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The 1964 Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain: A Critical Examination of Ibero-
American Musical Relations in the Context of Cold War Politics

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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In 1964, the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Institute for Hispanic Culture (ICH) sponsored a lavish music festival in Madrid that showcased the latest avant-garde compositions from the United States, Latin America, and Spain. Critics reserved much of their praise for the serial works, such as Alberto Ginastera's *Don Rodrigo Symphony* and Gustavo Becerra's *Wind Quintet*. Recently, various scholars have asserted that during the Cold War, avant-garde music—especially that employing serial techniques—promoted ideologies of freedom, anti-Communism, and scientific exploration. However, much of this research has focused on relations between the U.S. and Western Europe, leaving other Cold War battlefields, such as Latin America, on the periphery. Formed in 1948, the OAS became a virulently anti-Communist organization, disrupting Leftist movements in Latin America in the name of inter-American cooperation. In the 1960s, the OAS reached out to Spain, as it found Franco's anti-

Communist stance and the country's cultural ties with Latin America particularly attractive. During the festival, tropes about solidarity that typified OAS discourse intertwined with commentary on the avant-garde. Serialism, touted as a "universal" language, became symbolic of Latin American progress, while nationalistic styles were labeled as divisive. Likewise, the new generation of Spanish composers, led by Cristóbal Halffter and Luis de Pablo, professed to leave Spain's nationalist musical legacy behind, and attempted to reshape Manuel de Falla's image from that of nationalist to innovator. Still, like many composers from countries on the margins of Western music, the Latin American and Spanish composers experienced a doubly binding paradox, wherein to be valued by the European serialists, they must also retain their difference: their Spanish "essence." I propose to problematize the debates about nationalism and the avant-garde of the early 1960s by drawing upon the rhetoric generated by both critics and composers during the Madrid festival. Moreover, as this festival dovetailed with Kennedy's Alliance for Progress, an important Cold War project aimed at Latin America, I also deconstruct the nuanced rhetoric of the festival, which reflected centuries of interaction among the Americas, and helped advanced U.S. political goals with regards to Latin American foreign policy.

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Introduction

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the countries of the Western hemisphere banded together to create an inter-American alliance. The United States spearheaded this move toward hemispheric solidarity, founding the Commercial Bureau of American Republics that later became the Pan American Union in 1910. This organization, headquartered in Washington, D.C., would foster cooperation among the nations of the Americas and become a space of peaceful arbitration for inter-American conflicts. However, the PAU failed to achieve this vision of utopian cooperation. The United States, as the PAU's most powerful member, often used its influence to maintain its hegemonic control of the hemisphere. In 1948, due to the pressing need for a unified front against Soviet encroachment, the PAU became the Organization of American States (OAS). This rechristened organization focused on keeping the Americas free of communism, as this was the U.S.'s top priority, much to the disappointment of the OAS's Latin American members, who generally placed economic concerns about combatting communism. Music—especially contemporary art music—played an important role in encouraging this hemispheric solidarity, and helping to steer the new Inter-American culture in specific directions.

In 1941, the PAU started a music division, and appointed Charles Seeger as director. In 1953, Seeger retired from his position partly due to the increasing scrutiny of his Leftist activities during the 1930s. His successor, Columbian conductor Guillermo Espinosa, slowly moved the Music Division toward promoting contemporary art music

instead of the folk music program that Seeger had favored. The Inter-American Music Festivals became one of Espinosa's crowning achievements. These festivals, held in Washington, D.C., featured newly composed music from the Americas by living composers. The first three festivals (1958, 1961, and 1965) programmed numerous serial pieces, often praising this music as emblematic of an inter-American sound, and additionally promoted this avant-garde soundscape as a way to strengthen the bonds among the American Republics. The festivals, usually held in the spring to coincide with Pan American Day (April 14), demonstrated a measure of the U.S.'s respect for its southern neighbors. Composers from North and South shared programs that showcased the musical ability of each nation. The OAS supplied over the half the funding for these week-long lavish affairs and various U.S. foundations, such as the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation and the Serge Koussevitzky Foundation, as well as U.S. businesses such as Standard Oil, commissioned new works from Latin American composers specifically for the festivals. Indeed, the festivals formed part of the larger, U.S. Cold War strategy of "winning the hearts and minds" of the peoples of the Western hemisphere.

In this dissertation, I examine an offshoot of the Inter-American Music Festivals, the Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain, jointly sponsored by the Organization of American States and the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica (Institute for Hispanic Culture (ICH)), first held in Madrid in 1964. The Madrid festival offers many intriguing points. Like its Washington, D.C., predecessors, the Madrid festival programmed numerous serial pieces from its Latin American participants. During the Cold War, abstract

techniques in general—and serialism in particular—had begun to acquire extra-musical connotations; namely, that this music represented an elite, intellectual exercise highlighting individual freedom and creative exploration.¹ In short, the Western avant-garde became the antithesis of Soviet aesthetics, which favored social realism. These connotations carried over to the Madrid festival where critics praised many of the serial pieces both for their individuality and their difficulty. Yet the Madrid festival presents an additional facet of the serial debate; that of nationalism's place within this seemingly universal idiom of serialism.

The discourses surrounding nationalism, especially in countries on the periphery, had continued on into the twentieth century, as issues of musical nationalism remained continually relevant. A large part of this dissertation focuses on problematizing these debates, and placing them within a wider context. To begin in Chapter One, I give a brief survey of the political situation and interaction among the countries involved in the Madrid festival. I selected the Spanish Civil War and the creation of the Pan American Union/Organization of American States as my two focal points. The Spanish Civil War and the ensuing exile explain some of the later debates about nationalism. For example, much of the art music from the Spanish postwar period displayed a return to nationalism,

¹ Recently, many scholars have discussed serialism and Cold War. Some excellent resources include Ian Wellens, *Music on the Frontline: Nicolas Nabokov's Struggle against Communism and Middlebrow Culture* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002); Mark Carroll, *Music and Ideology the Cold War Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Elizabeth Janik, *Recomposing German Music: Politics and Musical Tradition in Cold War Berlin* (Boston: Brill, 2005); Amy C. Beal, *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from Zero Hour to Reunification* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Danielle Fosler-Lussier, *Music Divided: Bartók's Legacy in Cold War Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); and Rachel Beckles Willson, *Ligeti, Kurtág and Hungarian Music During the Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). There is also a growing body of literature on jazz and the Cold War. However, most sources of Cold War music scholarship fail to include Latin America, or when discussing Europe, Spain.

both in theme and musical substance. During the Madrid festival, critics as well as composers attempted to justify—or in some cases, eradicate—the postwar era, to weave a narrative that linked the Spanish serial explosion with the progressive style that dominated in the 1930s. Likewise, Franco’s stringent anti-communist stance explained why the U.S. eagerly embraced the dictatorship during the Cold War. The creation of the Pan American Union and the Organization of American States forms the second part of Chapter One. The uneven and paradoxical nature of U.S. and Latin American interactions helped shape much of the festival’s rhetoric. On one hand, the U.S. often praised Latin America as its sister republics and emphasized that the New World had its own special destiny. At the same time, however, the U.S. often denounced Latin America as backward, and in need of U.S. intervention whether they wanted it or not. In its relationship with the rest of hemisphere, the United States played the role of both “Good Neighbor,” and “Big Brother.”

Chapter Two focuses on the shifting musical aesthetics in the United States, Latin America, and Spain from the 1930s until the late 1950s. This chapter foregrounds the differing reasons why musical nationalism gained popularity in 1930s in both the U.S. and Latin America, and why that popularity receded during the 1950s. In the discussion, I focus on the musical activities of Mexico and Argentina during this period, not to have them stand in for the rest of Latin America, but mainly because more scholarship exists on this topic. I then compare this Spanish musical activity during the same era, which went from an active avant-garde to a musical life left barren by war to a resurgence of avant-garde techniques in the late 1950s.

Chapter Three details some of the previous attempts at Latin American-U.S. musical interactions, beginning with the creation of the Music Division in the Pan American Union in 1941. World War II prompted the U.S. to pay closer attention to Latin America, and as such, the U.S. tried to cultivate better relations. Music proved an apt vehicle for goodwill gestures. The musical activities of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA), the U.S. State Department, as well as private organizations such as the NBC Orchestra, all played a part in reshaping U.S. policy toward Latin America. As the Cold War began, the U.S. government continued using music as a diplomatic tool. The second part of Chapter Three details the genesis of the Inter-American Music Festivals and how the so-called Cold War cultural arms race contributed to their reception.

Chapters Four, Five and Six concern the Madrid festival itself. Chapter Four explores how both the OAS and the ICH used the festival for their own propaganda purposes, both at home and abroad. I also discuss how the OAS used the festival to foster inter-American solidarity by portraying the Americas as a united front with common cultural goals. The ICH also sought to strengthen its alliance with its former colonies, invoking the nebulous rhetoric of *hispanidad*, which stressed commonality based on a shared language and religion. Chapter Five examines the role that nationalism played in the festival, problematizing the double-binding paradox faced by many Latin American and Spanish composers; namely, that to be considered universal, one must retain some hint of the national. Lastly, Chapter Six focuses on the two pieces commissioned for the Madrid festival, Ernesto Halffter's *Canticum in memoriam P.P.*

Johannem XXIII and Alberto Ginastera's *Don Rodrigo Symphony*. This chapter includes a reception history for each piece and offers explanation as to the outside influences that informed the musical critiques.

Overall, this dissertation raises fundamental questions about how a Cold War context shaped music, analyzes political, cultural, and musical contexts, and provides answers that do not attempt to explain away the complexities and contradictions of the issues it raises. The Inter-American Music Festivals and the Festival of the Music of the Americas and Spain both benefited from the Cold War emphasis on music as a tool in the arsenal of democracy. This increased attention toward music, brought about by Cold War politics, shaped many festivals organized during this era, and many of the composers who participated in this festivals also benefited from the Cold War. Anne Shreffler writes of the difficulties in connecting music with politics. As she explains, "Relating political phenomena to specific artworks is like trying to identify the effect of global weather patterns on the begonia in your garden."² Shreffler then proposes several solutions, one being to "shift the focus from the works themselves to their reception and use." She concludes that "the question is not, therefore, what does the work itself express (as a statement of its immutable essence), but rather how has the work been understood?"³ Thus, this dissertation focuses on how the festivals used the compositions they programmed to promote inter-American amity, and why they might have selected these

² Anne C. Shreffler, "Ideologies of Serialism: Stravinsky's Threni and the Congress for Cultural Freedom," in *Music and the Aesthetics of Modernity: Essays*, edited by Karol Berger and Anthony Newcomb (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 218.

³ Ibid.

pieces in the first place. While I waded through the conflicting waters of nationalism in the mid-twentieth century, I wondered why some pieces became examples of the greatness of Latin American composition, and others fell short. At times, to answer this question, one must go beyond the work itself, into the larger extra-musical circumstances that informed its creation.

Chapter One: Historical Background

Introduction

This chapter offers a summary of the various historical events that impacted the creation of the Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain. For Spain, demonstrating their country's progress became one of the main purposes of the Madrid festival. This desire to appear modern intertwined with Spain's historical situation during the twentieth century, during which the country underwent a series of upheavals that eventually ended in a totalitarian dictatorship. As such, the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath form the center of this discussion. Likewise, I detail the pre- and postwar relationship between Spain and the United States, as this helps elucidate why Spain and the U.S. had become such close allies during the Cold War. The relations between the United States and Latin America also play an important part in understanding the impetus behind the music festival. For this, I focus on the creation of the inter-American system, beginning with the Pan American Union, as well as United States' increasing obsession with keeping Latin America free of communism, often by any means necessary.

The Spanish Civil War

The roots of the Spanish Civil War stretch back to the nineteenth century, which brought a particularly tumultuous climate to the Peninsula, marked by internal conflict and colonial struggle. Napoleon's army occupied Spain from 1808 until 1814, bringing much destruction. Yet, the French occupation also introduced new liberal ideas from the French Revolution. With the return of King Ferdinand VII in 1814, liberals and

conservatives clashed over the fate of the country. As noted Spanish historian Stanley G. Payne explains, “The nineteenth century was a time of repeated civil war (1821-23, 1833-49, 1869-76) as well as frequent military revolts and political insurrections.”¹ Moreover, this era also saw wars of independence in most of Spain’s American colonies. These wars (1810-25, 1868-78, 1895-98, 1919-26) proved costly to a country already mired in internal strife. As Payne states, “Spain, the great neutral, probably spent more years during the entire period engaged in warfare of one serious kind or another than did any other European state.”²

Out of this instability came Spain’s first experiment with governance without a monarchy. The First Spanish Republic, lasting from 11 February 1873 to 29 December 1874, marked a moment when various political factions attempted to cooperate and govern the country. Marred by violence and in-fighting, the First Republic eventually collapsed and the supporters of the monarchy and the army restored Alfonso XII as king of Spain. Yet Alfonso governed poorly. This, coupled with Spain’s crushing defeat in the Spanish-American War of 1898, led many to question the effectiveness of their ruler. The military, which had been steadily gaining political power since the late nineteenth century, eventually overtook the government on 13 September 1923 in coup by General Miguel Primo de Rivera. As Payne states, “It is generally agreed that the establishment of the Dictatorship was greeted with relief and broad, if shallow, support from the

¹ Stanley G. Payne, *The Franco Regime, 1936-1975* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 7.

² *Ibid.*, 7.

public.”³ Rivera’s finance minister José Calvo Sotelo instituted economic policies that indeed boosted growth in certain sectors. However, the relative economic prosperity of the 1920s failed to keep resistance against the dictatorship at bay. Most of the opposition came from those on the center-right and by late 1929, much of the army had turned against Primo de Rivera as well.⁴ Facing this struggle and declining health, Rivera resigned at the end of January 1930.

The Spanish Second Republic, declared on 14 April 1931 and dissolved on 1 April 1939 with Franco’s victory, remains an intensely studied period in Spanish history. It began with much hope, exuberance, and a bit of a naïveté. As Payne explains, “Within two years it produced a series of reforms—some of debatable wisdom or effectiveness—and the most fully mobilized politics that Spain had ever known.”⁵ However, this peaceful progress was short-lived. As Payne continues, “Within three more years, it had produced the most remarkable case of political decay and polarization in twentieth-century Europe, breaking down into a massive revolutionary/counterrevolutionary civil war.”⁶ The brief tenure of the Second Republic, ending in civil war, presents a paradoxical time about which historians continue to debate.

Three political parties dominated the Second Republic: The Left Republicans, the Socialists, and a party consisting of Catholic conservatives, later called the

³ Ibid., 19

⁴ Ibid., 28.

⁵ Ibid., 34

⁶ Ibid., 34.

Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas (CEDA).⁷ Manuel Azaña Díaz, who became the first Prime Minister of the Second Republic, led the Left Republicans, and generally espoused a liberal-democratic agenda and vehemently despised the Catholic conservatives. From 1931 to 1933, the Republicans formed an uneasy coalition with the Socialists to pass political and religious reforms, leaving the Catholic party feeling deprived of any meaningful participation. Moreover, the Spanish communists, dissatisfied with the Republic as a whole, carried out disruptive attacks against the State. In the national elections of 1933, the Left Republicans and the Socialist suffered overwhelming losses to CEDA, led by the young José María Gil Robles. CEDA failed to win enough votes for the presidency, which went to Niceto Alcalá Zamora, who served as president from 1931 to 1936.

On 16 February 1936, the Popular Front, a coalition consisting of the Republican Left, led by Azaña Díaz, the Republican Union Party, led by Diego Martínez Barrio, as well as several Communist and Socialist groups, retook power from the center-right in the elections. Azaña became the next Prime Minister, yet even with the Left's solid victory, the political situation grew increasingly polarized. Calvo Sotelo, now the radical right's most visible spokesperson, received open death threats during a parliamentary session on 16 June 1936.⁸ His murder by Leftist police officers on the night of 12 July 1936 sparked the right-wing military revolt on 18 July 1936. General Emilio Mola became the main leader of the revolt, as he, as well as others, had been plotting a

⁷ Ibid., 36.

⁸ Ibid., 90.

rebellion against the Popular Front since its February victory. By 1936, Francisco Franco had also become a key figure in the Spanish Army, through political connections and military achievement. The insurgents quickly selected the name, Nationalist, to represent their cause. On 1 October 1936, Franco became Generalísimo and Chief of State in the Nationalist zone. By the start of 1937, Franco's forces controlled sixty percent of Spain, in a swath that extended up from Cádiz and Málaga, around Toledo, and into most of northern territory. The Republican or Loyalist forces held on to the areas surrounding Madrid and Barcelona until almost the end of the war. The Civil War ended with a Nationalist victory on 19 April 1939.

Hemispheric Responses to the Spanish Civil War

The U.S. State Department had been following the events in Spain during the 1930s with increasing interest. For months before the war's outbreak, Claude Bowers, the U.S. ambassador to Spain, had been sending detailed reports of the brewing conflict and rapidly shifting situation. The possibility of war turned into a reality with the right-wing aggression on 17 July 1936. The United States government's non-involvement in the Spanish Civil War stemmed from an intertwining of several complex strands. Following the First World War, many in Congress called for a return to the policy of isolation and neutrality. However, the U.S. had issued much credit to Europe in the wake of the war's destruction, and therefore had an economic stake in Europe's recovery. Returning to strict isolationist policy proved impossible. Instead, the U.S. decided to follow the lead of Great Britain and France and pursue a course of non-intervention.

Indeed, foreign policy slipped from a top priority of the Roosevelt administration as the domestic affairs of the Depression occupied most of the government's agenda. For the first five months of war, the official policy consisted of a moral embargo against Spain, meaning that U.S. companies should not sell war goods to either side, as it would be unpatriotic. Surprisingly, no person or company challenged this moral embargo until December 1936.⁹

In late December of 1936, Robert L. Cruse had petitioned the State Department for permission to sell around three million dollars in goods, including eighteen airplanes and around four hundred aircraft engines, to the Spanish government.¹⁰ The request coincided with President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull's trip to the Inter-American Peace Conference held in Buenos Aires beginning on 7 December 1936. Hastily, the U.S. government created the Spanish Embargo Act, which passed on 8 January 1937. Overall, the legislation represented a hurried and fumbling attempt to maintain U.S. neutrality. Even though the sale of goods to either party in Spain was now illegal instead of simply immoral, some companies maneuvered around the embargo. As scholar Peter Carroll notes, "Washington did permit some corporations, such as Texaco, to sell supplies to Franco on credit."¹¹ Texaco's transactions with Franco were, in fact, illegal, and the U.S. government eventually fined the company 20,000 dollars. However,

⁹ Richard Traina, *American Diplomacy and the Spanish Civil War* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1968), 76.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹¹ Peter N. Carroll, "Introduction," in *Facing Fascism: New York and the Spanish Civil War*. Edited by Peter N. Carroll and James Fernandez. (New York: Museum of the City of New York, 2007), 13.

Texaco had sold some three-and-a half million barrels of oil to Franco and reaped over six million dollars in profits. Additionally, with Franco's victory, Texaco held a monopoly on Spanish oil imports.¹² General Motors also did business with Spain without upsetting the neutrality agreements. General Motors sold 3,500 trucks to the Spanish Republican government and over 12,000 trucks to Franco's Nationalists, far outpacing both Germany and Italy, which, when combined, only sold Franco 3,000 vehicles.¹³ Other persons and companies also sent supplies to both the Republicans and Nationalists, often using an intermediary country, such as Mexico or Canada, but none at the level of Texaco and General Motors.

The U.S. embargo, which had questionable effectiveness, in reality sought to appease Britain and France, rather than stop exports to Spain. Moreover, the Roosevelt administration ranked its relations with its Latin American neighbors above its relations with Spain. With regard to Latin America, scholar Richard Traina writes, "The threat presented by the Spanish strife was particularly worrisome because it struck at the very foundation of the United States' hemispheric policy—the ideas of 'continental isolationism' and 'hemispheric solidarity'"¹⁴ The situation in Latin America became increasingly combustible as the Spanish Civil War continued. Mexico gave open support to the Loyalist or Republican cause, while straddling its own internal divisions. On the

¹² Dominic Tierney, *FDR and the Spanish Civil War: Neutrality and Commitment in the Struggle that Divided America* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 68.

¹³ Traina, *American Diplomacy*, 166.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 144.

other hand, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua—and most troublesome for the U.S.—Argentina, gave ambiguous support to the Nationalists. Nations such as Costa Rica, Colombia, and Chile preferred to remain neutral. The U.S. State Department agreed that a pro-Loyalist stance would inflame the pro-Franco nations. The U.S. State Department urged Latin America to avoid taking sides in the Spanish conflict and heavily promoted hemispheric solidarity.

The U.S. public also became increasingly divided over the Spanish question, though most supported the embargo as well as the U.S. position of neutrality. As Traina explains, “The peak number desiring the repeal of the embargo was only twenty-five percent.”¹⁵ Yet, the Spanish Civil War stirred up much emotional response, especially in urban areas such as New York City. These divisions demonstrated themselves in the actions of the people as well as the New York City press. As scholar Robert Snyder writes, “News and editorial columns displayed hostility to the Republic, support for U.S. isolationism, disagreements over the best way to defeat Franco, lapses in coverage of the war, and bitter disputes over the facts of the fighting.”¹⁶ The *New York Times* presented a microcosm of the conflict as correspondent Hebert L. Matthews published staunchly pro-Loyalist pieces, while his rival on the paper, William P. Carney, gave full support to Franco’s forces. Their contradictory reports would often run in the same issue. In general, those who supported the Spanish government tended to be on the political left, a diverse

¹⁵ Ibid., 205.

¹⁶ Robert W. Snyder, “The New York Press and the Spanish Civil War,” in *Facing Fascism: New York and the Spanish Civil War*, edited by Peter N. Carroll and James Fernandez (New York: Museum of the City of New York, 2007), 33.

coalition of communists, anarchists, Protestants, and Jews. Those who supported the Nationalists tended to be Catholic, though their opinions on Franco varied greatly. The National Catholic Welfare Conference constituted the largest pro-Nationalist organization, and its legal secretary, William F. Montavon, did an impressive job of arguing persuasively for the insurgents.¹⁷

Many artists sided with the Loyalists, producing an outpouring of creative work relating to the Spanish Civil War. The left-leaning American Artist Congress, founded in 1935, organized several benefits to raise funds for the Spanish government. One show, entitled “In Defense of World Democracy: Dedicated to the Peoples of Spain and China,” held in 1937, featured a mix of U.S. artists, the etchings from Pablo Picasso’s series “The Dreams and Lies of General Franco,” as well as anti-fascist drawings by schoolchildren in Madrid.¹⁸ Performers such as Benny Goodman, Artie Shaw, Paul Robeson, and Woody Guthrie raised funds for Republican Spain.¹⁹ Various American composers also responded to the war, perhaps most viscerally to the murder of Federico García Lorca on 18 August 1936, with works such as those by Elie Siegmeister, and Silvestre Revueltas. Samuel Barber set some of Stephen Spender’s poems that drew from the poet’s

¹⁷ Traina, 193.

¹⁸ Helen Langa, “New York Visual Artists and the Spanish Civil War,” in *Facing Fascism: New York and the Spanish Civil War*, edited by Peter N. Carroll and James Fernandez (New York: Museum of the City of New York, 2007), 106.

¹⁹ Carol Hess, “Competing Utopias? Musical Ideologies in the 1930s and Two Spanish Civil War Films,” *Journal for the Society of American Music* 2/3 (2008): 321.

experience serving in the International Brigades.²⁰ U.S. composers Conlon Nancarrow and Lan Adomian served in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, a group of U.S. men and women who volunteered to fight on the Republican side.²¹ An independent documentary film, *The Spanish Earth* (1937), directed by Joris Iven, and became popular among pro-Loyalists. Marc Blitzstein and Virgil Thomson selected the film's music, compiling the score from pieces of pre-recorded folk music.²² The film premiered 8 July 1937 at the White House, with Ernest Hemingway, who had written and recorded the film's commentary, journalist Martha Gellhorn, and the Roosevelts in attendance.²³ After its high-profile White House debut, Hollywood power-couple Joan Crawford and Franchot Tone also held a private screening of *The Spanish Earth* at their home as a fundraiser for the Loyalist cause.²⁴ British censors unexpectedly banned the film at its London premiere in October 1937, but it was shown at a later date, albeit with substantial

²⁰ These works include: Silvestre Revueltas's *Homenaje a Federico García Lorca*, (1935); Elie Siegmeister's *3 Elegies for Garcia Lorca*, (1938); and Samuel Barber's *A Stopwatch and an Ordnance Map*, (1940).

²¹ Lan Adomian, a Russian Jew, settled in the United States in 1923, but left for Mexico during the early 1950s in response to the McCarthy HUAC trials. He composed two pieces relating to the Spanish Civil War, a song cycle *Cinque canciones d'Espagne* and his Symphony No. 2 (*Española*).

²² Carol Hess, "Competing Utopias," 323.

²³ Dominic Tierney, *FDR and the Civil War*, 34

²⁴ Eric R. Smith, "New York's Aid to the Spanish Republic," in *Facing Fascism: New York and the Spanish Civil War*, edited by Peter N. Carroll and James Fernandez (New York: Museum of the City of New York, 2007) 47. See also, John T. McManus, "Down to Earth in Spain," *New York Times* 25 July 1937, 134.

editing.²⁵ The Hollywood film *Blockade* (1938) also encouraged Loyalist sympathies among a wider audience.

Among the other nations of the Western hemisphere, Mexico's response to the Spanish Civil War presents a complex interplay of often contradictory elements. Scholar T. G. Powell writes, "Popular attitudes in Mexico toward Spain and Spaniards in the 1930s ranged from admiring love to scornful hatred."²⁶ These opinions often appeared to be independent of political affiliation. Many conservative Catholics loved the important place of the Church within Spanish society; something they felt had slipped away after their own revolution. Additionally, many liberals felt closer ties with Spain could stave off U.S. imperialism. Yet, strong anti-Spanish opinions existed. For example, Powell explains that various Mexican leftists "saw the Spanish colonial tradition, Mexico's Spanish colony, and the Hispanophile Catholic church as obstructing their plans to create a proletarian society."²⁷ When the Spanish Civil War began, Mexican president Lázaro Cárdenas declared his government's support for the Loyalist cause, but public support remained divided. As Powell states, "Despite the PNR's claim to speak for the nation, General Franco's traditional crusade against the Republic had many Mexican supporters."²⁸ Mexico's official support for Republican Spain placed it in a singular

²⁵ Anon. "Hemingway Film Banned by Censor in London," *New York Times*, 24 October 1937, 32.

²⁶ T.G. Powell, "Mexico," in *The Spanish Civil War, 1936-39: American Hemispheric Perspectives*, edited by Mark Falcoff and Frederick Pike (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 51.

²⁷ Powell, "Mexico," 53.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 60.

position among its neighbors, as many favored the Nationalist cause. After the war, Mexico accepted a large number of Spanish exiles, including Spanish musicologist Adolfo Salazar as well as many Spanish composers such as Rodolfo Halffter, Jesús Bal y Gay, and Rosa García Ascot.

Argentina's response to the Spanish Civil War hinged on a number of factors. Before the outbreak of the war in 1936, Spanish immigrants constituted roughly fifteen percent of Argentina's population.²⁹ Argentina had additionally maintained good relations with Spain since its war for independence in 1816. This lack of friction created a unique situation. Scholar Mark Falcoff explains that "the ritual expression of anti-Spanish sentiments that dominated the intellectual life of most of the American republics in the nineteenth century had a sporadic and rather tepid life in Argentina."³⁰ Although trade between the two countries was relatively meager—the U.S. and Great Britain represented Argentina's biggest foreign markets—Spain continued to exert a substantial cultural influence over her former colony.

During the 1930s, Argentina suffered upheavals of its own, leading scholars to refer to this time as the "infamous decade." Argentina's economic situation quickly deteriorated as a depression gripped the U.S., one of its largest trading partners. Moreover, Argentina's political system began to fray as the government of Hipólito Yrigoyen (1916-22, 1928-30) collapsed under the weight of its own corruption. A

²⁹ Mark Falcoff, "Argentina," in *The Spanish Civil War, 1936-39: American Hemispheric Perspectives*, edited by Mark Falcoff and Fredrick Pike (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 291.

³⁰ Falcoff, "Argentina," 294.

military coup, led by Lieutenant-General José Uriburu on 6 September 1930, thrust the conservatives back into power. However, to appease differing factions, General Agustín P. Justo was elected in November 1931, remaining in office until 1938. Scholar José Robert Juárez succinctly describes President Justo's stance on the Spanish Civil War. As Juárez writes, "Officially, the Argentine government announced a policy of strict neutrality, and because of cultural ties and horror at the brutality of the conflict, Argentina offered to mediate between the Republicans and the Nationalists."³¹ Although Argentine attempts at mediation failed, Argentina did offer asylum to a large number of Spanish refugees. Many intellectuals sought sanctuary there, such as writer María Teresa León; her husband, poet Rafael Alberti; novelist Francisco Ayala; playwright Alejandro Casona, and for a short time, eminent Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset. Composer Manuel de Falla also spent his last decade in Argentina, albeit not for any overtly political reasons.

Post-War Political Relations between the United States and Spain, 1945 to 1963

The end of the Spanish Civil War elided with the outbreak of the Second World War in Europe. This new war absorbed the U.S.'s attention; even more so when it entered the war effort in 1941. After the Allied victory in 1945, the U.S. again confronted the problem of what to do with Spain. Spain's possible collusion with Axis powers during World War II complicated its place in the plans for rebuilding Europe. Spain had aided Germany and Italy in the fight against the Allies, yet Spain had also remained neutral

³¹ José Robert Juárez, "Argentine Neutrality, Mediation, and Asylum during the Spanish Civil War," *The Americas* 19/4 (1963): 384.

during certain crucial points in the war. Spain's unclear involvement thus made it possible to argue for both sides. As scholar Boris N. Liedtke aptly observes:

Consequently, two contradictory versions of Spain's recent history were formulated. Those favoring isolation of the Franco regime saw it as another fascist system, created with help from the Axis and totalitarian in its structure. On the other hand, those favoring integration of Spain into the Western structure tried to prove that Franco's association with Hitler was not what it seemed and really had been a diplomatic coup for the Spanish dictator.³²

Most of the European nations favored isolating Spain as punishment for its participation in the war as well as a censure against the Franco regime. The U.S., however, wished to show leniency towards Spain, as the country had aroused the U.S. military's interest in the face of a possible Soviet conflict. As early as the spring of 1945, the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff explored the possibility of military bases in Spain, determining Spain's geographic position to be of the utmost importance.³³ However, in light of Spain's damaged international reputation and its dictatorship, any alliance would have to be negotiated carefully. Arthur P. Whitaker's extensive study, *Spain and Defense of the West: Ally and Liability*, discussed the benefits and drawbacks of cooperating the Franco regime.³⁴ Overall, Whitaker surmised that a compromise with Franco would strengthen the U.S. military position and be worth any negatives that might accrue from association with the dictatorship. Arthur H. Ryan's short book, *Spain and the World of*

³² Boris N. Liedtke, *Embracing a Dictatorship: US Relations with Spain, 1945-1953* (London: Macmillan Press, 1998), 5.

³³ *Ibid.*, 8.

³⁴ Arthur P. Whitaker, *Spain and Defense of the West: Ally and Liability* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1962).

Today (1948), persuaded the reader that although Franco was indeed a dictator, his government was different than that of Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin because Franco was “a devout and practicing Catholic.”³⁵ As Ryan continued, “This distinction seems, to the mentality of the pink democrat and fellow-traveler, a petty debating point. But of course it is vital to anyone who has begun to think about political theory.”³⁶ For Ryan, a Catholic priest, Franco’s commitment to the Roman Catholic Church and his anti-communist crusade outweighed any defects in his regime. Ryan concluded, “I must end by joining with all lovers of Spain in the cry, “Arriba España”; and, as long as the Communist menace remains, even in the cry, “Viva Franco!””³⁷ This attitude of reluctant acceptance toward Franco for the sake of combating communism remained a common trope throughout the 1950s. In fact, Franco’s anti-communist stance contributed in part to his improved relations with the U.S. during this same decade.

In the immediate post-war period, the U.S sided with its European allies in denying Spain admittance to the Marshall Plan, the United Nations, and eventually NATO. The U.S.’s perceived commitment to the ostracism of Spain protected its European relations, especially with France and Britain. This U.S. ostracism of Spain proved short lived. Increasing Cold War pressure offers the most common explanation for the U.S.-Spanish rapprochement. As Whitaker stated, “The spread of the cold war, which was not foreseen in 1939 or in 1945, was mainly responsible for the desire of the

³⁵ Arthur H. Ryan, *Spain and the World of Today* (New York: Paulist Press, 1948), 11.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 47.

United States, by 1953, to enter into partnership with Franco, despite the antecedents and character of his regime.”³⁸ As mentioned, Spain’s location made it ideal for the placement of military bases. Moreover, Franco’s staunch anti-communism greatly appealed to the Eisenhower administration. Despite misgivings, the creation of an agreement between the U.S. and Spain moved slowly forward. Also, during the early 1950s, Franco sought the Vatican’s endorsement as a way to further validate his regime. By August of 1953, Pope Pius XII agreed to Franco’s wishes and signed a Concordat, giving the Spanish State the power to appoint bishops in exchange for tax-exemption for the Church. By the next month, on 26 September 1953, after a long series of both open and covert negotiations, U.S. Ambassador James C. Dunn and Spanish Foreign Minister Alberto Martín Artajo signed a treaty known as the Pact of Madrid that allowed the U.S. to construct military bases in Spain in exchange for economic and military aid. As scholar Audrey Brassloff explains, “The two accords were not unrelated: Franco, Pius XII and President Eisenhower shared a visceral anti-communism and hostility to the Soviet bloc.”³⁹ The Concordat and the Pact of Madrid both helped erode Spain’s postwar isolation.

Indeed, the Pact of Madrid marked the start of a successful U.S.-Spanish alliance. Scholars Richard Rubottom and Carter Murphy describe the period of 1953 to 1959 as

³⁸ Whitaker, *Spain and Defense of West*, 2.

³⁹ Audrey Brassloff, *Religion and Politics in Spain: The Spanish Church in Transition, 1962-96* (London: MacMillan Press, 1998), 7.

“the honeymoon of the U.S.-Spanish relationship.”⁴⁰ The U.S. economic aid came just in time to quell riots in Madrid and Barcelona. The U.S. Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, unexpectedly visited Franco in 1955, and again in December of 1957, to update Franco on the latest NATO proceedings. The pinnacle of U.S.-Spanish relations came when President Eisenhower visited Madrid on 21-22 December 1959. Franco gave Eisenhower a lavish and warm reception, so much so that upon leaving, Eisenhower gave Franco two *abrazos* before boarding the plane. Scholar Carol Hess has aptly observed that “this courtship culminated in the 1959 embrace between Eisenhower and Franco to the strains of the ‘Yellow Rose of Texas,’ which prompted Franco to declare, “Now I have won the Civil War.”⁴¹ The genial relationship between Eisenhower and Franco continued through the rest of his presidency. In a letter to Franco dated 26 March 1960, Eisenhower writes:

He [Mr. Castiella] said some kind things about the lasting effects of my visit to Madrid, which I was gratified to hear. You already know how much I enjoyed my stay in your impressive capital. Your views on the international drive of Soviet communism are of considerable interest to me. I share your view that the communist offensive is not exclusively military and that the chief battleground today is in the field of politics and economics.⁴²

⁴⁰ R. Richard Rubottom and J. Carter Murphy, *Spain and United States Since World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 73.

⁴¹ Carol Hess, “Ginastera’s *Bomarzo* in the United States and the Impotence of the Pan-American Dream,” *The Opera Quarterly* 22/3-4 (2008): 469.

⁴² Dwight D. Eisenhower, “Confidential To Francisco Franco y Bahamonde, 26 March 1960,” in *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower*, edited by L. Galambos and D. van Ee, doc. 1479. World Wide Web facsimile by The Dwight D. Eisenhower Memorial Commission of the print edition; Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, <http://www.eisenhowermemorial.org/presidential-papers/second-term/documents/1479.cfm>

Although Franco offered a strong, anti-communist ally with a geographically important position, some in the U.S. disapproved of maintaining official relations with any sort of dictatorship. Moreover, the overwhelmingly military nature of the Pact of Madrid made U.S. neutrality difficult. As scholars Rubottom and Murphy point out, “It was impossible to carry out a program of military cooperation with the Spanish armed forces, which were the main prop under Franco, without the appearance, and indeed the fact, of political collaboration with the Franco government.”⁴³ Senator Fulbright became the most prominent critic of the Pact of Madrid, with a few others offering weaker protests. Despite occasional objections from members of Congress and the general public, the U.S. and Spain continued to grow closer during the early Cold War years.

However, by 1960, both the U.S. and Spain began re-evaluating the Pact of Madrid, which would expire in 1963. Rather than renew the former agreement, Spain wished to enter renegotiations with the U.S., in hopes of receiving an increase in economic aid. Like its predecessor, this agreement took several years and much diplomatic maneuvering to come to fruition. Although Spain failed to receive all of its concessions in this new agreement, Franco touted it as a major victory. What Spain lost in economic aid was subverted by its increase in world status. Every major newspaper from Paris to Moscow covered the signing of the renewal. As with the signing of the first Pact of Madrid, the U.S. press coverage expressed some misgivings about a closer alliance with Spain. The *Washington Post* stated, “The large print in the agreement

⁴³ Rubottom and Murphy, 70.

makes clear that the shrewd Caudillo of Spain has gotten what he wanted most from the United States—a new status as a partner.”⁴⁴ The press also attributed Franco’s diplomatic victory to increasing leftist activity in Europe. As the *Washington Post* later observed, “The twenty-five percent Communist vote in Italy in the spring, the instability in Turkey, Algeria, and Morocco, the worsening strains between French President Charles de Gaulle and the Kennedy Administration combined to strengthen Franco’s hand in the negotiations now concluded.”⁴⁵

Some press coverage, albeit mostly in minor papers, published complimentary articles on the renewal of the Spanish-U.S. pact. *The Tablet*, a Catholic newspaper, felt that Franco had accomplished much as a leader, proclaiming:

In every way the country has advanced. Its leadership, which so signally defeated the Communist threat and those who from abroad have continually sought to misrepresent and subvert a nation friendly to God, to peace, and orderly progress, has been remarkable and successful.⁴⁶

The *Standard Times*, a newspaper out of New Bedford, Massachusetts, also reacted favorably toward Spain, stating, “Spain is deserving of all. Long before many nations in Europe dared to antagonize the Soviet Union, Franco was pledging anti-Communist support and a haven for U.S. defense forces.”⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Anon. “Bases in Spain,” *The Washington Post*, 10 October 1963, 3.

⁴⁵ Richard Scott Mowrer, “U.S. Bases Deal Hailed in Spain as an Alliance,” *The Washington Post*, 6 October 1963, 7.

⁴⁶ Anon. “Spain and U.S. Renew Pact for Five Years,” *The Tablet*, 3 October 1963, 12.

⁴⁷ Anon. “Spain Wins a Round,” *The Standard Times*, 30 September 1963, 7.

While defense and economic assistance remained vital to the new agreement, a new section on cultural exchange hoped to strengthen the U.S.-Spanish alliance. In a letter dated 8 October 1963 to Dean Rusk, the U.S. Secretary of State, from the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fernando Castiella, Castiella remarked, “It is also of our opinion that exchanges in the field of art and literature, visits of authors and artists, and the mutual diffusion of their works, can make a vast contribution to mutual understanding and appreciation between our peoples.”⁴⁸ Spanish newspaper *ABC* described the signing of the new agreement further, stating, “In a ceremony held at the State Department, Sr. Castiella signed with Dean Rusk, U.S. Secretary of State, the documents in which the United States and Spain declare their intention to intensify, in the immediate future, a vast program of cultural exchange.”⁴⁹ The correspondent asserted that “today has been a great day in Spain’s relations with the two Americas.”⁵⁰ He additionally quoted the former president Eisenhower’s words. As the journalist stated, “Not for nothing did President Eisenhower observe one day to a Spanish ambassador: ‘Mr. Ambassador: your country must help us in the job of uniting the Americas. There is no other country better placed to do so.’”⁵¹

⁴⁸ Fernando Castiella, “Text of the letter of the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sr. Castiella, to the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Rusk, on Cultural Affairs,” in *Spain and United States: 26 September 1963* (Madrid: Oficina de Información Diplomática, 1964), 27.

⁴⁹ Anon. “España y Norteamérica suscriben un acuerdo de cooperación cultural” *ABC*, 9 October 1963, 1.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

The 1963 renewal of the Pact of Madrid also opened up an opportunity for Spain's cultivation of its inter-American interests. During Castiella's visit to the U.S., he also stopped by the Organization of American States (OAS) to deliver a bust of Father Francisco de Victoria. Noted Spanish artist Victorio Macho sculpted the bust on commission from the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica (Institute of Hispanic Culture (ICH)). The ICH, as will be discussed later in the chapter, was responsible for cultivating closer ties with Latin America. As *ABC* reported:

For the first time, a Spanish Foreign Minister has been formally received in the headquarters of the Organization of American States. Before that high inter-American senate, where some of the most illustrious personalities of Hispano-America meet together, our minister spoke of the Hispanic community of nations, of all that unites us to that great intellectual and political history which is the common patrimony of Hispanic men on both sides of the Atlantic.⁵²

The members of the OAS warmly received Castiella's speech. As the *ABC* commentator continued of Castiella's visit:

Amid an atmosphere of high psychological temperature, in the same place where formerly the relationship between Spain and Spanish-speaking America had been marked by reserve and on occasions by coldness, Dr. Mora said: 'I am sure that I voice the feeling deeply rooted in all sons of America when I express our faith in the happy future of that Spain, which has shared so many exploits and so many glories.'⁵³

As a reciprocal goodwill gesture, in 1964, the ICH invited Dr. Mora, then director of the OAS, to Spain to receive an honorary doctorate from the University of Salamanca. Arriving in Madrid, Mora announced, "I also welcome the idea of not only strengthening the friendship and brotherhood between America and Spain, but also that

⁵² Anon. "España y America," *ABC*, 17 October 1963, 27.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

Spain is a dominant factor in the progress and future of America.”⁵⁴ Renewing the Pact of Madrid thus formally strengthened relations between the U.S. as well as the relations between Spain and the Organization of American States.

Inter-American Organizations: The Pan American Union and the Organization of American States

The history of the Pan American Union (later restructured as the Organization of American States) stretches back to the First International Conference of American States (1889-1890). The conference had ambitious aims, as it was one of the first gatherings of hemispheric leaders, but unfortunately produced few successful results. The creation of the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics became the meeting’s most important outcome. The Bureau dealt with economic issues, such as inter-American trade and customs regulations. It was headquartered in Washington, D.C., under the supervision of the U.S. Secretary of State. Despite its small beginnings, this organization became pivotal in subsequent years, developing into a powerful force. Indeed, the Commercial Bureau had grown so much so that in 1910, at an Inter-American Conference in Buenos Aires, a motion passed that created out of the much enlarged Commercial Bureau an organization re-titled the Pan American Union. This retooled organization would now promote inter-American cooperation in all areas, not just economic, but also social,

⁵⁴ Nivio López Pellón, “Gala Doctoral en Salamanca,” *Mundo Hispánico* no. 196 (1964): 73.

cultural, and diplomatic.⁵⁵ The value of this inter-American friendship appreciated when hard times rocked the hemisphere.

The stock market plunge of 1929 tipped the United States into a deep economic depression. During this crisis, the United States softened its aggressive stance on Latin American relations, trading in the “Big Stick” of one Roosevelt for the “Good Neighbor Policy” of another. Franklin D. Roosevelt’s inter-American diplomatic approach sought to restore respect and fairness toward Latin America.⁵⁶ This re-kindling of good relations came at an opportune moment, and when the threat of another great war loomed over Europe, the U.S. drew upon Latin American support. Truly, the reality of another European conflict hung heavily over the Eighth International Conference of American States when it met in Lima, Peru, in December of 1938.⁵⁷ The conference reaffirmed the importance of hemispheric solidarity, stressing the defense of continental integrity through a new, collective security agreement.⁵⁸ This agreement, known as the Declaration of Lima, stated that the American republics would now act in concert if one nation fell under attack.⁵⁹ This declaration marked a momentous shift in the inter-

⁵⁵ Charles Fenwick, *The Organization of American States* (Washington D.C.: Kaufmann Printing, Inc., 1963), 100.

⁵⁶ Alonso Aguilar, *Pan-Americanism from Monroe to the Present: A View from the Other Side* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968), 69.

⁵⁷ Fenwick, *The Organization of American States*, 62.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

American system. For the first time, hemispheric military defense became part of inter-Americanism. While initially a reaction to outside threats, the concept of hemispheric security would soon apply to internal subversive elements as well.

After the close of the Second World War, conflict again appeared on the horizon. Germany's defeat and the destruction wrought in Europe created a political vacuum. The balance of power had shifted, tipping precariously toward the Soviet Union. As the Soviet Union emerged as a superpower and extended its reach into Western Europe, the United States became increasingly concerned with Stalin and his territorial aims. It was against this polarized backdrop that the need for hemispheric solidarity and the containment of communism came so sharply into focus. In fact, it was this possible Soviet encroachment in the Americas that consumed much of the agenda of the Ninth Conference of American States, held in Bogotá, Colombia, from 30 March to 2 May 1948. During the conference, the delegates addressed the "new menace of international communism" and other issues stemming from growth in Soviet power.⁶⁰ The consensus called for a fortification of American strength that would keep the Soviets in check. This resolution resulted in the creation of the Organization of American States (OAS), which forged a more powerful hemispheric alliance than its predecessor, the Pan American Union. The countries involved in the OAS would work together to "achieve an order of

⁶⁰ Ibid., 260.

peace and justice, to promote their solidarity, to strengthen their collaboration, and to defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity, and their independence.”⁶¹

In addition to increased cooperation, the OAS charter also contained a resolution addressing the spread of communism. According to the OAS resolution, *The Preservation and Defense of Democracy in America*, international communism was “seeking to distort the true and free will of the peoples of this continent.”⁶² The resolution further condemned communism, declaring:

That by its anti-democratic nature and its interventionist tendency, the political activity of international communism or any other totalitarian doctrine is incompatible with the concept of American freedom.⁶³

The sentiment of the resolution was simple: keep communism out of the Americas. Achieving this task, however, would prove more complex. The OAS took a multifaceted approach, enlisting military, economic, and cultural strategies to combat communism. As such, music became an accessory to the hemispheric cooperation necessary to the maintenance of American freedom.

The first test of this hemispheric anti-communist declaration occurred on 27 June 1954 when a CIA force toppled the government of Jacobo Arbenz, the elected president of Guatemala. Arbenz’s communist leanings became the official reason for the U.S.

⁶¹ Ibid., 82.

⁶² Organization of American States, “Charter, Resolution no. 32: The Preservation and Defense of Democracy in America,” in *Latin America and the United States, A Documentary History*, edited by Robert Holden and Eric Zolov (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 193.

