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Eduardo Herrera

Elite Art Worlds

PHILANTHROPY, LATIN AMERICANISM, AND AVANT-GARDE MUSIC

Eduardo Herrera

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For Adriana

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_____

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now that we are all adults, and that is a wonderful thing. Hermann Cuervo, Clara Guerrero, Andres Paz, and María Alejandra Cuervo have been sincerely encouraging, and I could not have wished for a better family-in-law. In our house, Ney and Gusy have been the best pets I could have ever hoped for, except for the night when Gusy accidentally scratched my face, requiring me to have a beard for the rest of my life. Regardless, those two cats have spent more time with me than nearly any other living creature, and I love them very much.

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Eduardo Herrera
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

INTRODUCTION

Elite Art Worlds

IN 2011, I ATTENDED the fiftieth-anniversary celebration of the creation of the *Centro Latinoamericano de Altos Estudios Musicales* (CLAEM; Latin American Center for Advanced Musical Studies) in Buenos Aires, Argentina. The event was by all accounts an absolute success. Seeing composers reunite with their cohorts to celebrate the anniversary of a crucial moment in their professional formation was an unforgettable experience. These composers, representing multiple Latin American countries, had exchanged letters, then emails, for the last four or five decades. They had programmed, studied, and taught one another's music and had maintained professional and personal ties throughout their lives. As an outsider, a historian watching the people I write about share stories in 1960s Buenos Aires about their musical and non-musical adventures, with an overall sense of camaraderie, I was strongly affected. At the time I had been studying the history of CLAEM for about six years, and had maintained personal communications with most of them. But I had failed to realize the strength of the social ties that had been created among these composers. It was then perhaps when I fully understood that the legacy of CLAEM was not simply having educated and perfected the techniques of over fifty of the most important Latin American composers of the second half of the twentieth century. More than that, CLAEM had brought them together to a place where they could share ideas, get to know one another, and create a special bonding that led to the most significant generation of composers from the region.

The event was based on a relatively harmless lie. CLAEM had started its activities only in May 1962, but the organizers had seen the opportunity to get the funding necessary for the event, and with the uncertainty of political changes and clientelistic networks that often are attached to such monies, they decided to go ahead and ignore the slight historical discrepancy. "Also," said Eduardo Kusnir, one of the

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composers organizing the event, "we are only getting older."[1] This was sadly premonitory. Between that moment, and the day I write this introduction, many of my key interlocutors in creating a broad scope view on CLAEM have passed away. It is in their memory, and in honor of those who are still with us, that I write this book.

CLAEM was created in 1962 with funding from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Torcuato Di Tella Institute as a graduate center for studies in Western art-music composition. During the next decade, CLAEM offered two-year fellowships to a total of fifty-four young Latin American composers for intensive study with local, North American, and European teachers, such as Olivier Messiaen, Aaron Copland, Iannis Xenakis, Gerardo Gandini, Luigi Dallapiccola, Riccardo Malipiero, Francisco Kröpfl, Vladimir Ussachevsky, and Luigi Nono. The extended length of the fellowships allowed students to deeply engage with contemporary compositional techniques and works and to create lifelong networks of colleagues at a regional level not seen before among Latin American composers.[2] By the time of its closing in 1971, CLAEM had become an epicenter for the embrace, articulation, and resignification of avant-garde musical practices in Latin America and had launched the careers of a large group of composers who would simply be known as "la generación del CLAEM" (the CLAEM generation).

This book combines oral histories, ethnographic research, and archival sources to reveal CLAEM as a meeting point of US and Argentine philanthropy, local experiences in transnational currents of artistic experimentation and innovation, and regional discourses of musical Latin Americanism. The significance of this monograph goes beyond situating the crucial yet undocumented role of CLAEM in the history of Latin America's art music.[3] The presence of internationally recognized

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[1] Eduardo Kusnir, interview by author, Buenos Aires, June 16, 2011.

[2] Previous significant interaction in events such as the Berkshire Summer Festival, the Caracas Festival of Latin American Music, and the Inter-American Music Festival were notable, but none had the time depth provided by two years of group work.

[3] No comprehensive monographic study in English or Spanish covers this crucial historical moment, and very little musicological historiography in the United States and Europe concerns the extensive, creative, and active classical musical life throughout Latin America during the second half of the twentieth century. In Spanish, the first book to partially discuss CLAEM was John King's *El Di Tella y el desarrollo cultural argentino en la década del sesenta*, but as the author himself noticed in the 2007 edition of his text, a musicological account of the center still remained to be written. A more recent volume compiled by Castiñeira de Dios (including my own contribution), as well as articles by Hernán Vázquez on the reception and impact of the first generations of fellowship holders, have filled some of the gaps, but like King's book, these articles are available only in Spanish and have accessed sources only in Buenos Aires. Two important primary sources resulted from the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of CLAEM: a compilation of interviews to former fellows of CLAEM edited by Hernán Vázquez and the facsimile reproduction of part of Alberto Ginastera's correspondence curated by Laura Novoa. See John King, *El Di Tella y el desarrollo cultural argentino en la década del sesenta* (Buenos Aires: Asunto Impreso, 2007, reprint from 1985); José Luis Castiñeira de Dios, ed., *La música en el Di Tella: Resonancias de la modernidad* (Buenos Aires: Secretaría de Cultura, Presidencia de la Nación, Argentina, 2011); Hernán G. Vázquez, "Música de jovenes compositores de América: La actividad del *Centro Latinoamericano de Altos Estudios Musicales del Instituto Torcuato Di Tella de 1961 a 1966 y su representación en la prensa*," (MM thesis, Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, 2008); Hernán G. Vázquez, "Alberto Ginastera, el surgimiento del CLAEM, la producción musical de los primeros

composers at CLAEM contributes to the destabilization of narratives of art music that place Latin America on the peripheries of that tradition. The regional scope of CLAEM brings to the foreground a large number of composers from a multitude of countries, thus continuing the expansion of US scholarship on twentieth-century Central and South American art music.[4] Steering away from master narratives and composer-centric historiography, it is the center—not Alberto Ginastera, CLAEM's director, as a composer—that becomes the articulatory node of this narrative.[5] Three themes frame this study and aim to establish a conversation with broader topics in the humanities and social sciences: philanthropy as manifested from the United States and Argentina, the embrace of avant-garde and experimental practices, and the emergence of a discourse of musical Latin Americanism.

PHILANTHROPY AS CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

In this book, CLAEM becomes a case for studying philanthropy as cultural diplomacy, illuminating the relationships between elite groups in Argentina and the United States, larger issues in foreign policy, specific overlaps of public and private interests, and beliefs about what can be accomplished by funding the arts.[6] United States cultural diplomacy, understood as "the exchange of ideas, information, art, and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding,"[7] is most often thought of as being generated from governmental actors,

becarios y su representación en el campo musical de Buenos Aires," *Revista argentina de musicología* 10 (2009): 137–93; Hernán G. Vázquez, ed., *Conversaciones en torno al CLAEM: Entrevistas a compositores becarios del Centro Latinoamericanos de Altos Estudios Musicales del Instituto Torcuato Di Tella* (Buenos Aires: Instituto Nacional de Musicología "Carlos Vega," 2015); and Laura Novoa, ed., *Ginastera en el Instituto Di Tella: Correspondencia 1958–1970* (Buenos Aires: Biblioteca Nacional, 2011b).

[4] See also Alejandro Madrid, *In Search of Julián Carrillo and "Sonido 13"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015) and Ana Alonso-Minutti, *Mario Lavista and Musical Cosmopolitanism in Late Twentieth-Century Mexico* (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming), and Alejandro L. Madrid, *Sounds of the Modern Nation: Music, Culture, and Ideas in Post-revolutionary Mexico* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008).

[5] Ginastera's work and biography have been carefully studied in, among others, Malena Kuss, "Ginastera (1916–1983): La trayectoria de un método," *Revista argentina de musicología* 14 (2013): 15–52; Deborah Schwartz-Kates, "The Correspondence of Alberto Ginastera at the Library of Congress," *Notes* 68, no. 2 (2011): 282–312; Deborah Schwartz-Kates, *Alberto Ginastera: A Research and Information Guide* (New York: Routledge, 2010); Erick Carballo, "De la pampa al cielo: The Development of Tonality in the Compositional Language of Alberto Ginastera" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2006); and Pola Suárez Urtubey, *Alberto Ginastera en 5 movimientos* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Víctor Lerú, 1972). See also works by Buch, Hess, Novoa, Payne, and Vázquez cited elsewhere in this work.

[6] Throughout this book, I use cultural diplomacy as a branch of public diplomacy. Following Justin Hart, I see diplomacy as just one aspect of an expanded conception of foreign policy, which is in turn "one (rapidly shrinking) part of U.S. 'foreign relations.'" Justin Hart, *Empire of Ideas: The Origins of Public Diplomacy and the Transformation of U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 13.

[7] Milton C. Cummings, Jr., *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey* (Washington, DC: Center for Arts and Culture, 2003), 1.

including formal diplomats, the Department of State, or governmental agencies such as the United States Information Agency (USIA) or the Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA).[8] Richard Arndt argues that if "cultural relations grow naturally and organically, without government intervention," then "cultural diplomacy can only be said to take place when formal diplomats, serving national governments, try to shape and channel this natural flow to advance national interests."[9] CLAEM's case contradicts Arndt's conclusions by bringing to the foreground the work of non-governmental diplomacy and the messy complexity of the public-private divide as experienced by individuals participating in philanthropy as it actually exists. The commitment to this project was intimately tied to Cold War political ideas, and this association blurred the lines among philanthropy, cultural diplomacy, foreign policy, and private interests. For better understanding of this complexity, this book builds upon and dialogues with the last two decades of scholarship on public diplomacy by exploring instances in which music articulates foreign relations and expands the diplomatic realm, in this case by looking outside of government and into the private sector.[10]

By focusing on Latin America, this work complements and adds to the study of narratives about music diplomacy, Pan Americanism, and Inter-American relations. So far, most of these narratives have centered on what Justin Hart calls a first phase of US public diplomacy (1936–1953), in which Latin America often served as an early laboratory to test practices that the United States would later use worldwide.[11] In what could be described as a second phase, CLAEM's case foregrounds the directions that cultural diplomacy—hand in hand with philanthropy—took during the late 1950s and 1960s. This diplomatic moment was no longer framed by the US Good Neighbor policy, but by the establishment and demise of the Alliance for Progress,

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Richard T. Arndt, *The First Resort of Kings: American Cultural Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century* (Dulles, VA: Potomac Books, 2005), xviii.

[10] See Penny M. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); Danielle Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015); Emily Abrams Ansari, "'Masters of the President's Music': Cold War Composers and the United States Government," (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2010), and Emily Abrams Ansari, *The Sound of a Superpower: Musical Americanism and the Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

[11] Hart, *Empire of Ideas*, 3. See Carol A. Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor: Music, Difference, and the Pan American Dream* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013b); Gisela Cramer and Ursula Prutsch, eds., *¡Américas unidas! Nelson A. Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs (1940–46)* (Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2012); and Jennifer Campbell, "Shaping Solidarity: Music, Diplomacy, and Inter-American Relations, 1936–1946" (PhD diss., University of Connecticut, 2010). Also important in understanding the direction that the Rockefeller Foundation's support for music took after CLAEM is Michael Sy Uy, "The Recorded Anthology of American Music and the Rockefeller Foundation: Expertise, Deliberation, and Commemoration in the Bicentennial Celebrations," *American Music* 35, no. 1 (2017): 75–93.

the implementation of economic theories of what became known as "developmentalism," and a renewed attention to Latin America as a player in the Cold War.[12]

When we look at philanthropy as a mediated implementation of foreign policy by a sector between the public and private spheres, the success of the Cuban Revolution was, with little argument, an ultimate if not proximate reason behind the Rockefeller Foundation's interest in financing projects such as CLAEM. Ideologically, both government officials and the officers and trustees of the foundation shared an adherence to modernization theory and developmentalism. Philanthropic and governmental organizations alike saw modernization as a democratic mechanism to promote advancement throughout the Third World and as an antidote to the spread of socialist or communist revolutions.

A different facet of philanthropy is illuminated by the role of Argentine elites in the creation of CLAEM. My work with the wealthy Di Tella family, which has a history not unlike that of the Rockefellers, reveals the complex motivations that lie behind the Di Tellas' significant philanthropic efforts to support avant-garde music. Pragmatic exchanges of economic and cultural capital, deep beliefs in the importance of art as part of human expression, and the resonance they found between innovative art and modernizing discourses all played a part during CLAEM's existence. In parallel with Andrea Giunta's examination of visual and plastic arts at the Di Tella Institute, my work with the music center demonstrates that the Di Tellas' support for an emerging art world was not circumstantially focused on the avant-garde. Instead, it was a strategic move that legitimated them as a new elite and also marked a distinction in taste between them and older, more conservative groups.[13]

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[12] Hart, *Empire of Ideas*, 14. During the mid-twentieth century, developmentalism or modernization theory was often linked with the recommendations of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA; since 1984 called ECLAC). From his position as secretary-general of ECLA, Raúl Prébisch was one of the main proponents of modernization theory and import substitution industrialization. At the core of modernization theory was the idea that the economic troubles of Latin America were caused by structural and not circumstantial conditions (an explanation for why at times it was also called structuralism—not to be confused with the anthropological use of the word). It advocated a linear model in which underdeveloped countries—supposedly early versions of developed countries—needed to advance through certain stages to reach development in a path of industrialization similar to that of England, Germany, and the United States. The concept of "developing countries" was widely adopted under this particular framework. In Argentina, the term "developmentalism" was strongly associated with the government of Arturo Frondizi, president from 1958 to 1962, and the ideological and political movement that he oriented together with Rogelio Frigerio. Frondizi and Frigerio advocated that economic growth had to be deliberately promoted and that it would ultimately become the democratic path to social reform, as opposed to the revolutionary means that Cuba had taken with Castro. See Carlos Altamirano, *Bajo el signo de las masas (1943–1973)* (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 2007), 73 and 77.

[13] Andrea Giunta, *Avant-garde, Internationalism, and Politics: Argentine Art in the Sixties* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

AVANT-GARDE(S)

Studying CLAEM sheds light upon the ways in which diverse international models of musical avant-gardism were followed, consumed, and rearticulated and then became embodied, resignified, and institutionalized in Latin America during the 1960s. Elsewhere I have argued for a decentered understanding of the concepts of *avant-gardism* and *experimentalism*, one that focuses on the discursive and performative use of the terms among Latin American artists and musicians.[14] While art music is a deeply transnational tradition, I build upon the turn in the early twenty-first century in experimental music studies to look at *avant-garde* and *experimentalism* not as categories, but as something that comes into being through contested, conflicted, and highly localized practices of music making.[15] My interest, therefore, has been not to find divergences to prescriptive ontologies, but to observe how members of this musical community understood these terms and used them in association with actual practices. At least on the surface, and beyond their contested and relatively flexible use at CLAEM, the terms avant-garde (*vanguardia*) and experimental (*experimental*) were used as nested categories in which a *compositor/a de vanguardia* (avant-garde composer) might or might not engage with experimental practices, but anybody interested in experimentation did so from a perceived avant-garde position.[16]

At a first glance, the multiple aspects of the way that CLAEM composers embraced avant-garde practices resonate with the usual descriptions of musical avant-gardes elsewhere: emphasizing innovation and renovation, broadening aesthetic possibilities, critiquing and negating preceding musical trends, and questioning basic social and performance practices within this particular art world. However, in other respects, the emergence of this Latin American avant-garde seems to challenge some of the common theories about avant-gardism. Peter Bürger's oft-cited work argues that the two crucial aspects of the historical avant-garde—mostly associated with European Dadaists and Surrealists—were to retake the social impact that the high

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[14] Ana Alonso-Minutti, Eduardo Herrera, and Alejandro L. Madrid, "The Practices of Experimentalism in Latin@ and Latin American Music: An Introduction," in *Experimentalisms in Practice: Music Perspectives from Latin America*, ed. Ana Alonso-Minutti, Eduardo Herrera, and Alejandro L. Madrid (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018b), 1–17.

[15] William Robin, "A Scene without a Name: Indie Classical and American New Music in the Twenty-First Century," PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2016; Benjamin Piekut, *Experimentalism Otherwise: The New York Avant-garde and Its Limits* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Benjamin Piekut, ed., *Tomorrow Is the Question: New Directions in Experimental Music Studies* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014b); George E. Lewis, *A Power Stronger Than Itself: The AACM and American Experimental Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); and Amy C. Beal, *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

[16] Eduardo Herrera, "'That Is Not Something to Show in a Concert': Experimentation and Legitimacy at the Centro Latinoamericano de Altos Estudios Musicales," in *Experimentalisms in Practice: Music Perspectives from Latin America*, ed. Ana Alonso-Minutti, Eduardo Herrera, and Alejandro L. Madrid (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018b), 21–48.

intensification of artistic autonomy had removed from aesthetic experience and to dismantle what Huyssen described as "the institutional frameworks in which art was produced, distributed, and received."[17] However, by the time CLAEM composers were embracing a musical avant-garde, they were providing new articulations to its objectives from postwar perspectives, which Bürger, Huyssen, Foster, and other art scholars have called the neo-avant-garde of the 1950s and 1960s.[18] These perspectives share a deep-rooted belief in the notion of art for art's sake and thus generate a crucial question that contradicts Bürger's basic model: How could artistic creation have had a social impact within a modernist discourse that insisted on the autonomy of art? The solutions that CLAEM participants proposed in their attempts to integrate life praxis and avant-garde artistic creation reveal the ways in which Latin American composers attempt to overcome this dichotomy between life and art. Social change was not expected to happen through compositions. This incongruity, however, did not stop many composers from engaging in other activities in which they attempted to politicize their music through written discourse and organized activities and to make it engage social life as in more conventional instances of the avant-garde. The performative aspect of the texts, concerts, or lessons that these composers gave is particularly important because of its capacity to produce powerful associations with their musical compositions. The works of these avant-garde composers became both effective and affective in their societies through association with other facets of their identity—composers as writers, as critics, or as cultural organizers. Thus, an individual's writing, organizing concerts, and giving public talks are primary modes of social interaction that become so closely associated with the autonomous work of art as to appear inseparable from that work. Finally, the type of institutional support used to create CLAEM and all other art centers at the Di Tella Institute to "internationalize" local practices suggests exactly the opposite of Bürger's second conclusion about earlier avant-gardes: that is, they aim to dismantle the framing and conditions that largely determine the art world in the first place. CLAEM is perhaps the clearest Latin American example of an institutionalized musical avant-garde, not only because it took place within the confines of institutional forces, but also because it created a specific artistic elite that participated in a transnational art world with increased—albeit still limited—prestige.[19]

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[17] Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 7. Bürger's work deals with European avant-garde of the 1920s and 1930s, something implied in his own introduction, but still absent from his unmarked title both in German and in English. Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-garde* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

[18] Hal Foster, "What's Neo about the Neo-avant-garde?" *October* 70 (1994): 5–32.

[19] Piekut goes further and argues, "The emergence of an avant-garde in music after World War II would turn on its institutionalization by means of funding by the CIA and the US State Department, private US foundations, or other state-funded initiatives like Institut de Recherche et Coordination Acoustique/Musique (IRCAM)." Benjamin Piekut, "Afterword: Locating Hemispheric Experimentalisms," in *Experimentalisms in Practice: Music Perspectives from Latin America*, ed. Ana

LATIN AMERICANISM

Composers attending CLAEM underwent a deeply formative social experience that shaped their sense of belonging to a generational and professional cohort and molded their relationship to a musical Latin Americanism. The third and final theme framing this book presents musical Latin Americanism as a discursive formation. I take this frame following musicologist Melanie Plesch's proposal that Latin Americanism acts as a kind of counterpart to Edward Said's Orientalism, one that includes not only so-called Western representations of Latin America but also Latin American discourses of the Self.[20] Understood as a postcolonial experience—following the work of Mignolo, Santí, and Mendieta—the story of CLAEM illuminates how composers in the 1960s participated through music in the (re)creation of the "idea of Latin America." In this case, the music was developed in Latin America to explain the situation in Latin America to Latin Americans and the rest of the world.[21] The way multiple discourses of Pan Americanism shaped the reception and representational strategies of Latin American music in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century and the gradual shift of these strategies from a focus on Pan Americanism to one of Latin Americanism within cultural institutions and their musical projects have been examined thoroughly.[22] What CLAEM provides are the particulars of individual Latin American composers and the ways they engaged in a dialogue between subjective understandings of cosmopolitanism and ways of local belonging.

In alignment with its own denomination as a Latin Americanist center, fellowships at CLAEM were designed to systematically include diverse cohorts of students from Central and South America. CLAEM's director, Alberto Ginastera, has frequently been pointed out as a prime participant of musical Pan Americanist discourses during the 1950s and 1960s. The younger generation of composers who went to Buenos Aires to study at CLAEM propelled a significant shift when they advantageously adopted a regional identification as "Latin American avant-garde composers" in an art world that was largely European- and US-centric.[23] The discourse of musical Latin

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Alonso-Minutti, Eduardo Herrera, and Alejandro L. Madrid (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 305–13.

[20] Melanie Plesch, "Musical Latinamericanism: Some Notes towards the Deconstruction of a Discursive Formation" (paper presented at the 19th Congress of the International Musicological Society, Rome, July 1–7, 2012).

[21] Eduardo Mendieta, *Global Fragments: Globalizations, Latinamericanisms, and Critical Theory* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 102. See Walter D. Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005); and Enrico M. Santí, "Latinamericanism and Restitution," *Latin American Literary Review* 20 (1992): 88–96.

[22] See Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor*; and Pablo Palomino, "Nationalist, Hemispheric, and Global: 'Latin American Music' and the Music Division of the Pan American Union, 1939–1947," *Nuevo mundo mundos nuevos: Images, mémoires et sons* (2015), https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.68062.

[23] Hess argues that Ginastera's career "can in several respects be considered a microcosm of twentieth-century musical Pan Americanism." Carol A. Hess, "Ginastera's *Bomarzo* in the United States and the Impotence of the Pan American Dream," *Opera Quarterly* 22, nos. 3–4 (2006): 464. See also Carol A. Hess, "Leopold Stokowski, 'Latin' Music, and Pan Americanism," *Inter-American Music Review* 18

Americanism that emerged among these composers shared ideas with earlier proponents of hemispheric solidarity, such as Gilbert Chase, the International Composers Guild, the Pan American Association of Composers, and Ginastera's personal Pan American aspirations. However, the rise of the United States as a superpower, the disillusionment with its foreign policy, and the reconfiguration of the classical-music art world, which now more comfortably included US composers in its canon, led to a renewed, critical, and much more strategic regional identification, solidified by the social networks nurtured at CLAEM. The emergence of a shared discourse of Latin Americanism among composers had the elements of a professional strategy and of specific musical stylistic features, and both aspects had short- and long-term consequences for the contemporary music scene in the region.

ELITE ART WORLDS

As the title of this book indicates, the concepts of "Elite" and of "Art Worlds" are central to the way I have decided to frame the study of CLAEM. In calling this an "Art World," I am referring to the work of Howard Becker, in what is still the most comprehensive sociological analysis of art as a product resulting from collective action. Becker proposes that we look at "art works" as the result of complex interactions among artists, critics, performers, audiences, dealers, consumers, patrons, governments, and many other actors. In a purposefully tautological manner, Becker defines an art world as a "network of people whose cooperative activity, organized via their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things, produces the kind of art works that art world is noted for."[24] In light of the more recent interest in actor-network theory as a methodological approach to study music histories and the many entanglements that generate them, I extend Becker's thin understanding of networks as comprising relations among people to include unintentional agencies that cause a difference in our particular art world, including aesthetic objects, technologies, money, facilities, and ideas.[25] I am interested in acknowledging that CLAEM was shaped equally by people, by grants and fellowships that opened professional opportunities and had been forged under ideologies on foreign politics, by scores that were

(2008): 395–401; Alyson Payne, "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" (PhD diss., University of California Riverside, 2012); and Alyson Payne, "Creating Music of the Americas during the Cold War: Alberto Ginastera and the Inter-American Music Festivals," *Music Research Forum* 22 (2007): 57–79.

[24] Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), x. In a similar way, the work of Christopher Small pointed out how music involves a broad spectrum of social action and participation in the creation of performance. Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1998).

[25] Benjamin Piekut, "Actor-Networks in Music History: Clarifications and Critiques," *Twentieth-Century Music* 11, no. 2 (2014a): 191–215.

bought and incorporated into its library and the lessons they might have conveyed to those who checked them out, by books that arrived in Buenos Aires through informal couriers and that broadened the ideas of young composers, and by recording equipment that when used—or misused—led to particular soundscapes.[26] In this case, granting agency to nonhuman actors is to simply acknowledge all that is actually causing a difference in this particular setting, without giving priority to their human or nonhuman status.

However, asserting that CLAEM's art world was "elite" does not simply mean equating it to practices of higher socioeconomic classes. In this case, there is some truth to this association, particularly when we think about the status of the Rockefeller and Di Tella families. Nevertheless, oversimplifying the relationship between the Western classical music tradition and socioeconomic elites is erroneous. Following Wong, I conceive the Western art-music tradition as "actually many traditions, threaded together from many times and places, though its constructed nature is rarely acknowledged."[27] In this tradition, any oversimplification of the intricacies of this art world's relation to economic wealth misses the overall complexity of the weaving that forms it. In particular, careers in composition and performance of the Western European art-music tradition in Latin America during the late twentieth century were as common or even more so among the middle socioeconomic classes as they were among the upper classes. A minority of the composers working at CLAEM would have been identified as part of the upper socioeconomic class, and even today, those who have successful careers have experienced limited social mobility. In addition, while the musical tastes of Argentina's traditional oligarchy included nineteenth-century operatic and symphonic repertoires, both of these—particularly opera—were also followed and appreciated with fervor by members of the lower classes and underprivileged immigrant communities.[28] Avant-garde and experimental practices were perhaps the least appealing parts of this multifaceted tradition for the usual concertgoers in Buenos Aires. This lack of appeal is precisely what makes it significant that a new emerging economic elite group like the Di Tella family decided to actively support it. Nevertheless, to understand the whole art world as elite, we need to include multiple groups that can be conceived as elites with access to different types of privilege: economic, political, intellectual, and artistic.

The fragmented understanding of the concept of "elite" that I propose in this book emerges from a dialogue between functionalist elite theory and sociological studies

[26] Coincidentally, as I write this book, I am thinking of the arrival of two copies of John Cage's *Silence* into the hands of Graciela Paraskevaídis and Mariano Etkin. *Silence* is also an actor in the story told by Piekut about Fred Frith and his band, Henry Cow. Piekut, "Actor-Networks in Music History," 199.

[27] Deborah Wong, "Ethnomusicology and Difference," *Ethnomusicology* 50, no. 2 (2006): 272.

[28] Claudio E. Benzecry, *The Opera Fanatic: Ethnography of an Obsession* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 28.

in the production and reproduction of elite status.[29] Functionalist elite theory challenges the existence of a single unified elite that opposes the relatively homogeneous masses and instead suggests that large societies with an increased internal division of labor develop a series of multiple parallel elites in different fields. The holders of the top positions in these sectors have a decisive influence among their peers, be it in business, music, sports, religion, fashion, academia, or other sectors. Only some of them—those in the upper echelons of politics, business, media, and, to a lesser degree, intellectuals or labor unions, for example—can have an impact on broader society as a whole beyond their specific fields.[30] Elite status in each of these fields both grants and allows exchanges of what Pierre Bourdieu has called different kinds of capital: social capital (group membership and networks), cultural capital (education, forms of knowledge, and skills), economic capital (assets and possessions), and symbolic capital (prestige and recognition).[31] Exchanges of different types of capital can be used strategically to better one's position in society, to provide social mobility, or to legitimize one's current position. This understanding of elite status differs from social class, since elites are cohorts that control certain types of capital or functions of ruling or have merit in specific fields of action, while the notion of social class is rooted in, and exists in relation to, the degree of control over the means of production. Thus, the concept of elite does not necessarily map as a nested group within the upper class, since there might be elites—and this is mostly the case with composers, artists, and musicians—that belong to the middle or working class (as far as this concept refers to economic capital).

The access that CLAEM gave to material resources, technological advances, specialized education, and prestige and international recognition promoted the formation of these types of field-specific elites within avant-garde art music, access that simultaneously promoted an institutionalization that marginalized groups within the same art world that had no access to CLAEM, such as the Movimiento Música

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[29] The classic studies in analyzing the conditions, characteristics, and behaviors of elite groups proposing a simplistic binary opposition elite/masses are Gaetano Mosca, "The Ruling Class," in *Elementi di scienza politica*, ed. Gaetano Mosca (Turin, Italy: Bocca, 1896); Robert Michels, *Zur Soziologie des Parteiwesens in der modernen Demokratie: Untersuchungen über die oligarchischen Tendenzen des Gruppenlebens* (Leipzig: Verlag Werner Klinkhardt, 1911); and Vilfredo Pareto, *Trattato di sociologia generale* (Florence: Barbera, 1916). Alternative responses to these models were also found in power elite theory. This model argues that there are coherent society-wide elite organizations that, although not unified, resemble the classic idea of a "ruling class." Even though these power elites are directly connected to corporate interests, they are not simply extensions of the corporate world, but rather complex networks of members of a minority of power holders. See C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956); and William Domhoff, "Who Made American Foreign Policy 1945–1963?," in *Corporations and the Cold War*, ed. David Horowitz (New York: Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, 1969), 25–69.

[30] The most influential work on functionalist elite theory is Suzanne Keller, *Beyond the Ruling Class: Strategic Elites in Modern Society* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, [1963] 1991).

[31] Loic J. D. Wacquant, "From Ruling Class to Field of Power: An Interview with Pierre Bourdieu on *La noblesse d'État*," *Theory, Culture & Society* 10 (1993): 23.

Más.[32] However, CLAEM and the Di Tella Institute, in general, also contributed to the consolidation, legitimation, and ideological expansion of business and political elites, as witnessed from the example of the transformation of the Di Tella family from an industrial powerhouse to cultural tastemakers and active members of the political scene. Thus, a study on CLAEM as a central institution within the Latin American elite art world of music making allows foregrounding the complex relations among patronage, works, wealth, artists, knowledge, and taste.[33]

CHAPTER ORGANIZATION

Elite Art Worlds is organized into an introduction, seven chapters, and a conclusion. Chapter 1, "Centro Latinoamericano de Altos Estudios Musicale: 1962–1971," locates CLAEM within the Di Tella Institute and its other art centers, and provides an overview of the fellows, professors, facilities, and activities that constituted CLAEM during its ten years of existence. The chapter offers a general chronology that places in context some of the larger changes that occurred during this period. Chapter 2, "John Harrison, Alberto Ginastera, and the Creation of CLAEM," explores the creation of CLAEM through a series of vignettes that use the interactions between a Rockefeller Foundation officer and the famous composer to show how institutional forces, usually imagined on a seemingly abstract level, actually come into play on the ground through the interactions of specific people. Chapter 3, "The Rockefeller Foundation and Latin American Music in the 1950s and 1960s," draws in part from an earlier article published in *American Music* and is focused on the dynamics and overlaps among the history of CLAEM and US philanthropy, cultural diplomacy, and foreign policy. This chapter zooms out from the perspective provided in the previous chapter and examines from an institutional level the particular interests that are found in the Rockefeller Foundation's desire to contribute to CLAEM. Chapter 4, "The Di Tella Family, Art Philanthropy, and the Legitimation of Elite Status," explores why the Di Tella family, a new elite in Argentina, decided to support the creation of CLAEM and the ways in which avant-garde music was relevant and significant in the process of consolidating the family's position in Buenos Aires. Chapter 5, "Embodied Avant-Garde(s): A Way of Being in the World," uses CLAEM as a window into how musical avant-gardism was understood and experienced. The chapter illuminates a broad spectrum of reactions and involvements with the avant-garde, ranging from lifelong embrace to deep disillusionment, as well as diverse understandings of the trends that could be perceived as manifestations of avant-garde desires. The chapter

[32] Andrew R. Dewar, "Performance, Resistance, and the Sounding of Public Space: Movimiento Música Más in Buenos Aires, 1968–1973," in *Experimentalisms in Practice: Music Perspectives from Latin America*, ed. Ana Alonso-Minutti, Eduardo Herrera, and Alejandro L. Madrid (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 279–304.

[33] Becker, *Art Worlds*, 100.

portrays the broad meaning of CLAEM participation for many composers in the musical avant-garde: it meant working within certain aesthetic ideals and extending these ideals to everyday practice as part of fluid and rich identities. These composers went well beyond writing music to militantly organizing events, promoting works, musicological writing, and teaching. Chapter 6, "From Musical Pan Americanism to Latin Americanism," studies how the center fostered important exchanges of ideas and materials and how it created friendships and solidarity networks that shaped the careers of some of the most important Latin American composers for decades to come. The chapter looks at the adoption of a shared discourse of Latin Americanism as a professional strategy and as musical style among the graduates of CLAEM. The final chapter, Chapter 7, "The Closing and Lasting Impact of CLAEM," presents an analysis of the closing of CLAEM and its legacy, while bringing together the main three themes that form the book. The chapter argues that the impact that the relatively short-lived center had during the following fifty years on the classical music of the region was the result of calculated philanthropic efforts, the embodied and multifaceted embrace of avant-garde ideas, and the conscious and strategic construction and identification of Latin American composers.

1

CENTRO LATINOAMERICANO DE ALTOS ESTUDIOS MUSICALES

1962–1971

DURING THE 1960S, Buenos Aires was a city like few others in Latin America.[1] Bookstores struggled to keep up with the omnivorous literary appetite of the city for the work of several authors, including Julio Cortázar, Gabriel García Márquez, Ernesto Sábato, and Henry Miller.[2] The complete filmography of Ingmar Bergman was presented in local movie theaters. The magnificent Teatro Colón featured the world premiere of Iannis Xenakis's *Achorripsis* as well as performances of demanding works such as Schoenberg's *Five Orchestral Pieces* op. 16 and Stockhausen's *Gruppen*. International bands, such as The Beatles, Bill Haley and His Comets, the Rolling Stones, and Los Teen Tops, shared radio time with local artists, including Astor Piazzolla, Almendra, Leo Dan, and Palito Ortega. Charles M. Schultz's *Peanuts* and his unforgettable Charlie Brown were as widely known as the witty and insightful *Mafalda* by cartoonist Quino (Joaquín Salvador Lavado). Nobody could deny that Buenos Aires was a booming cosmopolitan center. And it was in the blocks between Esmeralda and Florida Street between Paraguay and Charcas, at the time known as the *Manzana Loca*, where the city was most in touch with the rest of the world (Figure 1.1). Right on Florida Street 936—the same street that had housed the original Jockey Club, Harrods, the Spanish government cultural center (ICI, or Instituto de Cooperación Interamericano), and one of the city's staple cafes, the Florida Garden—one could find the art centers of the Di Tella Institute.[3]

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[1] Parts of this chapter have previously appeared in Eduardo Herrera, "Electroacoustic Music at CLAEM: A Pioneer Studio in Latin America," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 12, no. 2 (2018a): 179–212.

[2] See Sergio Pujol, *La década rebelde: Los años 60 en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores, 2002).

[3] For more on Florida Street, see Jason Wilson, *Buenos Aires: A Cultural and Literary History* (Oxford: Signal Books, 2007), 99–108.

Elite Art Worlds. Eduardo Herrera, Oxford University Press (2020). © Oxford University Press.
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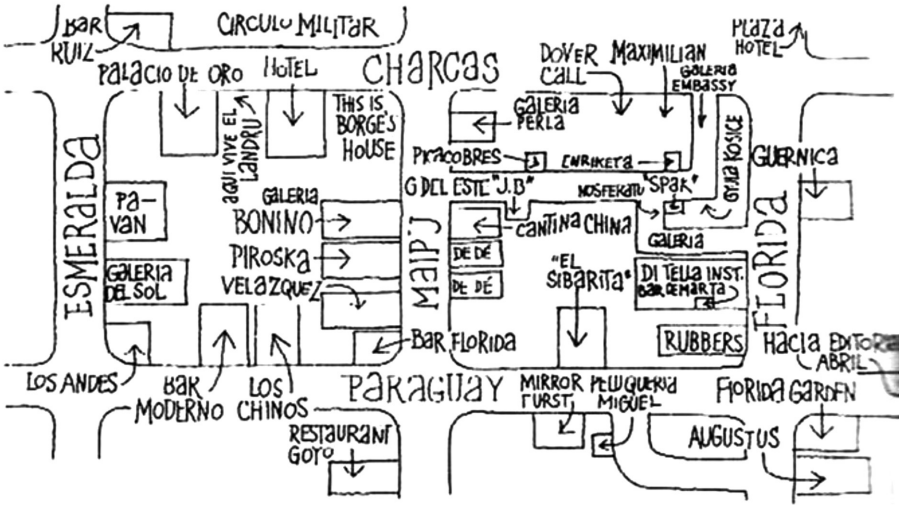

FIGURE 1.1 A map of the *Manzana Loca*, including the Di Tella Institute, published in the *Claudia* (November 1968) magazine and reproduced by John King in *El Di Tella y el desarrollo cultural argentino en la década del sesenta* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones de Arte Gaglianone, 2007), 169.

THE INSTITUTO TORCUATO DI TELLA

The Torcuato Di Tella Institute was created in 1958 as a conglomerate of centers for cutting-edge research in multiple areas of knowledge.[4] Under the directorship of Enrique Oteiza (Argentina, ca. 1930–2017) and Guido Di Tella (Argentina, 1931–2001), the institute functioned through two branches: the scientific research centers and the art centers.[5] The Florida Street building hosted the art branch, which consisted of CLAEM, the Centro de Artes Visuales (Visual Arts Center; CAV), and the Centro de Experimentación Audiovisual (Audiovisual Experimentation; CEA), together with a department of photography and graphic design. These centers aimed to make the Di Tella Institute a driving force in positioning Buenos Aires as an artistic capital of the hemisphere.

Art historian Andrea Giunta has shown how Oteiza and Di Tella aimed to turn Buenos Aires into a worldwide center on avant-garde art and to generate a new public that would appreciate modern artistic creation under a specific strategy she calls *internationalism*.[6] In Argentina, the word *internationalism* had been associated with

[4] Eduardo Herrera, "Di Tella Institute," in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Modernism* (Routledge, 2016, DOI 10.4324/9781135000356-REM797-1).

[5] Guido Di Tella and Enrique Oteiza, *Instituto Torcuato Di Tella: Memorias 1960/62* (Buenos Aires: Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, 1963): unnumbered. The scientific research centers were the Center of Economic Research (CIE), the Center for Social Research (CIS), the Center for Urbana and Regional Studies (CEUR), the Center for Research in Public Administration (CIAP), the Center for Research in Educational Sciences (CICE), and the Center for Neurological Research (CIN).

[6] Andrea Giunta, *Avant-garde, Internationalism, and Politics: Argentine Art in the Sixties* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 69 and 74–75.

the presidency of Arturo Frondizi (1958–1962), whose program of developmentalism relied on the collaboration of state institutions and the private sector in modernization projects.[7] The idea was that technological and economic progress would lead to development in all areas of social life. Thus, the modernization and internationalization of artistic practices had to go hand in hand with similar changes in the industrial and financial sectors. At home and abroad, these ideas resonated with the newly minted Di Tella Institute as part of an "evolution in a world of rapid, creative modernization."[8] Once the art centers were up and running, many believed that the Di Tella Institute was on its way to achieving its goals. John P. Harrison, officer of the Rockefeller Foundation said, "If there is going to develop in South America a true metropolis with its own pace and style in the sense of New York, London, or Paris, it will surely be in Buenos Aires. . . . The [Di Tella] art and music [centers] are in a substantial building on Florida [Street] in the most central part of the city."[9] Another Rockefeller Foundation officer, William C. Olson, visited the facilities and noted that students at the Di Tella Institute could get "what they cannot get at the University, i.e., the most recent probes, experiments, developments, ideas, and conceptions in the fields of the social sciences and the arts, including music, painting and sculpture."[10]

The Florida Street building was the public face of Di Tella and Oteiza's modernizing project (Figure 1.2). The spaces were open and inviting, with four large exhibit halls: three on the first floor and another on the second. CLAEM was also located on the second floor: Alberto Ginastera's office, with space for his secretaries outside it, as well as a meeting room. A study was reserved for visiting professors but usually used by Ginastera's chief assistant, Gerardo Gandini. Finally, the building included an electronic music laboratory, two large classrooms, and six small practice rooms that were also used as offices by pairs of fellows (Figures 1.3, 1.4 and 1.5).[11] These rooms were soundproofed, and each had an upright Baldwin piano. The basement of the building was used to house the artwork. The magazine *Primera plana* praised the architectural fluidity of the Florida building and how it "radiated culture that is

[7] The ideas of internationalism and developmentalism went hand in hand with the notion of breaking out of the perceived isolationism of the Perón years (1946–1955). Giunta, *Avant-Garde, Internationalism, and Politics*, 91.

[8] Guido Di Tella and Enrique Oteiza, *Memoria 1963* (Buenos Aires: Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, 1964), unnumbered.

[9] John P. Harrison, diary excerpt, unknown date, 1965, folder 1965, vol. 12, box unmarked, series John P. Harrison, RG 12.2 Diaries, Rockefeller Foundation archives, Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC).

[10] William C. Olson, diary excerpt, November 22, 1967, reel 49, series 301, RG 2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[11] During the 1960s, Argentina faced increasingly difficult economic conditions due to a significant amount of foreign loans and credits. In 1966, with the arrival of a military government, the state took a much more active role in the economy attempting to slow inflation and giving support to foreign investment and competitors. These policies hindered local industries including the *Sociedad Italiana de Amasadoras Mecánicas* (SIAM)–Di Tella. With a reduced budget came a shortage of space and in 1967 one of the practice rooms was reassigned to Cecilia Weinberg, an administrator.

FIGURE 1.2 View from the first floor of the Florida building. The stairs lead to the second floor, where CLAEM was located. Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center.

not only accessible to everyone, but at the same time, introduced the public to the structures of the contemporary world as they are proposed by technique and art." It also acknowledged the importance that the institute could have for Buenos Aires: "As of yesterday, at Florida Street, the modern world became available to everybody. You only need to enter it to realize that, with the same importance as politics and economics, the visual arts are an integral part of human life, and they give it meaning."[12] The modernist discourse that Guido Di Tella and Oteiza wanted to disseminate with their new art centers had been embraced by one of its most important magazines, particularly as it concerned the visual arts.

The Visual Art and Audiovisual Experimentation Centers at the Di Tella Institute (1960–1970)

The Di Tella Institute's *Centro de Artes Visuales* (CAV) was created in 1960 under art critic Jorge Romero-Brest's directorship. Initially, Romero-Brest had been hired to curate different exhibits by using the private collection of the Di Tella family and to organize a national and international prize for visual arts. Soon, the scope of his

[12] "Arquitectura: De sala de teatro, en 1920, a sede del Instituto Di Tella, en 1963," *Primera plana* 40 (August 13, 1963): 33.

FIGURE 1.3 View from the second floor of the Florida building. On the left, the meeting room with the composers Armando Krieger, alcides lanza, and Blas Atehortúa. On the right, three doors leading to the fellows' study rooms. Additional study rooms are behind the three composers. Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center.

job grew and resulted in the creation of a center that became a locus of avant-garde artistic creation and a home to neofigurative art, pop art, happenings, and, during its final years, art for mass consumption.[13] The happenings organized by the Di Tella Institute in Florida Street became a staple of the cosmopolitan Buenos Aires of the 1960s. Among the most important artists featured at CAV were Antonio Berni, Juan Carlos Distéfano, León Ferrari, Edgardo Giménez, Roberto Jacoby, Julio Le Parc, Rómulo Macció, Oscar Massota, Pablo Mesejean, Marta Minujín, Luis Felipe Noé, and Delia Puzzovio. One of the most memorable works exhibited during its existence was *La Menesunda* (1965) by Ruben Santantonín and Marta Minujín, an installation occupying two floors of the Florida Street building and allowing people to navigate through sixteen different spaces marked by neon lights, a semi-naked couple in bed, and a makeup artist applying cosmetics on the visitors. Similarly notorious was the exhibit named *Experiencias 1968*, which included Roberto Plate's *Los Baños* (1968), an installation that consisted of two rooms that resembled bathrooms, with sinks but not toilets, and with the silhouette of a man and a woman on each door. Shortly

[13] Andrea Giunta, "Rewriting Modernism: Jorge Romero Brest and the Legitimation of Argentine Art," in *Listen Here Now! Argentine Art of the 1960s: Writings of the Avant-garde*, ed. Inés Katzenstein (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2004), 78–92.

FIGURE 1.4 Aula Villa-Lobos. It had a capacity of twenty people and was equipped with an LP player, a stereo amplifier, a grand piano, an upright piano, and a harpsichord. Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center.

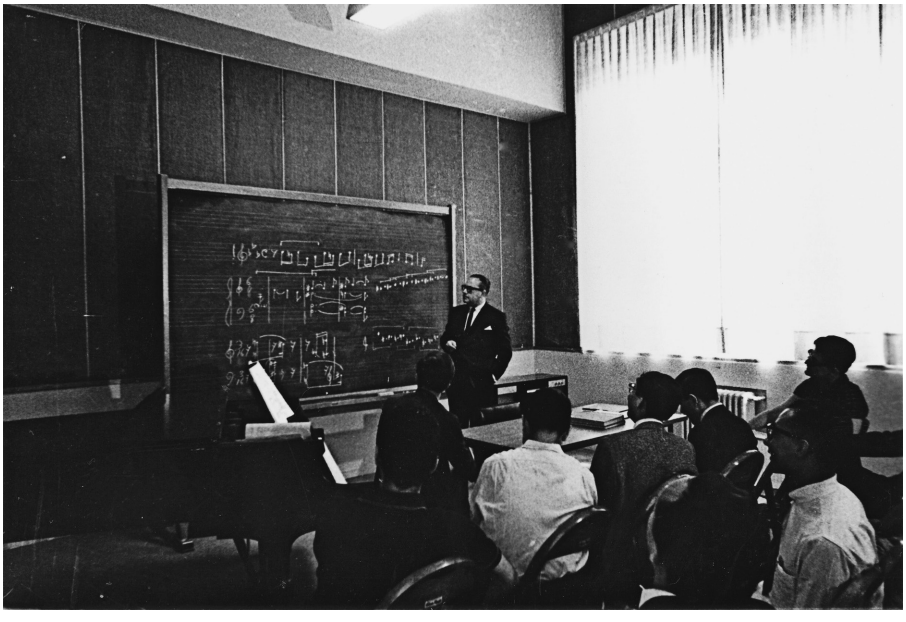

FIGURE 1.5 Aula Villa-Lobos with the first generation of students and Alberto Ginastera analyzing a work by Johann Sebastian Bach. Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center.

after being open to the public, visitors began to write messages on the walls that ranged from crude remarks to strong attacks to the military dictatorship that had taken over since 1966 and lasted until 1973. By the third day of the exhibit, the police arrived and started guarding the entrance to Plate's work. After what they felt was an act of censorship, all other artists in the *Experiencias 1968* exhibit decided to remove their works from the institute and took them to the streets and burned them in solidarity with Plate.

Also created in 1960, the *Centro de Experimentación Audiovisual* (CEA) focused mostly on theater but frequently collaborated with the other centers for multimedia installations and happenings. Under Roberto Villanueva's direction, it promoted multiple onstage artistic manifestations, including but not limited to plays, dance theater, musical parodies, and experimental group performances.[14] Early works from Griselda Gambaro, such as "Los Siameses," were premiered at the institute's theater hall, and experimental actor groups, such as the Teatro Grupo Lobo, frequently engaged in collaborative works with Villanueva. Many nationally and internationally recognized artists launched their careers at the Di Tella, including Nacha Guevara, Jorge Bonino, Marilú Marini, Alberto Favero, and groups such as Il Musicisti, an early incarnation of the widely popular music-comedy troop Les Luthiers. For many of the more experimental works, CEA collaborated with musicians interested in electronic music composition and included experiments in photography and stage lighting.

To an important extent, these avant-garde-promoting art centers became the face of the Di Tella Institute. They became associated with 1960s counterculture movements, internationalism, and experimentation. It was because of this public visibility that they received the unwanted attention of the ultraconservative military dictatorship. Between the economic hardships of the Di Tella family and the increased political pressure from the military, the Di Tella Institute closed both centers in 1970, while the music center stayed open until 1971. The surviving scientific research centers of the institute became the basis for the Di Tella University, created in 1991. However, even at the beginning of the twenty-first century, when people in Argentina talk about the Di Tella Institute, they are usually referring to the activities of the art centers on Florida Street during the 1960s.

The Centro Latinoamericano de Altos Estudios Musicales at the Di Tella Institute (1962–1971)

CLAEM began operating in 1962. Under Argentine composer Alberto Ginastera's direction, the center was conceived as a graduate school for Western art-music composition. During its decade of existence, CLAEM's budget was mostly divided into five components: first, fellowships for graduate-level education aimed at Latin American composers; second, salaries for local full-time faculty members under

[14] See María Fernanda Pinta, *Teatro expandido en el Di Tella: La escena experimental argentina en los años 60* (Buenos Aires: Biblos, 2013).

Alberto Ginastera, including Gerardo Gandini, Francisco Kröpfl, and Fernando von Reichenbach; third, honoraria for international lecturers and composers-in-residence, whose visits lasted from two weeks to six months. For a fourth use, large portions of the money received were used to acquire instruments, equipment, sound recordings, and a music library. Among these, the most significant was creating and equipping an electronic music laboratory. A final portion of the budget was directed toward organizing concerts, including concerts featuring student works, concerts dedicated to the music of international guests, and the nine iterations of the Contemporary Music Festival (1962–1970).

With the same mentality of other centers at the Di Tella Institute, CLAEM aimed to modernize the compositional field by focusing on education. Ginastera and the governing board of the institute felt that Latin American composers were behind in terms of compositional training. Ginastera argued that what prevailed among Latin American composers were "the concepts and techniques of old Italian band masters," so CLAEM needed to recruit talented composers and "update their technique and reinforce their basic knowledge."[15] Fifty-four fellowship holders from thirteen different countries studied with world-renowned composers at CLAEM, created regional professional networks, and familiarized themselves with contemporary compositional techniques and works. During the tenure of their fellowships, composers worked to refine their craft and benefited from guest lecturers and performances featuring their works performed by prominent local musicians. The fellows also took advantage of CLAEM's significant music library, which focused on contemporary music and music of the Americas.[16] Perhaps most important in its facilities, the center hosted one of the first, and certainly the best equipped, electroacoustic music studios of its time in the region.

However, CLAEM's story does not follow a clear, straight path. It is instead messy and criss-crosses multiple times, sometimes following trails that lead nowhere and sometimes leaving unresolved issues along the way. The creation of the center was a process that took years and involved many people, sometimes moving in parallel and sometimes in opposite directions. While the cycles of two-year fellowships provide a certain periodicity to the story, it would be wrong to consider them as tight or clear

[15] Alberto Ginastera, interviewed in "Mensaje de Ginastera: Primeros egresados del Centro," *Visión: Revista internacional*, December 25, 1964.

[16] Despite the large number of important musical performances that took place in Buenos Aires during the 1960s, the availability of scores, recordings, and academic books on music was quite poor. Juan Carlos Paz's book *Introducción a la música de nuestro tiempo* had been a crucial text for introducing trends in avant-garde music to many Argentine composers. However, despite the multiple presses, the excellent bookstores, and the availability of the US embassy's Lincoln Library right across the street from the Di Tella Institute, finding scores or recordings of contemporary music was a real challenge. The library at CLAEM dramatically improved that situation. "The materials in the library were irreplaceable," remembered Mariano Etkin. "There was a large number of recordings and scores that were impossible or very difficult to find here in Buenos Aires at that time!" Juan Carlos Paz, *Introducción a la música de nuestro tiempo* (Buenos Aires: Nueva Visión, 1955); and Mariano Etkin, interview with the author, Buenos Aires, August 1, 2005.

boundaries. In other words, this history is similar to many other histories: it is not restrained by imposed chronological boundaries and not teleological in most of its branches. Some of these intersecting stories will be explored in this chapter and the ones that follow.

CLAEM: FELLOWSHIPS

The central actors in the history of CLAEM were the groups of students who came from all across Latin America every two years. On average, they were in their mid- to late twenties and had already some reputation as young, up-and-coming composers. Many of them had prolific and successful careers in composition and education, including Rafael Aponte Ledée (Puerto Rico), Coriún Aharonián (Uruguay), Blas Emilio Atehortúa (Colombia), Cesar Bolaños (Peru), Gabriel Brnčić (Chile), Mariano Etkin (Argentina), alcides lanza[17] (Argentina), Mesías Maiguashca (Ecuador), Marlos Nobre (Brazil), Jacqueline Nova (Colombia), Joaquín Orellana (Guatemala), Graciela Paraskevaídis (Argentina), Jorge Sarmientos (Guatemala), Édgar Valcárcel (Peru), and Alberto Villalpando (Bolivia). The fellowship they received included a twenty-month scholarship, a two-way ticket to Buenos Aires, and a monthly stipend of US $200.[18] The fellowships were advertised in brochures and journal ads that were distributed across multiple—although not all—Latin American countries. The focal target of the brochures was large schools of music and well-established conservatories, more often than not in the capital cities around Latin America. Still, Ginastera also tried to directly contact many of his composer and conductor friends to get suggestions for possible recruits. Particularly in the first group, Ginastera directly approached several composers whose pieces were performed in Tanglewood (in Lenox, Massachusetts), Washington, or Caracas during Latin American music festivals, with a personal invitation to apply. Although Ginastera was initially determined to have a balance of nationalities at the center, the majority of the scholarships went to Argentine composers. In total, there were twenty Argentines, three Bolivians, three Brazilians, three Colombians, one Costa Rican, four Chileans, one Ecuadorian, two Guatemalans, one Mexican, four Peruvians, one Puerto Rican, five Uruguayans, and two composers from the United States. The gender imbalance was also significant. Only six women

[17] Since 1960, alcides lanza has used lowercase letters for his name as well as his compositions.

