INTRODUCTION

An Ethnomusicological Approach to Music and Conflict

John M. O'Connell

In his classic epic titled War and Peace, Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910) examines the nature of conflict during the Napoleonic era. With specific reference to the French invasion of Russia in 1812, he views war in terms of competing nationalisms, with two national armies representing two nation-states vying for political supremacy in a closely contested military encounter. In this matter, he understands peace as the necessary outcome of war, the only resolution possible in conflict, where winning all or losing everything is dependent on the tactical acumen of charismatic leaders. For him war and peace represent two polarities in a Hegelian dialectic, with conflict and conflict resolution continuously intersecting in an ongoing cycle of historical progress. Although he considers great men the active agents in this telos of time, Tolstoy is also interested in individual protagonists whose lives are determined by the course of historical events, each subject ambivalently suspended in a web of apparent contradictions, dualisms that embrace the conscious and the unconscious realms, which encompass the natural and the supernatural worlds. Invoking implicitly contemporary theories in science and philosophy, the author believes that conflict is inevitable, arguing that war is the logical outcome of natural determinants and social constraints.

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However, Tolstoy's reading of history is not universally held. In particular, his simplistic juxtaposition of war and peace disguises the reality of what Svanibor Petan (see part 5) calls the "war-peace continuum," discord clothed in the garb of concord, peace couched in the mantle of war. By understanding peace in terms of war, Tolstoy advocates a "zero-sum" outcome to conflict resolution where the cessation of hostility always involves either victory or defeat. Further, he couches his argument in an evolutionist framework by advocating the supremacy of strength over weakness, a situation in which nations themselves are involved in a form of natural selection and dominant powers acquire satellite states to survive. As
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critics of Geopolitik remind us, the logical outcome of this biological conception of nationhood is disaster. Here, Tolstoy’s use of language is problematic. By bracketing war with peace, he presents a singular reading of conflict, a discursive act that fixes meaning to the detriment of semantic variation. Tolstoy might be accused of symbolic violence since his definition of conflict and his identification of conflict resolution are informed by a specific intellectual tradition and particular cultural worldview. Yet they are presented here as natural laws within a seamless narrative sequence.

Music rather than language may provide a better medium for interrogating the character of conflict and for evaluating the quality of conflict resolution. While language as prose tends to delimit interpretation according to the partial dictates of authorial intention, music as practice serves to liberate interpretation according to the multiple views of audience reception. When critical theorists have emphasized the monologic character of language in its written form, they have also noted the multivalent potential of music in its practical guise. While writing may be a crucial factor in the chasm that separates literate control and nonliterate freedom, music in contrast to language may present a more fertile locus for studying multiple interpretations of war and diverse readings of peace. As Adelaida Reyes argues (see part 3), some ethnomusicologists recognize the variable character of musical meaning, a partial truth dependent on an unstable relationship between musical text and cultural context. This variability is further unsettled in communal contexts where music making invites an assorted array of distinctive social positions. Where musical meaning is dependent on the multiple vagaries of social circumstance (especially in highly contested cultural spaces), ethnomusicologists would agree that the definition of conflict is often difficult, both in theory and in practice.

The Definition of Conflict

In theory, conflict is hard to define. Conflict can be viewed negatively, as the logical outcome of economic inequality and social disparity leading inevitably to violent rupture where the status of a dominant elite is called into question. Conflict can also be viewed positively when economic difference promotes social mobility, competition being considered by some the hallmark of cultural progress. Although these distinctive definitions of conflict are broadly consistent with a Marxist and a capitalist position respectively, they share a common evolutionary trait, the progression toward a social ideal founded on economic principles. Like Tolstoy, they also consider conflict in terms of difference, a dialectical play of opposites resulting in a Hegelian cycle of stability and instability. While the instruments of control that sustain power are not considered here, the definition of conflict is itself implicated in a wider ideological debate concerning the appropriate constitution of a harmonious world. In this respect, conflict by definition implies the possibility of conflict resolution, an equivocal position that calls into question its fixity as a concept. That is, the study of conflict involves several paradoxes that inform the scholarly debate in political theory. Although generally concerned with violent circumstances, this discourse involves two main avenues of inquiry that encompass the nonrational and the rational domains.