⁶³ Ibid.

intervention. According to scholar Michael Grow, Eisenhower was convinced that Guatemala was where “communism was striving to establish its first beachhead in the Americas.”⁶⁴ Others, such as scholars Steven Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, have suggested that Arbenz’s reformist government and his plans to oust U.S. companies, such as the United Fruit Company, contributed to his CIA-sponsored downfall.⁶⁵ However, on 28 June 1954, John C. Drier, U.S. representative to the OAS, made an impassioned speech to the foreign delegates, proclaiming, “And now comes the [Communist] attack on America.”⁶⁶ Drier, who would chair the program committee for the First Inter-American Music Festival, continued on, stating, “I should like to affirm the fact that there is already abundant evidence that the international Communist movement has achieved extensive penetration of the political institutions of one American state, namely the Republic of Guatemala.”⁶⁷ Initially, the U.S. sought to use the OAS to politically and economically weaken Guatemala through isolation; however, since the coup proved so successful, the Eisenhower administration abandoned this strategy.

⁶⁴ Michael Grow, *U.S. Presidents and Latin American Intervention: Pursuing Regime Change in the Cold War* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2008), 2.

⁶⁵ Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala* (New York: Doubleday Press, 1984), 106. For other discussions about this topic, see Richard H. Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala: The Foreign Policy of Intervention* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982); Piero Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States, 1944-1954* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); and Nick Cullather, *Secret History: The CIA’s Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1953-1954* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

⁶⁶ John C. Drier, “The Guatemalan Problem before the OAS Council,” in *Latin America and the United States, A Documentary History*, edited by Robert Holden and Eric Zolov (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 202.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

Cuba presented the next communist threat to hemispheric security, and the ensuing CIA-sponsored intervention on 17 April 1961, known as the Bay of Pigs Invasion, ended in failure. At the Eighth Meeting of the Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs in Application of Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, held in Punta del Este, Uruguay, on 22-31 January 1962, Secretary of State Dean Rusk made a lengthy speech outlining the “tragedy” of Cuban communism. As Rusk began, “The Ministers will be seeking agreement on measures appropriate to the present situation: that is, one in which Cuba, a member government of the Organization of American States, has made itself an accomplice to the Communist conspiracy dedicated to the overthrow of the representative governments of the hemisphere.”⁶⁸ Rusk called for the immediate exclusion of Cuba from the OAS as well as calling upon the organization to use its power to end all hemispheric trade with the island.⁶⁹ By the end of the conference, Rusk’s requests for Cuba’s OAS expulsion had been granted.

Communism continued to be the U.S.’s chief concern with regard to Latin American politics. Cuba’s defection proved a decisive moment for Cold War politics. Yet, a State Department study on Latin American communism, issued less than a month after the failed Bay of Pigs invasion, stated, “If the island of Cuba should sink beneath the waves tomorrow, we would still have to face a significant and steadily growing

⁶⁸ Dean Rusk, “American Republics Unite to Halt the Spread of Communism in Western Hemisphere, Punta del Este Meeting,” *Department of State Bulletin* 46 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of State, 1962): 270.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 275-276.

communist threat in the hemisphere.”⁷⁰ Throughout the 1960s, the U.S. counted on the OAS to serve as a bulwark against the spread of communism in the Western hemisphere. Therefore, it was of the utmost importance that the OAS itself remain free of the communist influences ever lurking in Latin America. In a memorandum dated 23 October 1964, Rusk reminded all overseas diplomats of the “clear anti-Communist stand of the OAS.”⁷¹ He further encouraged them “to notify the State Department of assignments, proposed assignments, transfers, etc., of Communist and Communist sympathizers in inter-American and other international organizations.”⁷² Franco’s Spain, although an unpalatable ally, was stringently anti-communist and from the U.S. point of view, could be counted on to influence other Latin American countries to remain out of Moscow’s long reach.

The Institute for Hispanic Culture

Along with OAS’s Inter-American Music Center, Spain’s Instituto de Cultura Hispánica (Institute for Hispanic Culture (ICH) also provided sponsorship for the Madrid festival. The Institute’s predecessor, entitled the Consejo de la Hispanidad, was founded in 1940 within the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores. Novelist Manuel Halcón became its

⁷⁰ Anon., “Cuba and Communism in the Hemisphere,” (3 May 1961, pg. 4) John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library. Theodore Sorensen Papers. Box 48. Cuba General 8/17/61 - 8/29/61. Also online at Digital National Security Archive http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:dnsa&rft_dat=xri:dnsa:article:CCC00070

⁷¹ Dean Rusk, “Communists in Inter-American Organizations and in International Organizations in Latin America,” Outgoing Circular Airgram CA-4427, Department of State (23 October 1964): 1. Also online at Declassified Documents Reference System, Document Number: CK3100363788.

⁷² Ibid.

first chancellor, and Antonio Tovar, Manuel Aznar, Manuel García Morente as well as others contributed to its growth.⁷³ The Consejo promoted the concept of *hispanidad* throughout Latin America. This concept—purposely nebulous—idealized “the strongly Catholic, anti-liberal tradition of the Spanish Empire of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.”⁷⁴ The doctrine of *hispanidad* fit perfectly within the political ideology of the early Franco dictatorship, which also lionized Spain’s Golden Age. Both the United States and Latin America expressed distrust of *hispanidad*, mostly because the Consejo’s early rhetoric was laden with imperial connotations. Faced with swift rejection on the American side, the Consejo quickly adopted a less politically-driven style. Scholar Lorenzo Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, who has conducted extensive research into the Consejo de Hispanidad as well as the ICH, expands upon the official definition of *hispanidad*. As he writes, “The predominant version was adjusted to an ethereal re-vindication of a future collective horizon, based upon the common spiritual reference of Catholicism and the secular cultural ties, rather than a specific foreign policy bearing the stamp of imperialism.”⁷⁵

Nevertheless, during the 1940s, Latin American reactions to the Consejo’s outreach programs ranged from skeptical to hostile. The Chilean newspaper *El Siglo*

⁷³ Jorge Luis Marzo, *Art modern i franquisme : els orígens conservadors de l'avantguarda i de la política artística a l'estat espanyol* (Girona : Fundació Espais d'Art Contemporani, 2007), 22.

⁷⁴ Maria A. Escudero, “Hispanist Democratic Thought versus Hispanist Thought of the Franco Era,” in *Bridging the Atlantic: Toward a Reassessment of Iberian and Latin American Cultural Ties*, edited by Marina Perez de Mendiola (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1996), 171.

⁷⁵ Lorenzo Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, *Imperio de Papel: Acción Cultural y Política Exterior durante el primer Franquismo* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1992), 125.

called the Consejo “Franco’s fifth column for the Latin American countries.”⁷⁶ In Costa Rica, the organization was labeled as “something nefarious and treacherous, and its supporters, as is the Council itself, an instrument of Hitler.”⁷⁷ After the Axis defeat in World War II, Franco wished to distance himself and his country from any Nazi association. As such, in December of 1945, the Consejo became reborn as the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica and began to distance itself from official government offices. Instead of a focus on economic and political concerns, the ICH became more involved in promoting cultural exchanges. María Escudero explains the benefits of the ICH’s movement toward a perceived autonomy from governmental affairs. As she writes:

The [Instituto de] Cultura Hispánica appeared as a nonpolitical institution whose main purpose was to tighten the cultural links between Spain and her “sisters,” the Latin American Republics, in a purely “spiritual” manner. Within this new frame of thought, the Panamerican policy of the United States was no longer a problem because the projects were at different levels and did not exclude but, rather, complemented each other.⁷⁸

While leaving aside the imperial rhetoric, the ICH continued to promote *hispanidad* in the Americas through various artistic projects, eventually expanding into the United States. The ICH hoped to present Spain as a model to other Latin American republics in areas of politics, the arts, and religion. Additionally, the ICH styled itself as a bridge to European access as well as a mediator between the United States and Latin America.

⁷⁶ *El Siglo*, 9 January 1941, 6. Cited in Mercedes Barbeito Diez, “El Consejo de la Hispanidad,” *Contemporánea* no. 2 (1989): 135.

⁷⁷ Mercedes Barbeito Diez, “El Consejo de la Hispanidad,” 136.

⁷⁸ Escudero, “Hispanist Democratic Thought,” 172.

The ICH also served another function within Spain, as it presented an alternative way of discussing politics under the Franco regime. Cristina Palomares notes that the one-party system and the strict rules governing gatherings of twenty or more people made the discussion of politics nearly impossible. However, people found ways around the repressive laws. Some of these alternatives “included private gatherings, publications (newspapers and magazines), study groups or clubs (which normally were formed around a publication), trading or commercial societies, and cultural associations.”⁷⁹ Palomares lists the ICH and its publication, *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos*, as a platform for the discussion of political ideas. She goes on to explain the limited place of said discussion. As she writes:

These groups, however, did not contest the regime’s policies but rather discussed political issues with the framework of the Francoist system and their publications were dedicated to cultural topics. The level of opposition to the Francoist regime of these study groups was, at most, modest.⁸⁰

On 20 September 1946, Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez became the first director of the newly re-christened ICH, serving until 1948.⁸¹ Alfredo Sánchez Bella succeeded Ruiz-Giménez and remained director until 1957.⁸² Bella’s tenure was largely unremarkable, as the ICH undertook very few cultural exchange projects, being hampered by poor economic conditions and political posturing. Perhaps the most important outcome of

⁷⁹ Cristina Palomares, *The Quest for Survival after Franco: Moderate Francoism and the Slow Journey to the Polls, 1964-1977* (Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press, 2004), 33-34.

⁸⁰ Palomares, *The Quest for Survival*, 37-38.

⁸¹ María A. Escudero *El Instituto de Cultura Hispánica* (Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1994), 110.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 118.

Bella's leadership was that the ICH began to look toward the U.S. for a model on how to approach Pan-Americanism. As Bella stated, "One could say, in general, that the Institute should behave and act with the community of Latin American nations in the form and style of the Pan American Union, whose activity has emerged as the base for the legal "status" of the Organization of American States."⁸³ Throughout the decade, the ICH gained prominence inside of Spain. For example, in 1950, when the Dominican Republic, Peru, and El Salvador asked the United Nations to repeal the motion that had isolated the Franco regime, Alberto Martín Artajo, Minister of Foreign Affairs, gave much credit to the ICH. As Escudero explains, "While the most direct cause of the improvement of relations among the better part of Latin America's governments and the Franco government was the United States' change of posture, within Spain, it was attributed to the Institute."⁸⁴ In an effort to improve its U.S. relations, the ICH promoted Spain to the U.S. as a model for Latin American countries who struggled politically. As Escudero states, "The second advantage was that the United States could count on Spain to present a possible alternative model to the Latin American republics, one more accessible to them because it came from a country with similar cultural characteristics. Among these characteristics, the Catholic religion presented the essential antidote to Communism."⁸⁵ This promotion of a Spain as a third path continued under Blas Piñar,

⁸³ Ibid., 124.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 121.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 143.

who next directed the ICH from 1957 to 1962.⁸⁶ Gregorio Marañón Moya took the position after Piñar, directing the organization from 1963 to 1973.

Yet, an alliance between the OAS and the ICH for the first Madrid festival gave some U.S. government officials pause. Muna Lee, a poet and noted State Department official detailed her conversation with Robert F. Woodward, the then U.S. ambassador to Spain, concerning U.S. and Spanish cooperation. As she wrote:

I have talked informally with Ambassador Woodward about the continued efforts of the Spanish Government—often with approval and even aid from some of our own diplomats and USIS officers—to have the U.S. and Spanish governments cooperate on some aspects of the Hispanidad program. The Spaniards can make this sound very attractive and most reasonable. But the fact is that Hispanidad, as regards to the OAS, is incurably divisionist: its basic purpose is to unite the Spanish-speaking republics with Spain and turn them away from the United States (even though in the process the U.S. and Spain might come, or seem to come, close together). Ambassador Woodward said, in effect, he had the wiles of Hispanidad well in mind and wouldn't be hoodwinked.⁸⁷

Despite assurances that the U.S. would not be hoodwinked by Spain, the Madrid festival of 1964 represented another crucial moment of fraternity between the two countries, as well as the many Latin American countries who participated. The festival overflowed with rhetoric about unity, about strengthening common cultural bonds. In the context of the festival, these overtures pertained musical exchange among nations.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 133.

⁸⁷ Muna Lee, "Institute of Hispanic Culture-Hispanidad," State Department Memorandum (20 April 1962, 1) Department of State, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary (06/1949 - ca. 1975). The National Archives, ARC Identifier: 2663664.

However, cultivating better relations on any level could help the U.S. obtain their goal of a communist-free hemisphere, and help Spain draw closer to the colonies it once ruled.

Chapter Two: Musical Context

Introduction

This chapter explores general stylistic trends in art music in the United States, Latin America, and Spain from the 1930s to the 1950s. This exploration will help foreground the polemics concerning serialism and the avant-garde during the Madrid festival. As opposed to the experimental, modernist style that many U.S. composers displayed in the 1920s, during the Depression and World War II era, many of these same composers focused on creating a more popular style. The economics of the era helped instigate these populists' concerns, as U.S. composers sought funding from the general public as well as from government arts initiatives. Also, the increase of mass-media outlets, such as radio and film, gave composers access to a wider audience, who generally preferred more conservative styles. This populist trend continued into the 1940s as the United States entered World War II, and composers responded by creating patriotic music, serving in war-related music organizations, and even enlisting. Shortly after World War II, avant-garde compositions once again gained prominence in the concert halls, as serialism spread throughout the United States, fostered in part by the aesthetic dichotomy of the Cold War.

In Latin America, the 1930s and 1940s marked an era of both political and musical nationalism. As Gerard Béhague wrote in his seminal book, *Music in Latin America*: "In the first half of the twentieth-century, the most significant single phenomenon in Latin America was the rapid growth of nationalism in the social and

political development of the continent.”¹ For example, Mexico, in an attempt to disentangle itself from U.S. dependence, nationalized its oil industry under the Cárdenas administration in 1938.² Likewise, composers turned away from music derived from foreign models, instead focusing on native folk rhythms and melodies as well as popular genres for their inspiration. Nationalism also intertwined with modernism, in that composers wished to appear up-to-date with the latest trends. Mexican composers presented audiences with new nationalistic creations, works that incorporated national signifiers within a modernist framework. In Argentina, a re-invigorated nationalism compelled composers to musically represent the national symbol of the gaucho, or Argentine cowboy. By the 1950s, some Latin American composers began to use serialism, as it had become an important postwar trend. Still, some composers, such as Alberto Ginastera, continued to incorporate folk rhythms or guitar-inspired harmonies into a new, serial context.

The musical climate of Spain differed from that of the United States and Latin America. Rather than overriding populist or nationalist concerns, Spanish music during the 1930s leaned toward the experimental. Indeed, the 1930s was an era of artistic rebirth, often referred to as the “Edad de Plata,” or the Silver Age, lasting from around 1900 to 1936. Manuel de Falla (1876-1946) led this musical revitalization, combining musical

¹ Gerard Béhague, *Music in Latin America: An Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1979), 124.

² Friedrich Schuler, *Mexico between Hitler and Roosevelt: Mexican Foreign Relations in the age of Lázaro Cárdenas, 1934-1940* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 91.

nationalism along with modern techniques.³ An informal group known as *Grupo de los Ocho* (Group of Eight) picked up where Falla left off, giving avant-garde music an outlet in Madrid. The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) brought most of Spain's artistic life to an abrupt halt. After the Civil War and the triumph of right-wing forces under Francisco Franco, the musical landscape changed and what emerged has generally been considered more conservative than the pre-war style, as the country wrestled with diplomatic isolation, poverty, disease, and other postwar ills. By 1958, however, a new generation of Spanish composers began to emerge, intent on making up for the perceived lost time of the previous decade. These new composers wrote music that focused on serialism and aleatory, with little direct reference to musical folklore.

Music in the United States, 1930-1950

The Great Depression, initiated by the Stock Market Crash of 1929, represented a period of national turmoil, and perhaps one of the most leftist periods in the history of the United States. The economic downturn caused composers to explore new sources of funding. For example, Barbara Zuck notes that the Depression lessened the amount of private patronage, and as a result, "musicians and music groups had to rely more heavily on the general public, and their repertoires were ultimately affected."⁴ Relying on the general public often meant displaying the common man and his plight on the public stage. Diverse works such as Virgil Thomson's *Filling Station* (1937), Marc Blitzstein's

³ See María Nagore, Leticia Sánchez de Andrés, and Elena Torres, *Musica y Cultura en La Edad de Plata, 1915-1936* (Madrid : Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2009).

⁴ Barbara Zuck, *A History of Musical Americanism* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), 95.

The Cradle Will Rock (1937), and Aaron Copland's *Billy the Kid* (1938) all feature a common man as a protagonist, and address leftist concerns on some level. Composers also had new mediums for reaching out to the public. The growth of radio opened up an unexplored avenue for composers, allowing them access to a wider audience. As Copland wrote, "The radio and phonograph have given us listeners whose sheer number in themselves create a special problem."⁵ This "special problem" with which Copland and other composers wrestled was how to write music with wider, popular appeal without betraying their own compositional aesthetic. Another relatively new medium—the film score—also became an increasingly viable outlet for numerous composers. New government programs started in response to the Depression, such as the Works Progress Administration (WPA), created additional opportunities for collaboration, especially with the theater. As Zuck writes, "Incidental music for dramatic works—often WPA Federal Theatre Productions after 1935—was provided by composers such as Copland, Thomson, and Paul Bowles."⁶ Lastly, various composers sought collaborations with ballet troupes such as Lincoln Kirstein's Ballet Caravan as well as choreographers such as Martha Graham and Agnes de Mille.

Some composers, witnessing the suffering the Depression had brought and the ensuing explosion of poverty, focused energy on creating a type of proletarian art music. Most notably, a group known as the Composers' Collective (1931-1937) attempted to use art music to inspire social change. Charles Seeger, Henry Cowell, Marc Blitzstein, Elie

⁵ Aaron Copland, "From the 1920s to the 1940s and Beyond," *Modern Music* (1943): 82.

⁶ Zuck., 97.

Siegmeister, Herbert Haufrecht, Henry Leland Clarke, Lan Adomian, Earl Robinson, and occasionally Aaron Copland formed the core of the group.⁷ They published two collections of protest songs, entitled *The Workers' Songbook I and II*, and Copland's setting of "Into the Streets May First," remains the most well-known selection. Unfortunately, most of the music failed to inspire their target audience. Scholar David King Dunaway writes of the group, "They composed a dark, twelve-tone political music mismatched to New York City's ethnic laborers who they expected to sing these creations."⁸ Dunaway also suggests, "Collective members postulated another somewhat preposterous function for their music: uplifting musical tastes among the masses. This goal went unachieved."⁹ Yet, the group did inspire in its members a renewed interest in folksong as well as kindle the idea of using music for social change. Blitzstein's *The Cradle Will Rock* (1937) deals with union organizing and shows the influence of mass-song style.¹⁰ Scholar Elizabeth Crist, focusing on Copland's works from *El Salón México* (1932) to the Third Symphony (1946), details how Copland's political engagement informed his compositions.¹¹ Crist argues that this period of stylistic

⁷ David King Dunaway, "Charles Seeger and Carl Sands: The Composers' Collective Years," *Ethnomusicology* 24/2 (1980): 159. Other members included: Norman Cazden, Robert Gross, Leon Charles, and Alex North. Seeger, Siegmeister and Clarke, used pseudonyms for the songs they composed, writing as Carl Sands, L.E. Swift, and J. Fairbanks, respectively.

⁸ David King Dunaway, "Music and Politics in the United States," *Folk Music Journal* 5/3 (1987): 283.

⁹ Ibid. 287.

¹⁰ See Carol J. Oja, "Marc Blitzstein's *The Cradle Will Rock* and Mass-Song Style of the 1930s," *The Musical Quarterly* 73/4 (1989): 445-75.

¹¹ See Elizabeth Crist, "Aaron Copland and the Popular Front," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56/2 (2003): 409-65.

simplicity and populism directly correlated to Copland's left-wing political involvements, and his desire to bring art music to the masses.

Musical simplicity and populism continued to be chief concerns after the Depression. When the United States entered World War II in December of 1941, music assumed an even greater importance. Whereas during the Depression some composers debated how best to adapt modern music for a wider audience, the war demanded that music do its part in it. Composers, such as Earl Robinson, emphatically stated that now compositions must be of direct use to society. As Zuck elaborates, "In the 1940s, perhaps more than at any other time in American musical history, composers leaned toward Robinson's view. They wished to be integral and commenting members of American society, especially during the crisis of war."¹² Some composers responded by enlisting; many more wrote patriotic pieces. Robinson's *Battle Hymn* (1942) and *Lonesome Train* (1944) specifically speak to World War II. Conductor Eugene Goossens, director of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, requested fanfares from several composers for the 1942-43 season. Of the eighteen performed, Copland's *Fanfare for the Common Man* remains best known.

During World War II, music's direct use was to inspire patriotism, yet as the war drew on, music also became a useful weapon. The war instigated many new developments in modern combat, particularly in the field of psychological warfare, in which music now played a part. Major Harold W. Kent, an educational liaison to the

¹² Zuck., 186.

U.S. Office of Education, stated that “The Army Hour, the official voice of the War Department, from the start employed music as a weapon in its interpretation of its story to American patriots on its Sunday NBC broadcasts.”¹³ Burton Paulu, a radio pioneer in who worked for the Office of War Information, explained music’s role in the psychological-warfare effort in Germany in his article, “Music-War’s New Weapon.” According to Paulu, the Army, with the aid of the Office of War Information (OWI), had amassed a stockpile of suitable music to be “supplied to American information centers in cities like Paris to be used in the work of interpreting the United States to the rest of the world.”¹⁴ Additionally, American and British “black” radio stations—namely Allied stations posing as German—received music from this source. Occasionally, the OWI lent collections for use in truck-mounted public-address systems. The music and performers selected for public broadcast underwent rigorous scrutiny. Recordings by Arturo Toscanini and Pau Casals were favored because they represented “outstanding opponents of Fascism.”¹⁵ Composers such as Felix Mendelssohn, Dmitri Shostakovich, Roy Harris, and Samuel Barber also received much airtime. The OWI made a conscious attempt to promote American music, not just that of the United States, but included classical and popular music from Latin America as well. The OWI offered a daily, forty-five-minute broadcast entitled, “Music from the New World” that featured everything from “cowboy songs and boogie-woogie to compositions by men like Howard Hanson, Roy Harris,

¹³ Major Harold W. Kent, “Radio, Music, and Government in Wartime,” *The Music Journal* 1/ 2 (1943): 10.

¹⁴ Burton Paulu, “Music-War’s New Weapon,” *Music Educators Journal* 35/4 (1949): 25.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Samuel Barber, Heitor Villa-Lobos and Carlos Chávez.”¹⁶ Naturally, some music undermined the Allied purpose. Completely banned composers included Richard Wagner, Richard Strauss, and Franz Lehár. Also, Tchaikovsky’s *1812 Overture* could not be played because it celebrated the victory of one ally over another.¹⁷

Paulu ended his article by justifying music’s use in the war effort. As he concluded, “Propaganda has been accepted as an important part of the 20th century total war. And just as surely, music has established itself as an effective propaganda medium.”¹⁸ To Paulu, music could be part of a three-pronged effort: first, used in psychological warfare during active war, second, used to re-educate a populace during surrender, and third, to help build good cultural relations during peacetime.¹⁹ After the World War II, the world was indeed a different place, as the United States and the Soviet Union emerged as two superpowers with atomic capabilities. The increasing polarization between the two brought about the Cold War. This dichotomy between communism and free world, became reflected in music as well. The accessible populism, so prominent in the U.S. during the 1930s and 1940, began to be replaced by a cosmopolitan avant-garde, often—but not always—represented by serial compositions.

After World War II, music using serial techniques in the United States experienced resurgence among many composers. Recently, scholars have debated the

¹⁶ Ibid. 55.

¹⁷ Ibid., 57.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

level of influence that the Cold War cultural context had on the aesthetic shift. Some have firmly grounded these stylistic changes within a Cold War political background, suggesting that the United States' advocacy of serial music had direct ties to the Soviet Union's stance on serialism. As the world grew more politically polarized, some noticed this divide seeping into other areas. As Jennifer DeLapp-Birkett writes of Copland's appearance at the Conference for World Peace in 1949, "Copland knew of the dichotomy many perceived between 'accessible' socialist realism and the more specialized, 'advanced' music of the 'free world' of which twelve-tone composition was becoming an archetype."²⁰ This opposition between social realism and serialism began just after the war's end in 1945. In December 1945, Thomson penned a brief summary of the state of Russian music, now that peacetime had returned. Of pre-World War II Russian music, he stated, "Music has been encouraged there [Russia] for purposes of morale-building, for its national-unity value, and for raising the cultural level of the population."²¹ After the war, however, Thomson asserted that Russia must reconsider its position; namely, it must expand its musical life to include the avant-garde. As Thomson continued, "[Russia] will be faced with the choice of either enlarging her musical policy to include intellectual distinction, or of continuing her present policy of music-for-the-masses-only, and of accepting the consequences."²² For Thomson, the consequences of continuing to produce only populist music would lead to a decline in international prestige. After World War II,

²⁰ Jennifer DeLapp-Birkett, "Aaron Copland and the Politics of Twelve-Tone Composition in the Early Cold War United States," *Journal of Musicological Research* 27/1 (2008): 32.

²¹ Virgil Thomson, "Looking Forward," *The Musical Quarterly* 31/2 (1945): 158.

²² *Ibid.*

the United States and the Soviet Union emerged as superpowers on a world stage left crippled by war. Thomson's suggestion that the Soviet musical life was going the wrong way indicates the competitiveness and indeed, the binary opposition that marked East-West relations of the 1950s and 1960s. In 1945, the debate about U.S. versus Soviet music mainly concerned aesthetics, but in 1948, with the Soviet declaration of an official musical policy, the debate began to be about artistic freedom as well.

On 10 February 1948, The Central Committee of the Russian Communist party issued a statement about the condition of present-day Russian music and the ills that had befallen it, based on meetings organized by Andrey Zhdanov.²³ The official chastisement began with a critique of Vano Muradeli's opera *The Great Friendship*, and then proceeded to list the Central Committee's general complaints against Soviet music. As the decree explained:

The characteristic features of this music are negation of the basic principles of classical music, advocacy of atonality, dissonance and discord, which are supposed to represent 'progress' and 'novelty' in the development of musical forms. [...] This music smacks very much of the spirit of the contemporary modernist bourgeois music of Europe and America, which is a reflection of the decay of bourgeois culture and signifies complete negation of musical art.²⁴

The reference to the "decaying state" of modern European and American music, which extended to the culture as a whole, provoked ire in the United States as well as Britain. The British newspaper *The Musical Times* clarified the Soviet Union's vague use of the word "formalism," explaining, "The word [formalism] seemed to be used as a

²³ The full text of the decree can be found in TSK KPSS Plenum, *Decisions of the Central Committee C.P.S.U. on Literature and Art (1946-1948)* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1951).

²⁴ *Ibid.* 6.

comprehensive label for all those practices which we variously describe as progressive, Schoenbergian, ‘wrong-note’, extremist, and I.S.C.M.”²⁵ Likewise, *The Musical Times* author painted the Soviet decree as quashing of artistic freedom and an imposition of government control. As the article continued, “Its recommendations are orders, and any composer who fails to obey them is in for trouble.”²⁶ Russian composers quickly reacted, offering explanations to the Western world. Leading Russian composer Sergei Prokofiev penned a timely response to the Party’s statement, which circulated in leading newspapers worldwide. In his response, Prokofiev heartily agreed with the Committee’s decision, stating that “I duly gave a good deal of thought to the artistic quality of my own music and came to the conclusion that I was not following the right path.”²⁷ The “right path,” in terms of the new Soviet policy, undoubtedly led to a return to a tonal idiom. As Prokofiev further stated, “When I came to recognize that the tonal structure of a piece of music is to be compared with building on a solid foundation, whereas atonality is building on sand, it was not long before a striving toward tonal writing began to show itself in my music.”²⁸ *The Musical Times* concluded that Prokofiev’s and other composers’ confessions of the “errors of their ways,” sounded hollow and ominous.²⁹

²⁵ Anon. “The State as Music Critic,” *The Musical Times* 89/1261 (1948): 91.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 92.

²⁷ Sergei Prokofiev, “Prokofiev Explains,” *The Musical Times* 89/1266 (1948): 233.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Anon., “The State as Music Critic,” 91.

The British press refused to believe that Soviet composers had endorsed this rejection of experimentation freely, instead portraying the composers as puppets of the government.

The news of the Soviet stance on music, referred to as *Zhdanovshchina*, disturbed U.S. music critics as well. As one critic for *The New York Times* reported of the Soviet music crackdown:

Yesterday, a report reached here that three composers, including Dmitri Shostakovich, had been demoted and that an important Moscow music critic and his entire family had been arrested and imprisoned. The three musicians admitted their “errors,” but this did not save them. What were the errors? The main one appears to be that the composers wrote music that was somewhat difficult to understand.³⁰

Thomson, in his capacity as a music critic for the *New York Herald Tribune*, also reacted negatively to the news. As he stated, “The hasty *mea culpa* of the Soviet artist in trouble with Central Committee shocks the Western mind.”³¹ In his article of 2 May 1948 on Soviet aesthetics according to the new state policy, Thomson provided a laundry list of the musical characteristics that Soviet composers should now avoid:

In Soviet aesthetics, however, undesirable subjects and sentiments are assumed to be inseparable from “formalistic” expression. And “formalistic” expression (also equitable with “individualistic”) is recognizable in music by excessive dissonance, harsh instrumentation, unusual instrumentation (of a kind not available in provincial orchestras), percussive instrumentation, too much counterpoint, “linearity” in general, slow tempos, failure to employ folklore themes, the distortion of folklore themes, failure to follow “classic” models, distortion of classic models, and the use of any device or texture for its intrinsic interest rather than for directly expressive purposes.³²

³⁰ Anon. “Music on the Party Line,” *New York Times*, 30 March 1948, 22.

³¹ Virgil Thomson, *Music, Right and Left* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1951), 157.

³² *Ibid.*, 160.

During the early Cold War, Western composers believed such musical restrictions shackled Soviet composers, and such rules were anathema to artistic and personal freedom. In 1950, Howard Hanson, director of the Eastman School of Music, gave advice against the lure of communism to the incoming freshman class. He warned students not to be enticed by the way the Soviet government supported the arts, as it was a ruse meant to hide the true nature of the regime. As Hanson emphatically stated:

As for me, regardless of the difficulties involved, I would labor for the recognition of the art of music through the slow and laborious process of education in a free, democratic government than to have the problem of the arts and artists solved by an all-powerful government carrying in its hands the shackles of a slave state.³³

For Hanson, the control that the Soviet government exerted over their composers amounted to little more than slavery, even if they were compensated. Even a committed communist composer such as Stefan Wolpe found the Soviet decree appalling. As Taruskin states, “The hermeticism of Wolpe’s postwar—or rather Cold War music—music was a deliberate and demonstrative refusal to comply with the directives of the *Zdanovshchina*.”³⁴ Taruskin later affirms that “Twelve-tone music became a symbol of resistance, and by extension, of creative freedom.”³⁵ Many of the elements forbidden to Soviet composers, such as dissonance, counterpoint, and unusual instrumentation, became hallmarks of U.S., Latin American, and European compositions of the 1950s and 1960s. What the Soviets had condemned became praised by U.S. critics and composers.

³³ Howard Hanson, “Howard Hanson Talks to Eastman Students,” *Music Journal* 9/1 (1951): 43.

³⁴ Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Late Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 68.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 72.

Serialism, along with other avant-garde techniques such as aleatory, stood in stark contrast to Soviet policy. The use of abstract techniques could perhaps demonstrate one's anti-communist stance. For example, Delapp-Birkett suggests that the anti-communist connotations of serialism appealed to Copland as he faced the McCarthy witch-hunts and the ensuing confrontation with the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).³⁶ She argues that Copland's twelve-tone Quartet for Piano and Strings (1950) was a deliberate attempt to distance himself from his populist style and his leftist political associations of the 1930s. Taruskin adds to this supposition, stating:

When one learns that Copland began sketching his Piano Quartet, the first of his twelve-tone compositions, in March 1950, the same month in which he was targeted by the American Legion, the coincidence of dates prompts the reflection that the composer may have been seeking refuge in the "universal" (and politically safe) truth of numbers, rather than the particular, (and politically risky) reality of a national or popular manner.³⁷

During the McCarthy witch-hunt era of the early 1950s, several composers found that their music as well as their political actions during the Depression had now been recast in a different light. As Crist explains, "From the ideological standpoint of the fifties, thirties radicalism bespoke a deplorable loss of faith in industrial capitalism and liberal democracy; what seemed socially responsive from the perspective of the thirties was subsequently reinterpreted as subversive."³⁸ HUAC interrogated both Copland and Blitzstein about their leftist political affiliations; Seeger's Depression-era activities forced

³⁶ See Jennifer DeLapp, "Copland in Fifties: Music and Ideology in the McCarthy Era," (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1997).

³⁷ Taruskin, *Music in the Late Twentieth Century*, 251.

³⁸ Crist, "Copland and the Popular Front," 413.

him from his position at the Organization of American States. As composers observed HUAC's public condemnation of their colleagues, many naturally distanced themselves from previous leftist associations as well as their hopes of writing music for the common man.

The populism of the 1930s and 1940s that inspired composers to write for a general audience had indeed fallen out of favor. Composers in the 1950s had a new prerogative: to write for the intellectually elite. As scholar Martin Brody writes, "After the war, avant-garde art continued to occupy a privileged function: to oppose mass culture."³⁹ Gilbert Chase, a prominent music critic of the era, echoed these assertions. As Chase stated:

A composer, unless he is a hack or a hustler, does not write for the general public. That public is an amorphous monstrosity, corrupted by commercialism and the moronic media of mass entertainment. No self-respecting artist cares about pleasing the public.⁴⁰

If postwar Soviet artistic aesthetics touted popular appeal and accessibility, the U.S. avant-garde could be read as an antidote. As Brody states, "A complementary defense against mass art lay in the promotion and production of a different kind of artistic work, work that was doggedly individualistic, unafraid of complexity, irreducible, resistant to appropriation."⁴¹ Yet, avant-garde art did become appropriated by various

³⁹ Martin Brody, "'Music for the Masses': Milton Babbitt's Cold War Music Theory," *The Musical Quarterly* 77/2 (1993): 181.

⁴⁰ Gilbert Chase, "Twelve-Tones Fall on Deaf Ears," *New York Times*, 13 April 1958, 9.

⁴¹ Brody, 175.

governments, including the United States, as a tool to combat communism. Scholars such as Anne Shreffler, Frances Stonor Saunders, and Ian Wellens have all discussed how the United States' Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) used serial compositions to influence the hearts and minds of Europeans, through a series of avant-garde music festivals sponsored by the CIA-run Congress for Cultural Freedom.⁴² These overseas endeavors focused on the intellectuals rather than the common people. As Louis Menand states:

The target audience for cultural propaganda in the Cold War was foreign elites—in particular left-wing intellectuals and avant-garde writers and artists who might still have some attachment, sincere, sentimental, or opportunistic to Communism and the Soviet Union. The essence of the courtship was: it's possible to be left-wing, avant-garde *and* anti-Communist.⁴³

This was an important message, especially to the U.S.'s Latin American neighbors, whom the U.S. monitored closely for signs of communist infiltration. Indeed, keeping Latin America free of communist influences constituted one of the priorities of the Eisenhower administration. Throughout the 1950s, the *New York Times* ran almost weekly headlines about communist disruption in Latin American affairs. Striking headlines, such as “Peru Sees Hand of Reds in Frustrated Port Strike,” “Braden Urges Action on Reds in the Americas,” “Guatemalan Reds Exploit Reforms,” as well as “Quicker Red Pace In Americas Seen,” “Chile is Called Communist Base,” and “Red

⁴² See Anne C. Schreffler, “Ideologies of Serialism,” in *Music and the Aesthetics of Modernity: Essays*, edited by Karol Berger and Anthony Newcomb (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005); Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: The New Press, 1999); and Ian Wellens, *Music on the Frontline: Nicolas Nabokov's Struggle against Communism and Middlebrow Culture* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002).

⁴³ Louis Menand, “Unpopular Front: American Art and the Cold War,” *The New Yorker*, 17 October 2005, 174.

Trade Rising in Latin America,” demonstrated the U.S.’s concern over communism in Latin America.⁴⁴ Though less publicized, Latin American nationalism became an increasing concern for the U.S. In the spring of 1953, President Eisenhower sent his brother, Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower, on a Latin American fact-finding tour to assess the political climate and possibility of communist infiltration. Dr. Eisenhower’s final report warned of the growing wave of nationalism in Latin America, asserting that this anti-Yankee nationalism was a subversive and possibly communist force.⁴⁵ Moreover, scholar Robert J. McMahon suggests that, “In Latin America, an explosive nationalism posed the principal challenge to American interests during the Eisenhower years.”⁴⁶ In the twentieth century, nationalism did impact numerous facets of Latin American life, from the political to the musical. Far from a menace, as described by U.S. commentators, nationalism in Latin America—whether political or musical—nevertheless remains a complex and oftentimes contradictory topic.

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⁴⁴ Anon., “Peru Sees Hand of Reds in Frustrated Port Strike,” *New York Times*, 9 February 1953, 5; Anon., “Braden Urges Action on Reds in the Americas,” *New York Times*, 13 March 1953, 14; Milton Bracker, “Guatemalan Reds Exploit Reforms,” *New York Times*, 3 March 1954, 11; Anon., “Quicker Red Pace in Americas Seen,” *New York Times*, 26 April 1954, 10; Edward A. Murrow, “Chile is Called Communist Base,” *New York Times*, 22 October 1954, 11; Anon., “Red Trade Rising in Latin America,” *New York Times*, 1 July 1955, 25.

⁴⁵ Federico Gil, *Latin American—U.S. Relations* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), 216.

⁴⁶ Robert J. McMahon, “Eisenhower and Third World Nationalism: A Critique of the Revisionists,” *Political Science Quarterly* 101/3 (1986): 466.

Latin American composers during the 1930s to 1940s began to achieve greater recognition at home, after much European domination in the concert halls. In general, this generation incorporated a variety of musics into their styles, ranging from the folkloric to the popular to the ancient. Scholar Thomas Turino explains this type of nationalism as “a fusion of local, non-cosmopolitan instruments, sounds, and genres within a largely cosmopolitan aesthetic.”⁴⁷ Panamanian composer Roque Cordero agreed that this generation “sought the way to create a national art without the narrow nationalist concept.”⁴⁸ As expected, Latin American composers created a variety of nationalistic musics, as they could draw from an almost unlimited variety of folk styles. Indeed, as Béhague asserted, a uniform approach to musical nationalism does not exist, explaining, “[musical nationalism’s] meaning and functions varied frequently according to the personality being affected.”⁴⁹ Scholar Yolanda Moreno Rivas has suggested that nationalism provided composers with an avenue for exploring the latest techniques. As she stated, “The real goal of this generation was the creation and formation of a musical language for which the new search and expression of the Mexican was a vital and refreshing stimulus.”⁵⁰ In her view, creating a national music became amalgamated with creating a contemporary music in order to display the true modernity of the nation.

⁴⁷ Thomas Turino, “Nationalism and Latin American Music: Selected Case Studies and Theoretical Considerations,” *Latin American Music Review* 24/2 (2003): 175.

⁴⁸ Roque Cordero, “Vigenica del músico culto,” in *América Latina en su Música*, edited by Isabel Aretz (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1977), 158.

⁴⁹ Béhague, *Music in Latin America*, 124.

⁵⁰ Yolanda Moreno Rivas, *Rostros del Nacionalismo en la Música Mexicana: Un ensayo de interpretación* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1995), 13.

Leonora Saavedra also argues that modernity constituted another integral aspect of the nationalist movement. As she asserts, “This ability to participate in modernism and to regard themselves as fully modern composers was just as important a part of their identity as nationalism.”⁵¹

One can also view musical nationalism as a means of gaining power, a way to move from the periphery to the center. As Béhague stated, “Nationalistic composition of this period [1920s-1940s] suggests a conceptual movement toward a rupture of the dialectic between colonizers and colonized. Ultimately, by appropriating both local native culture and that of the European colonizer, the New World musician could no longer be labeled as ‘colonized,’ when utilizing models derived from Europe.”⁵² With these nationalistic compositions, Latin American composers were no longer merely a mirror of Europe in the concert where they began to assert their resistance to old hegemonic powers. Scholar Luiz Héitor Corrêa de Azevedo has placed musical nationalism with a post-colonial discourse. As he stated, “The impact of European culture in the New World, which is indisputable and justified by a long, opulent past common to these two parts of the world, only applies in one direction: from east to west.”⁵³ Traditionally, Europe had been the originator of culture and its colonies the

⁵¹ Leonora Saavedra, “Of Selves and Others: Historiography, Ideology, and the Politics of modern Mexican music,” (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2001), 326.

⁵² Gerard Béhague, “Indianism in Latin American Art Music Composition of the 1920s to 1940s: Case Studies from Mexico, Peru, and Brazil,” *Latin American Music Review* 27/1 (2006): 37.

⁵³ Luiz Héitor Corrêa de Azevedo, “La música de América Latina,” in *América Latina en su Música*, edited by Isabel Aretz (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, S.A., 1977), 57.

receivers. Latin American musical nationalism attempted to reverse the flow of influence between Europe and the Americas. Additionally, it created a space for a nation to define its identity and its modernity within a post-colonial power structure. Saavedra further describes the relationship between center and periphery as “an on-going tension between the processes of assimilation and resistance.”⁵⁴ This tension manifests itself in the works of Ponce, Chávez, Ginastera, and other nationalists of this era. Although there is a tendency, especially in the U.S., to discuss Latin America as if it were a single homogenous entity, the reality is that the development of musical nationalism varies from country to country. As such, I will focus on the development of musical nationalism in Mexico and Argentina, as two examples of this trend.

In Mexico during the 1930s, newly formed orchestras, such as the Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional and the Orquesta Sinfónica de México, increased their performances of contemporary Mexican composers such as Manuel Ponce, Carlos Chávez, Blas Galindo, and Silvestre Revueltas.⁵⁵ Overall, Mexican audiences applauded these new compositions. Yet, nationalist art could often fall prey to triviality; compositions that failed to display the appropriate seriousness were labeled as superficial. Jesús Bal y Gay, an exiled Spanish composer living in Mexico, explained that only the “authentic essence” of folklore should be used in compositions. As he wrote of the evolution of Mexican music, “And finally, in that last stage in which these folk extracts, already quite distilled,

⁵⁴ Ibid., 5.

⁵⁵ Despite Revueltas’s central importance to Mexican musical nationalism, I exclude him from my discussion because his music was never featured in any of Inter-American festivals.

will be integrated into a work of universal character. To achieve the above mentioned is—or should be—the goal of all nationalism that aspires to something more than producing music for tourists.”⁵⁶ Achieving universal significance without sacrificing national “essence” became a concern for composers of that era. Likewise, incorporating Mexican signifiers, be it a popular or a pre-Columbian melody, was, in some ways, a sign of resistance and marked the composition as different and specifically place-bound. As Moreno Rivas suggests, “The *mexicanismo* of Carlos Chávez was a guarantee of originality, a safeguard against the inclination of Europeanization.”⁵⁷

Mexican composer Manuel Ponce (1882-1948) was one of the first nationalist composers to secure an international reputation. He is often considered the founder of Mexican musical nationalism, and he explored various ways of incorporating national elements into his style at a structural level. For much of his career, Ponce drew inspiration from the melodies of the Mexican *canción*, a rural song influenced by Italian opera. Ponce began writing about the *canción* as early as 1913, and promoted the preservation of the genre throughout his life.⁵⁸ His symphonic poem *Chapultepec* marks the apotheosis of his nationalist compositions. Ponce composed *Chapultepec*, a three-movement symphonic poem that depicts the iconic park at various times of day during 1920-1922, and the work received its premiere on 11 November 1923 with Orquestra

⁵⁶ Jesús Bal y Gay, “El Nacionalismo y la música Mexicana de hoy,” *Nuestra Música* no. 14 (1949): 108.

⁵⁷ Moreno Rivas, *Rostros de Nacionalismo*, 22.

⁵⁸ See Manuel Ponce, “La música y la canción mexicana,” *Revista de revistas* 4/199 (21 December 1913): 17–18; “Escritos y composiciones musicales,” *Cultura* 6 /4 (Mexico, 1917); “El folk-lore musical mexicano. Lo que se ha hecho. Lo que puede hacerse,” *Revista musical de México* 1/5 (15 September 1919): 5–9.

Sinfónica Nacional, a state-sponsored group, conducted by Julián Carrillo.⁵⁹ The premiere marked one of the first occasions where a large, state-sponsored orchestra performed a work by a Mexican composer, thus endowing this first performance with added cultural capital. The original three programmatic movements, *Hora Matinal*, *Paseo Diurno*, and *Plenilunio Fantástico*, each display a distinct style. The opening movement owes much to the French Impressionist school, for which Ponce had a fondness (he organized the first all-Debussy concert in Mexico City in 1912).⁶⁰ The second movement, which Saavedra describes as “in a quick, more modern, dissonant style,” depicts the park in full swing.⁶¹ In the middle of the second movement, Ponce mimics a Mexican song being plucked in the distance, “alluding perhaps to the actual performance of popular music in the park by orquestras típicas.”⁶² In the last movement, Ponce uses a *canción* melody, *Marchita el alma*, as the foundational material, treating it as a leitmotif. The last movement thus becomes an embodiment of Ponce’s writings on *canción*, and how to incorporate it into art music.

In 1925, Ponce left Mexico City for Paris, staying until 1933. Upon his return to Mexico City in 1933, he began revising *Chapultepec*, focusing mainly on the last movement, which he re-titled *Canto y Danza*. The revised last movement draws heavily

⁵⁹ Jorge Barrón Corvera, *Manuel Maria Ponce: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2004), 33.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶¹ Leonora Saavedra, “Manuel M. Ponce’s *Chapultepec* and the Conflicted Representations of a Contested Space,” *The Musical Quarterly* 92/3-4 (2009): 296.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 298.

from Ponce's pre-Columbian inspired *Chant et danse des anciens mexicains*, which he wrote in Paris in 1926 (revised in 1928 and 1930).⁶³ *Chant et danse* uses a melody "Canto a la Malinche," probably taken from Alfredo Chavero's *Historia Antigua y de la conquista*, which credits the song as being an ancient Nahua melody.⁶⁴ *Chant et danse des anciens mexicains* premiered in Mexico City, 13 October 1933, with the Orquesta del Conservatorio Nacional, conducted by Silvestre Revueltas. The revised *Chapultepec*, now featuring *Primavera*, *Nocturno*, and *Canto y Danza*, received its premiere soon thereafter, on 24 August 1934 in Mexico City, with the Orquesta Sinfónica de México, conducted by Carlos Chávez.

Ponce's *Instantáneas mexicanas* (1947) for orchestra also displays a variety of national signifiers. This six-movement piece juxtaposes the metizo *canción* alongside music derived from indigenous sources. Completed near the end of his life, Ponce revisits thematic material culled from various other works. Ponce again returns to the "Canto a la Malinche," in the first movement, whereas the second movement, *Música indígena*, features a yaqui melody Ponce used before in his *Veinte piezas fáciles* (1939), a pedagogical work for piano.⁶⁵ The third movement, *Canción popular*, uses the melody *Si algún ser*, and the fourth movement, *Baile del bajío*, borrows motives from the *Danza* of *Chapultepec*. The last two movements, *Danza I* and *Danza II*, are orchestrated versions of two dances from Ponce's *Cuatro danzas mexicanas* (1941) for piano. Indeed,

⁶³ Corvera, *Manuel María Ponce*, 31.