[18] Undated brochure for the Torcuato Di Tella Institute, 1963. In 1963, US $200 had the same buying power as approximately US $1,670 in 2019. All fellows from the earlier groups I interviewed agreed that this sum was more than enough to live comfortably in Buenos Aires, and some of them managed even to save a little money for when they went back to their countries. As the economy collapsed later in the decade, the stipend became less generous, and some students were admitted without any financial aid. See Eduardo Herrera, "The CLAEM and the Construction of Elite Art Worlds: Philanthropy, Latinamericanism, and Avant-Garde Music" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2013a).

TABLE 1.1

Jury and Students, 1963–1964

Jury for 1963–1964[a]	Lauro Ayestarán (Uruguay, 1913–1966) Alfonso Letelier (Chile, 1912–1994) Alberto Ginastera
Fellows for 1963–1964[b]	Blas Atehortúa (Colombia, b. 1933)[c] Oscar Bazán (Argentina, 1936–2005) Cesar Bolaños (Peru, 1931–2012) Armando Krieger (Argentina, b. 1940) Mario Kuri-Aldana (Mexico, b. 1932) alcides lanza (Argentina, b. 1929)[d] Mesías Maiguashca (Ecuador, b. 1931) Marlos Nobre (Brazil, b. 1939) Miguel Angel Rondano (Argentina, b. 1934) Edgar Valcarcel (Peru, 1932–2010) Alberto Villalpando (Bolivia, b. 1940)
Fellows with partial attendance	Marco Aurelio Vanegas (Colombia, 1942–c. 1984), attends only 1963[e]

[a] The jury met on December 20, 1962, and the names of the recipients of the scholarship were released to the press on January 29, 1963. Vázquez, "Música de jóvenes compositores de América," 86.

[b] Alberto Ginastera, letter to Charles Hardin, press release from CLAEM, January 29, 1963, folder 75, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC).

[c] The dates that Atehortúa has given for his birth range from 1933 to 1945. The documents he provided to CLAEM in 1962 to become a fellow, including a photocopy of his Colombian ID, as well as biographical information he gave at the time for concert program notes point to October 5, 1933. In our interview, and many other public statements, the Colombian composer Blas Atehortúa claims that he was twenty years old by the time he was applying to CLAEM and that mistakes with his date of birth are all clerical errors. However, newspaper articles at the time and oral histories from his classmates (for example, alcides lanza) describe him as a thirty-one-year-old man.

[d] Since 1960, alcides lanza has used lowercase letters for his name as well as his compositions.

[e] Vanegas left CLAEM in November 1963 and did not return.

participated in CLAEM, and of them, only four were accepted through competition. Notably, three of the five cycles of fellows were all men.[19]

Ginastera was very involved with the students of this first group (1963–1964; Table 1.1). They all met formally at least once a week and shared their works in progress with one another. More than any of the following cohorts, these students were particularly

[19] The first selected female composer was Graciela Paraskevaídis (1965–1966). Four women were selected for the next cycle (1967–1968), Marlene Fernandes, Jacqueline Nova, Iris Sangüesa, and Kilza Setti, but Setti did not attend. That same cycle included Regina Benavente de Bersiarte under a special permission granted by Ginastera and not through competition. Beatriz Lockhart was the sixth woman to attend (1969–1970). Ginastera granted her permission, after she was not accepted through competition, to attend, given that she was the wife of a fellow in that cycle, Antonio Mastrogiovanni.

close to Ginastera, both aesthetically and personally—something most evident in the works of Atehortúa, Mario Kuri-Aldana, and Villalpando. This closeness might not have to do with Ginastera's directly guiding their aesthetic interests, but to a certain proximity already present both in age and in musical praxis. The formative years of many of the composers in this group had been shaped by the modernist yet relatively conservative style of Ginastera and heavily influenced by the European compositional models of Bartók, Debussy, Manuel de Falla, and Stravinsky. A group among them, including Maiguashca, lanza, and Oscar Bazán, championed an avant-garde style distinct from anything Ginastera did. Perhaps with the exception of Miguel Angel Rondano and Juan Carlos Villegas, all of the fellows of this first group achieved a significant level of international recognition and became important figures in their own countries within the classical music tradition.

The second cohort of fellows (1965–1966; Table 1.2; Figure 1.6) proved to be much more diverse than the first and hinted at a generational change taking place. The conservative tendencies of some of the older students, such as Atiliano Auza León and Sarmientos, were strikingly different from the commitment to avant-garde approaches of Brnčić, Etkin, Paraskevaídis, and Rivera. The younger composers were interested in the music and ideas of Edgard Varèse, John Cage, Earle Brown, Iannis Xenakis, and Luigi Nono, and this preference distanced them aesthetically from Ginastera, who was much more attracted to the works of Debussy, Falla, Stravinsky, and Bartók. Ginastera gladly let most of the mentoring for these students to his right-hand man at CLAEM, Gerardo Gandini. Among the composers in this cycle of fellowships, Sarmientos had a successful career as conductor, with sporadic but effective ventures into composition; Miguel Letelier continued a career as organist, while his compositions became quite conservative in style; and Enrique Rivera abandoned composition completely some years after CLAEM. The rest of the fellows became some of the most recognizable names of the Latin American avant-garde scene and developed important pedagogical work across the Americas and Europe.

The cohort of fellows for the 1967–1968 biennial was the last group that received the originally planned scholarships (Table 1.3). In some ways, it was the last regular group at CLAEM, and it was the last that achieved some balance between Argentine and foreign students. From this group, Jacqueline Nova—despite her unfortunate early death—and Joaquín Orellana achieved the highest levels of success in composition in the years to come, followed by Luis Arias, Luis María Serra, and Mario Perusso. This group also included the first student accepted to the center, but not through the usual competitive fellowship application: Regina Benevento de Beresiarte. Benevento was a student of Ginastera and was given special permission to attend the courses as an auditor, but not as a participant. It is unclear how much of the "auditing and not participating" was enforced, but it must have not been too strict, since the works of Benavente were performed in the two cycles of *Seminario de Composición* concerts during 1967–1968, giving her the same opportunities as the fellows.

TABLE 1.2

Jury and Students, 1965–1966

Jury for 1965–1966	Luigi Dallapiccola (Italy, 1904–1975) León Schidlovsky (Chile/Israel, b. 1931) Alberto Ginastera
Fellows for 1965–1966	Rafael Aponte-Ledée (Puerto Rico, b. 1938) Jorge Arandia Navarro (Argentina, b. 1929) Gabriel Brnčić (Chile, b. 1942) Mariano Etkin (Argentina, 1943–2016) Benjamin Gutierrez (Costa Rica, b. 1937) Miguel Letelier (Chile, 1939–2016) Eduardo Mazzadi (Argentina, 1935–1967) Graciela Paraskevaídis (Argentina, 1940–2017) Enrique Rivera (Chile, b. 1941) Jorge Sarmientos (Guatemala, 1933–2012)
Fellows with partial attendance	Atiliano Auza León (Bolivia, b. 1930), attends only the first year and part of the second
Declines fellowship	Bernal Flores (Costa Rica, b. 1937)[a]
Additional fellowship	Walter Ross (United States, b. 1936), receives scholarship from the Organization of American States (OAS) for private study with Ginastera, who offers him Bernal Flores's declined scholarship. Attends from June or July 1965 until January 1966.
Returning fellows with external funding	Cesar Bolaños, Di Tella's CEA scholarship for 1965 and OAS for 1966 Blas Atehortúa, OAS fellowship to attend 1966
Special permission	Ladislao Todoroff, permission to use Electronic Music Laboratory during 1966–1967[b]

[a] Alberto Ginastera and Enrique Oteiza, report to Gerald Freund (Associate Director for Humanities and Social Sciences of the Rockefeller Foundation), June 16, 1966, folder 77, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[b] Alberto Ginastera and Enrique Oteiza, report to Gerald Freund (Associate Director for Humanities and Social Sciences of the Rockefeller Foundation), June 16, 1966, folder 77, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

The last group of regular fellows attended CLAEM between 1969 and 1970 (Table 1.4) and were severely affected by the economic problems that the Di Tella Institute was experiencing. The foreign support—mainly from the Rockefeller Foundation—was gone, and the funding from the local elite was waning. Oteiza warned Ginastera that they needed "to rethink how we are going to handle the scholarships for the next two years. My idea is that we could call a contest, choosing the top twelve composers.

FIGURE 1.6 Class of 1966 with Iannis Xenakis. From left to right: Pedro Calderón, Gerardo Gandini, Alberto Ginastera, Rafael Aponte-Ledée, Miguel Letelier (back), Benjamín Gutierrez (back), Jorge Arandia Navarro (back), Jorge Sarmientos, Iannis Xenakis, Josefina Schröder, Graciela Paraskevaídis, Enrique Rivera, Mariano Etkin, Gabriel Brnčić, and Eduardo Mazzadi. Courtesy of Fundación Archivo Aharonián-Paraskevaídis.

The first six we could give five of the [Instituto Torcuato Di Tella] ITDT-CLAEM scholarships and the scholarship you have obtained from the Center for Inter-American Relations. The other six candidates would be admitted for registration in the graduate courses of the center, but they would have to apply to the OAS [Organization of American States] or other institutions to get scholarships."[20] In the call for applicants for the 1969–1970 fellowships, the term "becario" (fellow) was replaced by "compositor seleccionado" (selected composer), and only a limited number of students received a monthly stipend, although all the selected composers had their tuition waived. The jury for the selection, Gustavo Becerra, Héctor Tosar, and Ginastera, announced the ranked order of acceptance, a practice not common until this time.[21]

Continuing with the anomalies of this period, Ginastera authorized the participation of the composers Beatriz Lockhart (Uruguay, 1944–2015) and León Biriotti (Uruguay, b. 1929) as part of this cohort. Both composers received what Ginastera called a study scholarship independent from those earned through the fellowship competition. On the one hand, Biriotti could not participate in the competition, because of the age limit. On the other hand, Lockhart had presented her works for

[20] Enrique Oteiza, letter to Alberto Ginastera, January 29, 1968, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

[21] Héctor Tosar, Gustavo Becerra, Alberto Ginastera, Jury act for 1969–1970 fellowships, December 22, 1968, CLAEM Archives, ITDT. The ranked order was Maranzano, Kusnir, Caryevschi, Mastrogiovanni, Martínez, Aharonián, del Mónaco, Núñez Allauca, Antunes, Villegas, Ibarra Groth, Zubillaga, Blarduni, D'Astoli, Ranieri, and Feinstein.

TABLE 1.3

Jury and Students, 1967–1968

Jury for 1967–1968	Carlos Estrada (Uruguay, 1909–1970) Alfonso Letelier Alberto Ginastera
Fellows for 1967–1968	Luis Arias (Argentina, b. 1940) Oscar Cubillas (Peru. b. 1938) Marlene Fernandes (Brazil, b. 1932) Jacqueline Nova (Belgium/Colombia, 1935–1975) Joaquín Orellana (Guatemala, b. 1930)[a] Mario Perusso (Argentina, b. 1936) Florencio Pozadas (Bolivia, 1939–1968) Iris Sangüesa de Ichasso (Chile, b. 1933)[b] Luis María Serra (Argentina, b. 1942)
Declines fellowship	Kilza Setti (Brazil, b. 1932)
Students accepted but not through competition	Regina Benavente de Beresiarte (Argentina, b. 1932), presents her works in student concerts like any other fellow
Special permission	Ladislao Todoroff, permission to use Electronic Music Laboratory during 1966–1967
Returning fellows with external funding	Cesar Bolaños, funding for 1967 Gabriel Brnčić, OAS fellowship for 1967–1968 Blas Emilio Atehortúa, funding for 1967 and January 1968

[a] Orellana has insisted since at least the 1980s that he was born in 1937, but his application to the Di Tella fellowship clearly indicates 1930.

[b] At the time using a married name, going later back to her birth name, Iris Sangüesa Hinostroza.

the contest of 1969 but was not accepted.[22] Lockhart petitioned Ginastera in July 1969 to be allowed to audit the classes in her "capacity of wife of a foreign fellow [Antonio Mastrogiovanni]."[23] Ginastera admitted both Lockhart and Biriotti to attend all courses in the same conditions as the other fellows, and he determined they would be granted "by the end of the cycle of studies the corresponding certificate."[24] From this group, both Maranzano and Caryevschi abandoned composition at some point after leaving CLAEM, and D'Astoli continued his career as a conductor. However, the rest

[22] Héctor Tosar presented the case of Lockhart in June 1969, asking for her admission under extraordinary conditions, even though he as a jury member had already rejected her application. See Héctor Tosar, letter to Alberto Ginastera, June 14 or 19, 1969, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

[23] Beatriz Lockhart, letter to Alberto Ginastera, July 14, 1969, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

[24] Alberto Ginastera, letter to Beatriz Lockhart, Julio 16, 1969, CLAEM Archives, ITDT. León Biriotti, letter to Alberto Ginastera, July 14, 1969, CLAEM archives, ITDT.

TABLE 1.4

Jury and Students, 1969–1970

Jury for 1969–1970	Gustavo Becerra (Chile, 1925–2010) Héctor Tosar (Uruguay, 1923–2002) Alberto Ginastera
Fellows for 1969–1970	Jorge (de Freitas) Antunes (Brazil, b. 1942) Pedro Caryevschi (Argentina/Israel, b. 1942)[a] Bruno D'Astoli, with additional funding from the Center for InterAmerican Relations Diego Feinstein (Argentina, b. 1943), with support of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) for 1969 Eduardo Kusnir (Argentina, b. 1939) Antonio Mastrogiovanni (Uruguay, 1936–2010) José Ramón Maranzano (Argentina, b. 1940) Ariel Martínez (Uruguay/Argentina, 1940–2019) Alejandro Núñez Allauca (Peru, b. 1943)
Students who are accepted but who do not present any compositions while at CLAEM	Jorge Blarduni (Argentina, b. 1930) Salvador Ranieri (Argentina, 1930–2012) Luis Zubillaga (Argentina, 1929–1995)
Declines fellowship	Alfredo del Mónaco (Venezuela, 1938–2015) Juan Carlos Villegas (Chile, b. 1941) Federico Ibarra Groth (Mexico, b. 1946)
Fellows with external funding	Norman Dinerstein (United States, 1937–1982) (winner of the Concurso para *Jóvenes Compositores de América*, sponsored by the Fundación Di Tella and the Center for InterAmerican Relations). The jury for this competition is Vincent Persichetti, Robert Wart, and Antonio Tauriello (representing Alberto Ginastera in absentia)
Students accepted, but not through competition	Beatriz Lockhart (Uruguay, 1944–2015), presents her works in student concerts like any other fellow León Biriotti (Uruguay, b. 1929), presents his works in student concerts like any other fellow
Fellows with partial attendance	Coriún Aharonián (Uruguay, 1940–2017)
Returning fellows with external funding	Rafael Aponte-Ledée, OAS fellowship for 1969 and beginning of 1970

[a] Caryevschi left Argentina at some point and moved to Israel. He changed his name to Yuval Karin.

TABLE 1.5

Students, 1971

Former fellows offered a return fellowship: accepted[a]	César Bolaños, Mariano Etkin, Alejandro Núñez Allauca (OAS scholarship), José Ramón Maranzano, Pedro Caryevschi, and Ariel Martínez
Former fellows offered a return: declined	Rafael Aponte-Ledée, Jorge Antunes, Marlos Nobre, Miguel Letelier, and Antonio Mastrogiovanni

[a] Besides the oral history that I have been able to collect from composers, the only written source that I have found to verify the fellows for 1971 is a letter written to the executive director of the Di Tella institute, Roberto Cortés Conde. This letter is signed by Cesar Bolaños, Pedro Caryevschi, Mariano Etkin, Ariel Martínez, José Ramón Maranzano, and Alejandro Núñez Allauca, and it is dated September 15, 1971, from the CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

of the fellows became quite successful composers, and as with the second group, they are now recognized as important members of Latin America's musical avant-garde.

In 1971, Alberto Ginastera moved to Switzerland while nominally still occupying the position of director of CLAEM. That same year, and with very few remaining funds available, a small number of former fellows were invited to return to CLAEM and take advantage of the infrastructure available (Table 1.5). Although Ginastera's name was still used in the invitation, Gerardo Gandini and Francisco Kröpfl most likely selected the invitees. During this period, these composers did the majority of their work at the electronic music laboratory, which was under Francisco Kröpfl and Fernando von Reichenbach's direction and at its absolute prime. They were able to take advantage of all the possibilities that CLAEM offered until the very last minute. However, at the end of the fellows' period, CLAEM closed forever.

CLAEM: THE LOCAL TEACHERS

CLAEM had a set of local professors who provided the core courses that students took during their two years of fellowship.[25] Alberto Ginastera and Gerardo Gandini led the work in composition. Gandini officially taught between 1965 and 1971, but he assisted Ginastera from the very beginning. Studying with Ginastera made CLAEM a particularly attractive professional opportunity. However, composers interested in experimentation, improvisation, and recent avant-garde developments found that Gerardo Gandini, not Ginastera, provided the professional training and guidance about the latest international trends. Gandini's role in CLAEM cannot be understated; most of the fellows whom I interviewed

[25] For a complete list of courses offered, see Herrera, "CLAEM and the Construction of Elite Art Worlds."

valued his role at the center as an inspiring and helpful colleague and teacher whose knowledge of the avant-garde opened their ears to new and exciting sounds. Gandini acted as Ginastera's assistant and frequently replaced him when Ginastera traveled; Gandini also taught regular courses on twentieth-century musical analysis and orchestration. Graciela Paraskevaídis argues that thanks to Gandini, the students at CLAEM had the opportunity to "get a deeper insight into the main issues of new music, from the Second Viennese School to Bartók and Varèse and to the European and North American avant-garde of the sixties."[26] Students benefitted from Gandini's active career as a composer in addition to his lessons on new music. His pieces were frequently performed in concerts at CLAEM, and the students were avid listeners. Because he was born in 1936, Gandini was not only closer in age to—and sometimes younger than—the students at CLAEM but also much more attuned to and informed about contemporary trends in composition. His capacity to incorporate recent innovations into his musical language had earned him Ginastera's trust to act as his main collaborator in teaching the fellows and the respect from the students at the center. Ginastera himself seems to have found in Gandini a source of renewal for his own compositional language.[27]

Another unexpected local source of inspiration and knowledge for many fellows came not from a composer but from an engineer, Fernando von Reichenbach (Argentina, 1931–2005), who joined the ranks of local faculty of CLAEM in February 1966 to head all technical aspects of the electronic music laboratory until its closure in 1971.[28] Reichenbach proved to be an extremely creative and innovative technician, inventor, and tinkerer. He was organized, methodical, and talented in creatively and subversively using technology for novel purposes.[29] Reichenbach's technical knowledge opened the doors of electroacoustic music composition to a large number of students, and his teachings were often recognized by fellows' public biographies in what otherwise would include only composers' names and not their achievements.[30]

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[26] Graciela Paraskevaídis, "The Own and the Other: The Argentinian Composer Gerardo Gandini," *World New Music Magazine* 3 (1993): 1–2.

[27] Alyssa Cottle's ongoing doctoral research looks precisely at how a whole generation of younger composers significantly impacted Ginastera's late compositional style. See also Michelle Tabor, "Alberto Ginastera's Late Instrumental Style," *Latin American Music Review* 15, no. 1 (1994): 1–31; Erick Carballo, "De la pampa al cielo: The Development of Tonality in the Compositional Language of Alberto Ginastera" (diss., Indiana University, 2006).

[28] While often called "Ingeniero" by his coworkers, Reichenbach was not shy about admitting that he had done his coursework in engineering but had never finished the final exams that would have officially conferred him the title.

[29] See Herrera, "Electroacoustic Music at CLAEM," 179–212.

[30] For an example of further recognition of Reichenbach's role at CLAEM, see Coriún Aharonián, "El Padre de Catalina [Interview with Fernando von Reichenbach]," *Marcha* (Montevideo), February 19, 1971, 29.

The last member of the core group of local teachers was Francisco Kröpfl, who joined the team in 1967.[31] Kröpfl became the perfect companion to Reichenbach, since Kröpfl's classes on theoretical and methodological issues of composing in an electronic studio complemented the hands-on approach of Reichenbach and his assistants.[32] Kröpfl also occupied another important role. Ginastera's frequent absences due to his busy international composition career often led to an administrative vacuum that needed filling for CLAEM's everyday functioning. Gerardo Gandini had no interest in administrative matters, and while his personal secretary, Josefina Schröder, took care of many of his responsibilities, decisions that required a mix of artistic and administrative acuity often fell into Kröpfl's hands.[33]

Several others complete the group of local teachers at CLAEM. Horacio Raúl Bozzarello managed the electronic music laboratory before the arrival of Reichenbach and Kröpfl and gave courses on electronic music composition. Cesar Bolaños occasionally taught at the studio after the times of Bozzarello, and another fellow, Gabriel Brnčić, joined Reichenbach and Kröpfl in 1969.[34] Additional courses were taught by different local professors, most notably Pola Suárez Urtubey, who taught full courses on music history (1963–1966), and Raquel Casinelli de Arias, who lectured on music theory and form (1963–1966).

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[31] Gerardo Gandini could not teach at CLAEM during the first part of 1967, because he had earned a scholarship from the Italian government to study in Rome during that period. Ginastera's plan was to replace Gandini temporarily with Kröpfl, who was asked to teach a course on electronic music techniques between April and July of that year. At least by April 11, 1967, Kröpfl had become a full-time member of the team. See Enrique Oteiza, report to John Greenfield, June 19, 1967, folder 78, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC; and Josefina Schröder, letter to Alberto Ginastera, April 19, 1967, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

[32] The Argentine composer Enrique Belloc (b. 1936) was a short-lived addition to the *Laboratorio*. Starting May 1, 1968, Belloc gave "a three-month course in 'Introduction to the Analysis of Experimental Music,' based on the methods of [Pierre] Schaeffer." See Enrique Oteiza, report to Nils Westberg, May 15, 1968, folder 78, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[33] In a letter from June, Ginastera clarifies that when he was traveling, Kröpfl should be considered "in charge of the Direction of CLAEM." Alberto Ginastera, letter to Josefina Schröder, June 1, 1968, CLAEM Archives, ITDT. After this personal communication with Josefina, it is not until 1970 when an official letter talks about Kröpfl's role during Ginastera's absences. In a letter to Roberto Cortés Conde, the new executive director of the Institute after Enrique Oteiza's departure, Ginastera says, "Since I will be absent for about a month and a half, I leave professor Kröpfl as Interim Director." Alberto Ginastera, letter to Roberto Cortés Conde, October 24, 1970, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

[34] Bolaños's role in the laboratory and the extent to which he was taught at the Di Tella Institute has been frequently a matter of controversy. The earliest letter that shows the degree of involvement he had at the laboratory dates from 1969, when Bolaños writes to Kröpfl with copies to Ginastera, Gandini, and Brnčić to complain that he felt he'd been left out of some activities: "Even though you are the 'official composers' of CLAEM, and I am not 'administratively' associated with it, we cannot forget . . . that I am an active musician, that I am a professor in the Institute for the Audiovisual Course, that I was a fellow, that I participated in the founding of the laboratory as a musician and technician, and that I was professor of the Electronic Music Composition Seminar that Brnčić, Aponte, and Atehortúa attended." Cesar Bolaños, letter to Francisco Kröpfl with copies to Alberto Ginastera, Gerardo Gandini, and Gabriel Brnčić, November 12, 1969, CLAEM Archives, ITDT. This evidence points to Bolaños as teacher for this particular year, something that has been questioned in the past.

CLAEM: VISITING TEACHERS AND RESIDENCIES

A core part of the experience of attending CLAEM was the possibility of interacting on a personal basis with well-established composers who would come as visiting professors for periods ranging from two weeks to four months. Ginastera aimed to have at least two internationally recognized composers teach at CLAEM each year. For the shorter visits, guests were scheduled to teach at least eight to ten lectures and to hold individual or small group composition lessons. Longer visits led to semester-long courses and regular composition lessons. In almost every case, faculty and students organized a concert featuring the works of the visiting composer, preceded or followed by a discussion session. Students benefited from the teachings, the newly forged professional contacts, and the prestige gained by adding the name of a recognized international figure to their résumés. The diverse number of visiting teachers to CLAEM reveals the rich experience that the center offered.[35]

Among the first visitors to CLAEM were Aaron Copland (United States, 1900–1990), Olivier Messiaen (France, 1908–1992), and Riccardo Malipiero (Italy, 1914–2003). Copland offered six lectures, resembling a historical survey of twentieth-century classical music and similar to the ones he had given to other Latin American composers at the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood. After discussions on aesthetics, the 1920s, neoclassicism, dodecaphony, and the avant-garde, the last lecture was titled "Music in the Americas."[36] In a more focused manner, Ginastera invited Messiaen to give a course "dedicated to the problems of rhythm" and to talk about some of his collaborations with his wife, pianist Yvonne Loriod (France, 1924–2010).[37] The famous French composer captivated the press in Buenos Aires. Martín Müller, in the magazine *Primera plana*, wrote the following: "This is the paradox: it is difficult to understand how such a cerebral musician, whose work is created with materials grasped only by the erudite, with such rational aesthetic, can create works so embedded in passion."[38] *The Buenos Aires Herald* called Messiaen "probably the most intriguing musical personality in France."[39] Rodolfo Arizaga, an Argentine composer and music historian, used his column in the newspaper *Clarín* to give a backhanded compliment to the audience at the Mozarteum society of Buenos Aires; he wrote that the "audience is not afraid of dissonances, at least those that come from abroad."[40] Students

[35] For a complete list of visitors, see José Luis Castiñeira de Dios, ed., *La música en el Di Tella: Resonancias de la modernidad* (Buenos Aires: Secretaría de Cultura, Presidencia de la Nación, Argentina, 2011).

[36] The lectures took place September 18, 23, 27, 28, and 30, and October 1, 1963.

[37] The honorarium offered to Messiaen was by all means generous, US $3,000 in 1963, which had the approximate buying power of $25,000 dollars in 2019. Alberto Ginastera, letter to Olivier Messiaen, August 9, 1962, CLAEM Archives, ITDT. See also Olivier Messiaen's letter to Alberto Ginastera, August 21, 1962, CLAEM Archives, ITDT; and Olivier Messiaen's letter to Alberto Ginastera, November 23, 1962, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

[38] Martín Müller, "La Pasión según Messiaen," *Primera plana* 34 (August 13, 1963): 26.

[39] Fred Mare, "Music in Buenos Aires: Olivier Messiaen," *Buenos Aires Herald*, July 8, 1963.

[40] Rodolfo Arizaga, "Messiaen: Una verdad que se limita," *Clarín* (Buenos Aires), June 26, 1963.

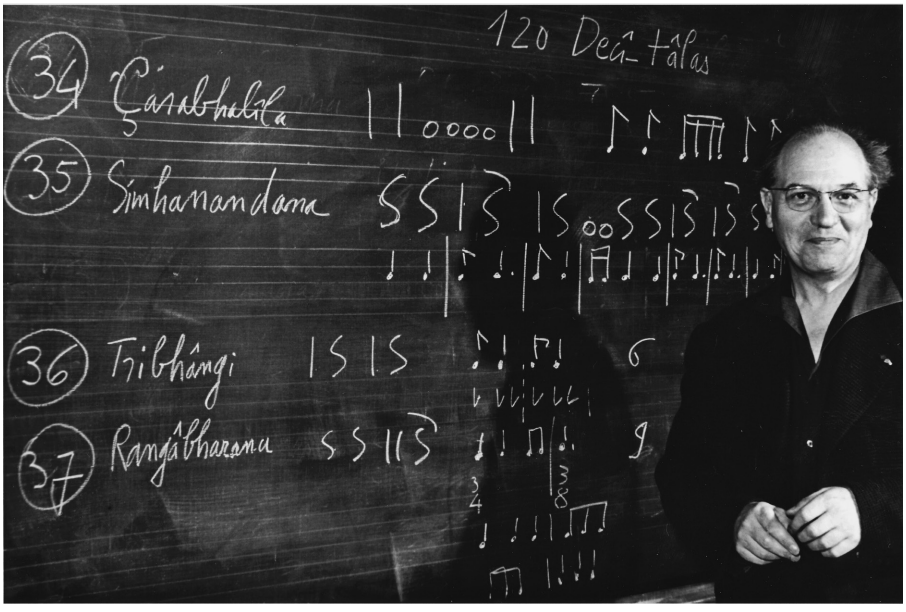

FIGURE 1.7 Olivier Messiaen teaching at CLAEM in 1963 with examples of Indian deçî-tâlas. Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center.

in general appreciated Messiaen's visit, not only for the content of his course—which many found fascinating, even though slightly opaque—but also for the dual facets of the composer as humanist and artist (Figure 1.7).

In contrast to Messiaen's three-week visit, the residency of Riccardo Malipiero (Figure 1.8) at CLAEM in Buenos Aires lasted seven months during 1963. This time frame allowed him to work in depth with the fellows on his main interests at the time. He had been a resolute advocate of twelve-tone composition—in fact, he had helped organize the First International Congress of Dodecaphonic Music in Milan in 1949. At the same time, his works from the 1960s, including his *Quartetto No. 3*, which premiered during his visit, concentrated on the exploration of timbre. While Messiaen's visit exemplified the intense and focused study of a particular musical issue, Malipiero's residency fostered a sense of mentorship and even camaraderie that emerges in a joking but insightful tone in a letter written to the fellows after his departure:

> I don't know if [working with me], has been of any good to you. Maybe it was a waste of time. I believe I did not teach anything. Writing music is such a difficult thing and I am not sure if it can even be taught. I think I didn't teach you anything. Really, what I have strived for is making my experience available to you. Although I have also left you the freedom to not believe in the same things I believe . . . Music! What a wonderful useless game. I think we are the last survivors of a truly sunken ship. There are few of us left, on a small raft,

FIGURE 1.8 From left to right, Alberto Ginastera, Olivier Messiaen, and Riccardo Malipiero at CLAEM. Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center.

> driven by the whims of wind and currents, adrift. Nobody waits for us anymore; they all think we are dead. But we continue to live and write music, like it was something indispensable. It was indispensable, perhaps, when men had time to believe in something, to stop and look at what was around them, but now?[41]

Malipiero's very romantic notion of the labor of composition—something that he is not sure "can even be taught"—and his pessimistic perception of the worth of music making—a "useless game"—are striking. Although his classes involved mostly exploring twelve-tone techniques and serial procedures, his appreciation of composition as an activity in such a desperate context points to a different concern. He must have seen the importance of support offered by the other "survivors" of the "sunken ship"—the other composers—and must have emphasized the importance of solidarity among them. Malipiero was eager to point out the lack of knowledge among Latin American composers about their regional peers and was most likely an important factor in the early embrace of Latin Americanist strategic subjectivities explored later in this book.

After Malipiero's 1963 visit, CLAEM hosted two more Italian musicians during 1964. The first was Bruno Maderna (1920–1973), a recognized conductor and composer who gave a series of lectures on his experiences with electronic music making. He was

[41] Riccardo Malipiero, letter to Alberto Ginastera and all of the fellows at CLAEM, May 29, 1964, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

followed by Luigi Dallapiccolla (1904–1975), who offered a one-month seminar on the relationship between music and words. A focus of the seminar was Dallapiccolla's own opera, *Il prigioniero* (1944–1948), an open protest against fascism and Nazism that was built by using three different twelve-tone rows. As with Messiaen's visit, the press quickly made Dallapiccola's stay in Buenos Aires into one of the major events in the local musical scene. Newspapers and magazines, including *Primera plana, El mundo, La razón, Clarín,* and *El siglo*, published articles praising Dallapicola, and the newspaper *La prensa* went as far as saying that "no other composer of his generation is better known [in Buenos Aires] than him."[42]

Starting in 1965, CLAEM extended invitations to composers affiliated with the Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Center to foster an interest in electroacoustic composition. The first guests were Mario Davidovsky (Argentina, b. 1934) and Roger Sessions (United States, 1896–1985).[43] Davidovsky stayed for four months, shared his experiences at Columbia-Princeton, and taught a course on electronic music. The titles of Sessions's talks suggest that he addressed broader philosophical themes, such as "The Origins of Musical Impulses," "The Composer," "The Performer," and "The Listener." The third guest coming from Columbia-Princeton was the very chairman of the studio, Vladimir Ussachevsky (China, modern-day Mongolia, 1911–1990), who offered a nearly month-long course on electronic music in 1968.

One of the most anticipated visitors was the Romanian-born, Greek-French composer Iannis Xenakis (1922–2001). For two weeks during 1966, Xenakis worked with CLAEM fellows, sharing his ideas on stochastic musical composition.[44] The interdisciplinary character and scientific language that framed Xenakis's work—mathematics, architecture, and computer-aided composition—stimulated the Buenos Aires public's imagination about the relationship between art and science and resonated with a modernizing discourse that sought to establish relationships among artistic production, technology, and industrial development in Argentina. Xenakis's visit was reported in various newspapers, including *La prensa, El mundo*, and *La nación*.[45]

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[42] "Homenaje en Di Tella a Luigi Dallapiccola," *La prensa*, September 30, 1964.

[43] The Columbia-Princeton studio was founded in 1959, also with Rockefeller Foundation funding. In fact, the original equipment at CLAEM's laboratory was very similar to its US counterpart. Several composers associated with CLAEM ended up working at this studio after leaving Buenos Aires: alcides lanza (1965–1971), Edgar Valcarcel (1966–1968), Marlos Nobre (1969?), and Francisco Kröpfl (1977). See Robert Gluck, "The Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Center: Educating International Composers," *Computer Music Journal* 31, no. 2 (2007): 20–38; and Alberto Ginastera and Enrique Oteiza, report to Gerald Freund (Associate Director for Humanities and Social Sciences of the Rockefeller Foundation), June 16, 1966, folder 77, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[44] See Iannis Xenakis, letter to Alberto Ginastera, September 30, 1966, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

[45] See Eduardo Herrera, "Iannis Xenakis en Argentina: Recepción, diálogos e intercambios," in Proceedings for the Sixth UFRJ International Symposium on Musicology & International Colloquium Ibero-American Institute/University of Arts (UdK), Berlin "Cultural Exchanges: Music between Latin America and Europe," ed. Maria Alice Volpe, August 10–15, 2015, Rio de Janeiro, forthcoming.

Perhaps next to Xenakis, the most influential visitor to CLAEM was the Italian Luigi Nono (1924–1990), who lectured between July 10 and August 10, 1967. That he was openly a communist and that his music was often described as "politically committed" drew journalists to him and made their imaginations run wild.[46] Nono's lessons at CLAEM reflected his interest in the relationship between music and text and his own experiences in an electronic music laboratory.

As the decade ended, CLAEM's choices for guests revealed an increased interest in improvisation, open forms, graphic notation, and experiments with the fringes of music making. This trend began in 1966 with the visit of US composer Earle Brown (1926–2002), who offered composition masterclasses. The following year, Cristóbal Halffter (Spain, b. 1930) stayed for a full month and offered composition classes to the fellows. For 1968, in addition to Ussachevsky's visit, CLAEM invited the French composer and conductor Gilbert Amy (France, b. 1936) as well as the Austrian composer of Polish origin, Roman Haubenstock-Ramati (1919–1994). Haubenstock-Ramati's fascinations with mobile forms alternating with stable forms and graphic notations used to guide the performances of pieces with such structures led him to offer a seminar on contemporary music notation, using works by Stockhausen, Boulez, Berio, Penderecki, and Halffter, among others.

The first visitor in 1969 was the Spanish composer Luis de Pablo (b. 1930), who discussed compositional problems with meter and aleatoric music. Following him was Eric Salzman (United States, 1933–2017), who was developing his lifelong interest in art, technology, and interdisciplinarity; and Larry Austin (United States, b. 1930). Salzman offered a seminar titled "Music and Mixed Communication Media," while Austin organized a multimedia concert featuring recorded versions of several of his works together with a lecture on them.

Ginastera's absence and the lack of funds were evident by 1970. CLAEM offered a reduced number of classes and only had one official international visitor, the Italian novelist and semiotician Umberto Eco. Eco offered a series of lectures on music poetics, the relationships between structuralism and serialism, and issues about music, art, and protest.[47] Eco was not the first non-composer to teach at CLAEM. Musicologists specializing in Latin American music, such as Gilbert Chase (Cuba/United States 1906–1992), visited in 1964, and Robert Stevenson (United States, 1916–2012) in 1966. Both were advocates for strengthening hemispheric ties among musicians, furthering Ginastera's desire to make CLAEM into a Latin Americanist hub. The list of guests for individual public lectures and private visits extends even further, with people such as Lauro Ayestarán, Maurice Le Roux, Guillermo Espinosa, Charles Seeger, Juan Orrego-Salas, Hans-Heinz Stuckenschmidt, and Pierre Schaeffer.

Overall, the intensity that the visiting professors brought to CLAEM was one of the main driving forces behind each group of fellows. The impact of the direct

[46] See, for example, "Una extensa y comprometida obra del compositor Luigi Nono," *Clarín* (Buenos Aires), August 18, 1967.

[47] Umberto Eco, letter to Alberto Ginastera, June 7 [or July 6], 1970, CLAEM archives, ITDT.

contact with all of these figures was not necessarily even: in many cases, they were inspiring, and in others, surprisingly superficial. However, these exchanges were an investment in symbolic capital in the professional lives of the fellows. The international reputation and prestige of the composers increased by having some of these celebrated names in their curricula vitae and facilitated their acceptance in transnational professional networks that historically value academic lineage. That in and of itself was sufficiently important for the regional growth of this particular art world.

CLAEM: THE ELECTRONIC MUSIC LABORATORY

The electronic music laboratory at CLAEM operated between 1964 and 1971.[48] Its early stages encompass the years 1964–1965, when the studio functioned intermittently. A second phase in its history followed between 1966 and 1971, after the arrival of Fernando von Reichenbach and Francisco Kröpfl, whose presence contributed to making the studio a much more productive compositional environment.

Starting an electronic studio was an expensive venture—which in this case part of the Rockefeller Foundation grants solved. The studio was also a creative endeavor, since at this time, no shared model of studio configurations or standard set of equipment shared among them had been established. Ginastera and Oteiza asked Mario Davidovsky for his advice on the equipment that needed to be acquired. Davidovsky's suggestions were mostly based on his knowledge of the existing equipment at the Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Center. The Argentine remembered that he suggested that Ginastera "buy Ampex tape machines and some other good equipment, comparable to what we had at Columbia-Princeton."[49] Most of the gear, as in all other early electronic music studios, was not made specifically for music making, but instead consisted of audio testing equipment that had to be linked creatively to make it useful for composition (Figure 1.9). To set up the equipment in this way, Oteiza and Ginastera hired engineer Horacio Raúl Bozzarello, who joined CLAEM on April 21, 1964; he was put effectively in charge of the *Laboratorio* despite his lack of musical knowledge.[50]

Bozzarello's setup of the studio was less than ideal. The equipment was placed against the walls, with its components spaced far apart. This arrangement made

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[48] See Herrera, "Electroacoustic Music at CLAEM."

[49] Mario Davidovsky, cited in Bob Gluck, "Interview with Mario Davidovsky" (2005), accessed April 3, 2020, https://econtact.ca/15_4/gluck_davidovsky.html.

[50] The obvious candidate to be a resident composer in the studio was Francisco Kröpfl, but for several years, the administrators at CLAEM avoided hiring him. See Herrera, "Electroacoustic Music at CLAEM"; Esteban Buch, "L'avant-garde musicale à Buenos Aires: Paz contra Ginastera," *Circuit: Musiques contemporaines* 17, no. 2 (2007): 11–34; and Alberto Ginastera and Enrique Oteiza, report to Gerald Freund (Associate Director for Humanities and Social Sciences of the Rockefeller Foundation), June 16, 1966, folder 77, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

FIGURE 1.9 Electronic Music Laboratory at CLAEM, ca. 1964. Oscillators, noise generator, and filters are on the left; the original patchbay is at the center; Ampex recorders are on the right. Courtesy of Mary Mac Donagh de von Reichenbach.

connecting the components cumbersome, so much so that actively changing parameters in the equipment during recording or mixing required composers to have at least one assistant to help them.[51] The works produced during this first period were few and not necessarily the result of the courses that Bozzarello offered. Because of the low productivity of the Laboratorio, the lack of knowledge about the needs of composers in the studio, and the scant interest that students showed in his classes, Bozzarello left in February 1966, thereby opening the door to a complete makeover led by the ingenious Fernando von Reichenbach.[52]

Von Reichenbach joined CLAEM in February 1966. He was an extremely creative technician and inventor and incredibly talented at using technology for novel purposes.[53] To create a more efficient studio and to keep up with everyday demands at the Di Tella Institute, Reichenbach was assigned a group of technical assistants, who at different times included Julio Manhart, Walter Guth, and Enrique Jorgensen.[54]

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[51] See also Laura Novoa, "Cuando el futuro sonaba eléctrico," in *La música en el Di Tella: Resonancias de la modernidad,* ed. José Luis Castiñeira de Dios (Buenos Aires: Secretaría de Cultura de la Presidencia de la Nación, 2011a), 24.

[52] Alberto Ginastera, letter to Norman Lloyd, October 27, 1966, folder 77, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[53] Josefina Schröder, letter to Alberto Ginastera, February 4, 1966, CLAEM Archives, ITDT. Reichenbach took engineering courses at the Universidad Nacional de La Plata.

[54] Vázquez reports only three of the technical assistants and gives the following dates for their participation at CLAEM: Walter Guth (1968–1971), Julio Manhart (1968–1971), and Enrique Jorgensen

Their first priority was remodeling Bozzarello's studio, an effort that included creating new equipment and maintaining the existing gear. All of this proved to be a difficult and challenging task. Reichenbach had to come up with ingenious uses of the existing equipment, adapting it to the creative needs of the composers, often by creating unconventional solutions from spare parts and recycled materials. Repurposing a telephone switchboard into a novel and quiet patchbay, constructing from scratch a photosensitive controller to regulate volume, and altering a Bruel & Kjaer filter into a polyphonic filter were just some of Reichenbach's creations to solve some of the needs of the studio.[55] Reichenbach and his main collaborator, Walter Guth, became experts in salvaging electronic materials intended for purposes other than music and using them in unusual ways. With masterly problem-solving skills, Reichenbach made innovations that emerged from a perceptive understanding of the needs and imagination of musicians, an ingenious use of space, and an inventiveness that proved crucial, considering the limited resources available at the time. On October 25, 1967, almost a year after the team had begun, Reichenbach reported that the remodeling was complete. Although numerous works had been composed in the laboratory since 1964, a ceremony took place on November 22, 1967, to inaugurate the fully functional studio. The improved laboratory became a matter of pride for everybody at CLAEM, and many avidly declared the work a breakthrough in studio design (Figures 1.10 and 1.11).

With a talented engineer running the technical aspects of the laboratory, Oteiza and Ginastera still had to face the need to find an artistic coordinator for the project. Oteiza insisted that he wanted to hire "the best person available in Argentina for the job."[56] Ginastera's lingering reluctance to hire Francisco Kröpfl must have waned, because Kröpfel joined CLAEM's faculty in 1967.[57] As a final addition to the *Laboratorio*'s team, former fellow Gabriel Brnčić was hired as a part-time professor on February 21, 1969. Brnčić had a fellowship during 1965–1966 and stayed to work at CLAEM during 1967–1968 with additional funding from the OAS. He was an avid user of the studio and had begun helping students in their training even before he was hired.[58] Under the artistic direction of Kröpfl, the ingenuity of Reichenbach, and

(1968–1971). However, correspondence previous to 1968 contradicts these dates. Ginastera mentions Guth and Manhart in a letter of 1966 (see Alberto Ginastera, letter to Noman Lloyd, October 27, 1966, folder 77, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC). A fourth assistant, with the last name of Cosenza, is mentioned in letters from 1967, but I have not heard a single oral account that can confirm that person's presence. It might have been a temporary hire for a specific project. See Fernando von Reichenbach, internal memorandum to Enrique Oteiza, April 21, 1967, CLAEM Archives, ITDT. See Vázquez, "Apéndice documental," in *Conversaciones en torno al CLAEM*, 78.

[55] Fernando von Reichenbach, internal memorandum to Enrique Oteiza with copies to M. Marzana, Alberto Ginastera, and Francisco Kröpfl, April 19, 1968, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

[56] Enrique Oteiza, internal memorandum to Alberto Ginastera, August 5, 1966, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

[57] For the first documented mention of Kröpfl's activities at CLAEM dates see Josefina Schröder, letter to Alberto Ginastera, April 4, 1967, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

[58] See "Gabriel Brnčić entrevistado por Nancy Sánchez y Juan Ortiz de Zarate en el Hotel NH Florida, Buenos Aires, el 20 de junio de 2011," in Vásquez, *Conversaciones en torno al CLAEM*, 89.

FIGURE 1.10 Electronic Music Laboratory, ca. 1968. Courtesy of Mary Mac Donagh de von Reichenbach.

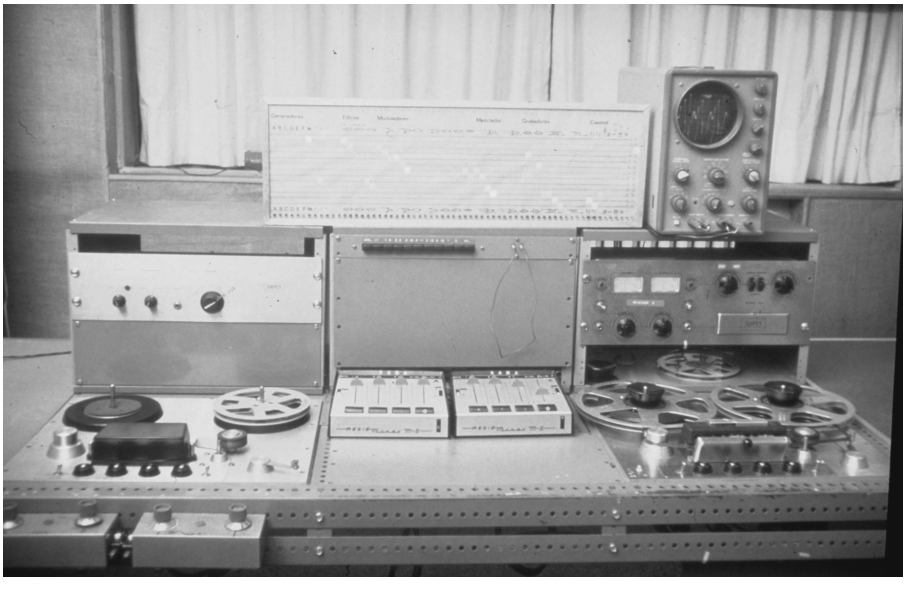

FIGURE 1.11 Front view of one side of the redesigned laboratory by Reichenbach. Courtesy of Mary Mac Donagh de von Reichenbach.

the practical knowledge offered by Brnčić, the studio finally fulfilled its initial objectives and began receiving increasing international recognition.[59]

CLAEM: CONCERT SERIES AND THE RECEPTION OF CONTEMPORARY MUSIC IN BUENOS AIRES

The objective of CLAEM was mostly pedagogical. While the other art centers at the Di Tella focused on an outward-facing agenda of promoting of the avant-garde, CLAEM was by comparison inward-looking and self-contained; its focus was on the education of young composers. Nonetheless, the final considerable budget item in CLAEM was directed toward public concerts. Three kinds of concerts were organized at CLAEM. First, and most important for the fellows, were the student seminar concerts, featuring works written during that year of fellowship with notable local performers. Second were concerts dedicated to the works of visiting artists, events that on some occasions involved the high-fidelity reproduction of recordings but more often than not relied in local talent. Finally, and with the most visibility in the press, were the annual Contemporary Music Festivals (1962–1970). These three kinds of public concerts showcased contemporary avant-garde musical productions to the public in Buenos Aires at a level that could not have been imagined a decade earlier.

The audiences for these events were mixtures of fellows, teachers, and administrators of the Di Tella Institute; local artists, family, and friends of the performers or composers; music critics; and, most important, a significant number of avid concert goers with little or no musical training, but a genuine curiosity about what artists and musicians were producing. Different newspapers reported that the concerts had a "faithful audience, interested, and sometimes enthusiastic."[60] The Di Tella Institute provided an important window for anybody who wanted to know what was going on in the world of the avant-garde in Buenos Aires. Celia Weinberg, for instance, was an administrator of the institute. As a non-musician, she claims to have known next to nothing about contemporary music or art when the art centers joined the Di Tella Institute:

> I would go with my husband. We would go to all the concerts, all the exhibits, all the theater works . . . we would go to everything and we would learn. . . . I am not a musician, and my husband is not a musician, although he likes to listen to music. I had a hard time understanding that kind of music. Slowly I got used

[59] See, for example, "Informe CLAEM, versión en inglés (enviado a la Rockefeller Foundation, fines 1970)," [dated 1971] CLAEM Archives, ITDT. Here, the research by Reichenbach is said to have "placed the *Laboratorio de música electrónica* of CLAEM among the most advanced in the world." See also Hugh Davies, *Répertoire International des Musiques Electroacoustiques—International Electronic Music Catalog* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1968), 1–4.

[60] O. F. [Oscar Figueroa] "El 2° festival Di Tella de música contemporánea," *La prensa*, October 21, 1963.

> to it, but I had a lot of trouble because it was very modern; I would even say too modern. Even those who came, Messiaen, and all the teachers were people that wrote very strange things. . . . And then there were the things that they were doing at the electronic music laboratory. Now that was really terrible. Those were some really terrible noises. [But we knew that] what Reichenbach was doing there was something truly extraordinary. Like in anything experimental, there were some good things and many bad things. We couldn't expect for everything to be great.[61]

Even when the concerts were below the audience's expectations, many of them had a sincere belief in their importance. The terrible noises were still something extraordinary. The "initiated"—composers, critics, and performers—usually stayed for the entirety of the concerts, while curiosity was not enough for many others, and they simply walked out when exhausted.

Music critics showed similar ambivalence. In 1966, the newspaper *Clarín* published a review of a concert at the Di Tella with an inflammatory title: "Works by Fellows at the Di Tella: Progress or Disorientation?"[62] The avant-garde aesthetics presented in the concert had produced mostly negative reactions among the critics and the audience. Even those convinced that breaking with tradition was necessary for the advancement of music were not particularly attracted to some of the pieces and opted to criticize the works and not the overarching ideology behind avant-garde composition. The press paid particular attention to the Contemporary Music Festivals, given their international scope, and even though the festivals rarely featured student works, the compositions were understood to be models that marked CLAEM's aesthetics. The festival consisted of four concerts scheduled on consecutive days and was the most visible outreach event that the music center produced.[63] Most of the pieces programmed had been written after 1955 and included a mix of European, US, and Latin American composers—although European composers tended to dominate. Ginastera organized the festival, with significant help from Gerardo Gandini and Antonio Tauriello (1931–2011).[64] The fellows eagerly attended the concerts and even performed on some occasions. However, most of the works were left to professional full-time performers of the highest level available in Buenos Aires. It was

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[61] Celia Wainberg, interview with the author, June 19, 2008.

[62] Dayed [?], "Obras de Becarios del Di Tella: ¿Progreso o desorientación?" *Clarín* (Buenos Aires), November 12, 1966.

[63] For a list of all the works presented at the nine festivals organized at CLAEM, see Castiñeira de Dios, *La música en el Di Tella*. Also see Vázquez, "Música de jóvenes compositores de América," and the report submitted to the Rockefeller Foundation: *1er. Festival de Música Contemporánea, August 3, 1962*, folder 75, box 9, series 301R, RF 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[64] Tauriello, who like Gandini had also been a student of Ginastera, was often closely involved with the activities of CLAEM. However, he was never a fellow or professor, but like Gandini, he actively participated in the festivals as a pianist and conductor.

important for Ginastera and his collaborators to show high-quality performances of these works.

The First Contemporary Music Festival, the first public event that CLAEM organized after its creation and even before receiving any fellows, took place August 9–12, 1962, in the Auditorium of the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes. The numerous reports in the news about the event reveal that Buenos Aires was not short on music critics and that most were quite conservative. The third concert, dedicated solely to electroacoustic works, received the harshest criticisms. Music critic Eduardo García Belsunce argued that electronic works were closer "to industrial engineering" than to music and that electronic music studios had "not produced in many years of experiments, a single work that can be considered music and understood as art."[65] He was not alone in his feelings. Electroacoustic music in Buenos Aires was marginal and often disparaged by connoisseurs and aficionados alike.[66] However, acoustic works were not exempt from the traditionalist press. Enzo Valenti Ferro, an expert in opera and an unforgiving critic of certain contemporary music, referred to Milton Babbitt as a "self-proclaimed champion of cerebral music" and of his *Three Compositions for Piano* as having "very little interest." He also described Carlos Chávez's work as "very little attractive and at times vulgar" and Stockhausen's *Zyklus* as "an aleatoric entertainment for solo percussion . . . another negative experience."[67]

Despite the conflicting and often unkind criticisms of the music performed at the festival, the effort of the concert organizers and the important impact that CLAEM was to have in the Argentine and Latin American music world were widely appreciated. For instance, for the second festival in 1963, the critics from *Buenos Aires musical* wrote that it was "comforting to know that these efforts have continuity in our country. In this sense we are pleased with this festival and hope for its survival."[68] Three years later, a critic in the same publication wrote about the Fifth Contemporary Music Festival:

> It is worth pointing out the educational importance of these concerts. They provide a broad overview of the field of musical creation. The fact that the artistic interest of these manifestations is usually much lower than their instructional value does not diminish the validity and need for these activities. [The low artistic interest] reflects the state of contemporary creation, infinitely richer and interesting at the theoretical level than in its artistic results.[69]

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[65] Eduardo García Belsunce, "De música contemporánea," *Buenos Aires musical*, August 16, 1962, 1.

