

## Red Strains: Music and Communism outside the Communist Bloc after 1945

### CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

*NB: The Gallery, Auditorium, Lecture Room and Council Room are located on the first floor.*

#### Thursday 13 January

10:00-11:00	REGISTRATION [ <i>Lobby</i> ] and TEA/COFFEE [ <i>Gallery</i> ]	
11:00-1:00	<b>Welcome + Keynote 1: ANNE SHREFFLER (Harvard University):</b> <b>'Music Left and Right: A Tale of Two Histories of Progressive Music'</b> [ <i>Auditorium</i> ] Chair: Eric Drott	
1:00-2:00	LUNCH [ <i>Gallery</i> ]	
2:00-3:30	<b>Popular music [<i>Auditorium</i>]</b> Chair: Ben Piekut NIKOLAOS PAPADOGIANNIS ( <i>University of Cambridge</i> ): "The soul of the people": Greek Communist Youth and Greek "progressive" music in the first post-dictatorship years, 1974-1981 TAUNO SAARELA ( <i>University of Helsinki</i> ): Finnish communism and popular music, 1944-1970s JEREMY TRANMER ( <i>Université Nancy 2</i> ): Rocking against Racism: Trotskyism, Communism and Punk in Britain	<b>Communism's cultural legacy [<i>Lecture Room</i>]</b> Chair: Virginia Anderson BEATE KUTSCHKE ( <i>Universität Leipzig</i> ): Socialist-communist ideologies, West German agitprop aesthetics and the collective cantata <i>Strike at Mannesmann</i> PAULINE DRIESEN ( <i>Katholieke Universiteit Leuven</i> ): "As our march continues...": The influence of Vladimir Mayakovsky on Luigi Nono's <i>Intolleranza 1960</i> ROBERT ADLINGTON ( <i>University of Nottingham</i> ): 'From Orange to Red': Louis Andriessen's <i>Volkslied</i> and the 'Internationale'
3:30-4:00	TEA/COFFEE [ <i>Gallery</i> ]	
4:00-6:00	<b>Communist Parties [<i>Auditorium</i>]</b> Chair: Ben Earle SEBASTIAN SMALLSHAW ( <i>Vienna</i> ): The Austrian Communist Party in Viennese Musical Life, 1945-1959 PAOLA MERLI ( <i>University of Nottingham</i> ): The Italian Road to Opera ANTHONY ASHBOLT and GLENN MITCHELL ( <i>University of Wollongong</i> ): Music, the Political Score and Communism in Australia: 1945-1968 ERIC DROTT ( <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> ): Music in the <i>Fête de l'Humanité</i>	<b>Autonomy and engagement [<i>Lecture Room</i>]</b> Chair: Ian Pace MÁRIO VIEIRA DE CARVALHO ( <i>Universidade Nova de Lisboa</i> ): Fernando Lopes-Graça (1906-1994): Between Political Engagement and Aesthetic Autonomy MARY ROBB ( <i>University of Edinburgh</i> ): 'Seeking Control': McCarthyism and Miriam Gideon's <i>Epitaphs from Robert Burns</i> (1952) BRUCE DURAZZI ( <i>Washington University, St Louis</i> ): The Inner Lives of Texts: Voices, Testimony and the Materiality of Sound in Nono's Electronic Music in the 1960s DOMINIC WELLS ( <i>University of Durham</i> ): Communism in the name of Christianity: Liberation Theology in the early works of James MacMillan, 1988-1990

**Friday 14 January**

9:30-10:30	<p><b>Folk song I [Auditorium]</b>            Chair: Christine Guillebaud  <i>SUNMIN YOON (University of Maryland):</i>            Which Tradition is the Real Tradition?: Remaking Long-song Tradition Through Communist Mongolian National Broadcasting  <i>ANNA STIRR (Oxford University):</i>            Class Love and the Unfinished Transformation of Social Hierarchy in Nepali Communist Songs</p>	<p><b>Staging revolution [Lecture Room]</b>            Chair: Paola Merli  <i>JEAN-PHILIPPE HEBERLÉ (Université Paul Verlaine, Metz):</i>            Alan Bush's lifelong commitment to Marxism through <i>Wat Tyler</i> (1950) and <i>Men of Blackmoor</i> (1956)  <i>CAROLA NIELINGER (London):</i>  <i>Prometeo</i> and the End of the Utopia of Revolution</p>
10:30-11:00	TEA/COFFEE [Gallery]	
11:00-1:00	<p><b>Musicians' Panel: GIACOMO MANZONI, ERNIE LIEBERMAN and KONRAD BOEHMER [Auditorium]</b>            Chair: Robert Adlington</p>	
1:00-2:00	LUNCH [Gallery]	
2:00-3:30	<b>In Conversation: CHRIS CUTLER with BEN PIEKUT [Lecture Room]</b>	
3:30-4:00	TEA/COFFEE [Gallery]	
4:00-5:00	<p><b>The Black Panther Party [Lecture Room]</b>            Chair: Tiffany Kuo  <i>EAMONN KELLY (University of Wales, Newport):</i>            The Black Panther Party: Three Moments of Music  <i>SUMANTH GOPINATH (University of Minnesota):</i>            Can't Go Back: <i>Elaine Brown</i> (1973) and the Sound of Dead Panthers</p>	<p><b>Cornelius Cardew [Council Room]</b>            Chair: Carola Nielinger  <i>STEPHEN CHASE (London):</i>            Music as political education – Cardew's 'Critical Concert'  <i>IAN PACE (City University, London):</i>            Cardew serves Stalinism: Saint Cornelius and reified constructions of the international proletariat</p>
5:00-6:00	<p><b>Concert: APARTMENT HOUSE, director Anton Lukoszevieve [Auditorium]</b>            Each piece will be introduced by one of the conference speakers:            Fernando Lopes-Graça, <i>14 Aphorisms</i> for string quartet (1966)            Alan Bush, <i>3 Raga Melodies</i> for solo violin (1961)            Cornelius Cardew, <i>Workers' Song</i> for solo violin (1978)            Christian Wolff, <i>String Quartet Exercises out of Songs</i> (1974–76)</p>	
6:00-7:00	DRINKS RECEPTION [Gallery]	

**Saturday 15 January**

9:30-11:00	<p><b>US-Soviet friendship [Auditorium]</b>            Chair: Joanna Bullivant  <i>ELISE BONNER (Princeton University):</i>            Samuel Goldwyn, Aaron Copland, and the United States Government: Developing a pro-Soviet Aesthetic in Hollywood  <i>KEVIN BARTIG (Michigan State University):</i>            The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and the Cultural Cold War  <i>HARM LANGENKAMP (Utrecht University):</i>            "Aggressive on Peace (Talk)": (De)Politicising Music at the 1949 Waldorf Conference</p>	<p><b>Modernism and experimentalism [Lecture Room]</b>            Chair: Ben Harker  <i>VIRGINIA ANDERSON (University of Nottingham):</i>            The Main Trend(s) in the World: Marxist-Leninist Ideology and British Experimentalism  <i>JAN FAIRLEY (University of Liverpool):</i>            'Ese hombre soy yo' (This man is me) – Cuban music in the 1960s: between modernism, experimentalism and socialist realism</p>
11:00-11:30	TEA/COFFEE [Gallery]	
11:30-1:00	<p><b>Keynote 2: GIANMARIO BORIO (University of Pavia):</b>  <b>'Eurocommunism and the politics for music' [Auditorium]</b>            Chair: Beate Kutschke</p>	
1:00-2:00	LUNCH [Gallery]	
2:00-3:30	<p><b>Soviet realism overseas [Auditorium]</b>            Chair: Mário Vieira De Carvalho  <i>BEN EARLE (University of Birmingham):</i>            'In onore della Resistenza': Mario Zafred and Symphonic Neo-Realism  <i>BENITA WOLTERS-FREDLUND (Calvin College, Michigan):</i>            The 'Western-World Premiere' of Shostakovich's <i>Song of the Forests</i> by the Toronto Jewish Folk Choir (1951)  <i>BERNARDO FARIAS (Federal University of Bahia, Brazil):</i>            Soviet realism and designing "national-popular": some dilemmas of Brazilian music</p>	<p><b>Folk song II [Lecture Room]</b>            Chair: Anna Stirr  <i>BEN HARKER (University of Salford):</i>            "Workers' Music": Communism and the British folk revival, 1945-55  <i>FABIOLA ORQUERA (Intituto Superior de Estudios Sociales, Argentina):</i>            From the Andes to Budapest to Paris: Atahualpa Yupanqui, the Communist Party and the Latin American political folk song movement  <i>ROBBIE LIEBERMAN (Southern Illinois University):</i>            "Put My Name Down": U.S. communism and peace songs in the early cold war years</p>
3:30-4:00	TEA/COFFEE [Gallery]	
4:00-6:00	<p><b>Communist nationalisms [Auditorium]</b>            Chair: Jan Fairley  <i>JOANNA BULLIVANT (University of Nottingham):</i>            Communist Anti-Colonialism: Empire and Nationalism in Alan Bush's <i>The Sugar Reapers</i>  <i>JULIE WATERS (Monash University, Melbourne):</i>            Alan Bush's <i>Byron Symphony</i> and anti-imperialism in 1950s Britain  <i>CHRISTINE GUILLEBAUD (CNRS, University of Paris):</i>            Music and Cultural Policy in Kerala (South India)  <i>CAROL A. HESS (Michigan State University):</i>            "Composers Drop Nationalism": <i>Nueva canción</i>, Communism, and the Music of Frederic Rzewski</p>	<p><b>Border crossings [Lecture Room]</b>            Chair: Harm Langenkamp  <i>FUYUKO FUKUNAKA (Tokyo University of the Arts):</i>            The Tokyo World Music Festival (1961) and the politics of de-politicizing the Cold War  <i>CHRISTIAN STORCH (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen):</i>            A Western Communist as a Source for the Second (Anti-)Soviet Avantgarde: Luigi Nono's First Visit to the USSR in 1963 and its Aftermath  <i>TIFFANY KUO (Yale University):</i>            Race, Music, and Breach of Loyalty: the Censoring of Luciano Berio's <i>Traces</i>  <i>NATALIE GRAVENOR (Berlin):</i>            Left Wing and Progressive Musicians in the West and Their Relationship to Eastern Bloc Dissidents</p>

**GIANMARIO BORIO (University of Pavia): Eurocommunism and the politics for music [Sat 15 Jan, 11:30]**

The joint declaration issued by the secretaries of the three largest Communist parties in Western Europe – Enrico Berlinguer, Georges Marchais and Santiago Carrillo – following talks held in Madrid in March 1977 expressed convergence on the goal of building “a new society based on the pluralism of political and social forces and the respect, safeguarding and development of all intellectual and collective liberties”. Particular emphasis was laid on the “freedom of culture, and liberty of expression for the different philosophical, cultural and artistic trends and opinions”, revealing the growing role of cultural and artistic movements in the political education of citizens in the three countries. In the phase leading up to the extraordinary success of the PCI [Italian Communist Party] in the regional elections of 1975, when it totalled a third of the votes cast, the party had significantly attracted the support of many writers, filmmakers, artists and musicians.

