MacLeod, *Kids of the Black Hole: Punk Rock in Postsuburban California*, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010).

[50] Mary Montgomery Wolf, "'We Accept You, One of Us?'": Punk Rock, Community, and Individualism in an Uncertain Era, 1974-1985," PhD Diss. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2007.

States having a serious race problem. While jazz musicians were key to the propaganda front of the Cultural Cold War, the recording industry embraced the tours as a means to gain an important advantage over foreign competitors in the global marketplace for music. By rhetorically tying their products to the Cold War struggle, they wished to show how jazz (and to a much lesser extent rock) were uniquely American musical forms. The industry did so to help them conquer the global marketplace for popular music. The jazz tours also represented an example of the institutionalization of jazz into an quintessentially American art form.

In the second chapter, we shift genres to rock music and its role in the Cultural Cold War. As the baby boomers grew up and became one of the largest blocs of consumers in the American marketplace, their tastes came to dominate the output of the American recording industry. While rock never made up a serious number of government supported tours, state-backed radio stations providing an important place for helping to create demand for American records. Rock also became shorthand for a way of thinking about being a young person in the world, as a consumer and a political agent in ones' society. But the increasingly antagonistic view of young people toward institutions that made up the modern world meant a need to reconfigure the Cultural Cold War into a language acceptable to the young. The recognition of these tensions led to a shift toward embracing private means to promote American industry and values abroad, especially in attempting to communicate with young people. Government entities such as the State Department and the US military continued to deploy music as a Cold War weapon, but in less direct ways. The popularity of rock among young people at first made rock seem like a perfect musical form to shape youth opinion about the United States abroad. But growing discontent with the Vietnam War scuttled attempts to exploit rock in the same way that jazz had been used. This backlash of some young people with the Cold War order led to important changes within

the recording industry itself only beginning to be understood in the 1960s—a period of record label consolidation around rock music.

In the third chapter, we turn back to the Anglo-American music scenes and begin to rethink the position of punk within the globalized recording industry. The industry now likes to position punk as a breath of fresh air which shook up and revitalized the moribund American recording industry. Both arena rock and disco were seen as evidence of industry rot that punks rebelled against, the narrative goes. But punk viewed the recording industry antagonistically at best, which remains true today. Scene members built their own structures to share their music. Punks—often depicted as rejecting and breaking with the 1960s youth rebellion—in reality built upon the consumerist world view of cultural rebellion. However, they brought a strong anti-corporate world view with them that targeted the culture industries. As the role of consumerism grew in American and British life, it became more politically charged, with punk becoming a chief example of that reality. Some punk bands wrote political songs about events in the Cold War and other punks rejected political content in their music. However, the general agreement among punks about the importance of independence from the recording industry tended to bring them together. As punk went from a marginal, generally ignored subculture within the recording industry to a youth-based consumerist counterculture, punks attempted to control their own image in the public and they created institutions that put them in a more direct control of their cultural production. In doing so, they anticipated the peer-to-peer networks of today's recording industry. But what it meant to be a punk and to make punk music became more narrow over time, even as a punk mode of production came to animate later musicians and fans, who put greater emphasis on the mode of production in defining an "authentic" punk.

In the fourth and final chapter, we chart how punk initially traveled on the back of the pathways created by the recording industry during the Cultural Cold War. Eventually, the rejection of punk by the recording industry, subsequent social and political crackdowns, and the peer-to-peer networks created by punks all brought into being a translocal underground network of punk scenes. Punks eventually spoke to and performed for each other, as alternatives to getting their music out to an audience emerged. Over the course of the 1980s, punk scenes appeared in capitalist and communist countries, receiving similar treatment, but from different locations within their societies. In the west, more often than not, local law enforcement (at times working with civic and cultural institutions) targeted punk as an anti-social movement. In communist countries, more directly disciplined young people identifying as punks. These crackdowns had the effect of standardizing punk across borders because the experiences of individuals within these scenes were similar. Punk also represented a viable alternative to the culture industries regarding the production of popular culture for a self-defining audience. The term "punk" became shorthand for a particular mode of production as much as for a genre of music. It encompassed a cultural identity which demanded greater control of their cultural output. Punks created alternatives to mainstream culture and more satisfying cultural connections that transcended national boundaries, even as it reinforced consumer identities.

Punk came to challenge norms of the recording industry, changing how some consumers understood their relationship to the industry more generally. They built this meaning on the political work done by the prior generation of cultural rebels in the 1960s. Punk eventually came to signify a mode of operating in ones' relationship to culture more generally. Punks argued that the mode of production of a commodity mattered as it helped to define community. The current wave of "do-it-yourself" community and activism drew strongly on a particular punk ethos

which prioritized community and authenticity over being the next big thing. It also gave the peer-to-peer sharing of music a working model during the Internet age. Punk itself carries on as an underground subculture which people still identify with strongly. Punk transcends the attempt by the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame attempts to commodify it away as a relic of the past with no connections to the present or future.

The proponents of the Cultural Cold War, starting with their embrace of jazz as an American institution to be shared with the world, created the conditions upon which a globalized, translocal punk community could emerge. Punks expanded an alternative cultural production network on the back of the economic and social pathways created by Cultural Cold War programs. Young people in the US and around the world came to expect popular music to be a conduit for their political ideals during the 1960s. Punks also believed that, but they insisted that how music was made also mattered, that corporate music was highly suspect. As such, they changed the nature of the recording industry and opened up the market for producers and consumers of music in new ways.

2   CHAPTER 1: JAZZ AS AN AMERICAN INSTITUTION: FORGING A PRIVATE-PUBLIC PARTNERSHIP SECTION HEADING

Today, we live in an age of "empires of sound" according to historian Andre Millard—where corporations distribute entertainment in a global marketplace, dominated by American products and styles.[51] We take for granted easy access to popular music from around the world and subcultures that support musical communities via the internet. But the current age of digital connectivity did not create easy access to popular music, even if it intensified it. Rather, the idea

---

[51]   Millard, *Beatlemania*, 54.

that popular music should be viewed as a universal form of social connection across national and ideological borders emerged as part of the arguments that justified the Cultural Cold War. We should also question his assumption that the recording industry—meaning the large record labels—dominate the market entirely. In this chapter, I argue that due to interactions between policymakers and private industry the "fields of cultural production" around the world changed dramatically throughout the period of the Cold War.[52] Starting with cultural diplomacy programs such as the jazz tours and global radio broadcasts that promoted American popular music—all backed and supported by the State Department and the Department of Defense—the American recording industry pushed itself into a central position within the global marketplace for records, eventually setting best practices for the production and consumption of music centered on recorded sound. The promotion of an American mass-produced, commercial music like jazz by the US government abroad was as much an economic project as it was a political and ideological one—precisely because jazz was a popular, commercial form of music.[53] As early as the immediate postwar period, the recording industry in the United States (and Britain) found itself in an advantageous position, as was the case with other industries. The next decade saw them taking advantage and consolidating their position, partially through the various cultural diplomacy programs created by the State Department and the Department of Defense. The result was a world awash in sounds emanating from and influenced by American popular music, produced and consumed in the same way as they are in the United States.

<div align="center">***</div>

---

[52] Those who study music as an industry have recently started to think of music as not a singular industry, but as several industries interconnected through their shared product. See Martin Cloonan and John Williamson, "Rethinking the Music Industry," *Popular Music*, vol. 26, no. 2, (2007), 305-322.

[53] Some historians have focused on this argument, such as de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire,* 5.

The recording industry has long had a global reach. American labels certainly competed within that marketplace of sound. The New Jersey-based record label the Victor Talking Machine Company (later a division of RCA) produced catalogs for global audiences in the 1920s. They were not necessarily promoting American music and ideas. Rather the content was locally oriented for each discrete market. Catalogs also often highlighted their furniture-like record players, while promoting local music. They were published in local languages and sold local artists, not American artists. One can see this with Victor's Arabic language catalogs.[54] American labels similarly segmented the music market domestically, as Lizabeth Cohen has shown in her study of the creation of the American working class. Label's domestic production often marketed their works for specific ethnic groups, with the race records segment being the most prominent example of that industry "logic."[55] Record labels more often catered to local demand rather than fully shaped it. By the time of the Great Depression, the sale of sound recordings took a nosedive, which led to a round of corporate consolidation. Independent labels, such as the African American owned label Black Swan, were swallowed up by larger labels.[56] Here we can see the origins of the oscillations between fragmentation and centralization that marked the history of the recording industry.

After the period of consolidation of the Depression, the remaining American labels participated in the Second World War as part of the propaganda campaign aimed primarily at

---

[54] See for example catalogs from the 1920s in Egyptian Arabic and Armenian, among others, "Victor Talking Machine Company Catalog: Victor Arabian-Syrian Records," Victor Talking Machine Company, Oct. 1923, "Victor Talking Machine Company Catalog: Victor Armenian Records," Victor Talking Machine Company, Oct. 1919. The collection at Popular Music Archive found at Middle Tennessee State University in Murfreesboro, TN also had other languages, including Croatian, Serbian, and Polish.

[55] Lizabeth Cohen, "Chapter 3: Encountering Mass Culture," *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 99-158.

[56] For a discussuion of the consolidation of the American recording industry during the Great Depression, see David Suisman, "Chapter 7: The Black Swan," and "Chapter 8: The Musical Soundscape of Modernity," *Selling Sounds: The Commercial Revolution in American Music*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009, 204-272.

American troops. Sound recordings played a role in raising morale on the front lines as well as

domestically. The government-run record label V-Discs began before US involvement in the war

in 1941, officially incorporating as a record label in 1943, and operated until 1949. They

distributed albums with artists as diverse as Fats Waller, Glenn Miller, Coleman Hawkins, and

comedy duo Abbott and Costello to American soldiers, free of charge (to the soldiers at least).[57]

This relationship had a material impact on industry operations. The War Department's music

label used more durable vinyl records, the first time so much music had been recorded on

vinyl—helping to facilitate the industry shift to vinyl records more broadly by the end of the

1940s.[58] According to Richard Osborne in his history of the vinyl record, V-Discs sent out some

800,000 vinyl records to the troops between the years 1943 and 1949.[59] While Osborne argued

that the decision to switch to vinyl rested with industry movers and shakers, he demonstrated a

lag from the introduction of the material as suitable for records in the 1930s to its full adoption

by the industry in the 1950s. It was only after the successful use of vinyl by V-Discs (coupled

with rising costs of shellac due to the Second World War and postwar political uncertainty in

Asia) that vinyl was finally fully adopted by the recording industry. Fragile shellac records

became collectors' items in the American market and vinyl became the norm. The US

government's intervention into private industry during the war helped facilitate a shift away from

78s, even while the durability and "micro-grooves" of vinyl records—which expanded the length

of recordings—made them more desirable for the industry. Government intervention had a

---

[57] Chuck Miller, "V-Discs Records (1943-1949) Victory Music," *Goldmine*, February 1999, np. A copy of this article can be found at, http://www.chuckthewriter.com/vdisc.html, (accessed November 24, 2012).

[58] "Palizt Handling Recording for Army 'V-Discs'," *Billboard*, Vol. 55, No. 44, (October 30, 1943), 14. Prior to this, the only time music was put on vinyl was for radio programs. On the shift to vinyl, see "N.Y. Times Foresees Big Record Demand During '43," *Billboard*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (January, 1943), 62. This was in response to Howard Taubman, "Records: 1943 Outlook: Despite Shortage of Material, There Will be Considerable Output," *New York Times*, December 27, 1942, X6.

[59] Richard Osborne, *Vinyl: A History of the Analogue Record*, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 67.

lasting impact on the recording industry, as vinyl records have had incredible staying power and even emerged as a recent growth sector of the recording industry, with sales jumping 36% in 2011.[60]

The period of consolidation in the industry during the Depression and the domestic growth of popular music during the war facilitated in part by V-Discs led to an expansion of the recording industry in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War.[61] During the war, recorded music began to challenge live performance as the key function of the music industries, a process unfolding in the US since the interwar period.[62] People worried about this shift and what it meant for working musicians.[63] We can see that rather clearly among returning American servicemen who played music—they arrived home to a seriously contracted market for live performance. Some blamed records and new mechanisms for hearing recorded music. American consumers had found new kinds of entertainment involving recorded music; bars, amusement arcades, and clubs frequented by teenagers outfitted with coin-machines or jukeboxes became popular hang-outs during and after the war. These machines cost less than a night out to hear live music and advertised records as an accessible product to consumers.[64] Over time, dancing to the jukebox became synonymous with the experiences of teenagers in postwar America.[65] The jukebox phenomenon was already global according to a report by the U.S. Chamber of

[60] Ed Christman, "Eyes on the Prize: Digital Rebound, Discounted Catalog CS Push U.S. Music Sales Toward Annual Gain," *Billboard*, October 22, 2011, 4.

[61] A similar point has been made about literature and how programs aimed at the morale of the troops helped to shape the postwar canon, see for example Maureen Corrigan, *So We Read On: How The Great Gatsby Came To Be and Why it Endures*, New York: Little Brown and Co, 2014.

[62] Again, see Suisman, *Selling Sounds*.

[63] Norman Weiser, "Upheaval in Remotes Threatens: Pick-ups Seen Pushed Off Air by Disk Shows," *Billboard*, October 18, 1947, 18 +47. One can also see the postwar labor unrest in the music industry as evidence of these concerns among working musicians.

[64] See for example "Market Report: Coin Machine Trade Runs at Even Keel While War Emergency Tightens," *Billboard*, Vol. 55, No. 16, April 17, 1943, 67-69.

[65] See for example Jon Savage, *Teenage: The Creation of Youth Culture*, (New York: Viking Press, 2007).

Commerce in *Billboard* magazine in 1947. These new gadgets, which played music on demand, were popular in such far-flung locales as Egypt and the Pacific Islands, which allowed more consumers around the world to establish a familiarity with American records.[66] Jukeboxes played a role in domestic morale, represented an early symbol of American teen's buying power, and became a global phenomenon in the process.

The process of record sales becoming the key commodity in the music industries (privileging record labels over other sectors of the music industries) intensified at the end of the war and drove the direction of discussions around popular music as a commodity. In 1946 writer and music librarian Kurtz Meyers explained in the journal *Notes* that the recording industry was in a chaotic state at the end of the war because they did not know how to handle the explosion of album sales—an enviable position for the industry.[67] In 1947, the National Association of Music Merchants (NAMM) announced a 500% jump in radio and phonograph sales over the previous year.[68] In 1952, the newly formed Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) planned a drive to support the sale of records nationwide, worrying over a recent dip in sales.[69] The origins of the RIAA's belief that the industry was in trouble remains unclear. However, record labels were expressing a new-found sense of power, in part due to their postwar expansion as the central function of the production and consumption of music.[70]

---

[66] "U.S. Chamber of Commerce Magazine Plugs Juke Boxes as Multi-Million $ Trade," *Billboard*, Vol. 58, No. 36, (September 7, 1946), 118.

[67] Kurtz Meyers, "Current Report on the Record Industry," *Notes*, Second Series, Vol. 3, No. 4 (September, 1946), 411.

[68] "Music Interest Soaring; Phono, Radio Sales," *Billboard*, October 18, 1947, 18.

[69] "The RIAA to Launch National Drive to Boost Interest in Records," *Billboard*, July 5, 1952, 20 and "Editorial: The RIAA Campaign," *Billboard*, July 5, 1952, 20.

[70] On the centrality of the recording industry to the production of music, see Reebee Garofalo, "From Music Publishing to MP3: Music and Industry in the Twentieth Century," *American Music*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Autumn, 1999), 318-354.

The use of music as a tool in warfare continued into the postwar period, emerging as one important field of contestation during the Cold War. The embrace of music as a Cold War weapon reveals the extent to which American and Soviet policy-makers were committed to undermining and surpassing each other on all fronts.[71] To that end, it will do us well to step back and understand the larger picture of the geo-political scene and how culture fit into the Cold War. Although the notion of a flat, two-way existential struggle has largely been rejected by many current scholars of the period, many in the immediate postwar period saw the world in those stark terms. American and Soviet policy-makers assumed that the two systems could not co-exist. By assuming the inability of communism and capitalism to coincide, they helped to create the very thing they feared—an intractable struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union that warped the postwar world.[72] One particular program—the Marshall plan—created by policymakers in Washington illustrates how much the Cold War was being imagined as a "Total War." The plan ensured that private enterprise would actively participate in promoting American values and interests abroad. In his 1984 book *The Marshall Plan*, historian Charles Mee argued American policymakers who created the plans to rebuild and boost productivity in Europe felt only America stood between "red slavery" and "capitalist freedom." Despite the necessity of rebuilding Europe in the wake of the war, the plan also bristled with militarism, even as the atomic bomb tempered that militarism. President Truman appointed

---

[71] A key event in shaping the rise of the Cultural Cold War includes the "Kitchen debates" between Secretary Nikita Khrushchev and Vice President Richard Nixon, which occurred in 1959 at an exhibit of American Life in Moscow. The exchange can be seen on You Tube, "The Kitchen Debate (Nixon and Khrushchev, 1959) Part I of II" and The Kitchen Debate (Nixon and Khrushchev, 1959) Part II of II," You Tube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D7HqOrAakco and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z6RLCw1OZFw, (accessed October 18, 2014).

[72] A certain sense of "us v. Them" mentality certainly pervades Winston Churchill's Iron Curtain speech, presented at Westminster College in March 1946. Winston Churchill, "An Iron Curtain Has Descended," *Never Give In! The Best of Winston Churchill's Speeches*, (New York: Hyperion, 2004) 413-423. Much the same can be said of the the tone of "The Long Telegram" by George Kennan.

General George Marshall to become Secretary of State in 1947—the first time a military General

held this position.[73] Marshall presented a comprehensive plan to reconstruct Europe soon after

his appointment.

From the beginning, the Marshall Plan seemed designed to exclude the Soviets and their

newly won buffer zone, the still forming Eastern bloc. A meeting with Truman not long after the

war shocked and alienated the Soviet Foreign Minister Vyscheslav Molotov because Truman

refused to soften his tone on the topic of Soviet machinations in Poland, a sharp break from

Roosevelt's handling of General Secretary Josef Stalin.[74] This more aggressive stance annoyed

the General Secretary, especially in light of the promises made at Yalta. It contributed to his

rejection of Soviet involvement in the Marshall Plan, argued Mee. Stalin then announced the

reformation of Communist Information Bureau, or COMINFORM (successor to

COMINTERM), in late 1947 to better spread the communist gospel.[75] The actions of both sides

deepened the sense of suspicion and hostility. Moreover, American diplomats and policy-makers

knew the impact their postwar plans would have on Stalin's policies in Eastern Europe. Marshall

himself told the President's cabinet that while they were "halting the Communist advance,"

American and European activities caused Moscow to "consolidate its hold on Eastern Europe. It

will probably have to clamp down entirely on Czechoslovakia."[76] The Marshall Plan (along with

the Truman doctrine, the Berlin Airlift, and US support of Yugoslavia in the wake of that

countries' COMINFORM expulsion) exacerbated an already tense relationship between the

former wartime allies.

---

[73] Charles L. Mee, Jr., *The Marshall Plan: The Launching of the Pax Americana*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984), 34.
[74] Mee, *The Marshall Plan*, 33-34.
[75] Mee, *The Marhsall Plan*, 204.
[76] Ibid., 211.

The Marshall Plan was not without controversy, even from Western European allies. Historian Victoria De Grazia argues that the Marshall Plan was aimed at opening up European markets to American-style forms of mass consumption, which gave American corporations a leg up in the postwar economy.[77] Historian Kristin Ross echoed De Grazia in this assessment. She depicted the depth of French ambivalence toward American-style consumerism that followed the Marshall Plan.[78] The French took American cultural imperialism seriously in the immediate postwar period.[79] That year, *Variety* pointed out that the extension of the Lend-Lease program benefited the American film industry at the expense of European film companies.[80] Likewise, in Austria, Reinhold Wagenleitner noted tensions caused by the promotion of American popular culture and consumption habits during the rebuilding of that country.[81] The American attempt to jump-start the European economy and mold it in the American image was a key event in the origins of the Cold War itself. Economic concerns and consumerism played a central role in driving the Cold War.

Once the Cold War mindset began to dominate global politics, American policymakers began to embrace cultural diplomacy as part of their toolkit for containing the Soviets. The violence of the Second World War and the destructive capacity of the atomic bomb led some diplomats to seek out transnational alternatives to more traditional diplomacy.[82] There were renewed calls for a strong international body to intercede in the field of international relations.

---

[77] De Grazia, *Irresistible Empire*, 337.
[78] Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies*, , introduction.
[79] On French resistance to American cultural hegemony in film, see "France Would Balk US Pix," *Variety*, January 24, 1945, 3 + 10 and "France Bars American Pixities: Start of War in Foreign Market," *Variety*, February 21, 1945, 3 and "Foreign Powers Aim Strong Blows at US Pix Abroad; Block More Coin in France, Gov't Monopolies, Curbs," *Variety*, May 2, 1945, 3 + 34, among other stories in *Variety* in 1945.
[80] "More Lend-Lease Aids US Pix: See Sustained Foreign Rentals," *Variety*, April 18, 1945, 1 + 14.
[81] Reinhold Wagenleitner, *Coca-colonization and the Cold War: The Cultural Mission of the United States After the Second World War*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.
[82] For fears produced by the atomic bomb in American culture, see Paul Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985).

The concept of a single world government or a strong world federation system to regulate various aspects of international relations became more appealing in the wake of the Second World War. Diplomatic historian Akira Iriye argued that cultural internationalism as a political solution to international tensions saw its high tide in the interwar period, but received a new push in the immediate postwar period, especially after the formation of the United Nations.[83] In that atmosphere, some touted music as a universal language that could help end international tensions brought on by the Cold War. In the yearly British music publication *Hinrichsen's Musical Year Book* (edited by British impresario, musical philanthropist, and publisher Max Hinrichsen) W.S.A Taylor argued that music could help build and would actively enrich a world federation system. Taylor argued in favor of a world federation, in part facilitated by the "indirect" work of music, in order to avoid "atomic annihilation." While European classical music was central to this, Taylor did not exclude "popular mass-movement" songs, pointing out the role songs like "The Wearing of the Green" and "The Internationale" played in revolutionary movements historically. Taylor argued that the individual who wrote a song about the importance of a world federation in creating world peace would help make it a mass movement and "may be one of humanity's greatest benefactors."[84]

The new seriousness that diplomats and policymakers paid to culture was illustrated in the formation of UNESCO. In 1946 the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization was chartered by twenty United Nations member states. The organization sought to foster cultural exchanges in order to promote world peace. The members of UNESCO and their supporters focused on the role that culture and music should play in world peace, especially in

---

[83]   Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*, Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1997.
[84]   W.S.A. Taylor, "Music and World Federation," *Hinrichsen's Musical Year Book: Vol. VI 1949-50*, Ed. By Max Hinrichsen, (London: Westminster Printing Works, 1950), 57 – 62.

the atomic age. Though not its only focus, the promotion, exchange, and protection of local

cultures became a key mission of the organization.[85] Others hoped this would translate into more

global support for music on the public stage around the world. Journalist Christina Thoresby

specifically discussed the role the body would play in facilitating cultural exchanges involving

various forms of music in *Hinrichsen's Year Book* in 1947.[86] Music was not the only field that

interested cultural internationalists, but it was an important part of the discussion that was

eventually embraced by American diplomats, in part because it could be coded as non-political.

American policymakers acknowledged the importance of competition on non-military grounds.

The promotion and acceptance of commercially produced and consumed music eventually gave

the United States a strategic advantage because of the enthusiastic embrace of jazz and later rock

by various people around the world during the Cold War.

Radio helped to promote American music early on, leading to a space for the recording

industry (which was increasingly dominated by American and British companies) to compete in

Europe. In the immediate postwar period, several American-run or American-backed radio

stations broadcast pro-American messages across the Iron Curtain including Radio Liberty (RL),

Radio Free Europe (RFE), and Radio Luxembourg. These stations focused on giving voice to

those driven out of their homelands by Moscow-backed regimes, with programs broadcast in the

language of their target audience and exiles providing the majority of content.[87] Voice of

America (VOA) was the main official propaganda arm of the United States. The State

Department took over control of the radio station from the Department of Defense during the

---

[85] "UNESCO Constitution," UNESCO web portal, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=15244&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (accessed October 10, 2014).

[86] Christina Thoresby, "UNESCO and Music," *Hinrichsen's Musical Year Book: Vol. IV-V 1947-1948*, Ed. By Max Hinrichsen, London: Westminster Printing Works, 1948.

[87] Arch Puddington, *Broadcasting Freedom: The Cold War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty*, (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2000), 5-6.

Cold War. Eventually the programming helped to combat the communist threat through the

dissemination of approved information about the United States and programs that best reflected

American cultural norms.[88] The relationship between shortwave radio stations and the recording

industry will be covered more fully in the next chapter.

Initially, music seemed at best an attractive afterthought on the radio stations. In 1955,

VOA launched a program named "Music U.S.A.," the broadcaster's first music show. By the

time of a 1959 *New York Times* article by John Wilson on Willis Conover the DJ for the

program, some 30 million people were tuned in to the show weekly.[89] Historian Iain Anderson

argues that "Music U.S.A." was the most popular program on VOA as revealed by a 1959 survey

conducted by the United States Information Agency (USIA).[90] The program—which included

both jazz and pop music (such as Bing Crosby or Nat King Cole, among others)—was initially

aimed only at Scandinavia, according to the *Times.* Given the state of the Cold War in the 1950s,

the choice might have been an attempt to sway Scandinavians to more strongly back the United

States. The author acknowledged that there was already a strong audience for American jazz

among Scandinavians. But letters poured in from across Europe, prompting the State Department

to aim the program at a larger international audience, including allied countries. After all, France

and Italy had active communist or socialist parties in their political system, but also a deep love

of jazz. Pointing out the "Americaness" of jazz might have been an attempt to sway those

sympathetic to communism over to the American way of thinking. Conover himself became

something of a celebrity in his own right, at least among jazz aficionados abroad. In May of

---

[88] A short history of Voice of American is from the VOA website, "VOA History," *Voice of America*,
     http://www.insidevoa.com/about/history/, (accessed November 13, 2011).
[89] John S. Wilson, "Who is Conover? Only We Ask," *New York Times*, September 13, 1959, SM64.
[90] Iain Anderson, *This is Our Music: Free Jazz, the Sixties, and American Culture*, (Philadelphia: University of
     Pennsylvania press, 2007), 19.

1959, he was sent on a five-week tour by USIA. He went to North Africa, Scandinavia, and into

the Eastern bloc with a trip to Poland. Conover found a happy surprise in Tunis. Expecting only

a small group of jazz fans, Wilson said that "[W]hen he [Conover] stepped off the plane [in

Tunis] he was greeted by large delegations from local jazz clubs."[91] Here we see continued

growth in the familiarity of popular music, which would later translate to hardened fan-bases for

American music. Plus, we can begin to get a sense of how policymakers were keen to position

American cultural programs—as apolitical cultural sharing. The coverage of Conover was

stripped of all political or economic connotations.

Conover's tours were not solely about cultural diplomacy on behalf of the State

Department—he also functioned as a representative of the music industries. When Conover

visited the Middle East in 1960, he facilitated a new project with the popular Lebanese singer

Fairuz. The pair collaborated on a recording project during the visit—Conover provided a

recording by the Nelson Riddle Orchestra and she recorded vocals over them. The results were

later re-broadcast on his program (and presumably sold on vinyl). This meeting coincided with

her rise to prominence locally, as she was becoming known as a "singer whom the Arabs call

'ambassador to heaven'." But Fairuz also brought popular Middle Eastern music to Europeans. In

the year she met with Conover, she released an album in the Middle East and on two European

labels—on British EMI and German Parlophone. The meeting was motivated as much by the

need to promote her new recordings as by Conover's diplomatic mission. This characterized the

power that American cultural forms were beginning to have in Europe and the Middle East and

shows that American policymakers were beginning to recognize that fact—jazz was king.[92]

---

[91] John S. Wilson, "Who is Conover? Only We Ask," *New York Times*, September 13, 1959, SM64.
[92] Dana Adams Schmidt, "U.S. Disc Jockey A World-Wide Hit," *New York Times*, June 26, 1960, 9. For details on Fairuz's first solo albums please see "Fairuz," *Discogs*, http://www.discogs.com/artist/Fairuz#t=Releases_Albums&q=&p=1, (accessed December 3, 2011).

Conover was a key "jazz ambassador" during this time, at least in the minds of State Department planners. At one point Wilson recounts some young Russians asking if Conover was as loved in America as he was in Russia, but he never had the same cultural impact in the United States since VOA broadcasts were not allowed back home. Wilson insisted that this was a worldwide phenomenon, pointing out that in major cities across Eastern Europe, Conover was a household name for jazz-hungry youths around the world. Conover received fan mail from New Guinea, South Africa, and Hong Kong. He commented on the propaganda work that his program did in these far flung places. "Jazz also helps them to believe that America is the kind of country that they want to believe it is."[93] How jazz fans around the world actually felt about the expansion of American state and economic power is quite another question (not addressed by Wilson).

The increasing familiarity of European youths with American popular culture had a real world economic effect. By 1957, *Billboard* crowed that "American popular music is enjoying an unprecedented boom in nearly every country in Western Europe—also behind the Iron Curtain. European record companies are doing a big business recording American music; in fact, American music is beginning to overshadow native music over all Western Europe." The author pointed out pressures felt by the East German government brought about by the demand for American jazz in the communist state. Dance instruction to jazz music was allowed, but with the understanding that this was "the folk music of the American Negro" and not a form of mass, commercial culture created by a private industry—a rather neat workaround also noted by Uta Poiger in her study on American music in Germany.[94] American musical forms and commercial

---

[93]   Wilson, "Who is Conover," *New York Times*, September 13, 1959.
[94]   Omer Anderson, "American Popular Music Booming in Overseas Markets: Foreign Recorders & Shops Climb U.S. Tune Bandwagon," *Billboard*, April 20, 1957, 1, 24. Uta Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 150-162.

models were starting more often to become part of the European market for popular music.[95] As

a result of the market growth for American music, American record labels began to craft plans to

open up an international market for record singles that coincided with the US market. For the

record label RCA Victor, sales of singles to Europe began in 1956. *Billboard*'s Bill Simon noted

that the label planned to begin issuing its singles "simultaneously in many countries throughout

the world." They planned to sell recordings of American artists overseas and to recruit Western

European artists. The singles director for RCA Bill Bullock and the head of Artist and Repertoire

(A&R) division Joe Carlton arrived in Europe to "check on the distribution facilities [in a tour of

key cities] and to scout foreign talent that will fit into this global concept." Simon pointed to the

popularity of American music in Europe: "Acceptance of American pop and jazz artists abroad

has been on the upswing since World War II and in most instances, the biggest hits score in

several foreign countries in the same degree they do here."[96] These developments led to a more

coherent program of cultural diplomacy

As the international community began to focus on cultural diplomacy, Conover's star

rose, and the market for American albums grew, the American State Department formed a

committee to decide on the best examples of American culture to promote overseas as part of a

campaign of diplomatic persuasion. The Advisory Committee on the Arts (ACA) was founded in

1958 under the direction of the State Department. In some of their earliest documents, they

foregrounded non-commercial, classical culture and music often associated with European high

culture. In one memo, remarks by the secretary of the Committee expressed a deep commitment

---

[95]   It should be noted that the televised, Europe-wide popular music contest, Eurovision, was founded in 1956, and there seems to be a serious rise over the years of English language songs dominating. ABBA was a Swedish band who won in the1970s and then brought Swedish disco to the world—in English! See "History: Eurovisin Song Contest," *Eurovision Song Contest*, http://www.eurovision.tv/page/history, (accessed October 21, 2014).

[96]   Bill Simon, "Victor Singles to Go International: Simultaneous Domestic-Foreign Unveiling Can Up Hit Sales to 5-Million Mark," *Billboard*, November 3, 1956, 17, 20.

to art for art's sake. He argued that the key to American success was not solely found in the abundant material comfort Americans enjoyed, but in free artistic expression, unfettered by government control.[97] In other words, the committee initially rejected too much of a focus on material well-being as the key evidence of the success of the capitalist system. Instead, they sought to show that good art and free expression through art offered a more accurate gauge of the righteousness of the American system, which they argued lay buried in a "deep crust of material well-being."[98]

A tension existed between the committee's focus on "art" as a non-commercial, non-material expression of American well-being and the later embrace of more commercial forms of music.[99] But jazz proved popular enough with the target audience—citizens behind the Iron Curtain and American allied countries alike—that we can chart a slowly shifting focus from non-commercial to more commercial music. But the stronger inclusion of jazz in these programs emphasized the institutionalization of the genre as well. For instance, in 1954 the State Department sponsored a tour of the play *Porgy and Bess*. Even here we can see the instability of the line between commercial and non-commercial embedded in American culture. Popular swing band leader Cab Calloway appeared alongside opera singers William Warfield and Leontyne Price in the play.[100]

---

[97] "Remarks by the Secretary at the First Meeting of the Advisory Committee on the Arts (January 15-16, 1958)" BECAHC, (MC 468), Series 5, Box 95, Folder 4, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

[98] "Remarks by the Secretary at the First Meeting of the Advisory Committee on the Arts (January 15-16, 1958)," Fulbright Papers: The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs Historical Collection (hence forth BECAHC), (MC 468), Series 5, Box 95, Folder 4, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville.

[99] A discussion of the funding historically and as it stood in 1974 can be found "The Cultural Presentations Program (February 26, 1974)," BECAHC, (MC 468), Series 5, Box 95, Folder 23, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

[100] Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, 4-5.

Part of the reason for the non-commercial emphasis was the make up of the committees. Early on there was no real expertise within the State Department for crafting a cultural presentation program aimed at an international audience. The State Department looked to the private, non-profit sector (which more often focused on classical culture over popular culture) to fill in the gap. For the first eight years of the program, the non-profit American National Theater and Academy (ANTA) provided much of the cultural expertise for the Cultural Presentation Program. Eventually, the State Department more deeply internalized the planning of these cultural programs and not just because they had attracted their own experts in these fields. By the mid-1960s, more of the tours were being contracted by individual embassies, instead of being planned from Washington by the State Department. The purpose of this shift was to both cut costs and to more effectively address local tastes—State Department officials reasoned that those who lived and worked in a foreign country would better understand local tastes.[101] By 1963 the Committee reflected a decidedly more mixed make-up—in addition to the usual academics and librarians, the Music Panel began to include music journalists and disc jockeys.[102] Discussions of the Committee often reflected tensions between the two groups—but that became less of an issue over the course of the 1960s. At a meeting in July 24, 1963, the committee discussed a Duke Ellington tour to Cairo. The Egyptian embassy requested the score Ellington would perform with the Egyptian symphony orchestra on his upcoming 1964 visit. The US was sending a commercial artist to pair up with a non-commercial local organization, in this case the Egyptian symphony orchestra.[103]

---

[101] "The Cultural Presentations Program (February 26, 1974)," BECAHC, (MC 468), Series 5, Box 95, Folder 23, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

[102] "U.S. Department of State Office of Cultural Presentations: Music Panel (July 24, 1963), BECAHC, MC 468, Series 5, Box 99, File 19, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

[103] "Music Panel Meeting Wednesday July 24, 1963, 10:30am – New York City," Series 5, Box 99, File 19, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

The Committee began to discuss jazz in earnest in the early 60s, revealing a growing split on tactics, if not aims, among cultural cold warriors. Some members embraced jazz as an effective tool specifically because it was already so popular abroad while others rejected it as too crass and commercial a musical form to represent the best and brightest of American culture. Benny Goodman put together a tour to the Soviet Union for the State Department in 1962 making him the first commercial artist to do so. The tour caused controversy among the Soviet establishment, despite being considered an out of fashion subgenre by many jazz fans.[104] The controversy seemed to inform the discussion going forward. In a 1964 meeting, during a discussion of a possible tour of the Soviet Union by Paul Lavelle and the Band of America, one member, Mr. Virgil Thomson, called the act "a commercial pop outfit" and worried about sending artists who in his mind represented "the tackier aspects of capitalism" to the Soviet Union.[105] Cultural presentation programs outside the Soviet Union and Eastern bloc eventually became far more dependent on connections made with bands and artists already touring commercially, which the Arts Committee accepted (yet lamented) in 1974.[106] Perhaps the committee was interested in sticking with non-commercial acts for the Soviet Union because of the global popularity of Soviet arts abroad, such as the Bolshoi Ballet—or the Soviet leadership might just have been more receptive to non-commercial music overall.

This shift to employing commercially produced music can be explained by the popularity of US popular culture and the increasing need for judicious budget cuts. Numerous studies attest to the growing global popularity of American popular culture during the Cold War.[107] Facts on

---

[104]   Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, 92-92.

[105]   "US Department of State Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs Office of Cultural Presentations (September 23, 1964)," BECAHC, (MC 468), Series 5, Box 99, Folder 19, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

[106]   "The Cultural Presentations Program (February 26, 1974)" BECAHC, (MC 468), Series 5, Box 95, Folder 23, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

[107]   Among the works illustrating the embrace of popular music are Eric Zolov, *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the*

the ground certainly shaped cultural diplomatic programs—the already growing popularity of American mass culture abroad was one major reason for the shift to more commercial music in diplomatic cultural programs. In general, music fans around the world already knew and loved jazz well before the advent of jazz diplomacy. Parisians, for instance, embraced jazz in the interwar period, but at the same time Germany jazz fans were a target of Nazi campaigns against "dangerous influences" on German youth.[108] The already existing popularity of American jazz made the tours a good, but at times contentious, fit for cultural diplomacy in the 1950s and 1960s.

Uncertainty marked the spread of American consumer culture, such as in Yugoslavia. On the one hand, American jazz artists playing in Belgrade were greeted by large and enthusiastic audiences in the 1950s.[109] On the other hand, jazz was officially frowned upon by the Socialist Yugoslav state. But President Josip Broz Tito led a period of liberalization in the 1950s and early 1960s with the country becoming more open to cultural and economic exchange with the West. Tito's liberalization policies during this time were in part designed to put him into a position to challenge the Soviets as leader the Communist world while appealing to the West as the "good communist" state. As such, the state embraced the classical arts of Europe, but did not outright ban American popular culture.

Mexican Counterculture, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), Tony Mitchell (ed), *Global Noise: Rap and Hip-Hop Outside the USA*, (Middletown, CN: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), Gordana P. Crnkovic and Sabrina Ramet (ed), *Kazaaam! Splat! Ploof!: The American Impact on European Popular Culture Since 1945*, (Lanham: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, 2003), Breda Luthar and Marusa Pusnik (ed), *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, (Washington DC: New Academia Press, 2010), and Amel Boubekeur and Olivier Roy (ed), *Whatever Happened to the Islamists?: Salafis, Heavy Metal Muslims, and the Lure of Consumerist Islam*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

[108] Jeffery H. Jackson, *Making Jazz French: Music and Modern Life in Interwar Paris*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003) and Uta G. Poiger, Jazz, *Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 22-24.

[109] See for example, "Jazz Fans Wait 6 Hours," *New York Times*, April 2, 1959, 25 and "U.S. Group in Belgrade: Ella Fitzgerarld and Peterson Trio Received Ovation," *New York Times*, February 22, 1961, 28 and "Thousands in Belgrade Cheer Louis Armstrong," *New York Times*, April 1, 1965, 30.

Reporting in the *New York Times* in 1954, Jack Raymond described the upcoming artistic season in the Balkan country. He argued that the health of the cultural programs being presented that Spring—"both domestic and foreign artists"—typified this cultural liberalization. Again, it was not just the classical arts that were being heard and enjoyed by Yugoslavs. More commercial music was being played on the radio as well—both in Yugoslavia and on international radio heard within the country. After giving a long round up of local and international artists playing in a variety of genres, he discussed a recent radio broadcast. "Recently a Belgrade Radio news broadcaster reported a statement by Marshal Tito expressing distaste for jazz music," Raymond said, "The musical program that followed consisted of boogie-woogie selections [defined as a form of jazz]."[110] Raymond's report should not be taken at face value of course. He ignored the possibility that the promotion of culture might have had internal propaganda value for the regime. It could also have served to differentiate it from the more hard-line regimes surrounding Yugoslavia (such as in neighboring Stalinist Albania) to the rest of the world. The piece also serves as a slice of propaganda for the American public, drumming up popular support for Tito's regime by showing how it was not a totalitarian state—Tito's displeasure with jazz did not prevent Yugoslavs from listening to it, the article implied.

Europeans were not the only fans of American popular culture around the world. Tensions also marked the popularity of American popular music. During the 1950s and 1960s, Africans across the continent embraced American popular culture. This enthusiasm was especially strong in Anglophone African countries. Professor Tsitsi Ella Jaji argued that jazz already circulated as an important signifier of pan-African unity and modernity in the interwar

---

[110] Jack Raymond, "Season in Yugoslavia: Domestic and Foreign Artists Take Part In Best Line-Up of Events Since War," *New York Times*, March 14, 1954, X7.

period.[111] White American jazz performers and fans seemingly ignored this long history and imbued the embrace of jazz by African audiences with their own meanings. However, some saw jazz as an important tool for bridging racial divides. One musician and critic John Mehegan spent time in South Africa in 1959. He wanted to set up jazz clinics which would cater to an integrated group of South African musicians. Despite the codification of apartheid black South African musicians faced during this time, many were enthusiastic about American jazz and actively participated in the music scene when possible. At one event, during his last weekend in South Africa, Mehegan went with some local musicians when they played a coronation concert for Chief Edward Patrick Lebone Molotlegi. Mehegan called Chief Eddie "a great jazz fan," and said that he owned "two pianos and a fine record collection." Before the performance, there was a screening of the Hollywood film *Don't Knock the Rock*, which Mehegan called "a real dog." But he noted that, "[T]he African audience reminded me of some very hip patrons in some 42nd St. theaters. They ignored the corny dialog," he said. "They did, however, give rapt attention to Bill Haley's Comets and the various other groups playing."[112] They may not have cared for the movie, but the rock music got their attention: the audience were already fans. The article indicates a growing domestic focus on how American culture was being received abroad.

A second reason for the change in tactics of cultural diplomacy comes down simply to budget cuts to the State Department's programs during the late 1960s and early 1970s. By 1974 the popularity of more commercial music—where artists could appeal to the recording industry for support—appeared more useful to the committee.[113] The cultural programs planned by the

---

[111] Tsitsi Ella Jaji, *Africa in Stereo: Modernism, Music, and Pan-African Solidarity*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[112] John Mehegan, "Report From Africa," *Down Beat*, Vol. 26, No. 24, November 26, 1959, 22-24. Quote is found on 24.

[113] "The Cultural Presentations Program (February 26, 1974)," BECAHC, (MC 468), Series 5, Box 95, Folder 23, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

State Department and put into action by the Advisory Committee emerged in the context of an expanding recording industry. As such, concerns over commercial music in these programs peppered the discussion more often by the late 1960s. During this time, discussions by the Arts Advisory Committee illustrated how they were making stronger connections with the business side of the jazz world. In addition to the jazz tours—which went from the late 1950s into the 1960s—they worked with the Newport Jazz Festival organization to set up an outdoor concert in Brussels that coincided with Louis Armstrong's birthday.[114] By 1963, the Advisory Committee acknowledged the growing popularity of jazz in their programs. Local diplomats at various foreign posts noted that jazz was in demand, but the Committee worried about the messages being sent, especially to African nations. They wondered if sending "rhythm based" music would be offensive to elite Africans.[115] The committee still showed a general ambivalence toward more commercial, pop music like jazz, fearing it did not represent the best of American cultural life.

