

## THE IDEOLOGIZATION OF MUSIC IN THE STALINIST ERA

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**SUMMARY.** In the XX<sup>th</sup> century, the world witnessed some of the cruellest totalitarian regimes in history. In this time, the Soviet Union was confronted with the leadership of Stalin that proved to be much more dangerous than the one of his predecessor. The musical world was not exempt from the ideology promoted and imposed by Stalin and the Communist Party. Music had to be composed under the auspices of social realism and composers that refused to align themselves with this ideology found themselves suffering severe consequences varying from the loss of their job to the very loss of their freedom and life. Given the severity of the Stalin's regime, most musicians tried to publicly salute the communist ideology, but notably a number of composers started a path of resistance through clandestine music that was composed in accordance to their artistic values.

**Keywords:** social realism, music censure, ideology, clandestine music

### Introduction

In the Soviet Union during the Stalinist Era, we notice that the political factor tends to exercise control over music, and musicians confronted with this totalitarian regime had a choice between letting themselves be politically accountable or bearing the consequences of resistance. The purpose of the dictatorship was to control all aspects of social and cultural life in order to strengthen the power of the regime and its leader. In this paper, we shall present the ideological and political context in which musician had to live and compose, in order to better understand the reality in which they had to survive. Next, we will present the musical life, with the most important events that shaped the directions of Soviet music and the diverse reactions of the composers and musicians.

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## Ideological and political context

Soviet dictators, such as Lenin and Stalin based their ideology on the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, whom are considered to be the founders of the Communist doctrine. Marx and Engels were exiled from Prussia due to the radical beliefs that they promoted and they were established in England, where Engels became the patron of a cotton manufacturing plant, while Marx dedicated himself to ample study. Marx's main work, *Das Kapital*, was the result of thirty years of study and had the goal of becoming the universal theory for human society. In reality, this work compiled fragment from the philosophies of Adam Smith, Hegel, Saint-Simon, Babeuf, Feuerbach, Bray and Thomson, which he took and fused them into messianic doctrine in which Marx himself was the Prophet and the proletariat were considered to be the chosen people.<sup>2</sup> After the death of Marx, Engels wrote the last two chapters of the book *Das Kapital*.

The Communist Manifesto, written by Marx and Engels, where communism was defined as the eradication of the private property, influenced the program and scope of the ideology promoted by the communist agenda.<sup>3</sup> Communism had as a main strategy the centralization of the whole economy and the ideal was to create a new type of establishment, with a homogenous distribution of humanity and wealth. The main activity would be the industry and agriculture and the whole society would merge into a new collective life.<sup>4</sup>

The Marxist ideology was the starting point for the Soviet ideology, but with time, the ideas and practices promoted by dictators moved considerably away from the main doctrine. For example, Marx foresaw an industrial revolution that will take place due to the struggle between social classes and based on this assumption, Lenin devised a plan to offer the peasants land, as this would determine them to support the dictator.<sup>5</sup> Lenin did not believe that the proletariat was the solution to the revolution, and that is why he gave up Marx's idea of a majority government and formed a small group of revolutionaries on which he could exert his dictatorial power. The drastic alteration of Marxism by Lenin had dangerous consequences for the future. As Michael H. Hart observed, while Marx was the one to

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<sup>2</sup> Davies, Norman, *Europe, A history*, Ed. Harper Perennial, New York, 1998, p. 837.

<sup>3</sup> Ree, Erik van, *The Political Thought of Joseph Stalin: A Study in Twentieth-Century Revolutionary Patriotism*, Ed. Routledge Courzon, New York, 2002, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> In contrast to Lenin, Marx had a deep contempt towards the peasantry and considered that the proletariat is the only solution against a revolution.

draw the lines, Lenin did the pioneering work, but Stalin was the one who managed to abolish agriculture and private industry in the Soviet Union.<sup>6</sup>

Unlike the regimes in Italy and Germany, which came to power by pseudo-constitutional means, in the Soviet Union, the communists gained their power exclusively by using force and therefore never had the popular support.<sup>7</sup> Stalin went further than Lenin in the use of force to remove his opponents. Lenin removed his enemies by excluding them out of the party, while Stalin resorted to killing those who stood against him, either from the party or from other social circles.