This process of aggregation, involving a contamination of the Marxist-Leninist roots of the PCI with other philosophical and political traditions, had been inaugurated by Palmiro Togliatti at the end of the Second World War and was accelerated by the 1968 protest movements. A whole range of issues were raised by the New Left, including rejection of oligarchic political structures (in particular following the invasion of Czechoslovakia), anti-militarism, feminism, critiques of conformism and the family, opposition to segregating psychiatry and support for ecology and new life styles; they influenced directly or indirectly the evolution of the PCI. The decade 1966-1976 was characterised by a marked presence of music at political demonstrations and, at the same time, by the widespread politicisation of musicians of all genres. In my lecture I will investigate the reciprocal relationship between music and politics during this turbulent phase of the Italian Left; the presentation draws on audiovisual recordings spanning Luigi Nono, Giorgio Gaslini, Severino Gazzelloni, the progressive rock band Area and some of the political songwriters.

**ANNE SHREFFLER (Harvard University): Music Left and Right: A Tale of Two Histories of Progressive Music [Thurs 13 Jan, 11:00]**

For most of the twentieth century, musical language became a battleground over societies' modernization processes in general. Social debates about the modern and the traditional, the conservative and the progressive, the accessible and the elite were projected onto musical debates, with very real consequences for how people composed, performed, organized, and received music. Political thought figured into these debates, often becoming a driving force in musical production and reception.

Socialist and Communist politics have been represented throughout the twentieth century by a wide variety of musical techniques. Sometimes these are polar opposites. In the United States, for example, left-wing positions have usually been associated with tonal, neo-classical music. Yet neo-classicism was elsewhere widely considered to be a politically and artistically regressive style. Likewise, in the U.S., particularly after World War II, atonality and twelve-tone or serial music signified Western (capitalist) ideals of artistic freedom, while in Europe such “advanced” idioms were often employed to stake out explicitly Marxist, anti-Fascist positions.

In this paper, I shall ask: what kinds of music have been considered to exemplify left-wing thought in Western (non-Communist) countries at different times and places? What forces created and sustained the associations between musical idioms and political ideas? How has politicized music been treated in Western historical accounts, and how have these historiographical narratives shifted since the end of the Cold War?

Here ideology can only take us so far. Sometimes a musical direction is initiated and sustained by a powerful individual (such as Virgil Thomson, from whom the title quotation is taken) or by institutional forces more than by a political philosophy. More interesting than the simple identification of how musical style has been mapped onto politics are the debates that arise in the process: music, as a powerful symbolic force, is contested territory for many types of political and personal identification.

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### **Musicians' Panel** [Fri 14 Jan, 11:00]

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**Konrad Boehmer** studied composition with Gottfried Michael Koenig and philosophy, sociology and musicology at the University of Cologne. In 1966 he moved to the Netherlands; from 1972 he taught at the Royal Conservatory in The Hague, first as was professor of music history and theory and then as director of the Institute of Sonology. He is composer of numerous electro-acoustic, stage and instrumental works which have been performed around the world. In the 1970s he had involvement with the Kommunistiese Eenheidsbeweging Nederland and the Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands, and worked on Vietnam committees in Germany, the Netherlands and other countries.

**Ernie Lieberman** (also known as Ernie Sheldon) was associated with People's Songs and People's Artists in the 1940s and 50s and was one of the first musicians to record on the Hootenanny label. He sang with Paul Robeson and Pete Seeger, amongst others. A lyricist as well as a performer, he wrote many songs for movies in the 1960s. The best known of these is "Baby, The Rain Must Fall." He was a member of The Gateway Singers and The Limelitters, and an early editor of the folk music magazine *Sing Out!*.

**Giacomo Manzoni** studied in Messina, then at the Milan Conservatory and simultaneously in modern languages and literature at the Università Bocconi. From 1958 to 1967 he was the music critic of the daily newspaper of the Italian Communist Party *L'Unità*, and during the same period undertook influential Italian translations of Adorno and Schoenberg. Since 1962 he has been a sought-after composition teacher at the Milan Conservatory, the Bologna Conservatory and the Fiesole School of Music. He is composer of many theatrical, choral, orchestral and chamber works, including notably *Parole da Beckett* (1970–71) for which he won a UNESCO prize, and the opera *Doktor Faustus* (1988). Performers of his works include Maderna, Pollini, Abbado, Muti, Svoboda, and Bob Wilson.

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### **In Conversation** [Fri 14 Jan, 2:00]

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**Chris Cutler** is a percussionist, composer, lyricist and writer. He was a member of avant-rock group Henry Cow between 1971 and 1978, after which he co-founded international groups including Art Bears, News from Babel, Cassiber and The Science Group, and was a member of American bands Pere Ubu, Hail and The Wooden Birds. He founded and runs the independent label and distribution service ReR/Recommended and, until 1991, the East European specialist label Points East. He is editor of the New Music magazine *Unfiled*, and author of the book *File Under Popular* and numerous articles.

**ROBERT ADLINGTON (University of Nottingham): 'From Orange to Red': Louis Andriessen's *Volkslied* and the 'Internationale' [Thurs 13 Jan, 2:00-3:30]**

*Volkslied* for unlimited number and type of instruments (1971) was the first work by Louis Andriessen to show the clear influence of American minimalism. It is a study in gradual process: the Dutch national anthem 'Wilhelmus' is played in unison, then repeated fifteen times with progressively more notes altered until the melody has been wholly transformed into the 'Internationale'. Andriessen announced that the piece was for players, not listeners, and posted advertisements for amateur musicians to join the first performance. This 'democratised' approach to music-making combined with the work's polemical metamorphosis of nationalist royalism into internationalist communism to make a clear political statement.

The work is not fully understood, however, without reference to a larger context involving consideration of the contemporary status both of the Dutch national anthem and the 'Internationale'. My discussion considers the significance of the term 'volkslied', which is the standard Dutch descriptor for national anthems but raises an ambiguity, much discussed by Dutch commentators on the Wilhelmus, between music 'of' the people and music handed 'to' the people. The Nazi appropriation of the Wilhelmus during the occupation added to its ambivalent status in the post-war Netherlands. I then turn to address the standing of labour songs in the Netherlands at the start of the 1970s. Particular attention is given to the radio series 't Oproer kraait', hosted by the cabaretier Jaap van de Merwe, which drew large audiences for its broadcasts of new versions of historic labour and protest songs. Of particular significance is van de Merwe's controversial 1971 translation of 'The Internationale', which used modern Dutch slang and a 'Rolling Stones'-style rock backing. In this context, Andriessen's *Volkslied*, which ends with a sober harmonization of 'The Internationale' using a more orthodox translation, is revealing of attitudes to musical 'democratisation' amongst avant-gardist fellow travelers.

**VIRGINIA ANDERSON (University of Nottingham): The Main Trend(s) in the World: Marxist-Leninist Ideology and British Experimentalism [Sat 15 Jan, 9:30-11:00]**

The sudden, Pauline conversion of nearly half the composers and performers of British experimentalism from Cagean aesthetics to Maoism took no more than a few weeks. Their best-known composer, Cornelius Cardew, called it the 'big switch'. The main split between Marxist and non-Marxist experimentalists followed a disastrous tour of the Scratch Orchestra in June 1971 and Discontent Meetings (at which the case for Marxism-Leninism was strongly presented) in 23-24 August. Within months, the Scratch Orchestra presented concerts of two halves: one experimental, one political; in 1973, the Orchestra was entirely Maoist and only incidentally a musical organisation; in 1974, Cardew published an anthology of his political writings in *Stockhausen Serves Imperialism*. The Promenade Theatre Orchestra, a minimalist quartet associated with the Scratch Orchestra, broke up acrimoniously along political lines in one night in 1973; some composers did not talk to each other until Cardew's funeral in 1981. Some former experimentalists quit music entirely for political action; some, notably Cardew, found their time taken from music to activism and even prison.

This story appears to display a classic case of a Marxian conjunctural crisis; it was presented as such by Scratch Orchestra Marxists at the time. If only it were so simple. It can be hard to tell whether this was a break, an opposition, or a simple divergence of two lines of thought. Cultural factors unique to this

group and changeable over time will be discussed, including an ideology that was adapted from Maoism and thence from Hoxhaism and other anti-revisionist thought. It also depends upon the associated aesthetics of political and non-political groups, including Cagean field history, American experimentalism, the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) as well as the Western counterculture of the early 1970s. These backgrounds, too, will be explored.

**ANTHONY ASHBOLT and GLENN MITCHELL (University of Wollongong): Music, the Political Score and Communism in Australia: 1945-1968** [Thurs 13 Jan, 4:00-6:00]

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, and into the Sixties decade of rebellion, the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) developed significant relationships with cultural and artistic interests. Theatres, drama groups, trade unions and artists worked with or for the CPA. The NSW Branch of the Waterside Workers Federation established a film unit which through screenings on work sites not only documented the struggle between labour and capital but provided strategies and tactics for that struggle. Noel Counihan and Roy Dalgarno and other Social Realist painters produced works for and because of their CPA membership. While relationships between theatre, film-makers and artists are well-documented, the Party's relationships – formal and informal – with musicians have attracted relatively little attention.

The New Theatre, closely associated with the Party, produced many plays about social and political issues but perhaps none fed into the Australian radical psyche as much as the 1953 musical *Reedy River*. This stirring musical, signalling a domestic folk revival, chronicled the birth of the Australian trade union movement. It is one example of the contribution that music made to building and sustaining a radical political culture in post-war Australia.

This paper examines ways in which the CPA worked with and through music to foster international solidarity and domestic political consciousness. Particular attention will be paid to roles played in jazz by The Graeme Bell Band (including its part in the 1947 Prague World Youth Festival and continuing influence in Czechoslovakia), the drummer and journalist Harry Stein as well as the folk singer Don Henderson. There was an extraordinary concatenation of characters both within and on the fringes of the CPA involved in the development of a radical musical/political culture. This paper is a partial contribution to the analysis of that culture.