[66] See Hernán Gabriel Vázquez, "Música de jóvenes compositores de América: La actividad del Centro Latinoamericano de Altos Estudios Musicales del Instituto Torcuato Di Tella de 1961 a 1966 y su representación en la prensa," MM thesis, Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, 2008; and Herrera, "CLAEM and the Construction of Elite Art Worlds."

[67] Enzo Valenti Ferro, "De música contemporánea," *Buenos Aires musical,* August 16, 1962, 5.

[68] Eduardo García Belsunce, "Conciertos de música contemporánea," *Buenos Aires musical*, September 16, 1963.

[69] E. V. sF. "V° Festival de Música Contemporánea," *Buenos Aires musical*, October 1, 1966.

Composer and music critic Roque de Pedro, writing in *Tribuna musical,* seemed to agree with this view: "The usefulness of organizing contemporary music festivals is indisputable. In this sense, any initiative to promote the dissemination [of contemporary works] is laudable, since today's society cannot be indifferent to the evolution of the means of expression." However, De Pedro said that it was critical that "the experiment for the simple pleasure of doing 'something new' is more and more a tendency. It is not difficult to do something that nobody has thought of before."[70] In that climate, the fellows in Buenos Aires found that CLAEM provided a safe haven to explore the latest compositional trends, but it was also a stronghold of mostly conservative critics who enjoyed significant presence in the media and had few hopes for the avant-garde.

CLAEM was a transnational space dedicated to the exchange of ideas, materials, and the creation of friendships and networks of solidarity—transnational because of the diverse origins of the people who met there. In this sense, it was much like many other places of pilgrimage for classical composers during the mid-twentieth century, including the Darmstadt Summer Courses or the Warsaw Autumn and Donaueschingen Festivals.[71] However, unlike them, the extended two-year duration and the regional focus of the study program at CLAEM created a unique situation of profound exchange among some of the most talented composers of the entire region.

The material conditions that the large initial budget allowed—including infrastructure, salaries, fellowships, guests, library, and the electronic music laboratory—created an ideal space for creativity and experimentation. The local reception of this creativity and experimentation, however, tended to be negative, a factor that made international recognition ever more important. The local and foreign capital acquired through education at an institution such as CLAEM, which was prestigious even from its inception, was fundamental in establishing the international careers of many Latin American composers.

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[70] Roque de Pedro, "Instituto Di Tella: V Festival de Música Contemporánea," *Tribuna musical* 10 (1966): 24.

[71] See Lisa Jakelski, *Making New Music in Cold War Poland: The Warsaw Autumn Festival, 1956–1968* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017); Martin Iddon, *New Music at Darmstadt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); and Gianmario Borio and Hermann Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne: Die internationalen Ferienkurse für neue Musik Darmstadt 1946–1966* (Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany: Rombach, 1997).

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JOHN HARRISON, ALBERTO GINASTERA, AND THE CREATION OF CLAEM

WHEN ASSISTANT DIRECTOR for Humanities at the Rockefeller Foundation John P. Harrison returned to his Buenos Aires hotel room on May 19, 1958, he found out that his plans to meet with Alberto Ginastera had been canceled because of the death of Ginastera's father the night before. Harrison had been looking forward to spending time with Argentina's foremost composer and to discussing "[t]he musical life of Buenos Aires."[1] Ginastera rescheduled for May 22, but in his eagerness to talk with the Rockefeller official, he decided to show up unexpectedly at Harrison's hotel the night of May 20. After sharing tea, Ginastera, his first wife Mercedes, and Harrison went to the apartment of Spanish émigré composer Julián Bautista for a long evening of conversation over cocktails and dinner. The main topic of discussion was how the Rockefeller Foundation could contribute to the musical life of Argentina. Harrison had previously talked to local composer Juan José Castro and the Swiss conductor Ernst Ansermet, and both had agreed that the emphasis should be placed on supporting early musical training. Ginastera and Bautista disagreed. Ginastera, who had directly and indirectly benefited from grants from the Guggenheim and Rockefeller Foundations, argued to Harrison that "all of the work [I have] done in the last ten years has been when [I] received a grant or commission from some North American organization." Emphatically, Ginastera concluded that his music "would not exist if it had not been for support received after [I] was fully trained."[2]

As Harrison understood, Ginastera and Bautista felt that composers in Latin America were in a "rather intolerable" situation, in which "all of the money is going

[1] JPH (John P. Harrison), diary excerpt, May 19, 1958, folder "Interviews 1958," box 19, series John P. Harrison, RG 12.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[2] Ibid.

Elite Art Worlds. Eduardo Herrera, Oxford University Press (2020). © Oxford University Press.
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for conductors and poorly managed orchestras."[3] They imagined a graduate school for composition that would ideally lead to a genuine reformation of musical training in Latin America. Harrison did not see any immediate way of helping. The Rockefeller Foundation avoided projects that did not show promise of becoming financially viable after the initial grant support. However, Harrison suggested, "If [we] could work out an arrangement whereby the local costs would be carried by Argentine sources, the Rockefeller Foundation might be able to consider paying the costs of the foreign instructors needed, for a limited and clearly defined period of time."[4] As they unsuccessfully brainstormed ideas for possible sponsors for such an institution, it was clear to Harrison that Ginastera and Bautista felt that "any school would have to be completely divorced from federal, municipal, or state control, if it was to succeed in achieving its aims" of avoiding "political interference."[5] Their goal was to find some type of private support for the arts among Buenos Aires' elites. During the next four years, Harrison and Ginastera met and corresponded multiple times to devise a plan, which eventually led to the creation of CLAEM, the most important center for art-music composition in Latin America.

This chapter reconstructs the events that led to the creation of CLAEM—a story that begins with the meeting between Harrison and Ginastera in May 1958 and ends with the allocation of the Rockefeller Foundation grant that funded CLAEM in 1962. In doing so, I trace discourses about philanthropy into their actual transmission, exchange, interpretation, and the lived experiences of the people involved. In telling this story, I pay particular attention to John P. Harrison and his interactions with Alberto Ginastera and with Guido Di Tella and Enrique Oteiza, president and executive director of the Di Tella Institute, respectively. Among the different people involved in the creation of CLAEM, Harrison is the least known. He played a fundamental role not only in creating this project but also in establishing several conduits for the Rockefeller Foundation into Latin American art music during the early 1960s. The reader can find broader explanations in Chapters 3 and 4 about why the Rockefeller Foundation was interested in such a project and why the Di Tella Institute was ready to embrace a musical center dedicated to the avant-garde. However, in this chapter, we get to see a unique perspective on philanthropy by looking carefully at one officer, at the institutional documents he produced, and at some of the key interactions he had that led to the creation of CLAEM.

JOHN P. HARRISON

John P. Harrison—Jack to his friends—was born in California in 1917 and received a BA (1939) and a PhD in history with a specialty in Latin America (1950) from the

[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

University of California, Berkeley. Between 1956 and 1961, Harrison worked at the Rockefeller Foundation, first as the Assistant Director for Humanities and then as its Associate Director during 1961. He resigned in 1962 to accept a position at the University of Texas as Professor of History and Director of the Institute of Latin American Studies. Between July 1965 and 1966, he returned as a part-time consultant for the Rockefeller Foundation and a member of its Humanities and Social Sciences special field staff in Santiago de Chile in the program for teaching and research. In 1967, Harrison returned full time to the Rockefeller Foundation as Associate Director for Humanities and Social Sciences.[6] Years later, Harrison joined the faculty of the University of Miami and maintained his scholarship in Latin America until his retirement, when he moved to the Pacific Northwest. Like most officers at the Rockefeller Foundation, Harrison kept careful diaries of all his activities and travels, documenting his personal meetings with intellectuals in Mexico, Colombia, Brazil, Peru, Chile, Argentina, and other countries. Neither those diaries nor his personal correspondence and biographical files reveal the source of his interest in Western art music, but he certainly made an effort to attend concerts and meet conductors, performers, and composers during his international trips. The story of CLAEM begins precisely at one of these meetings, at which he had planned to meet Alberto Ginastera. Harrison left the humanities office of the Rockefeller Foundation around the time that the funding of CLAEM was approved, and his role in its story has been largely forgotten. Although Harrison deemed the creation of CLAEM one of his most important accomplishments, its supervision was left to subsequent Rockefeller officials.

A LATIN AMERICANIST ENDEAVOUR

Harrison returned to Buenos Aires more than a year after his initial conversation with Ginastera and Bautista. On November 21, 1959, he met once again with both composers, and they attended a performance of Joseph Haydn's *The Creation* at the Teatro Colón. During the intermission and at some length after the concert, they brainstormed about creating a program for the musical education of composers in Latin America. Earlier that year, Harrison had discussed with Luis Sandi and Rodolfo Halffter the possibility of creating a similar program in Mexico.[7] Ginastera and Bautista's ideas, however, resonated more with the Rockefeller officer, since the

[6] "Harrison Will Again Be Foundation Officer," *Rockefeller Foundation Staff Newsletter* (November 1966), 1, 8.

[7] This plan, which never took place, involved Eduardo Hernández Moncada and Rodolfo Halffter (uncle of Cristóbal Halffter; see Chapter 1) as teachers, with the hope of eventually expanding to invite composers from other Latin American countries. JPH (John P. Harrison), diary excerpt, July 30, 1959, folder 1959 Vol. 6, box 207, series FA118, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC. Apparently, the Rockefeller Foundation had also considered Chile. See motion presented at the Rockefeller Foundation's Board of Trustees meeting, April 4, 1962, folder 73, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation, RAC.

training facility they envisioned was from the start open to young and talented composers from all over Latin America. They suggested a faculty of three, presumably Ginastera, Bautista, and a foreign composer of international stature, and a student body of not more than twelve to be selected by the faculty on the basis of scores submitted for a contest. They also thought that students should probably stay for two years, with a possible extension to three.[8] Ginastera and Bautista did not have a clear idea of the possible costs of such an enterprise, but Harrison liked what they had in mind. Harrison reiterated "the need of institutional support and the impossibility of the RF [Rockefeller Foundation] doing more than giving an impetus to something well supported locally."[9] Ginastera said that they had not made any approaches yet, but that they would discuss the matter with the new Catholic University and the Municipality of Buenos Aires.

After the meeting, Harrison noted in his diary that Ginastera was aware of "the type of support wealthy Argentines would have to make towards cultural development in their country."[10] Ginastera sounded optimistic in this regard, and although Harrison was certainly interested in the project, he chose at that time not to "express his skepticism too strongly." He decided to wait until the following year when they could talk about "the results of the discussions that Ginastera and Bautista have in the meantime."[11] Bautista's part in the story, however, stops here. The Spanish composer, who had lived in Argentina since 1940, left soon after this meeting to work at the newly created Puerto Rico Conservatory of Music. The sixty-year-old composer died soon after arriving back in Buenos Aires in 1961.

CONTACTING THE DI TELLA INSTITUTE

Harrison returned to Argentina six months after the 1959 meeting and spent the early afternoon on May 25, 1960, with Ginastera, listening to a well-structured description of the project. Ginastera's proposal depended on the commitment of the Universidad Católica Argentina (UCA), where he had recently organized and then directed the College of Arts and Musical Sciences. The plan seemed to Harrison to be a "modest and apparently workable program depending on the extent of commitment on the part of the Catholic University and on the part of private contributors." The doubts that Harrison had about the possible participation of the Rockefeller Foundation in the project had to do with the "likelihood of Argentine sources being

[8] JPH (John P. Harrison), diary excerpt, November 21, 1959, folder 1959 II, Vol. 7, box 19, series John P. Harrison, RG 12.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

able to absorb gradually even the comparatively modest costs of the program outlined by Ginastera."[12]

Only two months after this encounter, Harrison took a step that was to be crucial for CLAEM. In 1958, Vice-President for the Natural and Medical Sciences at the Rockefeller Foundation Warren Weaver had given feedback to the young Argentine millionaire Guido Di Tella about the creation of the Di Tella Foundation, which was partly modeled after the Rockefeller family's organization. When Harrison learned that the plans of the wealthy Di Tella family included the arts, he decided to directly contact Guido Di Tella. "My colleagues and I," wrote Harrison,

> learned from Dr. Warren Weaver last year of the Instituto Torcuato Di Tella and your thoughts about establishing a Di Tella Foundation in Argentina. Dr. Weaver's very favorable remarks had to do with your interest in economics, so I was unaware of your plans, apparently already well developed, for an Arts Center. I am indeed sorry not to have known of this earlier, as I was recently in Buenos Aires and would have welcomed the opportunity of talking with you about possibilities in Argentina for both the visual and performing arts. Actually, our own modest interests are for the present more in the latter than in the former.[13]

Those "modest interests" mentioned by Harrison were without a doubt Ginastera's plan for CLAEM.

In the meantime, and at least until January 1961, Ginastera was still hoping to make the project work within the structure of the UCA, even though he was not receiving the enthusiastic support he had anticipated. He wrote to Harrison that with the initial funding from the Rockefeller Foundation, he would "have time to interest private institutions or people to support this enterprise in the future." Ginastera estimated that it would take four to six years to establish a stable center that would be able "to live without the Rockefeller's (sic) support."[14] This response disappointed and worried Harrison, since he knew that the Board of Trustees at the Rockefeller Foundation would not agree to sponsor an enterprise before a local organization pledged to provide institutional support and continuity for the activities after the end of the Rockefeller aid. Harrison decided to take matters into his own hands.

In the first of a series of short visits to Argentina in 1961, Harrison personally met the rector of the UCA, Monsignor Otavio Derisi. Noticing Derisi's lack of interest in the project and his mention of the Di Tella family as a possible source of funding,

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[12] JPH (John P. Harrison), diary excerpt, May 25, 1960, 1960 Vol. II (Vol. 8), box 19, series John P. Harrison, RG 12.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[13] John P. Harrison, letter to Guido Di Tella, July 18, 1960, reel 35, series 301, RG 2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[14] Alberto Ginastera, letter to John P. Harrison, January 23, 1961, reel 35, series 301, RG 2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

Harrison decided to contact Guido Di Tella once again.[15] He asked him for an appointment during Harrison's next trip and explained more specifically that he wanted to discuss "the activities of your Foundation in the arts, a concern I have in the field of Latin American composition, and hopefully better inform myself generally about the situation of the performing and visual arts in Buenos Aires."[16] The resulting meeting on May 22, 1961, with Executive Director of the Instituto Torcuato Di Tella Enrique Oteiza and Guido Di Tella, one of the two brothers who were heirs to Argentina's largest industrial fortune, was a key moment for the creation of CLAEM.

THE DI TELLA INSTITUTE JOINS THE PLANS

In 1958, the same year that Harrison and Ginastera first met, Guido Di Tella convinced his mother, María, and his brother, Torcuato S., to organize a family philanthropic organization by using part of their wealth. In spirit, the establishment of the Di Tella Foundation commemorated the tenth anniversary of the death of Torcuato S. and Guido's father, Torcuato. In practice, it provided funds through an endowment for the Di Tella Institute. The Institute was a project that Guido, Torcuato S., and their friend Enrique Oteiza devised to promote the social sciences and the arts, two areas they felt were "more or less behind in Argentine culture and scientific development."[17] Guido decided to model the philanthropic organization after the Rockefeller Foundation, the explanation for why he had been in contact with some of its officers.[18] Harrison knew of this project's ideological connections to the Rockefeller Foundation and was well aware that the new and important enterprise was "the closest thing to a major US foundation in Latin America."[19]

That first meeting on May 22, 1961, with Guido Di Tella and Oteiza went better than Harrison could ever have expected. The Argentines were curious about the Rockefeller Foundation's interest in music, so Harrison described at some length his intent to "cooperate with some Latin American institution in setting up an advanced-level training facility for composers, together with the reasons for thinking this is important."[20] He confessed to them that he had doubts about the interest shown by the UCA. Di Tella and Enrique Oteiza concurred and told Harrison that they highly

[15] JPH (John P. Harrison), diary excerpt, March 6, 1961, folder 73, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[16] John P. Harrison, letter to Guido Di Tella, April 27, 1961, reel 35, series 301, RG 2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[17] "Desde el Di Tella: Enrique Oteiza," *Desde el Di Tella*, episode 3, directed by Federico Consiglieri (Buenos Aires: Telesónica, Canal [á] Pramer, 2001), DVD.

[18] WW (Warren Weaver), diary excerpt, October 22, 1959, reel 32, series 301, RG 2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC

[19] JPH (John P. Harrison), diary excerpt, May 22, 1961, folder 73, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[20] Ibid.

doubted that the university would ever maintain "without a specific subsidy from someone, a specialized training facility at a high level in any field."[21] However, both Oteiza and Di Tella expressed to Harrison a strong interest in the Di Tella Institute being "the home for such an operation" and trying to find an arrangement satisfactory to both parties that "would give absolute assurances of maintaining it indefinitely after an original period of assistance, which they would certainly require during the next two or three years."[22] Harrison was hopeful that he had finally found an institutional niche for the music center.

Three days later, Guido Di Tella called Harrison and told him, after further discussion, he wanted to express the sincere interest of the Instituto Torcuato Di Tella in this project. If the Rockefeller Foundation would be able to offer initial support, the institute would "ultimately accept full responsibility for an advance training facility in musical composition."[23] Di Tella suggested to Harrison that Ginastera should be directing this venture full time instead of spending half of his time at the UCA and half at the institute.[24] Di Tella and Oteiza also felt that a "second full-time Latin American composer-teacher should be selected by someone other than Ginastera to be certain that a different musical style and taste would be represented."[25] Although they never mentioned him in their correspondence, both Di Tella and particularly Oteiza were well acquainted with the Argentine composer Juan Carlos Paz (1901–1972). Indeed, they had considered that if the Di Tella Institute were ever to include a music center, Paz might be the appropriate figure to direct it, since he spearheaded avant-garde practices in the country. However, as it later became clear, for Harrison and the Rockefeller Foundation, Ginastera had to be the head of the project. Ginastera was the foremost Latin American composer in the United States, and Harrison counted on his growing fame to secure funding for the creation of the center.

BRINGING TOGETHER GINASTERA AND THE DI TELLA INSTITUTE

Strangely enough, Harrison did not rush to notify Ginastera about his May conversations with Di Tella and Oteiza. It was not until September 13, 1961, when Harrison wrote to the composer and told him that while in Buenos Aires that he had "discussed at some length the possibility of the Fundación and the Instituto [Di Tella] becoming actively concerned with music as they presently are with the visual arts." He suggested that Ginastera should meet with Di Tella and Oteiza and "discuss with them

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] JPH (John P. Harrison), diary excerpt, May 25, 1961, folder 73, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[24] This point was something Oteiza was always adamant about. Anybody working at the Di Tella Institute needed to have full-time commitment.

[25] JPH (John P. Harrison), diary excerpt, May 25, 1961, folder 73, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

in a general way your own ideas."[26] Optimistic, Harrison concluded that cooperation between the Rockefeller Foundation and the Fundación Torcuato Di Tella might be what they had been seeking.

Ginastera promptly arranged the meeting, and only two weeks later, Oteiza confirmed to Harrison that after talking to the composer, they had found the project "within our objectives and lines of activity." More importantly, Oteiza confirmed that the Instituto Torcuato Di Tella would "provide the necessary institutional and administrative framework for the Music Center."[27] This response was exactly what Harrison needed. Pending Rockefeller Foundation initial backing, the institute would "willingly take over the expenses after initial grants expired."[28] This model followed the path toward economic independence that the foundation desired from the grantees, as evidenced by a widely circulated report among Rockefeller Foundation officers that was titled "Adventuring in the Arts."[29] The report, written in 1958 by John Marshall, advocated backing art institutions only under the condition of gradual increased private funding that would eventually replace Rockefeller Foundation support, securing the longevity and impact of any endeavor. Harrison had followed the tenets of this document all along. What he now needed was a written proposal to put forward to the board of trustees that stated this agreement about funding and, he hoped, approval for the supporting grants. This would not be an easy task, since the funds required exceeded any foreign project in music thus far supported by the foundation and were comparable to the highest funded domestic undertakings in the field.

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION GRANT PROPOSAL AND TAUBMAN AS ORIGIN

By September 1961, the project for the music center finally seemed to be on solid ground. Ginastera was tasked to write a final proposal to submit both to the Di Tella Institute to get approval and to the Rockefeller Foundation to request funding. Harrison suggested that the proposal should be peer reviewed by Aaron Copland, William Schuman, and Roger Sessions, all composers who frequently acted in music advisory panels for government and private organizations.[30] Ginastera also

[26] John P. Harrison, letter to Alberto Ginastera with copy to Guido Di Tella and Enrique Oteiza, September 13, 1961, reel 35, series 301, RG 2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[27] Enrique Oteiza, letter to John P. Harrison, September 29, 1961, folder 73, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[28] Ibid.

[29] John Marshall, "Adventuring in the Arts: Music," April 1958, folder 47, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation, RAC.

[30] For key texts delving into the different music advisory panels of governmental agencies, such as OIAA, the American National Theater and Academy (ANTA), and the State Department, see Danielle Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015); Emily Abrams Ansari, "'Masters of the President's Music': Cold War Composers and the

proposed adding Guillermo Espinosa as a Latin American reviewer, given his "large knowledge and broad connection with this part of the Continent."[31] Ginastera finished the project proposal in January 1962 and sent it to Oteiza and Harrison for any further comments, suggesting "'Latin American Center for Advanced Studies in Composition and Musical Research' as a tentative title for the enterprise."[32] With some minor changes and the inclusion of financial projections, Oteiza officially submitted the proposal to the Rockefeller Foundation in the name of the Di Tella Institute. The document was titled "Proposal for the Creation of a Center for Advanced Music Composition."[33]

This proposal became an important document not only because it eventually earned the funding necessary to create CLAEM and delineated its goals and mission but also because it shaped an origin story that has reappeared in most narratives about the center since then.[34] In the document, Ginastera claims that the impulse for the creation of a training facility for Latin American composers should be traced back to a 1957 article by Howard Taubman, senior music critic of *The New York Times*. Ginastera argues that the Latin American music festivals organized in Washington (1958, 1961) and Caracas (particularly the one in 1957) made evident that there were Latin American composers of "international stature." However, they also revealed a "lack of professional background." Those conditions, concludes Ginastera, triggered Howard Taubman's call for "a musical institute in one of the Latin American

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United States Government" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2009); and Jennifer Campbell, "Creating Something out of Nothing: The Office of Inter-American Affairs Music Committee (1940–41) and the Inception of a Policy for Musical Diplomacy," *Diplomatic History* 36, no. 1: 29–39. The Rockefeller Foundation's earliest Music Advisory Committee was established in 1963. See Michael Sy Uy, "The Recorded Anthology of American Music and the Rockefeller Foundation: Expertise, Deliberation, and Commemoration in the Bicentennial Celebrations," *American Music* 35, no. 1 (2017): 75–93.

[31] Alberto Ginastera, letter to John P. Harrison, December 17, 1961, folder 74, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[32] Alberto Ginastera, letter to John P. Harrison, January 25, 1962, folder 73, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC. This document is crucial proof that CLAEM did not exist before 1962, since the proposal was precisely requesting funds for its creation and the participation of the Di Tella Institute was subject to earning a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Unfortunately, for many years, composers and scholars have wrongly used the date 1961 for its funding. In 2011, the Argentine government, through its Secretaria de Cultura de la Nación, commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of CLAEM with an event called *La música en el Di Tella: Resonancias de la modernidad,* therefore perpetuating the mistaken year of creation. For public evidence about this, see Ginastera still talking about CLAEM as a future project in March 1962 in *The New York Times* (Eric Salzman, "Ginastera Aids Latin-American Composers," *New York Times*, March 11, 1962, X11).

[33] Enrique Oteiza, grant proposal attached to letter to John P. Harrison, February 26, 1962, folder 74, box 9, series 301R, RF 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[34] For a similar observation, see Hernán Gabriel Vázquez, "Música de jovenes compositores de América: La actividad del Centro Latinoamericano de Altos Estudios Musicales del Instituto Torcuato Di Tella de 1961 a 1966 y su representación en la prensa" (MM thesis, Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, 2008), 11.

capitals."[35] In the proposal, Ginastera describes Taubman as the spark that would lead to the project:

> [Taubman] insisted that some North American foundations should help to establish this institute which was a vital necessity for the music of our continent. The Rockefeller Foundation conscious of its moral responsibility towards the cultural welfare of the Americas gathered Mr. Taubman's suggestions.[36]

To my knowledge, this is the first documented appearance of this particular story about CLAEM. Not only that, but also Taubman seems to be the missing link between Harrison and Ginastera. When Harrison contacted the Argentine composer to set up the meeting that starts this chapter in 1958, he said he wanted to meet "on the suggestion of a mutual friend, Howard Taubman from the *New York Times*."[37]

A quick look at Taubman's cited article initially supports this narrative. The article was a response to the Second Caracas Festival of Latin American Music in 1957. Taubman's criticism of some of the works presented were based on what he perceived as a lack of "thorough professional grounding" on otherwise talented composers. Yet the problem for Taubman was that proper training seemed unlikely to come from existing schools. "One needs no further evidence," he argues, "than some of the inept pieces performed at Caracas which were the product of men who are professors of composition in their national conservatories."[38] The statement, which most likely infuriated many composers, was followed with a call for a training facility that certainly resembles what Ginastera's proposed five years later. Taubman suggests that it should be located "in a Latin American country," with a selective group of students "of unmistakable gifts" and with teachers "drawn from the best musicians in all the Americas and Europe."[39] Even more, since "clearly a great deal of money is needed" for scholarships and well-remunerated salaries for composers doing "guest stays of three to six months," Taubman concludes that he "would like to see companies, individuals and foundations in the United States take the lead."[40]

There is, however, one line that precedes all of Taubman's statements that frankly destabilizes this narrative. He writes, "It was the belief of some of the most thoughtful composers in Caracas that a new, advanced institute for the training of composers would be the answer to Latin-American requirements. This observer concurs."[41] It is

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[35] Project proposal for a "Latin American Center for Advanced Studies in Composition and Musical Research" as sent by Alberto Ginastera to John P. Harrison, January 25, 1962, folder 73, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[36] Ibid.

[37] John P. Harrison, letter to Alberto Ginastera, March 25, 1958, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

[38] Howard Taubman, "Training Center: Academy Urgent Need for Latin America" *New York Times*, April 14, 1957, X9.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

hard to say who these "thoughtful composers" might be, but from the text, we can see that Ginastera and Roque Cordero receive his sincere praise, since he finds that they "seem to know exactly where their artistic affinities lie and in which direction they wish to travel."[42] The judges for the festival's composition contest, whom Taubman would have likely found "thoughtful composers," were Aaron Copland, Domingo Santa Cruz, Carlos Chávez, Juan Bautista Plaza, and Alberto Ginastera himself. One could imagine that Taubman might be "concurring" with any of them. It is hard to say, but it is possible that Taubman was voicing the concerns and ideas of some Latin American composers, perhaps even Ginastera himself. After all, the Argentine had long shown an interest in educational institutions. He had even spent part of his 1946 Guggenheim fellowship in "investigating North American educational systems," as he visited "prestigious music schools in the United States, including Juilliard, Columbia, Yale, Harvard, and Eastman." Ginastera had even attended the "annual meeting of the Music Educators' National Conference (MENC) in Cleveland."[43] By 1948, he had already founded the conservatory at the Universidad Nacional de la Plata, and by 1958, he had created the Facultad de Artes y Ciencias Musicales at the UCA.

Whether Taubman's 1957 article was already a reflection of Ginastera's ideas or whether Taubman was truly the inspirational seed for CLAEM matters little. More significantly, specific references to Taubman soon became replaced by a broader and vaguer "la crítica internacional, principalmente en Estados Unidos" ("international critics, mostly in the United States"), which was how the argument was often framed. Ginastera was using Taubman as a way to legitimize the validity of this project in front of the Rockefeller Foundation. The existence of the center depended on the approval of that initial grant.

GINASTERA AND ARGENTINA UNDER EVALUATION

For the board of trustees to approve a significant grant for a music center, Harrison needed to insure financial continuity after the Rockefeller funds expired and to persuade the board to believe that Ginastera was an ideal candidate to lead the project. Harrison also needed to show that Buenos Aires was a good location for the center and that Argentina offered the conditions to host such an endeavor. Supporting the creation of CLAEM in a report to the Board of Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation, Harrison argued that the opportunity to work with Ginastera and the ideal conditions available in Buenos Aires were two of the project's principal strengths. Ginastera, he wrote, was "widely considered to be Latin America's leading living composer, at a time when he is in the most productive period of his life. . . . [He is also] a

[42] Ibid.

[43] Deborah Schwartz-Kates, *Alberto Ginastera: A Research and Information Guide* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 7.

competent organizer and administrator."[44] Selling Alberto Ginastera as the leading figure of the project was not difficult. While Ginastera's works had received some attention during the 1940s, the performance of his String Quartet no. 2 at the First Inter-American Music Festival held in Washington, DC, is considered to have fully established his international career.[45] This work was followed by the success of the *Cantata para América mágica* and his First Piano Concerto, both of which premiered in 1961 in Washington at the Second Inter-American Music Festival. In March 1962, just weeks before the board of trustees meeting that would determine any Rockefeller Foundation's support, an article appeared in *The New York Times* in which Ginastera discussed the project to start a Latin American center for composition.[46] The title, "Ginastera Aids Latin-American Composers," and the solid acknowledgment that the Di Tella Foundation was ready to support this venture were either strategic or extremely convenient reminders of the importance of such help for the newspaper's New York audience, which might have included many members of the board.

Harrison's second point was about the city of Buenos Aires, which he thought promised to be an ideal setting for such an enterprise. According to Harrison, it had "after New York, the broadest and perhaps most sophisticated musical life of any American city, there being several musical societies, chamber music groups, opera, ballet, and four symphony orchestras."[47] This praise and Ginastera's reputation must have reassured people at the Rockefeller Foundation of the gravitas of such an investment. Harrison's report, however, has no mention of what foundation officers often called the "cultural conditions" of Argentina, by which they meant activities in academia, the arts, and affiliated fields, as well as the general political atmosphere. This omission is probably because the conditions might have been well known already by the trustees, who had received different reports on the matter. Warren Weaver, for instance, was cautious but encouraging, given the possible impact that Argentina could have in the region:

> [As for Argentina's] economic and political life [. . .] which is almost sure to have great influence—perhaps dominant and definitive influence—in the whole

[44] John P. Harrison, Report to the Board of Trustees, February 21, 1962, folder 74, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC. Harrison supports this point by writing, "This is evidenced by his work in establishing an institute for the musical and aesthetic orientation of secondary school teachers of music in Argentina, the Institute of Dance and Choreographic Studies in Bahia Blanca, the Bahia Blanca Symphony, and more recently the Faculty of Arts and Musical Sciences of the Catholic University of Argentina. . . . [and the] Conservatory of Music and Scenic Arts for the Province of Buenos Aires [La Plata]."

[45] Schwartz-Kates, *Alberto Ginastera*, 10.

[46] Salzman, "Ginastera Aids Latin-American Composers."

[47] John P. Harrison, Report to the Board of Trustees, February 21, 1962, folder 74, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

> southern half of our western hemisphere. . . . I think *we are justified in committing larger support,* with a full realization that the risks are considerable.[48]

But not everybody agreed that it was reasonable to commit to activities in Argentina. On March 18, 1962, just four weeks before the board was to make the final decision about the viability of the music center project, Clifford M. Hardin, a trustee himself, had been in Argentina during the congressional and provincial governorships elections. After spending an evening with Torcuato S. Di Tella and learning about the results of the elections, Hardin noticed the tension that the return of the Peronist party and the important positions it had won were causing,[49] Hardin argued, "In retrospect, the anxiety got pretty thick at the Torcuato Di Tella, Jr., home, and one would certainly seem to have to wait until the political situation there [in Argentina] clarifies somewhat before going in with massive support."[50] As Hardin suspected, the aftermath of these elections were of enormous significance. On March 30, 1962, only five days before the evaluation of the proposal for CLAEM, the resilient anti-Peronist military leaders and other members of the ultraconservative factions supported the overthrow and arrest of President Arturo Frondizi for refusing to invalidate the elections, and they installed a new interim puppet president, previous Senate President José María Guido.[51]

The files on the Di Tella Institute at the Rockefeller Foundation contain a document marked "strictly confidential." Its title is "Financial Report of the Fundación Torcuato Di Tella." Several news clippings following the political turmoil from the months surrounding the election and the ousting were attached to it. Most of these clippings came from unattributed US press outlets and presented criticisms of the anti-democratic response from the military to the Peronist political victory. One in particular caught my attention, since it had a handwritten note on the side that seemed almost premonitory of the dark times ahead for the entire continent. It says, "We have been so concerned with Left-Wing movements and threats in Latin America (Peronism in Argentina's case) that we forget revolt against democracy can also come from the Right. In fact, that is where it usually originates in Latin America."[52] When the board of trustees met on April 4, 1962, to make their decision

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[48] WW (Warren Weaver), memorandum reporting Argentina's political and economical situation to DR [Dean Rusk] and JGH [J. George Harrar], no date [ca. 1961] folder 11, box 2, series 300, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC. Emphasis in the original.

[49] In their return to the ballots after being banned in 1955, the Peronist party secured forty-five out of eighty-six seats in Congress, and a total of ten out of fourteen provincial governorships, including Buenos Aires. Mónica E. Rein, *Politics and Education in Argentina, 1946–1962* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1998), 131–33.

[50] Charles M. Hardin, diary excerpt, March 16, 1962, folder 87, box 10, series 301S, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[51] Rein, *Politics and Education in Argentina,* 133–34.

[52] No author, no newspaper source, March 30, 1962. Attached to Enrique Oteiza, "Financial Report of the Fundación Torcuato Di Tella," February 23, 1962, folder 11, box 2, series 300, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC

about a large contribution to support Latin American music creation, one of the largest in the foundation's history of supporting music in general, all three elements—Ginastera, Buenos Aires, and Argentina—were carefully evaluated.

THE APPROVAL OF THE GRANT

The final and crucial step to get support for a project at the Rockefeller Foundation was to present a motion requesting such support to its board of trustees. While John Harrison was the obvious candidate to do so, his impending retirement from the foundation led to a change in plans, and Associate Director for the Humanities Chadbourne Gilpatric presented the motion. The first section emphasized the existence of local support for the center and the guidance of Ginastera as a "major musical figure."

> The creation in Latin America of an advanced-level training center for composers was recommended four years ago by leading Latin American composers and conductors, acting in unison, as a matter of first priority for the musical future of Spanish and Portuguese America. . . . Efforts were made to get this needed training facility established within the University of Chile and later as part of the National Conservatory in Mexico. Both failed because of political problems, lack of assured ongoing local support once the program was well established, and the absence of a major musical figure willing to commit himself [*sic*] to full-time direction of an advanced center for composition. None of these hindrances is present in the Center for Advanced Music Composition proposed by the Torcuato Di Tella Institute. The Director of the proposed Center would be . . . Alberto Ginastera, widely considered to be Latin America's leading living composer. After the world premieres of his *Cantata for Magic America* and a piano concerto in Washington during April of 1961, he was described by the Washington music critics as "one of the really top creative figures at work today," and as "a profound musical intellect working on a level of intensity of overwhelming attraction."[53]

However, a surprising second section of the motion emphasized the importance of having a local center for composition that would not only address issues of contemporary music considered to be of central concern in European and US schools of music, but that would also stress the study of indigenous music from Latin America, something the center never did.

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[53] Motion presented at the Rockefeller Foundation's Board of Trustees meeting, April 4, 1962, folder 73, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation, RAC.

> There is at present no music school in the area where a student of promise can obtain the training necessary for the full realization of his [*sic*] gift. He is therefore compelled to study abroad, an expensive process open to only a very few. Moreover, music schools in Europe and the United States have no particular interest or competence in the indigenous music of Latin America, which has contributed so much to the work of composers like Villa-Lobos, Chavez, and Ginastera. The Center will be able to stress this indigenous music. Further, it is expected that a collaboration will develop between the Center and the Center for Latin American Music at Indiana University with its unique collection of and interest in folk and primitive music.[54]

It was true that no opportunities were available for graduate studies in music composition in Latin America at the time. However, the objective of CLAEM was to bring composers together to share some of their concerns and knowledge, to establish networks among countries, and especially to gain competence in the same avant-garde music that would have been studied in music schools in the United States and Europe. The idea that a study of indigenous music, or "folk and primitive" music, would be established was more a reflection of the expectations of the Rockefeller officials about what compositions from Latin America should be incorporated rather than a result of the real concerns of Latin American students. In fact, at this particular time, most Latin American composers affiliated in one way or another with the avant-garde rejected the practice of incorporating "native" or "folkloric" themes into their music; many saw this practice as an exoticizing flaw of earlier composers. Ginastera himself had abandoned any direct allusions to folkloric materials—although his early pieces, which did include such allusions, were still his most successful. Only weeks earlier, *The New York Times* had quoted him as saying, "The time for folklore has passed, even for the sophisticated and spiritualized folklore of a Bartók."[55]

On April 4, 1962, and despite the clear risks evidenced by Argentina's political instability in the previous weeks, the Board of Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation authorized a grant for $156,000, the equivalent of $1.2 million dollars in 2016 (if we use conservative inflation rates), "toward the costs of establishing a Latin American Center for Advanced Music Composition." The letter announcing the board's action stated the following:

> This sum is available during the three-year period beginning May 1, 1962. . . . Of the funds provided under this grant up to $10,800 is for use during the initial period of preparation for the purchase of musical instruments and recording

[54] Ibid. The "stress on indigenous music" was something that was also highlighted in the Rockefeller Foundation's quarterly report when announcing the grant for CLAEM. Cf. "Di Tella Institute Plans Advanced Music Center for Latin American Composers," *Rockefeller Foundation Grants: Fourth Quarter* 13 (1962): 6.

[55] Salzman, "Ginastera Aids Latin-American Composers."

> equipment, and the balance is available until April 30, 1965, for allocation approximately as follows: $49,200 for salaries of the Director and three resident professors; $20,000 for travel and salaries for visiting foreign professors; $66,000 for stipends and travel for 12 fellows; and $10,000 for library accessions.[56]

The board determined that Ginastera's role as coordinator of the project was paramount and, given that role, included a stipulation in the document:

> It is also understood that if at any time Professor Ginastera ceases to be in active direction of the Center, there shall be no commitment on the part of the Foundation for more than six months thereafter and the matter will be reviewed by the Foundation and the Institute.[57]

The journey to find funding for the center came to an exciting end when, on June 7, 1962, Ginastera wrote to Harrison with the use of the official letterhead of the *Centro Latinoamericano de Altos Estudios Musicales,* announcing "the first letter we are writing from the Latin American Center of Advanced Musical Studies." Ginastera sincerely thanked Harrison and invited him to the "inauguration of this child which is so much yours as mine."[58] Harrison replied that he felt

> a personal thrill . . . to see the stationery in which it was written. . . . Unfortunately, I will no longer be able to cooperate with the Center as this Foundation's representative since I will be leaving New York at the end of this month to accept a position at the University of Texas.[59]

Harrison had minimal contact with CLAEM project from then on. He reappeared only in correspondence when the news of its closing was made public. However, his role in the creation of the center and the particular perspectives and worldviews that he had brought to its birth give us a fascinating point of entry into the political and ideological concerns and interests that particularly powerful elites in the United States and Argentina were discussing. These issues are explored in Chapters 3 and 4.

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[56] Flora Rhind, letter to Enrique Oteiza announcing action of the Board of Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation, April 12, 1962, folder 74, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Alberto Ginastera, letter to John P. Harrison, June 7, 1962, folder 74, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[59] John P. Harrison, letter to Alberto Ginastera, June 15, 1962, folder 74, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

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THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION AND LATIN AMERICAN MUSIC IN THE 1950S AND 1960S

IN 1962, ASSOCIATE Director for the Humanities at the Rockefeller Foundation John P. Harrison successfully sponsored a grant toward the creation of CLAEM at the Di Tella Institute in Buenos Aires.[1] This grant and a 1965 follow-up grant constitute the most visible and impactful action taken by the Rockefeller Foundation to support Latin American music, totaling $306,000 (approximately $2.5 million in 2019 if we use conservative inflation rates). Even within the United States, only a handful of music projects had received as much funding as CLAEM did, and even fewer had as much success. The grant's international scope and the way it simultaneously resonated with the business interests of the Rockefeller family in the region and US foreign policy during the early 1960s exemplify recurring overlaps of philanthropy, cultural diplomacy, and government and private interests. In this chapter, I argue that it was no coincidence that the increased attention to Latin American music happened at the same time that US foreign policy in the region shifted from the hands-off approach of the 1950s to the support of social and economic development programs of the 1960s, a change that the Alliance for Progress best exemplifies. Most scholars explain this alignment between US private philanthropy and state-derived foreign policy as the

[1] This was not Harrison's only contribution to Latin American music institutions. In 1961 and 1962, he sponsored the two grants that allowed the creation of the Latin American Music Center (LAMC) at Indiana University. Although the grants were smaller than the ones for CLAEM, they were still significant. They totaled $107,000 dollars for a five-year period, a sum that amounts to $770,000 dollars in 2016 (if we use conservative inflation rates). This chapter uses and expands upon materials found in Eduardo Herrera, "The Rockefeller Foundation and Latin American Music during the Cold War: Meeting Points of Music, Policy, and Philanthropy," *American Music* 35, no. 1 (2017): 51–74.

Elite Art Worlds. Eduardo Herrera, Oxford University Press (2020). © Oxford University Press.
DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780190877538.001.0001

result of philanthropy mediating between the public and private sectors.[2] By tracing the constitutive networks that led to CLAEM's grants, I seek to destabilize the concept of philanthropy as a preexisting third force and instead argue that philanthropy is an emerging domain of complex entanglements and webs of relations and ideas, all being mediated and enacted as the result of human, institutional, discursive, and even material actors.[3] This argument illuminates the relationships among foreign policy, corporate interests, and funding for the arts in the mid-twentieth century, and brings to the foreground the part that individuals acting within the weblike domain of philanthropy in the United States played.

Latin America was a crucial scenario during the early stages of US cultural diplomacy, functioning as a "'laboratory' for honing an approach that it would eventually deploy worldwide."[4] Scholarship on this period has examined the impact of the Good Neighbor Policy outlined by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933 and Nelson A. Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs during the 1940s, both framed by Pan Americanist ideologies.[5] The start of the Cold War and the dramatic changes that the Cuban Revolution brought made the 1950s and 1960s significantly different. The beginning of the 1960s suggested—even if only briefly—that progressive and socially aware policies could promote the modernization of Latin America and, in the process, change some of the structural inequalities that were vestiges of a colonial past and a complex postcolonial period. Developmental aid was perceived in the United States as a way to promote economic growth and to prevent the spread of communism. US governmental actors—most prominently through the State Department's Cultural Presentations Program and the CIA—became actively engaged in organizing artists'

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[2] This model of understanding twentieth-century foundation patronage originates in Donald Fisher, "The Role of Philanthropic Foundations in the Reproduction and Production of Hegemony: Rockefeller Foundations and the Social Sciences," *Sociology* 17 (1983): 206–33.

[3] Fosler-Lussier describes the Cultural Presentations program, a staple of US Cold War music diplomacy, as a "complex, distributed network of connections." Danielle Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), 4. See also Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Benjamin Piekut, "Actor-Networks in Music History: Clarifications and Critiques," *Twentieth-Century Music* 11, no. 2 (2014a): 1–25; and Edwin Sayes, "Actor-Network Theory and Methodology: Just What Does It Mean to Say That Nonhumans Have Agency?" *Social Studies of Science* 44, no. 1 (2014): 134–49.

[4] Justin Hart's work looks at the period of 1936 to 1953 as the origin moment for contemporary public diplomacy in the United States. See Justin Hart, *Empire of Ideas: The Origins of Public Diplomacy and the Transformation of U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013). Cultural diplomacy can be seen as part of more general public diplomacy efforts. For public diplomacy, see "What is Public Diplomacy?" *University of Southern California Center on Public Diplomacy*, accessed November 3, 2016, http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/page/what-pd.

[5] Carol A. Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor: Music, Difference, and the Pan American Dream* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); Gisela Cramer and Ursula Prutsch, eds., *¡Américas unidas! Nelson A. Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs (1940–46)* (Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2012); and Jennifer Campbell, "Shaping Solidarity: Music, Diplomacy, and Inter-American Relations, 1936–1946" (PhD diss., University of Connecticut, 2009), http://digitalcommons.uconn.edu/dissertations/AAI3451419.

international tours, promoting educational exchanges, supporting cultural exhibits, creating overseas libraries, and fostering domestic public relations.[6] What CLAEM's case brings to the table is the participation of non-state actors in the articulation of foreign policy, the implementation of public diplomacy, and the financing of cultural development aid.[7] The focuses here are the intentions and logic behind the participation of the Rockefeller Foundation as a philanthropic organization in public diplomacy, leaving aside for now what happened with their actions on the ground and how they were received or perceived by foreign actors.

PHILANTHROPY, FOREIGN POLICY, AND THE ARTS

Most scholarship on the role of philanthropic organizations in mediating artistic and intellectual production during the twentieth century has involved the ways in which financial aid reinforces foreign policy associated with political, social, and private interests. This relationship is often explained by thinking of foundations as a third space between the private and public sectors, a model that can be traced back to the work of Fisher and Blumer during the 1980s.[8] Understanding foundations as a kind

[6] For the State Department, see Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy*; Emily Abrams Ansari, "'Masters of the President's Music': Cold War Composers and the United States Government" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2009); and Emily Abrams Ansari, "Shaping the Policies of Cold War Musical Diplomacy: An Epistemic Community of American Composers," *Diplomatic History* 36 (2012): 41–52. For the CIA see Hugh Wildord, *The Mighty Wurlitzer: How the CIA Played America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008); Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta Books, 1999); and Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: New Press, 2000).

[7] For a perspective on business in public diplomacy in the twenty-first century, see Keith Reinhard, "American Business and Its Role in Public Diplomacy," in *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, ed. Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor (New York: Routledge, 2009), 195–200. It is significant that some of the points that Reinhard is raising about cultural sensitivity and language training resemble what Nelson Rockefeller was using in the 1930s. See Nelson A. Rockefeller, "Notes by Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller: Latin America NAR's Interest," folder 403, box 48, series Countries, RG 4 (NAR), Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

[8] Both Fisher and Blumer studied the influence the Rockefeller Foundation might have had in the social sciences in the 1920s and 1930s. Famously, both authors reached quite different results, and this disparity started an important debate that marked the sociological study of philanthropy. See Fisher, "Role of Philanthropic Foundations," 206–33; and Martin Blumer, "Philanthropic Foundations and the Development of the Social Sciences in the Early Twentieth Century: A Reply to Donald Fisher," *Sociology* 18 (1984): 572–79. See also Salma Ahmad, "American Foundations and the Development of the Social Sciences between the Wars: Comment on the Debate between Martin Blumer and Donald Fisher," *Sociology* 25 (1991): 511–20.

My earlier work adhered to this idea of a mediating third force, from which I am moving away in this chapter. See Eduardo Herrera, "CLAEM and the Construction of Elite Art Worlds: Philanthropy, Latinamericanism and Avant-garde Music" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2013a). For key examples in sociological study of philanthropy and its influence in the social sciences, see Ralph L. Beals, *Politics of Social Research: An Inquiry into the Ethics and Responsibilities of Social Scientists* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969); Donald Fisher, "American Philanthropy and the Social Sciences

of mediating force has also been central in studies of specific patrons, such as those on the National Endowment for the Arts, the financing of the arts in England, and more general studies of what has been called the "economics of the arts."[9] The specific relationship between Rockefeller Foundation funding and the arts has been less explored than has its impact within the social sciences.[10] However, what is missing in most studies is the recognition that all these perceived spheres—the public, the private, and the mediating philanthropic institutions—are peopled. Perhaps more importantly, those involved in formulating foreign policy, pushing forward specific corporate interests, and deploying resources through grants, endowments, and donations are in several cases the same people, or at least they work in close social contact and interaction with one another.

A central idea that emerges by examining the history of the creation of CLAEM is that philanthropy and Cold War foreign policy during the late 1950s and early 1960s were advancing hand in hand. That CLAEM functioned in Latin America adds a new scenario to the study of music patronage and Cold War politics, which has almost entirely focused on US and European music making.[11] What is revealed is that the

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in Britain 1919–1939: The Reproduction of a Conservative Ideology," *Sociology Review* 28 (1980): 277–315; Edward Berman, *The Ideology of Philanthropy: The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983); Edward H. Berman, "The Extension of Ideology: Foundation Support for Intermediate Organizations and Forums," *Comparative Education Review* 26, (1982): 48–68; and Mark Solovey, "Project Camelot and the 1960s Epistemological Revolution: Rethinking the Politics-Patronage-Social Science Network," *Social Studies of Science* 31, no. 2 (2001): 171–206.

[9] "Economics of the arts" is an expression that Baumol and Bowen, advisors to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, first coined in *Performing Arts—The Economic Dilemma*. This book developed in tandem with the Rockefeller Brothers Fund's study *The Performing Arts: Problems and Prospects; Rockefeller Panel Report on the Future of Theater, Dance, Music in America* (McGraw Hill, 1964). Many consider that both works led to the creation of the National Endowment for the Arts and Humanities. For the National Endowment for the Arts, see Fannie Taylor and Anthony L. Barresi, *The Arts at a New Frontier: The National Endowment for the Arts* (New York: Plenum Press, 1984). For financing in the arts in England, see Harold Baldry, *The Case for the Arts* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1981); and Alan Peacock, *Paying the Piper: Culture, Music, and Money* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993). For literature on economics of the arts, see William J. Baumol and William G. Bowen, *Performing Arts—The Economic Dilemma: A Study of Problems Common to Theater, Opera, Music, and Dance* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1966); Dick Netzer, *The Subsidized Muse: Public Support for the Arts in the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Stephen Benedict, ed., *Public Money and the Muse: Essays on Government Funding for the Arts* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991); Andrew Buchwalter, ed., *Culture and Democracy: Social and Ethical Issues in Public Support for the Arts and Humanities* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1992); and Victor Ginsburgh and Pierre-Michel Menger, eds., *Economics of the Arts: Selected Essays* (Amsterdam and New York: Elsevier, 1996).

[10] The most notable exceptions are Taylor and Barresi, *Arts at a New Frontier*; Naima Prevots, *Dance for Export: Cultural Diplomacy and the Cold War* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan, 2001); and Andrea Giunta, *Avant-garde, Internationalism, and Politics: Argentine Art in the Sixties* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

[11] In a 2009 issue of the *Journal of Musicology* dedicated to music and the Cold War, Peter Schmelz pointed out that "unfortunately, musicology is still generally lacking scholarship on non-European and non-American [*sic*] parts of the globe, slowing a full discussion of the global Cold War." Schmelz's argument is confirmed by observing that most scholarly work looking at the "cultural Cold War" has privileged cultural diplomacy as deployed from the United States—particularly the Department of

issues and interests of the United States in postwar Europe in the late 1940s and 1950s were different from those it had in Latin America during the 1960s. While East Europe, and Germany in particular, played a central role in the struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union, Latin America occupied a peripheral position, at least until the triumph of the Cuban Revolution in 1959. The revolution was the main trigger for a foreign-policy plan from the United States toward Latin America that received the name Alliance for Progress, a ten-year economic development and social reform plan that President John F. Kennedy formulated in 1961 on the basis of the principles of economic modernization theory.[12] Its intellectual wellspring was *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* by Walt W. Rostow.[13] In contrast to the Marshall plan—the large-scale aid initiative meant to help rebuild the "modern" societies of Western Europe in the years following World War II—the Alliance for Progress was meant to modernize what was seen as the "traditional" societies of Latin America during the 1960s. Its political goal was to stop other leftist revolutionary movements from spreading across the continent. Engrained in the Alliance was the tension between a conservative post-McCarthyism that promoted any and all coalitions to prevent communist takeovers and a liberal anti-communist

State—toward Europe. Peter Schmelz, "Introduction: Music in the Cold War," *Journal of Musicology* 26, no. 1 (2009): 8.

Cold War musicological studies have been particularly rich in looking into cultural diplomacy as deployed from the United States, not just promoting the avant-garde but also with other genres, most prominently jazz. The most studied sites have been the Congress for Cultural Freedom; radio broadcasts by the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty; and the Cultural Presentations program of the US State Department and its musical tours. See Amy C. Beal, "Negotiating Cultural Allies: American Music in Darmstadt, 1946–1956," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 53, no. 1 (2000): 105–39; Gesa Kordes, "Darmstadt, Postwar Experimentation, and the West German Search for a New Musical Identity," in *Music and German National Identity*, ed. Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 205–17; Ingrid Monson, *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call Out to Jazz and Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); and Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy*. Another recurring topic has been the notion of "reconstruction" or de-Nazification of Germany and its invaded territories, for example, Elizabeth Janik, *Recomposing German Music: Politics and Tradition in Cold War Berlin* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2005); Toby Thacker, *Music after Hitler, 1945–1955* (Aldershot, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007); and Rachel Beckles Willson, *Ligeti, Kurtág, and Hungarian Music during the Cold War* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007). For key studies looking solely at Latin America, see Danielle Fosler-Lussier, "Cultural Diplomacy as Cultural Globalization: The University of Michigan Jazz Band in Latin America," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 4 (2010): 59–93; and Carol Hess, "Copland in Argentina: Pan Americanist Politics, Folklore, and the Crisis in Modern Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66, no. 1 (2013a): 191–250.