First, conflict is understood as a nonrational behavior; this understanding derives from the empirical study of a human response to resource deficiency where survival is a paramount concern. In this category, some commentators have focused on the influence of environmental and psychological conditions that favor conflict, with the will to survive (see R. L. O’Connell 1989) and the failure to achieve (see Burton 1990) informing distinctive scholarly traditions. Other observers have emphasized the social conditions that promote conflict by examining the ways in which aggressive behaviors are learned and transmitted. In particular, they recognize the significance of identity for fostering hostility, the differentiation between “in-groups” and “out-groups” resulting in social instability (see Tajfel 1978, 1981). Second, conflict is considered a rational reaction to power where the state provides a locus for simulating models of group interaction. In this category, analysts utilize a number of theoretical models to examine the ways in which power is exercised disproportionately to promote or to subdue individual groups (see Horowitz 1985). Here access to power through competition and the manipulation of power through popularization are especially important. Although different in scope, these two positions envisage conflict as a breakdown in relationships and as a challenge to authority. In both instances, the assertion of individualism is central.

In practice, conflict is also hard to define. When theorists attempt to deconstruct conflicts to ascertain recurrent norms, they often fail to recognize the multivalent attributes of conflict as a concept. That is, they rarely show that the definition of conflict is relative, being dependent on cultural factors that seek (or do not seek) to recognize conflict for strategic reasons in different circumstances. Accordingly, a number of continua emerge concerning the perceived character of a conflict, grades of intensity and extensity that necessitate ethnomusicological analysis. Although some theorists have recently examined multiple positions both within and between conflicting groups, they often assume that difference is a precondition of conflict, overlooking the possibility of groups living in opposite relationships rather than opposite circumstances where cultural diversity has creative benefits. Further, theorists are usually concerned with violent rather than nonviolent conflicts, often ignoring peaceful protests where the threat of violence is implicit and peaceful organizations where the reality of violence is covert. Yet these theorists have a practical agenda, the resolution of conflict and the promotion of peace. While a fundamental division still exists in theoretical discourse between nonrational and rational interpretations of conflict, recent
approaches to conflict resolution draw on both scholarly traditions to propose harmonious solutions to discordant situations.5

In this matter, some theorists have attempted to transcend the intellectual divide that informs conflict studies by presenting innovative answers to difficult circumstances. Shunning traditional models in peace studies that favor quantitative analysis over qualitative assessment, they have sought instead to promote the performing arts, suggesting that artistic production rather than economic development might provide a better locus for recognizing intragroup identities and for encouraging intergroup cooperation at a grassroots level. Although the seeds of this approach can properly be traced to the psychological dimension of Herbert Kelman’s (1997) interactive model and the social component of John W. Burton’s (1990) needs hypothesis, exponents of this position contend that expressive culture can be manipulated to transform social identities by creating alternative social practices and inventing new social relationships. In particular, Ho-Won Jeong (1999), when discussing conflict resolution in Northern Ireland, argues that music provides an excellent medium for honoring cultural diversity and for nurturing intercultural dialogue. Although the ideals of his argument are somewhat overstated, his recognition of music in trauma therapy and his advocacy of music in peace negotiations are extremely relevant. By recognizing the significance of music for promoting conflict resolution, Jeong expands on an established theoretical discourse by placing music at the very heart of research into conflict.