**KEVIN BARTIG (Michigan State University): The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and the Cultural Cold War** [Sat 15 Jan, 9:30-11:00]

The historiography of Cold-War music long acknowledged two opposing musical “camps,” Western serialism and Eastern Socialist Realism, the former allied with capitalism and the latter with communism. Recent scholarship, however, has uncovered micro-narratives that challenge this binary. The New-York-based National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (NCASF), which helped initiate American-Soviet cultural diplomacy in the immediate post-war period, is one entity that does not fit comfortably in the binary model. With the support of the U.S. State Department, the NCASF's 56-member music committee, populated with many communist “fellow travelers,” organized lectures and performances that foregrounded American-Soviet musical connections. This cohort of prominent musicians, such as Serge Koussevitzky, Aaron Copland, Elie Siegmeister, and Benny Goodman, circumnavigated growing American anxiety over communism with rhetoric claiming deep connections between contemporary Soviet and American musical composition, a “sameness” not delimited by the

Iron Curtain. The NCASF also established relations with the Soviet All-Union Society for Cultural Ties Abroad (VOKS) so that it came to invite Soviet groups and artists such as the Bolshoi Ballet, Vladimir Ashkenazy, and Sviatoslav Richter to the U.S. in the fifties, the first entity to do so.

Drawing on largely unstudied archival materials, I argue that the NCASF's rhetoric of sameness, although ineffective in winning American support for communism, did manage to detach cultural politics from geopolitics. This rhetoric, seemingly improbable in the post-war political climate, moreover demonstrates the heterogeneity of musical discourse in the late 1940s and 1950s and reveals a segment of the American cultural intelligentsia whose understanding of contemporary music complicates and enriches our picture of early-Cold-War music outside of the Communist Bloc.

**ELISE BONNER (Princeton University): Samuel Goldwyn, Aaron Copland, and the United States Government: Developing a pro-Soviet Aesthetic in Hollywood [Sat 15 Jan, 9:30-11:00]**

In 1943, three of the largest Hollywood studios released pro-Soviet films aimed at fostering sympathy among the American public for the United States' Soviet ally. One of these films, *The North Star*, depicts life on a Soviet collective farm just prior to and following the Nazi invasion. The United States government influenced every phase of the filmmaking process and Aaron Copland, who had been working for the State Department since 1941, composed the film score. The Office of War Information's *Manual for the Motion Picture Industry*, published in 1942, encouraged films both to educate the American public about their allies and inform these allies about the United States. Thus, although fostering pro-Soviet sympathy was the film's primary goal, when *The North Star* was distributed to theaters across the Soviet Union it was also responsible for improving the United States' image in the Soviet Union.

To accomplish both goals, the film had to locate a middle ground where State-approved Soviet and American values were aurally and visually indistinguishable. Contrasting with the following decades, the United States government was interested in promoting the similarities between American and Soviet culture rather than exploiting their differences. Copland's film score explores this cultural intersection musically by interweaving his patriotic "imposed simplicity" with Soviet socialist realism. Although the number of Copland's unattributed borrowings from Russian folk sources raises ethical questions, the score includes both American and Soviet musical traditions to create a final product that would be acceptable within two antinomic systems. Moments before the Cold War began, Copland demonstrated that the United States and Soviet Union were not culturally antithetical. Despite having the government's support, by the decade's end Copland and his coworkers testified before the House of Un-American Activities Committee regarding their alleged communist activity on this film and the search for a middle ground concluded.

**JOANNA BULLIVANT (University of Nottingham): Communist Anti-Colonialism: Empire and Nationalism in Alan Bush's *The Sugar Reapers* [Sat 15 Jan, 4:00-6:00]**

Assessments of the English communist composer Alan Bush have focused on his ambivalent position within English musical life – both as a committed communist and (after 1948) as an avowedly 'national' composer during a period of increasing musical internationalism in Britain from 1959 onwards. Almost no attention has been paid to the larger colonial and imperial context of Bush's music, yet not only was

this a lifelong concern for Bush, but may also offer a richer context for considering traditional designations of his music as ‘political’ or ‘national’.

This paper shall offer a preliminary consideration of these issues through an examination of Bush’s third opera, *The Sugar Reapers*. Set in the colony of British Guiana, the opera was inspired by the 1953 first free elections, which delivered power to the left-wing nationalist People’s Progressive Party (PPP). The work raises complex issues in relation to the status of Bush’s work as ‘political’ or ‘national’. Firstly, it occupies an interesting political position given the ambivalent position of its subject in relation to the East-West confrontation. A critical issue for the US and UK governments was whether the PPP would create a ‘second Cuba’ in British Guiana. Given that Bush was initially prevented from entering British Guiana in 1957 by the British Governor (eventually visiting in 1959), and that the opera was eventually produced in East Germany, how did his opera intersect with these complex political questions? Secondly, the opera raises intriguing questions concerning nationalism and national identity. Bush both sought to use ‘authentic’ Guyanese folk music in his opera and to express a unified national consciousness. While the latter was an important aim for the PPP, as a former colony and ‘land of six peoples’ British Guiana faced profound difficulties in articulating such a national identity. To what extent did Bush’s evocation of British Guiana constitute a form of synthetic nationalism? Equally, how may Bush’s attitude – as national composer, Communist and British subject – be understood?

Tracing these issues in the work’s history, I shall argue that Bush’s opera may not only problematise perspectives on politics or nationalism in his music, but may also invite preliminary consideration of the importance of the vanishing imperial world in the imagination of Communist artists embracing nationalism in the post-war period.

**MÁRIO VIEIRA DE CARVALHO (Universidade Nova de Lisboa): Fernando Lopes-Graça (1906-1994):  
Between Political Engagement and Aesthetic Autonomy [Thurs 13 Jan, 4:00-6:00]**

The Portuguese composer Fernando Lopes-Graça (1906-1994), “a Communist since birth”, as he said, was born in the earlier Jewish ghetto of Tomar, a small city where he began his musical education, and where he began also later (about 1928) to engage in political activity (as the founder and director of a radical newspaper and as a member of the local Communist Organization). In the meanwhile he had brilliantly completed the courses of Piano and Composition at the Conservatorium of Lisbon. Arrested in 1931 and 1936 due to his political militancy, was exiled to Paris in 1937. Back to Portugal in 1939 (under a fascist-type dictatorship since 1926), he continued to be barred from holding office in public education, was even prevented from giving private lessons, and had great difficulty in performing his works in the context of the official concert life. Nevertheless, Lopes-Graça always remained very active both musically, through a very intensive “counter-hegemonic” activity as a composer, pianist, choral director, musicologist, music journalist, etc., and politically, by conspiring against the regime until the revolution of April 25 (1974) and then assuming openly his membership in the Communist Party until his death.

Lopes-Graça was one the most notable Portuguese intellectuals of his time, with a vast literary culture and openness to different aesthetic currents of modernity. In the early thirties he collaborated, for instance, in “Presença” – a “modernist” periodical in which he published in 1936 the first songs for voice and piano on poems of Fernando Pessoa – and “Manifesto”, a more socially engaged literary periodical, in which he defined art as “knowledge” in one of his articles.

This is the biographical background from which Lopes-Graça developed a truly peculiar relationship between the sphere of music and the sphere of politics, as I will try to demonstrate, by distinguishing between his “presentational” music, to be given in more or less conventional concert rooms, and his “colloquial music”, to be sung and played *ad libitum* by common people in political meetings, demonstrations, or at home.

**STEPHEN CHASE (London): Music as political education – Cardew’s ‘Critical Concert’ [Fri 14 Jan, 4:00-5:00]**

In 1973 composer Cornelius Cardew staged a concert in Berlin in which, with a small ensemble, he performed recent pieces by his close colleagues Christian Wolff and Frederic Rzewski. Cardew used the event as an opportunity to engage the audience in a critical discussion of the music focusing on its relevance or usefulness in terms of the revolutionary politics (variously Marxist and Maoist in inspiration) each composer wished to communicate through their music at this time.

These composers had exchanged ideas since the late 1950s, operating at the centre of developments in European and American experimental music. In the early 1970s, however, each took a decisive turn towards making their music more directly or conventionally communicative in an attempt to make their political ideals clear to an audience. Each composers’ ‘solution’ to this situation, as demonstrated in part by the pieces performed (*Accompaniments* (1972) by Wolff, and *Coming Together/Attica* (1971) by Rzewski) and Cardew’s own music of the time, reveal not only essential musical differences between the three but also the differences in the nature and level of each man’s wider political understanding.

In this paper I evaluate the different political and musical intentions surrounding the event, and the themes and effects of the music in relation to Brecht’s *Lehrstücke* project (drawing also upon Adorno and Benjamin’s responses to Brecht) in which he made plays as tools to provoke discussion about the politics and aesthetics of the play and its relationship with current events, as conveyed by the dialectic interaction of content and form of the play and the manner in which it was to be performed. And I examine the dialogue surrounding this controversial event, referring in particular to Cardew’s subsequent report of it in his essay *Stockhausen Serves Imperialism* (1974), and contemporary correspondence between Cardew, Wolff and Cage.

**PAULINE DRIESEN (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven): “As our march continues...”: The influence of Vladimir Mayakovsky on Luigi Nono’s *Intolleranza 1960* [Thurs 13 Jan, 2:00-3:30]**

The Italian composer Luigi Nono (1924-1990) always acted out of the rationale that, as an artist, he had a responsibility both to history as well as to society. According to Nono, every manifestation of artistic expression had to derive directly from an historical analysis on the one hand, and from ethical or political grounds on the other. However, Nono believed that his compositions would only have a genuine impact on society if they applied the most advanced musical techniques available. This strongly committed notion of the artistic self reflects the political philosophy of Antonio Gramsci, cofounder of the Italian communist party of which Nono had become a member in 1952. Nono’s communist stance – *in se* a humanist socialism – was clearly defined by the specifically Italian form of communism. As such, his own ‘communist’ ideas would never have fitted into the severe doctrine that then governed in the Soviet Union itself. Nonetheless, in his compositions Nono often went back to the beginning of the Soviet communist movement, and to the Russia of the Revolutions. He was especially

fascinated by the Russian avant-garde theatre that had played a major role in the build-up to these revolutions. In particular, the oeuvre of Vladimir Mayakovsky (1893-1930), one of the central figures within this agitprop-theatre, exerted an important influence on the composer.

This paper focuses on Mayakovsky's influence on Nono's first stage work, *Intolleranza 1960* (1961). Mayakovsky's influence manifests itself onto two different levels. First, Nono's libretto contains text by Mayakovsky. Through this the ideological stance of the latter enters the work of the former. Second, *Intolleranza 1960* was the first concretization of the new form of music theatre that Nono had been developing in the fifties, and he clearly assimilated certain structural elements of Mayakovsky's theatre into this new form.

**ERIC DROTT (University of Texas, Austin): Music in the *Fête de l'Humanité* [Thurs 13 Jan, 4:00-6:00]**

Each year since 1930, *L'Humanité*, the organ of the French Communist Party, has held a festival on the outskirts of Paris. Conceived as a way of raising funds for its newspaper, the *Fête de l'Humanité* has come to occupy a singular place within the culture of French communism, and within the political culture of France.