⁶⁴ Saavedra, "Manuel Ponce's *Chapultepec*," 307.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

Instantáneas mexicanas, as well as the composing and re-composing of *Chapultepec* demonstrate the myriad responses to Mexican-ness within a single lifetime.

Ponce's student Carlos Chávez (1899-1978), perhaps Mexico's best-known composer, also contributed much to the construction of Mexican musical nationalism as well as played a pivotal part in shaping the musical life of Mexico. As director of the Orquesta Sinfónica de México (OSM), Chávez regularly programmed modernist works, in hopes of warming the public to contemporary music. In this area, Chávez achieved a modicum of success. As Saavedra states, "Thus Mexican audiences gradually moved in their taste towards a greater appreciation of modern music—thanks to Chávez's relentless policy of programming modernist music."⁶⁶ Chávez's own early works—often harsh, driving, and dissonant—incorporated ideas from modernist primitivism, as Chávez believed that the Mexican soul should display its indigenous roots. The public, however, preferred a softer side. As Saavedra explains, "By 1933, it had become clear that Mexican audiences showed a marked preference for compositions in which the representation of the Mexican was based, not on the pre-Columbian element of Mexican culture, but on mestizo popular musics."⁶⁷

Only four of Chávez's compositions can be considered truly Indianist; *El Fuego Nuevo* (1921), *Los Cuatro Soles* (1925), *Sinfonía India* (1936), and *Xochipili-Macuilxóchitl* (1940). The Indian or Aztec musical elements present in these works—

⁶⁶ Saavedra, "Of Selves and Others," 273.

⁶⁷ Saavedra, "Manuel M. Ponce's *Chapultepec*," 313.

non-Western scales, short, repeated fragments, native percussion instruments, polyrhythms, and dissonant counterpoint—dovetail with aspects promoted by modernist primitivism. As Saavedra notes, “In short, *Xochipili*, like *El Fuego Nuevo*, *Los Cuatro Soles*, and the *Sinfonía India*, is a composition in which the Aztec or Indian elements are imaginary—and provide a wonderful excuse to write modernist music.”⁶⁸ Nevertheless, in the United States, critics as well as Chávez himself, emphasized the primitive, Indian-derived aspects of Mexican culture. In fact, despite the extensive catalogue of Mexican nationalist music of the 1920s to 1940s, most of the attention is “reserved for nationalist music of the Aztec Renaissance, especially that using original Indian themes.”⁶⁹ The program notes for Chávez’s concerts at the Museum of Modern Art (New York City, 1940) for example, heavily favored indigenous-inspired music, including two dances from Chávez’s *Los Cuarto Soles* (1925) and his new *Xochipili* (1940).⁷⁰

As the 1940s wore on, tropes about Chávez as an Indianist greatly diminished. His later works tend toward abstract neo-classicism and veer away from the earlier Indianist style. Chávez’s friend and advocate Herbert Weinstock barely mentions any of these previous primitive associations when writing about Chávez in 1959. He concludes his article on Chávez: “Not another colorful exotic rhapsodist from a travel-poster land, Chávez must be heard and weighed as a composer of scrupulous, self-critical

⁶⁸ Saavedra, “Of Selves and Others,” 324.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷⁰ Herbert Weinstock, *Mexican music; notes by Herbert Weinstock for concerts arranged by Carlos Chávez as part of the exhibition: Twenty Centuries of Mexican art. The Museum of Modern Art, May, 1940* (New York: W. E. Rudge's Sons, 1940), 13.

craftsmanship, rock-like integrity, and great formal strength.”⁷¹ Though Chávez’s works can hardly be classified as “picture postcard,” or worse, “the music of Rum-and-Coca-Cola,” Weinstock took pains to emphasize Chávez’s separateness from other “exotic” composers.⁷² Chase, in his 1959 survey of Latin American classical music, pronounced the Mexican nationalist period as passé. As he stated, “Suffice to say the nationalist-folklorist-Indianist trend [in Mexico] appears to have reached its apogee and is now in decline. Chávez himself pointed the way with his recent symphonies.”⁷³

Chávez, like Copland and Seeger, also had trouble with the anti-communist fever that had gripped the United States. In 1954, the U.S. State Department inexplicably denied Chávez’s visa request, stating that they needed to study his security clearance more closely.⁷⁴ They later approved the travel once they had “Señor Chávez’s firm denial that he is now or has ever been a Communist.”⁷⁵ Though this communist accusation faded rather quickly, it nevertheless created a stir. After being informed of his visa trouble, Chávez wrote a lengthy letter to Ángel Carbajal, Secretary of the Interior of Mexico, explaining his actions. He explained that his goals were to elevate the taste of the masses

⁷¹ Hebert Weinstock, “About Carlos Chávez: Some Notes and Thoughts on an Unfinished Career,” *Tempo* no. 51 (1959): 15.

⁷² The phrase “Rum and Coca-Cola” refers to a song made popular in United States by the Andrews Sisters in 1945. The Andrews Sisters stole the calypso hit from Lord Invader, sanitizing the lyrics. Some critics, such as Robert Evett and Irving Lowens, use the term rather broadly to describe nationalistic Latin American composition, although they never name a specific work.

⁷³ Gilbert Chase, “Creative Trends in Latin American Music-II,” *Tempo* 50 (1959): 28.

⁷⁴ Anon. “Chávez Denied Visa Pending U.S. Study,” *New York Times*, 16 August 1954, 12.

⁷⁵ Anon. “Visa for Chávez Approved by US,” *New York Times* 17 August 1954, 17.

through music education and that he wished “to produce a simple, high art music that would eventually replace the vulgar music so popular among the working classes.”⁷⁶ During the 1930s, Chávez, like Seeger, had focused on composing a high-art proletarian music, partly to give classical music a more prominent role in society. In 1934, Chávez completed his proletarian symphony, *Llamadas* as well as the *Corrido de “El Sol,”* for chorus, as musical embodiments of his writings, “El Arte en la Sociedad,” and “El Arte Proletario.”⁷⁷ Composer Henry Cowell as well as Seeger requested copies of *Llamadas*, for its possible use in workers’ concerts.⁷⁸ Yet, like Seeger and many others, Chávez’s Marxist-tinted musical philosophy of the 1930s became a source of trouble during the Cold War. Upon hearing of Chávez’s visa incident, many friends such as Copland, Thomson, and Lincoln Kirstein, sent letters offering assistance.⁷⁹ Copland denounced the whole affair as “stupid,” while Kirstein and Thomson volunteered to contact the State Department of Chávez’s behalf.⁸⁰ Though Chávez never openly addressed the issue of communism again, after he returned from a conducting tour of Europe in 1962, Chávez denounced Soviet music to the Mexican and U.S. press. As he stated, “The Soviet composers are enchained, the state dictates to them the aesthetic paths they are to

⁷⁶ Carlos Chávez, “De Carlos Chávez a Angel Carbajal,” *Epistolario Selecto de Carlos Chávez* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1989), 726.

⁷⁷ See Carlos Chávez, “El Arte en la Sociedad,” *El Universal*, 27 September 1934; “El Arte Proletario,” *El Universal*, 29 September 1934.

⁷⁸ Leonora Saavedra, “The American Composer in the 1930s: The Social Thought of Seeger and Chávez,” in *Understanding Charles Seeger, pioneer in American musicology*, edited by Bell Yung and Helen Rees (Urbana : University of Illinois Press, 1999), 58-59.

⁷⁹ See Chávez, *Epistolario Selecto*, 728-733.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

follow.”⁸¹ Chávez further declared, “All the Russian composers are extremely bad, including Shostakovich. He is a man of great talent but the talent, the genius is only able to grow where there is liberty of conscience.”⁸²

Chávez continued to travel to the U.S. for conducting, lecturing, and personal visits. By the late 1950s, Chávez had also begun to participate in the Inter-American Music Festivals (IAMF) of Washington, D.C., which showcased the latest in hemispheric avant-garde music. His *Soli II* for wind quintet (1961) had its world premiere at the second IAMF and its European debut at the Madrid festival in 1964. The third IAMF in 1965 featured the world premiere of *Invención no. 2* for string trio. At the second Madrid festival of 1967, Chávez conducted the European premiere of his symphonic *Elatio* with the National Orchestra of Spain. Like several other Latin American composers, such as Cordero, Ginastera, and Galindo, Chávez also had many important successes during the 1960s at these festivals.

Chávez’s student Blas Galindo (1910-1993) followed a similar career trajectory from nationalistic concerns in the 1930s to a cosmopolitan style in the 1950s. In 1935, along with Ayala Pérez, Salvador Contreras, and José Moncayo, Galindo formed a nationalist group called the “Group of Four,” dedicated to cultivating a distinct

⁸¹ Anon. “Chávez Attacks Soviet Composers,” *New York Times*, 15 July 1962, 51.

⁸² *Ibid.*

Mexican music.⁸³ Galindo's *Sones de Mariachi*, presented as part of Chávez's 1940 concert series for the "Twenty Centuries of Mexican Art" exhibit at MOMA in New York City, incorporates three mestizo *sones* as well as *jaranas*, *vihuela*, and *guitarrón*, instruments prominent in mariachi.⁸⁴ Galindo also formed part of the group that studied with Copland at Tanglewood, along with Cordero, Ginastera, and Moncayo. Galindo's Symphony No. 2 had its U.S. debut at the first IAMF (1958), and the world premiere of his Symphony No. 3 took place at the second festival in 1961, as well as the world premiere of his Piano Quintet. His Piano Quintet has its European debut at the Madrid festival in 1964. These later works show the influence of neoclassicism and largely lack obvious folk references.

Like their Mexican counterparts, Argentine composers also explored musical nationalism in the first half of the twentieth century. Argentina experienced a surge in cultural nationalism during the early twentieth century, partly due to immigration concerns. As Turino states, "Between 1890 and 1910 in Buenos Aires, three out of four adults were immigrants."⁸⁵ Jean Delaney explains the immigration situation thus, "Convinced that the Argentine personality was on the verge of disappearing, intellectuals in Buenos Aires called for the defense of the nation's authentic culture

⁸³ Robert Stevenson. "Galindo Dimas, Blas," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/10529> (accessed 7 November 2011).

⁸⁴ Béhague, 143.

⁸⁵ Turino, "Nationalism and Latin American Music," 192.

and traditions.”⁸⁶ Many composers responded by writing music that drew upon the symbol of the gaucho, or Argentine cowboy. The emphasis on the gaucho as national symbol had its antecedents in literature, particularly the epic poem *Martín Fierro* (1872) by José Hernández, and Estanislao del Campo’s poem *Fausto* (1866), which describes a gaucho’s encounter with Gounod’s opera *Faust*. As Turino explains, “By the late nineteenth century intellectuals and writers had selected the image of the gaucho as the emblem of distinction for the nation. Soon after, ‘folklore’ and ‘folk music’ grew in importance as nationalist emblems, often including gaucho indices.”⁸⁷ Argentine composer Alberto Williams (1862-1952) is considered the instigator of a nationalism based upon folk music of the *gaucho*, and his *El Rancho Abandonado* (1890) is a popular *gauchesco* work.⁸⁸ Felipe Boero’s successful opera, *El Matrero* (1929) featured *gauchesco* style and received many performances at the Teatro Colón in Buenos Aires.⁸⁹ The *gauchesco* idiom in music continued well into the 1930s and 1940s, with works by composers such as Carlos López Buchardo (1881-1948), whose symphonic pieces *Escenas Argentinas* (1922) and *El Gaucho con botas nuevas* (1934) feature gaucho dances such as the *gato*, *zamba*, and *malambo*. The young composer Alberto Ginastera became one of the leading nationalist composers of the 1930s and

⁸⁶ Jean H. Delaney, “Imagining “El Ser Argentino”: Cultural Nationalism and Romantic Concepts of Nationhood in Early Twentieth-Century Argentina,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34/3 (2002): 625.

⁸⁷ Turino, “Nationalism and Latin American Music,” 192.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁸⁹ Deborah Schwartz-Kates, “Argentine Art Music and the Search for National Identity Mediated through a Symbolic Native Heritage: The “tradición gauchesca,” and Felipe Boero’s *El Matrero* (1929),” *Latin American Music Review* 20/1 (1999): 2.

1940s, with his ballets *Panambí* (1937) and *Estancia* (1941), both of which also had much success as orchestral suites. His symphonic *Obertura para el "Fausto" criollo* (1943), based on Del Campo's poem, also found much favor among audiences. Smaller works, such as song cycles *Cinco canciones popular argentinas* (1943) and *Las horas de un estancia* (1943), demonstrate his predilection for a folk-inspired style. The rhythmic patterns of the *malambo* and the guitar chord (E-A-D-G-B-E) became the most potent influences on Ginastera's style; one can find obvious sonic references to the *malambo* as well as the guitar chord in some of his later serial works, such as String Quartet No. 2 (1958), and Piano Concerto No. 1 (1961).

In 1958, Chase wrote of Argentine classical music that "It is a fact that most of the younger Argentine composers are actually drawing away from folkloristic nationalism, which, as a dominant trend, may be said to have run its course in Argentina."⁹⁰ By the late 1950s, Ginastera, Argentina's leading composer, had moved away from explicit nationalism and into serial techniques. The great success of his serial works at the Inter-American Music Festivals (String Quartet No. 2, Piano Concerto No. 1, and *Cantata para América mágica*) cemented his status as an international contemporary composer with an avant-garde style. In his summation of the second Inter-American Music Festival, critic Irving Lowens remarked, "Good as the Festival was, there was still one figure who plainly towered head and shoulders

⁹⁰ Gilbert Chase, "Creative Trends in Latin American Music-I," *Tempo* 48 (1958): 29.

above his gifted colleagues—Alberto Ginastera.”⁹¹ Ginastera’s premieres at the Inter-American Music Festivals as well as the Madrid festivals earned him critical accolades and notoriety. In 1962, the Rockefeller Foundation gave Ginastera a sizeable grant to start the Latin American Center for Advanced Musical Studies (Centro Latinoamericano de Altos Estudios Musicales or CLAEM) at the newly formed Instituto di Tella in Buenos Aires. This center promoted avant-garde music throughout the hemisphere, through festivals, courses, and most importantly, scholarships. Many leading Latin American composers—such as Coriún Aharonián, Mesías Maiguashca, Graciela Paraskevaídis, Mariano Etkin, Jacqueline Nova, and Joaquín Orellana—to name a few, received training there.⁹² Eduardo Herrera has placed the CLAEM’s creation within a Cold War context, postulating that the Rockefeller Foundation’s support of Latin American avant-garde music was part of the larger struggle against communism.⁹³ Ginastera’s CLAEM also influenced the Inter-American Music Festivals, as his students made up a large majority of the festival’s later participants. For example, at the Fourth Inter-American Music Festival (1968), twelve Ginastera students dominated the program. As Ginastera reflected, “Antonio Tauriello, Gerardo Gandini, Alcides Lanza, Edgar Valcárcel, César Bolaños, Mesías Maiguashca, Marlos Nobre, Blas Atehortúa, Armando Krieger, Gabriel Brncic, Mario Kuri-Aldana, and

⁹¹ Irving Lowens, “Current Chronicle,” *The Musical Quarterly* 47/4 (1961): 532.

⁹² Eduardo Herrera, “The Rockefeller Foundation and Latin American Music during the Cold War: Meeting Points of Music, Policy, and Philanthropy,” Paper given at the conference, *Cultural Counterpoints*, Indiana University Latin American Music Center, 19-23 October 2011.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

Rafael Aponte-Ledee will be introduced to Washington audiences. [...] In addition, four of the older composers whose works are being performed are, in one way or another, associated with the Instituto Di Tella: Alfonso Letellier served on the jury for one of our contests; Mario Davidovsky and Vladimir Ussachevsky were guest professors; Francisco Kroepfl is the director of our electronic studio.”⁹⁴

Ginastera’s friendship with Espinosa and others in the Washington area also earned him commissions, including one for his most controversial composition, his opera *Bomarzo*. As Ginastera explained, “Last, but not least, it was through the festivals in Washington and their “wild projects” that I met Hobart Spalding, president of the Opera Society of Washington. Thanks to his enthusiasm and support, I wrote my opera *Bomarzo*.”⁹⁵ The opera premiered on 19 May 1967 to rave reviews from the Washington, D.C., press and Vice-President Hubert Humphrey led the call for a standing ovation.⁹⁶ Yet the opera received only tepid reviews at its New York City opening and the Onganía regime banned the work in Argentina for its lewd content. Indeed, the euphoric success *Bomarzo* first received remained limited to its Washington D.C. premiere. Carol Hess postulates that “*Bomarzo*’s critics in Washington, the nerve center of Pan-Americanism, heard the opera in terms of hemispheric solidarity and formed their judgments according to a Pan-Americanist

⁹⁴ Alberto Ginastera, “Why the Inter-American must be a Festival of Youth,” *Inter-American Music Bulletin*, no. 66 (1968): 9.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁹⁶ Carol A. Hess, “Ginastera’s *Bomarzo* in the United States and the Impotence of the Pan-American Dream,” *The Opera Quarterly* 22/3-4 (2008): 466.

“structure of attitude and reference,” to borrow a term of the late Edward Said.”⁹⁷

When taken together with his association with Rockefeller Foundation and his involvement in the Inter-American Music Festivals, Ginastera knowingly or unknowingly became a symbol of inter-American amity in music.

Music in Spain, 1930-1960

As mentioned, in the early decades of the twentieth century, Spain experienced a cultural renewal on several artistic fronts. The success of writers such as Jorge Guillén and Federico García Lorca, as well as artists such as Salvador Dalí and Luis Buñuel, increased Spain’s international prestige. Manuel de Falla led the way during the *Edad de Plata* (1900-1936), blending Spanish musical signifiers with modernism in his early works, such as *La vida breve* (1913), *El amor brujo* (1915), and *El sombrero de tres picos* (1917). Falla’s amalgamation of the folkloric and the avant-garde represents a hallmark of his style. As Chase aptly observed, “The music of Manuel de Falla, so deeply rooted in tradition, is also thoroughly modern.”⁹⁸ During his lifetime, Falla became the preeminent Spanish composer; after his death, he became a revered figure of legend. Falla’s influence, especially that of his later, neo-classical compositions, such as the *El Retablo de Maese Pedro* (1923) and the Harpsichord Concerto (1926), remained strong well into the 1960s. In fact, scholar Antonio Fernández-Cid suggests that Spanish

⁹⁷ Ibid., 461.

⁹⁸ Gilbert Chase, *The Music of Spain* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1959), 198.

music in the twentieth century should be thought of as “pre-Manuel de ante-Falla,” meaning that nothing was the same before or after.⁹⁹

A diverse range of Spanish music filled the concert halls in the 1930s, from the avant-garde to music in a more conservative vein. The most prominent avant-garde group became known as the *Grupo de los Ocho* (Group of Eight). An informal group, it consisted of composer and musicologist Jesús Bal y Gay, Ernesto Halffter and his older brother Rodolfo, Juan José Mantecón, Julián Bautista, Fernando Remacha, Rosa García Ascot, Salvador Bacarisse, and Gustavo Pittaluga. As María Palacios writes of one of the group’s early concerts, “In November of 1930, the *Residencia de Estudiantes de Madrid* presented the Group of Eight or the Group from Madrid, consisting of eight composers based in the capital that represented a new path in the development of Spanish music in the twentieth century.”¹⁰⁰ In describing the *Grupo de los Ocho*, music critic Federico Sopena stated that, “This group claims, as such, an iconoclastic attitude, a kind of disdain for the ‘Generation of the Maestros’ with the exception of Falla.”¹⁰¹ Imbued with the spirit of internationalism, the group thought highly of the compositions of Igor Stravinsky as well as the French group *Les Six*. At the same time, more conservative composers, such as Federico Moreno Torroba, found great success in the zarzuela; Torroba’s *Luisa*

⁹⁹ Antonio Fernández-Cid, *La música española en el siglo XX* (Madrid: Fundación Juan March, 1973), 22.

¹⁰⁰ María Palacios, *La Renovación musical en Madrid durante la dictadura de Primo de Rivera: El Grupo de Los Ocho (1923-1931)* (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2008), 7. See also Emilio Casares, “Música y músicos de la generación del 27,” in *La música en la generación del 27: Homenaje a Lorca, 1915-1939*, edited by Emilio Casares (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1986): 20-37.

¹⁰¹ Federico Sopena, *Historia de la música española contemporánea* (Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, S.A., 1958), 195.

Fernanda (1932) was a huge hit with the public, as was his *La Chulapona* (1934).¹⁰²

Likewise, Pablo Sorozábal succeeded with his zarzuela *Katiuska* (1932).

The 1930s, though artistically fruitful, led to a horrific culmination. The Civil War (1936-1939) disrupted every aspect of life. Music making continued during and after the war, but Spain had lost many of its best composers, musicians, and intellectuals. As scholar Walter Clark and William Krause aptly point out, “There would have been an exodus of talent regardless of which side won, but we can only assess the impact of the exodus that actually occurred, and that impact was disastrous.”¹⁰³ Some composers left for political reasons; others left to escape the horrible postwar conditions. For example, Falla set sail for Argentina in 1939, in ill-health and weary of war. Bautista also left for Argentina at the end of the war. All of the *Grupo de los Ocho* except for Fernando Remacha eventually went into exile. Rodolfo Halffter, Bal y Gay, García Ascot, along with the eminent music critic and musicologist Adolfo Salazar and composer Maria Teresa Prieto, all sought refuge in Mexico. Serialist composer Roberto Gerhard made his way to England, becoming a citizen shortly thereafter.

The 1940s was a particularly fallow time for Spanish music. The war left hundreds of thousands dead, many more starving, and Spain’s economy in ruins. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter One, Spain had been isolated from international

¹⁰² See Walter Aaron Clark and William Craig Krause, *Federico Moreno Torroba: A Musical Life in Three Acts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012)

¹⁰³ Clark and Krause, *Federico Moreno Torroba*, 6. On the postwar Spanish exile and its effect on Spanish culture, see also Henry Kamen, *The Disinherited: Exile and the Making of Spanish Culture, 1492-1975* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007), 260-321.

organizations and excluded from European recovery efforts. Yet, the music continued, as some composers and musicians remained in Spain in the postwar years. Composers' individual decisions to stay and work within the Franco dictatorship are varied and complex. Clark and Krause, in their new book on Moreno Torroba, create a nuanced picture of the composer's career, reminding us that the Civil War cannot be merely explained as a conflict between secular, urban democrats and traditional, conservative Catholics. As they state, "It was *not* that simple, and Torroba himself serves as an example of someone who fits into neither tidy category but combines elements of both."¹⁰⁴ Composer Joaquín Turina remained in Spain and was appointed to the Comisaría General de la Música in 1941.¹⁰⁵ As Chase commented of Turina, "He has long been critic for *El Debate*, a newspaper of Rightist tendencies, and this will make his position secure with the Nationalist regime."¹⁰⁶ Indeed, Turina undertook the monumental task of reconstructing the conservatory system in Spain and attempted to save the Teatro Real, where he had once worked.¹⁰⁷ Joaquín Rodrigo returned to Spain in 1939 and, with the premiere of his influential *Concierto de Aranjuez* (1940), gained a prominent spot in Spanish musical life. Composer and conductor Conrado del Campo also contributed much, conducting the Madrid Symphony orchestra (1939-1947) as well as the Spanish National Radio

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 4.

¹⁰⁵ Sopeña, *Historia de la música*, 216.

¹⁰⁶ Gilbert Chase, "Spanish Musicians Since the Civil War," *The Musical Times* 80/1157 (1939): 500.

¹⁰⁷ Sopeña, *Historia de la música*, 217.

orchestra.¹⁰⁸ His *En la pradera* (1943) is a notable work from this period. Likewise, Basque composer Jesús Guridi also remained in Spain, producing *Diez melodias vascas* (1941). As the forties drew to a close, a new generation of Spanish composers sought to stretch their music in different directions. In 1947, the Barcelona-based group, Círculo Manuel de Falla, “brought together a group of young composers who were eager for innovation in the singularly monotone musical environment.”¹⁰⁹ The group stimulated interest in new works by native and foreign composers, by meeting weekly to discuss music as well as giving concerts throughout the region until the group dissolved in 1957.

Isolated from much of the European rebuilding efforts, Spain’s economic situation radically improved in 1953, with the signing of the Pact of Madrid with the United States. With the economy’s improvement, the late 1950s witnessed a burst of Spanish avant-garde music. The rapid integration of serial techniques into the Spanish mainstream shocked outside observers. In a letter dated 23 June 1961 from Copland to his friend Chávez, Copland remarked of his recent State Department trip to Europe, “I even managed to sandwich in three days in Madrid where I uncovered an active dodecaphonic school! (Poor Falla—I wonder whether he would have approved.)”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Heine, Christiane, “Campo, Conrado del,” in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04698> (accessed May 21, 2011).

¹⁰⁹ Tomás Marco, *Spanish Music in the Twentieth Century*, trans. Cola Franzen (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 153. The group, Círculo Manuel de Falla, did not have an official membership, and convened from 1947 to 1957. Composers associated with the group include Manuel Valls, José Casanovas, Juan Comellas, Angel Cerdá, Juan-Eduardo Cirlot, and Antonio Ruiz Pipó.

¹¹⁰ Aaron Copland, “Letter from Aaron Copland to Carlos Chávez, 1961/06/23.” Aaron Copland Collection at the Library of Congress [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/copland:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(coplandcorr0457\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/copland:@field(DOCID+@lit(coplandcorr0457))).

Copland had received an American Specialist Grant from the State Department for travel to Portugal and Yugoslavia during May and June of 1961.¹¹¹ He also stopped by the U.K. and his visit to Spain came from the urging of Arthur Custer.¹¹² While in Madrid, Copland gave a lecture on American music during which he played parts of his new Piano Fantasy (1957) and Piano Quintet (1950), and also participated in a roundtable discussion with Spanish composers Oscar Esplá and Joaquín Rodrigo. Copland's Madrid visit encouraged Spaniards that their musical isolation was perhaps ending. As Enrique Franco reported, "Despite its brevity, Copland's visit to Madrid could mean the breaking of this strange isolation, to which Americans themselves have been subject. As Odón Alonso's well remembered in Sunday's colloquium that for fifteen years American musical activities in Spain have been virtually nil."¹¹³ Perhaps Copland's visit could open new avenues for musical exchange, which Spain had been craving.

During the roundtable, a *Ritmo* magazine interviewer posed this question to Copland, asking: "Dodecaphonic and serialist systems, do they belong to the past or can one expect more from them?"¹¹⁴ Copland responded that serialism had indeed experienced a postwar revival. As Copland stated, "We see now that there are possibilities, discovered by the young composers, which are much more extensive than

¹¹¹ Emily Abrams Ansari, "Aaron Copland and the Politics of Cultural Diplomacy," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 5/3 (2011): 339.

¹¹² Guide to the Arthur Russell Custer Papers, University of Rhode Island, http://www.uri.edu/library/special_collections/registers/manuscripts/msg168.xml

¹¹³ Enrique Franco, "Música: La visita de Aaron Copland a Madrid," *Arriba*, 6 June 1961, 21.

¹¹⁴ A. Rodríguez Moreno, "Aaron Copland en Madrid," *Ritmo*, no. 320 (1961): 11.

we thought.”¹¹⁵ Copland also remarked of the new generation that “They are interested in a more objective music, without national profile, and with much emphasis on new methods.”¹¹⁶ By 1961, Copland himself had begun composing more objective works, “without national profile” that incorporated serial-techniques. Copland’s lecture created an intense discussion that exposed some of the rifts between different compositional approaches; namely, between the serialists and the non-serialists. As an anonymous reporter from *Hoja del Lunes* observed, “Clearly, it [Copland’s lecture] had touched a hot topic. Serial or twelve-tone music was openly defended by the new generation and contested by others, which, without rejecting the concept of experimentation, remain faithful to a not yet retired tradition, based on that unshakable fundamental, which is melodic creation.”¹¹⁷

Custer, a U.S. composer who worked for with the United States Information Service (USIS) as the music consultant to Casa Americana in Madrid, had become integrated in Spanish musical life. Custer appeared just as shocked as Copland at the rapidity with which Spanish composers had assimilated serial techniques. As he wrote in the *American Composers Alliance Bulletin*, “To many readers, Spain may be an unlikely place for exciting happens in contemporary music.”¹¹⁸ Likewise, scholar Edmund Haines

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Anon., “Interesante coloquio con el compositor norteamericano Aaron Copland,” *Hoja del Lunes*, 5 June 1961, 35.

¹¹⁸ Arthur Custer, “Odón Alonso: Today’s Music Today,” *American Composers Alliance Bulletin* 10/4 (1962): 1.

marveled at the progress of the new Spanish generation, stating, “When I first came to Spain, to hear this thriving and very up-to-date music was a surprise, since it is not yet well known in the United States, and my former ideas about Spanish music were jolted.”¹¹⁹ Within a few short years, Spain had developed a vibrant contemporary music scene that had begun to attract attention from outside sources. Writing in 1962, Custer proclaimed, “Five years ago the very idea of a series of distinguished lectures featuring Spanish composers discussing and playing their own serial compositions would have been unimaginable.”¹²⁰ The sudden acceleration in serial activity owed much to the effort of Grupo Nueva Música and the Aula de Música. Formed in 1958 and based in Madrid, members of Grupo Nueva Música included Ramón Barce, Manuel Moreno-Buendía, Fernando Ember, Enrique Franco, Manuel Carra, Antón García Abril, Luis de Pablo, Alberto Blancafort, and Cristóbal Halffter. This group lasted a year before eventually merging with the Aula de Música, under the direction of Fernando Ruiz Coca, which began giving concerts in 1958 at the Ateneo de Madrid, an important cultural and intellectual center. According to scholar Ángel Medina, the Aula de Música wanted its music to meet three requirements: to be noncommercial, of the present, and Spanish.¹²¹ In addition to concerts, the Aula also sponsored talks on twentieth-century music, ranging

¹¹⁹ Edmund Haines, “The New Dada in Spanish Music,” *Antioch Review* 27/1 (1967): 77.

¹²⁰ Arthur Custer, “Contemporary Music in Spain,” *The Musical Quarterly* 48/1 (1962): 3.

¹²¹ Ángel Medina, “Primeras oleadas vanguardista en el área de Madrid,” in *España en la Música de Occidente actas del Congreso Internacional celebrado en Salamanca, 29 de octubre - 5 de noviembre de 1985*, edited by Ministerio de Cultura, Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música (Madrid: Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música, 1987), 372.

from atonalism to concrete music.¹²² From November 1959 to February 1960, the Aula offered a series entitled “Dodecaphonic Music: Style, Evolution, and Cultural Function,” which presented analysis of compositions by Schoenberg, Webern, Messiaen, Boulez, and Stockhausen.¹²³ The 1960-61 season, entitled “Actuality of the technique and post-serial aesthetic,” featured studies of works by Berio, Pousseur, Boulez, Nono, Stockhausen, and Nilsson.¹²⁴ The 1961-62 season began with a visit by Stockhausen, who had been propelled to international success by his Darmstadt premieres. Medina points out that Spanish composers, such as Juan Hidalgo and Pedro Espinosa, had also visited Darmstadt early on, and composer Ramón Barce made the trip in 1961.¹²⁵

In 1965, Custer updated his 1962 *Musical Quarterly* article on the state of Spanish music. In Custer’s assessment, Spanish composers were indeed moving away from nationalistic elements toward a universal style, represented by the serialist school. As he observed:

Current musical practice in Spain finds its focus in a concern for the “universalization” of Spanish music. Since 1958, the year of formation of the Grupo Nueva Música, this ideal has been manifested in a militant rejection of folkloric elements. [...] Spanish musicians today strive for “liberation from explicit nationalism,” in an attempt to speak a universal language. Their syntax is serialism.¹²⁶

¹²² Ibid., 375.

¹²³ Ibid., 376.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 377.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 378.

¹²⁶ Arthur Custer, “Contemporary Music in Spain,” *The Music Quarterly* 51/1 (1965): 45.

Custer draws upon militarily tinged language to convey his message; after all, he had served as a fighter pilot in the U.S. Navy before working with the USIS. The effect of this passage casts Spanish composers as warriors in a fight against oppressive folklore. Their victory, a place on the universal stage, will be achieved through serialism. Custer himself used serialist techniques in his compositions. His serialist symphonic work *Found Objects II* premiered at the third Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain, held in Madrid in 1970.

The aesthetics of this new generation of Spanish composers favored abstract techniques, as opposed to the more accessible style of the 1940s. Indeed, the Franco government endorsed composers' experimentation with serialism, commissioning several avant-garde pieces for the Concert for Peace (1964), an important musical event that celebrated the dictatorship's twenty-fifth anniversary. Some scholars view the European postwar avant-garde as left-leaning. As Schreffler states, "In Europe, advanced styles continued to be conceived as oppositional to Fascism (i.e., on the Left), whereas in the U.S., they were part and parcel of an anti-Communist, high-technology, scientific Cold War ideology."¹²⁷ While serialism does have anti-communist, high-technology, and scientific connotations in the U.S., Spain becomes a special case within the realm of European postwar serialism. Indeed, the rise of serialism during the late 1950s in Spain fails to fit into any of the traditional narratives about postwar Western art music. Unlike the Nazi regime, Franco never outlawed serial or other degenerate art forms. As Clark

¹²⁷ Anne Schreffler, "Ideologies of Serialism: Stravinsky's Threni and the Congress for Cultural Freedom," in *Music and the Aesthetics of Modernity*, edited by Karol Berger and Anthony Newcomb (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 238.

and Krause explain, “One does not find in Francoism the notion of ‘degenerate art,’ or *entartete Kunst* (code for Jewish art), that preoccupied Hitler and the Nazis, or with the ‘bourgeois decadence’ and ‘formalism’ that Stalinism demonized.”¹²⁸ To the Franco regime during the 1960s, this avant-garde music could be used to demonstrate the modernity and progress of the dictatorship, and the government did indeed make use of this seemingly ideology-free art. As Jorge Luis Marzo wrote of Franco’s Spain, “The State actually turned to formalist aesthetics to secure the acquiescence of the artistic community. [...] If formalist aesthetics seemed to open up a sort of clearing in the midst of Franco’s totalitarian dictatorship, the dictatorship quickly walled the artistic community into that clearing using the same language that had opened it in the first place.”¹²⁹ Postwar serialism in Spain became a way for composers to transcend their peripheral status and re-engage with the European mainstream. However, with the dictatorship’s new emphasis on the avant-garde, the idea that serialism embodied artistic freedom or a reaction against Fascism can be called into question.

¹²⁸ Clark and Krause, *Federico Moreno Torroba*, 27.

¹²⁹ Jorge Luis Marzo, “The Spectacle of Spain’s Amnesia, Spanish Cultural Policy from the Dictatorship to the Expo ’92,” *Alphabet City 4* (1995): 94.

Chapter Three: Musical Exchange among the Americas

Introduction

This chapter explores musical exchanges between the United States and Latin America from the late 1930s to the 1960s. For the United States, the Depression and especially World War II highlighted the need for hemispheric cooperation on a larger scale. One of the U.S.'s first steps included increasing its knowledge about its neighbors. Writing in 1947, Lewis Hanke reflected upon the war's contribution to Latin American studies. As he wrote, "The period 1939-1945 saw an unprecedented expansion of Latin American Studies in the United States. This was partly due to the wartime activities of such government agencies as the Department of State and the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs."¹ Engagement with Latin American music increased as well; the U.S. State Department, the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OCIAA or OIAA), and the newly formed music division of the Pan American Union sponsored musical activities to increase inter-American amity. Apart from U.S. government organizations, private entities as well as some composers banded together to promote musical exchange among the countries of the hemisphere. These efforts, encouraged by the war, served an important diplomatic purpose of encouraging allies, and dissuading countries from leaning to the left.

¹ Lewis Hanke, "The Development of Latin American Studies in the United States, 1939-1945," *The Americas* 4/1 (1947): 32.

Music in the Pan American Union

Although the Pan American Union came into being in 1890, the incorporation of music into the inter-American system took time. A formal music division within the Pan American Union came about only after decades of effort. Beginning in 1924, Franklin Adams, counselor of the Pan American Union, proposed a Latin American concert series. The concerts began with Adams's own arrangements of pieces for the United States Army Band: compositions such as the overture to *Il Guarany* by Carlos Gomes of Brazil, *El Cóndor Pasa* by Daniel Alomía Robles of Peru, and *Inca Steps* by Carlos Valderrama of Peru.² The Union presented approximately ninety-three musical performances from 1924 to 1939, and while most were band concerts, the Union also featured recitals by a variety of Latin American artists.³ Moreover, the Union transmitted many of these concerts to other American republics through short-wave radio, enhancing inter-American musical relations.⁴ Yet not until the beginnings of World War II did music find an important role in inter-American relations. At the Eighth International Conference of American States (Lima, Peru, 1938), the participants seriously considered music as a tool for the improvement of hemispheric relations. Resolution 69 affirmed

² Eugenio Pereira Salas, *Notes on the History of Music Exchange between the Americas before 1940* (Washington D.C.: Pan American Union, Music Division, 1943), 17.

³Ibid., 30.

⁴ Leila Fern, "Origin and Functions of the Inter-American Music Center," *Notes* 1/1 (1943): 15.

music's importance, stating that "a wider reciprocal knowledge of the important contribution of the American Republics in the field of music may constitute a valuable means of strengthening the relations between their peoples."⁵ As a result of this resolution, the conference participants then requested that the Pan American Union oversee the creation of a music center.⁶ To that end, on 18-19 October 1939 in Washington, D.C., the U.S. State Department held a meeting entitled "Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music." This conference was the second in a series of conferences held by the State Department on Inter-American Affairs throughout 1939.⁷ The music conference's participants assessed the current state of inter-American musical relations in a diverse range of areas, such as musicology, education, folk and popular musics, film, and radio. Latin American scholar Dr. William Berrien chaired the committee, with Dr. Carleton Sprague Smith as vice-chair. Other committee members included Charles Seeger, Harold Spivacke, and Howard Hanson.⁸ The participants came from all over the United States, though most, such as Lewis Hanke, Alan Lomax, and Concha Romero James, worked in Washington, D.C. Despite its focus on Latin America, the conference remained a U.S.-dominated enterprise. Musicologist Francisco Curt

⁵ Salas, *Notes*, 24.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ The other conferences were: Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Art, 11-12 Oct. 1939; Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Education, 9-10 Nov. 1939; and Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Publications and Libraries, 29-30 Nov. 1939.

⁸ William Berrien, "Report on the Committee of the Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music," in *Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music* (Washington, D.C.: Department of State, Division of Cultural Relations, 1940), 2.

Lange was the only scholar from Latin America to attend.⁹ Those in attendance stressed the need for an inter-American music center, a hub devoted to cataloguing, preserving, and sharing the classical and folk music of the hemisphere. Through their efforts, and with financial aid from the American Council of Learned Societies, the Library of Congress, the Council of National Defense, as well as a sizeable grant from the Carnegie Corporation, the Music Division of the Pan American Union, later known as the Inter-American Music Center (IAMC), came into being in 1941.¹⁰ Seeger became its first director.

Seeger was particularly suited for this new position, as it combined his knowledge of Latin American music with his experience in government. Seeger had previously served as a musical technical adviser to Roosevelt's Resettlement Administration from 1935 to 1937. Later, from 1937 to 1941, he worked as the deputy director of the Federal Music Project of the Works Progress Administration, during which time he made numerous contributions to the collection and promotion of American folk music.¹¹ As Seeger scholar Ann Pescattelo notes, "Seeger himself was a very political animal," and, as she suggests, he was keenly aware of music's potential as a diplomatic tool.¹² On the whole, a utopian belief in the power of music guided Seeger's approach to inter-

⁹ U.S. Department of State, *List of Persons Compiled in Connection with the Four Conferences on Inter-American Cultural Relations* (Washington, D.C.: Department of State, 1940), 111.

¹⁰ Charles Seeger, "Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music," *Music Educators Journal* 27/5 (1941): 17.

¹¹ Ann M. Pescattello, *Charles Seeger, A Life in American Music* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992), 155.

¹² *Ibid.*, 180.

American musical relations. As Seeger wrote, “It is my firm belief, and that of many of my distinguished colleagues, that we can have peace in this hemisphere, that peace is dependent to a large extent upon cultural cooperation in place of cultural competition, and that music is a very important factor in cultural cooperation.”¹³

In his article “Music for Uniting the Americas,” Seeger further stressed the need for musical cooperation by reprinting a letter from Nelson A. Rockefeller, Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics (later renamed the Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA)). Rockefeller asserted the importance of music in inter-American politics. As he wrote, “National defense through hemispheric solidarity is the goal toward which the Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations Between the American Republics is working. Of course, music is one of the most important media through which we are seeking to further cement the friendly spirit, understanding, and appreciation that exists between the 21 republics of this Hemisphere.”¹⁴ In an article from 1949 entitled “The Arts in International Relations,” Seeger meditated on the relationship between art and government. He detailed the experiences of a “long-haired musician,” who worked for the Office of War Information for three months. His supervisors generally ignored his advice and then wondered why the radio broadcasts proved so ineffective. As Seeger succinctly explained: “No music,

¹³ Charles Seeger, “Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music,” 65.

¹⁴ Nelson Rockefeller letter, cited in Charles Seeger, “Music for Uniting the Americas,” *Music Educators Journal* 27/6 (1941): 12.

no listening.”¹⁵ In his view, government offices could be equated with “complex, quasi-industrialized assembly lines,” that rarely delved into the nuances of music.¹⁶ Overall, Seeger observed that the government was generally unconcerned as to whether the music selected for its radio programs had any artistic value or merit; “good” music fulfilled the objective of advancing national interest. As Seeger concluded:

It will be noted that in this anecdote [the tale of the long-haired musician] there is no mention of artistic, cultural or social values. A government program is not primarily concerned with these. Its primary objective is strictly political and competitive, *i.e.*, advancement of “national interest.”¹⁷

In other words, most government programs would only support music that it believed to be good propaganda, regardless of other factors. However, a government music program also needed a veneer of objectivity if it was to be successful in winning the hearts and minds of a particular people. As Seeger explained:

This is, in a nutshell, the dilemma faced by art programs in the foreign relations of all national governments: to gain the best reception they must appear to be objective, but to have continued financial support they must propaganda. Obviously, it is only upon rare occasions that they can succeed in being both.¹⁸

As head of the Music Division at the PAU, Seeger had the chance to subvert the music-as-propaganda model he experienced elsewhere. Indeed, during Seeger’s tenure, he initiated many projects that promoted Latin American music, without overtly

¹⁵ Charles Seeger, “The Arts in International Relations,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 2 /1 (1949): 39.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 41.

propagandistic connotations. Shortly after taking charge in 1941, he proposed an Inter-American Music Week, to run concurrently with National Music Week, which had been established in 1924 by C.M Tremaine.¹⁹ Gilbert Chase, then working at the Music Division of the Library of Congress, prepared a thirty-six-page booklet, *Partial List of Latin American Music Obtained in the United States*, and the PAU produced a series of special radio programs featuring the music of Canada, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Peru.²⁰ Music educator Harold Hetrick applauded the inclusion of Latin American music in National Music Week. As Hetrick explained, “This new project is in line with a Good Neighbor policy in the domain of music, which was given strong impetus by the South American tour of Arturo Toscanini and the NBC orchestra and by that of Leopold Stokowski with the National Youth Orchestra.”²¹ Additionally, with Seeger at the helm, the Pan American Union opened its doors to the wider public, as many of its previous music concerts were invitation-only affairs. As Leila Fern explained, “One of the means devised by the Pan American Union to contribute its share to the war effort has been to open the building to Sunday afternoon visitors, many of whom are government employees and members of the Armed forces.”²² These Sunday afternoon sessions usually featured a film or a concert, aimed more at entertainment than education. As Fern

¹⁹ Charles Seeger, “Inter-American Music Week,” *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 75/7 (1941): 411.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Harold Hetrick, “Good Neighbors Through Music,” *Music Educators Journal* 27/5 (1941): 30.

²² Leila Fern, “Origin and Function of the Inter-American Music Center,” 15.

stated, “These programs are usually of a popular character; they impart the zest and spontaneity of current Latin American song successes to eager audiences.”²³

In the summer of 1940, the PAU and the OIAA funded MENC music educators Louis Woodson Curtis and John W. Beattie to make a three-month tour of seven Latin American countries: Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Argentina, and Brazil.²⁴ Curtis and Beattie published detailed accounts of their experiences in the *Music Educators Journal*. The purposes of the trip were to investigate the musical and educational life in Latin American republics, as well as to discover and bring back any Latin American music deemed useful. Lastly, the trip was meant “to stimulate interest in music as a means of promoting friendly interchange of ideas and materials between the countries of North and South America.”²⁵ According to the written accounts, Curtis and Beattie describe their tour as filled with pleasant conversations and smiling schoolchildren. As they noted, “On every hand throughout all South America, we heard pleasant comments concerning President Roosevelt, Secretary Hull, and their “good neighbor” policy.”²⁶ Colombian writer Daniel Samper Ortega critiqued the superficial nature of these goodwill tours. As he commented, “Allow me to say, however, that, despite your good wishes, those “blitz”

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Anon., “Music for Uniting the Americas,” *Music Educators Journal* 28/2 (1941): 13.

²⁵ John W. Beattie and Louis W. Curtis, “South American Music Pilgrimage: Columbia,” *Music Educators Journal* 28/2 (1941): 15. Of their additional reports, see this journal “South American Music Pilgrimage: Ecuador and Peru,” 28/3 (1942): 12-18; “South American Music Pilgrimage: Chile,” 28/4 (1942): 16-19; “South American Music Pilgrimage: Argentina and Uruguay,” 28/5 (1942): 22-27; “South American Music Pilgrimage: Brazil,” 28/6 (1942): 16-22.

²⁶ Beattie and Curtis, “South American Music Pilgrimage: Argentina and Uruguay,” *Music Educators Journal* 28/5 (1942):26.

trips of your representatives to Latin America are still reflecting defects. We are not given time enough to know and appreciate them nor do they have enough time to learn the truth about us.”²⁷

Despite its flaws, Latin Americans viewed the Good Neighbor policy, which focused on more cordial relations with Latin America instead of outright intervention, as a step in the right direction. Cordial relations with the other countries of the western hemisphere became more urgent as the United States entered the thickest part of World War II. During a Pan-American Day celebration on 14 April 1942, President Roosevelt addressed Latin American ambassadors and others at the Pan American Union. Roosevelt stressed the importance of hemispheric solidarity, stating that the hemisphere’s unanimity was “a great thorn in the flesh of Herr Hitler.”²⁸ After the President’s speech, the guests went to a concert at the Pan American Union that featured The United States Marine Band Orchestra as well as three visiting artists from Brazil: soprano Elsie Houston, pianist Bernardo Segall, and composer Francisco Mignone. They performed several works by Mignone, *Sinfonía India* by Chávez, and concluded with the *Star-Spangled Banner*.²⁹

²⁷ Daniel Samper Ortega, “Cultural Relations among the American Countries,” in *Inter-American Solidarity*, edited by Walter H.C. Laves (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), 181.

²⁸ Anon., “Pan American Day in Washington,” *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* (1942): 318.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 319-20.