Just as diplomats worried over the messages being sent in these cultural programs and as economic concerns eroded their available options, the recording industry sought new opportunities related to the growing popularity of American popular musical forms like jazz. Louis Armstrong's manager and business partner Joe Glaser pushed for tours for artists associated with the booking agency he started with Armstrong, Associated Booking Corporation (ABC). Starting in 1959, Glaser actively participated in shaping the State Department-funded tours. He and Sid Frey of the label Audio Fidelity Records proposed a tour of Armstrong with his new band the Dukes of Dixieland. The band was set to record an album in May 1959 with the

---

[114] "On Monday Evenings...p. 10," Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs Historical Collection, (MC 468), Series 5, Box 95, Folder 4, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

[115] "US Department of State Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Office of Cultural Presentations (July 24, 1963)," BECAHC, (MC 468), Series 5, Box 95, Folder 23, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

label. The decision to participate in the jazz tours in the Eastern Bloc coincided with the international album release. According to *Variety*, one of the goals of this tour was to "introduce typical Dixieland jazz to those countries" and presumably the habits of western consumers.[116] In promoting this tour to Eastern Europe, they sought not only to export American culture and freedoms, but to expand the market for Satchmo's new album.

In the next few years, the Advisory Committee explored the notion of picking up tours already planned or in progress, including those with a more specific commercial orientation. In 1964, the Advisory Committee evaluated "private tours" being planned and discussed the possibility of extending them. This included some folk artists and jazz bands.[117] A meeting of a new sub-panel of the Advisory Committee, the Panel on Jazz and Popular Music and Dance, discussed the commercial success of jazz. Arthur Loesser asked, "Do you want us to exclude all of those attractions which make money? Jazz can also be commercial in that musicians make money." Virgil Thomson stated that despite commercial success "jazz can be a very serious music."[118] In October 1964, the Committee devised a list to send to Foreign service posts of commercial tours of performing artists, encouraging the posts to get in touch with the tour managers and try to set up cultural presentation programs with these artists individually.[119] By the 1970s, the Committee recognized how important it was to work with commercial interests in promoting American values abroad.[120] There was a clear shift by the early 1970s to more often

---

[116] "Satchmo-Dukes Soviet Tour," *Variety*, March 23, 1959, 2.

[117] "US Department of State Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Office of Cultural Presentations (May 27, 1964)," BECAHC, (MC 468), Series 5, Box 99, Folder 19, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

[118] "US Department of State Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Office of Cultural Presentations (December 2, 1964)," BECAHC, (MC 468), Series 5, Box 99, Folder 19, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

[119] "Cultural Presentations: Performing Artists Touring Abroad Commercially (October 1964)," BECAHC, (MC 468), Series 5, Box 99, Folder 19, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

[120] "US Department of State Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs Office of Cultural Presentations (May 26, 1970)," BECAHC, (MC 468), Series 5, Box 99, Folder 21, Special Collections, University of Arkansas

utlitze commercial music for State Department propaganda purposes. At home, rock music had overtaken jazz as the pop music of choice for many American music fans. Jazz had become far more institutionalized as a key aspect of American cultural identity.

American labels, for their part, recognized growing competition in Europe for album sales. European labels invested in the growing market for popular music, but even here, the focus was on the production and consumption of distinctly American forms of popular music. The British recording industry found itself in an advantageous position in the continental market—in part off the success of the British Invasion in the United States. The British label EMI in 1967 signed a contract with the Yugoslavian state-run Jugoton Records for a distribution deal. EMI would import and distribute to the West albums made in Yugoslavia and the Eastern Bloc; meanwhile Jugoton would distribute artists from EMI and their German affiliate Electrola in the Eastern Bloc. This arrangement was not an entirely new development. In *Billboard* Omer Anderson stated that EMI had relationships in the interwar period with various Eastern European countries for duplication and distribution of their music in the local markets. The Second World War and the ensuing Cold War brought this relationship to an end. Anderson quoted an Electrola official, who said the deal would "restore the closeness which EMI had before the war with the countries of Eastern Europe." The official said that EMI had been working with the various state-owned labels in a piecemeal fashion before this deal. This then represented a formalization of what had already been taking place, now funneled through state-run Jugoton.[121]

Jazz festivals also became a space to promote America abroad, and this too illustrates a greater interconnection with the commercial side of the music industry—ultimately for the benefit of American recording labels. In 1960 Conover made a promotional visit to Yugoslavia.

Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.
[121] Omer Anderson, "EMI Thaws East-West Cold War With Jugoton Contract," *Billboard*, September 16, 1967, 67.

While there, he discussed plans with officials in Yugoslavia about the first jazz festival to be

held in that country later that September.[122] This festival (which was initially in Bled, Yugoslavia

and has been held in Ljubljana since 1967) is one of the oldest European jazz festivals.[123] The

first two years of the Yugoslav Jazz Festival only consisted of artists from Yugoslavia. Jazz, in

other words, had a local audience and local artists, enough to set up a festival for fans in

Yugoslavia and in neighboring countries. By 1962 artists from around the world were

performing at the festival, including from the Warsaw Pact countries, the United States, France,

and Italy.[124] The same year Yugoslavia was planning the Bled festival, 1960, the French started a

jazz Festival on the Riviera, slightly ahead of Yugoslavia, which the *New York Times* noted was

the first in Europe.[125] George Wein—a founder of the Newport Jazz Festival, still held every

year in Newport, Rhode Island—represented a commercial connection to the proliferation of jazz

festivals around Europe. In addition to the non-profit Newport Festival Foundation, Wein

founded Festival Productions, a for-profit company which set up various jazz festivals around the

world starting in the 1960s. Wein's organizations were deeply involved in the festival circuit in

Europe on both sides of the Iron Curtain by the early 1970s.[126] The Advisory Committee noted

---

[122]   Dana Adams Schmidt, "U.S. Disc Jockey A World-Wide Hit," *New York Times*, June 26, 1960, 9. For details on
         Fairuz's first solo albums please see "Fairuz," *Discogs*,
         http://www.discogs.com/artist/Fairuz#t=Releases_Albums&q=&p=1, (accessed December 3, 2011).

[123]   Information on what is now known as the Ljubljana Jazz Festival can be found at *52. Ljubljana Jazz Festival*,
         http://en.ljubljanajazz.si/home/, (accessed December 3, 2011). It is now in its 52nd year and is sponsored by the
         Nova Ljubljanska Bank, D.D, as well as the American Embassy in Slovenia. Details of sponsorhip can be found
         at "Sponsors," *52. Ljubljana Jazz Festival*, http://en.ljubljanajazz.si/about-jazz-festival-ljubljana/sponsors/,
         (accessed December 3, 2011). Although the sponsorship page on the official festival website, a redirect to that
         page is found at the website of the Slovenian Ministry of Culture homepage, "Ljubljana Jazz Festival,"
         Culture.si, http://www.culture.si/en/Ljubljana_Jazz_Festival, (accessed December 3, 2011).

[124]   The list of performers can be found at "Jazz 1962 (1962)," *52. Ljubljana Jazz Festival*,
         http://en.ljubljanajazz.si/about-jazz-festival-ljubljana/history-of-the-festivals/?id=3, (accessed December 3,
         2011).

[125]   "Riviera Jazz Fete Set: French Event, Europe's First, to Be Held July 7 to 14," *New York Times*, June 11, 1960,
         13.

[126]   There is a discussion of Wein's role in the jazz tours in Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, 187 – 190. I
         am grateful to Michael Castellini for pointing out Wein's role here. The Newport organization is a non-profit,
         Festival Productions (currently Festival Networks) does not seem to be. Information on sponsorship can be
         found, "Sponsor Information," *Festival Network*, http://www.festivalnetwork.com/sponsor.php, (accessed

the rising popularity of jazz festivals abroad. In their discussions on picking up artists already on tour, one possible date of intervention was an upcoming jazz festival in Japan.[127] On the surface the tours and festivals appear only about true cultural exchange and persuasion through live performance—these were concerts after all. They were not strictly an initiative of the recording industry or the U.S. state either, but did encourage sales of albums around the world.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

The popularity of jazz, according to scholar Michael Brocken, rested on the proliferation of radio and recordings. He argued "[J]azz musicians have always depended on these media forms, the repertoires were deeply affected by 'wireless' broadcasts, and the very act of listening (and dancing) to music on the radio was an important aspect of life for millions."[128] We can see this with the jazz programs supported by the State Department, including the jazz tours and radio programs. The popularity of these programs rested in part on the preexisting popularity of the music itself, but it was also driven by the needs and dictates of the recording industry as it continued to become the center of economic activity associated with popular music. The expansion of the recording industry started prior to the various live cultural programs created by the State Department, but cultural programming took on an increasingly commercial tone due to the expansion of the recording industry and budget cuts for cultural diplomacy. Pick-ups from commercial tours would later encompass rock tours, which became the recorded form of American popular music that surpassed many others in global reach. While the Jazz tours and Conover's music show might not be the core reason for the expansion of American popular

---

January 10, 2012).

[127] "US Department of State Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Office of Cultural Presentations (December 2, 1964)," BECAHC, (MC 468), Series 5, Box 99, Folder 19, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

[128] Michael Brocken, *Other Voices: Hidden Histories of Liverpool's Popular Music Scenes, 1930s-1970s*, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 17.

music records abroad, they did play a role in helping to preposition the American recording industry more favorably into a global marketplace.

3   CHAPTER 2: AMERICAN DIPLOMACY AND THE CONTRADICTIONS OF ROCK

American diplomats and policymakers hoped to conflate the warm feelings jazz evoked the world over with the United States' Cold War agenda—implying that jazz went hand-in-hand with American-style free market capitalism and democracy. Enthusiastic responses to the jazz tours and the global popularity of radio programming playing jazz reinforced that assumption for many American diplomats. Record labels benefited from the signal boost their relationship with the American government garnered them. But the industry changed dramatically in the 1960s. The rise of teenagers as a significant economic force in the American consumer economy meant that the culture industries began to cater to this new, economically powerful demographic. Jazz, though holding a strong caché with some young people, felt old-fashioned for many younger consumers during the 1960s—the era when many embraced the rallying cry "don't trust anyone over thirty." Rock during this time slowly replaced jazz and popular standards as the popular music of America, and soon enough, global teenagers.[129] Jonathan Briggs also connected the power of rock with the evolution of youth culture as a globalized phenomenon in his book *Sounds French*.[130] Unfortunately, it turned out that rock music tended to mesh less well with Cold War cultural programs, especially given some of the strong anti-rock rhetoric on the home front. The slow uptake and haphazard deployment of rock in cultural exchanges illustrated the

---

[129]   For the evolution of the understanding of youth and its connection to consumerism see Jon Savage, *Teenage: The Prehistory of Youth Culture, 1875-1945*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2007).

[130]

growing divisions over the Cold War struggle—at home and abroad. It also signaled important changes within the recording industry itself, from a fragmented regional industry to one that imagined itself and acted as a global industry.

At the end of the 1960s, the Cold War consensus fractured in such a way as to make cultural interventions such as live performances and the circulation of recorded music less effective, especially as the industry consolidated in the wake of rock's dominance.[131] The American recording industry's mode of production, genres, and end products dominated markets abroad. Meanwhile, American markets made specific demands on those seeking to succeed in the largest popular music market in the world. Members of the industry began to imagine themselves as proponents of a universalist youth culture that promoted true freedom. Rock music of the 1960s often carried with it a rebellious, anti-establishment outlook as it became the mainstream culture. But it was produced by massive corporations generating millions of dollars in profit in part thanks to the Cold War footing of the US government. The popularization of the anti-state mindset evolved over the course of the Cold War from the fetishization of the image of an independent rebel among many white, middle class Americans.[132] The recording industry helped to craft an outsider image that was dependent upon the sales of albums to younger consumers.

Rock music evolved within the capitalist mode of production. The rise of rock as an important location of consumption and identity formation for teenagers is not an anti-capitalist story, even as the music carried anti-establishment narratives. Members of the primary demographic buying rock music in the 1960s and 1970s came to despise foreign policy driven by

---

[131] Robert Burnett, *The Global Jukebox: The International Music Industry*, (London: Routledge, 1996).
[132] Elizabeth Grace Hale, *A Nation of Outsiders: How the White Middle Class Fell in Love with Rebellion in Postwar America*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

the dictates of the Cold War. In doing so, they cultivated a deep-seated mistrust of the American government. Some turned to a language they understood—rock music—as a means of communicating their discontent and plenty of music coming out of major cities in the United States and Britain offered a coherent encapsulation of their anger. The rock generation imagined itself as a globally linked community, which Michael J. Kramer dubbed a "republic of rock," a transnational or translocal consumer-based identity. He argued that in the late 1960s rock emerged as connective tissue between different nodes of youth rebellion against the Cold War order, even among those participating in the Cold War.[133] Those planning and deploying cultural programming generally only thought about the association of American ideals to consumerism and the rise of rock as a popular form of music. They never imagined that the message of the music could contradict the message of the Cold War agenda they pushed—that American capitalism made American culture possible. Additionally, as more Americans of all ages and political orientations came to question the Cold War and the economic and social costs Americans were increasingly paying, the funds for cultural programming shrank, making state-backed radio broadcasts and diplomatic (instead of economic) support of commercial tours more central to the promotion of American culture abroad.

During the expansion of rock, artists and those who consumed rock developed complicated relationships with the music they enjoyed and the industry that produced it. The leaders of the recording industry espoused the language of freedom familiar with the counterculture and New Left, but they continued to see the need to back the American government in the Cold War—in part because it favored them in a growing global marketplace for popular music. Attempts to square these contradictions would have consequences for the

---

[133] Michael J. Kramer, *Republic of Rock: Music and Citizenship in the Sixties Counterculture*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013).

recording industry. Ultimately the culture created by the production and consumption of rock music inadequately addressed many concerns being hashed out within politically charged youth cultures. Musicians themselves came under suspicion from some radicalized quarters when they participated in events deemed supportive of America's pro-imperial agenda—failing purity tests much like artists during the McCarthy era. Yet a pointed critique of the mode of production of rock music itself lagged behind the condemnation of the American war machine. It would take punk to really motivate musicians and fans to craft new alternatives to the mainstream, corporate recording industry, which we will see in the next chapter. This chapter explores the uneasy relationship between the industry and the restive youth they increasingly counted on as their core consumers in an attempt to pin down just what role Cold War cultural programs played in fomenting an eventual rejection of the industry that produced popular music.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

By the early 1960s, European labels began to sell American-derived music, creating competition for American labels in foreign markets. Domestically, the first wave of rock emerged out of independent labels like Chess and Atlantic that initially lacked the same access to international markets as major labels, which were still overwhelmingly focused on pop, classical music, and some jazz.[134] The growing demand for rock saw a round of consolidations and buy-outs in the 1960s.[135] The meteoric rise of the Beatles in the UK and US cemented rock as the central genre in the recording industry—the first genre of popular music spread primarily via records, according to theorist Iain Chambers.[136] The jazz tours unfolded against the backdrop of a changing domestic music market. Jazz became ever more niche, becoming a respected

---

[134] Steve Chappell and Reebee Garofalo, *Rock'n'Roll Is Here To Pay*, (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1977), 13-25.
[135] Chappell and Garofalo, *Rock'n'Roll Is Here To Pay*, 25.
[136] Iain Chambers, "A Strategy for Living," *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*, ed. Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson, (London: Routledge, 1993), 137.

American institution at the same time that rock surged into the mainstream musical consciousness of young consumers in much of the American bloc in the Cold War—Western Europe and Japan included.[137] The shift to catering to the youth market unfolded in similar patterns all across the First World. As such, young people looking to the West as a model of modernity began cultivating similar tastes in popular culture. The rock magazine *Džuboks* began publication in Yugoslavia in 1966, for example.[138]

The relationship between the changing recording industry and other cultural programs supported by the American government as part of the Cold War differed from the cozy relationship the State Department had with the industry during the jazz era. Since rock depended on the purchasing power of teenagers, radio proved more critical to the US government for connecting with young people. Yet the contradiction of the US Army embracing rock to some extent as a means of promoting soldier welfare eventually caused a new split within the recording industry, which reverberated over the course of the 1970s.[139] Later rock musicians like the Beatles, Rolling Stones, or Jefferson Airplane, skewed younger in age and often identified with the political idealism of the hippies (and less often, the more politically oriented New Left). The album itself became a fetish of hipness, signaling one's attention to politics and good music.[140]

---

[137] See for example Uta Poiger, *Jazz, Rock and Rebels: Cold War Politics and Culture in a Divided Germany*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), and Carol S. Stevens, *Japanese Popular Music: Culture, Authenticity and Power*, (New York: Routledge, 2008), among others.

[138] An incomplete run of the magazine, starting in 1974, can be found at "Džuboks", *Popbooks*, http://www.popboks.com/dzuboks/dzubrowser.html, (accessed May 6, 2016).

[139] On solider welfare see Michael J. Kramer, *The Republic of Rock: Music and Citizenship in the Sixties Counterculture*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), chapter 4.

[140] Elijah Wald, *How the Beatles Destroyed Rock 'N' Roll: An Alternative History of American Popular Music*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 198 – Wald notes the shift to LPs early in the rock revolution, driven in part by the industry.

The 1960s began in optimism with the election of John F. Kennedy as president. Kennedy promised programs intended to transform the United States and the world, aimed at the large demographic of college students. Programs such as the Peace Corps were designed to appeal to the first wave of baby boomers by cultivating and drawing on their idealism and patriotism.[141] But by the end of the decade, many of the young people who originally engaged with politics turned away from political engagement altogether. Instead they sought out alternatives to engaging with mainstream culture, dropping out. Some joined communes, for example.[142] The violence at the 1968 Democratic Convention was something of a final nail in the coffin of youthful enthusiasm that opened the decade at least in terms of trusting organized politics. The changing goals of activists (previously united by issues such as civil rights and the anti-war movement) caused fragmentation along fault lines such as race, gender, age, level of radicalism, and sexual orientation. This shattered the New Left coalition that had emerged in the early part of the decade. Specific demands from identity-based groups began to supplant the general call for equality and a more just world. President Lyndon Johnson's unpopular Vietnam policy and Nixon's paranoia finished what the death of President Kennedy began—the end of youthful idealism as a driving force in electoral politics.[143]

During this time, culture continued to play an important role in promoting the American agenda abroad. But like other aspects of American policy, it ran up against opposition in the form of increasing reluctance to understand American aims as pure and freedom-loving, rather than imperialism masquerading as democracy. As American and British record labels expanded

---

[141] Michael E. Latham, *Modernization as Ideology: American Social Science and "Nation Building" in the Kennedy Era*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 109-150.

[142] Fred Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, The Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism*, (Chicago: University Chicago Press, 2006).

[143] Kennedy cultivated youth support from the time he was a candidate for Senate in 1953, see Laurence Leamer, *The Kennedy Men: 1901-1963*, (New York: Harper Collins, 2002), 234.

and competed, non-state actors began to take the lead in promoting American values abroad, in part because they had already benefited from the programs created during the Cold War. The State Department less often directly funded cultural programs that highlighted American popular culture and more often asked for industry support for live cultural programs, partially because backing for such programs from the American public became less popular, especially moving into the 1970s. Because of this, radio became a key location to hear popular music, as it was a far cheaper option than government-funded tours. The central role of sound recordings in the rise of rock music only further carried the shift to less costly and more pervasive means of penetrating the Iron Curtain.

At the beginning of this period, with the success of the jazz tours, artists performing other genres of music received support for live shows. Folk, dance groups, musicals, and choral groups were all deemed acceptable for cultural presentation programs heading to the Soviet Union. Cultural programming needed to walk a line between popularity and respectability, but it was still considered critical to the Cold War. In the 1966 plan for cultural presentations published by the Cultural Planning committee, such programs "are assuming major importance in creating and sustaining conditions of peace," as well as, "revealing to peoples of other countries U.S. cultural achievements." In doing so, they "correct the distorted image of the United States as a nation primarily concerned with power and wealth or materialism."[144]

By the late 1960s, rock bands received some attention from the committee charged with organizing cultural presentations for State Department backing, even as jazz still dominated their discussions. Young people in the mid-60s turned to rock music in large numbers, making the

---

[144] "Cultural Presentations Plan, FY 1966," Fulbright Papers:The Bureau of Educational and nd Cultural Affairs Historical Collection (hence forth BECAHC), (MC 468), Box 92, file 7, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

baby boomers an incredibly powerful economic force in the culture industries. Young people in many countries embraced rock as their own, not just in the United States and Western Europe. The social and economic power of the boomers helped turn talk in the committee to the inclusion of rock bands on tours funded by the State Department. One memorandum circulated among the members of the Advisory Committee mentions proposals to back Jefferson Airplane and the Beach Boys for upcoming tours. Neither group asked for funding, as they were already touring commercially, but they did seek out recognition and even connections to the US government abroad. Artistic merit would need to be considered in both cases, according to the document.[145] There was also the problem of whether or not the Soviets would accept what they thought of as a purely commercial act. The Soviets in the late 1960s and early 1970s carefully controlled the type of acts allowed to tour in their country. Because of their commercial nature, according to Soviet definitions, rock bands were considered inappropriate as part of the ongoing cultural exchanges according to a 1970 report.[146]

There was never an explicit harnessing of rock by the US State Department like there was with jazz. As we will see later, the first attempt to incorporate rock music for propaganda purposes through a tour of Eastern Europe had unexpected repercussions. However, the use of rock on the radio as part of the projection of American power abroad intensified over the course of the 1960s. Early on, the various radio stations funded by the government for overseas broadcasts focused on news or informational programming. Radio stations funded and operated by the American government helped the American recording industry. Radio broadcasting went

---

[145] "Fiscal Year, 1969," BECAHC, (MC 468), box 95, file 1, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

[146] "U.S. Department of State Bureau of Educational Cultural Affairs Office of Cultural Presentations, May 26, 1970," BECAHC, (MC 468), box 99, file 21, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

where individuals or print media had a harder time getting and proved harder to disrupt, even with systemic attempts to jam signals by the Soviets.[147] Some of the most popular segments on stations such as Voice of America (VOA) were the music and cultural programs, but many in Communist countries appreciated a counterpoint to Soviet propaganda and an effective means of understanding the realities of life in the United States outside of that propaganda.[148] The reaction of the Soviet state, such as jamming radio signals, reflected a degree of perceived effectiveness of the shortwave radio station.[149] In a defense of VOA in the journal *The Quarterly of Film, Radio, and Television* in 1951, Foy Kohler noted the support the station found behind the Iron Curtain.[150] Even stations not actively propagandizing to people in other countries such as the Armed Forces Network (AFN) won over non-American audiences who began tuning in for the music.[151] Radio Free Europe (RFE) eventually came under domestic scrutiny for ties to the CIA, but the broadcast was considered an important conduit for dissenting voices who had fled the communist world to talk to their fellow countrymen.

Over the course of this period, these stations increasingly played more music relative to other kinds of content. Record labels gave their consent, often for a price, for their works to be played abroad in part because it gave them advertisements in new markets. These labels

---

[147] George W. Woodward, "Cold War Radio Jamming," *Cold War Broadcasting: Impact on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*, A. Ross Johnson and Eugene R. Parta (ed.), (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010), 53.

[148] See for example a study of letters sent to Voice of America, Herta Herzog, "Listener Mail to the Voice of America," *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 4, (Winter 1952-1953), 607-611.

[149] Paul W. Massing, "Communist References to the Voice of America," *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 4, (Winter 1952-1953), 618-622.

[150] Foy Kohler, "The Effectivenss of the Voice of America," *The Quarterly of Film, Radio, and Television*, Vol 6, no. 1, (Autumn, 1951), 23-4.

[151] Although mostly intended to better understand the listeners within the military and their families, civilians working for the U.S. Armed Forces were also consulted in the AFRS surveys during the 1970s. See for example, "Kenitra, Morocco AFRS Survey, March/April 1975," AFRS Radio Program Schedule and Misc. Papers and Pictures, Box 32 Histories Reports Program Records 1962-1992, Department of Defense RG330, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD. See also works like Donna Alvah, *Unofficial Ambassadors: American Military Families Overseas and the Cold War 1946-1965*, (New York: New York University Press, 2007).

eventually leveraged their expansion in international markets to lobby for changes to international copyright conventions. The dictates of the state seeking to project its agenda onto the world stage and the economic needs of industry proved to be intertwined. The changing global market necessitated that American corporations develop strategies for breaking into these new markets. Young people embraced rock around the world as a rebellious form of culture. This allowed the industry to assert their allegiance with the youth of the world while benefiting from the expansion of American state power.[152] The industry wanted to have it both ways, and its enthusiastic embrace of the Cold War illustrates this point. Industry interactions with the foreign policy apparatus of the United States changed the nature of the American recording industry, helping to make it a force in the global market for popular music, changing musical consumption habits around the world.

Touring acts at the forefront of the cultural assault on the Eastern bloc were wildly popular with the receiving countries. Although live shows worked as brilliant moments of propaganda, they were far more limited in impact as far as directly influencing an audience. Radio broadcasting on an international level became an effective means of sharing all sorts of concepts and ideas—including those found implicitly or explicitly in music. In theory all three broadcasters (AFN, VOA, and RFE) operated with different goals. But all three eventually weighted much of their programming in favor of popular music in the name of persuading (and entertaining) the world.

The AFN existed to inform and entertain the men and women in uniform and their families. Communicated with soldiers stationed around the world dominated other considerations in terms of programming content. The desire to keep abreast of and feel connected to events at

---

[152] Leslie Woodhead, *How the Beatles Rocked the Kremlin: The Untold Story of a Noisy Revolution*, (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013).

home ensured a ready audience for the AFN.[153] Soldiers often provided the expertise and labor

for these stations, giving them an emotional stake and a means of taking ownership of the

broadcasts. Over the years, music came to make up a ever larger portion of programming. The

types of music played highlighted how the programmers sought to appeal to as wide a cross

section of American popular music tastes as possible. The sources of their collection came from

across the industry. The DOD kept binders of commercial music that they played on their

broadcasting outlets, organized by record label. A set of records listed early in the 1960s showed

a wide selection of choices. Earlier in the 1960s, the recordings were dominated by genres like

pop, classical, country, and jazz music.[154] Later cuts included more rock artists, such Bob Dylan

and Jefferson Airplane.[155] The DOD also ordered records directly from the industry,

commissioning albums from Columbia that included various bugle calls.[156] The American

recording industry operated as both a provider of commodities, in the form of records available

for broadcast, and a provider of services, such as the recorded bugle calls. Such interactions

show the multiple layers of connections between the United States government and the recording

industry.

Listenership among soldiers rose along with the expansion of overseas operations aimed

at maintaining gains and stemming losses from the Cold War. During this period, rock music

became an important component of the Armed Forces' media toolkit at the same time that the

---

[153] See for example how the US military employed rock on the radio in Vietnam, Kramer, *Republic of Rock*, 133-141.

[154] "Music Library 20 April 1962," Albums from Commercial Sources June 1957 to February 1962, box 29, Histories Reports Program Records 1962-1992, Department of Defense RG330, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[155] "Commercial Music Binder, 1959 to 1968," Commercial Albums 1959 to Late 1960s, box 29, Histories Reports, Program Records 1962-1992, Department of Defense RG330, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[156] Columbia Records, Inc. "1311-APC-64, Bugle Calls, Jan. 14, 1964," folder 1, box 105, Columbia Records Paperwork Collection, 1923-1964, Recorded Sound Reference Center, Motion Picture, Broadcasting & Recorded Sound Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

recording industry shifted to rock as their most profitable genre. Within a decade, rock music had

greater prominence on the AFN networks. In a letter to Col. Robert Cranston, Lt. Col. Hal

Harlan included an extended document on the programming on the Far East radio network. Lt.

Col. Harlan noted that the attached document included "an inventory of the Far East Network

music library at headquarters station together with the backlog programming extended back

several years." There is little indication, however, as to what of that list got regular airplay on the

network.[157] However, a chart prepared in the mid-1970s shows the changing nature of field

utilization for radio services between 1964 and 1974. The audience—composed primarily of

soldiers, their families, and civilians employed locally by the Armed Forces—rose from just

under 50% to just over 90% during this time. Around this period, the use of popular music on the

network expanded.[158] In the year 1964, the vast majority of programming was taken up with

various genres of music—58 programs clocking in at just over 37 hours of total programming

per week.[159] During this period, several of the popular shows were produced locally by soldiers

in the field, including two rock shows.[160] Programs such as the Top 40 Countdown, Wolfman

Jack, and Charlie Tuna's show consistently got high ratings—all of which played at least some

rock music.[161] In a series of surveys taken in the summer of 1975, military listeners expressed a

---

[157] "Letter from Lt. Col. Hal Harlan to Lt. Col. Robert Cranson, 17 Nov. 1966," Memo Letter to Col. Cranston, box 32, Histories Reports, Program Records 1962-1992, Department of Defense RG330, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[158] "Armed Foces Radio Service Field Utilization," AFRS Radio Programming Schedule and Misc. Papers and Pictures, box 32, Histories Reports, Program Records 1962-1992, Department of Defense RG330, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[159] "Programming Content of AFRTS Overseas Unit, 24 Feb. 1964," AFRS Radio Programming Schedule and Misc. Papers and Pictures, box 32, Histories Reports, Program Records 1962-1992, Department of Defense RG330, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[160] "AFRS Radio Program Schedule," AFRS Radio Programming Schedule and Misc. Papers and Pictures, box 32, Histories Reports, Program Records 1962-1992, Department of Defense RG330, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[161] "AFRTS Program Utilization, Units 1-6/13-6," AFRTS Program Utilization, AFRS Radio Programming Schedule and Misc. Papers and Pictures, box 32, Histories Reports, Program Records 1962-1992, Department of Defense RG330, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

preference for Top 40 (27%) (which included more rock music by this time), followed by

Country (20%) and Easy Listening (19%).[162] Some 44% of respondents reported listening for

more than 6 hours a day. Once again, Wolfman Jack and Charlie Tuna proved popular with

listeners in several locations, including Iwakuni Japan; Kenitra, Morocco; and Athens, Greece.

While the majority were soldiers and their families, at least 6% of respondents claimed civilian

status, though there is no indication of the make up of this demographic. We can make a guess

that at least some were local workers instead of civilian Americans working for the Armed

Forces.[163] Although these surveys are helpful in charting the listening habits of soldiers and their

families and how that shaped programming on AFN, they give no indication of how radio

programming shaped local populations' musical tastes. However, a global increase in sales of

American and British artists hint at what people were listening to at this time. American and

British artists dominate the list of best selling albums in the world—many of which were

released since the late 1960s.[164] We can see an increase in the amount of music being broadcast

that most likely reached out to the civilian audience living within the broadcasting range.

If no general surveys tell us the impact of American international broadcasts through the

AFN, how can we better understand if they had an influence on musical tastes around the world?

We can see the dominance of American Top 40 music in places with US military installations.

We can chart changes to consumption of popular music around the world. The Library of

Congress collects items related to copyright enforcement from the recording industry, including

---

[162] "Fen Iwakuni, July '75," Listener Survey, July '75, AFRS Radio Programming Schedule and Misc. Papers and Pictures, Histories Reports, Program Records 1962-1992, Department of Defense RG330, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[163] "Kenitra Morocco, AFRS Survey—March/April 1975," Listener Survey, July '75, AFRS Radio Programming Schedule and Misc. Papers and Pictures, box 32, Histories Reports, Program Records 1962-1992, Department of Defense RG330, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[164] "All Time Album Chart," *United World Chart*, September 2016, http://www.mediatraffic.de/alltime-album-chart.htm, (accessed February 7, 2017).

catalogs aimed at both foreign and domestic audiences. One label, Peters International, published an extensive list of their imports, including rock bands from around the world. In the 1972 edition, they included artists from Canadian, British, French, Italian, Greek, and German bands—although the German band Can is listed as an English import, revealing the complex nature of imports and exports for popular music.[165] As rock became an important cultural commodity the world over, rock from other places found an audience in the United States. This indicates that the output of the US industry was seen as an important indicator of popular tastes.

Japan serves as an important example of the acceptance of and engagement with American rock music globally due to the Cold War. In recent years, Japan has represented the second largest market after North America.[166] The country experienced an extended occupation and their government in many ways still bears the mark of American intervention. Although the occupation did not specifically intervene in Japanese popular culture and seek to change it, the new government it mandated reverberated throughout different aspects of the culture, including in the realm of popular music. Almost immediately, according to Carolyn S. Stevens, Japanese music fans embraced jazz, as well as boogie-woogie and country that arrived with American soldiers.[167] Though there was interest in American genres of music before and during the war, given the anti-western stance of the imperial government made it harder to obtain western goods than in the postwar period. Eventually, the changes in taste of Americans took root in Japanese popular culture, especially among young people—even as the demand for an authentic form of Japanese pop came to dominate. In 1969, *Rolling Stone* published an article on the rock scene in

---

[165]   Peters International, Inc. "New Import Releases, Grapevine no. 84, November 1974," Series 7, Box 29, Recording Industry Publicity Collection, 1937-1979, Recorded Sound Reference Center, Motion Picture, Broadcasting & Recorded Sound Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
[166]   Carolyn S. Stevens, *Japanese Popular Music:Culture, Authenticity, and Power*, (London: Routledge, 2008), 1.
[167]   Stevens, *Japanese Popular Music*, 38-40.

Japan by Max Lash. Reporting on the genre known as group sounds, he argued the bands largely

imitate early rock waves of American rock. He also noted rise in local bands. According to Lash,

"[I]n 1966, the rock scene here was dominated by non-Japanese bands, foremost among them the

Beatles. All that is changing now." By 1969, some 5,000 group sounds bands could be found in

the local music scene. The band at the focus of the article, Julie & the Tigers, represented a

musical vanguard in the Japanese music industry, led by the promotional company Watanabe

productions. Stevens described Watanabe Productions as a major pioneer of commercial music

in Japan.[168] In addition to original rock music, these bands often put a rock spin on more

traditional Japanese music. By the 1960s, the Japanese recording industry began to take rock

seriously. Rock found willing listeners, mainly through commercial stations, since Lash reported

that the largest non-commercial (meaning state-run) network, NHK (which included 500 NHK

radio stations and 375 TV outlets) had an antagonistic view of rock. Interestingly, fans boycotted

the one group sounds act which was allowed on NHK, the Blue Comets. The band had a cozy

relationship with NHK. Lash described the band as being treated like traitors to the genre. The

band's proximity to state media was the problem from the fans point of view. Imported bands

from around Southeast Asia also might have contributed to the popularity of group sounds bands

in Japan, as foreign bands sought market share in Japan.[169] Rock continued to set major trends

for the music industry in Japan into the 1970s. In 1971 *Rolling Stone* reported on a $3 million

dollar rock festival being held at the foot of Mount Fujiyama, which the American and Japanese

organizers claimed would be attended by over a million people.[170]

---

[168]   Ibid., 72.
[169]   Max E. Lash, "Japanese Rock," *Rolling Stone*, March 1, 1969, 12-14.
[170]   "$3,000,000 Japanese Rock Festival," *Rolling Stone*, February 21, 1970, 7.

The roots of the local adoption of American popular music in Japan likely came from a variety of sources, but radio stations funded by the American government were a key source. Broadcasts aimed at American audiences overseas and those aimed at overseas audiences found both as ready listeners. In the case of Japan, the AFN provided one important source of American culture for the occupied country in the immediate postwar period.[171] Eventually, a station similar to RFE was created for East Asia in South Korea.[172] Such radio networks proved invaluable for pushing an agenda that appeared more neutral than it was in reality. The process of top-down cultural sharing that one-way radio communications represents did not mean that listeners who came to love American popular culture lacked agency. Although, on the surface, the cultural exchange appears one-sided, in fact, the adoption and consumption of popular music originally from the west opened up trade routes that Japanese cultural producers exploited. The current popularity of some aspects of Japanese culture, such as anime and manga—as well as the ability of Japan-based Sony Records to buy out CBS in the late 1980s—stems in part from the interactions between Cold War institutions and engaged consumers abroad.[173] When speaking to American soldiers stationed abroad, the AFN still acted as a conduit for spreading American popular culture, even if that was not the core mission.[174]

The military only represented one aspect of American broadcasting capacity overseas. VOA functioned as the official platform of the United States in terms of directly addressing people in foreign countries.[175] VOA offered officially sanctioned news and popular culture. The

---

[171] Stevens, Japanese Popular Music, 106.

[172] "Radio Free Asia to Beam B'casts at China, N. Korea," *Variety*, Wednesday 10, 1966, 31.

[173] Paul Richter and William K. Knoedelseder, Jr., "Sony Buys CBS Record Division for $2 Billion After Months of Talks," *LA Times*, November 19, 1987, http://articles.latimes.com/1987-11-19/business/fi-22750_1_cbs-records, (accessed February 7, 2017).

[174] "Historical Summary: Armed Forces Radio and Television Services Fact Sheet," *Archive.org*, May 2009, https://web.archive.org/web/20120220153149/http://afrts.dodmedia.osd.mil/facts/1.pdf, (Accessed February 7, 2017).

[175] Alan L. Heil, *Voice of American: A History*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

individuals who ran the station and on-air personalities were Americans, speaking in an official

capacity with a foreign audience as the target audience. The desire to capitalize on the popularity

of American culture as a propaganda tool were rather direct and obvious. But VOA also was

constrained by its official mission as the public face of American ideas and values. In a study of

the station published in 1982, attorney Ralph A. Uttaro characterized VOA as an official

propaganda channel during the Cold War specifically utilized to counter Soviet propaganda.[176]

He noted the number of languages (38) and the hours it broadcasts (830 aggregate hours weekly,

meaning all of the various stations broadcast globally taken together), and that it reached around

80,000,000 people.[177] He also contrasted it with the RFE and RL networks, which were founded

as private foundations rather than through the state, meaning VOA's language and tone was far

more restricted in nature.[178] Early on, the inclusion of American popular culture on VOA helped

broaden its appeal. In a 2005 article in Foreign Affairs, former host of National Public Radio's

All Things Considered and former direct of VOA Sanford Ungar noted the role jazz played in

getting listeners abroad to tune in—he did so to argue in favor of more public support for the

station.[179] VOA's music offerings seemed to support foreign tours created by the State

Department. In describing the upcoming Blood, Sweat, & Tears tour in 1970, it was noted that

music fans in Eastern Europe had access to their records and heard the band played on VOA.[180]

In the 1970s, VOA's programming changed to keep up with the shift to deténte in

American policy overall. In addition to moving more political programs to less accessible times

---

[176] Ralph A. Uttaro, "The Voices of America in International Radio Propaganda," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. 4, No. 1, (Winter 1982), 103-122.

[177] Uttaro, The Voices of America in International Radio Propaganda," 104-105.

[178] Ibid., 105.

[179] Sanford J. Ungar, "Pitch Imperfect: The Trouble at the Voice of America," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 3, (May – June 2005), 9.

[180] Mark Lewis, "Blood, Sweat and Tears: Background Paper for Department of State Press Office," BECAHC.(MC468), box 57, file 2, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

and moving from disputed frequencies (those jammed by the Soviets), they added more music

programs, in part as a "response to appeals from young Soviet listeners."[181] Plus, according to a

1972 editorial calling for full support of all broadcasting efforts by C. L. Sulzberger, a foreign

correspondent for the *New York Times*, VOA faced a tighter budget, while the controversy over

RFE's CIA funding looked to be bringing that program to an end.[182] Yet the station still airs

today. As Ungar noted, it got some rhetorical support to boost its mission in the era of the "War

on Terror" under Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama. During the early days of

President Donald Trump's administration, he sent former campaign aides to ensure, in their

words, "an open, transparent and seamless transition of the BBG [Broadcasting Board of

Governors, which overseas the organization] to the Trump Administration." Journalist Caitlin

MacNeal noted that it comes on the heels of recent legislation signed by President Obama aimed

at centralizing control over the broadcaster in the executive branch.[183]

Reaching out to the rest of the world and actively creating the narrative by which the rest

of the world understands the US still seems an important issue to those who make and implement

public and foreign policy. In recent years, the station's main aim remained informing an

international audience of the American point of view, culture, and policies. Information

dominated, even as popular music made up a significant portion of VOA's programs.

Presumably, music played on the station came from American record labels, and they played

music similar to what was found on the AFN—music assumed popular with the listening

audience. In 1970, when rock bands were finally included in official State Department programs

[181] Hedrick Smith, "Soviet Is Hearing Mellow Voice of America," *New York Times*, December 25, 1973, 42.
[182] C.L. Sulzberger, "Why Not Tell the Truth," *New York Times*, March 26, 1972, E13.
[183] Caitlin Macneal, "Trump Sends Aides to Government-Funded Broadcaster Voice of America," *Talking Points Memo*, January 24, 2017, http://talkingpointsmemo.com/livewire/trump-aides-voice-america, (accessed January24, 2017).

overseas, they found a ready audience thanks in part of VOA. The American rock band Blood,

Sweat, & Tears were eagerly accepted for a tour in Eastern Bloc nations, in part because the

audience knew their work as played on VOA.[184]

VOA represented only one propaganda channel the United States used to shape public

opinions abroad. The less formally connected radio stations such as RFE were not directly

funded by the United States—at least in theory. As Sulzberger discussed in his *New York Time*

editorial, it became clear in the early 1970s that programs like RFE benefited from CIA largess.

As a result, these radio stations were the most secretive of the three in the sense that their

mission rested on attempting to directly undermine communist regimes through an active

propaganda campaign, working directly with dissidents from target countries or regions.[185]

The various RFE stations enjoyed non-profit status. The recording industry and

broadcasters stepped in to raise funds for the stations. Scholar Arch Puddington, a Fellow at the

Freedom House and former bureau manager at RFE, noted the role that American policymakers

played in creating these more clandestine propaganda networks in the late 1940s and early

1950s, including George Kennan.[186] Historian Richard H. Cummings confirmed the clandestine

roots of the stations starting in the late 1940s which coincided with the founding of the CIA.[187]

Puddington also argued that rock music became a key feature of RFE as early as the late 1950s.

Some Hungarian teens already tuned in to the AFN for rock music. As such, the Hungarian RFE

station made a conscious decision to include rock in their programming, aimed at teen listeners,

---

[184] Mark Lewis, "Blood, Sweat and Tears: Background Paper for Department of State Press Office," BECAHC.(MC468), box 57, file 2, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

[185] See an early article on RFE, Robert Sorensen, "Radio Free Europe and Its Audience-Publics," The Midwest Sociologist, Vol. 18, No. 2, (Spring 1956), 16-19.

[186] Arch Puddington, *Broadcasting Freedom: The Cold War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty*, (Louisville, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2003), 8.

[187] Richard H. Cummings, *Cold War Radio: The Dangerous History of American Broadcasting Radio in Europe, 1950-1989*, (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co, 2009), 6-7.

beginning a show called "Teenager Party" in 1958, which had the same DJ for three decades.[188]

Public interest mattered and bringing in young listeners in the Eastern Bloc became a key

strategy for ensuring mindshare with music being an important element.