[12] Baily and others agree that "had there been no Cuban Revolution, there is little evidence to suggest that there would have been an Alliance for Progress of such magnitude." Samuel L. Baily, *The United States and the Development of South America, 1945–1975* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1976), 83. See also Stephen Rabe, "Controlling Revolutions: Latin America, the Alliance for Progress and Cold War Anti-Communism," in *Kennedy's Quest for Victory: American Foreign Policy, 1961–1963*, ed. Thomas Paterson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 105–22.

[13] As we will see, Rostow had directed Guido Di Tella's work on his PhD dissertation and later became advisor to the Kennedy administration. Walt W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1960).

agenda that advocated the need for social progress within democratic and capitalist principles. As the 1960s advanced, the Alliance for Progress failed to balance its promises of socioeconomic change and its goals of political stability. Already, with the presidency of Lyndon Johnson, the Alliance for Progress's agenda of social reform and political democracy had lost against desires for capitalist economic development and the strengthening of a military that could stop communism in its tracks.[14]

Although the particular programs that the Alliance for Progress directly supported did not encompass the arts, they reveal the prevalence of the same ideas about what a successful US foreign policy toward Latin America looked like in nongovernmental agencies and private aid organizations such as the Rockefeller Foundation. The support programs in Latin America presupposed outdated aesthetics and the need for guidance and teachings that could "modernize" the artistic milieu. In contrast to the European case, the artistic "battle for the hearts and minds" in Latin America was not concerned with opposing a particular aesthetic, such as socialist realism, but rather focused on promoting its modernization and steering its intellectuals away from the appeal of the Cuban Revolution and into the US sphere of influence.

It is crucial to understand that many of the individuals involved in the formulation of governmental policies, including large-scale plans such as the Alliance for Progress, were in close contact, or even the same people working in the philanthropic foundations that provided grants, such as the one for Di Tella Institute's CLAEM. The key point is that the ideas about foreign policy encapsulated in the Alliance for Progress were not just the backdrop for the birth of such projects but that the same groups of people acting in different structural positions were articulating a specific discourse of modernization in various realms of social life, including foreign policy, philanthropy, corporate businesses, and cultural diplomacy. The Alliance for Progress was just one of the ways in which this discourse came into being; funding a musical center was another. The philanthropic, political, and aesthetic agendas that informed the creation of CLAEM and projects such as the Alliance for Progress emerged from individual attitudes and coordinated family efforts that can be traced to specific personal networks.

WHY LATIN AMERICA? THE ROCKEFELLER FAMILY, CULTURAL DIPLOMACY, AND FOREIGN POLICY

Abby Aldrich Rockefeller and the five Rockefeller brothers, John D. III, Nelson, Laurance, Winthrop, and David, were children of the well-known philanthropist and

[14] Perhaps the clearest demonstrations of these new postures were the Department of State's immediate recognition of the military government in Brazil during the 1964 coup and its warm welcome to the military government in Argentina in 1966 with an increase in aid from an "annual average of $31 million during 1964–65 to $45 million during 1966–68." Baily, *United States and the Development of South America*, 108.

businessman John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and grandchildren of John D. Rockefeller, Sr., Standard Oil's industrialist billionaire. Throughout their lives, the Rockefeller siblings made a point of keeping in touch with one another and maintaining a united family front before the public. By the 1930s, Nelson had already taken the initiative to coordinate family interests through regular meetings. As David recalls,

> [Nelson] suggested we meet on a regular basis to talk about our careers as well as to ask how we might work together on issues of common interest. At the outset, we met every two months or so. . . . The brothers' meetings served a practical purpose both in managing family affairs more efficiently and in giving us a chance to keep in touch with one another on a more personal level.[15]

These particular instances of contact, besides allowing the siblings to "keep in touch with one another," let them bring attention to topics that were significant to each of them. Not surprisingly, the philanthropic activities of the family were often steered by the siblings' interests.[16] Of the brothers, it was John D. Rockefeller III who was the most directly involved in philanthropy, serving among others in the Rockefeller Foundation and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. He was the driving force behind the creation of New York City's Lincoln Center and the chair of the board of trustees when the funding for CLAEM was approved at the Rockefeller Foundation. While John did not have an evident interest in Latin America, his brothers Nelson and David were very much invested in the region, and it is fair to say that the alignment between their business interests and the focus of the family's philanthropic advances was not just coincidental.

Nelson Rockefeller

The early career of Nelson Rockefeller (1908–1979) at the Venezuelan subsidiary of Standard Oil fueled a strong interest in the development and modernization of Latin America, dating at least to the 1930s. He also became determined to change the image of the United States in the region. After a South American tour in 1939 amid World War II, Nelson decided to contact President Franklin D. Roosevelt's high cabinet officials to explain his ideas about the "type of work that might be done in commercial and industrial development fields as well as in cultural fields."[17] Because

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[15] David Rockefeller, *Memoirs* (New York: Random House, 2002), 139. The notes of each meeting, taken by David Rockefeller and kept at the Rockefeller Archive Center, are supposed to be made public now that he has passed, and they might be crucial in revealing how much overlap existed with philanthropic, business, and political activities inside the family.

[16] Michael Uy pointed out that there were both successful and unsuccessful attempts during this time to make the Rockefeller Foundation more autonomous from the Rockefeller Family, "[h]ence, [the existance of] offshoots like the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, which was more in control of Nelson/David." Michael Uy, personal communication, March 4, 2016.

[17] Nelson A. Rockefeller, "Notes by Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller: Latin America NAR's Interest," folder 403, box 48, series Countries, RG 4 (NAR), Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

of these conversations, Nelson was appointed as coordinator of the new and short-lived Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA 1940–1946), a post he held during the office's first four years of existence.[18] It is widely accepted that the United States' lack of a secretary of culture or any equivalent institutionalized state branch led to other organizations, such as the Office of Strategic Services (predecessor to the CIA) or smaller outfits such as the OIAA, undertaking the creation of counter-propaganda efforts in different regions of the world.[19] The activities promoted by the OIAA under Rockefeller aimed to achieve closer economic and cultural ties between the United States and Latin America. Artists and musicians were used as informal ambassadors to and from the region with hopes of strengthening the ties among the people of the hemisphere:

> We started sending down to Latin America exhibitions from this country of art, sculpture, architecture and related fields. These were prepared in special exhibition form for circulation under contract with the [New York's] Museum of Modern Art. [. . .] In the field of music, we did the same thing. We arranged for musicians, opera stars, concert artists, quartets, etc., to make tours in Latin America. In addition, we arranged for lecturers in various fields to go down and lecturers from down there to come up here.[20]

It is significant that Nelson Rockefeller's initial interest in Latin America and the development of OIAA activities in the region took place almost simultaneously with the growing attention to Latin America at the Rockefeller Foundation and their increased support for projects that resonated with cultural diplomacy. Because the last three decades of Nelson Rockefeller's life were dedicated to his political career, however, he kept a distance from all foundation work. Still, from his different political positions, he kept an eye open both to the region and to the arts. As a member of the political and economic elite of the United States, Rockefeller maintained a visible presence in social networks related to the arts and the history of CLAEM.[21]

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[18] For a detailed examination of Nelson Rockefeller's OIAA, see Campbell, "Shaping Solidarity"; and Cramer and Prutsch, *¡Américas unidas!*. The agency started in August 1940 as the Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics (OCCCRBAR), became the Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs in 1941, and was renamed the Office of Inter-American Affairs in 1945.

[19] These jobs were later taken over by the United States Information Agency (USIA), which existed from 1953 to 1999.

[20] Nelson A. Rockefeller, "Notes by Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller: Latin America NAR's Interest," folder 403, box 48, series Countries, RG 4 (NAR), Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

[21] He was, for instance, directly thanked by Eduardo Augusto García, Ambassador of Argentina and Chairman of the Council of OAS, for the "successful holding of the First Inter-American Music Festival in Washington, D.C." García praised the "high significance of this Festival, both as a cultural event and as a means of promoting closer relations and understanding among the peoples of the American republics." Eduardo Augusto García, letter to Nelson A. Rockefeller, May 19, 1958, folder 1954, box 195, series Pan-American Union, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

David Rockefeller

Throughout his life, David Rockefeller (1915–2017), like his brother Nelson, had strong overlapping links to Latin America, to the arts, to foreign politics, and, most important of all, to the business world. He had a lifelong career as a banker at Chase National Bank, and in 1947, he had requested to be transferred to the bank's Latin American section. His interest in this position reflected the influence of his brother Nelson, his curiosity in the region's business opportunities, and his increasing passion for its artistic production. "Latin America," David reports, "had become a more important area for Chase, just as my own interest in its business, culture, and art had grown. . . . Nelson's visionary plans to assist Latin America's economic development had also steered my imagination."[22]

Soon after his official immersion in Latin American business, David made connections with several figures, including Teodoro Moscoso, who years later was behind the Alliance for Progress.[23] In 1962, Moscoso became the United States coordinator of the Alliance, and David Rockefeller became part of its commerce committee. His particular view on the Alliance reflects both his belief in the need to respond to the triumph of the Cuban Revolution and his commitment to the ideas of modernization theory and developmentism:

> I strongly supported the President's initiative [for the Alliance for Progress], not least because it meant there would be an energetic response to the threat presented by Castro's Marxist regime in Cuba and communist subversion in other parts of the hemisphere. However, I felt the Alliance had to be a public-private partnership if it was to be successful, while its U.S. architects had a decided preference for state-directed economic development. They assumed the nations of Latin America had to reach the "takeoff" stage of economic growth before anything else could happen, and the quickest way to get results was to put the government in charge.[24]

Two points strike me as significant here: first, the embrace of the expression "takeoff stage," vocabulary that comes directly from Walt Rostow's 1960 *The Stages of Economic Growth*, and second, Rockefeller's naturalization of the symbiotic relation between public and private sectors. Both issues are deeply engrained in both the Alliance for Progress, and in most of the Rockefeller Foundation's approach to developmental aid.

David was an active participant and a major contributor to several nonpartisan research and discussion groups, such as the Council for Latin America and the Inter-American Foundation for the Arts, making him a key figure in the mediation between private interest (and support of artistic activities in Latin American) and

[22] D. Rockefeller, *Memoirs*, 129–30.
[23] Ibid., 132.
[24] Ibid., 425.

public policy.[25] In 1966, for example, David presided over the board of directors of the newly created Center for Inter-American Relations, whose main goal was to "examine political and economic issues in inter-American relations and support achievements by Latin American writers, musicians, and artists."[26] David's most crucial position in relation to the overlap of private interests, foreign policy, and philanthropy, however, was at the Council on Foreign Relations, in which a more systematic coordination of interests among the rich and powerful was taking place.

The Orchestration of a Power Elite: The Council on Foreign Relations

The Rockefellers and other members of the US power elite in the 1960s shared perspectives and worldviews through their exchanges in informal social circles, business collaborations, and involvement in nonpartisan research and advocacy organizations.[27] William Domhoff has shown that members of philanthropic foundations in the United States were key participants and major contributors to think tanks specializing in foreign policy and international affairs. He argues that during the 1960s, the most important institutions involved in US foreign-policy decision-making were "large corporations, closely related charitable foundations, two or three discussion and research associations, the National Security Council of the federal government, and special committees appointed by the President."[28] The Council on Foreign Relations was the most significant of these special committees.

Founded in 1921, the Council on Foreign Relations is a think tank formed by people in business, lawyers, and academics grouped to explore particular problems in foreign affairs. The Council became a kind of school for political leaders; until the end of the 1960s, all council members had been men, and many occupied high posts in postwar administration at the United Nations and in the US government. Among the members during the period discussed here were Henry Kissinger, John Foster Dulles, Robert McNamara, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and McGeorge Bundy (president of the Ford Foundation, 1966–1979). These career politicians and policy experts were joined by several individuals who reappear throughout this chapter, including Walt W. Rostow, Dean Rusk, Nelson Rockefeller, and David Rockefeller, who became a crucial player in the council, which he joined in 1941. From 1970 to 1985, David was the chair of the council's board and was made its honorary chair after his official

[25] Giunta, *Avant-garde, Internationalism, and Politics*, 231.

[26] Ibid., 231.

[27] Power-elite theory argues that many societies have organized elites (although not unified) that hold political, economic, and military power. The theory was made famous by C. Wright Mills in 1956 and Domhoff in 1969, and both scholars argue that although these power elites are directly connected to corporate interests, they are not simply extensions of the corporate world, but complex networks of members of a minority of power holders. See Wright C. Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956); and William Domhoff, "Who Made American Foreign Policy 1945–1963?," in *Corporations and the Cold War*, ed. David Horowitz (New York: Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, 1969), 25–69.

[28] Domhoff, "Who Made American Foreign Policy?," 29.

retirement from the position.[29] Key members of philanthropic organizations were also part of the council. By the beginning of the 1960s, the council's membership included more than half of the trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation and two-thirds of the trustees of the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation.[30] The council functioned as a meeting point between large corporations, the federal government, and philanthropic institutions. The study groups from the council, which the Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations frequently funded, engaged in important discussions, and it was within these groups "where privacy is the rule so that members are encouraged to speak freely, that members of the power elite study and plan how best to attain [US] American objectives."[31] One can argue that the Council on Foreign Relations' power is limited, since it does not directly dictate or implement policy. Domhoff himself notes that these frank discussions of differences and alternatives took place "far from the limelight of official government" and the media.[32] However, the overlapping roles of its members as part of financial institutions, philanthropic organizations, and especially of government agencies, fostered a cross-pollination of ideas. For instance, while being part of the council, David Rockefeller was both president of Chase Manhattan Bank and a member of the commerce committee of the Alliance for Progress. Although he did not hold any elected office, he thus had a direct influence on US foreign policy during the 1960s.

The extent to which family relations might come into play and impact decisions related to foreign policy and philanthropy becomes clear in the case of Latin America. For example, in 1963, David wrote to his brother Nelson, sharing a memorandum he and other members of the Commerce Committee on the Alliance for Progress had written to address the "evolution of our relations with Latin America [. . .]. Knowing of your great interest in Latin America, we thought you might wish to see [it]."[33] The document that David attached delineates a proposal in foreign policy, advocating increased government planning, government-to-government loans and grants, income redistribution through tax and land reform, public housing, and other social welfare measures. However, it also states that the "overriding need is for an increased flow of private capital from both local and foreign sources" so that "the encouragement of private enterprise; local and foreign, must become the main thrust of the

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[29] See Michael Wala, *The Council on Foreign Relations and American Foreign Policy in the Early Cold War* (Providence, RI: Berghahn Books, 1994). More recent members include Joe Biden, Madeleine Albright, Michael Bloomberg, David H. Petraeus, Dick Cheney, Condoleezza Rice, and Hillary Clinton.

[30] Dan Smoot, *The Invisible Government* (1962) quoted in Domhof, "Who Made American Foreign Policy?," 30; see also Berman, *Ideology of Philanthropy*, 36, and Inderjeet Parmar, *Foundations of the American Century: The Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the Rise of American Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

[31] Domhoff, "Who Made American Foreign Policy?," 33.

[32] Ibid., 34.

[33] David Rockefeller, letter to Nelson A. Rockefeller, January 29, 1963, folder 46, box 5, sub-series Alliance for Progress 1963, series Projects, RG 4, Rockefeller Family Archive (NAR), RAC.

Alliance."[34] Unsurprisingly, the idea that capital needed to come from both local and foreign sources strongly resonated with the efforts to find local funding sources to partner with the Rockefeller Foundation at CLAEM, as exposed in Chapter 2. David Rockefeller's idea for the Alliance for Progress always contemplated the need for local enterprises to participate in the modernization process needed in Latin America. The funds given to CLAEM were precisely tied to local funding by following the same logic.

The ideas of Nelson, David, and John D. Rockefeller III were informing and guiding the decisions of the philanthropic organizations connected to the family fortune. More than any of their other initiatives, it was through the Rockefeller Foundation and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund that the most celebrated projects in the arts and music associated with the Rockefeller family came to fruition. The interest of the brothers was always represented on the board of these organizations.

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION: ADVENTURING IN THE ARTS

The Rockefeller Foundation was created by John D. Rockefeller, Sr., his son John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and their philanthropic advisor Frederick T. Gates in 1913. During its first years of existence, the different programs of the Rockefeller Foundation focused on funding specific projects in medicine and public health programs, as well as natural, agricultural, and social sciences.[35] The humanities program was established only in 1929, and its early grants included support for research in history, creative writing, the arts, linguistics, and selected aspects of education. Most of the projects based in the United States were connected to work in universities.

In 1935, Latin America became an area of particular interest for the Rockefeller Foundation.[36] Internal documents explain that there was a need to react to the "strong economic and cultural penetration by fascist countries rapidly undermining existing good will toward [the] U.S.A. and already taking large proportion of trade."[37] Officers and trustees at the Rockefeller Foundation identified a need for a counter-propaganda apparatus that would help maintain the important economic relations between the United States and Latin America. Not surprisingly, this shift reflected the sincere interest in Latin America that Nelson and later David Rockefeller had developed in the region. Coalescing with this factor is that after World War II, foundations such as Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller were a

[34] Commerce Committee on the Alliance for Progress, "A Reappraisal of the Alliance for Progress," ca. 1963, folder 46, box 5, sub-series Alliance for Progress 1963, series Projects, RG 4, Rockefeller Family Archive (NAR), RAC.

[35] *The Rockefeller Foundation Annual Report: 1962* (New York: Rockefeller Foundation, 1962), 12.

[36] *The Rockefeller Foundation Annual Report: 1937* (New York: Rockefeller Foundation, 1937), 320. See also "Latin America in the Humanities Program," March 1, 1938, folder 116, box 15, series 3003, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[37] Irving A. Leonard, "An RF Program in Latin America," December 10, 1937, folder 116, Box 15, series 300R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC).

vital part of the proliferation of area studies programs at US universities.[38] While programs in Asian studies were the first and most funded programs, funding had expanded by 1962 to include both Latin America and Africa and, to a lesser degree, the Middle East. This proliferation of area studies frames the broad picture in which the CLAEM project appears.

Supporting Music at the Rockefeller Foundation

Since at least 1949, the Rockefeller Foundation had begun supporting the creation of contemporary music, mostly by commissioning works.[39] The formulation of a new program titled "The Arts" under the heading of the humanities program of the Rockefeller Foundation first appeared in 1953. The most significant grants for the arts up to 1958 were given to the Louisville Philharmonic Society ($500,000 to commission and perform new works), the American Symphony Orchestra League ($291,850), the City Center of Music and Drama in New York ($200,000 to commission a new ballet and opera), Columbia University's Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Studios (five-year grant for $175,000), the Young Audiences project in New York ($75,000), the Berkshire Music Festival at Tanglewood ($60,000), and the American International Music Fund ($27,000).[40] The only other significant grant was of a different nature, the $10.5 million to build the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts.[41] These sums mean that in terms of supporting the creation of new music, the two grants eventually given to CLAEM totaling $306,000 were second only to the Louisville Philharmonic Society's grant.[42] CLAEM was a landmark project for the Rockefeller Foundation and seemed to be an important change of direction in the support that it had given to the arts up to that point. Several of the previous programs, such as Tanglewood and the Young Audiences projects, were geared toward education and outreach, in line with the objectives of CLAEM. Others provided valuable equipment and facilities, such as

[38] Solovey, "Project Camelot and the 1960s Epistemological Revolution," 173.

[39] JM (John Marshall), "Ways of Supporting Organizations in the Performing Arts," November 24, 1954, folder 45, box 5, series 911, RF 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[40] *The Rockefeller Foundation Annual Report: 1958* (New York: Rockefeller Foundation, 1958), 282–83.

[41] See also John Marshall, "Adventuring in the Arts: Music," April 1958, folder 47, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation, RAC.

[42] Strangely, but perhaps because it did not correspond to a narrative that emphasized a specific kind of (US) Americanism in their overarching narrative, the virtual exhibit organized by the Rockefeller Foundation to celebrate its centenary anniversary in 2013 did not make any mention of CLAEM's grant in its music section, even though its scope was much more significant than others that were mentioned. See "100 Years: The Rockefeller Foundation; Culture-Music," Rockefeller Foundation, accessed October 24, 2016, http://www.rockefeller100.org/exhibits/show/culture/music. In the 1960s, the perception was different. Robert Shaplen, for example, proudly writes that the Foundation was "also supporting projects of institutions overseas that are centers of activities for the stimulation and wider knowledge and appreciation of the arts," most likely referring to CLAEM, their largest overseas project. Robert Shaplen, *Toward the Well-Being of Mankind: Fifty Years of the Rockefeller Foundation* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964), 173.

the Columbia-Princeton studio, which was the model for the electronic music studio built at CLAEM with part of the received funds.[43]

Commissioning grants such as the one given to the Louisville Philharmonic triggered anxieties about the role of the foundation in the production of artistic works, and the unease was reflected in the annual report of 1956. Referring to the Louisville Symphony and the New York City Center grants, the report underlines that the Rockefeller Foundation should be focusing its efforts on projects that contribute to the infrastructure or to improve the general conditions of artistic creation, instead of focusing on individual works or creators. "Rather than give direct aid to artists," the report concludes, "it is thought preferable to give indirect assistance through projects which offer reasonable promise of building toward a broader and firmer base of public support for creative work, support which is not likely to be lost when, as must be the case with each project, aid from the Foundation is eventually discontinued."[44] Continuity and lasting impact after Rockefeller support expired became the central considerations at this time.

Ideological Circulation

Earlier in that same report, the president of the Rockefeller Foundation, Dean Rusk, had addressed the reasons behind supporting the creation of new art and assisting the preservation of artistic tradition. Rusk argues as follows:

> No artistic tradition can simply be preserved: when it ceases to grow, it is already dead. The arts decline in quality and appeal unless inspired by the great art of the past, but they must also continue to burgeon. Whether innovation or the maintenance of tradition most needs help at a given time can be decided only by careful evaluation of the existing balance between these and other elements of sound artistic growth. The Foundation has attempted to assist the arts both to preserve tradition and to evolve toward new forms.[45]

Rusk, who presided over the Rockefeller Foundation from 1952 until 1961, immediately before the approval of the first CLAEM grant, presents here an argument that frames the reasoning behind supporting such a center, fostering the creative renewal of Latin American music.

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[43] It is also significant that the large majority of music-related grants given before CLAEM involved projects taking place inside the United States, with a few exceptions, such as the grants for nearly $2,000 to be used to acquire books, instruments, and recordings given to the Istanbul conservatory in Turkey; the Musashino Music Academy in Tokyo, Japan; and the Karawitan Conservatory of Surakarta, Indonesia, all during 1959. No projects in Latin America of this sort had been sponsored before, although in 1937, a grant of $12,820 was given to the Pan American Union to assist a radio "broadcasting experiment between the United States and Latin America." *The Rockefeller Foundation Annual Report: 1937*, 56.

[44] *The Rockefeller Foundation Annual Report: 1953* (New York: Rockefeller Foundation, 1953), 283.

[45] Ibid., 59.

It is significant that someone like Dean Rusk would write such a clear explanation. Besides leading the Rockefeller Foundation, Rusk was also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and was part of the panel on foreign policy for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. Rusk became US Secretary of State, serving between 1961 and 1969. As Berman puts it, "the movement of America's decision makers like Rusk between the government agencies, the corporate and financial centers, and the major foundations helps to explain how the ideology of the one was so often shared by others."[46] What it also explains is that by the mid-1950s a concrete worldview regarding the arts was already circulating among top officers. Evidently, Rusk was not the only person with overlaps with the public and private sectors. Two figures important to the approval of the grants and in permanent conversations with John P. Harrison were Charles B. Fahs and Chadbourne Gilpatric. Both of them were former officers of the Office of Strategic Services, the direct predecessor for the CIA, just as Walt Rostow. Fahs and Gilpatric had been "the principal liaisons for the Congress for Cultural Freedom, and [were] responsible for dispensing large Rockefeller subsidies to [it]."[47] When Harrison left, Gilpatric became the contact person at the Rockefeller Foundation for the Latin American music projects, including CLAEM. In a significant and self-reflective moment, a memorandum prepared by Gilpatric in 1963 stated that to contribute to the arts, the foundation should keep in mind that "we are to a degree bound by our tradition, the character of our trustees, and the nature, temperament and training of our staff members. By and large, this means that we will most often take an aesthetic position which is somewhat 'right-wing.'"[48] Here, somewhat tongue-in-cheek, Gilpatric acknowledges the conservative tendency that the Rockefeller Foundation might foster and its origins in the individual trustees and officers. Of course, it would be naive to think that they did not consider the importance and political relevance of supporting the arts in the context of Latin America and in the overall struggle against communism.[49] The story surrounding the creation of CLAEM exemplifies the ways in which philanthropy takes place, not in a vacuum,

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[46] Berman, *Ideology of Philanthropy,* 65.

[47] Saunders, *Cultural Cold War*, 145.

[48] Memorandum from Chadbourne Gilpatric to George Harrar, April 10, 1963, folder 2, box 1, series 925, RG 3.2, Rockefeller Foundation, RAC.

[49] In 1961, Ginastera even sent Harrison a paper he had written that he called "Music and Communism." This was perhaps Ginastera's personal way of openly declaring his political affiliations, as well as revealing his Christian democrat beliefs. In this document, he emphasizes that "music cannot subsist within communism since it destroys its most intimate roots; in its material elaboration, by determining and imposing forms and language, and in its spiritual content by restricting individuality and supervising aesthetic substance." Not too subtly, Ginastera was telling the Rockefeller Foundation that political ideologies, especially those of the far left, would not be part of the proposed center for musical composition. Alberto Ginastera to John P. Harrison, January 23, 1961, reel 35, series 301, RG 2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC. For the text, see Alberto Ginastera, "El tema en el orden de la cultura: Examen concreto de la repercusión en la música" (paper presented at the Primer Congreso Mariano Interamericano, Buenos Aries, November 9–13, 1960).

but in an entangled domain, directly linked at personal and institutional levels with politics and business (Figure 3.1).

Support beyond Commissions

In April 1958, Associate Directors for the Humanities John Marshall wrote for the foundation's board of trustees a noteworthy report titled "Adventuring in the Arts: Music." In this document, he examines not only the *why* but also the *how* of supporting musical creation beyond giving grants for individual commissions.[50] The report concluded that the foundation should give funds to institutions and not individuals, under the condition of gradually increased support by the private sector so that after a certain number of years, the private sector would take over the costs initially covered by the grants. John P. Harrison was among the colleagues receiving Marshall's report, and these guidelines were clearly in mind when the terms of the grant for CLAEM were defined.

In 1962, the annual report of the Rockefeller Foundation presented a new mission statement for the support of the creative arts, reflecting Marshall's vision:

> The Rockefeller Foundation recognizes the *need to infuse cultural and moral values* much more pervasively through the intricate fabric of contemporary society. [. . .] It considers its main role [. . .] helping to develop new patterns and institutions which will sustain creative work of high quality and at the same time bring the best in these arts to an increasing and varied public.[51]

The original mission of the Rockefeller's philanthropic adventures had been framed as the understanding and elimination of social problems instead of treating their symptoms.[52] Now, the foundation's principals also saw that a function of philanthropy was to "infuse cultural and moral values"; that is, it should act as a platform to disseminate the particular worldview of those who were being charitable. Deliberately, that same 1962 report announces three main projects of promoting artistic creation in line with the new mission, stating that "while the Foundation retains its concern for creative individuals, it is more and more seeking opportunities, particularly in the developing countries, to help with the building of institutions that will provide a sustaining environment in which cultural work may flourish."[53] The report announces contributions to the drama program at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria; a grant for the creation of the first center in the United States dedicated to "the study and performance of Latin American music" at Indiana University; and the grant for the Torcuato di Tella Institute, "which under the

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[50] See John Marshall, "Adventuring in the Arts: Music," April 1958, folder 47, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation, RAC.

[51] *The Rockefeller Foundation Annual Report: 1962* (New York: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1962), 27. My emphasis.

[52] D. Rockefeller, *Memoirs*, 11.

[53] *The Rockefeller Foundation Annual Report: 1962*, 36.

distinguished leadership of the composer Alberto Ginastera offers advanced training in musical composition."[54] That these three projects were singled out in the yearly report was the result of years of reconfiguration and reflection on the ways in which philanthropy could effectively support the arts and a clear message of the international scope of the Rockefeller Foundation. Significantly, two of them were institutions directly connected to musical production in Latin America. The grant for the creation of CLAEM was by far the largest that the foundation gave toward the performing arts in 1962 in any region of the world, an effort made more significant, considering that a second grant was given for the same project three years later for the same value.

WHY THE DI TELLA INSTITUTE? INDIGENOUS LEADERS, COSMOPOLITAN VIEWS

Edward Berman's description of the basic logic behind philanthropy under the Rockefeller, Ford, and Carnegie Foundations accurately characterizes the scenario that developed with CLAEM. He argues that for these foundations, so-called third-world developmental problems were "susceptible to a combination of sustained economic growth, detailed planning and program evaluation, and the application of the appropriate technologies."[55] According to Berman, the foundations agreed that "the attack on these problems was to be led by *indigenous* leaders, *whose education at home and abroad* was designed to help them reach conclusions about the approaches to development that were congruent with the broad outlines of foundation-sponsored developmental theory."[56] Those indigenous leaders in the case of CLAEM would be Ginastera, on the one hand, and the directors of the Di Tella Institute, Guido Di Tella and Enrique Oteiza, on the other. It was precisely the cosmopolitanism of these figures, including their "education at home and abroad," that assured the congruence of ideals about the kind of art that was to be supported, for what purposes, and in which ways. In other words, geographically speaking, they were indigenous leaders, but Rockefeller officers, composers, and institutional administrators shared deep habits of thought and practice that allowed their interests to align.

This congruence, while initially surprising, can be traced to specific instances of intellectual and material exchange. Enrique Oteiza, the executive director of the institute, had recently returned from New York, where he had done his graduate studies at Columbia University. As an engineer and a contemporary music aficionado, Oteiza had been very interested in the developments of the Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Center. Both Di Tella brothers, Guido and Torcuato S., also attended graduate school in the United States. Guido and Oteiza often spent time together in New York, visiting museums, art galleries, and attending concerts. Moreover, when Guido Di Tella—the

[54] Ibid.
[55] Berman, *Ideology of Philanthropy*, 161.
[56] Ibid. My emphasis.

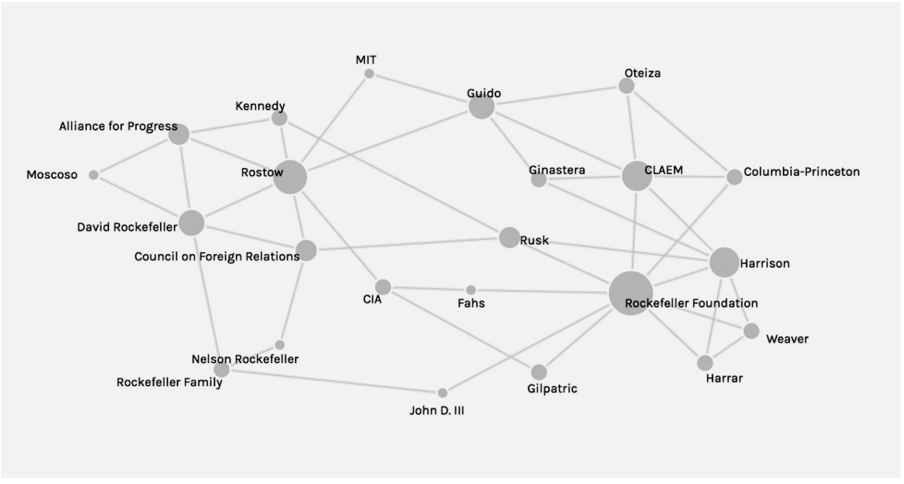

FIGURE 3.1 Networks among CLAEM-related actors.

brother more involved with the Di Tella Institute—received a doctorate in economics at MIT in 1958, his advisor was Walt Rostow. Rostow had been part of the Office of Strategic Services and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and later became a foreign-policy advisor to John F. Kennedy. At the time, he was advising Di Tella, Rostow was writing his seminal *The Stages of Economic Growth*. As mentioned previously, the principles of economic modernization theory presented in Rostow's research were the foundational intellectual source for the formulation of the Alliance for Progress. Some of the passages in his work were repeated almost verbatim in David Rockefeller's discussions at the time[57] (Figure 3.1). Di Tella had learned from Rostow that a country such as Argentina could "develop" if it followed the right path to progress, framed in a good set of policies and government stability. When Oteiza and the Di Tella brothers returned to Argentina after graduate school in the United States, they decided to create a philanthropic foundation based on the Rockefeller model and an institute to promote the "modernization of artistic and cultural production" that would have the "academic rigor and creative freedom" that they "had enjoyed while studying at MIT and Columbia."[58]

By the time that CLAEM's grant was being considered, it was evident that the recently created Di Tella Institute was committed to the cultural and moral values that shaped many Rockefeller Foundation projects. This overlap was not a coincidence, but the result of similar education, socialization, and active exchange among

[57] See, for instance, his use of the idea of Rostow's economic "takeoff stage" in D. Rockefeller, *Memoirs*, 425.

[58] Nicolás Cassese, *Los Di Tella: Una familia, un país* (Buenos Aires: Aguilar, 2008), 142. The creation of the Di Tella Foundation and its modeling after the Rockefeller Foundation are confirmed by Guido Di Tella's conversations with Warren Weaver, vice president at the time of the Rockefeller Foundation. See WW (Warren Weaver), diary excerpt, October 22, 1959, reel 32, series 301, RG 2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

the foundation officers, such as Harrison, the Rockefeller family members, and this group of Argentine cosmopolitans. It also matched a conscious strategy developed at the foundation, as seen in this report:

> In the past a number of countries have been able to acquire in part the top echelons of the educated personnel they needed by sending young people abroad for training, frequently with the help of foundations and other philanthropic agencies. Too often upon their return these highly competent people have been unable to contribute as much as they should because of the lack of supporting organizations and institutions and the dearth of competent teammates. The Foundation is dedicated to the principle that a gradual, steady shift to education at home is the solution toward which countries should progress. . . . The Foundation *has never attempted to create or direct the process, but only to respond to the initiative and enterprise of local leadership subscribing to the same educational philosophy* and trying to do something about it.[59]

The case of CLAEM supports this notion of responding to local initiatives while at the same time fitting in well within another scope of interest, that of modernizing the educational system in the host countries to further help in their development. The support of a native elite, the Di Tella family, provided the local leadership that could ensure a long-lasting effect for the short-term grants.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The Rockefeller Foundation's support of CLAEM ultimately represented multiple interests. The projects that John Harrison brought forward to the board of trustees most certainly resonated with the expectations he had about the arts, contemporary music, and the directions in which Latin American composers and researchers should be headed. At the same time, a cross-pollination of ideas occurred between family members, board members, and officers, and the broader connection was based on education and socialization when the participants considered the Di Tella family in Argentina. The ideas about how to contribute to the modernization of Latin America were born out of a Cold War imaginary and included a commitment to social reform and a belief in economic modernization theory. All these were ideas circulating in different areas of the public and private sector: they were the basis for philanthropy, for cultural diplomacy, and for foreign policy. However, just as the Cuban Revolution had triggered a sudden interest in the United States on the social development of Latin America, a prompt abandonment of these ideas also took place. Starting with the Brazilian dictatorship in 1964, right-wing regimes that assured the tenets of the

[59] *The Rockefeller Foundation Annual Report: 1962*, 20. My emphasis.

US national security doctrine were quickly embraced as a valid solution for stopping Communism. Thus, the Alliance for Progress had only an initial middling success and its eventual failure reflect these changes.

Paralleling shifts in foreign policy and diplomacy, the Rockefeller Foundation's relationship with the arts changed significantly, starting in 1964 with the creation of an independent "Arts" department that was no longer attached to the humanities division. Foreshadowing this move was a report by Chadbourne Gilpatric to George Harrar, president of the Rockefeller Foundation after Dean Rusk's departure. The report was a driving force behind the significant reorganization of the philanthropic institution. In his report, Gilpatric admits that while the activities in the performing arts had many successes, "too much was attempted in the broad field of the arts and also in too many countries." He concludes that the Rockefeller foundation should continue its activities but in a "highly selected, focused manner."[60] Years later, Associate Director of Arts and Humanities Howard Klein, a music critic and composer, called this a moment of "neo-isolationism," when cultural developments were to be restricted "to United States projects and, primarily to American citizens."[61] He labeled the section of his report "America First."

The history of CLAEM's creation shows how funding for the arts and elite interests are deployed on the ground, in many cases by the same people. It also highlights the significance of personal connections among those formulating foreign policy, pushing forward specific corporate interests, and deploying resources through grants, endowments, and donations. Important insights can be gained from understanding philanthropy, as it happens in a thick context, not separate from the public and private spheres, but as the result of complex interactions of people, ideas, and capital that cut across these abstract divisions. Philanthropy in the United States during the 1960s, as the funding of CLAEM exemplifies, did not simply resonate with certain aspects of public or private life. Philanthropy was one of the multiple social spaces in which individuals partook in their capacities as social *actors*—who were located in a specific historical context and part of the socio-historical process—as *agents* who occupied particular structural positions—and as *subjects*—human beings with voices, who defined the terms in which they participated in history.[62] While institutional names such as the Rockefeller Foundation function metonymically to neatly group people, actions, worldviews, and capital, they also gloss over the key, often chaotic, and messy actuality of the individuals and power relations that truly shape them.

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[60] "Excerpt from Notes on Docket Conference," February 4, 1963, folder 2, box 1, series 925, RG 3.2, Rockefeller Foundation, RAC.

[61] Howard Klein, "The Arts, beyond the Cultural Boom: A Report on the Program in Cultural Development, The Rockefeller Foundation 1963–1973," August 2, 1972, folder 14, box 3, series 925, RG 3.2, Rockefeller Foundation, RAC.

[62] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 23–24.

CLAEM was one of the most successful cases of support for the arts in the history of the Rockefeller Foundation, but as the organization moved in different directions, this lesson seems to have vanished—or at least have been ignored until now. No other musical project supported by the Rockefeller Foundation has had such broad repercussions in the musical scene of an entire region.

4

THE DI TELLA FAMILY, ART PHILANTHROPY, AND THE LEGITIMATION OF ELITE STATUS

WHEN TORCUATO DI TELLA died in 1948, his eldest son, Torcuato S., was eighteen years old, and his brother, Guido, seventeen. Ten years later, after finishing college and doing graduate studies abroad, the brothers decided to dedicate a significant part of their fortune to a project supporting the arts. Although they agreed on the worthiness of such an investment, they had very different reasons for pursuing this particular philanthropic endeavor. Argentina's avant-garde scene in the 1960s stood for a broader process of modernization in which the Di Tella family was deeply invested. Their industry-derived wealth contrasted with the agrarian origins of traditional Argentine elites. The new avant-garde art world that they wanted to promote strongly resonated with the values that these brothers embodied as part of an emerging economic and intellectual elite. Through their philanthropic contributions, the Di Tella brothers accelerated the formation of a new elite art world that corresponded to the image that they had of a developed and progressive Argentina. Sociologist Howard Becker has argued that "the development of new art worlds frequently focuses on the creation of new organizations and methods for distributing works."[1] The art centers of the Di Tella Institute were meant to accomplish precisely that creation.

This chapter scrutinizes why the Di Tella brothers, heirs to one of the wealthiest families in Argentina, were inclined to support the creation of CLAEM and become patrons of various avant-garde artistic manifestations. This driving question seeks to establish the ways in which avant-garde music and its art world were relevant and significant for an elite group that was in the process of consolidating its position in Buenos Aires during the 1960s.[2] This chapter first examines the different positions

[1] Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 129.

[2] For a parallel study that focuses on the visual arts center, see Andrea Giunta, *Avant-Garde, Internationalism, and Politics: Argentine Art in the Sixties* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

Elite Art Worlds. Eduardo Herrera, Oxford University Press (2020). © Oxford University Press.
DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780190877538.001.0001

that the brothers had with regard to their financial support of the arts. Political, economic, artistic, and intellectual elites are not homogeneous and fixed entities, but complex groupings that often present internal contradictions and tensions. Thus, it is no wonder that, as we will see, the Di Tella brothers had conflicting views on the value of contemporary art, but a shared socialization of understanding the arts as an important element in every society superseded those views. The second half of this chapter contextualizes how this legitimizing process corresponds to the overall rise of the Di Tella family into elite status in general, and the socialization and education of the two brothers in particular. My research shows how the Di Tella brothers exemplify two coexisting understandings of the role of artists in society.[3] Borrowing from Rubén Gaztambide-Fernández, I argue that Guido Di Tella conceptualizes the artist as cultural "civilizer," while Torcuato S. Di Tella's understanding resembled the conception of the artist as "border-crosser." The former model "draws from the aesthetic philosophies of the enlightenment and views cultural production as essential for progress and civilization," while the latter sees "the artist as a social agent involved in the transgression of social boundaries."[4] I demonstrate specifically how the Di Tella brothers used the arts during this particular time to both consolidate and legitimize their family status and, as a result, gained enough prestige for access into Argentina's political mainstream.

THE DI TELLA BROTHERS: GUIDO DI TELLA

> *"Are you trying my fucking patience? You woke me up and reminded me of one of the worst days of my life . . . go to hell."*[5]
>
> —GUIDO DI TELLA

Guido Di Tella (1931–2001) had passed away several years before I ever became interested in the history of CLAEM, but his widow, Nelly, had maintained their family's support of avant-garde music. During our interviews, I found myself frequently mesmerized by her apartment, located in one of the most luxurious neighborhoods of Buenos Aires—not coincidentally, just across the street from the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes and the Centro Cultural Recoleta. An impressive amount of art decorated the walls, floors, and ceiling. A beautiful angel hung near the entrance, and paintings and statues decorated her living room. We usually met in a study room

[3] Rubén Gatzambide-Fernández, "The Artist in Society: Understandings, Expectations, and Curriculum Implications," *Curriculum Inquiry* 38, no. 3 (May 2008): 233–65.

[4] Rubén Gaztambide-Fernández, "Wherefore the Musicians?," *Philosophy of Music Education Review* 18, no. 1 (2010): 68.

[5] Guido Di Tella on the closing of the art centers of the Di Tella Institute, interview by Federico Consiglieri, "Desde el Di Tella: Guido Di Tella," Desde el Di Tella, episode 1, directed by Federico Consiglieri (Buenos Aires: Telesónica, Canal [á] Pramer, 2001), DVD.

behind a stunning red door designed by architect Clorindo Testa, next to which stood a granite sculpture by Sesostris Vitullo. The room contained several Mapuche statues, *chemamüll*, used mostly in funerary rites.[6] Her beautiful sound system played Renaissance music straight from her iPod—a gadget I was surprised to see eighty-year-old Nelly using. It was clear that art had been a vital part of this couple's life. The epigraph to this section, taken from a televised interview, was a blunt confession of how Guido felt about the closing of Di Tella Institute's art centers. I knew that the art centers had been meaningful to him, a matter of pride and sadness. I told Nelly that I wanted to understand why this particular enterprise was so significant to her husband. The answer quickly appeared: "Guido's most important accomplishment was the creation of the Di Tella art centers," said Nelly; "when asked what he wanted to be remembered for, he would say: 'The one thing I built with an enormous effort was the Di Tella. I would like to be remembered for that.'"[7]

Nelly recognized that Guido had partially failed in continuing the industrial complex that his father had left him and his brother. Still, she felt Guido had not been wholeheartedly frustrated by this lack of success.[8] He had inherited this project, not selected it, and although the failure troubled him, he felt that his family's industry had been something thrown at him, not something he chose. On the other hand, the art centers were entirely his idea. His emotional investment in them was a profound endeavor. The arts had been his passion, one that he and Nelly shared. He took a step further when he convinced his family—his wife included—to financially support the artists creating the centers.

During the twentieth century, the Di Tella family became one of the most important patrons for the arts in Argentina, particularly for music.[9] Nelly, who continued her patronage well after her husband's death, reacted humbly, almost defensively when faced with this claim. She pointed out to me that it was a reciprocal relationship: they had given to the arts and the arts had given back to them. "What has happened"—she said to me—"is that we had contact with a movement that we liked, and this drove us to try to be useful to it. It is something mutual [. . .] it is an exchange."[10]

One of the aspects that strikes me the most about Guido and Nelly's patronage of music is that it focused on the avant-garde. After the end of CLAEM, they organized the philanthropic organization *Fundación Música y Tecnología*, which organizes competitions and commissions works mostly of electroacoustic music. Over many years, Nelly developed a unique relationship with electroacoustic music:

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[6] The word *chemamüll* (or *chemamull*) means "wooden person" in Mapudungun (*che*, person; *mamüll*, wood).

[7] Nelly Di Tella, interview by author, Buenos Aires, July 16, 2008.

[8] Nelly Di Tella, interview by author, Buenos Aires, June 21, 2008.

[9] Possibly surpassed only by Victoria Ocampo; see Omar Corrado, "Victoria Ocampo y la música: Una experiencia social y estética de la modernidad," *Revista musical chilena* 61, no. 208 (2007): 37–65.

[10] Nelly Di Tella, interview by author, Buenos Aires, July 16, 2008.

> There are people that approach all kinds of realms of human activities passionately. Passionately. And that is what happened with electroacoustic music and us. I learned about it basically during the Di Tella years. Obviously, I was very young, but before that, I did not know it even existed. [. . .] At that point I just simply did not understand what it was all about. I was curious about the unusual apparatuses that Fernando [von Reichenbach] invented and played with. I started appreciating it slowly . . . almost one sound at a time. I was very confused by electroacoustic music when I was 28 or 30 years old. But I was always curious about those things I did not understand. Today, some composers have really moved me [. . .] It is not that I find value in all electroacoustic music, but I do listen to all of it with enormous interest. What in the world is [the composer] trying to tell me or give me with this?[11]

Nelly felt that their patronage was the result of a sincere passion for an area of human life. Not merely academic or intellectual, their interest was excited by the essential emotions stirred by the arts, which were capable of moving them, touching them deeply, and affecting some basic aspect of their humanity. Significantly, art was also central to her love story with Guido. It was a passion that they shared for fifty-one years. "Art," Nelly said, "is the contact I have with life. It is the grounding cable. I don't know what else could fascinate me as much, that would interest me as much. I think one is wired in a certain way, and when you start looking around, there are places where you feel protected, accepted, and in that place, you are like a kid who just got the toy he always wanted."[12]

Remembering how the art centers came into being, Nelly was quick to point out that Guido and his brother, Torcuato S., did not see eye to eye on the significance of art even though they both agreed to use the family fortune to support it. "Torcuato believed that all this was a waste," Nelly said pointing at different works in her study room. "He was interested in other things. You can see it all around my house, how I put as much art as I can, because that is how I feel. Who does not understand that art is a phenomenal motor of progress? Progress in the introspective sense. People would attack Guido: 'you are wasting your money,' they would say."[13] But for Nelly and Guido, this was not a waste. "The Di Tella Institute," Nelly continued, "made you think." Sharing art with others from the Florida building and making it accessible to many were part of the path to progress. "Now, we don't have the Di Tella," she concluded, "unfortunately, what we have is this stratified model of the museum, with art hanging from the walls, which has a function, but it is not didactic, it is not in motion. That was the Di Tella."[14]

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[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Nelly Di Tella, interview by author, Buenos Aires, June 21, 2008.
[14] Nelly Di Tella, interview by author, Buenos Aires, July 16, 2008.

Torcuato S. Di Tella

> *[The Di Tella Institute] was a way of accelerating socialism, which sooner or later will take everything away from us.*[15]
>
> —TORCUATO S. DI TELLA

My visits to Nelly felt comfortable and familiar. My conversations with her brother-in-law and eldest son of the family, Torcuato S. Di Tella (1929–2016), were not. They always felt staged. He presented himself as a sociology professor but also embraced his persona as a politician who knew quite well how to present his narrative. In my first meeting with Torcuato, two of his assistants took notes and every so often added to our conversation and nuanced his comments. I was not sure initially why they were there, but soon I realized that their duty was to be sure that some of Torcuato's statements would not be misinterpreted or taken too literally. I do not know if Torcuato ever felt truly relaxed while talking about the topics I proposed. But even in his most comfortable, he used the direct and blunt tone that he had publicly exhibited during his days as a public figure, when he was Argentina's Minister of Culture and the country's ambassador in Italy. Just as with Nelly, I was interested in why Torcuato and his brother, Guido, had decided to support the arts. With a direct tone and a particular kind of caustic humor that took some time to get used to, he said,

> In theory [we gave funding to the arts] to move towards the happiness of humanity. In practice, to make it into history as benefactors, something we achieved. If my brother [Guido] who passed away, could hear me he would be mad at me: 'No,' he would say. 'We did this only to benefit humanity.' I say we did it to benefit humanity and also for our benefit. Not economically but culturally. That is, we converted economic capital into cultural.[16]

Torcuato S. was one of the most important Argentine sociologists of his generation. Still, it took me by surprise that he was so quick to name forms of capital in the manner of Pierre Bourdieu.[17] Torcuato saw no contradiction between two seemingly disparate motives to fund the arts. His brother, Guido, had strong feelings that promoting new art was a worthy contribution to humanity; he considered it noble and righteous. On the other hand, Torcuato S., who at the time already had received a PhD

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[15] Torcuato [S.] Di Tella, cited by Nicolás Cassese, "Torcuato Di Tella: heredero de un imperio y peronista de izquierda," *La nación*, June 8, 2016, https://www.lanacion.com.ar/1906700-torcuato-di-tella-heredero-de-un-imperio-y-peronista-de-izquierda, accessed June 6, 2018.

[16] Torcuato Di Tella, interview by author, Buenos Aires, June 8, 2008.

[17] French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu distinguished four types of capital: social (group membership, networks), cultural (education, forms of knowledge, skills), economic (assets, possessions), and later symbolic (prestige, recognition). Pierre Bourdieu, "Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 241–58.

and was becoming a prestigious scholar, wanted to remove the association of his last name from refrigerators and home appliances and connect it to high culture and elite arts. He claimed several times that he did not understand or care about the arts, but he did understand the outcomes that the project could have. It was a means to take power in an area that had not been available to the brothers. He was aware of this ramification, as he recognized in a television interview:

> What I do believe is that, in the end, what we wanted consciously or not, was to gain more prestige for ourselves, and for the company [. . .] we were seeking immortality, and to become important people. That was a semi-conscious motivation. Ultimately, to take part of the power of the state . . . the power to educate and to do research that the state has. It was, of course, a very ambitious project.[18]

Torcuato considered that a modernized society needed spaces for creativity, his tastes notwithstanding. The dramatic disdain that he shows in the following excerpt from one of our interviews betrays his own belief in the importance of creativity for society.

> The arts . . . the value of the art section was not all that dumb shit that they were showing there, because that is what that was, dumb shit. It was in my opinion 80% pure shit. [. . .] Beginning with electronic music. But, anyway, 80% of what they did in the art centers was worthless. However, I think we did well in creating an independent space, of free creativity. Well, if you are free, do whatever you want, but then I have the right to say "this is dumb shit." Which is what I believe, that many things were shit. [. . .] But it is my personal opinion, which does not matter. We did not create the Institute to realize our ideas, especially in the arts.[19]

The value of the Centers for him, therefore, rests in the way they represented the core values of freedom and innovation. In other words, he reserved his right not to like the artistic creations in the centers, but he saw creativity and the arts as something crucial to the overall goals that he and his brother had for the Institute. Torcuato disliked modern art in general, but when his brother asked, he responded with "sure, OK, we need to do art, modern art, *art has to be an important part of this project*."[20] Despite his lack of interest, Torcuato S. strongly believed—like Guido—that art was a necessary goal of the Institute so that it could contribute to the economic and social development of Argentine society. Modern art, despite his tastes, had to be an important part of that society.

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[18] Torcuato S. Di Tella, interview by Federico Consiglieri, in Federico Consiglieri, *Desde el Di Tella*.
[19] Torcuato S. interview by author, Buenos Aires, June 8, 2008.
[20] Ibid. My emphasis.

DEVELOPMENTISM AND THE MODERNIZATION OF ARGENTINE ART

The impetus behind the funding of CLAEM and the art centers in the Di Tella Institute was to include the arts in an overarching modernizing project. Enrique Oteiza and Guido Di Tella often stated in public and print that the Di Tella Institute aimed "to promote the cultural modernization of the country, with the hope of untying the cultural knot that slows its development."[21] Both Di Tella brothers fully embraced the modernizing discourses and often talked about development as a strategy for the modernization of Argentina, i.e., an evolutionary transformation of the country from "pre-modern" or "traditional" into a "modern" society. The modernizing spirit of the Di Tellas, like other emerging Argentine elites, manifested best in the notion of developmentalism.

In agreement with the worldviews of the Rockefeller Foundation examined in Chapter 3, Torcuato S. Di Tella wrote in 1966 that "the economic and social development of Latin America can only be the result of local leadership and creativity."[22] Foreign aid, such as Rockefeller Foundation grants, "can only be useful," Torcuato S. wrote, "only to the extent that it supports local initiatives."[23] And a contemporary art scene was part of the needed response to the "reality of modern societies," especially since Argentina had seen "an increased development of vanguard artistic movements that are [. . .] reaching a level of autonomy and vitality never seen before."[24] Torcuato S. sincerely believed in a modernizing project in which art played an essential part, and the Di Tella Institute represented this vision, even if he did not care about art or showed a dislike for contemporary art works. Both Torcuato S. and his brother had been socialized to believe in the importance of the arts as pinnacle of human expression.

THE DI TELLA FAMILY: MONUMENTALIZING A HISTORY

To understand how the Di Tella brothers conceived the importance of art in contrasting ways while sharing a deep-rooted belief that it was a necessity for the development of a modernized Argentina, we must look into the emergence and establishment of the Di Tellas as one of the most powerful elite families in Argentina. Three main sources trace the history of the family in Argentina. Thomas Cochran and Ruben Reina's book, *Entrepreneurship in Argentine Culture: Torcuato Di Tella and*

[21] Guido Di Tella and Enrique Oteiza, *Instituto Torcuato Di Tella: Memorias 1966* (Buenos Aires: Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, 1967), 5.