During World War II, music truly became “an important factor in effecting hemispheric unity and sympathy.”³⁰ The Rockefeller Foundation gave significant funds to the Pan American Union to bring a group of Latin Americans to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, to attend the Music Educators National Conference, held 27 March to 4 April 1942. This group included Antonio Sá Pereira, Director of the National School of Music at the University of Brazil; composer Domingo Santa Cruz, Dean of the School of Fine Arts at the University of Chile; composer Luis Sandi, Director of the Music Section, Department of Fine Arts in Mexico City; José Castañeda, Guatemalan music critic; Panamanian professor Dr. Esther Neira de Calvo, and Juan Bautista Plaza, Professor of Music at the National Conservatory of Venezuela.³¹ Some, such as Pereira and Santa Cruz, had previously met with Curtis and Beattie during their trip to Latin America. The Milwaukee visit showcased the musical abilities of the United States’ youth and was designed to impress prominent Latin Americans with the superiority of the U.S. educational system. Much of the foreign policy toward Latin America from the 1920s onward stemmed from the idea that the U.S. model offered the best solution for other, less-developed countries. As scholar Joseph S. Tulchin explains, “Policymakers continued to base their efforts on the Wilsonian assumptions that our system, our way of life, was perfectly exportable and that all right-thinking or responsible Latin Americans

³⁰ Vanett Lawler, “Latin Americans See Our Musical Life,” *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* (1942): 368.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 369.

shared our values and our view of the world.”³² While Santa Cruz enjoyed his time at the conference, he also voiced a concern. As he noted, “We in the other American republics should like to see hear a deeper and more careful understanding of our artistic and musical life. We should like to banish the ‘picturesque’ aspect, and, to a certain extent, the preference for the obviously exotic, with which the selection of Latin American music is made.”³³ The Inter-American Music Festivals of Washington, D.C., attempted to do just that, as the many Latin American compositions that premiered there contained few “picturesque” details. Moreover, the contacts made at the 1942 MENC Conference proved lasting as three of the participants, composers Sandi, Santa Cruz, and Bautista Plaza, maintained amicable relations with those at PAU. They also continued to be invited to participate in musical exchanges, such as the Inter-American Music Festivals.

One of Seeger’s more ambitious projects while at the PAU was the creation of an Inter-American Folk Festival. The first festival, held 24 June 1943, met with a modicum of success. As one reporter stated:

A Good Neighbor gesture that brought a note of gaiety and cheer into the press of today’s problems of state took form recently at the Pan American Union, where, on the evening of June 24th, 1943, an Inter-American Folk Festival was presented before an audience of nearly three thousand persons, including members of the

³² Joseph S. Tulchin, “The United States and Latin America in the 1960s,” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 30/1 (1988): 3.

³³ Domingo Santa Cruz, “On Hemispherical Unity,” *Music Educators Journal* 28/6 (1942): 13.

diplomatic corps, Government, Army, and Navy officials, and others of the Nation's capital.³⁴

The festival featured folk songs and dances from almost every Latin American country as well as spirituals and square dances from the United States. Unfortunately, the festival only occurred once during Seeger's tenure, and it remains unclear as to why the folk festival failed to achieve permanence.

The Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA)

Besides the Pan American Union, there existed another U.S. government organization charged with promoting hemispheric solidarity through the arts. The Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA), founded in 1940 and directed by Nelson Rockefeller, operated separately from the State Department with a specific focus on Latin America. The OIAA proved short-lived, closing in 1946, yet it had a major impact; it funded several musical tours, art exhibits, and films, such as Disney's *Saludos Amigos* (1943) and *The Three Caballeros* (1945). In 1941, the Music Committee of OIAA funded three Latin American tours: that of the Yale Glee Club, The League of Composers Wind Quintet, and the American Ballet Caravan.³⁵ Marshall Bartholomew, the director of the Yale Glee Club at the time, explained the sudden interest in cultural exchange. As he stated, "Christopher Columbus discovered Latin America in 1492. The United States

³⁴ Anon., "Inter-American Folk Festival," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* (1943): 500.

³⁵ Jennifer L. Campbell, "Shaping Solidarity: Music, Diplomacy, and Inter-American Relations, 1936-1946," (PhD diss., University of Connecticut, 2010), 109. The original members of the OIAA music committee were Marshall Bartholomew, William Berrien, Evan Clark, Carleton Sprague Smith, and Aaron Copland.

seemed to have discovered it in 1940. After four hundred years of isolation, mutual ignorance, and mutual neglect, the Americas have at last begun to sing together and understand one another through the universal language of music.”³⁶ Bartholomew’s rosy statement fails to address the imperialist connotations of the United States’ “discovery” of Latin America. He also fails to mention the numerous acts of U.S. aggression upon Latin America from the 1820s onward. The emphasis on bringing music to our Latin American neighbors in the 1940s coincided with a time when friendly interactions best fit the U.S. policy. The inroads made by Nazi sympathizers in Latin America, especially in Argentina, greatly alarmed the United States. As *Time* magazine commented of the OIAA efforts, “Since U.S. propaganda is aimed at promoting friendship and tranquility, while Axis propaganda seeks to spread hate and dissension, Nelson Rockefeller and his well-meaning and hard-working young men are at an immediate disadvantage.”³⁷ In reality, the disadvantage had come from years of U.S. aggression coupled with general neglect toward Latin America. Historians Charles Thomson and Walter H.C. Laves explained the negative pre-World War II stereotypes of the U.S. that dominated Latin American perceptions. As they stated:

[The U.S. image] was in the popular view that of a vigorous people, but rude and crude, avid for money and material goods. Too prevalently it was symbolized by

³⁶ Marshall Bartholomew, “Music in a World at War,” *Music Educators Journal* 28/6 (1942): 55.

³⁷ Anon., “Latin America: Army of Amateurs,” *Time*, 9 June 1941, 34.
[<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,795331,00.html>] (Accessed 15 Jan. 2010).

the invading marine with his trampling boots or the exploiting and corrupting capitalist. Such images were made to order for the propaganda of Goebbels.³⁸

In order to counter these negative stereotypes, the OIAA's music committee immediately set to work devising plans to send the "best" in American music to our neighbors as a friendly gesture as well as to combat Axis propaganda. Despite his hegemonic outlook, Bartholomew was considered an amateur scholar of Latin American music: he had attended the 1939 Washington conference "Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music," and he also conveniently belonged to the OIAA's music committee, which may have led to Glee Club's selection.³⁹ The Yale Glee Club, consisting of a ten-voice, all-male choir gave twenty-seven concerts in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Panama, and Peru; most of their repertoire consisted of Anglo-American folk songs and spirituals, although they did include arrangements of music by Alberto Williams and Heitor Villa-Lobos.⁴⁰ The tour was generally a success, with positive press reviews sent back to the OIAA. The second tour, that of the League of Composers Wind Quintet, left little surviving information. Committee members selected this group in part because "the quintet would be able to demonstrate North American prowess in modern composition to the South American musical elite."⁴¹ Proving the U.S. had "prowess" in the cultural realm remained a central goal of U.S. cultural diplomacy, even into the Cold War era.

³⁸ Charles A. Thomson and Walter H.C. Laves, *Cultural Relations and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963), 35.

³⁹ Campbell, "Shaping Solidarity," 111.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 104

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 117.

Writing to his brother Edgar in 1955, President Eisenhower lamented the fact that most of the world viewed the U.S. as an industrial giant devoid of intellectual inclinations. As Eisenhower wrote, “Our successes are described in terms of automobiles and not in terms of worthwhile cultural works of any kind.”⁴² Despite the lack of hard evidence, the OIAA nevertheless pronounced the Wind Quintet’s tour a success, for at the very least it introduced new American works to a South American audience and demonstrated that perhaps the U.S. had more to offer than cars and Coca-Cola. The tour also contributed to hemispheric solidarity, deemed vital to U.S. national defense.

Likewise, the OIAA-sponsored South American tour of the American Ballet Caravan would also bring modern U.S. music to a Latin audience. The tour featured five ballets by U.S. composers: *Time Table (Music for Theater)* and *Billy the Kid* by Copland, *Filling Station* by Thomson, *Pastorela* by Paul Bowles, and *Juke Box* by Alec Wilder, as well classical ballets such as *Serenade* by Tchaikovsky and *Errante* by Schubert.⁴³ The tour received mixed reviews. For example, Campbell writes that “the traditional ballets choreographed by Balanchine had been ‘wildly received,’ but that the music of the contemporary American ballets had been “either ignored or forgiven,” by the Brazilian press.”⁴⁴ Argentine reviewers gave tepid praise to the American works, generally

⁴² Dwight D. Eisenhower, “To Edgar Newton Eisenhower, 22 November 1955,” in *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower*, edited by L. Galambos and D. van Ee, doc. 1637. World Wide Web facsimile by The Dwight D. Eisenhower Memorial Commission of the print edition; Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, <http://www.eisenhowermemorial.org/presidential-papers/first-term/documents/1637.cfm> (Accessed 12 January 2012)

⁴³ Campbell, “Shaping Solidarity,” 146.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 183.

preferring *Billy the Kid* above all.⁴⁵ Yet, as with the other tours, the OIAA concluded that Ballet Caravan had left a generally positive impression on its Latin American audiences.

Also in 1941, the OIAA partnered with the U.S. State Department to send Copland on a tour of Latin America from 19 August to 13 December. On the surface, Copland served as a musical ambassador, giving piano recitals and lectures about contemporary music in the United States. Yet as Elizabeth Crist has explained, “The visit was obviously meant to have ramifications beyond the purely musical, and more than once Copland used letterhead reading ‘Council of National Defense’ in making arrangements for his lectures and concerts, foregrounding the serious nature of programs for cultural exchange.”⁴⁶ In 1947, Copland undertook another official visit to Latin America, this time sponsored only by the U.S. State Department, as the OIAA no longer existed.⁴⁷ From August to November of that year, he travelled to Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina as a visiting professor.⁴⁸ Copland was concerned with establishing permanent avenues for musical interchange among Latin American countries and the U.S. In his reports to the State Department, he strongly recommended giving LPs of modern American works as well as the accompanying scores to Latin American centers. He also

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 185.

⁴⁶ Elizabeth B. Crist, *Music for the Common Man: Aaron Copland during the Depression and War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 61.

⁴⁷ Howard Pollack, *Aaron Copland, The Life of an Uncommon Man* (Chicago: Henry Holt and Company, LLC, 2000), 228.

⁴⁸ Emily Abrams Ansari, “Aaron Copland and the Politics of Cultural Diplomacy,” *Journal of the Society for American Music* 5/3 (2011): 339.

encouraged the U.S. to subsidize publication of Latin American scores. Lastly, he proposed the establishment of a music magazine in English, Spanish, and Portuguese that would feature articles from all of the Americas.⁴⁹ Some of Copland's suggestions, such as a music magazine, manifested themselves in the later activities of the Music Division of the Pan American Union.

Toscanini and Stokowski Tour South America

Non-government sponsored tours headed by conductors Arturo Toscanini and Leopold Stokowski additionally spread goodwill throughout Latin America during the 1940s. Both Toscanini and Stokowski had first applied to the State Department for financial help, but the department rejected them, as their corporate sponsorship fulfilled their monetary needs. Donald C. Meyer has made a detailed study of Toscanini's South American tour in 1940, placing it within the context of the Good Neighbor Policy. Ultimately, he concluded that the tour was a mix of a genuine gesture of friendship as well as an effort to dominate South American cultural and political life.⁵⁰ Backed by U.S. radio conglomerate NBC and with the help of the Buenos Aires Philharmonic society, Toscanini and the NBC orchestra made a successful seven-week tour of the port cities of Rio, São Paulo, Buenos Aires, and Montevideo.⁵¹ NBC's motives for funding the trip stemmed from the increasing German radio presence in Latin America. As

⁴⁹ Ibid., 342.

⁵⁰ Donald C. Meyer, "Toscanini and the Good Neighbor Policy: The NBC Symphony Orchestra's 1940 South American Tour," *American Music* 18/3 (2000): 233-56.

⁵¹ Campbell, "Shaping Solidarity," 34.

Meyer notes, “Commercial broadcasters in America knew they had to fulfill the State Department’s need to compete with Axis propaganda or else the government might establish its own powerful station.”⁵² Toscanini was also an outspoken opponent of fascism, which helped encourage pro-Allies sentiment. Additionally, the tour represented a subtle advertisement for the free world, as the program booklet featured advertising spreads for U.S. businesses, and Toscanini drove a new General Motors vehicle while on tour.⁵³

Toscanini’s rival, Stokowski, had also planned a South American tour with his All-American Youth Orchestra, intending to leave in the summer of 1940 as well. Stokowski’s road to Latin America contained a few more bumps than Toscanini: he lost funding at the last minute, only to be picked up by CBS. As scholar Joseph Horowitz explains, “CBS’s William Paley picked up the tab, and Stokowski became a Columbia recording artist. The All-American Youth Orchestra left for Buenos Aires, Rio, São Paulo and Montevideo in July—the same month that Toscanini and the NBC Symphony returned to New York.”⁵⁴ The conductor announced his tour plans on 30 November 1939, stating, “A musical festival of the Americas may help bind our peoples of North and South America into a more united peace.”⁵⁵ As the tour grew closer, the *New York Times*

⁵² Meyer, “Toscanini and the Good Neighbor Policy,” 240. The U.S government did create its own radio station, Voice of America, aimed at foreign audiences in 1942.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 242.

⁵⁴ Joseph Horowitz, *Understanding Toscanini: A Social History of American Concert Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 169.

⁵⁵ Anon., “Stokowski Plans Tour,” *New York Times*, 30 November 1939, 25.

also remarked that, “A friendly call on our southern neighbors, with no purpose other than to play some good music and perhaps get acquainted, is sure to improve relations.”⁵⁶ In March, however, Stokowski became the target of communist allegations. In a House Session to approve funds for the National Youth Administration, which had helped Stokowski assemble his youth orchestra, Rep. Tabor of New York declared that “Mr. Stokowski belongs to several allegedly communistic organizations.”⁵⁷ Rep. Tabor further questioned the wisdom of taking, “109 American youths and turning them over to a man whose record is communistic.”⁵⁸ This public accusation caused some of Stokowski’s private sponsors to back out and delayed the start of tour. Despite the setback, Stokowski remained focused on the tour’s mission: promoting hemispheric goodwill. According U.S. reports, the tour won the favor of Latin American audiences. The Brazilian concerts went especially well. As the *New York Times* reported, “If any prejudice as to the standard of the All-American Youth Orchestra may have existed beforehand among the Brazilians, the impression those young people made undoubtedly wiped it out.”⁵⁹ Additionally, “the orchestra had helped greatly in promoting North and South American relations and in counteracting totalitarian influences.”⁶⁰ As Brazilian music critic José Cândido de Andrade Muricy stated, “It is well to remember that the tour of the All-

⁵⁶ Anon., “Musical Good-Will,” *New York Times*, 7 March 1940, 19.

⁵⁷ Anon., “Stokowski Linked to Reds,” *New York Times*, 26 March 1940, 10.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Lisa M. Peppercorn, “Stokowski and Orchestra in Brazil,” *New York Times*, 1 September 1940, 6.

⁶⁰ Anon., “Stokowski Home with Youth Band,” *New York Times*, 18 September 1940, 21.

American Youth Orchestra of Stokowski and of the Yale Glee Club, under the winning direction of Prof. Marshall Bartholomew, did more for inter-American rapprochement than the sum total of all good diplomatic intentions.”⁶¹

Inter-American Musical Exchange in the early Cold War

As the world shifted toward a different kind of war, the Pan American Union became subsumed by the Organization of American States (OAS) in 1948. As discussed in chapter one, the OAS placed strong emphasis on anti-communist policies, and the global scale of the Cold War gave new impetus to hemispheric unity. The inaugural issue (1952) of *Panorama*, a journal published by the Department of Cultural Affairs of the Pan American Union, stated the problem thus: “The Americas have a most important part to play at this historic juncture, in which the West stands face to face against the East. A break between the two halves of the world must be prevented.”⁶² The U.S. and Latin American nations differed when it came to the most important function of the newly created OAS. Fighting communism constituted the top U.S. priority at the OAS; economic assistance and political non-intervention were at the top of many Latin American countries list, such as Guatemala and Chile. At the Inter-American conferences held during the 1950s, the U.S. continued to push for its anti-communist aims. As scholar Gordon Connell-Smith explains, “The main business of the Tenth Inter-American Conference (held at Caracas in 1954) from the United States point of view at

⁶¹ Andrade Muricy, “Music for Uniting the Americas,” *Music Educators Journal* 28/5 (1942): 63.

⁶² Anon., “Presentation,” *Panorama: Inter-American Cultural Review* 1/1 (1952): 5.

least, was Resolution XCIII: *Declaration of Solidarity for the Preservation of Political Integrity of American States against the Intervention of International Communism.*”⁶³

After the Good Neighbor years, the U.S. returned to its policy of military intervention in the hemisphere, much to the dismay of Latin America. In fact, much of the hemispheric friendship that had been encouraged by musical tours during the 1940s crumbled during the early Cold War era. As scholar Robert J. McMahon explains, “Throughout the 1950s inter-American relations steadily deteriorated, a fact dramatically illustrated by the angry mobs that greeted Vice-President Richard Nixon in Venezuela and elsewhere during his goodwill tour in 1958.”⁶⁴

During the 1960s, fighting communism took precedence over the cultivation of “Good Neighbor” relations. The Latin American tour of the Paul Winter sextet demonstrates this subtle shift. In July 1962, this jazz group played in twenty-two Latin American countries as part of the U.S. State Department’s cultural exchange program.⁶⁵ Like previous State Department sponsored tours, the sextet’s visit was meant to counter negative stereotypes about the United States; namely that “Colossus of the North” had

⁶³ Gordon Connell-Smith, “The Organization of American States,” *The World Today* 16/10 (1960): 454.

⁶⁴ Robert J. McMahon, “Eisenhower and Third World Nationalism: A Critique of the Revisionists,” *Political Science Quarterly* 101/3 (1986): 466.

⁶⁵ Gene Lees, “Winter in Latin America: Jazz Battles Communism,” *Music Journal* 20/8 (1962): 72. The U.S. used jazz, like contemporary art music, to help elevate its reputation abroad. Unlike art music, which rarely broached the subject of race, jazz was thought to have an advantage because it could demonstrate racial equality by using groups that mixed white and black players. See especially Stephen A. Crist, “Jazz as Democracy? Dave Brubeck and Cold War Politics,” *Journal of Musicology* 26/2 (2009): 133-74; and also Penny M. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

little cultural life. During World War II, the U.S. charged that the Axis powers manipulated these unfair stereotypes; during the Cold War, it was the leftists who engaged in anti-U.S. propaganda. For example, Gene Lees reported of the sextet's tour that "the sextet disencumbered many Latin Americans of clichés about *yanquis* planted by left-wing agitators."⁶⁶ The sextet further demonstrated their commitment to combating communism in Quito, Ecuador, where the group donated their concert earnings to the "Brigadas Universidades, a splendid anti-Communist student group doing significant social work among the poor."⁶⁷ Any troubles the group encountered stemmed from leftist aggressors. For example, during one disturbance in Curitiba, Brazil, "uncouth leftists were finally routed by police and the remainder of the audience so the concert could continue."⁶⁸

As director of the Music Division at the PAU/OAS, Seeger noticed the changes brought by the West-East face-off. Scholar Benjamin Filene writes that this Cold War tension became increasingly apparent to Seeger as the 1950s wore on. As Filene states, "He felt he lacked the organization's full backing, particularly after it merged with the OAS, a virulently anti-Communist organization dedicated primarily to fighting the Cold War."⁶⁹ Filene continues on, "In 1953, frustrated by his position in these organizations

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 73.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Benjamin Filene, *Romancing the Folk: Public Memory and American Roots Music* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 163.

and anxious about being employed in a government agency as the Red Scare mounted, Seeger retired from the Pan American Union.”⁷⁰ Both Pescatello and David King Dunaway have noted that the 1950s were a difficult time for the Seeger family. Dunaway argues that FBI investigations into his involvement in the Composers’ Collective, a leftist group that encouraged music for the masses during the 1930, forced Seeger to retire two years early from the Pan American Union.⁷¹ Pescatello also discussed Seeger’s trouble with his passport during the 1950s. In 1951, the U.S. government downgraded his diplomatic passport to a regular passport, and by 1953, it had revoked his passport entirely.⁷² Seeger hoped his decision to retire rather than provoke a confrontation might reduce the surveillance of himself and his son, Pete, who had attracted the attention of the House Un-American Activities Committee.⁷³

Composer Alberto Ginastera found the news of Seeger’s retirement shocking. In a letter to Seeger from 8 October 1953, Ginastera wrote:

It was with great surprise and sorrow that I received these [sic] news, because I think nobody could do your job as well as you did. Your knowledge of musical techniques as well as deep understanding of all the musical problems and wide information on composers and performers of the whole American continent were invaluable for the Musical Department of the Pan American Union.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ David King Dunaway, *How Can I Keep From Singing: Pete Seeger* (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1981), 167.

⁷² Ann Pescatello, *Charles Seeger*, 208.

⁷³ David King Dunaway, *How Can I Keep From Singing*, 166.

⁷⁴ Personal Correspondence, Alberto Ginastera to Charles Seeger, 8 Oct. 1953 (Library of Congress, Charles Seeger Collection).

Seeger replied to Ginastera in a letter dated 14 January 1954, saying that Ginastera's previous correspondence had reached him at "the saddest time of my life," as his wife, Ruth, had recently succumbed to cancer.⁷⁵ As Seeger explained, "I had retired from all organization activities and was working on a collection of my musicological papers. Our eldest daughter, Peggy, was at Radcliffe (the women's college of Harvard in Cambridge.) Now, we have all of us to face a very different life without the very soul of our family."⁷⁶ Ruth's illness as well as increased government scrutiny eventually led Seeger to withdraw from his position and seek employment in the private sector.

Seeger's successor, Colombian conductor Guillermo Espinosa, had been hired at the Pan American Union in 1949. Espinosa's main interest was in classical—particularly avant-garde music—rather than folk music. Born 9 January 1905 in Cartagena, Colombia, he spent the 1920s studying music and conducting in Milan and Berlin on scholarship.⁷⁷ He returned to Colombia in 1932, and by 1936 had organized the Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional, which quickly became the country's premier orchestra. From July 20 to 6 September 1938, Espinosa organized the "Festival Ibero-Americano de Música," in Bogotá, Colombia, an event that, as scholar Robert Stevenson described it, "prefigured

⁷⁵ Personal Correspondence, Charles Seeger to Alberto Ginastera, 14 Jan. 1954 (Library of Congress, Charles Seeger Collection).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Ralph Dimmick, "Opus for the Hemisphere," *Americas* (1991): 2.

the many future festivals that Espinosa was to organize at Washington, D.C, and Madrid after he became music head at the Organization of American States.”⁷⁸

While working at the OAS, Espinosa also organized another festival, The Festival of Latin American Music, held in Caracas, Venezuela, with assistance from the Institución José Ángel Lamas, a cultural organization directed by Inocente Palacios. The first festival took place from 22 November to 10 December 1954 and featured compositions only by Latin American composers, although Copland and Thomson did attend as visitors. Copland’s lukewarm review of the festival concluded with criticism that the festival lacked a cosmopolitan atmosphere. As Copland wrote, “The program planners seemed to me to over-emphasize the folk-lore inspired side of South American music.”⁷⁹ The second Caracas festival, held 19 March to 6 April, 1957, devoted a whole evening’s program to music from the United States and featured Gail Kubik’s *Thunderbolt Overture*, Copland’s *Lincoln Portrait*, Samuel Barber’s *Adagio for Strings*, Roy Harris’s *Third Symphony*, Thomson’s *Suite from Louisiana Story*, and Charles Ives’s *The Unanswered Question*.⁸⁰ In addition to programming contemporary works from the Americas, the Caracas festivals also acquainted Espinosa with producing music within a dictatorship. In the 1950s, Marcos Pérez Jiménez ruled Venezuela as a military dictator, one that the U.S. applauded for “his staunch anti-communism and his favorable treatment

⁷⁸ Robert Stevenson, “Guillermo Espinosa,” *Inter-American Music Review* 4/2 (1982): 1.

⁷⁹ Aaron Copland, “Festival of Contemporary Latin American Music,” *Tempo* 35 (1955): 4.

⁸⁰ Gilbert Chase, “Caracas to Host Second Latin American Music Festival,” *Musical America* (1957): 11.

of U.S. oil companies.”⁸¹ As composer Juan Orrego Salas recalled of one of the early Caracas festivals:

I remember one the Caracas festivals when Pérez Jiménez was in power, and there was the opening concert of one of the festivals, which Pérez Jiménez attended. It was sort of picturesque, more than anything else, to see him completely isolated from the public, in the open air, in the theater in Caracas, surrounded by soldiers with machine guns ready to shoot. Meanwhile, we’re playing music.⁸²

The Espinosa-directed festivals of the early 1950s all occurred in Latin America. In the U.S., Espinosa’s ideas for festivals fell flat, plagued by a lack of funds and a general lack of interest in Latin American art music on the part of administrators and audiences alike. As Ginastera commented, “At the beginning, only a few people trusted in the wild projects of the idealistic Guillermo Espinosa. Many called him crazy, while the more charitable called him unrealistic.”⁸³ Despite such daunting challenges, Espinosa followed his passion by promoting the contemporary art music of the Americas through festivals, musical exchanges, and publications. For example, in February 1951, Espinosa travelled to Cuba as a guest conductor of the Philharmonic Orchestra. As critic Antonio Quevedo wrote, “In diplomatic terminology, the word “Pan-Americanism” was a common excuse for taking trips and charging meals.”⁸⁴ Yet, Quevedo felt that—thanks to the efforts of Espinosa and the Pan American Union—Latin American composers could “now walk side by side and look at ourselves as good neighbors and not as

⁸¹ Robert J. McMahon, “Eisenhower and Third World Nationalism,” 468.

⁸² Juan Orrego Salas, interview with author, 10 May 2011, at his home in Bloomington, Indiana.

⁸³ Alberto Ginastera, “Why The Inter-American Must be a Festival of Youth,” *Inter-American Music Bulletin*, no. 66 (1968): 6.

⁸⁴ Antonio Quevedo, “Guillermo Espinosa y la Filarmonica,” *Información*, 20 February 1951, 20.

competitors or enemies.”⁸⁵ Besides conducting orchestra concerts, Quevedo reported that Espinosa’s “main mission is to promote exchange between American musicians.”⁸⁶ During his visit, Espinosa invited the Philharmonic Orchestra of Havana to play at an inter-American music festival to be held in Cartagena the following April. The fact that Espinosa followed through on his promises led Quevedo to comment, “This is what makes Guillermo Espinosa, a champion of new music, believable as a Pan American ambassador.”⁸⁷ The six Inter-American Music Festivals of Washington, D.C., given during Espinosa’s tenure as music director of PAU/OAS (1953-75), will remain his greatest legacy. Composer Roque Cordero lamented Espinosa’s departure from the OAS, stating, “As there are no more Inter-American Music Festivals, I doubt that any of my works will be heard in D.C.”⁸⁸ In total, the festivals premiered more than ninety-four pieces by Latin American composers. As Stevenson summarized, “Lesser as well as greater Latin American names owed their upsurge in the United States chiefly to Espinosa’s huge efforts.”⁸⁹

The first Inter-American Music Festival, held 18-20 April 1958 in Washington, D.C., showcased avant-garde music from all over the Americas. A spirit of cooperation imbued the program booklet, which stressed the common background that bound all the

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Antonio Quevedo, “Americanismo e Intercambio Musical,” *Información*, 21 February 1951, 19.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Personal Correspondence, Roque Cordero to Guillermo Espinosa, 6 May 1988 (Guillermo Espinosa Collection, Indiana University)

⁸⁹ Stevenson, “Guillermo Espinosa,” 2.

Americas in a unique fate.⁹⁰ This idea is sometimes referred to as the Western Hemisphere Idea, the core of which, explains Connell-Smith, “has been the proposition that the peoples of this Hemisphere stand in a special relationship to one another which sets them apart from the rest of the world.”⁹¹ Overall, the first festival received positive responses from the public as well as the critics. The new sound of the Latin American compositions came as a surprise to many, who still associated Latin American composers with only picturesque national works. As critic Robert Evett remarked of the first festival:

Of the 18 composers heard, all but four are citizens of Latin-American countries; and of these, only one—Mozart Camargo Guarnieri of Brazil—submitted a work in the old Rum-and-Coca Cola manner. The others—even including the self-styled “nationalists”—lend themselves to analysis within the contexts of one or another of the international modern styles.⁹²

Critic Irving Lowens also stated that “The “rum and coca-cola” school of Latin American composers, was, happily, not represented.”⁹³ In his commentary on the first festival, Cuban composer Aurelio de la Vega noted that “A great majority of the critics happily pointed out the total absence of the old, usual type of third-rate Latin-American music (so poignantly labeled as ‘music of Rum and Coca-Cola’) which for many years has been presented as the genuine representation of Latin-America’s national soul.”⁹⁴ The

⁹⁰ See John Haskins, “Preface,” *The First Inter-American Music Festival Program Booklet* (18-20 April 1958): 11.

⁹¹ Connell-Smith, “Organization of American States,” 448. See also Arthur P. Whitaker, “The Origin of the Western Hemisphere Idea,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 98/5 (1954): 323-26.

⁹² Robert Evett, “New Music of the Americas,” *New Republic*, 28 April 1958, 23.

⁹³ Irving Lowens, “Current Chronicle,” *The Musical Quarterly* 44/3 (1958): 378.

⁹⁴ Aurelio de la Vega, “Trends of Present-Day Latin-American Music,” *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 1/1 (1959): 98.

first Inter-American Music Festival made obvious the fact that Latin American composers were as well-versed in international techniques as those from the United States. As Cordero explained of the 1958 festival, “The percentage of folk-nationalist works was very low and instead the audience heard works with a more contemporary language.”⁹⁵ The music presented at the inaugural festival, from Gustavo Becerra’s serial Symphony No. 1, to Cordero’s serial Symphony No. 2, to Ginastera’s first serial foray, his String Quartet No. 2, to De la Vega’s first serial piece, *String Quartet “In memoriam Alban Berg,”* reflected a twelve-tone inspired Americas.

With Washington, D.C, playing host, the festival naturally attracted an interesting mix of Washington politicians, musicians, and scholars. Spruille Braden, who chaired the festival’s sponsoring committee and represented one of the more involved politicians, had deep Latin American ties. He had served as the first U.S. ambassador to Colombia (1939-1942), as well as ambassador to Cuba (1942-1945), and most infamously as a short-lived ambassador to Argentina (21 May 1945 to 23 September 1945). In January of 1946, Braden gained notoriety for his “blue book” about Argentina, which charged the country’s government with helping the Axis powers during World War II. The book intended to generate negative publicity for then presidential candidate Juan Perón, but had the opposite effect, becoming instead a symbol of U.S. hegemony. “Perón v. Braden” became a rallying cry during the election, which Perón won by an overwhelming

⁹⁵ Roque Cordero, “Vigencia del músico culto,” in *América Latina en su Música*, edited by Isabel Aretz (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1977), 165.

margin.⁹⁶ Throughout his life, Braden remained a staunch opponent of communism. In 1953, he gave a lecture during the Great Issues series at Dartmouth College, which according to the *New York Times*, was “an alarm against communism in the Americas and a blunt castigation of this country’s ‘namby-pamby’ policy toward Guatemala and other Communist-dominated states in Latin America.”⁹⁷

As a result of the first festival, Howard Mitchell, conductor of Washington, D.C.’s National Symphony Orchestra, undertook a tour of Latin America with the U.S. government’s backing during the summer of 1959. Mitchell had played a vital role in the first Inter-American Music Festival, serving not only as a conductor but also as a musical advisor to Espinosa. As the *Sunday Star* explained of the tour, “The orchestra’s tour has been the longest planned under the President’s program, which supports the presentation of American artists and cultural groups to people of other countries.”⁹⁸ The orchestra visited nineteen Latin American countries and gave sixty-eight concerts during their twelve-week tour.⁹⁹ Mitchell highlighted contemporary Latin American music, programming works by Villa-Lobos, Cordero, Tosar, Ginastera, Orrego Salas, and Becerra. From the United States, he included composers such as Hanson, Barber, Piston, Creston, Gershwin, Gould, and Copland.¹⁰⁰ According to U.S. sources, the tour was a

⁹⁶ Gil, *Latin American-United States Relations*, 195-96.

⁹⁷ Anon., “Braden Urges Action on Reds in Americas,” *New York Times*, 13 March 1953, 14.

⁹⁸ Wendell Margrave, “Symphony Due Back Tuesday,” *Sunday Star* 9 August 1959, 12.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

great success, playing to enthusiastic and sold-out audiences. The orchestra even managed to sway leftist audience members. At various venues, “theatre managers pointed out to him [Mitchell] well-known Communists in the front row at concerts shouting ‘bravo,’ con mucho gusto.”¹⁰¹

When John F. Kennedy took office in November of 1961, he realized the need for a better-defined policy toward Latin America. This program became known as the Alliance for Progress, crafted at a meeting with other Latin American nations at Punta del Este, Uruguay, in August of 1961. As a scholar of that time, Joseph F. Thorning, stated, “For the first time in the history of the Western hemisphere, a long-range, systematic effort has been launched to bring ‘the good life’ to two hundred million ‘little people,’ in the other American Republics.”¹⁰² Unfortunately, Kennedy’s plan remained based on the Wilsonian assumption that the U.S. model should be universally applicable as well as the tendency to infantilize Latin Americans. As scholar Matthew Connelly explains, there is “a tradition among Westerners of imaging others as smaller, child-like versions of themselves.”¹⁰³

Beside Kennedy’s attention to Latin America, the new president also placed a high priority on the arts. These two interests dovetailed into the continuation of Inter-American Music Festival. The second festival, held 22-30 April 1961 in Washington,

¹⁰¹ Joseph A. Loftus, “Con Mucho Gusto,” *New York Times*, 23 August 1959, 7.

¹⁰² John Thorning, “The Alliance for Progress—Opportunities and Problems,” *World Affairs* 124/4 (1961): 115.

¹⁰³ Matthew Connelly, “Taking off the Cold War Lens: Visions of North-South Conflict during the Algerian War for Independence,” *The American Historical Review* 105/3 (2000): 744.

D.C., expanded into a prestigious, week-long event with Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy as the Honorary Chair. In her statement printed in the second Inter-American Music Festival program booklet, she lauded “the power of music to abridge accidental differences of environment, circumstances, or language, and to bring hearts and minds into closer accord.”¹⁰⁴ As in the previous festival, music mingled with the rhetoric of Pan-Americanism, as music was once again called upon to foster inter-American unity during a time of crisis. The works chosen for the second festival also relied heavily on serial techniques, such as Ginastera’s *Cantata for Magic America* and his Piano Concerto No. 1. Like the first festival, the second fared well, perhaps finding greater public and critical success than the first. Although not all listeners enjoyed the avant-garde offerings, one Washington, D.C., resident, John R. Bowler, wrote that he was tired of the “cacophonies thrown at us over the past years in the name of Pan Americanismo,” concluding that “if I hear another Ginastera, realizing he’s about the best, I’ll scream!”¹⁰⁵

The Third Inter-American Music Festival, 1963

By the spring of 1962, plans were already underway for a third festival, slated for the spring of 1963. On 21 March 1962, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., special assistant to the president on Latin American affairs, wrote to Kennedy about the upcoming festival. As he stated:

¹⁰⁴ Jacqueline Kennedy, “Program Booklet,” *The Second Inter-American Music Festival*, (22-30 April 1961): 2.

¹⁰⁵ John R. Bowler, “Letter to the Editor, Critic to Critic,” *The Sunday Star*, 15 October 1961, 6.

Angie Duke, who is Chairman of the Committee of Sponsors this year, now wonders whether it might be possible for both you and Mrs. Kennedy to lend your names as Sponsors for the 1963 Festival. Obviously, this would help destroy the feeling held by some people south of the border that we think of Latin America only in terms of poverty and squalor and not in terms of cultural achievement.¹⁰⁶

Lowens, critic for the *Sunday Star*, also reported of the administration's involvement, "President and Mrs. Kennedy will serve as honorary chairmen of the festival, which is designed to promote cultural understanding in the Western Hemisphere and is connected with the Alliance for Progress program. [...] More than two dozen new works have already been commissioned."¹⁰⁷ Angier Duke enlisted the help of August Hecksher, Special Consultant to the Arts for the White House, to help him raise funds to support the third festival. Duke praised Kennedy's Alliance program, stating, "The Alliance for Progress has strengthened and will continue to strengthen our ties with our neighbor Republics; and the Alliance has been successful in countering the intensive Communist efforts in Latin America."¹⁰⁸ Yet Duke acknowledged that the Alliance needed a broader focus, beyond the material, to achieve a lasting success. As Duke explained, "You will agree, I am sure, that one of the best ways to achieve this mutual understanding and respect would be through programs such as the Festival."¹⁰⁹ Again,

¹⁰⁶ Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. "Memorandum for the President," John F. Kennedy Library, President's Office Files, Staff Memoranda Series, "Schlesinger, Arthur M., 1962: January-March," Box 65.

¹⁰⁷ Irving Lowens, "Music News," *The Sunday Star*, 20 May 1962, 15.

¹⁰⁸ Angier Biddle Duke, "Letter, Angier Biddle Duke to August Hecksher (27 September 1962)," John F. Kennedy Library, White House Staff Files-August Hecksher, Box 23.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

music assumed an important role in fostering friendship, which would in turn deter communism.

Despite enthusiasm for the continuation of the Inter-American Music Festivals, the Committee of Sponsors failed to raise their half of the necessary funds. In early February 1963, Duke announced the cancellation of the festival, which had been slated for the spring. The festival's cancellation caused a minor uproar in Washington, D.C. Congressman William B. Widnall, (R) New Jersey, became the most outspoken opponent of the festival's cancellation. On 21 February 1963, Widnall introduced H.J. Res. 275 that called for greater funding for the inter-American cultural exchange programs, although according to the Congressional record, the resolution failed to pass. Still, Widnall earnestly lobbied for festival's continuation. As he stated:

The Kennedy Administration went all out to court France in bringing the Mona Lisa to Washington. Lord knows what it cost, but all we received for our pains was the exclusion of many of our exports from the Common Market by the action of the French government. The Latin American countries are willing and eager to cooperate with us, and all they get for their pains is a cancellation of the Festival, at the very time that Cuba is carrying on a major cultural offensive.¹¹⁰

Widnall's speech on the House floor pointed out the glaring inequalities in Latin American-U.S. relations. Others in Washington felt that cancelling the festival was a grave mistake for the U.S. Lowens, always an advocate for inter-American music, also expressed outrage at the festival's cancellation as well as the general lack of concern when it came to Latin American affairs. As Lowens stated, "Because of some exceedingly fast and fancy foot-dragging by those responsible for raising funds, very

¹¹⁰ William B. Widnall, "Letter, From the Office of Rep. William B. Widnall (20 February 1963)," John F. Kennedy Library, White House Subject Files-August Hecksher, Box 23.

little money materialized.”¹¹¹ Lowens directly blamed Duke for the 1963 festival’s ultimate cancellation. As he stated:

His [Duke’s] handling of the matter was an almost classical demonstration of how it comes about that our country, despite its good intentions, is so successful in losing friends and alienating people. Our cultural relations with Latin America suffered terribly for lack of a paltry \$50,000.¹¹²

Lowens, like Widnall, additionally cited Cuba’s inter-American ambitions as a threat. As Lowens reported in February, shortly after the announcement of the festival’s financial trouble:

Castro’s cultural offensive is well-known among Latin American musicians. Many of the best instrumentalists have been lured to Cuba; many play in the Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional. Cuba is achieving a reputation as a place where Latin American music and musicians are honored and respected. It is a pity that same is not frequently said about the United States—the image of “Dollar Diplomacy” is difficult to erase.¹¹³

When it seemed that festival would be cancelled instead of merely postponed, Lowens again made comparisons to the Cuba situation. As he wrote, “Incredible as it may sound in light of the present Castroite cultural offensive, which is attracting expert musicians from all over the Americas to Cuba, it is now beginning to look as if the whole idea [the IAMFs] will go down the drain by default.”¹¹⁴ Lastly, in a *New York Times* article, Lowens elaborated on Cuba’s program, stating, “In November 1962, a five-week

¹¹¹ Irving Lowens, “Current Chronicle,” *The Musical Quarterly* 51/3 (1965): 544.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ Irving Lowens, “News of Music: Third Inter-American Music Festival Suffers Untimely Delay,” *Washington Star*, 17 February 1963, 33.

¹¹⁴ Irving Lowens, “News of Music: Inter-American Music Session at Library,” *Washington Star*, 28 April 1963, 32.

Festival de Música Latinoamericano (which included United States works) had ended in Havana with prominent musicians, some of whom had been in Washington for the 1961 festival, actively participating; in the weeks just prior to the announced postponement, the Castro regime had circulated copies of the programs widely in this country.”¹¹⁵

Cuban-American composer Aurelio De la Vega also joined in the outcry over this turn of events. In a lengthy letter to the editor of *The Evening Star*, De La Vega stated his disapproval and shock at the cancellation of this important festival. As he wrote, “I am sure that the political overtones of such a cancellation were not seriously taken into consideration.”¹¹⁶ Namely, De La Vega wished to see the United States act as a cultural leader in the hemisphere and use some of its affluence on music rather than only on military might. As he continued, “Programs like the ‘Alliance for Progress’ will fall short of their vast possibilities if they are only based on type of need.”¹¹⁷ Tellingly, De la Vega ends his letter with the assertion that even our communist rivals know the importance of music. As he concluded:

The cancellation of the Third Inter-American Music Festival sadly coincided with a renewed and intelligent barrage of cultural propaganda from behind the Iron Curtain. The recent Inter-American festival staged in Castro’s Havana several weeks ago, was a maneuver of keen statesmanship. As a composer of music, I was impressed by the fact that a country that has unfortunately fallen to Communism, that is under heavy material shortcomings, was able, on the other hand, to recognize the importance of such actions. Rumors that Castro’s trip to the Soviet Union will also probe the possibility of a major Latin-American Cultural Fair to be staged beyond the Iron Curtain, certainly adds to the worries that stem

¹¹⁵ Irving Lowens, “No Funds, so no Inter-American Festivals,” *New York Times*, 14 April 1963, 107.

¹¹⁶ Aurelio de la Vega, “Letter, Aurelio de la Vega to Benjamin M. McKelway at *The Evening Star*, (1 May 1963),” Guillermo Espinosa Collection, Latin American Music Center, Indiana University, 1.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

from a cancellation such as the one that affected the Third Inter-American Music Festival.¹¹⁸

Lowens's and De la Vega's implications are clear: by cutting music's funding, the United States was losing the cultural Cold War. Howard Taubman, a prominent music critic, had foretold of this cultural arms race. As Taubman wrote in 1958, "The immense flowering of scientific and technical competence in the Soviet Union has been regarded by us as a challenge. If we regard the competition with the Soviet Union as something we cannot afford to lose, we had better take a candid look at our relative position in the arts."¹¹⁹ Though the U.S. increased its funds for sponsoring overseas tours and other musical events, reserving the stereotype, as Taubman described, "that America is culturally a primitive nation" would take a great effort.¹²⁰ Moreover, by cancelling the Inter-American Music Festival, the U.S. lost an important opportunity to better its relations with Latin America as well as promote democracy against the lure of communism.

The cancellation of the third festival opened the way for collaboration between the OAS and the Institute for Hispanic Culture (ICH).¹²¹ Critic John Haskins explained how the Madrid festival came into being, stating, "The festival grew out of a casual conversation at an embassy reception. From casual conversation a discussion of ways and

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Howard Taubman, "Challenge for U.S. Seen in Soviet Culture," *New York Times*, 4 July 1958, 17.

¹²⁰ Howard Taubman, "In Culture, Is Washington a Hick Town?" *New York Times*, 27 December 1959, 8.

¹²¹ The development of the ICH is discussed in chapter one.

means developed and the festival was launched under the joint sponsorship of the Institute of Hispanic Culture, an agency of the Spanish government and the Pan American Union.”¹²² The Madrid festival’s program booklet reveals that “Don Carlos Fernández Shaw, cultural attaché in Washington, was the first promoter of the idea of bringing to Europe this Festival.”¹²³ The ICH provided enough of its own funding, which enabled Espinosa to garner the rest of the financial support from the OAS. Spain, which had been eagerly awaiting an opportunity for closer relations with the Americas, now had its chance.

¹²² John Haskins, “Espinosa to Direct at Spanish Fete,” *The Sunday Star*, 20 September 1964, 17.

¹²³ Anon., “The Festival of Music has a great sociological importance,” *Festival de Música de América y España Boletn Informativo*, no. 4 (14 October 1964), 3.

Chapter Four: Cold War Politics at the Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain, Madrid, 1964

Introduction

The Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain, held in Madrid from 14 to 31 October 1964, presented ten concerts featuring twentieth century Spanish and American music. The programming committee offered a variety of Spanish works, ranging from Joaquín Turina's *Sinfonía Sevillana* (1920) to Cristóbal Halffter *Secuencias* (1964), presenting a panorama of twentieth-century Spanish music. The United States and Latin American compositions dated from more recent years, as most works had been commissioned for either the first (1958) or the second (1961) Inter-American Music Festivals of Washington, D.C. The Madrid festival offered two new commissions; one to Alberto Ginastera for his *Sinfonía de Don Rodrigo*, based on his new opera, and the other to Ernesto Halffter, for his *Canticum in P.P. Johannem XXIII*, honoring the late Pope. The festival also featured a complete staging of Manuel de Falla's puppet chamber opera, *El Retablo de Maese Pedro*. Table 1 in Appendix A lists the works performed at the festival at each concert, as well as if the work premiered at an Inter-American Music Festival. Table 2 in Appendix A lists the festival's organizing board.

The Madrid festival presents a tangled web of issues, ranging from the larger, political context to more personal debates about musical aesthetics. The festival occurred during the Cold War, an era of heightened inter-American awareness when the U.S. reached out from much-needed hemispheric solidarity as a guard against Soviet

infiltration. The U.S. participation and support of this festival coincided with the broader, U.S. Cold War agenda of blocking the communist threat in Latin America through goodwill programs, such as the Alliance for Progress. Since the 1940s, the U.S. had actively used music to cultivate better relations with Latin America. Yet, at the same time, the U.S. continued to employ aggressive tactics against its southern neighbors, often using communist infiltration as a rationale. As Gilbert M. Joseph points out, “As in other regions of the global South, Latin America’s Cold War experience was rarely cold.”¹ From the CIA-sponsored overthrow of the Guatemalan government, to the Bay of Pigs invasion, to the U.S. support of dictatorships in Brazil, Uruguay, Bolivia, Argentina, and Chile during the 1960s and beyond, U.S. aggression put a constant strain on U.S. and Latin American relations. Unable to see beyond the red haze of communist-hunting, the U.S. used the OAS to monitor leftist activity in Latin America. For example, in 1964 the Special Security Commission of the OAS issued a nebulous declaration that “new outbreaks of Communist-inspired subversion throughout Latin America were probable.”² The U.S. blamed most of the strife in U.S.-Latin American relations on communism above everything else. In 1964, when Panama considered nationalizing the Canal Zone, U.S. troops responded to the anti-U.S. protests by shooting several Panamanian students. The Johnson administration quickly blamed leftist forces for the nationalist agitation as

¹ Gilbert M. Joseph, “What We Now Know and Should Know: Bringing Latin America More Meaningfully into Cold War Studies,” in *In from the Cold: Latin America’s New Encounter with the Cold War*, edited by Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniela Spenser (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 3.

² Anon., “OAS Unit Fears New Subversion,” *New York Times*, 17 July 1964, 4.

well as the ensuing riots.³ The communist threat, portrayed as both vague and pervasive, guided U.S. policy toward Latin America.