The Stalinist ideology was defined during Stalin's campaign against Trotsky. In 1925, Stalin began to promote the theory of socialism. He distinguished two problems that the Soviet Union was facing at the time. Firstly, there was an internal contradiction on the division between the peasants and proletarians – and which, he considered, could be resolved through joint efforts to unite the two groups. The second problem was the external danger, coming from the capitalist countries, which were considered a threat that would attempt to bring back the capitalist system. Stalin thought that this problem could be avoided if all the advanced capitalist states around the Soviet Union would embrace Communism.<sup>8</sup>

One of the characteristics of the Stalinist ideology was the cult of personality, as the dictator wished to be shown in the press, arts and in books as a genius and hero.<sup>9</sup> This cult of personality further strengthened his power, giving him an „aura” of mysticism that Stalin used to gain support. The origin of the personality cult is actually found in Western Europe, where it was not uncommon for members of social democratic parties to idolize their leaders. For example, Marx and Engels were considered the prophets of a new era because of the knowledge they had. This is explained by the fact that at that time, the people who ruled the society were the professors.

Stalin was also promoted as a leader and teacher of the people, who was full of modesty and believed that he had to learn from peasants and labourers.<sup>10</sup> The image created a paradox, but it was aimed at giving

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<sup>6</sup> Michael H., (trad. Dumitru Constantin), *100 de personalități din toate timpurile care au influențat evoluția omenirii (100 Personalities from all Times, Who Have Influenced the Evolution of Humankind)*, Ed. Lider, București, 2002, p. 318.

<sup>7</sup> Pauley, Bruce F., *Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini: Totalitarianism in the Twentieth Century*, Ed. Harlan Davidson, Wheeling, IL, 2003, p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Evans, Alfred B. Jr., *Soviet Marxism-Leninism: The Decline of an Ideology*, Ed. Praeger Publishers, Westport, CT., 1993, p. 31.

<sup>9</sup> Ree, Eric Van, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, p. 163.

the people a perfect ruler, who was balancing his power with modesty. Thus, the dictator's weakness was self-image, which was something that obsessed him throughout his whole life.

From a political point of view, collectivization and industrialization were the two Stalinist initiatives that threw the country into an unprecedented chaos. In 1927, the agrarian collectivization process began, which seems like a civil war unleashed on the farmers by the party. Many lost their lives in this process and entire provinces were decimated.<sup>11</sup>

The industrialization process started with a five-year plan proposal, but in reality, it was carried out in four years. Any traces of capitalism were eliminated and the whole society was often mobilized with unattainable tasks.<sup>12</sup> Each sector of the company had a certain norm to fulfil and the entire control and propaganda apparatus was prepared to do anything to ensure that the rule was fulfilled. These economic transformations caused by collectivization and industrialization produced a devastating revolution in both society and culture.

The society had to be changed according to the state's need and this change had to be started in schools. Students were taught that their ultimate loyalty is not to the family, but to the State and the duty of parents and teachers was to teach children that they are not individuals with personal aspirations, but citizens, motivated by the love of the state. Stalin's desire to increase the level of education in the Soviet Union was determined by the fact that the majority of the population was illiterate. On the one hand, this fact helped him in manipulating the masses, but, on the other hand, it did not offer him the means to spread his socialist propaganda.<sup>13</sup>

At the end of this process, just when Stalin's power was recognized by the whole country and the party turned out to be united; the period of great terror was triggered, which was unprecedented in history. It all started with the assassination of Sergei Kirov, the head of the organization „Leningrad Party”. Stalin used Kirov's death to introduce a series of anti-terror measures and a process of purifying all those suspected of being involved in actions against the state. Soon, these measures went beyond the party, and any Soviet citizen was under the danger of being the victim of purification. A person could be accused of treason by any means, even an anonymous letter or a telephone was often sufficient for arrest and conviction. People could be guilty even through association.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Wood, Alan, *Stalin and Stalinism*, Ed. Routledge, New York, 2004, p. 33.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, p. 35.

<sup>13</sup> Pauley, Bruce F, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

<sup>14</sup> Wood, Alan, *op. cit.* p. 40.