This paper examines music's role in the *Fête de l'Humanité*, paying particular attention to the years between 1960 and 1980. From its inception, the *Fête* was seen to offer both political and financial benefits. A principal source of the event's political value lay in its ability to foster a sense of camaraderie among attendees. Music was instrumental in this regard, providing a medium through which one's membership in an imagined (communist) community could be palpably felt. But the kind of collective experience that the *Fête* afforded became all the more vital during the period in question, as the *Parti communiste* distanced itself from revolutionary rhetoric and embraced a more 'realist' form of electoral politics. Particularly after the 'failed revolution' of May '68, the sense of communion engendered by the *Fête de l'Humanité* assumed an important compensatory function. It offered participants a presentiment of the post-revolutionary society that had failed to materialize in everyday life.

But even as the *Fête de l'Humanité* provided a fleeting glimpse of social reconciliation, it also registered the real fragmentation French society underwent during the same years. With the decline of its working-class electoral base, the party was forced to seek the support of other socio-demographic groups (youth, professionals, minorities). Here too music played a crucial role, with programming choices reflecting the need to appeal to diverse constituencies. This paper will examine the interplay of the utopian and pragmatic functions ascribed to music within the *Fête*, its status as both a force for community and a symptom of its disintegration.

**BRUCE DURAZZI (Washington University, Saint Louis): The Inner Lives of Texts: Voices, Testimony and the Materiality of Sound in Nono's Electronic Music in the 1960s [Thurs 13 Jan, 4:00-6:00]**

Much of Luigi Nono's work reflects the attempt to square his commitment to the musical avant-garde with his commitment to the political vanguard and his membership in the Communist Party. As an aesthetic proposition, the marriage of political texts and themes with complex serial (or post-serial) compositional procedures tended to create a friction between the work's broad message and its mode of communication—a dissonance between form and content. Nono's increasing use of electronic music in the 1960s only added to this tension, for the novel electronic sounds were likely to alienate any

potential working-class audience, and the very equipment he needed belonged to the RAI, an arm of the bourgeois state. Nono's efforts to reconcile these inherent contradictions included the prominent use of human voices among his recorded sounds, and the inclusion of documentary material (texts or recordings). For instance, *La fabbrica illuminata* (1964) includes texts contributed by factory workers; *Contrappunto dialettico alla mente* (1968) quotes poetry and slogans from the American Black Power movement; and *Non consumiamo Marx*, from *Musica-Manifesto No. 1* (1969), uses slogans from the Paris uprisings of 1968 and field recordings from street protests in Venice the same year. The electronic interventions break down the verbal content and explore the fluctuation between discernible lexemes and isolated phonemes, enacting the process of rendering text as musical material. By investing in the materiality of these acoustic found objects, Nono's tape music builds a stronger link between their linguistic meanings and the musical forms to which they contribute. Thus, the electronic medium both crystallized the central conflict of Nono's career and helped to show the way out.

**BEN EARLE (University of Birmingham): 'In onore della Resistenza': Mario Zafred and Symphonic Neo-Realism [Sat 15 Jan, 2:00-3:30]**

The achievements of the Italian neo-realist movement of the mid 1940s to the early 1950s in the fields of cinema and literature are well known. But what of the composers of the period? The aim of the present paper is to direct attention to what seems to have been the single most determined attempt to create a musical analogue to the acclaimed contributions of film directors and novelists. In his Fourth Symphony (1950), Mario Zafred (1922–87), the enthusiastically Zhdanovite music critic on the party daily *L'Unità* between 1949 and 56, aligned his work with the theme of the partisan Resistance to German occupation (and to residual Fascist elements) in the final two years of the war. In 1951, Zafred provided the sound track to Carlo Lizzani's Resistance film, *Achtung! Banditi!*, and one obvious interpretative route into the Fourth Symphony would take its cue from the cinematic re-cycling of certain of the works' materials as the accompaniment to heroic anti-German action. Zafred's Symphony is not an overtly programmatic work, however, but a well-crafted, sober and compact example of mid-century classicism.

This is one of only a handful of Italian contributions to the mid-twentieth-century 'realist' symphony, a genre by no means restricted to composers of the Soviet bloc. Yet if such an affiliation suggests an approach to the work less by way of its political subtitle, 'In onore della Resistenza', than by way of its 'purely musical' structure, that would be a mistake. A good deal of what makes these symphonies 'realist' is the way they can be—and in many cases instantly were—heard to comment directly on contemporary events: think of Stravinsky's *Symphony in Three Movements* (1942–5), for instance, or Honegger's *Symphonie liturgique* (1945–6). Zafred's work was swept off the stage of musical history when the direction of PCI music policy was placed in the stylistically radical hands of figures like Luigi Nono, Giacomo Manzoni and Luigi Pestalozza, at the start of the 1960s. Half a century later, with self-styled left-wing 'avant-gardism' well behind us, it seems appropriate to look again at the Fourth Symphony, as a musical and also political document of its time.

**JAN FAIRLEY (University of Liverpool): 'Ese hombre soy yo' (This man is me) – Cuban music in the 1960s: between modernism, experimentalism and socialist realism [Sat 15 Jan, 9:30-11:00]**

In January 2007 members of UNEAC, the Cuban Union of Writers and Artists responded vociferously on emails and blogs to the showing of three television programmes celebrating the allegedly valuable

contribution to Cuban culture of three key figures who in the 1960s and early 1970s held positions as heads of the Council on National Culture (now Ministry of Culture), the Cuban Institute of Radio and Television (ICRT) and Cuban Theatre. Instead they deemed these men 'executioners', linking them to 'revolutionary trials' against those opposing the state and to forced labour camps in the period retrospectively re-defined as the '*quinquenio gris*' (the Grey Years) between 1971-6.

In the furore that followed, Cuba's present minister of culture Abel Prieto apologised on behalf of the communist party for the errors of that period, asserting that the Revolution had never promoted "pamphlet art" or propaganda, that "art has always been critical" and that "socialist realism" was an "aberration". He re-clarified Fidel's famous 1961 *Palabras a los intelectuales* (Words to Intellectuals) – often paraphrased as "inside the revolution everything, outside the revolution nothing" – for the 21<sup>st</sup> century, accentuating their original intention as pluralist.

I will argue that the 'grey' years stretched back to the mid-1960s, to embrace moments like 1966 when *nueva trova* singer Pablo Milanés was sent to an UMAP forced labour camp; and to 1969 when Silvio Rodríguez's television programme *Mientras tanto* was taken off the air because its content was not deemed suitable for a country struggling to be socialist with Soviet support. I will discuss what was happening musically in Cuba in those years and the varied ways in which the creativity of individuals was expressed. I will focus on the Grupo Experimental Sonora, the innovative musicians who came together at ICAIC (the Cuban Cinematographic Institute) where they created music soundtracks for films. This will then be related to the earlier work of the Grupo de Música Moderna through the figures of pianist-composer Leo Brouwer and pianist Chucho Valdés, and forward to the *nueva trova* movement.

**BERNARDO FARIAS (Federal University of Bahia, Brazil): Soviet realism and designing "national-popular": some dilemmas of Brazilian music [Sat 15 Jan, 2:00-3:30]**

If the effects and consequences of the cultural policy of the USSR, known as Soviet Realism, upon socio-political music outside the Soviet bloc have not been properly studied, there is an even greater lack of understanding with regard to the influence of the aesthetic conceptions of the USSR in Latin America.

Highlighting the political and cultural reality of Brazil in the 1950s and 60s, this paper presents a general reflection on the impact and design Soviet Realism had on the formulation of Centers of Popular Culture (CPC's) by the National Union of Students (UNE). The CPC's in Brazil emerged in the early 1960s some years before the Military Coup of 1964. Around the CPC's were engaged intellectuals and artists of the middle class, working class and the peasantry, constituting a comprehensive project in the design of culture known as "national-popular."

This paper will analyze the extent to which Soviet Realism was wrought, under the influence of Andrei Alexandrovich Zhdanov, in the genesis of this cultural project. It will sketch how such a phenomenon was reflected in the debates and controversies of Brazilian popular music, which revolved around the dichotomy between *protest song* and *alienated song*. Through an overview of the ideas and aesthetic concepts, political and philosophical, we will examine the complex relationships within national-popular as advocated by the Soviet intellectuals linked to the Communist Party of Brazil (PCB). Also, we will consider the role played by the folklorist tradition in Brazil, its great importance in the design of the national-popular, and how national-popular was reconciled with the musical conceptions of folklorists which focused upon the defense of essential notions such as cultural authenticity and musical purity.

**FUYUKO FUKUNAKA (Tokyo University of the Arts): The Tokyo World Music Festival (1961) and the politics of de-politicizing the Cold War [Sat 15 Jan, 4:00-6:00]**

This paper aims to answer the question of to what extent Cold War politics had an impact on Japan's classical music scenes, through examining the reception of the Tokyo World Music Festival (1961) -- a clandestinely "anti-communist" cultural event, co-organized by the Tokyo metropolitan government, the International Association for Cultural Exchange (based in Tokyo), and the Congress for Cultural Freedom. The ultimate goal of this paper is to probe why classical music failed to "politicize" itself in post-war Japan, whereas in the 1960s, popular music (in particular, the idiosyncratically Japanese genre of "folk song") was heavily instrumentalized by "fellow travelers" in Tokyo and other big cities in expressing pro-Soviet, anti-American ideologies. The Tokyo World Music Festival took place at a time when Japan was witnessing the unprecedented rise in anti-US sentiments that resulted largely, but not solely, from the much-criticized renewal of the US-Japan Security Treaty. Partly reflecting this, some criticisms were mounted against the anti-communist propaganda which the Congress tacitly weaved into this "American" enterprise. Nevertheless, the rhetoric of the Festival critics demonstrates that many of them were not ready to look into potentially political implications that may reside in the contemporary spectra of classical music in general, and this may partly be understood through the fact that a construct of the Cold War was, to most Japanese musicians, about a *domestic* ideological struggle, thus being stripped of the original political (and military) gravity being shared collectively by the rest of the globe.

