INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Protest Music in the Twentieth Century
15-17 November 2013
Lucca, Complesso monumentale di San Micheletto

PROGRAMME
Protest Music in the Twentieth Century

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Organized by
Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini, Lucca

In association with
Universidad de Granada
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Luca Lévi Sala (Université de Poitiers)
Massimiliano Sala (Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

Keynote Speakers
Germán Gan-Quesada (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
Marita Fornaro Bordolli (Universidad de la República, Uruguay)
FRIDAY 15 NOVEMBER

9.00-10.00: Welcome and Registration

10.00-10.30: Opening
- Massimiliano Sala (President Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)
- Gemma Pérez Zalduondo (Universidad de Granada)

Room 1: 10.30-11.30 – Keynote Speaker 1
- Germán Gan-Quesada (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
  «La Rivoluzione… siamo noi?» Protesting in “Music”, “Protesting” in Music: Strategies, Attempts, Paradoxes

Room 1: 12.00-13.00 – Keynote Speaker 2
- Marita Fornaro Bordolli (Universidad de la República, Uruguay)
13.00 Lunch

Room 1 – The Dissent in Music: Sociological and Political Matters
(Chair: Fulvia Morabito, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)
15.00-16.30
- James Deaville (Carleton University, ON): Occupy Music: Collective Protest, Voice and Human “Microphonality”
- James O’Leary (Oberlin College and Conservatory, OH): «If This Isn’t Love, It’s Red Propaganda»: «Finian’s Rainbow» (1947) and the Post-War Political Musical
- Sonja L. Larson (Virterbo University, La Crosse, WI): Music in the Holocaust: A Means of Survival
17.00-18.00
- James Garratt (University of Manchester): Right-Extremist Rock and the Idea of Metapolitical Activism
- Joe Stroud (University of Edinburgh): An Evolution of Protest: Genre and Extreme-Right Music
- Xavier Guicherd-Delannaz (Université Grenoble 3): In Rock We Trust: Investigation into the Imaginary of Rock Music

Room 2 – ‘Classical’ Music and Protest
(Chair: Germán Gan-Quesada, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
15.00-16.30
- Luca Lévi Sala (Université de Poitiers): Luigi Dallapiccola between Expression and Dissent: The Birth of the «Canti di prigionia». New Unknown Documents
- Alexander O’Sullivan (University of Melbourne, AUS): Too Much, or Not Enough? Reconciling Nono’s Political Protest with His Compositional Language
- Russ Manitt (Harvard University, MA): Kurt Weill’s «Der Silbersee: ein Wintermärchen»: A Tale of Protest and Despair
17.00-18.30
- Sabine Feisst (Arizona State University, AZ): Music as Environmental Protest: A Case Study of Luc Ferrari’s «Allô, ici la terre…»
• Michael Palmese (University of Miami, FL): *Collective Tragedy: Polarity and Symmetry in «The Death of Klinghoffer»*

• Luis Velasco Pufleau (University of Salzburg, Division of Music and Dance Studies): *«We Sing for the Future»: Improvisation, Aesthetics and Ideology in Cornelius Cardew’s Political Works, from Scratch Orchestra to People’s Liberation Music*

**SATURDAY 16 NOVEMBER**

**Room 1 – Protest Music in Latin America**
(Chair: *Marita Fornaro Bordolli, Universidad de la República, Uruguay*)

10.00-11.00
• Mara Favoretto (University of Melbourne, AUS): *Charly García: The Indomitable Allegoris*
• Santiago Niño Morales (Universidad Distrital ‘Francisco José de Caldas’, Colombia): *Social Songs and Record Labels: Political Opposition and Music Industry in Latin America*

11.30-12.30
• Dário Borim Jr. (University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, MA): *Alegories and Ideologies in ‘O Que Será’, by Chico Buarque de Hollanda, and «Dona Flor and Her Two Husbands», by Bruno Barreto*
• Erin Miller (California State University at Long Beach, CA): *«En mi patria no hay justicia»: Violeta Parra and the “Nueva Canción” Movement*

**Room 2 – Protest, Jazz and Blues**
(Chair: *Massimiliano Sala, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini*)

10.00-11.00
• Kara Stewart (University of Memphis, TN): *Jazz as Rebellion: Jewish Musical Protest Surrounding World War II*
• Iván Iglesias (Universidad de Valladolid): *Jazz, Gender and Biopolitics in Franco’s Spain (1939-1959)*

11.30-13.00
• Maya C. Gibson (University of Missouri, Columbia, MO): *Lynching Photography and ‘Strange Fruit’*
• Antonio Caroccia (Conservatorio ‘U. Giordano’ di Foggia): *I blues sociali come forma di protesta musicale nel xx secolo*
• Louisa Martin-Chevalier (Université Paris 8-EDESTA): *Jazz in Soviet Union in the 1920s: A Protest Music?*

13.00 Lunch

**Room 1 – Protest Music in Italy, France and Germany**
(Chair: *Roberto Illiano, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini*)

15.00-16.30
• Giuseppe Sergi (Università di Pavia, Facoltà di Musicologia di Cremona): *«E si chiama libertà»: Poetical, Musical and Sound Morphology of the Protest in the Music of Area*
• Valentina Bertolani (University of Calgary, AB): *“Nueva canción chilena” and “Nuovo canzoniere italiano”: An Investigation through Luigi Nono’s Archive*
• Vincent E. Rone (University of California at Santa Barbara, CA): *«A Voice Cries Out in the Wilderness»: The French Organ School Responds to the Second Vatican Council of the Catholic Church*
17.00-18.30
• Andrew S. Kohler (University of Michigan, MI): Protest through Allegory: Carl Orff's Repudiation of Friedrich Hebbel in «Die Bernauerin»
• Beate Kutschke (Universität Leipzig): Protest Music in Urban Environments around 1970 – Two Case Studies: Cologne and Berlin
• Christine Dysers (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven): Protest through Parodistic Subversion: Mauricio Kagel’s «Zehn Marsche, um den Sieg zu verfehlen»

Room 2 – Protest Music in Britain and Ireland
(Chair: James Garratt, University of Manchester)
15.30-16.30
• Maria Kiladi (Royal Holloway, University of London): The London Labour Choral Union in the 1930s: Communist and Trotskyist Debates
• Giti Soryappour (Royal Holloway, University of London): Repositioning Hip-Hop Within Anti-Colonial Movements: The Case of Lowkey
17.00-18.30
• Roger W. H. Savage (University of California at Los Angeles, CA): Irish Traditional Music, Nationalist Politics, and the Struggle for Recognition
• Stephen R. Millar (Queen’s University Belfast): The Irish Diaspora in Scotland: Music, Protest, and Alterity
• Marie Bennett (Keele University): All The Clubs Have Been Closed Down: ‘Ghost Town’ by The Specials (1981) as Protest Song

SUNDAY 17 NOVEMBER

Room 1 – Protest Music in United States
(Chair: Marita Fornaro Bordolli, Universidad de la República, Uruguay)
10.00-11.00
• Lars Helgert (Georgetown University, Washington, DC): Lukas Foss’s «American Cantata»: Protest and Acculturation
• David Thurmaier (University of Missouri-Kansas City, MO) – John Cox (University of North Carolina-Charlotte, NC): «You Say You Want a Revolution?»: A New Analysis of John Lennon’s Political Music
11.30-12.30
• Henrik Marstal (Rhythmic Music Conservatory, Copenhagen): Taking Which Power Back? Rage Against The Machine’s Struggle for Identifying ‘the Machine’
• Jessica Winterson (University of Huddersfield): Hip-Hop as an ‘Autonomous Art’

Room 2 – Protest Music in Eastern Europe
(Chair: Luca Lévi Sala, Université de Poitiers)
10.00-11.00
• Teja Klorčar (University of Ljubljana, Slovenia): Irony as an Instrument of Disguised Protest: The Case of Frane Milčinski Ježek
• Bogumila Mika (University of Silesia, Katowice, Poland): «Engaged as Protest». Musical Features of Polish Repertoire Written under Martial Law during the 1980s

11.30-12.30
• Katarzyna Naliwajek-Mazurek (University of Warsaw): Music as Protest and Music as Quest for Freedom in Nazi-Occupied Poland
• Mihaela Corduban (Université de Montréal, QC): The Festival George Enescu: The Power of Culture within the Culture of Power

13.00 Lunch

Room 1

15.00-16.00 – Protest Music in Spain
(Chair: Gemma Pérez Zalduondo, Universidad de Granada)
• Gregorio García Karman (University of Huddersfield): Exploring Dissent as Aesthetical Category in the Electroacoustic Output of the Dissident Musical Avant-Garde during Franco's Dictatorship
• Pedro Ordóñez Eslava (Foundation Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, Paris): «"Cara al sol” por bulerías…» Flamenco: Race, Identity and Protest in the last 60’s

16.30-17.30 – Protest Music in Italy and Greece
(Chair: Gemma Pérez Zalduondo, Universidad de Granada)
• Rachel Haworth (University of Hull): Italian Protest Music and ‘1968’
• Dimitris Papanikolaou (University of Athens, Greece): Dmitri Shostakovich and Mikis Theodorakis: Music under Persecution

Room 2 – Protest Music in Africa and Asia
(Chair: Massimiliano Locanto, Università degli Studi di Salerno)

15.00-16.00
• Upa Mesbahian (University of Oxford): From Romance to Protest: Folklorization of an Armenian Song in Iran
• Tatevik Shakhkulyan (National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia / Komitas State Conservatory in Yerevan): Genre of Antooni of the Armenian Ethnic Music

16.30-18.00
• Raffaella Bianchi (Süleyman Şah University, Istanbul): Re-claiming Diversity: An Exploration of the Political Significance of Protest Music in Turkey
• Ndubuisi E. Nnamani (University of Cambridge, UK): Songs of Protest, Voices of Freedom – Themes and Thoughts on Protest Music in Contemporary Nigeria
• Roald Maliangkay (The Australian National University): What if Dissident Voices Have to Follow Popular Form? South Korea’s Protest Music since the 1990s
ABSTRACTS

Keynote Speakers

• Germán Gan-Quesada (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
  «La Rivoluzione… siamo noi?» Protesting in “Music”, “Protesting” in Music: Strategies, Attempts, Paradoxes
  In April 2012, Rodrigo García staged in Madrid a scenic version of Luigi Nono’s A floresta é jovem e cheja de vida that raised, almost half a century after its composition, a huge controversy about its aesthetic and ideological premises within a context of (new) socioeconomic and cultural crisis. Nono’s work is one of the most outstanding examples of a widespread wish: the direct political engagement of many avant-garde composers – from Henze to Cardew, from Zimmermann to Medek and Rzewski – around 1968, a mythified date, in order to intervening in the overthrowing of Post-War Capitalism and achieving a fully conscious understanding with other fields of cultural debate: Literature, Visual and Plastic Arts, Cinema and Philosophy. This keynote invites to think over about a handful of still, and maybe essentially, open questions: what is left, if any, of this rebellious will at the height of our disenchanted, altermodern 2013? What is “protest” to be understood when referring to “academic” musical creation? Does the possibility of contradicting, through musical composition, a particular system of culture reception and consumption lie in the creative willingness of cultural productors? Or should we consider – after the “death of the author” extolled by Roland Barthes in 1967 and the self-retreat of artistic media to its conceptual winter quarters from 1969 on – that ideological protest in/with music was, and still is, only a historical sign of an emphatic fail: the impossibility of an actual break “from inside” with aesthetic and ideological inertia and the definitively utopian condition of the artist’s task as this embodiment of revolutionary energy that Joseph Beuys stood still for in 1972?