Understanding Conflict through Music

Music provides an excellent medium for understanding conflict. In terms of musical structure, conflict is a significant theme in music theory; dissonance has a functional significance in many musical systems. In terms of musical materials, conflict often appears in a symbolic guise, with musical instruments employed either in a warlike display of male bravado (as in poetic dueling) or in an aggressive exhibition of religious fervor (as in mendiant proselytizing). In terms of musical practice, conflict is sometimes reenacted in performance, where heroic wars are celebrated in song (as in oral epics), historic battles are remembered in dance (as in war dances), and military marches (performed by military bands) are used to incite warlike behavior. In terms of musical contexts, conflict is actively negotiated in musical contests, often reframing ancient antagonisms within the structured confines of competitive events, replacing the tragedy of violence with the triumph of virtuosity. In terms of musical values, conflict is indelibly inscribed within the life of music, providing a sonic articulation of dissonance in the social and economic realms. It is perhaps for this reason that the language of music is profoundly informed by the metaphors of conflict, offering a lexical setting for understanding the place of music in conflict.

Music also provides an excellent medium for identifying conflict resolution, since conflict embodies within itself the seeds of its own resolution. Where musical systems acknowledge a dissonant register, they often recognize a consonant solution, thereby enabling the playful juxtaposition of conflicting and resolving elements within a musical frame. Where musical instruments symbolize conflict, they may also be utilized to signify atonement both in solo (for example, ceremonial horns) and in ensemble settings (for example, cross-cultural orchestras). Where musical practices articulate social divisions, they may also simulate social cohesion in the structuring and texturing of performance. Where performers operate at the vanguard of protest, they may also serve as intermediaries between opposing political entities (as ambassadors) and between divergent spiritual domains (as shamans). Significantly, the cultural exchange of musical performers is often one of the first indications of peaceful intentions. Further, where musical values are characterized by extreme prejudice, they may also be manipulated to foster tolerance by emphasizing similarity in musical practice and by accepting difference in musical taste. In this way, music offers the possibility of an imaginary ideal, a shared goal that promotes cooperation between groups while respectful of individual cultural identities.

However, music may sometimes not be used to identify conflict. Although musical discourse is redolent with the language of conflict, in certain cultural contexts silence rather than sound is equated with discord. As Anthony Seeger argues (see part 3), conflict for the Suyà in Brazil is marked by quiet noise and conflict resolution is celebrated with loud music, with amplitude used to signify different degrees of social tension. Jane Sugarman is also ambivalent (see part 1). With reference to Albanians in Kosovo, she contends that music is not traditionally performed during times of war. However, both authors agree that music may be employed in certain instances to promote intragroup solidarity and to excite intergroup aggression. Again, music is sometimes not useful in identifying conflict resolution. As David Cooper demonstrates (see part 2), music in Northern Ireland has advanced rather than diminished sectarian hostility even when music has been directed toward pacific ends. Inna Naroditskaya is also skeptical (see part 1). With reference to music in Azerbaijan, she argues that music is by definition discordant since it expresses conflicting notions of national identity that followed a terrible defeat in a tragic war. While all of these scholars suggest that music in conflict is both conceptually complex and culturally relative, they might approve of one exception.

This exception is harmony. Embracing the musical and the cultural domains, harmony is often a metaphor for conflict resolution; indeed, consonance and dissonance are significant principles in theoretical discourse especially for the musical traditions of Asia and Europe. For example, the notion of harmony (Turkish, āhenk) in the Middle East is informed by a mystical reading of Neoplatonic philosophy in which heaven and earth are opposed and music occupies a pivotal
role in cosmological order. For some theorists, the harmonic series represents different stages of mystical enlightenment, and musical harmonics represent distinctive moments of divine intervention. Further, music making also provides an important medium for expressing social stability. With reference to the Takht ensemble in Egypt, Jihad Racy (1988) argues that musical texture articulates different social positions: antiphony between performers signifies social compatibility, heterophony among performers signifies social reciprocity, and monophony by performers signifies social hierarchy. For him, different musical textures enable distinctive social strategies, allowing for individual agency (through improvisation) within a highly structured performance tradition. Although different interpretations of harmony are extant, the notion that music is a metaphor for conflict resolution is widespread, not least of all in Ireland, where a functional harmony has been restored after an extended period of conflict.6