**SUMANTH GOPINATH (University of Minnesota): Can't Go Back: Elaine Brown (1973) and the Sound of Dead Panthers [Fri 14 Jan, 4:00-5:00]**

This essay examines the work of Elaine Brown, one of the central figures in the history of the Black Panther Party (including as party chairwoman, 1974-77), who first came to prominence within it as a rank-and-file member and musician. Brown's two albums, *Seize the Time* (1969) and *Until We're Free/Elaine Brown* (1973), span a critical period in the party's history—particularly its peak moment of cultural prominence and the height of the FBI's COINTELPRO party infiltration and assassinations of members—and it might prove illuminating to read the particulars of the second, out-of-print album in light of that transpired history (including the first recording), in various ways. First, we might note the centrality of the Los Angeles jazz scene, particularly in the work of jazz pianist/conductor/arranger Horace Tapscott and the Pan Afrikan Peoples Arkestra (or the Ark), who undertook the rich instrumental arrangements on both albums. Second, Brown's subsequent, eponymous album was released under Motown's failed Black Forum imprint, which was the company's belated attempt to make up for its much-noted political neutrality during the height of the Civil Rights Movement. Third, many of the album's sonic, lyrical, and music-stylistic features can be seen to bear witness to the history of the party's decline—including its B-movie-soundtrack orientalism (reflecting the postcolonial diaspora of various Panther members, critiques of the "back to Africa" trope of black cultural nationalism, and the gangsterist ideology of blaxploitation films), explicit tributes to murdered comrades, and post-psychedelic string-and-harpsichord arrangements. Perhaps most noteworthy is the album's affective and sonic *enervation*, owing both to the contemporaneous state of the party and to the brutal, party-related beating endured by Brown shortly before the album was recorded.

**NATALIE GRAVENOR (Berlin): Left Wing and Progressive Musicians in the West and Their Relationship to Eastern Bloc Dissidents [Sat 15 Jan, 4:00-6:00]**

Left wing and progressive musicians in the West often expressed solidarity and sympathy with communist governments. This stance offered resistance and a corrective to the uncritical and unforgiving anti-communist positions of their respective governments. But what was the relationship of progressive and critical musical circles and movements towards dissidents from communist states? Sometimes, it was marked by skepticism and lack of support because of a sense that dissidents might be anti-communist agents or at least susceptible to instrumentalisation by reactionary Western governments for anti communist propaganda.

This presentation examines this question using the following examples: Chris Cutler's Recommended Records as an instance of progressive musicians supporting the dissemination of dissident music from Eastern Europe; and the West German reaction to the expatriation of GDR singer-songwriter Wolf Biermann and rock band Renft as examples or more skeptical reactions.

**CHRISTINE GUILLEBAUD (CNRS, University of Paris): Music and Cultural Policy in Kerala (South India)**  
*[Sat 15 Jan, 4:00-6:00]*

Since the second half of the 20th century, artistic practices have greatly attracted the attention of the political arena in Kerala. After India's partition in 1947, the segmentation of regional states on linguistic basis has fostered local nationalism, fostered further in Kerala by the freshly elected communist government. As a matter of fact, this state has elaborated a wide cultural policy promoting musical and dance local heritages, a phenomenon driven by the necessity of building a "keralite" national unity. Since 1956, the state of Kerala has created festivals in large cities (*Folk arts festivals/natan kala utsavam*) targeted toward the middle class and has founded artistic competitions in high schools and colleges (*Kerala Youth festival*, renamed in 2006 *School Arts festival*). It also has developed a radio and TV network for local music broadcasting. This policy has even supported the creation of numerous research institutes where experts (usually Marxist researchers) in folklore studies have been very active publication-wise during those last sixty years.

This presentation will analyse the areas covered by such policy and its powerful impact on the emergence of a "regional" nationalism. As mediated by local folklorists, it has achieved approval of social equality values and has led to a social reform movement by promoting the arts. I will highlight the concrete process of music transformation and its reception among local musicians in terms of social promotion and competition.

**BEN HARKER (University of Salford): "Workers' Music": Communism and the British folk revival, 1945-55**  
*[Sat 15 Jan, 2:00-3:30]*

Communists loomed large in the first decade of Britain's post-war folk music revival. Two of the movement's leading figures, A. L. Lloyd and Ewan MacColl, were Communists, as were influential promoters (Malcolm Nixon) and journalists (Karl Dallas). Many of the early revival's central institutions—the Workers' Music Association, Topic Records, *Sing* magazine—were run or dominated by Communists. Given this prominence, it is unsurprising that historians of the revival have been quick to suspect a central Communist Party cultural policy coordinating activity.

This paper seeks to complicate the settled picture. It argues that the Communist Party's National Cultural Committee (NCC), formed in 1947, actually lacked a coherent policy on folk music, even during the early Cold War period (1948-1955), when nationally-rooted folk was vaguely identified as a location of resistance to American cultural imperialism. The relative autonomy of Communist folk music activists from NCC control arguably enabled an openness and dynamism not matched in more closely monitored spheres; but for some, notably Ewan MacColl, the Communist Party's failure to position folk music at the centre of cultural policy was a profound political mistake.

This paper considers these positions. It argues that, despite a lack of centralised coordination, distinctly Communist *ideas* about class, nation and culture were key intellectual co-ordinates for longstanding Communists such as Lloyd and MacColl, and proved highly influential in shaping the assumptions, priorities, activities and analyses of the folk revival's left flank in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The paper revisits some of these often contradictory ideas: that capitalism had fragmented a more cohesive common culture; and that folk music represented a distinct working class-culture unsullied by ruling class ideology or processes of commodification. It traces such ideas back to Communist cultural analysis of the interwar Popular Front period, and charts their resurgent presence in significant recordings, events and publications of the early revival.

**JEAN-PHILIPPE HEBERLÉ (Université Paul Verlaine, Metz): Alan Bush's lifelong commitment to Marxism through *Wat Tyler* (1950) and *Men of Blackmoor* (1956) [Fri 14 Jan, 9:30-10:30]**

This paper will focus on Alan Bush's Marxist ideas through the study of his first two operas: *Wat Tyler* (1950) and *Men of Blackmoor* (1956). Not only was Alan Bush (1900-1995) active politically through associations or parties defending the working class cause (e.g.: *The Communist Party of Great Britain* or *The London Labour Choral Union*), but the English composer wrote operas whose themes emphasized the struggle of workers or individuals yearning for a better life. Although awarded a prize in the Arts Council's Festival of Britain opera competition in 1951, *Wat Tyler* was premiered on 6th September 1953 in Leipzig, then part of the German Democratic Republic. The first British production only took place at Sadlers Wells Theatre in 1974. *Men of Blackmoor* was also premiered in the GDR, on 18th November 1956 in Weimar, although the music, like *Wat Tyler*, was originally set to an English libretto penned by Nancy Bush (the composer's wife). No professional staging of it ever occurred in Britain. Both *Wat Tyler* and *Men of Blackmoor* are based upon real historical events. *Wat Tyler* tells the story of the peasants taking part in the Peasant's Revolt of 1381, and *Men of Blackmoor* presents the history of the miners of Northumberland and Durham between 1800 and 1935.

In this paper, I will ponder a series of questions: Why was Alan Bush unable to secure any British première of his first two operas in the 1950s? Was it because of the context of the Cold War? Why did he choose historical topics? How does he appeal to a working class audience through what is largely a high-brow genre? Who was he really targeting as an audience? The working class or other more privileged classes of British society? How do these two operas illustrate Alan Bush's Marxist political commitment in Britain in the 1950s?

**CAROL A. HESS (Michigan State University): "Composers Drop Nationalism": *Nueva canción*, Communism, and the Music of Frederic Rzewski [Sat 15 Jan, 4:00-6:00]**

During the Cold War, many art-music composers rejected nationalism in favor of abstract, complex works that spurned associations with “the people.” In the United States, Latin American nationalism became inseparable from communism and, in political circles, was seen to threaten Pan-American unity. US economic aid programs sought to persuade southern neighbors to adapt the “American way of life” while cultural entities exalted Cold-War musical values. The title of a 1967 review of the Washington-based Inter-American Music Festivals—“Composers Drop Nationalism”—attests to these interlocked agendas.

On the other hand, the folkloric genre *nueva canción* (also known as *música nacional*) opposed “North American imperialism and colonialism,” as a 1967 manifesto crafted in Havana declared. A nationalist symbol in Chile, *nueva canción* received support from the government of Salvador Allende. But the CIA-assisted overthrow of Allende in 1973, a central event in the so-called Dirty War of torture and “disappearances” by Latin American military regimes, extinguished *nueva canción*. Associated with peasants and proletarians, the genre was now prohibited and singer Víctor Jara, one of its central figures, was executed. During the ensuing *apagón cultural* (cultural blackout) imposed by dictator Augusto Pinochet, *nueva canción* and its massive, participatory rituals became an increasingly dim memory.

Responding to events in Chile was US composer Frederic Rzewski. Defying the Cold War musical aesthetic, he wrote the fifty-minute, virtuosic piano piece “Thirty-six Variations on ‘The People United Will Never Be Defeated’!”, rooted in the world of Chilean *nueva canción*. By analyzing his vast range of compositional and rhetorical strategies, I argue that far from simply paying homage to *música nacional* and its links to communism, Rzewski counters Pinochet’s cultural blackout by taking a position on historical memory. In doing so, he anticipates a central issue in post-Dirty War Latin America that informs policy, discourse, and art today.

**EAMONN KELLY (University of Wales, Newport): The Black Panther Party: Three Moments of Music**  
[Fri 14 Jan, 4:00-5:00]

This paper will explore the creation and use of popular music by the U.S. Black Panther Party during its peak of activism in the late 1960s/early 1970s by focusing on three key moments. These are the “Seize The Time” Tamla Motown recording of BPP member and singer, Elaine Brown; the performances of the California based vocal group, The Lumpen; and the presence of African drumming and dance group Uzozu Aroho Dancers at the Free Huey Rally in Berkeley in 1968. The paper will explore the ways in which the BPP used popular music firstly as a means to represent ideology and politics to potential supporters, and secondly, the ways in which popular forms of cultural expression of the period appeared within the organisation. The three selected moments will be situated within the context of the 1960’s counterculture and the New Left, the musical traditions of the Civil Rights movement, and the shifting political ideology of the BPP.

**TIFFANY KUO (Yale University): Race, Music, and Breach of Loyalty: the Censoring of Luciano Berio’s *Traces***  
[Sat 15 Jan, 4:00-6:00]

*Traces*, an unknown chamber opera by Luciano Berio, takes its name and source of inspiration from the political rhetoric surrounding the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964: “to eliminate... every trace of discrimination.” Berio’s interpretation of these “traces” was censored by the Chief of the Music Division

at the Library of Congress, Harold Spivacke, five months before the scheduled premiere. This paper investigates the role of Spivacke in the shaping of a national music making scene during a sensitive period which Mary L. Dudziak termed “cold war civil rights.” Drawing on the United States Information Agency report on Spivacke from 1960, Spivacke’s speech “Music in International Relations” and his correspondence with Berio, I argue that Spivacke’s censoring of *Traces* was grounded on his “loyalty to the United States,” and his belief that *Traces* would have demonstrated a breach of loyalty in 1964 as the intended drama exposed racism, a targeted fault and weakness of American democracy by communist states.