• Marita Fornaro Bordolli (Universidad de la República, Uruguay)
  This conference introduces results from a new stage of our research on music and resistance in Uruguay. The period of the research was extended to four decades, in order to consider the years before the military dictatorship that Uruguay endured between 1973 and 1985, and the different destinies of the musical manifestations opposed to said dictatorship. Hence, we begin from the early 1960s, being 1962 the date when the first long-play disc of the duet “Los Olimareños” was edited; this group was one of the pioneers in resistance music against governments oriented to right-handed ideologies, until the crisis of 1972. Moreover, we consider a later period closing with the celebrations of the Bicentennial of the Artiguist Revolution, in 2011, where a left-handed government reused the symbolic contents of the songs against the dictatorship in the public commemorations of the beginning of the independence of the country. This paper reflects upon the concept of “protest” and “resistance” beginning from the analysis of the intervention of the music in the construction of communities and symbolic territories for the development of the resistance. This “territorialization of the resistance” can be analyzed from different levels; considering the country as a whole as well as the neighborhoods of its capital, Montevideo. The role of the music genres is taken into account in that ideal construction, and we propose the first characterization of the creators from the musical point of view, and from the view of the ideological and political insertion. This research, focused until this moment on popular music, widens the vision towards the occurred on academic creation and tries to establish relations and parallelisms on these areas of creation, analyzed separately until now.
All The Clubs Have Been Closed Down: ‘Ghost Town’ by The Specials (1981) as Protest Song

The Specials (sometimes known as The Specials AKA) were a pop group formed in the Midlands’ town of Coventry in 1977 and featured musicians from both the black and white communities. Group member Jerry Dammers created the independent record label 2 tone which specialised in music that was a combination of punk/new wave, ska or reggae. He also composed the 1981 hit single, ‘Ghost Town’, which has long been regarded as epitomising the climate of economic and social desperation in Britain at that time. Racial tensions grew in the 1970s when new powers were given to police officers to ‘stop and search’ anyone they felt may have committed an offence. However, the UK’s black community believed that they were being unfairly targeted. In addition, unemployment in 1981 was at around the 2.5 million mark, such that there about a million more people out of work than there had been 2 years previously. In this paper, I analyse the music and lyrics of ‘Ghost Town’ in order to illustrate the ways in which the song provides a graphic aural depiction of the social unease that climaxed in rioting in a number of cities across the country shortly after the single’s release. ‘Ghost Town’ is now heard as a protest song that is synonymous with the social unrest that occurred at this time. I also consider the respected video that accompanied the song, showing the members of The Specials squashed into a car that circuits a city’s empty, desolate streets, seemingly post-apocalypse.

“Nueva canción chilena” and “Nuovo canzoniere italiano”: An Investigation through Luigi Nono’s Archive

In the Sixties and Seventies Chilean and Italian communists had quite similar views, even though Chile’s history had taken a tragic turn with the Pinochet coup. A comparison of the “Nueva Canción Chilena” and the 2Nuovo Canzoniere Italiano” reveals many common features from both a musical and a social perspective. Although much scholarly work has been devoted to the study of each group, a comparison between the two has not been thoroughly explored. The topic is promising, because it contains numerous research perspectives: the study of popular music in proletarian culture; field research for folk tunes and traditions; the creative use of folk material for artistic and educational purposes. These research areas are enhanced by some shared musical features: the appreciation for rough and husky voices (such as Violeta Parra’s and Giovanna Marini’s), the use of folkloric scales and rhythms, a creative interpretation of song structures and lyrics, and a consistent esthetic across a large and diverse output. The aim of this paper is to examine the Italian reception of the “Nueva Canción Chilena” after 1973 and its relationship with the “Nuovo Canzoniere Italiano”. In order to sharpen the focus, I will analyze it through a very innovative and privileged viewpoint, namely the recording collection held at the Fondazione Archivio Luigi Nono in Venice. The Archive contains a rich array of meaningful documents (letters, memorabilia, books…) but for this topic the most important are the recordings. The archive offers a comprehensive collection of Italian counter-culture books and recordings documenting the intense musical and social activity of the NCI. It also holds many documents on the NCC – many of them quite rare because of the brutal destruction of this material by the Pinochet regime. Furthermore, the strong bonds of friendship and commitment between Luigi Nono and the band Inti Illimani is still generally overlooked, notwithstanding the many events organized by Nono and the Chilean group in exile within the activity of the Italian Communist Party. A careful examination of the material held in the Archivio Luigi Nono can contribute to a better understanding of the Cold War context within which these artists lived and worked. The horizon disclosed by this triangle (NCI, NCC and Nono) is very attractive and offers a new hint for future reflections both on the theme of political commitment and, more specifically, on Nono’s connections with folk and commercial/popular musicians – an aspect of his activity totally overlooked by scholarship. Analyzing the poetics of the NCI and NCC, the reception of the latter in Italy and their relationship to Nono, this paper seeks a better understanding of the musical scene during the Cold War in Italy, a frontier country where one of the most important Communist parties in the Western World and a huge influence of the USA co-existed.
• **Raffaella Bianchi** (Süleyman Şah University, Istanbul)

**Re-claiming Diversity: An Exploration of the Political Significance of Protest Music in Turkey**

Non-violent forms of protests, performances and protest music played a relevant role in manifesting dissent for the movement of Gezi park in Taksim square, both as vehicle to convey political meaning and as means of socialisation for the different protesters. The expression of dissent through Turkish music is rooted in a long standing tradition of poetry and music resistance. This paper explores different musical modalities for reclaiming diversity of some minority groups in relation to different forms of political protest. From political leftist music to the music of Kurdish ethnic minorities, Turkish protest music dissents against a monolithic idea of Turkishness. This over-reaching concept of nationhood is rooted in the foundation of the Turkish Republic. After the collapse of the Ottoman Republic, Anatolia became the *locus* of this national identity. The idea of Turkishness is so solidly rooted in the foundation of the country that Art. 301 of the penal code prescribes that “denigrating Turkishness” as a crime involving a penalty of imprisonment (between six months and three years). This concept of Turkish identity was also constructed in musical terms. Western classical music already performed in Ottoman courts was fostered as a means of modernisation. In addition, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk organised new musical institutes which operated in the Anatolian countryside for collecting traditional folk music. On these diverse traditions, a linguistic project of Turkification has been imposed; as a result, singing in a language other than Turkish was forbidden until 2005. The paper focuses on how contemporary antagonistic ethnic and religious music challenges to the monolithic construct of Turkishness. For instance, singing in Kurdish and Armenian has become politically significant. Because of the conflict between Turks and Kurds in the Eastern part of the country, institutions promoting Kurdish music have been associated with terrorism, while the rich musical tradition of the religious minority of Alevi could be seen as a form of peaceful protest. Most of these diverse traditions, once in conflict with secular values, allied in the recent protest forum seen in Gezi park movement.

• **Dário Borim Jr.** (University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, MA)

**Alegories and Ideologies in ‘O Que Será’, by Chico Buarque de Hollanda, and Dona Flor and Her Two Husbands, by Bruno Barreto**

This essay investigates the semantic and ideological connections articulated in the protest song ‘O que Será’ (What Will Be), by Chico Buarque de Hollanda, and Dona Flor e Seus Dois Maridos (Dona Flor and Her Two Husbands), a movie by Bruno Barreto. Based on the 1966 novel by Jorge Amado, Barreto’s film features three lyric versions of the same composition penned by Buarque. The study aims to discover to what extent Buarque’s three poetic versions of the same theme, under the subtitles ‘Abertura’ (Opening), ‘À Flor da Pele’ (On Edge) e ‘À Flor da Terra’ (On the Earth’s Edge), which were commissioned for Barreto’s movie launched in 1976, fit the form and content of that cinematic production and the socio-political context of the military dictatorship years following the 1964 coup. ‘O que Será’ is arguably more vehemently dedicated to issues of passion, rather than the incongruities of the Catholic and petit-bourgeois society depicted by Barreto’s and Amado’s works. Buarque’s iconic protest song is more focused on a political panacea of utopian and idyllic contours, though, in lieu of Dona Flor’s sardonic look on gender relations and traditional family values at stake in the film and novel. ‘O que Será’ thus develops tropes and themes which are better synchronized with Brazil’s censorship in the 1970s, when Buarque struggles to compose, sing and record music, despite the tyranny perpetrated by the military in power against him and other hundreds of artists. Despite such constraints, ‘O que Será’ responds to and elaborates on the expectations held most dearly by a large fraction of the Brazilian youth in light of the regime imposed on them, a time of a sexual revolution and other significant behavioral changes, as well as of an idealization of justice inspired by Che Guevara and by other forms of resistance to authoritarianism.
I blues sociali come forma di protesta musicale nel xx secolo

Per quanto riguarda i blues sociali, la critica è piuttosto divisa. Per molto tempo, questo tipo di brani è stato letto come una forma di protesta, dai toni necessariamente dimessi, a causa della situazione segregata dei neri. Questo è in parte vero, ma ricerche più recenti tendono a vedere nel blues un genere, che per le sue caratteristiche, non è comunque portato ad abbracciare contenuti di protesta. È naturale che il soggetto, vivendo in un determinato ambiente sociale, trasferisca nella sua produzione artistica elementi e impressioni da esso derivanti; ma ciò che si trova nel blues è più il modo in cui il soggetto metabolizza e reagisce di fronte alle difficoltà piuttosto che spunti di protesta o inviti concreti a cambiamenti sociali. Questo non esclude che ci siano delle eccezioni e che esistano dei blues che trattano tematiche sociali in modo più consapevole. Un esempio è *Porch Light*, di Robert Cray, in cui compaiono riferimenti alla middle class di colore nell’ambiente suburbano. Nella maggior parte dei blues, in definitiva, l’atteggiamento dominante è quello di una triste rassegnazione, piuttosto che di volontà di resistenza. Spesso, legato al disagio sociale del protagonista c’è una sensazione di invisibilità: il soggetto si sente ignorato, messo da parte da un sistema sociale che lo considera un emarginato. È questo il sentimento che traspare in *Cross Road Blues* di Robert Johnson. Un brano in cui le difficoltà del protagonista nella società che lo circonda sono espresse con grande drammaticità è *Chains and Things*, di B. B. King. Toni sarcastici appaiono invece in brani come *Mister Livingood* di Peetie Wheatstraw. L’ atteggiamento dominante del bluesman rispetto ai problemi e ai disagi è quello di una rassegnata impotenza, di perplessità e di consapevolezza della propria incapacità di cambiare la situazione. Al tema della sfferenza si lega la superstizione e la sfortuna, come una forza negativa che perseguita il soggetto. Il contributo, pertanto, tenterà di indagare e di illustrare queste differenze, mettendo in risalto le diverse forme di blues, ponendo l’accento sui principali brani che esprimono delle sostanziali forme di protesta sociale nel xx secolo.

The Festival George Enescu: The Power of Culture within the Culture of Power

In 1958, three years after the death of probably the greatest Romanian composer, George Enescu, the first presentation of the International Festival named after him took place. Since that time, this festival has consistently been the most prestigious musical event organized in Romania. The objective of this paper is to examine several significant elements that make this festival a reflection of a historical period marked by political, social, economic and cultural upheavals. What has made this festival consistently impressive is the remarkable quality of programs and performers that make up this event, despite all the obstacles which for many years have attempted to restrict the social influence of the festival. In Romania, since the mid-twentieth century until the end of the 1980s, creating and maintaining a festival dedicated to artistic excellence, and Enescu specifically, required great courage from the organizers as well as many of the participants. The violent Stalinist regime, with its agenda of oppression and marginalization of the intellectual elite, was bent on putting itself at the center of a pre-fabricated pseudo-culture which promoted a system of artistic values totally dependent of the power of the government itself. Particularly in the 70s and 80s, the stifling of the festival by the totalitarian regime through censorship and other means became increasingly blatant. The momentous political upheaval that occurred in December 1989 was, not surprisingly, a major factor that brought change to the Romanian government’s relationship with the festival. Since that time, the festival has flourished, enjoying increasingly financial support from a government which realizes that the promotion of culture provides the country with, among other things, a very positive image internationally. In the conclusion of my presentation I will explain why I consider this festival a significant manifestation of cultural resistance – an active form of protest that used the power of culture to confront the culture of power. I will also highlight why the beneficiaries of this exceptional cultural event have always been, not just the musical community, but also members of the general public, despite the history of interference and repression by those in power.
James Deville (Carleton University, ON)

Occupy Music: Collective Protest, Voice and Human “Microphonality”

To date, the meager literature on music and social/political protest (among others, Eyerman and Jamison, 1998; Peddie, 2006) has fetishized solo song over the soundscape of collective protest. While activist singer/songwriters like Pete Seeger and Joan Baez have understandably attracted research, the singing, chanting, and sound-producing of massed participants in rallies and similar events have eluded music scholars. However, the largest North-American protest movements of the last 50 years – against the War in Vietnam and the Occupy Movement – have prominently featured such “human soundscapes”, for the purposes of fostering group identity and spirit and drawing attention to the cause. They created collective frames for protesters – as theorized by sociologist David Snow (1988) – while articulating objectives to politicians, corporate entities, the public and the media. These dual functions are well embodied in the “human microphone” of the Occupy protests, which somatically amplifies protest voices through the shared repetition of speakers’ words. Internet blogs and YouTube comments stress how human microphone participants feel united and inspired through this non-violent protest action. Judith Butler (2011), drawing upon Hannah Arendt (1958), theorizes the human microphone when she argues for the politics of bodies coming together «for speech and action», while philosopher John Protevi musicalizes the phenomenon as a «chorus», with the «bodies of the chanters… vibrating at something close… to being in phase». (2011) This paper proposes to interrogate “human microphonality” as a musical mechanism for bodily and affectively framing groups of protesters as they dynamically (and at times disruptively) assert a socio-political message.