[22] Torcuato S. Di Tella, "La función política de la intelligentsia latinoamericana," in *Los intelectuales políticos*, ed. Juan Francisco Marsal (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Nueva Visión, 1971), 315.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Guido Di Tella and Enrique Oteiza, *Instituto Torcuato Di Tella: Memorias 1964* (Buenos Aires: Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, 1965), 1.

S.I.A.M, and Torcuato S. Di Tella's book on his father, *Torcuato Di Tella: Industria y política*, both focus on the family's patriarch, Torcuato Di Tella. Nicolás Cassese's *Los Di Tella: Una familia, un país*, heavily informed and guided by interviews with Torcuato S., provides a well-developed narrative that covers the lives of Torcuato Di Tella and his two sons, Guido and Torcuato S.[25] All of these three books show the family members as powerful actors in Argentine history. Cassese's book in particular uses the Di Tella family's activities in the industrial sector, arts, social sciences, philanthropy, and political sphere to reframe the most significant moments of the country. The three books together reveal the legacy the family left for the country's history. Each build on the previous one and contributes to the image of the Di Tella family as an exemplary case of poor Italian immigrants who came to Argentina and after a series of hardships achieved great success in the country's newly forming industrial sector. The three sources, particularly Cassese's book, are at the center of a strategic self-representation that Torcuato S. principally led and that Herzfeld has called "monumentalizing the past," a process in which those in power shape certain narratives and silence others.[26]

TORCUATO DI TELLA: AN IMMIGRANT CREATING A FORTUNE

The patriarch of the family, Torcuato Di Tella, was born in Italy in 1892 and traveled to Argentina for the first time when he was only two years old. Between 1894 and 1902 his father, Amato Nicola di Tella, and his uncle, Salvatore di Tella, attempted and failed to prosper in the tobacco-processing and cigarette-making business.[27] They returned to Italy, but their situation worsened with Amato's death in 1905. Led by Salvatore, a thirteen-year-old Torcuato di Tella and his family went to prosperous Argentina for a second time. In Buenos Aires the young boy soon found a job working for a toy store. When Torcuato's mother died only three years after their arrival, Torcuato and his two sisters became Salvatore's responsibility.

According to family stories, as a teenager, Torcuato demonstrated his tenacity and eagerness to prosper by changing the "di Tella" to "Di Tella" in order to be alphabetically first in his class when taking exams. When Torcuato turned eighteen, he partnered with Alfredo and Guido Allegrucci, who manufactured kneading machines for bread making.[28] The young Di Tella's "technological insight and enthusiastic salesmanship," together with the Allegrucci brothers' business connections and

[25] Thomas Childs Cochran and Ruben E. Reina, *Entrepreneurship in Argentine Culture: Torcuato Di Tella and S.I.A.M.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962); Torcuato S. Di Tella, *Torcuato Di Tella: Industria y política* (Buenos Aires: Tesis Grupo Editorial Norma, 1993); and Nicolás Cassese, *Los Di Tella: Una familia, un país* (Buenos Aires: Aguilar, 2008).

[26] Michael Herzfeld, "Uncanny Success: Some Closing Remarks," in *Elites: Choice, Leadership, and Succession*, ed. João de Pina-Cabral and António Pedrosa de Lima (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 234.

[27] Cochran and Reina, *Entrepreneurship in Argentine Culture*, 38.

[28] Cassese, *Los Di Tella*, 22.

mechanical skills, led to a rapid productive enterprise.[29] Their company, the *Sociedad Italiana de Amasadoras Mecánicas,* or SIAM, became remarkably successful.[30] Bakers throughout Argentina adopted SIAM's machine, which proved to be more efficient than imported ones. In 1915, happy with what he had earned, Alfredo Allegrucci decided to cash out his part and left the company.

During the 1920s, Argentina's economic growth measured in GDP was even larger than that of the United States, Canada, and Australia. Also during that prosperous decade, the automobile became one of the staples of modernity. Di Tella quickly saw the opportunity to expand his company and in 1923 began distributing and later manufacturing naphtha fuel dispensers. Scared that the company was taking tremendous risks in some of its investments, Guido Allegrucci retired from the company in 1927 and left Di Tella as sole proprietor of SIAM. By 1929 the new SIAM (now standing for *Sociedad Industrial Americana de Maquinarias*) had become a multinational company, with branches in São Paulo, Montevideo, and Santiago de Chile.

The beginning of the 1930s, however, brought a harsh economic crisis that profoundly affected Di Tella's company. The economic unrest caused by the worldwide depression of 1929 triggered a coup d'état in Argentina in 1930 that replaced Hipólito Yirigoyen with a conservative and reactionary government that wanted to go back to the years of agro-exporting oligarchic rule. Emerging industrial elites of recent immigrants like the Di Tella were seen with mistrust and became the target of the new government's harshest regulations. Within a short time, the political and economic conditions of Argentina radically changed, and "the sales of [naphtha fuel] dispensers had reduced to half and those of bread-kneading machines to a third. [. . .] By 1931, SIAM saw the possibility of bankruptcy."[31] In the midst of the crisis, Torcuato Di Tella, now married to his longtime girlfriend, María, had two sons in short succession. Torcuato S. Di Tella was born on January 4, 1930, while Guido Di Tella was born on June 12, 1931.

The saturated market and new economic conditions pointed to the need for changes. Torcuato decided to focus the company's efforts on producing mass-consumption goods. Among different ideas with which the company experimented, the most successful product, and the one that was to earn SIAM a place in thousands of middle-class homes, was the electric refrigerator. As Cassese points out, with their "enormous and imposing whiteness, an unequivocal sign of modernity, the SIAM fridges became a mark of status among families."[32] By 1940, SIAM had significantly diversified its product lines beyond fridges and manufactured irons, floor buffers, fans, washing machines, electric motors, hydraulic pumps, magnetic switches, naphtha dispensers, and their original product, kneading machines. SIAM eventually expanded to create

[29] Cochran and Reina, *Entrepreneurship in Argentine Culture*, 41.

[30] Cochran and Reina argue that the name stands for *Sección Industrial de Amasadoras Mecánicas*, but Torcuato S. Di Tella argued that this definition is highly improbable.

[31] Cassese, *Los Di Tella*, 45.

[32] Ibid., 53.

its own line of scooters and automobiles. The Di Tella name became synonymous with industry, and Torcuato had become "the Argentine Henry Ford."[33]

The military coup of 1943 brought a new actor into Di Tella's story. The young colonel Juan Domingo Perón, together with his wife Eva (also known as Evita), became the populist leader of a powerful working-class movement and effectively used discourse to divide Argentine "society between 'the people' and 'the oligarchy.'"[34] Di Tella saw in Perón a caricature of Mussolini, an idea that he passed on to his teenage sons. However, in the years following Perón's democratic victory in 1946, Di Tella chose to remain silent about his aversion to Perón and Evita. The protectionist welfare state that the Peronist government promoted during its first years improved Argentines' consumption capacity and significantly benefited SIAM. Between 1945 and 1948, SIAM's refrigerator sales multiplied by eleven.[35]

A NEW INDUSTRIAL ELITE

The fortune that Torcuato Di Tella accumulated during the first decades of the twentieth century positioned him within a new type of Argentine elite, a traditional economic one whose members, while highly heterogeneous, had mostly gained their wealth from agriculture and cattle ranching.[36] Argentine meat and wheat had a comparative international advantage, and large landowning aristocratic families with claims to Hispanic lineage were the primary beneficiaries of an oligarchic state that emphasized its local roots and patriotism, and maintained a nationalist discourse based on *costumbrismo* and *gauchesco* traditions.[37] Traditional elites prized *abolengo* (lineage) and not being *advenedizo* (upstart, nouveau riche).[38] Traditional *porteño* (resident of the city of Buenos Aires) elites had "qualities, conducts, and tastes" that were the result of a "'natural' aristocratic condition, not acquirable through education, but instead an 'admirable congenital gift.'"[39] Di Tella's fortune was thus twice ostracized: first, because he was an immigrant, and second, because it derived from

[33] Ibid., 54.

[34] Luis Alberto Romero, *Breve historia contemporánea de la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001), 103.

[35] Cassese, *Los Di Tella*, 81.

[36] Leandro Losada, "Aristocracia, patriciado, élite: Las nociones identitarias en la élite social porteña entre 1880 y 1930," *Anuario IEHS* 20 (2005): 389–408.

[37] Jean Delaney, "Imagining *El Ser Argentino*: Cultural Nationalism and Romantic Concepts of Nationhood in Early Twentieth-Century Argentina," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34, no. 3 (August 2002): 626. On music, see Jonathan Sauceda, "Opera and Society in Early-Twentieth-Century Argentina: Felipe Boero's *El Matrero*" (PhD diss., University of North Texas, 2016); and 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*," *Latin American Music Review/Revista de música latinoamericana* 20, no. 1 (1999): 1–29.

[38] Losada, "Aristocracia, patriciado, élite," 396–98.

[39] Ibid., 405.

a relatively recent phenomenon, the large-scale industrial complex. "My father," Torcuato S. recalled, "was seen by the traditional Argentine elite as a recent immigrant, an immigrant that made a fortune. [. . .] His [fortune] did not have any ties with the traditional aristocracy, the traditional agrarian oligarchy."[40]

The tensions between the old and new economic elites played out in multiple realms of social life: among political parties, through conflicting notions of national identity, and in disputes about taste.[41] Economic capital alone could not ensure that the Di Tella family would be recognized as a legitimate part of the upper echelons of society, and Torcuato Di Tella realized that he would always be considered an outsider by birth. However, his children prompted possibilities for his family to become fully accepted within the circles of power. He focused on finding them appropriate schooling so that "his sons would be in touch with high society from Buenos Aires, to which he belonged because of his money but not his origins. He wanted them to blend seamlessly with those in power."[42] If Torcuato Di Tella had the necessary economic capital, his children would be socialized to have the cultural capital to be fully incorporated into the local elites. Intuitively, Di Tella perceived that educational institutions and early socialization among Buenos Aires upper classes played an important role in the mechanisms of legitimation and social reproduction of elites.[43] Unfortunately, he did not live long enough to see the legitimation of his family's elite status.

THE TIME OF THE BROTHERS: SOCIALIZATION AND EDUCATION AT HOME AND ABROAD

Torcuato Di Tella was only fifty-six years old when he died on July 22, 1948. Torcuato S. and Guido were just eighteen and seventeen years old, respectively, when they inherited the SIAM corporation, which at the time had more than 4,000 employees. Given their age, a board of directors took charge of the company while the brothers finished their studies in the following ten years. As the firstborn, Torcuato S. was seen as the natural heir of the industry even though he showed little interest in his family's enterprise.[44] He was interested instead in a career in history, philosophy, or law, but his family pressured him to enroll in the University of Buenos Aires's

[40] Torcuato S. Di Tella, interview by author, Buenos Aires, July 21, 2008.

[41] Suzanne Keller argues that two main principles lay behind the process of elite formation: selection by birth and selection by performance and merit. Suzanne Keller, *Beyond the Ruling Class: Strategic Elites in Modern Society* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, [1963] 1991). Pierre Bourdieu argues that the reproduction of elites status includes both conditions of origin—economic endowment, socialization, family status—and education—prestigious schooling, titles, aesthetic dispositions, Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).

[42] Cassese, *Los Di Tella*, 57.

[43] As demonstrated most recently in Gaztambide-Fernández, *The Best of the Best*.

[44] Cassese, *Los Di Tella*, 85.

engineering school, hoping for an education that could later help him take charge of the family's industry. He conceded and graduated in 1951, but soon decided to go to Columbia University and get a master's degree in sociology, a profession that he found closer to his interests and passion for reading. His relationship with Kamala Apparao, an Asian Indian woman whom he had met on a trip to California, intensified Torcuato's rebelliousness and interest in the counterculture of the 1960s, and strained Torcuato's familial relationship, which was already tense. Kamala was descended from a noble family. She was the first in fourteen generations to marry outside her caste and was a member of the Socialist Party. They married in 1954, in a ceremony at which no other member of the Di Tella family was present and started what one of the couple's sons describes as a complicated and rocky relationship.[45]

Torcuato's studies in sociology inspired political reflection, and he became interested in Latin American studies for the first time. Because he had born into a rich family, he was familiar with the conditions and the history of Argentina, the United States, and Europe more than he was with those from other Latin American countries. Furthermore, an important change happened to his political views while he worked toward his PhD. He found himself revaluating the anti-Peronism that he had learned from his father and started to value it as a social movement with an important progressive agenda to which he could relate. His inherited conviction that Perón was just a caricature of Mussolini started to wane.[46]

Torcuato's education, his academic interest in politics, and the tension with his mother over his marriage slowly steered him away from a career as industrial leader. Luckily, Guido, unlike his older brother, had enjoyed visiting the factory, listening to his father discussing business matters, and imagining a future managing the company. After high school, Guido completed an undergraduate degree in industrial engineering at the Universidad de Buenos Aires. During those years he met Nelly Ruvira, a student of architecture. Guido was twenty-three when he married Nelly. They moved to Boston so that Guido could work toward a master's in management at MIT. Despite his childhood dreams, Guido found himself only slightly interested in management, but he understood that this knowledge would be useful if he was going to take the leadership of SIAM.[47] After he received his master's degree, Guido was accepted into MIT's PhD program in economics, a subject that he found more appealing.

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[45] Andrés Di Tella, interview by author, Buenos Aires, June 26, 2011. See also Cassese, *Los Di Tella*, 124.

[46] Cassese, *Los Di Tella*, 124. Torcuato's rethinking of Peronism was not unique at the time. Silvia Sigal in her book *Intelectuales y poder en Argentina* describes how during the post-Perón era (1955–1973), a large number of intellectuals became politicized and reevaluated their ideas about Peronism. Sigal points to the previously anti-Peronist intellectuals who were not affiliated with institutions. They were politically conscious but without a party, and began to reconsider their initial disdain for Peronism once they had started to see it as a social movement. Silvia Sigal, *Intelectuales y poder en Argentina: La década del sesenta* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno de Argentina Editores, 2002), 93.

[47] Cassese, *Los Di Tella*, 133.

Guido became particularly interested in the work of one of his professors, Walt Rostow, whose theory on the developmental stages of nations seemed appropriate for Argentina.[48] The timing for Guido was excellent, for Rostow was at the time finishing his book *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (1960), in which he proposed strategies to implement developmentalism and modernization theory. Enthusiastic about Rostow's ideas, Guido asked Rostow to be his dissertation advisor, in which he studied Argentina's economic history during the period 1913–1952.[49] After Guido received his PhD in 1959, he returned to Argentina and joined the faculty of the Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA), where in the department of economics he taught theory of economic growth. Coincidentally, that same year Torcuato S. was hired for a position in the sociology department at UBA. Both brothers, now with doctorates in hand, were back as heads of one of the richest families in the country and enjoying prestigious academic status. Because of their very distinct personalities and academic life's reshaping their political views, only Guido was ready to assume the leadership of the SIAM conglomerate.

INCURSIONS IN CULTURE: THE TORCUATO DI TELLA INSTITUTE AS A PATH TO MODERNITY

During their time in the United States, Guido Di Tella and his wife, Nelly, fell in love with the artistic life of New York City. Even though Guido's friendship with Enrique Oteiza dated back to their college years in Buenos Aires, it was in New York that Oteiza—who later became the executive director of the Di Tella Institute—grew close to Guido.[50] Oteiza was working on a PhD at Columbia and became Guido and Nelly's guide to the Guggenheim and the Museum of Modern Art—at the time presided over by David Rockefeller.[51] "Guido would call me and ask me: 'what is there to see?'" Oteiza remembered, "and Nelly and Guido would come to New York and we would go together to museums and exhibits."[52] As they absorbed the rich museum life of New York City, the avant-garde became their main interest. "We had a lot of interest in modern art," Oteiza recalled, "and I was already in touch in Buenos Aires with the avant-garde of the time, a prelude to the strong avant-garde of the 1960s. In visual

[48] Ibid., 133–34.

[49] Together with another fellow graduate student of Rostow, Manuel Zymelman, Guido published his research in the book *Etapas del desarrollo económico argentino*. The success of the book gave Guido significant recognition in economy's academic circles. Guido Di Tella and Manuel Zymelman, *Las etapas del desarrollo económico argentino* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1967).

[50] Oteiza was Director of the Di Tella Institute (1959–1970), Member of Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (1970–1975), Director of the Regional Center for Higher Education for Latin and the Caribbean at UNESCO (1978–1984), Director of the United Nation Research Institute for Social Development (1984–1987), and Director of the Gino Germani Research Institute at the Buenos Aires University (1993–1997), and has been professor of sociology at that same institution since 1993.

[51] Cassese, *Los Di Tella*, 139.

[52] Enrique Oteiza, interview by author, Buenos Aires, August 10, 2008.

arts, but also in music, with Juan Carlos Paz."[53] Oteiza had the strongest interest in music of the three of them. While studying engineering in college, he had directed the Student Center's cultural division, and his studies at the Collegium Musicum in Buenos Aires reinforced his musical knowledge. In New York, Oteiza found a new interest: "When I was finishing my graduate studies," said Oteiza, "they were establishing the Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Center. Something amazing for me, as an engineer on one hand, and a twentieth-century art and music aficionado on the other."[54] The technological aspects of electroacoustic music intrigued and excited Oteiza, for they resonated with his own interest in innovation and scientific research.

New York's contemporary art and music scene became an important part of Guido and Oteiza's friendship, and their conversations started taking an important turn. The Di Tella family had an extensive collection of art, and Guido and Oteiza started considering what they could do with it and discussing what type of philanthropy they could be doing. "The idea," said Oteiza, "was to do something new in philanthropic terms. A model not like charity, or enlightened philanthropy."[55] For Oteiza, charity philanthropy referred to donations that people made to either lay or religious nonprofit organizations looking to serve the public interest. By enlightened philanthropists, Oteiza meant patrons who gave case-based gifts to activities or people that appealed to their interests and tastes. What Oteiza wanted to do was a third type, a foundation-based philanthropy, which he saw as a "more organic and long term" project.[56] The idea was to accomplish work that had strong links to the community and developed specific strategies to localized problems that could not be resolved by one-shot actions.

On their return to Argentina, Oteiza and Guido Di Tella were hopeful and confident about the future of the country. Guido had learned from Rostow that his country could develop if it followed the right path to progress, on the basis of a good set of policies and government stability. But this growth had to have parallels in fields beyond economy. Guido believed that he could create an organization that would promote the modernization of artistic and cultural production on one hand, and the social sciences on the other. He approached Oteiza to gauge his interest in helping him create an institute with "academic rigor and creative freedom" that would become "a beacon of progress similar to the organizations [that the Di Tella brothers] had enjoyed while studying in MIT and Columbia."[57] The institute would operate primarily with the funding provided by a newly established and amply funded family foundation. Oteiza saw this venture as the perfect implementation of the foundation-based philanthropy that they had talked about, and he agreed to join Guido and began to organize the institute.

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[53] Enrique Oteiza, interview by author, Buenos Aires, June 16, 2008.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Enrique Oteiza, interview by author, Buenos Aires, August 10, 2008.
[56] Enrique Oteiza, interview by author, Buenos Aires, June 16, 2008.
[57] Ibid.

THE FUNDACIÓN DI TELLA

The Torcuato Di Tella Foundation was created on July 22, 1958. It was modeled after the Rockefeller Foundation and was deemed at the time as "the closest thing to a major US foundation in Latin America."[58] Guido convinced his family to support the creation of the Foundation on three grounds. First, it was a way of honoring his father and contributing to the development of Argentina. Second, since the foundation had to be directed by family members, the donations would assure that the majority of the stocks would remain among the family, preventing inheritors from fighting over or selling their stocks to third parties. Third, he demonstrated that the company was financially strong and could afford the establishment of a foundation.[59] The money for the foundation came from a two-part donation from the Di Tella family. One donation was the valuable family-acquired art collection, which included a significant number of European Renaissance pieces by Van Dyke, Degas, and Rubens, in addition to works by Manet, Renoir, Pissarro, Cézanne, Rubens, Picasso, Pollock, and Henry Moore.[60] The second was a $13 million donation in SIAM stocks that provided liquidity to the foundation. The main goal was to provide funds for the Institute that Guido, Torcuato S., and Oteiza were creating, and thus promote the social sciences and the arts, areas that they believed were "more or less behind in Argentine culture and scientific development."[61]

CLAEM: THE LATIN AMERICAN CENTER FOR ADVANCED MUSICAL STUDIES

The Instituto Di Tella was initially going to feature two art centers and, at least for the first few years, music was not going to be part of them. Although Guido Di Tella and Enrique Oteiza had contemplated inviting Argentine avant-garde composer Juan Carlos Paz to organize a music center, they agreed to postpone it to a later time. However, the Rockefeller Foundation suddenly offered them an opportunity that was simply too good to reject. Oteiza remembers the excitement that he felt when he learned about the project:

> [Composer Alberto] Ginastera told me: "I have a project." He showed it to me, the project for a music studies center. [And he said,] "I see what you are doing

[58] JPH (John P. Harrison), diary excerpt, May 22, 1961, folder 73, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC. To model the foundation after the Rockefeller organization, Guido Di Tella asked Warren Weaver "many questions about the R[ockefeller] F[oundation], because of [his] plan to form a Di Tella Foundation." WW (Warren Weaver), diary excerpt, October 22, 1959, reel 32, series 301, RG 2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[59] Cassese, *Los Di Tella*, 144.

[60] For more on Guido Di Tella's art collecting trips, see Giunta, *Avant-garde, Internationalism, and Politics*, 96–108; and Cassese, *Los Di Tella*, 147.

[61] Enrique Oteiza, interview by Federico Consiglieri, *Desde el Di Tella*.

> here at the Institute and I believe this would fit well with it." When I saw his plan, I went crazy with enthusiasm. I went to Guido and told him: "Listen, Ginastera came to us with this project, it is great!"[62]

Guido knew immediately what to do. "Alberto Ginastera already had the funding," Nelly remembered that "he had everything ready to go, it would have been a mistake for the Institute not to accept this proposal from the Rockefeller."[63] The project was strong enough on its own, and the Rockefeller Foundation's support was all that Guido and Oteiza needed to accept it.

THE FALL OF THE INDUSTRIAL EMPORIUM

Four years after the first art center begun its activities in 1960 and two years into CLAEM's existence, Oteiza and Guido Di Tella declared in the Institute's published memories that they were confident that the Di Tella Institute was on the right path. They believed that Argentina was beginning to be recognized among the artistic vanguards of the world and the national artistic scene was moving away from copying and depending on foreign models to gain international visibility. "From an imitative and dependent culture," wrote Oteiza and Guido Di Tella, "we are moving to a creative and active position."[64] But not everybody agreed that the Di Tella Institute was achieving desirable goals.

In 1966, General Juan Carlos Onganía became de facto president of Argentina, establishing a dictatorship that was heavily invested in what he believed was elevating the moral standards of the population. Onganía openly opposed the art centers of the Di Tellas. Interviewed years later by John King, Onganía revealed the grounds for his hostility toward the Di Tella project. He disagreed that their artistic production was showing any kind of autonomy from foreign models. He also thought it was a centralized Buenos Aires phenomenon, ostracizing the rest of the country. "Argentine culture always thought more about the means than the ends, and these means were not appropriate for a young country like ours," said Onganía. His distrust and contempt of the capital city's elites was clear:

> The national cultural education introduced foreign customs not appropriate for our setting. Everything was centered on a cosmopolitan city. That set a bad example. The country needed a culture that would emanate from elsewhere, not the capital. We tried to organize cultural trips to look beyond the frivolity of cosmopolitanism. Of course, in three years we couldn't do much. We tried to build a different image from the interests revealed by the intellectuals of the

[62] Enrique Oteiza, interview by author, Buenos Aires, June 19, 2008.
[63] Nelly Di Tella, interview with the author, Buenos Aires, June 21, 2008.
[64] Di Tella and Oteiza, *Instituto Torcuato Di Tella: Memorias 1964*, 1.

> capital city. [. . .] These intellectuals [at the Di Tella Institute] were bringing culture from abroad. And it was a penetrating culture, fed by an exquisite intellectual cohort. To me, culture should be more a consequence of what happens in a country, a more organic process.[65]

Onganía's words reflect several recurring themes of Argentine history. First, he problematizes the historic opposition between the city of Buenos Aires to the countryside. At the same time, he associates the capital with intellectuals and their "frivolous cosmopolitanism"—and the avant-garde aesthetics that they uphold—and again implies an opposition between them and the more appropriate values that could have been found in the countryside outside Buenos Aires. In every aspect, the Di Tella Institute stood for a sector of the new industrial bourgeoisie, an anti-status-quo elite that challenged the established elite of ranchers and grain producers and the more conservative industrialists. Avant-garde art and music embodied political and social values that encapsulated the essence of the new elites.

The political conditions were not the only change taking place in the mid-1960s. The new government brought new economic policies that affected the Di Tella consortium in an unpredictable way. When Guido Di Tella took over the direction of SIAM, it was one of Latin America's foremost conglomerates, with more than 16,000 employees—12,000 more than when his father had passed away—and encompassing over a dozen companies.[66] At a time of significant growth, Guido guided SIAM to take a risk that ended up being a crucial factor in the sudden fall of the corporate giant: the creation of an automobile line. The gamble of investing in automobile manufacturing was backed by the support of the government of Arturo Frondizi, a committed developmentalist. Before being removed from power by Onganía's military coup, Frondizi allegedly pledged SIAM "high tariffs to restrict the appearance of competitors [. . . and] financial support from the State."[67] In April 1960, the company presented the SIAM Di Tella 1500, a car that became very popular among taxi drivers and middle-class families. However, the restrictions that Frondizi promised did not last long. Only three companies, SIAM, ICA, and FIAT, were supposed to be in competition for the national market of automobiles. "This was going to be, of course, a great business opportunity," Torcuato S. recalled, "however, two years later there were 23 companies."[68]

Guido grew worried about the future of the Di Tella Institute if SIAM went into bankruptcy. The only solution was a bailout plan from the State that would save SIAM from going under. The automobile section of SIAM was supposed to be the

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[65] Juan Carlos Onganía, interviewed by John King, *El Di Tella y el desarrollo cultural argentino en la década del sesenta* (Buenos Aires: Asunto Impreso, 2007), 427.

[66] Cassese, *Los Di Tella*, 106–7.

[67] Ibid., 133.

[68] Torcuato S. Di Tella interview by Consiglieri, *Desde el Di Tella*.

entry point for the company to join the great multinationals, but it ended being the trigger to the ruin of the conglomerate.[69]

ROBERTO LEVINGSTON VISITS THE INSTITUTE

The economic pressure in addition to the government's widely known dislike of the activities at the art centers made Guido restless. In 1967, in one of the few documented moments when Guido attempted to entice the government into supporting the centers' activities, he invited General Roberto Marcelo Levingston and other high officials of the military to visit the centers. Levingston was to replace Onganía as president in 1970 and at the time was gaining prominence in the government. Oteiza did not appreciate Levingston's visit to the Center, and considered it a publicity stunt. He thought that "there was no need to give any explanation to the government, and that [to] do so was to accept preemptive censorship."[70]

During Levingston's visit to the Institute, the general was dry, judgmental, and unpleasant. Still, Guido invited Levingston to his house for a reception. The large house in Belgrano had been his parent's house, and now he lived there with his wife and his mother. According to Nelly Di Tella, the general's demeanor changed during the visit:

> Even though Levingston had been very aggressive throughout the day, he came in the house and saw that the house was very formal, very elegant. And he called [Guido] to the side and said "Di Tella, it is not possible that we don't understand each other" [as he looked around at the house]. And when Guido came up [to our room] I asked, "How did it go?" and he tells me: "I don't ever want to have the temptation of being able to invite any general to my house again." I remember Guido said "As soon as [Levingston] stepped on the rugs he was transformed, because he saw a proper house, with all the paraphernalia . . . he thought we were the same." My husband was really upset by that.[71]

Almost apocryphally, Nelly explained Guido's reaction after the visit:

> He decided to build a new house with Clorindo Testa, an architect and close friend. Guido called him and told him "I want a house that removes the temptation to invite General Levingston over." At that time nobody knew who Levingston was. And I remember the day that it was announced that Levingston was named president. We were in the countryside, it was a Saturday, and ten minutes after [the announcement] the phone rang and it was Clorindo. Clorindo

[69] Cassese, *Los Di Tella*, 177.
[70] Ibid., 175.
[71] Nelly Di Tella, interview by author, June 21, 2008.

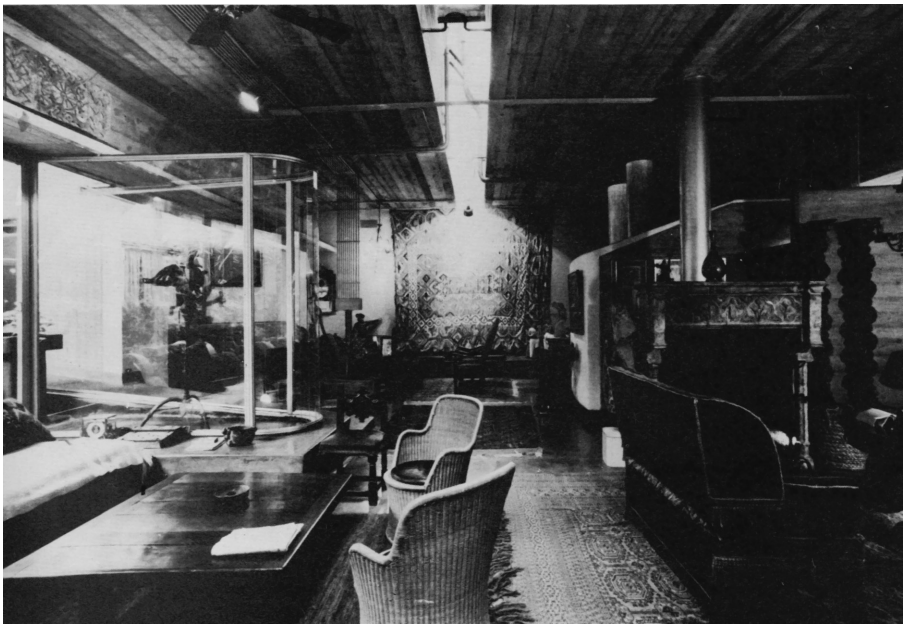

FIGURE 4.1 *La casa Di Tella*, designed by Clorindo Testa and located in Belgrano until demolished in 2011. Public domain photograph by Carlos Vallejos and Esteban Pierri. *Summa* 4, no. 83 (Buenos Aires, 1983), 33.

> said "That one?" and Guido answered "Yes, that is the General." *[Laughs]* Our prospects in the country were totally closed, we had made a house so that General Levingston would not be comfortable visiting.[72]

Ultimately, what stands out in this story is how the conservative aesthetics of the old house create a comfortable space for a general that Guido ends up despising. The new house, designed by Testa, Luis Hevia Paul, and Irene Van der Poll in 1968, was located in the Belgrano neighborhood (Figures 4.1 and 4.2). The house resonated with every aspect of Guido's sociopolitical position and rejected the old elites represented by Levingston by virtue of its modernity and brutalist style that emphasizes the visibility of concrete structures, an open rejection of former architectural conventions. Guido was part of a new type of elite, and he saw himself as a reformist. Therefore, his house—just like the aesthetic space he had created at the Di Tella Institute—needed to correspond to this new, modernizing vision. This story exemplifies that interest in the arts ran through several trajectories simultaneously. Evidently, Guido and Nelly found in the arts an index to their student days in New York City, a time that they most likely associated with the beginning of their relationship. But taste in art was

[72] Ibid.

FIGURE 4.2 *La casa Di Tella* (exterior), designed by Clorindo Testa and located in Belgrano until demolished in 2011. Public domain photograph by Carlos Vallejos and Esteban Pierri. *Summa* 4, no. 83 (Buenos Aires, 1983), 33.

not just generating class-based distinction.[73] In fact, as we saw with Torcuato S., taste had little to do with it. Avant-garde art and modern architecture were being actively used to create distinctions not only between elite and non-elite, but also among the different elite groups in Buenos Aires.

THE END OF THE ART CENTERS AND THE END OF A FRIENDSHIP

In late 1969, Guido Di Tella invited the directors of the art centers to his ranch in Navarro. Ginastera was out of the country and did not attend. However, with Oteiza, Romero Brest, and Roberto Villanueva, Guido proposed that given the imminent fall of SIAM, they had to be creative in order to save the centers by reducing expenses. Guido and Oteiza's friendship had become distant, particularly since Levingston's visit. Guido suggested to Oteiza that it was time to separate the company from the Institute. Oteiza suspected that Guido wanted to "distance himself from the Institute for political convenience."[74] Oteiza felt that the government was using SIAM's economic weakness to close the centers, a view that made him feel betrayed

[73] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 7.

[74] Cassese, *Los Di Tella*, 184.

by his friend. SIAM's struggles and the uncertain future of the Institute put too much strain on their relationship. The art centers of the Di Tella Institute were fruit of the initial work of both men, and Oteiza felt just as attached to the project as Guido. But evidently, their position and ideas about how to handle the crisis were different. Di Tella asked Oteiza in their last conversation to help with a transition to a much-reduced operation. Irritated, Oteiza responded, "Find someone else. I don't feel like staying to help you demolish what we built during these years."[75] Oteiza told Guido that he suspected that Guido was trying to appease the military government. He said, "If it is about the pressure of the Government, I think we need to do like the Bauhaus did during the Nazis: resist and let the military pay the political price of closing us. It is much more dignified than disappearing in silence."[76] Oteiza's insinuation that the government was blackmailing Guido so that he would give up the art centers in Florida Street in exchange of SIAM made Guido terribly angry. "I wish you were dead," he said to Oteiza. It was "the end of a friendship of more than 15 years. The fight distanced them forever. They never talked to each other again, and they wouldn't even greet each other when they met in social events. They both suffered the loss, but neither could recover from the damage."[77]

On April 24, 1970 Guido Di Tella announced to the public the closing of the Florida Street headquarters of the Di Tella Institute. With Oteiza gone, Guido hired Roberto Cortés Conde to take over as director. He was new to the Institute, and Guido thought that the new director could manage the economic crisis and, Guido hoped, be more comfortable firing some of the researchers. Cortés Conde assumed the direction on May 8, 1970 and announced immediately that without radical changes the Institute would have no money in six months. By cutting the yearly budget from $1 million to $310,000 and after numerous firings, the social science centers of the Institute were able to survive, but the art centers had to close. SIAM's debt, which was insured by the Di Tella's fortune, was eventually paid back with money that the family received after selling its art collection to the state for a sum of $2.1 million.[78] However, in November 1971, and despite the Di Tella family's arduous attempts to save the company with loans and stocks given to the state, the Argentine government nationalized SIAM, and Guido Di Tella's adventure as an industrialist came to an end.

THE RESULTS: CONSEQUENCES OF A PHILANTHROPIC ADVENTURE IN THE ARTS

Shortly after the fall of SIAM, both Di Tella brothers became more active in politics, and the arts and art philanthropy took a secondary and tangential role. A combination

[75] Ibid., 187.
[76] Ibid., 187.
[77] Ibid., 187–88.
[78] Ibid., 202.

of their acquired cultural capital attained through academia and the prestige gained from the creation of the Di Tella Institute prepared them for political careers. Their philanthropic adventure had been just as important as the brothers' wealth in establishing them as players among the new industrial elite. Moreover, the modernizing ideals that motivated them to start the art centers are the same as the ones that prompted them to enter the political scene.

During Isabel de Perón's short time in government (1974–1976), Guido was named Secretary of Programming and Economic Coordination—a right hand to the Secretary of Economics. The military coup on March 24, 1976, brought about what became Argentina's harshest military dictatorship. As public figures loyal to Perón, Guido Di Tella, Nelly, and their five children went into exile in Oxford, England, and did not return to Argentina until 1980.[79] During the presidency of Carlos Menem (1989–1999), Guido Di Tella reached the height of his political power.[80] He played an important role in the government, first as ambassador to the United States, then briefly Minister of Defense, and finally as Minister of Foreign Relations. He worked nine years in this position (1991–1999), the longest period for any foreign-relations minister of Argentina to date.

Guido died on December 31, 2001. After his brother's death, Torcuato S. joined the Peronist party, but unlike Guido, he joined its most left-wing factions. Torcuato approved of the center-left Peronism defended by Nestor Kirchner during his presidential campaign in 2003. When Kirchner was elected, Torcuato was invited to be Minister of Culture, a position he held for eighteen months, all of which were filled with controversy driven by his ironic sense of humor and lack of political tact. Several declarations to the press sparked intense controversies, such as his famous "culture is not a priority for the Government, just like it is not for me," a rough statement coming from someone in his position.[81] During his final years, Torcuato S. continued his academic life as an emeritus professor, and he lived in Rome, where he was Argentine ambassador to Italy for the government of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. Torcuato died on June 7, 2016.

Philanthropy played a central role in the Di Tella brothers' transition from belonging to functional elite classes—in their case, the business and intellectual elites—to their consolidation as members of the power elite with access to the state, ultimately

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[79] For Guido's position regarding Peronism during the years of the dictatorship, see Guido Di Tella, *Argentina under Perón, 1973–76: The Nation's Experience with a Labour-Based Government* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 24.

[80] Joining the Menem administration, Guido played an important role in the radical neoliberal changes applied by the president, which radically reversed most policies that the earlier Perón government had put together. They privatized industries such as telephones, roads, commercial airlines, oil companies, and railroads. The Menem government dismantled the state-based welfare system, pushed for an open-border policy with reduced tariffs and no protection for local industries, and reduced the size of government. With these political initiatives, Guido Di Tella's ideas during the Menem years became strikingly similar to those of David Rockefeller.

[81] Torcuato S. Di Tella, quoted in Cassese, *Los Di Tella*, 322.

represented in their posts as ministers and ambassadors. Clear ideological differences between the brothers characterized the values that each one gave to art philanthropy. Guido Di Tella and Nelly highly valued their support for the arts and had a sentimental investment in it. Art had been a central part of their socialization and their life story as a couple. It had a privileged position in both their everyday life and the legacy that they wanted to leave to their country. Torcuato S., on the other hand, strategically set aside his distaste for contemporary art and pragmatically saw in the Di Tella Institute the opportunity to create new associations for his family's name. By exchanging economic capital for the prestige that philanthropy brought, he took advantage of the legitimizing power of art, paralleling the way his academic titles empowered him with cultural capital. Nevertheless, both brothers believed in the importance of art in human expression and the freedom and innovation that it allows both its creators and admirers. This belief in the legitimacy of art was so natural to them that supporting it—regardless of artistic taste—seemed simply the right thing to do.

The Di Tella family exemplifies the process by which an elite in formative stages transitions from holding mostly one type of capital—in the Di Tellas' case, economic capital as a business elite—to increasing their overall status by acquiring cultural and symbolic capital, thus legitimizing their condition of privilege in the first place. An elite group's appreciation and appropriation of art creates a unique situation in which legitimacy is given to the practices associated with elite culture, and therefore elite culture becomes legitimized. Their immigrant origins and the source of their fortune—industry and not the traditional agro-exporting sector—challenged the traditional elites that held the status quo. As a new elite space opened, a new art world became associated with it. The support of avant-garde art as opposed to more conservative trends was not a coincidence, but a congruent consequence of the cultural capital that the Di Tella brothers had acquired through their socialization and, more importantly, their education in elite institutions both national and abroad. Belonging to the intellectual elite also solidified their belief in and support of new creative works, leaving taste and personal interest aside. The Di Tella brothers' ultimate roles and activities in political positions confirm the partial success, at least, of the establishment of this new elite.

CLAEM—a crucial breeding ground for a whole generation of Latin American musical creators—did not have the goal of assuming any historical or ideological responsibility as a continental avant-garde, neither institutionally nor as a group of people. It did not champion the defense of politically or aesthetically radical positions, at least not during its brief existence. But perhaps it did it anyway, as an after effect, through the work and actions of individual fellows, years later.[1]

—GRACIELA PARASKEVAÍDIS

5

EMBODIED AVANT-GARDE(S)

A Way of Being in the World

THREE CRUCIAL FACTORS contributed to the success of CLAEM in fostering a new generation of Latin American avant-garde composers. First, despite the significant monetary investment from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Di Tella Institute to establish the center, little interest or oversight was dedicated to the specific artistic creations or the aesthetic directions that the teachers and fellows could take at CLAEM. Second, its director, Alberto Ginastera, was remarkably open minded and allowed all sorts of musical experimentation, even if he personally felt little attraction to most of the practices involved. Ginastera's modernism, much more conservative than that of most of his students, did not interfere with the broad range of avant-garde approaches espoused by different students at the center. Third, as a result of these conditions and somewhat apparent contradictions of the very nature of avant-garde itself, musical avant-garde became institutionalized, finding a home within the halls of an alternative academic space in which the desire to be on the fringes of what was considered art became, to some extent, the mainstream. CLAEM became a musical hub, a pilgrimage locus for a young generation of Latin American composers interested in avant-garde and offered unique institutional support for their musical experimentation.

This chapter explores the different ways in which a whole generation of composers connected to CLAEM became leading figures of an avant-garde that dominated

[1] Graciela Paraskevaídis, "De mitos y leyendas," in *La música en el Di Tella: Resonancias de la modernidad,* ed. José Luis Castiñeira de Dios (Secretaría de Cultura, Presidencia de la Nación, Argentina: Buenos Aires, 2011), 50.

Elite Art Worlds. Eduardo Herrera, Oxford University Press (2020). © Oxford University Press.
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the Latin American classical music scene during the last decades of the twentieth century. It emphasizes the importance of identifying what it meant to participate in the musical avant-garde of the 1960s. Musical trends—e.g., electroacoustic music, instrumental music with certain characteristics, improvisatory and improvisatory-like spaces—and certain ways of being in the world became general markers of a complex and rich understanding of avant-gardism, one in which the idea of a singular musical avant-garde is unattainable, and therefore instead we must embrace the interaction among multiple coexisting avant-gardes.

AVANT-GARDE(S)

It would be inaccurate to think of musical avant-garde as just a compositional style or even a particular aesthetic.[2] The avant-garde that Latin American composers embraced during the years of CLAEM also concerned a particular positioning of the artist with respect to the field of cultural production in which they participated. For many of the composers involved with CLAEM, avant-garde was more than a selection of techniques or aesthetic preferences: to be avant-garde required a radical positioning within the art world and included a particular way of experiencing and being in the world. On one level, for many of the composers who attended CLAEM, embracing the musical avant-garde was a subversive and emancipatory way to challenge previous ways of making music. Through avant-garde musical compositions, they expressed their adherence to the nonconforming ideals that challenged the limits of what was considered mainstream classical music. On another level, it signified their successful incorporation into contemporary trends of composition. Writing avant-garde music was an indication that the composers were well informed and up to date, and that they had achieved parity with other composers around the world. To become professionally viable, their personal commitments to the liberating power of the 1960s avant-garde had to coexist with the strategic but sincere adoption of recent compositional trends. Such adoption of avant-garde practices points to deep modernist aspirations and understandings that transcend composing music and extend to everyday life and, simultaneously, are deeply shaped by a Latin American experience. A negotiation was therefore taking place between strategic professional tactics to keep one's work current and personal commitments to the groundbreaking avant-garde ideals that formed a new field of cultural production.

CLAEM opened the horizons in at least two broad fronts for Latin American composers on what avant-garde entailed: musical style and social impact. First, on a

[2] Parts of this chapter appear in Eduardo Herrera, "'That Is Not Something to Show in a Concert': Experimentation and Legitimacy at the Centro Latinoamericano de Altos Estudios Musicales," in *Experimentalisms in Practice: Music Perspectives from Latin America,* ed. Ana Alonso-Minutti, Eduardo Herrera, and Alejandro L. Madrid (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018b), 21–48; and Eduardo Herrera, "The Rockefeller Foundation and Latin American Music during the Cold War: Meeting Points of Music, Policy, and Philanthropy," *American Music* 35, no. 1 (2017): 51–74.

professional level, composers of avant-garde music needed to consider the different compositional trends of rupturing tradition that were going on around the world and that were aiming to push musical structures to the outer reaches of the classical music world. One of the invaluable legacies of CLAEM was the formation of a generation of composers who realized that avant-garde was not just a single aesthetic, but a collection of multiple trends articulating ultramodern aspirations. Second, for avant-garde to have any kind of social impact, composers and their works had to promote a collective awareness that the (re)articulation of the musical avant-garde goes beyond musical style. It was through a plurality of lived experiences that a composer would be truly *being*, and not simply *doing*, avant-garde. In other words, participation in the musical avant-garde movement meant not only composing within certain aesthetic ideals, but also extending these ideals to other realms of professional practices that would eventually frame the signification of their musical compositions.

AVANT-GARDE AND EXPERIMENTALISM: INSTITUTIONAL AND RADICAL AVANT-GARDE(S)

Several compositional trends were explored at CLAEM during the nearly ten years of its existence, including aleatoric and indeterminate procedures, serialism, sound-mass textures, mobile forms, and electronic and musique concrète composition. Critics and composers referred to works adherent to these trends as "experimental." I have argued elsewhere that the practices, sounds, ideas, and attitudes that the Buenos Aires community of creators and connoisseurs around CLAEM called "experimental" were a sign of not *one thing* but of *a cluster of things* that included not only musical trends, but also subjective positionings within the broader art world of classical music composition.[3] This spectrum seems to complicate the relations between these practices and those that were considered avant-garde, since many conventional narratives on twentieth-century classical music suggest a distinct—and debatable—opposition between US *experimentalism* and European *avant-gardism*.[4]

However, in Buenos Aires these categories functioned in a nested fashion. One could be a *compositor/a de vanguardia* (avant-garde composer) and still not engage with experimentalism, but anybody who identified with experimentation was doing so from an avant-garde position. Both terms were subject to contestation and remained relatively flexible. As Argentine musicologist Hernán Gabriel Vázquez has illustrated, Ginastera's works during his tenure at CLAEM were received within the

[3] Eduardo Herrera, "'That Is Not Something to Show," 21–22.

[4] David Nicholls, "Avant-garde and Experimental Music," in *The Cambridge History of American Music*, ed. David Nicholls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 518; David Nicholls, *American Experimental Music 1890–1940* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 1; and Michael Nyman, *Experimental Music: Cage and Beyond*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1.

Buenos Aires musical landscape as a *vanguardia institucionalizada* (an institutionalized avant-garde).[5] Ginastera's works in the 1960s incorporated some of the techniques of both European and North American avant-garde, and pieces such as the *Cantata para América mágica* and the operas *Don Rodrigo* and *Bomarzo* included a mix of serialized pitches and rhythms, microtonality, and aleatoric rhythms.[6] The *vanguardia*'s point of departure was an opposition to the traditionalist-nationalist musical scene. However, for an important faction who identified as avant-garde, it was inaccurate to think of the avant-garde only as a style of composition or a set of novel techniques breaking with the hegemony of the nineteenth-century European musical past. This more radical avant-garde often associated with Juan Carlos Paz, pioneer of twelve-tone music in Argentina, encouraged a militant anti-academicism, anti-institutionalism, and antinationalism that needed commitment from outside the realm of aesthetics.[7] This militancy distanced Paz and his followers from, and in some occasions opposed it to, the institutional avant-garde.[8]

AVANT-GARDE AS MUSICAL STYLE

Different approaches to composition became effective means to participate in the musical avant-garde of the composers at CLAEM, at least from a technical and stylistic perspective. One of these approaches concerned the mainstream and perhaps traditional understanding that avant-garde derived from twelve-tone, serial, and post-serial compositional techniques, learned often through the analysis of works by Boulez and Stockhausen, and taught by several of the visiting composers at CLAEM, such as Maderna, Dallapiccola, and Nono. Second, some composers rejected the expected soundscapes from serial compositions and looked for an alternate, sound-centered aesthetic in the world of the electronic studio. Third, participants of the trend adopted an experimental approach that involved the fringes of music making, including graphic notations, improvisation, aleatory methods, and the theatrical side of musical performance in the style of Cage and Kagel. Finally, a fourth approach

[5] Hernán Gabriel Vázquez, "Alberto Ginastera, el surgimiento del CLAEM, la producción musical de los primeros becarios y su representación en el campo musical de Buenos Aires," *Revista argentina de musicología* 10 (2009): 137–93.

[6] Pola Suárez Urtubey, *Alberto Ginastera en 5 movimientos* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Víctor Lerú, 1972).

[7] Esteban Buch, "L'avant-garde musicale à Buenos Aires: Paz contra Ginastera," *Circuit musiques contemporaines* 17, no. 2 (2007): 11–33. For more on Paz, see Omar Corrado, *Vanguardias al sur: La música de Juan Carlos Paz* (Havana: Fondo Editorial Casa de las Américas, 2010b), and Omar Corrado, *Música y modernidad en Buenos Aires (1920–1940)* (Buenos Aires: Gourmet Musical Ediciones, 2010a).

[8] Andrew Raffo Dewar makes a strong case for a third, more marginalized avant-garde, a particular experimental music scene in Buenos Aires that is left out of the ultimately institutional projects such as CLAEM. Andrew Raffo Dewar, "Performance, Resistance, and the Sounding of Public Space: Movimiento Música Más in Buenos Aires, 1969–73," in *Experimentalisms in Practice: Music Perspectives from Latin America*, ed. Ana Alonso-Minutti, Eduardo Herrera, and Alejandro L. Madrid (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 279–304.

involved rejecting the hegemony of Austro-German compositional models, including both the neoclassicisms of Stravinsky, Hindemith, and Bartók, and the serial and post-serial compositions associated with Boulez and Stockhausen. Instead, compositional focus turned toward timbre and texture and away from pitch content, harmony, or rhythm, significantly inspired by works of Varèse, Xenakis, and Penderecki.

AVANT-GARDE AS MUSICAL STYLE: SERIALISM AT CLAEM

After one of CLAEM's concerts featuring pieces composed by students, local music critic and composer Roque de Pedro pointed out certain kind of compositions that "without trying to be reactionary, rather unfold within basic principles of well recognized results."[9] Among others, de Pedro was referring to Atiliano Auza León's *Anfiblástula* (1966) and Blas Emilio Atehortúa's *Relieves* (1966) for large ensemble. These compositions are highly chromatic and modernist in sound. However, and this point is key to understanding De Pedro's characterization, they nonetheless emphasize pitch relations and nonfunctional harmony, while parameters like dynamics and orchestration are subservient to motivic development and musical narrative. The works are constructed with a sense of linear directionality; i.e., motives and gestures presented at the beginning of the work are later expanded, contracted, and varied. In this sense, these compositions have an affinity both with Neoclassicism and with the works of Schoenberg and Berg. They were considered part of the avant-garde, but certainly its most conservative faction.

Strict twelve-tone compositions were rare among CLAEM composers, other than required classroom exercises. A more common compositional practice consisted of employing serial procedures to generate mainly pitch and rhythmic materials and use them freely in a composition. Some of the first public student concerts organized at CLAEM contained serial works. The 1963 student concerts, for example, featured Marco Aurelio Vanegas's *Sonata para viola y piano* and Mesías Maiguashca's *Variaciones* for wind quartet, among several other works. These young composers had studied technical aspects of serialism with Malipiero and Ginastera in composition classes. Vanegas's work is a very transparent twelve-tone composition (Figure 5.1). He uses the row A-E-D♯-B-D-C♯-F♯-G-A♭-B♭-C-F as pitch material in original form for the majority of the piece. The conservative and restricted use of twelve-tone rows within the formal constraints of a classical piano sonata strongly suggests that the piece was a learning exercise for Vanegas.

Like Vanegas's *Sonata para viola y piano,* Maiguascha's *Variaciones* explores twelve-tone techniques in a set of twenty-two continuous variations, but it does so in a more refined and subtle way than Venegas's piece does. Figures 5.2. and 5.3 show how the series C-A-A♭-G-E-E♭-D-D♭-B-F-F♯-B♭ is frequently divided into two groups: (a) C-A-Ab-E-Eb-B-F-B♭, presented simultaneous to a countermelody with the remainder of

[9] Roque de Pedro, "Instituto Di Tella: Obras de becarios," *Tribuna musical* 7 (1965b): 16.

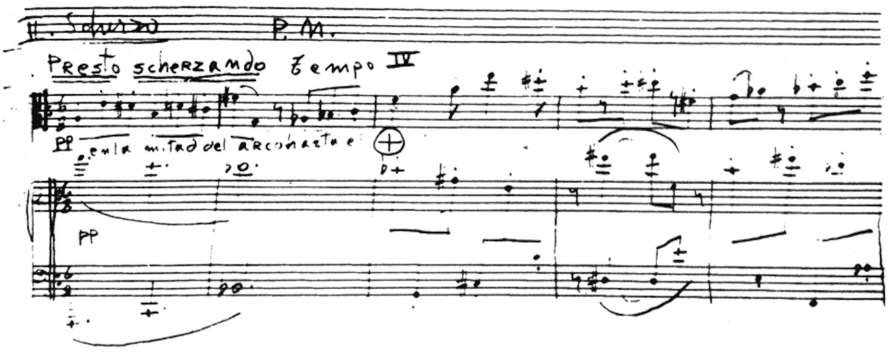

FIGURE 5.1 Measures 1–5 of the Scherzo from the *Sonata para viola y piano* by Marco Aurelio Venegas. As in most of the rest of the piece, the main pitch material is the twelve-tone row A-E-D♯-B-D-C♯-F♯-G-A♭-B♭-C-F.

the series, and (b) G-D-Db-F♯. "An important musical source for me," Maiguashca has said, "was the contact with the [Second] Viennese School, particularly Webern."[10] Overall, serialism was perhaps the point of entry for many composers to the world of avant-garde musical practices, but for most, it was certainly not an ending point.