RFE stations were staffed primarily by local political dissidents rather than solely

Americans, especially the on-air personalities, was funded through private means, and was meant

to persuade people to align with the United States and resist Soviet Union control. American

magazines which covered popular music charted funding efforts for RFE. The first major fund

drive led by broadcasters drummed up support for RFE in 1960.[189] Two years later, Donald

McGannon spearheaded an effort to raise about $11 million for RFE, followed by a 1966 effort

by the head of Capital Cities Broadcasting, Thomas Murphy.[190] Their public support earned

some broadcasters benefits, including federally funded trips to visit RFE stations overseas.[191]

Industry executives also gained political access for their support, such as a luncheon for RFE

hosted by President Kennedy at the White House in 1962.[192] Individuals moved between the

domestic private sector and the quasi-public sector, carrying their expertise and preconceived

notions about the the field of broadcasting with them. Such was the case for Henry C. Cassidy,

who landed at WNEW in New York City as a reporter after working for the overseas

broadcaster.[193] Executives in the private industry also left their jobs and moved over to RFE,

such as when assistant to the Vice President of WBC (Westinghouse Broadcasting Company)

Gordon Davis took a two-year leave to help out a station in Europe—his previous radio

---

[188] Puddington, *Broadcasting Freedom*, 137.
[189] "Network Heads Hold Summit to Support Radio Free Europe," *Variety*, March 30, 1960, 26.
[190] "McGannon Opens Drive for Radio Free Europe Kitty of $11,000,000," *Variety*, January 31, 1962, 44; "Vox Jox," *Billboard*, January 22, 1966, 47.
[191] "Inside Stuff—Radio-TV," *Variety*, February 1, 1961, 48.
[192] "JFK: So What's My Rating," *Variety*, March 7, 1962, 1 & 40.
[193] "Henry C. Cassidy Joins WNEW Staff," *Variety*, August 30, 1961, 27.

management experience included WIND in Chicago and KYW in Cleveland.[194] American broadcasters showed strong support for these Cold War programs, in part because they received direct material benefits. But they also saw an opportunity to drum up popular and state support for their industry and the culture they promoted abroad.

Performers also made public shows of support for RFE. In 1961, the wife of the head of the FCC, Mrs. Newton Minow, appeared in a movie that had been filmed in Washington DC, but turned her paycheck over to RFE as a charitable donation.[195] Rockabilly musician Kip Tyler donated his royalties to the broadcaster for a record on Gyro-Disc, "That Bell of Freedom," a classic 1950s-style rock song with a patriotic twist.[196] Musicians sat for interviews for RFE DJs, such as when Géza Ekecs arrived in the United States to interview Brenda Lee, Roy Orbison, and Chet Atkins in 1965.[197] The industry as a whole touted their backing. In February 1964, ASCAP celebrated its 50th anniversary in the pages of *Billboard*. The article-length advertising section touted the work of the organization, and called popular music "America's Best Loved Export" while extolling the good work American artists did on behalf of their country. They devoted a page to their support of organizations like RFE.[198]

Individual record labels sought out public recognition for their work in supporting the American effort during the Cold War, but in a way that economically benefited them. In 1965 Capitol Records began producing a half-hour show called "Silver Platter Service" to showcase their pop albums. In addition to 85 domestic stations, government broadcasters also received the

---

[194] "Gordon Davis 'Leave for Radio Free Europe," *Variety*, February 27, 1963, 24.
[195] "Minow 'Consents' to Frau's 'Advise'," *Variety*, October 4, 1961, 33.
[196] "Tylor Take To Go To RFE," *Billboard*, September 12, 1964, 9. Tyler's name was misspelled in the headline, but not in the article. For information on Tyler, see Tony Wilkinson, "Kip Tyler," *Blackcat Rockabilly Europe*, http://www.rockabilly.nl/references/messages/kip_tyler.htm, (accessed April 11, 2016).
[197] Red O'Donnell, "Tin Pan Valley," *Variety*, June 23, 1965, 62.
[198] "America's Best Loved Export," *Billboard*, Special Pull out Advertisement found in the February 29, 1964 issue, 17. Variety ran the same ad in March 25, 1964, 60.

program to air on both RFE and the AFN.[199] RFE played music from a variety of sources, not just American labels. Program director Don Brewer noted that they had received records to add to their collection from the German label Ariola in late 1965.[200] Recent releases found their way onto RFE, such as an album by New Jersey jazz musician Eddie Hazell album in 1969 (not to be confused with the member of the funk band Parliament Funkadelic).[201] Many labels found supporting overseas broadcasting efforts to be in their best interests, which led to even more cultural and music programming. In other words, the 1960s appeared a fruitful time to promote American culture via propaganda networks aimed at the rest of the world.

RFE regularly broadcast musical events in the United States around the world, expanding the possible audience by millions of listeners in the process. A jazz festival hosted by Macy's was broadcast by VOA, RFE, and the AFN, according to an advertisement thanking the stations and participants in 1961.[202] A jazz festival and award show held in Alabama in 1966 was broadcast by both the AFN and RFE.[203] Country music also received a boost with overseas markets, such as the 1963 simulcast of a Jimmy Heath performance on RFE, VOA, and the AFN.[204] Billboard touted the "international showcase" available to record labels by partnering with RFE in 1966.[205] The Cincinnati station WLW-Radio received a visit from the aforementioned Gordon Davis, who was acting as program director of RFE in May of 1967. Competition from British pirate radio stations and French radio prompted the desire to better

---

[199] "Capitol Serves up 'Silver Platter'," *Billboard*, April 3, 1965, 6.
[200] "Music Capitals of the World," *Billboard*, December 25, 1965, 33.
[201] "From the Music Capitals of the World," *Billboard*, August 9, 1969, 38.
[202] "Macy's Advertisement," *Variety*, February 15, 1961, 58.
[203] "Ala. Jazzfest Honors Go to Florida 5—Hands Down," *Billboard*, April 6, 1966, 6-8.
[204] "Lucky Moeller Says Europe Fertile for Country Music," *Billboard*, December 14, 1963, 18. *Variety* also carried a similar story in early 1964 which noted that Moeller was seeking shows for country artists in cities such as Frankfurt, Berlin, Paris, and London, for what he described as growing demand for C&W music in Europe. "Nashville Discs Felt Overseas," *Variety*, January8, 1964, 198.
[205] "Vox Jox," *Billboard*, November 12, 1966, 44.

appeal to European listeners.[206] *Billboard* noted in 1970 that the Dutch wished to host RFE broadcasts, acting as a relay to the rest of Europe.[207]

These stations, along with VOA, regularly aired and benefited from programs produced in the United States for a domestic audience. One example was a 1970 program about the history of country music. The producer promised to make the material available to a variety of organizations, including RFE.[208] *Billboard* again highlighted the role Cultural Cold War programs in promoting American culture played in the early 1970s. A February issue of the industry magazine noted a world-wide sing-in led by the Hillside Singers known for the song "I'd Like to Teach the World To Sing" in March 1972 with RFE broadcasting the concert.[209] *Billboard* also advertised a Western hemisphere music festival in Caracas, slated for February 1973, scheduled for worldwide telecast on VOA, RFE, and the AFN, making it another quasi-private-public partnership. RFE alone reached some 80 million listeners, according to the copy.[210]

Although they were understood as being funded privately, by the late 1960s it became clear that some of the money used to run these stations came from the CIA.[211] At this time, serious distrust was on the rise about the activities the US government was engaged in as part of the Cold War. An investigation by *Rampart* magazine published in 1967 revealed just how invested the CIA had become in a number of supposedly private, non-profit organizations—the big revelation being the funding of student groups.[212] The magazine also explored other

---

206 "From the Music Capitals of the World," *Billboard*, May 13, 1967, 53l
207 "Radio Europe to Holland," *Billboard*, October 10, 1970, 81.
208 "Cinevox Offers History of Country Music Show," *Billboard*, August 29, 1970, 38.
209 "Hillside Singers to Lead World Wide Sing-In Mar. 12," *Billboard*, February 26, 1972, 6.
210 "3rd Onda Nueva World Festival," *Billboard*, December 9, 1972, 17.
211 Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*, (New York: The New Press, 2001), 381-391.
212 Sol Stern, "NSA and the CIA," *Ramparts Magazine*, (March 1967), 29-39.

examples of the misuse of federal power, such as when young academic Noam Chomsky

discussed the role the FBI played in the murder of Black Panther Fred Hampton in Chicago (part

of the infamous COINTELPRO project under the Nixon administration).[213] At this same time,

the domestic economy looked rocky and anti-war sentiment was at its height. In the wake of

Nixon's re-election, the Watergate scandal emerged and led to his eventual resignation.

In the midst of these political and economic uncertainties, many Americans wondered

about other programs that had been deemed an integral part of the Cold War. William Fulbright,

a Democratic Senator from Arkansas, led the charge in questioning the necessity of these

programs. Funding became contingent from year to year, thanks to his efforts. In 1971, the

Senate Foreign Relations Committee only approved funding of some $35 million for another

year.[214] But the Nixon administration considered these radio stations critical, as did dissident

politicians from Eastern Europe. The Ambassador of the Polish government in exile, Edward

Raczynski, wrote to the *New York Times* in July of 1971, calling out Sen. Fulbright on agreeing

with the communist government of Poland that a western voice should be "gagged." Not

allowing these stations to continue to broadcast meant one less dissenting voice for the Polish

people to hear, Raczynski argued.[215]

Fulbright continued his campaign to shut down federal funding of RFE into 1972,

winning him some sharp opposition from the general public and his constituents alike. That year

journalist Henry Kamm argued in the *New York Times* that, despite the CIA shadiness, many

Eastern Europeans find the stations to be "anti-propaganda" stations and vital in countering the

communist governments they struggled against. The programming pulled from a variety of

---

[213] Noam Chomsky, "Watergate and Other Crimes," *Ramparts*, (June 1974), 34.
[214] Benjamin Welles, "Senate Panel Rebuffs Nixon on Radio Free Europe," *New York Times*, July 22, 1971, 3.
[215] Ambassador Edward Raczynski, "Radio Free Europe," Letters to the Editor, *New York Times*, August 8, 1971, E10.

sources, not just American, and contributed to the feeling that the broadcasts were more on the level than some more specific state-run programs, such as the BBC or VOA, which more openly represented their home countries. Initially, RFE blasted a strong political message past the Iron Curtain. In 1956, Hungarian dissidents, driven by the repression they experienced under the new communist state and by hopes that the Americans would intervene on their behalf, rose up against the government in the Hungarian Uprising. Their mistaken belief that the Americans would help came in part from the broadcasts of RFE.[216] After this, the station backed off the political and instead broadcast more cultural content.[217]

The division between political and cultural content was never clear. Music over the course of the 1960s became even more suffused with political meaning. Songs could help imply political solidarity with people in the Eastern bloc living under oppressive governments. For example, Polish DJ Rozina Jadrna played Leonard Cohen's song "Joan of Arc" on the third anniversary of the death of young dissident Jan Palach, who had self-immolated in protest of the Polish government—but without comment. The association of a popular Western folk musician and a political dissident hints at how young people were linking music and politics around the world. The station most often gave moderates a voice, according to Kamm, citing Jan Nowak who fled Poland well before the Cold War and was known for broadcasting the news of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in 1944. He sought out not necessarily a capitalist society, but merely a freer, more humane one. Nowak believed that the station was widely popular among the average Polish listener making it an important counterpoint to the government in his home country. The

---

[216] Henry Kamm, "Listening in on Radio Free Europe—The Station That Fulbright Wants to Shut Down," *New York Times*, March 26, 1972, SM36, 38.

[217] For details on the role RFE played in the Hungarian Uprising, see Paul Lendvai, *One Day That Shook the Communist World: The 1956 Hungarian Uprising and its Legacy*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), especially 125 & 187.

station also broadcast dissenting voices from the United States itself—including opponents to the Vietnam War—while many of the people staffing the station believed that they were indeed independent of their funding base. The polyglot staff worried about the station's fate as Fulbright's political actions threatened it. Kamm's article made clear that Fulbright's primary opposition stemmed from the funding of the stations, not their core mission.[218]

In 1973, Nixon again urged Congress to continue funding these stations. He had commissioned a panel, led by Milton Eisenhower (younger brother to President Eisenhower and President of John Hopkins University) to back up his assertion that the stations contributed to "the free flow of information and of ideas among nations."[219] The President won in the short term, signing another year of financing into effect in October of 1973. The bill also sought alternatives to CIA funding by creating a board to explore financing options via congressional grants.[220] Fulbright's problem with RFE was not its mission, but the economic links to CIA funding which had never been disclosed to either the public or to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.[221] Over the course of his political career, he created programs like the Fulbright scholarships and actively promoted the Cultural Cold War, meaning he was no dove.

Fulbright received criticism from the public, not just the Republicans and President Nixon. In the Spring of 1972, he answered letters from the public in order to explain his economic and political objections to continued funding of the stations. He replied to one Victor Zorza—who seemingly worried that the United States was no longer committed to anti-communist activity—that the inclusion of leading conservative and staunch anti-communist

---

[218] Henry Kamm, "Listening in on Radio Free Europe—The Station That Fulbright Wants to Shut Down," *New York Times*, March 26, 1972, SM36.
[219] "Nixon to Ask Aid for Radio Free Europe," *New York Times*, May 8, 1973, 4.
[220] "Nixon Signs Bill to Finance Radio Free Europe for a Year," *New York Times*, October 21, 1973, 9.
[221] Fulbright wrote several books on foreign policy which describes his views such as J. William Fulbright, *The Arrogance of Power*, (New York: Random House, 1966) and *Pentagon Propaganda Machine*, (New York: Liveright, 1970).

William F. Buckley on the advisory commission to address the funding for RFE seemed unlikely

to lead to a more moderate stance toward the Eastern bloc, a major concern for Zorza.[222] In a

letter to Marshall Shulman of New York, he pointed out the deficit under the Nixon

administration and his desire not to duplicate government programs. Nor did he believe that the

CIA acted "objectively" in funding RFE.[223]

　　Fulbright reiterated his economic concerns in a letter to Karen Leggett, a student at

Brown University, explaining his economic objections and to campaign contributor Ronald Rich,

writing from Tokyo.[224] Editor of the Arkansas newspaper *Pocahontas Star Herald* Ann Carroll

forwarded a letter to the Senator from a constituent living in Denmark. The name was redacted in

the document but the Arkansas native discusses his recent visits to collective farms deep in

Soviet territory. He all but accused Fulbright of being paid by the Soviets (along with activist

Angela Davis) for attempting to defund RFE.[225] In other words, Fulbright stuck to his guns with

regards to his wariness toward continued funding for RFE based on its questionable funding

source and his belief in the need to rein in government finances by eliminating duplicate

programs. He argued that both VOA and the United States Information Agency provided news

and information to those living under communist rule, making state support of RFE redundant.

---

[222] "Letter from Sen. J.W. Fulbright to Mr. Victor Zorza January 22, 1972," Fulbright Papers: The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs Historical Collection (hence forth BECAHC), (MC F956144-B) Series 48, sub-series 9, box 33, file 3, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

[223] "Letter from Sen. J.W. Fulbright to Mr. Marshall D. Shulman February 24, 1972," Fulbright Papers: BECAHC, (MC F956144-B) Series 48, sub-series 9, box 33, file 3, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

[224] "Letter from Sen. J.W. Fulbright to Ms. Karen Leggett March 11, 1972," and "Letter from Sen. J.W. Fulbright to Mr. Ronald Rich March 30, 1972," Fulbright Papers: BECAHC, (MC F956144-B) Series 48, sub-series 9, box 33, file 3, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

[225] "Letter from Ann B. Caroll to Honorable J.W. Fulbright March 23, 1972," and "Letter to Honorable J. William Fulbright from… March 19, 1972," Fulbright Papers: BECAHC, (MC F956144-B) Series 48, sub-series 9, box 33, file 4, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

Economic concerns most strongly drove Fulbright's quest to end funding for these stations. The early 1970s saw a recession and hit places such as his home state of Arkansas especially hard.

Radio broadcasting in the 1960s gave broadcasters and the recording industry an important "in" with both government circles and international audiences. Over the course of this period (as rock became the most profitable genre in the recording industry) music found a welcome home on these stations, encouraging demand from local populations. The newfound support meant that the American recording industry sought to shape American policy—foreign and domestic—to fit their economic needs. One of their biggest items of concern was copyright reform. Congress, working together with representatives of the culture industries, worked to change domestic copyright laws, which saw fruition in the 1970s. But the culture industries desired changes brought copyright regimes around the world into line with American norms.

As the American recording industry expanded and met increased competition abroad, the industry pushed for a more a unified copyright system that applied across the world in order to better protect their products abroad. Piracy became an issue of global concern of the industry.[226] Who owned the rights to a sound recording became more important during the rise of rock music, in part because of the conceptual changes to the relationship between musicians and songs—personalities rose to the fore and songs were increasingly imagined as the inner thoughts of the songwriter. The individual performing became invested with a new sense of celebrity.[227] But the primary economic beneficiaries remained the labels, who often owned the rights to the music bands played. Labels sought to better strengthen their position through domestic and international copyright reform. During the era of rock, the industry saw the enshrinement of the

---

[226] Cummings, *Democracy of Sound*, 175-200.

[227] David R. Shumway, *Rock Star: The Making of Musical Icons From Elvis to Springsteen*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2014).

LP as the primary product through which the industry replicated itself globally. Copyright of sound recordings became ever more central to industry lobbying efforts. Issues around copyright and the state paying for the use of cultural products peppered documents related to the Cold War. A Department of State document discussed the limits of copyright clearances obtained domestically from performing rights organizations such as BMI or ASCAP—at least not to cover "radio performance of those recording in foreign areas." Each country had its own copyright regime and so the recommendation rested on getting clearances locally.[228]

During the late 1960s the notion of a global music industry emerged in the discourse of those American and British labels that produced and distributed popular music worldwide. Members of the industry began to imagine themselves as serving an audience of consumers that resided in any number of countries, at least in terms of the popularity of American and British bands. The Beatles eventually became the standard bearer of what it meant to be a rock band, and rock was pushed as the natural evolution of the expansion of the recording industry. The reality of the global trade in music was far messier, but few doubted that music fans all over the world enjoyed rock music. An international music industry convention in 1969 illustrates this shift from imagining the global marketplace for music as equally regional, to lopsidedly defined by corporations centered in the Americas and Western Europe. Western industry insiders dominated the podium during the convention, even as they celebrated the notion of a global industry. Giorgio Gomelsky, the head of international promotion company Paragon, claimed that Western labels held some 70% of the global market (though he gave no indication where he derived his numbers).[229] Alain Boublil, head of *Vogue International*, argued that even localized

---

[228] "Amconsul, Leopoldville, The Department of State, December 18, 1952," Records Related to Copyright Clearances for Radio Use of Material Contained in Magazines, 1953-63, United States Information Agency RG306, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[229] Giorgio Gomelsky, "The International Tour," *The Complete Report of the First International Music Industry*

music industry events such as the Italian San Remo song competition benefited American artists when they participated.[230] The tone set by the participants of the event illustrated how the globalization of the industry was viewed as a *fait accompli*.

This conceptualization of American and British popular music as globally dominant did not emerge out of wishful thinking. How did the industry come to be understood as both globalized and dominated by Anglo-American companies during the late 1960s? Did the adoption of American popular culture by young people the world over manifest in part because of Cold War cultural programs? The expansion of American culture, like the expansion of American modes of consumption, went hand-in-hand with Cold War policies. US corporations (expanding as never before as people consumed ever more popular culture) sought to use the power of the American Cold War machine to their advantage. As members of the industry more often perceived themselves as globalized, they pushed for regulatory standardization, highlighting the intimate connections between corporate expansion and dependency on the interstate system to make the world safe for their products. The culture industries looked to push governments to standardize copyright—first at home, but then through international property right treaties.

The government had long dealt with the ins and outs of copyright, seeking to balance their needs with those of the industry. In the 1950s, the American government already fielded copyright concerns related to their international broadcasts. Although initially given blanket permission during the Korean war, performance rights organizations representing the recording industry in Europe and the United States sought to clarify and ensure proper renuneration from

---

Conference, ed. Paul Ackerman and Lee Zhito, (New York: Billboard Publishing, 1969), 35.

[230] Alain Boublil, "The Music Festival," *The Complete Report of the First International Music Industry Conference*, 40-41.

American broadcasts. In 1950, the organization that would eventually evolve into the United States Information Agency originally contracted with Gesellschaft für musikalische Aufführungs- und mechanische Vervielfältigungsrechte (GEMA, the German copyright organization) for 4.2 pfennings per listener in the American sector, but with a cap of DMV 11,000 per month.[231] The various contracts were renewed and expanded as needed, such as in 1964.[232]

Despite these contracts allowing broadcast of music and setting up payments, in April 1959 the General Counsel for the Department of Defense Robert Dechert received a letter from the US Register of Copyrights Arthur Fisher. Fisher contacted Dechert regarding claims of copyright abuse on the part of the AFN from GEMA. The organization had been charged with collecting fees for the American copyright organizations ASCAP and BMI for music played over the air. In their view, they were being shorted on the amount of compensation due to them as the representatives of American rights organizations. Fisher wrote to the heads of both organizations to clarify what constituted fair use for the Defense Department in the view of the industry. Both stated that they had given a free pass during the Second World War and the Korean crisis, but that those two events were long ended. The waters were incredibly muddy regarding who had the right to collect fees, due to the lack of clarity and consistency in copyright laws. Even neighbors Germany and France differed on their methods of collecting fees and redistributing them. But stiffing these copyright organizations could create ill-will on the part of our allies, Fisher warned, so it was best to work out satisfactory settlements. He recommends "reasonable compensation"

---

[231] "Office of the US High Commission for Germany Contract, April 1950," GEMA RIAS 1950-1970, box 2, Records Society Music Production Mechanical Reproduction Rights, United States Information Agency RG306, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[232] "Telegram: 23 June, 1964," GEMA RIAS 1950-1970, box 2, Records Society Music Production Mechanical Reproduction Rights, United States Information Agency RG306, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

be made to smooth over the problem at hand. Not alienating copyright holders in another country was deemed a worthwhile goal.[233] Corporate needs came into consideration regarding government broadcasts and organizations like GEMA pushed for their fair cut.

From the Defense Department's point of view, the problems of ensuring proper payments for the use of copyrighted music stymied radio play of American music a few years later. In one document highlighting ongoing payment discussed with GEMA for music played on both VOA and Rundfunk im Amerikanischen Sektor (RIAS), the limitations on the hours of music allowed on the RIAS only clocked in at 35 hours a week. This state of affairs was due to GEMA's contract with German record label Electrola which distributed American music into West Germany. The memorandum argued for the need to protect the interests of American corporations within the context of the presentation of their products on government-backed radio stations. With regards to payments for music played on VOA, they attempted to argue that the broadcast (relayed in Munich) originated in the US, not in Germany itself—hence German copyright laws did not apply, doubly so since the broadcasts were non-commercial.[234] A German court eventually offered a dismissal in favor of the AFN, illustrating that the aims of corporations and the bodies that represented them were not always in concert with the dictates of the Cold War.[235]

Legal challenges to the use of popular culture in a variety of venues controlled by different government agencies continued to impact the discussion on foreign broadcasting and

---

[233] "Letter to Mr. Robert Dechert from Mr. Arthur Fisher," GEMA USAFN 1962, box 2, no. 2, Records Society Music Production Mechanical Reproduction Rights, United States Information Agency RG306, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[234] "Memorandum: To: Mr. Robert A Lincoln, January 19, 1965," GEMA VOA Munich 1965-69, box 2, no. 2, Records Society Music Production Mechanical Reproduction Rights, United States Information Agency RG306, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[235] "In the Name of the People: GEMA vs. USAFN, 1962," GEMA USAFN 1962, box 2, no. 1, Records Society Music Production Mechanical Reproduction Rights, United States Information Agency RG306, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

copyright for nearly a decade, with little clear resolution. In May of 1968, the use of copyrighted material on VOA was discussed in a letter to Frank Tribble the assistant general counsel to the United States Information Agency from GEMA's American-based representative Heinz Urban on this same issue. GEMA continued to push on the issue of fees owed to them as a stand-in for ASCAP and BMI, lobbying from their American office in New York.[236] The US government struggled to reconcile their perceived needs and their adherence to property rights and the demands of the recording industry. By the late 1960s, officials expressed a general understanding of the role GEMA played in collecting fees owed to American performing rights societies. But the letter Tribble wrote in response to GEMA about clearance for music in films also contained complaints that the RIAS paid too much to the European rights organization, even as it acknowledged the organization's right to collect those funds.[237] Many of the documents regarding this issue were originally classified, highlighting how propaganda programs the used American popular culture were embedded in the Cold War mindset of secrecy. As late as the 1970s, many of the countries that heard broadcasts by American governmental bodies had no copyright bodies, such as the Philippines, Liberia, and Morocco, illustrating the still haphazard nature of global copyright from the culture industries.[238]

---

[236] "Letter to Frank C. Tribble from Heinz Urban, May 2, 1968," GEMA VOA Munich 1965-69, no 1, Records Society Music Production Mechanical Reproduction Rights, United States Information Agency RG306, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[237] "Letter to Gordon Ewing from Frank C. Tribble, August 8, 1969," GEMA Misc. no. 1, box 2, Records Society Music Production Mechanical Reproduction Rights, United States Information Agency RG306, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD. The letter which discussed the issue of clearance for music in films was "Letter to George Argeris from Evelyn Eisenstadt, July 16, 1969," GEMA VOA Munich 1965-69, no 1, Records Society Music Production Mechanical Reproduction Rights, United States Information Agency RG306, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD. The original contract under discussion can be found in "Motion Pictures: Agency Rights, July 9, 1969," GEMA Misc. no. 1, box 2, Records Society Music Production Mechanical Reproduction Rights, United States Information Agency RG306, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[238] A set of telegrams regarding copyright payments was exchanged in 1971. There is a list of countries queried on this issue, "US Information Agency, USIA Circular," Claims Pending, box 1, Records Society Music Production Mechanical Reproduction Rights, United States Information Agency RG306, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD. A round of responses in the same folder show that not all places where the US broadcast

Documents from the Defense Department also discussed clearances for their radio

stations obtained more directly from American performance rights organizations, such as the

American Federation of Musicians in the 1960s, illustrating the centrality of copyright in the

broadcasting of music. In 1954, the American Federation of Musicians signed off on the re-use

of kinescopes—recordings of televison programs filmed off of television screens onto film as a

means of preserving live broadcasts—for the military.[239] A few years later, in 1962, Henry

Zaccardi, the assistant to the President of the American Federation of Musicians, restated this

position with regards to rebroadcasting.[240] Letters from BMI eagerly gave permission for the use

of the works covered under their umbrellas, in both 1968 and 1976.[241]

The Department of Defense also kept a list of performing rights societies on hand, in

order to ensure local compliance.[242] A letter written in February 1972 showed much the same

position vis-a-vis clearances for copyrighted material that might be broadcast, in this case on the

Island of Diego Garcia, an island in the Chagos Archipelago, located in the Indian ocean.[243]

However, some organizations that represented copyright interests put limitations on how the

Department of Defense could take advantage of copyrighted works, showing the complicated

---

collected copyright fees.

[239] "Letter from James Petrillo to Mr. John Fanning," Armed Forces Network Letters, box 20, Histories, Reports, Programming Records, 1962-1992, Licences: Music Agreements, 1962-1992, Department of Defense RG330, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[240] "Letter from Henry Zaccardi to Mr. Norman s. Paul," Armed Forces Network Letters, box 20, Histories, Reports, Programming Records, 1962-1992, Licences: Music Agreements, 1962-1992, Department of Defense RG330, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[241] "Letter from Theodora Zavin to Mrs. Ethel B. Walker, October 4, 1968," ASCAP, BMI, etc, box 20, Histories, Reports, Programming Records, 1962-1992, Licences: Music Agreements, 1962-1992, Department of Defense RG330, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD and "Letter from Theodora Zavin to Col. Oliver A. Willey, Jr., April 9, 1976," ASCAP, BMI, etc, Histories, Reports, Programming Records, 1962-1992, Licences: Music Agreements, 1962-1992, Department of Defense RG330, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[242] "Performing Rights Societies," ASCAP, BMI, etc, box 20, Histories, Reports, Programming Records, 1962-1992, Licences: Music Agreements, 1962-1992, Department of Defense RG330, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[243] "Letter from Robert Crothers to Col. Robert Cranston," Armed Forces Network Letters, box 20, Histories, Reports, Programming Records, 1962-1992, Licences: Music Agreements, 1962-1992, Department of Defense RG330, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

nature of copyright ownership in the culture industries. The Harry Fox Agency wrote to John Broger at the DOD regarding the use of works owned by their client, Peer International Corporation—an agreement that only applied to Vietnam, they reminded the military.[244] A similar letter sanctioned use of their copyrighted material in Thailand in the year 1967.[245] By the late 1970s, the Harry Fox Agency wrote a letter regarding clearances for broadcasting of music over DOD radio stations, which John Brown described as "current." These covered organizations such as ASCAP and BMI.[246] The 1976 copyright law changed circumstances, according to a letter from Thomas Ross at the DOD, requiring new guidelines to be drawn up for the fair use of copyrighted material.[247]

Music on state-backed radio stations caused some level of consternation regarding how fees for copyrights should be distributed in a recording industry that was increasingly reaching into the far corners of the globe. The changes to the American copyright regime led to changes in the discussion over the use of copyrights. The new copyright regime strengthened the rights of corporations as the central copyright holders over individuals in the same capacity. Sound recordings finally came under the protections the American labels had long sought out. Since this time, international copyright treaties have been shifting to follow suit—although never without debate and controversy. An early copyright treaty, the Berne Convention, set down the first real

---

[244] "Letter from Harry Fox to Mr. John C. Broger, December 24, 1964," Harry Fox, box 20, Histories, Reports, Programming Records, 1962-1992, Licences: Music Agreements, 1962-1992, Department of Defense RG330, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[245] Letter from Mario Conti to Mr. John Broger," Harry Fox, box 20, Histories, Reports, Programming Records, 1962-1992, Licences: Music Agreements, 1962-1992, Department of Defense RG330, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[246] "Memorandum for Record by John J. Brown, 11 Dec. 1978" Harry Fox 76 Changes to Copyright Law, box 20, Histories, Reports, Programming Records, 1962-1992, Licences: Music Agreements, 1962-1992, Department of Defense RG330, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[247] "Memorandum For Secretaries of the Military Departments Directors of the Defense Agencies from Thomas B. Ross, 4 Dec. 1978," Harry Fox 76 Changes to Copyright Law, box 20, Histories, Reports, Programming Records, 1962-1992, Licences: Music Agreements, 1962-1992, Department of Defense RG330, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

attempt at governing copyright across national boundaries in 1886.[248] The United States only

signed on to Berne in the 1980s. Upon the formation of UNESCO, a new copyright regime was

developed to supplement and expand upon Berne in 1952 and it was specifically developed as an

alternative to Berne, including mostly Western hemisphere nations early on.[249] The 1970s saw

updates to both treaties and the next few decades saw a greater push from publishers, record

labels, and movie studios to standardize copyright across national borders. Such activity, Alex

Cummings convincingly argued, eventually led to the formation treaties such as the General

Agreement on Trade and Tariffs and slightly later Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights.[250]

The ability to successfully lobby congress and the State Department on economic issues testify to

just how globalized the recording industry had become in the latter part of the Cold War. The

work done under the umbrella of the Cultural Cold War allowed for the recording industry to

push for standardized copyright abroad. Copyright reform—at home and abroad—was just one

of the positive outcomes for the recording industry during the Cold War.

A problem arose with the use of popular music as a Cold War weapon—popular music

became a signifier for political rebellion for many young people in the 1960s. Although

discussions of rock bands seeking official sanction from the State Department for their

commercially funded tours circulated in the discussions of the Cultural committee, it took a

while before rock officially represented the United States abroad. The first rock band to officially

tour the Eastern Bloc for the State Department was Blood, Sweat, & Tears. Their combination of

rock and jazz-lite elements won them a Record of the Year Grammy in 1970 for their eponymous

---

[248] Full text of the convention and changes can be found "Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works," *World Intellectual Property Organzation*, September 9, 1886, http://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/treaties/text.jsp?file_id=283698, (Accessed February 7, 2017).

[249] "Univeral Copyright Convention," *United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization*, September 6, 1952, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=15381&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html, (accessed February 7, 2017).

[250] Cummings, *Democracy of Sound*, 192-195.

effort. The album spawned three chart-topping singles, including their number one hit "Spinning Wheel." In *Rolling Stone* Jann Werner described the band as the "best thing to happen to rock and roll in 1968" in a glowing profile the magazine published in the spring.[251] The band had some countercultural cache, appearing at Woodstock and garnering reviews in underground papers like Atlanta's *Great Speckled Bird*, which gave this album a favorable review.[252] The State Department hoped that the countercultural enthusiasm for the band could benefit their overseas agenda in much the same way the jazz tours helped to counter Soviet propaganda about American racism.[253]

The write up for the ten-city tour noted the average age of the band as being 25, stating that "this group reflected the troubling concerns of American youth or the 'now generation' which actively questions the established way of life on all levels." The tour seemed to give the members of the band pause with regards to the Cold War struggle. The document indicated "a positive and constructive change in their attitudes about their country," meaning their critical view of issues like Vietnam. The debriefing document also delves into some congressional dissatisfaction over State Department support of the band.[254] The tour included visits to Yugoslavia (Sarajevo and Belgrade), Romania (Constanta, Bucharest, and Cluj), and finally Poland (Warsaw). Blood, Sweat, & Tears had been the first "contemporary" act selected for such a cultural presentation. The author, Mark Lewis, touts the band's professionalism and academic background as musicians, calling them "serious musicians," indicating his possible sensitivity to criticism from other committee members or congress. Their audience, the document notes,

---

[251] Jann Werner, "Blood, Sweat and Tears," *Rolling Stone*, April 27, 1968, 15-16.
[252] "Blood, Sweat, & Tears: Review," *Great Speckled Bird*, vol. 1, no. 9, July 3-18, 1968, 10.
[253] Penny von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).
[254] "Blood, Sweat, and Tears: EE (Yugoslavia, Romania, Poland) June 13-July 8, 1970," BECAHC.(MC468), box 97, file 5, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

"consists of all age levels, for their music bridges communications and age gaps." The concert tour was "enthusiastically and rapidly accepted" by each host country as the band already had a well-established reputation abroad.[255] The post-tour missive from the American embassy in Belgrade noted that the tour proved "a real monster to pull together," but "will have a profound impact on the evolution of popular music and jazz in Yugoslavia."[256]

Yet all was not well on the homefront after the band's triumphant return. In addition to some congressional concerns noted above, the second wave of the radical organization known as the Youth International Party or the Yippies, staged a protest outside a July 25, 1970 Madison Square Garden concert the band held after their return from the Eastern Bloc and Yugoslavia, which Mark Lewis shrugged off in a memorandum to Fredrick Irving. Lewis included the Yippie call to arms in his description of the protest, which he dismissed as "expected." He noted that "one bag of manure was hurled at the band during the concert and landed on the stage." He complained that the "far left" attacked the band, while the "far right" criticized the State Department for letting the band represent the United States abroad.[257] The inclusion of rock music in the Cultural Cold War caused some problems. Moreover, the Soviets were less likely to approve of rock bands, even if other Eastern Bloc states and Yugoslavia happily agreed to host them. However, the enthusiasm for sending American musicians overseas on the State Department dime was coming to an end. The cost were coming under scrutiny by politicians and the youth revolt was at its most intense yet.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

---

[255] Mark Lewis, "Blood, Sweat and Tears: Background Paper for Department of State Press Office," BECAHC.(MC468), box 57, file 2, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

[256] Wallace Littell, "Embassy of the United State: Belgrade," BECAHC.(MC468), box 57, file 4, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

[257] Mark Lewis, "Memorandum for: CU – Mr. Fredrick Irving," BECAHC.(MC468), box 57, file 3, Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK.

By the time Blood, Sweat, & Tears toured on behalf of the State Department, how young Americans thought of their relationship to popular music had begun changed—at least among people who fully embraced the tenets of cultural rebellion laid out by the 1960s counterculture. To them, the use of mainstream rock by the government signaled that a band had now sold out and was no longer worth investing their time and money. Although not all young people viewed rock music as a sacrosanct expression of rebellion, enough did to curtail the use of rock bands in such direct ways. The recording industry, meanwhile, continued to participate in the Cultural Cold War and to push the American government for policies favorable to their interests. They courted bands that produced popular music that they deemed had the broadest appeal. But such corporate strategies turned at least some rock fans off. Over the course of the next decade and a half, a new generation of rock music fans—keen to engage in acts of cultural disobedience—had to figure out a new means of rebelling against the establishment. We will see in the next chapter how the rise of punk as a musical subculture with countercultural overtones, engaged in carving out alternatives to the major record labels as a means of expressing their displeasure with the mainstream.

4   CHAPTER 3: THE RISE OF THE REAGAN YOUTH: CONNECTIONS AND MODES OF PRODUCTION

In March 1977, the legendary proto-punk and David Bowie collaborator Iggy Pop appeared on the daytime talk show, *Dinah!*, hosted by performer Dinah Shore. After playing a cut off his new album, with Bowie manning keyboards, the two men sat down for a chat with Shore. In the midst of recounting his struggles with drugs and depression, Pop casually remarked

"I think I helped wipe out the sixties."[258] Meanwhile, the early wave of punk rock rose to public consciousness as little more than a nihilistic fashion show with few connections to the past. A *Washington Post* article on the London scene focused on the role of Malcolm Mclaren's and Vivienne Westwood's clothing shop in kicking off punk as a youth subculture.[259] A year later the paper covered a punk themed-event at the Washington Project for the Arts event which described punk as "that nihilistic form of existence passé enough to be fit into an art gallery." One attendee complained that "there are no real punks here… Punks are mean. They shoot heroin. They get into fist fights. Real punks would blow your mind," while another described them as "harmless" and "humorous" merely rebelling against the boredom of the 1970s.[260] When punk finally made it out of the style section to other parts of DC's paper of record, the focus was on the controversies the subculture generated.[261] Both Iggy Pop and *Washington Post* viewed punk as a sharp break with the past, having little to do with the Sixties.

Pop's rumination on his foundational role in ending the era of peace and love and establishing the era of what the *Washington Post* dubbed "nihilistic" punk rock flattens the more complex relationship between the Sixties counterculture and punk. Many aspects of youth rebellion developed during the 1960s influenced the youth cultures to come. While many punks

---

[258] Pop appeared on the program in 1977, though the exact episode is unclear. Clips from the show are available online. See for example, "When Iggy Met Dinah," WYNC, April 22, 2013, http://www.wnyc.org/story/288465-when-iggy-met-dinah-share-your-iggy-stories/, (accessed February 9, 2017).

[259] Nina Hyde, "Punks Without a Cause: The Punk Look: Rebellious Fashion Without a Cause," *Washington Post*, April 26, 1977, style sec., B1.

[260] Tim Zito and Stephanie Mansfield, "Punk City: A Year Late and Five Years Ahead," *Washington Post*, May 17, 1978, style sec., B2.

[261] Such as the death of Sid Vicious (though this was in the style section, too), Eve Zibart, "Death of a Punk Star: End of the Vicious Road to Fame," *Washington Post*, February 3, 1979, style sec., D1, an article on the tragic life of a punk turned law clerk, Chip Brown, "Larry Fishman: A Life of Contradictions: An American Family's Tragedy: For Larry, A life of Contradiction; Larry Moves from Punk Rock World to the life of a Law Clerk," *Washington Post*, April 27, 1981, first sec., A1, and several stories about bans on punk bands around the area, Carlin Romano, "'Punk' Hits a Sour Note; P.G. [Prince George's County] Officials Ban Groups that Play 'In a Frenzied Hard-Rock Manner'; 'Punk Rock' Is Banished from U. of Md. Campus," *Washington Post*, August 23, 1979, metro sec., C1.

certainly disavowed some aspects of the hippie ethos and carved out their own identities, musical tastes, and modes of rebellion, important lines of continuity exist between the two subcultures. The 1960s laid the groundwork for youth subcultures as bastions of countercultural activities and political action. Popular music produced by the recording industry became a common language of youth globally during the 1960s. The Cultural Cold War domestically helped drive a wedge between the two generations of cultural rebels. This chapter will chart the lines of continuity and the clean breaks between the two eras, narrating how punk became an important standard bearer of cultural rebellion in the 1970s and 1980s.

Punk emerged along with a newly expanding and fragmenting mass media over the course of the 1970s and early 1980s. This shift in media gave young people new opportunities to reach out and tell their own stories—especially to each other—in order to create and reinforce a new kind of consumer-oriented imagined community. Punk's rise to cultural prominence signaled an important shift to a more internally riven youth culture that sought out authenticity and community outside of the mainstream culture industries. Hippies—though certainly focused on anti-establishment ideals—more often than not focused their critical attention on social institutions, the state, or corporations directly involved in the military-industrial complex that they saw as a driving force in the Cold War. Much of the culture produced by the mainstream cultural industries in the 1960s, on the surface, aligned with the values of hippies and produced culture that seemingly supported their political views. But at the same time, we have seen how these same corporations materially benefited from the Cultural Cold War. Hippies in the 1960s rarely articulated a well-formed critique of the culture industries—the Vietnam War and the stifling institutions of their parents generation dominated their concerns until the 1970s.[262]

---

[262] See for example Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, (Detroit: Black & Red, 1983), originally published in 1967, Jean Baudrille, *The System of Objects*, (London: Verso, 2006) originally published in 1968 among others.

Instead, the products of the culture industries, including the recording industry, played a central role in creating and popularizing a boomer identity based on rebellion.[263] The 1960s established a strong sense of rebellion with popular culture, popularizing outsider status among white middle class Americans, according to historian Grace Elizabeth Hale. She calls popular music "a key medium for this romance."[264] The targeted consumption of popular culture framed discontent with the Cold War order.

Punks—late boomers and generation xers—focused their ire more fully on the modes of production of popular music, while continuing to build upon the anti-state, anti-Cold War sentiment of the earlier generation. The connections between the state and recording industry were much clearer to see and act against, as the more clandestine links between the state and industry became more readily apparent in the 1970s and 1980s. By viewing the rise of punk through the lens of changes to the recording industry prompted by the use of culture in the Cold War, we can better understand changes to the industry as a whole. Rather than focus solely on the stylistic or musical choices made by musicians, this chapter illustrates how domestic reactions to Cultural Cold War along with the opening up of cultural pathways during the Cold War made the rise of translocal subcultures like punk possible. While punk never received explicit state-backing as jazz and later hip-hop did,punks built communal ties out of discontent with the perceived failures of the Sixties counterculture, the state in both the communist and capitalist world, and the culture industries.[265] In short, a key element in punk's evolution as a countercultural movement was in part due to the Cultural Cold War.

---

[263] Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

[264] Grace Elizabeth Hale, *A Nation of Outsiders: How the White Middle Class Fell in Love with Rebellion in Postwar America*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 2.