Though the OAS supposedly represented a space for discussion of hemispheric problems, the U.S. used its position as a superpower to greatly influence the outcomes of the OAS's resolutions. As Margarita López-Maya suggests, "The U.S. only valued the hemispheric political space [of the OAS] as a means of obtaining support for its project of international hegemony."⁴ Lyndon B. Johnson, taking office in 1963 after Kennedy's assassination, had little patience with the OAS. As Sewall Menzel explains of the Johnson administration that "the OAS was viewed with contempt and seen as nothing more than a useful tool, with Lyndon Johnson remarking during this period: "The OAS couldn't pour piss out of a boot if the instructions were written on the heel."⁵ Yet, the OAS-sponsored Inter-American Music Festivals offered a rare opportunity for hemispheric nations to come together under the apolitical guise of music. These festivals also displayed a measure of equality among its participants as audiences applauded the music of Mexico, Uruguay, and Brazil, alongside that of the United States. Much of the rhetoric surrounding these festival concerned solidarity and friendship. Samuel Rosenbaum, in his opening speech at the Third Inter-American Music Festival (Washington, D.C., 1965),

³ See Tad Szulc, "Panama-Storm Center of Hemisphere Frictions," *New York Times*, 12 January 1964, 4.

⁴ Margarita López-Maya, "The Change in Discourse of US-Latin American Relations from the end of Second World War to the Beginning of the Cold War," *Review of International Political Economy*, 2/1 (1995): 147.

⁵ Sewall Menzel, *Dictators, Drugs & Revolution: Cold War Campaigning in Latin America, 1965-1989*. (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2006), 52.

emphasized the need for music's healing power. Such goodwill was needed, "this very week when the air is full of differences and political misunderstandings between the United States and the governments of Latin America."⁶ Though hardly a remedy for "political misunderstandings," these festivals occupied an important place in U.S. diplomatic strategy.

More than Muscle: U.S. Demonstrations of Culture in Spain

Besides promoting more amicable relations, international music festivals, such as the Inter-American Music Festivals and its sister festival, the Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain, served to underscore the achievements of the free world by displaying avant-garde compositions, a direct product of the freedom enjoyed by Western composers. These international venues also offered the U.S. the opportunity to flex its cultural muscles. For example, the 1958 World's Fair in Brussels became an East-West competition for the hearts and minds of Europe. As Taubman reported, "It [the World's Fair] will be the place where the cold war, fought with weapons of art and drama, music and dance, architecture, books and film, will reach a climax."⁷ As the arts became more weaponized, the Cold War era saw an unprecedented number of goodwill tours of various U.S. symphony orchestras to countries all over the globe. These tours could hopefully demonstrate that there was more to the U.S. than hotdogs and Hollywood. The Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra's 1964 tour, which coincided with Festival of Music of

⁶ Theodore Strongin, "Americas' Music Played in Capital," *New York Times*, 8 May 1965, 21.

⁷ Howard Taubman, "Cold War on the Cultural Front," *New York Times*, 13 April 1958, 12.

the Americas and Spain, provides a good example of music as a tool in the cultural work of the Cold War.

The Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra gave two concerts in Madrid during the Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain, although the concerts remained officially separate from festival. Of this tour, the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra's website explains that "on August 14, 1964, the PSO embarked on an 11-week, 24,000 mile tour to 14 nations in Europe and the Near East. Sponsored by the U.S. State Department, the tour earned the Smoky city a reputation for producing more than steel and elevated the image of American culture abroad."⁸ As hoped, the concerts made a favorable impression on Madrid audiences, demonstrating that even the most industrialized U.S. city could still be refined. As visiting Argentine critic Alberto Giménez wrote, "The Pittsburgh Symphony is a stupendous instrument, with all the virtues and possibilities that make them claim a spot among the other great orchestras of the North."⁹ J. Espinos Orlando, of *Madrid*, gave the concerts a glowing review, stating, "It was, in short, an extraordinary concert, for which we thank the Department of State of the United States, who wanted to entertain us and honor us with a visit of this illustrious group, as an incomparable message of culture and friendship."¹⁰ Demonstrating that the U.S. was a cultured nation as well as cultivating friendship was indeed the goal of the symphony's tour.

⁸ Anon. "A History of Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra," http://pso.culturaldistrict.org/pso_home/web/orchestra-history (accessed 2 February 2012).

⁹ Alberto Emilio Giménez, "Labor de trascendencia y visitantes gratos en el Festival de Madrid," *La Nación*, 19 November 1964, 17.

¹⁰ J. Espinos Orlando, "Triunfal Presentación de la Sinfónica de Pittsburgh," *Madrid*, 23 October 1964, 51.

The Pittsburgh Symphony's two Madrid concerts presented a varied program, juxtaposing standard European classics with newer works by U.S. composers. *Toccata* by Walter Piston, Prelude to the third act of *Lohengrin* by Richard Wagner, "The Rakoczy March" from the *Damnation of Faust* by Hector Berlioz, *Billy the Kid* by Aaron Copland, and "Dance of the Seven Veils" from Richard Strauss's *Salome* counted among some of the selections.¹¹ The orchestra also included two Spanish works, selections from Falla's *El sombrero de tres picos* and "Triana" from Isaac Albéniz's *Iberia*, arranged for orchestra by Enrique Fernández Arbós, as a gesture of friendship toward the host country. The orchestra featured two works for soloists, showcasing Jerome Lowenthal in the Concerto in F by George Gershwin, and Charles Treger in Felix Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto in E minor. Additionally, each concert opened with the national anthems of both countries.

The orchestra, under the direction of William Steinberg, a pupil of Toscanini, meant to impress Madrid audiences. U.S. critic John Haskins described the Pittsburgh Symphony's sound as superior to that of the Spanish orchestras used for the festival, although he does take repertoire and rehearsal time into account. As he stated, "Displaying the smooth precision and homogenized sound that American orchestras of the first rank are famous for, the Pittsburghers threw into sharp relief the work of the four Spanish orchestras used during the Festival concerts. One had to remind oneself at times

¹¹ Giménez, "Labor de trascendencia y visitantes gratos en el Festival de Madrid," 17.

that the resident orchestras were playing unfamiliar works with one or two rehearsals.”¹² A Spanish critic for *Ritmo* also noted the higher caliber of the Pittsburgh Symphony when compared with Spanish orchestras, but also noted that such quality came with a price. As the reviewer stated, “The Pittsburgh Orchestra will demonstrate to us what heights can be reached by a group with an annual budget of more than a quarter of a million dollars that allows them to focus on a purely musical labor.”¹³ Likewise, critic Federico Sopenña found the orchestra impressive, but also pointed out that “There is money for them in figures that to we Latinos, uncultured from subsidy, seem unimaginable.”¹⁴ While Spanish critics praised the Pittsburgh orchestra, there was also the dual awareness of the monetary imbalance between the two countries. To reach such precision remained beyond the economic means of most Spanish orchestras. Critic Jesús Hermida made the most pointed statement about the inequalities between the two countries, commenting, “It [the concert] was too expensive (150 pesetas per person) for such powerful patronage.”¹⁵

The idea that symphony tours, festivals, and international music competitions constituted a part of the larger competition between Cold War ideologies surfaces in Sopenña’s review. As he observed:

¹² John Haskins, “Activities at Festival in Madrid Accentuated a City of Contrast,” *The Evening Star in Críticas* (Madrid: Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, 1965), 58.

¹³ A.R.M. “La Orquesta Sinfónica de Pittsburgh en España,” *Ritmo* no. 347 (1964), 16-17.

¹⁴ Federico Sopenña, “La Orquesta Sinfónica de Pittsburgh,” *ABC*, 20 October 1964, 78

¹⁵ Jesús Hermida, “El Himno nacional a toda orquesta y concierto de media gala,” *El Alcázar*, 21 October 1964, 62.

Between Russia and the United States there is a realm that participates in both Coexistence and the Cold War: from the first [coexistence] it takes politeness, from the latter [Cold War], emulation: a true race between rivals. I am talking about the great international competitions, to which each country sends their best young people, bursting with technique of the infallible kind. Two years ago, Charles Treger was the first American to win the famous Wienawsky Prize in Poland, which was awarded years earlier to David Oistrach, the great Russian.¹⁶

In 1962, Treger gained fame by becoming the first U.S. violinist to win the Henryk Wieniawski International Violin Competition, which had been previously dominated by the Soviet Union. Treger, as a Cold War conqueror, fit nicely with Pittsburgh Symphony's goodwill tour that demonstrated the prowess of even the most industrial U.S. city. Sopeña seemed acutely aware that these musical competitions served as a polite battlefield, where rivalries could unfold with little threat of violence.

Back into the Mainstream: Spain, 1964

Combating entrenched stereotypes that the U.S. was a nation devoid of high culture constituted one of the goals of U.S. cultural diplomacy during the Cold War. Likewise, Spain faced its own set of stereotypes to overcome. Spain had long been politically isolated from the rest of Europe. Moreover, many in Europe and the United States commonly assumed that Spanish music had decayed under the Franco regime. Yet by 1964, Spain eagerly displayed its musical progress, matching their composers against anything Europe could offer. For example, a reporter asked Fernando Ruiz Coca, director of the Aula Musical del Ateneo, "What do you think of our music?" Ruiz Coca replied: "Spanish contemporary music is as good as the contemporary music of other countries, as

¹⁶ Federico Sopeña, "Ultimo Concierto de la Orquesta de Pittsburgh," *ABC*, 23 October 1964, 79.

is our abstract painting. The new generation of Spanish composers has put Spain at the forefront. Cristóbal Halffter and Luis de Pablo, only to mention two, are composers who are premiered the world over and published by the greatest German and Viennese publishers.”¹⁷ However, escaping the stigma of backwardness would take great effort. Although 1964 marked important achievements for Spain in the realm of international cultural relations, the past failed to erase so easily. For example, critic Leonardo Balada opened his review of the Second Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain (1967) thus:

Spain, country of yesterday and closed to the present (according to some), responsible for the culture of another continent, is without doubt opening new avenues to artistic creation and knowledge. With a new attitude, Spain wishes to recuperate a position of prestige and influence lost decade ago because of national problems and an inability to adjust to changing times.¹⁸

The Madrid festival proved an important platform for presenting the quality of the Spanish avant-garde to counter claims that Spain had closed its doors on the present. To some, it seemed like those doors, shut in 1936, were once again swinging open. Throughout the festival, several Spanish critics use 1936 as a reference point, recalling that Spain had not hosted a musical event of this scale since the Civil War. The Spanish musical magazine *Ritmo* declared that 1964 constituted one of the most important years in Spanish music history. As *Ritmo* director F. Rodríguez del Río stated:

Spain has had in fifty years, two happy moments musically, and it's funny, both were born out of the earthquakes of war: the present moment, the 25 years of

¹⁷ Anon., *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 7 (19 October 1964), 7.

¹⁸ Leonardo Balada, “Second Festival of America and Spain: Highlights,” *Music Journal* 26/2 (1968): 74.

peace after the war of 1936. The first occurred fifty years ago in 1914 as a result of the first European war in which Spain became an oasis for composers and performers.¹⁹

Sopeña eagerly anticipated the 1964 festival, stating, “The lively tension generated by a gathering of so many names has already partly liquidated the provincialism of musical life in Madrid.”²⁰ Spanish composer Luis de Pablo declared, “Without a doubt, this festival is the most important musical event—socially speaking—that Spain has witnessed in almost thirty years (exactly from 1936, the year in which they celebrated the I.S.C.M. Festival in Barcelona).”²¹ Likewise, revered Spanish composer Joaquín Rodrigo proclaimed, “The festival is the most important event in Spanish music history of the past twenty-five years.”²² The years between 1936 and 1964, though officially labeled as “peaceful,” were pushed aside in favor of focusing on the present. Indeed, in much of the festival’s commentary, it seems as if Spanish musical production skipped those years entirely, ignoring the achievements of the 1940s and 1950s, to applaud the new serial generation.

This curious deletion of the postwar years finds a parallel in official Spanish discourse. The Madrid Festival coincided with Franco’s promotion of “Twenty-Five Years of Peace,” a year-long event that included various festivities that celebrated

¹⁹ F. Rodríguez del Río, “Editorial: 25 Años de Paz de Música,” *Ritmo* no. 343 (1964): 3.

²⁰ Federico Sopeña, “Música: Festivales de música contemporánea,” *ABC*, 18 September 1964, 60. Much of the press surrounding the festival can be found in *Críticas* (Madrid: Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, 1965).

²¹ Anon., “El Festival visto por 4 compositores españoles,” *Ritmo* no. 349 (1964): 4.

²² Anon., *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 10 (24 October 1964), 1.

Spain's peaceful progress under the dictatorship since the end of the Civil War. Manuel Fraga Iribarne, the then current Minister of Information and Tourism, spearheaded many of the 1964 festivities. The activities included parades, concerts, and a special documentary film. As José Iglesias explained, "The official version of these years was on display during November and December in every Spanish city, in the guise of a film biography of El Caudillo called *Franco, Ese Hombre*."²³ Interestingly, the "official version" of the postwar years is one of amnesia. For example, the film skips over the Civil War entirely as well as much of postwar decades. Instead, the film firmly roots itself in the present. As Iglesias reported of the documentary, "Let us then, says the narrator most reasonably, pass over the sufferings of the civil war and show you, instead, what that struggle made possible."²⁴ The film then jumps to shots of the Spanish Pavilion at the 1964 World's Fair in New York City, and then back to Spain, for other images of middle-class prosperity. This excision of the past in favor of a new, forward-looking narrative also surfaces in some of the festival's music criticism.

This willful forgetting of the years during 1936-1964 came about gradually. In fact, prior to 1960, many of Franco's Civil War commemorations focused solely on the Nationalist victory over the Republicans. These celebrations typically replayed the glory of Nationalist victory, while turning a deaf ear to the suffering that ensued. Yet by the 1960s, the Franco government began placing an emphasis on peace rather than victory when commemorating the Civil War. As displayed in *Franco, Ese Hombre*, the postwar

²³ José Iglesias, "The Twenty-Fifth Year of Franco's Peace," *The Massachusetts Review*, 7/1 (1966): 147.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 149.

period of the 1940s and 1950s—marked by exile and poverty—failed to be included in this new, modern narrative. During the 1960s, Spain experienced almost miraculous economic growth, thanks in part to U.S. aid from the Pact of Madrid (1953, renegotiated in 1963), as well as the *Ley de Ordenación Económica* (1959) that helped stabilize and modernize the economic system. Public discussion of the postwar division had no place in these prosperous times. Scholar Michael Richards explains, “The concentration on peace and even on reconciliation, as in Fraga’s organization of the celebrations of the “25 años de paz” in 1964, was due partly to international geopolitical pressures and partly to a recognition that social harmony was a prerequisite of successful economic development.”²⁵ For its art exhibit at the World’s Fair in New York, the Spanish government purchased three of noted-exile Pablo Picasso’s newest paintings. This gesture indicated that “despite his long exile and Communistic beliefs, [Picasso] was still a Spaniard and therefore part of his country’s culture.”²⁶ At the Madrid festival, Spain promoted the compositions of other exiles, such as Rodolfo Halffter and Roberto Gerhard, both of whom had been outspoken opponents of the regime. Spain’s participation in the New York World’s Fair, and its joint-sponsorship of the Madrid festival with the OAS, all signaled to the U.S. as well as Europe that Spain was once again ready to be accepted into the mainstream.

²⁵ Michael Richards, “From War Culture to Civil Society: Francoism, Social Change, and Memories of the Spanish Civil War,” *History and Memory* 14/1 (2002): 100.

²⁶ Henry Giniger, “Three Picassos Bought by Spain for Fair,” *New York Times*, 2 April 1964, 30.

Originally, the Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain had been conceived of as separate from the Franco government's "Twenty-Five Years of Peace" celebrations. Early on, however, one of the festival's organizers, Enrique de la Hoz, subdirector of the popular culture section of the Ministry of Information and Tourism, suggested that the festival should be incorporated into Spain's own commemoration of its "Twenty-Five Years of Peace."²⁷ He also suggested that the dictator's wife, Carmen Polo de Franco, be named as chair for an honorary committee, though that idea failed to materialize.²⁸ The festival did include a repeat performance of Cristóbal Halffter's *Secuencias*, a work commissioned for an official "Twenty-Five Years of Peace" concert, held on 16 June 1964.²⁹ Though the Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain remained apart from the official celebrations, its grandeur—displaying Spain's new wealth as well as its focus on the modern,—aligned itself with Franco's promotion of his government's achievements since the Civil War.

The Festival as Propaganda

Indeed, the Franco government used the Madrid Festival as an excellent opportunity for propaganda. In addition to the concerts, festival participants could go on field trips meant to show Spain's splendor during the non-concert days. As critic Irving

²⁷ Enrique de la Hoz, "Primer Festival de Música de España y América, 26 September 1963," Archivo General de la Administración, Box. 586, Folder 63.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ The concert, held in the auditorium of the Ministry of Information and Tourism, featured the Spanish National Orchestra, conducted by Rafael Frühbeck de Burgos. The works performed were Ángel Arteaga's *La cueva de Nerja*, Luis de Pablo's *Testimonios*, Cristóbal Halffter's *Secuencias*, P. Miguel Alonso's *Visión Profética*, and selections from Manuel de Falla's *Atlántida* (completed by Ernesto Halffter).

Lowens explained, “One Sunday the entire group of about a hundred “asistentes” were taken some sixty kilometers into the mountains to view the gigantic basilica of Santa Cruz del Valle de los Caídos (Valley of the Fallen), erected in memory of those fallen during the Civil War.”³⁰ The Valle de los Caídos remains a controversial spot, as some say it is merely a monument to Franco’s dictatorship, rather than a memorial to the Civil War. Giles Tremlett aptly describes it thus: “Grey, grim, and intimidating, it is designed to inspire awe, respect, and obedience.”³¹ The gargantuan basilica runs longer than St. Peter’s in the Vatican, and is, as Tremlett points out, “built to the dimensions of the ego of its creator, General Franco.”³² Although the memorial supposedly honors all who died in the Spanish Civil War, most consider it only a Nationalist memorial. The Franco government used captured Republicans as labor for various postwar rebuilding projects, offering the chance of a reduced sentence and the possibility to be redeemed by work. As Paul Preston states, “Twenty thousand [prisoners] were employed, and several were killed or badly injured, in the construction of the Valle de los Caídos, a gigantic mausoleum for Franco and a monument to those who fell in his cause.”³³ As soon as it opened, the Franco regime commonly took important visitors to see the monument. Some of the earliest visitors to the monument included Argentine president Arturo Frondizi,

³⁰ Irving Lowens, “Activities at Festival in Madrid Accentuated a City of Contrasts,” *The Evening Star* in *Críticas* (Madrid: Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, 1965), 30.

³¹ Giles Tremlett, *Ghosts of Spain: Travels through Spain and its Silent Past* (New York: Walker and Company, 2006), 47.

³² *Ibid.*, 44.

³³ Paul Preston, *The Politics of Revenge: Fascism and the Military in Twentieth-Century Spain* (London: Uwin Hyman, Ltd., 1990), 43.

Turkish prime minister Adnan Menderes, and Congolese politician Moise Tshombe.³⁴ As scholar Fernando Olmeda observed, “Since 1959, the regime has squeezed the most of the monument.”³⁵

The festival’s participants proved no exception. Their visit to Madrid and the surrounding area was important enough that *NO-DO* or *Noticiarios y Documentales*, which produced state-sponsored newsreels, created a thirteen-minute film of the Madrid festival, directed by José López Clemente.³⁶ The film begins with footage of the auditorium in the Ministry of Information and Tourism and features Ernesto Halffter rehearsing his *Canticum* with orchestra and choir. The film then shows the other conductors rehearsing, such as Vicente Spiteri, Rafael Frühbeck de Burgos, Odón Alonso, and lastly, Enrique Jordá rehearsing with soloists Alicia de Larrocha on piano and Nicanor Zabaleta on harp. The next segment presents a cavalcade of composers, out and about around Madrid. Quincy Porter, Joaquín Rodrigo, Xavier Montsalvatge, Virgil Thomson, Aurelio De la Vega, and Harry Somers mingle outside the Escorial. Then the film cuts to some of the composers on their Sunday tour of the Valle de los Caídos. The camera pans to Roberto Pineda Duque talking with Roque Cordero on the concrete steps. Manuel Simó, Hector Tosar, critic Enzo Valenti Ferro, Roberto Caamaño, Federico Mompou, Blas Galindo, Antonio Estévez, and Celoso Garrido Lecca are also shown

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Fernando Olmeda, *El Valle de los Caídos: Una memoria de España* (Barcelona: Ediciones Península, 2009), 301.

³⁶ The film entitled, “Música de América y España” is held at the Filmoteca Española in Madrid at the NO-DO archives. <http://www.mcu.es/cine/MC/FE/FondosFilm/ColeccEsp/ArchivoNodo.html>

during this segment at the Valley. Lastly, the film shows the composers on a day-trip to Toledo, visiting “El Cigarral Los Dolores,” the home of Dr. Gregorio Marañón (1887-1960), noted intellectual and father of Gregorio Marañón Moya, director of ICH and a primary organizer of the Madrid Festival. Here the camera shows Codero, Tosar, Pozzi Escot, Luz Vernova, Gustavo Becerra, Guillermo Espinosa, and Enrique Solares in the courtyard, taking photos and talking. The trip to “El Cigarral Los Dolores,” adds a liberal twist to the *NO-DO* documentary as the elder Marañón was a staunch supporter of the Republican cause. He left Spain for Paris in 1936, returning to Madrid in 1942, where he continued to argue for liberalization. As Antonio López Vega explained of Marañón’s return, “While the dictatorship used Marañón’s presence to improve its image abroad, as it did with other intellectuals, Marañón assumed the task of recovering the liberal tradition that the Franco regime tried to eradicate.”³⁷ The film displays Spain as paradoxically both liberal and Francoist. To see composers such as Cordero, Tosar, Mompou, and Galindo chatting, smiling, and smoking in front of the basilica’s doors at the Valle of Caídos gives an implicit nod to the dictatorship. Yet the inclusion of a trip to the house of a well-known liberal advocate as well as the avant-garde soundtrack emphasizes the progressive side of Spain.

NO-DO was not alone in their use of the festival for propaganda purposes. The propaganda-arm of the U.S. government, the USIA (United States Information Agency) also filmed some of the festival. The Marqués de Merry del Val, Spanish Ambassador to

³⁷ Antonio López Vega, “Biografía de Gregorio Marañón,” Fundación Gregorio Marañón <http://www.fund-gregorio-maranon.com/> (Accessed 15 April 2012).

the United States, wrote to Fraga Iribarne, appraising him of the technical situation shortly before the festival. As he wrote:

Thus, in the recent talks held by Don Guillermo Espinosa and cultural counselor of the embassy, Don Carlos M. Fernández Shaw, with the authorities of the USIA, it appeared as though there would be a possible shipment to Spain by this institution of a full team of operators and technicians who could record on tape and film, the Festival of Music of America and Spain as well as those interesting cultural aspects of Spain that could serve for the USIA's audiovisual program that it prepares for Spanish America under the name *Pan American Panorama*.³⁸

Panorama Panamericano, or *Pan American Panorama*, a short, news-broadcast show in both Spanish and Portuguese produced by the USIA, began in 1961.³⁹ As Lester D. Langley elaborates, "The United States Information Agency, skillfully (and without attribution) used the television news program *Panorama Panamericano* to disseminate information."⁴⁰ Despite the USIA's covert efforts, the television show still read suspiciously like propaganda. As Seth Fein notes, "A 1965 USIA public-opinion study of *Panorama Panamericano's* reception in San Salvador, for example, noted that local watchers considered the program "biased political propaganda," and that "the sophisticated viewer recognizes it as a partly disguised attempt to promote the Alliance for Progress."⁴¹ Unfortunately, USIA footage of this festival cannot be found in the

³⁸ Marqués de Merry del Val, "Asunto: Festival de Música de América y España, 10 August 1964," Archivo General de la Administración, Box R-8384, no. 42.

³⁹ David S. Patterson, editor, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961-1963, Volume XXV: Organization of Foreign Policy; Information Policy; United Nations; Scientific Matters* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2002), 313.

⁴⁰ Lester D. Langley, *America and the Americas: The United States in the Western Hemisphere* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2010) 211.

⁴¹ Seth Fein, "The Medium Shapes the Message," <http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/medium-shapes-message> (Accessed 15 April 2012).

archives at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. nor any documents relating to its possible broadcast in Latin America.

Although the film of USIA's efforts has yet to surface, Harold Boxer, Chief of the Music Department of the Voice of America (VOA), did oversee the sound recording of the Madrid festival.⁴² Mercedes Gordon of the Spanish newspaper *Ya* reported that, "Of all the concerts, there will be made recordings as well as videos, and the Voice of America will then distribute them to the world. So the Festival will have over 70 million listeners."⁴³ De la Hoz also wrote to Manuel Aznar, sub-director of broadcasting for the festival, to confirm the details of the VOA's involvement. As De la Hoz wrote:

To avoid delays I am enclosing a photocopy of the letter I received today, via the Festival's Radio and TV Committee, from the Chief of the Music Division of the Pan American Union, Guillermo Espinosa, where he informs of the intention of Voice of America of recording on video-tape for TV and on tape for Radio all the concerts of this Festival. In order for us to reply, it is important that you tell me whether Voice of American could count on having all the technical elements — cameras, microphones, and staff— that they require, provided by you. This Festival is of great political and cultural importance, and our technical team will serve it loyally.⁴⁴

The VOA recordings of the Madrid festival exist, yet little information remains about when and where the VOA might have broadcast the concerts, and how a Latin American audience received the music. One of the few extant broadcasting occurred

⁴² The sound recordings of the festival are held in the Voice of America Music Library Collection at the Library of Congress under the name, "Spanish American Music Festival."

⁴³ Mercedes Gordon, "Hoy se inaugural en Madrid el I Festival de Música de América y España," *Ya*, 14 October 1964, 53

⁴⁴ Enrique de la Hoz, "I Festival de Música de América y España, 14-9-1964," Archivo General de la Administración, Box 586, no 63.

during November and December of 1965. A Los Angeles based radio station KPFK broadcast a six-part series called “Music in Madrid,” that featured most of the compositions from the festival.⁴⁵

The festival’s promotion by the Franco government as well as its distribution by the USIA gave the event unavoidable political connotations. However, music’s long-standing designation as an apolitical art allowed some composers to minimize the political element. For example, when I interviewed some of the composers, such as Escot, Orrego Salas, and De la Vega, about how they felt about participating in a festival sponsored by the Franco government, Escot and Orrego Salas replied that they simply did not give it that much thought at that time. To them, the festival represented a chance to have a performance and to meet other composers. Escot recalled that meeting Thomson at the Madrid festival was a personal highlight. In the festival’s bulletin, Escot thanked Espinosa “for bringing us here and putting us in contact with each other. The great difficulty of the composer is sometimes he or she loses touch with the rest of his or her colleagues, because they are engrossed in their own creative struggle.”⁴⁶ Several other composers cited the camaraderie as one of the top benefits of attending the festival. For example, Ernesto Halffter stated that “The mutual contact creates a noble and healthy

⁴⁵ See website, “Program Folio for November 22 to December 5, 1965, KPFK 90.7 Pacifica Radio for Southern California,” http://www.archive.org/stream/kpfkfolio2251965kpfkrich/kpfkfolio2251965kpfkrich_djvu.txt (Accessed 19 April 2012).

⁴⁶ Pozzi Escot, “Una bienal con distinta sede,” *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 8 (21 October 1964): 7.

musical competition. It is a stimulus that we all need.”⁴⁷ Manuel Simó, a composer from the Dominican Republic, also felt that the community was the festival’s most important aspect. As he stated, “For me, the most valuable part of the Festival has been the ability to make contact with the group of composers that are attending and also to have listened to the most advanced music that is presented here.”⁴⁸ Luis de Pablo additionally cited the chance to meet other composers as the most valuable part of the festival. As he explained, “The most valuable part of the Festival is the knowledge and personal meetings among the composers. Once we have heard the work, and since we also have more personal and friendly knowledge of the composer, this will lead to more numerous talks, which will produce a genuine understanding of the musical work and its surroundings.”⁴⁹

Most composers, if they felt any misgivings about a festival in Francoist Spain, failed to express these feelings publicly. Decades later, De la Vega offered the most interesting reflection on his participation in the festival. As he explained:

You take the United States, a free society, but there is almost no protection for music. The Festivals in Washington were done against all odds, by Espinosa mainly. Looking for private help, and begging for ten dollars, because the government was not interested. Then you go to the other side of the coin, you have a totalitarian regime that is going to protect the music. They say, let’s have a wonderful festival and it is very difficult to take a side.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Ernesto Halffter, “Declaraciones de Ernesto Halffter,” *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 9 (22 October 1964), 1.

⁴⁸ Manuel Simó, “Lo más valiosa, la toma de contactos,” *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 11 (26 October 1964), 7.

⁴⁹ Luis de Pablo, “El Festival enseña a valorar la música,” *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 12 (28 October 1964), 7.

⁵⁰ Aurelio de la Vega, Interview with author, 13 January 2011 at his home in Northridge, CA.

Many apolitical composers have indeed found it “hard to take a side,” finding themselves involved in projects with a political context. During the Cold War, even aesthetic choices became politicized. Only until fairly recently have musicologists discussed the entanglement of music and politics during the Cold War. This type of scholarship has been emerging slowly, because, as Peter J. Schmelz points out, “the concentration on music’s many Cold War roles required the dismantling of old conceptual barriers about music and its meanings—or rather old stereotypes about music’s *lack* of meaning and its disconnection from worldly concerns.”⁵¹ Rosenbaum, at the opening of the Third Inter-American Music Festival, gave credence to that stereotype, proclaiming, “music knows no politics.”⁵² Yet those involved in the Madrid festival were unable to escape the web of political connotations.

For example, Thomson, a famously self-proclaimed apolitical composer, had a long history of involvement with projects that mixed music and politics, starting with his involvement in *The Spanish Earth*, a pro-Republican work, for which he and composer Marc Blitzstein selected Spanish folk music to create the score.⁵³ When the Voice of America (VOA) formed in 1942, actor and theater producer John Houseman (Jacques

⁵¹ Peter J. Schmelz, “Introduction: Music in the Cold War,” *The Journal of Musicology* 26/1 (2009): 4.

⁵² Strongin, “Americas’ music played at Capital,” 18.

⁵³ See Carol A. Hess, “Competing Utopias? Musical Ideologies in the 1930s and Two Spanish Civil War Films,” *Journal of the Society for American Music* 2/3 (2008): 319-354. See also Chapter One of this dissertation for more discussion of *The Spanish Earth*.

Hausmann) became its director and promptly enlisted the help of his friend, Thomson.⁵⁴ Houseman called upon Thomson to “orchestrate in a hurry a sprightly small-band rendition of Yankee Doodle to serve as the VOA’s signature tune.”⁵⁵ This musical snippet accompanied the opening of many VOA overseas broadcasts, including those to Latin America, for numerous decades. Thomson also had diplomatic ties to Latin America as a cultural ambassador. In 1948, the U.S. State Department courted Thomson to undertake a six-month tour of Latin America, which Thomson ultimately rejected.⁵⁶ However, he twice attended the Festival of Latin American Music in Caracas, Venezuela, and eventually did go on a lecture-tour of Latin America, funded by the State Department in 1955. As Emily Ansari states, “Working with the State Department and with Gilbert Chase, musicologist and American cultural attaché in Buenos Aires, Thomson assembled a two-month tour with stops in Panama, Lima, Santiago, Buenos Aires, Montevideo, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Caracas.”⁵⁷ By the mid-1950s and with more than a decade of cooperation with various government agencies, Thomson appeared to be well aware of U.S. government’s use of music for its own diplomatic purposes. As he stated, “[The] Cold War on the cultural front has found music ever so useful as a means of seducing the

⁵⁴ Alan Heil, *Voice of America: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 34. Houseman had a lengthy collaboration with Thomson during the 1930s and 1940s, directing the first production of Thomson’s *Four Saints in Three Acts*, as well as directing a propaganda film explaining the U.S. electoral process entitled, *Tuesday in November*, for which Thomson wrote the score.

⁵⁵ Emily Ansari, ““Masters of the President’s Music”: Cold War composers and the United States government,” PhD. diss., (Harvard University, 2010), 245. In *Dissertations & Theses: A&I* [database online]; available from <http://www.proquest.com> (publication number AAT 3395406 (accessed 29 January 2012)).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 254.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 256.

affections of peoples. [...] Every major government in the world now uses modern music and art for propaganda purposes.”⁵⁸ Thomson, as a participant in the Music of the Americas festival, allowed his modern music to “win the hearts and minds,” of the Spanish and Latin American elite.

The Ties that Bind: Cultivating Better Relations through Music

From the composers to the festivals’ organizers, all agreed that the festival represented an extremely important event in the relationship between the Americas and Spain. For Spain, the festival offered the opportunity to display its progress, both economic and social. Enrique Suárez de Puga, general secretary of the ICH, gave an interview about the festival. The reporter asked, “What political and social merits can one attribute to the festival?” and De Puga replied, “The festival has outstanding artistic character but also a sociological function. The importance of an event that unites the music of Americas and Spain and is hosted in a European nation cannot be overlooked.”⁵⁹ Music critic for *La Nación* (Buenos Aires) Alberto Giménez also asserted the festival’s utmost importance. As he wrote, “The first Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain is one of the most genuinely positive and far-reaching efforts in this vein to occur in Ibero-America in many years.”⁶⁰ This festival could be read as a rekindling of the doctrine of *hispanidad* among its former colonies. Since 1963, the ICH

⁵⁸ Virgil Thomson, “Music in 1950s,” *The Music Journal* 19/1 (1961): 100-01.

⁵⁹ Anon., *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 4 (14 October 1964), 3.

⁶⁰ Alberto Emilio Giménez, “La culminación del Festival de Madrid,” *La Nación*, 23 November 1964, 19.

had actively sought closer ties with the OAS, sending Castiella, Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, to visit the OAS in Washington, D.C., and inviting José Mora, head of the OAS, to Spain. Bringing Latin American composers—some of whom were Spanish exiles—to Madrid demonstrated Spain’s openness to reconciliation. Spain was certainly aware of the benefits of improved relations with Latin America.

Likewise, Spain could also draw closer to the United States, the unofficial gatekeeper to relations with Latin America. The ICH hoped to gain the opportunity to be a part of the Inter-American Music Festivals of Washington, D.C., thereby inserting themselves in celebrations of hemispheric unity. Rodrigo expressed some frustration that American festivals had always excluded Spanish composers. As Rodrigo lamented, “Spain has been excluded or forgotten in the Festivals of Caracas and Washington, and this important meeting in Madrid will ensure that our country is definitely incorporated into the festivals that are organized periodically in America.”⁶¹ Moreover, Guillermo Espinosa, head of the music division of the OAS, seemed to approve of Spain’s inclusion in the next Washington Festival, stating, “I will study how to include Spain in the seventy-fifth anniversary commemoration of the inter-American system, which will take place next year, 1965.”⁶² However, the Third Inter-American Music Festival (Washington, D.C., 1965) failed to include Spanish composers, and the celebration remained a decidedly hemispheric affair. Instead, Espinosa and OAS continued to work

⁶¹ Joaquín Rodrigo, “El Festival visto por 4 compositores españoles,” *Ritmo* no. 349 (1964), 4.

⁶² Anon., “Anhelo de Guillermo Espinosa, director musical del actual, para el II Festival de América y España,” *I Festival de Música de América y España*, no.14 (1 November 1964): 6.

with ICH to produce two more of the Music of the Americas and Spain festivals in Madrid, held in 1967; and 1970, respectively.

Latin American festival attendees also hoped that their participation would open new avenues for international recognition. Latin American composers, like those from Spain, and to a certain extent, those from the U.S., often faced difficulty in obtaining European attention. For example, Argentine critic Enzo Valenti Ferro (founder of *Buenos Aires Musical*) hoped that this festival might encourage the rest of Europe to take an interest in new American music. As Ferro reported, “The most optimistic of us hope that this event has not only opened a wider musical communication between Spain and America but has helped to open European doors to the culture of this Continent, which is now in the position of exporting high quality music.”⁶³ Giménez also affirmed the quality of his country’s contemporary music, stating, “The musical activity in Argentina has great force. It has transcended borders, although we have yet to give the world our own Beethoven.”⁶⁴ Indeed, by the 1960s, Latin America boasted several composers who had won renown in the United States, and a few who had even earned impressive reputations in Europe. Yet overall, the contemporary music of the Americas rarely found its way onto programs. Ginastera, the most well-known of the current generation of Latin American composers, hoped as Ferro did that the Madrid festival would open the minds and ears of European audiences, who held unfair biases against American composition.

⁶³ Enzo Valenti Ferro, “Festival de América y España,” *Buenos Aires Musical*, 4 November 1964, 18.

⁶⁴ Alberto Emilio Giménez, “El I Festival de Música de América y España, idea Madura y lograda,” *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 10 (24 October 1964): 8.

After Ginastera returned from a tour of Europe in 1959, he wrote to Chávez lamenting the fact that most Europeans seemed unreceptive to his pieces. Ginastera was far from surprised by this attitude. As Ginastera wrote, “[This attitude is] no wonder because American culture is completely and deliberately unknown.”⁶⁵ Ginastera felt that only the United States had gained some recognition in Europe, mostly through diplomatic efforts, and wished that Latin American countries had the resources to do the same.⁶⁶ Ginastera publicly stated these opinions in an issue of the *Inter-American Music Bulletin*. As Ginastera remarked, “Perhaps one day the indifferent, almost contemptuous attitude of European circles toward the music of our hemisphere will grow more sympathetic, and interest in it, or even admiration for it, will become a reality.”⁶⁷ Cuban-American composer Aurelio De la Vega expressed similar hopes, albeit in a franker manner. As he explained in a recent interview, “Maybe Europe is always wary of the Americans, and more so of Latin Americans. It is like a strange land, and they still have this idea that we are monkeys eating bananas on trees.”⁶⁸ On one level, the festival served to challenge stereotypes about the quality of American music, and the sophistication of those making it.

⁶⁵ Alberto Ginastera, “De Alberto Ginastera a Chávez,” *Espitolario Selecto de Carlos Chávez* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1989), 846.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Alberto Ginastera, “Why the Inter-American Must be a Festival of Youth,” *Inter-American Music Bulletin*, no. 66 (1968): 7.

⁶⁸ Aurelio de la Vega, interview with author, 13 January 2011, at his home in Northridge, CA.

Yet, some expressed doubts that Spain was truly the gateway to a European audience, as Spain itself had a long history of liminal status as European country. A popular saying, “Africa begins at the Pyrenees,” emphasizes the “legendary claim attributed to Napoleon that Europe ends where the Pyrenees form the border between France and Spain.”⁶⁹ With regards to breaking into the European mainstream, Spanish composer Luis de Pablo felt that Spain and Latin America shared a similar predicament. As he wrote:

The Spanish-American composer could not find inside our country the sufficient sap, relying only upon it, to go so far as to be connected with the most living musical world. In this sense we have to conclude that Spain is a Spanish-American country within Europe, with a really startling similarity of problems and solutions to them: the same nationalist crisis, the same need for a more comprehensive system and with greater capacity for the future, and the same adoption of techniques of foreign origin, but treated in a personal way.⁷⁰

In addition to language, Latin American and Spanish composers also shared a bond of marginality. Rather than being instigator of international trends, Latin American and Spanish composers most often had to incorporate foreign models, such as serialism, while still composing in a “personal way.” Tellingly, De Pablo stated that both faced “the same nationalist crisis.” This ongoing tension between nationalism and universalism unfolded within the critical commentary surrounding the festival, where many composers navigated a middle path between these two dialectics.

⁶⁹ Cathryn Bailey, “ ‘Africa Begins at the Pyrenees’: Moral Outrage, Hypocrisy, and the Spanish Bullfight,” *Ethics and the Environment* 12/1 (2007): 24.

⁷⁰ Luis de Pablo, “Un impacto en la vida cultural española: El I Festival de América y España, el mayor acontecimiento musical de los últimos treinta años,” *Triunfo* no. 129 (21 November 1964): 80.

Chapter Five: Navigating the National and the Universal

Introduction

During the 1950s and 1960s, how to retain nationalistic traits—once such a common aesthetic choice—posed a problem for many Latin American and Spanish composers. Navigating the national and the universal became increasingly complex as folk music took on negative connotations due to its associations with popular, leftist movements of the 1930s. At the very least, folk-influenced compositions had become passé. As Thomson commented, “The 1950s seemed to have stabilized an international style void of obvious folkloric content.”¹ For Spanish and Latin American composers, participating in this “international style void of obvious folkloric content” meant moving from the periphery to the center by relinquishing previous nationalistic leanings. However, leaving behind these nationalistic markers proved difficult, as international audiences and critics often expected Latin American and Spanish music to sound different somehow. To quote Custer, many listeners still anticipated Spanish music as being full of “tambourines and *toros*.”² The epithets often given to nationalistic music, such as “tourist music,” or the music of “Rum and Coca-Cola,” would hardly win a composer serious, international recognition. Yet many composers experienced a double-binding paradox, wherein to be considered universal, one must retain some hint of the national. As Taruskin points out, critics and scholars “still have a habit of speaking of

¹ Thomson, “Music in 1950s,” 13.

² Custer, “Contemporary Music in Spain,” 56.

Russian music above all in terms of its Russianness.”³ Likewise, critics of the era also discuss Spanish and Latin American composers in terms of their “Spanishness,” “Latin Americanness,” or the lack thereof.

Enlightened Nationalism: Melding the National and Universal

Noted scholar and critic Gilbert Chase commented upon how this cosmopolitan style—often represented by the use of serial techniques—had influenced Spanish and Latin American composers to abandon blatantly folkloric quotations. To Chase, this evolutionary approach to changing stylistic trends offered a valid explanation of Latin American musical developments during the 1950s. As with Custer’s comments on Spanish composers’ desire for liberation from nationalism, Chase also placed much emphasis on the progress away from nationalism toward a universal music. As Chase stated:

In the twentieth-century panorama of Latin American music the key words are: Provincialism, Nationalism, Universality. Some countries are still in the first stage, others in the second, and a few have made the transition from the second to the third. While progress will eventually remove provincialism, the consensus seems to be that the preservation of national character is essential to the achievement of true universality.⁴

Universality, this third and most desirable stage of musical evolution will integrate national character with international compositional techniques, such as serialism, aleatory, or electronic music. As Chase predicted, many narratives about Latin American and Spanish composers describe the music as having evolved from a “primitive

³ Richard Taruskin, *On Russian Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 29.

⁴ Gilbert Chase, “Creative Trends in Latin American Music—II” *Tempo*, 50 (1959): 28.

nationalism” to a “universal” stage, wherein serial techniques subsume national elements. Writing for a more general audience, Barbara March of *Music Journal* reiterated Chase’s evolutionary stance. As she wrote, “Most of today’s [Latin American] composers are looking for a musical language, which, although it retains a somewhat nationalistic flavor, has progressed well into a universally understandable music.”⁵ Ideally, a composer must retain these Latin American or Spanish elements, however sublimated, while at the same time incorporating signifiers of internationality. Chase called this practice an “enlightened nationalism,” in which national elements intertwined with more universal trends.

Much of the press surrounding the Madrid festival additionally touched upon this national-universal debate. José A. Mora, head of the OAS, inscribed the opening pages of the festival’s program with a statement about the universal quality of today’s Latin American music. As he wrote:

The rich folklore of the American Continent has been a quarry of inspiration and a reference point for many composers of the past and present. Our composers, now independent from that folklore, and less concerned with national borders, have been creating a purely American art music that all should be promoting and stimulating.⁶

For Mora, it is this new, borderless American art music that deserves the OAS’s support. Hemispheric or continental solidarity is thus emphasized over any one nation, which echoes the OAS’s inter-American outlook. Similarly, music critic John Haskins

⁵ Barbara March, “Music in Latin America,” *Music Journal* 19/6 (1961): 93.

⁶ José A. Mora, *Programa del Primer Festival de Música de América y España* (Madrid: Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, 1964), 3.

defined Pan-Americanism in music as “a multi-national expression of hemispheric cultural unity.”⁷ Thus, hemispheric cultural unity derived not from folklore rooted in a particular nation, but from the use of an international style (read: serialism) peppered with national elements.

Likewise, many of the festival’s participants promoted the adaptation of universal techniques into American art music. Washington Roldán, an Uruguayan music critic who worked at the Uruguayan embassy in Washington, D.C., from 1962 to 1970, also felt that Latin American composers should leave the folkloric behind for international horizons. Roldán gave an interview that ran in the festival’s daily bulletin and when questioned about his opinions concerning folklore’s place in modern music, Roldán surmised that the younger generation “is trying to break away from folkloricism and have turned toward the Viennese school and its serialism.”⁸ The interviewer followed Roldán’s statement with a question, asking him, “Which of these two musical trends, folkloricism or universalism, dominates in South America?”⁹ Roldán replied that neither had triumphed over the other and he felt both trends had certain validity. However, he stated that he most looked forward to hearing fellow Uruguayan Héctor Tosar’s *Te Deum*, “a work that displays universal tendencies.”¹⁰

⁷ John Haskins, “Preface,” *III Inter-American Music Festival* program booklet, 7-12 May 1965, 9.

⁸ Washington Roldán, “Los grandes músicos españoles afincados en Hispanoamérica han ejercido un magisterio trascendente,” *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 5 (15 October 1964), 6.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

In general, the festival's participants praised the new, more universal direction of both Spanish and Latin American music. Elías López Soba, from the University of Puerto Rico, expressed grateful surprise at the musical life of Spain. As he stated, "They [Spanish composers] have abandoned the folkloric and the national as a point of departure for their art. They demonstrate that not only in their painting and sculpture, but also in music. Spain is again incorporated into the Western mainstream."¹¹ Again, nationalism is portrayed a hindrance to joining the mainstream. Moreover, Giménez added that the nationalism of the preceding decades had slowed Spanish composers' incorporation of serialism. As he wrote:

The current trend of serialism was slow to materialize, in an environment where the extensions of Romanticism, mainly along nationalists' lines, ruled almost unopposed. But, as if to make up for "lost time," the new wave has entered with vigor and has demonstrated a true frenzy of works.¹²

The overriding narrative of Spanish twentieth-century music presented at the festival highlighted the Silver Age (1900-36), and then the present era of the 1960s. The postwar era, when nationalism in music "ruled almost unopposed," disappeared completely from the historical narrative. Ferro also noted the hole in Spanish music, observing, "There is a large gap in the Spanish music of this century. There has been a big jump from a virulent nationalism to the most extremist of modern music, as if there were a lost generation, the intermediate stage that would gradually lead logically to the

¹¹ Anon., *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 14 (1 November 1964), 4.

¹² Alberto Emilio Giménez, "Facetas diversas de la vida musical madrileña," *La Nación*, 6 December 1964, 21.

music of today.”¹³ Ferro correctly identified one of the setbacks Spanish music faced; the loss of many talented composers after the Civil War. Yet, even in the most extremes of modern music, debates about nationalism still lingered.

The festival’s modern offerings additionally pleased Jack Bornoff, executive secretary of the music division of UNESCO. As he stated, “I enjoyed hearing, alongside folklore-inspired compositions, works of a more modern style: serialism, dodecaphonism, and other tendencies.”¹⁴ The Swiss critic Jean Perrin also praised the younger generation of both Spanish and Latin American composers for following current trends. As Perrin wrote, “The young Spanish and South American dodecaphonic school manifest an intense intellectual and artistic curiosity. They truly participate in the musical language of today; however, they still retain certain fundamental features of the national spirit.”¹⁵ Perrin’s statement paralleled many composers’ and critics’ assertions that Spanish and Latin American music will never truly shed all of its nationalist markers. For most composers, losing one’s nationalist “essence” remained undesirable, even within an avant-garde context.