AVANT-GARDE AS MUSICAL STYLE: ELECTRONIC MUSIC AT CLAEM

CLAEM's electronic music laboratory is considered the most successful pioneer studio in the early history of electroacoustic music in Latin America.[11] During the 1960s, composers and music critics in Buenos Aires saw a natural affinity between avant-garde and the uncharted and experimental nature of electroacoustic composition. The label *música experimental* (experimental music) was used interchangeably with *música electrónica* (electronic music). In general, *música electronica* was often shorthand for all electroacoustic music, including music derived from the manipulation and processing of recorded sounds (which on occasion was also referred to as *musique concrète*), music derived from electronically generated sounds (which, confusingly enough, was sometimes called *música electrónica* as well), and musical performances using live electronics or the assistance of computers.[12]

[10] Mesías Maiguashca, email to the author, November 11, 2008.

[11] Eduardo Herrera, "Electroacoustic Music at CLAEM: A Pioneer Studio in Latin America," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 12, no. 2 (2018): 179–212.

[12] As an example, the program for the Fifth Contemporary Music Festival organized at CLAEM (September 14–17, 1966) included two events titled "Experimental Music Concert." The first had works made at the Polish Experimental Radio Studio in Warsaw by the composers Włodzimierz Kotoński, Andrzej Dobrowolski, Bogusław Schäffer, and Krzysztof Penderecki, followed by two works for instrument and tape created at the Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Center: *Animus* for trombone and tape by Jacob Druckman, and *Plectros II (1966-i)* by alcides lanza, for piano and tape. The last part of the concert featured compositions made at the electronic music laboratory of

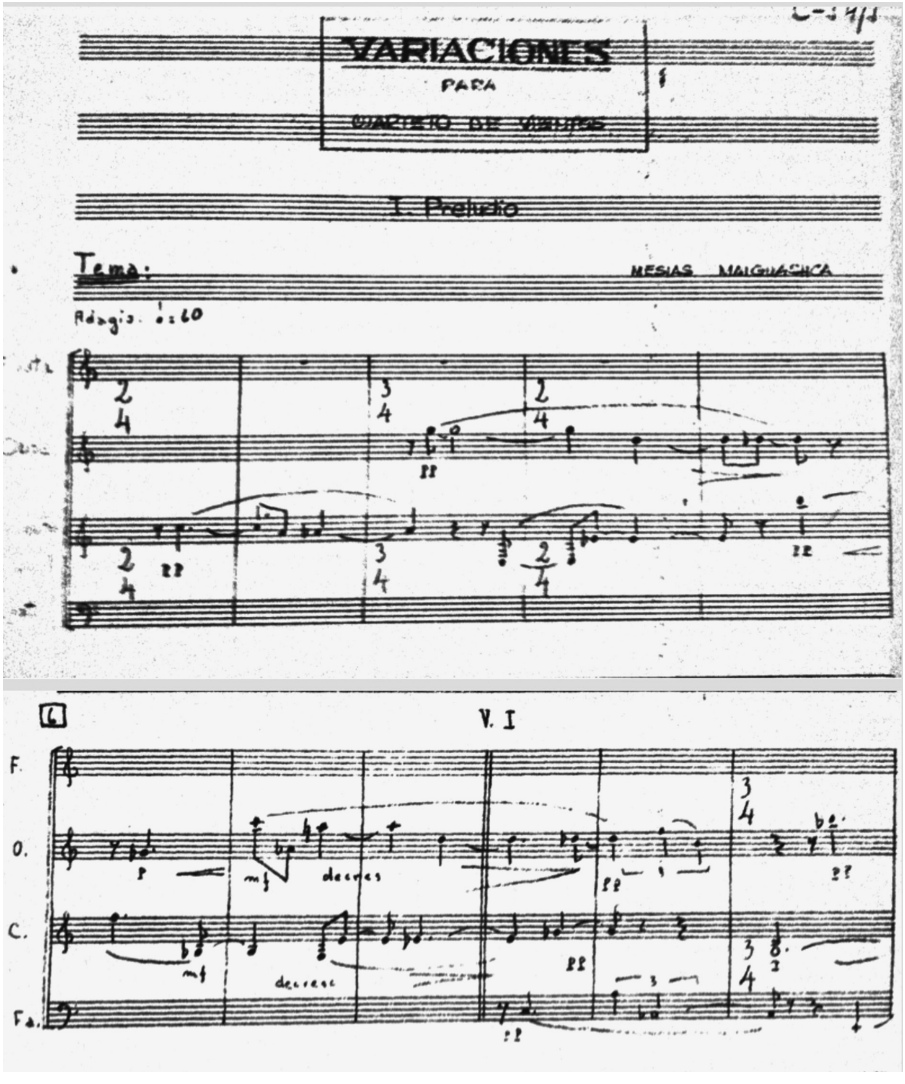

FIGURE 5.2 Mesías Maiguashca's *Variaciones* for wind quartet, Movement I, "Preludio," mm. 1–11. The twelve-tone row is divided between two voices, melody and countermelody.

The use of the word *laboratorio* in the name of CLAEM's studio—*Laboratorio de música electronica*—was not coincidental; that many aspects of electroacoustic creation were discussed through allusions originated in the scientific world further

CLAEM: *Estudio o* by Ladislao Todoroff, *Syrigma I* by Blas Emilio Atehortúa, and *Presagio de pájaros muertos* for reciter and tape by Rafael Aponte-Ledée. The second concert consisted of electroacoustic works composed at the Groupe de Recherches Musicales (GRM) and the Office de Radiodiffussion Télévision Française (ORTF) in France by composers Philippe Carson, François-Bernard Marche, André Boucourechliev, François Bayle, Ivo Malec, Michel Philippot, and Luc Ferrari.

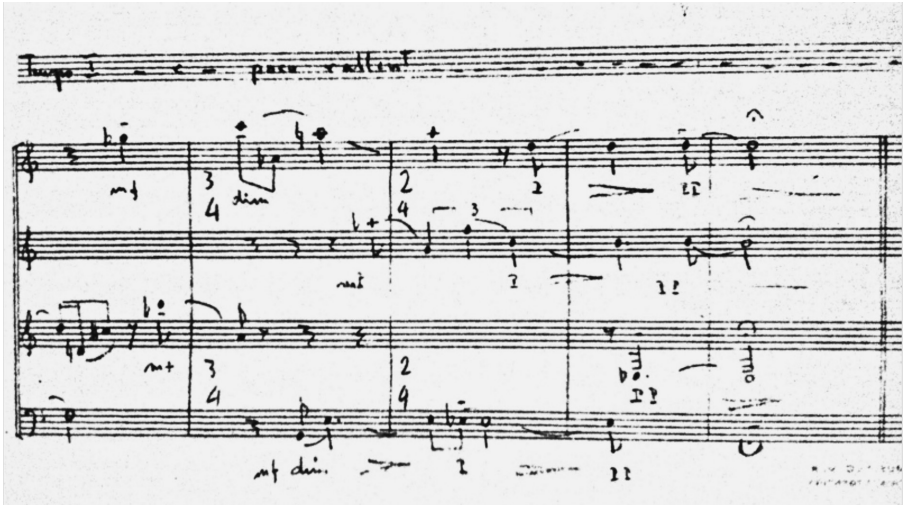

FIGURE 5.3 Maiguashca's *Variaciones* for wind quartet, Movement I, "Preludio," mm. 36–40. Same division of the row into melody and countermelody as in Figure 5.2.

corroborates the idea of experimentation.[13] Such thinking resulted in creative works that were presented as "research," not only in the development of techniques or apparatus, but also in reference to the compositional process of these works. Electroacoustic composition was studied by following detailed methodologies that usually involved three stages: generation, elaboration, and assembly (or montage) of materials. Most equipment was classified correspondingly to one of those stages, and thus also brought a sense of industry and technology to electroacoustic experimentation.[14] Next to composer Francisco Kröpfl, the most central figure in the studio was Fernando von Reichenbach, who was an engineer, the head of the support team at the studio, and first and foremost an inventor. He brought a new and important facet to the experimental nature of the studio and became a crucial figure in an art world that fetishized technology.[15] The model used in the laboratory was unsurprisingly indebted to the sciences: Reichenbach had laboratory assistants, among them most notably Julio Manhart and Walter Guth. The studio enabled a creative feedback

[13] In early mentions of the project, during its planning phase, it was named *Laboratorio de música experimental* (the Experimental Music Laboratory).

[14] For instance, a 1971 letter explains that the equipment at CLAEM includes "electronic *sound generating equipment*, special equipment covering the different stages of *elaboration* necessary to adapt sound to musical purposes, and the necessary devices and equipment for monodic and polyphonic *assembly*." Unsigned document addressed to the Rockefeller Foundation, "Informe CLAEM, versión en inglés (enviado a la Rockefeller Foundation, fines 1970)," 1971, CLAEM Archives, ITDT; italics in original.

[15] During my interviews, multiple people fondly referred to Reichenbach as a musical Ciro Peraloca (Gyro Gearloose), the good-natured, creative, and productive inventor in the animal universe of Walt Disney.

loop between composers and Reichenbach's team. As composers encountered issues or failed to find ways to realize their imagination, Reichenbach came up with novel solutions that led to renewed creativity, new works, and the birth of new problems and challenges.

For example, in 1967 Reichenbach invented a *panel de interconexión centralizado* (automatic patchbay), a highly elaborate unit designed to allow fast interconnections of all the equipment in the laboratory. CLAEM fellows had limited studio time each week, and many struggled with recreating the setup used in previous sessions. Furthermore, they had discovered that certain connections made the system introduce noticeable noise into recordings. Seeing all this, Reichenbach got hold of a recycled telephone connection switchboard and reconfigured it to work with the audio signals from the studio; each connection was made by touching the input/output buttons. In this way, all the connections a composer made during a working session could be restored easily and promptly by using the visual guides of the panel. This innovation also prevented the need to use multiple cables to connect different pieces of equipment, thus improving the signal-to-noise ratio and avoiding clutter in the studio space.

Another of Reichenbach's inventions was the *fotoprogramador del nivel sonoro* (sound-level photoprogrammer), which he described in *Electronic Music Review*, in 1967, as an

> experimental device [that] improves the stereophonic sound reproduction [. . .] Six speakers are located around the auditorium. Each has its own power amplifier and the volume of each amplifier is controlled by means of two photoresistors per amplifier which connect to both outputs of a two-channel tape recorder. Flashlight bulbs with lenses illuminate the photoresistors through a transparent film . . . on which the program is prepared with segments of plastic tape. The different degrees of opacity accorded to the film determine the exact amplitude supplied to the speaker.[16]

Reichenbach considered his inventions and innovations experimental in nature, as he points out in this description. His machines became a staple of the integration between artistic creation and technology and were at the center of the interdisciplinary work that flourished at CLAEM.

Reichenbach's most recognized invention, the analog graphic-to-audio converter, exemplifies the desire to bring together technology and composition. This machine could convert graphic notation into sound by connecting a closed-circuit television equipment, a paper transport that moved drawn graphics across the lens of the camera, and voltmeters that followed the parameters of a score. The visual signal was turned into blacks and whites, which analogically controlled the fluctuation of

[16] Fernando von Reichenbach, "The Sound Level Photoprogrammer," *Electronic Music Review* 4 (1967): 35.

FIGURE 5.4 Fernando von Reichenbach with his invention, the analog graphic converter, "Catalina." Courtesy of Mary Mac Donagh.

voltage. These voltages could be used to trigger generators, filters, and modulators. He named this machine the *Convertidor Gráfico Analógico* (analog graphic converter), but everybody, Reichenbach included, called it "Catalina" (seen in Figure 5.4).[17]

Reichenbach's converter was used in the composition of three solo works: *Analogías paraboloides* by Pedro Caryevschi (Argentina, b. 1942), *Mnemon* by José Ramón Maranzano (Argentina, b. 1940), and *La panadería* by Eduardo Kusnir (Argentina, b. 1939), all from 1970. "Catalina" was also used to create an electronic version of Gabriel Brnčić's *¡Volveremos a las montañas!* . . . , and the tape parts of Maranzano's mixed media work, *Mnemon II*.

Eduardo Kusnir's *La panadería* marks the most successful implementation of the possibilities that the converter offered.[18] Different sound gestures recur and become identifiable events throughout the composition, making it both very dramatic as well

[17] When asked why he called it Catalina, Reichenbach simply said, "It is an homage to the old seaplanes from CAUSA," a popular flying boat model originally called Consolidated PBY Catalina. (Coriún Aharonián, "El Padre de Catalina [interview with Fernando von Reichenbach]," *Marcha*, Montevideo, February 19, 1971, 29). The first documented mention of "Catalina" dates from April 19, 1968 (Fernando von Reichenbach, internal memorandum to Enrique Oteiza with copies to M. Marzana, Alberto Ginastera and Francisco Kröpfl, April 19, 1968, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.) For yet another innovative machine that Reichenbach constructed while he was at the Di Tella, see Fernando von Reichenbach, "The Sound Level Photoprogrammer," *Electronic Music Review* 4 (1967): 35–36.

[18] The piece "La panadería" is track 6 in Eduardo Kusnir, *Lily*, Chrysopée électronique—Bourges v.8, Institut International de Musique Electroacoustique de Bourges: Mnemosyne musique Media LDC 2781107, 1996, compact disc.

as humorous. The piece was, in fact, a new realization of a previous work written for acoustic instruments. Kusnir decided to transform what already existed in instrumental form and remake it as an electronic musical composition. The reason for that change had to do with the ability to experiment. "I was not interested in experimenting with the musical language;" Kusnir said.

> I wanted to experiment with sounds and timbre. And from the structural and formal point of view, *La panadería* was already finished. [. . .] Reichenbach had created Catalina—the graphic analog converter—and it could read drawings very similar to the ones I had used in the score and interpret them in sound as frequency and amplitude. So my work then was to craft the timbre. I took a long time working on timbre, something I normally do in all my works, electronic or instrumental.[19]

Kusnir found the possibility of creating multi-component timbres quite attractive. "The thoughts, the discourse, the texture, the gestures," Kusnir said, "are all instrumental. Even though I was not working with instruments, those gestures, those articulations were coming from instrumental music."[20] The timbral depth and organization of the gestures used in *La panadería* make it a compelling composition. However, the piece's power to captivate also came from ideas derived directly from orchestral instrumentation. Kusnir was particularly thinking of the piece as a new version of a previous work, with a new instrumentation. Perhaps comparable only to Cesar Bolaños's *Intensidad y altura* in terms of success, Kusnir's *La panadería* was awarded the prestigious *Euphonie d'or* (1992), recognizing it as one of the twenty most noteworthy works of the International Competition for Electroacoustic Music of Bourges between 1970 and 1991.[21]

AVANT-GARDE AS MUSICAL STYLE: IMPROVISATION, ALEATORISM, AND GRAPHIC NOTATION AT CLAEM

The full-time faculty member most invested in experimentation was undoubtedly Gerardo Gandini. He devoured any new music that he encountered, had excellent piano skills and a keen ear for improvisation, and presented highly valued analyses of works for the students at CLAEM. When in 1969 he was asked whether he believed

[19] Eduardo Kusnir, interview by author, Buenos Aires, June 5, 2008.

[20] Ibid.

[21] The competition, which ran from 1973 to 2009, was one of the world's most important forums for electroacoustic music until the closing of its hosting organization, the *Institut International de Musique Electroacoustique de Bourges* (IMEB) in 2011. IMEB was known until 1994 as GMEB (*Groupe de Musique Expérimentale de Bourges*).

that young composers were giving excessive importance to experimental procedures, Gandini answered,

> Maybe. I would like to remind you of something that Varèse said and I find quite on target: He would say that all the experimental works he did he threw away, that is, he only kept the ones that he thought were well made and ceased to be experimental. What this means is that from a specific perspective experimental music does not exist. Experimental procedures do. They only work when they stop being experimental and become music. What might happen is that the less skilled composers are the ones that exaggerate with the experimental.[22]

Somewhere around mid-1967, Gandini himself had been attracted to the meeting points of performance, improvisation, and composition. For a year, he had been studying abroad with the Italian composer Goffredo Petrassi at the Accademia di Santa Cecilia in Rome. During that period, Gandini developed an interest in improvisation groups, inspired by the *Gruppo di Improvvisazione Nuova Consonanza,* founded by Franco Evangelisti, and *Musica Elettronica Viva*, founded in Rome the year before by Richard Teitelbaum and others.[23] Gandini thought that he could organize something similar at CLAEM, and although he started working toward it then, it was not until 1969 that a series of fortuitous events led to the formation of an improvisation group. That year, the composers at CLAEM learned that for the first time in its history, the budget no longer included payments for performers to play their most recent compositions. Determined to still have a student concert but unable to program the pieces written by each individual fellow, teachers and students decided to perform five collective improvisations that had been relatively rehearsed and had each been given a title, although without a formal composer. The new ensemble was called *Grupo de experimentación musical* (Musical experimentation group) (Figure 5.5).[24]

The *Grupo de experimentación musical*, like the electronic music laboratory, acted as a playground for the discovery of novel and original sonic materials through performances ranging from free improvisation to the interpretation of detailed graphic

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[22] Gerardo Gandini, interview in "Los compositores argentinos: Gerardo Gandini," *La prensa* [Buenos Aires], March 26, 1969: unpaged.

[23] Amy C. Beal, "'Music Is a Universal Human Right': Musica Elettronica Viva," in *Sound Commitments: Avant-garde Music and the Sixties*, ed. Robert Adlington (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 99–120. The group was composed of Alvin Curran, Richard Teitelbaum, Frederic Rzewski, Allen Bryant, Carol Plantamura, Ivan Vandor, and Jon Phetteplace.

[24] Also sometimes called Grupo de improvisación musical, or Grupo experimental de improvisación. The members were Jorge Antunes, Rafael Aponte-Ledée, León Biriotti, Jorge Blarduni, Gabriel Brnčić, Pedro Caryevschi, Bruno D'Astoli, Eduardo Kusnir, Beatriz Lockhart, José Ramón Maranzano, Ariel Martínez, Antonio Mastrogiovanni, Alejandro Nuñez Allauca, and Luis Zubillaga. Gerardo Gandini coordinated the group.

FIGURE 5.5 Members of the *Grupo de experimentación musical*. From left to right, Alejandro Nuñez Allauca, (unknown), Eduardo Kusnir, Ariel Martinez, Beatriz Lockhart, Jorge Antunes, and Gerardo Gandini. Courtesy of Eduardo Kusnir.

scores. The group became a space—a type of workshop—where composers could experiment with instruments, try new sounds and techniques, and have a hands-on experience with one another's music. For one of the members of the ensemble, composer Gabriel Brnčić, "the creation of an ensemble for musical experimentation—that through controlled improvisation and direct contact with the sound materials provides new sources to contemporary musicians—is an active answer from avant-garde composers to some of the general problems of contemporary music."[25] For Brnčić, "the search for new sources and new materials" was one of the key "characteristic of the avant-garde."[26] Another of the members, Eduardo Kusnir, explains in more detail how this process took place:

> At that time, the search for sonic material was an important element. Another thing was to decide how to organize that material afterwards. The improvisation group worked on both aspects. First, the search of materials, [. . .] the objective was to achieve unusual sounds, but not as the product of a great performance ability, like a specialist that searches new things, but as the product

[25] Gabriel Brnčić, "Grupo de experimentación musical del Centro Latinoamericano de Altos Estudios Musicales," December 1, 1969, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

[26] Ibid.

> of inability or ineptitude in an instrument [laughter] [. . .] After experimenting with the materials, we moved to a phase of figuring out how to organize them. [. . .] For example, somebody took initiative and proposes something (like in free jazz) and the rest have various options to react. The most direct way is imitation or making variations over what was proposed. Another option is opposition, doing the opposite: If somebody proposes a long, high-pitched sound, the opposite would be a low-pitched sound. [. . .] During classes we would record the improvisation sessions. Gandini wanted to turn those sessions into a product, to be able to take that experience out to the public. Thus, we needed to be organized. In the improvisation we had certain guidelines that marked a path, we planned moments and directions or objectives, being careful of not losing the sense of time.[27]

Experimentation was something avant-garde composers could do, but this ensemble's process was not seen as experimentation for its own sake. It was a methodical way to both expand the sound universe available with unexpected results and avoid the temptation to revert to habitual or formulaic compositional tendencies. A performance that took place during the 1969 student concert can be considered representative of the group's ideology. The program featured five pieces with no composer indicated: *Pianos* was for three pianos and twenty-four hands; *Tres* was for recorder, viola, and zither; *Objetos* was meant for different objects; *Voces* was for voices and instruments; and *Suma* was for voices and tape. The lack of individual composers in the program reveals the collective understanding that was in place. However, this approach did not always work as planned. In a surprising move to the rest of the ensemble, one of its members, Jorge Antunes, later called *Objetos* his piece. The nature of collective authorship in an improvisatory ensemble clashed with the concept of individual ownership deeply engrained in the classical music tradition, and since Antunes claimes to have suggested using objects in the piece, he felt entitled to "sign" the work with his name and put it in his catalog. John Boulder wrote that while in Argentina, Antunes "had several experiences with the 'sounds of objects' and organizing live collective improvisations for musicians playing everyday objects. [. . .] The [Di Tella experimentation] group presented a collective improvisation session that Antunes titled *Objetos*. There was no score, it was a type of 'musique concrète' in the words of Antunes."[28] His colleagues in the ensemble did not understand Antunes's move. Many of them still claim that *Objetos* was a group improvisation and that labeling it an individual composition is simply missing the whole point of the exercise.

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[27] Hernán Gabriel Vázquez, ed., *Conversaciones en torno al CLAEM: Entrevistas a compositores becarios del Centro Latinoamericanos de Altos Estudios Musicales del Instituto Torcuato Di Tella* (Buenos Aires: Instituto Nacional de Musicología "Carlos Vega," 2015), 134–35.

[28] John E. Boulder, "A obra para percussão de Jorge Antunes" in *Uma poética musical brasileira e revolucionária* (Brasilia: Sistrum Edições Musicais, 2002): 251.

AVANT-GARDE AS MUSICAL STYLE: TIMBRE, TEXTURE, AND SOUND-MASS COMPOSITIONS

In contrast to the composers exploring serial organizations, electronic compositions, and improvisatory practices as their entry point to avant-garde, other composers became increasingly interested in extended sonorities in which texture and timbre form the central parameters that shape a musical work. These composers' works sidestepped musical directionality by avoiding motivic development and incorporating much looser rhythmic figures that were not necessarily perceived in a steady beat. As the compositions moved away from pitch and toward texture and timbre as central parameters, many of those composers found inspiration in the music of Varèse, Xenakis, Feldman, and composers from the new Polish school, such as Penderecki and Serocki. The compositional trends that they embraced marked an important step for Latin American composers to join the avant-garde movement, for—like their own music—those trends were generated outside of the great European tradition. It was relevant that Xenakis, Varèse, and any of these composers had avoided self-exoticization and did not highlight their otherness. Instead, they exemplified a universalist way of gaining acceptance in the transnational world of music composition without following the models of mainstream composers—mostly represented by the Darmstadt Summer Courses of the 1950s and early 1960s.

The composers Graciela Paraskevaídis and Mariano Etkin exemplify this trend. Both attended the second group of fellows (1965–1966) and found inspiration in the works of composers whom they deemed to be outside the mainstream of contemporary classical music. In a conversation with them, Etkin pointed out the following:

> My generation, and more concretely, the generation that went to the Di Tella in the 1960s, was educated in a bipolar musical world. On one hand Stravinsky, Neoclassicism, nationalism, and in general the world of tonic centers and of tonal functions; and on the other, the Second Viennese School [. . .] But both came from a musical ontology where pitch was the central parameter. . . . Then I realized, and well, Graciela too, that there was a world that was different . . . a world coming from Varèse, the world of Xenakis. When he came to the Di Tella, it was earth-shattering for us! And add to that that the library that the Rockefeller had donated to the Di Tella had a lot of scores from Feldman, Cage, and Brown.[29]

Etkin's attraction to the composers whom he lists is not surprising, since his interest in moving away from pitch as a central parameter resonated with these New York composers and with Xenakis's works. Etkin's compositions give particular importance to silence, reiteration, and timbral richness. His pieces usually evolve slowly

[29] Mariano Etkin, interview by author, Buenos Aires, August 15, 2008.

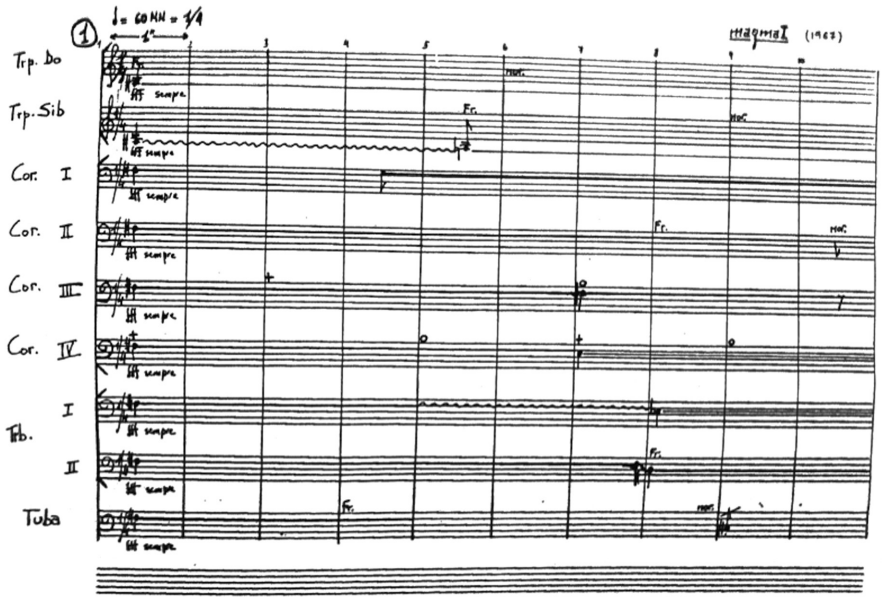

FIGURE 5.6 *Magma I* (mm.1–10). The "unison" at the beginning is widened by horn (Cor.) IV with a sharp quarter tone (indicated by the + sign), which in m. 5 becomes a quarter tone flat (indicated by the o sign) and the wide vibrato written for the B-flat trumpet (Trp. Sib).

and feature a particular delight in sustained sounds interacting with one another. Pitch works often as a component of composite timbres achieved through unusual orchestrations and as part of delicate sound masses.

Graciela Paraskevaídis recognized throughout her career the impact that Xenakis's visit to CLAEM had on her work. In the first work of her catalog, *Magma I,* Paraskevaídis adopted several characteristics of Xenakis's compositions. We can hear the importance given to timbre and texture from its abrasive beginning and the high density of sound that drives the piece. The first ten measures start with all nine brass instruments in *fff* in an F♯ widened 1 microtonaly, with the B-flat trumpet using vibrato (Figure 5.6). Similar to Xenakis's *Metastasis, Pithoprakta*, and other "sound mass" or "textural" compositions, Paraskevaídis's piece uses glissandi frequently, as the instruments create clouds of sound in which the importance of individual pitches is minimized, and the effect is that of a single sound object created by the contour of the individual sounds with sporadic bursts of small melodic cells. Paraskevaídis believes that Xenakis's visit introduced her and many of her colleagues to "a different world of ideas, a different worldview, and different things from the European things [that] I knew."[30] Paraskevaídis identified herself with Xenakis because she saw him as an outsider to the "great tradition" of central European music. Paraskevaídis

[30] Graciela Paraskevaídis, interview by author, Montevideo, July 23, 2005.

embraced that recognition as a possible way of positioning herself as a Latin American composer in the field of contemporary art music.

EMBRACING THE AVANT-GARDE

So far I have shown several approaches to composition that music critics in Buenos Aires described as either embracing "renovation, of revolutionary tendency, and essentially experimental" or relatively conservative without being "reactionary."[31] However, if we move stylistic approaches aside, another important aspect of embracing avant-garde becomes fundamental to this discussion, namely, what composers believed was implied in the process of joining the avant-garde. On one hand, some treated the avant-garde as a professional strategy, a means of showing awareness of the most innovative and recent developments and technologies in music composition; a way to be fully up to date with transnational composition circles. On the other hand, some young composers of this generation believed that embracing the avant-garde required exceeding aesthetics and sound. They supported an inherent subjective position that was less concerned with composition itself and more with their relationship with the field of music and its social environment.

The former group agreed that embracing the avant-garde involved critiquing artistic modernism as represented by Ginastera, but doing so in a manner that preserved a continuity with the traditional Eurocentric Western classical art music to which they belonged. It was not a combative embrace—most of these composers, such as Blas Emilio Atehortúa, for example, happily learned from and worked closely to Ginastera—but instead an embrace that aimed at a mainstream recognition, based on their talent and comprehensive knowledge and awareness of the latest and newest compositional styles and techniques. In a teleological historical context, this group accepted that inevitably some of them, like Ginastera in the previous generation, would receive international acclaim, and their works would be performed in the world's greatest halls, performed by the most famous ensembles and orchestras.

The latter group defended the avant-garde as more than just new compositional trends. As avant-garde composers, they had to advance different positionings from which to face musical composition and consider it as a process of social life. Many of the composers at CLAEM supported that this was the only meaningful way to enter and embrace the world of classical art music. It was not just a matter of *doing* avant-garde music, but also *being* an avant-garde composer who could potentially challenge previous models whom nationalist composers, like Ginastera during his earlier period, exemplified. But the central pillars that maintained European hegemony in the art world would not be challenged through sound alone. Subverting certain practices and changing attention to different aspects of music composition contained

[31] De Pedro, "Instituto Di Tella: Obras de becarios," 16.

some limitations. This subtle difference marked the most significant generational shift regarding new-music making. Although *being* avant-garde was only infrequently presented as a postcolonial positioning—avant-garde itself predated the rise of postcolonial studies—it meant generating written and sonic discourse that was part of a larger critique toward the Eurocentric conception of art that these young avant-garde composers inherited from previous generations.[32] It also involved the composers, as Latin Americans, questioning the persistence of coloniality in their own subjectivity and position as marginal composers within this musical tradition. Thus, avant-garde became an embodied experience related to all other aspects of musical life, an experience that manifested itself through musical militancy, which was a concept that became central to the stories that several former CLAEM composers told about themselves in years to come.

THE AVANT-GARDE AND MUSICAL MILITANCY

Peter Bürger's *Theory of the Avant-garde* (1984) argues that the two crucial aspects of historical avant-garde—mostly associated with European Dadaism and Surrealism—were to dismantle the notion of autonomous art as an institution and retake the social impact that artistic autonomy—art for art's sake—had removed from aesthetic experience.[33] In other words, avant-garde movements needed to address "the *social inconsequentiality* of autonomous art" and "attempt to lead art back into social praxis."[34] Bürger's oft-cited work is a theory of *European* avant-gardes of the 1920s and 1930s, as is implied in his own introduction, but still absent from his unmarked and universalist title, both in German and in English. However, by the 1960s, CLAEM composers who identified as avant-garde were doing so from postwar perspectives. Bürger, Hal Foster, and other art scholars have labeled them the neo-avant-garde of the 1950s and 1960s, but such terminology has not found a niche in musicology.[35] An undisputed belief in the autonomy of art was deeply ingrained in the ideology of CLAEM composers, a belief that created a tension with their intention of creating social impact with their art. Negotiating this tension resulted in an avant-garde that was experienced as a way of being an individual and a professional, requiring the

[32] See, for example, Coriún Aharonián, "Identité, colonie et avant-garde dans la création musicale latino-americaine," *Derives* 47–48 (1985): 49–63; and Coriún Aharonián, "Factores de identidad musical latinoamericana tras cinco siglos de conquista, dominación y mestizaje," *Latin American Music Review* 15 (1994): 189–225.

[33] By art as an institution, Bürger refers to "the productive and distributive apparatus and also to the ideas about art that prevail at a given time and that determine the reception of works." Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-garde*, trans. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 22.

[34] Jochen Schulte-Sasse in the forward to Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-garde*, xiv. My emphasis.

[35] Hal Foster, "What's Neo about the Neo-avant-garde?," *October* 70 (1994): 5–32.

expansion of the field of musical composition, and allowing for both an autonomous art and the desired social impact through what they called musical militancy.

Most CLAEM composers understood that social change was not expected to happen through music, or at least through music alone. Instead, it would emerge from engaging in other activities that could potentially politicize their music and make it part of social life. Therefore, a large number of the composers decided that in addition to composing, they should write about new music, organize concerts that actively promoted the music of their peers, and educate new generations about the legacy of their work, both inside and outside university settings. The performative aspect of the texts, concerts, or lessons that these composers gave became particularly important because of their ability to produce powerful associations with their musical compositions. The works of these avant-garde composers became both effective and affective in their societies through association with other facets of their identity: composers as writers, critics, or cultural organizers. Thus, individuals' writing, concerts, and public talks are primary modes of social interaction that become closely associated with their autonomous work of art and appear inseparable from that work.[36]

It was during the CLAEM years that the notion of "musical militancy"—words that I heard frequently among composers in Uruguay and Argentina—became widespread among those interested in this particular approach to the musical avant-garde. The concept arrived—or at least gained notable strength—with Luigi Nono during his visit to CLAEM in 1967, and it is not a coincidence that it was adopted in two countries that went through harsh military dictatorships during the 1970s. "Musical militancy" generally means an aggressive and dedicated engagement with the transmission, diffusion, teaching, and learning of contemporary music but without economic remuneration. This militancy is driven by a sincere belief that music can be a changing factor in social life. While teaching at CLAEM, Nono was able to go to Montevideo, Uruguay, for two days. Coriún Aharonián and Conrado Silva (Uruguay-Brazil, 1940–2014) hosted him:

> Those 48 hours changed my life. . . . My life was divided: before and after meeting Luigi Nono. It was the most significant event in my life thus far. It was all those things that he had to communicate: his vision of man and artist as an integral whole. Of the ethical person, the person committed to life, to the world, to other people. He knew how to pass that along in a powerful way . . . brutally committed, and very moving.[37]

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[36] In his application of Peircian semiotics to musical analysis, Thomas Turino uses the term semiotic chaining to refer to "a process through time in which the interpretant at one temporal stage becomes the sign for a new object at the next stage of semiosis, creating a new interpretant which becomes the next sign in the next instant, ad infinitum until that 'train of thought' is interrupted by another chain of thought or by arriving at a belief or conclusion." (Thomas Turino, "Signs of Imagination, Identity, and Experience: A Peircian Semiotic Theory for Music," *Ethnomusicology* 43, no. 2 (1999): 223). In other words, an individual may initially perceive the work of art itself, then subsequently, in rapid succession, recollect a series of associations that ultimately bring forth its social impact.

[37] Coriún Aharonián, interview by author, Montevideo, August 17, 2008.

Aharonián was not the only one whom Nono's visit profoundly impacted. Nono's legacy for several Latin American composers was remarkable, especially his idea that despite the deep-seated belief in the autonomy of art, each work was a statement on politics and ethics, and it was the responsibility of the composer to make this known. Nono had already faced the paradox in this statement. Together with Boulez and Stockhausen, he had been a key figure of the 1950s European avant-garde in Darmstadt, leading the most abstract and ultramodern serialism. But his personal involvement against "racial intolerance, fascist violence, exploitation of the working classes," and his support of "the struggle for freedom and independence in developing countries" had led him to an important stylistic change in the 1960s, one that involved the employment of text to express what music was unable to convey.[38] Without words, art music was perceived as too abstract to communicate the political message that Nono believed had to be transmitted. Nono's "integral whole," pointed out by Aharonián, appeared on- and offstage. His works used titles and texts that foregrounded his political agenda, but offstage he made sure to convey his commitment to political causes in classes, lectures, program notes, and personal communications. Nono taught that composers' role could not end with the written music, but had to be extended to their writings about music, their actions in disseminating contemporary music, and their everyday life at every other level, of being a composer and a human. It was, therefore, a lifestyle—we could indeed perceive it as the embodiment of *being* avant-garde.

An example of this politically engaged composer is one of Nono's students at CLAEM, Jacqueline Nova. On her return to Colombia, the CLAEM graduate made it her mission to spread knowledge about contemporary music and Latin American composers. Between 1969 and 1970, Nova created and hosted a radio show called *Asimetrías*, in which she discussed topics that included Ginastera's opera *Bomarzo*, the music of younger Latin American composers, the achievements of different electronic music studios in South America, and prominently featured works of many composers whom she had met in the southern hemisphere. At the same time, Nova organized a hybrid lecture-concert called *La música electronica*, which she presented in Bogotá and Medellin, Colombia, in 1970 and which primarily featured living composers from Latin America. Complementing this holistic understanding of the role of the avant-garde composer, Nova created a group dedicated to the performance of recent works, called *Agrupación Nueva Música*—similar to the existing group in Buenos Aires.[39]

Another example, and perhaps the most significant case of musical militancy directly related to CLAEM, were the *Cursos latinoamericanos de música contemporánea* (Latin American courses on contemporary music), organized from 1975 to 1989 by a team that prominently included Graciela Paraskevaídis and Coriún Aharonián. These

[38] Gianmario Borio, "Nono, Luigi," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20044, accessed March 1, 2012.

[39] Ana María Romano, "Jacqueline Nova," *A contratiempo* 12 (2002): 30.

were a series of itinerant, nonprofit, non-institutionalized, free, intensive summer music courses that were among the most important events of contemporary music in the region during their existence.[40] They offered, literally, the opportunity to step away from the institutionalized context that the Di Tella had provided and opened a true non-institutionalized space for the avant-garde. Although transportation and boarding were covered by the organization, the teachers were often asked to participate out of their own militant commitment to spreading the avant-garde. Former CLAEM participants who participated as teachers in the *Cursos* included Coriún Aharonián, Oscar Bazán, León Biriotti, Etkin, Marlene Fernandes, Eduardo Kusnir, Mesías Maiguashca, José Ramón Maranzano, Ariel Martínez, Joaquín Orellana, Graciela Paraskevaídis, and Alberto Villalpando.

A final example of musical militancy is the *Núcleo Música Nueva de Montevideo*, an organization that started in 1966 by Conrado Silva, Daniel Viglietti, and two fellows of CLAEM, Ariel Martínez and Coriún Aharonián. The *Núcleo,* still in existence, consists of an open assembly of composers, performers, and musicologists organized in a quasi-anarchic manner, without any directors, but with multiple teams that share different responsibilities (programming, logistics, advertising). The *Núcleo* has been a platform for new composers, a meeting ground for musicians, and a vital part of the contemporary music scene in Uruguay, featuring world and national premieres of works by not only Uruguayan but also other Latin American and even European composers.

In summary, while CLAEM left an important legacy regarding the avant-garde as a style, having promoted the formation and execution of avant-garde compositional techniques, perhaps more significant than this contribution were its responsibility and militancy in establishing a new understanding about the composer's role in society and, more importantly, within Latin American societies.

REJECTION AND DISILLUSIONMENT OF THE AVANT-GARDE

Not all composers who attended the Di Tella Institute had an affinity for or a fruitful relationship with the avant-garde. When I asked Gerardo Gandini if he thought avant-garde aesthetics have ever been opposed, he said,

> Yes, yes. There were some [aesthetics] that posed more resistance than the others [to the avant-garde]. They were impervious to the teachings, not only mine, but of the guest teachers as well. For example, Miguel Letelier who continued writing the same way before and after CLAEM. Going to the Di Tella did not seem to affect him. . . . CLAEM did not open possible paths to several of the

[40] In some respect with a similar logic to the Darmstadt International Summer Courses for New Music (*Darmstädter Ferienkurse*) or the Warsaw Autumn Festival, but with less emphasis on the performance of new music and instead on training and lectures.

> composers because they had some kind of natural resistance to opening to those new sound worlds.[41]

Rejecting avant-garde aesthetics might not have taken place directly during their CLAEM years. The Uruguayan Beatriz Lockhart (1944–2015), for example, attended CLAEM in 1969–1970 and recalled in an interview that she had a "language crisis:"

> It was from 1972 to 1982. It was after being connected to the Torcuato Di Tella Institute in Buenos Aires, that Alberto Ginastera directed back then. It was the school of ultra avant-garde, Polish, Penderecki, and such. I did not feel connected to it. I went with my husband who is also a composer. We studied there two years. I made a piece in that style in a moment of surrender. I was like that for ten years, in an absolute crisis, not knowing what I wanted to do.[42]

Lockhart felt she suffered a paralyzing creative block as a result of having adopted avant-garde techniques. During the rest of her career, Lockhart's compositions were conservative, adopting many early-twentieth-century nationalist musical techniques and relying on rhythmic patterns and figures from popular and folkloric genres as structuring elements.

Ariel Martínez (Uruguay, 1940–2019) marks a different case. Martínez started his career as a tango arranger and bandoneon player with the Quinteto de la Guardia Nueva, a group known for playing contemporary tango in an important venue in Montevideo (El Club de la Guardia Nueva).[43] The style Martínez embraced was the so-called *Tango Nuevo*, which had emerged in the 1950s with Astor Piazzolla as its main representative. In this style, tango structures were not given by preestablished binary or ternary forms (verse-chorus or two parts with a kind of trio between them), but to the elaboration of a rhythmic-melodic cell in a linear manner. As Martínez became more interested in writing original songs and perfecting his arrangements, he decided to formally study composition. Starting in 1966, he studied with renowned Uruguayan composer Héctor Tosar (1923–2002), a venture that led Martínez to radicalize even further his compositional style. His new group, called Trio Nuevo—Darwin Viscuso on the piano, Enrique del Puerto on double bass, and Martínez on the bandoneon—recorded an album in 1967 that included four pieces: *Homo sapiens, Homo faber, Homo ludens I,* and *Homo ludens II*. *Homo sapiens* and *Homo faber* relied on heavy dissonances and rhythmic irregularities that hinted at Bartók, Stravinsky, and Piazzolla.

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[41] Gerardo Gandini, interview by author, Buenos Aires, July 4, 2008.

[42] Beatriz Lockhart, quoted in "Beatriz Lockhart, compositora: Un mal negocio inevitable," *La república* (Uruguay), June 21, 1992, 11.

[43] The others in the group consisted of Manuel (Manolo) Guardia, (piano and arrangements), Sergio Furas (violin), Edunio Gelpi (electric guitar), and Roberto Capobianco (double bass).

However, what Martínez and the Trio Nuevo were doing in *Homo ludens I* and *II* was unprecedented. The score of *Homo ludens II* is divided into three parts (ABC). Each part contains several modules for the bandoneón, piano, and double bass. Each performer chooses from his or her modules which ones to play, in what order, and how many times to repeat them. When the performer of the bandoneón plays a specifically marked cell, the other performers are expected to promptly synchronize and together either move to the next part or end the piece. However, after this recording, Martínez stopped playing bandoneón and abandoned tango. He believed that they were doing something "way ahead of even anything Piazzolla ever did." He also supposed that he had taken tango in a direction that was no longer in touch with what people wanted. For Martínez, to be on the avant-garde of a movement meant that you took risks and tried new things, with the assumption that others will be able to follow you. But with tango, he concluded that he was no longer on the verge of something, or ahead of anything. He felt alone and lost, and that nobody was taking the directions that he was offering.

Martinez joined CLAEM as a fellow in 1969. He moved permanently to Argentina and did not play tango for the next forty years. Instead, he became completely dedicated to Western art-music composition and espoused a relentless avant-garde aesthetic that dominated his music at least until the 1980s, at which point he began a slow process of disillusionment with that music scene and what other composers were doing under the banner of avant-garde. He eventually lost all interest in having his pieces performed. He no longer advocates for any type of avant-garde aesthetics and, in fact, is very critical of what he and other composers did during the zenith of avant-garde composition. In conversation, he frequently mentions that the main problem with his generation was that they destroyed everything; they took Western art music and pushed it to its absolute limits and did not provide a solution of how to put it back together, how to fix it. Today, Martínez is very frustrated with what the mass media values as music. He has a very low opinion of most developments in contemporary classical music and has chosen to isolate himself from other composers in both his adoptive Argentina and his native Uruguay. Martínez abandoned tango when he felt no more room was available for true, novel creation, and even today he remains skeptical of the revival that the genre has recently undergone. Similarly, he does not see much future in contemporary classical music.

Whether or not they adopted an avant-garde musical militancy as composers, the careers of most CLAEM fellows took one of three paths. First, some ended up rejecting the avant-garde and maintained a mostly conservative musical language, relying on folkloric sources, maintaining an extended sense of tonality, and often relying on musical models that date back to the nineteenth century. Second, some composers incorporated (or partially incorporated) avant-garde techniques, but maintained a conservative modernism, often using high chromaticism or atonality, serial, or post-serial techniques and maintaining a general control over the result of their works. Finally, some composers embraced the avant-garde and cultivated a predominantly

experimental language, pushing boundaries of musical elements in terms of timbre, dynamics, form, repetition, or texture, and using mixed media, graphic notations, or other techniques that sometimes result in a flexible relationship between composer and performer. Table 5.1 provides an incomplete list of CLAEM composers who fit each of these three paths.

The avant-garde as it was adopted at CLAEM consisted both of a series of musical styles that explored the fringes of different parameters of music composition, and a personal commitment and sincere belief in the impact that this music could have on society. While different trends—serialism, electroacoustic composition, sound-mass composition, graphic notations, experimentalism, and improvisation—articulated avant-garde goals, it was through a lived, embodied experience of this avant-garde that created an authentic, valid, and truthful experience. Participation in the musical avant-garde meant not only composing within certain aesthetic ideals, but also extending these ideals to everyday practices, and incorporating them as part of a

TABLE 5.1

Incomplete List of CLAEM Composers: Organized by Rejection or Embrace of the Avant-garde+

Composers who rejected the avant-garde and cultivated a predominantly conservative language	Composers who partially incorporated avant-garde techniques, and remained within a conservative modernism	Composers who embraced the avant-garde and cultivated a predominantly experimental language
Jorge Arandia Navarro	Blas Atehortúa	Coriún Aharonián
Bruno D'Astoli	León Biriotti	Jorge Antunes
Mario Kuri-Aldana	Armando Krieger	Luis Arias
Miguel Letelier	Antonio Mastrogiovanni	Oscar Bazán
Beatriz Lockhart	Marlos Nobre	Cesar Bolaños
Jorge Sarmientos	Alejandro Nuñez Allauca	Gabriel Brnčić
Edgar Valcárcel	Salvador Ranieri	Mariano Etkin
	Alberto Villalpando	Eduardo Kusnir
		alcides lanza
		Mesías Maiguashca
		Ariel Martínez
		Jacqueline Nova
		Joaquín Orellana
		Graciela Paraskevaídis
		Luis María Serra
		Luis Zubillaga

+ I take into consideration the whole career of each composer, not just their years at the CLAEM.

fluid and rich identity of a composer that went beyond writing music and included militant organization and promotion of works, musicological writings, and teachings. These broad spectrums of reactions and experiences exemplify unique and individual ways to negotiate the experience of music making in the contemporary world of classical art music. As shown in this chapter, the avant-garde experience was not an even and not always a positive one. While no particular aesthetic was initially forced, avant-gardism gradually became institutionally supported and hegemonic in its own way. In the epigraph to this chapter, Paraskevaídis acknowledges that CLAEM perhaps did not intend to have generated a continental avant-garde, "neither institutionally nor as a group of people." But as she indicates, it did "as an after effect, through the work and actions of individual fellows, years later."[44]

[44] Graciela Paraskevaídis, "De mitos y leyendas," in *La música en el Di Tella: Resonancias de la modernidad,* ed. José Luis Castiñeira de Dios (Secretaría de Cultura, Presidencia de la Nación, Argentina: Buenos Aires, 2011), 50.

Colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite.[1]

—HOMI BHABHA

6

FROM MUSICAL PAN AMERICANISM TO LATIN AMERICANISM

THE LATIN AMERICAN art worlds of the 1960s and 1970s encountered a complex predicament. Art curators, concert organizers, institutional ensembles, museums collectors, patrons, and scholars in different parts of the world were heavily invested in the works and artists they could present under the label "Latin American." From educational endeavors such as CLAEM, to the Museum of Modern Art's exportation of art exhibits from South American countries, to the literary "Latin American Boom," to the publication of Gerard Béhague's pivotal book on the region's classical music tradition, the words "Latin American" were used to group, regardless of their disparity, a wide range of artistic practices.[2] On the other hand, as historian Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo has argued, "there was a clear de-Latin-Americanizing aspiration of artists in Mexico City, São Paulo, and Buenos Aires, or of Argentine, Mexican, and Brazilian artists living in Paris, New York, Barcelona, or Madrid."[3] In the case of CLAEM, the tension between the Latin Americanist grouping emanating from its very name to the de–Latin Americanizing goal of its avant-garde ethos led to an active attempt to

[1] Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," *October* 28 (1984): 126. Emphasis in the original.

[2] See Andrea Giunta, *Avant-Garde, Internationalism, and Politics: Argentine Art in the Sixties* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); Deborah Cohn, *The Latin American Literary Boom and U.S. Nationalism during the Cold War* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2012); and Gerard Béhague, *Music in Latin America: An Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1979).

[3] Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Latin America: The Allure and Power of an Idea* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 20–21.

Elite Art Worlds. Eduardo Herrera, Oxford University Press (2020). © Oxford University Press.
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reconfigure what it meant to be a Latin American composer in the Western art-music tradition.

Josh Kun's term "audiotopias" describes musics in which sound, space, and identity can converge, offering "the listener and/or the musician new maps for re-imagining the present social world."[4] I find it useful to think of CLAEM's avant-garde as an audiotopia that facilitated the coalescing of a particular Latin Americanist discourse. CLAEM acted as both a sonic and social space "where disparate identity-formations, cultures, *and* geographies historically kept and mapped separately [as a result of European imperialism] are allowed to interact with each other as well as enter into relationships whose consequences for cultural identification are never predetermined."[5] CLAEM, as a physical meeting point, enabled composers to defy the very coloniality that kept them mostly unaware of the musical scene of one another's countries, and instead allowed them to imagine a regional community that was of strategical professional use. Composers who met at CLAEM developed an identification as Latin American that was grounded in and imagined through the sounds of avant-garde music and concrete personal interactions.

One of the crucial characteristics of CLAEM was its framing as a place meant for Latin American composers. CLAEM could have been conceptualized simply as a graduate school for composition; since the very inception of the idea, however, Ginastera planned for it to specifically include composers from all over the continent. CLAEM succeeded in recruiting and fostering a whole generation of composers who embraced Latin Americanism, both as a professional strategy to create contacts and broaden performance possibilities across the region and as a discourse articulated in musical style by using tropes of musical nationalism and musical universalism. Most importantly, this broader Latin Americanist discourse did not emerge as a "Western world" representation of the region. Instead, it is fundamentally a discourse by Latin Americans about themselves.[6] The story of CLAEM highlights a profoundly formative postcolonial experience in which composers participate in the creation and recreation of an "idea of Latin America" that is not imposed from the outside, but rather is a product of the region itself.[7]

Real and everyday exchanges at CLAEM facilitated the exercise of the imagination needed to create a shared Latin American identification and to shape a sense of belonging to a generational and professional cohort. The musical and professional

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[4] Josh Kun, *Audiotopia: Music, Race, and America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 23.

[5] Ibid., 23.

[6] I am indebted to Melanie Plesch, who brought to my attention the idea of conceiving musical Latin Americanism as a discursive formation similar in kind to Edward Said's Orientalism. See Melanie Plesch, "Musical Latinamericanism: Some Notes towards the Deconstruction of a Discursive Formation" (paper presented at the 19th Congress of the International Musicological Society, Rome, 2012).

[7] See Walter D. Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America* (Malden, MA, and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005); and Enrico M. Santí, "Latinamericanism and Restitution," *Latin American Literary Review* 20, no. 40 (1992): 88–96.

Latin Americanism that emerged was the result of local reflections and not external impositions, centered on the problems and issues of Latin America and useful for presenting the composers themselves and their works to other Latin Americans and to the rest of the world.[8] In alignment with CLAEM's own denomination as a Latin Americanist center, its fellowships were systematically designed to include diverse cohorts of students from Central and South America. CLAEM's director, Alberto Ginastera, has frequently been designated a prime participant of musical Pan Americanist discourses during the 1940s and 1950s. There was something powerful about a younger generation of composers adopting a regional identification as "Latin American avant-garde composers" in an art world that was largely Euro- and US-centric.[9] Their discourse showed continuities with earlier proponents of hemispheric solidarity, such as Gilbert Chase, the International Composers Guild, the Pan American Association of Composers, and Ginastera's personal Pan American aspirations.[10] However, the rise of the United States as a superpower, the disillusionment with its foreign policy, and the reconfiguration of the classical-music art world, which now more comfortably included US composers in its canon, led to a renewed, critical, and much more strategic regional identification, solidified by the social networks nurtured at CLAEM. The resulting shared discourse of Latin Americanism among these composers during the 1960s combined a professional strategy and specific musical stylistic features, and both aspects had short- and long-term consequences for the contemporary music scene in the region.

Americanism as Professional Strategy: From Pan Americanism to Latin Americanism

Led by scholars such as Julio Ramos, contemporary analyses of the discourse of Latin Americanism trace its origins to late nineteenth-century literature and frequently

[8] Eduardo Mendieta, *Global Fragments: Globalizations, Latinamericanisms, and Critical Theory* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 102.

[9] Hess argues that Ginastera's career "can in several respects be considered a microcosm of twentieth-century musical Pan Americanism." Carol A. Hess, "Ginastera's *Bomarzo* in the United States and the Impotence of the Pan American Dream," *Opera Quarterly* 22, nos. 3–4 (2006): 464. See also Carol A. Hess, "Leopold Stokowski, 'Latin' Music, and Pan Americanism," *Inter-American Music Review* 18 (2008): 395–401; Alyson Payne, "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" (PhD diss., University of California Riverside, 2012); and Alyson Payne, "Creating Music of the Americas during the Cold War: Alberto Ginastera and the Inter-American Music Festivals," *Music Research Forum* 22 (2007): 57–79.