**BEATE KUTSCHKE (Universität Leipzig): Socialist-communist ideologies, West German agitprop aesthetics and the collective cantata *Strike at Mannesmann* [Thurs 13 Jan, 2:00-3:30]**

In the 1960s, the most visible political oppositional force in West Germany was the student and protest movements supported by students, intellectuals and pupils. In contrast to this, in the early 1970s, after the violent elimination of the charismatic student leader Rudi Dutschke and the disintegration of the SDS, many New Leftists oriented themselves towards institutions and groups that represented the traditional socialist-communist ideologies of the old workers movement, i.e. historically preceded the New Left. First and foremost amongst these were the rather fragmented, often Maoist K-groups and the West German Communist Party (DKP) founded in 1968. Correspondingly, in the West German music scene, young politicized musicians, mostly from the avant-gardist field, who had joined the upheaval in the late 1960s striving for anti-authoritarian reforms of musical culture, allied with socialist-communist institutions. These organizations focused on the improvement of the living and working conditions of workers, but, unlike the New Leftists, they had little interest in developing an anti-hierarchical youth culture and new lifestyles. Seen in this way, the association with the avant-gardist musicians was rather a mismatch. What were the motivations of each group to cooperate with each other? Who profited from it, and how? Which role did the various styles of New Leftist music play for its acceptance and promotion in the socialist-communist field? To what degree did the specific orientation of the communist organisations affect the activities and aesthetics of the musicians?

I will answer these questions by investigating the genesis and premiere of the collectively-composed cantata *Strike at Mannesmann* of 1973. As a composition that hailed the workers’ strike at the Mannesmann profile bowl factory in Duisburg in early 1973, which was supported by the DKP and KPD/ML (the Communist Party of Germany/Marxist-Leninists), it automatically allied with the communist camp. The cantata was premiered in East Berlin, at the international 10<sup>th</sup> World Festival of Youth and Students. The DKP-related Pläne publishing house who promoted the works of the protest singers Franz Josef Degenhardt and Dieter Süverkrüp produced the LP in 1976.

**HARM LANGENKAMP (Utrecht University): “Aggressive on Peace (Talk)”: (De)Politicising Music at the 1949 Waldorf Conference [Sat 15 Jan, 9:30-11:00]**

In March 1949, New York City was under the spell of what can be safely numbered among the most controversial gatherings in its history: the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. In spite of all their efforts to convince the American public that merely a non-partisan meeting of artists, writers, scientists, and professionals concerned with establishing “a spirit of peace at a time when there is heavy noise of great armaments and war” was intended, the assembly’s organisers, speakers, and sponsors had to face the widely supported charge of being, wittingly or not,

complicit in the Kremlin's (perceived) strategy to manipulate global opinion for the Soviet cause by talking peace. Discussions of the Waldorf Conference often prelude narratives describing the mobilisation of 'Free World' intellectuals for the cultural Cold War, notably the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF). In the musicological literature, the event is commonly mentioned with reference to Shostakovich, in whose name the Soviet delegation vented a much-anticipated critique on U.S. foreign policy, capitalist culture, and Russian defectors (Stravinsky in particular).

Critical of the all too often unquestioned assumptions regarding the politics of the Waldorf Conference, this paper aims to reconstruct the controversy from the lectures of its 'musical' protagonists, including Shostakovich, Aaron Copland, *New York Times* music critic Olin Downes, and future CCF head Nicolas Nabokov. Representative of the many and varied political perspectives at play, these lectures will be read as responses to the relentless polarisation of the political climate which marked the late 1940s – responses which, as will be shown, either unambiguously politicised or, rather helplessly, tried to depoliticise music, thereby reflecting, and shaping, the well-known divergence in post-war views on the function of music in society.

**ROBBIE LIEBERMAN (Southern Illinois University): Put My Name Down: U.S. Communism and Peace Songs in the Early Cold War Years [Sat 15 Jan, 2:00-3:30]**

The use of folk-style music in the post World War II era on behalf of labor and civil rights has been well-documented. Less attention has been paid to songs of peace, which are the focus of this paper. At the height of the McCarthy era, a period that marked the low point of both Communism and peace activism in the U.S., the Communist left continued to promote its ideas about peace through song. Beginning with the Progressive party campaign of 1948—a singing campaign if ever there was one—Communists and their supporters sang their opposition to the arms race and promoted brotherhood among men, usually in those (male) terms. I argue that these “people’s artists,” as they called themselves, had a strong and genuine, if naïve, interest in peace, which to them was linked to workers rights, civil liberties, civil rights, and the struggle for socialism. The impact of their songs was limited by the intense anticommunism of the era; as “peace” itself became a suspect word, musicians came under attack along with others on the Communist left. Nonetheless, their work had an impact in the long run despite the repressive era in which they sang; through hootenannies and other gatherings, and in the pages of publications such as *Sing Out!* they kept alive a movement culture that served not only as a forerunner but an important influence and inspiration for musicians whose peace songs reached a popular audience in the 1960s.

**PAOLA MERLI (University of Nottingham): The Italian Road to Opera [Thurs 13 Jan, 4:00-6:00]**

While the study of the PCI's mass culture strategy has attracted the attention of scholars, the role of the party in the running of high cultural institutions is less documented. And while work has been done on the role of the PCI in the visual arts, there is shortage of analysis of its activities in relation to music.

This paper analyses the case of La Scala, the opera house in Milan, from 1956 to 1977, the period in which the influence of the PCI in Italian politics and culture developed to its highest levels. In a city like Milan, a stronghold of the reformist currents of the Socialist Party, the PCI's ability to influence the running of cultural institutions depended on its collaboration with the reformist and social-democratic currents of the Left. Here, the leftist unity of the Italian road to socialism in things cultural was

constantly put to a test, as heated debates and stark disagreements were generated together with successful collaborations.

Through archival research, interviews of political figures, music workers and union leaders, as well as the analysis of party documentation and contemporary press, the paper assesses the contribution of Communist representatives on the institution's board and management, as well as in composers and music workers' organisations. Its aim is to understand what kind of music institution the PCI considered compatible with the Italian road to socialism, the mechanisms that made the role of the party significant in the running of music institutions, and the consequences that this had on Italian musical life in the post-war period.

**CAROLA NIELINGER (London): *Prometeo and the End of the Utopia of Revolution* [Fri 14 Jan, 9:30-10:30]**

Luigi Nono's communist political activism of the 1960s is usually seen as culminating in *Al gran sole carico d'amore* (1975), his second *azione scenica* which documents the history of brutally crushed revolutions from the Paris Commune to the Vietnam War with a particular focus on the role of women in revolution. *Prometeo* (1985), Nono's next and most utopian work of music theatre has generally been understood as a departure from such overt political activism in music, and Nono himself spoke of his Prometheus as a Nietzschean wanderer in search of transcendence, not a marxist revolutionary rebel. The concept of revolution is nevertheless at the centre of the work and repeatedly referred to in Nono's sketches as *Fine Utopia* – the end of utopia. Cacciari's preliminary notes on the libretto explain this central idea of the end of the utopia of revolution. From Gaia (Earth), the omnipotent power over Man and god, Prometheus knows of the possible death of the tyrant god Zeus who governs on Earth with Kratos (Strength) and Bia (Violence). To Cacciari, this possible liberation from Zeus is the 'impossible utopia in ancient Greek mythology' which Prometheus knows of and yet prevents. At the heart of this *tragedia dell'ascolto* (tragedy of listening) is Prometheus's decision to conciliate with Zeus in order to secure the fire for man. Zeus is therefore able to consolidate his power, albeit without the fire, and the utopia of liberation dies with Zeus' mortal son Achilles. In this paper I shall investigate the political and philosophical reasoning behind this central *fine utopia*, how it finds expression in Nono's music, and how it is combined with Benjamin's messianic concept of history, again – and as always in Nono's oeuvre – in the name of the oppressed classes.

**FABIOLA ORQUERA (Intituto Superior de Estudios Sociales, Argentina): *From the Andes to Budapest to Paris: Atahualpa Yupanqui, the Communist Party and the Latin American political folk song movement* [Sat 15 Jan, 2:00-3:30]**

In 1947, the Peronist government blacklisted the Argentinean composer Atahualpa Yupanqui, forcing him into exile in Eastern Europe and Paris. Yupanqui, then affiliated to the Communist Party, was already well-known in his country for songs that celebrated the life of rural workers, in the Argentinean Andes, and denounced their hardships. Yupanqui's Parisian sojourn, during which he secured the support of the French recording label Le Chant du Monde, provided him with the opportunity to introduce Argentine folklore to European audiences and achieve an international audience. In fact, Le Chant du Monde was closely connected to Communist Party and its goal was to make available to Western European audiences the music of the colonized world.

The relationship with this party ended in 1952, when Yupanqui returned to Argentina, reconciled with the Peronist government and got his music back to the radio charts. However, the incidence of the communist experience was going to remain present in his critical thought and was going to feed the political folk song of the sixties, in particular the Argentinean movement called "Nuevo Cancionero", formed in 1963 by Hamlet Lima Quintana, Oscar Matus and Mercedes Sosa.

Considering the outstanding role played by Atahualpa Yupanqui in Latin American cultural history, this paper focuses upon the period of his life that goes from 1946 to 1950, when his musical practice was permeated by its relationship with the Communist Party. It describes his itinerary in Argentina and France and analyzes its immediate and long-lasting consequences.

**IAN PACE (City University, London): Cardew serves Stalinism: Saint Cornelius and reified constructions of the international proletariat [Fri 14 Jan, 4:00-5:00]**

This paper constitutes an ideology critique of Cornelius Cardew's late thought and work from 1971 until his death in 1981. It will examine the particular British far left intellectual and political traditions upon which Cardew drew, in particular the work of Christopher Cauldwell, how the conceptions of proletarian identity and consciousness contained therein led Cardew to the conclusions that he did, and how these are manifested in his late pieces (including the *Piano Albums* of 1973 and 1974, *Thälmann Variations*, *Mountains*, *The Worker's Song*, *There is only one lie, there is only one truth*, *Smash the Social Contract*, *BooLavogue* and others). Relating this thought and work to a particular form of English romanticism, and briefly considering some of its antecedents, I argue that Cardew's late aesthetic ideology was fundamentally predicated upon a monolithic and de-humanising conception of the proletariat and their possibilities of cognition, akin to the aesthetic policies adopted by Stalin and Zhdanov in Soviet Russia, as well as some right-wing ideologies, and suggest ways in which a certain quasi-deified status that Cardew has come to assume within the annals of English 'Experimental Music' has on the whole precluded a more critical approach to this phase of his output. Arguing from a distinct Marxist perspective, I briefly challenge the notion that this body of work has a greater a priori political significance than other possibilities, some of which do not make their politics so explicit.