Christine Dysers (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)

Protest through Parodistic Subversion: Mauricio Kagel’s Zehn Märsche, um den Sieg zu verfehlen

In his radio play Der Tribun (1979) the German-Argentinean composer Mauricio Kagel (1931-2008) processes the typical rhetoric of a political demagogue. The deliberate absence of any geographical, historical or ideological background to this radio play not only illustrates the power of speech but also confronts the German audience with its national past. Seemingly as realistic as the speech are the fragmentary sounds of military marches, which can sporadically be heard through the speakers. Later that year, the marches were published as a full score titled Zehn Märsche, um den Sieg zu verfehlen. Just as quickly as the speech of the anonymous demagogue however, the music turns into sheer absurdism. With this research paper, I aim to demonstrate to what extent the Zehn Märsche are in accordance with the classical conventions within the traditional genre of the military march, but also how and with what intentions Kagel tried to undermine that genre. Through musical analysis of the Zehn Märsche, guided by the study of both the critical ideas of the composer and the genre of the military march, I was able to uncover the different musical techniques Kagel uses to destabilize the traditional genre of the functional military march in this composition and which subversive and critical messages arise from that. Kagel is generally known for his subversive treatment of the conventional notions of both music and tradition. His greatly differentiated oeuvre is characterised by the use of rhetorical gestures such as irony, paradox and disjunction. Moreover, the composer interprets music as a means of commenting on his social, political and cultural environment. Hence, a kind of meta music emerges: a music that strongly embraces an intellectual reflection on contemporary society and/or on the notion of music itself. In this respect, Kagel’s musical output could easily be considered as ‘protest music’. With his Zehn Märsche, um den Sieg zu verfehlen, Kagel thrives to expose certain contemporary political and social structures and create an alienating distance between the listener and the existing structures which are taken for granted. The music provokes some sort of critical consciousness, which is likely to initiate a political and/or social revolution. The ingenious way in which Mauricio Kagel’s Zehn Märsche, um den Sieg zu verfehlen ridicule the European art canon on the one hand and reduce seemingly eternal concepts such as patriotism, militarism, political ideology and demagoguery to hollow concepts on the other, radically disturbs the listener’s blissful naivety.
Charly García: The Indomitable Allegories

Charly García (1951–) is unanimously regarded as a music chronicler of the socio-political situation in Argentina, responsible for making Argentine national rock a vehicle for social protest (Pujol 2007). His influence on Spanish-language rock is unquestionable (Grinberg 2008) and yet we know very little about how his lyrics function. This project studies the creative power of resistance in Charly García’s rock song lyrics, with allegory as his main rhetorical strategy. Rock music developed in South America in contextual conditions that were very different from their English-language counterparts (Vila 1987). Under censorship, during Argentina’s last military dictatorship (1976-1983) García developed allegorical songs that helped shape a hitherto undefined space in which new codes could be drawn on by the youth as a form of resistance, expression and solidarity. Under the ensuing democracy, García’s allegorical style was re-shaped, but to this day it has remained his main rhetorical trope. According to many critics, theorists and authors, allegory as it was once practiced in the medieval period and during the Renaissance no longer exists (Johnson 2012). I engage with Johnson’s claim that despite the attempts of a number of influential critics (most notably Coleridge) to kill it, allegory has not died, and that the presence of allegory can produce a variety of results within a fictional narrative. Like Madsen (1994), I am attracted to the allegorical genre because almost since its invention by Greek interpreters and the Homeric myths, allegory has been the subject of debate and intense theoretical conflict. I move forward from works on allegory that are limited to the literary narrative field, to the study of allegory in the field of popular music, where it emerges at its best in Charly García’s rock song lyrics. This study, therefore, maps the new functions of allegory in García’s whole production as a songwriter.

Music as Environmental Protest: A Case Study of Luc Ferrari’s «Allô, ici la terre…»

For many centuries nature has been a rich source of musical inspiration. Yet in the last six decades unprecedented environmental disasters, the radioactive contamination of Japanese fishermen by the 1954 nuclear fallout on Bikini Atoll, the devastating effects of farm pesticides on wildlife in the U.S. and the recent oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico have propelled musicians worldwide to develop art that displays environmental awareness and protest. Aside from musicians in the folk, pop and jazz arenas, such classical composers as John Cage, George Crumb, Lou Harrison, Alan Hovhaness, and R. Murray Schafer were among the first to musically respond to the “new environmentalism” which emerged in the 1950s and 1960s. In this paper I will focus on the French experimental and politically engaged composer Luc Ferrari who emerged as an important proponent of musique concrète and was among the first classical composers to creatively voice environmental concerns in the 1960s. Troubled by the Algerian and Vietnam Wars, De Gaulle’s conservative politics and environmental degradation, Ferrari sympathized with the left and merged political and social concerns in his music. From the late 1960s, he specifically explored ecological criticism in such works as Presque rien No. 1 (1967-1969), Petite symphonie intuitive pour un paysage de printemps (1974), and “Allô, ici la terre…” (1972-1974). Comprising two large-scale “ecological spectacles”, one for slides, tape and ensemble and one for tape, amplified ensemble and voices, “Allô, ici la terre…” is arguably among the most ambitious early attempts in the field of contemporary classical music to protest the Vietnam War, chemical warfare and environmental degradation. The work draws on environmental reports and studies by leading environmental journalists, scientists and philosophers, including Barry Commoner, Jacques-Yves Cousteau, Garrett Hardin and Arthur Westing. Ferrari lets performers narrate or sing excerpts from these texts. The work also features taped environmental sounds and live instrumentalists and singers performing in combination or alternation with the sounds on tape. In my paper I will first provide background information on politically engaged art and twentieth-century classical composers who musically explored environmental protest to contextualize Ferrari’s contributions. Next I will shed light on Ferrari’s so-called “red period”, in which he focused on creative forms of social and political dissent. Then I will examine in depth “Allô, ici la terre…”, considering the work’s influences, genesis, structure, meaning and reception. I use both published materials and unpublished documents, including sketches and recordings, from Ferrari’s archives. I embrace concepts from musicology,
ethnomusicology, literary and postcolonial eco-criticism, and environmental studies, drawing on writings of Buell, Caux, Cunningham, Drott, Glotfelty, Guy, Ingram, Mâche, Pedelty, Schafer, Solomon, Toliver, Westling and others. Through this study I hope to contribute to a better understanding of Ferrari’s oeuvre and the growing body of music concerned with one of the most pressing issues of our time – environmental degradation.

**Gregorio García Karman (University of Huddersfield)**

**Exploring Dissent as Aesthetical Category in the Electroacoustic Output of the Dissident Musical Avant-Garde during Franco’s Dictatorship**

While Spain was at the height of an authoritarian dictatorship, in the 1950s and 60s mainstream avant-garde composers in the civilized world surrendered to the musical potential of technology (Darmstadt, Paris, Cologne, Milan, Columbia-Princeton, etc.). Not surprisingly, during this period a substantial amount of early tape music created by Spanish forerunners was produced beyond the Spanish borders. Roberto Gerhard’s centre of operations in Cambridge was a modest domestic studio fitted with a handful of open-reel tape recorders. The self-coined term “sound composition” represented Gerhard’s attempt to demystify the German and French schools – a response to the arrogance of serialist manifestos and his disagreement with drawing a separating line with «what is condescendingly called ‘the other music’». The composer favoured simplicity and the recycling of materials, exalting the values of communication and poetic expression of recorded sound. Gerhard’s proposal can be seen as a reflection of something deeply entrenched in the attitude of an individual who professed to abhor being prisoner in the cage of conventionalisms, whether musical dogmas, totalitarianisms or nationalisms. At the other side of the Atlantic, Spanish-born composer Ramón Sender Barayón was one of the founders of the San Francisco Tape Music Center – an exponent centre of American counterculture in the 1960s. The members of this composer-run studio saw themselves as pursuing an alternative path from academic high modernism, adopting an anti-establishment stance and breaking down the disciplinary boundaries in the arts. For its part, José Luis de Delás established himself in Germany developing an affinity to the Critical Theories of the Frankfurt School. At the core of Delás’ ideas was the development of a music against the grain, standing against the official realities. For Delás, the use of musical elements that establish a contradiction plays a political factor: «an unexpected formal arrangement, a harsh harmony at a given time confronted with another nearby harmony which is mellow and nearly bordering sentimentalism, the use of uncomfortable sonorities». Dissent and self-reliance are sentiments that inspire the ways in which the use of technology and the need of self-expression were reconciled by those composers. By outlining the discourses and symbolic structures in their music in connection with the contexts in which they developed, this paper will seek to characterize their opposition to prevailing-ideas as a mark of distinction.

**James Garratt (University of Manchester)**

**Right-Extremist Rock and the Idea of Metapolitical Activism**

The politics and music of the White Power movement have changed significantly since the 1970s, when Skrewdriver and other neo-Nazi skinhead bands first brought right-extremist protest music to prominence. In place of explicitly racist lyrics, Nazi imagery, and an aggressively oppositional stance, many contemporary White Power musicians have adopted a subtler approach, cultivating a softer tone to appeal to a broader constituency. This realignment, for some commentators, reflects a broader shift in the White Power movement from revolutionary extremism towards so-called ‘metapolitical’ forms of activism. My paper investigates this shift, probing the theory and practice of metapolitical activism and examining the changing role of White Power music in the internet age. It explores the ways in which music’s political functions are conceived in the movement’s publications, discussion forums and blogs, before looking in detail at how one right-extremist musician – the Swedish singer Saga – exemplifies this tendency. In doing so, the paper challenges the idea (proposed by Anton Shekhovtsov) that such music can be understood through Julius Evola’s idea of *apoliteia*, or withdrawal from practical political action. Instead, I show how metapolitical music remains embedded within activism. I also show that rather than departing entirely from earlier models of right-extremist music, contemporary musicians continue to appropriate and redefine Skrewdriver’s legacy.
Maya C. Gibson (University of Missouri, Columbia, MO)

Lynching Photography and ‘Strange Fruit’

This paper reconsiders Billie Holiday’s most famous and influential song ‘Strange Fruit’ in light of the proliferation of academic writing on lynching and photography witnessed over the past decade. On the surface, Holiday’s recordings of ‘Strange Fruit’ behave much like a snapshot would, in that the song’s lyrics depict in horrific detail the graphic sight of a lynched body. And yet, as a recorded performance of sonic media it operates on a much more resonant and insidious level, ingraining itself in the psyche with melody, metaphor, juxtaposition, and embodiment. In many ways, ‘Strange Fruit’ can be understood as a sentinel song of the modern civil rights era, foreshadowing the galvanization of African American protest by over twenty years. It marked, in a performative sense, a redefinition of black social and political thought from a tacit acceptance of Jim Crow oppression to a full-on demand for New Negro self-determination. Still, ‘Strange Fruit’ operates unlike most other protest songs we are accustomed to: it is no arms-crossed, group sway-inducing ‘We Shall Overcome’, or ‘Kumbaya’ rallying anthem. Instead, ‘Strange Fruit’ stands alone in its shaming effects and overwhelms our senses with its grotesque (but realistic) depiction of human brutality.

What may be gained by refracting Holiday’s performances of ‘Strange Fruit’ against the resurrected scholarly interest in lynching photography? How is ‘Strange Fruit’ best categorized – is it art song, pop song, protest song? What difference did it make and what difference does it continue to make?

Xavier Guicherd-DeLannaz (Université Grenoble 3)

In Rock We Trust: Investigation into the Imaginary of Rock Music

Literature, fashion, movies, pictures… the social imaginary has been deeply permeated by rock culture. «We are more famous than Jesus Christ now» said John Lennon during the Beatles mania. ‘Blasphemy’ said puritan America. Indeed, didn’t Rock come to create a whole world of spiritual images through music, songs, etc… What kind of imaginary is there at the root of it and how did it evolve? How far did it question the existing relationship to the divine? Investigating rock and its developing deities through a close study of rock myth (cf. ‘bassin sémantique’ by Gilbert Durand, 1996) will guide us along the way that led ‘rock music’ to be thought of as ‘protest’. Through experimentation, observation, and interviews, we’ll highlight all the elements that turns a rock star into a divinity. – Our involvement in two music bands led us to understand the impact of religion on the imagery in rock creations- texts, musical composition, ritualization (Caillois Roger, 1939). Clearly messianic, diabolic or oriental figures have started to emerge from our first approach. Though objective in the scientific field this approach is also related to the intimate. – Attending concerts bringing together all forms of rock, cinematic recordings and archival footage (picture of Jim Morrison in Christ – album cover Paradize Indochine) led us to understand how the relationship between rock artists and their public is pervaded with spirituality. – Organizing meetings with producers, managers, artists, fans, journalists from the rock environment will help us to clarify whether the rock stars were the only ones to decide on rock’s fate. Rock poems like Stairway to Heaven or Voodoo Child together with elements of ritual orders emerging between rock artists and their public have already revealed to us a religious imagery behind the scene.