Harmony after a Conflict: The Case Study of Ireland

Harmony had a role in Ireland. Where music was used to excite intergroup hostility, it was also used to nurture intragroup solidarity, with the war pipes and the Celtic harp demarcating distinctive realms of war and peace. While the harmonious powers of the Celtic harp are well documented, the instrument when accompanying a poet could be transformed into a weapon of satire.7 In this matter, the bard was able to challenge the status quo with impunity by using his political position to praise or to reprimand. Music and dance were also employed to delineate intragroup differences; poetic duels and dance contests demonstrated the superior linguistic skills and the virtuosic talents of male opponents. Following the full conquest of Ireland during the seventeenth century, music played a significant role in differentiating group identities, broadly speaking Western art music and Irish traditional music respectively becoming the symbolic capital of the colonizer and the colonized. During this period of cultural transformation, traditional instruments lost their bellicose attributes; the pipes and the harp were now transformed into instruments of the theater and the salon respectively.8 As Barra Boydell (1996) argues, the harp unstrung became a metaphor for the enslavement of an idealized land and the violation of an effeminized nation.

Disharmony also had a place in Ireland. With the decline of Gaelic culture, song played an important role in consolidating a national identity and in advancing self-determination. While songs in Gaelic helped to maintain the wellsprings of tradition, songs in English served to promote political dissent either by advocating warlike intent or by encouraging political participation; ballads in particular were composed to incite war during the eighteenth century and to demand constitutional reform during the nineteenth century. More recently, songs of rebellion have once again acquired an elevated status. Following the division of Ireland into a northern British and a southern Irish sector (in 1922), the violent struggle for national integration was expressed in song by a subaltern group that revived rebel songs from the past to advance dissident views in the present.9 While singing has often been the preserve of Catholic nationalists, playing has increasingly become the domain of Protestant unionists, with instruments demonstrating the instrumentality of conquest.10 In this matter, the Orange Order parades each year along the paths of occupation, reviving an older tradition of military music (fife and drum bands) to reassert its claim over a conquered land. Here music is employed to incite terror in the hearts of the dispossessed.

Harmony once again exists in Ireland. Following the Belfast Agreement (April 1998), Catholic nationalists and Protestant unionists agreed to a cessation of violence in the context of a new political framework that involved power sharing in a devolved government and recognized the participation of the southern government in the formation of cross-border institutions. Although the progress of peace has been haphazard and dissident military groups continue to subvert the democratic process, the accord receives acceptable levels of support both north and south of the border. In this matter, the promotion of innovative cultural programs has played a significant role. Although acknowledged by Mari Fitzduff (1989a, 1989b) in her strategy for community relations in the Province, the validation of expressive culture in conflict resolution is more recent. As part of the Mitchell Principles, the cultural identity of opposing groups has been ensured through the foundation of relevant governmental bodies that promote the language and art of each community. Music in particular has benefited from the peace process. New musical organizations and new performance events complement the significant investment in new cultural institutions. The peace process has apparently benefited from music. That is, music is thought by some to present a neutral space for fostering intergroup dialogue.

Will harmony continue to function in Ireland? After the first flush of euphoria, the peace process may have inadvertently reinforced rather than reduced intergroup differences. Although arts policy in Northern Ireland continues to nurture the musical traditions of opposing Protestant and Catholic communities, it has served to stereotype the expressive cultures of different groups, and in doing so it has helped to entrench rather than subvert specific group identities. The problem is compounded by the “nationalization” of distinctive musical traditions: Irish traditional music and Ulster Scots music are now viewed as the exclusive preserve of Catholic nationalists and Protestant unionists respectively. This is a pity. As Cooper shows (in part 2), traditional music in Ulster was an interdenominational activity, with songs of rebellion in the past reflecting a nonconformist resistance toward, as well as a Catholic opposition to, repressive regimes. Although this situation has changed, the reification of music in conflict resolution has posed more problems than it has solved. Where the unequal distribution of power was once widely debated, today the unequal dispersal of grants is hotly contested. In this respect, economics rather than politics are now the guiding principles of
The Study of Conflict in Ethnomusicology