**NIKOLAOS PAPADOGIANNIS (University of Cambridge): "The soul of the people": Greek Communist Youth and Greek 'progressive' music in the first post-dictatorship years, 1974-1981 [Thurs 13 Jan, 2:00-3:30]**

My paper examines the cultural politics of Communist youth groups in Greece as well as the leisure tastes of their members in the domain of music in the first post-dictatorship years. It focuses on the main Communist youth groups in Greece at that point, namely the pro-USSR, the Eurocommunist and the Maoist ones. In this period, these organisations, which were legalised in 1974, embarked on the effort to promote 'Greek progressive' culture, based on what they coined 'popular tradition'. Producing taxonomies of 'Greek popular traditional' and 'American' cultural products was inextricably linked with their aim to inculcate a militant spirit in their members, by regulating how the latter comported themselves.

This paper will focus on the following questions: firstly, which genres of music did the Communist youth organisations label 'Greek progressive'? What emotions did they associate with them? Was the musical taste of their members in accordance with official guidelines?

I will argue that in the mid-1970s (1974-1977), all Communist youth groups endorsed the representation of continuity from folk songs to Greek political songs of the 1970s, designating both as expressions of the 'soul and the suffering of our people'. During the late 1970s (1977-1981), however, a significant segment of the Greek Communist youth critically reflected on the concept of 'Greek popular tradition'. My argument is supported by a broad range of sources, including official announcements, letters written by individual members as well as oral testimonies.

**MARY ROBB (University of Edinburgh): 'Seeking Control:' McCarthyism and Miriam Gideon's *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* (1952) [Thurs 13 Jan, 4:00-6:00]**

In the 1950s, the American composer Miriam Gideon (1906-1996) was investigated by the FBI after her husband, Frederic Ewen was accused of communist activity. In the paranoid political climate of McCarthyism, Gideon became labelled 'guilty by association' and was forced to resign from her academic music teaching posts at City College and Brooklyn College in 1954 and 1955 in New York. Her work, *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* (1952) was written in the year that both her parents died and Ewen was subpoenaed to appear before a McCarthy committee, ultimately losing his job as an English lecturer at Brooklyn College. From this moment, Gideon's daily life began to change as commissions dwindled and the main sources of household income dried up. She became psychologically anxious and fearful working as a music teacher in a politically repressive academic environment.

Under the dangers of McCarthyism, Gideon limited her speech, her personal behaviour and exerted extreme control in her music structures. *Epitaphs from Robert Burns* is highly structured and large elements of pre-compositional material were used to create musical meaning. In the first piece in the song cycle, two trichord classes (013) 3-2 and (016) 3-5 construct the entire work. However, the work is also deeply personal and has a striking personal relationship to Gideon's experience of McCarthyism. Her re-interpretation of Burns' dark humour focuses on the individual, asserting her own voice within this song cycle. The work considered alongside Gideon's private diary which she kept as part of her psychoanalytic treatment during this stressful political period. I will show how Gideon's search for control in an increasingly fragmented existence is manifested not only in her compositions but also in the writing style of her diary. Together they are a significant personal and creative statement on the events of the Cold War.

**TAUNO SAARELA (University of Helsinki): Finnish communism and popular music in 1944–1970s [Thurs 13 Jan, 2:00-3:30]**

The Finnish communist movement became properly legal and a prominent actor in Finnish society after the Second World War. Up to that time the communist party, founded in Moscow in August 1918, had been forbidden and organizations left of the Social Democratic Party had been able to work legally in Finland only during the 1920s. This short period, however, revealed the movement's contradictory attitude to popular music; on the one hand it condemned the new forms of popular music as incorrect, on the other hand the movement, especially its youth, took advantage of the new music in order to promote its own message. This contradictory attitude continued after the Second World War, when some forms of popular music became slowly accepted as new scapegoats were found – e.g. rock-and-roll replaced jazz as 'bad music'. The melodies of rock-and-roll were, however, used when youth

performance groups created songs in order to entertain the audience during the movement's own festivities, and to attract youth outside the movement.

In my presentation I shall study this contradictory attitude within the Finnish communist movement between the 1940s and 1970s. I shall touch upon the relation of classical and popular music within the movement, and concentrate upon its attitudes towards popular music – jazz, rock-and-roll, pop music. On the other hand I shall reveal the movement's attempts to take advantage of popular music in its own festivities. I shall study the attitudes of the Finnish communist movement in the context of national traditions, as well as the Soviet interpretations of proper music.

**SEBASTIAN SMALLSHAW (Vienna): The Austrian Communist Party in Viennese Musical Life, 1945-1959**  
[Thurs 13 Jan, 4:00-6:00]

The Austrian Communist Party was reduced to a rump in the November 1945 federal elections following the Soviet failure to establish a friendly government in Austria. Widely regarded as a party of intellectuals rather than workers, the Austrian Communists however maintained an influence in Viennese cultural affairs through figures including Ernst Fischer, Viktor Matejka, and Georg Knepler; their main press organs, the *Volksstimme* and *Tagebuch*; and control of the municipal culture office (until 1949).

The party's cultural politics at this time were marked by a commitment to artistic pluralism, stemming from the wartime resistance of fascism, and the appropriation of Austro-Marxist cultural theory. This led to a significant and often controversial impact on Viennese musical life: the Austrian Communists promoted new music on the radio and in public lectures, in the Konzerthaus, and in the party theatre (the *Scala Wien*). Musical figures active in the party included the composers Friedrich Wildgans and Marcel Rubin, who also held influence as critics, and as prominent members of the ISCM's Austrian chapter and the Austrian Association of Composers. Rubin was also a founding member of the Austrian Society for Contemporary Music (established in opposition to the ISCM, and criticised in the Socialist *Arbeiter-Zeitung* as a communist front).

This paper will consider these activities and figures, the extent of their autonomy from the Soviet occupying power, and the cooperation and tensions between the Communists and the two mainstream parties; from the immediate post-war period up until the party's political crisis of the late 1950s (the beginning of a lengthy internal struggle to define itself relative to the USSR), during which influence in cultural affairs faded away.

**ANNA STIRR (Oxford University): Class Love and the Unfinished Transformation of Social Hierarchy in Nepali Communist Songs** [Fri 14 Jan, 9:30-10:30]

Nepal's twentieth-century tradition of leftist music, known as *pragatisil git* or progressive song, developed musically during the 1960s and 1970s along with state-sponsored nationalist genres meant to serve as musical representations of Nepali identity. The differences were primarily in the lyrics: *pragatisil git*'s leftist themes were deemed too incendiary for a regime that forbade political organization, and banned from radio broadcast until after the 1990 democratic revolution. Composers writing songs for the national radio were encouraged to produce love songs, deemed apolitical and therefore safe. At first glance, communist *pragatisil git* in Nepal still stays away from themes of love, in a

stark contrast with mainstream folk and popular music. Yet, while themes of romance are indeed absent from most Nepali communist music, a closer look at songs, music videos, and writings about music demonstrates a strong concern with other forms of love and sentiment, using the same tropes of Nepaliness as in mainstream songs, but in different ways.

In this paper I examine the themes of love and affection in Nepali communist songs and in the writings about music by prominent communist musicians. I am particularly interested in the theme of class love, its connections to other forms of love based on friendship, kinship, and national identity, and how these are imagined to be socially transformative. I focus on artists from two different eras and communist parties: Manjul, from one of the original *pragatisil git* groups, and member of the United Marxist-Leninist party, and his songs and memoirs from the 1960s-1980s; and Maoist musician Khusiram Pakhrin, his songs and writings from the 1980s to the present. I argue that communist adaptations of nationalist tropes in music and lyrics both attempt to reconfigure received ways of understanding affection's role in society, and also reinscribe existing hierarchies of caste and gender.

**CHRISTIAN STORCH (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen): A Western Communist as a Source for the Second (Anti-)Soviet Avantgarde: Luigi Nono's First Visit to the USSR in 1963 and its Aftermath [Sat 15 Jan, 4:00-6:00]**

Luigi Nono's visit to the USSR in October 1963 was in many respects a determining event for young Soviet composers like Arvo Pärt, Edison Denisov, Alfred Schnittke, and Sofia Gubaidulina, the later exponents of the so-called Second Soviet Avantgarde. Although he was a member of the Italian Communist Party, the invitation to Nono underwent a critical appraisal, since his music and his aesthetic standpoint were far from the cultural policy of Socialist Realism. During his stay in Moscow, Nono was able to talk to young composers and listen to performances of their music. Concerning Schnittke's anti-war oratorio *Nagasaki*, he wrote in his diary: „Non invenzione! non fantasia – forsa: niente!“

Nonetheless, Nono began a correspondence and an exchange of musical scores that had a greater impact on many Soviet composers than their entire period of conservatory study. Exemplary are the letters of Denisov and Pärt through which it becomes obvious how much influence the visit of Nono and its aftermath had on the development of Soviet composers. In a letter to Nono from December 1963 Pärt writes about his *Perpetuum mobile*: “I am not brave enough to dedicate this piece to you, but I'd like to say that without you I would never have written this work.”

The proposed paper will explore this impact by analyzing Nono's diary of his journey to the USSR as well as relevant letters of Denisov, Pärt, and Schnittke in the years and decades after the visit. As will be shown, the presence of Nono, a Western communist, accelerated the development of a Soviet avantgarde that had no more use for Socialist-Realist propaganda and therefore necessarily became “unofficial”, as the American musicologist Peter Schmelz defines it.

**JÉRÉMY TRANMER (Université Nancy 2): Rocking against Racism: Trotskyism, Communism and Punk in Britain [Thurs 13 Jan, 2:00-3:30]**

One of the most significant cultural phenomena of the second half of the 1970s was Rock Against Racism (RAR). Founded in response to racist comments made by the guitarist Eric Clapton, RAR aimed to combat the influence of the far-right National Front among young people. It published a fanzine and

organized local concerts as well as national carnivals which attracted crowds of tens of thousands. It is generally accepted that RAR contributed to the marginalization of the National Front in the late 1970s.

The success of RAR was due to an alliance between political activists, many of whom were members of the Socialist Workers Party, and punk groups, who headlined many of the concerts. This paper suggests the alliance was far from inevitable and had to be created, particularly as some punks used Nazi imagery and were hostile to politics. Moreover, cooperation between musicians and political activists was relatively rare in Britain, unlike in other countries such as France and Italy. This paper will also examine why Trotskyists rather than Communists, who were the dominant force on the radical left at the time and had a long history of anti-fascist activity, were instrumental in reaching out to punk and tapping into its potential for mobilizing young people.