Rachel Haworth (University of Hull)

Italian Protest Music and ‘1968’

The myth of 1968 has become synonymous in the popular imagination with the action taken by workers and students in cities throughout the world during May and June of that year. Yet in the Italian context, this notion of ‘1968’ is reductive; as Paul Ginsborg highlights, «the Italian protest movement was the most profound and long-lasting in Europe. It spread from the schools and universities into the factories, and then out again into society as a whole» (Ginsborg, A History of Contemporary Italy, p. 298). This paper will examine one of the ways in which the protest movement in Italy spread: through popular music. It spread from the schools and universities into the factories, and then out again into society as a whole» (Ginsborg, A History of Contemporary Italy, p. 298). This paper will examine one of the ways in which the protest movement in Italy spread: through popular music. It spread from the schools and universities into the factories, and then out again into society as a whole» (Ginsborg, A History of Contemporary Italy, p. 298). This paper will examine one of the ways in which the protest movement in Italy spread: through popular music. It spread from the schools and universities into the factories, and then out again into society as a whole» (Ginsborg, A History of Contemporary Italy, p. 298). This paper will examine one of the ways in which the protest movement in Italy spread: through popular music. It spread from the schools and universities into the factories, and then out again into society as a whole» (Ginsborg, A History of Contemporary Italy, p. 298). This paper will examine one of the ways in which the protest movement in Italy spread: through popular music. It spread from the schools and universities into the factories, and then out again into society as a whole». This paper will focus specifically on three socially and politically active Italian cantautori of the period: Fausto Amodei, Ivan Della Mea and Paolo Pietrangeli. We will examine the œuvres
of these three singer-songwriters, as a means of exploring the ways in which Italian protest music changed and developed during the student and worker protest movements of the late 1960s. The paper will thus illustrate the important place that protest songs occupied during ‘1968’ and will outline some of the ways in which ‘protest’ is conceptualised and represented in music, by examining the specific textual and musical mechanisms employed by these singer-songwriters as a means of sharing and promoting their individual political views and agendas.

• **Lars Helgert** (Georgetown University, Washington, DC)

**Lukas Foss’s American Cantata: Protest and Acculturation**

German-Jewish-American immigrant Lukas Foss (1922-2009) generally avoided using his status as a successful composer, conductor, and pianist as a springboard for political activism. Perhaps he shied away from direct involvement in politics because of his childhood in Nazi Germany or the McCarthy-era experiences of colleagues Aaron Copland and Leonard Bernstein, who were harassed by the United States government because of their political activities. Though not a public activist in the mold of Bernstein, Foss was willing to use his music as a vehicle for political expression, especially in his later compositions. This is demonstrated most obviously in *American Cantata* (1976), a choral/orchestral work commissioned for the American Bicentennial. Foss described the work as a «sharp look at America» and as «very critical» of his adopted country, but he said very little about how these ideas were reflected in the piece. I will show how Foss’s compositional choices in *American Cantata* serve to criticize various aspects of American society. As one would expect in a piece composed for an event with strongly nationalistic associations, the text for the work is derived from various patriotic American sources, but these texts are combined and set in ways that strongly imply social, political, and environmental critiques. American vernacular music is explicitly evoked through the use of folk, rock, and African-American spirituals, but the music is often used to comment on the American texts in ways that convey irony, sarcasm, and alienation, which supports the notion of protest in the work. For Foss, the decision to write a protest piece was in a sense a demonstration of his assimilation into American culture, as it showed a level of comfort with criticism of American society that was absent in his earlier American works, such as the World War II-era secular cantata *The Prairie*, which focused on nostalgic (and safe) expressions of Americana.

• **Iván Iglesias** (Universidad de Valladolid)

**Jazz, Gender and Biopolitics in Franco’s Spain (1939-1959)**

Jazz is usually seen as an inherently subversive music, formed against state expressions, especially in studies of totalitarian regimes. However, in the case of the Franco dictatorship in Spain, it is difficult to find an explicit official condemnation of jazz from 1945, once finished the Fascist period of the regime and initiated its pro-American propaganda. Through the study of censorship, legislation, the press, recordings and photographs, this article argues that jazz played an important contestatory role in the so-called “early Francoism” (1939-1959). However, that subversion was not an intellectual and rational political discourse, but a challenge to the biopolitics or the official precepts about the body. Until the mid-1950s, jazz in Spain was a set of dances, mainly swing and boogie-woogie, linked to physical pleasure and the protest against the gestural sobriety promoted by the dictatorship. It involved questions of body language and gender identities particularly offensive for the moral authorities of the ultra-Catholic Franco regime. To study jazz as subversion of Francoist biopolitics we have to question the inveterate historical account about the postwar jazz as an immutable form of contemplative art, perpetuated since the 1960s.

• **Maria Kiladi** (Royal Holloway, University of London)

**The London Labour Choral Union in the 1930s: Communist and Trotskyist Debates**

During the early twentieth century, a number of local Labour Party branches and socialist associations active in London developed ancillary organisations of a musical nature for their members. In 1924 the London Labour Party, under the leadership of Herbert Morrison, brought them all together under one organisation: the London Labour Choral Union. The Union soon became a very successful party activity. It was initially conducted by one of its founders, the socialist composer Rutland Boughton, until Alan Bush took over
in 1927. The affiliation of music organisations to political parties, however, defines them to a great extent and prevents or enables their further development according to the popularity of the party to which they are affiliated. The rise of the London Labour Choral Union in the mid-1920s was a direct result of the rise of the London Labour Party in the London area. For this reason the Union can be described as a Musical Institution of the Left: its repertoire and activities were defined by the various policies embraced by the Labour Party during that period. At the same time, its membership was directly affected by the political debates that took place in Britain in the late 1920s and early 1930s. There was, for example, a decline in the Union's membership during the General Strike of 1926, and the years of the ‘Class against Class’ policy of the Communist Party. Equally the United Front policy launched by the Comintern in the early 1930s resulted in the Union's successful participation at the (Comintern-organised) Workers Music Olympiad in Strasbourg in the summer of 1935. The Choral Union became particularly involved in the Labour and Communist Debates of the 1930s, when the repertoire was heavily influenced by its conductor Alan Bush, himself a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain since 1935. The paper will seek to identify how the 1930s debates of Communism and Trotskyism are manifested in the Union's repertoire and activities. The Union's most important conductors, Alan Bush and Michael Tippett are discussed in more detail, illustrating their transition from socialism to Communism (Bush) and from Socialism to Trotskyism (Tippett). The repertoire of that period is discussed in the context of the Agit-Prop movement, which Bush embraced owing to his friendship with Hanns Eisler and Bertold Brecht. Song books used by the Union in the 1920s are compared to those of the 1930s, highlighting similarities but also differences in the subject matter and the phraseology used. Additional material includes unpublished songs by Michael Tippett, which help identify his possible Agitprop influences, as well as material from the British Secret Services (MI5).

• **Teja Klobčar** (University of Ljubljana, Slovenia)

*Irony as an Instrument of Disguised Protest: The case of Frane Milčinski Ježek*

Throughout the history, songs frequently undertook the role of a prominent part of social criticism. They reflected the social movements as well as supported them, in the latter often formed as a protest, revolutionary or propaganda song. However, the thought of social criticism in a song does not necessarily have to be expressed through an explicit protest; it can be as well hidden under the veil of parody or irony. The paper will focus on Slovenian literate, comedian, chansonnier, songwriter and versatile artist Frane Milčinski Ježek (1914-1988). In the times of Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, conducting a direct social protest against the government would mean committing a social and political suicide. For Ježek, the only means for a sincere artistic expression acceptable for the government were writing children literature and the use of irony in his works for adults. In the paper it will be shown how these two are manifested in his opus (the latter sometimes taking the structural form of the first) and how Ježek's work influenced his followers. Analyzing some of his most prominent and influential songs I'll try to illustrate if – and how – they imply or express the means of protest. I will not focus merely on the meaning of the lyrics; the intention is to show how the instrument of irony is implied in the use of structural form and certain musical or poetical elements. In the paper I'll try to answer some subsequent questions: What kind of impact can the use of irony have in the means of social protest? Are his songs nowadays mere a reminder of the past or are they reused in the current social protests and how? Can a song act as a positive element of social criticism, mobilizing the minds with the use of irony, or does it merely embody the role of an entertainment for those who are being suppressed?

• **Andrew S. Kohler** (University of Michigan, MI)

*Protest through Allegory: Carl Orff's Repudiation of Friedrich Hebbel in «Die Bernauerin»*

In March 1946, Carl Orff went to a psychological screening center of the American military’s Information Control Division as part of the denazification process. The composer impressed Dr. Bertram Schaffner with his anti-Nazi attitudes and dislike of group mentality, but nonetheless he received the mediocre classification of “grey acceptable” as a result of having received state benefits during the Third Reich. During his denazification process, Orff adduced his friendship with Kurt Huber, who had been executed in 1943 as part of the White Rose Resistance, an action that Michael Kater and others following him have characterized as exploitive. The acrimonious debate over Carl Orff and the Third Reich has focused primarily on the
composer’s personal character and the aesthetics of Carmina Burana. Moving past these concerns, however, one finds that Orff’s works evince a high level of engagement with the issues of his society and a consistent dislike of authoritarianism. Perhaps the most salient example is Die Bernauerin (completed 1946, premiere 1947), which is dedicated to Kurt Huber’s memory. Agnes Bernauer was a Bavarian commoner who married a duke’s son, for which she was executed in 1435. Orff was inspired to create his own work (writing both music and libretto) on this regionally famous tale in 1942, when his daughter, Godela, played Agnes in Friedrich Hebbel’s 1855 play on the subject. Orff’s work retains structural elements from Hebbel’s but firmly repudiates its message that the individual must be sacrificed for the state, which had led National Socialist cultural officers to favor the play. In Orff’s dramatization, by stark contrast, the Bavarian people identify that an atrocity has been committed and feel complicit, inviting comparison to the moral crises of the composer’s society. Pamela Potter has problematized the common wisdom regarding art in Nazi Germany, namely that only the work of those who left the Third Reich may be considered morally and aesthetically worthy. Carl Orff in particular bears reevaluation in that, however one ultimately chooses to evaluate his actions, he provides a valuable case study in how artists may struggle with issues of conscience while living under totalitarianism.

• Beate Kutschke (Universität Leipzig)

Protest Music in Urban Environments around 1970 – Two Case Studies: Cologne and Berlin
This paper investigates the significance of urban environments for protest music: It is evident that an urban environment is a good cradle for protest. It provides a sufficient number of protesters, activists and sympathizers who form crowds necessary to forcefully express dissent and demand changes. Furthermore, urban densification permits to mobilize mass media which disseminate the message of the dissenters. Third, compact, dense neighbourhoods compress diverse, heterogeneous life styles, opinions and value systems and, thus, catalyze conflicts into protest activities and revolt. Therefore, protest movements tend to emerge in urban areas that provide the necessary concentration of people, institutions, diverse life styles etc. Not surprisingly, the centers of protest in the 1960s and early 70s were cities such as Berlin, NYC, Paris, Amsterdam, Rome, and Tokyo. Which role, however, do specific urban environments play for protest music? Given the fact that, in the 1960s and early 70s, music articulating protest and dissent was rather rarely created for the purpose of being used during protest marches and other forms of action: which factors inspired composers to create music that referred to new-leftist dissent and protest? In my paper, I will compare two urban centers of protest and their avant-garde/rock music scenes around 1970: Cologne and Berlin. I will demonstrate that it was not only the above mentioned social characteristics of urban environments that made Cologne and Berlin ideal ’cradles of protest music’, but also the specific political and cultural-political situation that was shaped by the Cold War.