The study of music and conflict has received surprisingly little attention in ethnomusicology. Although several important publications do exist, these usually concern specific conflicts whose parameters are defined by particular geographical conditions and historical circumstances. In this respect, Ben Arnold (1993) and Pettan (1998) have presented classic studies of music and war with specific reference to art music in the West and traditional music in the Balkans respectively. Other studies are more focused on conflict and relevant issues that include music and violence (see Araújo et al. 2006a and 2006b, McDowell 2000); music and resistance (see Browning 1995, Fryer 2000); music and power (see Averill 1997, Erleman 1996); and music and politics (see Bauman 1979, Pratt 1990). Related studies concerning music and freedom (see Blacking 1980); music and dispossession (see Reyes 1999); music and competition (see Avorgbedor 2001); music and censorship (see Cloonan and Garofalo 2003); and music and gender (see Cerbašić 2000) are also extant and attest to the growing significance of music and conflict in ethnomusicology and cognate disciplines. Like the ICTM colloquium in Limerick (see O’Connell, preface to this volume), several scholarly conventions concerning music in war and music for peace have been organized both within and outside the field of ethnomusicology (see Pettan, part 5).

However, the study of music and conflict in theory as well as in practice awaits further consideration. As Araújo (Araújo et al. 2006a, 289) states, the study of conflict from a theoretical perspective has largely been neglected in ethnomusicology. Speaking about music and violence in Brazil, the author proposes a dialogic methodology for promoting conflict resolution among disadvantaged communities, a research framework that is suitable for general application in a global setting. In contrast to scholars in other cognate disciplines (such as anthropology and folklore) in which a disciplinary interest in an applied dimension is well established, most ethnomusicologists have only recently begun to embrace seriously the issue of musical advocacy. In part, this reflects the stellar work of individual scholars whose persistent efforts have served to bridge the divide between the academy and the community. Some of these scholars are featured in this volume. It also reflects the imminent effect of political circumstances where a current preoccupation with commemoration and a related desire for retaliation have impinged on the scholarly realm. With respect to the latter category, I consider here a publication that concerns music after the 9/11 tragedy, a recent study that brings together a diverse collection of music scholars to examine distinctive musical genres in different musical contexts.

Music in the Post-9/11 World is a significant contribution to the study of music and conflict. Edited by the ethnomusicologists Jonathan Ritter and J. Martin Daughtry (2007), the publication draws on a diverse range of interdisciplinary methodologies to make sense of a significant catastrophe from a musical perspective. These methodologies embrace the ethnomusicological, the folkloric, and the musicological domains. Divided into two parts, the study explores in different sections the musical consequences of 9/11 both inside (part 1) and outside (part 2) the United States. While the secondary status accorded to a cross-cultural consideration of the issue might seem somewhat tokenistic, the book features a number of ethnographic studies of especial interest to an ethnomusicological audience. In this respect, the articles on music and censorship in the United States (by Scherzinger), on music and violence in Mexico (by McDowell), and on music and politics in Afghanistan (by Doubleday) are especially noteworthy. However, the collection focuses on the relationship between music and conflict with respect to a single event. In doing so, it serves implicitly to monumentalize a national disaster, a tragedy used by some to validate aggressive action in its aftermath. The book also fails to provide practical solutions to the role of music in conflict resolution.