The period of great terror brought numerous changes in all areas of Soviet life. For the Communist Party, it meant a change in the people, the majority of members being annihilated and replaced by a new generation of communists. For farmers, this period was nothing more than the continuation of the terror started by collectivization and for the majority of the population it simply meant fear of torture or execution.

### **Musical Life during the Stalinist Dictatorship and Ideology**

Culture and art were also subject to change because Stalin was adamant to install the concept of socialist realism on every level of society. Because of this concept, Stalin declared that art has to be useful to society, and that is why it had to be accessible to the public and it was paramount that it contained patriotic themes and ideas. Socialist realism was imposed in all fields of art: painting, architecture, literature and music.

In the early years of the Soviet regime, led by Lenin, musical activity preserved its autonomy from socialist ideology. In contrast, during Stalin's reign, music education, cultural and musical organizations were controlled by the state and nationalized. Lenin considered music to be a bourgeoisie activity „Intended to cover human suffering.”<sup>15</sup> In 1929, the conference led by Anatol Lunacearski, the official persona dealing with artistic problems, included debates on the subject of musical creation in the Soviet Union. This Conference highlighted the various attitudes of composers, some eager to bring music closer to socialist ideology, some looking towards the new agenda and others desiring to seize the situation for their own interest.

Lunacearski expressed his beliefs by highlighting that „A revolution in society should go hand in hand with a revolution in art.”<sup>16</sup> However, he named Arthur Lourié in the leadership position of the music department. What is interesting is that Lourié was an avid composer of dissonant and emotional-laden music that went completely against official requirements. Lourié's position meant that in the early years of the Soviet regime, musical creation benefited from a certain degree of autonomy.

Even if from an ideological point of view, things were more acceptable for musicians, the social-political situation in the first months after the revolution was dire. There was an increased economic decline and famine was an overwhelming issue, especially in large cities where musicians were in the situation where artistic activities were no longer sought after. As a result, many musicians sought the opportunity to sing in exchange for food,

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<sup>15</sup> Ross, Alex, *The rest is Noise*, Ed. Farrar, Strausand Giroux, New York, 2007, p. 218.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, p. 219.

an example being a pianist who held a concert at Kronstadt in exchange for a sack of potatoes.<sup>17</sup> During the summer months, concerts and theatrical interpretations were resumed at the *Petrograd Malyi*, which in the cold months had been closed due to the lack of fuel necessary for heating the building. A positive aspect was that Russian musicians continued to compose and play music, despite the material deprivation that characterized the whole country. Many important music institutions had also been opened during this period, as for example the *Department for Music History* and *Moscow Musical Science Institute*.

The Contemporary Music Association, based in Leningrad was aimed at disseminating the scores of Stravinsky, Hindemith, Berg, Milhaud, Honegger, Krenek and other contemporary composers and promoting modern music, which would later be banned. Interestingly, the *Contemporary Music Association* was contracted by the *Russian Association of Proletarian Music*, which considered modern music a symbol of degradation in the arts.<sup>18</sup>

The situation intensified in 1933, when Stalin rose to power and demanded the nationalization of all aspects of culture. As a result, unions were created for every field of the arts. Stalin's directive was „The development of a national culture in form and socialistic in its content.”<sup>19</sup> The artists were subordinated to the party's authority and the Union committee controlled their work, which had a duty to implement the party's doctrine. Lunacearski was dismissed and replaced by Andrei Bubnov, a party member with little knowledge in the arts field. A single Union of Soviet composers was formed with its basis in both Moscow and Leningrad. Composers such as Dmitri Kabalevski, Aram Khachaturian and others let the organizational committee in Moscow, *Orgkomitet*, and information on the Marxist-Leninist ideology was spread through the magazine *Sovetskaia Muzyka*.<sup>20</sup>

Maxim Gorki was named in the leadership position of the Union of Soviet Writers. In 1932, Gorki held a literary meeting at his home, with Stalin's participation, during which the term of *socialist realism* was conceived. The next day, the Doctrine of Socialist Realism was established as the official ideology of the Communist Party. Thus, the notion of proletarian music was replaced by the slogan of socialist realism.