• Sonja L. Larson (Virterbo University, La Crosse, WI)

Music in the Holocaust: A Means of Survival
Genocide evokes the worst and the best qualities of the human spirit. Mass murderers personify pure evil, yet those who suffer at the hands of this evil find, from deep within, a will to live on. Although the Nazis used music to emphasize the torture and dehumanization of their prisoners in the Holocaust, my research focuses on the victims’ use of music as a means of survival. Through analysis of the prisoners’ letters and diaries, and survivors’ written and oral accounts, I was able to find clear examples of music’s power in saving innocent lives. Ranging from organized orchestras to spontaneous religious hymns and even to original compositions written in the camps, music played an unquestionably substantial role in the lives of those who endured. Through music, the victims of the Holocaust were able to find comfort and expression in a reality seemingly void of any human soul. Additionally, music served a more practical role as communication, documentation, resistance, and provided unity among a variety of people originally separated by social class, religion, age, and race. My research provides a starting point for further analysis of human survival through music. I hope my work will lead to further research on music as a survival technique for current mass murder victims and as a tool to help prevent future genocide. Finally, my work sheds light on a part of history that can be used as evidence to prove the power and practicality of music in a world where its value is questioned and even doubted.
What if Dissident Voices Have to Follow Popular Form? South Korea’s Protest Music since the 1990s

In South Korea (hereafter Korea), in the early 1990s, the boy band Seo Taiji and Boys was a major phenomenon. Not only did the band break every domestic sales record, but it also set many new trends in music, dance and fashion. Seo Taiji’s fans comprised a generation of students who, for the first time in history, had considerable spending power and freedom to travel abroad. Yet despite the burgeoning democracy, many socio-political issues remained unaddressed. In his lyrics, Seo Taiji wrote about the injustice he and his fans continued to face: the enormous pressure to succeed in education, the unhealthy study environments, and the physical violence to which they were subjected. The censorship committees finally demanded that Seo removed or rewrote some verses, but he refused. When his fans staged a number of public protests, this forced the government to launch an independent inquiry. No song has become the subject of public debate in Korea since. Although many boy bands and girl groups followed Seo Taiji’s example, they only imitated his style in form. They focused on a younger audience, sang a repertoire of songs about love, but left the creation of their lyrics and music mostly to others. Shortly after Korean rapper Psy took center stage at the American Music Awards ceremony in LA on 18 November 2012, two old performances by Psy surfaced that decried the United States’ overseas military operations using vengeful words and metaphors. Many U.S. nationals felt cheated, but in Korea Psy’s performances barely raised an eyebrow. Many Koreans, including some of the people behind the billion-dollar industry that now churns out new pop acts each month, grew up deliberating the implications of the U.S. military presence to Korea’s eventual reunification. A large number of singer-songwriters preached a return to the values of old, and to an independent, reunified Korea. Today, many issues continue to be the subject of debate. But when Seo Taiji revolutionized the Korean pop music industry, the outcome has led those looking for socio-political engagement to explore other forms of art. Although an underground music scene is thriving, it may take an act that follows the form of the mainstream, to get attention. A song that looks too much like a protest song will too easily be marginalized as insignificant, as if the content itself is a form of jazz, a *salonfähig* form of rap. Koreans appear wary of protest songs as if the songs associate a harsh past that is best forgotten. In this paper I will discuss the various forms of South Korean protest music since the early 1990s and I will deliberate why despite Korea’s long tradition of protest music, it has disappeared from the mainstream this past decade. Questions I will focus on are: does censorship enhance the effectiveness of protest music? How important is form to Korean protest music?

Kurt Weill’s *Der Silbersee: ein Wintermärchen: A Tale of Protest and Despair*

This talk begins with an article by BBC economist, Paul Mason. His analysis of Antonis Samaras’ recent comparison between the present state of affairs in Greece and the last days of the Weimar Republic deftly chooses, as a point of entry, Weill’s and Kaiser’s “haunting opera”, *Der Silbersee*. According to the author, «*The Silver Lake* is ultimately about how people feel when they switch from resistance to hopelessness. And about how strangely liberating hopelessness can be». Mason’s account flies in the face of all scholarship on Weill’s “play with music”. This allegory of the political climate of pre-Nazi domination is generally viewed as a work about hope and redemption, replete with social criticism («Wir wollen den Hunger begraben»), a Leftist intellectual’s veiled warning («Ballade von Cäsars Tod») and an activist’s call for revenge («Erst trifft dich die Kugel»). The work, nevertheless, ends passively: the real criminals of the story keep the castle while the sensitive and self-conscious protagonists suffer exile. If there is hope, it is the hope of surviving once all hope is lost. If there is resistance, it belongs to the magical, frozen silverlake, which keeps its illusory promises. The aim of my talk, then, is to support Mason’s claim from the standpoint of musicology and philosophy. First, I will attempt to demonstrate how Weill goes about composing protest music in his *Schauspiel-Oper*. Relying on comparative and topical analyses, I will show what elements of Weill’s style support an intentionally rallying position. Second, I will show how the forces that rival the revolutionary forces are usually supplied with popular material whose main task is to entertain and divert one’s criticism or anger. Third, I intend to establish that the chorus’ music, despite its good intentions, leads both protagonists (Severin and Olim) to catastrophe, transfigured though it may seem. For this transfiguration, as the music makes plainly clear, is anything but a call to action; it is, on the contrary, a docile belief that things will somehow get better. I will
support my analyses further with the use of a philosophical framework. In his excellent study of the Weimar Republic (*Critique of Cynical Reason*), Peter Sloterdijk makes the point, much as Paul Mason does, that the hyperbolic cynicism characteristic of the period was transformed: over time, the cynics, in their anguish, begin to fantasize about catastrophe. *Der Silbersee*, I aim to establish, summarizes this entire cynic journey from protest to despair.

**Henrik Marstal** (Rhythmic Music Conservatory, Copenhagen)

**Taking Which Power Back? Rage Against The Machine’s Struggle for Identifying ‘the Machine’**

Can anyone actually ‘take the power back’ from the epicentre of societal control, when no one exactly knows how to identify that power? And is the use of the word in the title of Rage Against the Machine’s ‘Take the Power Back’ a track from the group’s eponymous 1992 debut album, just a promising, yet unnoticed metaphor for wanting to be in control? As it is the case for the group’s famous protest anthem ‘Killing in the Name of’ (which is the former track on the album), ‘Take the Power Back’ does not provide any clear indications how to detect these answers. The lyrics for the song allegedly deal with matters of unbalanced power relations between the suppressed protagonist performing an «act of aggressive remembrance» (Lynskey 2010, p. 638) by raging against the strong, self-assured and silent ‘machine’ of corporate power. The use of the plural form “we” throughout the song indicates that the protagonist belongs to “the people”, which is being governed by a system of late capitalism and mesmerized by it as well (“They say jump, you say how high”, as the group sing in another song from the album, ‘Bullet in the Head’). The lyrics are in accordance with the Weberian assumption that state and power are linked together, making the state exercise symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1996) in the reproduction of the social structures of domination of the individual. Thus, structural power (Giddens 1979) is at stake as a monopoly of the state, whose most visible sign is police forces. In the lyrics, however, the power in question is never identified, leaving it as an non-discursive, mysterious construction of evil which has to be fought and inversed by any means. This leaves the song completely open for interpretation against its own intentions. Thus, it can be serve purposes for not only left wing idealists like the members of Rage Against the Machine themselves, but also right wing extremist political parties like, for instance, Golden Dawn in Greece or Jobbik in Hungary. Even though power is often exercised by the state in public space, for instance by the police at demonstrations, the vague concept of power in the lyrics is emblematic to how power often is perceived: As a more or less unidentified threat, which no one really knows much about, and which is hard to grasp. The very nature of power is hard to measure or even hidden (Bachrach & Baratz 1962; 1970), meaning that marginalized groups are without any means of power whatsoever. For the same reason, power often go unnoticed (Lukes 1974), making it easier to exercise it. Thus, ‘Take the Power Back’ hints at the fact that power avoids definition, making the call for action against it hard or even futile. But, as Jaques Attali reminds us, «music is prophecy», making it an art form which might be able to point out imbalances of power (Attali 1985). In this paper, the vagueness of the ‘machine’ which call for ‘rage’ is thus addressed, problematized and embraced.

**Louisa Martin-cheValier** (Université Paris 8-EDESTA)

**Jazz in Soviet Union in the 1920s: A Protest Music?**

By the mid-twenties, many of the familiar contours of prerevolutionary musical life had reappeared. The prerevolutionary dance craze and the thirst for Western jazz not only persisted but intensified, now infecting a broader audience than just prerevolutionary social elite. The «NEP music» (1921-1928) is rich in variety, for beyond the walls of the concert hall and operatic theater, Russian listened to, played, sang, and danced to a wide range of music. This presence and popularity of many kinds of music – from «gypsy» romances, tangos, and jazz music – more fully reflect the diversity of Russia’s modernizing urban culture. 1920s was a period when the jazz is very present in the Soviet musical life. Indeed, from 1922, it is introduced by Valentin Parnakh. Paradoxically, this dancer and poet does not know how to play, but he brought in the country complete set musical instruments for a jazz band. Inspired by recordings of the jazz brought back also from France, Parnakh created a ‘jazz band’. In 1926, the public Soviet discovered two real jazzmen thanks to the tour of Jazz American Kings (Frank Withers, Sidney Bechet), or later The Chocolate Kiddies, led by Sam Wooding from England. To promote sales of this new dance music, the AMA (Association of Moscow
Authors, a private firm) sponsored the first Soviet professional jazz band led by Aleksandr Tsfasman from 1927 to 1930. In 1926, the Publishing House Academia of Leningrad published the first book dedicated to the jazz, entitled *Jazz Band and the Contemporary Music*, by Semion Ginzburg. But some intellectuals, religious officials, revolutionaries, and practitioners of classical music all lamented what they perceived as the degenerative influence of jazz. Some of these critical voices would be lost in the political upheaval of 1917, but others would find an opportunity to act on their objections in the name of creating a socialist culture. Why most of the totalitarian regimes disapproved or forbade the jazz in its simplest forms? The jazz music does not support uniformity, as well in its performance as in its forms of expression. It is the improviser, the musician as personality who is in the center of stage, whereas in totalitarian regimes, everything is based on the discipline and the order, since the economy until the culture. Nevertheless, in the case of Soviet Union, the jazz exists. How does this musical field adapt itself to the regime? The Jazz in Soviet Union in the 1920s will be a protest music?

● **Upa Mesbahan (University of Oxford)**

*From Romance to Protest: Folklorization of an Armenian Song in Iran*

This paper attempts to trace the transformation of the Armenian love song ‘Sari Siroun Yar’ or ‘Pretty Mountain Girl’ into an Iranian protest song called ‘Sar Umad Zemestoon’ or ‘The Winter Has Come to an End’. ‘Sari Siroun Yar’ became part of Iran’s musical scene, with changed lyrics and under a different name, before the Iranian revolution of 1979. It was presented through a Marxist political group called ‘Cherikha-ye Fadaee Khalq’ (The People’s Devoted Guerrillas), but was readily accepted by others and managed to unite almost the entire opposition front. In examining the origin of this transformation, three interrelated issues arise: the journey of the melody from Armenia to Iran, the dramatic change in its identity, and the process by which the tune became an inherent and inseparable part of the Iranian folk repertoire. With regard to the journey itself, three issues have been investigated: the geographical proximity of the two countries; the increasing hybridity of folk tunes in general and the shared socio-historical traditions between the two countries in particular, and the manifold nature of Iranian culture. This characteristic of Iranian culture provides an acceptance of variety and a potential for it to cross boundaries, transcending its own limitations and welcoming other cultural and musical traditions. The change in identity is centred around two important factors, namely, social forces and lyrics. Iran’s distressed political and economic situation was such that engaging with issues like love was viewed, if not as a sort of sentimentalism, at least as irrelevant to real daily life. Hence the Armenian love song was adjusted to match the needs of the society, which were then focused on struggling against the despotic regime. The substituted lyrics were so powerful that the song in its new form became the flag of protest for Iranians and continues to be so today. To tackle the third issue, namely, the tight association of the tune with Iranian culture, I endeavoured to provide a relatively new definition of folklorization. In this definition, while folklorization involves a natural transfer of folk material from its original ethnic setting to a foreign one with a different audience, the active process necessitating human activity and creativity to make it fit its new context is by no means neglected. Under such folklorization, the folk material becomes as representative of the new ethnicity as it is of the original, because it is given the freedom to divert from its original purpose, function, or even meaning. I hope that this definition can be used to explain more instances of appropriation and adaptation that take place in the field of folk music. I conclude that the new perspective on folk protest music is timely, relevant, and can contribute to furthering the discipline of musicology, whilst also complementing studies of pressing musical issues.

● **Bogumila MiKa (University of Silesia, Katowice, Poland)**

*Engaged as Protest. Musical Features of Polish Repertoire Written under Martial Law during the 1980s*

There were some times of special importance in the very turbulent history of twentieth-century Poland. One of these was during the imposition of Martial Law upon the Polish nation in 1981. Some Polish composers responded to the difficult political and social situations that resulted it by writing orchestral pieces which attempted to light and strengthen hope in the hearts of Polish people. These composers included Krzysztof Penderecki, Krzysztof Meyer, Wojciech Kilar, and Zygmunt Krauze. The music they wrote is described was dubbed “engaged music”, and was based on specific musical idioms that helped convey the optimistic
message. The composers often emphasized the meaning of this “engaged music” also by a usage of musical quotations. Which quotations they used, how they elaborated this borrowed material and what reasons they achieved, these are the questions I would like to answer in my presented paper. In general, based on analysis of selected musical repertoire, I will describe features that constituted the “engaged music” written in Poland in the second half of the twentieth century (especially under Martial Law) and I will consider the problem whether we can describe “engaged music” as “protest music”.