**JULIE WATERS (Monash University, Melbourne): Alan Bush's *Byron Symphony* and anti-imperialism in 1950s Britain [Sat 15 Jan, 4:00-6:00]**

British composer Alan Bush's musical response to imperialism has attracted relatively little scholarly attention. This is in part because his works—particularly those composed from the 1950s—have often been associated with English national style. Consequently, his strong internationalism and interest in the politics and musical cultures of other countries tend to have been obscured. After the 1956 crisis in communism, the British left increasingly focused on issues such as peace and decolonization. Bush, a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain, was no exception. My paper explores Bush's anti-imperialism with particular reference to his *Byron Symphony*, completed in 1960. Drawing on a range of sources, including archival material and Bush's writings, the paper considers the symphony in light of the composer's Marxist beliefs, which included radical nationalism and support for nationalist independence movements. In the *Byron Symphony* Bush took an historical programme to reflect modern political issues. The symphony constructs the English poet Lord Byron as a political activist. The choral fourth movement takes for its text a poem, by Greek national poet Dionysos Solomos, on Byron's support for Greek independence from the Ottoman Empire. Issues of nationalism, imperialism, and British involvement as a global citizen are thus highlighted. However, there were also resonances with post-WWII Greek-British relations, and national liberation movements in British Guiana and elsewhere. By focusing on the figure of Byron Bush was able to unite his interest in the English radical tradition with his strong internationalism. My paper argues that Bush's political beliefs significantly shaped the *Byron Symphony* in terms of subject matter, programme, text, form and musical language, and that the symphony offers an intriguing example of how music and politics can intersect on many levels.

**DOMINIC WELLS (University of Durham): Communism in the name of Christianity: Liberation Theology in the early works of James MacMillan, 1988-1990 [Thurs 13 Jan, 4:00-6:00]**

In the second half of the twentieth century Liberation Theology enjoyed a significant if short-lived popularity, achieving prominence in the 1970s and 1980s. Originating in Latin America, it attempted to fuse Marxist politics with Catholicism, interpreting sections of the Bible from a revolutionary perspective in order to fight social injustice and poverty. Its influence diminished considerably after liberation theologians using Marxist concepts were admonished by the Vatican's Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith in 1984 and 1986.

The Scottish composer James MacMillan (b. 1959) became involved with the movement in the 1980s, having been a member of the Junior Marxist League as a teenager. While a member of this group he continued to practice the Catholic faith in which he had been brought up. It was inevitable that he should be drawn to liberation theology, and MacMillan was especially attracted to the poetry of the Madres de la Plaza de Mayo (Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo also known as the Mothers of the 'Disappeared') in Argentina. He incorporated poems by members of this group into several of his liberation theology works, interspersing them with liturgical texts.

This paper initially concerns three works that date from MacMillan's liberation theology period: *Búsqueda* (1988); *Cantos Sagrados* (1989); and *Catherine's Lullabies* (1990). It explores the manner in which MacMillan fuses political and religious ideologies together in these works, before discussing the composer's subsequent abandonment of the movement in favour of a more conservative Catholicism, devoid of any Communist ideology. Finally, it will examine how MacMillan has actively attempted to disassociate himself from Marxism through several notable public speeches, including *Scotland's Shame* (1999) and *Music and Modernity* (2009).

**BENITA WOLTERS-FREDLUND (Calvin College, Michigan): The 'Western-World Premiere' of Shostakovich's *Song of the Forests* by the Toronto Jewish Folk Choir (1951) [Sat 15 Jan, 2:00-3:30]**

In 1951, the Toronto Jewish Folk Choir gave the first performance outside of the Soviet Union of Shostakovich's *Song of the Forests*. Although not officially tied to any political party, this choir had its roots in the labour movement of the 1920s, and was an arm of the communist-sympathizing, pro-Soviet fraternal organization, the United Jewish Peoples Union (UJPO). Springing out of the left-wing Yiddishist movements of Eastern Europe, based originally on German workers' choruses, and influenced by the North American folk revival, the choir's repertoire was an eclectic mix of Yiddish folk songs, folk songs of a wide variety of other peoples and nations, and classical and contemporary works with perceived progressive themes.

What makes this premiere noteworthy, in addition to the fact that an amateur community choir premiered a work of this complexity and notoriety, is the set of historical ironies surrounding the performance. They performed the choral portions in an English translation that shied away from the more gratuitous praises of Soviet leadership found in the original (e.g. "*Slava Stalin!*") but nonetheless sang about Russia as beloved "fatherland," and in singing the work set out quite explicitly, to "drown out the roar of hateful [anti-communist] propaganda." As it would turn out, some of this propaganda was true. While left-wing Jews had been drawn to the Soviet Union in part because of its perceived ethnic equality, it would later be confirmed that this period saw the height of Stalin's terrorism against Jews and intellectuals. Shostakovich, for his part, wrote the work under considerable political duress, as rehabilitative penance after his well-publicized government condemnation in 1948.

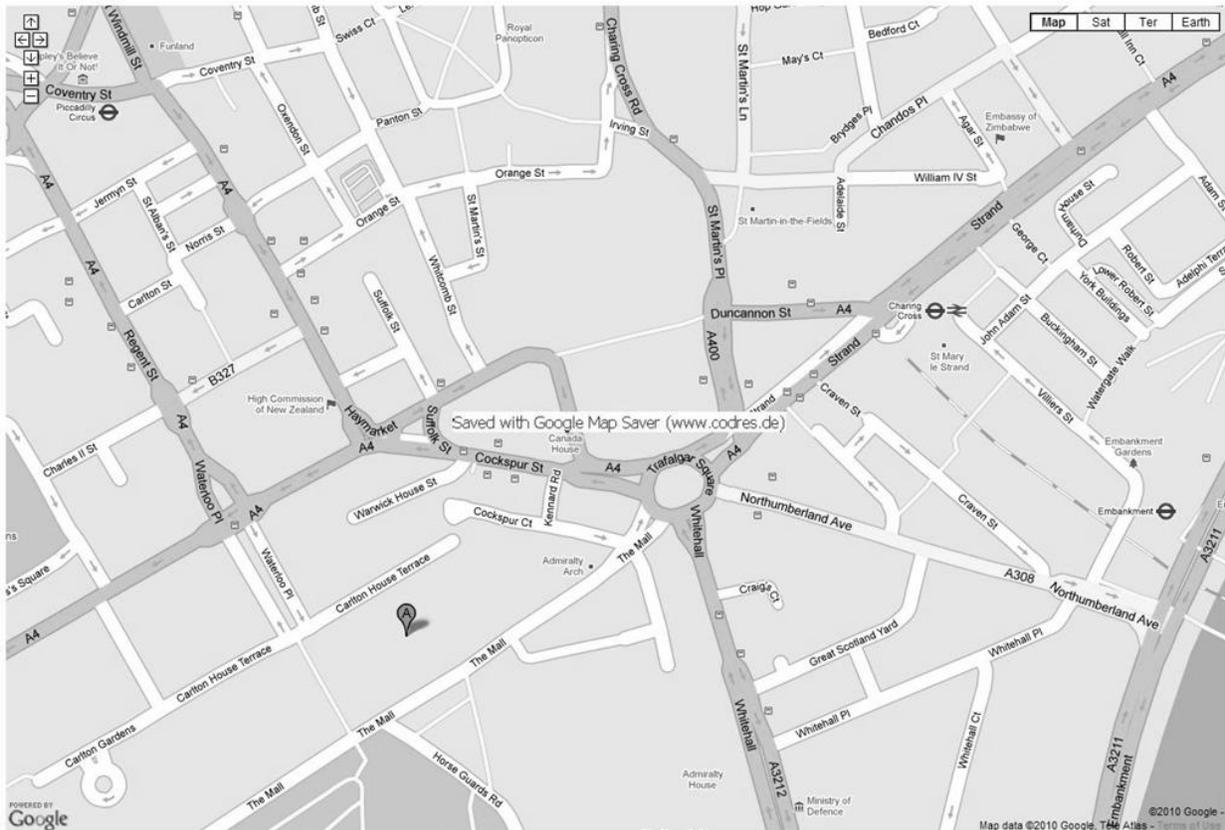
The reception of this premiere also demonstrates Shostakovich's declining reputation (all reviews of the performance, good or bad, assume it was a propaganda piece written by a Soviet patsy), and the event itself offers a window into the Cold War climate in Canada, which was less severe than the McCarthyism of the US. While there was some danger of being blacklisted for communist activity, and several UJPO leaders were under surveillance by the RCMP, most of those who were involved in this performance walked away from it unscathed.

**SUNMIN YOON (University of Maryland): Which Tradition is the Real Tradition?: Remaking Long-song Tradition Through Communist Mongolian National Broadcasting [Fri 14 Jan, 9:30-10:30]**

Under the communist regime in Mongolia from the 1930s to the 1990s, the value of the traditional folk-song genre called “long-song” (Urtiin duu) was sometimes questioned. The singers’ lives, their musical activities, and their positions as musicians were also challenged, and much had to change in the inevitable direction of political ideology.

Within this background, this paper particularly investigates the role of the main radio station in Mongolia, Mongolian National Broadcasting (MNB), in relation to government control over the long-song during the communist period. MNB brought some countryside long-song singers into the city, Ulaanbaatar, to make a special long-song recording collection. Then, the recordings were redistributed to the entire nation, and many countryside singers started learning this singing style through the broadcasting. The process created a mixture of regional styles and reinforced newly formed Ulaanbaatar styles (the city styles) of the singing tradition into the countryside style. As a result, the singers of a certain region, or even certain individual singers, were empowered in the process. This changed their careers as musicians and afforded them performance opportunities. Thus, the long-song genre, I argue in this investigation, became the crucible through which ideology of the state could be merged with the narrative of the culture.

Based on materials drawn from ethnographic case studies from 2007 to 2010 of various long-song singers from different regions and several interviews with active workers in MNB around that time, this paper investigates the process of the remaking of important long-song pieces, performance and living conditions of the singers, and changes to their perspectives.



**Nearby places for dinner (selection):**

**Lower Regent Street (East)**

ITSU: Salads, Sushi, Frozen yoghurt to eat in or take away

**Lower Regent Street (West)**

PIZZA HUT: Restaurant serving pizza, pasta, salads etc

**Haymarket (West)**

GALILEO'S RESTAURANT: Italian restaurant

SPAGHETTI HOUSE: Italian restaurant

YO! SUSHI: sushi restaurant

MISO NOODLE BAR: noodle bar

**Haymarket (East)**

ANGUS STEAK HOUSE: steak restaurant

THE BLUE LAGOON: Thai restaurant

MINT LEAF: Indian restaurant (in Good Food Guide), on Suffolk Place

**Trafalgar Square**

JOM MAKAN: Malaysian restaurant (in Good Food Guide), to immediate west of National Gallery

**William IV Street**

LES DEUX SALONS: French restaurant, immediately north of St Martins in the Fields church

**ICA**

There is also a cafe serving food from 5:00 pm in the Institute of Contemporary Arts, which is directly beneath the British Academy, on the Mall.