[10] For more on discourses of Pan Americanism shaping the reception and representational strategies of Latin American music in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century, see Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor: Music, Difference, and the Pan American Dream* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013b); and Pablo Palomino, "Nationalist, Hemispheric, and Global: 'Latin American Music' and the Music Division of the Pan American Union, 1939–1947," *Nuevo mundo mundos nuevos: Images, mémoires et sons* (2015), https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.68062.

point to the importance of José Martí's emancipatory manifesto *Nuestra América* (1891) and José Enrique Rodo's *Ariel* (1900). Discussions that examine the production and the articulation of Latin Americanism as discourse emphasize its strengths as an internally generated regionalism. Contrasting Edward Said's oft-cited examination of Orientalism, the local production of knowledge and tropes about continental unity in Latin America has received as much analytical attention than the ones that European or occidental imaginaries have generated. Situating local knowledge and artistic production in opposition to Western Eurocentric practices became a powerful means for local elites to create distinction in a postcolonial situation, to construct Latin America with Latin American thinking instead of European.[11]

However, another set of discourses were also in play during the beginning of the twentieth century. As Carol Hess has convincingly argued, for nearly a century Pan Americanism as a discourse has had "many faces" and multiple "incarnations."[12] In the early twentieth century multiple Pan American organizations and events that promoted music across the Americas began to emerge. An early example from 1921 is the short-lived International Composers Guild, which materialized under the leadership of Edgard Varèse and Carlos Salzedo (France/United States, 1885–1961) and with the participation of Mexican composer and conductor Carlos Chávez.[13] Problems within the Guild led to the creation of the League of Composers (1923–1954), another professional organization that provided loose connections among several composers—mostly from the United States—but focused on the performance of new works, both European and American.[14] However, the most significant organization formed with a hemispheric perspective in mind was the Pan American Association of Composers (PAAC) (1928–1934). Five of the eighteen members of the PAAC identified as Latin American—Carlos Chávez, Acario Cotapos, Eduardo Fabini, Silvestre Revueltas, and Amadeo Roldán.[15] For six short but active years, and with the added prestige of having Nicolas Slonimsky as their main conductor, the PAAC organized "at least thirty-eight concerts over five seasons and performed works by thirty-nine composers of the Americas."[16] The objective of these concerts was to present North American works in South and Central America and vice versa, but also, and perhaps most importantly, to showcase works from the Americas to European audiences.[17]

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[11] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978). See Julio Ramos, "Hemispheric Domains: 1898 and the Origins of Latin Americanism," *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 10, no. 3 (2001): 237–51. Ramos, however, does not deny the important gray areas between what he calls the vernacular- and metropolitan-produced Latin Americanism.

[12] Carol A. Hess, "Copland in Argentina: Pan Americanist Politics, Folklore, and the Crisis in Modern Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66, no. 1 (2013a): 194.

[13] See Carol J. Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[14] See David Metzer, "The League of Composers: The Initial Years," *American Music* 16 (1997): 45–69.

[15] Stephanie Stallings, "Collective Difference: The Pan American Association of Composers and Pan American Ideology in Music, 1925–1945" (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2009), 69.

[16] Ibid., 62.

[17] See also Dean L. Root, "The Pan American Association of Composers (1928–1934)," *Anuario interamericano de investigación musical* 8 (1972): 49–70.

As musicologist Stephanie Stallings has demonstrated, more than anything, the PAAC was a professional organization for the promotion and diffusion of its members' works. However, establishing or discovering a common hemispheric aesthetic was not beyond the aspirations of the composers. Stallings argues that these PAAC members

> expressed a desire for a multivalent but unified intercontinental musical aesthetic. They transplanted and remodeled traits that marked French and Eastern European modernism, such as primitivism, the use of musical folk material, and a growing interest in novel musical resources. In both the United States and Latin America, the proliferation of these traits opened possibilities for expressing local flavor with a newly modernist conception of its value.[18]

A different call for Pan Americanism emerged in the mid-1930s. Beginning in 1934, musicologist Francisco Curt Lange (Germany/Uruguay, 1903–1997)—a student of Erich von Hornbostel, Curt Sachs, and several other important figures of German musicology—made frequent calls for a continental Americanism that would include South, Central and North America. In his *Americanismo musical* (1934), Curt Lange argues that the basis of an Americanist movement still had to be European but must look attentively to the indigenous.[19] He also points out the importance of fostering contact among artists in the hemisphere and a common awareness among them. Curt Lange published articles and musical scores that aimed to inform and connect composers transnationally in his serial publication, the *Boletín latino-americano de música* (1935–1941).

Pan Americanism was also vibrant in the United States. Aaron Copland himself was one of the most visible and vocal advocates of Pan Americanist aesthetics, which ideologically aligned with the broader political strategy known as the Good Neighbor period (1935–1945). Good Neighbor Pan Americanism prospered as US-driven cultural diplomacy under Nelson Rockefeller's short-lived Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA, 1940–1946) and the newly created Music Division at the Pan American Union (which later became the Organization of American States).[20] First under the directorship of Charles Seeger (1941–1953) and then of Guillermo Espinosa (1953–1975), the Music Division promoted performances, organized festivals of Latin American music, offered prizes, and distributed and commissioned scholarship on music and musicians from the region.[21] The 1958 Latin American Music Festival in Washington,

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[18] Stallings, "Collective Difference," 1.

[19] Significantly, his famous call for "música americana para los americanos" does not include any references to African-derived practices. Francisco Curt Lange, *Americanismo musical* (Montevideo: República oriental del Uruguay, 1934), 7.

[20] Jennifer Campbell, "Creating Something out of Nothing: The Office of Inter-American Affairs Music Committee (1940–41) and the Inception of a Policy for Musical Diplomacy," *Diplomatic History* 36, no. 1 (2012): 29–39; and John Haskins, "Panamericanism in Music," *Notes* 15, no. 1 (1957): 43.

[21] Malena Kuss, "Charles Seeger's Leitmotifs on Latin America," *Yearbook for the International Folk Music Council* 11 (1979): 84. Efrain Paesky replaced Espinosa following his retirement in 1975.

DC, was the first of this type of event organized by the Inter-American Music Council under the auspices of the Pan American Union "to promote closer relations and understanding among the American republics by recognizing and stimulating the development of music of the Americas."[22] The aim of the concerts was to introduce the finest composers and performers from Latin America, the Caribbean, the United States, and Canada.

While Latin American composers continued to receive significant attention in the United States during the 1950s, a new rift seemed to have separated US composers from their Latin American counterparts after World War II. As Europe declined and the United States consolidated its hegemony as a world economic superpower, US composers began to gain international recognition.[23] As the impetus for hemispheric alliances receded, a new interest in fomenting Latin American—no longer Pan American or Inter-American—solidarity rose. Individual figures, like Ginastera, still captured the attention of the critics and music aficionados from the United States. But as local US composers found new support in academia, and some even became part of the new century's canon (e.g., Copland, Ives, Gershwin, Cowell), Latin American composers were now on their own to form strategic associations to further their professional development. In this context, the creation of Indiana University's Latin American Music Center (LAMC) in 1961 and CLAEM in 1962 was the culmination of the high visibility of Latin American art music in the United States and the belief in the possibilities that could materialize if professional composers were placed in direct contact with one another, although no longer at a Pan American level.

LATIN AMERICANISM AS MUSICAL STYLE: REGIONALISM, NATIONALISM, AND UNIVERSALISM

The relevance of being Latin American within the context of art-music composition was an essential issue for composers of the region during the twentieth century.[24] The creation of art music that was Latin American (or more specifically, and more often,

[22] Description of the aims of the Inter-American Music Festival at the Library of Congress finding aid for the Inter-American Music Festival Foundation Papers. http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/ihas/loc.natlib.scdb.200033634/default.html, accessed February 2, 2012.

[23] North American composers became living examples of the trope of US exceptionalism, as isolated maverick composers who single-handedly conquered new frontiers and pioneered new techniques. See, for instance, Michael Hicks, *Henry Cowell, Bohemian* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002); Michael Broyles, *Mavericks and Other Traditions in American Music* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); and Gayle Sherwood Magee, *Charles Ives Reconsidered* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008) for insightful views that reevaluate the construction of the American composer under this trope.

[24] Past projects of forming a unified regional grouping adopted different frameworks, depending on their political motivations. Just as the identification *Latin America* is currently used, terms that have also been used include *Pan-América*, *Ibero-América*, the *Américas*, and *Hispano-América*, all aiming to highlight different common denominators.

a music that was Uruguayan, Colombian, Guatemalan, or any of the other nations) became a concern for most composers. The question itself was one of finding a voice, positioning oneself in a global setting, gaining a place, but also defending one's place. The need for regional identification and music's instrumentality—along with other cultural practices—in creating and shaping local identity increased gradually in Latin America from the years of independence through the beginning of the twentieth century. For Coriún Aharonián, composer and fellow of CLAEM, this desire for a musical identity has borne several generations of artists with distinct characteristics:

> a generation of silence and resistance against the metropolitan models after the wars of independence . . . followed by a generation of ballroom musicians from and for the *criollo* oligarchies, and others that gradually tried to retake the European erudite models to fluently imitate them . . . It is only after 1920 that pioneer composers (Uruguayan Eduardo Fabini, Chilean Carlos Isamitt, Brazilian Luciano Gallet, Mexican Silvestre Revueltas, Cubans Amadeo Roldán and Alejandro García Caturla, among the brave and accomplished; Brazilian Heitor Villa-Lobos and Mexican Carlos Chávez among the most indulgent towards the metropolis) put together that fluency with a rescue-like search for identity elements, or that (like Chilean Acario Cotapos and Argentine Juan Carlos Paz) will fight indefatigably for a "universalism" of their own and not merely imitational.[25]

Here, Aharonián points to the most important binary in the discourse used by composers themselves to explain Latin America's art-music history during the twentieth century: nationalism and universalism. Most descriptions of classical music in the region argue that different generations of composers, and even individual composers in the course of their lives, gravitated between what was called nationalist and universalist musical styles. The meaning of these two terms for Latin American composers can hardly be said to be univocal, but certain commonalities can shed some light on some of the stylistic debates that appeared in the first years of CLAEM, particularly as anxiety arose from the music critics and connoisseurs over what was Latin American about these composers.

The discourse of musical nationalism had significant changes during the early years of the twentieth century in Latin America. During the nineteenth century, competing nationalist discourses in the region tended to exclude the masses and focus on a select oligarchy with high economic capital or military power. Latin American rural populations, lower classes, and the racially discriminated Afro- and Native American populations—groupings that often overlapped—became actors of the nation only

[25] Coriún Aharonián, *Héctor Tosar: Compositor uruguayo* (Montevideo: Trilce, 1991), 9–10. The word *criollo* can mean somebody of European or mixed European descent born in the Americas. It is also commonly used to signify someone or something originated in Hispanic America and to underline that it embeds some of the qualities of that country.

in the event of wars, when their nationality was conveniently remembered.[26] By the turn of the twentieth century the "dismal economic conditions of peasants and the working class . . . did not allow for the growth of a domestic consumer economy to support local industrial and economic growth, thus restricting wealth to the oligarchy."[27] Consequently, as Thomas Turino has shown, the elites became interested in involving a larger portion of the population in the national economy and investing people in the very concept of nation. The elites realized that to continue their growth they needed a stronger foundation in society, grounded in a sense of belonging to the nation, a sense that could emerge only from generating a shared national sentiment. It is in this context that musical nationalism takes place, from the top down, as part of a larger nationalist project looking to include previously marginalized groups in the imagined community of nation.

Musical nationalism in art-music circles meant the recognition of that which was not part of the cosmopolitan European heritage in Latin American cultural practices. With varying degrees of success, twentieth-century composers started making direct references to musics from those social groups that had been neglected and marginalized from the main discourses of nationalism during the nineteenth century, practices they themselves frequently labeled as folklore.[28] The musical universe that composers explored at the beginning of the century—also an audiotopia in its own right—expanded to include materials from diverse origins—mainly indigenous peoples, peasants, or Afro-descendant populations. Musicologist Gerard Béhague, an important figure in the consolidation of the narrative about nationalism/universalism, names three factors that he believes contributed to what he calls the golden period of musical nationalism in Latin America, referring to the beginning of the twentieth century:

> First, a dynamic and varied popular and folk culture allowed a wide range of national expressions. Second, there existed during this period talented art-music composers who not only had an obvious empathy for the popular and folk music of their respective countries but frequently had firsthand exposure to it. Third, the establishment of institutions and organizations such as concert associations, orchestras and ballet groups, and support from governmental

[26] It is not strange that after fighting in wars, several of those marginalized groups won their biggest social battles. Slaves gained freedom and peasants obtained land as prizes for having fought for their nation.

[27] Thomas Turino, "Nationalism and Latin American Music: Selected Case Studies and Theoretical Considerations," *Latin American Music Review* 24, no. 2 (2003): 180.

[28] Following Fiol, I see folklore as a "multidimentional concept that has been discursively produced and connected to a wide-ranging and evolving set of expressive practices." Folk becomes the result of recontextualizing cultural practices for the purposes of "express[ing] cultural identity to oneself and to others." Stefan Fiol, *Recasting Folk in the Himalayas: Indian Music, Media, and Social Mobility* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2017), 3.

agencies, made it possible for these composers to be promoted nationally, sometimes internationally.[29]

Adopting nationalism within an art-music composition almost by definition involved the inclusion of vernacular references of some sort. A few composers assumed this goal with responsibility, with respect for and acknowledgment of the otherness of these borrowed sources of inspiration. They studied these practices not just as borrowed or appropriated sound objects, but as part of the living expressive culture of peoples with different epistemologies, ethics, and aesthetics. Many others did not, and the use of these sources became an indiscriminate quoting of folkloric material, creating musical postcards from exotic places that emphasized the peripheral status of Latin American compositions and the populations being mimicked. Carol Hess has demonstrated how even US composers contributed to a repertoire that led to "epithets such as 'travel music' or 'rum-and-coca-cola school' [that] circulated in the United States even while many Latin American composers pursued cosmopolitan universalism."[30] The aftermath was almost paradoxical: Latin American composers *doing* the othering perpetuated *being* othered themselves. In a similar fashion to what Richard Taruskin has argued about composers in Russia, Latin American composers were able to gain acceptance within the Western classical music tradition as exotic representations of otherness, thus, as second-rate composers at best.[31] This result was, at its worse, a kind of self-orientalism that local elites had assimilated and naturalized as part as the hegemonic ideas of European-Atlantic power over the rest of the world.[32]

At least since the 1930s, several intellectuals and artists have problematized this musical nationalism within art music, especially as it became increasingly associated with the broader socio-historical context of nationalist-populist movements connected to fascism. In Brazil, for example, when the group *Música Viva* was formed in 1939, it took an emphatic stance against all kinds of folkloristic nationalism. In a strong response to Nazi fascism, the group, led by German composer Hans-Joachim Koellreutter (Germany/Brazil, 1915–2005), produced a manifesto in 1946 in which they argued that the composers of *Música Viva* should fight "fake nationalisms in

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[29] Béhague, *Music in Latin America*, 182.

[30] Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor*, 112–13.

[31] See Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 48. In the most common history of music survey books, Latin American composers (usually only Villa-Lobos, Chávez, and maybe Ginastera) appear as a side note to what happens in the rest of the Western world. For instance, Latin America occupied a total of thirteen lines out of 805 pages in the fifth edition of the most commonly used text book for music history, *A History of Western Music* by Donald J. Grout and Claude V. Palisca (5 ed. New York: Norton, 1996). This changed to some degree with the inclusión of J. Peter Burkholder into the series. See J. Peter Burkholder, "Music of the Americas and Historical Narratives," *American Music* 27 (2009): 399–423.

[32] Resonating with Said's words about the "Orient," Latin America became a European invention, a place of "romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences." Said, *Orientalism*, 1 and 6.

music, that is, the ones that exalt feelings of nationalist superiority from their essence and stimulate egocentric and individualistic tendencies that divide men [*sic*], originating disruptive forces."[33]

In response to nationalist musical styles, *Música Viva* musicians, like many other composers in Latin America, adopted what became called universalist approaches to musical composition. Composers who looked for universalism in their music were aiming to be aware of the latest tendencies in the cosmopolitan centers and maintain an apparent neutrality with the abstract nature of their works. Universalism—as Homi Bhabha points out—not only implies that there was a common meaning found in the work, but it also forms a listening subject that sees no connection between ideologies or histories in the work. "It is not that the Transcendental subject cannot *see* historical conflict or colonial difference as mimetic structures or themes in the text," Bhabha writes. "What it cannot conceive is how it is itself structured ideologically and discursively in relation to those processes of signification which do not then allow for the possibility of whole or universal meanings."[34] As much as narratives about Latin American art music have tried to polarize nationalist and universalist compositions, they were both consequences of the same modernist desire to renovate the musical language.[35] From this perspective, shifts between these positions are not necessarily inconsistencies or insincerity from a composer. Instead, they are part of a broader struggle, contingent and contested, to achieve modernity, to be that recognizable other that is *almost the same but not quite*.

This tension was present in Argentina by the time CLAEM was created. Mariano Etkin, a fellow at CLAEM, has suggested that the distinction between "neo-Bartokian 'nationalist' and the twelve-tone composers that called themselves 'universalists' " in Argentina was much more complex than what is usually assumed. "It is clear," Etkin writes, "that the nationalists were much more European than what they thought they were, while the universalists appear to be much more Argentine—that is, original in relationship to Europe—than perhaps they would have desired."[36] What Etkin highlights with this remark is that the elements that were novel and seen as uniquely Latin American in nationalist compositions were superficial in comparison to the musical aspects that were being reconfigured in universalist works. Nationalist compositions tended to provide native sources of melodic material—e.g., folkloric or folk-inspired tunes often harmonized in art-music frameworks and characteristic cadential

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[33] Heitor Alimonda, Egídio de Castro e Silva, Guerra Peixe, Eunice Katunda, Hans-Joachim Koellreutter, Edino Krieger, Gení Marcondes, Santino Parpinelli, and Claudio Santoro, "Manifesto 1946," *Latinoamerica-Musica.net,* http://www.latinoamerica-musica.net/historia/manifestos/2-po.html, accessed June 17, 2014.

[34] Homi Bhabha, cited in Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 1995), 193–94.

[35] See Béhague, *Music in Latin America* for a survey book that gives the category of nationalist music a central place in the narratives of art-music history of Latin America.

[36] Mariano Etkin, "El hombre que está solo y espera," *latinoamérica música*, http://www.latinoamerica-musica.net/historia/etkin/elhombre.html; accessed May 2, 2018.

formulas—and rhythmic formulas and patterns of folk dances—syncopated rythms, *sesquialtera* (a metric dissonance in terms of groupings felt both as $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{6}{8}$), three plus two divisions (for instance groupings of 3+3+2 eighth-notes in $\frac{4}{4}$ meter), and hemiolas (temporary metric dissonances in terms of displacement).[37] However, these elements were used in compositions that closely imitated European models; many were a stylistic synthesis of French impressionist techniques and others were what Etkin refers to as neo-Bartokian.

On the other hand, so-called universalist compositions were eclectic in nature and hard to group under a single rubric. These compositions also followed European models, from abstract expressionism, dodecaphony, polytonality, and microtonality to graphic notation and aleatorism, but at the same time questioned from a unique Latin American perspective different structural aspects of art-music composition: tonality, form, pitch hierarchies, tuning, preferences in timbre, performance practices, and sensibility of time.[38]

GINASTERA AND LATIN AMERICANISM

Discussions about nationalism and universalism were an important concern at CLAEM, and the most immediate referent who straddled these two complementing paths was its director, Alberto Ginastera. As Deborah Schwartz-Kates has shown, Ginastera's interest in Latin Americanism, at least in the years prior to CLAEM, involved mostly the use of folkloric models in his compositions, including the Argentine *zamba*, the *chacarera,* and the *gato*. However, it was predominantly the *malambo* rhythm that became a signature of Ginastera's music, used often as basis for grandiose finales. Ginastera's early compositions frequently use the malambo's rapid $\frac{6}{8}$ meter and continuous eighth-note motion in addition to percussive ostinatos that accumulate at the ends of phrases and sections.[39]

Ginastera was very conscious of the characteristics and stylistic features usually associated with nationalist compositions in the art-music world. He frequently argued that his compositions between 1937 and 1947 were part of an objective

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[37] Thanks to Orit Hilewicz for her help clarifying this. For grouping and displacement dissonances, see Harald Krebs, *Fantasy Pieces: Metrical Dissonance in the Music of Robert Schumann* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 31–9.

[38] Coriún Aharonián notes that the Latin American sense of time "is apparently different from the European one. The statistical observation of pieces composed in past decades in the two continents allows us to conclude as a working hypothesis [. . .] that the psychological time of the Latin American composer is shorter and more concentrated than that of his average European colleague." Coriún Aharonián, "An Approach to Compositional Trends in Latin America," *Leonardo* 10 (2000): 4.

[39] Schwartz-Kates comments that the malambo "inspired some of [Ginastera's] most memorable compositions, such as the 'Danza final,' from his ballet *Estancia*, op. 8 (1941). Yet significantly, these malambos bear little resemblance to folkloric models. Rather they consist of imaginative recreations of the genre that employ faster tempos, more complex harmonies, and bolder dissonances." Deborah Schwartz-Kates, *Alberto Ginastera: A Research and Information Guide* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 25.

nationalist phase, while those between 1948 and 1957 were part of a subjective nationalist one, in which he did not exploit or develop folk tunes but rather assimilated their "symbolic and expressive value."[40] Not coincidentally, it was in 1946 when Ginastera had his most direct experience with other Latin American composers. That year he attended the Berkshire Summer Music Festival in Tanglewood, came into daily contact with Aaron Copland, and "formed part of a close-knit circle called the '1946 Latinamericanists,' which included Roque Cordero, Julián Orbón, Hector Tosar, and Juan Orrego-Salas, with whom he formed a lifelong connection."[41] As Ginastera moved away from the direct quotation of folkloric materials in his compositions, he also developed a pan-regional awareness, most likely derived from his interaction with these composers. Schwartz-Kates places this shift around the mid-1940s:

> Before traveling to the United States [in 1946], many of Ginastera's compositions drew heavily upon resources derived from the Argentine folk tradition. Now, however, his works increasingly called upon abstract expressive means to give voice to the transcendent spirit of the Americas. Ginastera had already begun to move in this direction in 1944 with his *Doce preludios americanos* (Twelve American Preludes), which he completed the year before he left for the United States. The title of the work no longer referred to the national music patrimony but reflected instead the composer's emergent transcontinental consciousness.[42]

This shift becomes key to understanding Ginastera's motivations behind the Latin American scope of CLAEM. Ginastera's move away from local sources of inspiration into what he perceived as an embrace of pan-regionalism in his compositions was accompanied by a similar move in professional terms. On one hand, he became much more active in the Argentine section of the International Society for Contemporary Music and—like most other important composers of the region—became an avid participant of the different Inter-American festivals that were emerging at the time. On the other hand, Ginastera began to expand his Pan Americanist vision into the conservatories where he worked during the following years, providing important input into curricular changes, making acquisitions for the libraries, and expanding the programs on the basis of his experience and knowledge of US music institutions.

His compositions while he was director of CLAEM took yet another turn and moved even further away from associations to local or regional materials, and to a more abstract style associated with universalism. Ginastera "rejected the use of vernacular elements in his works and avoided native sources that would brand his music (and, by extension, that of his Latin American colleagues) as backward and provincial."[43]

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[40] Béhague, *Music in Latin America*, 218.
[41] Schwartz-Kates, *Alberto Ginastera*, 7.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid., 11.

However, most pieces maintained the energetic, rhythmic style present in pre-1960s works. The most significant work that Ginastera wrote in the years right before the creation of CLAEM was the *Cantata para América mágica*. Even in its abstraction, the *Cantata* emerges from a programmatic content that uses a large and varied palette of Latin American percussion instruments "to evoke ancient indigenous characteristics" and imagines the music of "pre-Columbian civilizations."[44] There is little doubt, however, that Ginastera was furthest from the use of folkloric references and indigenous themes during his years as director of CLAEM. It is significant, for instance, that for his operas, *Don Rodrigo* (1964), *Bomarzo* (1966), and *Beatrix Cenci* (1971), he chooses librettos that deal with an ancient and European past.

Ginastera's more conventional musical Latin Americanism reappeared after he left CLAEM and moved to Geneva in 1971. In his 1975 unfinished work, *Popol Vuh*, Ginastera uses indigenous sources and renews his pan-regional discourse:

> Reinforced by his close friendships with Latin American expatriates living abroad, he developed a broad sense of pan-continental solidarity. As he revealed in a newspaper interview in Madrid: "I feel not only Argentine, but Hispano-American in the total sense of the word." Such a strong resurgence of identity resulted in the renewal of Latin American musical elements in his works.[45]

While at CLAEM, however, Ginastera wanted the students to develop a distinctive national voice, nourished by the international perspectives brought by the visiting professors. He saw it as important that the education of Latin American composers would take place in Latin America, to generate a local sensibility that assimilated international perspectives through study with international figures. When discussing key factors shaping his time at CLAEM, Mesías Maiguashca calls attention to the tension between musical nationalism/regionalism and universalism. Maiguascha recognizes that at CLAEM, there was "a central question, always present, and that we discussed many times: the 'American' versus the 'universal.' I understand now," concludes Maiguascha, "that the problem went beyond my capacity for synthesis at the time."[46]

THE BEGINNINGS OF CLAEM: TOWARD A DISTINCTIVE NATIONALISM

In general, the objectives of CLAEM were much more akin to the universalist aesthetic that Ginastera was exploring in his own compositions during the 1960s. However, the requirements for the first generation of students at CLAEM (1963–1964) seem to have pointed elsewhere, perhaps much more in line with Ginastera's belief that students

[44] Ibid., 10.
[45] Ibid., 19.
[46] Mesías Maiguashca, email with the author, November 11, 2008.

FIGURE 6.1 Choir Christmas concert with CLAEM fellows. Courtesy of the Rockefeller Archive Center.

needed to acquire a distinctive national voice. "Drawing upon his own experience," Schwartz-Kates writes, Ginastera "expressed the belief that spending his formative years at home encouraged him to acquire a distinctive national voice, which he later learned how to blend with international perspectives. Developing Latin American composers, he urged, should do the same."[47] In accordance with this belief, the first group of students were required to complete two composition exercises by using well-known melodies from their native countries: a carol for chorus and a short piano piece for children. In a report to the Rockefeller Foundation, Ginastera says that the exercises allow the composers to explore the "national character deriving from their subject-matter."[48] The invitation for a concert on December 20, 1963, advertised an enjoyable evening of Latin American *villancicos* composed by CLAEM fellows on popular themes (Figure 6.1). Eight of the students presented their carols: Valcárcel's *Ya viene el niñito*; Nobre's *Coral de natal*; Bolaños's *Imanispatakk*; Maiguashca's *Ven, niño, ven*; Rondano's *Arre borriquito*; Villalpando's *Huachitorito*; Kuri-Aldana's *Peregrina agraciada*; and Atehortúa's *Brincan y balian*.

Not everybody was excited about the mandatory participation in the choir, or the required writing of Christmas carols. Several of the fellows confessed they felt coerced to participate in the activity. Writing music directly based on folk melodies felt outdated, but they did so out of respect for Ginastera. In my discussions of this

[47] Schwartz-Kates, *Alberto Ginastera*, 11.

[48] Alberto Ginastera, letter to Charles M. Hardin, February 6, 1964, folder 76, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

situation with alcides lanza, he remembers that the idea seemed very conservative to him:

> I offered to compose an aleatoric piece for the choir. The title was . . . *let's stop the chorus . . . [1963-VI],* for a mixed group of voices. I imagined making a whole piece out of tongue twisters. First, the conductor had to say it clearly, and then the choir would repeat it. If the conductor made a mistake the piece had to start again. What I remember is that Ginastera prohibited us from doing this. It was too much for him. He thought the audience would think poorly of it and it would damage the prestige of CLAEM. The piece was never performed.[49]

While the majority of the first group of fellows agreed to write Christmas carols based on popular themes, the next generation of fellows refused entirely, proving to be much more rebellious than the first group. The idea of using popular themes and using a genre such as the villancico, with its enormous colonial baggage, simply did not align with their desires and expectations. Even the names of most pieces composed at CLAEM during the following years show little interest in referencing the national or regional.[50] The majority of the works have abstract names such as Sonata for Violin, *Cuarteto*, or *Trio,* or make references to mathematical terms or musical processes such as *Gradientes II* (1968) by Luis Arias, *Parámetros* by Graciela Paraskevaídis, or *Trígono* (1967) by Luis María Serra. Scientificity and abstraction went hand in hand with universalist desires.

ANXIETIES ABOUT LATIN AMERICANISM: THE CASE OF ATEHORTÚA AND NOBRE

Throughout the existence of CLAEM there was anxiety among music critics in the press about understanding what was particularly "Latin American" about these composers and their music. CLAEM fellows found themselves frequently negotiating the nature of the center, which from its inception was deemed Latin American in nature, and their own adherence to avant-garde and universalist aesthetics. In a long news article from 1964 published in the journal *Visión,* this question was given public emphasis by the press for the first time in a statement by Ginastera in which he confessed a "secret but transparent goal to the creation of an authentic musical Latin American tradition through his teaching. We are taught," Ginastera is quoted saying, "that we are nobody's children, which is not true. We have behind us unimaginable

[49] alcides lanza, email with the author, Montreal, July 13, 2008.

[50] The exceptions were *Variaciones sobre un coral indio* (Variations on an Indian chorale, 1963) by Edgar Valcárcel; *Variaciones para piano y percusión típica brasileña* (Variations for piano and typical Brazilian percussion, 1963) and *Ukrinmakrinkrín* (A lamentation in the Xucuru language, 1964), both by Marlos Nobre; and *Quinsa arawis* (Three songs, 1967) by Florencio Pozada.

treasures. There is an indigenous music lost and suffocated by conquest and civilization. There are hidden jewels of colonial art in temples and old archives. If there were good musicians in Europe, there were also excellent ones in America."[51] Ginastera seems to underline in this interview the importance of musical heritage, which he calls the "unimaginable treasures" of the past. In this case he points out both Native American musical practices and the long tradition of classical music composition in the Americas since the colonial period.[52]

The journalist writing for *Visión* goes on to examine the issue of Latin Americanism by looking at works being produced at CLAEM. Reviewing a concert dedicated exclusively to works by the fellows, the journalists found two works worthy of extensive commentary: one by Colombian Blas Emilio Atehortúa and another by Marlos Nobre. Atehortúa's *Camaræ musica* for violin, horn, cello, piano, and percussion was mentioned first:

> The long, tall, and emotive Colombian Atehortúa (31 years old), in whose piece one seems to breathe in the Latin American landscape, confessed to *Visión:* "I write with a universalist vision. If there is some folklore in my music, I have not searched for it. It has come out only of a *universalist intention*. But I feel proud when *the authentically Latin American* flows from me naturally. I don't try to hide it."[53]

Atehortúa was perhaps one of the students who felt most comfortable learning from and following the advice of Ginastera, and in return he became a close favorite of Ginastera. Atehortúa's own views on universalism were not distant, however, from the importance that Ginastera gave to Latin Americanism. Addressing the influence of Ginastera in his own work, Atehortúa commented,

> When I joined CLAEM, I felt a particularly warm welcome from Ginastera, who took me not as his student, but as his dear disciple. [. . .] He would talk about the importance of his Latin Americanist style. He was a man confident in what he did, and he would say that with this work [the *Cantata para América mágica*] he

[51] "Mensaje de Ginastera: Primeros egresados del Centro," *Visión: Revista internacional*, December 25, 1964.

[52] Not surprising for an Argentine composer in the twentieth century, the third heritage usually mentioned as part of the tri-ethnical origins of Latin American cultures—the African American traditions—are nowhere to be seen. Argentina in general had received a much smaller number of forced African migrations during the previous centuries, and strong political and social forces after the mass European immigration that peaked in the 1910s have whitened the racial imagination of Argentina to the point of having made Afro-Argentines invisible. However, it is estimated that 25% of Buenos Aires was Afro-American in the 1820s, and evidently musical styles such as malambo and milonga have often been claimed to have African roots.

[53] "Mensaje de Ginastera." My emphasis.

> found his style, his form, and the use of microtonalism in the soloist voice. All of these were definitive for my artistic conception.[54]

Camaræ musica, very much like the *Cantata para América mágica,* is highly atonal, methodically avoids repetition of pitch classes and consonant intervals, and uses fractured melodic lines with large intervallic leaps and conventional orchestral instrumentation. The piece has an intense beginning with imitative figures among the instruments, followed by peaceful sustained notes in the strings with sporadic single notes on the piano and lyric declamations by the violin and horn. After an ominous silence all instruments come back to augment the density and activity leading to a climax. The piece shows little overt effort to indicate an interest in musically signaling Latin America or Colombia. Even though Atehortúa tells the journalist that that *Camaræ musica* derives only from a "universalist vision," the writer felt otherwise and chose to emphasize the Latin American landscape perceived in the piece. As a response, and almost defensively, Atehortúa concedes that the Latin Americanness felt in his piece might have been inadvertent references to folklore. Atehortúa concludes that he feels proud when "the authentically Latin American" flows from him naturally. Atehortúa's universalist intention and the perceived audible Latin Americanness disconcerted but also gave pride to Atehortúa, since he saw it as emerging from deep within himself.

Another work that caught the ears of the journalist at *Visión* was Marlos Nobre's *Ukrínmakrinkrín* (Figure 6.2). The piece is scored for soprano, piccolo, oboe, horn, and piano. The score indicates only that the text is written in an "indigenous dialect from the North of Brazil" without indicating that it is in the Xucuru language.[55] When interviewed, Nobre demonstrated a desire to immediately address the tension between nationalist and universalist positions. Nobre's comments were of a similar nature to Atehortúa's:

> They say my work has hints of folklore. *That was not my intent*. I feel, however, that *I must be on a good path then*. I think that Latin American musicians have to do their own music, we have to be different. We had a borrowed culture. We have to make our own traditions with our own hands. We have to work without sectarianism but on something that is truly ours. (My emphasis)

By stressing that he did not actively seek to incorporate folkloric references, Nobre aligns himself with Atehortúa in maintaining that sounding Latin American might happen unconsciously and meant they were on a good path. Both composers were proud, however, that these references were apparent and thought it was a positive trait of their music. It is significant that Nobre argued that he did not search for

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[54] Blas Emilio Atehortúa, email with the author, Bucaramanga, May 27, 2010.

[55] Paul Earls, "Review Marlos Nobre: *Ukrinmakrinkr*in and *Mosaico para orquestra*," *Anuario interamericano de investigación musical* 8 (1972): 179.

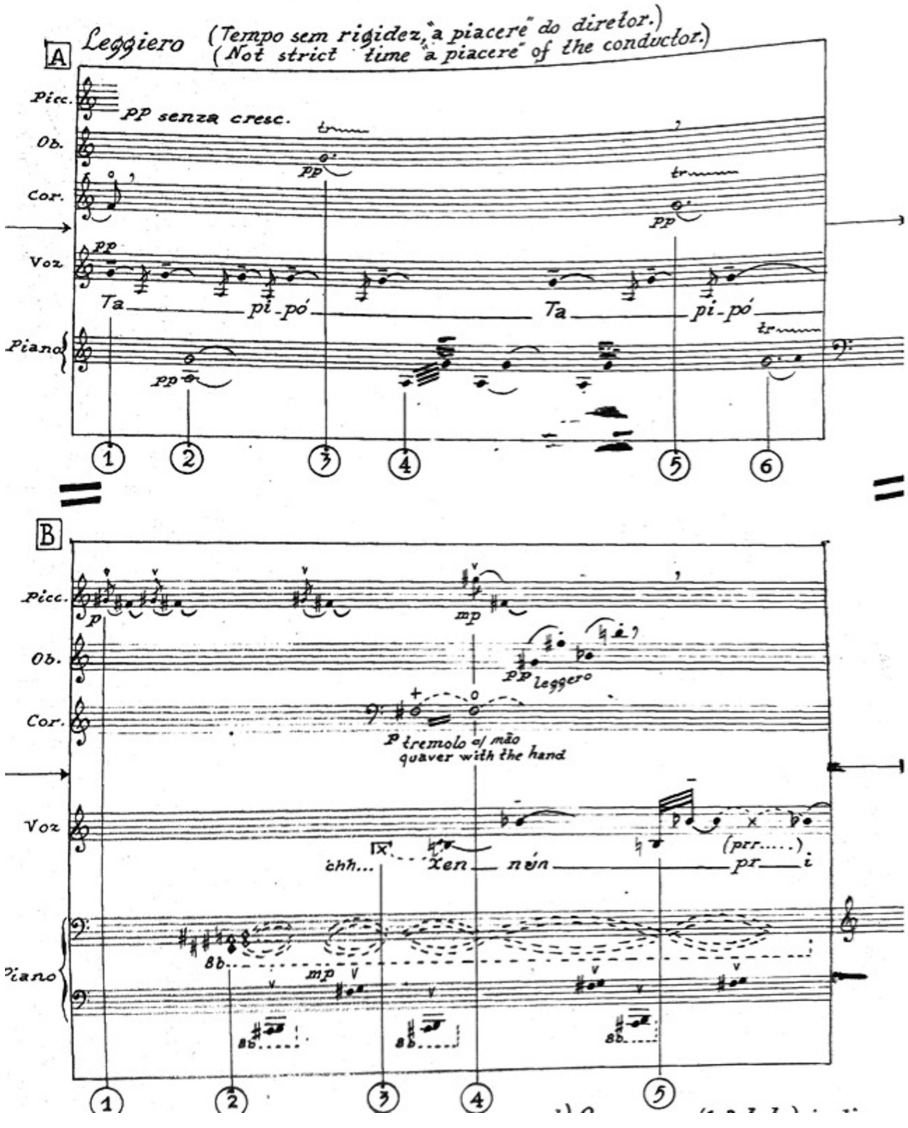

FIGURE 6.2 Marlos Nobre's *Ukrínmakrinkrín,* beginning of the second movement. Notice the clear evasion of a steady pulse, reinforced with a tempo marking that asks the conductor to indicate different entrances in a non-strict time "to [your] fancy." Marlos Nobre, *Ukrínmakrinkrín*, facsimile of original score, unpublished, 1964.

folklore, given the indigenous origins of his chosen text, a lamentation for the suffering of the Xucuru people as they watched ranchers invade their homeland when the colonists were expanding in the state of Pernambuco. In the piece, Nobre employs serial and aleatoric techniques, in a manner not too different from what was commonly found in compositions that resulted from the summer music courses at Darmstadt around the same time. The musical characteristics of the work aligns it

with universalist tendencies. Nobre's vocal writing favors minor seconds and major sevenths, with leaps of sevenths used frequently in a rapid rhythmic figure leading to a sustained note. The piano and winds in the first of three movements support the voice with secundal chords, followed by the superimposition of seconds between winds and strings adding to the sense of lamentation. The middle movement is written with rhythmic freedom and avoids a fixed pulse; instead the conductor is asked to direct "Leggiero (Not strict time 'a piacere' of the conductor)" and to signal musical events to the performers in accordance with numerical markings in the score.[56] Nobre's final movement is rhythmically relentless, with an underlying pulse of eighth notes marked by the piano's incessant playing of clusters with both hands.

As in Atehortúa's piece, there is no evident reference to folklore in the musical structure of *Ukrínmakrinkrín*. But the press—and most likely the composers as well—were avidly looking for them. This anxiety emerged from a tension in presenting the works as distinct enough to be both original and autochthonous to Latin America—in other words, not simply a copy of European styles—but also to fit within the accepted soundscape of contemporary classical music (again we are reminded of Bhabhas's "almost the same, but not quite"). Both composers and critics in the press knew that there was something at stake in how a piece would be received, depending on how strongly it was recognized to be connected to Latin America, and that there was a fine line between copy and originality, and between universalism and nationalism.

Two years at CLAEM might have deeply affected composers, but the implications of this experience took many years to unfold. And the adoption of a new kind of Latin Americanism in music was not homogeneous among composers either. The time that the composer might have spent at CLAEM could not fully capture the broader directions that this process was to take. In contrast to the case of Atehortúa and Nobre, the next cases show how two composers approached Latin Americanism in different ways during the decades after their fellowship at CLAEM. By no means are the examples from this section the only models followed by composers at the time; rather, they show the variety of results that this tension created.

EMBRACING LATIN AMERICANISM: CORIÚN AHARONIÁN

Coriún Aharonián started focusing on composition in 1966, when at twenty-six he started composition lessons with Héctor Tosar.[57] Aharonián had begun playing piano at age five and focused on choral conducting for most of his adult life. Influenced by both Tosar and musicologist Lauro Ayestarán, as well as his cohort in Tosar's class, Ariel Martínez and Daniel Viglietti, Aharonián applied for a CLAEM fellowship for the 1969–1970 cycle. He was accepted and awarded funding, but in the

[56] Marlos Nobre, *Ukrínmakrinkrín*, facsimile of original score, unpublished, 1964.

[57] Tosar had also been Aharonián's teacher between 1955 and 1957. In 1964–1966, Aharonián became assistant and student of Uruguayan musicologist Lauro Ayestarán.

end he attended only from mid-June to October 1969. Early in his stay at CLAEM, Aharonián learned that he had been awarded a scholarship from the French government to study in Paris, so he requested that Ginastera defer his fellowship until he returned. Aharonián registered for a course at the Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique in Paris and studied at GRM (Groupe de Recherches Musicales) with Pierre Schaeffer, Guy Reibel, and François Bayle, starting in October 1969. Because Aharonián found himself diametrically opposed to the views of many of the composers in the French music scene, he gave up the scholarship in April 1970 and, with the help of a separate scholarship from the Italian government, he traveled to Venice to study with Luigi Nono. On his return to South America, Aharonián got the unpleasant surprise that, given the economic conditions at the institute, Ginastera would not able to reinstate his fellowship.

I have described elsewhere how Aharonián's own music embraced Latin Americanism in a critical and revisionist manner.[58] Aharonián's concerns with this issue began with a sociocultural dilemma. The majority of composers of art music in Latin America partook in European-derived cultural practices, belonged to white or mestizo middle- or upper classes, and were not really aware of Native American or Afro-American cultural practices that surrounded them, and even less of local and regional artistic production. The main teachings composers received prioritized artistic production coming from Europe, reinforcing colonial ties and securing a subordinate or peripheral role of the Americas within those practices. Aharonián worried that the local art worlds were "strange, foreign, unfamiliar and, many times, exotic" for Latin American composers.[59] He also felt that the recognition of the diverse sources of knowledge and practices that were part of the Latin American milieu had to be at the core of an education that would achieve recognition and independence.

It was during the 1970s that Aharonián immersed himself in the study of musical traditions of indigenous Aymara and Quechua speakers, after he had heard the music used in the 1971 film *Yawar Mallku* (The condor's blood) by Jorge Sanjines.[60] The contact with a folkloric tradition that was already circulating within cosmopolitan circles in Buenos Aires, La Paz, and Paris only encouraged Aharonián to further his understanding of the musical practices from which these styles had derived. The first composition resulting from this study was *Homenaje a la flecha clavada en el pecho de*

[58] See Eduardo Herrera, "El compositor uruguayo Coriún Aharonián: Música, ideología y el rol del compositor en la sociedad," *Latin American Music Review* 34, no. 2 (2013b): 254–85.

[59] Coriún Aharonián, "Latinoamérica hoy," *Boletín de música casa de las Américas* 79 (1979): 4.

[60] Part of the music for the film was composed by Alberto Villalpando (CLAEM fellow in 1963–1964), Alfredo Domínguez, and Ignacio Quispe. Aharonián points out that Villalpando wrote "the music that accompanies those of the dominant culture, while the indigenous peoples are described musically with indigenous music, something like the *Kantus de Charazani* [Bolivian panpipe bands]." Aharonián, personal communication with the author, March 30, 2013. Gilbert Favre, a Swiss musician and one of the founders of the Bolivian folkloric music venue Peña Naira and the popular folkloric group Los Jairas, performed the *quena* part while he was accompanied by Ernesto Cavour and Julio Godoy. See Fernando Rios, "La Flûte Indienne: The Early History of Andean Folkloric-Popular Music in France and Its Impact on Nueva Canción," *Latin American Music Review* 29 (2008): 145–89.

Don Juan Diaz de Solís (1974). In the piece, Aharonián used South American indigenous and mestizo wind instruments as sound materials, unintentionally making it the first piece within the classical music tradition done exclusively with instruments of the Andean highlands and indexing the musical practices of Aymara-speaking peoples.[61] The liner notes and several musical decisions in the piece reveal Aharonián's concern with navigating the power differentials that materialize through the use of indigenous instruments and entering creative dialogue with them, as opposed to simple appropriation. By using the types of articulations and gestures that are commonly heard among indigenous and mestizo performers and avoiding references to "pseudo-traditional pentaphonic [*sic*] fragments of melodies,"[62] Aharonián attempts to avoid exoticizing the instruments and the people associated with them.

Aharonián's use of instruments with connections to indigenous groups of the Americas continued in the composition *Esos silencios* (1978), an electroacoustic work in which he uses diverse sound sources, among them instruments built by the Guatemalan composer and CLAEM fellow Joaquín Orellana.[63] Orellana had returned to Guatemala with a taste for electronic music, but not having the necessary infrastructure, he decided to develop a range of instruments based on Central American native organology, instruments that would allow unexpected timbres to result in a type of live musique concrète. In Aharonián's piece, the instruments are used to produce the types of articulations, overlapped phrasings, and wide sense of synchrony in collective attacks that once again bring to mind Aymara musical traditions in Bolivia and Peru. This kind of trans-indigenous connection between sounds inspired by Central American indigenous instruments and Andean musical practices becomes a sonic statement about Aharonian's aspirational Latin Americanism, one that is built upon "the convergence of three large ethnical, therefore cultural, currents," in which "Western-European white is only one of those three."[64]

Aharonián's relationship with Latin American popular music followed a similar path in which he aimed for a "gradual breach of the dichotomy between 'art' music and 'popular' music."[65] Starting in the 1980s, Aharonián began incorporating popular-music references in several of his compositions with a similar avoidance of obvious melodic allusions or driving rhythmic patterns. In fact, Aharonián's references were not normally quotations of preexistent pieces being recontextualized, but instead newly composed musical gestures that would point toward possible popular-musical styles.[66] For example, in *Los cadadías* (1980) for small ensemble, Aharonián

[61] Coriún Aharonián, notes to the recording: *Gran tiempo: Composiciones electroacústicas*, 8.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Orellana incorporates the strong indigenous tradition of his country in his work as a composer and a luthier. He has built a large number of instruments based on traditional Guatemalan instruments, principally the different type of marimbas believed to be associated with Mayan practices.

[64] Coriún Aharonián, *Conversaciones sobre música, cultura e identidad* (Montevideo: OMBU, 1992a), 38.

[65] Coriún Aharonián, "An Approach to Compositional Trends in Latin America," *Leonardo* 10 (2000): 4.

[66] One exception here is Aharonián's composition *Una canción* (1998), in which he directly quotes material from Hans Eisler, Luigi Nono, Daniel Viglietti, Chico Buarque, Violeta Parra, and Silvestre Revueltas, among others.

used the rhythmical, behind-the-bridge bow scratching often found in Piazzolla and post-Piazzolla tango orchestras to drive the violoncello part and the overall behavior of the rest of the instruments. This gesture and others like it subtly allude to the tango-milonga sound world, but they are part of the vocabulary of the piece and not a pasted-in element that contrasts with the rest of the work. Aharonián's research on topics of popular music included hands-on work with musical arrangements for artists like Daniel Viglietti, Ruben Olivera, and Los Olimareños and culminated with the 2007 publication of the book *Músicas populares del Uruguay*.[67]

Aharonián purposefully integrated highly modern classical-music characteristics with musical traits, performance practices, and instruments from indigenous, folkloric, and popular-music traditions as part of his interest in presenting himself as a Latin American composer. This vision, essentially a revisionist take on earlier art-music nationalisms, led to compositions that were constantly making references to indigenous materials, gestures, and syntax, but avoided melodic and rhythmic patterns that suggest the connection too flagrantly. Considering his role as one of the leading voices of the avant-garde in Latin America, students of Aharonián have often taken a serious interest in breaching the apparent divides between musical traditions and have continued producing works that bring together elements and aesthetic preferences from multiple sources, yet fully embracing contemporary models of art-music composition that avoid simplistic representations of the local musical traditions.[68]

EMBRACING LATIN AMERICANISM: THE CASE OF ALBERTO VILLALPANDO

In their biography of Alberto Villalpando, Wiethüchter and Rosso argue that the year 1964 was a breaking point in the history of music in Bolivia. That year, the final one of his fellowship at CLAEM, Villalpando submitted two scores to the national *Luzmila Patiño* composition prize, a string quartet titled *Preludio, pasacaglia y postludio* and a second work called *Cuatro juegos fantásticos*. Villalpando's works caused great commotion among the jury. The compositions, described by Wiethüchter and Rosso as "written in an unmistakable avant-garde language," apparently "found an appreciative ear in one of the jurors: Mario Estenssoro." It seemed that Villalpando's submissions were the only ones in true dialogue with contemporary avant-garde music. With strong opposition but with Estenssoro's support, "the nominated string

[67] Coriún Aharonián, *Músicas populares del Uruguay* (Montevideo: Escuela Universitaria de Música, Universidad de la República, Comisión Sectorial de Educación Permanente, 2007).

[68] Among Aharonian's students are Jorge Lazaroff (Uruguay, 1950–1989), Elbio Rodríguez (Uruguay, b. 1953), Leo Maslíah (Uruguay, b. 1954), Cergio Prudencio (Bolivia, b. 1955), Fernando Condon (Uruguay, b. 1955), Fernando Cabrera (Uruguay, b. 1956), Luis Trochón (Uruguay, b. 1956) Carlos Mastropietro (Argentina, b. 1958), Mauricio Ubal (Uruguay, b. 1959), Tato Taborda Júnior (Brazil, b. 1960), Carmen Baliero (Argentina, b. 1962), Damián Rodríguez Kees (Argentina, b. 1963), Jorge Drexler (Uruguay, b. 1964), Rodolfo Acosta (Colombia, b. 1970), Ana María Romano (Colombia, b. 1971), María Eva Albístur (Argentina, b. 1973), and Daniel Leguizamón (Colombia, b. 1978).

FIGURE 6.3 From left to right, standing: Carlos Squirru, Miguel Angel Rondano, Alberto Villalpando. Sitting, Delia Puzzovio. Buenos Aires, 1963. Reproduced by Blanca Wiethüchter and Carlos Rosso in *La geografía suena: Biografía crítica de Alberto Villalpando* (La Paz: Plural, 2005), 24.

quartet, *Preludio, Pasacaglia y Postludio*, written in dodecaphonic and atonal language, won the first prize. Contemporary music had arrived to Bolivia, and it did so triumphantly."[69]

Villalpando was born in La Paz in 1940 and lived in Potosí throughout his childhood. His contact with contemporary music in the mining city was little and far between, although he managed to attend sporadic concerts organized on Friday nights by the owner of a local music store. When he moved to Buenos Aires in 1958, Villalpando enjoyed discovering the differences between the art-music world of Potosí and the cosmopolitan center of Latin America. Accompanied by fellow Bolivian composers Marvin Sandi and Florencio Posadas, Villalpando joined the Conservatorio Nacional Carlos López Buchardo and for the next four years studied under the supervision of Alberto Ginastera. Villalpando must have felt relieved when Ginastera, after announcing he was going to leave the conservatory to work full time at CLAEM, asked him personally to apply for the newly created center. Villalpando not only took the opportunity to gain valuable education, but also to collaborate with other composers and visual artists such as composer Miguel Angel Rondano and visual artists Carlos Squirru and Delia Puzzovio, all part of the Di Tella Institute (see Figure 6.3). Villalpando's biographers

[69] Blanca Wiethüchter and Carlos Rosso, *La geografía suena: Biografía crítica de Alberto Villalpando* (La Paz: Plural Editores, 2005), 12–13.

describe the Bolivian composer's experience at CLAEM as central to the musical language that he was to adopt for the rest of his career:

> The institute was a breeding ground for the new composers of Latin America. And it offered a double freedom. First, the freedom from the traditional structures of music composition and a return to the prime material: sound. And second, the freedom brought by breaking from a limitation that had haunted all Latin American artists since the beginning of the century: folklore in music, *costumbrismo* in literature, *indigenismo* in the plastic arts, etc. And conquering both liberties had a cost for every Latin American artist: to assume the responsibility of their cultural identity.[70]

When Villalpando returned to Bolivia he worked diligently to improve the National Symphonic Orchestra and the National Music Conservatory. However, the series of military coups that plagued Bolivia beginning in 1964, and the general conservative attitude of many local musicians, caused the young composer to suffer many frustrations. Musically, as Wiethücher and Rosso indicate, Villalpando was also facing important questions about his identity as a Bolivian and Latin American composer:

> Students left the Di Tella Institute concerned with finding a language capable of expressing a cultural identity. It was difficult, since one had to evade folklorisms and nationalisms that were no longer reputable. It was under that tension that Villalpando began his reflections about the Bolivian landscape.[71]

Villalpando saw in his surrounding landscape, in the geography of the Andes, the solution to incorporating what he felt was intrinsically Bolivian while he avoided the folkloric references that previous nationalist composers had used to signal the nation. He decided to redirect his focus of interest away from folklore and into geography. "For now," Villalpando wrote, "my interest is to penetrate as deeply as possible *the study of our geography, not of our folklore*."[72] Villalpando decided not to explore native, folkloric, or popular music sources, but to make topography the point of departure for all musical practices that are connected to Bolivian identity. Villalpando saw in the geography of the Andean highlands the source of a Bolivian intuition and, thus, authenticity:

> I have found in Bolivian geography the container that holds us all. A geography of sounds. It is not about painting landscapes [*paisajista*]. My intention is not to describe the landscape, but to capture the internal states that geography

[70] Ibid., 29.
[71] Ibid., 49.
[72] Villalpando 1976, quoted in ibid., 52. My emphasis.