**Stephen R. Millar** (Queen’s University Belfast)

*The Irish Diaspora in Scotland: Music, Protest, and Alterity*

The Wolfe Tones are an Irish republican rebel band that have performed over 14,000 shows throughout the past fifty years; their version of the nineteenth-century Irish rebel song ‘A Nation Once Again’ was voted the world’s favourite song in a 2002 BBC poll. Yet, in Scotland, singing many of their songs in public is now illegal. On 1st March 2012, the Scottish Parliament enacted the ‘Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications (Scotland) Bill’ making the singing of ‘sectarian songs’ punishable by an unlimited fine and up to five years in prison. The law was introduced to tackle the religious bigotry between Scotland’s Catholic and Protestant communities, which is often channelled through football, songs, chants, parades and the internet. While there have been some studies examining the use of anti-Catholic music in Scotland (MacFarland 1990, Millar 2011, McKerrell 2012) there has been no such study on the use of Irish rebel songs, which are often perceived as anti-Protestant. My paper explores the history and reception of Irish rebel music in Scotland, focusing on its archetypal band, the Wolfe Tones. It considers why their music is so popular amongst the Irish diaspora in Scotland and why much of it has been outlawed under the new Act. By examining the Wolfe Tones’ performances in Glasgow’s Barrowland Ballrooms, one of the band’s largest annual concerts, I will demonstrate audiences’ dual use of the Wolfe Tones’ music as a means of protest and a signifier of their Irish-Catholic alterity.

**Erin Miller** (California State University at Long Beach, CA)

«En mi patria no hay justicia»: Violeta Parra and the “Nueva Canción” Movement

Often referred to as the mother of the “Nueva Canción” movement, Chilean artist Violeta Parra (1917-1967) was at the helm of this new mestizo musical genre. The daughter of a music teacher, Parra cast off contemporaneous social norms and traveled throughout the Andean region absorbing and collecting indigenous musical cultures. She then brought these forgotten traditions to urban Chile, and her music—which represented the common people of Chile and their struggles—inspired musicians throughout Latin America to use their music as an instrument of protest. This paper is an investigation the feminine voice of the Nueva Canción movement through an examination of influential singer-songwriter Violeta Parra. In this paper I will contextualize the works of Parra within the socio-political environment of Chile through cultural, historical, and political research methodologies. Cultural research will be focused primarily on gender and sexuality studies, and conditions that affected the role and status of women. Historical research will be presented from the feminine point of view, focusing on gender issues of the twentieth century, including the political and social protest activities of women. It will also address the general state of women’s rights in Chile, and how or if the movement assisted in the evolution of women’s rights and status. This progression will be highlighted by the exploration of Parra’s life and works, including her songs *La Carta*, *Miren cómo sonrien*, and *Rin del Angelito*. Through an analysis of the poetry, a clearer understanding of the significant issues and conflicts of Parra’s time, such as imperialism, economic inequality, social injustices, military regimes, workers rights, class, gender, and national identity, as represented by a celebration of indigenous music cultures. By applying narrative hermeneutic methodologies to lyric selections, I will interpret deeper meaning in regards to personal struggles, political protest, and socially-conscious issues. Research will also include the perception of female artists by their male counterparts, and the general public during the time of Violeta Parra’s career.
Conclusions will ultimately be drawn regarding the effectiveness and influence of Parra's music in the broader picture of Chilean political and social protest movements in 1960-1970s Chile.

• **KATARZYNA NALIWAJEK-MAZUREK** (University of Warsaw)

**Music as Protest and Music as Quest for Freedom in Nazi-Occupied Poland**

In Poland occupied by the Third Reich music played a significant role as a method of fight against the occupiers and the way to find internal freedom. There were three main types of music, which had such functions. In specific conditions where Polish culture was systematically destroyed, Chopin, Paderewski and all music, which was linked with the national identity of Poles, was banned, all Polish music institutions were closed, Poles could only play music in cafés or in German-controlled halls (established in 1940), music making was censored – it was the clandestine music making in private apartments, which was one of the methods to fight against this aggressive policies. Secondly, a new repertoire of songs was written by such composers as Witold Lutosławski and Andrzej Panufnik on commission of the underground institutions; this type of music expressed the will to struggle against the occupiers, the fight for independence. Thirdly, a huge repertoire of songs of dissent were created in cities (among others street songs) and in such places of detention, persecution and mass-killings as prisons, ghettos and different types of camps. The analysis of selected examples of these three types presented against the background of Nazi cultural politics in occupied Poland will lead to a typology of topics addressed in this repertoire and to an investigation of social, psychological and political functions it played.

• **SANTIAGO NIÑO MORALES** (Universidad Distrital ‘Francisco José de Caldas’, Colombia)

**Social Songs and Record Labels: Political Opposition and Music Industry in Latin America**

The social song in Latin America has been a musical expression valued for its explicit link to active political opposition in the last century. Mainly for social group’s demands, claims for workers’ rights and, in general, the actions of left political protest movement. During the Sixty to Ninety featured performers such as Leon Gieco, Mercedes Sosa, Pablo Milanés, Silvio Rodríguez, Víctor Jara, Santiago Feliú, among others. This genre was dynamized by actions of political ideology socialization in communities and social groups. The distribution of phonograms in this context was by association and direct contact. However, this medium was not the main circulation. The Latin American recording industry played a crucial role in mobilizing their distribution catalogs between Madrid, Buenos Aires, Havana, México, Caracas and Bogotá. Although some of the materials were restricted by censorship regimes, the record labels applied strategies to meet demand. In this context, the lyrics had an ideological role, but as well they had deep impact in the public preferences as a “love songs”, in a similar way to musical pop genre. In general, the social song, also called ‘protest songs’, is inserted into an imaginary of political opposition that has become invisible its close association with the music industry. Without the resources of the music industry, market impact and social appropriation of the genre would have been marginal or limited. The music industry has adopted criteria of utility rather than criticize the ideological content as the main reason to promote the commercialization of the genre for over forty years.

• **NDOBUISI E. NAMANI** (University of Cambridge, UK)

**Songs of Protest, Voices of Freedom – Themes and Thoughts on Protest Music in Contemporary Nigeria**

Music and protest are part of human activities that transcend cultural boundaries. Music can communicate and by exploiting its rallying power, it can therefore mobilize when and where the need arises. Music, as protest, is a social act, a medium, through which the struggles and yearnings of the people, the vices, inequalities and unfulfilled needs and aspirations are projected. In protest music, these potentials of music are exploited to meet the needs and aspirations of activists to facilitate social engineering and organizing. Protest music provides the much needed medium for protest voices to be heard hence, a means and an end in itself. However, protest music has not enjoyed the intensity of scholarship commensurate with its place in the society arguably because of its apparent fringe attributes hence its dissociation from the mainstream and sometimes, denigration and dismissal as a fringe matter – one of those dissident youth affairs against the establishment. This scenario presents an analogy about protest music in Nigeria. Constant reference to only the music of Fela and his persona often leads to the unfortunate and awkward notion that his music is
either essentially for protest or that his Afro beat genre is the only one associated with protest and popular struggle in Nigeria. Such notions do more harm than good to the recording and representation of the nature of music protest in contemporary Nigeria. What is the nature of protest music? How does it transact societal struggles, suffering and transmit the yearnings and aspirations of the people? How do those in authority view protest music? Who is the target audience of protest music and what, if any, is its implication from a national and/or international standpoint(s)? This paper attempts to address these questions using Nigeria as a reference point. Adopting a multi-disciplinary approach, the discussion explores the vertical and horizontal dimensions of protest music and provides a historical account of the nature of protest music in the traditional and present-day Nigeria with their attendant peculiar socio-political implications. The discussion includes analysis of the works of traditional, popular and contemporary art musicians in a bid to proffer theoretical arguments that combine the historical and empirical approach to balance existing accounts, to underscore the findings and premise of the thesis of this paper. The biographical sketches of some artistes (e.g. Isreal, Fela and Okosun) included in the deliberations provide further contextual basis for the discussion. The history and nature of protest music in Nigeria span beyond Fela and Afro beat. Music was an important weapon in the pre-independent campaign against not only the vices and ills of the traditional Nigerian societies but also the excesses of the colonial and post-independence political dispensation. In Nigeria, music is not just a weapon of the future, re-echoing the travails of the fleeting past but also, it is the rhythmic consciousness of the present that resonates in the dreams of the future, referencing the yearnings and aspirations of a free people within and beyond the morphology of Nigeria’s socio-political space.

• JAMES O’LEARY (Oberlin College and Conservatory, OH)

«If This Isn’t Love, It’s Red Propaganda»: Finian’s Rainbow (1947) and the Post-War Political Musical

«If this isn’t love, it’s Red propaganda». So sings the protagonist in Edgar “Yip” Harburg’s and Burton Lane’s 1947 Finian’s Rainbow, a Broadway musical that tells the story of a union organizer who mobilizes a group of mixed-race sharecroppers against a government foreclosure. Although the plot may strike most viewers today as aggressively political, scholars such as Gerald Bordman and Stanley Green have argued that the show’s good humor and fairy-tale atmosphere blunted any radical overtones. The sources, however, suggest a different story. Although contemporary reviewers downplayed the show’s politics in public, the discourse behind the scenes was explicitly dogmatic. In its earliest stages, the musical seemed so aggressive that producers pressured Harburg to remove all traces of its liberal leanings, and even after the show opened, fans wrote to Harburg either to praise or condemn him for the “left left” ideology that to them seemed obvious. Why was there such a discrepancy? I argue that Broadway never became apolitical as many historians have suggested, but rather that we no longer recognize many of the ways in which composers and critics expressed ideology after the war. Drawing upon the writings of such critics as Theodor Adorno, Clement Greenberg, Dwight MacDonald, and Russell Lynes, I resuscitate a 1940s aesthetic discourse that posed strong, partisan divisions between highbrow art and lowbrow entertainment. When critics downplayed the show’s social significance in favor of purely formalist, high-art elements, they essentially endorsed an ongoing campaign that banished political ideology from music as a way to stifle what they considered left-wing propaganda. Thus, contemporary critics responded to the show in a way that was politically fraught, even though they expressed no overt political argument. Ultimately I contend that at the time political discourse often took place without overt political speech simply by strategically invoking the line between high and low art. When today’s historians describe the reception of Finian’s Rainbow as apolitical, they lose sight of how politicized this aesthetic boundary had become.

• PEDRO ORDOÑEZ ESLAVA (Foundation Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, Paris)

«Cara al sol por bulerías...» Flamenco: Race, Identity and Protest in the last 60’s

After the publication of Flamencologia by A. González Climent in 1955 and the flowering of popular Festivals everywhere in Andalousia, among other facts which will be analyzed in the paper, Flamenco gains an exceptional diffusion in both cultural and social domains. This happens in two main directions: First, the constitution of the so called Renaissance of Flamenco that was a ‘neopurist’ period in which to recover the classical styles without any kind of political or ideological implication. At this moment it has to be located
the book *Mundo y formas del cante flamenco*, written by the cantaor Antonio Mairena and the poet Ricardo Molina and published in 1963. Here it was settled an aesthetic and historiographic debate around the role of gypsy community in the history of flamenco and a soft process of identity that never became a fight for their social rights. Second, it emerges at the same time a clearly ideological conception of Flamenco. To the middle of the sixties, singers like Enrique Morente, José Menese or Manuel Gerena begun to use new lyrics by poets historically persecuted – like Federico García Lorca or Miguel Hernández – and by authors politically engaged like Francisco Moreno Galván, among others. The ‘cantaor’ who used these new poems positioned himself against the political situation demanding a necessary new order. Nonetheless, the examples were always seen as impure and no representative by the conservative side of Flamenco artists; in fact, almost all singers gave up this conscience of protest when Franco disappeared. In this paper I seek to analyze the qualities of protest in Flamenco during the sixties and the beginning of the seventies – that’s to say, the last years of Francoism —, in order to underline the real value of an ideological thought in it. In doing so and being a paradoxical question, I’ll try to establish that, in those years as today, any try to link Flamenco and politics – in matters of identity or social fights – gets a negative opinion and is rejected by the conservative side of Flamenco world – critics, authors and public –, from a position constructed on concepts like purity and race.