[265] Hisham D. Aidi, *Rebel Music: Race, Empire, and the New Muslim Youth Culture*, (New York: Vintage Books, 2014).

Punk emerged out of the globally conscious cultural mix of the late 1960s, as youth culture took on more uniform characteristics across national borders, thanks in part due to the relationship between the recording industry and the US government as part of the Cultural Cold War. The production of popular music came to look more similar around the world, creating a similar sense of aggravation toward the state and the globe-spanning culture industries. The ability of punks to become a translocal counterculture emerged out of the cultural-industrial complex, in other words. The development of punk in local communities around the world that made strong connections to other scenes demonstrated the further politicization of consumer spaces as well as general antagonism aimed at the recording industry. The genre eventually came to represent a social community based on modes of consumption rather than purely national, racial, ethnic, or religious identities.[266]

Punk became a consumerist translocal movement, meaning it was built around shared consumption habits, was enacted within a local community, and shared important defining characteristics reinforced through globally ciruclating media. The radical departure from previous youth subcultures came in the form of challenges to the major labels through a community networks based on shared cultural production and consumption. Punk as a musical genre, evolved from a conceptual framework set up by music critics in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Southern California garage rock, a few harder-edged bands from Detroit, and the remnants of glam in London, Los Angeles, and New York City provided the building blocks of what became independent but interconnected punk scenes in the 1970s. In much the same way Fred Turner connected the 60s counterculture with the modern libertarian-minded cyberculture

---

[266] Mark LeVine, *Heavy Metal Islam: Rock, Resistance, and the Struggle for the Soul of Islam*, (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2008) and for a connection between the constructedness of race and religion, see Aidi, *Rebel Music*.

centered on Silicon Valley, this chapter connects the dots between youth cultures in a more than superficial way.[267] Punk represented the politiciziation of popular culture *par excellence* because it not only directly addressed political issues of the day, it also incorporated new ways of creating and deploying popular culture aimed at challenging corporate hegemony of the production of music. Punks rejected both the state and the corporate production of music, which became increasingly intertwined over the course of the Cold War.

<div align="center">***</div>

The connection between punk and the Cultural Cold War seems, at first, nothing more than a curious tangent if not entirely unrelated. After all, punk bands were omitted from State Department programs designed to represent American culture to foreign audiences; nor did state-backed radio stations generally play punk abroad. During the turbulent 1960s, the recording industry experienced consolidation due to the expansion of rock music and the youth market. At the same time, it expanded its reach to a global marketplace. In order to do so, the industry developed a strong relations with the federal government, materially benefiting them in the global marketplace for popular music. The expansion of the capitalist mode of production for popular music tracked the trajectory of American corporate interests, riding on the back of American foreign policy. Punk represents a reaction to centralization in the recording industry, a byproduct of the Cultural Cold War itself. Punks, much like previous youth cultural movements, believed that the producers and consumers of music represented an important constituency of countercultural activity.

The early 1970s saw the rise of a general public distrust of the government domestically. The public in the United States began to express concerns about the connections between the

---

[267]   Fred Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, The Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

United States government and private industry during the Cold War. Books examining the military-industrial complex began to appear during the early 1970s.[268] The revelation of connections between international youth organizations and the CIA in 1967 called into question the independence of youth activities tied to global politics.[269] By that time, the relationships built up over the course of the Cold War, connecting privately run organizations with the agenda of the state (especially clandestine agencies in the government such as the CIA) became public knowledge. Soon the American public began to ask serious questions about all such relationships built up during the Cold War. Some rock bands, as we saw in the previous chapter, took serious criticism from members of the counterculture for participating in a State Department program to persuade the world of America's good intentions. This precipitated a stronger anti-corporate view of the production of popular music that came to characterize punk and postpunk subcultures.

Rounds of corporate consolidation of the recording industry in the 1960s and early 1970s meant far less musical diversity on the radio and in record shops.[270] Larger labels tended to be far more risk-averse and more unwilling to gamble on new genres or bands with unfamiliar sounds. Some of this can be explained away as a function of the search of novelty. As the early boomers aged into adulthood and some moved away from radicalism, some younger consumers began to view rock music of their older siblings and parents as bloated, corporate and an inauthentic cultural expression.[271] But rock's association with corporations struck some as missing the point of how they defined rock—as a mode of rebellion more than a commodity. The embrace of

---

[268]   See for example Steven Rosen, *Testing the Theory of the Military-Industrial Complex*, (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1973) and Sidney Lens, *The Military-Industrial Complex*, (London: Kahn and Averill, 1970).

[269]   Sol Stern, "A Short Account of International Student Politics & the Cold War with Particular Reference to the NSA, CIA, etc," *Ramparts*, (March 1967), 29-40.

[270]   On consolidation of the recording industry see books such as Steve Chapple and Reebee Garofalo, *Rock'N'Roll is Here To Pay*, (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1977).

[271]   See for example "Feederz," *Maximum RocknRoll*, no. 4, (January-February 1983), 17, where it notes the band formed a decade after the 1968 student and labor uprisings in Paris.

mainstream music in the service of state power also tainted the mainstream recording industry for punks, giving them a point of differentiation from the hippies in the 1960s. Although a number of political views existed among punks—apolitical, right wing, left wing, anarchist—one overriding theme does jump out, a strong anti-establishment undercurrent. This conceptual undercurrent both ties punk to the previous generation of culture rebellion and marks them as unique, as the anti-establishment focus was brought to bear on corporate culture as well as on government policies.

But there are two ways in which we can understand punk as connected to the politics (domestic and global) of the Cold War; first, through the connections between punk and previous youth subcultures of the 1960s, and second, through the cultural politics of punk in relation to the larger recording industry. The building of a punk, translocal counterpublic—which Michael Warner has defined as a location of shared values, discourses, and information within a community that rejects societies' dominant values to at least some degree—represents an extension of anti-state sentiment often found among many members of the counterculture during the 1960s.[272] The way today's recording industry looks—with more boutique cultural production, more consideration and connection to fans, with less centralization—goes directly back to the punk rebellion of the 1970s.[273] The actions taken by the American government as part and parcel of the Cold War became subject to sharp scrutiny by many Americans lost their trust in the government to act in good faith on their behalf.[274]

---

[272] Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, (Brooklyn: Zone Books, 2010).

[273] For a parochial example in India of the fragmentation of the industry, see Peter Manuel, *Cassette Culture: Popular Music and Technology in North India*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). For the role of piracy, especially those who sought to share culture in an early peer-to-peer network and the effect on copyright laws, see Cummings, *Democracy of Sound*. For punk labels, see Alan O'Connor, *Punk Record Labels and the Struggle for Autonomy: The Emergence of DIY*, (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008).

[274] Jefferson Cowie, *Stayin' Alive: The 1970s and the Last Days of the Working Class*, (New York: The New Press, 2010).

As argued in previous chapters, corporations acted along with the state in their own interests and benefited directly from the Cold War. The recording industry, like other industries, sought out government largess through the Cultural Cold War to ensure access to and shape foreign markets. At home, the industry acted with more impunity through consolidation, proving less nimble in responding to changing popular tastes among their core demographic at the same time that the major labels become more associated with the actions of the United States government. Punk represents one grass roots reaction to these developments. The Cultural Cold War helped drive further politicization of popular music with regards to how music was produced. Punk and postpunk genres represents a politicization of popular culture *par excellence*.

The punk subculture retained elements of previous youth cultures from the twentieth century on, but embodied unique characteristics as well. Both Dick Hebdige and Greil Marcus revealed in their works on how punk functioned as a cultural pastiche, drawing on older elements of past youth cultures, in regards to music, conceptualization, and fashion choices.[275] Two aspects remain central to understanding punk as a distinct historical phenomenon. First, covered in this chapter, is the focus on ensuring a strong sense of authenticity. Just what constituted a "punk" rested on a shared set of behaviors that could be understood by cultural insiders. The sense of authenticity punks relied on rested in the connections they built up and on a general sense of rejection from the mainstream music industry and the Cold War political regime under Carter and Reagan. The next chapter explores how punk exists as a translocal, ground-up, youth-oriented subculture, connecting to more localized policies aimed at youth culture and its relationship to the Cold War world order. Although distinctions between scenes exist, one can

---

[275] Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, (London: Routledge, 1979) and Greil Marcus, *Lipstick Traces: A Secret History of the Twentieth Century*, (Boston: Belknap Press, 2009). See also Jon Savage, *Teenage: The Prehistory of Youth Culture, 1875-1945*, (New York: Penguin Group, 2007).

find real-world connections through scene-oriented media and shared music and modes of dress. The ability of a punk to recognize a fellow traveler—even halfway around the world—helped create a sense of solidarity among punks globally.

Punks were linked to the various youth-oriented subcultures of the past, materially and rhetorically. Local scenes built their communities from concepts and structures that existed before them, building on the legacy of cultural rebellion of the 1960s. The end of detenté and increasing tensions with the Soviets under Reagan in what Michael Cox labeled a "second" Cold War played a role in energizing punks into more political rhetoric.[276] Punks also expressed a general sense of ennui regarding the role of corporations in music production. Many punks saw hippies as a moribund culture that failed to adequately address the root causes of social dislocation in modern society. But punks built culturally and politically off those who came before, too. Punk embraced a variety of musical influences and youth culture from the 1960s, such as reggae and ska, working-class skinhead culture in Great Britain.[277] They at times also embraced some modes of political organizing popular in the 1960s during the anti-war movement.[278] The connections between the two eras were made via institutions and individuals, as well as political ideas about the state. The big break with the past regarded punk's ideological views of the role corporations played in producing popular music.

Rock critics bridge one of the most central connections between the 1960s and punk in the 1970s. Those who helped define punk early on cut their subcultural teeth in the 1960s. The men and few women who wrote about rock music as a cultural phenomenon were always on the

---

[276] Michael Cox, *Beyond the Cold War: Super Powers at the Crossroads?*, (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990), xviii.
[277] Dick Hebdige, *Resistance Through Rituals*, 113-128.
[278] Gregory Katsiaficas, *The Subversion of Politics: European Autonomous Social Movements and the Decolonization of Everyday life*, (Oakland: AK Press, 2006), 88-97.

lookout for the next new thing. Few rock critics represent a stronger connection between the 1960s and the punk era than Greg Shaw and Lester Bangs. Both sought out cultural alternatives from the margins of the recording industry. They actively shaped the subculture from its earliest days and in many ways proved key to the development of punk as a musical genre. Their intent was not necessarily the creation of a scene seeking full-scale independence from the mainstream, major-label system. Shaw and Bangs were early advocates for punk as a genre, but ensconced within the industry. They did not articulate a position that the industry itself was necessarily the problem, an idea which later punks embraced. But punks themselves took seriously the anti-establishment language deployed by rock critics like Shaw and Bangs.

Shaw began his career as a critic from San Francisco at the height of the youth rebellion there. In 1966, Shaw began publishing *Mojo Navigator*—a San Francisco zine which only lasted about a year.[279] In 1970, he began to publish the music fanzine, *Who Put the Bomp!* later just *Bomp!*. Zines became an all important counterpublic that helped later punks to craft translocal punk scenes. He drew directly from his experiences in sci-fi fandom to shape his zine, a community long known for their use of fan-based media. Shaw saw music fandom in similar terms. He expected that the industry to engage with fans and cater directly to their tastes.[280] By the Summer 1974 issue of *Who Put the Bomp!*, Shaw called the band the Standells "one of the first punk groups, along with the Kingsmen and Raiders." The producer of the album, Ed Cobb, became a "punk pioneer."[281] Unsurprisingly, the bands Shaw grandfathered into punk were often from Southern California.

---

[279] *Mojo Navigator* can be read at "Rockmine Archives," *Rockmine*, http://www.rockmine.com/Archive/Library/Mojo.html (accessed July 13, 2010).

[280] Lisa Fancher, founder of the punk/post-punk label based in Los Angeles, Frontier Records, says of Shaw: "...he was just as interested in science fiction [as he was music], and had somehow accumulated thousands of pulp magazines dating back to the 1920s." Mick Farren, "Introduction," *Bomp!: Saving World One Record at a Time*, ed by Mick Farren and Suzy Shaw, (Los Angeles: American Modern Books, 2007), 17.

[281] Greg Shaw, "Love that Dirty Water: The Standells", *Who Put the Bomp!* No. 12, 1974, 6, reprinted in Farren and

Lester Bangs helped create the attitudinal stance of punk rock with his writings, which he also created the tone of discourse across music criticism today. He freelanced for some national music magazines, most notably *Rolling Stone*, while living in Southern California. He eventually moved to Detroit to write for *Creem*. Reading over his body of work, it is easy to see how Bangs' passion for life, music, and his fusion of the two in the written word would inspire others to both write about music. His stylistic fingers can easily be seen in some of the LA punk zines.[282] We can also see how many of the "proto-punk" bands gained that reputation among later punks through Bangs' work. As early as 1969, he had begun to throw the word "punk" around. In his unfavorable review of the band MC5 he described the band as "punks," though not in reference to their music; punk here retained its original criminal connotation.[283] He began to use the term differently two years later. In *Who Put the Bomp!* in 1971 he reviewed the British band the Troggs in an article tellingly titled "James Taylor Marked for Death." The band made their mark with "Wild Thing," a song written and produced by Chip Taylor. Rather than just a review of one album or single, Bangs pontificated on the band's entire discography. Over the course of the article, he incorporated punk several times as a descriptor for the band's music and attitude. For example, he discussed the single, "Gonna Make You". He said of the b-side "I Can't Control Myself," "[i]t opens with a great Iggyish 'Ohh, NO!' employs a buckling foundation of boulderlike drums as usual, and takes the Trogg-punk's intents and declarations into a more revealing level."[284] Bangs created a template for bands that would be grandfathered into the

---

Shaw, *Bomp!*, 136.

[282] Compare, for example, Claude Bessy's initial editorial in the first *Slash* Magazine to Bangs' style, reprinted in Mullen and Spitz, *We Got the Neutron Bomb,* 81-2.

[283] Lester Bangs, "MC5: Kick out The Jams," *Rolling Stone*, April 5, 1969, np, available at http://www.rollingstone.com/artists/mc5/albums/album/105316/review/5941601/kick_out_the_jams (accessed March 24, 2010).

[284] Lester Bangs, "James Taylor Marked for Death (What We Need is a lot less Jesus and a Whole Lot more Troggs!)", *Who Put the Bomp!,* no 2 Fall/Winter 1971, 62 -63, reprinted in Farren and Shaw, *Bomp!,* 112-113.

newly dubbed genre. Punk music as defined here was typified by a stripped down style of music and often focused on "teenaged" themes.

Other critics soon caught onto the new development in popular music, connecting their experiences in the 1960s to punk in the 1970s. Greil Marcus represents one such individual rooted in the Sixties generation, who theorized punk rock and its cultural influence in the late 1970s. His classic work *Lipstick Traces* did much more than connect punk to the 1960s. He highlights a much longer history of avant-garde radicalism in Europe and how that guided punks conceptually.[285] Writer Ellen Willis, best known for her pro-sex feminist stance, began her career as a rock critic. From 1968 until the mid-1970s, Willis wrote on rock music for the *New Yorker*, but also contributed to music and culture magazines such as *Rolling Stone* and *Village Voice*. Willis could be said to have anticipated the political activism of the Riot Grrl scene that emerged from the Pacific Northwest in the early 1990s.[286] Some critics engaged with the genre as it developed locally, such as *New York Times* critic, John Rockwell. In one review on the New York Dolls he noted that "Music is the least concern of the New York Dolls. This is a punk-glitter, latter-day Rolling Stones band that grinds out basic hard rock-blues of an unvarying sameness of volume (loud) and mood (theatrically aggressive)."287

In the next few years, punk became a common term used by music critics and the public in general. By 1977, more mainstream national rock magazines like *Rolling Stone* "discovered" punk. The October 20th, 1977 cover of the magazine had a picture of Johnny Rotten of the British band the Sex Pistols.288 Even former Nixon staff writer William Safire weighed in on

---

[285] Greil Marcus, *Lipstick Traces: A Secret History of the Twentieth Century*, (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2009).

[286] See her rock criticsm at Ellen Willis, *Out of the Vinyl Deeps: Ellen Willis on Rock Music*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), and her general writings, Ellen Willis, *The Essential Ellen Willis*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).

[287] John Rockwell, "Rock Concert Given by Elliot Murphy," T*he New York Times*, February 19, 1974, 24.

[288] See *Rolling Stone*, #250, October 20, 1977.

the punk phenomenon in *The New York Times*.[289] By this time punk had passed into mainstream terminology, not as a youthful criminal offender, but as a musical genre. So punk was being used by those who were at least a marginal part of the music industry (music criticism) before young men and women in local scenes began to style themselves as punks. Articles like these in mainstream publications were the root of mass media's various engagements with punk as a concept beginning in the 1970s and created a web of signification that continues to reverberate today.

Other aspects of cultural production besides music criticism connected punk and an older generation of cultural rebels. Punk depended on several different kind of spaces, including clubs and radio. One of the most storied punk venues, CBGB's was opened by a man with a long history in the New York City music scene. Hilly Kristal was born in 1931 to a Jewish family who had left the city for a life working the land in upstate New York, kibbutz style. However, he shared his mother's love of music and urban bohemianism. He spent much of his early life learning to be a musician, eventually moving back to the city in order to pursue a singing career, while working on the other side of the industry, booking and managing clubs.[290] The changing landscape of the urban neighborhoods like the Bowery—as a new generation of artistic young people more skeptical of the language of flower power moved in, seeking refuge from suburban America—meant that Kristal arrived slightly too late to take advantage of what he apparently intended his new club to be, which was hinted in the club's name: CBGB OMFUG or Country, Blue Grass, and Blues and Other Music for Uplifting Gormandizers. By the early 1970s, the folk

---

[289] In this article on punk, Safire manages to connect punk to the Soviet Union, via Anthony Burgess, author of the novel *A Clockwork Orange*. See William Safire, "Punk's 'Horror Show': Punk is Sweeping the Country," *New York Times*, June 30, 1977, 19.

[290] Steven Lee Beeber, *The Heebie-Jeebies at CBGBs: A Secret History of Jewish Punk*, (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2006), 78-84.

revival had come and gone, and the hippies who had revived Americana were largely moving on or living back on the land. When Kristal allowed some younger bands to perform, provided that they play their own music rather than covers, the nature of the club changed. What began as a place for folk and Americana music morphed into a location for the burgeoning of punk as a genre in New York City.[291] Although influenced by postwar jazz and folk revival of the 1960s, Kristal's first priority lay in supporting new bands and giving them a place to play. He created a space for community and creativity, something fostered by his personal history and his time in New York City in the 1950s and 1960s. The New York punk scene would not have been possible without Kristal's largess for unknown bands, according to biographer of the Jewish members of the New York punk scene Steven Lee Beeber.[292]

Kristal was hardly the first or last individual to straddle generational divides. Across the country in Los Angeles, teens too young for the excitement of the Sunset Strip of the 1960s gathered at a club run by Rodney Bingenheimer. The first club he established in Hollywood was the E Club with his partner Tom Ayers. They played British glam rock, such as David Bowie, T. Rex, and Slade, all of whom had some hand in shaping early punk to some degree.[293] His second club was the English Disco. Bingenheimer, like Kristal, eventually began to book local bands such as glitter acts Zolar X and Berlin Brats. These bands influenced musicians in the later punk scene, such as Kid Congo Powers, who described himself as a "glitter kid." In the late 1970s, Powers became a member of both the Gun Club and the Cramps. It was at English Disco that Powers saw the band Zolar X perform. According to Powers the club was full of underage kids, some of whom, like himself became part of the first wave punk scene in the city.[294] In addition to

---

[291]   The full name of this early punk club can be found Beeber, *The Heebie-Jeebies at CBGBs*, 85.
[292]   Ibid, 86.
[293]   Mullen and Spitz, *We Got the Neutron Bomb*, 11.
[294]   Ibid., 14.

providing a space for a scene to grow, Bingenheimer had a radio program on the L.A. radio

station KROQ starting in 1976. Although he earned the gig on a promise to play glam and glitter

rock, he instead played local punk bands that he knew around town as well as punks from other

scenes.[295] Bingenheimer said, "Gary [Bookasta, the founder of the station] wanted me to play

glam rock, but as soon as I went on air, from the first show on, in August of '76, I went right into

punk."[296] Most of the bands that came out of the LA punk scene received their first exposure on

radio thanks to Bingenheimer, including X, the Germs, and the later hardcore bands such as

Black Flag. Bingenheimer had a long history in the music business by that point, with his

popular nickname being the "mayor of sunset strip."[297]

Another connection between well-established members of the music industry and the LA

punk scene was Kim Fowley, manager of the proto-punk band the Runaways. In the early 1970s,

Shaw teamed with record producer Fowley to put together the Runaways, an all-teenage-girl

rock band. This band proved to be pivotal in the formation of a local punk scene in Hollywood.

Shaw ran an ad in the Summer 1974 issue of *Bomp!* looking for "the female Beatles, Stones,

Who, Shangri-las of the 1970s!"[298] Fowley's roots in the industry went deep and wide over the

course of his career which began in the very late 1950s and continued until his death in 2015.[299]

The success of the Runaways under Fowley's management prompted some early punks into

action, such as Paul Beahm and George Ruthenberg—later known as Darby Crash and Pat Smear

---

[295] Ibid, 57 - 62.
[296] Ibid., 58.
[297] Wesley Morris, "Celebrities and Loneliness Fill World of 'Mayor'," *Boston Globe*, April 30, 2004, http://archive.boston.com/ae/movies/articles/2004/04/30/celebrities_and_loneliness_fill_world_of_mayor/, (accessed September 1, 2016).
[298] "Wanted: Four Girls," *Who Put the Bomp!*, no. 12, Summer 1974, p. 16 reprinted in *Bomp!*, 178.
[299] Randy Lewis, " Kim Fowley, the eccentric LA Producer-Manager Who Created the Runaways, is Dead at 75," *Los Angeles Times*, January 15, 2015, http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/music/posts/la-et-ms-kim-fowley-dies-obituary-20150115-story.html, (accessed September 1, 2016).

of the Germs. The pair showed up at the band's studio once and declared that they wanted to form a band just like the Runaways.[300]

London had similar connections to individuals interested in connecting with youth and creating new trends in the recording industry. Malcolm McLaren, often pigeonholed as only a Svengali of the early London punk scene, acted in much the same manner as Bingenheimer and Fowley in Los Angeles. He cultivated connections to the early New York punk scene as it was playing out with a short stint managing the New York Dolls prior to his shepherding the legendary Sex Pistols into the public consciousness.[301] Back in London, he ran a clothing shop with designer Vivienne Westwood and later managed other postpunk acts such as Adam Ant and Bow Wow Wow.[302] His roots were in art and design, earning an art degree from Saint Martin's college in the late 1960s. In embracing punk, McLaren hoped to embody the ethos of the Situationists, radical artists and activists from the 1960s.[303]

Men like McLaren, Fowley, Bingenheimer, and Kristal all connect some of the key early punk scenes as early adopters and developers of the genre. All helped to create spaces for creativity or championed newer bands who otherwise might not have gotten any support. They all cut their teeth in the 1960s and understood the value of catering to a youthful demographic. Many individuals who understood youth culture through the prism of the Sixties contributed to the initial development of punk as a musical genre and subcultural scene.

Bands also connected the Sixties counterculture with the later punk scenes. Some of these bands, like the aforementioned Runaways, are often considered "proto-punk" bands now. The

---

[300] Mullen and Spitz, *We Got the Neutron Bomb*, 55.
[301] Craig Bromberg, *The Wicked Ways of Malcom McLaren*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 63-67.
[302] Bromberg, *The Wicked Ways of Malcolm McLaren*, 55-57, on Adam Ant, 211-213 and Bow Wow Wow, 246-53.
[303] Dave Simpson, "Malcolm McLaren Obituary," *The Guardian*, April 9, 2010, https://www.theguardian.com/music/2010/apr/09/malcolm-mclaren-obituary, (accessed September 1, 2016), Bromberg, *The Wicked Ways of Malcolm McLaren*, 32-34.

MC5 and Iggy and the Stooges out of Detroit, Michigan influenced many later bands. Iggy Pop,

often described as the "godfather of punk," anticipated the punk propensity for stage diving and

self-violence on stage. The MC5's aggressive music also helped create the punk sound and as

mentioned above, found the rhetorical support of Lester Bangs. The band's Fred Smith married

another early punk influence, Patti Smith, in the 1970s. Lou Reed and his band the Velvet

Underground were a staple of Andy Warhol's Exploding Plastic Inevitable multimedia shows in

the late 1960s. Their early work especially influenced many of the core postpunk bands, such as

Joy Division and Sonic Youth. Even artists from the same time frame as punk itself, such as

David Bowie, shaped the sound and image of punk in the late 1970s and 1980s, despite being a

mainstream artist on a major label. Many punks acknowledge them as inspirations. Other kinds

of artists also caught the attention of punks, such as the writings of William Burroughs. Despite

his association with the Beats, who were a precursor to the hippie movement, Burroughs'

influence can be more easily seen in punk and industrial. British author J.G. Ballard likewise

influenced some musicians via his writings.[304]

     Strong cultural connections between punk and older youth subcultures appear in Britain

as well. Subcultures such as the teds and the mods emerged in the 1960s. The mods came to be

associated with the "Swingin' Sixties," anticipating the white working-class adoption of some

key elements of the Jamaican communities moving to the colonial metropole in the postwar

---

[304]   Legs McNeil's and Gillian McCain's oral history of New York punk begins with the Velvet Underground, "Prologue: All Tomorrow's Parties, 1965-1968," 3-24 and covers the proto-punk scene out of Detroit, focusing on Iggy and the Stooges in "Chapter 2: The World's Forgotten Boys," 33-41 and the MC5 in "Chapter 3: The Music We've Been Waiting to Hear," 42-50. Patti Smith is also an interview subject, illustrating how McNeil and McCain understand these musicians role in shaping later bands. Burroughs also makes an appearance in Please Kill Me, but his prescence can be felt in song names, such as Joy Division's Interzone, named for one of his stories. The postpunk band also had songs named after Ballard books or stories, such as "Atrocity Exhibition." Burroughs even made an appearance in a video for Ministry in the early 1990s, in their song about heroin addition, "Just one Fix." Many consider Burroughs and Bryon Gison's cut-up technique to be the logical forerunner to sampling, popular in both hip hop and industrial genres.

period.[305] Drawing on ideas formulated in earlier subcultures of the mid-1960s, especially the mods, skinheads appeared next, a phenomenon described by John Clarke as an attempt to reform their disintegrating working-class communities.[306] The punk scene in Britain proved to be made up of a mish-mash of individuals from different social classes, but a working-class pose certainly won the day, especially as the scene became associated with bands like the Sex Pistols and the Clash.[307] Although important differences existed between skinheads and punks, their attempts to form or reform community through acts of cultural rebellion and modes of consumption unite them. Over time, the process of consuming authentically produced music, for and by a self-selecting community, helped to define subcultures like punk and the skinheads. Punks did more than reinscribe meaning to mass culture—they actively rewrote how mass culture could be produced.

Punks both pulled from and rebelled against their cultural elders from the 1960s. Their relationship to politics tracked a course similar the previous generation, at least for a vocal subset of punks. Punks embraced anti-establishment political views, making statements through their music aimed at both local agents of the state as well as the policies of the national government. The 1970s saw a firmer reaction to Cold War programs that Americans more generally began to question. Punks represented a particular form of rebellion that swept the era more generally, played out within the realm of consumer society—how they consumed marked how they felt about the world around them. The liberal consensus historians saw the postwar period losing its legitimacy and youth culture reacted to this new state of affairs.[308] In this process, we can chart a

---

[305] Dick Hebdige, "The Meaning of Mod," *Resistance Through Ritual: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*, (London: Routledge, 1993), 73.

[306] John Clarke, "The Skinheads and the Magical Recovery of Community," *Resistance Through Ritual*, 80.

[307] See for example Marcus Gray, *The Clash: Return of the Last Gang in Town*, (Milwaukee, WI: Hal Leonard, 1995) and John Lydon, *Rotten: No Irish, No Blacks, No Dogs*, (New York: Picador, 1994).

[308] See works like Alan Brinkley, *Liberalism and Its Discontents*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998) and Cowie, *Stayin' Alive*.

renewed sense of politicization of popular music: one aspect a continuation of the previous generations' political engagements through popular culture, and another aspect distinct from the past, centered on the perceived need to more tightly control cultural production. Note that these early punk scenes did not initially set out to found labels and carve out alternative distribution networks, even as they depended on local, independent actions to create the structures that supported them. But these pioneering punk bands set the tone and drew on countercultural modes of operating found in the recent past to construct their communities. From there, do-it-yourself became a key feature distinguishing punks from hippies.

The shift to more politically aware popular music was not historically novel, but became more widespread during the later part of the Cold War. The end of the liberal consensus in the political realm in the United States made the left seem far less appealing as an organizing political force, especially as it related to working with the Democratic Party. Long time liberal activists began to falter in the early 1970s, often through no fault of their own, but because of changes to public opinion more generally.[309] More radical elements of the left had long been under attack by the mainstream political establishment. The 1950s saw a wave of political purges aimed at the left in a variety of places. The more radical wing of the Civil Rights movement came under attack, for example.[310] The culture industries (at one time a haven for some in the political left) were likewise targeted by Congress and anti-communist right wing organizations.[311] Well known political activists within Hollywood and the music industry were targeted, especially in film and music industries. The fate of many pre-war folk musicians who

---

[309] Brinkley, *Liberalism and Its Discontents*, 246.
[310] Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1919-1950*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2009).
[311] Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century*, (London: Verso, 1996).

claimed radical leanings comes to mind, such as members of the Weavers, like Pete Seeger.[312]

The political struggles set off by McCarthy's infamous list of communists helped set the stage for

later politicization of popular culture. But it also fixed the idea in the public imagination that art

and culture could be a viable field of political contestation. Such narrowing of the field of

political action had consequences for people seeking to rebel against the political establishment.

The realm of consumerism expanded as a location of social activities, including as a place one

could express oneself. For young Americans, music came to serve an important social function in

their lives, eventually including spurring political activities.

By the 1960s, what we could consider "the left" began to bounce back and engage with

political systems. The New Left seemed to address the same core set of issues as previous

generations of leftists; however, the make-up of the participants differed with younger, middle-

class, college-educated whites making the majority of the movement. This demographic grew up

with rock music and assumed it was their own. Cultural production and consumption took center

stage in new ways during the 1960s, becoming a location of political discussion. At the same

time, labor unions, one of the core sites of political action for many Americans, were quickly

eroding in political standing. The GOP began to court the working classes during the 1970s and

focused on an unspoken appeal to whiteness and shared cultural values, not economic issues.[313]

These changes represented a new location of political struggles. The enthusiastic leftist activities

that marked the 1930s—which had a vocal minority of committed communists—gave way to a

much more ambiguous set of actors in the wake of the communist purges of the McCarthy era.

---

[312] For a selection of works on the Hollywood Red Scare and the HUAC hearings during the McCarthy era, see works like Victor S. Navasky, *Naming Names*, (New York: Hill & Wang, 1991), Patrick McGilligan, *Tender Comrades: A Backstory of the Hollywood Blacklist*, (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1997), Karen Chilton, *Hazel Scott: The Pioneering Journey of a Jazz Pianist from Cafe Society to Hollywood to HUAC*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2008), among many others.
[313] Cowie, *Stayin' Alive*.

As Lizabeth Cohen contended in her work on the role of consumerism in American culture since the end of the Second World War, consumerism and consumption became an important field of struggle for political causes.[314]

Punks themselves connected the dots between their music and the realities of the 1970s and 1980s. All sorts of political concepts and ideas were debated and worked out in the conversations going on in the music and in the pages of zines. The relationship between the punks and the changing political landscape was one popular theme. Reagan haunted the punk left. They recognized that the end of détente functioned as an organizing principle of American foreign policy and responded accordingly, the specter of war hovering just at the edges of their discussions. Certainly, many punks would remember Vietnam. The period of détente in the late 1960s and early 1970s meant that many Americans became more focused on internal conflicts. But the realities of the Cold War reasserted themselves with the election of Reagan and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Punks never agreed on a common political vision regarding the world, and in fact debates about politics pepper the pages of punk zines. However, engagement in political discussions through various kinds of media they read epitomized just how much punks were keyed into the world around them.

Punk expressed political ideas in a plethora of ways. They communicated their discontent through song lyrics, band names, song titles, mode of dress, and even the sound of the music. Scene politics in relation to local governments and other agents of the state became a central aspect of punk. Punks discussed localized concerns in their music, such as the ability to perform live. The Bad Brains song "Banned in DC" railed against punk bands getting barred from playing live venues around Washington DC and Prince George's County in 1978 and 1979. The

---

[314]   Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic*.

Washington Post noted in two articles from 1979 and 1980 how College Park and the University of Maryland campus refused to allow punk bands, and the impact that had on Bad Brains particularly.[315] Following what came to be known in the Los Angeles punk scene as the "Elk's Lodge St. Patrick's Day police riot" or "St. Patrick's Day Massacre," tensions rose between officials, business owners, and the growing punk scene (covered in greater detail in the next chapter).[316] In that city punk zine writers regularly complained about tensions between punks and the local community. Police actions became a definable part of local punk culture. Punks talked about the police in zines and in songs. In the October 1980 issue of *Flipside*, in a regular column which reprinted song lyrics, the Gears song "Elk's Lodge Blues" appeared. The lyrics declared "Battle Stations it's Saturday night/ something cookin' downtown tonight" and warns fans to "wear a helmet if your [sic] planning to/ go out in the street."[317] Black Flag wrote about the ongoing struggles between the police and Los Angeles punk scene in songs such as "Police Story."[318]

Some bands focused more on the Cold War and the expansion of American empire. San Francisco's Dead Kennedys wrote a variety of songs aimed at political concerns, such as "Holiday in Cambodia," a criticism of armchair activism in the face of genocide in Cambodia.[319]

---

[315] HR, Dr. Know, Darryl Jenifer, and Earl Hudson, "Banned in DC," Bad Brains, *Bad Brains*, © 1982 by RIOR, A106 cassette. Carlin Romano, "'Punk' Hits a Sour Note; P.G. Officials Ban Groups that Play 'In a Frenzied Hard-Rock Manner'; 'Punk Rock is Banished from U. of Md. Campus," Washington Post, August 23, 1979, Metro sec., C1 and Blaine Harden, "Midnight Patrol With Washington's 'Punk/New Wave'; The Good, The Bad, & The Ugly; Washington's Punk/New Wave Scene," *Washington Post Magazine*, March 30, 1980, 10.

[316] Brendan Mullen called it the "St. Patrick's day Massacre", while several others call it a "riot" started by the police, see Mullen and Spitz, *We Got the Neutron Bomb*, 188 - 189. Craig Lee and Shreader also called it the "St. Patrick's day Massacre, see Lee and Shreader, "Los Angeles," *Hardcore California*, 34. For details of the events, see Kenneth Freed, "8 Arrested at Rock Concert," *The Los Angeles Times*, Part I, March 19, 1979 3 and 18 and Robert Hilburn, "Police and Fans Disagree on Raid at Rock Show: Concertgoers Outraged but L.A.P.D. Defends Tactics," *The Los Angeles Times*, Part IV, March 20, 1979, 1 and 10.

[317] "Words of Wisdom: Elks Lodge Blues Gears," *Flipside*, no 20, October 1980, np.

[318] Greg Ginn, Chuck Dukowski, Robo, Dez Cadena, and Henry Rollins, "Damaged," Black Flag, © 1981 by Unicorn Records and SST 9502 LP.

[319] Jello Biafra and John Greenway, "Holiday in Cambodia," Dead Kennedys, by Optional Music OPT4, 1981 LP.

The lead singer, Jello Biafra even ran for the mayor of San Francisco in 1979.[320] Satire was yet another mode of political engagement found in punk and postpunk songs. LA's Black Randy wrote a catchy tune combining punk and funk about his love for Ugandan dictator Idi Amin, where he fannishly dreamed of meeting up with the man himself at CBGB's in New York.[321]

Not all the politics found in punk songs were leftwing or progressive or could be mistaken as such. In reality, a number of political view points were expressed through songs. During a later wave of skinhead culture in Britain, the band Skrewdriver, fronted by Ian Stuart began as just a general skinhead, oi band. In 1982, he took on a far more right-wing, racial tone.[322] Their 1984 release on a German label contained songs such as "Race and Nation."[323] The band became a voice and a recruiting tool of the racist right wing in Britain. Skrewdriver represented an example of the process of politicization of message and lyrics of various forms of youth subcultural music from a right wing perspective. However, Stuart like many other young people certainly embraced punk's predominant view of an independent, bottom-up mode of cultural production and aggressive style as opening up new doors through which to express themselves politically. The shifting categorization that Stuart attempted to exploit over the years demonstrated the porousness of these subcultural categories during this time period.

Punks also made their objections to the Cold War order known through the name of their bands. President Reagan's bellicose foreign policy and domestic conservatism represented a popular target. New York band Reagan Youth formed in 1980, a term meant to compare Reagan

---

[320] Emma Silvers, "35 Years Ago Today, Jello Biafra Came in Fourth in the S.F. Mayoral Race," *SFWeekly*, November 4, 2014, http://archives.sfweekly.com/shookdown/2014/11/04/35-years-ago-today-jello-biafra-came-in-fourth-in-the-sf-mayoral-race, (accessed March 7, 2017).

[321] Black Randy, Metro Squad, *Idi Amin*, Black Randy and the Metro Squad, Danger House, IDI722, 1978, 7" vinyl.

[322] Robert Forbes and Eddie Stampton, *The White Nationalist Skinhead Movement US & USA 1979-1993*, (Port Townsend: Feral House, 2015), 40.

[323] Ian Stuart, Matt Morgan, "Race and Nation," Skrewdriver, *Hail the New Dawn*, Rock-O-Rama Records RRR.46, LP.

supporters to the Nazis.[324] War in general and the recently concluded Vietnam conflict cast an especially long shadow over the punk scene for many. In *We Got Power*, the editors interviewed a southern California band named Saigon, a reference to Vietnam.[325] Tim Yohannon, editor of *Maximum Rock'n'Roll*, hence forth *MRR* wondered in 1983 if Reagan would lead the United States into another Vietnam. He asserted that the President might resort to similar tactics as President Johnson when he won wide latitude to expand the war after the Gulf of Tonkin incident. The draft was very much on Yohannon's mind in his opinion piece, as he was of draft age. He also explored the role of political statements in punk rock and argued that punks need not be political. However, he noted that those who rejected political punk songs tended to identify as political conservative and opposed to progressive statements in punk music more than conservative ones.[326] In one perceptive letter to *MRR*, a reader draws the connections from the war in Vietnam to the rise of punk rock, which described the broken nature of American culture and society. Approvingly quoting lyrics from the San Francisco band the Dead Kennedys, Ace Backwards cites how Vietnam brought the "sickness of America" into the public eye more readily.[327] Other Cold War conflicts made it into the pages of the influential punk zine. A British reader asked his American counterparts to brush up on their British imperial history in order to better understand the context of the 1982 invasion of the Falklands. The editor asked readers if they knew other wars happening around the world.[328] Zines functioned as a place of discussion among punks in order to better work out a shared identity and this included politics.

---

[324] "History–Reagan Youth," *Reagan Youth*, http://www.reagan-youth.com/history/, (accessed September 7, 2016).
[325] "Saigon," *We Got Power*, no. 3, (May 1982), 11.
[326] Tim Yohannon, "Opinion: Politics Suck," *Maximum RocknRoll*, no. 8, (September 1983), 5.
[327] Ace Backwards, "Letters," *Maximum RocknRoll*, no. 4, (January-February 1983), 4.
[328] "Letters: Casey Beer of the Afflicted," *Maximum RocknRoll*, no. 1, (1982), 5.

One particular tour report highlights how some punks negotiated their position in the pop music world and how critical political thought had become to many involved in punk. The California band MDC, or Millions of Dead Cops, hit the road with the Youth International Party or the Yippies, a tour they dubbed Rock Against Reagan. During the course of the tour, they sought to address issues like the coded racism Reagan's rhetoric as well as the overly violent foreign policy the band believed the president represented.[329] Dave MDC of MDC discussed how British punks he talked to while on tour in the UK worried over the Cold War. He notes the different kinds of punks they encountered, included those aligned with the National Front, a British right wing political party that often spouted anti-immigrant language in their discourse.[330] His reflections on the central role of Germany in the Cold War highlighted how many punks opposed the political order. Some even supported groups like the Red Army Faction, a left-wing political group that engaged in acts of terrorism during the 1970s and 1980s.[331] Even here, nazi skinheads (albeit British skins) made an appearance at one of the shows. Localized politics also make an appearance, as MDC described a street battle between the police and punks that he got caught up in after a Berlin show, which mirrors the relationship that punks in other scenes had with local law enforcement. Berlin's scene, he argued, experienced a greater sense of punk communion, specifically because of the critical role that the city played in the Cold War.[332] Other punks concurred. In an interview with the zine *We Got Power*, John of the band Circle One claimed their goal in making music was to "open their eyes to all the shit that's going on" in

---

[329] "Rock Against Reagan," *Maximum RocknRoll*, no. 6, (May-June 1983), 17.

[330] Dave MDC, "MDC Tour of Europe," *Maximum RocknRoll*, no. 5, (April 1983), 48.

[331] See Ulrike Meinhof, *Everybody Talks About the Weather… We Don't: The Writings of Ulrike Meinhof*, (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2008), Tom Vague, *Televisionaries: The Red Army Faction Story, 1963-1993*, (Edinburgh: AK Press, 1988), and Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

[332] Forbes and Stampton, *The White Nationalist Skinhead Movement*.

the world, "especially that shit in the middle east."[333] Many punks insisted that the Cold War helped define their scene, while also creating a shared sense of community across national boundaries.

But so what? Much the same could be said of the sixties counterculture, many members of which were indeed politicized by the draft and the war in Vietnam. Although not all hippies were political, enough were to make political activism an identifiable aspect of their culture even if not a universal characteristic. Where does punk diverge and stand out? Other than the obvious passage of time and punk's less peaceful pose, the key difference between the hippies and the punks rests on their relationship to the commercial cultural industries, which had grown to epic proportions by the late 1970s. Punks, despite covering the breadth of the political spectrum, agreed on this key point about the production of music: that real punk music was only produced by punk labels. Real punks made music in a very particular way or risked exclusion from punk scenes.

Punk thought (if it existed) exhibited a general distrust of corporations, no matter the type of industry. The relationship between corporations and the state emerged as an important reason punks came to question the role of corporations in the production of music. The expansion of the power of American corporations abroad came to be understood as part and parcel of the Cold War itself, especially after Reagan won the presidency in 1980. Mark Berlin, feature writer for *MRR,* connected the dots to various Cold War military actions and the needs of corporations. "Imperial rapacity" drove these military actions, not the expansion of true human freedom. The author refuses to fight for "ITT, Standard Oil, and Bechtel" precisely because their motives diverge from human rights. Berlin quoted Reagan quoting Calvin Coolidge, when he stated that

---

[333] "Circle One," *We Got Power*, no. 1, (1981), 5.