Music and Conflict Transformation offers one such solution. Edited by the modern linguist and peace theorist Olivier Urbain (2008), the volume provides an interdisciplinary insight into music and conflict transformation, with music therapy and music education principally informing the applied dimension of the publication. While Music in the Post-9/11 World presents case studies of music and conflict with reference to a single disaster, this publication provides broader coverage of music and conflict resolution in relation to many conflicts. Here contributors offer a theoretical insight into and/or a practical overview of harmony by invoking the definition of peace proffered by the theorist Johan Galtung: “the capacity to transform conflict(s) with empathy, creativity and non-violence” (Urbain 2008, 4). In this respect, ethnomusicologists might find the uncritical reliance on an Enlightenment conception of empathy problematic, especially when applied to music and peace in non-Western contexts. They might also critique the unchallenged dependence on psychological theories (especially in music therapy) and didactic principles (especially in music education) that are clearly drawn from a Western intellectual tradition. While Music and Conflict Transformation is the first major publication of its kind, it betrays a Eurocentric bias that fits uncomfortably with the pluralist aspirations of an ethnomusicological tradition. It is significant that no ethnomusicologist is featured in the collection.

Toward an Ethnomusicology of Conflict

These two publications discussed concern different aspects of music and conflict, namely, music in war and music for peace. Although nominally positioned as opposites on the “war-peace continuum,” each volume considers central issues
related both to war and to peace: the first examines peaceful reactions to warlike intentions; the second considers the paradoxical roles of music in conflict and conflict transformation. The two books also rely on an interdisciplinary collection of scholars: the contributors to the former are divided into musicologists and ethnomusicologists, while the latter features political scientists and music practitioners. In both instances, this methodological fragmentation leads to semantic ambiguity, a problem that detracts from a central issue: the significance of music for understanding war and for promoting peace. Here ethnomusicologists might be in a better position to examine with critical depth and cultural awareness the many ways in which music is used as a tool to aggravate and to appease conflict. While an ethnomusicological dimension is included in the first and an ethnomusicological approach is invoked in the second, neither publication provides an integrated overview of music and conflict in a cross-cultural perspective. Further, neither work represents adequately the issue of music and conflict from an ethnomusicological perspective.

The present volume seeks to redress this omission. Mirroring these studies but addressing the world of music from an ethnographic angle, the book demonstrates that ethnomusicology too recognizes the paradoxical nature of music in conflict. Either the field has viewed music as a locus for resistance, a subaltern response to political hegemony and social injustice whereby asymmetrical power relations are critiqued in musical texts and performance styles, or it has viewed music as a medium for compromise, in which musical texture and rhythmic structure reflect varying degrees of social cohesion. Although both positions are often informed by an idealist agenda that envisages sound as a medium for social improvement, they do show that music provides a unique text for interrogating the multivalent character of conflict and for suggesting a possible resolution to conflict. In this respect, this book contributes to an established literature by emphasizing several dichotomies that cover the scope, the intensity, and the character of conflict from a musical perspective. It also evaluates a variety of related issues that consider the place of musicians in promulgating dissonant positions and of ethnomusicologists in advocating consonant solutions. Sensitive to the problem of musical representation in distinctive contexts, it offers a unique insight into the subject of music and conflict.

This volume is structured to highlight an ethnomusicological position. Featuring an international collection of established scholars, the book is divided into six parts; each section deals with distinctive attributes of music and conflict from both a theoretical and a practical perspective. In this matter, the succession of essays follows different levels of conflict; the first part deals with music used to enhance conflict, and the final part deals with music used against conflict. The intermediary parts not only lie strategically along a graded scale between war and peace but also consider specific issues with relation to particular geographical regions and individual political situations. Part 2 considers music after parti-

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This book does not attempt to cover all music in every conflict. As Pettan states in part 5, the literature on music in conflict is expanding, with new symposia and new publications attesting to the significance of the issue for contemporary scholars. Several paths of inquiry mentioned in this collection deserve further discussion. First, the place of music and warfare needs greater scrutiny, specifically instances when musical genres (such as national anthems), musical artifacts (such as military bands), musical practices (such as war dances), and musical events (such as political rallies) are employed to mobilize support and to incite violence. Second, the role of music in politics deserves greater attention, with consideration of musicians who serve as the tools of propaganda or who operate as "organic intellectuals" (see Gramsci 1971). Here the issues of human rights and civil rights are clearly pertinent. Third, the significance of music for policy makers in zones of conflict is relevant; the importance of inequitable sponsorship and unfair legislation are especially noteworthy. However, the literature on music in
conflict resolution is less extensive. This may reflect an ethnomusicological ambivalence toward the peaceful intentions of relevant projects. As Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco argues in the epilogue, although ethnomusicologists may operate as mediators in conflictual situations, they may also have to become politically engaged if conflict resolution is to be effective.