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**Alexander O’Sullivan** (University of Melbourne, AUS)

**Too Much, or Not Enough? Reconciling Nono’s Political Protest with His Compositional Language**

Luigi Nono is well known as a composer that protested the intolerances and injustices of his time through his works in the 1950s and 60s. However, he is also well known as a composer of unrelenting high serialism, who allowed much of his musical material to be predetermined through processes seemingly unconnected with society. While he described the process as merely providing compositional materials from which he would craft his works, several commentators have pointed out their perception of a gulf between his stated desires (to influence the consciousnesses of his audience) and the actual result of his unashamed modernist techniques, which contrasted him with other left-wing composers of the mid-twentieth century avant-garde including Henze and Nigg. Indeed, as his life progressed, his music became further abstracted from its inspiration, for instance in *Fragmente-Stille, an Diotima* (1979-1980), where texts are silently read by the instrumentalists as they play rather than revealed to the audience through song. In this paper, I will seek to explain this tendency towards abstraction through Nono writings, as well as through a direct comparison of the “communicativeness” of two works. The first is *La victoire de Guernica* (1954), which caused Nono’s colleague Bruno Maderna to criticise him thus: «don’t sell yourself in such a big way to politics and humanity… we are not, cannot be, men of the street». The second is *Il canto sospeso* (1955-1956), which set letters of condemned resistance fighters from the Second World War. However, in this case Nono was criticised for “concealing” the text in some movements through layering and segmentation. It seems that the works either protest too much or too little. Through an analysis of Nono’s philosophy of committed music, a dialectic process that rejects various models of composition can be shown to put his personal development in context and explain the gap between the intention and the result, and perhaps explain his transition from works of overt political protest towards introspection.

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**Michael Palmese** (University of Miami, FL)

**Collective Tragedy: Polarity and Symmetry in The Death of Klinghoffer**

John Adams’s 1991 opera *The Death of Klinghoffer* tackles enormously complex issues surrounding the Israel-Palestine debate through a dramatization of the murder of Jewish-American Leon Klinghoffer aboard the Achille Lauro cruise liner in 1985 by members of the Palestinian Liberation Front. The contentious topics brought up by such a recent historical event spurred major artistic debates as the opera made its way to the United States following its premiere in Brussels. Claiming that they sought to give equal voice to both Jews and Palestinians in terms of their backgrounds, a great deal of controversy erupted over the opera’s alleged portrayal of the hijackers in a sympathetic and almost heroic light. Further, the idea of dramatically presenting Palestinian historical injustices was seen as a tacit pardoning of terrorism. Concurrently, the portrayal of the opera’s Jewish characters was seen as stereotypical, satirical, and offensive, particularly with regards to the now-infamous “Rumor Scene” that Adams removed for the American premiere. Following the September
11th attacks, the Boston Symphony Orchestra cancelled a performance of choral excerpts from the opera out of respect to a member of the chorus who lost a family member in the attacks. The work and the topics it explored were considered too controversial at a time of national mourning and extreme anti-Muslim sentiment. In a New York Times article, noted musicologist Richard Taruskin defended the orchestra while denouncing The Death of Klinghoffer for allegedly romanticizing terrorists. Setting off a fierce battle of words, it remained clear that the opera had lost none of its potency in provoking strong responses from both partisans and detractors. I will illustrate through references to both musical and large-scale dramatic architecture that the opera does indeed present a balanced approach to both groups and does not pardon the Palestinians on moral grounds. Of distinct importance when considering this balanced approach structurally is accounting for the conception of the opera as similar to a Bach Passion. The idea of presenting polarity and symmetry between the historical circumstances of Jews and Palestinians serves as a method of dramatic meditation that is profoundly equitable. With particular regards to the placement and content of the choruses, I shall show that the opera has an intense focus on the idea of a collective sense of tragic history and reflection. Finally, I will account for the vivid musical characterizations brought to the Klinghoffers and hijackers and how these differing personalities function as embodiments of the Israel-Palestine debate.

Dimitris Papapnikolaou (University of Athens, Greece)

Dmitri Shostakovich and Mikis Theodorakis: Music under Persecution

Both the composers Dmitri Shostakovich (1906-1975) and Mikis Theodorakis (1925) belong ideologically to the Left. The story of Shostakovich is rather known and not clear. He was denounced twice by the soviet party (in 1936 and in 1948); in the first case for writing music against Stalin and after that for formalistic music that had western influences. Finally, he joined the party in the 60s and, until today, musicologists have been disputing whether Shostakovich was actually a soviet man or not. In Greece, Mikis Theodorakis associated with the Left during the Greek Civil War (1945-1948). At the time when the country was under the military Junta (1967-1974) his anti-dictatorial action as long as his political ideas led him to prison and exile. During those years his music and songs were calling for uprising at such an extent that Greece still finds in his face the symbol of resistance. Well, two composers with the same social ideology although expressed in a completely different way. Shostakovich, eminently a symphonist, chose to express his dissent against Stalin in a puzzling manner, following what Adorno declares in his Aesthetic Theory that all the artworks should be puzzles. On the contrary, Theodorakis appears to be closely to Marxism and for that reason blended poetry with the large symphonic form and traditional elements in order to call for uprising against Junta, through what he called as meta-symphonic music. Thus, moving between and among the Eight and Ninth symphony by Shostakovich and the March of the Spirit and Canto General by Theodorakis this paper wants to delineate the aesthetic thinking of two different ways of music protest, find analogies with each sociopolitical environment, and finally compare them in the context of music criticism.

Vincent E. Rone (University of California at Santa Barbara, CA)

«A Voice Cries Out in the Wilderness»: The French Organ School Responds to the Second Vatican Council of the Catholic Church

Beginning in 1965, the implementation of Vatican II’s liturgical reforms led to the replacement of Gregorian chant and the organ – the Church’s traditional musical heritage – with popular musical styles and instruments. Parisian church organists Maurice Duruflé and Jean Langlais deplored these changes in their published writings, protesting the increasing banishment of these musical traditions from the Mass. They also fought to preserve Gregorian chant and the organ through contemporaneous musical works, which they consistently accompanied with fin-de-siècle, “mystical” harmonic accompaniments. This paper argues that select compositions by Duruflé and Langlais reflect their written critiques of Vatican II’s liturgical transformation. The Sanctus from Duruflé’s Messe “cum Jubilo” (1966) transmits a determination to change the state of immediate post-conciliar liturgical music and worship. He accompanies the Gregorian melodies with harmonic symmetry: whole-tone techniques and “polytonal” sonorities based on major-third rotations, suggestive of high-church eschatological imagery particular to the Sanctus. The Imploration pour Croyance by Langlais (1970), however, represents a painful resignation to the post-conciliar changes. He starkly juxtaposes
a Gregorian *Credo* intonation with chromatic clusters and simultaneous modal mixture. These sonorities violently negate the implications of chant and the theology of uniform prayer in the *Credo*. I critically examine how Duruflé and Langlais foreground chant and the organ in resistance to an increasingly hostile liturgical environment. While scholars of these composers discuss Vatican II exclusively through biography and writings, there have been no attempts to treat their compositions analogously, as socio-cultural documents through harmonic analyses. Moreover, the composers polemicize symmetrical harmonic techniques – longtime markers of the “mystical” in French religious music of the twentieth century, especially that of their mentor Charles Tournemire. Through music and letters, both composers ultimately engage in a battle for orthodox interpretations of Vatican II’s reforms, an issue that continues to surface in church-music discussions fifty years later.

• **Luca Lévi Sala** (Université de Poitiers)

*Luigi Dallapiccola between Expression and Dissent: The Birth of the *Canti di prigionia*. New Unknown Documents*

In their letter of 20 June 1940, Goffredo Petrassi and Mario Corti – at the time responsible for the Teatro La Fenice (1937-1940) and the ‘Biennale d’Arte’ in Venice – correspond to Luigi Dallapiccola the inability to perform the work commissioned by the two Enti for the International Festival of Contemporary Music (FIMC). Given that it was decided its cancellation: «We feel so obligated to suspend any commitment in respect of our event, leaving to your complete disposition the work that you so kindly reserved to us». This work was the *Canti di prigionia*, formerly requested and proposed for the previous 1939 edition which, in the words of Corti and Petrassi, was also «forcedly suspended». Unknown documents show that the idea of the *Canti* as a cycle developed during the spring of 1939, and on 15 June, Dallapiccola informed Petrassi about the first of the three Songs to be performed at the FIMC: «the so troubled final sketch of the work for the Venetian festival, whose name is: *Preghiera di Maria Stuarda* for mixed voices and a few instruments».

Undoubtedly, the reading that the critics have decreed a posteriori about the *canti di prigionia* as one of the most important protest works in Dallapiccola’s production has also been affirmed by the same late declarations of the composer himself. New revisions propose the idea according to which there is no close relationship with the protest in *Canti di prigionia*’s composition. If it is not possible to find explicit or well defined traces of a protest aim on the basis of these new documents, it is possible to therefore find that its programmatic protest aim is very important for the multiple meaning that is well possible to read in the light of the whole of Dallapiccola poetics of music.

• **Roger W. H. Savage** (University of California at Los Angeles, CA)

*Irish Traditional Music, Nationalist Politics, and the Struggle for Recognition*

In 1951, a group of musicians and nationalists from the Dublin Piper’s Club founded Comhaltas Ceoltoiri Éireann (Association of Musicians of Ireland). Sponsored in part by the Irish government, this cultural organization promoted Irish traditional music as a symbol of the new republic. Influenced by the vision that Eamonn De Valera – the Republic’s first prime minister – had of Irish nationalism, Irish traditional music’s revitalization served the nation’s political interests in forging an authentically Irish identity. Sean Ó Riada – whose radio series *Our Musical Heritage* won popular recognition for Irish traditional music in the 1960s – similarly celebrated practices that he regarded as representing genuine Irish traditions at their ancient best. Set against the violent legacy of British colonialist rule, this return to, and recovery of an autochthonous cultural heritage linked the quest for an autonomous cultural identity to the Irish republic’s assertion of its political independence. By setting the quest for this identity against the backdrop of British rule, I intend to examine Irish cultural politics’ entanglement with claims regarding its legitimate representation as a community or group. Cultural politics begins and ends with struggles over the ways that a group or nation represents itself, and that others represent it. The denigrating depictions of the Irish peasantry as ape-like in late Victorian journals bear witness to the humiliations that fuel the resentments of subjugated populations. Subaltern populations often turn to their own heritages and traditions in their efforts to escape the ruins of colonialist rule. The resistance to this rule, I therefore intend to argue, animates the struggle for recognition on the part of...
historically execrated communities and groups. Relating this struggle to the quest on the part of Irish nationalists and revivalists to promote an authentically Irish identity highlights how claims regarding authoritative representations of a community or nation inform practices of political dissent. Through drawing upon Paul Ricoeur’s analysis of various aspects of this struggle, I will show how music figures as a mode of political resistance. This mode of resistance is inseparable from the ideals and aspirations that animate it. Theodor W. Adorno’s understanding of music’s critical social significance offers an important touchstone in this respect. By setting out a hermeneutical understanding of music’s power to open the world to us anew, I propose to relate the interest in the revival of traditional musical practices in Ireland to music’s power to promote a feeling of belonging that was vital to the nationalist project. At the same time, I intend also to argue that the efficacy that music and other cultural phenomena have in opposing hegemonic cultural and political forces springs from their power to shatter ideologically frozen perspectives. Linking a group’s political aspirations to the renewal of their cultural heritage in this way highlights the critical place that dissent has in the midst of a plurality of competing and conflicting claims that motivate different groups.

• Giuseppe Sergi (Università di Pavia, Facoltà di Musicologia di Cremona)

“E si chiama libertà”: Poetical, Musical and Sound Morphology of the Protest in the Music of Area

The movement of 1968 causes a distinguishing artistic development within the Italian cultural history of the Seventies. The music of Area stands for its connection with the sociocultural context of the period. This investigation focuses on the poetical, musical and sound features of the most relevant Area compositions. The aim of this study is to answer significant questions: what kind of relation there is between Area musical product and the coeval social protest? Which are the musical outcomes of this interrelation? What kind of interplay there is between the sound/musical component and the vocal/verbal one? Although Area is a group born with the aim to ‘translate’ in music the trains of thought of the period, the musical outcome is an heterogeneous and elaborate product which does not have an univocal relationship with the coeval social context. Therefore the investigation requires an exegesis devoid of a priori reflections in order to gain a full and adequate understanding. The analysis focuses on recordings between 1973 and 1979 for they represent an homogeneous corpus due to the presence of the vocal and verbal element. Songs like Luglio, agosto, settembre (nero), Cometa rossa and Gerontocracia are cases in point for the musical elaboration of the protest. In this case the term ‘protest’ can be interpreted in its broader etymological meaning as a ‘determined statement of an idea’. It is linked to specific factors deserving an accurate analysis. The use of the synthesizer stands out as a typical sound element beside black music rhythmic patterns and free jazz expressive and formal features. The deconstruction and dispersion of the verbal text within the sound episode leads to the chipping of the word which becomes pure sound. In some other cases the treatment of the verbal aspect is true to the song standards while the music elaborates and enhances the sentimental content. This work analyses these elements to show their expressive quality, clarifying their importance within the various sound architectures. The in-depth analysis of the interplay between the verbal and sound features is the first step to identify the musical morphology of the protest in the compositions of the group, explaining the elaborate connection between the cultural scenario of the period and the relevant musical history of Area.