"the business of America is business." He goes on to connect various massacres, especially in the Third World, to the smooth operating of various American corporations around the world.[334] Punks mocked the connections between the state and corporations, such as when a Texas punk label named itself after the CIA.[335] Punk artwork tended to be full of anti-war, anti-state, and anti-corporate statements, often juxtaposing famous logos or politicians with symbols of death and destruction wrought in the course of the Cold War. Touch and Go's advertisements contained images of malnourished children and a tank.[336] The opening editorial of the first issue of *MRR* included a pastiche of images (including Hitler) some ballistic rockets covered in corporate logos, and President Ronald Reagan, hand over his heart.[337] These works connected Reagan's overly militaristic approach to the Cold War to corporate support he received.

Punks rejection of the Cold War order and corporate structures which propped it up epitomized how they prioritized thinking and talking about the mode of production for records. Punk record labels emerged in the late 1970s which contributed to a new round of fragmentation of the recording industry just as it was hitting a new high thanks to the mainstream (and global) popularity of disco.[338] Punks certainly did not invent independent record labels. The history of the recording industry rests on waves of fragmentation and centralization—independent labels dot that historical landscape and each wave shares certain characteristics including the rise of new genres of music and new players within the market for popular music.[339] Historically, each new wave of independent labels pulled from new technologies and genres of music. Various

---

[334] Mark Berlin, "I Don't Want to Fight…!" *Maximum RocknRoll*, no. 2, (1982), 36-39.
[335] "CIA Intervention… In Your Music Collection," *Maximum RocknRoll*, no. 2, (1982), 7.
[336] "Touch and Go," *Maximum RocknRoll*, no. 2, (1982), 1.
[337] "World War III," *Maximum RocknRoll*, no. 1 (1982), 2.
[338] Peter Shapiro, *Turn the Beat Around: The Secret History of Disco*, (New York: Faber & Faber, 2005).
[339] Russell Sanjek and David Sanjek, *American Popular Music Business in the 20th Century*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) and Robert Burnette, *The Global Jukebox: The International Music Industry*, (London: Routledge, 1996).

kinds of economic and social conflict surrounding both the industry and American society in general also helped drive change within the industry. Forward-thinking, youth-centric, entrepreneurs often drew on new technologies and styles of music in order to benefit from the youth market, an ongoing development over the course of the twentieth century.[340]

Often these waves within the recording industry are understood as being built by the "genius investors," often known as a "record man," who located himself at just the right time and place to tap into the pulse of a new generation.[341] This mythology of the record man (always a man and almost exclusively white) that accompanies the waves of fragmentation and consolidation glosses over the relative privilege of those able to tap into the networks necessary for running a label for most of the twentieth century—it is a new twist on the old "self-made man" American mythos. A recent drama on the cable giant HBO, *Vinyl*, set in the early 1970s played off the many and varied stereotypes of the innerworkings of the recording industry, further reinforcing the record man mythology for a new audience.[342] Success in the recording industry as the head of a label required access to not only capital, but connections as well, such as knowing who ran distribution networks (rack jobbers, in the industry parlance) to get your records into shops, access to promotional networks (such as radio and television), and an "in" with those who manufactured records, and later pre-made cassettes and compact discs—all in addition to having a good ear for music.[343] Punk labels differed in that the goal was not

---

[340] For the role of technology in changes to popular music, see Andre Millard, *Beatlemania: Technology, Business, and Teen Culture in Cold War America*, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2012), David Suisman, *Selling Sounds: The Commercial Revolution in American Music*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), Evan Eisenberg, The Recording Angel: Music, Records, and Cultural from Aristole to Zappa, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), and Richard Osborne, *Vinyl: The History of the Analogue Record*, (London: Ashgate, 2013).

[341] See for example Gareth Murphy, *Cowboys and Indies: The Epic History of the Record Industry*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2014).

[342] *Vinyl*, http://www.hbo.com/vinyl, (accessed April 8, 2017).

[343] For some of the structures of the recording industry, see Burnett, *The Global Jukebox*, Marc Elliot, *Rockonomics: The Money Behind the Music*, (New York: Franklin Watts, 1989), Andreas Gebesmair and Alfred

necessarily to make a massive profit off a beloved cultural form. Rather, punk labels prioritized artist independence and the ability to make a living off of one's work. They were aided by the emergence of college radio stations as well. But again, these freeform stations modeled themselves on the early FM stations that championed rock, like San Francisco's KMPX.[344] How punks and postpunks embraced college radio as a means of disseminating their music outside of the system dominated by the major labels was novel.

Punk adherence to the rhetoric of cultural authenticity—the creation of art for art's sake, as part of a community defining process rather than as a means of financially enriching oneself—emerged front and center as an organizing principle. But much like punk itself, authenticity was a moving target based on an individual's ideals and taste. Although initially not all that concerned with any sort of purity, later punk scenes focused some energy on delineating between real and corporate punk. Playing in a punk band was imagined as a way of life that demanded sacrifices in order to reinforce the community against mainstream infiltration. Trust exists not autonomously, outside of human relationships, but embedded within them. Philosopher Andrew J. Pierce argues that the most productive means of understanding authenticity, then, is through community, as "an intersubjective relation of trust," and he questions its application only to the (Enlightenment-defined) individual.[345] Instead, authenticity worked as a system of trust between members of a self-defining group of individuals, according to Pierce. He stated that, "One's individual identity is constructed in large part by reference to the groups to which he or she

---

Smudits, *Global Repetoires: Popular Music Within and Beyond the Transnational Music Industry* (Burlington, VA: Ashgate, 2001), Andre Millard, *America on Record: A History of Recorded Sound*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), and Timothy D. Taylor, *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets*, (New York: Routledge, 1997), among others.

[344] Michael J. Kramer, *The Republic of Rock: Music and Citizenship in the Sixties Counterculture*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) and Susan Douglas, *Listening In: Radio and the American Imagination*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

[345] Andrew J. Pierce, "Authentic Identities," *Social Theory and Practice*, 41, no. 3 (July 2015), 436.

belongs, and a group's identity is constructed by and through the contributions of its individual members."[346]

Punks were not the first youth subculture to think about the notion of authenticity and how to find it through consumerism. In the 1960s, some sought to abandon consumer culture altogether, with varying degrees of success. The commune revival of the Sixties was a transnational movement where members of the counterculture sought out a more authentic lifestyle. Spanish sociologists Ma. José Morillo and Juan Carlos de Pablos examined the problem of authenticity in a study on the back to the land movement of the 1960s in Spain. They described the movement of young people to the country side as a "search for authenticity," for a particular mode of existence outside of the modern consumer society.[347] They found contradictions in their investigations which they brought to light via Jean Baudrillard, a French theorist focused on consumer society and its relationship to signs in language and their meaning. They found the tension between those willing to entirely drop out and work the land and those still holding onto their urban connections through cultural consumption. They distinguished between what they considered utopians and pragmatists.[348] Despite the fact that they tried to leave consumerism behind, the building of a commune often rested on particular kinds of consumerism meant to signal authenticity.

Not all young people wished to abandon consumer culture. Instead, fields of consumption became hotly contested terrains of identity formation during the Cold War, developing with and in reaction to the codification of "teenager" as a social and marketing category.[349] Mass

---

[346] Pierce, "Authentic Identities," 442.
[347] Ma. José Morillo and Juan Carlos de Pablos, "Neo-rural 'Authenticity' Through the Lens of Baudrillard's System of Objects," *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 153 (ene-mar 2016), 96 – 97.
[348] Morillo and de Pablos, "Neo-rural 'Authenticity' Through the Lens of Baudrillard's System of Objects," 106.
[349] Jon Savage, *Teenage: The Prehistory of Youth Culture, 1875-1945*, (New York: Penguin, 2007).

produced literature, art, and music in the twentieth century acted as locations for working out identities among the young. Consumption was not enough, especially when the contradictions found in consumer culture appeared ever more apparent. In the 1960s, consumerism itself became a battleground. Activists such as Ralph Nader emerged to challenge corporations in the public arena.[350] How and what one consumed took on political connotations that conferred or denied authenticity, based on a shared sense of cultural values. As described by Pierce, we can see how culture functions relationally between people within a self-selecting group such as punk scenes. Cultural authenticity exists in the relationship between producer and consumer, as well as between consumers of culture. Producers of culture responded to that which came before them. Consumers also imbued culture with their own meanings in a dialectical relationship between the producer and consumer. In the case of punk music, the mode of production as much as the song structure, style, or lyrics, comes into play when deciding on genre. The industry might apply the term to a song or refuse to do so, but the group of people who define themselves as punk might also reject that label as an industry imposition as noted at the beginning of this dissertation. The Sex Pistols famously refused to attend their induction ceremony at the Rock'n'Roll Hall of Fame, in part due to the museum's role in sanctifying the triumphant narrative of the mainstream recording industry.[351]

The evasive concept of authenticity suffused punk discourses from the beginning. Punks hotly debated identity-defining ideas such as mode of dress, engagement with the rest of the world and ones scene, and level of political engagement. Discussions on the proper kind of

---

[350] Ralph Nader, *Unsafe at Any Speed: The Designed-in Dangers of the Automobile*, (New York: Grossman Publisher, 1965) stands as one enduring example of Nader's consumer activism.

[351] "Sex Pistols Snub the US Hall of Fame," *BBC News*, February 25, 2006, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/4750262.stm, (accessed July 19, 2016). A copy of the letter the band sent can be found at "The Rock and Roll Hall of Fame is a Piss Stain," *Letters of Note*, http://www.lettersofnote.com/2010/09/rock-and-roll-hall-of-fame-is-piss.html, (accessed July 19, 2016).

consumption animated their counterpublic spaces, with support of independent punk labels bubbling to the top as an important defining characteristic by the early 1980s. By then, punks juxtaposed themselves against what they deemed the mainstream, corporate music industry and focused on the local scene, without ignoring national or international punk bands. Punks collectively put themselves in opposition to the major record labels, the artists who produced their work within that system, and the state which supported these labels and artists. Such a position became the default in punk circles in the early 1980s.

Parsing just what was going on in the discourse around punk and new wave helps us to better understand the tensions that existed between the corporate culture industries and youths invested in the notion of rebellion via cultural consumption. Most think of new wave as having arrived on the scene as a safer, corporate friendly alternative to punk rock. In reality it evolved as a part of the first wave punk scenes only becoming the preferred term by major labels later on. In the 1970s, the terms punk and new wave appeared interchangeably in the pages of punk zines and competed as the term of choice. The San Francisco fanzine *Search and Destroy* used "new wave" more frequently at first and only later deployed "punk" more, but various terms were thrown around. The band Crime used rock and roll to describe their music, stating, "[sic] WE NEVER SAY WE ARE PUNKS. WE PLAY ROCK-N-ROLL AND NOISE AND NON-MUSIC, WHATEVER WE FEEL LIKE PLAYING."[352] Vermilion from the band Mary Monday said, "What's this Punk Rock shit?"[353] Clive Live of the band Deaf School did not disavow the use of the term punk, but he did make a distinction between "music business" punk bands and "grass roots" punk bands.[354] British zines also early applied punk and new wave interchangeably

---

[352] "Crime," *Search and Destroy: # 1 - 6*, p. 4. Capitalization in the original.
[353] "Vermilion Bitches," *Search and Destroy: # 1 - 6*, p. 6.
[354] "Clive Live: Deaf School Guitarist," *Search and Destroy: # 1 - 6*, p. 12.

in the late 1970s. The editors of *Censored* took up the terms in their inaugural issue in 1977.[355]

Much the same discussion animated the pages of Glasgow zine, *An Extra Boring Fanzine*, which

dubbed the Subhumans a new wave band in 1979.[356]

By 1978 and 1979, a real split emerged between self-defined punks on the use of punk

and new wave. In an issue of *Chainsaw*, the Clash's authenticity came into question, even as the

zine interviewed members of the band.[357] The hardcore bands, leaned toward punk as the

preferred term. They also expressed a strong skepticism of corporate produced music. The San

Francisco-based hardcore punk band Dead Kennedys wrote a song "Pull My Strings" which

incorporated the well known rift from the Knack Song "My Sharona," the number 1 hit on the

Billboard charts that year and considered representative of new wave.[358] Dead Kennedys

performed the song at the 1980 Bay Area Music Awards in San Francisco as a protest against

corporate co-option of punk in the form of new wave.[359] The lyrics included sarcastic lines such

as, "I wanna be a tool / Don't need no soul / Wanna make big money / playing rock and roll."[360]

In the inaugural issue of the long running punk zine *MRR*, letters from punks, mostly around the

Bay Area and from those already familiar with the radio show the editors ran, discussed the role

of music in the scene. They compared heavy metal unfavorably with punk music, accusing it of

being a corporate genre of music. The author claimed to "hate mass produced music" in

general.[361]

---

[355] "News & Views," *Censored*, no. 1, 1.
[356] "The Subhumans," *An Extra Boring Fanzine*, no. 3, 6.
[357] "The Clash! Hit Back," *Chainsaw*, no. 6, (June 1978), 3.
[358] See "1970s Billboard Number One Hits," *Pop Culture Madness*,
http://www.popculturemadness.com/Music/Number-One-Songs-70s.html, (accessed March 31, 2010).
[359] Dead Kennedys, "Pull My Strings", *Give me Convenience or Give me Death*, Manifesto Records, CD, 1987,
MFO 42904. DKS-13.
[360] "Pull My Strings lyrics," *Lyrics Time*, http://www.lyricstime.com/the-dead-kennedys-pull-my-strings-lyrics.html
(accessed March 31, 2010).
[361] "Letters: Jarod Poor," *Maximum RocknRoll*, no. 1 (1982), 4.

Their preference for punk as the designation of choice dominated the discourse of punk

zines by the early 1980s. No longer were the two terms used interchangeably. New wave now

carried with it overtones of corporate intervention into youth culture and not without cause. The

term punk became excluded from marketing by the recording industry. The inside cover of the

October of 1977 issue of *Rolling Stone* carried an advertisement for Sire Records' new acts,

including New York bands The Ramones, Dead Boys, and Talking Heads. It proudly proclaims,

"Don't Call it Punk..." It was in that same issue that the magazine began to engage punk rock as a

codified genre. The cover article was "Rock is Sick and Living in London: A Report on the Sex

Pistols."[362] John Holstrom, editor of the New York fanzine *Punk*, said of that advertising

campaign, the bands that had been signed by Sire Records, and their view of his magazine:

> Most of the NYC musicians resented us. They didn't like the idea of the scene being
> labeled with the 'P-word. Seymour Stein, president of Sire Records who had signed The
> Ramones, Talking Heads and Dead Boys, even ran a promotional campaign in 1977:
> "Don't Call It Punk." It appeared on all their letterhead and press releases.[363]

Another ad for tape manufacturer Maxell, republished in *MRR*, claimed their tapes would

produce a "new wave" rather than a "punk" sound.[364] New wave won the day in the recording

industry. Even bands that began their careers in various punk scenes soon came to be categorized

by the term new wave.

Bands that refused to moderate their style or continued to insist they were punks found no

industry support. Such labels became a means of authenticating what actually was punk music,

with recognizable logos acting as a punk seal of approval. LA labels like Dangerhouse and SST

or San Francisco's Alternative Tentacles were all founded by punk musicians—Black Randy,

---

[362] See the cover of *Rolling Stone*, No. 250, Oct. 20th 1977. For advertisement see 5.
[363] Guy Debored, "John Holstrom-Do You Feel Lucky, PUNK?" *Trakmarx.com: The Needle & The Damage Done*, issue 6, Sept. 2002, http://www.trakmarx.com/2002_04/07holstrome.htm (accessed March 26, 2010).
[364] "Letters: Mick Scahio," *Maximum RocknRoll*, no. 4, (January-February 1983), 6.

Greg Ginn, and Jello Biafra respectively. A strong focus on creative control primarily drove the

founding of these new labels and provided a model for later artists wishing to do the same.[365]

Independent labels were not unique to this period. They played a central role in the rise of rock

music initially.[366] The major difference between older waves of independent labels and those in

the late 1970s and early 1980s was that artists were far more active in setting up and running

these labels in order to retain greater creative control of their music. The rise of punk labels

marked an attempt to craft an authentic identity via cultural production. It also indicated a new

resistance to corporate control of popular music in general.

The major wave of independent record labels that emerged primarily from punk had

much less access to the mainstream industry and its structures compared to the founders of

Atlantic Records who consisted of two sons of a Turkish diplomat and a dentist with some cash

to invest in the late 1940s. But the rise of Atlantic Records was at a time with far less corporate

consolidation and control over distribution and production of popular music.[367] Labels that

emerged from the punk era were more often built directly around local scenes and by those

involved, rather than by outsiders with access to capital. The punk wave of independent labels

certainly benefited from newer, cheaper technologies such as cassette tapes to build a globalized

network of organizations to connect specific scenes together into a cohesive whole—but this tells

us nothing of the motives of those who tapped into those technologies.[368] Although not always

the case, many independent punk labels were run by musicians themselves, rather than just fans

---

[365] For an comprehensive study of punk labels, see Alan O'Connor, *Punk Record Labels and the Struggle for Autonomy: The Emergence of DIY*, (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008).

[366] Murphy, *Cowboys and Indies*.

[367] See Robert Greenfield, *The Last Sultan: The Life and Times of Ahmet Ertgen*, (New York: Simon & Schuester, 2012), chapters 3 and 4.

[368] Cassette tapes played an important role in creating alternative methods of making and sharing music and other information. See for example, Peter Manuel, *Cassette Culture: Popular Music and Technology in North India*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993) and Charles Hirschkind, *The Ethical Soundscape: Cassette Sermons and Islamic Counterpublics*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

or those who fancied themselves musical aficionados. Exceptions prove the rule—labels like

Virgin Records in London or Wax Trax! in Chicago leaned more toward the more traditional

form of an independent label. Virgin became part of an international brand, headed by billionaire

Richard Branson—no one today imagines Virgin to be an independent label, even if its roots

were independent.[369] In contrast, the founders of Chicago-based Wax Trax! records, Jim Nash

and Dannie Flesher stumbled into running an industrial label. Their earliest pressings include

Brian Eno and the legendary drag queen and John Waters muse Divine. Their fourth pressing by

the Belgian industrial band Front 242 set their direction for the next couple of decades, firmly

cementing them within the underground music scenes in Chicago.[370] Additionally, their

relationship with their artists was based on a loose set of promises and handshakes rather than

with a contractual obligation.[371] This informality also typified the relationship Daniel Miller

enjoyed with the acts on his label Mute records, originally founded to record and distribute his

band The Normal in 1978.[372] Labels like Virgin and Wax Trax! were built on the more

traditional mode of entrepreneurial spirit, but only one went on to become a multi-billion dollar

corporate powerhouse. These more conventional firms made up a minority of punk and postpunk

labels. In the case of Wax Trax!, the label was run far more in tune with other, artist-controlled

indies, which put the musician first.[373]

---

[369] On the history of Virgin see Terry Southern, *Virgin: A History of Virgin Records*, (London: Welcome Rain, 1999) and "Our Story: The History of Virgin," *Virgin Records.com*, https://www.virgin.com/time-machine (accessed July 5, 2016).

[370] Chris Connelly, *Concrete, Bulletproof, Invisible, & Fried: My Life as a Revolting Cock*, (West Chester, PA: Shipwrecked Industries, 2014).

[371] See S. Alexander Reed, *Assimilate: A Critical History of Industrial Music*, (London: Oxford Unversity Press, 2013, 233-252, "History Wax Trax!- Beginning," *Wax Trax! Records*, February 5, 2011, https://cherryberry321.wordpress.com/history/history-beginning/, (accessed July 5, 2016) and Bill Wyman, "The Ballad of Jim and Dannie," *Chicago Reader*, October 26, 1995, http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/the-ballad-of-jim-and-dannie/Content?oid=888822, (accessed July 5, 2016). Dave Thompson, *Depeche Mode: Some Great Reward*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 36 & 69.

[372] "Mute: About," *Mute*, http://mute.com/about, (accessed February 9, 2017).

[373] See for example Alex Ogg, *Independence Days: The Story of UK Independent Record Labels*, (London: Cherry Red Books, 2009).

Many punk and postpunk labels blurred the line between consumer and producer to the point of meaninglessness. The focus rested on retaining economic and cultural control for the artists, who came to the production of popular music with varying levels of talent and professionalism. The connection between the various kinds of musicians attracted to punk and postpunk music rested in the desire to more tightly retain control of their output *vis-a-vis* the label. Musicians held a greater understanding of how the music industry operated, in part because some had been burned by the industry as punk started to garner attention. Brendan Mullen noted that many of the punk bands in LA were disappointed when artists like the Knack got label attention and they did not.[374] When John Lydon of the Sex Pistols sneered at the end of their San Francisco show about being cheated, he meant that as a strong indictment of the record industry and how little they cared about the well being of the members of the band—many barely young adults—rather than a mocking of the young people who came to see the band perform.[375] Many of the punks in the audience (many Lydon's age or younger) understood his outburst as more than just mocking the fans.[376] He was instead speaking aboutt his turbulent experiences within the recording industry itself.

By the time the Sex Pistols toured the United States, a real sense of the need for alternatives to the major label industry already existed among some of the punk scenes cropping up across the country and the world. Independent labels sprang up in cities like London, New York, Los Angeles, and Washington DC. in part because the major labels had largely failed to come calling.[377] But lack of attention was not the only reason for forging alternatives.

---

[374] Mullen and Spitz, *We Got the Neutron Bomb*, 180-181.

[375] John Lydon and Keith Zimmerman, *Rotten: No Blacks, No Irish, No Dogs*, (London: Picador, 2008) and Greil Marcus, *Lipstick Traces: A Secret History of the Twentieth Century*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 88.

[376] See the numerous reactions to the Sex Pistols Winterland show, Dewar MacLeod, *Kids of the Black Hole: Punk Rock in Postsuburban California*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), 41-46.

[377] Mary Montgomery Wolf, "'We Accept You, One of Us?'": Punk Rock, Community, and Individualism in an

Interactions some musicians had with the recording industry meant major compromises with regards to their image and music. The marketing of New York bands by Sire Records noted above (a more traditional independent label founded by Seymour Stein, a long time industry operative) revealed the power struggle.[378] Those who valued punk as a community rejected this distinction. Hence, a strong split occurred along the lines of self-defined punks and those interested in joining what became the more mainstream musical genre of new wave, which included many bands that earned their stripes first within punk scenes. The "cheated" outburst of John Lydon coincided with a general shift within punk scenes already taking place from a subgenre of rock to a genre based in an ethos of independent cultural production. Although punks share many characteristics of youth cultures before them, this reality of punk cultural production marked it as a movement of a different kind.

The labels founded to support the second wave of punk bands, known as hardcore punk, carved out independence within the recording industry. One of the earliest hardcore punk label, SST, was founded by Greg Ginn in Long beach, California in 1978. The label currently only functions as a store front which specializes in releases of many key hardcore bands, as well as Ginn's many projects.[379] Jello Biafra founded Alternative Tentacles in 1979 in San Fransisco, becoming an important beacon for cultural independence over the next four decades. They tended to seek out artists interested in independent production and cast a wider net musically speaking.[380] In Washington DC, a year later, Ian MacKaye and Jeff Nelson founded Dischord

---

Uncertain Era, 1974-1985," PhD Diss. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2007, 127-129.

[378] An example, which originally came from a 1977 issue of Trouser Press magazine, can be seen at "Fossils: Sire Records' Don't Call It Punk," *That Devil Music*, August 13, 2016, http://www.thatdevilmusic.com/2016/08/fossils-sire-records-dont-call-it-punk.html, (accessed February 10, 2017).

[379] "SST," *SST Superstore*, http://www.sstsuperstore.com/SFNT.html, (Accessed March 2, 2017).

[380] "Alternative Tentacles: About," *Alternative Tentacles*, 2004, http://www.alternativetentacles.com/about.php?sd=-afdvtju2WrrqOiMkvo, (Accessed March 2, 2017).

Records in order to release an album by their band the Teen Idols. This label continues to stick to their twin founding philosophies of independence and localism. The staff that runs the label is still small and they only accept local bands for distribution.[381] These hardcore labels, along with the various other postpunk labels, typified the shift to smaller scale production and more boutique cultural production.

Signing with a major label meant a band was no longer an authentic punk band. Many punks railed against those who "sold out" their local scene. Bands such as the Go-go's, Blondie, or Talking Heads—all three of which became staples on early MTV and representatives of what became new wave—no longer carried the label of punk. In 1980 the Go-go's signed with the large independent label I.R.S. Records. Their debut album, *Beauty and the Beat,* was a wildly popular pop album with videos on constant rotation on MTV. However, the band started out playing in the LA punk scene. Belinda Carlisle was initially slated to be the drummer for the Germs.[382] Once she joined the Go-go's, their goal—according to Carlisle anyway—was to become "rich and famous." They succeeded but they had to leave all pretense of being punk behind.[383]Such success became an albatross for those wishing to be considered punk. The Go-go's did not find the trade-off all that problematic.

At the same time some of the first wave punks found commercial success, the working definition of who constituted a punk tightened. In the third issue of punk zine *We Got Power*, one letter claims that the punk zine was "for the people, by the people." The problem with the music of the past, the unnamed author argued was "exploitation," which they claimed did not exist in the current LA punk scene. The performers were not "made into gods," a claim the editor

[381] "Dischord Records: History," *Dischord Records*, 2017, http://www.dischord.com/history/, (Accessed March 2, 2017).
[382] Mullen and Spitz, *We Got the Neutron Bomb*, 68.
[383] Mullen and Spitz, *We Got the Neutron Bomb*, 150.

wondered about. Although the mainstream recording industry does not specifically get called out, the point about the exploitative nature of the recording industry was clear.[384] In *Punk Research*, an early attempt to codify a more academic approach to punk through the form of a zine, Donny the Punk argued that the genre represented an effort to stay out of the mainstream culture industries and maintain independent production of music and culture. He contrasted the term with the more "neutral and value-free" terms new wave and hardcore, which, in his view were "easy to co-opt, manipulate thru advertising and exploit for commercial profit by the Big Music Business," precisely the point of the terminology. He reminds the reader that punk scenes operate on a community basis and that "a punk who sells out is no longer a punk."[385] The distance from the mainstream music industry was becoming a key distinguishing characteristic of punk more than almost any other factor.

<div align="center">***</div>

In some ways, music's role as a social cement intensified through the commodity of the sound recording, connecting new people dispersed across time and space into new, consumer-based communities. Punk reflects the central role of sound recordings in constituting community, especially across national borders. The rise of youth-centric, music-based counterculture endures as a rebellious underbelly of the expansion of markets around the world during the course of the Cold War, not just as an accidental aftereffect. Punk, more so than the 1960s youth countercultures, was actively constructed as a translocal community. It drew on the past of youth cultures, but added new modes of rebellion in the process. Young people in the 1960s certainly built their own counterpublics, especially through the construction of an active underground

---

[384] "Letters," *We Got Power*, no. 3, (May 1982), 5.
[385] Donny the Punk "'Punk': The Power of a Word," *Punk Research*, vol. 2, no. 1, (March 1985), 10-11.

press.[386] But many in the 1960s still consumed music produced by large corporations, with little real conceptual concern for the mode of production. Punks took some of the arguments about authenticity evolving during that time and applied them not only to the oppressive bureaucratic state, but also to the corporate production of popular music—hence the focus on authenticity and the drive to more fully control their cultural products. But that anti-corporate discourse found in punk linked directly to the use of popular music as a tool in the Cold War, not just with a rejection of the peace and love narrative of their elders. The cultural power of the recording industry came from their willingness to participate in the Cultural Cold War.

Punks used their counterpublic space to challenge the Cold War, especially as Reagan took office and brought a renewed public bellicosity to American-Soviet relations. Bands like Reagan Youth, Minor Threat, and punk-influenced musicians such as Billy Bragg took aim specifically at his administration (and in the case of Bragg, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government). They wrote songs worrying over nuclear war, arms sales, and the new wars the US began to engage in across South America in order to bring in American-friendly regimes, a project which began under Nixon, but certainly continued under the Reagan administration. Punk zines criss-crossed the world serving as a means of hammering out punk identity and deciding which political orientations constituted a punk position. While some supported left-wing views, like the still-publishing standard bearer *MRR*, others promoted a more politically neutral stances, such as Southern California's *Flipside*. On the extreme end, labels and zines also supported and constituted far right punk scenes, which still constituted an anti-establishment culture, albeit a deeply racist, authoritarian one. Although a political continuum existed within punk culture, a key characteristic shared across scenes was a strong anti-

---

386 John McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters: The Sixties Underground Press and the Rise of Alternative Media in America*, (London: Oxford University Press, 2011).

establishment mindset, even if punks disagreed on what that actually meant. Consumption of

culture took on a much stronger political tone in this atmosphere of a renewed Cold War mindset

under Reagan and Thatcher.

Globalization in world history rarely occurs without resistance or unexpected twists. The

earlier era of western-led globalization (the age of imperialism) brought with it a globally

interlinked anti-imperialism, pulling on a number of concepts and ideas, from anarchism and

Marxism, to anti-colonialism and anti-racism.[387] The movements that opposed colonialism,

racism, capitalism, and nationalism as the key constructive forces in the world most certainly

found the ability to make connections of like-minded individuals through the very processes they

sought to abolish. They related to one another and communicated through a shared set of ideas,

carried on the pathways of empire. But their movements would not be necessary without the rise

of the globalized nationalist empires that western Europeans sought to carve out of the world, no

matter the desires of other peoples around the world. Punk functioned similarly through the

production and consumption of youth-oriented mass culture.

Much the same could be argued about the Cold War and the globalizing effect it had on

the world. The free market ideology of the nineteenth century and the forces that opposed them

emerged as the key language of globalization in the second half of the twentieth century. The

Cold War organized the world and largely happened within the region we now call the global

south.[388] While the United States pushed to inculcate the decolonizing world and Latin America

into their economic orbit, the Soviet Union sought to extend their colonial empire of state

socialism. But resistance existed not just at what Washington and Moscow saw as the edges of

---

[387] Benedict Anderson, *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination*, (London: Verso, 2006).
[388] Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of our Times*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

the world, but at their very heart. Young people resistant to the status quo latched onto the language that had come to define the economy of the 20th century from a bottom up point of view, that of consumption. Resistance also came from all points on the political spectrum, the left and the right. Hence, not all punks were not necessarily leftists, but anti-establishment in orientation. The events described above, where popular music produced by the recording industry became a weapon of the Cold War during the 1960s, ensured that the connection between the expansion of state power by the United States and the success of the recording industry as a global phenomenon was intertwined in the minds of many consumers, for good or ill. But the mode of resistance that embraced cultural production that emerged in the 1960s also remained, even if new suspicions were being cast on those who produced that culture.

The reaction we can see through the rise of punk and other anti-establishment genres of music involved building alternative modes of cultural production—as the cultural products on offer (to paraphrase the singer Morrissey of the 1980s band the Smiths) said "nothing to them" about their lives.[389] Punks sought to more tightly control their cultural output for several reasons. The first rested on wanting to see themselves and their concerns in the music they consumed. Second, punks believed that how music was produced mattered and they sought to create structures with greater creative control for the artists. Last, they joined punk communities in part as a reaction to a mainstream culture which they believed ignored the problems inherent in American society and in the world. The relationship between the music industry and the US government drove dissent against the state and industry and punk existed as a manifestation of that dissent. Punks questioned whether or not the 1960s really changed American culture. In the 1970s, the optimism of the 1960s gave way to a stronger sense of individualism and some level

---

[389]   Johnny Marr and Morrissey, "Panic (Hang the DJ)," The Smiths, *The World Won't Listen*, 1986 Rough Trade.

of despair as the problems that came to public attention in the tumultuous era refused to evaporate. If anything, many of the problems the boomers fought against—American imperialism, mindless consumerism, racism, and sexism—were merely reframed and re-entrenched. Punks reacted to those as well as new social problems that emerged during the Reagan era. We will see in the next chapter that they did so as an interconnected set of global communities.

5 CHAPTER 4: RISE ABOVE MY STATION: PUNK ROCK AS A TRANSLOCAL COMMUNITY

In the early 1980s, in Los Angeles and Yugoslavia, the police began to treat punks as a threat to the social order. As hardcore punk evolved in the sprawling Los Angeles suburbs, the cops in the city began assuming punk shows would become near riots; in some cases, the punks obliged. In Yugoslavia, after the death of the long-time president Josip Broz Tito, punk and other musical subcultures came under greater scrutiny—even showing up in conversations at party congresses. The national media in both countries took notice, with both the private media in the United States and the state-run media in Yugoslavia taking a similar approach to the challenges to the social order that punk represented in some minds. At the same time, punks strengthened their cultural ties across national boundaries and created their own translocal subculture, in part by sharing what they viewed as a state of oppression with each other. The construction of a shared narrative of cultural oppression created a stronger bond and more uniformity in how punk looked in the 1980s. In the previous chapters, we explored the material benefits that accrued to the American recording industry by their participation in the Cultural Cold War. We saw how punk evolved as a music-based subculture in the late 1970s. Local scenes across Britain, the

United States, and West Germany, among other places, bear the mark of the Cold War's impact on the market for popular music records. But American and Western European punks represent the tip of the iceberg of this particular cultural phenomenon. Punk scenes eventually proliferated on both sides of the capitalist-communist divide, revealing how consumerism became an important location of political discourse and even action over the course of the Cold War.[390] As such, this chapter brings into focus the translocal nature of punk and argues that the Cold War helped to make it a translocal community of cultural rebels. The expansion of the modern mass media helped to create consumerist communities around the world and the Cold War made the production of culture across national borders far more uniform, with record labels dominating popular music and sound recordings becoming the primary mode of musical consumption. Punk represented a translocal community, built on shared ideas about the production of popular music.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

The term "translocal" appeared rather recently in historical scholarship. Scholars already have many terms to describe far-flung communities and their modes of interacting—including "transnational" and "diasporic." Translocal deviates in important ways from those concepts. First, it grounds a study of communities with shared identities in their local context, allowing for a greater understanding of the differences that do exist. Second, it helps to shift the focus to other kinds of associations outside of those built on national identity, such as consumer-based identities. As consumerism grew as an organizing principle of daily life, identity formation based on consumption came to dominate some people's lives, especially young people. Those who self-

---

[390] See for example, Uta Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's March Through 20th-Century Europe*, (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2005), Sabrina Ramet and Gordana P. Crnković (eds), *Kazaaam! Splat! Ploof!: The American Impact on European Popular Culture Since 1945*, (Lanham: Rowan & Little Field, 2003).

identified as punks built up local communities and often sought out connections to other places with those who shared their identities. Punks created an imagined community based on consumption, grounded and enacted locally, but with strong connections to scenes in other places.

Generally meant to describe nationally-oriented diasporic communities maintaining connections across time and space to their homeland, the term translocal focuses on the local to local connections of transnationally located communities. Scholars such as Arjun Appadurai, Tony Ballentine, and Antoinette Burton invoked the term to describe connections made across and in defiance of national boundaries. For Appadurai, culture provided a key insight into how groups of individuals became communities across national borders, with modern digital communications heightening that process in recent years.[391] Place takes primary importance, but the translocal view demonstrates how people rooted in particular places network with those of a shared identity in other places.

Geographers Ayona Datta and Katherine Brickell sum up the need for translocal studies, arguing that "[R]esearch on translocality primarily refers to how social relationships across locales shape transnational migrant networks, economic exchanges and diasporic space," functioning as a sort of "grounded transnationalism." They push for an understanding of communal connections outside of the structure of the nation-state, key in distinguishing the concept from transnationalism. Such distinctions prove useful in understanding identities which seek to transcend nationalism time and space. Pushing beyond the national context brings people's agency back to connections made across vast distances through the lens of physical

---

[391] See for example Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), especially chapter 9. See also Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

migrations.[392] With regard to punk, individuals moved commodities and media from place to place, locality to locality, and helped knit the community together across national boundaries. Such cultural sharing allowed punks to confer meaning on themselves and others, authenticating their scenes through shared modes of consumption. Making the connections through globally circulating commodities operated as a social glue between local scenes seeking to reinforce their belonging in the larger group.

Punks were not the first to capitalize on sound recordings as a political weapon or a social cement. During the twentieth century the circulation of ideas, even politically subversive ideas, rested in part on globally circulating commodities.[393] The cultural pathways created during the colonial era—when goods, new ideas, and people (enslaved, free, and coerced), crossed the Atlantic to create new, hybrid societies—helped to create not only new forms of oppression, but new forms of cultural resistance. Slavery and segregation in the United States went hand-in-hand with white supremacy, something which many members of the African diaspora never accepted and actively fought against. What eventually became print and commodity capitalism spread and created new ways of sharing and communicating. The people existing in those pathways also made their own space for resistance.[394] American popular music through sound recordings became commodities over the course of the twentieth century. Records helped foment counterpublic activity and identities. Globally, some artists pushed for a political space within the recording industry once it became a transnational entity. Men and women in the African diaspora adopted popular culture as an effective means of calling for resistance to white

---

[392] Brickell Katherine and Ayona Datta, *Translocal Geographies: Spaces, Places, Connections*, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 3 - 4.

[393] See for example works such as The Modern Girl Around the World Research Groups, *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

[394] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 1983) and Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*, (London: Penguin Books, 1985).

supremacy. The counterpublic of Afrocentric music was built upon the structures of empire and white supremacy. The people who made and consumed this music joined a long-standing tradition of battling white supremacy through culture—but a culture shared through the very same white supremacist empire.[395]

Fela Kuti's work exemplifies the use of sound recordings and live performance in countering imperialism, autocracy, and white supremacy. Kuti came to represent a counterpublic within the larger global, recording music industry in the 1970s and 1980s. Jürgen Hambermas theory of the public sphere can be expanded to include commoditites.[396] Sound recordings, in this case, became a key location of creating effective counterpublics that spoke to and for people who otherwise might be left out of political conversations. Commodities like sound recordings could be seen as allowing marginalized people to push into public discourses more effectively. The circulation of ideas about black empowerment benefited from the popularity of black music, which became a counterpublic where an Afrocentric alternative modernity could reside and speak back to white supremacy.[397] While African American musicians often did not benefit materially as much as white label owners, the recording industry did represent one space where anger and frustration could be expressed and shared with a larger public. The industry thrived on the cultivation of voices not often heard in other places. The culture industries sought to distribute their products far and wide, including into the black community in the United States

---

[395] For the construction of alternatives to white supremacy and European and American imperialism, see David Luis-Brown, *Waves of Decolonization: Discourses of Race and Hemispheric Citizenship in Cuba, Mexico, and the United States*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), and Tsitsi Ella Jaji, *Africa in Stereo: Modernism, Music, and Pan-African Solidarity*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[396] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1991).

[397] Alternative modernity can be found in works such as Laura Deeb, *An Enchanted Modern: Gender and Public Piety in Shi'i Lebanon*, (Princeton: Princeton Universtiy Press, 2006), 5.

and African diaspora. Many African Americans sought to engage with the industry, despite obvious and rampant racism (which some argue continues to this day).[398]

The cultivation of a counterpublic within the recording industry was not restricted in the American market. The public sphere marked modernity and modern states as fundamentally different from governments and states of the past. Speaking of the circulation of culture around the African diasporic communities along the Atlantic Ocean, Paul Gilroy argued for the inherent modernity of the music that circulated on the Black Atlantic (meaning the physical and imaginative space through which goods, people, and ideas circulated and shaped the modern world) through commodities such as records. He cited "their hybrid, creole origins in the West" and the "struggle to escape their status as commodities," coupled with "artists whose understanding of their own position relative to the racial group and the role of art in mediating individual creativity with social dynamics," as marking this music as a modern, popular music created by people within both "the West" and the African diaspora, overlapping categories of identity.[399] Over the course of his musical career, Kuti responded to a growing demand for Afrocentric music as an important part of the Black Atlantic. He also argued against new kinds of colonialism and government corruption. His work proved both politically and commercially engaging.

Kuti founded the West African pop music genre known as Afrobeat and famously declared music "a weapon of the future." Through his music, the man known popularly as the "Black President," preached an alternative, Afrocentric modernity which worked to reinforce black solidarity across national boundaries. He rejected the need to adhere to Western standards

---

[398] See for example Paul Resnikoff, "The Music Industry: It's Still a White Boys' Club," *Digital Music News*, January 20, 2014, http://www.digitalmusicnews.com/2014/01/20/whiteboysclub/, (accessed February 12, 2017).
[399] Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 73.

of civilization while engaging his audience through the fully modern context of recorded music.

Kuti's work was influenced in equal measures from his Yurobuan roots and James Brown. His

music carried messages aimed at educating and persuading the audience, rather than just

entertaining them. He positioned himself as a postcolonial theorist for the people, focusing on

how the states developed during the decolonization process only created a new wave of colonial

subjugation for West Africa. In his work, he indicted successive Nigerian governments as

corrupt and inept, often bringing down state violence on himself, his family, and his

collaborators. The evolution of his political attitudes can not be fully separated from both the

attacks on him by the Nigerian government or from the sale of his albums in Nigeria and

elsewhere. The higher his star rose, the more the state attempted to rein him in and the more

political his work became as a result.

His greatest local and transnational commercial success emerged once he embraced a

Pan-African identity.[400] Kuti found inspiration in the United States during an ill-fated tour in

1969. The band's promoter abandoned the tour almost immediately after they landed in New

York City, leaving them to plan their own gigs across a country they barely knew with few

contacts to facilitate tour dates. They found their way to Los Angeles (at the time fast becoming

a prime location for the production of popular music) where a chance encounter with former

Black Panther Sandra Isadore saved the trip. It set Kuti off on a new, fruitful musical and

political direction. Their discussions of Black power as a political view led Kuti to fully embrace

traditional Yoruban music as a key element of his work. Isadore, who became a backup singer

for the newly dubbed Nigeria 70 (a name which would change over time—later Afrika 80 and

---

[400] In additional to numerous local or regional labels, including his own label, Kuti released several albums on international labels, including EMI, Polydor, and HMV, British-based labels with an international reach. See his comprehensive discography as "Fela Kuti," *Discogs*, https://www.discogs.com/artist/19812-Fela-Kuti, (accessed November 4, 2016).

Egyptian 80), turned Kuti onto Black Nationalist literature, opening an entire new horizon of thought for him. She also introduced him to the pleasures of the American counterculture and its strong focus on cultural rebellion and indulging in marijuana.[401] The love affair with the American underground was reciprocated, as the American audience fell in love with his merging of highlife, jazz, and the traditions of his family's ethnic group with the politics of Black Nationalism. They crowded the club in LA where he set up a long term engagement to offset the cost of his failed trip. Kuti recorded his efforts while in LA, highlighting the transnational dimension of popular music production emerging in the late 1960s and early 1970s as rock was becoming an international *lingua franca*.[402] He arrived home a changed man, bent on the creation of an authentic African popular music based on his musical experiments in LA. He dubbed his new sound Afrobeat and he continually redefined the genre over the rest of his life.[403] In the process, a legend of global Black Power was born. Perhaps not surprisingly at this time, the world discussed and debated the anti-colonial movement and focused on the plight of exiled Black Panthers.[404]

Kuti became a central part of the Nigerian recording industry and found a receptive audience overseas as well. General social changes of the day included a more politicized demographic in the wake of the global youth revolt against the Cold War. Kuti's work benefited

---

[401] Michael E. Veal, *Fela: The Life and Times of an African Music Icon*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000), 71-73.