However, this book does attempt to show that the role of music in conflict is complex. It demonstrates that music occupies a paradoxical position, used both to escalate conflict and to promote conflict resolution. In this, it explores a number of continua concerning the nature of conflict, with music reflecting the multiple ways in which conflict is understood in the conceptual and the applied domains. The volume also has a wider contemporary relevance; it engages instances where ethnic nationalism and religious activism have contributed to the recent rise of global unrest, resulting in the production of relevant musical materials. Related to this, it critiques the effectiveness of peace initiatives in conflict resolution, in theory programs that offer solutions to the tragedy of conflict, trauma brought about by violence, poverty, dispossession, and alienation. In practice, it examines the local reception of international programs in the domain of expressive culture, showing through field research how music either promotes peace or perpetuates discord. In this matter, it critiques the role of ethnomusicologists as mediators, scholars who mediate a divide between the academic and the applied, between the global and the local. In sum, it highlights several relevant themes, one or more of which are developed in each of the following essays.

Notes

1. War and Peace, first published between 1865 and 1869, is a four-part epic narrative of the French invasion of Russia by Leo Tolstoy. The book features a number of Hegelian influences in its approach to historiography; both Hegel and Tolstoy show the power of desire and the role of will in shaping the progress of human history. However, Tolstoy was also critical of Hegel's view of history. Whereas Hegel viewed historical progress in terms of a simple dialectical relationship between cause and effect, Tolstoy was more ambivalent about historical inevitability. With reference to Napoleon, he questioned the significance of great men for determining historical progress. For him, major protagonists and minor actors were equally significant. Further, he viewed war as a natural outlet for human aggression and not as an essential component in human development. That being said, his monumental work is resplendent with antinomies reflective of, yet reacting against a Hegelian precedent. For an insightful critique of Tolstoy's view of history, see Isaiah Berlin (1953).

2. Geopolitik (geopolitics) was a theory of statehood developed in Germany during the nineteenth century and used to validate national expansionism during the twentieth century. Informed by a particular brand of social Darwinism, proponents of Geopolitik likened the nation-state to a living organism that had to expand at the expense of smaller states in order to survive. Here the two options afforded to a nation-state were total defeat and total conquest. Chiefly inspired by geographical theorists of German extraction, some exponents of this theory proposed the notion of Lebensraum (living space), which was suited to the economic expansion and demographic sustenance of the German race. During the 1930s, Geopolitik became synonymous with a Nazi interpretation of race and space; the concept found expression in Hitler's geostategy (as detailed in Mein Kampf). Accordingly, Geopolitik was discredited in scholarly circles especially after the Second World War.

3. The relationship between music and language is complex. My argument here draws on a critical literature that examines the relationship between language and political power (see, for example, Bloch 1974) and language and social control (see, for example, Foucault 1976). It also alludes to a Marxist reading of discourse in which language serves to bifurcate subject positions, a dominant group that rules and a dominated group that is ruled through the manipulation of language (see, for example, Bourdieu 1977). Although recent approaches to linguistics emphasize the multivalent rather than the monologic attributes of language (especially in the realms of language performance), music may be a better medium for studying multiple positions especially in social contexts. For representative studies of music making as social interaction see, Sugarman (1988) and Racy (1988). See also J. M. O'Connell (2004, 2005) for a poststructuralist reading of music and language in Tajikistan and Turkey.