• Tatevik Shakhkulyan (National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia / Komitas State Conservatory in Yerevan)

Genre of Antooni of the Armenian Ethnic Music

In his historical, political and social difficult periods of its history, Armenians (mostly men) had to leave their family, home and homeland to find livelihood in other places, in other countries. As a form of protest against the imposed situation, they created a specific genre of songs quite widespread in the Armenian culture, which are called antooni (the word would be best translated as homeless). Antooni expresses the thoughts, the concerns, the emotions, as well as the actions of those pilgrim people. The songs display two-sided emotions, from one hand nostalgia and love towards the missing people and from the other hand protest against the reasons and circumstances resulting in being afar. This is a form
of restrained and moderate expression of protest. Even the protest against social injustice is presented by humor and lyricism and with the aid of metaphors and allegories. The most widespread way is to apply to the migratory birds, among them crane, stork and falcon, asking them to transfer some information about them to the family and to the close people. The protest against the life situation was even expressed in the form of lullaby, in which mother sings for her baby, at the same time in the content of the song talking to her former beloved man, who has just returned from pilgrimage and is watching her from chimney. Antooni has been a medieval genre of the Armenian prosody, having stanzas of two lines consisting of 7 and 8 syllables. Those antoonis were sung as well. Later, their prosodic construction became freer. In the twentieth century, they continued preserving the content. Music form of antoonis is complicated, most of cases improvisational, freely evolving, virtuoso from the point of view of performing. The modal basis and consequently intonation is diverse and multilayered. As for the rhythm, it is quite rich of combination of various formulas and does not have any restriction of meter.

• Giti Soryapour (Royal Holloway, University of London)

Repositioning Hip-Hop Within Anti-Colonial Movements: The Case of Lowkey

This paper examines the Global War on Terror’s (GWOT) impact on hip-hop in Britain. More specifically, I will explore the pedagogy and activism, employed through hip-hop, of Iraqi Briton Kareem Dennis (Lowkey, b. 1986) as means of reframing Anglo-Middle Eastern relations. The declaration of the GWOT in 2003 triggered British hip-hop being used in this way. For Lowkey, Britain’s involvement in the GWOT is framed by a colonial template and waged as a colonial enterprise. He uses Britain’s contemporary occupation of the Middle East to illuminate Britain’s historical role in the region. I will complement his perspective by drawing from Gregory’s seminal study, ‘The Colonial Present’ (2004). Lowkey’s reference to cultural imperialism carries this enquiry into the colonial present forward. He maintains that the most powerful capital to fund war is public deception. Butler’s analysis of “public conscription” expands on the issue of civil complicity. To this end, Lowkey draws attention to the synthesis of the mainstream music industry with the war industry. As an independent artist, he uses the craft of hip-hop, perceiving it as an apparatus which can support a political narrative, to pierce political consciousness and sculpt a popular resistance movement at home. He administers his audience with a sense of their own agency, and by default, responsibility. It is through this case-study that I hope to contribute to scholarly discussions on music and GWOT resistance.

• Kara Stewart (University of Memphis, TN)

Jazz as Rebellion: Jewish Musical Protest Surrounding World War II

Retaining and rebuilding Jewish identity in German-occupied areas during the World War II era was a daunting task. Combining American jazz with European Ashkenazic tradition, Jewish musicians symbolically rebelled during the war. The aspects of jazz that were often painted as “degenerate music”, such as swing rhythm, free dancing, and “racially impure” aspects springing from African American and Jewish influence became symbolic of a broader system of protest against social injustice in Germany. The combination of jazz and Jewish music created a culture of subversive rebellion and protest against the Nazi regime within German society, much as American jazz had symbolized the rebellion of youth. Jewish musicians recorded jazz in Europe more than any other distinct ethnic group, performed widely, and continued to use jazz as a means of protest even after they were placed in ghettos or camps. The influence of jazz on a brutally and systematically oppressed ethnic group was unchangeable, and jazz continued to hold sway until long after the war ended.

• Joe Stroud (University of Edinburgh)

An Evolution of Protest: Genre and Extreme-Right Music

The extreme-right music scene operates outwith the mainstream music industry, functioning as both a revenue stream and a recruiting medium for its political cause. This cause is integrated – either explicitly or implicitly – with racial ideology, specifically advocating the interests of the “white” race. This advocacy takes many forms, from arguing that “indigenous” culture has been sidelined by multiculturalism, to
overt white supremacism. The extreme-right music scene arose from British punk in the early 1980s, becoming perhaps the most influential medium for the dissemination of extreme-right ideology across a range of Western countries. Probably the most successful period for extreme-right music was during the late 1980s and early 1990s, at which time the music mostly consisted of rock music, particularly punk and metal. While these genres have been dominant, extreme-right music has also encompassed folk, country, and pop music, and has sought to establish its own racial-based interpretation of classical music too. Lyrics generally promote extreme-right ideology, frequently attacking immigrants, homosexuals and other sources of “degeneracy”, and protesting the perceived marginalisation and oppression of the “indigenous” population. This paper will summarise the history of extreme-right music paying particular attention to the various genres used to disseminate extreme-right ideals. The ideologies surrounding these genres often reflect particular motivations and understandings of extreme-right politics; for example, the use of classical music was generally advocated by traditionalists who followed Nazi ideology of an elite master race, while more recently folk and country music have been promoted as representative of ordinary people, in line with the ideology of populist groups. The paper also considers recent attempts by extreme-right groups to present themselves as more “mainstream”, particularly political parties which are looking to make democratic progress. This “modernisation” is reflected by groups distancing themselves from the explicitly neo-Nazi and racist music of the past, instead presenting themselves as more moderate in nature, focusing on what they regard as positive themes of nationalism, patriotism and racial pride, as well as operating within less abrasive and confrontational genres of music, most notably folk. While this shift is intended to emphasise the legitimacy of extreme-right politics, it can still be adopted by those with revolutionary aims, with the Norwegian terrorist Anders Behring Breivik particularly notable for preferring this more “mainstream” extreme-right music to its more abrasive counterpart.

David Thurmaier (University of Missouri-Kansas City, MO) – John Cox (University of North Carolina-Charlotte, NC)

“You Say You Want a Revolution?”: A New Analysis of John Lennon’s Political Music

In the early 1970s, John Lennon was fully engaged in the New York political scene, appearing at diverse events like benefit concerts for poet John Sinclair and mentally challenged children; meetings and rallies with the Black Panthers, Native Americans, and anti-Vietnam activists; and on significant television shows hosted by Dick Cavett and Mike Douglas. These activities shed light on Lennon’s political passions; of course Lennon had previously made overt political statements, including the 1968 Beatles single ‘Revolution’ – and, more controversially, a second version only three months later (on the so-called White Album) that was more ambivalent about the use of violence – and his ‘Give Peace A Chance’ recorded at a “Bed-in for Peace” in 1969. His political inclinations were not merely a fad inspired by the upheaval of the late 1960s; in an interview with the prominent radicals Tariq Ali and Robin Blackburn first published in The Red Mole, Lennon states that he had «always been politically minded, you know, and against the status quo […] It’s pretty basic when you’re brought up, like I was, to hate and fear the police as a natural enemy and to despise the army as something that takes everybody away and leaves them dead somewhere». Though Lennon seemed more like a political activist during these years, songwriting was still his preferred way to channel his activism. While many scholars such as Jon Wiener have traced the development and significance of Lennon’s political activities, few have addressed the connection between the lyrics and subjects of his songs to the type of music he used to convey the messages. In fact, Lennon’s musical styles for these political songs were remarkably diverse, drawing from folk music, pop ballads, blues, and rock and roll; this diversity allowed Lennon to express a variety of emotions and messages in both overt and subtle ways that were lacking in the work of other self-proclaimed political musicians. In our presentation, we trace the historical and sociological aspects of Lennon’s political songwriting while providing salient musical analysis that puts the songs into a richer interpretive context. For example, his utopian 1971 song ‘Imagine’ contains rather radical elements in its lyrics (e.g., “and no religion too”) and yet the music is beautiful and contemplative. This approach toward melding political sentiments and music subtly masks the strong message and has
resulted in a universally loved song, which sometimes produces ironies Lennon found amusing while alive (i.e., large crowds happily singing along to it). By contrast, a song like ‘Power to the People’ serves as a call to arms, forcefully expressing the need for revolution; its music is bombastic, later causing Lennon to reflect that it «didn’t really come off» as it had been «written in the state of being asleep and wanting to be loved by Tariq Ali and his ilk». After analyzing these and other songs from Lennon’s 1972 political album *Sometime in New York City*, we assess the musical choices Lennon made in light of his subject matter.

**Luis Velasco Pufleau** (University of Salzburg, Division of Music and Dance Studies)  
*We Sing for the Future: Improvisation, Aesthetics and Ideology in Cornelius Cardew’s Political Works, from Scratch Orchestra to People’s Liberation Music*

Under the influence of aesthetical and political upheavals caused by free jazz and improvised music, many European and North-American composers reacted during the 1960s to serialism and Darmstadt’s influence by incorporating improvisation in every step of their compositional process – in formal aspect, as well as in musical material or in performance. Improvisation and indeterminacy, as liberating practices, became tools to challenge established order in the hierarchical relation composer-performer-listener. British composer Cornelius Cardew (1936-1981) transposed this challenge to social order, upsetting established musical frameworks. He founded in 1969 with Michael Parsons and Howard Skempton the Scratch Orchestra: «a large group of performers, including trained and untrained musicians from various contexts in classical, jazz, free-improvised and rock music, as well as visual, mixed media and performance artist» (Parsons, 1994, p. 1). As experimental ensemble, the Scratch Orchestra came out of Cardew’s music composition class at Morley College (and extra-curricular independent arts college) and it was a political laboratory to produce collective music within new relationships between performers, composers and audience. However, Cardew questioned himself about political implications of Scratch Orchestra’s music and set up, with John Tilbury and Keith Rowe, an Ideology Group in order «to study the works of the great revolutionary leaders, primarily Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung [sic], in order to attack and expose the cultural superstructure of imperialism, with particular reference to music in England, and to evolve music and music-making which would serve the working and oppressed people of England» (Cardew, 1974, p. 28). Thus, following Mao Tse-tung’s statement «works of art that do not meet the demands of the struggle of the broad masses can be transformed into works of art that do», Cardew changed his political and compositional strategies to reach working-class audience. Scratch Orchestra was dissolved and he began to compose a large number of protest songs in order to be performed, mostly by People’s Liberation Music group, in events of the Communist Party of England’s Progressive Cultural Association (PCA). Cardew’s music follows the Party’s line, protesting against imperialism and exalting aspirations that could realize themselves through the victory of revolution and socialism. This paper analyzes compositional strategies produced by Cardew’s ideological change in order to study political and aesthetics implications of protest music. First, I will comment the ways that music could disturb political frames redefining modes of thinking relationships between composer, performer and listener. Then I will analyze the ways that music could celebrate or contest political activity and acts of power legitimation. The results propose a contribution to understand relationships between improvisation, musical composition, ideology and politics in the second half of the twentieth century.

**Jessica Winterson** (University of Huddersfield)  
*Hip-hop as an ‘Autonomous Art’*

Taking the Rodney King Riots (1992) and its ready made anthem – N. W. A’s ‘Fuck tha Police’, I argue that hip-hop is an ‘autonomous art’ and an indispensable component of social dissent. In areas like the South Bronx, neo-liberalism saw per capita income drop to 40% the national average and youth unemployment reach levels close to 80%. If the blues had developed under the conditions of oppressive, forced labour then hip-hop arose from the conditions of no work. By the 1990s the stage was set for G-Funk as hip-hop projected a world of generalised exploitation. Here the never ending discussion
began – does hip-hop merely reflect, or actually create, a violent society? Years pass and the questions stay the same. This is reminiscent of the blues – declared the ‘devil’s music’ by white preachers; and jazz musicians – depicted as exotic savages in the segregated music halls of the 1920s. And so with hip-hop, it is moral depravity that continues to provide a thin veil for blatant racism. Placing the political imaginary at the centre of practical political questions avoids an uncritical celebration of hip-hop culture as it also negotiates the value laden and pejorative language that serves to separate the genre from the very questions to which it is integral. Whilst the concept of an ‘autonomous art’ may bring to mind tricky connotations that appear to run counter to the call for new forms of participation as demanded by the current crisis: hip hop is able to draw attention to the disciplines to which it itself is subject by capitalism, whilst it also defies that we accept the conditions we’re in.

**Main Locations**

**A:** Train Station (Piazza Bettino Ricasoli)

**B:** Hotel Rex (Piazza Bettino Ricasoli, 19)

**C:** Piccolo Hotel Puccini (Via di Poggio, 9)

**D:** Complesso San Micheletto (Via San Micheletto, 3)
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Lucca, Complesso monumentale di San Micheletto

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