[402] Veal, *Fela*, 72. For the global music industry, see Roger Wallis and Krister Malm, *Big Sounds from Small Peoples: The Music Industry in Small Countries*, (New York: Pendragon Press, 1984), Andreas Gebesmair and Alfred Smudts, ed, *Global Repertoires: Popular Music Within and Beyond the Transnational Music Industry*, (Burlington, VA: Ashgate, 2001), and Tsitsi Ella Jaji, *Africa in Stereo: Modernism, Music, and Pan-African Solidarity*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), and on rock being a transntaional language of community, see Michael J. Kramer, *The Republic of Rock: Music and Citizenship in the Sixties Counterculture*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[403] Veal, *Fela*, 72.

[404] Elaine Brown, *A Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story*, (New York: Anchor Books, 1992) and *The Black Power Mixtape 1967-1975*, directed by Göran Olsson, (2011; Stockholm, Sweden: Story AB, 2011), DVD.

from this youthful political awakening. It meant the recording industry attempted to reflect

attitudes more cognizant of the global demand for political-oriented music.[405] Along with the

much lauded Jamaican musical rebel, Bob Marley, Kuti fit the bill perfectly. The African

diaspora and radicalized (or hip) white consumers sought an authentic musical experience that

engaged with the political realities of the postcolonial and Cold War world.[406] Kuti's insistence

on his work expressing an authentic African identity spoke to that distinct musical experience.

It is true that the culture industries were key in the circulation of countercultural views

during the Cold War, helping to forge these sorts of counterpublics. Yet we need not surrender to

the pessimism that countercultural visions are irreparably tainted by corporate interventions. Kuti

certainly understood that commercial success facilitated his engagement with pan-African

thought and Nigerian politics. Album sales provided economic support for his large household.

The continuation of global racism as the global south decolonized during the Cold War marked

his political ideas as radical and even necessary. Musicians and their labels in the West looking

to polish their "street cred" with youthful radicals embraced artists like Kuti. But that does not

mean that they were completely cynical attempts to cash in on Afrocentric ideas. The British

label EMI funded the building of a multitrack recording studio in Lagos in the early 70s led by

Kuti and Ginger Baker of the band Cream.[407] Around this time numerous western artists like

Baker came calling. At one point, Kuti accused a visiting Paul McCartney of showing up in order

to "steal African music."[408] Yet the intervention of white musicians from the former colonial

---

[405] For the transnational nature of the youth rebellion, see Gerd-Ranier Horn, *The Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America 1956-1976*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[406] For example, see George Marshall, *Spirit of 69: A Skinhead Bible*, (Dunoon, Scotland: S.T. Publishing, 1994), Hugh Barker and Yuval Taylor, *Faking It: The Quest for Authenticity in Popular Music*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007), and Elizabeth Grace Hale, *A Nation of Outsiders: How the White Middle Class Fell in Love with Rebellion in Postwar America*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). among others.

[407] Veal, *Fela*, 92.

[408] Ibid., 102.

metropole like London did little to detract from the intended message of the music. Such interactions also illustrate the cultural reality many young people shared by this point in the Cold War.

The African diaspora represents one example of communities that shared cultural ties across borders built on a global scale during the period of the Cold War. Sound recordings and mass media in general in the twentieth century functioned as a sort of social glue for a variety of communities. The reality of a shared worldview spread via mass mediated popular culture often came first, but the construction of an alternative mode of understanding and shaping that perspective followed soon after. Early postwar youth-centric subcultures gravitated toward music that spoke to their social conditions, allowed them space to redefine it to reflect their understandings, and reinforced their class ties. In the case of British working class youths, they embraced music that already existed. Jamaican music that arrived with postcolonial immigrants turned on working-class British kids in the 1950s and 1960s, which led to the evolution of subcultures such as the skinhead culture in the 1970s and 1980s (both anti-racist and racist skinheads).[409] Likewise, the early wave of rock from the United States influenced young musicians in many British urban centers. Hippies, the key youth culture that spread globally in the 1960s, loved music that imagined the possibility of a more peaceful world. They also embraced songs that challenged traditional norms and values of their society. Roots music found a welcome audience among members of the sixties counterculture. Musicians incorporated these genres and spun them with their own concepts of good music and society. Punks and the early hip-hop pioneers used music as a platform for political and social commentary, carrying on that

---

[409]   John Clarke, "The Skinheads and the Magical Recovery of Community," *Resistance Through Rituals*, 80-83.

countercultural tradition. All these subcultures carved out physical spaces to enact some of their ideas about the production of music and the creation of a community.

The creation of a unified sense of identity that transcends borders can apply to consumer-based communities as much as national, racial, or ethnically defined ones. Mass media can spread ideas that reinforce social hierarchies, but also challenge them, as Gilroy convincingly argued.[410] Building on the globalized recording industry and a shared sense of political engagement, punks also created interconnected communities spread across time and space. These communities shared important characteristics despite existing in different cities, countries, and economic and political systems. They connected through their own media. Cultural consumption defined these communities rather than race, religion, ethnicity, or nationality which usually mark a translocal community. These categories, to some extent, exist outside of the ability of an individual to control them. With the spread of American popular music aided by Cultural Cold War programs, many young people around the world shared a particular cultural form via sound recordings. But the mode of production came to matter and in some cases trumped any particular genre of music. The notion of a youth underground culture developed during the 1960s counterculture. This merged with the notion of a sense of elitism that coalesced around the collecting of jazz records heading into the 1950s, which, according to Grace Elizabeth Hale, gave white teenagers "access to this magic" of blackness.[411] Mass media were historically deployed as technologies of social control within the nation-state, but they provided a means of creating communities that transcended that political configuration.[412] There was a wave of democratization of the mass media, which various groups took advantage of around the world

---

[410]   Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 40.
[411]   Hale, *A Nation of Outsiders*, 51.
[412]   Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, (London:Verso, 1998).

during the 1970s and 1980s.[413] Punks looked to particular modes of production to make their

connections and the cassette tapes was a key to doing that. The political orientation of punks

varied widely, but the fact that punk shared cultural characteristics speaks volumes to its

translocal nature. These communities sought out modes of communication in order to better

conform to particular social ideals, hashed out within songs and in the pages of global circulating

magazines/zines.

Punks connected and shaped their scenes through boutique mass media. The music itself,

on records and cassette tapes, circulated as a commodity through various scenes around the

world and created a shared cultural context. Listening to punk music provided a baseline for

being included in the social category of being a punk. Punk zines, in addition to sound

recordings, also helped establish a translocal punk community. In addition to providing outlets

for the all important scene reports, it also encouraged the sharing of music and various kinds of

punk-centric, peer-to-peer commerce. *MRR* sought out advertisers and solicited tapes from bands

for reviews.[414] Advertisers included labels and distributors like Chicago's Wax Trax Records and

Affirmation Records in Indianapolis.[415] Individual bands also sent in ads, such as the Southern

California band Bad Religion in 1983.[416] These networks brought local punk bands from scenes

around the world into the homes of their compatriots in other countries. Small, independent

labels also bought advertising in punk zines as a means of reaching their core audience. Labels

like Tan Records bought space in zines like *We Got Power*, a small zine out of Isla Vista,

California published in the early 1980s.[417] Zines operated locally, on the cutting edge of the

---

[413]   Peter Manuel, *Cassette Culture: Popular Music and Technology in North India*, (Chicago: University of
        Chicago Press, 1993).
[414]   "Maximum RocknRoll Wants You," *Maximum RocknRoll*, no. 3 (November-December 1982), 5.
[415]   "Wax Trax Records and Affirmation Records," *Maximum RocknRoll*, no 8 (September 1983), 21-22.
[416]   "Bad Religion," *Maximum RocknRoll*, no. 8, (September 1983), 57.
[417]   "Tan Records," *We Got Power*, no. 2 (1982), 5

emerging hardcore punk scene that came to dominate the definition of punk rock during the 1980s. Record shops also advertised in punk zines, such as Aquarius Records in a 1983 issue of *MRR*. Companies that distributed albums internationally, such as Systemic Record Distributors, sought to reach independent labels by advertising in *MRR*.[418] These zines created transnational connections of ground-up commerce which punks depended.

Zines functioned as a transnational mode of communication as well. The ability to share information about local scenes globally made the music and styles more consistently similar, despite locations. *MRR* especially centralized knowledge and codified punk identity. Scene reports (a feature common in many punk zines which covered more than a local scene) became important locations for sharing events such as performances by internationally touring punk bands. But local bands received the most attention in international scene reports. The reason for the local focus was in part to illustrate the punk credentials of the local scene, but also in the hopes of creating a buzz in other scenes about local bands. International scenes often appeared in other contexts in punk zines. The editors of *MRR* put scene reports from Brazil and Holland on the cover of the Spring 1983 issue. In Brazil, according to local punk Fabio of the band OLHO Seco, the Cold War helped define the relationship between American and Brazilian scenes. He explained to readers the role the CIA played in overthrowing the elected government years ago (a reference to a 1964 coup in Brazil). The political realities of Brazil hindered the ability to import key punk albums, Fabio noted. The local scene had roots in Sao Paolo that went back to 1977, with the first local bands appearing in 1978. Brazilian punks originally coalesced around a record shop in Sao Paolo, which began selling albums for local bands in 1982. The state media constructed punk as a violent subculture. Local punk zines attempted to combat that perception

---

[418] "Aquarius Records," and "Systemic Record Distributor," *Maximum RocknRoll*, no. 6 (May-June 1983), 10-11

by calling for peace within the at times conflicted scene. Fabio concluded that the scene was growing to other large cities, with a scene of about 400 in Rio de Janeiro. He included an address of the record shop in Rio which also functioned as a distribution hub for local punk bands.[419]

The same issue carried a scene report from Holland by Tony Nitwit. He explained that British punk bands began to tour the country in 1977. By 1978, the first local punk bands emerged and a new venue run by punks opened in town. Nitwit described the wave of political bands beginning in 1980 at the same time that the genre spread to more bucolic locations around the country where punk also found an audience. But right-wing, pro-Nazi punk bands also emerged around the same time. Some of the local Nazi punks found the British right wing band Skrewdriver not quite "pure" enough. Musically, hardcore became a key influence on the scene, including many of the California bands, like the Germs, Circle Jerks, Black Flag, and Dead Kennedys—regardless of a band's political orientation. Most importantly, Nitwit noted the proliferation of bands singing in their language instead of English, indicating a shift in the scene for bands to more authentically address their audience. At the same time local punks started record labels and a distribution network in order to record and distribute albums by local bands more efficently. While part of the reason for the ground-up distribution network rested in the small number of records involved, the desire for the bands to control costs also drove their business model. Such considerations made a real punk band, argued Nitwit.[420] Production and distribution provided a key element in advocating for local punk authenticity.

Scene reports from Yugoslavia appeared in the pages of the southern California zine *Flipside* by the mid-1980s. The informant described disparities within their scenes across the country. Belgrade punk Silvije Osim described the lack of support for punks in Serbia and he

---

[419] Fabio, "Brazil: Scene Report," *Maximum RocknRoll*, no. 5, (March-April 1983), 35-37.
[420] Tony Nitwit, "Holland: Scene Report," *Maximum RocknRoll*, no. 5, (March-April, 1983), 45-48.

contrasted their situation with the institutional support enjoyed by Ljubljana punks from the Student Cultural Center (ŠKUC). According to Osim,"They are trying to popularize punk and other kinds of non-commercial but good music. They have a radio station [Radio Študent] and that is a good way to popularize punk. They are also organizing concerts such as: Rattus, D.O.A., Anti-Nowhere League, Discharge, Siouxsie and the Banshees. And most important, they are recording bands and distributing cassettes."[421] Osim found the contrast between the two different republics within Yugoslavia (Serbia and Slovenia) worth reporting. But his deeper unspoken implication was that a lack of support in Belgrade gave that scene an authenticity edge. Punks there had to struggle for acceptance and recognition in a way that Ljubljana punks did not. In general during this time, through their engagement in local scenes, punks sought to distinguish themselves from the first wave punk bands as well as the mainstream recording industry. But they likewise expressed their own local experiences and how that made them more punk. Struggling to put on shows, experiencing police harassment, and lacking institutional support underscored the commitment of Belgrade punks.

By 1983 Yugoslav punks created a well-developed underground scene which they showcased through detailed scene reports to *MRR*. At the same time, American-style hardcore punk became the new standard for punk identity. The shift meant that the United States became the location to look to in order to craft an authentic punk identity around the world. Previously, punks in the Balkan country viewed the British scene as the key stylistic and musical inspriation. British imports were far easier to come by in Yugoslavia. Branimir Nedeljkovic of Belgrade said that "Punks here mostly listen to English music, because American records cost a lot more, due to import taxes." As noted in the previous chapter, EMI had a working relationship with Jugoton

---

[421]   Silvije Osim, "Scene Report: Yugoslavia," *Flipside*, no. 44, November 1984, np.

records beginning in 1967.[422] But the punk underground changed the equation. By the mid-1980s, American hardcore dominated the definition of punk music. Nedeljkovic said "The Dead Kennedys are the most popular U.S. band, but some tapes have been circulating of M.D.C., Minor Threat, 'Boston Not L.A.'"[423] First wave Yugoslav punk bands such as Pankrti had a far poppier sound than bands that emerged later in the decade. Bands influenced by the American hardcore wave of punk played harder and faster music. Ljubljana's Tožibabe and III. Kategorija were two of the hardcore bands that found an audience in Slovenia and other urban locales in Yugoslavia. Tožibabe was an all-woman hardcore band. III. Kategorija played a thrash influenced hardcore punk. These band looked much like their Western hardcore counterparts.[424]

The rise of hardcore coincided with punks forging more direct contact with their counterparts in other countries. In 1983, Dario Cortese described the rise of hardcore punk in Ljubljana. He reported on a gig held at the youth center in Ljubljana, in which "four hardcore bands, and two 'suspect' bands" played. He said, "Alot [sic] of people were really confused because they had never heard anything like this before [referring to the non-punks in the audience]." Then at the end of the night, "[F]inally, O'Pizda appeared, who are more old style punk, and nothing special." Only pictures of the hardcore punk bands appeared in the report. A flyer from the show was reprinted. The concert was called a "hard-core koncert" with the hardcore bands taking top billing.[425] Both Cortese in Ljubljana and Nedeljkovic in Belgrade worked hard to position themselves toward what was becoming the predominant punk norm.

---

[422] Omer Anderson, "EMI Thaws East-West Cold War With Jugoton Contract," *Billboard*, September 16, 1967, 67.
[423] Branimir Nedeljkovic, "Scene Report: Belgrade," *Maximum Rock n' Roll*, Issue 7, July 1983, np.
[424] Songs by both bands can be found online. For Tožibabe see "Tožibabe - Tistega Lepega Dne," *Youtube*, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WgTQlMItm7k&NR=1 (accessed July 4, 2010). For III Kategorija see "III. Kategorija - Vizija," Youtube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PrNNe-L2TnU (accessed July 4, 2010).
[425] Dario Cortese, "Scene Report: Yugoslavia," *Maximum Rock n' Roll*, Issue 9, October 1983, np.

Hardcore evolved in American punk scenes first, and emanated from there into the global punk movement.

As discussed in the previous chapter, a strong political orientation was not necessary for being a punk, even if some were political. While there were plenty examples of political punk bands, many simply ignored politics in their music. But among Yugoslav punks, embracing politics tended to be shunned more often than not. Youth culture tended to be politicized by the state in communist countries and Yugoslavia was no exception to this norm.[426] Gregor Tomc, Slovenian sociologist and guitarist for the first wave band Pankrti, argued that punks in Yugoslavia remained pretty staunchly apolitical[427] Since in many communist countries young people were expected to be involved in politics, an apolitical stance can be read as an act of resistance. According to Tomc, punk in Yugoslavia as a musical genre made greater inroads in youth culture than in the United States, making it more like Great Britain in that respect—as both the Sex Pistols and the Clash had major hits on the British charts. Tomc explained the greater popularity of punk in Slovenia through its lack of an obviously political slant expected of young people in the Socialist world. He asked, "How did the punks of the late 1970s perceive the youth organization politicians? They mostly ignored them… For punks, taking any politics seriously was ridiculous and taking 'youth' politics seriously would be piteous and a sign of bad taste."[428] After reading one local magazine, which criticized punk as a genre and attempted to connect it with anarchism, Tomc argued that punk represented a non-political youth culture and that in his experience most punks found anarchism irrelevant to their scene.[429]

---

[426] See for example the role the Komosol played in the life of Soviet youths, Alexei Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever, Until it Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

[427] Gregor Tomc, "The Politics of Punk," in *Independent Slovenia: Origins, Movements, Prospects*, ed. Jill Benderly and Evan Kraft, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 120.

[428] Tomc, "The Politics of Punk," 119 - 120.

[429] "Punk na Kodeljevem," *Antena*, Jesni [Fall] 1977, in *Punk Pod Slovenci*, ed. Neža Malečkar and Tomaž Mastnak (Ljubljana: KRT, 1985), 106 – 108 and Gregor Tomc, "Antenin punk: Odgovor na Dok, št. 2." *Antena*,

The lack of an overt political position favorable to the state meant less state support as a youth phenomenon. Punks initially struggled to record on the state-run music label in Yugoslavia. Many of the earlier punk bands took advantage of Yugoslavia's proximity to a non-communist neighbor and lax borders to record their albums. Italy became a popular place to go to record on independent punk labels, Pankrti included. Eventually, Tomc's band eventually recorded an album with the state-run label, but only because in the mid-1980s the ŠKUC began to function as a record label for local bands.[430] Producer and musician Igor Vidmar noted that it was not a privately owned record label, but it enjoyed state funding as a state-sanctioned youth center.[431] On the whole, the late 1970s until about 1981 was a productive period for Slovenian punks, at least if the activities of Vidmar were any indication. His first punk show was with Paraf in Zagreb in 1978. That same year, he began to play punk records as a DJ on ŠKUC's radio station and he also produced Pankrti's first single. He penned articles on punk for various culture magazines across Yugoslavia.[432] In the magazine *Stop* he discussed a Pankrti show in a school gym in the Ljubljana suburb of Kodeljevo, describing punk as a "return to the roots of rock music" and a rejection of "musical perfection." He also celebrated the lack of politics in the music. Instead lyrics focused on "everyday things."[433] Vidmar, like Tomc, insisted on the apolitical nature of punk in Yugoslavia.

It was easier to walk that line in Yugoslavia as opposed to the Eastern Bloc or the Soviet Union. Despite the very real dangers associated with anti-establishment culture in the harder line communist states, punk eventually arrived as a cultural movement. In both East and West Berlin,

---

Jesni [Fall] 1977, reprinted in *Punk Pod Slovenci*, 108.

[430] See the Pankrti's website for a discography, "Pankrti: Discography," *Pankriti*, http://pankrti.tripod.com/eng/discography.html, (accessed May 4, 2010).

[431] "Igor Vidmar," *Uzurlikzurli e-zine,* http://members.iinet.net.au/~predrag/vidmar.html (accessed May 5, 2010).

[432] "Igor Vidmar," *Uzurlikzurli e-zine,* http://members.iinet.net.au/~predrag/vidmar.html (accessed May 5, 2010).

[433] See his review of a Pankrti show in *Stop*, Igor Vidmar, "Punk po naše. Več kot moda?" *Stop*, October 27, 1977, reprinted in *Punk Pod Slovenci*, 105-6.

the punk scene thrived despite the city being a key location for the Cold War struggle—perhaps it did so because of the tensions in the city. Uta Poiger noted how American popular music became a location of political struggle between the two German states, vying to define the meaning of being a German citizen.[434] In the previous chapter, Dave MDC of the the California band MDC reported on the scene in West Berlin while on tour with the Dead Kennedys. Much like LA and Ljubljana, the police and punks clashed in the streets after shows, which he personally interpreted as a political act. His own political orientation could have colored his understanding of the events he saw while in Berlin.[435]

On the other side of the wall in East Berlin, punks staked out a very vocal apolitical stance much like their Yugoslav counterparts. In an article published in 2008 on *The Daily Beast*, Tim Mohr reflected on the realities of being a punk in East Berlin at the end of the Cold War. He wondered if punk played an important part of the fall of the Berlin wall. He claimed that underground music "played a key role in fomenting and steeling opposition in the country throughout the 1980s." Punks did not start playing in East Berlin until 1981 and the first show attracted an audience of about 100 people. But Mohr argued that during this period punks numbered about 1,000 and with some "10,000 sympathizers," according to state reports at least. Much like in Yugoslavia, an eventual state crackdown politicized the scene. The East German secret police—the Stasi—focused on the growing punk scene by the end of that year. As a crackdown became evident, local churches provided shelter for these self-fashioned cultural outcasts. According to Mohr, this further reinforced the shift to a more political scene. He quoted the guitarist for the band Die Anderen, saying "For me personally, I only began to think about

---

[434] Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels*, especially 106-136, which focuses on how each state employed American popular music in their struggle over politics.
[435] Dave MDC, "MDC Tour of Europe," *Maximum RocknRoll*, no. 5, (April 1983), 48.

that sort of thing once the harassment started. Politicization was something the Stasi did."[436]

Political scientist Sabrina Ramet engaged on the topic of punk in East Germany. In one article on

the topic written at the time, Ramet described punks as retreating "into counter-culture... which

will in turn sustain their deviance and reinforce their disaffection."[437] Punk culture represented to

many "[a]n anti-establishment pose in which, in the East German context, Marxism-Leninism,

the S.E.D., and the entire program of resocialization are rejected as foolish irrelevancies at best."

Ramet quoted one punk as saying that, "I am against Germaness. The German for me is a petit

bourgeois and a philistine by nature. I am bothered by the whole pretense, by this mask which is

there but no one removes."[438] This individual put their social disaffection in terms of the

language of the state—Marxist-Leninism. But this is also something a West German punk might

have said, rejecting a German identity based on political considerations.

All these punk scenes eventually exhibited similarities that they communicated across

borders through the sounds of their music, production of zines as a communication medium, and

the mode of production of both. Scenes came to produce more uniform music by the 1980s and

they reinforced certain behaviors within punk spaces. Members of early punk scenes in London,

New York, and Los Angeles exhibited greater variety in their manner of dressing, their race,

gender, sexuality, and the type of music they embraced. Bringing Akron and Cleveland, Ohio

into the mix also illustrates the variability of early punk compared to the later, hardcore punk

scenes that proliferated in the 1980s. Bands such as Devo and the Cramps especially

experimented with image throughout their early career in Akron and brought that in the LA

---

[436] Tim Mohr, "Did Punk Rock Tear down the Wall?" *The Daily Beast*, posted November 8, 2009, http://www.thedailybeast.com/blogs-and-stories/2009-11-08/did-punk-rock-tear-down-the-wall/full/, (accessed March 29, 2010).

[437] Pedro Ramet, "Disaffection and Dissent in East Germany," *World Politics*, Vol 37, No. 1, October 1984, 87. Ramet's early work is listed under her former first name, Pedro.

[438] Ramet, "Disaffection and Dissent in East Germany," 93.

scene when these bands performed there.[439] The mode of dressing in early punk tended to be

flashier, included more gender-bending styles drawn from glam bands and artists like David

Bowie. By way of contrast, hardcore punks favored masculine styles (more like skinheads) short

haircuts (sometimes with short mohawks, but often just shaved), t-shirts, cut-off shorts, and

boots.

Musically, early punk bands experimented with sounds and reflected a variety of

influences. X-Ray Spex from London had a sax player in the band. LA's Black Randy and the

Metro Squad played a form of funk-rock, while other bands included keyboards or organs. The

band the Eyes included keyboards on their catchy tune "Disneyland" (which advocated for

blowing up Anaheim).[440] The Screamers also included keyboards in their regular line-up. Singer

Tomata du Plenty had a history with the famous San Francisco drag troop the Cockettes in the

late 1960s.[441] In contrast to that, later hardcore bands tended to be three or four piece guitar,

drum, and bass (a traditional rock set up). The music also tended to be harder-edged and played

faster, beginning especially with Bad Brains in DC. By the early 1980s bands who deviated from

the more stripped down sound of hardcore drifted into newly-minted musical genres—new wave,

no wave, death rock, gothic rock, or industrial, among other postpunk genres. Many of those

bands in those genres carried a particular punk outlook with regards to the production of their

music.

By the early 1980s, how a punk band should look and act seemingly gelled into a

coherent standard across the various scenes around the world. Punk bands from the United

---

[439] Jon Savage, "Cleveland's Early Punk Pioneers: From Cultural Vacuum to Creative Explosion," *Guardian*, November 14, 2013, https://www.theguardian.com/music/2013/nov/14/clevelands-early-punk-pioneers-ohio, (accessed February 12, 2017) and "It's Everything, and Then It's Gone," *Western Reserve Public Media*, 2003, http://westernreservepublicmedia.org/everythg.htm, (accessed February 12, 2017).

[440] Eyes, "Disneyland", *TAQN*, Eyes, Danger House, 1979, Vinyl.

[441] Brendan Mullen, "Goodbye, Tomata du Plenty," *LA Weekly*, August 23, 2000, http://www.laweekly.com/music/goodbye-tomata-du-plenty-2132423, (accessed February 2, 2017).

States, Canada, and Britain toured the world by the early 1980s—and not just the bands who earned mass appeal outside of punk scenes like the Clash. Bands with less mainstream clout took to the van and actively connected with thousands of fans in small shows, often funded by selling tapes and shirts (and a cut of the door if they were lucky). Bands often banked just enough to get them a tank of gas to their next gig and some maybe cheap food in a local diner. Sometimes, not even that. Punk tours often operated on a shoe string budget and depended on the local community to support them.[442] As the punk scenes in Eastern Europe grew, punk bands eventually undertook tours there. In the early 1980s, the Canadian band DOA went on such a tour in Eastern Europe. Lead singer Joey Keithley (known as Joey Shithead) recognized shared community values and activities among the people who attended their shows. Yugoslavia had especially caught on to punk identity rather well. While playing in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, he noted that the audience "knew what to do," describing such activities as stage diving and slam dancing.[443] By the time the band arrived in Yugoslavia, the message of a shared punk ethos was already widely understood. Local scenes shared enough to make punks Keithly encountered familiar in their behavior. A shared cultural language developed via global circulating media helped make that possible. That shared culture was built in part on a common notion of how music should be produced—within the community and outside of either the state or corporate structure for the production of music found in the communist and capitalist world.

Their engagement with the production of music cut across national boundaries and grounded them in a specific kind of political action. As people found less confidence in their political systems, the realm of consumerism took on new political meaning for some. Punks

---

[442] On punk tours, see Henry Rollins, *Get in the Van: On the Road with Black Flag*, (Los Angeles: 2.13.61, 1994), Michael Azzerad, *Our Band Could Be Your Life: Scenes from the American Indie Underground 1981-1991*, (Boston: Little Brown & co, 2004), among other memoirs and histories of punk bands.

[443] Joey Keithley, *I, Shithead: A Life in Punk*, (Vancouver: Arsenal Press, 2003) 144

acted politically within the realm of everyday life by promoting political action through consumerism. As we saw in the United States, public trust in the government took a beating on affairs both foreign and domestic. All that came to a head after the election of Ronald Reagan to the office of the president in 1980. A bellicose President Reagan reignited tensions with the Soviet Union and ramped up anti-communist actions across the board. As we saw in the previous chapter, punks often focused their ire on Reagan and his global machinations. But that also coincided with the major labels passing over punk as a marketable genre. Punks in turn rejected inclusion in the industry and created viable alternatives to it. Much like their American counterparts, Yugoslav punks found little support from the domestic recording industry or felt uncomfortable with interacting with the industry. The Yugoslav music industry obviously had much more obvious connections to the government than did the American industry. In both cases, bands who received poor treatment in the few times that major labels picked them up and had to leave the punk designation behind in order to sign with the majors.

The acceptance of rock music as a legitimate popular culture reveals much about the state of the Yugoslavia and the position it held in the Cold War. The state expressed a general policy of toleration toward rock music in the 1960s, well before it was acceptable in the Soviet-dominated Eastern Bloc.[444] Rock found an audience in Yugoslavia in part because of the broadcast of Radio Luxembourg, an American backed radio station aimed at the Communist world, into the country.[445] Over the course of the 1960s, local musicians reinvented rock through their own cultural lenses. Rock bands like Bijelo Dugme (White Button) of Sarajevo were one of the first bands to sing in Croatian for example. They also incorporated local folk musical

---

[444] See for example Artemy Troitsky, *Back in the USSR: The True Story of Rock in Russia*, (London: Faber & Faber, 1988) and Timothy W. Ryback, *Rock Around the Bloc: A History of Rock Music in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, 1954-1988*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
[445] Ramet, "Shake, Rattle and Self-Management," 178.

traditions into their albums. This evolved into the popular New Primitive scene in Sarajevo.[446]

This coincided with one of the waves of liberalization and decentralization in Yugoslavia, Ramet

argued. These were eras when Tito would open up the economy and political structures to a

greater degree of democratic practices. This was especially true after the fall of Serbian

nationalist Aleksandar Ranković, an advocate for greater centralization under Belgrade,

especially with regards to the Albanian majority Kosova.[447] Bands like Bijelo Dugme found

industry (and hence state) support. The shape of the domestic recording industry, like many other

industries in this communist country, reflected the political realities of the time. Punk took a

slightly different trajectory.

That punks struggled to get distribution and created their own alternatives within

Yugoslavia shows the shared struggle of punks that helped to standardize their cultural

understandings, even if the political landscape in which they existed were very different. By the

early 1970s, this particular liberalizing period came to an end with the communist party drafting

a new constitution. Gregor Tomc noted how this liberalization period coincided with some

political non-conformists being eliminated from public life. However, he stated, "[T]he rock

subculture managed to survive undamaged."[448] During the 1970s, the communist party ignored

rock and those who made it, avoiding any sort of overt censorship of the genre—early punk

bands included. Vidmar confirmed the wide latitude and tacit state support that rock musicians

enjoyed during the 1970s. He cited Pankrti as an example. The band traveled to Italy to record

their first single on a punk label there. Yet they eventually managed to get a domestic release via

[446] Ramet, "Shake, Rattle and Self-Management," 179. For the Bijelo dugme in the New Primitive scene, see Aida Kalender and Dijana Marjanoviae, "Rock Under Siege," *Si21*, http://www.kabi.si/si21/IASPM/aida.html (accessed May 4, 2010).
[447] Ramet, *Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia, 1962 - 1991*, 90 -91.
[448] Tomc, "The Politics of Punk," 117.

ŠKUC when they were refused by the official regional Slovenian state-run record label ZKP RTV. The release proved popular enough that Pankrti's next two albums were released on the regional label, illustrating that early punk eventually found some normalization within the domestic recording industry.[449] According to Vidmar they were able to record and produce an album because "[T]he record industry was already market oriented enough and some people were open minded enough to react to the increasing popularity of punk." The label's output was not strictly under the control of the state, although the state certainly laid the groundwork via political pressure for a particular kind of self-censorship the industry engaged in. Not long after this, Vidmar produced the debut LP for the Rijeka band Paraf. Some lyrics to one song were found to be inappropriate by the label, the song "Our Police is the Best" or "Narodna Pjesma." But, Vidmar argued that "[t]he main 'problem' [according to the label] was my lack of experience and studio engineer (also the owner) who was just afraid that the lyrics would be too prominent in the mix..."[450] The censored song eventually appeared on the *Novi Punk Val 78 -80* compilation produced by Vidmar in 1981.[451] In other words, despite living in a communist state, artists experienced varying degrees of latitude in making music that might not have been officially sanctioned by the state. Despite some censoring of lyrics, Paraf was not prevented from releasing their album; nor did they risk severe punishments for their political statements.

The situation changed quickly during the 1980s—coinciding with a more bellicose Cold War atmosphere—for punks in western and communist countries. The 1980s saw authorities in various places reacting in seriously negative ways to punk. Punk became viewed as a serious

---

[449] See the Pankrti's website for a discography, "Pankrti: Discography," *Pankriti,* http://pankrti.tripod.com/eng/discography.html, (accessed May 4, 2010).
[450] "Igor Vidmar," *Uzurlikzurli e-zine,* http://members.iinet.net.au/~predrag/vidmar.html (accessed May 5, 2010).
[451] Various Artists, *Novi Punk Val 78-80*, ZKP RTL, LD 0658, Yugoslavia, 1981. The song was the fifth track on side A.

social problem on both sides of the Cold War divide. In the United States police began to crack

down on hardcore bands. The first wave punk scene in Los Angeles had little interactions with

law enforcement, with the occasional exception of a police officer acting as a bouncer for a club

for a little extra cash. In one case the local punk club the Masque gained a more sanctioned

police presence when club regular Jane King was murdered by the hillside strangler in 1977.[452]

The relationship between law enforcement and punks changed with the so-called Elk's Lodge St.

Patrick's Day police riot.[453] In March 1979, several bands put on a show at the Elk's Lodge,

including the Alley Cats, the Plugz and the Go-go's.[454] The same night, the Lodge hosted a

wedding celebration in a different part of the building. From there, accounts of the night's events

differed sharply. The number of concert goers was seen as the key problem for management of

the Elk's Lodge. According to Kenneth Freed in *The Los Angeles Times*, some 60 officers in riot

gear showed up in order to deal with 600 punks. These numbers reflected the growing popularity

of punk music. The punk's behavior came under scrutiny, too. The police were called because

"some fans...were drunk, throwing bottles and fighting." The manager of the Elks Lodge called

the police when those attending the wedding reported feeling intimidated.[455]

Whether or not punks were acting up became the key event that caused debate. Freed laid

the blame for the violence at the feet of the punks. Other journalists covered the night with a bit

more skepticism of the police account. The *Los Angeles Times*' Robert Hilburn provided a rather

in-depth account of the incident the next day. He drew on accounts of two music journalists who

regularly covered the punk scene, Kristine McKenna for *The Los Angeles Times* and Chris

---

[452] Mullen and Spitz, *We Got the Neutron Bomb*, 140.
[453] Brendan Mullen called it the "St. Patrick's Day Massacre", while several others call it a "riot" started by the police, see Mullen and Spitz, *We Got the Neutron Bomb*, 188 - 189. Craig Lee and Shreader also called it the "St. Patrick's Day Massacre, see Lee and Shreader, "Los Angeles," *Hardcore California*, 34.
[454] Bands were listed in Lee and Shreader, "Los Angeles," 34.
[455] Kenneth Freed, "8 Arrested at Rock Concert," *Los Angeles Times*, Part I, March 19, 1979, 3 and 18.

Morris for the weekly *Los Angeles Reader*. Both supported the punk's account of unnecessary police brutality that night. Meanwhile, the police claimed that the trouble was not the show itself, rather the supposedly "life and death situation" on the staircase outside the ballroom where the concert was being held. But Brendan Mullen was astonished by the police response. He told Hilburn that previously police had no problems regarding punk shows. He said, "They (the police) generally come up and ask what's going on and I explain that it's just like it was in the 1950s... the kids like to dress up in leather jackets, but they're not really violent. The police seem to understand and leave us alone. That's why what happened Saturday was such a surprise." The police defended their actions to Hilburn. One stated that they were responding to a "riot situation." Police commander William Booth said that "some sort of rock music or bands appearing" was "incidental."[456] In this article the police spokesman rejected punks being targeted for police action. Instead, he focused on the specific incident that necessitated the police's actions. But this event represents the turning point of punk being considered a social problem that necessitated police intervention in US.

Around this time, American television shows began to construct punk as a social problem to the American public. Police and medical dramas like *Quincy MD*, *ChiPs*, and *21 Jump Street* all had episodes dedicated to punk culture as a social problem.[457] Daytime talk shows, aimed at mothers at home, also tackled the "dangerous cult" of punk during the 1980s. In 1984, daytime talk show veteran Phil Donahue hosted punks and those seeking to shepherd teens out of the punk scenes popping up across American suburbs. Psychologist Serena Dank positioned herself

---

[456] Robert Hilburn, "Police and Fans Disagree on Raid at Rock Show: Concertgoers Outraged but L.A.P.D. Defends Tactics," *Los Angeles Times*, Part IV View, March 20, 1979, 1 and 10.

[457] Wolf, "'We Accept You, One of Us,'" 342. These all aired across the 1980s and treated punk similarly to a gang violence problem (itself a problematic trope). "Last Stop, Nowhere," *Quincy, ME*, dir. Ray Danton, December 1, 1982, (Glen A. Laron Productions), "Battle of the Bands," ChiPs, dir. Barry Crane, January 31, 1982 (Rosner Television), and "Mean Streets and Pastel Houses," 21 Jump Street, dir. James Whitmore Jr., June 28, 1987, (Stephen J. Cannell Productions).

at the forefront of the movement to "save" young punks from themselves. She visited Donahue

to discuss the problem. She attempted to encourage young punks to spend their time more

constructively.[458] Her attempt to intervene in the social relationships of the punk scene on behalf

of some parents did not go unnoticed. In one issue of the LA zine *We Got Power*, Joe wrote in

complaining of the ignorance of Dank's anti-punk crusade.[459] Although not all depictions of punk

on American television were negative, a rather clear message about the dangers of punk made it

into general circulation. While not as prominent as the wave of satanic panic that swept the

nation (when some religious conservatives believed that there was a wave of satanic sacrifices),

punk and metal were scrutinized during the 1980s. Some officials, journalists, and talk show

hosts found them to be a real and present danger to American youths. The problem was to be

solved locally, through community and family structures, not at the state level through various

forms of censorship. It should be noted that therapists like Serena Dank stood to benefit

materially from overwhelmed parents frightened of their teens' music and clothing choices. Other

than local police cracking down on punk shows that might have spun out of control, the state or

federal government did little to directly reign in punks. The "problem" of punk was privatized.

Germans took a similar tact during the 1950s and 1960s to "deal with" the problem of youthful

rock fans.[460]

In contrast, Eastern European punks often faced more direct attacks once punk scenes

were redefined as a social problem by the state . By the mid-1980s, punks in Yugoslavia saw a

shift in how the state reacted to them, representing key differences in how the first and second

---

[458] The episode, which includes Ministry frontman Al Jourgensen on the stage with other punks as well as Dank can be found broken up into four parts at "Phil Donahue Punk show 1984 Parts 1-4," *You Tube*, January 6, 2011, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UGOQUahAmxg, (accessed October 6, 2016). He also hosted another episode with hard core punk bands from New York, "Donahue – NYC Hardcore 27.10.86," *You Tube*, January 1, 2015, *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XdQVQjTsrcs, (accessed October 6, 2016).*

[459] "Fuck Off, Serena," *We Got Power*, no. 3 (May 1982), 4.

[460] Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels*, 76-84.

world sought to shape the lives of young people. Punks in Yugoslavia who refused to participate

in politics through state-sanctioned youth organizations eventually came under government and

party scrutiny. Punks were imagined to be ultra-political, with many being accused outright of

being fascists.[461] The changes to how the state viewed punk evolved in an era of uncertainty that

followed Tito's death. While Tito remained alive, he moderated localized communist parties and

kept the more nationalist members in check. He provided a popular figure whose personal

typified the Yugoslav motto of brotherhood and unity (Tito was of mixed ethnic origin, for

example). His death in 1980 created a cultural vacuum from which nationalists emerged and

brought a stronger rhetoric into local party congresses and politics. The rise of Slobodan

Milošević signaled a real shift to the centralization of nationalism in Yugoslav politics.

Milošević, it should be noted, acted as a catalyst and expression of a general shift in mindsets in

the Balkan country, rather than some natural outcome of suppressed, "natural" nationalisms. The

death of Tito did not unleash nationalist violence, rather it was the exploitation of economic

uncertainty and the "destruction of alternatives," in the words of Eric Gordy, that helped create

the cycles of violence seen during the wars.[462] Popular music alternatives like punk in

Yugoslavia, while enjoying a period of relative acceptance in the 1970s, came to be seen as a

social threat in the 1980s. Punks sought out an identity based on criteria other than national

identity.

Two different events that illustrate how official attitudes in Yugoslavia changed

regarding punk—a "riot" at a state-sponsored in Koper, Yugoslavia in the late 1970s and the

---

[461] See discussion of the "Nazi punk affair" "Igor Vidmar," Uzurkikzurli, http://members.iinet.com.au/~predrag/vidmar.html, (accessed February 4, 2017), Lydia, "Slovenian Punk: A Brief Introduction," *Maximum RockNRoll*, October 28th, 2014, http://www.maximumrocknroll.com/slovenian-punk/, (accessed February 4, 2017), and

[462] Eric Gordy, *The Culture of Power in Serbia: Nationalism and the Destruction of Alternatives*, (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1999).

"Nazi punk affair in the mid-1980s. The first happened in the late 1970s, but was only marginal to the focus on unruly youth as a social problem. It did not rise to the level of social panic that came later. Punk came into the consciousness of the Yugoslav press with a concert in 1978 in the coastal town of Koper. The crowd response to the band was anything but positive, but the punk music was not the problem. The local youth center organized the May event which they scheduled to last from early afternoon until late at night. The concert drew nearly 2000 people to Koper from Yugoslavia and neighboring Italy. Bands like Italian progressive rock band Area and Slovene Buldožer appeared; neither played punk. Pankrti was the sole example of the genre according to accounts of that night. Poets and officials from the ZSMS (the Slovenian Communist party) also addressed the young concert goers, giving the event an official gloss. The local newspaper *Primorske novice* praised the event. Pankrti was not included in that praise. The author stated the band had nothing in common with Yugoslav society and was "leading youth astray." The article assumed foreign subversion was at work in Pankrti's performance.[463] The antipathy aimed at the band might have been due to their confrontational yet apolitical demeanor.

This paper was not alone in its condemnation of Pankrti at the Koper concert. Franc Goljevšček described silence when Pankrti took the stage in his review of the concert in the magazine *Stop*. Other than "some teenagers" he reiterated the lack of support for the band the band from the crowd. In a frustrated response, according to Goljevšček, a member of the band mooned the crowd. After that, they were escorted off the stage.[464] Neither of these articles mentioned the aftermath of the show, which had nothing to do with punk, but poor logistical

---

[463]   V. Japelj, "Imported Manifesto" *Primorske novice*, pt. 23, June 2, 1978, Koper, reprinted in *Punk pod Slovenci*, 110-111.

[464] Franc Goljevšček, "Pankrti v Kopru," *Stop*, no. 23 June 8, 1978, Ljubljana, reprinted in *Punk pod Slovenci*, 111 - 112.

planning. Other magazines brought the post-show events to public attention. According to

Slavko Hren in the magazine *Mladina*, a bonfire lit at the Koper football stadium provided a

place for some who had no other place to gather after the end of official events. This impromptu

campground, complete with guitars and drinking, brought out police with truncheons.[465] These

events and the surrounding publicity were enough to warrant a defense of the entire program by

Youth Cultural Center of Koper. They highlighted the lack of participation by other

organizations and pointed out disinformation on the part of the media regarding the event. They

called the event itself a success, as shown by the large number of attendees at the concert and the

later successful television broadcasts in both Yugoslavia and Italy. The sponsors spun the event

as a net positive, despite some problems.[466] But here we begin to see some early concerns over

youth in the public sphere.