Noted Spanish composer and music critic, Xavier Montsalvatge additionally asserted that folkloricism should be left behind in the name of progress, no matter the

¹³ Enzo Valenti Ferro, “Más, sobre el Festival de América y España,” *Buenos Aires Musical*, 19 December 1964, 5.

¹⁴ Anon., *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 13 (31 October 1964), 7.

¹⁵ Jean Perrin, “Festival de Musique Américaine et Espagnole,” *Gazette de Lausanne* in *Críticas* (Madrid: Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, 1965), 57.

country. As he explained, “The art of each people is now emancipated from nationalist sentiment in order that it may reach a purer expression.”¹⁶ Writing as critic for *La Vanguardia* of Barcelona, Montsalvatge expanded on his views. As he observed, “They [Spanish and Latin American composers] all have overcome (at least it is clear from what they have released so far) the process of nationalism and their attention is concentrated in European schools, especially the Germanic and French post-impressionist. One guesses that they are attracted and perhaps a little fearful about the latest aesthetic trends of serialism or aleatory.”¹⁷ Even a few of the older generation of Spanish composers, such as Mompou, admitted that even though they might not agree with—or understand—the younger generation’s techniques, they should withhold scorn. As Mompou stated, “Advanced music is a great enigma to be accepted and supported.”¹⁸

Most composers interviewed for the festival’s daily bulletin gave their opinions about contemporary music. Harry Somers, the only Canadian composer present, gave an interview about the state of modern music in his country. As he answered, “In Canada, as in the rest of the world, the movement is about the avant-garde.”¹⁹ Mexican composer Blas Galindo echoed the same sentiment about the new generation of Mexican composers; namely, that they too were exploring avant-garde techniques. As he said, “In

¹⁶ Xavier Montsalvatge, “El festival visto por 4 compositores españoles,” *Ritmo*, no. 349 (1964), 4.

¹⁷ Xavier Montsalvatge, “Estrenos Mundiales de Virgil Thomson y Walter Piston en el Festival de Música de América y España,” *La Vanguardia*, 23 October 1964, 18.

¹⁸ Anon., *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 11 (26 October 1964), 7.

¹⁹ Anon., *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 6, (17 October 1964), 7.

my country, musical nationalism has been exceeded. Now, we are interested in universal tendencies.”²⁰ Likewise, Panamanian composer Roque Cordero agreed. He thought the festival offered a chance to show the current musical trends of Americas “especially since it seems to me that the impression abounds that the Latin American composer is still immersed in folklore. That idea is truly outdated.”²¹ Of his own aesthetics, Cordero stated, “I have a personal serialism, obtained over the period of my own evolution. You will be able to test this out when you hear my Second Symphony.”²² Although some Latin American composers stated that the nationalist era had come to end, many of these same composers continued to use national signifiers in their serial works.

Not all composers or critics embraced the presence of serial or aleatoric techniques. Beside the debate surrounding nationalism’s place in a cosmopolitan context, composers also debated whether these advance techniques even counted as music. A few composers offered less positive views of the state of avant-garde music. U.S. composer Quincy Porter expressed distaste for computer music, explaining, “Avant-garde music is mathematical music, electronic. Electronic music is not human; a machine makes the sounds instead of a man.”²³ Spanish composer Ernesto Halffter also gave his opinion of

²⁰ Blas Galindo, “El Festival es la gran oportunidad de los países iberoamericanos de mostrar lo que estamos haciendo,” *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 8 (21 October 1964), 7.

²¹ Roque Cordero, “El Festival sera la gran revelación para Europa del vigoroso y personalismo movimiento musical americano,” *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 9 (22 October 1964), 2.

²² Ibid.

²³ Anon., *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 11 (26 October 1964), 6.

avant-garde music, being less than enthusiastic about recent serial developments. As

Halffter stated:

That it [serial music] is an Art, but it is not Music. The less gifted are the most enthusiastic of it. Those who make dodecaphonic and serial music only know how to imitate each other. They lack substance, as Falla said, one has to have “something to say.” I repeat a phrase of Falla, “From the carnival that was the Romantic era, we have passed into an era of collective madness.”²⁴

Halffter’s critique of serial music comes out of his own aesthetic preference for neo-classicism and his generally less experimental approach to composition.

Interestingly, both Ernesto and his nephew Cristóbal Halffter often invoke Falla when critiquing the current state of Spanish music. For the elder Halffter, Falla becomes a link back to an earlier era, where modern composers drew upon the polyphonic works of the old Spanish masters. For Cristóbal Halffter, Falla heralds the renewal of the avant-garde, as he views Falla’s later works as a call toward experimentation. As he wrote, “In the 1940s, our composers returned to nationalism, somewhere between neoclassicist and *castizo*, ignoring all that Falla had expected us to try to advance our in formal, tonal, harmonic, contrapuntal, and aesthetic concepts.”²⁵ The younger Halffter viewed this return to nationalism as regression for Spain’s music life. The resurgence of nationalistic compositions occurred among both composers who remained in Spain as well as those who had become exiles. In fact, several exiles, including Roberto Gerhard and Rodolfo Halffter, created some of their most nationalistic compositions in their first years of exile.

²⁴ Anon., *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 9 (22 October 1964), 1.

²⁵ Cristóbal Halffter, “Ausencia y presencia de Rodolfo Halffter en la música española,” *Heterofonía* 15/77 (1982): 7.

Nostalgic Nationalism: Spanish Composers in Exile

Though the festival largely avoids the topic of exile, it informs the discussion of musical nationalism. Scholar Carlos Gómez Amat noted that several Spanish exiles returned to a more nationalistic style. Amat hypothesized that this stylistic shift occurred “in some cases because of nostalgia and other to comply with the wishes of the foreign audiences, which almost always think of Spanish music as something to be accompanied with rhythmical hand-clapping and shouts of *Olé*.”²⁶ Julian White suggested that Roberto Gerhard, an early Spanish serialist composer, never quite abandoned his Spanish essence. If anything, exile increased his nationalistic predilection. As White wrote:

These middle-period works, composed during Gerhard’s first decade in England, refer directly in both subject matter and musical language to his Spanish past; and even the later, more ‘radical’ works with which he secured his reputation confirmed that in exile he never completely lost sight of his cultural roots.²⁷

Like many composers at the festival, critics often described Gerhard’s music as having a hint of Spanishness, even within a serial language. In 1961, critic Raymond Ericson wrote of Gerhard that “Today he uses most of the latest compositional techniques, including electronic music, that are universal property. Yet people tell him that his most advanced music has a Spanish flavor, however slight.”²⁸ Even using the most advanced techniques failed to mask Gerhard’s Spanish accent. Gerhard, listed as a

²⁶ Carlos Gómez Amat, “Some Aspects of 20th Century Spanish Music,” *The World of Music* 16/3 (1974): 19.

²⁷ Julian White, “National Traditions in the Music of Roberto Gerhard,” *Tempo* no. 184 (1993): 2.

²⁸ Raymond Ericson, “Relocated Spaniard: Tanglewood Teacher is Catalonian Briton,” *New York Times*, 13 August 1961, 9.

Spaniard in the festival's program, offered his serial String Quartet No. 2 to Madrid audiences. The string quartet failed to leave much of an impact as the majority of critics passed over the piece in their reviews.

Rodolfo Halffter presents a multifaceted example of the struggle between the national and the universal, as he identified himself as belonging to two nations: Spain and Mexico. As he explained, "I am a Spanish composer for two reasons: because I was born in Spain and I was formed in Spain; but, at the same time, I am Mexican because in the year 1940 I obtained my Mexican citizenship and because in Mexico I have had the luck and the possibility of achieving what I consider to be a substantial part of my creative output."²⁹ This dual identity remained a problem, as it alluded to the postwar exile, the discussion of which is conspicuously absent from the festival. In the early planning stages for the Madrid gathering, Enrique de la Hoz wrote to Carlos Robles Piquer, director of information for the festival. As De la Hoz informed him, "Yesterday at the meeting it was agreed that in his participation you may consider Rodolfo Halffter as Spanish and not as Mexican."³⁰ Within the context of the Franco regime, Halffter's designation as a Spaniard raises questions, as he had been an active supporter of the Spanish Republic; during its tenure he directed the music section of the Ministry of Propaganda.³¹ He also generated much music for the Republican cause. As scholar

²⁹ Aurelio Tello, "Rodolfo Halffter: presencia y ausencia del desterrado," *Plural* no. 196 (1988): 19.

³⁰ Enrique de la Hoz, "Primer Festival de Música de España y América, 26 September 1963," *Archivo General de la Administración*, Box 586 no. 63.

³¹ Carol A. Hess, "Silvestre Revueltas in Republican Spain: Music as a Political Utterance," *Latin American Music Review* 18/2 (1997): 282.

Aurelio Tello explains, “He composed songs with texts by Emilio Prados that went on to become a symbol of the Republican struggle against fascism and Franco's tyranny. *El paso del Ebro*, *Si me quieres escribir*, and *El tren blindado* were some of the songs composed during these years.”³² He also composed *Para la tumba de Lenin* (1937) to mark the twentieth anniversary of the Soviet revolution.³³ In 1939, Halffter along with writer José Bergamín created the *Junta de Cultura Española* in Paris. As Halffter explained:

Invited by the government of General Lázaro Cárdenas, the *Junta* moved to Mexico with the strong purpose to save from disaster—represented by the triumph of Franco's dictatorship—the spiritual physiognomy of progressive Hispanic culture, to maintain the union between emigrated intellectuals and artists, and to continue the struggle for the deep human principles supported by the Spanish Republic.³⁴

From after the Civil War until the mid-1960s, Spanish musical life rarely acknowledged Rodolfo Halffter or the majority of the other composers who went into exile. Of the postwar period, Gemma Pérez Zalduondo notes that the whole of this artistic generation “was cited on very few occasions in texts from that era.”³⁵ Likewise, Sultana Wahnón has noted that during the postwar years, silence became the standard response to anything reprehensible. As she explains, “Of that which was truly intolerable, one simply

³² Aurelio Tello, “Rodolfo Halffter,” 18.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ María Ángeles González and Leonora Saavedra, *Música Mexicana Contemporánea* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982), 16.

³⁵ Gemma Pérez Zalduondo, “La música en el contexto del pensamiento artístico durante el Franquismo (1936-1951),” in *Dos décadas de cultura artística en el franquismo (1936-1956): actas del congreso* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2001), 97.

did not speak.”³⁶ Richards also notes a lack of discourse on any controversial topic, stating, “Silence was the appropriate metaphor often used to describe the sense of repression in the Spanish postwar years.”³⁷ Even after his participation in the Madrid festival, Halffter’s re-incorporation in Spanish musical life occurred gradually. As scholar José Luis García del Busto notes, Halffter only became re-admitted to Spanish cultural life in the later decades of the Franco era. As he explains, “The decades of seventies and eighties were those of the determined recovery of the figure of Halffter, on the part of the official Spanish culture.”³⁸

Indeed, the festival marked the beginning of Halffter’s return to Spanish culture life. The press happily heralded Halffter’s visit to Spain. For example, the Spanish newspaper *Noticiero Universal* announced his return to Madrid with the headline, “Rodolfo Halffter, thirty years in Mexico, again in Spain.”³⁹ Spanish author Felipe Ximénez de Sandoval wrote of his happiness on seeing Halffter again in the popular newspaper, *Arriba*. As Sandoval wrote, “A few days ago I embraced, after almost thirty years of not seeing him, the great Madrid musician Rodolfo Halffter.”⁴⁰ Sandoval continued, touching lightly upon the topic of exile. As he observed, “All the Spaniards of

³⁶ Sultana Wahnón, “La implantación de la estética fascista en *Escorial*,” in *Tiempos de silencio. Actas del IV Encuentro de Investigadores del Franquismo: 17-19 de noviembre de 1999* (Valencia: Fundació d’Estudis i Iniciatives Sociolaborals, 1999), 735.

³⁷ Richards, “From War Culture to Civil Society,” 94.

³⁸ José Luis García del Busto, “Rodolfo Halffter I,” *ABC*, 15 January 2000, 50.

³⁹ Anon. “Rodolfo Halffter, treinta años en Méjico, de Nuevo en España,” *Noticiero Universal in Críticas* (Madrid: Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, 1965), 64.

⁴⁰ Felipe Ximénez de Sandoval, “Rodolfo Halffter, peregrino en su patria,” *Arriba*, 27 October 1964, 33.

my generation know that between 1936 and 1939, we thought we'd lost forever some of our friends, who have returned—little by little—over the course of this quarter century of peace.”⁴¹ Again, Sandoval credits the peace of the postwar era as bringing about the return of some of the Spanish exiles. Of Halffter's absence, Sandoval simply stated that “his long separation from Spanish artistic life was as painful as it was lamentable.”⁴²

The program committee selected Halffter's Violin Concerto for the festival, a work that dated from the first years of his exile, rather than a more recent creation. Violinist Samuel Dushkin commissioned the work shortly after Halffter's arrival in Mexico, as an overture of friendship and support. Halffter first met Dushkin in Paris, during his tenure on *Junta Cultural Española*. Halffter recalled of their first meeting that “Dushkin, who sympathized with the Spanish Republican cause, then gave me a display of sincere affection.”⁴³ The festival's performance marked the first time the Violin Concerto had been heard in Spain. As critic Franco observed, “I believe it is absurd that Rodolfo Halffter's Violin Concerto, which dates from the years 1939-41, is only now being heard in Spain. [...] The concerto will be with us—as it is in other countries—a habitual work.”⁴⁴

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ González and Saavedra, *Música Mexicana*, 17.

⁴⁴ Enrique Franco, “Inauguración de la Exposición Falla y Concierto de la Orquesta Nacional, dirigida por Guillermo Espinosa,” *Arriba*, 15 October 1964, 20.

The Violin Concerto remains one of Halffter's more nationalistic works, as opposed to some of his later serial pieces. Fernández-Cid remarked of the committee's selection that "The style of Rodolfo Halffter has much changed in the twenty-five years since he wrote the Violin Concerto, which now premieres. His work is clear, direct, and of a permanent *españolismo*—perhaps he was nostalgic during his first Mexican stage?" In a 2000 interview, the composer's nephew Cristóbal Halffter elaborated on what his uncle might have been thinking when composing the Violin Concerto. As Halffter stated:

His first work in Mexico, the Violin Concerto, is also his first nationalist work, a kind of reminder of what had become an impossibility: his home. Exile is the toughest test through which a human being can pass. Rodolfo remembered the world that has ceased and idealized it in the concerto, in some circumstances. The work is tremendous and, in spite of everything, one of the more fun works, cheerful, with more sense of humor than anything he has written.⁴⁵

The concerto contains several folkloric allusions. As Antonio Iglesias explained of the composition's premiere, "One hundred percent Spanish, with the pleasing influence of Scarlatti and Manuel de Falla, this *Concerto* written more than twenty years ago includes even a touch of folklore—the Galician reference in the opening recitative—within an eminently contemporary language."⁴⁶ Even with the folkloric references, Halffter straddled that nebulous area between the national and the universal. Luz Vernova, the Mexican violinist who performed the Violin Concerto at the Madrid festival, explained the concerto thus: "It is a Spanish music without being *españolada*."⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Jorge Fernández Guerra, "Cristóbal Halffter: 'Mi generación tiene el stigma de no haber podido ser discípula de Rodolfo,'" *ABC*, 15 January 2000, 51.

⁴⁶ Antonio Iglesias, "Music in Madrid," *Inter-American Music Bulletin*, no. 45 (1965): 1.

⁴⁷ Anon., *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 10 (24 October 1964), 7.

This rhetoric of being Spanish without being zealously national appears years earlier in writings about Halffter and persistently continued. For example, during the early 1940s, Chase wrote of Rodolfo Halffter that the composer still used Spanish folk material yet, “at the same time, he [Halffter] feels emancipated from any conscious nationalism, and he therefore employs the popular and traditional material in a detached and objective manner.”⁴⁸ Indeed, eventually transcending the national remains one paradox faced by any nationalist composer. Philip Bohlman describes how Dvořák saved himself from historical irrelevance by using only the essence of Czech folklore instead of directly quoting folk music. As Bohlman explains, “Though national markers are everywhere in his compositions, they are not overtly nationalist. Dvořák remained in control of his nationalist impulses, employing them to serve his ends, not their own.”⁴⁹

In another article for *Musical America*, Chase offered an even stronger point for Halffter’s distance from—and indeed contempt for—overt nationalism. As Chase stated, “Rodolfo Halffter, who at one time was strongly influenced by Schoenberg, has no use for the native picturesque Spanish idiom, which he burlesques in *Don Lindo*.”⁵⁰ Additionally, Michael Greet Field contended that Halffter’s compositions retain their Spanishness without falling prey to traps of nationalism. Field asserted that:

⁴⁸ Chase, *Music of Spain*, 202-03.

⁴⁹ Philip V. Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2004), 18.

⁵⁰ Gilbert Chase, “A View of the Younger Genius of Spain,” *Musical America*, no. 56 (1936):6.

It [Rodolfo Halffter's music] is unmistakably Spanish in atmosphere. Yet again it is far from being tourist music. (My contention is that the admirable term "tourist music," can be applied justly to Albéniz and Granados. But Falla, and after him Halffter, have lifted Spanish music well clear of this primitive nationalistic phase.)⁵¹

What gives Halffter's compositions their "unmistakably Spanish atmosphere" is typically vague. During the festival, when questioned about the nationalistic leanings of the new generation of Spanish composers, Halffter's reply added to the nebulosity of the Spanish essence. As Halffter stated, "The younger composers create universal music that can be understood by all, although the audience continues to perceive their Spanish roots in the texture. Serialism is something like the Esperanto of the musical language, delivered by each one with its own patriotic accent."⁵² Despite the serial music's universal appeal, national identity—in this case Spanishness—still maintains a palpable presence. A universal outlook with Spanish roots would be an apt description of Halffter's style. Like many composers, such as Copland, Cordero, De la Vega, and Ginastera, Halffter had also incorporated serial-derived techniques into his compositions by the 1950s. As Halffter explained of his stylistic development, "From nationalism and neo-classicism, I have been drifting toward serialism."⁵³ Yet, the festival programmed Halffter's Violin Concerto, which according to the program displayed an "*españolismo muy depurado*," instead of a more current, serial composition without such traces of

⁵¹ Michael Greet Field, "Rodolfo Halffter and the Spanish Tradition," *The Chesterian* 28/175 (1953): 7.

⁵² Rodolfo Halffter, "La música joven española, la vanguardia de la Europea," *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 7 (19 October 1964), 2.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

obvious nationalism. Perhaps the festival's organizers wished to ensure that the audience perceived Halffter's Spanish roots despite his long exile.

Manuel de Falla, another Spanish composer turned exile, also offers a window into the working out of national and universal polemics. Falla was the most honored composer at this contemporary festival, despite his death decades earlier. The festival's general director, Gregorio Marañón Moya, announced the festival would begin "with an exposition-homage to one who was—is, and will be—the great master of us all: Don Manuel de Falla."⁵⁴ The Falla exhibit displayed scores, letters, and some of his personal effects in the Institute for Hispanic Culture's exposition hall. Tellingly, Moya borrows Biblical language when discussing Falla, as he was indeed often regarded as a saint. In describing the postwar sanctification of Falla, Carol A. Hess has explained that "these [saintly] characteristic were transferred, rightly or wrongly, to criticism of his music created a neat alliance between self and circumstance: Falla, the purest of human beings, was seen along with his music, as the ideal vessel for neo-classicism."⁵⁵ During the festival, Falla also became the ideal vessel for inter-Americanism. The festival opened with a talk by Enrique Franco entitled, "Manuel de España y América," which stressed the composer's double heritage, focusing on his residence in Argentina and the inter-American nature of his unfinished cantata *Atlántida*, which centered on Columbus's

⁵⁴ Gregorio Marañón Moya, "Festival de Música de América y España," *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 4 (14 October 1964), 1.

⁵⁵ Carol A. Hess, *Sacred Passions: The Life and Music of Manuel de Falla* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 300.

discovery of the Americas.⁵⁶ Falla became upheld as a model of an inter-American composer, who inspired—and drew inspiration from—both sides of the Atlantic. To demonstrate Falla’s inter-American devotion, Franco explained that “half of Falla’s professional life was given over to a Hispanic-American theme.”⁵⁷

To Spain, Falla also symbolized the last internationally renowned composer before the musical silence following the Civil War. Though Falla left for Argentina for myriad reasons, the fact that he never returned despite monetary offers from the Franco government failed to conflict, for the festival’s organizers, with the co-opting of this image. Even before the 1964 festival, Ernesto Halffter’s completion of Falla’s *Atlántida* in 1962 musically repatriated Falla, as the work was programed at several symbolic Francoist events. Like the “Twenty-Five Years of Peace” celebrations, the printed materials surrounding the festival treated the Spanish Civil War and the ensuing diaspora as if it never occurred. Enrique Franco’s closest mention of Falla’s voluntary exile comes in a veiled hint at the end of his lecture, when he suggested that Spain should pay homage to the Americas “for receiving those composers who, for one reason or another, continued composing the music of Spain from America.”⁵⁸ In this revision of postwar history, Falla becomes a bridge from 1936 to 1964 festival, effectively skimming over the interim.

⁵⁶ Enrique Franco, “Manuel de España y América,” *I Conversaciones de Música de América y España* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1970), 21-33.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁵⁸ Anon. “Exposición y conferencia sobre Manuel de Falla,” *I Festival de Música Boletín Informativo*, no. 5 (15 October 1964): 2.

Falla's image continued to be remade after his death, morphing from nationalist to universalist. Enrique Sacau-Ferreira has noted that during the 1940s, Falla's later neo-classical works received little attention; instead the focus fell on his Andalusia-inspired *El amor brujo*, *El sombrero de tres picos* and *Siete canciones populares españolas*.⁵⁹ By the 1960s, however, emphasis on the early works began to recede, replaced by preference for the pure and modern sound of the later works. These neo-classical works, rather than the more nationalistic compositions, held the key to the progress of Spanish music as this style exemplified an amalgamation of both national and universal traits. In 1959, Chase confirmed this neo-classic Falla as the model for younger composers' to use when approaching nationalistic elements. As Chase commented:

The measure of Falla's influence on Spanish music over the past twenty years is to be sought in *El Retablo de Maese Pedro* and the Harpsichord Concerto. These are the scores in which the younger composers have looked for guidance and inspiration. They carry the ascending curve of Falla's musical nationalism towards its summit.⁶⁰

Indeed, two of the most prominent Spanish composers, Ernesto Halffter and Cristóbal Halffter, took Falla's legacy and melded it with their own. Ernesto became the last link to Falla's living legacy as he completed Falla's *Atlántida*. Ernesto's nephew, Cristóbal, described Falla and the later Grupo de los Ocho, as paving the path for a new Spanish music, which unfortunately had become derailed because of the upheaval following the Civil War. For Cristóbal Halffter, the postwar period represented a lacuna

⁵⁹ Enrique Sacau-Ferreira, "Performing a Political Shift: Avant-garde Music in Cold War Spain," PhD diss. (University of Oxford, 2011), 81-83. See link, <http://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:df601c57-c9f0-4320-9a3a-8493ecf1101a> (Accessed 9 December 2011).

⁶⁰ Gilbert Chase, *Music of Spain*, 311.

of forward progress and Falla represented a path unsullied by war. In a 1961 interview with Otto Mayer-Serra, Halffter again praised Falla for being the first truly modern Spanish composer stating that “Falla was the great example: he was the first to incorporate the contemporary tendencies of his time into Spanish music.”⁶¹ As discussed in chapter two, Spain during the 1940s produced very few avant-garde or experimental works. Carlos Gómez Amat echoed Halffter’s assertion that Spanish musical life stagnated during the postwar era, though he partly blamed it on the grim realities of the time. As he writes:

The more famous names, such as Ernesto Halffter and Joaquín Rodrigo, represent no progress of any kind but rather a step backward when measured against what had been achieved in Falla’s late works. [...] The people were not to be won over to the cause of progressive upheaval, they preferred to hear “attractive” and pleasing music that did not place too heavy a demand on their receptive capacity.⁶²

For Amat, Falla’s late works were more progressive than most postwar compositions, which retreated into a more conservative style. To revive Spanish composition, Cristóbal Halffter and others of his generation, often called the “Generation of ’51,” thus looked to Falla instead of those who had continued to compose in the postwar era. The postwar era, depicted as backward, could hardly provide inspiration. Scholar Edmund Haines explains of the works of Esplá, Rodrigo, and Ernesto Halffter that “the music of this generation is technically effective and often poetic, but it did not,

⁶¹ Otto Mayer-Serra, “Cristóbal Halffter: Solo la serie es capaz de ordenar el caos,” *Audiomusica*, 10 July 1961, 21.

⁶² Carlos Gómez Amat, “Some Aspects of 20th Century Spanish Music,” 13.

and does not yet point out any paths to new adventures.”⁶³ Younger Spanish composers seeking out “paths to new adventures” thus picked up where Falla left off, not necessarily with the same style, but with the same sense of exploration, applying advanced, contemporary techniques to their composition. Luis de Pablo, another member of the “Generation of ’51,” has commented that “Falla was our idol. For me, Falla was the only composer who could give me hope and help me find the way to get started. Naturally, when I talk about Falla, I mean his *Retablo* and *Concerto*.”⁶⁴ Consequently, the presence of Falla—as innovator and not as nationalist—remained strong throughout the inaugural Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain.

As further commemoration, the festival also featured on 28 October a complete staging of *El Retablo de Maese Pedro*, Falla’s neo-classical puppet opera based on a scene from *Don Quixote*. According to the program, this performance was the first complete scenic staging of this work in Spain.⁶⁵ The audiences’ thunderous applause, which lasted well after the final curtain, marked the performance as a resounding success.⁶⁶ This composition’s selection underscores the emphasis placed on Falla’s neo-classical style during the 1960s. According to the program notes, with this work Falla created “an art as strong as it is simple,” as well as one that “escaped the narrow dogma

⁶³ Edmund Haines, “The New Dada in Spanish Music,” 77.

⁶⁴ Enrique Sacau-Ferreira, “Performing a Political Shift,” 80.

⁶⁵ Anon., “El Concierto del Día 28” *Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no.13 (31 October 1964), 2.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

of nationalism.”⁶⁷ The festival portrays Falla as having overcome the hindrances of nationalism, just as the Generation of ’51 attempted to do. Ecuadorian music critic Francisco Alexander reinforced this perception of a less-nationalistic Falla in his description of the performance. As Alexander wrote, “The music is perfect: economic in its means, simple, profound, beautiful, pure, without any hint of narrow nationalism. This may be Spanish music in its essence and its deepest roots, but it is more universal than Spanish, like the literary work that inspired it.”⁶⁸ Falla’s masterwork thus achieves the elusive balance between center and periphery, incorporating difference while communicating in a “universal” language.

The second half of the concert featured *Concierto de Estío* (1943) by Joaquín Rodrigo and *Improperios* (1964) by Federico Mompou. Pairing Falla’s composition with that of Rodrigo’s and Mompou’s seemed an apt gesture. Falla, Rodrigo, and Mompou indeed represent the glory early twentieth-century Spanish music; all found success in Paris during the 1920s. Raymond Calcraft draws a comparison between Falla and Rodrigo, stating, “During the second half of the 20th century Rodrigo came to occupy a position in Spanish musical life close to that of Manuel de Falla in the first.”⁶⁹ The Catalan Mompou, although not as well-known as Rodrigo, created much memorable

⁶⁷ Anon., “Programa para Hoy,” *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 12 (28 October 1964), 4.

⁶⁸ Francisco Alexander, “Notas Sobre Música: Crónicas de Madrid (V),” *El Comercio*, 29 October 1964, 26.

⁶⁹ Raymond Calcraft. “Rodrigo, Joaquín.” In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23647> (accessed July 26, 2011).

piano music as well as liturgical works. One of his larger religious pieces, *Improperios*, for baritone soloist, mixed choir, and orchestra, resulted from a commission for the third “Semana de Música Religiosa,” held in Cuenca in April, 1964, which received a repeat performance at the Madrid festival. Stylistic similarities between Mompou and Falla also exist as English composer and musicologist Wilfrid Mellers observed. As he wrote, “There is also a kinship between Mompou and the ‘archaic’ medieval-Renaissance, Don Quixotic Falla of *Master Peter’s Puppet Show* (1924), and of the *Harpsichord Concerto* (1923), though those marvelous pieces postdate Mompou’s formative works.”⁷⁰ Thus the concert of 28 October serves a moment of nostalgia during the forward-looking festival.

Cristóbal Halffter: An Avant-Garde Nationalist

As one of the leaders of the new generation of Spanish avant-garde composers, Halffter’s opinion held much influence in the aesthetic debates of the era. Halffter began to write his first serial works in 1956, and soon became experimenting with limited use of aleatory. Yet, even with his preference for an abstract musical language, Halffter still had to confront a nationalist dilemma. In 1962, after a triumphant premiere of his chamber work, *Formantes*, at the I.S.C.M. contemporary music festival in London, Halffter informed his country that:

The only thing I can say, without fear of equivocation, is that my work has been no worse or better than the others, nor has it been older or newer than the others, but it is different. [...] I mean to say that our music presents a personal vision of

⁷⁰ Wilfrid Mellers, *Le Jardin Retrouvé: The Music of Frederic Mompou (1893—1987)* (York: The Fairfax Press, 1987), 24.

the modern problems of composition; the music is born of the force that always characterizes all the activities of the eminently Spanish spirit.⁷¹

In this statement, Halffter echoed the common tourist slogan, “Spain is different.” His *Formantes* retains a Spanish spirit while being on par with contemporary music from around the world. Halffter often encouraged the idea that his music contained a hidden Spanish essence, despite its abstract, serial nature. As he explained, “In each new work I write, I abandon certain elements to take advantage of others. Without having lost my roots in Spanish music—its essence may have been sublimated into environmental values—I feel very comfortable in the great world of dodecaphony.”⁷² Thus the Spanish essence of his works surpasses mere superficiality to inform the composition on deeper, structural level. Yet on certain occasions, Halffter distanced himself from his Spanish roots, preferring to emphasize the universal qualities of Spanish music. In an interview with *Buenos Aires Musical*, Ferro further questioned Halffter about his thoughts concerning nationalism. As Ferro asked:

Moving on to the topic of music in your country, do you think that the nationalist trend, which left such a mark on several decades of Spanish music, still has some vitality? Or is it extinguished, leaving the road to new music, which has renovated compositional systems and a new musical thinking that is completely divorced from the past?⁷³

⁷¹ Cristóbal Halffter, “Londres: Festival de Música Contemporánea,” *Triunfo* no. 2 (16 June 1962), 31.

⁷² Otto Mayer-Serra, “Cristóbal Halffter,” 22.

⁷³ Enzo Valenti Ferro, “Músicos de Hoy: Cristóbal Halffter el joven,” *Buenos Aires Musical*, 16 November 1964, 5.

Ferro's question implied that new music cannot flourish where nationalism still thrives.

Halffter's diplomatic reply framed modern music as a continuation of tradition rather than a break from it. As he answered:

I don't agree that new music is divorced from the past. Nationalism had its day, but let's realize that neither Monteverdi nor Bach made use of it [nationalism] in their compositions, even though nobody could doubt that in those times there was popular music too. The fact that we now do without it, as did all composers before the 19th century, is natural.⁷⁴

For Halffter in this instance, nationalism belongs to a bygone era and the path toward nationalism was as inevitable as the movement away from it. Tellingly, Taruskin writes of nationalism that "nationalism was universally held to be a positive value in nineteenth-century Europe because nationalism, to put it ironically, was international."⁷⁵ Once nationalism's popularity declined, its positive value declined as well. Spain, by moving away from nationalism toward serialism, had joined the natural progression of the European mainstream, which had already moved on to the next evolution of music. However, the notion that Spanish music is still set apart from other countries remained deeply ingrained. For example, Tomás Marco asserted that "Generation of '51," still retained their innate Spanishness against an avant-garde background. As Marco explained:

The works of Cristóbal Halffter exhibit characteristics that are truly Spanish, and the strange sound-structures of Ramón Barce, his atonal non-serial harmonies, are also unmistakably Spanish. Even Carmelo Bernaola's highly interesting compositions, in spite of or perhaps because of the composer's great capacity for

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Taruskin, *On Russian Music*, 32.

abstraction, are largely conceived in the Basque manner. [...] And finally a composer such as Luis de Pablo, who went through a phase of unusually powerful abstraction, which exerted a lasting influence on the international scene, introduces the Spanish coloring even in works of this kind.⁷⁶

Marco, like many critics, becomes purposely vague when describing exactly what makes these works “unmistakably Spanish.” Yet Marco insisted upon the Spanishness of the composition as being a vital part of the work, whether one could readily perceive it or not. As a Spanish composer, retaining one’s difference represents one way of fighting against the hegemony of the European mainstream.

Nationalism in the Serial Works of Aurelio de la Vega and Gustavo Becerra

Like Spanish composers, Latin American composers also struggled with issues of nationalism and universality. For example, De la Vega’s compositional style never displayed overt references to folklore, yet he would often draw upon it for inspiration, especially the rhythmic aspects. As Ronald F. Erin explains of his style, “Internationalist in harmonic language and structure, Afro-Cuban in rhythmic awareness, the early pieces of the 1940s and 1950s also display his predilection for virtuosic statement, vigorous rhythmic drive, dramatic contrapuntal lines and highlighted instrumental color—elements which continue to be important throughout his stylistic evolution.”⁷⁷ De la Vega has often problematized the struggle that Latin American composers face when incorporating folklore. As he explained:

⁷⁶ Tomás Marco, “Traditionalism in Contemporary Spanish Music,” *The World of Music* 16/3 (1974):41.

⁷⁷ Ronald F. Erin, “De la Vega, Aurelio,” in *Contemporary Composers*, edited by Brian Morton and Pamela Collins (Chicago: St. James Press, 1992), 943.

The struggle then turns into a perpetual one of trying to convince a French, a North American, a Finn, or a German, that a Mexican musician does not have to use the timbres nor the gestures of mariachi music, nor does an Argentinian have to constantly rub the bandoneón, nor does a Cuban have to play the bongo all the time to be able to make music of viable art.⁷⁸

De la Vega, by writing a serial music infused with allusions to folkloric rhythms, hoped to widen international perceptions of Latin American music beyond nationalistic clichés. In fact, the majority of his music lacks any nationalistic implications. The trope of “universal yet national” affected the reception of De la Vega’s serial *Symphony in Four Parts*.⁷⁹ For example, the program notes invoke a certain inter-American style, which amalgamates folkloric elements into a cosmopolitan soundscape. As the program states:

Various rhythmic patterns, which are heard during the four movements, show the composer’s American origin, a non-nationalist Americanism without geographical borders, which effortlessly blends native rhythms in an interesting amalgam with serial procedures of a universal character, procedures that act as common denominator for the music of our time.⁸⁰

Though serial procedures are historically rooted in a time and place (Germany in the early twentieth-century), their dissemination and promotion by prominent European and American figures endowed these procedures with universal clout. Use of serialism consequently indicated membership in a common international club, yet these “native

⁷⁸ Néstor Díaz de Villegas, “Aurelio de la Vega entrevistó por Néstor Díaz de Villegas,” *Encuentro de la Cultura Cubana: Homenaje a Aurelio de la Vega*, no. 28/29 (2003): 10.

⁷⁹ There is one copy of this score held at the The Edwin A. Fleisher Collection of Orchestral Music at the Free Library of Philadelphia. However, it was found to be missing at the time of this dissertation. The Fleisher Collection stated that the score withdrawn by composer for revision but never returned. The score could not be located at the composer’s residence.

⁸⁰ Anon., “Notas del Programa,” *Primer Festival de Música de América y España* (Madrid: Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, 1964), 23.

rhythms” anchor the work in a hemispheric context. De Pablo’s review of De la Vega’s composition expressed similar thoughts, stating, “With total abandonment of any nationalist aesthetic, his music departs from the Schoenberg school to give us a personal vision of the same, through an exuberant and vigorous temperament.”⁸¹ Overall, critics applauded De la Vega’s composition. Giménez wrote that it justified all the praise that the composer had previously received. As he explained, “We see it as a compromise between the aesthetic of Schoenberg and Hindemith’s formalism, two things that some may not unreasonably think to be incompatible. However, it is work that one listens to with interest and leads to ratify the credit which De la Vega has received from previous works.”⁸² Ruiz Coca also found the work pleasing, stating, “In the work, he uses the dodecaphonic system with undoubted genius.”⁸³ Espinos Orlando of *Madrid* additionally gave De la Vega’s work praise, stating, “The work, composed with the twelve-tone system, reveals a technical mastery and knowledge of orchestral resources, and percussion is used with rhythmic originality.”⁸⁴ This rhythmic vigor (often derived from Latin American dances), combined with serialism, endowed the work with the hallmarks of mid-twentieth century Latin American composition that critics so often praised.

⁸¹ De Pablo, “Un impacto en la vida cultural española,” 80.

⁸² Alberto Emilio Giménez, “Brillante apertura para un festival,” *La Nación*, 27 October 1964, 34.

⁸³ Fernando Ruiz Coca, “I Festival de Música de América y España,” *El Alcázar*, 16 October 1964, 18.

⁸⁴ J. Espinos Orlando, “Concierto Inaugural, con estrenos de Villalobos, Vega, Sommers, y Rodolfo Halffter,” *Madrid*, 19 October 1964, 18.

Chilean composer Gustavo Becerra also found much success with a work that blended folkloric-inspired rhythms with serial techniques.⁸⁵ The Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation originally commissioned the work for the Third Inter-American Music Festival in 1963, but as that festival was cancelled, the work debuted in Madrid. Giménez declared that Becerra's Quintet "carried away the honors of the evening. Of a serial character, written with good command of technical resources and demonstrating thought about which there is nothing trivial, Becerra has reaffirmed his place as one of the leading creative artists from our America."⁸⁶ *Madrid* reviewer Espinos Orlando gave the night's top honors to Becerra as well. As she stated:

However, the night's biggest surprise was reserved for Gustavo Becerra's Quintet for Wind and Strings. The dodecaphonic work used the system's language with an intelligent and determined stroke. Within a system of traditional forms—rhythmic and thematic—he makes a very personal use of the twelve-tone system, obtaining a direct and effective language.⁸⁷

Fernández-Cid also commented upon the work, stating, "A very dramatic background gives way in the last movement to a quintessential popular rhythm, albeit stylized."⁸⁸ Fernández-Cid later expanded upon his review in *La Vanguardia*, explaining, "In the last movement, it seems like there is as a popular rhythm used in the background

⁸⁵ There is one copy of the score at the Library of Congress. It is a photocopy of a manuscript and difficult to read in some passages.

⁸⁶ Alberto Emilio Giménez, "Labor de trascendencia y visitantes gratos en el Festival de Madrid," *La Nación*, 19 November 1964, 17.

⁸⁷ J. Espinos Orlando, "Festival de América y España: Música de cámara en cultura hispánica: estrenos de Chávez y Becerra," *Madrid*, 27 Oct. 1964, 31.

⁸⁸ Antonio Fernández-Cid, "Obras de Escudero, Gerhard, Chávez y Becerra por el Cuarteto Clásico," *Informaciones*, 27 October 1964, 18.

from the composer's country of origin, Colombia, which gives the work charm and strength."⁸⁹ Despite the fact that Fernández-Cid mistakenly identified Becerra as Colombian and not Chilean, Becerra's incorporation of stylized dance rhythms within a serial context aligned the work with the prevailing inter-American trend. Sopeña liked the work as well, explaining, "The quintet of Gustavo Becerra is interesting as ambition, and as desire for the expressive incorporation of new theories: he demonstrates several influences, his strong rhythmic support has astonishing roots, which are sometimes seeming as quotes from Albéniz."⁹⁰

Escaping Nationalism: Aaron Copland and Carlos Chávez

Surprisingly, the new compositions of two of the most revered composers of the older generation, Chávez and Copland, received little attention, and critics often dismissed their works for deviating from their previous style. Though nationalistic compositions form a minority of both Copland's and Chávez's total oeuvre, these two composers faced difficulty in shaking their nationalist label. In the 1950s, Copland began moving away from his populist works of the 1930s and 1940s, toward a more difficult idiom. Critic Eric Salzman praised Copland's versatility, stating, "His next piece may be full of tunes to whistle or it may be as abstract as a Jackson Pollock painting."⁹¹ During

⁸⁹ Antonio Fernández-Cid, "Lluvia de Estrenos en el I Festival de América y España," *La Vanguardia*, 30 October 1964, 26.

⁹⁰ Federico Sopeña, "Estreno de Chávez y Becerra en el Festival Hispanoamericano," *ABC*, 28 October 1964, 73.

⁹¹ Eric Salzman, "Dean of Our Composers at 60," *New York Times*, 13 November 1960, 51.

the 1950s, Copland decidedly favored abstraction over “tunes,” yet these new pieces had quite a cold reception, mainly for being too cerebral.

His Nonet for string is a good example of his postwar abstract style. Copland conducted the work at the second Inter-American Music Festival, where it received poor reviews. Lowens’s statement that Copland’s Nonet represented “a tightly knit effort with a high dissonance level that did not seem to come out of the composer’s top drawer,” typified the critical response.⁹² At the Madrid festival, Copland’s Nonet also fared poorly with critics, as many seemed to be expecting a composition more in keeping with his earlier nationalistic style. Giménez wrote that the work was “inordinately long and quite impersonal.”⁹³ Likewise, noted Portuguese composer and music critic Joly Braga Santos found the work lacking in emotion. As he wrote, “This work of Copland’s, who is a well-known composer in Portugal, is far from belonging to the best-known style of author of the *Salón México*. Despite the technical correctness of writing, its arid counterpoint does not contain a single moment of true emotion.”⁹⁴ Fernández-Cid critiqued Copland’s Nonet for failing to be as coloristic as previous pieces, stating, “Concerning Aaron Copland’s Nonet, one might repeat the same thing that was said in the case of Villalobos: the work shows its author in a grey facet, without relief, without attraction in the musical

⁹² Irving Lowens, “Current Chronicle,” *The Musical Quarterly* 47/4 (1961): 533.

⁹³ Giménez, “Nuevas etapas,” 38.

⁹⁴ Joly Braga Santos, “Crónica de Madrid: Festival Internacional de Música,” in *Críticas* (Madrid: Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, 1965), 73.

substance, when so often admire his work for its colorful strength and rhythm.”⁹⁵

Montsalvatge also expressed surprise at Copland’s new work, and more generally, he was surprised by the nature the U.S. composer’s offerings. As Montsalvatge explained:

It is just to say that the American works of this concert were received with a certain disappointment. One was not expecting from Aaron Copland, author of so much for character and personality, a score as difficult as *Nonet*. The piece offered little relief; its primary interest lay in its virtuosity. However, this virtuosity cannot be appreciated because the string section of Municipal Orchestra of Valencia is in no condition to tackle a score such as that one.⁹⁶

For a composer known for his “imposed simplicity” of the 1930s and 1940s, Copland’s more abstract style of the 1950s and 1960s failed to impress most critics. Even the conservatively inclined Sopeña found the work lacking, stating, “The Copland *Nonet* doesn't even rise to a certain impressionism in its misty atmosphere: it seems like a school exercise from many years ago.”⁹⁷ Ruiz Coca expressed similar shock at Copland’s new stylistic direction, remarking, “In his *Nonet* for strings, whose version for small orchestra was offered for the first time in Europe, the language, written with great ambition, is much more abstract and harsh, with a dissonant counterpoint whose final result, on occasion, does not appear clearly justified.”⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Antonio Fernández-Cid, “Alicia de Larrocha, Zabaleta, Jordá, y la Municipal de Valencia en el Festival de América y España,” *Informaciones*, 20 October 1964, 22.

⁹⁶ Xavier Montsalvatge, “Estrenos Mundiales de Virgil Thomson y Walter Piston,” *La Vanguardia*, 23 October 1964, 18.

⁹⁷ Federico Sopeña, “Música: Música de los Estados Unidos en el festival hispanoamericano,” *ABC*, 24 October 1964, 72

⁹⁸ Fernando Ruiz Coca, “Alicia de Larrocha, Zabaleta, y Jordá,” *El Alcázar*, 29 October 1964, 28.

Chávez's new composition, *Soli II*, also fared poorly among the critics. The most common critique was that the work was simply lackluster; that one expected more from such an accomplished composer. Ferro wrote that there was "nothing especially attractive" about his *Soli II*.⁹⁹ Espinosa Orlando also felt that the *Soli II* was not the composer's best effort, stating, "Not even Chávez achieves his goals with this work. Despite having given particular prominence to each of the instruments throughout the five-piece quintet, the monotony and lack of interest are obvious."¹⁰⁰ Critic José María Franco of *Ya* found the work less than stimulating. As he explained, "The work is very difficult for the instruments because of the jumps and passages devoted to them, yet it has no attraction as ideas or as a work."¹⁰¹ Enrique Franco commented that Chávez's compositional approach of continual development had merit, but thought it sacrificed beauty. As he stated, "Chávez achieved, yes, a fluid and changing world, but with weak physiognomy."¹⁰² Likewise, Iglesias called the work "well done but somewhat artificial."¹⁰³ The most intriguing review of Chávez's work came from an anonymous critic. As the critic stated, "Critics lamented that instead of offering any of his nativist and brilliant orchestral pieces, the *Sinfonía India* for example, we heard a work more

⁹⁹ Ferro, "Más, sobre el Festival," 5.

¹⁰⁰ J. Espinosa Orlando, "Música de cámara en Cultura Hispánica: Estrenos de Chávez y Becerra," *Madrid*, 27 October 1964, 31.

¹⁰¹ José María Franco, "Vida musical: Nueva audición de música de cámara," *Ya*, 28 October 1964, 38.

¹⁰² Enrique Franco, "Música de cámara y concierto español," *Arriba*, 30 October 1964, 29.

¹⁰³ Antonio Iglesias, "Music in Madrid," 4.

bland and of less interest.”¹⁰⁴ Clearly, the critics wished to hear both Copland and Chávez writing in the colorful style for which they had become famous.

Rewriting Nationalism in the *Conversaciones de Música*

The festival’s conference, entitled “Conversaciones de Música,” ran simultaneously with the concerts. These conversations demonstrated the complexity of the intersecting currents of musical thought. In the lectures and ensuing dialogue, one can observe where clashes between conservative and experimental adherents became apparent, as well as debates about nationalism. The first session on 17 October featured a lecture by Oscar Esplá entitled, “Considerations about the Tendencies of Contemporary Music.” Born in 1886, Esplá belonged to the pre-war generation. He had much success during the 1920s with his cantata *Nochebuena del diablo* (1924) and his symphonic poem *Don Quijote velando las armas* (1924). Like many of his generation, Esplá too had been touched by exile; in 1936, he fled to Belgium where he remained until 1950. Overall, his style can be described as using post-Romantic harmonies with nationalistic colorings. Never an admirer of the Second Viennese school, he dedicated his new work for the Madrid festival, *Sinfonía Aitana*, “A la música tonal, in memoriam, (To tonal music, in memoriam).” Of his subtitle, Esplá explained, “It shows the intention, not without irony, to pay tribute to compositional forms whose crisis we are experiencing (in the author’s

¹⁰⁴ Anon., “Madrid: Notas de dos continentes,” in *Críticas* (Madrid: Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, 1965), 102.

opinion, has passed).”¹⁰⁵ For Esplá, tonal music remained very much alive, and still maintained its ability to express the reality of the modern world. The press eagerly awaited the debut of Esplá’s symphony on the festival’s final concert, as he had not produced a new work in many years.