4. With reference to the definition of conflict, the peace specialist Burton states: "Whatever the definition we have of conflict, wherever we draw the line, right down to family violence, we are referring to situations in which there is a breakdown in relationships and a challenge to norms and authorities. . . . [Conflict] is due to an assertion of individualism. It is a frustration-based protest against lack of opportunities for development and against lack of recognition and identity. Whether the tension, conflict, or violence has origins in class, status, ethnicity, sex, religion or nationalism, we are dealing with the same fundamental issues" (1991, 20).

5. Although the strategic management of conflict resolution is still debated, Burton provides the following summary of the issue: "Conflict resolution is, in the long term, a process of change in political, social and economic systems. It is an analytical and problem solving process that takes into account such individual and group needs such as identity and recognition, as well as institutional changes that are required to satisfy these needs" (1991, 70).

6. China offers another example of musical harmony used to signify social order. For example, musical overtones reflect distinct aspects of social and political order within a Confucian universe. From this perspective, cultural stability mirrors the structure of the harmonic series, with an invariable hierarchy of sounds mapping an immutable hierarchy in society. For the followers of Confucius, the replication of this sound series ensured social order, and by extension, the command of this sound series ensured social control.

7. Regarding the Celtic harp, see, for example, Breathnach (1971).

8. The use of the pipes as an instrument of warfare is documented after the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland. As in other European contexts, these pipes were sometimes used in nonviolent contexts. With the demise of Gaelic culture, a new set of pipes with regulators replaced its older bellicose precedent. Appearing at first as an instrument of pantomime at the end of the eighteenth century, this new instrument (called the uileann pipes) has become one of the most valued instruments in the Irish music tradition. See Breathnach (1980) for a more extended discussion of this issue. The harp too went through a fundamental change. As Boydell (1996) and Rimmer (1977) show, the harp
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evolved from a wire-strung instrument played with fingernails to a gut-strung instrument performed with fingertips. Generally speaking, the former (the Celtic harp) was performed by male bards; the latter (the Egan harp) was played by female instrumentalists in bourgeois salons.

9. See, for example, Zimmermann (2002) for a revised edition of his important study of Irish rebel songs.

10. The role of instrumental music as an identity marker is complex. On the one hand, traditional song was accorded an elevated status in Gaelic Ireland even when accompanied by an instrument. On the other hand, instrumental ensembles have historically received greater attention in non-Catholic contexts, even in those regions where an English-language ballad tradition is extant. However, instrumental ensembles performing Irish traditional music were founded by nationalist groups during the nineteenth century often in imitation of a colonial precedent. These groups are now considered traditional and provide a symbolic standard for the articulation of a non-British identity, especially in Northern Ireland. See Vallely (2008) for a critical study of traditional music and identity in Northern Ireland.

PART 1

Music in War

John M. O'Connell

In part 1, Jane Sugarman and Inna Naroditskaya examine how music is used to perpetuate conflict and to advance conflict resolution. With specific reference to two internecine conflicts involving Christians and Muslims that attended the demise of Communism, the authors show how music helps clarify complex cultural differences at a national and an international level. Studying two wars of independence in Kosovo and Karabagh, each scholar interrogates the ambivalent role of music in conflict in which several musical styles performed in a range of musical contexts are employed to influence attitudes toward war and peace both diachronically and synchronically. Here the distinction between vernacular and elite musical styles and the difference between urban and rural musical contexts are especially relevant. While Naroditskaya investigates the production of classical musics for an Azeri audience, Sugarman explores the consumption of popular musics by an Albanian audience. In both instances, the contributors recognize the significance of music in the media for the articulation of multiple ideological positions at home and abroad. They also acknowledge the power of music to expose bellicose intent and to disguise pacific purpose, with music making viewed as a special locus both for enacting conflict and for anticipating conflict resolution.

Sugarman considers the significance of music in the media for the escalation and the de-escalation of conflict in Kosovo. Recognizing three distinctive stages in the Kosovo war, she shows how music was produced at different periods both to incite war and to advocate peace; the media was manipulated to disseminate conflicting ideological messages to Albanian communities both at a local and at a global level. In particular, she contends that different musical media were employed to unite disparate Albanian groups traditionally segregated along