> suggests and that identify those of us who are Bolivian, because we are made out of that same soil.[73]

The notion that geography sounds—which eventually became the title of his biography—was the most important source of inspiration for Villalpando's works. Landscape and soundscape—rivers, birds, rain, wind—became the signs that associated music with region, country, and nation and granted the sense of authenticity that folkloric materials might have provided earlier pieces associated with nationalist aesthetics.

Las transformaciones del agua y del fuego en las montañas (1991) is one of Villalpando's pieces inspired by Andean geography. The work uses a conservative musical language that resembles Carlos Chávez's *Sinfonía India*. Quite different when compared to the raw avant-garde used by Aharonián, the piece exposes continuities between Villalpando's work and earlier examples of Latin American nationalist art-music composition. The quasi-programmatic writing is reflected in the program notes and the evocative language of the analysis it has inspired:

> In the quiet of the mountain, silence is broken by the arrival of a clarinet melody that announces, incites, or calls for the ritual, thus setting up a magical space. The convocation emerges from the counterpoint between the flute and the oboe, which invade the atmosphere with the same melody. The counterpoint is interrupted or fractured by dissonant masses of sound that disintegrate the atmosphere simultaneously giving space to the chaos imposed by the percussion, which leads to an annunciation of sorts. In the second fragment, next to the metal one hears strange choral chants, like the awakening of secret underground forces conjuring ancient mysteries to which the strings provide a kind of enabling context.[74]

Villalpando's reliance on avant-garde techniques diminished after the 1970s. Once he had become focused on landscapes as inspiration for his compositions, he felt discouraged from using dissonant sonorities. From a pragmatic standpoint, he also argued that the levels of local performers in Bolivia, both in ensembles and particularly in symphonic orchestras, forced composers to simplify their musical language so that the pieces are, first of all, performed, and second, performed well. Villalpando's central role in the history of Bolivian classical music in the second half of the twentieth century made him an important model for a younger generation of Bolivian composers. These composers persisted in their interest in finding concrete ways of combining music and local identity and maintaining a strong sense of heritage with earlier composers associated with nationalism.

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[73] Villalpando in "La geografía suena," *Presencia literaria* (1992), quoted in Wiethüchter and Rosso, *La geografía suena*, 52.

[74] Wiethüchter and Rosso, *La geografía suena*, 55.

LATIN AMERICANISM AND SOLIDARITY NETWORKS AT CLAEM

The music of Blas Emilio Ateortúa, Marlos Nobre, Coriún Aharonián, and Alberto Villalpando are but four examples of the various and rich ways in which some of the composers of CLAEM adopted the idea of Latin Americanism during their careers. Still, that there was no stylistic unity that could be associated with the CLAEM generation raises a significant question: what, then, was the importance of CLAEM within the Latin American musical scene and to Latin Americanism in general? I argue that more than musical unity, it was the strong networks of solidarity formed among composers during these years that made CLAEM significant and facilitated a generational break with the immediate past.

There were two types of students at CLAEM, those who were already established in Buenos Aires and had family, or at least had developed circles of friends and colleagues, and those who came from other Argentine provinces or abroad. There was initially a lack of integration between the two groups and friendships took time to flourish. But there was also a distance created by the differences in musical education and knowledge between those who had received their education in Buenos Aires and the rest of the fellows. The very cosmopolitanism of the city and the significant number of European music teachers who had immigrated since the Second World War had allowed many Argentine (and in some cases, Chilean) students to cultivate a high level of technical competence and awareness of recent developments that was absent in many of the foreign students. These factors created an air of haughtiness among some of the Argentines, which many of the fellows noticed. Peruvian fellow Edgar Valcárcel remembers how in Riccardo Malipiero's classes this tension rose to the surface. In his recollection, Valcárcel himself maintains a peculiar separation between "Argentines" and "Latin Americans":

> There was a confrontation between the Latin American group and the Argentines. It was hard for us, but we had to our advantage someone we will never forget, the Maestro Riccardo Malipiero, an Italian [composer] that came to teach us about serialism and twelve-tone composition techniques, something that I had not learned in Lima. There, in one of his talks, he said to all the fellows "You don't know Latin America" to which one of the Argentine fellows replied "Maestro, but we find that north of Argentina there is nothing." Then, a huge fight started. Today those Argentines are among my best friends, one of them, alcides lanza, lives in Canada and is in love with Latin America. They fell in love, surrendered to it. That was Malipiero's work.[75]

[75] Luis Alvarado, "Encuentro de dos mundos: Edgar Valcárcel y la nueva música en el Perú," *Hueso húmero* 55 (2010): 80–100.

Complaints did not stop there. In the late 1950s, alcides lanza and Armando Krieger had become friends and worked together with pianist-composer Gerardo Gandini, conductor Armando Tauriello, and a very young Mariano Etkin. In 1959 they founded a contemporary music ensemble to perform their own compositions and, in some cases, works by established composers. They called the group Agrupación Música Viva—no relation to other groups with the same name.[76] The group's performances prominently featured the works of local composers, and this practice gained them notoriety in the musical scene of Buenos Aires. By the time that CLAEM was established, the group was well known, and even during their fellowships they continued exclusively performing Argentine works. This choice did not bode well with foreign composers at CLAEM, who felt that such narrowness in the repertoire missed the opportunity provided by having so many composers from the region living in the city:

> Late in 1963, the eight student composers who were not Argentine requested a meeting with the [Agrupación] Música Viva directors, namely lanza, Gandini, and Krieger. The students complained about the group's bias and asked that their music be included in future concerts. Maiguashca, an Ecuadorian who was the ringleader of the protesters, angrily said, "We are guests in your country. You invite us here and then ignore us!" lanza and Gandini listened carefully to their objections and concluded that the students had a legitimate grievance. Thereafter the agenda of [Agrupación] Música Viva was consciously expanded to include contemporary music from all of Latin America.[77]

Although the activities of Agrupación Música Viva were not directly tied to CLAEM, all of its members were part of the Center in some manner at that moment: lanza and Krieger—and soon after, Etkin—as fellows, Gandini as teacher, and Tauriello as conductor in many of the officially organized concerts. This attitude reflected a rift between the conceived Latin Americanness of CLAEM and the habits that were prevalent among the Argentine composers. That this story comes from lanza's biography, who himself had been accused of a narrowness in his programing at that time, highlights that the lack of interest in compositions from other parts of Latin America—driven most likely by ignorance and habit—was indeed a problem and that the experience at CLAEM did change this situation and helped to create new professional bonds in the region. For Coriún Aharonián, this condition was directly related to the legacies of colonialism:

> In reality, at that time [up until the 1960s] all the young Latin American composers were isolated inside their own countries—frequently even inside their

[76] Pamela Jones, *alcides lanza: Portrait of a Composer* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 30.

[77] Jones, *alcides lanza*, 40. Maiguashca's quotation appears as recalled by lanza in an interview with Jones, April 5, 1997.

> own cities—, as a consequence of colonialism. Imperialism had left a legacy of communication systems where contact with the imperial metropolis [Europe and the United States] was easy but contact among the colonies was difficult or impossible.[78]

In years to follow, lanza became one of the most important advocates for new Latin American music, which became central to his programing, his recordings as performer, and his recruiting work as part of the faculty of McGill University.

NETWORKS OF SOLIDARITY AS DECOLONIAL STRATEGY

The closing of the gap between Argentine and foreign composers, and the emergence and embrace of an idea of Latin America, took time, study, and trust. Quite importantly, this process developed from the friendship and camaraderie that CLAEM fostered through the extended length of the fellowships. New professional bonds among composers from Latin America grew out of a simple condition: the availability of a shared space for an extended period of time. CLAEM fellowships provided these composers with a unique opportunity to get to know one another personally and musically.

Particularly after the 1960s, Latin America avidly embraced anti-US sentiments. The discussions among the young composers were part of a larger challenge posed by Latin American intellectuals to the model of developmentalism and modernization theory that posited that with proper management, the Third World would reach the economic conditions of the so-called developed world. The anti-US reactions argued that "developed" countries in fact needed the poverty and exploitation of the other countries to maintain their position. In terms of artistic creation, critics argued against a vision of art as a technology that could be updated to the Euro- and US-centric standards, and instead spoke of centers and peripheries of artistic production, and how the very concept of "art" helped maintain the inequalities between the supposedly developed and less developed countries. In this context, while Ginastera and the Di Tella Institute might have thought of their project in terms of updating or modernizing music creation to gain parity with European or North American counterparts, students hoped to find a counter-model that could get them outside of this dichotomy. Many found resonance in the ideas of economic dependency theory and began articulating a discourse of art in relation not to development but to coloniality and neocoloniality, predating even the emergence of the 1990s modernity/coloniality school led by thinkers such as Aníbal Quijano, Catherine Walsh, Walter Mignolo, Enrique Dussel, and Arturo Escobar.

[78] Aharonián, *Héctor Tosar*, 28.

The ideas that had circulated since the 1950s about the place of Latin America within global economic dynamics were fully captured in 1970 by Enzo Falletto and Fernando Henrique Cardoso in their classic book *Dependência e desenvolvimento na América latina*.[79] Falletto and Cardoso argue that "between developed and underdeveloped economies there is not just a difference of stage, or phase of a productive system, but one of function, of position within one international economic structure of production and distribution."[80] The criticism focused on Walt Rostow's notion that economic underdevelopment was an early stage in the process of reaching advanced stages of consumer capitalism. Instead, advocates of dependency theory argued that underdevelopment was an essential and fatal component that sustained the developed–underdeveloped binary and maintained structural inequalities around the world. The center–periphery conceptual schema—most commonly associated with economist Raúl Prebisch—became a common metaphor for the unequal relationships between the First and Third World, and one that composers used frequently to criticize the very model that CLAEM proposed. Mariano Etkin, in hindsight, described how "the main purpose of [CLAEM] was to 'modernize'—'civilize'—Latin American composers, following the models of development coming from the central countries."[81] Instead, for some of the students the avant-garde could provide peripheral alternatives to the hegemonic models emerging from the centers. The ideas about art that previous generations had held were perceived as part of the apparatus that sustained dependency and could be criticized from the vantage point of the avant-garde.

The practical and concrete aspects of this dependency were not lost on the composers. Even in Bueno Aires, a cosmopolitan hub in South America, the center–periphery dynamics determined the availability of knowledge about composers and their music. Etkin was one of many composers who acknowledged that "in the 1960s, Latin American composers knew very little of what was going on in other Latin American countries. Little of what was going on in Guatemala, or even Chile, a bordering country to Argentina, and yet so different."[82] Historically, Latin American classical composers had easier access to information coming from Europe and the United States than to information from neighboring countries. Exchanges in personal correspondence and formal academic journals had combated these conditions, but the circulation of music through scores, recordings, and even performances was meager at best. For Ecuadorian fellow Mesías Maiguashca, the two-year period of sharing at CLAEM helped remove some differences that had kept Latin American composers apart:

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[79] Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependência e desenvolvimento na América latina* (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores, 1970). The basis of the economic theories was initially formulated by the economist Raúl Prebisch from his position in the Economic Commission for Latin America, part of the United Nations since 1950.

[80] Ibid., 26.

[81] Just as with the term "modernize," Etkin usually uses the term "developed world" within quotation marks. "Los espacios de la música contemporánea en América Latina," *Revista del Instituto Superior de Música* 1 (1989): 53.

[82] Mariano Etkin, interview with the author, August 1, 2005.

> The Di Tella Institute helped us understand that we did not have to live antagonizing each other. That, for me, is the greatest legacy of this institution, because it generated several generations of composers united by friendship, a type of solidarity new in our cultural history, that implied, naturally, aesthetic tolerance.[83]

The colonial legacy of disinformation among Latin American composers found a corrective in the personal contact, friendship, and camaraderie that were fostered at CLAEM. The emergence of networks of solidarity became the basis for significant professional growth. The friendships generated and the multinational character of CLAEM facilitated the adoption of a strategic regional identity for a Latin American avant-garde in an art world that had largely been Euro- and US-centric.

A STRATEGIC LATIN AMERICANISM: CONTINUITIES AND DISJUNCTIONS

The discourse of Latin Americanism that emerged at CLAEM had continuities with the earlier work of Gilbert Chase, the International Composers Guild, the Pan American Association of Composers, and even Ginastera's personal Pan American dream explored earlier this chapter.[84] But there were two substantial differences from previous attempts at professional regional unity. First, these composers did not just know one another from music festivals and occasional meetings, but from an extended period of profound exchange and, in many cases, sincere friendships. This bond helped overcome the hurdles created by possible aesthetic differences composers might have had. Second, the adoption of this Latin American identity marker was the result of a premeditated and conscious move, resonating with what Gayatri Spivak has called strategic essentialism.[85] In other words, composers were aware that the essential attributes they shared as Latin Americans were an unstable construct, the result of a traceable historical process. But that instability did not diminish the importance of identifying as Latin American composers, since this identity was a pragmatic tool utilized to gain agency within the avant-garde art world, achieve professional mobility, and, quite importantly, provide a sense of belonging within a tradition that did not offer the composers a comfortable place. Insightfully, Coriún Aharonián wrote, "Latin America does not exist. It does not exist but it should exist. . . . Latin-Americanness then is fundamentally a historical need for self-defense."[86] There was, in other words, a conscious effort for avant-garde composers

[83] Mesías Maiguashca, cited in Monika Fürst-Heidtmann, "La música como autobiografía: El compositor Mesías Maiguashca," *Humboldt (Inter Nationes)* 38, no. 117 (1996): 50.

[84] Carol Hess, "Ginastera's *Bomarzo*," 459–76.

[85] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Outside in the Teaching Machine* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 3–4.

[86] Aharonián, *Conversaciones sobre música*, 47. In Spanish, he uses the word "Latinoamericanicidad," consciously avoiding using the word "Latin Americanismo."

to use the label Latin American to their own advantage and for their own growth. The othering discourse that had made them different from the unmarked art-music composer was now seen as something that could be leveraged for their benefit within local and international institutions and audiences. In this way, the essentialism behind the label of Latin American was used as a professional strategy for promoting a musical practice within cosmopolitan circles, earning performance spaces, gaining funding opportunities, allowing the freedom to use certain materials as sources of inspiration, and developing a central aspect of self-representation among international peers. This new strategic Latin Americanism was neither a cynical move nor a utopian dream for continental unity. Instead, it was a professional choice based not only on aesthetic grounds, but also on the interactions between personal connections and geopolitical conditions. It paralleled earlier calls for Pan Americanism and Inter-Americanism and reclaimed a term that had been used to mark the otherness of Latin American composers to now signify a positive and distinctive quality that exemplified an originality desired within modernist aesthetics. Being part of a "Latin American avant-garde" became an identifier that was strategically and subversively adopted as a means of re-appropriating othering discourses.

Many of those who went to CLAEM as students or as professors soon after became important facilitators and allies, from their positions as faculty, administrators, or members of granting institutions, to other composers. Riccardo Malipiero, Aaron Copland, and Luigi Nono, for instance, established close and long-lasting friendships with many fellows and helped them with their European and American connections through the rest of their lives, facilitating further studies for many of the fellows.[87] Nono shared his knowledge and also developed his own understandings of the relationship between social revolution and music composition during his travels to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela.[88] Many of the European, US, and Latin American professors wrote important letters of recommendation in the following years and helped many of the fellows continue their work with the support of the Guggenheim Foundation, the OAS, and many foreign universities, as was the case with the fellows Atehortúa, Brnčić, lanza, Núñez Allauca, and Valcárcel.

A quick glance at the careers of many CLAEM fellows shows that they became true ambassadors of Latin American art music around the world. Since 1971 they have supported younger Latin American composers, performers, and researchers, creating an extension of the original ties formed during their youth as exemplified by alcides lanza, first from his post at Columbia-Princeton, and then at McGill University in Canada; Mesías Maiguashca from his exile in Germany and frequent returns to Ecuador; Gabriel Brnčić, who was forced to leave South America and made an important career in Spain; Coriún Aharonián and Graciela Paraskevaídis from Uruguay;

[87] On Copland's various visits to Argentina, see Hess, "Copland in Argentina," 250.

[88] Daniela Fugellie, "Al gran sol de la revolución: Algunos de sus encuentros con América Latina entre evolución y revolución de la nueva música (1948–1972)," *Boletín música* 35 (2013): 3–29.

Mariano Etkin and Gerardo Gandini in Argentina; Jacqueline Nova, despite her untimely death, and Blas Atehortúa in Colombia; Jorge Antunes and Marlos Nobre in Brazil; and Eduardo Kusnir, both during his time in Puerto Rico, and then later in Venezuela and Argentina. While this group might have been the most visible, there are many more composers not included in this list who, having been affected by their experience at CLAEM, decided to open their hearts, their homes, and their studies and offer help to other Latin American musicians in a manner unprecedented in the region.

The implications of the networks created during this particular time at CLAEM have strong repercussions even today. The networks of solidarity grew beyond the CLAEM fellows to their students, who learned the importance of having strong professional ties with their peers in the region and also had the opportunity to establish connections with some of the older generation of composers in conferences and international meetings. It would be hard to find a country in Latin America that has not attempted to organize some kind of Latin American music festival, often with the important input of some of the fellows. Although the disinformation that was symptomatic before CLAEM has not fully disappeared, it has been at least significantly reduced by the efforts of many of these composers to teach classes on Latin American contemporary classical music and to require the analysis of works from the region in their lessons, abandoning, if only in part, the absolute focus on European and US American compositions that was prevalent in music education during most of the twentieth century.

Questions of local, national, and regional identity are in constant dialogue with identifications of race, class, and ethnicity. The strategic adoption of the identification as Latin American composer had a transcendental impact in the professional field, as these composers found an entry point to the avant-garde. Ultimately, this impact made the experience of CLAEM successful in establishing a number of composers at the cusp of the art world and creating a regional identification within the profession, albeit one that has been constantly challenged.

Argentine art lovers of all ages are mourning the demise of this city's cultural temple. Due to lack of funds, the Di Tella Institute is closing its famous Florida center [. . .] home of South America's most flourishing and original cultural presentations. The best-known tourist attraction [. . .] the center attracted all that is new and offbeat and even slightly crazy in Buenos Aires. Around it mushroomed a complex of swinging bars, avant-garde art shops and the city's most lively gallery, known as the Crazy Block. [. . .] Alternately denounced as Communist-controlled and a tool of U.S. imperialism, the center in fact offered a unique opportunity to young artists from other South American countries as well as Argentina. [. . .] In an otherwise conservative cultural climate, the Florida center filled an enormous void. [. . .] A magnet for the young and the imaginative, the center was an oasis for the mini-skirt and long hair before both styles were accepted.[1]

7

THE CLOSING AND LASTING IMPACT OF CLAEM

BY THE END of 1971, all of the art centers hosted at the Di Tella Institute had closed, and the last one had been CLAEM. Guido Di Tella argued vehemently that it had all been the result of the difficult economic situation of the SIAM–Di Tella conglomerate; there was simply not enough funding available. His partner in the creation of the centers, and director of the Institute, Enrique Oteiza, saw things differently. He felt Guido Di Tella was caving to the pressure that the military dictatorship was putting on the art centers, particularly after some of the scandals of the visual artists, and to a lesser degree on the theater presentations of the audiovisual center. The decision to close the art centers but save the social sciences centers at the Institute felt to Oteiza like surrendering to the oppressive government. Guido saw it as a smart financial option to save the centers that dealt with what he and his brother were seriously interested in, economics and sociology. Oteiza did not believe him, arguing instead that "that the government was blackmailing [Guido] so that he would give up Florida in exchange for [saving] SIAM."[2] Guido's reaction to this accusation? He ended a friendship of over fifteen years, and never spoke to Oteiza again. Oteiza resigned, and, as John P. Harrison saw it when he was reporting this resignation,

[1] Article attached to letter titled "Di Tella Culture Center Closes in Buenos Aires" in *Times of the Americas*, June 24, 1970, in letter from James M. Daniel (Rockefeller Foundation officer in Cali, Colombia) to William Olson, July 6, 1970, reel 36, series 301, RG 2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[2] Nicolás Cassese, *Los Di Tella: Una familia, un país* (Buenos Aires: Aguilar, 2008), 187–88.

Elite Art Worlds. Eduardo Herrera, Oxford University Press (2020). © Oxford University Press.
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Oteiza felt there was "soft pressure from the Government and the bureaucracy of other large companies in Buenos Aries because of the freedom under which the Visual Arts Program had developed as a form of expression."[3]

For CLAEM, funding and other economic factors were a more immediate concern than the political climate. In fact, if politics had been the only issue, we would assume that CLAEM, given its lesser visibility, could have lasted longer as part of the Di Tella Institute. In fact, this low profile was the case (at least in 1971) when CLAEM was functioning while the CAV and CEA had already closed. However, in addition to the two general problems—lack of financial resources and a deteriorating political situation—CLAEM suffered from the personal crisis of its director, Alberto Ginastera. At the end of the decade, Ginastera went through an important personal transition that affected his productivity and his willingness to deal with administrative issues, difficulties that have yet to be discussed in musicological writings.[4] Ginastera's increased activity abroad, divorce, and newfound love, took him away from his role as director, and this notably diminished CLAEM's possibilities of surviving the political and economic crisis.

Alberto Ginastera's Struggles with Fundraising, Politics, and Family

In 1971, Alberto Ginastera wrote to his friend, playwright José María Paolantonio, confessing that his "serious personal problems and the exhausting fundraising work at the Di Tella [Institute] undermined [his] creative will. Since the beginning of 1968," Ginastera confessed, he had "not written a single note."[5] Worse, the crisis was happening at a time that the composer himself considered the "highpoint of [his] career."[6] Three main factors contributed to this moment of crisis: the fundraising for the music center he directed had become much more pressing and time consuming; the Argentine political situation, and particularly the censorship of his opera *Bomarzo*, had disillusioned him about his own country; and his relationship with his family had deteriorated, leading to his separation from his first wife, Mercedes del Toro. This became the composer's longest period without composing throughout his career. By looking at what Deborah Schwartz-Kates has called "a traumatic period in the composer's life" resulting in "artistic paralysis," my goal is not to make claims

[3] John P. Harrison, memorandum to Norman Lloyd and Ralph K. Davidson, June 5, 1970, reel 36, series 301, RG 2 1970, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[4] See Deborah Schwartz-Kates, *Alberto Ginastera: A Research and Information Guide* (New York: Routledge, 2010); and Pola Suárez Urtubey, *Alberto Ginastera en 5 movimientos* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Víctor Lerú, 1972).

[5] Alberto Ginastera, letter to José María Paolantonio, [Geneva,] November 23, 1971, Paul Sacher Stiftung: Mikrofilmregister: Ginastera, Alberto: Korrespondenz, 284.1-2528–9.

[6] Ibid.

about Ginastera's creative output; rather, I want to show him in the most mundane of contexts, busy, lacking enough time to work, tired, harassed, and stressed, and how this situation impacted the story of CLAEM. In other words, I am interested in the everyday aspects of being a composer, of struggling with life and with societal changes, and of enduring economic hardships, giving privilege to moments of difficulty over effortlessness, of being unproductive and paralyzed instead of creative and prolific.

The context for Ginastera's crisis made the urgency of its end much more important for the composer. Schwartz-Kates and Carol Hess have carefully documented how Ginastera's success in the United States between 1958 and 1967 consolidated the composer's international career. The positive response to his 1958 Second String Quartet was followed by the enthusiastic reception of his *Cantata para América mágica* and his First Piano Concerto in 1961. The culmination of this process was the US premier of his first opera, *Don Rodrigo*. The work was performed in 1966 during the inaugural season of the New York City Opera at Lincoln Center and became a huge success for the Argentine composer. In parallel with his compositional growth, Ginastera had embarked on the most ambitious pedagogical project of his career, CLAEM.[7] With Ginastera's full-time dedication divided between CLAEM and his creative work, the beginning of the 1960s included some of the most remarkable years in the composer's career.

There are many examples in Ginastera's correspondence and public interviews that show how writing music did not always come easily to him.[8] But in hindsight, the productive vacuum that the crisis starting in 1968 caused was stronger and much more troublesome for the composer than anything he had experienced before. Success had brought commissions that were beginning to accumulate while the composer found himself unable to write. His exasperation with the situation becomes clear in a letter to Roberto Cortés Conde, new executive director of the Di Tella Institute after Oteiza's resignation:

> As director of CLAEM, I had been able to premiere my most important compositions [. . .] and continue my creative work while keeping up with my academic duties inside the Institute. However, over the last three years, the administrative role that I had to take on [at CLAEM] undermined my artistic production. [. . .] My dedication to the Institute had reached such degree that I was not able to complete commissions that I had received in previous years and whose deadlines have passed or are about to pass. That is the reason why right now

[7] While the composer had founded the conservatory at the Universidad Nacional de La Plata in 1948 and organized the music and arts department of the Universidad Católica Argentina in 1958, the scope and impact of CLAEM was without a doubt unprecedented.

[8] See, for example, Eric Salzman, "Ginastera Aids Latin-American Composers," *New York Times,* March 11, 1962, p. X11. Ginastera is quoted when discussing a new commission, "I have already begun to suffer," and "I find composition a hard, difficult task."

> a pianist is threatening me with a lawsuit for failing to fulfill my contract to her. Although I hope I can delay the completion of that composition as much as I can, I can't say the same with the opera *Beatrix Cenci*, scheduled to be premiered at the opening of Kennedy Center in Washington.[9]

The pianist Ginastera mentions was Hilde Somer, who commissioned the Second Piano Concerto for 1969, but who received the work only in 1973. Ginastera did finish the opera for its premiere in September 1971 but it was a close call. He was also behind on his Third String Quartet. While Ginastera blames his administrative duties for this situation, here I argue that the whole crisis was also propelled by the change in political, professional, and personal conditions that had coalesced into a most difficult living situation. Moreover, all of this ultimately contributed to the closing of CLAEM.

FINANCIAL CRISIS

CLAEM began to suffer financial troubles as early as 1966, the same year that Onganía established his dictatorship in Argentina.[10] While the Rockefeller Foundation primarily funded the salaries and equipment of CLAEM, its infrastructure and administrative apparatus depended entirely on the Di Tella Institute. Both sources were suddenly in jeopardy. The final Rockefeller Foundation grant was clearly stated to be "the final contribution of The Rockefeller Foundation" and was to end on April 30, 1969.[11] The endowment that sustained the existence of the Institute depended on the strength of the SIAM–Di Tella industrial complex in the stock market. After the company's failed venture into developing a national car industry, the value of SIAM stock fell dramatically, and so did the endowment. This setback happened at a time when CLAEM was supposed to become gradually independent from Rockefeller Foundation funds.

Ginastera tried for four years, from 1968 to 1971, to get further assistance from the Rockefeller Foundation despite the clear language that the grant was terminal. The response was always negative, but the urgency did not go unnoticed. From his position as officer of the Rockefeller Foundation in Chile, John Harrison noticed in 1970 how fundraising had taken a toll on the composer. After calling CLAEM "as close to an unqualified success as any educational-performing program in the arts could be," Harrison reports that the Center continues to exist "at a personal price to its director, Alberto Ginastera, that I do not believe any other artist of his stature would be

[9] Alberto Ginastera, letter to Roberto Cortés Conde, May 4, Paul Sacher Stiftung: Mikrofilmregister: Ginastera, Alberto: Korrespondenz, 1971, 281.1-2617–8.

[10] Josefina Schröder, letter to Alberto Ginastera, February 4, 1966, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

[11] Kellum Smith, letter to Enrique Oteiza that announced action of the Executive Committee of the Rockefeller Foundation, May 24, 1965, folder 76, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC. See also Norman Lloyd, letter to Alberto Ginastera, January 26, 1969, folder 78, box 9, series 301R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

willing to pay."[12] The previous year, Ginastera had spent at least eight months in raising money from local companies to be able to offer CLAEM fellowships. His records show that he contacted everyone he could think of, not always successfully: Olivetti, Ricordi Americana, Pepsi-Cola, Bayer, Esso, Pirelli, Philips, the Center for Inter-American Relations, and the OAS, among many others. Without the financial support of the Rockefeller Foundation, and with the struggles of the Di Tella Institute, CLAEM needed an unsustainable amount of fundraising effort.

Ginastera's activities as a composer and intense travel schedule had already reduced the amount of time he was spending at CLAEM. In 1966 alone, he was absent for at least the first three months of classes, and in 1968 he was absent for six months. The situation was worse for the 1969–1970 fellowship cycle. And by 1971, Ginastera had moved to Switzerland and did not visit Argentina at all. The dual role as composer and director of CLAEM must have become a source of great stress for Ginastera. Looking at the language of some of the letters he received during his trips, we can only imagine an anxious artist debating how to balance his commitments. Some examples from letters from his secretaries and his supervisors at the Di Tella Institute suffice: "You are truly needed in Buenos Aires to oversee the activities of this Center,"[13] or "I implore you to deprive [your opera] *Bomarzo* from some moments of your company so that we can close once and for all the problems with the Rockefeller."[14] Ginastera encountered worrisome openings to letters such as "I hope I am not being an alarmist and ruining your stay in New York but . . ." or slightly passive aggressive closings such as "Maestro, do you realize you have not written us a single line since you left?"[15] As CLAEM demanded more and more of the composer's time so that it could survive, Ginastera simply did not have any more to offer.

POLITICAL CRISIS

The political tribulations that Ginastera faced at the end of the 1960s did not make things any easier. After General Juan Carlos Onganía took the presidency by force in 1966, the situation in Argentina deteriorated. The polarization of society and very real moments of physical violence began taking a toll on everyone at the Di Tella Institute. In mid-April 1967, Ginastera's secretary shared with him the details of the first incident directly affecting the center. Young members of the Movimiento Nacionalista Tacuara, an extreme right-wing group with nationalist and anti-communist ideals,

[12] John P. Harrison, report on visit of Enrique Oteiza, March 10 and 11, 1970, reel 36, series 301, RG 2 1970, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

[13] Josefina Schröder, letter to Alberto Ginastera, May 3, 1967, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

[14] Josefina Schröder, letter to Alberto Ginastera, April 11, 1967, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

[15] María [?], letter to Alberto Ginastera, March 2, 1971, Paul Sacher Stiftung: Mikrofilmregister: Ginastera, Alberto: Korrespondenz, 286.1-1408–9.

entered the building during a theater performance.[16] They ripped down posters, tore down exhibits, and broke windows. As the nearby police approached, shots were fired. One of the officers was wounded in his throat and died shortly thereafter.[17] The occurrence became the first of many, but physical violence was not yet the main form of coercion in Argentina. The Onganía government had excelled in placing itself in a moral, Catholic light in the context of an increasingly perverse and decaying society. And Ginastera's second opera, *Bomarzo,* became an easy target, given a provocative plot including erotic fantasies, impotence, cross-dressing, occult orgies, and insinuations of homosexuality.[18] *Bomarzo* joined the movie *Blow Up* by Michelangelo Antonioni (based on Julio Cortázar's *Las babas del Diablo*) and the theater piece *Homecoming* by Harold Pinter, directed by Leopoldo Torre Nilsson, as the first victims of censorship under the new regime.[19]

Esteban Buch and Carol Hess have wonderfully documented the political environment that surrounded *Bomarzo*.[20] The work premiered in front of a receptive audience in Washington, DC, on May 19, 1967, and was scheduled to have its Argentine premiere in August at the Teatro Colón. People at CLAEM were enthusiastic about the new work. However, only weeks before the first show, the Buenos Aires government prohibited the performance of the opera for "possible immorality." Ginastera was flabbergasted, furiously writing that "[the] determination was made based on an article in the 'New York Times,' that, great otherwise, said that *Bomarzo* was sex, violence, and hallucination. As if 'Salome' was not sex, 'Tosca' violence, or 'Boris' hallucination."[21] The "Bomarzo Affair," as the US ambassador to Argentina called it at the time, was immensely publicized and became a burden for Ginastera. In fact, it added to his troubles at CLAEM. In 1968, CLAEM was seeking recognition from UNESCO as a Regional Latin American Center. The project, however, did not go far. "The fundamental obstacle for the negotiation," argued Enrique Oteiza, was the unwillingness of the Argentine government to support to the project.[22] "No place in Argentina" said Oteiza, "has a chance at this time of gaining recognition [as a regional center] at the graduate level except for CLAEM. Nevertheless, the difficulties are real and, sadly, are also typically Argentine and stupid. Maestro [Ginastera], since *Bomarzo*, has become taboo in the Ministry of Education and the Pink House. As a consequence, none of the other ministries and government organizations that have representatives at

[16] The theater work was *La promenade du dimanche* (El paseo de los domingos) by Georges Michel, directed by Jaime Kogan.

[17] For the full account, see Josefina Schröder, letter to Alberto Ginastera, April 19, 1967, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

[18] Carol A. Hess, "Ginastera's *Bomarzo* in the United States and the Impotence of the Pan-American Dream," *Opera Quarterly* 22, nos. 3–4 (2006): 461.

[19] Esteban Buch, *The Bomarzo Affair: Ópera, perversión y dictadura* (Córdoba, Argentina: Grafinor, 2003), 97.

[20] Ibid.; Hess, "Ginastera's *Bomarzo*, 459–76.

[21] Alberto Ginastera, letter to Antonio Iglesias, July 24, 1967, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

[22] Still, it should be made clear that the military dictatorship was not always negative toward Ginastera. Under the presidency of General Roberto Levingston, decree no. 2394 of 1970 was sent via telegram

UNESCO's Argentine delegation have moved a single finger for us."[23] Things didn't stop there. In 1969, former fellow and now professor at CLAEM, Gabriel Brnčić also had a work effectively stopped from being played at the Teatro Colón after false bomb threats were made.[24] In 1970, Brnčić and his wife, Teresa, were forcefully taken from their home by functionaries of the city police. Brnčić was blindfolded, handcuffed, and driven to the outskirts of the city. Then, with the barrel of a gun pressed to his head, he was subjected to cigarette burns and electric shocks.[25] In this atmosphere, with *Bomarzo* banned, professors at Ginastera's own institution being victims of harassment and assault, and his building being targeted by protests, attacks, and the scrutiny of the police, we can only imagine his dejected spirit.

PERSONAL CRISIS

A final and perhaps crucial factor came into play during the end of the decade, creating a perfect storm in Ginastera's life. The composer had married Mercedes de Toro—"La Ñata," as he called her—in 1941. They had two children, Alejandro, always known as Alex (1942–?) and Georgina (b. 1944).[26] Mercedes had been Ginastera's right hand for two decades, using her extroverted personality to act almost as an agent for the generally shy composer. However, Ginastera's daughter, Georgina, confirms that by 1968, the marriage was struggling:

> There was a rupture in my family, and I believe that rupture started at the Di Tella, at least symbolically. My father was a homebody person. He did not like to have his working studio outside the house. He liked composing at home, like he

to Ginastera. After a grandiose introduction about Ginastera and explaining the importance for the government to highlight Argentine musical values, the telegram states, "The President of the Argentine Nation decrees: Article 1. The sponsorship of Alberto Ginastera's tour [. . .] in which he will attend the performance of his works in the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, and Switzerland. Article 2. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs gives to Maestro Alberto Ginastera the corresponding two-way air coach tickets (Buenos Aires-Nueva York-Michigan-Washington-London-Bonn-Zurich-San Francisco-Buenos Aires)." Luis María de Pablo Pardo, telegram to Alberto Ginastera, November 20, 1970. Paul Sacher Stiftung: Mikrofilmregister: Ginastera, Alberto: Korrespondenz, 285.1-2719. See also Esteban Buch, "Conquistadores, Indians and Argentine Generals: *Iubilum Op. 51*, a Commission to Alberto Ginastera (1980)," in *Composing for the State: Music in Twentieth-Century Dictatorships*, ed. Esteban Buch, Igor Contreras Zubillaga, and Manuel Deniz Silva (London: Ashgate, 2016): 186–216.

[23] Enrique Oteiza, internal memorandum to M.A. de Uribelarrea with copy to Guido Di Tella, Alberto Ginastera and M. Marzana, July 24, 1968, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

[24] The title of the piece, *Volveremos a las montañas*, was associated with the recruitment of guerillas and support groups for clandestine operations of the Bolivian forces of Che Guevara.

[25] Gabriel Brnčić, interview with the author, Barcelona, April 12, 2008. See also "Circular Interna: Apremios Ilegales a un Miembro del CLAEM," internal memo, March 1970, Di Tella Institute, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

[26] Schwartz-Kates, *Alberto Ginastera*, 4.

> later did in Geneva. But, what happened? He had to be at the Di Tella Institute. The office he had there had a concert piano, he had secretaries like Josefina, and it was located on Florida Street, in downtown Buenos Aires. I think my mother suddenly felt an immense solitude. I think that was the origin of many problems. At the Di Tella, Josefina and María Luisa were doing all the secretarial duties that my mom used to do before: she was the one that would type up conference papers, copy scores, but suddenly within two or three years there was a rupture with that lifestyle. He started becoming very independent from my mother. I think the Di Tella and *Bomarzo* were a moment of rupture.[27]

As the marriage disintegrated, people at CLAEM started to see Ginastera spending the night in his office, or Mercedes, in a state of disarray, angrily leaving the Center. After a very public outburst at the Teatro Colón, the situation reached its limit. The couple divorced in early 1969, a very difficult decision for Ginastera to make. He was a devout Catholic, and breaking the sacrament of marriage troubled him deeply.

The end of his marriage added another factor to Ginastera's life. His son, Alex, showed signs of being on the autism spectrum and was quite likely suffering from schizophrenia. Correspondence between father and son shows an estranged relationship. Alex addressed him distantly, either as "Dear Alberto" or "Professor Alberto Ginastera." He went through periods when he spoke only in German, or talked only about scientific theories. Without the support of Mercedes, Ginastera was not sure how to handle Alex's condition and decided to place him in a mental health institution, Nuestra Señora de Luján in Buenos Aires. Georgina frequently asked her father to visit Alex more: "[Alex] recognizes that he has an illness, and that he has to get better. I want a normal brother, and I am sure you would also like to have a normal and healthy son."[28] Over the next couple of years, the situation remained tense. Alex's letters frequently used phrases that suggested suicidal thoughts like "I am in a place without exit"[29] or "there is no way out from my situation,"[30] with frequent petitions to be released from the institution. From correspondence between Ginastera and his children, and my conversations with Georgina and Ginastera's publisher and close friend Roberto Barry, it would seem that the composer was never able to figure out a healthy way to connect with his son.

Ginastera admitted to a former student that 1969 had been "really going insane . . . With the beginning of classes [at CLAEM], the search for scholarships since the Rockefeller funding ended, and my moving to another apartment," code for

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[27] Georgina Ginastera, interview with the author, Buenos Aires, June 8, 2008.

[28] Georgina Ginastera, letter to Alberto Ginastera, Buenos Aires, January 5, 1973, Paul Sacher Stiftung: Mikrofilmregister; Ginastera, Alberto; Korrespondenz, 282.1-1810–1.

[29] Alex Ginastera, letter to Alberto Ginastera, Buenos Aires, August, 1979, Paul Sacher Stiftung: Mikrofilmregister: Ginastera, Alberto: Korrespondenz, 282.1-1832.

[30] Alex Ginastera, letter to Alberto Ginastera, Buenos Aires, December 4, 1972, Paul Sacher Stiftung: Mikrofilmregister: Ginastera, Alberto: Korrespondenz, 282.1-1764.

his divorce, "my life was a mess."[31] With the dissolution of his marriage, his son in a mental health clinic, Argentina in a downward political spiral, and CLAEM's funding struggles taking up the majority of his time, Ginastera started to think that it was time to move on and focus on his composing.

AFTERMATH–RESOLUTION

By 1970, Ginastera had had enough and decided to move away, most likely to the United States, where he had been spending a lot of time and had many contacts, and where his music was very well received. But the crisis was resolved in a most unexpected way: Ginastera fell in love. The story, as Ginastera told it to Paolantonio, went something like this:

> After 20 years of absence [cellist Aurora Nátola] came back last December to [Buenos Aires, to] visit her family. Three days before returning to Europe she called to say that in her concerts she always played my *Pampeana No.2* which I had written for her. I invited her to dinner with her husband, since I did not know of his death. She answered that she had [been] widowed in August, but she accepted my invitation. Three days later we decided to get married.[32]

Nátola was visiting Buenos Aires but lived in Switzerland and, after only a couple of days together, Ginastera decided to move with her to Europe (See figure 7.1). Nobody at CLAEM knew of his long-term plans, but for Ginastera's daughter, Georgina, and for his new wife, it was clear that when the maestro left Argentina, he had no intentions of returning.[33] He settled permanently in Geneva until his death in 1983.

This decision put an end to the crisis. Ginastera was back to composing. "Since I have been with Aurora, my life has changed," wrote Ginastera to Paolantonio. "I had not written anything in three years and, well, now in three months I wrote an opera."[34] This, unfortunately, also meant that Ginastera's center, CLAEM, had lost its strongest advocate. The Center closed permanently two months after Ginastera's

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[31] Alberto Ginastera, letter to Jorge Sarmientos, June 10, 1969, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

[32] Alberto Ginastera, letter to José María Paolantonio, [Geneva,] November 23, 1971, Paul Sacher Stiftung: Mikrofilmregister: Ginastera, Alberto: Korrespondenz, 284.1-2528–9.

[33] "He came here [to Switzerland] with the idea of getting married and staying here with me. We could have gone to the United States—he was already spending a lot of time in New York—or we could have come to Switzerland [as we did]. He knew perfectly well that I had no intentions of going back to live in Argentina." Aurora Nátola, interview with author, Geneva, Switzerland, April 25, 2008.

[34] Alberto Ginastera, letter to José María Paolantonio, [Geneva,] November 23, 1971, Paul Sacher Stiftung: Mikrofilmregister: Ginastera, Alberto: Korrespondenz, 284.1-2528–9.

FIGURE 7.1 Alberto Ginastera and Aurora Nátola, ca. 1971. Courtesy of the Paul Sacher Foundation.

wedding in Switzerland. While the composer regained his artistic momentum in Europe, the most important institution for Latin American art music came to an end.

CLOSING CLAEM AND THE TRANSITION

By the beginning of 1970 the Di Tella Institute consisted of two broad branches, the scientific research centers and the art centers. The scientific research centers were the CIE (Center of Economic Research), CIS (Center for Social Research), and the CEUR (Center for Urban and Regional Studies). Additionally, other centers benefited from space and logistics provided by the Institute. These were the CIAP (Center for Research in Public Administration), the CICE (Center for Research in Educational Sciences) and the CIN (Center for Neurological Research). On the other hand, there were the three art centers, together with the department of photography and graphic design. Finally, the Institute also had an administrative office, secretaries, and an accounting office, plus an outreach office, a library, and the Institute's press. The duty of the new executive director replacing Oteiza, Roberto Cortés Conde, and of the recently appointed administrative council of the Institute was to find ways to reduce the budget and decide the future of all of these branches.

On April 19, 1970, an internal memo written by the administrative council of the Di Tella Institute reported the decisions that had been made so that CLAEM

would "continue its previous dimension, but with a reduction in its administrative body" and would be relocated away from the Florida street building.[35] Five days later, Guido Di Tella called a press conference to announce the changes. He began by pointing out the modernizing role that the Institute had played up to that point:

> For the last ten years the Instituto Torcuato Di Tella has been operating actively in the country in the fields of social sciences and contemporary art. During this time fruitful results have been achieved in each one of these fields. Even though the job has not gone without mistakes, like any other human endeavor, we feel we have achieved a significant role in the promotion of creativity and the modernization of our national society.[36]

However, the conditions had changed and Guido had to announce radical modifications to the structure of the Institute: "Among these aspects, one of the decisions that will perhaps have the most public repercussion is the abandonment of our location on Florida Street which has been the 'showcase' of the Institute's activities in its totality."[37] On December 10, 1970 the Administrative Council of the Di Tella Institute decided that

> [o]n December 31 of this year [1970] the Centers for Audio Visual Experimentation and the Department of Graphic Design and Photography will close definitively. [. . .] The Latin American Center for Advanced Musical Studies will finish its activities by the end of the academic year 1971.[38]

With CLAEM's fate sealed, it was now a matter of taking measures to try to salvage some of the resources that had been accumulated over the last nine years of the center's existence.

AFTER THE CLOSING

With Ginastera in Switzerland, Francisco Kröpfl, Gerardo Gandini, and Gabriel Brnčić felt particularly responsible for the continuity of CLAEM after the institutional

[35] The new address was Superí 1502. Consejo de Administración del Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, "Resolución sobre redimensionamiento estructural y financiero del Instituto Torcuato Di Tella," internal communication, April 19, 1970, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

[36] Guido Di Tella, press conference, April 24, 1970, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Administrative Council of the Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, "Resolución del Consejo de Administración del ITDT al 22.12.70 reglamentando la resolución del 10.12.70," December 20, 1970, CLAEM Archives, ITDT.

turmoil.[39] In August 27, 1971, the three of them wrote to Ginastera to tell him that they had found a possible exit strategy now that the Di Tella Institute would not be supporting CLAEM:

> Since June, [. . .] Paolantonio has been negotiating with the governmental municipality of Buenos Aires. Through his multiple contacts, [. . .] he managed to interest the consultants of the mayor's office to include everything in CLAEM plus the audiovisual projects into a broader cultural project that the mayor's office already had in mind. [. . .] Montero Ruiz [mayor of Buenos Aires] had approved the creation of the Instituto de Arte, Tecnología y Comunicación Masiva [Institute of Art, Technology and Mass Communication].[40]

The letter's conclusion seems in hindsight optimistic to a fault. "This would mean that CLAEM has been saved." The CICMAT, as the institute would be called, was to report to the municipality and would receive as a donation all of the technical instruments and equipment from CLAEM. "At the same time," they told Ginastera, "the institute that will be created will have an autarchic government and its directive and administrative structure will assure a maximum immunity regarding any changes of political order at the level of the municipality."[41] It is clear from all of the communications and internal memos that the most important goal for the project was to achieve continuity between one place ending and the other beginning, and to "get this institute to be autarchic enough so that it does not depend too closely on the enclaves of political power that are here [in Argentina] both fluctuating and ephemeral."[42] The main goal was to maintain autonomy in decision-making and independence from the municipal political scene.

In the first months of 1972, the remains of CLAEM, the laboratory, and some new additions were moved to the Centro Cultural San Martín. "We were given the whole fifth floor of the Centro Cultural San Martín (around Sarmiento Street)," said Reichenbach to Ginastera. "We are functioning there as CICMAT (Centro de Investigación en Comunicación Masiva, Arte y Tecnología). Yes, a mouthful!"[43] In 1976, after some administrative restructuring, further changes occurred and the studio became part of the Centro de Estudios Acústicos Musicales (CEAM).[44] In 1982,

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[39] See Francisco Kröpfl (also signed by Gerardo Gandini and Gabriel Brnčić), letter to Alberto Ginastera, Buenos Aires, July 4, 1971, Paul Sacher Stiftung: Mikrofilmregister: Ginastera, Alberto: Korrespondenz, 282.1–1488.

[40] Gerardo Gandini and Francisco Kröpfl, letter to Alberto Ginastera, Buenos Aires, August 27, 1971, Paul Sacher Stiftung: Mikrofilmregister: Ginastera, Alberto: Korrespondenz, 282.1-1489.

[41] Ibid.

[42] José María Paolantonio, letter to Alberto Ginastera, Buenos Aires, August 25, 1971, Paul Sacher Stiftung: Mikrofilmregister: Ginastera, Alberto: Korrespondenz, 284.1-2523.

[43] Fernando von Reichenbach, letter to Alberto Ginastera, Buenos Aires, November 4, 1972, Paul Sacher Stiftung: Mikrofilmregister: Ginastera, Alberto: Korrespondenz, 285.1–631.

[44] According to Aharonián, this center did not produce new works and was absorbed over several years by bureaucratic requirements. See Coriún Aharonián, "La música, la tecnología y nosotros los latinoamericanos," *Lulú* 3 (1992b): 52–61.

the studio became the Laboratorio de Investigación y Producción Musical (LIPM) and was incorporated into the Centro Cultural Ciudad de Buenos Aires under Francisco Kröpfl's direction with two primary areas of operation: experimental music, under Gerardo Gandini's supervision, and electronic music, under Fernando von Reichenbach and the musical direction of Gabriel Brnčić and later José Maranzano.[45] This center is today the Centro Cultural Recoleta, located next to the famous cemetery of the same name in one of the nicest neighborhoods of Buenos Aires.[46]

As inheritors of the equipment and some of the original staff of CLAEM, the CICMAT and later the LIPM might be seen as a direct continuation of the work at CLAEM. However, another important aspect emerged from this transition. The difficult political situations, not only in Argentina but also in Latin America as a whole, during the 1970s created a widespread distrust of institutional support. The impetus of generating solidarity networks among Latin American composers continued outside institutions in the Cursos Latinoamericanos de Música Contemporánea, which took place between 1971 and 1989.[47] However, the differences between these and CLAEM were important: the Cursos were itinerant, nonprofit, non-institutionalized, and militant, and the students, with the exceptions of those who received fellowships, "paid a small fee that when divided, helped to cover the costs of boarding of the teachers, who would give classes for free. . . ."[48] Five of these events took place in Uruguay, two in Argentina, six in Brazil, one in the Dominican Republic, and one in Venezuela. The students who attended were mostly Latin American (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Puerto Rico, United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela) but, despite the name of the Cursos, included participants from France, Ireland, Israel, Italy, and Morocco. CLAEM fellows who participated in the courses as teachers included Aharonián, Bazán, Biriotti, Etkin, Fernandes, Kusnir, Maiguashca, Maranzano, Martínez, Orellana, Paraskevaídis, and Villalpando. These courses, as mentioned earlier in this book, were the most important pedagogical activity of contemporary music in Latin America in the period immediately after the end of CLAEM. Once more, like CLAEM, they provided an answer to the isolation and disinformation that only this center had been able to break before.

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[45] See Laura Novoa, ed., *Ginastera en el Instituto Di Tella: Correspondencia 1958–1970* (Buenos Aires: Biblioteca Nacional, 2011b), 29.

[46] Aharonián, "La música, la tecnología y nosotros los latinoamericanos," 52–61.

[47] The history of these courses remains to be told. It is worth pointing out that the organizing team for them consisted of Coriún Aharonián (Uruguay), Conrado Silva (Uruguay/Brazil), José Maria Neves (Brazil), Graciela Paraskevaídis (Argentina/Uruguay), Cergio Prudencio (Bolivia), Héctor Tosar (Uruguay), Miguel Marozzi (Uruguay), Emilio Mendoza (Venezuela), and María Teresa Sande (Uruguay). The extensive list of teachers who collaborated on this project can be found at http://www.latinoamerica-musica.net/informes/cursos.html, accessed February 19, 2011. See also "Anexo II" in Coriún Aharonián, *Educación, arte, música* (Montevideo: Ediciones Tacuabé, 2004).

[48] Graciela Paraskevaídis, email with the author, March 29, 2010.

During my visit to Buenos Aires in 2011 for a festival commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of CLAEM, not only the LIPM but also several other music programs of local universities claimed to be direct byproducts of CLAEM. The Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, Universidad Nacional de Lanús, Departamento Artes Sonoras y Departamento de Multimedia del IUNA, the Universidad Católica Argentina, and the Universidad Tres de Febrero all made an effort to demonstrate that they were descendants of what began with CLAEM at the local Argentine level, even though there is no institutional heritage that we can trace (and, curiously, that most lacked knowledge of the history of the center). Nevertheless, they associated importance and prestige with this legendary institution. Notably, none of them considered its importance as a Latin American center, but rather focused on its impact inside Argentina. The legacy of a Latin Americanist dream seemed to have faded.

When the end of CLAEM was inevitable, Alberto Ginastera wrote to his friend José María Paolantonio that "CLAEM was my most ambitious creation, and that I think bore the most important fruit. We can see now to what extent it revolutionized the music of a whole continent. I believe that North Americans and Europeans might be even more aware of this phenomenon than we are."[49] In principle, CLAEM was not a decolonial attempt to delink from Western European and United States circuits; on the contrary, one of its main goals was to underline the existence of those historic connections. Did Ginastera's desire come to fruition? Were North Americans and Europeans within this art world any more aware then (or today) of the impact of CLAEM, of the active practice of art-music creation in the region, or of its 500 years of history as part of it?

A quick glance at most major surveys and academic curricula developed since 1970 seem to point to a negative answer. As much as musicology has questioned the discourse of nationalism and colonialism in the musical practices we study, it has failed to be self-reflective and realize how much nationalism and colonialism are engrained in our disciplinary epistemologies. Our narratives tend to privilege national geographical boundaries, and we struggle to identify and foreground the intrinsic transnational and postnational linkages present in music making. The story of CLAEM is not unique in showing how composers from multiple parts of the world were actively interacting with one another. However, as we tell these stories, we often fail to step away from the European narratives of the nineteenth century, and their twentieth-century continuations that include the United States. It is perhaps during the twenty-first century that we will find musicological studies that abandon the colonial ontologies still shaping our understandings of the Western art-music tradition and take full responsibility of participating in its decolonizing.

[49] Alberto Ginastera, letter to José María Paolantonio, November 23, 1971. Paul Sacher Stiftung: Mikrofilmregister: Ginastera, Alberto: Korrespondenz, 284.1-2529

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