Esplá had been an unabashed nationalist for most of his career. Yet the majority of critical responses to the *Sinfonía Aitana* downplayed its nationalistic characteristic. For example, in explaining Esplá’s stylistic development, the *Noticiero Universal* wrote, “His initial nationalism evolves every time with increasing independence and creative freedom.”¹⁰⁶ Of this new *Sinfonía Aitana*, critic Espinos Orlando explained, “Esplá has also added to his music a new and personal nationalist language. Nationalist yes, but not with vulgar picturesqueness or easy and straightforward allusions.”¹⁰⁷ Espinos Orlando conceded that the symphony did contain nationalist gestures, such as use of a folk-like scale that Esplá had created. However, Espinos Orlando implied that Esplá used this scale and cadential figures in an intellectual manner. Fernández-Cid also commented, “The aroma of the region is present, as is so often the usual in Esplá, without popular allusions and folk themes.”¹⁰⁸ Franco explained the work thus: “The *Sinfonía Aitana* is not ‘current’ music nor an avant-garde essay, nor opposition against it. It is personal

¹⁰⁵ Oscar Esplá, “Notas del Programa,” *Primer Festival de Música de América y España* (Madrid: Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, 1964), 73.

¹⁰⁶ Anon., “Condecoración a Oscar Esplá y estreno de su última obra,” *Noticiero Universal*, 4 November 1964, 22.

¹⁰⁷ J. Espinos Orlando, “Brillante Concierto de Clausura,” *Madrid*, 2 November 1964, 65.

¹⁰⁸ Antonio Fernández-Cid, “La *Sinfonía Aitana* en el concierto de clausura del I Festival de América y España,” *Informaciones*, 2 November 1964, 58.

voice, poured from an effective feeling and controlled by a rigorous intellectual thought.”¹⁰⁹ It seems that the above critics were quick to couch the work’s nationalistic qualities within an intellectual framework. Esplá controls his use of folklore and not the other way around. De Pablo showed less enthusiasm about the work, stating, “In the end, the work does not offer any substantial innovation with regard to other works of the same Esplá: a sublimated nationalism, a personal harmony, a clearly post-Romantic expressive world, as it is possible to trace from his *Don Quixote* up to the *Sonata del Sur*.”¹¹⁰ Before the concert, Fraga Iribarne honored Esplá with the award of *La Gran Cruz de Alfonso X el Sabio*, a high honor for his lifetime of service to Spanish music. Of the ceremony, an observer reported, “The minister praised in a few words the Spanish composer’s creative work, which is of universal importance.”¹¹¹

Esplá presented the first—and most controversial—lecture of “Conversaciones de Música.” As a composer, he was known for symphonies as well as his harsh personality. Marco explains that “he had the reputation of being contentious and ill-tempered.”¹¹² During his talk, Esplá made clear that he regretted the present course of modern music. He had little praise for the music of Stockhausen, Cage, or Boulez, stating, “Today’s

¹⁰⁹ Enrique Franco, “Las Sinfonías de Alberto Ginastera y Oscar Esplá,” *Arriba*, 2 November 1964, 51.

¹¹⁰ De Pablo, “Un impacto en la vida cultural española,” 81.

¹¹¹ Anon., “Homenaje al Maestro Esplá en el concierto de clausura,” *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 14 (1 November 1964), 2.

¹¹² Marco, *Spanish Music in the Twentieth Century*, 54.

music is a childish game, its musical scores are full of scribbles.”¹¹³ Esplá also concluded that, “The majority [of young composers] offer nothing but vulgar, trivial works, works without interest, and they act more like one of modern psychology than an artist, preoccupied with being fashionable.”¹¹⁴ Yet Esplá’s most controversial critique was that modern music, with its serialism and aleatory, went against the very order of the world. As he explained, “This goes against nature. And to presume it should prevail is just as insane as to claim that sexual inversion should prevail over the normal function [of the body], thanks to which we came into this world.”¹¹⁵ For Esplá, avant-garde music had about as much of a chance as becoming mainstream as homosexuality, and was just as “unnatural.” This particular comment caused one anonymous composer to walk out, and Esplá’s other opinions about modern music stirred up debate among the composers that remained. Playing the role of mediator, Fernández-Cid advised closer study of Esplá’s speech before passing judgment. As he stated, “Many voices warned that the extraordinary content of the text offered by Esplá needed not only to be heard, but read, too.”¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Anon., “‘La música de hoy es un juego pueril, su grafía musical es pleno garabato,’ dijo Oscar Esplá,” *I Festival de Música Boletín Informativo*, no. 6 (17 October 1964), 2.

¹¹⁴ Oscar Esplá, “Consideraciones sobre las tendencias de la música contemporánea,” *I Conversaciones de Música de América y España* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1970), 58.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 51-2.

¹¹⁶ Antonio Fernández-Cid, “Oscar Esplá diserta en la primera Conversación del Festival de América y España,” *Informaciones*, 17 October 1964, 23.

The discussion that followed Esplá's talk also became notable. As an unknown critic commented, "Naturally, the conversation that followed was discussed—especially by the youth—and alluded to throughout the meeting."¹¹⁷ Montsalvatge, writing as a critic for *La Vanguardia* remarked, "The controversy was very lively!"¹¹⁸ During the discussion, Rodolfo Halffter responded first to Esplá, saying, "Why are we going to argue about if a timbre melody exists or not—for example—if the timbre melody already exists as a fact? We already have it in one of Schoenberg's *Five Pieces*, where there is only one chord that is constantly changing timbres."¹¹⁹ Esplá answered that this changing of timbres could in no way be called a melody. Likewise, Halffter asked, "Why are we going to deny aleatory in music, if in fact it already exists?" Most of the composers present at the lecture found Esplá's castigation of modern music unsettling. Unlike Esplá, many of the composers had written works that used serialism, with some venturing into aleatory and electronic music. If the future of music lay in an internationalized, serial language, then Esplá's call for a return to tonality echoed the regressive effects of the postwar era.

De la Vega gave the address at the second session entitled, "Brief account of Latin American and Canadian music," previously published as "New World Composers"

¹¹⁷ Anon., "Cronica de Música," *Hoja del Lunes*, 19 October 1964, 27.

¹¹⁸ Xavier Montsalvatge, "Ha comenzado en Madrid el I Festival de Música de América y España," *La Vanguardia*, 20 October 1964, 13.

¹¹⁹ Rodolfo Halffter in *I Conversaciones de Música de América y España* (Madrid: Dirección General de Bellas Artes, 1970), 59-60.

in the *Inter-American Music Bulletin*.¹²⁰ Whereas Esplá's lecture highlighted the difference between the more traditional composers and those who were more experimental, De la Vega's talk focused on the recent achievements of composers of the Western hemisphere. According to De la Vega, gone are "the symphonic poems that sang of rivers, and jungles, that exalted indigenous rhythms, pentatonic scales, and the noise of conga drums."¹²¹ De la Vega asserted that Latin America now has a new generation of composers that have turned away from nationalism as well as the last vestiges of neo-classicism.¹²² In De la Vega's opinion, these New World composers wrote music that was just as sophisticated as their Old World counterparts and moreover, just as universal. Of this new generation, De la Vega cited Ginastera's *Cantata para América Mágica* and electronic works by Chilean José Vicente Asuar as examples of this non-nationalist trend.

In particular, De la Vega wrote of Ginastera that "from his first nationalistic attempts, to his recent magnificent creations, he has followed an ascending trajectory, gradually assuming dodecaphonic hues and universalist trappings, until he has come to mark a milestone in New World composition."¹²³ In this statement, serialism becomes a point of arrival for the teleological progression from nationalism to universalism. This

¹²⁰ Aurelio de la Vega, "New World Composers," *Inter-American Music Bulletin*, no. 43 (1964): 5.

¹²¹ Aurelio de la Vega, "Breve recuento de la música latinoamericana y canadiense," *I Conversaciones de Música de América y España* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1970), 82.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ *Ibid.*

characterization of Ginastera's development from pleasing but limited nationalistic works to the greatness of his avant-garde compositions in an international style began to appear in the late 1950s, after his premieres at the Inter-American Music Festivals. Other Latin American composers sought to emulate Ginastera's "ascending trajectory" in their own careers, often by following the same of model of serialism with contorted dance rhythms.

Thomson's "Musical Maturity in North America," occupied the third session of the colloquium. Thomson's talk consisted of an overview of music in the United States from 1890 until the present, focusing on the symphony, the ballet, and the theater. Esplá thanked him profusely for his talk, especially for "his gallantry to pronounce it in Spanish."¹²⁴ The festival's daily bulletin commented on Thomson's talk, calling him a "great friend of Spain, and a regular visitor to our cities."¹²⁵ As a "great friend of Spain," Thomson called for Spain's participation in the Inter-American Music festivals in Washington, D.C., as evidenced by his parting words to a festival reporter. As Thomson stated, "I would like to see this Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain linked with those of Washington, because Spain should have a place in them."¹²⁶ Though no Spanish composers appeared on the program for the Third Inter-American Music Festival, Spanish harpist Nicanor Zabaleta reprised his role as soloist in Thomson's *Autumn Suite*.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 131

¹²⁵ Anon., *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo*, no. 10 (24 October 1964), 2.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

Thomson's talk engaged in its own re-construction of U.S. musical history, namely by minimalizing the role of nationalism. Thomson focused briefly on the symphonic achievements of Chadwick, MacDowell, and Parker, and then jumped straight into the 1910-1920s. As Thomson stated:

The most original and most successful feat of the decade of 1910-1920 was the establishment of a musical composition pedagogy, which even today, can be counted as good. Also, the foundations of an experimental leftist school were laid during this decade. Both traditions have been perennial and, as a result, American music has been able to develop without local signs, in direct parallel with that of Europe.¹²⁷

Thus, thanks to modernists of the 1920s, U.S. composition stayed clear of the local signs or nationalist elements, in which both Spain and Latin America had indulged. Thomson barely mentioned any compositions from the 1930s and 1940s, nor did he acknowledge the prominence of folk or popular music in the oeuvre of influential composers such as Copland, Harris, or even some of his own works, such as his ballet *Filling Station*. Thomson's narrative links the experimental 1920s with the advent of John Cage in the late 1940s, effectively erasing any nationalist detours on the road to an internationally accepted style. In a way, he echoed the commonly accepted narrative about Spanish music; namely that nothing much happened in the 1940s. Yet, in the discussion that followed, Thomson revealed that not all experimental music met his approval. When Chilean critic Irma Godoy pointed out that Italy had a host of experimental composers, such as Dallapiccola, Petrassi, Nono, and Maderna, Thomson replied, "Music, in Italy, has begun to move very far to the left." To distinguish the term

¹²⁷ Virgil Thomson, "Madurez Musical en Norteamérica," *I Conversaciones de Música de América y España* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1970), 118.

“left” from its political associations, Don José Eugenio de Baviera asked, “You mean to say that it is closest to the experimental. Is that it?” Thomson responded, “It leans more left than right. That is, as well as in Russia, where the music leans more to the right, in Italy, it is to the left. It is not balanced.”¹²⁸ For Thomson, blending innovative elements within a traditional context best achieved the ideal balance, much like what he achieves in many of his works. Russia and Italy, by going to the extremes, represented poor musical models.

Beyond Nationalism? The Avant-Garde at the Ateneo

As mentioned, the festival displayed an abundance of serial works, and for the most part, critics and composers accepted these works as part of the mainstream. Composers who thought serialism too extreme, such as Esplá and Ernesto Halffter, constituted a minority. If serial techniques represented the present course of modern music, the composers featured at the festival’s most experimental concert, held at the Ateneo, wished to push music into the future. The Ateneo concert presented the festival’s only electronic compositions, and also featured the festival’s youngest composers. In fact, all the composers involved in the Ateneo, with the exception of Gerald Strang, were in their early thirties.¹²⁹ Attendees and critics hoped that the music would be extreme enough to cause a caustic reaction. Giménez stated that “The Ateneo was host to the most

¹²⁸ Ibid., 145.

¹²⁹ See Table 1 (Appendix A) for list of works. The composers were Pozzi Escot (1933-), Luis de Pablo (1930-), José Vicente Asuar (1933-), Carmelo Benaola (1929-2002), Josep Soler (1935-), Gerald Strang (1908-1983), and Mario Davidovsky (1934-).

“corrosive” evening of the festival.”¹³⁰ Critic Luigi Fait of the Vatican newspaper *L’Osservatore Romano* also attended the Ateneo concert, hoping for a stir. As he reported, “In the Ateneo, which was packed full of spectators, we prepared to accept, more or less willingly, a type of music this is not usually applauded but booed. All sorts of protests are raised when music breaks the bond with tonality and traditional structure.”¹³¹ Braga Santos devoted much space in his music column to the Ateneo concert. As he wrote, “The concert of avant-garde music, filled with works for ensembles as well as tape, held in a beautiful room at the Ateneo in the Spanish capital, was perhaps the most interesting of the Festival, which demonstrated the vitality and the polemical environment that was established right from the beginning with Luis de Pablo’s *Cesuras*.”¹³² An anonymous critic from the *Diario Hierro* of Bilbao anxiously awaited the Ateneo concert, also in hopes it might produce a musical scandal. As the critic explained, “We assume that the scandal will be major and the passions of both sides will not allow the good and bad in each of the works presented to be taken into account. How we wish a scandal of this kind in Bilbao, if only to wake each other!”¹³³ While the concert fell short of outright scandal, it was the most provocative of the festival; those in attendance either loved or loathed the music. As an anonymous reviewer for the Spanish

¹³⁰ Alberto Emilio Giménez, “Nuevas etapas de intensa actividad en un festival,” *La Nación*, 16 November 1964, 38.

¹³¹ Luigi Fait, “Al Festival di Madrid: Aspetti della musica del nostro tempo,” *L’Osservatore Romano*, 4 November 1964, 39.

¹³² Joly Braga Santos, “Notável Concerto de Música da vanguarda no Festival Hispano-Americano,” *Crónica de Madrid in Críticas* (Madrid: Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, 1965): 48.

¹³³ Anon., “Hoy Habrá Escándalo en el Ateneo de Madrid,” *Diario Hierro*, 22 October 1964, 27.

newspaper *Hoja del Lunes* stated, “The “avant-garde,” concert given at the Ateneo last Thursday raised the most diverse and fun comments, some unprintable.”¹³⁴

Indeed, the Ateneo concert provoked a variety of responses. Argentine critic Giménez found the new works boring, describing De Pablos’s *Cesuras* as offering “nothing particularly new,” and dismissing Escot’s *Lamentos* as, “essentially pretentious, hopelessly long and much too tedious.”¹³⁵ Despite Giménez’s cold response to the concert, he tellingly added, “The common denominator was that the pieces bore a resemblance—at least in the auditory aspect—and that makes it virtually impossible to establish with certainty individual or national origins.”¹³⁶ In this case, the avant-garde soundscape filled with electronics and extended techniques, effectively erased national identity. In some ways, this emancipation from national origins constituted one of the goals of the younger generation. Like Giménez, Swiss critic Perrin noted that “there is no denying that serial music tends to internationalize the language to such an extent that it is increasingly difficult to distinguish the differences in style between the strictly twelve-tone composers.”¹³⁷ For those who argued for the importance of retaining a national “essence,” becoming too avant-garde might make the music lose one of its more valuable assets.

¹³⁴ Anon., “Crónica de Madrid,” *Hoja del Lunes*, 25 October 1964, 31.

¹³⁵ Giménez, “Nuevas Etapas,” 38.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ Jean Perrin, “Festival de Musique Américaine et Espagnole,” 55.

Despite some detractors, several critics, such as Fait, Braga Santos, and Ruiz Coca, found the concert enjoyable. Fait especially enjoyed Escot's *Lamentos*, which serialized timbre as well as the text. As he wrote, "Indeed, the concert offered the opportunity for some justifiable enthusiasm. I am referring above all to *Lamentos* by the Peruvian Pozzi Escot."¹³⁸ *Lamentos*, with its emphasis on percussion, could have become a work more in keeping with the early twentieth-century primitivistic style. Yet with her incorporation of serial techniques, Escot produced a sophisticated composition imbued with both American and European elements. As Fait commented, "But Escot, to get rid of a patina of primitivism, has assimilated most of the European tradition: the strings, the piano, and the serialism bear witness to this inheritance."¹³⁹ Fait concluded his review by pronouncing the work, "a classic of the "ultra-dodecaphonic" genre."¹⁴⁰ Braga Santos likewise lauded Escot's *Lamentos* as "a masterpiece of cutting edge music."¹⁴¹ Davidovksy's *Synchronism No. 2* also fared well with the critics. Braga Santos compared it favorably to Stockhausen, stating, "the work combined electronic sounds with instrumental music, a factor now almost common among the avant-garde musicians, with happy results, following the example Stockhausen's *Acteon*."¹⁴² Espinos Orlando also thought the combination of tape and live instruments worked well, stating of the piece

¹³⁸ Fait, "Al Festival di Madrid," 39.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Santos, "Notável Concerto de Música da Vanguarda," 48.

¹⁴² Ibid.

that “the result was ingenious!”¹⁴³ Franco, who thought most of experimental of poor quality, named Davidovsky’s *Synchronisms no. 2* and Bernaola’s *Mixturas* as the two best works.¹⁴⁴

Sopeña took a more conservative view of the Ateneo concert as he failed to enjoy any of the works presented. However, he did note that having Spanish composers among those belonging to most avant-garde pointed toward progress. As Sopeña wrote, “The already released work of Luis de Pablo—*Cesuras*—along with the premiere of Carmelo Bernaola’s work, regardless of who likes it or not, is a clear sign that the Spanish group has assimilated new techniques with force and personality, even those deemed experimental.”¹⁴⁵ His view recalls that of Mompou’s, namely that the “enigma” of modern music must be supported, if only for the sake of progress. Spain, desiring a place in the compositional mainstream, must therefore stay abreast of even the most avant-garde music.

Overall, it was the most avant-garde works, the electroacoustic compositions, which received the most negatives critiques, as many deemed them too extreme. Ruiz Coca gave Gerald Strang’s *Piece for IBM 7090* the work a neutral review, merely stating, “Strang uses one of the most powerful electronic minds of the United States for the

¹⁴³ J. Espinosa Orlando, “Concierto de Música Experimental en el Ateneo,” *Madrid*, 25 October 1964, 28.

¹⁴⁴ Enrique Franco, “De la Misa de Victoria al Conmutador IBM 7090,” *Arriba*, 27 October 1964, 34.

¹⁴⁵ Federico Sopeña, “Música nueva en el festival hispanoamericano,” *ABC*, 25 October 1964, 133.

ordering of the elements that constitute the piece.”¹⁴⁶ Franco found the work unsettlingly inhuman, though like Ruiz Coca, the technology behind it impressed him. As Franco wrote, “The *Piece for IBM computer 7090* by Gerald Strang, apart from the scientific merit of the device, does not tell us anything aesthetically, except something vulgar and without authentic importance. This is practically a case of synthetic music, in which the IBM must take all the applause.”¹⁴⁷ Critic Ángel del Campo also had harsh words for Strang’s piece, stating, “This piece neither entertained me very little nor very much; it looked like to me a childish prank if it had not been prepared by excessive irony.”¹⁴⁸ Even Fernández-Cid, a critic typically supportive of the avant-garde, questioned whether electronic music was actually music at all, asking, “Is electronic music, played by a machine only, valid at a public concert? It is music? Something else?”¹⁴⁹ The Ateneo concert stretched the boundaries of what defined music, and also left some questioning what would happen if an avant-garde musical language effectively masked national origins.

¹⁴⁶ Fernando Ruiz Coca, “I Festival América-España: Música Nueva en el Ateneo,” *El Alcázar*, 24 October 1964, 36.

¹⁴⁷ Franco, “De la Misa de Victoria,” 34.

¹⁴⁸ Ángel del Campo, “Los últimos conciertos,” *Pueblo*, 31 October 1964, 34.

¹⁴⁹ Antonio Fernández-Cid, “Lluvia de Estrenos en el I Festival de América y España,” 26.

Chapter Six: Madrid Festival Commissions

Introduction

The Madrid Festival featured new works commissioned from two of the most well-known composers of Spain and the Americas: Ernesto Halffter and Alberto Ginastera. This chapter explores these pieces from their genesis to performance as well as the musical and extra-musical details that contributed to their reception. Halffter wrote his *Canticum in memoriam P.P. Johannem XXIII* as homage to the late Pope, whom he greatly admired. He conducted the premiere on 17 October 1964, held in the concert hall at the Ministry of Information and Tourism with the Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid and Coro de la Radio Nacional de España. The premiere also featured soprano Ángeles Chamorro and bass Julio Catania as soloists. Ginastera's composition, *Don Rodrigo Symphony*, premiered at the festival's final concert on 31 October, held at the same venue. The Orquesta Nacional de España, conducted by Rafael Frühbeck de Burgos, performed the work with Argentine soprano Sofía Bandín as soloist. Ginastera derived the work from his first opera *Don Rodrigo*, with a libretto by Spanish playwright Alejandro Casona, which had premiered at the Teatro Colón in Buenos Aires on 24 July 1964. Bandín had also sung the female lead at the Buenos Aires premiere. Unlike Halffter, Ginastera did not attend the festival.

Ernesto Halffter and the *Canticum in memoriam P.P. Johannem XXIII*

As mentioned in previous chapters, Halffter formed part of the Grupo de los Ocho, an avant-garde group active in Madrid during the Spanish Second Republic. As a composer, Halffter met with early successes. For example, critics such as Adolfo Salazar

hailed his *Sinfonietta* (1925) as a masterwork and the work subsequently received the Spanish National Prize for Music that same year.¹ Salazar had also previously introduced Halffter to Falla in 1923, and Halffter became Falla's only official student.² With a letter of introduction from Falla, Halffter traveled to Paris in 1924 to study with Maurice Ravel for nine months.³ In February of 1936, Halffter received a grant from the Fundación Conde de Cartagena to relocate to Lisbon, where he remained for most of the civil war and the years that followed, also spending time in Italy.⁴ Unlike his older brother Rodolfo who had become an exile in Mexico, Halffter occasionally returned to Spain during the 1940s and 1950s, yet he did so warily. As Yolanda Acker explains, "Given the difficulty of the Spaniards living abroad to enter the country, especially once granted permission to enter, to then again get back out, Halffter avoided these trips if he did not have government protection, making sure his return was assured in advance."⁵ Not quite an exile, Halffter occupied an ambiguous place in Francoist Spain, as he sometimes collaborated with the government yet remained ultimately aloof.

In 1953, Halffter undertook what has become perhaps his most well-known achievement: the completion of Falla's *Atlántida*. Falla based *Atlántida* on an epic poem

¹ Yolanda Acker, *Ernesto Halffter [1905-1989]: Músico en dos tiempos* (Granada: Fundación Archivo Manuel de Falla, 1997), 25.

² *Ibid.*, 33.

³ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 71.

by Catalan author and priest Jacint Verdaguer i Santaló, called *L'Atlàntida* (1877). Verdaguer's poem is a complex amalgam of history, myth, and religion, which had its basis in a long tradition that suggested the New World might be the lost Atlantis. This idea arose soon after Spanish contact with the Americas. As Henry Kamen explains, "Since they were continually discovering strange and incredible things, some early Spanish explorers did not discount the possibility that survivors of Atlantis—a city that gave its name to the great ocean between Europe and America—might have made it to the New World."⁶ Both the poem and Falla's cantata open with a young Christopher Columbus being pulled from a shipwreck by an old hermit. The hermit then tells him the tale of Atlantis and how it intertwines with the founding of Spain by Hercules. As Esther Zaplana explains, "Atlantis is imagined as a primal Spanish continent, and the combat of Giants [against Hercules], who symbolize forces that shape the planet on a large scale, results in the formation of Spanish land and regions."⁷ In a cataclysmic combat, the New World becomes separated from the Old. After the hermit finishes his tale to the young explorer, Queen Isabella of Spain then has a prophetic dream in which she envisions Columbus finding the New World. She sends Columbus on his journey, and both the poem and the cantata end with Columbus sailing across the Atlantic. Of the work's message, Zaplana has remarked that "*Atlàntida* contains a clear moral intention in that the Atlanteans are punished for turning against God, but the prospect of Columbus's

⁶ Henry Kamen, *The Disinherited: Exile and the Making of Spanish Culture, 1492-1975* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2007), 322.

⁷ Esther Zaplana, "Hellenism, the Divine, and Ideal Masculinity in Manuel de Falla's *Atlàntida*," in *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice*, edited by Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009), 214.

discovery brings the promise of uniting the continents in the Christian faith.”⁸ Overall, *Atlántida* presents a utopian vision of two worlds redeemed by God. Moreover, the plot of *Atlántida* resonates with the doctrine of *hispanidad*, which sought to reunite Spain and the Americas based on Catholicism and a shared past.

Falla began to compose the cantata in 1926 and worked on it throughout his life, eventually leaving around six hundred pages of sketches, notes, and scores.⁹ Halffter organized the copious materials, and filled in the missing pieces, a task that lasted from 1953 to 1961. Halffter’s labors resulted in a new composition to stand alongside Falla’s *Retablo de Maese Pedro* and his *Harpischord Concerto*, as examples of his later, neo-classical style. As mentioned, critics in the 1960s began to favor Falla’s later output for its purity and objectivity. Composers such as Cristóbal Halffter and Luis de Pablo felt that Falla’s true merit as universal composer lay in these works, as opposed to his early, Andalusia-inspired works. As Hess posited, many deemed this *andalucismo*, often signified by Phrygian coloring, hemiola, and allusion to flamenco guitar techniques, as too local.¹⁰ The local color provided by *andalucismo* could potentially ensnare a lesser composer, keeping them from universal aspirations. Falla, however, escaped that pitfall through his turn toward neo-classicism. As Chase explained, “The final evidence for

⁸ Ibid., 215.

⁹ Acker, *Ernesto Halffter*, 79.

¹⁰ Hess, *Manuel de Falla and Modernism in Spain, 1898-1936*, 3.

Manuel de Falla's greatness is that, having perfected the Andalusian idiom in art music, he was able to transcend it."¹¹

Halffter and others stressed Falla's universality during the lead-up to *Atlántida*'s premiere. In a 1961 *Ritmo* interview shortly before the concert premiere, Fernando L. Lerdo de Tejada asked Halffter, "What does *Atlántida* represent within Falla's output?" to which the composer replied, "It is the most universal of all the works the maestro has written, because of the realization, clarity, and new language, and yet it does not cease to be Spanish."¹² Halffter later affirmed his assessment stating, "In the overall production of Falla, *Atlántida* is his most universal creation, above all national or stylistic polemics."¹³ This trope of Falla being "universal yet Spanish," appears with frequency in the 1950s and 1960s. As discussed in the previous chapter, the striving for universal significance without sacrificing one's Spanishness applied to many composers during that era. For the younger generation, Falla's neo-classical style held the key to successful integration of Spanish identity into an international aesthetic.

Atlántida received its concert-version premiere on 24 November 1961 in Barcelona; the work was later staged in a full scenic version at La Scala in Milan, Italy, on 18 June 1962. Tellingly, the performance history of *Atlántida* often intertwines with a political context. More than 3,000 of the Spanish elite attended the Barcelona concert,

¹¹ Chase, *Music of Spain*, 311.

¹² Fernando L. Lerdo de Tejada, "La *Atlántida* es la obra más universal de todas las páginas que ha escrito mi maestro," *Ritmo* no. 316 (1961): 13.

¹³ Ernesto Halffter, "La *Atlántida* de Falla," *Blanco y Negro*, 30 June 1962, 21.

including Prince Juan Carlos, heir to the Spanish throne.¹⁴ The event constituted a musical homecoming for Falla, who had spent his last years in voluntary exile. With the premiere of a new work, Falla once again brought accolades to his homeland. *Atlántida* also offered a measure of reconciliation as the text of the work came from a repressed subsection of the Spanish people, the Catalans, who lived in northern Spain. During the Spanish Civil War, Catalonia was one of the last bastions against Franco and consequently suffered harsh repression of the both Catalan culture and language. As Earl Thomas explains of the postwar crackdown, “At the end of Civil War, the victorious government abolished the regional government of Catalonia and forbade the use of Catalan in books and periodicals, abolished the Catalan language schools, replaced street names with Castilian spellings, and even required calling cards and greeting cards to be approved by the censor.”¹⁵ However, during the 1960s, the Franco government began to move toward reconciliation rather than outright repression. For example, Jesús Rubio Mina, the Spanish Minister of Education, insisted that *Atlántida* have a Catalan premiere as well as be performed in the original Catalan of the text. Critic Enrique Franco explained that as an added gesture, “all the artists chosen for these State-supported concerts were Catalonians.”¹⁶ Critics abroad interpreted the emphasis on Catalan culture as an attempt at appeasement. As a *New York Times* reporter commented, “This is a gesture of political significance in Spain where Catalans have complained that the regime

¹⁴ Anon., “World Premiere for Falla Work,” *New York Times*, 25 Novemeber 1961, 27.

¹⁵ Earl W. Thomas, “The Resurgence of Catalan,” *Hispania* 45/1 (1962): 45.

¹⁶ Enrique Franco, “Current Chronicle,” *The Musical Quarterly* 48/2 (1962): 250.

of Generalissimo Francisco Franco has been suppressing their cultural heritage.”¹⁷ Falla-Halffter’s *Atlántida* thus contributed to the government’s aims of reunification with a Spanish region that had long resisted Franco’s rule.

After the Barcelona concert, *Atlántida* was soon programed by cities such as Milan, Edinburgh, and New York City. The Milan premiere, which featured the entire cantata in a fully costumed staging, received generally positive reviews. Julián Cortés-Cavanillas of the Spanish newspaper *ABC* found it ironic that some Italian critics could laud such a religious work. As he concluded, “Let the reader imagine how the far-left press will speak in praise of *Atlántida* by Manuel de Falla and Ernesto Halffter. Spanish and, moreover, Catholics! What horror!”¹⁸ British critic William Weaver wrote of the Milan premiere, “Those who only know *The Three Cornered Hat* and *Love The Magician* will be surprised by *Atlántida*; its music is Spanish all right, but it is the Spain of Victoria and Cabezón, rather than the land of gypsies and serenades.”¹⁹ The music of Falla-Halffter’s *Atlántida* offered a different side of Spanish culture, moving beyond the gypsy stereotypes, which had predominated in Spanish musical life. As Kamen posited, “The gypsy theme was, however, impossible to shake off, and from Sarasate to Falla it remained firmly at the center of musical composition.”²⁰ As Chase mentioned, Falla transcended this *andalucismo* by drawing upon the polyphonic techniques of Spanish

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Julián Cortés-Cavanillas, “La *Atlántida* en el juicio de la crítica,” *ABC*, 24 June 1962, 95.

¹⁹ William Weaver, “Music Abroad,” *The Musical Times* 103/1434 (1962): 554.

²⁰ Kamen, *The Disinherited*, 253.

Renaissance. The music of the Golden Age (1492-1681) came with its own stereotypes, mainly, as Hess explains, “the ostensible “mysticism” of Spanish music, most notable in sixteenth-century polyphony.”²¹ By looking back at the music of Victoria and Cabezón, Falla’s neo-classical works, as well as *Atlántida*, evoke a mystic, yet still distinctly Spanish style.

The Metropolitan Opera Company soon staged *Atlántida* in full scenic version in New York on 28 September 1962 as part of the opening celebrations for the newly constructed Lincoln Center. Like the Barcelona concert, the Met premiere also had a distinguished audience. As *New York Times* critic Ross Parmenter reported, “The Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts has invited top leadership of the United Nations to be its guests at the second performance of Falla’s *Atlántida*.”²² Of the music, critic Harold Schonberg wrote, “It is not a nationalistic Spanish score, in the sense of *Amor Brujo* and other famous Falla works. But there is a feeling of Spanishness nonetheless—a feeling that goes back to Renaissance Spanish choral music.”²³ Again, the critics identified the cantata’s music as innately Spanish, though it lacks those Andalusia-inspired nationalist signifiers so prominent in Falla’s early output, in favor of allusions to the golden age of the Spanish Renaissance.

²¹ Hess, *Manuel de Falla and Modernism*, 3.

²² Ross Parmenter, “300 U.N. Officials invited to Center,” *New York Times*, 21 September 1962, 36.

²³ Harold Schonberg, “Music: Met gives *Atlántida* Premiere,” *New York Times*, 1 October 1962, 36.

As dignitaries in the U.S. enjoyed *Atlántida*, the Spanish government also programmed the cantata for its own celebrations. In May 1963, a large workers' chorus performed selections from *Atlántida* during the *VI Demonstración Sindical de Arte y Deportes*; a huge spectacle presided over by Franco himself. As *ABC* explained, "It [the demonstration] finished with the appearance of the choirs, totaling 1,500 voices under the direction of Ernesto Halffter, as they sang "Himnus Hispánica" from *Atlántida*, in its first performance during a demonstration dedicated to workers."²⁴ For his dedication to advancing Spanish music, particularly in light of the great success following his completion of *Atlántida*, Halffter later received the *Gran Cruz de Alfonso el Sabio X* in June 1963, during a concert that featured works by all three Halffters. Lastly, parts of *Atlántida* were also featured on the "Concert for Peace," (1964) which celebrated twenty-five years of Franco's rule.

Halffter represented the ideal candidate for a commission from the Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain. His completion of *Atlántida* had brought him a renewed international recognition, and reminded audiences—from regular concert goers to U.N. dignitaries—of the greatness of Spain's Silver Age. Likewise, *Atlántida* represented a different kind of Spanish nationalism, one that moved away from gypsy signifiers and instead sought inspiration in Spain's Golden Age. Halffter also embodied a continuous line of development from Falla onwards, which presented a counter-argument to the idea that much of Spain's musical activity had laid dormant for the twenty-five

²⁴ Anon., "El Jefe del Estado presidió la VI Demonstración Sindical de Arte y Deporte," *ABC Sevilla*, 2 May 1963, 1.

years since the Civil War. The reunion of “los tres Halffters” at the festival underscored this continuity. Moreover, the religious nature of Halffter’s commission highlighted Spain’s enduring commitment to Catholicism, as well as played into the “mysticism” of Spanish music, which had marked it as different for centuries.

The *Canticum* was Halffter’s first new work after his completion of Falla’s cantata. He composed the *Canticum* in a short, energetic burst. As he explained, “I created it during a month and a half of intense work.”²⁵ As imagined, Halffter’s long engagement with Falla’s mammoth final work left an indelible mark on his compositional style. As Halffter explained:

It is easy to assume that the final push in the religious direction was brought about by my long work on *Atlántida*. During this time, I realized I have learned a lot from my teacher and if in my tribute to John XXIII, I have tried to follow my own paths, it is not difficult to see the footprint of the posthumous work of Don Manuel. Inevitable footprint that, on the other hand, I am pleased with because *Atlántida* is the highest expression of Spanish contemporary religious music, and why not say it, of any music written abroad.²⁶

Halffter, encouraged by the religious message of *Atlántida*, now considered using religious subjects in his own works. Franco stated that the *Canticum* initiated a new interest in religious music for the composer. As Franco observed, “The *Canticum*, as cited by Halffter himself, began a new aesthetic journey and, like Falla, he was concerned with creating a religious music worthy of this name. The *Canticum* and subsequent works

²⁵ Ernesto Halffter, “Declaraciones de Ernesto Halffter,” *I Festival de Música de América y España Boletín Informativo* no. 9 (22 October 1964), 1.

²⁶ Ernesto Halffter, “Notas al Programa,” *Primer Festival de Música de América y España* (Madrid: Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, 1964), 32.

fulfilled his desire to achieve a responsible contribution.”²⁷ After the *Canticum*, Halffter created several new works for choir and orchestra, such as *Elegía en memoria de S.A.S. Príncipe Pierre de Polignac* (1965); *Dominus pastor meus (Dos Salmos, XXII and CXVI)* (1967); and *Gozos de Nuestra Señora* (1970); which added to the grandeur of contemporary Spanish religious music.

In an interview with Nivio López Pellón of *Arriba*, Halffter explained why he chose to honor the late Pope. As he explained, “The example of the life and work of Pope John XXIII, left me not only not indifferent, but like so many others, stirred me to the very depths of my being. The *Canticum* presented today at its world premiere, commissioned by the Institute of Hispanic Culture, is logically influenced by the Rome of the Popes where I have lived.”²⁸ Halffter also stated in the festival’s daily bulletin that:

He is the human figure that has captivated me most. I personally met His Holiness. And the very day of his death, I came to Rome to participate in a Congress of Authors. I was deeply impressed by him and vowed to dedicate a work in homage. I have given the *Canticum* a simple character, keeping in mind the simplicity and truly human dimension of that Pope.²⁹

Pope John XXIII is best known as the instigator of the Second Vatican Council or Vatican II that began in 1962 and concluded in 1965. Vatican II threatened the symbiotic relationship between Church and State in Francoist Spain. As scholar Audrey Brassloff explains, Vatican II “confronted the Spanish Church with the need to reassess its political

²⁷ Enrique Franco, “Ernesto Halffter después de Atlántida,” *Scherzo: Revista de Música*, no. 37 (1989): 43.

²⁸ Nivio López Pellón, “Entrevista: La música tiene un gran misión social que cumplir, dice Ernesto Halffter,” *Arriba*, 16 October 1964, 28.

²⁹ Ernesto Halffter, “Declaraciones de Ernesto Halffter,” 1.

and intra-ecclesial relationship in line with the process of reformation which was occurring at the universal Church level.”³⁰ Most of the Spanish Church’s hierarchy reluctantly listened to the Council’s declarations with little intention of implementing them. Yet none wished to appear openly hostile toward the changes emanating from Rome. As Brassloff writes, “Franco himself said to his cousin that the Second Vatican Council was pointing in a particular direction and a Catholic government had no alternative but to follow it, without protest, this despite the fact that he was convinced that the Curia was infiltrated by Freemasons and communists.”³¹ A work honoring the recently deceased Pope would appear apropos, despite the controversy of Vatican II. What exactly captivated Halffter about Pope John XXIII, and whether it stemmed from his initiation of the Council, remains unclear. In an interview with Manuel Halffter, Ernesto Halffter’s son, he elaborated on his father’s religious views. As he stated, “He [Ernesto] was more in favor of liberalization. He made a few comments that it [the Second Vatican Council] was a step forward, that the church should change according to the times and the years ahead. He was very liberal by temperament, more willing to approve than criticize.”³²

In his comments, Halffter had suggested that Falla’s footprint may have been visible in his work and indeed, several reviewers of the *Canticum* noted similarities to

³⁰ Audrey Brassloff, *Religion and Politics in Spain: The Spanish Church in Transition, 1962-96* (London: MacMillan Press, 1998), 12.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 15.

³² Manuel Halffter, Interview with author, 29 September 2011, at his home in Madrid.

Atlántida. For some, the similarities underscored the work's antiquated nature. An anonymous reviewer from *Diario Hierro* (Bilbao) gave Halffter's new work less than enthusiastic remarks, stating, "Ernesto Halffter's work is very similar to all the work of Ernesto Halffter. *Atlántida* abounds everywhere. Some references to Stravinsky in his *Symphony of Psalms* are very clear and archaic. The work is very transparent, poetic, refined, but it cannot thrill at this point."³³ Alberto Giménez, critic for *La Nación* (Buenos Aires), also penned a lukewarm review. As he reported, "There are genuine and marked Spanish sentiments in these pages. The work doesn't lack for beautiful moments—principally in the last movement—in the theme, the harmonic language, the vocal and instrumental lines, but I definitely do not think the *Canticum* has offered anything decidedly new or substantial."³⁴ Fellow composer Xavier Montsalvatge's review followed the same general argument, that the *Canticum* contained beauty but lacked innovation. Montsalvatge felt that Halffter still had his best masterwork ahead of him. As Montsalvatge wrote, "So we have a new sample of the musical ability of a composer from whom we await the definitive score. I do not think this *Canticum* is it, but its undeniable values place it very highly within his previous production."³⁵

³³ Anon., "Hoy habrá escándalo en el Ateneo de Madrid," *Diario Hierro*, 22 October 1964, 27.

³⁴ Alberto Emilio Giménez, "Grata afirmación de hispanoamericanismo en el ámbito de la música," *La Nación*, 5 November 1964, 19.

³⁵ Xavier Montsalvatge, "Ha comenzado en Madrid el I Festival de Música de América y España," *Vanguardia*, 20 October 1964, 13.

Most of the critics, however, lauded Halffter's efforts. Any similarities to Falla or *Atlántida* became praise-worthy features. Critic and musicologist Antonio Iglesias gave the work a glowing review. As he stated:

From the first movement of the *Canticum, Ad Matutinum*, the composer's masterful orchestral palette is evident. The soprano solo begins like a Gregorian chant, and is taken up in turn by the chorus and orchestra. Then, in the central movement, *Ad Benedictionem*, the bass soloist enters, the orchestra begins with a moving prayer, and the section unintentionally resembles the work of a modern-day Falla as orchestra and soloist merge. In its third movement, *Communio-Missae pro Defunctis*, there is an increase, if possible, in the authentic religious spirit and a choral-orchestral dialogue is established with the fusion of both elements in a spirit that is purely tonal yet incorporates the latest techniques in an extremely personal arrangement. I feel that this composition of Halffter's is worth a festival in itself.³⁶

Iglesias praised the work's beauty and religiosity, drawing parallels with Falla, rather than citing it for progressive techniques. Iglesias mentioned that Halffter fused a "purely tonal," idiom with the "latest techniques," although Iglesias fails to explicitly name any of the aforementioned techniques. As Falla's student, Halffter never quite escaped comparisons with his mentor, whether the comparison dealt with personal temperament or creative style. For example, Marino Gómez Santos commented upon the simplicity of Halffter's dwelling, stating that "In this hotel where Halffter lives, Falla would have been comfortable there himself."³⁷ Yet Santos quickly points to some of the differences between the two, stating, "Halffter is a composer who escapes from this

³⁶ Antonio Iglesias, "Music in Madrid," *Inter-American Music Bulletin*, no. 45 (1965): 2.

³⁷ Marino Gómez Santos, "Ernesto Halffter," in *11 Españoles Universales* (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1969), 59.

mysticism with which his teacher Falla has gone down in history. On the contrary, Halffter is an open, affable man, so of Madrid and so Spanish.”³⁸

Like Falla, Halffter’s strong Catholic faith influenced his compositional choices. Overall, most critics praised the *Canticum*’s beauty first, and composition’s religious spirit as a close second. Several Spanish composers had religious works performed at the festival, including Soler’s serial *Constantes rítmicas en el modo primero*, and Mompou’s *Improperios*. Likewise, Escot’s *Lamentus* and Tosar’s *Te Deum* can be counted as religious works. When reviewing the pieces mentioned above, the majority of critics discussed the musical aspects rather than any religious sentiment. This proved especially true of Escot’s *Lamentus* and Soler’s *Constantes rítmicas en el modo primero*, two serial, experimental works that tested traditional notions of both beauty and religiosity.

Federico Sopeña’s review offered additional praise for the *Canticum* and expressed genuine excitement at Halffter’s success. As Sopeña wrote:

The artist is playing with the most sensitive fiber by selecting this person and this event: John XXIII and his death. Maybe I’m wrong, but hearing the work for the first time I think the initial nucleus is the third movement in the text and the music for the communion of the Mass for the Dead. [...] When one loves a premiere one is always afraid to write like this evening: at full speed to arrive on time. No matter: it was urgent that the news that Ernesto Halffter has had great success with his work, which is liked by all, and that it is an example of precisely what the religious music of Spanish composer can say.³⁹

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 60.

³⁹ Federico Sopeña, “Estreno de Ernesto Halffter en el Festival España-América,” *ABC*, 18 October 1964, 63.

Sopeña, like other festival participants, anxiously anticipated Halffter's new work, partly because Halffter had not produced any of his own compositions since undertaking *Atlántida* in 1953. In 1959, Chase wrote of Halffter that "since his *Portuguese Rhapsody* for piano and orchestra (1939), which received its Madrid premiere in 1941, Halffter has produced no major work."⁴⁰ Of this lacuna, Enrique Martínez Miura has explained, "In the 1950s and 1960s the production of Ernesto Halffter seemed to follow the formula of "arte con cuentagotas," a term coined by the more severe critics to describe the pace of his work."⁴¹ In 1975, Halffter openly disputed his undeserved reputation as lazy, saying, "It is a common mistake to believe that only those who produce a lot, also work a lot. Falla had a great capacity for work, but he took time composing, so that his entire production is perfect."⁴² As mentioned, the completion of *Atlántida* consumed much of Halffter's energy during the 1950s and 1960s. Halffter also began to compose film music during this era, enjoying both its creative and financial rewards. He composed several film scores during the 1950s, including *Nuestra Señora de Fátima* (1951); *La princesa de Eboli* (1954); *Todo es posible en Granada* (1954); *Historias de la radio* (1955); and *Viaje romántico a Granada* (1955). Yet critics hotly anticipated Halffter's return to a more serious medium.

⁴⁰ Chase, *Music of Spain*, 311-12.

⁴¹ Enrique Martínez Miura, "Ernesto Halffter en la encrucijada," *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos* no. 664 (2005): 122.

⁴² Mary Carmen de Celis, "Ernesto Halffter, siguiendo la tradición," *La Estafeta Literaria* no. 559 (1 March 1975): 24.

Antonio Fernández-Cid gave the *Canticum* an equally positive review. Like other critics, he too heard a similarity to *Atlántida*. He also praised Halffter's musical evocation of religious experience, stating:

It can be argued that the *Canticum* does not disappoint and this time the applause was as unanimous as it was long. Of the three movements, the first is perhaps the most "halffteriano." If there is any proximity to *Atlántida*, it occurs in the third fragment, "Pro defunctis Missae Communio." Halffter, known for his purification, achieved here a sound, a climate of peace, an anointing emotional effectiveness of timbres, in the serene speech of the choir, nicely underscored by the orchestra, which is worthy recipient of exception to whose memory gives and gives title to the work.⁴³

Jean Perrin, critic for the *Gazette de Lausanne*, noted the influence of Falla, Ravel, and Stravinsky, as filtered through Halffter's imagination. As Perrin reported of the work:

The orchestration is very beautiful: Halffter has researched his orchestral color, but carefully avoided all ostentation. The character of the expression is often impressionistic, especially in the "Ad Matutinum" and the conclusion of "Communio Missae pro Defunctis" yet this impressionism never betrays a secular, picturesque atmosphere. He emphasizes certain accents in the "Communio Missae pro Defunctis," which evoke Stravinsky's *Symphony of Psalms*. Note especially the end of the strange and extraordinary "Ad Benedictionem" the dissonances that confer a mysterious expression as a new dimension.⁴⁴

An anonymous review in *Pueblo* cast Halffter as the savior of Spanish music. The reviewer described the premiere thus, "The audience was anxious to hear it [the *Canticum*]. And I will explain why: Ernesto Halffter remains the best hope—the only

⁴³ Antonio Fernández-Cid, "Triunfal estreno del *Canticum in P.P. Johannem XXIII* de Ernesto Halffter," *Informaciones*, 19 October 1964, 36.