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<sup>17</sup> Slonimsky, Nicolas, *Soviet Music and Musicians*, Slavonic and East European Review, American Series, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Dec. 1944), pp. 1-18, p. 2.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 3, 4.

<sup>19</sup> Stalin, Joseph, *Sovetskaya Muzika*, No. 1, January 1934, p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> Ferenc, Anna, *Music in the socialist state, Soviet Music and society under Lenin and Stalin*, "The baton and The Sickie", (ed. Neil Edmunds), ed. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2004, p. 13.

The musical activity was subjected to the aesthetics of socialist realism in the sense in which music was to be carried by political propaganda. The Communist Party considered that it has a duty to convey to the masses what they must believe and think, and in order to accomplish this purpose, it appealed to all means of communication, including music.<sup>21</sup> Socialist realism opposed modern music and imposed music accessible to the masses, with Soviet subjects to promote patriotism. To emphasize the importance of nationalism, the use of folklore in music was also encouraged. „Without folk material, composers knew that there was only the narrowest stretch of dry land between “formalism” on the one side, and banality on the other. Both faults were equally open to condemnation, the former because it ignored the (supposed) needs of the people, the latter second because it patronized and underestimated the people.”<sup>22</sup> Anyone who opposed these tendencies was accused of formalism and had had to face the consequences that varied between job loss or even the loss of their life. This ideology constituted in fact a tool used to discipline anyone who did not adhere to the new ideology.

Despite the differences between the types of socialism applied by Lenin and then Stalin, there are four common ideas that underwent the theorizing of socialism in art and music. The first is *Narodnost'*, which refers to the use of folk material and the link between the composer and his people; The second is *Klasnost'*, which refers to the relevance of socialist objectivity in a work towards the subjective view of the artist derived from his own perspective on life and society; The third concept is *Partiinost'*, meaning an artistic identification with the party, and the last concept is *Ideinost'*, representing the explanation or representation of the party's ideology.<sup>23</sup>

These concepts determined the value of an artistic work, which reflected the fact that the censorship of music began to be increasingly aggressive. Because of the intimidation campaign towards composers, they started to avoid abstract music and went towards composing folklore or instrumental music, including simple vocal passages, after the official requirement. Another direction in which the Soviet musicians decided to go was film music, such an example being Sergei Prokofiev who contributed to music for the films *Ivan Groznyj* and *Alexander Nevskii*, or Isaak Dunaevski who composed the music of comedies such as *Volga-Volga*, *Tsirk* and *Veselye Repoor*.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Olkhovsky, Andrey, *Music under the Soviets: The Agony of an Art*, Ed. Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1955, p. 50.

<sup>22</sup> Walker, Marina Frolova, *Russian music and nationalism, from Glinka to Stalin*, Ed. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2007, p. 316.

<sup>23</sup> Morrison, Simon, *Sergei Prokofiev's Semyon Kotko as a representative example of Socialist realism*, MA diss., Ed. McGill University, Montreal, 1992, p. 20.

<sup>24</sup> Ferenc, Anna, *op. cit.* p. 15.

The composers who were musically trained in the pre-revolution period felt even more acutely the changes that took place, as they were subjected to an ideological change, illustrated by the words *Pereklyuchenie na Sovetskiyu Tematiku*, meaning the use of Soviet themes in art.<sup>25</sup> Of these composers, we mention Reinhold Gliere, Sergei Vasilenko, Maximilian Steinberg and Nikolai Miaskovski. The latter, Miaskovski, later described the difficult situation in which the composers of his generation were found.