Punk at this early stage was marginal enough to be generally ignored, except in these

cases where it was on display to a larger audience. One example of this sort of dismissal can be

found in Dimitrij Rupel's review of Pankrti's first single, "Lublana je bulana" in *Teleks* in

January 1979. In the review, he urged his readers to "ignore" their new record. He sneered at the

band's lack of polish and called the music a "cheap, plastic spectacle" (note the Marxist veneer to

the criticism). Rupel reported to the reader that punk, as a phenomenon, arose amongst the

English lower classes. He hinted at fascist overtones regarding the "uniform fetish" of some

punks.[467] Despite these hints at a Nazi connection the real focus was on punk as mass culture, a

---

[465] Slavko Hren, "Mama, pelji me na žur v Koper," *Mladina*, no. 24, June 15, 1978, Ljubljana, reprinted in *Punk pod Slovenci*, 112 - 114.

[466] Committee MKC-Koper, "Informativno pismo," *Mladina*, no. 26, June 29, 1978, reprinted in *Punk pod Slovenci*, 114 - 115.

[467] Dimitrij Rupel, "To Morate Preslišati," *Teleks*, no. 4, January 26, 1979, Ljubljana, reprinted in *Punk pod Slovenci*, 120.

common enough view of Marxists regarding popular culture, the tone was far from panicked but rather dismissive.

During the 1970s, it was not always easy to be in a punk band in Yugoslavia, it was possible. In fact, it seemed not much harder than in places like LA or London. Some first wave punk bands found an enthusiastic audience among Yugoslav youths.[468] Much like in LA, events took a critical turn and changes in how authorities responded to punk became obvious. In Yugoslavia, it took the form of more direct state intervention. Attitudes about punk from the state changed—from toleration to active discrediting and hostility. It had the result of drawing punk scenes around the world closer together in style and identity.

By the 1980s, the focus shifted to punks themselves representing a social problem in both LA and Yugoslavia. Slovene punks especially felt the weight of the state attempting to rein in alternatives to participation in more acceptable youth activities. Arrests of punks who had real or imagined Nazi-esque images became the center of moral panic, especially in the Ljubljana media. This "Nazi punk affair" provided the same hinge point as the Elk's Lodge Riot. Punk— which began with perhaps tentative transnational ties—became more underground and explicitly translocal in nature. Three separate events connected punks and Nazis in the Yugoslav media. In 1981 the local police arrested several punks who they accused of writing a "Nazi manifesto." The crackdown included members of the band Četrti Reich [Fourth Reich]. Dario Cortese wrote to *MRR* about the incident, describing it as "some dumb punks thought it would be great to make some racist nazi manifesto."[469] Around the same time, graffiti began to appear around Ljubljana, some of which included swastikas. Then papers reported on the stabbing of a 14-year-old boy, which the state media conflated in the public imagination with the "Nazi punk" problem. Tomc

---

[468] "Igor Vidmar," *Uzurkikzurli*, http://members.iinet.com.au/~predrag/vidmar.html, (accessed February 4, 2017)
[469] Dario Cortese, "Yugoslavia Scene Report," *Maximum Rocknroll*, Issue 7, July 1983, np.

described some of the fallout of these events. He characterized "police repression on a wide scale," noting that "[i]f punks developed a habit of meeting in a certain pub or disco, this was a sure sign that it would soon be closed down by the authorities." One 16-year-old punk was beaten by the police for refusing to admit he was a Nazi.[470] Vidmar dismissed the band at the center of the controversy, Četrti Reich. They apparently never played a show and never recorded an album. Nor was any mention of the band outside of their arrest found in scene reports sent from Yugoslavia. The band were not at all players on the scene. Despite their lack of pull or popularity on the punk scene, the band's appearance and apparent ties to Nazism had real world consequences for all punks in the Ljubljana scene. Much like the Elk's Lodge riot and the police repression that followed, this incident separated the true believers from those who did not take punk as seriously. Other parts of the communist world saw their own punk scenes evolve in the 1970s and 1980s. Gregory Kveberg noted in his dissertation on subcultures in the Soviet Union and Russia that punks experienced periodic oppression by the state around this same time.[471]

The state reaction to the band Laibach presents a distilled look at the realities of a changing Yugoslavia in the 1980s, especially for those engaged in the production of punk and postpunk music. The music and image adopted by the band challenged political structures of the socialist state and the supposedly firm separation between the Yugoslav socialist system based on "brotherhood and unity" on one hand and more authoritarian forms of government on the other. Laibach made connections between fascism and the Stalinist form of communism, two forms of government which Hannah Arendt described in similar terms in her classic treatise on the interwar period, *Origins of Totalitarianism*.[472] The band was fully embedded within the

---

[470] Tomc, "The Politics of Punk," *Independent Slovenia,* 121.
[471] Gregory Kveberg, "Moscow By Night: Musical Subcultures, Identity Formation, and Cultural Evolution in Russia, 1977-2008," (PhD Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2012), 53.
[472] Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, (San Diego: Harcourt Inc, 1968).

postpunk complex of subcultures that took the first wave of punk rock seriously as a mode of organizing music production and the cultural life of their fans.[473] Artist control of cultural production and the relationship to community proved central tenets of a loosely defined punk ethos that carried over into the various postpunk genres of music. In that sense, punks and postpunks had much to draw from the notion of community building through a shared relationship to music discussed by Gilroy.[474] The formation of networks of consumption which spoke to utopian ideals through the structures built during the Cold War by the Anglo-American recording industry also gestures to Paul Ricoeur's theories on building alternative social structures through utopian thought.[475]

Laibach's work staked out a firm relationship to discourses on modernity in the form of competing claims of ideology and utopia. They evoked a radical communal image as a band while also incorporating their listeners into their collective identity. The individuals in the band obscured their identities, presenting instead a unified, even interachangable group image. Each new album they released over the years saw a flurry of questions about their actually political allegiances, which the members answered with cagey responses.[476] Laibach incorporated nationalist themes in their work, such as the glorification of folk arts and the use of military-style music, both of which have figured heavily into socialist and fascist iconography. They also underscored the dystopian realities found in the twentieth century struggle for global supremacy between communism and fascism in a manner which indicted both ideologies. Their work laid bare the complicated political history of Yugoslavia which saw influence from both ends of the

---

[473] Simon Reynolds, *Rip It Up and Start Again: Postpunk 1978-1984*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2005).
[474] Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, (Boston: Harvard University Press), 72-110.
[475] See his discussion on Fourier especially, *Paul Ricoeur, Lectures on Ideology and Utopia, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986)*, 301-314.
[476] See their most recent album as a representative example, Laibach, *Spectre*, Mute Records, STUMM358, 2014, Compact Disc.

political spectrum.[477] The core concept found in their work points to the similarities within the

capitalist and communist worlds at the end of the totalitarian century.[478]

The band formed in Slovenia in 1980 just after the death of Tito, in the industrial mining

town of Trbovlje, north of the Slovene capital of Ljubljana. It would be two years before they

performed live and their performances made a splash across Yugoslavia. They dressed in

military uniforms, with the band's symbol emblazoned across arm bands, making them more than

a little reminiscent of Nazi uniforms. Their videos featured militaristic, socialist realist, and

nationalist imagery to go along with their martial brand of electro-industrial.[479] Even their name

intended to incite controversy—during the occupation of the Second World War, the Germans

renamed Ljubljana Laibach. The band soon found itself banned for such antics, but only across

Slovenia. They came under fire primarily in their home republic for their controversial imagery

reminiscent of the Nazis and their refusal to clarify where they stood politically. The band used

its name when playing in the other Federal Republics of Yugoslavia. The rise of nationalism

within the local socialist parties in Yugoslavia likely precipitated the very specific crackdown by

the Slovene government on the band.[480] The ban on their name coincided with the Nazi punk

panic noted above. Despite this, Laibach refused to change or tone down their militarized image

and it continues to be a core aspect of their performances.

---

[477] See for example John Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice There Was a Country*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[478] For a discussion on totalitarianism which Laibach's work directly addresses, see Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*.

[479] See their cover of Queen's "One Vision", which they made into a Wagnarian march in German, "Laibach: Geburt Einer Nation," *You Tube*, Oct. 11, 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZZAD7W3M4zc, (accessed April 28, 2015). The video was made in 1987 and coincided with the release of the album Opus Dei, Laibach, *Opus Dei*, Mute Records, STUMM 44, Compact Disc. The album was released on Wax Trax! Records in the United States.

[480] On the rise of nationalism as a political tool, see Gordy, *The Culture of Power in Serbia*.

Laibach's appearance "outfascists the fascists" and confirmed controversial comments made by the late David Bowie in the mid-1970s about the connection between the theatrics of a rock show and Hitler's public propaganda. Bowie said Hitler said "staged a country" much like a musician stages a show.[481] Laibach used fascist imagery on a number of fronts, through popular culture and high art, such as with some members' participation in an art collective known as the *Neue Slowenische Kunst* or *NSK*. The collective became a clearing house for art produced in Yugoslavia that engaged with "totalitarian kitsch," an art form which mixes and matches imagery from fascism with Socialist Realism.[482] Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Žižek, an ally of the band, characterized their work as pulling from various totalitarian imagery in order to disconnect them from their context and reinterpret them for the purposes of pure pleasure.[483]

Rock music as enacted by Laibach appears to be just as authoritarian as actual fascism. Their work carried resonance outside of the context of post-Tito Yugoslavia. Laibach joined a host of artists in the 1970s and 1980s across Europe and the United States looking to engage both consumers of popular music and high art. These impulses emerged out of the avant-garde art movement in Europe as much as from the punk movement. It was here that we begin to see the subcultural shift in the global recording industry influenced by punk. Like their counterparts in Britain, Germany, and North America, including artists like Throbbing Gristle, Einstrünzende

---

[481] Bowie made these comments in the mid-1970s, during his Berlin period in an interview with Cameron Crowe on behalf of Playboy magazine. A copy can be found "David Bowie-Playboy Magazine," *The Uncool: The Official Website for Everything Cameron Crowe*, 2012, http://www.theuncool.com/journalism/david-bowie-playboy-magazine/, (accessed April 25, 2015). Online music magazine The Quietus also recently reprinted a 1975 NME interview with Bowie where he made similar constroversial comments about fascism, "Classic David Bowie: Adolf Hitler and the Need for a New Right," The Quietus, January 25, 2010, http://thequietus.com/articles/03598-david-bowie-nme-interview-about-adolf-hitler-and-new-nazi-rock-movement, (accessed April 25, 2015).

[482] For a background on Laibach, see their webpage http://www.laibach.org, (accessed March 19, 2015). Also see Alexei Monroe, *Interrogation Machine: Laibach and NSK*, (Boston: MIT Press, 2005) and Dubravka Djurić and Miško Šuvaković (eds), *Impossible Histories: Historical Avant-gardes, Neo-avant-gardes, and Post-avant-gardes in Yugoslavia, 1918-1991*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003), 250-253.

[483] Slavoj Žižek, "The Enlightenment of Laibach," *Art & Design*, Vol. 9, Issue 3-4, (March-April, 1994), NP.

Neubauten, and Skinny Puppy respectively, Laibach merged performance art and popular music in a new ways to address the shifting landscape of late capitalism and late communism.[484] Postpunk genres of music like industrial shared with punk a sense of community that crossed national boundaries as well as a focus on greater control over their cultural output. Bands that came to be known as "industrial" built upon the structures created by punks earlier in the decade and actively built connections in similar ways to punks. Likwise, how the music was produced and distributed mattered. Punk or postpunk bands joining a major label often led to claims of being a "sell out."

Laibach sought to do more than produce good albums which would draw a large audience. They commented on the world via their recordings and performances in an attempt to lay bare the absurdities of the modern nation-state. In doing so, they straddled the divide between being a rock band and making political statements. Two live shows which bookended the era of the Balkan conflicts at the end of the Cold War indicated the narrow conceptual line the band walked between performance and political engagement. The first came not long after a series of speeches given by then Yugoslav president Milošević as part of his "bureaucratic revolution."[485] The band presented a speech at their performance in Belgrade in March 1989, just prior to Milošević's infamous Gazimestan speech that November. Given in a combination of Serbo-Croatian and German, the speech began by echoing the president's call to protect Serbs, especially in Kosova and wrapped up with a quote from British Prime Minister Neville

---

[484] See for example Simon Ford, *Wreckers of Civilization: The Story of Coum Transmission and Throbbing Gristle*, London: Black Dog Publishing, 1999), David Keenan, *England's Hidden Reverse: A Secret History of the Esoteric Underground*, London: Strange Attractor Press, 2004, S. Alexander Reed, *Assimilate: A Critical History of Industrial Music*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[485] Gordy, *The Culture of Power In Serbia*.

Chamberlain. The intent was the highlight the similarities between the rise of Serbian national rhetoric in the 1980s and German fascism of the 1930s.[486]

In hindsight, it seemed prophetic. But they simply put together the pieces of the rising tide of nationalism emanating from some quarters in Yugoslavia and read it through a historical lens. The rise of the virulent ethno-nationalism was not preordained in Yugoslavia. It was just one possible outcome as Milošević actively pushed aside alternatives to Serbian nationalist identity in order to more firmly ensconce himself in power, with other regional actors also pushing for a greater share of political power for their particular ethnic group. The wars that followed tore Yugoslavia apart and still reverberate across the Balkans today. Laibach's work in the late 1980s and 1990s drew attention to the growing, top-down, nationalist movements challenging a pan-slavic Yugoslav identity. They were simply indicated where such rhetoric could led in the past. Events like the massacre at Srebrenica in 1995—the murder of some 8000 unarmed Bosnian Muslim men and boys, the meaning of which is still being debated—validated their criticism and continues to haunt Balkan politics, twenty years on.[487] Events that occurred over the course of the Balkan Wars still inflame debate, meaning Laibach's engagement on these topics remain relevant.

The second performance occurred at the end of the Bosnian war and represented the messiness of the final collapse of the Cold War order represented by the Balkan wars.[488] Laibach played two nights in Sarajevo which coincided with the signing of the Dayton Accords. The tour

---

[486] These events were recounted in a documentary on the band, *Predictions of Fire/Prerokbe ognja*, directed by Michael Benson, (Slovenia: Kinetikon Pictures, October 2, 1996).

[487] For an account of several of the massacres during the Bosnian phase of the Yugoslav wars, see Joe Sacco, *Safe Area Gorazde: The War in Eastern Bosnia 1992-1995*, (Seattle: Fantographic Books, 2000) and on current tensions in the region, see "Serbia's Prime Minister is Forced to Flee Ceremony at Srebrenica's Mass Grave," *The Guardian*, July 11, 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/11/serbia-pm-flees-srebrenica-tribute, (accessed October 24, 2015).

[488] On the end of the Cold War see Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

was in support of their album *NATO* and was dubbed "Occupied Europe." The tour and album

questioned the post-Cold War order and the role the organization played in the Balkan wars. The

performance in recently besieged Sarajevo included the processing of NSK passports for the

audience in order to depict the instability of nationalist identities in the first place. The band

simultaneously criticized the wars that had torn the Balkans apart, while engaging skeptically

with the unfolding peace process led by NATO.[489]

Laibach's music today reflects these themes. Their most recent album *Spectre* operates

from a critical view of European unity and the tenuous nature of that unity in recent years. In

doing so, they speak to a generation increasingly uneasy with the European Union order, led

primarily by Germany and France. One wonders if they are again being prophetic as they

proclaim Europe to be on the verge of collapse in a single off that album, "Eurovision."

Laibach's statement in the song seems especially keen with the 2015 attacks in Europe by

Islamists and the knee-jerk backlash against refugees fleeing war zones like Syria and

Afghanistan. Borders once fully open for travel are closing as refugees flee devastating wars

instigated by the United States and their NATO allies.[490]

In addition to dissecting pan-European politics and culture across the twentieth century,

Laibach's music circulates within a very particular musical subculture—a transnational postpunk

community built in the years following the rise of punk rock in the 1970s and early 1980s. The

period following the rise of punk saw the development of a new field of cultural production for

popular music which seemingly empowered both musicians and fans within the globalized

marketplace of mass produced culture. Music functions as a social cement as much as it does a

---

[489]   *Laibach – A Film from Slovenia Occupied Europe NATO Tour, 1994-1995*, (Mute US: 1996).

[490]   On a shift in border policy within the EU in response to the ongoing refugee crisis, see James Kantner, "E.U.'s Open Borders Are in Danger, German Minister Warns," *New York Times*, January 15, 2016.

commodity. Punks broke down the fan-musician bifurcation found in rock music in the 1970s.[491]

Punk and postpunk music fans sought greater voice in the production of popular music and

musicians actively cultivated that voice. Their shared engagement also allowed for a means of

hashing out a number of political topics that fans might not otherwise have considered. Laibach

prompted discussions of local and pan-European politics as well as a sharp critique of

authoritarianism in all its political guises. Initially their albums were recorded and produced by

the ŠKUC of Ljubljana, which emerged as a center of countercultural politics in northern

Yugoslavia. Later in the 1980s Yugoslav state label Jugoton finally released their work

domestically.

Laibach eventually branched out into a much wider market across Europe and into the

United States. The British label Mute, known mostly for popular synthpop acts like Depeche

Mode and Erasure, gave the band a much higher profile in Western Europe. The band also broke

into the American industrial scene via the Chicago-based label Wax Trax! Records in the mid-

80s, known for North American and Western European industrial acts such as Ministry (and its

numerous side projects), Meat Beat Manifesto, Front Line Assembly, and Front 242, among

others.[492] Such music, aimed at a particular subculture, circulated on the pathways carved out of

by the rise of punk, which itself found a global audience thanks to the creation of a global

recording industry during the Cold War. Laibach hailed a particular subculture—the industrial

subculture—interested in subversive ideas and militaristic imagery as a way of understanding the

world and modernity.[493] Their music catered to a cult audience that claimed a transnational

reach. While much of their music addressed the specifics of living in a crossroads of the Cold

---

[491] Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, (London: Routledge, 1979).
[492] See their list of releases and the various labels at "Laibach," *Discogs*, http://www.discogs.com/artist/25404-Laibach, (accessed April 25, 2015).
[493] Reed, *Assimilate*, 7-8

War, they also spoke to a larger audience who had a shared identity and language around the world. The ability of Laibach to do so evolved precisely because of the rise of punk as a translocal phenomenon that opened up alternatives to the mainstream music industry.

<div align="center">***</div>

Artists like Fela Kuti and Laibach exploited cultural pathways that circulated globally beginning in the 60s with the rise of rock music which were forged over the course of the Cultural Cold War. Punks sought to democratize those pathways, to a degree. Punks and postpunks rejected corporate exploitation made possible by the Cultural Cold War. It is important to note that the mainstreaming of rock by the recording industry emerged from the appropriation of what had previously been understood as Black musical forms by white musicians. The mainstream music industry exploited many artists over the years, especially Black musicians—even as it helped intensify the creation of a global African diaspora through music. The shift to rock as the major genre of music promoted by the major labels also saw musicians taking a more active role in profiting from their work on more equal footing with the label—but that took time and happened first with white artists. The reimagining of performers as singer-songwriters galvanized musicians to demand a greater share of the economic pie from their labels. Even though independent labels built rock, those same labels still often exploited the performers. As Alex Ogg reminded readers in his overview of postpunk independent labels, independent does not necessarily equate with morally superior.[494]

By the 1970s, as we have seen, demanding a fairer share of the spoils morphed into a new wave of independent labels, often run by artists. The understanding of the exploitation in the recording industry, whose global expansion depended on the structures created by the Cold War,

---

[494] Alex Ogg, *Independence Days: The Story of UK Independent Record Labels*, (London: Cherry Red Books, 2009), III.

led some musicians to more tightly control their cultural output. These changes to the industry also benefited from the democratization of forms of publication that led to a wave of magazines, known as zines, which criss-crossed the globe. Zines functioned as both means of marketing independent music and as social spaces for those involved in local music scenes. Punk became a visible example of precisely this sort of democratization of popular culture.

6   CONCLUSION: THE COLD WAR ROOTS OF YOUTH SUBCULTURES

In American memory, the Cold War ended with a bang: the reverberations of excited Germans hammering down sections of the Berlin wall. More than the attempted coup by communist hardliners in the Soviet Union, the violent end of Nicolae Ceauşescu in Romania, the opening of Eastern European borders to the west, or the peaceful street actions of the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia, the impromptu celebration on top of the Berlin wall seared itself into the minds of many British and American citizens watching history unfold on their televisions. Hope drove the narrative. Many of these events proceeded peacefully, with no major attempts to crackdown on protests as they happened. Prior to the beginning of the Yugoslav wars in the 1990s, the end of the Cold War initially felt like a victory for both those living under communism and those who had viewed it at a mediated distance.

American-style consumerism was seen as a major contributor to the downfall of the communist world. Despite the attempts to differentiate the capitalist and communist worlds, similarities in daily life crept into the experiences of Soviet and American citizens, shaped by the conflict itself. Consumption became a location of struggle in the Cold War beginning with the "kitchen debates" between Vice President Richard Nixon and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in 1950. American popular culture came to influence the production of culture in the rest of the world. A key element of this dissertation explores how over the course of the Cold War rock

music became a shared cultural language that created a tentative sense of a shared reality among young people around the world. Young people in both the First and Second World embraced rock as a soundtrack to their rebellions, little or big. As the postwar generation across the world grew into adulthood and saw the principal global organizing structure disintegrate, rock music became part and parcel of the celebrations around the last days of the Cold War.

As the Cold War ended, the mainstream recording industry celebrated along with the rest of the world. This exaltation of boomer era rock music as a means of celebrating the "end of history" began in earnest soon after the end of the Cold War.[495] Industries that worked with Cold War governments helped to shape celebrations at the end of it. A prime example of the recording industry celebrating the end of the Cold War came when former Pink Floyd member Roger Waters staged an epic, star-studded performance of the band's 1979 album, *The Wall*, in Berlin. According to Bret Urick, Pink Floyd's still popular concept album represented Roger Waters's disenchantment with being a rock star and his sense of alienation in consumer society— ironically expressed through the sale of consumer products, the album, the singles, the tour, the film, and so on. Like Bowie's comments about Hitler staging a country like a rock star, Waters's analysis attributed a dark social power to rock music. His writing on that album shows a struggle with the individual and social effects of the production and consumption of mass-produced culture. The album speaks to the experiences and hopes of baby boomers of the United States, the UK, and Germany during the Cold War.[496]

---

[495] The phrase "the end of history" to describe the end of the Cold War came from an article and then a book, see Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man*, (New York: Avon Books, 1992). The phrase was often used by Marxist to talk about the end of the conflicts which drove historical processes and goes back to Sir Thomas More's classic work, *Utopia*.

[496] For an interpretation of the album and film see Bret Urick, *Pink Floyd, The Wall: A Complete Analysis*, http://www.thewallanalysis.com/, 2016, (Accessed July 31, 2016),

The enduring popularity of Pink Floyd's magnum opus emanates from its engagement with alienation connected to the consumer economy that functioned as part of the expansion of American power abroad during that historical period. Works like *The Wall* helped to chart the nature of youth alienation that arose out of the Cold War itself. The rise of organized youth in the 1960s and early 1970s—even the more radical ones like the Black Panthers, the Weathermen, and the Bader-Meinhoff gang—showed the depth of ambivalence some felt with mainstream culture. Eventually, rebellion through mass culture no longer felt like it was an effective means of resisting forms of oppression that many believed was part of modern society. Some works of art, such as *The Wall*, retained popularity precisely because they tapped into that sense of social dislocation and worked within the tensions found between consumer and youth culture rather than ignoring them.

The opening of the film gave this element away. Bob Geldof—in a moment reflecting on the psychotic break of Syd Barrett, a founding member of the band. earlier in the band's history—sat comatose in a chair while the camera panned in on his Mickey Mouse watch. The moment symbolized the hopes of the Baby Boomers in the 1950s and how far they had veered off course in search of that hope.[497] If British and American youths felt enough estrangement from their parents' culture to embrace the album, so too did German youths, no matter what side of the wall they had grown up on. Many felt that both states failed to live up to the promises made by their respective governments. It gave them a shared language of discontent that the recording industry had nurtured for its own economic gain. Such shared remoteness from the worldview of their parents made the work an interesting and topical piece to perform at the end of the Cold War at that particular, history-laden location.

---

[497]   Urick, "When the Tigers Broke Free, Part 1," *Pink Floyd, The Wall*.

The city of Berlin led the collective memorialization of the end of an ideologically divided country. From then forward, only one Germany would exist in the world, under a single, democratic, capitalist government. Against this historically charged and uncertain moment, Roger Waters made plans to play on the site of the Berlin Wall. There, both boomers and younger musicians performed the work for a large audience. Sinead O`Connor and the Band teamed up to perform "Mother" while Cyndi Lauper led a chorus of "Brick in the Wall." Thomas Dolby played synthesizers and performed the role of the school master. The Berlin Radio Symphony Orchestra (Rundfunk) and the Red Army Chorus lent the event an air of respectability, while the appearance of the legendary Ute Lemper and German metal mainstays the Scorpions helped remind the audience where this was taking place. This performance showed just how entrenched boomer youth culture had become on both sides of the Iron Curtain. It assumed, implicitly, that rock music contributed directly to the fall of the Berlin Wall itself—a possibly dodgy assumption given the economic realities of the Soviet Union in the 1980s.[498] In the coming years, artists from both sides of the Iron Curtain took advantage of the new openness to seek out fans, old and new. However, artists from one side (from United States and Great Britain) generally already had solid fan bases on both sides of that former divide, allowing them to more effectively conquer these newly opened markets.

The continued popularity of a work like *The Wall* can be explained in a number of ways not related to the aesthetics of the piece. The emotional resonances of the work noted above represents one such explanation. But another reason rests in its continued promotion by Waters and the other members of Pink Floyd—as part of their back catalog—and by the labels that stand

---

[498] The concert was recorded and sold on video, Roger Waters, *The Wall: Live in Berlin*, Roger Waters, (1990; Los Angeles: Mercury, 2003), DVD. For one argument that rock music helped to bring down the communist world, includes Leslie Woodhead, *How the Beatles Rocked the Kremlin: The Untold Story of a Noisy Revolution*, (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013).

to benefit from sales. Re-releases and remasters of old albums (sometimes, but not always, onto new formats) can happen for a variety of reasons, including continued demand. In general, they play off the assumed deterioration of previous formats, appeals to nostalgia, or even opportunities to remaster the album with new technologies. The industry likely also assumed that younger consumers find the music of the past just as appealing as previous generations. Re-releases also give artists a chance to re-contextualize their *oeuvre* in light of their more recent work and the passing of time. Sometimes the artist will include new liner notes or new artwork on the re-releases. This is especially true with the recent revival of vinyl records, as the format allows for more physical material to be included in the album packaging.

These are not the only reasons for the band's continued popularity. Much of the recording industry rests on structures built in the 1960s and the cultural assumptions of the boomers. Additionally, many key executives heading the major labels are still baby boomers. Long-time industry insiders like 84-year-old Clive Davis, Chief Creative Officer of Sony, retain prominent positions which give them influence over the direction of the major labels.[499] Doug Morris, born in the 1930s, serves as Sony's chairman.[500] Although now the majors often operate with a series of smaller labels under their umbrellas, these smaller subsidiaries often originally came from the 1960s rock explosion and many of them were bought up during that time by the larger labels. Many broadcasting companies, such as the massive conglomerate, IHeartMedia (formerly known as Clear Channel) operate under the watchful eyes of older executives, in this case, Robert Pittman born in 1953.[501] Although certainly executives running labels and broadcast companies

---

[499] "Clive Davis Biography," *Clive Davis*, http://www.clivedavis.com/bio/, (accessed April 10, 2017).

[500] "Doug Morris," *Sony Music*, https://www.sonymusic.com/executives/doug-morris/, (accessed April 10, 2017).

[501] TL Stanley, "MTV Founder Bob Pittman Is Our First Media Visionary," *AdWeek*, December 15, 2013, http://www.adweek.com/brand-marketing/mtv-founder-bob-pittman-our-first-media-visionary-154510/, (accessed April 10, 2017).

wish to promote the next big thing as it will financially benefit them, they also come laden with their own cultural orientations, often set in their youth. The media landscape, then, still bears of the mark of the expectations of people born in the United States and Britain in the postwar period. Their assumption that later generations experienced popular culture in the same way as they did drives the choices made by executives at the top of these industries. Yet, as we saw in this dissertation, younger people demanded greater control of their cultural creations and more robust engagement with how their culture was produced. Executives' expectations of what their largest consumer demographics will consume were set in part by their early experiences with popular music. The image of the youthful consumer and their own generation's consumption habits relates in their mind to that period of time where they experienced incredible power over the marketplace for music.

Major labels also still hold considerable sway over the production of popular music today, though not in as complete a way. Major label offerings still tend to dominate MTV, the IHeartRadio network, and television shows dedicated to popular music (such as the Grammy Awards or *Dick Clark's New Years Rockin' Eve*). Labels that exist under the same corporate umbrella as film companies often share cultural resources, such as with Warner Brothers. The major labels and their subsidiaries still generally dominate domestic and global record sales.[502] But independent labels have carved out serious territory in the American and global market for popular music. During the 1980s and into the early 1990s, a network of independent record stores, labels, and college radio stations at key locations around the world created a viable alternative to the major label system. That network evolved out of the 1970's punk revolt. Yet the

---

[502] Collectively, they take about 60% of album sales, "2013 Soundscan Stats – Market Share of Major Labels Record Labels Compared to Independent Labels," *Routenote*, January 17, 2014, http://routenote.com/blog/2013-soundscan-stats-market-share-of-major-record-labels-compared-to-independent-labels/, (accessed January 14, 2017).

industry attempted to carry on as if punk had only been a musical footnote that reinvigorated the industry rather than an attempt to carve out a meaningful alternative to the industry's offerings.

The primary focus of this dissertation rests in resituating punk in what historians call the Cultural Cold War. What does the rise of punk tell us about this era in history? Why try and understand it from the Cold War lens, when so many excellent studies grounding punk in its local and specific contexts exist? What do we gain by understanding punk as a globalized response to the Cold War? Why connect punk to the Cold War in such a manner? The story of young people carving out independent spaces for cultural production reveals several things about the era of the Cold War. First, the realities of this existential struggle shaped many aspects of daily life that individuals responded to in various ways. Punk was just one of the ways that young people in the 1970s and 1980s reacted to the Cold War but it still matters to understand punk as a specific Cold War experience. Criticism of corporate control of mass culture animated punks desire to carve out independent modes of production. Carrying on the tradition of cultural rebellion against mainstream morés, punks took it one step further by recognizing how the culture industries benefited from the Cold War. How sound recordings were produced and how the artist was compensated mattered just as much as the messages embedded in the songs—how authentically anti-establishment could one be, when the songs one wrote, recorded, and performed only served to support the often exploitative mainstream industry?

Second, the recording industry during the 1960s participated in the radicalization of youth culture. Record labels during this period made rock music the primary focus of their corporate structures and in doing so, put young people at the center of their corporate strategies. They promoted artists and music that questioned the political and social order of the American Cold War society. Songs such as "White Rabbit" by Jefferson Airplane helped to codify the

growing sense of a generation gap between boomers and their parents. As youth culture

coalesced around opposition to the Vietnam War and other concerns, the industry kept up with

their sense of discontent and sought to profit off of it. But they continued to participate in the

Cultural Cold War, with artists playing state-sponsored events overseas. In one case, as we saw

above with the band Blood, Sweat, & Tears, this collaboration caused a measurable backlash

from some consumers of popular music in the United States. Moving into the 1970s, a general

sense of discontent started to accumulate around the culture industries.

Third, the substantial changes to the recording industry wrought by punks brings into

focus how the Cold War reworked the consumer's relationship with culture. Many of the major

record labels in the United States, as was the case with other industries, found it advantageous to

participate in supporting the American agenda abroad. It helped open up new markets to

American and British albums, forging a more homogenized global industry which functioned in

similar ways across national borders. Demand grew as American musicians performed in support

of US policies and US backed radio stations broadcast American popular music produced by

major labels around the world. By the early 1970s, the industry considered itself globalized and

standardized in terms of the mode of production, but American and British artists, singing in

English, still dominated the global markets. Although musical variety certainly existed within the

industry, how the music was made and promoted looked far more standardized around the world

than it had in the past. Music was produced in a top-down way which assumed more passive

consumption on the part of those who listen to music. It became seen as a luxury, a passively

consumed commodity by the industry—even as popular music was deployed as a tool of

American diplomacy. But the on the other hand, corporate production of popular music also

allowed for greater circulation of a vareity of musical forms (and the ideas embedded within

them). It gave people a common set of expectations about the function of music in people's daily lives and even a common language to communicate across linguistic borders. Pulling from that more dynamic understanding of popular music, punks sought to counter the narrative of sound recordings as merely marketable goods. They saw their recordings as means to share information and as means of building community around a shared cultural identity. Standardization of music production allowed for a common experience with music, across national boundaries, and then a shared reaction among some music consumers. Although Evan Eisenberg argued that sound recordings fundamentally made the consumption of music solitary, in fact it just reconfigured the sociability of popular music in new ways.[503]

During the punk era, rock music as defined in the 1960s came to be seen as out of touch with younger consumers. The rise of punk certainly illustrated a level of discontent with the offerings of the major labels. But self-described punks never stopped at just making their tastes in music the next big thing—which they could have done when some of the early punk bands found a larger audience. Many of the first wave New York punk bands soon found popularity on MTV and on radio stations across the country in the early 1980s. But rebellion through popular music also radicalized how some came to view the production of popular music in more politicized terms. In some ways, the punk view of the production of music and their relationship to it can be seen as puritanical in its adherence of a certain view of authenticity. Although some accused punks of being rebels without a cause, many punks indeed embraced 1960s style direct political action on issues that they cared about—music production was one of those issues. During the 1980s in Europe when the anti-nuclear cause began to intersect with other political movements, punk squats became a sort of social and cultural touchstone that helped to hold these

---

[503] Evan Eisenberg, *The Recording Angel: Music, Records, and Culture from Aristotle to Zappa*, (New Have: Yale University Press, 2005), 57.

movements together.[504] But punks were never political purists and most certainly can not be understood as inherently progressive. Right-wing, even neo-fascist movements have used punk and postpunk music as recruiting tools, with enthusiastic youth buy-in.

What punks shared was a view of how music should be made and who should profit from that production. Independent music producer and musician Steve Albini famously summed up the punk view of the major label system in a now well-known essay, "The Problem with Music." His missive argued that the industry functioned on the exploitation of musicians, who often get no where within the industry.[505] The major issue that animated punks was the production of their culture and people's active involvement in that production. Authenticity in cultural production functioned as an important barometer by which to measure punk identity. Punks shared some key features with previous countercultures, such as the notion of engaging in rebellion through the consumption of particular kinds of culture. Many punks also embraced strong anti-state points of view, which again, were not particularly novel on their part. Hippies embraced an anti-state position and expressed that through the culture they consumed. Music and films made by Hollywood helped to shape the experiences of many young people during the 1960s and in fact represented a key mode of collective understanding for the baby boomers. Hippies often tied their cultural rebellion to the culture they consumed, which was produced by large corporations. Punks questioned the purity of popular music being marketed to the youth market in this environment.

The recording industry, at the same time that it experienced consolidation and globalization, also began to alienate its primary customers. Punks came to express this alienation

---

[504] Gregory Katsiaficas, *The Subversion of Politics: European Autonomous Social Movements and the Decolonization of Everyday life*, (Oakland: AK Press, 2006).

[505] Steve Albini, "The Problem with Music," *Negativeland*, http://www.negativland.com/news/?page_id=17, (accessed March 6, 2017).

as a matter of course and actively created alternatives to the major label system as a response. In doing so, punks upended the notion that opposition to the state or to specific political events was enough in terms of cultural rebellion. Resistance to the mode of production that privileged corporations over the producers and consumers of music also mattered. In formulating this means of resisting hegemonic control of popular culture, punk contributed materially to the understanding of the role that individuals and communities can play in creating alternatives to top-down corporate control of mass culture that bedeviled the likes of Adorno and Benjamin. Less concerned with aesthetic considerations and more interested in the structures that connected individuals into a community, punks built up alternative structures to more tightly control their own cultural production. Those alternatives, which materially benefited from the spread of the mass media through the structures built in part by the Cultural Cold War, allowed for a new way of thinking about the production of culture to emerge in today's subculturally-minded environment. Punk has come to represent more than a type of music or a way of dressing. It stands for how one makes something.

As shown in this dissertation, punk emerged as a deeply politicized youth subculture, but not necessarily only in terms of left-right politics. Rather punk existed as one subculture in the trend of mass-produced culture itself being a terrain of political activity. How one made music became a point of debate and political tension, which punks sought to bring to the forefront of the consciousness of consumers. Whatever their political positions, punks agreed on the need to better control and benefit from their cultural production. Many punks acknowledged and carried on with the 1960s embrace of cultural rebellion among the young, a mode of thinking which rested on a general mistrust of various forms of state and societal authority. They brought a new strain of cultural rebellion to the table by demanding greater control over the production of their

music—even if they were acting within the confines of consumer culture. The culture industries often were seen by the sixties counterculture as if not entirely positively, then at the very least as capable of producing work that spoke to and supported cultural rebellion. Punks viewed these industries and how they operated with deeper scrutiny than did the earlier generation. Punks generally did not view the recording industry as a hip set of companies that produced products that spoke to a generation. Instead, they more often than not foregrounded their working definition of authenticity and spoke of the major labels as being exploitative, in bed with political forces inimical to freer cultural production.

Punks and postpunks sought out greater control of their cultural output. They pressed for more boutique-type musical production, aimed not at catapulting their artists into international fame, but into the arms of essentially what Kevin Kelly dubbed "1000 true fans."[506] Artists and fans sought to take greater control of the production and consumption of popular culture, especially music. In recent years, this particular mindset found a home across the culture industries. Director Kevin Smith rejected the notion that his films had to appeal to a wide cross section of the public and that he could just "make films with his friends."[507] Comedian Louis CK exploited the success of his show *Louie* that aired on the cable channel FX to create several off-the-wall series and in one case simply posted episodes to his website.[508] Even certified rock stars got into the act. Radiohead went full-on independent with the release of "In Rainbows" in 2007.

---

[506] Kevin Kelly, "1,000 True Fans," *The Technium*, March 4, 2008, http://kk.org/thetechnium/1000-true-fans/, (accessed January 1, 2017).

[507] Kevin Smith has been outspoken on how he has produced his films over the years, including his struggles with Miramax over the production of his film Chasing Amy, which he claimed the studio cut his budget when he refused to cast the film with different actors then the ones he wanted to. He "four walled" one recentl film, Red State, meaning he he did not have a distribution company. Smith often speaks on making independent films, "Kevin Smith & Independent Film Making," *Athletic Nerd*, February 11, 2011, http://theathleticnerd.com/movies/kevin-smith-independent-filmmaking, (accessed January 16, 2017). It's also a regular topic on his Smodcast podcast, http://www.smodcast.com/.

[508] See his website, which includes direct access to much of his films, TV shows, and comedy concerts, *Louis CK*, https://louisck.net/, (accessed January 16, 2017),

The culturally powerful Beyoncé released her album "Lemonade" album online with little of the usual fanfare, entirely confident in the ability of social media platforms to get the word out.[509] Some employed punk directly in their appeal to their fanbase, such as with Amanda Palmer, an artist that has greatly benefited from social media to create a true space of independence for her work.[510] Artists like Palmer are turning to platforms such as Bandcamp and Patreon to appeal directly to their fans for economic support of their artistic output. Punk gave all of the above artists and more the ability to think about the production of culture as something to share directly with the consumer, rather than merely a commodity lacking a social dimension.

The very nature of the music industry now bears the mark of punk's influence and not just in terms of the kind of music that labels promote. Alternative modes of sharing music have influenced and shaped the idea that popular music exists as something outside of the dictates of the industry. The major labels had to adjust to the "new normal." Recently, they have sought to control streaming and downloading, with some success. After the legal challenges and capitulation of services like Napster, industry-sanctioned downloading services such as iTunes came to dominate the downloading market.[511] Most artists—whether on major labels, independent labels, or fully independent—take seriously their need to reach out to their fan base in a more direct fashion and to do so in a way that does not come off as fake.

In 1999, David Bowie argued in a BBC interview that the internet would lead to a "demystification" process around the production of popular music, making it easier to create,

---

[509] Jonah Bromwich, "Radiohead, Beyoncé, and Other Pop Stars Tease Fans with Digital Crumbs," *New York Times*, May 4, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/05/arts/music/radiohead-beyonce-digital-clues.html, (accessed February 5, 2017). Other artists have appealed directly to their fanbase prior to Radiohead's experiment, such as Nine Inch Nails and the Swans, among others.

[510] See Amanda Palmer, "The Art of Asking," *TED Talks*, February 2013, http://www.ted.com/talks/amanda_palmer_the_art_of_asking, (accessed January 16, 2017).

[511] Alex Sayf Cummings, *Democracy of Sound: Music Piracy and the Remaking of American Copyright in the Twentieth Century*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 214-16.

share, and consume. The ability to understand how popular music becomes a commodity meant that more people could make the music they wished to themselves rather than waiting for the industry to fulfill their cultural needs or desires.[512] But as we saw over the course of this dissertation, punk made this happen well before the rise of digital peer-to-peer networks—in fact, punks and hip-hop fans anticipated peer-to-peer through sharing projects like tape trading in the mail. The fragmentation Bowie predicted in the interview was originally rooted in punk and the greater sense of control that musicians wished to exert over their works.

Although some mainstream artists only vaguely gesture to a sense of community to describe the work that they do, the fact that it has become important to do so indicates that punk made serious inroads into how the industry operates and presents itself. In addition to the autonomy actually offered by subsidiary labels that often cater to more esoteric tastes, they promote their artists as being independent and having more control over their music. Being constructed as a rebellious outsider always figured into the marketing of artists (especially as part of the rock revolution) that status has in recent years taken on more "punk" dimensions.[513] One of the forms this can take includes the promotion of the performer as a songwriter and artist first and foremost. The musicians songwriting skills can be poured over by the music press, ignoring other actors involved in the process of creating a song. The process of songwriting for many major label artists as most people understand it rarely exhibits real transparency and instead functions to elide the more messy reality of creating modern popular music. The industry acts as if the way they produce popular music is artist centered, when in reality, many of the older

---

[512] Matt Novak, "Watching David Bowie Argue with an Interviewer About the Future of the Internet is Beautiful," *Paleofuture*, January 10, 2017, http://paleofuture.gizmodo.com/watching-david-bowie-argue-with-an-interviewer-about-th-1791017656, (accessed January 17, 2017).

[513] Michael Kramer, *The Republic of Rock: Music and Citizenship in the Sixties Counterculture*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) and Grace Elizabeth Hale, *A Nation of Outsiders: How the White Middle Class Fell in Love with Rebellion in Postwar America*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

modes of producing culture still exist. Many artists who claim primary writing credits often work with a team of songwriters to produce their albums. The punk mode of production—artist centered and driven—gets lip service from the major labels, in other words. That fact that they act the part illustrates that notions of authenticity still have some import on the production of popular culture.