⁴⁴ Jean Perrin, "Festival de Musique Espanole et Americaine," *Gazette de Lausanne* in *Críticas* (Madrid: Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, 1965), 55.

hope?—of Spanish music. The *Canticum* did not disappoint this expectation and that hope—far from it. Indeed, a deep meditative Halffter, not new, but more severe, is given to us in these pages written so movingly.”⁴⁵

Halffter received the most extensive and praise-filled review from Luigi Fait, of the Vatican newspaper *L'Osservatore Romano*. As Fait explained:

What most impressed us and led us to applaud repeatedly the illustrious maestro was undoubtedly the spontaneous ardor with which he dealt with the unusual and difficult task of reviving the Pope, as it were, through the music, a music born not of all academic work, not at all dull or cold (as frequently happens when you insist on music for the sacred and liturgical texts with the help of mere technical formulas and dusty schooling), but rather a work throbbing with inner joy, a masterpiece Halffter of which can be said not only satisfied, but happy.⁴⁶

Fait observed in the work a certain neoclassicism, saying, “I admired the beauty of a language that has deep roots, going back to the sixteenth century and up to the time of Tomás Luis de Victoria.”⁴⁷ Overall, the work enthralled him, yet he did have some criticism. For example, Fait stated, “In my opinion, the third movement does not proceed so efficiently as the first and second. The third seemed, indeed, less robust than the other two, a little stale dynamically. [...] Mildly neoclassical, on the contrary, the second part (mainly carried on bass solo), which recalls the sound of Paul Hindemith’s preferences for certain harmonic passages, is clear and impressive.”⁴⁸ For many critics, Halffter’s

⁴⁵ Anon., “La Sinfónica y el coro de Radio Nacional con Spiteri, Angeles Chamorro y Catania,” *Pueblo*, 22 October 1964, 36.

⁴⁶ Luigi Fait, “*Canticum in P.P. Joannem XXIII* al Festival di musica d’America e di Spagna,” *L'Osservatore Romano*, 1 November 1964, 31.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

Canticum symbolized what contemporary religious music should be: beautiful, and moderately traditional.

Halffter's style, formed in the mid-1920s, remained fairly constant throughout his career. Unlike some composers, such as Ginastera and Cordero, Halffter shied away from incorporating experimental trends, such as serialism or aleatory. When Pellón asked, "How do you see today's musical trends?" Halffter replied:

There are magnificent examples, but overall twelve-tone and serial music is, in my opinion, using the sounds to make them into something quite different from what has hitherto been understood as music, which has its eternal laws. There are very good examples, I repeat, yet one will have to wait and see what is ultimately left from these current trends.⁴⁹

Halffter, rooted in a nationalist neo-classicism, reluctantly admitted that a few serial compositions could be considered "very good," yet overall, serialism distorted sounds beyond the realm of music. When Lerdo de Tejada questioned him about "his opinion of serial and post-serial music, that so many are now talking about in Spain," Halffter answered:

I do not deny that of their formulas, many of which are useful and of great interest, but so far all I've heard, I think it is just an attempt, nothing more. I think we all intend to do the same work, yet in many cases, some gentlemen who call themselves composers without being equipped for it, take advantage of these formulas. I think there is lack of authenticity throughout.⁵⁰

Halffter went against the prevailing trend of serialism, remaining skeptical of its designation as music. As time wore on, he became more critical of serial techniques as

⁴⁹ López Pellón, "Entrevista," 28.

⁵⁰ Lerdo de Tejada, "La *Atlántida* es la obra más universal," 13.

detracting from traditional musical values, and being a dodge for shoddy composers. Indeed, in his older years, Halffter became even more of a nationalist. In 1984, Halffter defended folklore, praising it as source of “eternal innovation.”⁵¹ As Halffter further explained, “The reader of this work should always keep in mind that folklore is the source of musical nationalism, but this nationalism should not be “narrow” as annoyed Falla, but radiant, because the character of a nationalist music should not be reduced to the popular song.”⁵² In a 1986 interview, Halffter expressed an increasingly negative view of Spanish serial composers, stating, “Today there are many Spanish composers, some with real talent, who have been attracted to the theories of the Vienna School and they are consciously breaking the observance of the eternal laws of rhythm and harmony, sowing confusion and disorientation, and annulling the nationalist music so fervently advocated by those who I consider my teachers.”⁵³

Yet despite Halffter’s distaste for serialism, he had kept abreast of current trends. In Franco’s review of the *Canticum*, he commented upon Halffter’s interest in contemporary trends. As Franco observed:

I know that during his Italian years, Halffter paid maximum attention to the latest trends in music. No one could expect that he would enlist them, as that would go against all that was within his personality, yet some procedures of Webern or the latest Stravinsky caused some impact. I have seen Ernesto analyze fragments of that music that “officially” he does not accept, just as Falla left the score of

⁵¹ Ernesto Halffter, “La eterna novedad del folklore,” *La Gaceta del Libro* (1984), 22.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Anon., “Ernesto Halffter,” *Ritmo*, no. 569 (1986), 87.

“Pierrot-,” well manhandled and, during his years in America, asked for the works of Webern.⁵⁴

After Halffter’s death in 1989, Franco expanded on his friend’s interest in the latest trends, recalling, “I saw Halffter attend every performance of *Lulu* at La Scala. He also attended premieres of music, which, in principle, were outside his beliefs. He attended first performances of Dallapiccola, his admired friend, as well as those of Nono or Malipiero. I have heard him praise the rigorous conciseness of Webern, he passionately followed Stravinsky’s serial developments, and applauded *Moses und Aron*.”⁵⁵ Franco explanation of his friend’s fondness for modern music reads like an apology. At the beginning of the 1930s, some expected Halffter to follow in Falla’s footsteps and continue enhancing Spain’s international reputation. However, the war intervened and it would take several decades before Spain made serious attempts to enter the European mainstream. By this time, it was the younger Halffter and the “Generation of ’51,” that held the key to Spain’s musical glory. Halffter’s *Canticum*, though well-received, failed to be a path-breaking work the next generation could follow.

Halffter, like Falla, kept abreast of the most avant-garde trends of their time, yet ultimately choose not to incorporate them, based on personal beliefs. Though he may have “passionately followed” Stravinsky’s later serial works, in his *Canticum*, Halffter turned to Stravinsky’s neo-classical works for inspiration. Franco emphasized Halffter’s love for modern music to perhaps deflect criticisms that Halffter’s music sounded old

⁵⁴ Enrique Franco, “El *Canticum* de Ernesto Halffter,” *Arriba*, 20 October 1964, 32.

⁵⁵ Enrique Franco, “Ernesto Halffter después de *Atlántida*,” 42.

fashioned in a serialism-inspired world. Espinos Orlando echoed Franco's statements about Halffter's knowledge of the avant-garde. As Espinos Orlando wrote:

A man of his time, Halffter, if by his principles and conviction, has not joined in "the courtship of the latest cutting edge," he at least studies and analyzes all the chapters of music development. Thus he directs his own evolution, according to personal taste, which is based on the belief in the principles of tonality.⁵⁶

Thus according to Espinos Orlando, Halffter is both a modern man and his own man, who follows his own judgment, even if this makes his compositional style seem behind the times. Franco and Espinos Orlando transform Halffter's reticence to join "the latest cutting edge," into strength rather than a weakness.

Alberto Ginastera and *Don Rodrigo*

By 1964, Ginastera had become one of the best internationally known Latin American composers. In the mid-1950s, Ginastera had begun to incorporate serial techniques into his compositions, such as the String Quartet No. 2 (1958), Piano Concerto No. 1 (1961), and the *Cantata for Magic America* (1961), compositions that earned him much success. In a review of the second Inter-American Music Festival (1961), critic Irving Lowens praised Ginastera's *Cantata for Magic America* and Piano Concerto No. 1 as the acme of the festival. As Lowens stated, "One must conclude, from the evidence of the two masterful works performed here, that the Argentine composer has now definitely abandoned the *gauchesco* nationalism of earlier years in favor of a violently dissonant

⁵⁶ J. Espinos Orlando, "Los compositores españoles en el primer Festival de Música de España y América," *Madrid*, 18 September 1964, 61.

idiom of a uniquely personal nature.”⁵⁷ Orrego Salas also offered commentary on Ginastera’s Piano Concerto No 1, stating that its greatness stemmed from “an individual combination of aesthetics proceeding from the Viennese contemporary school, [and] an unmistakable American accent, partly due to the use of certain rhythmic patterns of an essential Argentine character.”⁵⁸ Indeed, during the final movement of the Piano Concerto, the rhythmic vigorous Ginasterian malambo is quite obviously present. With these compositions, Ginastera had abandoned overt nationalism, yet by using a serialism infused with a nationalistic style formed in his early compositions, he achieved an ideal balance between the universal and national.

The common narrative surrounding Ginastera’s later works, put forth by Ginastera himself and repeated by other earlier Ginastera scholars, is that this third period (1958-83), often described as “neo-expressionism,” represents a homogenous style devoid of musical nationalism. Several works from this neo-expressionist period, however, contain traits of Ginastera’s earlier nationalism. Recently, scholars have begun to challenge the idea that Ginastera’s third period lacks nationalistic connotations. For example, Michelle Tabor has demonstrated that Ginastera’s late works contain more stylistic variety than previously assumed. As she explains, “The characteristics of the late compositions vary from those that exhibit an abstraction totally devoid of nationalistic traits, to those that show subtle allusions to nationalism through rhythms and

⁵⁷ Irving Lowens, “Current Chronicle,” 532.

⁵⁸ Juan Orrego Salas, “The Young Generation of Latin American Composers: Backgrounds and Perspectives,” *Inter-American Music Bulletin*, no. 38 (1963): 4.

melodies, and those that contain overtly nationalistic elements.”⁵⁹ Likewise, Erick Carballo has identified characteristics associated with the “Ginasterian malambo” in later, serial works including: *Quintetto* (1963), *Concerto per corde* (1965), and Piano Concerto No. 2 (1972).⁶⁰ These relatively obvious allusions to the guitar chord or dance rhythms, which appear in some of Ginastera’s serial works, remain absent in *Don Rodrigo*. The opera offers an interesting paradox in Ginastera’s oeuvre as it fails to feature any nationalistically-derived elements, even in their most sublimated form. For example, José Serebrier singled out *Don Rodrigo* as a turning point in Ginastera’s career. As he wrote, “Ginastera, writing his first opera at fifty, moved from a nationalistic, quasi-tonal medium into the avant-garde.”⁶¹ Scholars have done much analysis of Ginastera’s serial methods in *Don Rodrigo*, from shortly after the opera’s premiere until recently.⁶² Except for Malena Kuss, most scholars agree that *Don Rodrigo* lacks any nationalistic implications in Ginastera’s treatment of the musical materials. Besides excluding these

⁵⁹ Michelle Tabor, “Alberto Ginastera’s Late Instrumental Style,” *Latin American Music Review*, 15/1 (1994): 3.

⁶⁰ Erick Carballo, “De la Pampa al Cielo: The Development of Tonality in the Compositional Language of Alberto Ginastera,” Ph.D. diss. (Indiana University, 2006), 74.

⁶¹ José Serebrier, “Open Invitation to Ginastera,” *Music Journal* 27/1 (1969): 46.

⁶² See Pola Suárez Urtubey, “Alberto Ginastera’s *Don Rodrigo*,” *Tempo* no. 74 (1965): 11-8; Juan Orrego Salas, “An Opera in Latin America: *Don Rodrigo* by Ginastera,” *Artes Hispánicas/Hispanic Arts* 1/1 (1967): 94-133; Malena Kuss, “Type, Derivation, and Use of Folk Idioms in Ginastera’s *Don Rodrigo*,” *Latin American Music Review* 1/2 (1980): 176-65; James Edward Richards, “Pitch Structure in the opera *Don Rodrigo* of Alberto Ginastera,” Ph.D. diss. (University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music, 1986). Ginastera’s serial works continue to attract analysis. Christopher Anderson Fobes includes *Don Rodrigo* in his dissertation, “A theoretical investigation of twelve-tone rows, harmonic aggregates, and non-twelve-tone materials in the late music of Alberto Ginastera,” Ph.D. diss. (State University of New York at Buffalo, 2006). Carlos A. Gaviria traces the development of the guitar chord in his master’s thesis “Alberto Ginastera and the Guitar Chord: An Analytical Study,” M.A. thesis (University of North Texas, 2010).

nationalistic references, Ginastera also seemed careful to avoid any exoticism, even though Spanish and Moorish subjects have often evoked such treatments from other composers.

The genesis of Ginastera's first opera began in 1962, when the City of Buenos Aires commissioned Ginastera to write an opera for Teatro Colón. Ginastera, in partnership with Spanish playwright Alejandro Casona, selected the legend of Don Rodrigo, the last Visigoth king of Spain, as the basis for the opera.⁶³ Casona fled Spain in 1936, stopping in Mexico City before settling in Buenos Aires in 1939.⁶⁴ Casona finally returned to Madrid in 1962, for the Spanish premiere of his play, *La dama del alba* (1947) at the Teatro Bellas Artes.⁶⁵ He returned permanently to Spain in 1963 only to die during an operation in 1965. Throughout his exile, Casona's plays remained strongly nationalistic as they frequently invoked his Spanish homeland, particularly his birthplace of Asturias.

Ginastera and Casona divided the opera into three acts, each with three scenes connected by musical interludes. As musicologist Pola Suárez Urtubey explains of the opera's scenic structure, "They are inter-related and opposed to each other in a

⁶³ The Don Rodrigo legend has inspired several operatic treatments including: Carlo Francesco Pollarolo's *Roderico* (1683); Francesco Gasparini's *Il Roderico* (1694); G.F. Handel's *Rodrigo* (1707); Henry Charles Litolf's *Don Rodrigue del Toléde* (1848); Georges Bizet's *Don Rodrigue* (1873-unfinished). Julián Bautista also composed a choral work, *Romance del Rey Rodrigo* (1958).

⁶⁴ Juan R. Castellano, "Alejandro Casona-Expatriado Español," *Hispania* 25/1 (1942): 53.

⁶⁵ Juan R. Castellano, "Alejandro Casona-Español Repatriado," *Hispania* 46/2 (1963): 342.

‘cancizans’ sense, i.e. the first and the last, the second and the penultimate, etc.”⁶⁶ The opera also has three main characters, Don Rodrigo, the ill-fated King of Spain, Don Julián, Rodrigo’s comrade-in-arms, and Florinda, Don Julián’s daughter and Rodrigo’s love interest. Table Three in Appendix A gives a synopsis of the opera, scene by scene.

The Coronation scene of Act I proceeds much like a wedding. Rodrigo must declare his love and faithfulness to his country, stating, “España toma mi anillo: sólo contigo me he de casar” (Spain, take my ring: only with you will I marry). Similarly, in scene III when Rodrigo wants to force open the locked chest in the cave of his ancestors, he declares, “He tomado a España por esposa y no tolero que me guarde secretos” (I have taken Spain as my wife, and I will not tolerate her keeping secrets from me). Scholar J.R. Araluce-Cuenca views this as the principal theme of the opera, explaining that “Don Rodrigo has no wife other than Spain, to which he must show absolute fidelity as a husband and king.”⁶⁷ Yet Rodrigo proves a poor husband. He breaks his marital vows twice, the first time by opening the chest, and the second time by raping Florinda. His infidelity leads to the Moorish conquest of Spain, led by a vengeful Don Julián. Despite Rodrigo’s mistakes, Spain will eventually emerge from the Moorish tyranny. As Araluce-Cuenca comments, “The last note of the work is optimistic in that it holds out hope for the redemption of the homeland.”⁶⁸ Perhaps Casona, like other exiles, believed

⁶⁶ Pola Suárez Urtubey, “Alberto Ginastera’s *Don Rodrigo*,” *Tempo*, no. 74 (1965): 11.

⁶⁷ J.R. Araluce-Cuenca, “Tradición y originalidad en el *Don Rodrigo* de Alejandro Casona,” *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 38/4 (1975): 192.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 205.

in the redemption of their homeland from Franco's dictatorship, just as Spain had been redeemed from Moorish rule.

Shortly before the opera's premiere, Ginastera published a front-page article in *Buenos Aires Musical*, explaining his new creation to the general public. He included a short paragraph on why he chose the Rodrigo legend as the subject of his first opera. As he stated:

By choosing the Visigoth romance for my opera, I have not tried to create a work of historical character. The drama of Rodrigo interested me less for its historical truth than for its tragic force. Rodrigo himself, with his fiery temper, domineering and impulsive, is a typically operatic figure.⁶⁹

Most of the article focused on an explanation of the work's musical language, and its highly formalized structure. Ginastera justified his use of serialism, stating, "I used serial technique and the total chromatic in *Don Rodrigo* because this type of musical notation is the most suited to express my thoughts."⁷⁰ Ginastera stated that a modern artist must use the musical techniques of his time. As he explained, "The artist belongs to his time through his language, but belongs to all time through his expression. By using this language, the work will therefore be more universal and enduring, much more honest and be more detached from the "clichés" that exist in all eras."⁷¹ The opera's structure and serialism, rather than any nationalistic elements, became its most salient—and most discussed—feature. Spanish critic Mariana Diaz's review of the opera's premiere

⁶⁹ Alberto Ginastera, "A Propósito de Don Rodrigo," *Buenos Aires Musical*, 16 July 1964, 1.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

typified the press's reaction, in particular the tendency to focus on Ginastera's use of contemporary techniques above all else. As she stated, "For its part, Alberto Ginastera boldly used the most modern methods of serial techniques and the total chromatic. And so, the opera is one of the few that has been created using Arnold Schoenberg's methods of composition."⁷²

In some cases, the opera's lack of music nationalism had to be explained, as if listeners would be expecting it. As preface to Urtubey's *Tempo* article on *Don Rodrigo*, Colin Mason informed readers that "Readers of the article on Ginastera's opera *Don Rodrigo* in this issue may be struck by the fact that although the composer has chosen a profoundly national historical subject, Miss. Urtubey makes no mention of any use of national themes or styles."⁷³ Mason explained that the absence of musical nationalism coincided with Ginastera's international outlook. As Mason continued, "He is not in this sense a nationalist, and indeed perhaps the reverse, aware from the example of his predecessors, both Spanish and Latin American, of the need to escape from the traditional musical idioms of their countries."⁷⁴ Like Falla and other great nationalist composers, Ginastera's true genius lay in his ability to ultimately transcend nationalism by adapting to an international style.

⁷² Mariana Diaz, "Estreno mundial de la ópera *Don Rodrigo*," *Blanco y Negro*, 22 August 1964, 88.

⁷³ Colin Mason, "Introduction," *Tempo* no. 74 (1965): 1.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

By the 1960s, this nationalist-to-universalist narrative had become commonplace in writings about Ginastera. For example, Ginastera's biography in the Madrid festival's program concludes, "Ginastera has followed an intelligent evolution from a purified, nationalist school with some influence of Villa-Lobos, to the measured adoption of new techniques, both polytonal and serial."⁷⁵ Critics portrayed the fact that Ginastera had escaped from musical nationalism by using serial techniques as a positive event, and one that had contributed to his international success. A few days before the New York City Opera's lavish production of *Don Rodrigo*, critic Howard Klein reflected on Ginastera's stylistic development from nationalist to universalist. As he observed:

Ginastera, like many others, left behind his own brand of nationalism to embrace current serial and aleatoric practices. But unlike some, there has been no sharp break in his style, no schizophrenic split between folklore and the new universalism. Even in his most nationalistic days, Ginastera was writing twelve-tone music. His graduation piece at Buenos Aires Conservatory, a ballet called *Panambi* (1935-37), used a twelve-tone theme.⁷⁶

Klein's implication that *Panambi* has a relation to serial techniques is at best a procrustean argument. Yet, it is telling that Klein wished to recast Ginastera as a twelve-tone composer even before he had left his nationalistic phase. In this narrative, Ginastera is inherently ahead of his contemporaries, using compositional methods associated with "universalism" before anyone had labeled them as universal.

⁷⁵ Anon., "Alberto Ginastera," *I Festival de Música de América y España* (Madrid: Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, 1964), 97.

⁷⁶ Howard Klein, "Ginastera-A Most Happy Composer," *New York Times*, 20 February 1966, 13.

The opera garnered great reviews from its Argentine premiere. Likewise, Ginastera's *Don Rodrigo Symphony*, which premiered on the closing concert at the Madrid festival, represented another solid success. Ginastera's extracted three of Florinda's arias and three of the musical interludes to form the bulk of the symphony. Ginastera used the material from scene V for the symphony's first movement, "Musica Notturna ed Aria I." For the second movement, "Musica Tragida ed Aria II" Ginastera takes Interlude IV and adds the letter aria from scene VI. The last movement, "Musica Elegiaca ed Aria III," draws from the Rodrigo Fanfare from the end of Interlude V (itself an allusion to the opening fanfare of the opera) then transitions to Interlude VI, concluding with Florinda's final aria, "Allá en las verdes Asturias." Giménez waxed euphoric about the symphony, stating that the festival's greatest success went to "the *Don Rodrigo Symphony* by Alberto Ginastera, the great Argentine composer, who is repeatedly the unquestioned winner on a transcendent level of internationality."⁷⁷ According to Giménez, the audience sat in stunned silence before bursting into wild applause. As he explained, "The impact was tremendous, and it materialized after a few seconds of silence in which we should probably remember as the great ovation of the festival."⁷⁸ Even Iglesias, known for his more conservative tastes, found the work a magnificent piece of modern music. He even went as far as to forgive Ginastera for his serial predilection. As Iglesias reported:

With the world premiere of Argentine composer Alberto Ginastera's *Don Rodrigo Symphony*, commissioned for the Festival, we heard another of the best all-around

⁷⁷ Alberto Emilio Giménez, "Festival de Música de América y España," *Reflector* no.104 (1964): 11.

⁷⁸ Alberto Emilio Giménez, "La culminación del Festival de Madrid," *La Nación*, 23 November 1964, 19.

pieces of the event. [...] It does not matter that the work may have been literally extracted from the composer's opera of the same name, that it intentionally ventures into serialism, and that the placing of the groups of bells around the hall steals the show; the work was a rousing success and clear proof of Ginastera's genius and feeling. Among its many merits is its eloquent demonstration that modern music can incorporate experimental elements effectively when it is conceived with an appreciation for what music is and always has been.⁷⁹

Espinos Orlando's review of the symphony's performance suggested that whole opera be performed in Spain, stating, "There was much applause at the end of the premiere, and the performers thanked the poet, Casona, while the head of the National Orchestra [Frühbeck] held up in his hands the score of Ginastera's opera, which would be interesting to know in its entirety."⁸⁰ Fernández-Cid penned a lengthy review, highlighting various captivating moments. As he wrote:

From the standpoint of sound sophistication, higher quality occurs in the initial number, "Musica nocturna" in which the effects of multiple timbres, the dominance of percussion, the distributive touch places in a climate of tension the poetic story vocal, "Night, starry night," The evocation of "the green Asturias" at the end, when the bells—on the stage, beneath the stage, in the amphitheater—surround us, it leads to a theatrical excitement, if you will, but certain and legitimate. The work, without tonal affiliation, achieved a beauty that reaches the listener as smoothly as any real, artistic production.⁸¹

After the premiere, Sopeña proclaimed, "I sincerely believe that the composer Alberto Ginastera is the most important of the two Americas."⁸² Like Espinos Orlando, Sopeña also yearned to hear Ginastera's first opera. As Sopeña wrote, "I have real

⁷⁹ Antonio Iglesias, "Music in Madrid," *Inter-American Music Bulletin*, no. 45 (1965): 5.

⁸⁰ J. Espinos Orlando, "Brillante Concierto de Clausura," *Madrid*, 2 November 1964, 65.

⁸¹ Antonio Fernández-Cid, "La *Sinfonía Aitana* en el concierto de clausura del I Festival de América y España," *Informaciones*, 2 November 1964, 58.

⁸² Federico Sopeña, "Festival Hispanoamericano: último concierto," *ABC*, 2 November 1964, 63.

eagerness to hear the opera in Spain, with text by no less than Alejandro Casona.”⁸³

Unlike the reviews of Halffter’s *Canticum*, no critic at the Madrid festival gave Ginastera’s symphony anything less than ecstatic praise.

After the symphony’s triumphant Madrid premiere, Espinosa programmed it for the Third Inter-American Music Festival, held in Washington, D.C., 7-12 May 1965. As lack of financial support cancelled the first attempt at staging a third festival in 1963, Espinosa turned to the help of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, established by oil tycoon John D. Rockefeller. Standard Oil funded two of the festival’s orchestral concerts and its Latin American branch, Esso, commissioned nine new Latin American works for the festival.⁸⁴ The festival’s committee gave Ginastera’s *Don Rodrigo Symphony* pride of place on the opening concert. Paul Hume praised the symphony, and like the Spanish critics at the Madrid festival, wondered when the opera would come to the United States. As Hume wrote, “The effect of Ginastera’s most mature mastery of a vast complex of intricately subtle sounds was overwhelming, and the audience roared its enthusiastic approval. Already a question has arisen that will not be silenced: when will the United States hear this new opera in its complete dramatic form? Its success seems certain.”⁸⁵

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Anon., *III Inter-American Music Festival Program*, (1965), 18.

⁸⁵ Paul Hume, “Alberto Ginastera,” *Inter-American Music Bulletin*, no. 48 (1965): 3.

Irving Lowens enjoyed the work, although he stated that the new symphony fell short of the “blazing triumphs” Ginastera had evoked at the previous festivals.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, Lowens acknowledged Ginastera’s place at the top of the musical pantheon, explaining, “Still, it is the Argentine composer against whom all the others must measure themselves, and more than anything else, it is Ginastera’s curious blend of romantic primitivism and avant-garde sophistication that is coming to be recognized as the distinctively ‘Inter-American sound’ of the second-half of the twentieth century.”⁸⁷ Lowens comments raises two issues; one, that an “Inter-American sound,” exists and second, that it amalgamates “romantic primitivism and avant-garde sophistication.” Displaying this Western hemisphere sound, a sound that distinguished the New World from the Old, constituted one of the unstated goals of the Inter-American Music Festivals. Moreover, the great majority of the compositions that found favor at the Inter-American and the Madrid Festivals used serialism, along with subtle, nationalistic allusions. Lowens even speculated that this nationalism gave Latin American serial compositions an advantage over other, serial works. As he stated, “In the U.S. and Canada, serialism is the *lingua franca* and the dominant tendency. But in Latin America, serialism seems humanized, thanks to a romantic, nationalist heritage and the vitality of such major figures as Heitor Villa-Lobos and Alberto Ginastera.”⁸⁸ Lowens allowed

⁸⁶ Irving Lowens, “Current Chronicle,” *The Musical Quarterly* 51/3 (1965): 548.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

stereotypes about the dichotomy of the “sensual south” versus the “industrial north” to color his perception Latin America serial compositions.

Several critics clung to these ways of describing Latin American music, even if very little of the actual score substantiated these claims. Critic John Vinton felt that Ginastera’s *Don Rodrigo Symphony* still retained some this nationalist heritage, stating, “The coloristic aspect, as usual, found its wildest expression in an orchestral piece by Alberto Ginastera, while the rhythmic aspect may well be the last outpost of the nationalism that used to be associated with music written south of the border.”⁸⁹ With its “wild orchestral colors” and its rhythmic volatility set within a serial context, the *Don Rodrigo Symphony* did indeed represent the apotheosis of the Inter-American sound. Yet the symphony’s instrumentation hardly qualifies as unusual. Ginastera uses the percussion sparingly, only during the coronation and battle scenes. He employs the celesta and glockenspiel to evoke a nocturnal atmosphere. Critic Harold Blumenfeld echoed some of Vinton’s sentiments about the symphony. As Blumenfeld stated, “The symphony, like the opera, is a work of transcendent power. It applies a fresh and ear-catching palette of exotic effects from all corners of the orchestra, including especially a huge contingent of percussion.”⁹⁰ Ginastera calls for seven timpani, twenty-five bells and a number of different drums. Exotic colors and emphasis on percussion marked the symphony as different enough to be appealing, yet the more universal elements of serial

⁸⁹ John Vinton, “Current Chronicle,” *The Musical Quarterly*, 51/3 (1965): 555.

⁹⁰ Harold Blumenfeld, “Ginastera and his Energized Sound,” *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, 18 August 1968, 5F.

and polytonal techniques gave the symphony the power to transcend a nationalistic context.

The success of Ginastera's symphony in Washington, D.C., led to a U.S. production of the opera itself; as *Don Rodrigo* did eventually have its sumptuous premiere in New York City. The opera headlined the 1966 season of the New York City Opera Company; moreover, its staging celebrated the company's move into a new, larger venue. A generous gift by Martha Baird Rockefeller, wife of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., made the production possible.⁹¹ The audience for the opening night gala consisted of New York City's elite, including NYC Mayor John Lindsay; Arthur J. Goldberg, chief United States representative to the United Nations; Norberto Barrenechea, Argentine Ambassador; Carlos Posado, Argentine consul general; and theater legends Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne.⁹² Overall, the opera met with good reviews. Harold Schonberg commented that "the impressive thing about *Don Rodrigo* is its compositional surety."⁹³ Yet, he felt the opera emotionally uninspiring, stating, "The major flaw of *Don Rodrigo* is in its lack of anything touching the heart." Richard Franko Goldman found the work well-crafted, but like Schonberg, complained the work lacked humanity. As he wrote, "Unfortunately, for all its virtues and for all the compositional skill it demonstrated, it somehow fails to be moving or to involve the listener in what is happening on the busy

⁹¹ Ruth Robinson, "Lavish is the word for the City Opera's Debut in New Home," *New York Times*, 23 February 1966, 32.

⁹² Dan Sullivan, "City Opera is 'Go' Amid Countdown," *New York Times*, 22 February 1966, 14.

⁹³ Harold C. Schonberg, "Music: City Opera Company Sparkles in its Rich, New Setting," *New York Times*, 23 February 1966, 42.

stage.”⁹⁴ Others gave the opera unanimous praise. Marion P. Holt called the opera a “spectacular success,” and stated that Ginastera’s contemporary language was “employed with striking originality and skill.”⁹⁵ Alan Rich, of the *New York Herald Tribune* wrote:

Don Rodrigo is a modern masterpiece, as compelling a piece of musical dramaturgy as the past few decades have produced. It is today’s grand opera, very grand and very much of today. You are urged, nay browbeaten, into seeing it in the two performances that remain.⁹⁶

Like Iglesias, Rich noted that *Don Rodrigo* is both paradoxically modern and traditional, much like a serial grand opera. In his own writings, Ginastera acknowledged that Verdi and Berg played a pivotal role in the creation of his first opera.⁹⁷ F.M. of *Opera News* gave the work a favorable comparison with Verdi, stating, “The total effect of *Don Rodrigo* is of a twelve-tone *Otello*.”⁹⁸ Louis Biancolli, of the *New York World-Telegram* was equally taken with Ginastera’s first opera. As he wrote, “In the atonal *Don Rodrigo*, Ginastera has not only composed the *Wozzeck* of the Western Hemisphere, but also one of the three greatest operas since *Turandot*.”⁹⁹ In comparing *Don Rodrigo* with the great operas of the European cannon, the critics place Ginastera on an equal plane with the European masters. However, Biancolli pointed out that it is music of the Western

⁹⁴ Richard Franko Goldman, “Current Chronicle,” *The Musical Quarterly*, 52/3 (1966): 376.

⁹⁵ Marion P. Holt, “The Hispanic World,” *Hispania*, 49/3 (1966): 522.

⁹⁶ Alan Rich, “For City Opera, A Wealth of Praise Deserved,” *New York Herald Tribune*, 23 February 1966, 16.

⁹⁷ Ginastera, “A Propósito,” 1.

⁹⁸ F.M. “Reports: United States,” *Opera News* 30/21 (1966): 30.

⁹⁹ Louis Biancolli, “Dazzling U.S. Premiere of *Don Rodrigo*,” *New York World Telegram*, 23 February 1966, 32.

Hemisphere, and so differentiated it from its European peers. Lowens, in reviewing Ginastera's *Cantata for Magic America* (1961), also took pains to describe the work as distinctly of the Americas. As Lowens stated, "With this work, Ginastera becomes a hemispheric and not a nationalistic composer. For this is unmistakably music of the Western hemisphere, for all its debt to the Old World, and it is difficult to imagine a composer of the European tradition writing it."¹⁰⁰ *Don Rodrigo* and the ensuing symphony helped Ginastera establish his hemispheric reputation. With these serial works, Ginastera demonstrated that he could both compete with Europe as well as present an alternative to the Old World.

¹⁰⁰ Irving Lowens, "Current Chronicle," 532.

Conclusions

As this dissertation has shown, the politics of the Cold War inevitably seeped into the musical aesthetics of the era, whether composers were aware of this or not. Writing music in a populist style with broad appeal, so applauded during the 1930s and 1940s in the United States, had fallen out of favor by the 1950s. This style, deemed passé and possibly Leftist, gave way to a cerebral and rugged style. U.S. critics and scholars now focused their commentary and praise on challenging works, often those employing serial techniques. Throughout the 1950s, an increasing number of serial works by prominent composers of the United States and Latin America found their way onto programs. In 1958, Howard Taubman, music critic for the *New York Times*, emphasized the growing importance of serialism, stating that “In Europe there are many composers who are devoted to the twelve-tone discipline or some offshoot of it. In this country there is a sizeable group that is unshaken in its conviction.”¹ By the end of decade, serial compositions formed a weighty part of many modern composers’ oeuvre. In his summary of the aesthetic trends of the 1950s, Taubman detailed which other notable composers had incorporated serialism. As he wrote:

Stravinsky was not alone in making use of twelve-tone approaches. Increasingly, composers sought to find individual ways of adapting serial techniques to their own style. Aaron Copland, in his *Fantasy for Piano*, and Alberto Ginastera of Argentina, in his *String Quartet*, were among the leading figures, who, like Stravinsky found themselves drawn into the dodecaphonic orbit and who were contributing to a fresh view of it.²

¹ Howard Taubman, “In Time to Come?” *New York Times*, 23 March 1958, 9.

² Howard Taubman, “Exit the Fifties,” *New York Times*, 13 December 1959, 13.

Stravinsky scholar Joseph N. Straus argues that serial domination of the 1950s and 1960s is essentially false and that “most composers continued working in what has remained throughout this century the mainstream of tonal-oriented composition.”³ It is true that many composers in the U.S., Latin America, and Spain, continued to work in what could be described as a tonal idiom. Many festivals of modern music, however, demonstrated marked preference for serial works. For example, the 1959 I.S.C.M. Festival, held in Rome, featured mainly serial compositions. Edward Downes reported of this serial dominance that “the most obvious among these trends were the spread of serial techniques and styles associated with serial composition, both now being absorbed into an ever wider range of musical styles.”⁴ The Inter-American Music Festivals as well as the Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain favored serial or aleatoric pieces to the exclusion of tonal-oriented composition. Thus, the postwar ascendancy of the avant-garde and the dialectic surrounding serialism certainly merit further reflection.

During the 1950s, Latin American and Spanish composers also found serialism appealing because it was modern and international. Writing in this avant-garde style could mean access to a wider network of prestige and connections, as these serial pieces tended to be selected for festivals, instead of the folkloric or nationalistic music. Yet, it was nearly impossible for these composers to avoid issues of nationalism, because critics

³ Joseph N. Straus, “The Myth of Serial ‘Tyranny’ in the 1950s and 1960s,” *The Musical Quarterly* 83/3 (1999): 303.

⁴ Edward Downes, “Rome to Host I.S.C.M.,” *New York Times*, 28 June 1959, 9.

and audiences expected their music to sound different (read: exotic). As Gómez Amat has suggested:

It would seem that, in the eyes of many, everything Spanish has to have a particular character. “Spain is Different” runs one of the advertising slogans used in the tourist business, and in the same way our young composers were often expected to demonstrate their Spanishness at all costs—although without tambourine and castanets.⁵

Within this framework, composers from Latin America and Spain simultaneously accepted and rebuked nationalism, often using native rhythms or colorful percussion within a serial context. Critics additionally shaped this “national yet universal” discourse, praising compositions that displayed a “Spanish” or “Latin American” essence, while communicating in a more “universal” language.

Much of the American music selected for the Madrid festival displayed these “national yet universal” qualities; moreover, the pieces had already been successful at the Washington, D.C., festivals. The more applauded compositions, such as De la Vega’s *Symphony in Four Parts*, Becerra’s Piano Quintet, and Cordero’s *Symphony No. 2*, featured serialism intertwined with folk-dance inspired rhythms and heavy use of percussion. The Madrid festival’s two commissions, Ginastera’s *Don Rodrigo Symphony* and Halffter’s *Canticum in memoriam P.P. Johannem XXIII*, demonstrate the complex, and sometimes contradictory nature of the festival’s historical and political context. On one hand, Spanish critics emphasized the progressive strides made by the “Generation of ’51,” led by Cristóbal Halffter’s serial compositions. This abstract style held the key to

⁵ Carlos Gómez Amat, “Some Aspects of 20th Century Spanish Music,” *The World of Music* 16/3 (1974): 14.

competing with Vienna or Paris, after the long isolation of the postwar years. During the “Twenty-Five Years of Peace” celebrations, the regressive effects of postwar era conveniently disappeared. Yet, Spanish critics could not erase the postwar era entirely. For example, the critics praised Ernesto Halffter, a member of the postwar generation whose Catholicism and conservative style rooted him in traditions of which Spain was proud. Halffter’s *Canticum*, while not progressive, reminded audiences of the greatness Spain achieved in neo-classicism.

Judging by the Madrid critics’ praise-filled reviews, Ginastera’s opera and the symphony derived from it became an exemplar of contemporary Latin American composition. *Don Rodrigo* aptly demonstrated that Ginastera had mastered both traditional and experimental techniques, giving the Western hemisphere an opera that could compete with the best of the European tradition. The symphony and opera also avoid nationalistic gestures, however covert, in favor of the *lingua franca* of serialism. A reputation as a nationalist composer proved hard to shake, yet Ginastera successfully evolved into a composer of international clout. Indeed, by speaking this “common language” of the avant-garde, Ginastera received the universal validation sought after by his Spanish and Latin American peers.

As a showcase for the avant-garde, the Madrid festival was indeed a continuation of the Cold War hemispheric solidarity encouraged by the OAS and the Kennedy administration’s Alliance for Progress, with its main goal being to combat communism. Additionally, the Madrid festival forms a part of a longer legacy of musical inter-

Americanism that mainly flourished because of the U.S.'s need for hemispheric support in a time of war. For example, throughout World War II, political rhetoric praised Latin American countries for their special relationship with the U.S. As scholar Gordon Connell-Smith writes, "They are 'our sister republics,' 'the Good Neighbors,' 'fellow members of a unique international system,' and so on."⁶ Connell-Smith goes on to speculate the U.S. only shows interest in Latin America "on those rare occasions in the twentieth century when United States hegemony in the western hemisphere is seriously challenged."⁷ After World War II, combating communism in Latin America by whatever means necessary supplanted the non-intervention of the Good Neighbor years. However, this aggressive action took a toll, and by 1958, U.S. relations with Latin America had reached a nadir. Against this backdrop, the Inter-American Music Festivals (1958, 1961), represented a rare display of hemispheric cooperation. As Cold War pressured continued, U.S. presidential administrations, as well as the OAS, once again put hemispheric solidarity against communism at the forefront of their goals.

Spain benefited greatly from the Cold War. Franco's anti-communism helped nurture U.S.-Spanish relations, culminating in the Pact of Madrid in 1953. When re-negotiating the Pact of Madrid in 1963, Spain made a point to court the OAS, and when the financial backing for the Third Inter-American Music festival disappeared, the ICH eagerly collaborated with the OAS to bring the festival to Madrid. Hosting the festival gave Spain a chance to display its progress, show how forgiving Franco could be to the

⁶ Gordon Connell-Smith, "Latin America in the Foreign Relations of the United States," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 8/1 (1976): 137.

⁷ Ibid.

exiles, and attempt to enter the European compositional mainstream. Some in the OAS additionally hoped that Spain would influence Latin America, particularly with regard to anti-communism. Spain's promotion of *hispanidad*, though it had the potential to become anti-United States, failed to conflict with the larger message of solidarity.

The Festival of the Music of the Americas and Spain offered an intriguing mix of hemispheric politics and avant-garde aesthetics. On some level, the festival was simply a gathering of composers, hoping to share their new creations with a wider audience. The festival promoted the artistic achievements of the American Republics, selecting pieces that displayed modern techniques yet retained that “Latin American” essence. The festival additionally tried to cultivate better relations among the countries of the Americas, even as the United States continued to dominate the hemisphere. Using music, specifically avant-garde music, as a tool to win people’s hearts and minds over to the cause of democracy, endowed this festival with political connotations that must be considered.

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Appendix

Table 1: Works Performed at the Madrid Festival, 1964

14 Oct. 1964		Premiere Information
Heitor Villa-Lobos (Brazil)	Symphony No. 12 (1957)	Premiere, IAMF I
Rodolfo Halffter (Mex/Spain)	Violin Concerto (1941)	
Harry Somers (Canada)	Lyric for Orchestra (1960)	Premiere IAMF II
Aurelio de la Vega (Cuba)	Symphony in Four Parts (1960)	Premiere IAMF II
15 Oct. 1964		
Victorino Echevarría (Spain)	Música para Muñecos de Trapo (1958)	
Conrado del Campo (Spain)	String Quartet, Carlos III (1949)	
Domingo Santa Cruz (Chile)	Wind Quintet (1960)	Premiere IAMF II
Blas Galindo (Mexico)	Quintet for Piano and Strings (1960)	Premiere IAMF II
17 Oct. 1964		
Roberto Pineda Duque (Colombia)	Symphonic Prelude (1962)	Madrid Festival Premiere
Ernesto Halffter (Spain)	Canticum in P.P. Johannem XXIII (1964)	Madrid Festival Premiere, Commissioned for Festival
Celso Garrido Lecca (Peru)	Symphony in Three Parts (1960)	Premiere IAMF II
Jesús Guridi (Spain)	Diez Melodias Vascas (1941)	
19 Oct. 1964		
Aaron Copland (USA)	Nonet (1960)	
Virgil Thomson (USA)	Autumn Suite, for harps, strings and percussion (1964)	Festival Premiere
Walter Piston (USA)	Capriccio for Harp and Strings (1963)	Festival Premiere

Enrique Solares (Guatemala)	Partita for Strings (1947)	
Xavier Montsalvatge (Spain)	Concerto Breve (1953)	
21 Oct. 1964		
Juilán Bautista (Spain)	Obertura para una opera grotesca (1932)	
Roberto Caamaño (Arg.)	Piano Concerto (1957)	Premiere IAMF I
Manuel Simó (Dominican Rep.)	Rutas	
Quincy Porter (USA)	Scenes from New England (1957)	Premiere IAMF I
Antonio Estévez (Venezuela)	Concerto for Orchestra (1949)	
22 Oct. 1964		
Luis de Pablo (Spain)	Cesuras (1963)	
Mario Davidovsky (Arg.)	Sincronisms No. 2 (1964)	Madrid Festival Premiere
Pozzi Escot (Peru)	Lamentus (1962)	Madrid Festival Premiere
José Vicente Asuar (Chile)	La Noche (1961)	
Gerald Strang (USA)	Piece for IBM Computer 7090	
Carmelo Bernaola (Spain)	Mixturas (1964)	Madrid Festival Premiere
Josep Soler (Spain)	Constantes rítmicas en el modo primero	Madrid Festival Premiere
24 Oct. 1964		
Juan Orrego Salas (Chile)	Symphony No. 3 (1961)	Premiere IAMF II
Mozart Camargo Guarnieri (Brazil)	Variações sobre um tema nordestino (1953)	
Héctor Tosar (Uruguay)	Te Deum (1961)	Premiere IAMF II
Joaquín Turina (Spain)	Sinfonía Sevillana (1920)	
26 Oct. 1964		
Roberto Gerhard (Spain/England)	String Quartet No. 2 (1961)	

Francisco Escudero (Spain)	String Quartet	
Carlos Chávez (Mexico)	Soli II for Wind Quintet (1961)	Premiere IAMF II
Gustavo Becerra (Chile)	Piano Quintet (1962)	Madrid Festival Premiere
28 Oct. 1964		
Manuel de Falla (Spain)	El Retablo de Maese Pedro (1923)	
Joaquín Rodrigo (Spain)	Concierto de Estío (1943)	
Federico Mompou (Spain)	Improperios (1964)	
31 Oct. 1964		
Roque Cordero (Panama)	Symphony No. 2 (1956)	
Alberto Ginastera (Arg.)	Don Rodrigo Symphony (1964)	Madrid Festival Commission
Cristóbal Halffter (Spain)	Secuencias (1964)	
Oscar Esplá (Spain)	“Aitana” Symphony (1958)	Madrid Festival Premiere

Table 2: List of Certain Festival Personnel and their Positions

General Director	Gregorio Marañón Moya
Musical Director	Guillermo Espinosa
Executive Directors	Enrique Suárez de Puga
	Luis Hergueta García de Guadiana
	Marques de Loureda
	Antonio de la Heras
	Enrique de la Hoz
	Oscar Esplá
	Cristóbal Halffter
	Rafael Frühbeck de Burgos
	Vicente Spiteri
	Odón Alonso
Technical Consultants	Manuel Orgaz
	Antonio Iglesias
Program and Commissions	Guillermo Espinosa
	Odón Alonso
	Rafael Frühbeck de Burgos
	Vicente Spiteri
	Antonio Iglesias

Table 3: Synopsis of the plot of *Don Rodrigo*

Act I
<i>Scene I- Victory</i>
Rodrigo returns to Toledo, victorious in battle, where his old friend, Don Julián greets him. Don Julián has just returned from Africa, and has brought his daughter Florinda with him
<i>Scene II-Coronation</i>
Rodrigo's coronation ceremony. Florinda moves to place the crown on Rodrigo's head, but it slips and falls to the floor. Everyone gasps at this bad omen, but Rodrigo scoops up the crown and places it on his own head.
<i>Scene III-Curse</i>
As king, Rodrigo must venture to the Cave of Hercules to place another lock on the family's chest. Instead, he commands the chest to be opened, despite Don Julián's protests. The chest contains a curse, decreeing that Spain will be conquered by her enemies and that Rodrigo will be the last of his line.
Act II
<i>Scene I-Love</i>
Rodrigo, returning from the cave, rests in the castle's garden where he observes Florinda bathing. Her beauty enchants him, but she runs away when he approaches.
<i>Scene II-Dishonor</i>
Florinda prepares for bed as Rodrigo enters her chambers. He declares his love, but she rejects him, reminding him of his duty to Spain. Rodrigo rapes her.
<i>Scene III-Letter</i>
Florinda, having been thus defiled and neglected by Rodrigo, writes a letter to her father in Africa, urging him to heap vengeance upon Rodrigo and Spain.
Act III
<i>Scene I-Dream</i>
Rodrigo dreams of the curse visited upon him in the cave. Later, he dreams Don Julián receives Florinda's letter and declares war on Spain. He awakens and readies his troops for battle.
<i>Scene II-Battle</i>
Rodrigo battles Julián's Moorish army. Rodrigo loses the battle and flees, his arm wounded.
<i>Scene III-Miracle</i>
Rodrigo wanders the countryside, coming upon a hermitage. He confesses his sins and asks the hermit to pardon him. Florinda appears as Rodrigo dies, telling him that Spain will be reborn from the stronghold in Asturias. All bells of Spain miraculously toll at Rodrigo's death.