Next, we will describe the way that the musical life survived in the context of social-political suffocation. Firstly, we observe the predilection for works with text or that were based on a libretto, such as choral creations, opera works and ballet, due to the opportunity to insert Soviet themes in them. However, the process of including such topics in music proved to be difficult, evidence being the first attempts in this direction. Gladkovski together with Prussak composed the work *Za Krasnyi Petrograd (For Red Petrograd)*, which avows the White Army campaign against Petrograd in 1919. Another such work entitled *Ice and Iron* was composed by Deshevov and illustrates the 1921 uprising in Kronstadt. The public received both works with reservation and after the first performances; they were avoided, due to their inferior musical quality.<sup>26</sup>

The first to compose a successful Soviet opera was Ivan Dzerzhinski with *Tikhii Don (The Silent Don)*, which premiered at the Malyi Opera Theatre and whose fame attracted a considerable audience. Stalin himself, who considered it the model of the Soviet opera, approved the success of the work. We mention that this event happened eleven days before the advent of the Pravda article that attacked Dmitri Shostakovich because of his modern work *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk*.<sup>27</sup> The officials also appreciated Dzerzhinski's next opera, *Podnyataya Tselina (Virgin Soil Upturned)* because it includes a scene in which a story is read aloud by Stalin about the ideological problems of the kolkhoz movement.<sup>28</sup> Other works that followed the pattern drawn by Dzerzhinski were *North Wind* by Leo Knipper and *Potemkin Battle Vessel* by Oles Chişko.

Unlike these works that promoted the realistic socialist ideology and were praised, the work of Shostakovich, *Lady Macbeth*, went against the imposed line, which is why the composer was heavily penalized. Stalin heard the Opera and considered that both the subject and the music were of poor taste. After the dictator's opinion was heard, within a few hours,

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<sup>25</sup> Slonimsky, Nicolas, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>26</sup> Slonimsky, Nicolas *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>27</sup> Ironically, the work by Dzerzhinski, *Tikhii Don*, had been dedicated to Shostakovich.

<sup>28</sup> Kolkhoz is the name of the collective farms controlled by the Communist officials in the Soviet Union.



Shostakovich would fall from the position of appreciated national composer to the position of *Persona Non grata*. Following these events, an article appeared in the *Pravda Magazine*, in which the opera *Lady Macbeth* was characterized as fraught with dissonances and confusion. This article was a warning signal for all the composers and the message conveyed was clear: to survive it is necessary to obey the ideology of the party.<sup>29</sup>

In addition to opera creation, the Soviet ballet also had to contain a subject that resonated with the life and history of the Soviet people. Aram Khachaturian composed such a ballet entitled *Gayane* that portrays a collective farm in Armenia. The Ballet *Golden Age*, by Shostakovich is a satire of life in capitalist cities and *Zavod* by Alexander Mossolov presents the process of industrialization. In addition to the opera and ballet, there is also a development in the field of profane Oratorios and Cantatas, three major Soviet oratorios being sung at the Moscow Soviet Music festival in 1939. They are impregnated by social political allusions: *Alexander Nevskii*, composed by Prokofiev, *Kulikovo Field* by Yuri Şaporin and *Emelian Pugachov* by Marian Koval.<sup>30</sup>

Also on the direction of ideological music, many works in the classical repertoire received a new libretto to conform to the Soviet reality. For example, the work *Tosca* by Puccini was changed into a revolutionary work in which the heroine kills General Gallifet and the opera *Huguenots* By Meyerbeer was entitled *The Decembrists*.<sup>31</sup>

The German invasion of 1941 resulted in the control exerted on culture and especially music to be more relaxed, given that the country was filled with fear of a war. In these circumstances, the composers from the music centers of Moscow and Leningrad were evacuated, and they had the role of composing patriotic, war pieces, which would encourage the people. Composers such as Miaskovski, Khachaturian, Prokofiev and Shostakovich have composed Symphonies devoted to war, among them the most appreciated being Shostakovich's *Leningrad Symphony*.<sup>32</sup> Prokofiev composed *The Ballad of the Unknown Boy* that portrays the Soviet resistance against German armies. The opera *War and Peace*, based on the novel with the same name by Tolstoy, and composed by Prokofiev and the libretto highlighted similarities to the war against Germany.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Steen, Michael, *The Lives and Times of the Great Composers*, Ed. Oxford University Press, New York, 2004, p. 850.

<sup>30</sup> Slonimsky, Nicolas, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, p. 13.

<sup>32</sup> Ferenc, Anna, *op. cit.* p. 15.