Meanwhile, real alternatives to the mainstream culture industries thrive in the internet age and have deep roots. The alternatives to the mainstream culture industries listed above have thrived in the early twenty-first century, bringing a different ethos to the production of popular culture, built on the structure of the internet. Punks began that process of erasing the line between artists and audience as far back as the 1970s and into the 1980s. Punks worked to make the processes of songwriting, album production, and distribution more transparent and accessible to a wider cross section of people. At least some that viewed the internet as an end run around the major labels often spoke in terms of "punk" as a central organizing principle to describe their activities. Since the end of the Cold War, punk and postpunk musics have been co-opted and normalized into the more mainstream recording industry. During that same time, there were new rounds of corporate consolidation. Beginning in the 1990s, bands that were either punk or influenced by punk landed deals with major labels. They bought out or created labels that operated along the lines of punk independent labels, in an effort to exploit underground music scenes for their economic benefit. To some degree it helped normalize punk and postpunk music—though, as we saw at the beginning of this dissertation with the case of the Sex Pistols induction into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame, not all punks acquiesced to that new normal.

Punk also influenced the evolution of subcultures outside of the culture industries. As a self-selecting subculture, punks sought to define the genre. Plenty of people who do not

understand themselves as punks nor would be accepted as one enjoy such music. But punk was more than just a genre of music. Punks created self-sustaining communities built upon the consumption of a commodity. Young people fetishized culture before punks; buying just the right music and wearing the right clothes mattered in any number of social contexts in the lives of teenagers and young people. But punks, although often decrying such practices, often demanded at least outward expressions of one's communal solidarity (if not uniformity). Later subcultures carried on with this tradition. People involved in the goth subculture in the 1980s and 1990s focused on clothing as well as the music one consumed. Appearances mattered as did one's record collection, which was to include albums from labels such as Cleopatra, Projekt, Danse Macabre, and industrial labels like Metropolis and Invisible. What and how one consumed mattered. The entire model for the gothic subculture, in terms of how individual scenes were daisy-chained together via a set of radio programs, night clubs, zines, and labels, pulled straight from the punk playbook.

The mode of youth culture which built its own structures was not restricted to music-based subcultures either. People who played the role playing game Dungeons and Dragons found community in local comic and gaming shops, which hosted tournaments for gamers (many still do). Much the same happened with early consumers of Japanese anime in the US. Eventually, people with shared cultural interests such as gaming and anime came together, booked hotels, and found guests to come to their fan-run conventions, which had been a staple of science fiction/fantasy fandom for decades. In recent years, although the corporate run conventions are larger, these fan-run conventions have exploded in size. The Atlanta-based Dragon*Con started

life as a gaming convention and has grown to draw nearly 70,000 over 4 days.[514] Anime

Weekend Atlanta has a similar trajectory and now draws about 30,000 people.[515]

In recent years, this subculturing phenomenon has gained greater visibility in daily life.

Subculturing—building up social and community structures that exist for a self-selecting social

group—represents a kind of politicization of everyday life. Being an enthusiastic consumer of

culture helps to shift an individual into a particular subculture or another—whether sports, TV,

or popular music. It allows people to make connections and stake out a sense of identity. The

culture one consumes becomes a key defining feature in one's life. Very rarely are there shared

cultural moments in American culture, ending the constitutive role of mass media in forging

national identities described by Benedict Anderson.[516] The story of baby boomers all collectively

turning on to the Beatles when they played on the *Ed Sullivan Show* seems unlikely to happen in

today's modern, fragmented, postmodern cultural landscape.[517] But individual cultural moments

connect people in new ways. People who describe themselves as Whovians, fans of the long

running BBC series science fiction *Doctor Who* in Great Britain, the United States, and many

other countries, all anticipate the show's annual Christmas episode, which they then discuss

online during and after it airs. Online zines, message boards, and social media like Tumblr allow

for various fandoms to share artwork, fan fiction, and working theories on various popular

culture franchises. Fans of particular musicians can likewise gather online, including on the

artists' website or social media platforms. Other aspects of life are "subcultured" as well,

including religious and political life. A larger cross section of evangelical Christians engage in

---

[514] "History: Dragon*Con," *Dragon*Con*, http://www.dragoncon.org/?q=history, (accessed January 17, 2017).
[515] "About Us – Anime Weekend Atlanta," *Anime Weekend Atlanta*, http://awa-con.com/information/about-us/, (accessed January 17, 2017).
[516] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (London: Verso, 2006), 113-114 especially.
[517] See for example Arielle Greenberg, *Youth Subcultures: Exploring Underground America*, (London: Pearson, 2006), Dustin Kidd, *Pop Culture Freaks: Identity, Mass Media, and Society*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 2014), and Chris Jenks, *Subculture: The Fragmentation of the Social*, (New York: Sage Publications, 2004).

cultural life developed specifically for them. Even news outlets cater to individual political world views, which some argue distorts our sense of the truth and grounds people in different concepts of normality, as Eli Pariser described in his book, *The Filter Bubble*.[518] Punk helped create and reflects the subculturing of American and global popular culture, which had repercussions outside of cultural consumption. This core idea of engaging with those who have a shared cultural interest almost exclusively and at times even treating outsiders with a certain level of contempt or fear emerged in part out of the rise of subcultures such as punk.

Punk functioned as a response to the Cold War itself, specifically the employment of popular culture by the state to persuade the world of the righteousness of the American political and economic system over communism. By tying well-loved art forms to the American system, policy makers hoped to create greater support for American policies. However, as popular music came to be understood as a commodity particularly aimed at youths, and that same demographic revolted against aspects of the system they were living under, cracks were inevitable. The cultural criticism that became the bedrock of the 1960s rebellion spilled over into the 1970s and motivated younger cultural rebels. The Cold War itself still created a sense of animosity toward the mainstream world. Punk as a reaction to the Cold War created specific changes that had long lasting reverberations to the expectation of how art and culture was made and disseminated— popular music came to be associated with more discrete subcultures and markets narrowed for the sale of albums into those subcultures. But the core problem was how the government decided to use popular culture, specifically youth culture, to promote their foreign policy aims.

Focusing on how punks sought to gain greater control over their economic and cultural outputs—in essence making a political stance through the production of art—also allows us to

---

[518] Eli Pariser, *The Filter Bubble: What the Internet Is Hiding From you*, (New York: Penguin Press, 2011).

understand just how much of daily life came to be expressed through consumerism over the course of the Cold War. Though certainly not unique to the Cold War era or even the twentieth century, a particular kind of consumerism found a new means of colonizing the world through the expansion of American state power. As historians such as Victoria de Grazia argued, consumerism as modeled in the United States slowly expanded worldwide over the course of the last century.[519] The expansion of punk into an archipelago of interconnected cultural scenes, knitted together through alternative media production rested on a shared understanding of the role of popular culture in the world.

Punks reacted to several realities of the Cold War world. First, many punks accepted the notion that mass culture and youth culture went hand in hand. Second, many agreed that the Cold War order represented an overriding problem. These two ideas connected punks to the previous generation's counterculture. Third, their suspicion of the culture industries divided them rather firmly from the previous countercultures. Although many hippies condemned many corporations for their role in the Cold War and Vietnam, the culture industries often got a pass. The fact that they produced popular culture which spoke to the angst of the period made the culture industries seem to be on their side. Punks saw things differently and their relationship to the corporate mass media changed somewhat from previous generations. It was far more antagonistic and fraught. They certainly modeled their print media on the hippies' models. But they also took the production of their music in a new direction. They created labels that existed outside of the major label system, and they came to depend on independent forms of mass media in order to share that music. All that being true—punk was still a consumer subculture. It rested on the production and consumption of a particular commodity, but a commodity where the production is more open and

---

[519] Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance Through Twentieth-Century Europe*, (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2005).

understood by both the producer and the consumer. Punks sought out the ability to better express themselves and connect with each other through the sharing and selling of that particular commodity—a sound recording.

Punk as a subculture flourished across borders in an interconnected set of scenes, indicating that a shared concept of youth and consumerism existed in many places by that time. They shared, if nothing else, a particular sense of the importance of cultural production outside of the major label system. For punks, the mode of production for popular music was a political issue—indeed, it represented the politicization of everyday life. By the 1980s, self-identified punks rejected much of the music produced by the mainstream music industry, and that view came to be a key, shared cultural value that united punks across the world. This stance demanded boutique music production that was far more responsive to the whims of the artists and to fans as consumers, even as the line between the two categories often blurred. Yet punks still existed as a category of consumer that the culture industries have sought to exploit over the years, with varying degrees of success. The emergence of punk around the world also shows that many people never turned to consumerism blindly or that it functioned as a top-down process only. The rise of punk in the 1970s represents a bottom up conceptualization of consumerism and worked as a means of democratizing mass culture. Rather than just accept what a large corporation produces uncritically, punks drew on the politicization of youth culture fomented in the 1960s, the cliquishness of the Beats of the 1950s and the expansion of new consumer goods such as cassette tapes, cheap multi-track recording gear, and even desktop publishing, which allowed for greater freedom for making music and art at home to facilitate the creation of a translocal identity.

The culture industries, which carried American cultural hegemony around the globe during the Cultural Cold War, played an important role in creating a general sense of a shared, global youth identity. This youth culture at times took on greater political tones at home and abroad, and created a genuine sense of connection among people around the world—what Michael Kramer dubbed the "republic of rock."[520] Social connections emerged out of a shared global youth culture of music, as well as shared political resistance to the dictates of the Cold War order itself. Conflicts like Vietnam especially motivated idealistic young people to rebel against their parents and the perceived need to divide the world into political and economic spheres. Most see a coherent youth culture completely disintegrating in the 1970s into a patchwork of violent radicals, those who "grew up" and moved onto adult life, and those who moved onto the next thing or doubled down on their outsider, rebellious lifestyle (often within the confines of a creative career). But the youth revolt and outsider culture did not disintegrate with the maturing of the baby boomers. Rather, the culture industries appropriated the expectation of rebellious youth as a key demographic—it turns out rather unconvincingly. As the domestic Cold War order unraveled in the 1970s, the industries that benefited from that order—domestically and globally—no longer seemed to be catering to the interests of alienated young people. The second act of the Cold War saw some young people looking to rebel in new ways that spoke to their sense of the need for authenticity. Punks at first attempted to fit within the recording industry, but eventually they created alternatives to the mainstream industry which created new modes of producing popular music for discrete markets. This mode of operating still functions and shapes the industry today.

---

[520]   Kramer, *Republic of Rock*.

The work above also explores what it meant to engage in political action through the consumer realm and how that happened in relation to one segment of the culture industries. The changes that created a more fragmented and responsive market relate directly to the Cold War political environment which spanned nearly five decades. Over the course of the Cold War, the consumer realm soaked in the same political stew as every other realm of American and global society. As the state sought help from a variety of industries across the economy, those industries reaped benefits in the global marketplace. As such, many industries happily contributed to the Cold War effort, as much as they did for the Second World War.

Just as the recording industry contributed albums for soldiers at the front, they sent musicians around the world to perform at the behest of the Departments of State and Defense. Physically and over the airwaves, recording artists simultaneously functioned as ambassadors of the American dream and of the physical media which allowed the industry to turn a profit. But they were presented as non-political cultural developments that naturally followed capitalism as an economic system—or that was the message that the American government promoted. The implicit message carried by cultural programs that familiarized the rest of the world with products of the American recording industry was that jazz and rock only come from free market democracy as embodied by the American system. Those embracing music and sound recordings in the Cold War positioned them as holding no political messages, despite the fact that the mode of production favored by the recording industry over the course of the twentieth century created political tensions and particular divisions of labor. These divisions of labor often drove profits up the chain to the heads of corporations and out of the hands of songwriters and musicians, particularly African Americans.

At the same time, the notion of the teenager as a key demographic of consumers swept the United States and the First World more generally. Many young people became politically conscious during the rise of the Civil Rights movement in the late 1950s and 1960s. After the passage of two landmark civil rights bills by Congress, these socially conscious young people turned their attention to other political realities of their country. As the United States plunged deeper into the political realities of the Cold War, especially in the conflict in Vietnam, young people began to question policies that underpinned the global power struggle, too. Vietnam especially focused resistance to the Cold War because the bodies on the line tended to be young men of college age. The recording industry responded to demands for more politically conscious music. Yet their music continued to circulate on the pathways forged for American products by the Cultural Cold War.

Those institutions that built a globally interconnected set of punk scenes have themselves recently begun to unravel. In 2013, the Georgia State University's storied radio station, WRAS, lost much of their air time to Georgia Public Broadcasting (or GPB) the statewide NPR affiliate.[521] No longer would the hours between 5am and 7pm be filled with the voices of independent musicians across genres on 88.5 FM. Rather, GPB piped in nationally syndicated content and some locally content, including a half hour music show produced by WRAS djs. Although it included some programs already aired on the Atlanta-based public radio station WABE (broadcasting at 90.1 FM), some were eager to hear more depth and GPB promised to deliver that. But they did so at the expense of local young voices and independent music. The case illustrates a kind of gentrification, which writer and activist Sarah Schulman argued happens

---

[521] Ben Braunstein, "The State of WRAS in 2016," *Creative Loafing*, June 16, 2016, http://www.clatl.com/music/article/13087566/the-state-of-wras-in-2016, (accessed January 17, 2017).

not just in our cities, but in our heads as well.[522] The excuse that online alternatives exist ignores the historic and important work that these institutions (funded largely by state and federal dollars) have done representing a public trust. Marginalized people—both those marginalized by our societies prejudices and by their own choices—wished to democratize such institutions to build up communities that worked for them. Even as those structures are dismantled or privatized, it seems likely that people will continue to colonize spaces that work for them. The State Department in recent years has turned to public diplomacy programs like the jazz tours in an effort to win hearts and minds in the Arab world. Hip hop stars who are also Muslims have toured on behalf of the American government.[523]

Punks themselves still appear in unexpected places. Both Hisham Aidi and Mark LeVine noted the popularity of subversive genres of music like punk, hip-hop, and heavy metal among Arab youths in recent years.[524] But the Middle East is not the only place where punk has made an impact. A recent flurry of articles noted the rise of a punk scene in locales such as Burma (or Myanmar). The English language edition of the German magazine *Der Spiegel* initially brought the Burmese punk scene to Western attention in 2012.[525] The punks in question look and act much like their western counterparts, often engaging in political acts at the local level. In 2015, the online magazine *Vice* reported on Burmese punks feeding homeless children in the city of Yangon, led by the local band Rebel Riot.[526] In Jonathan Dehart's account for *The Diplomat* of

---

[522] Sarah Schulman, *The Gentrification of the Mind*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).
[523] Hishaam Aidi, "Leverage Hip Hop in US Foreign Policy," *Al Jazeera*, November 7, 2011, http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/10/2011103091018299924.html, (accessed February 5, 2017).
[524] Hisham Aidi, *Rebel Music: Race, Empire, and the New Muslim Youth culture*, (New York: Vintage Books, 2014) and Mark LeVine, *Heavy Metal Islam: Rock, Resistance, and the Struggle for the Soul of Islam*, (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2008).
[525] Alexander Dluzak, "Burma's Punk Scene Fights Repression Underground," *Der Spiegel Online*, February 24, 2017, http://www.spiegel.de/international/zeitgeist/rotten-vicious-times-burma-s-punk-scene-fights-repression-underground-a-817185.html, (accessed February 14, 2017).
[526] Paul Gregoire, "Meet the Burmese Punks Feeding Their Country's Homeless," *Vice*, July 13, 2015, https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/the-myanmar-punks-feeding-yangoons-homeless, (accessed February 14,

the punk rebellion in Asian cities, the included picture includes portrays a punk with a studded

jacket with the words "Reagan Youth" emblazoned across the back.[527] A year later, the magazine

also included a slideshow of a punk music festival held to mark the New Year Water Festival.

Olaf Schuelke declared that politics had been put aside for the illegal event—ignoring the

inherent political act of putting together an illegal festival.[528] But as this dissertation argued, the

making of music itself can constitute an important political act.

REFERENCES

Archives

Center for Popular Music, Middle Tennessee State University
Georgia State University Library Special Collections
Library of Congress
National Archives
William Fulbright Papers, University of Arkansas Library Special Collections

Dissertations

Kveberg, Gregory. "Moscow By Night: Musical Subcultures, Identity Formation, and Cultural
    Evolution in Russia, 1977-2008." PhD Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-
    Champaign, 2012.

MacLeod, Dewar. "'Kids of the Black Hole': Youth Culture in Postsuburbia." Ph.D Diss. City
    University of New York, 1998.

2017).

[527] Jonathan Dehart, "Punk in Asia: Rebelling from Burma to Beijing," *The Diplomat*, April 16, 2013,
http://thediplomat.com/2013/04/punk-in-asia-rebelling-from-burma-to-beijing/, (accessed February 14, 2017).

[528] Olaf Schuelke, "The Punks of Myanmar," The Diplomat, May 12, 2014, http://thediplomat.com/2014/05/the-
punks-of-myanmar/, (accessed February 14, 2017)

Wolf, Mary Montgomery. "'We Accept You, One of Us?'": Punk Rock, Community, and Individualism in an Uncertain Era, 1974-1985." PhD Diss. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2007.

Magazines and Fanzines

Antena
Alternative Ulster
An Extra Boring Fanzine
Back Door Man
Big Takeover
Billboard
Black Dwarf
Boiling Point
Bombsite
Bomp!
Brass Lip
Cash Box
Censored
Chainsaw
City Chain
Combat Stance
Džuboks
Evil Minded
Flipside
Foreign Affairs
Free Beer Press
Goldmine
Great Speckled Bird
Hot Poop
Indecent Exposure
In Memory Of...
Life
Marching for Trash
Maximum RocknRoll
Mindset
Mojo Navigator
Newsweek
Pickering Punk
Punk
Punk Research
Ramparts
Rockin' Bones
Rolling Stone
Schrik

Search and Destroy
SF Weekly
Slash
Smash It Up
Suspect Device
Talking Points Memo
Toranna
Variety
We Got Power
Who Put the Bomp!

Newspapers

Boston Globe
Christian Science Monitor
Editor and Publisher
Foreign Service Journal
The Los Angeles Times
New York Times
Washington Post

Discography

Black Flag. *Damaged*. Black Flag. Unicorn Records and SST 9502 LP, 1981. LP.

Dead Kennedys. *Holiday in Cambodia*. Dead Kennedys. Optional Music OPT4, 1981. LP.

Dead Kennedys. *Give me Convenience or Give me Death.* Manifesto Records, MFO 42904, 1987. LP.

Eyes. *TAQN*. Eyes. Danger House, IZE-45 1979. Vinyl.

Laibach, *Opus Dei*. Laibach. Mute. STUMM 44, 1987. LP.

Laibach. *Spectre*. Laibach. Mute Records, STUMM358, 2014. Compact Disc.

Marr, Johnny and Morrissey. *The World Won't Listen.* The Smiths. Rough Trade, Rough 101. LP.

Randy, Black and the Metro Squad. *Idi Amin*. Black Randy and the Metro Squad. Danger House, IDI722, 1978. 7" Vinyl.

Stuart, Ian and Matt Morgan. *Hail the New Dawn*. Skrewdriver. Rock-O-Rama Records RRR.46, 1984. LP.

Books

Ackerman, Paul and Lee Zhito (eds). *The Complete Report of the First International Music Industry Conference*. New York: Billboard Publishing, 1969.

Adorno, Theodor W. *Current of Music: Elements of Radio Theory*. Ed. By Robert Hullot-Kentor. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2008.

----------------------- and Max Horkheimer. *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2002.

Aidi, Hisham D. *Rebel Music: Race, Empire, and the New Muslim Youth Culture*. New York: Vintage Books, 2014.

Alvah, Donna. *Unofficial Ambassadors: American Military Families Overseas and the Cold War,1946-1965*. New York: New York University Press, 2007.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso, 2006.

------------------------. *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination*. London: Verso, 2006.

Anderson, Iain. *This is Our Music: Free Jazz, the Sixties, and American Culture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimenions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

Appy, Christian G. *Cold War Constructions: The Political Culture of United States Imperialism, 1945-1966*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000.

Arendt, Hannah. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. San Diego: Harcourt, Inc. 1986.

Azzerad, Michael. *Our Band Could Be Your Life: Scenes from the American Underground 1981-1991*.   Boston: Little Brown & Co, 2004.

Ballentyne, Tony and Antoinette Burton. *Moving Subjects: Gender Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Bangs, Lester. *Psychotic Reactions and Carburetor Dung*. Ed. by Greil Marcus. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987.

Barker, Hugh and Yuval Taylor. *Faking It: The Quest for Authenticity in Popular Music*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2007.

Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2012.

Baudrille, Jean. *The System of Objects*. London: Verso, 2006.

Beeber, Steven Lee. *The Heebie-Jeebies at CBGB's: A Secret History of Jewish Punk*. Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2006.

Belmont, Laura A. *Selling the American Way: US Propaganda and the Cold War*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

Belisto, Peter and Bob Davis. *Hardcore California: A History of Punk and New Wave*. Berkley: Last Gasp of San Fransisco, 1983.

Benderly, Jill and Evan Kraft. *Independent Slovenia: Origins, Movements, Prospects*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994

Benjamin, Walter. *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Mechanical Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*. Boston: Belknap Press, 2000.

Bernstein, Arthur, Naoki Sekine, and Dick Weissman. *The Global Music industry: Three Perspectives*. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Blush, Steven. *American Hardcore: A Tribal History*. Los Angeles: Feral House, 2001.

Boubekeur, Amel and Olivier Roy (ed.). *Whatever Happened to Islamists?: Salafis, Heavy Metal Muslims, and the Lure of Consumerist Islam*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Social Structures of the Economy*. Trans. Chris Turner. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2005.

Bolles, Don, Brendan Mullen, and Adam Parfrey. *Lexicon Devil: The Fast Times and Short Life of Darby Crash and The Germs.* Los Angeles: Feral House, 2002.

Boyer, Paul. *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age*. New York

Brickell, Katherine and Ayona Datta (eds). *Translocal Geographies: Spaces, Places, Connections*. London: Routledge, 2011.

Bright, Terry. "Soviet Crusade Against Pop." *Popular Music.* Vol. 5, Continuity and Change (1985): 124 – 148.

Brinkley, Alan. *Liberalism and Its Discontents*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Brocken, Michael. *Other Voices: Hidden Histories of Liverpool's Popular Music Scenes, 1930s-1970s.* Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010.

Bromberg, Craig. *The Wicked Ways of Malcolm McLaren*. New York: Harper & Row, 1989.

Brown, Elaine. *A Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story*. New York: Anchor Books, 1992.

Broven, John. *Record Makers and Breakers: Voices of Independent Rock'n'Roll Pioneers*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009.

Bürger, Peter. *Theory of the Avant-Garde*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.

Burnett, Robert. *The Global Jukebox: The International Music Industry*. New York: Routledge, 1996.

Callahan, Mat. *The Trouble with Music*. Oakland: AK Press, 2005.

Chappell, Steve and Reebee Garofalo. *Rock'n'Roll Is Here To Pay*. Chicago: Nelson Hall 1977.

Chilton, Karen. *Hazel Scott: The Pioneering Jazz Pianist from Café to Hollywood to HUAC*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008.

Churchill, Winston. *Never Give In! The Best of Winston Churchill's Speeches*. New York: Hyperion, 2004.

Cohen, Lizabeth. *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America*. New York: Vintage Books, 2003.

--------------------. *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Connelly, Chris. *Concrete, Bulletproof, Invisible, & Fried: My Life as a Revolting Cock*. West Chester, PA: Shipwrecked Industries, 2014.

Corrigan, Maureen. *So We Read On: How the Great Gatsby Came To Be and Why It Endures*. New York: Little Brown and Co., 2014.

Coulson, Robert. "Fandom as a Way of Life." *Science Fiction Fandom*, ed. Joe Sanders, Westport Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994.

Cowie, Jefferson. *Stayin' Alive: The 1970s and the Last Days of the Working Class*. New York: The New Press, 2012.

Cox, Michael. *Beyond the Cold War: Super Powers at the Crossroads?* Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990.

Crnković Gordana P. and Sabrina Ramet (ed.). *Kazaam! Splat! Ploof!: The American Impact on European Popular Culture Since 1945*. Ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003.

Cummings, Alex Sayf. *Democracy of Sound: Music Piracy and the Remaking of American Copyright in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Cummings, Richard H. *Cold War Radio: The Dangerous History of American Broadcasting in Europe, 1950-1989*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2009.

Dannen, Fredric. *Hit Men: Power Brokers and Fast Money Inside the Music Business*. New York: Vintage Books, 1991.

Debord, Guy. *Society of the Spectacle*. Detroit: Black & Red, 1983.

Deeb, Laura. *An Enchanted Modern: Gender and Public Piety in Shi'i Lebanon*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.

de Grazia, Victoria. *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance Through 20th-Century Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2005.

Denning, Michael. *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century*. London: Verso, 1996.

Djurić Dubravka and Miško Šuvaković (ed.). *Impossible Histories: Historical Avant-gardes, Neo-avant-gardes,and Post-avant-gardes in Yugoslavia, 1918-1991*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2003.

Douglas, Susan. *Listening In: Radio and the American Imagination*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.

Eisenberg, Evan. T*he Recording Angel: Music, Records, and Culture from Aristole to Zappa*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Elliot, Marc. *Rockonomics: The Money Behind the Music*. New York: Franklin Watts, 1989.

Epstein, Jonathon S. (ed). *Youth Culture: Identity in a Postmodern World*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1998.

Farren, Mick and Suzy Shaw. *Bomp!: Saving the World One Record at a Time*. Los Angeles: American Modern Books, 2007.

Figa, Jozef. "Socializing the State: Civil Society and Democratization from Below in Slovenia." in *State Society Relations in Yugoslavia, 1945- 1992*. Ed. Melissa K. Bokovoy, Jill A. Irvine Carol S. Lilly. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997 p. 161 – 182.

Ford, Simon. *Wreckers of Civilization: The Story of Coum Transmission and Throbbing Gristle*. London: Black Dog Publishing, 1999.

Forbes, Robert and Eddie Stampton. *The White Nationalist Skinhead Movement UK & USA, 1979-1993*. Port Townsend, WA: Feral House Books, 2015.

Frank, Thomas. *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Frank, Thomas and Matt Weiland (eds). *Commodify Your Dissent: The Business of Culture in the New Guilded Age*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1997.

Frith, Simon. *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure, and the Politics of Rock and Roll*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1981.

Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History and the Last Man*. New York: Avon Books, 1992.

Fulbright, William. *The Arrogance of Power*. New York: Random House, 1966.

----------------------. *Pentagon Propaganda Machine*. New York: Liveright, 1970.

Gaddis, John Lewis. *The Cold War: A New History*. New York: Penguin Books, 2006.

Garofalo, Reebee. "From Music Publishing to MP3: Music and Industry in the Twentieth Century." *American Music*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Autumn, 1999): 318-354.

Gebesmair, Andreas and Alfred Smudits. *Global Repertoires: Popular Music Within and Beyond the Transnational Music Industry*. Burlington, VA: Ashgate, 2001.

Giles Scott-Smith, *The Politics of Apolitical Culture: The Congress for Cultural Freedom, the CIA, and post-war American Hegemony*, London: Routledge, 2002.

Gilmore, Glenda Elizabeth. *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1919-1950*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2009.

Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Glasper, Ian. *The Day the Country Died: A History of Anarcho Punk, 1980-1984*. London: Cherry Red Books, 2006.

Gordy, Eric D. *The Culture of Power in Serbia: Nationalism and the Destruction of Alternatives*. University Park, PN: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.

Gramsci, Antonio. *An Antonio Gramsci Reader*. David Forgacs (ed). New York: Schocken Books, 1988.

Gray, Marcus. *The Clash: Return of the Last Gang in Town.* London: Hal Leonard, 2004.

Greenberg, Arielle. *Youth Subcultures: Exploring Underground America*. London: Pearson, 2006.

Greenfield, Robert. *The Last Sultan: The Life and Times of Ahmet Ertegun*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011.

Guins, Raiford and Omayra Zaragoza Cruz (eds). *Popular Culture: A Reader*. Los Angeles: Sage,   2005.

Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1991.

Hale, Grace Elizabeth. *A Nation of Outsiders: How the White Middle Class Fell in Love with Rebellion in Postwar America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Hall, Stuart and Tony Jefferson (eds). *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Postwar Britain*. London: Routledge, 1993.

------------- and Paddy Whannel. *The Popular Arts*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1965.

Hannerz,Ulf. "Notes on the Global Ecumene." *Public Culture*, 1, 2 (Spring 1989): 66-75.

Hebdige, Dick. *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. London: Routledge, 1987.

Hegarty, Paul. *Noise/Music: A History*. New York: Continuum, 2009.

Heil, Alan L. *Voice of America: A History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.

Herzog, Herta. "Listener Mail to the Voice of America." *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 4, (Winter 1952-1953): 607-611.

Heylin, Clinton. *Babylon's Burning: From Punk to Grunge.* New York: Canongate, 2007.

Hinrichsen, Max (ed). *Hinrichsen's Musical Yearbook, Vol.IV-V 1947-1948.*London: Westminster Printing Works, 1948.

------------------------. *Hinrichsen's Musical Yearbook, Vol. VI 1949-1950*. London: Westminster Printing Works, 1950.

Hirschkind, Charles. *The Ethical Soundscape: Cassette Sermons and Islamic Counterpublics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.

Hixson, Walter L. *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945-1961*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 1997.

Hobsbawm, Eric. *Uncommon People:Resistance, Rebellion, and Jazz*. New York: The New Press, 1998.

Hoggart, Richard. *The Uses of Literacy: Changing Patterns in English Mass Culture*. Fair Lawn, NJ: Essential Books, 1957.

Horn, Gerd-Ranier. *The Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America 1956-1976*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Howe, Neil and William Strauss. *Generations: The History of America's Future*, 1584 to 2069. New York: Quill, 1991.

Iriye, Akira. *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1997.

Jackson, Jeffrey H. *Making Jazz French: Music and Modern Life in Interwar Paris*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.

Jaji, Tsitsi Ella. *Africa in Stereo: Modernism, Music, and Pan-African Solidarity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Jenks, Chris. *Subculture: The Fragmentation of the Social*. New York: Sage Publications, 2004.

Johnson, A. Ross and Eugene R. Parta (ed.). *Cold War Broadcasting: Impact on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010.

Johnson-Odim, Cheryl and Nina Emma Mba. *For Women and the Nation: Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti of Nigera.* Urbana: Univesity of Illinois Press, 1997.

Jones, Leroi. *Blues People: Negro Music in White America*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2002.

Kasson, John K. *Amusing the Millions: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century*. New York: Hill & Wang, 1978.

Katsiaficas, Geogry. *The Subversion of Politics: European Autonomous Social Movements and the Decolonization of Everyday Life*. Oakland: AK Press, 2006.

Keenan, David. *England's Hidden Reverse: A Secret History of the Esoteric Underground*. London: Strange Attractor Press, 2004.

Keithley, Joey. *I, Shithead: A Life in Punk*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2003.

Kidd, Dustin. *Pop Culture Freaks: Identity, Mass Media, and Society*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2014.

Klein, Christina. *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

Kohler, Foy. "The Effectivenss of the Voice of America" *The Quarterly of Film, Radio, and Television*, Vol 6, no. 1, (Autumn, 1951): 23-4.

Kouwenhoven, John A. *The Arts in Modern American Civilization*. New York: The Norton Library, 1948.

Kramer, Michael J. *The Republic of Rock: Music and Citizenship in the Sixties Counterculture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Krauss, Rosalind E. *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1987.

Kwon, Heonik. *The Other Cold War*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.

Laclau, Ernesto. *On Populist Reason*. London: Verso, 2005.

Lake, Marilyn and Henry Reynolds. *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Latham, Michael E. *Modernization as Ideology: American Social Science and "Nation Building" in the Kennedy Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Leach, William. *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture*. New York: Vintage Books,1993.

Leamer, Laurence. *The Kennedy Men: 1901-1963*. New York: Harper Collins, 2002.

Leffler, Melvyn. *For the Soul of Mankind: The United States, the Soviet Union, and the Cold War*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2008.

Leland, John. *Hip: The History*. New York: Harper Perenial, 2004.

Lendvai, Paul. *One Day That Shook the Communist World: The 1956 Hungarian Uprising and its Legacy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Lens, Sidney. *The Military-Industrial Complex*. London: Kahn and Averill, 1970.

LeVine, Mark. *Heavy Metal Islam: Rock, Resistance, and the Struggle for the Soul of Islam*. New York: Three Rivers Press, 2008.

Luis-Brown, David. *Waves of Decolonization: Discourses of Race and Hemispheric Citizenship in Cuba, Mexico, and the United States*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

Luthar, Breda and Marusa Pusnik (ed.). *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*. Washington, DC: New Academic Press, 2010.

Lydon, John. *Rotten: No Irish, No Blacks, No Dogs*. New York: Picador, 1994.

MacDonald, Dwight. *Against the American Grain*. New York: Random House, 1952.

MacLeod, Dewar. "Social Distortion: The Rise of Suburban Punk Rock in Los Angeles." *America Under Construction: Boundaries and Identities in Popular Culture*. ed. Kristi S. Long and Matthew Nadelhaft. New York: Garland Publishing, 1997. p. 123 – 148.

--------------------. *Kids of the Black Hole: Punk Rock in Postsuburban California*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010.

Malečkar, Neža and Tomaž Mastnak. *Punk pod Slovenci* (*Punk under the Slovenians)*. Ljubljana: KRT, 1985.

Malm, Krister and Roger Wallis. *Big Sounds From Small Peoples: The Music Industry in Small Countries*. New York: Pendragon Press, 1984.

--------------------------------------. *Media Policy and Music Activity*. New York: Routledge, 1992.

Malott, Curry and Milagros Peña. *Punk Rockers' Revolutions: A Pedagogy of Race, Class, and Gender*. New York: Peter Lang, 2004.

Manuel, Peter. *Cassette Culture: Popular Music and Technology in North India*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Marshall, George. *Spirit of 69: A Skinhead Bible*. Dunoon: S.T. Publishing, 1991.

Massing, Paul W. "Communist References to the Voice of America." *The Public Opinion Quarterly*. Vol. 16, No. 4, (Winter 1952-1953): 618-622.

Mattson, Kevin. "Did Punk Matter? Analyzing the Practices of a Youth Subculture During the 1980s." *American Studies.* Vol. 42, no. 1, (Spring 2001): 69 – 97.

Marcus, Greil. *Lipstick Traces: A Secret History of the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989.

May, Lary. *Recasting America: Culture and Politics in the Age of the Cold War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

McAllister, Melani. *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and US Interests in the Middle East Since 1945*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

McCain, Gillian and Legs McNeil. *Please Kill Me: The Uncensored Oral History of Punk*. New York: Grove Press, 1996.

McGilligan, Patrick. *Tender Comrades: A Backstory of the Hollywood Blacklist*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1997.

McKendrick, Neil. *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth Century England*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.

McLuhan, Marshall. *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964.

----------------------. *The Medium is the Massage: An Inventory of Effects*. London: Penguin Books, 1967.

McMillian, John. *Smoking Typewriters: The Sixties Underground Pres and the Rise of Alternative Media in America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

---------------------. *Beatles Vs. Stones*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013.

McRobbie, Angela. *Feminism and Youth Culture: From 'Jackie' to 'Just Seventeen*. London: Palgrave, 1990.

Mee, Jr., Charles L. *The Marshall Plan: The Launching of Pax Americana*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984.

Meinhoff, Ulrike. *Everybody Talks About the Weather… We Don't: The Writings of Ulrike Meinhoff*. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2008.

Melville, Keith. *Communes in the Counter Culture: Origins, Theories, Styles of Life*. New York: William, Morrow, & co., 1972.

Meyers, Kurtz. "Current Report on the Record Industry." *Notes*, Second Series, Vol. 3, No. 4 (September, 1946): 411.

Millard, Andre. *Beatlemania: Technology, Business, and Teen Culture in Cold War America*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2012.

Mintz, Sidney. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Penguin Books, 1986.

Mitchell, Tony (ed.). *Global Noise: Rap and Hip-Hop Outside the USA*. Middletown, CN: Wesleyan University Press, 2001.

Modern Girl Around the World Research Group. *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011.

Morillo, Ma. José, and Juan Carlos de Pablos. "Neo-rural 'Authenticity' Through the Lens of Baudrillard's System of Objects," *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 153 (ene-mar 2016), 95 – 110.

Monroe, Alexei. *Interrogation Machine: Laibach and NSK*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2005.

Mullen, Brendan and Marc Spitz. *We Got the Neutron Bomb: The Untold Story of L.A. Punk*. New York: Three Rivers Press, 2001.

Murphy, Gareth. *Cowboys and Indies: The Epic History of the Record Industry*. New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2014.

Nader, Ralph. *Unsafe at Any Speed: The Designed-in Dangers of the Automobile*. New York: Grossman Publisher, 1965.

Navasky, Victor S. *Naming Names*. New York: Hill & Wang, 1991.

Negus, Keith. *Producing Pop: Culture and Conflict in the Popular Music Industry*. London: Hodder Education, 1993.

—---------------. *Music Genres and Corporate Cultures*. New York: Routledge, 1999.

O'Connor, Alan. *Punk Record Labels and the Struggle for Autonomy: The Emergence of DIY*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008.

Ogg, Alex. *Independence Days: The Story of UK Independent Record Labels*. London: Cherry Red Records, 2009.

O'Hara, Craig. *The Philosophy of Punk: More than Noise!* Edinburgh: AK Press, 1995.

Olaniyan, Tejumola. *Arrest the Music!: Fela and His Rebel Art and Politics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004.

Osborne, Richard. *Vinyl: A History of the Analogue Record. Burlington*, VT: Ashgate, 2013.

Painter, David. *The Cold War: An International History*. London: Routledge, 1999.

Pariser, Eli. *The Filter Bubble: What the Internet Is Hiding From You*. New York: Penguin
     Press, 2011.

Pierce, Andrew J. "Authentic Identities." *Social Theory and Practice*, 41, no. 3 (July 2015): 435-
     457.

Phillipov, Michelle. "Haunted by the Spirit of '77: Punk Studies and the Persistence of Politics."
     Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies. Vol. 20 No. 3. (September 2005): p.
     383 – 393.

Poiger, Uta G. *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided
     Germany*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Prashad, Vijay. *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*. New York: The
     New Press,   2008.

Puddington, Arch. *Broadcasting Freedom: The Cold War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and
     Radio Liberty*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2000.

Ramet, Pedro. "Disaffection and Dissent in East Germany." *World Politics.* Vol 37, No.
     1,(October 1984): p. 85 – 111.

Ramet, Sabrina. *Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia, 1962 - 1991*. Bloomington, IN:
     Indiana University Press, 1992.

-----------------. *Balkan Babel: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to Ethnic
     War*. Boulder Co: Westview Press, 1996.

Reed, Alexander Reed. *Assimilate: A Critical History of Industrial Music*. Oxford: Oxford
     University Press, 2013.

Reynolds, Simon. *Rip It Up and Start Again: Postpunk 1978-1984*. New York: Penguin Books,
     2006.

Ricoeur, Paul. *Lectures on Ideology and Utopia*. Ed. By George H. Taylor. New York: Columbia
     University Press, 1986.

Rollins, Henry. *Get In the Van: On the Road with Black Flag*. Los Angeles: 2.13.61, 1994.

Rosen, Steven. *Testing the Theory of the Military-Industrial Complex*. Lexington, MA:
     Lexington Books, 1973

Ross, Kristin. *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture*.
     Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995.

Ryback, Timothy W. *Rock Around the Block: A History of Rock Music in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, 1954 - 1988.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Sacco, Joe. *Safe Area Gorazde: The War in Eastern Bosnia 1992-1995*. Seattle: Fantographic Books, 2000.

Sanjek, David and Russell Sanjek. *American Popular Music Business in the 20th Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Saunders, Frances Stonor. *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*. New York: The New Press, 1999.

Savage, Jon. *England's Dreaming: Anarchy, Sex Pistols, Punk Rock, and Beyond*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991.

—--------------. *Teenage: The Prehistory of Youth Culture, 1875-1945*. New York: Penguin, 2007.

Schoonmaker, Trevor. *Fela From West Africa to West Broadway.* New York: Jacana, 2003.

Schulman, Sarah. *The Gentrification of the Mind: Witness to a Last Imagination*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013.

Shapiro, Peter. *Turn the Beat Around: The Secret History of Disco*. London: Faber and Faber, 2005.

Shumway, David R. *Rock Star: The Making of Musical Icons from Elvis to Springsteen*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 2014.

Smelser, Neil J. (ed). *Handbook of Sociology*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1988.

Southern, Terry. *Virgin: A History of Virgin Records*. London: Welcome Rain, 1999.

Spitz, Marc and Brendan Mullen. *We Got the Neutron Bomb: The Untold Story of LA Punk*. New York: Three Rivers Press, 2001.

Stark, James. *Punk '77: An Inside Look at the San Francisco Rock 'N' Roll Scene 1977*. San Francisco: ReSearch1992.

Stearns, Peter N. *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire*. London: Routledge, 2001.

Stevens, S. Carolyn. *Japanese Popular Music: Culture, Authenticity, and Power*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Suisman, David. *Selling Sounds: The Commercial Revolution in American Music*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009.

Szendy, Peter. *Hits: Philosophy in the Jukebox*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2012.

Taylor, Timothy D. *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets*. New York: Routledge, 1997.

Thompson, Dave. *Depeche Mode: Some Great Reward*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.

Troitsky, Artemy. *Back in the USSR: The True Story of Rock in Russia*. London: Faber & Faber, 1988.

Turner, Fred. *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, the Rise of Digital Utopianism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

—----------------. *The Democratic Surround: Multimedia & American Liberalism from World War II to the Psychedelic Sixties*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013.

Uttaro,Ralph A. "The Voices of America in International Radio Propaganda." *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. 4, No. 1, (Winter 1982): 103-122.

Vauge, Tom. *Televisionaries: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

Veal, Michael E. *Fela: The Life and Times of an African Music Icon*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000.

Vesser, Cyrus. *A World Safe for Capitalism: Dollar Diplomacy and America's Rise to Global Power*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Von Eschen, Penny. *Satchmo Blows up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Wagenleitner, Reinhold. *Coca-Colonization: The Cultural Mission in the United States After the Second World War*. Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Wald, Elijah. *How the Beatles Destroyed Rock'n'Roll: An Alternative History of American Popular Music*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Warner, Michael. *Publics and Counterpublics*. New York: Zone Books, 2002.

Werth, Alexander. *Musical Uproar in Moscow*. Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1949.

Westad, Odd Arne. *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Wetzel, Richard D. *The Globalization of Music in History*. New York: Routledge, 2012.

Wilford, Hugh. *The Mighty Wurlitzer: How the CIA Played America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008.

Williams, Raymond. *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*. London: Fontana, 1975.

Willis, Ellen. *Out of the Vinyl Deeps: Ellen Willis on Rock Music*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.

----------------. *The Essential Ellen Willis*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014.

White, Hayden. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in the Nineteenth Century*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973.

Woodhead, Leslie. *How the Beatles Rocked the Kremlin: The Untold Story of a Noisy Revolution*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2013.

Žižek, Slavoj. "The Enlightenment of Laibach." *Art & Design*. Vol. 9, Issue 3-4, (March-April, 1994).

Zolov, Eric. *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.