<sup>33</sup> Slonimsky, Nicolas, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

Under the influence of these social political events, Yuri Shaporin composed the cantata *Skazanie a bitve za russkuyu zemnlyu* (The Story of the Battle for the Land of Russia) divided into twelve sections that paint the image of the war: 1. Spring day, 2. Invasion, 3. The longing of women, 4. The old man's story, 5. The singing of a Red Army, 6. Letter to a friend, 7. Partisan ballad, 8. On the Volga, 9. At Don, 10. The Eternal glory of the heroes, 11. Oath, 12. The return of spring. The cantata had a particularly touching impact at its premiere of 18<sup>th</sup> of April 1944.<sup>34</sup>

After the war, the establishment of the Iron Curtain marked the reiteration of the ideological campaign and the control of the party on cultural issues. At the forefront of the ideological campaign was named Andrei Jdanov, who drew attention to the tendency of Soviet musicians to compose instrumental music, without program, in favour of vocal genres. Such inclinations were declared to be against the need of the population and unethical. The Resolution of 1946 for literature, theatre and film meant the beginning of fierce attacks that would reach climax through the second Resolution of 1948. On February 10<sup>th</sup>, 1948, „The historical decree,” was issued, which threatened that music will no longer be tolerated. After this, during the meeting of Soviet musicians in Moscow, spokesperson Andrei Jdanov stressed several aspects of the Central Committee Resolution. The first work concerned was the work *Great friendship* by V. Muradeli, a tribute to the birthplace of Stalin, Georgia, and composed for commemorating thirteen years after the revolution. In appearance, the program of the opera should have brought the composer a phenomenal success, but to everyone's surprise, Jdanov criticized both the music and the libretto of the opera.

Those focal points of the attacks were the most prominent Soviet composers of which: Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Miaskovski, Shebalin, Khachaturian and Popov. They were accused of formalism and anti-democratic tendencies, and as a result, some lost their jobs while others were removed from the concert program and other artistic engagements. Following the hearing, all the composers sent a letter to Stalin, in which they thanked them for his observations on their artistic mistakes.<sup>35</sup>

The reactions of the composers in the face of these pressures varied depending on the situation; For example, Prokofiev, who was struggling with poor health, aligned the ideological direction through creations such as ballet *Kamennyi Tsvetok* (*The story of a stone flower*), *Cello Sonata*, Oratorio *Na Strazhe Mira* (*On Guard for Peace*) and *The VIIth Symphony*. Despite the fact the Prokofiev had numerous conflicts with the authorities and he

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, p. 14.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, p. 516.

seemingly accepted the soviet ideology, in reality, there are some instances in which it is clear that he wished to distance himself from the party agenda. An illustrative example of this is the opera *Semyon Kotko*, which at a first glance is a soviet work that respects all the rules of social realisms. At closer inspections, we can see that the hero of the opera is in fact a man torn between his duty towards the country and his duty towards family and love. The image presented in the closing of the opera is one of love that conquers all and the message of the opera that was supposed to be about military glory, becomes one of passion and love.

Shostakovich treated the tense situation in which he was by addressing two distinct artistic strands. On one side, he composed patriotic music with a program, and on the other side, he followed a clandestine musical line through works kept hidden until after Stalin's death.<sup>36</sup>

### Conclusions

One of the most oppressive totalitarian regimes was the one installed by Stalin, all the society being in the stronghold of the Communist Party and its ideology. We looked at the transition between the Lenin's rule and that of Stalin from the point of view of the musical life. During Lenin's time, despite the obvious party agenda, artists and musicians could still have a certain degree of autonomy. Stalin's rise to power started the beginning of the era of terror, in which the soviet people lived in fear of repercussions if they did not fully adhere to the new socialist agenda. The musical world was encroached upon, with composers being forced to create works that were in line with the Communist Party propaganda. As we have seen, many composers tried to somehow survive in this context, some even benefitting from it. The interesting part is that the audiences received at best in a lukewarm fashion the musical works composed during this time, despite the fact that the authorities acclaimed them.

Another important factor to emphasize is that fact that there were composers who still managed to write in accordance with their artistic values, even if in a clandestine manner. Confronted with a totalitarian regime that prohibited any personal creative initiative, these composers found a way to keep their artistic integrity, without going into conflict with the Soviet authorities.

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 16-17.

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