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The Soundtrack of Revolution
Memory, Affect, and the Power of Protest Songs

By Tiina Rosenberg

Abstract

All cultural representations in the form of songs, pictures, literature, theater, film, television shows, and other media are deeply emotional and ideological, often difficult to define or analyze. Emotions are embedded as a cultural and social soundtrack of memories and minds, whether we like it or not. Feminist scholarship has emphasized over the past decade that affects and emotions are a foundation of human interaction. The cognitive understanding of the world has been replaced by a critical analysis in which questions about emotions and how we relate to the world as human beings is central (Ahmed 2004: 5-12).

It is in this memory-related instance that this article discusses the unexpected reappearance of a long forgotten song, *Hasta siempre*, as a part of my personal musical memory. It is a personal reflection on the complex interaction between memory, affect and the genre of protest songs as experiences in life and music. What does it mean when a melody intrudes in the middle of unrelated thoughts, when one's mind is occupied with rational and purposive considerations? These memories are no coincidences, I argue, they are our forgotten selves singing to us.

Keywords: Music, memory, affect, emotion, feminism, gender, kitsch, solidarity.

Overture

We have all been there: Suddenly a melody comes into our head without our knowing how it got there. On a recent trip to Cuba I heard the refrain of a long forgotten song: "Aquí se queda la Clara / la entrañable transparencia / de tu querida presencia / Comandante Che Guevara" (your beloved and luminous presence / became clear here / Comandante Che Guevara). With tears in my eyes I tried to explain to my partner that they were playing *the* song. "Which song?" she asked, but I was already heading for the bandstand, drawn by the music of *Hasta Siempre* (Forever), the popular song about Ernesto Guevara, who was better known to the world as Che or "Comandante".

It was my emotional and literally melodramatic soundtrack talking back to me. All cultural representations in the form of songs, pictures, literature, theater, film, television shows, and other media are deeply emotional and ideological, often difficult to define or analyze. Emotions are embedded as a cultural and social soundtrack of memories and minds, whether we like it or not. Feminist scholarship has emphasized over the past decade that affects and emotions are a foundation of human interaction. The cognitive understanding of the world has been replaced by a gender analysis in which questions about the relationship between "our" and the "other's" emotions, and how we relate to the world as human beings is central (Ahmed 2004: 5-12). The world is an affective place and life supplies us with melodies we need for our journey.

The Greek word *meloidia* means song. Drama is a specific form of fiction presented in performance. Together they form the compound *melodrama.* In this memory-related instance the song I heard transformed itself into a haunting melody. *Hasta siempre* is performed everywhere in Cuba, but it is not the performance of the song as such that concerns me here. It is my musical memory of the song that possessed and refused to let go. It welcomed me and my memories back to Cuba.

The Haunting Melody

The interaction between melody and memory is complex. In his 1953 book, *The Haunting Melody*, the psychoanalyst Theodor Reik discusses his psychoanalytic experiences in life and music. He asks what it means when a melody intrudes in the middle of unrelated thoughts, when your mind is occupied with rational and purposive considerations (Reik 1953: vii). Musical memory is linked to the process of retention, recall, and recognition, a notion that Sigmund Freud mentions in passing in his *Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, but does not develop further. Freud's general aversion to music is one of his well-known characteristics. Late in life he developed a fondness for Mozart, especially *Don Giovanni* and *Le nozze di Figaro*. Brisk walks used to stimulate the flow of Freud's thoughts, rather than

music. One of the reasons for his dislike of music has been identified as *musicogenic epilepsy*, a strong physical and memory-based epileptic reaction to music that Freud observed in his patients (Roth 1986). It is, of course, difficult to say why someone as culturally well-rounded as Freud disliked music. He simply stated that he was "ganz unmusikalisch", totally unmusical (Roth 1986: 759).

Other psychoanalysts have taken an interest in music, Reik among them. His curiosity in this area was awakened when a melody from Mahler's Second Symphony, the *Resurrection Symphony*, lodged in his mind during a walk in the Alps, an experience that took him a lifetime to understand. As he writes:

> In December 1925, I felt unusually tired and weary, fed up with daily analytic practice. I decided to get a week of recreation and to spend the vacation between Christmas and New Year's on the Semmering. This is a summer and winter resort, about three hours' ride from Vienna, high up in the mountains. There are quite a few hotels, and my family and I had enjoyed the clear and sharp mountain air of the place before. We spent the Christmas evening at a hotel we had stopped at on previous occasions. On the evening of December 25 I received a telephone call from Vienna. A colleague told me the sad news that Karl Abraham had died, and he asked me in the name of Freud to deliver a speech in memory of our friend at the next meeting of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. (Reik 1953: 220)

Reik goes on to describe how he was beset by Mahler's music, which refused leave him. This experience made him want to write a book about melodies that haunt people. Reik hoped that an analysis of the phenomenon in general, and his own comprehension of Mahler's symphony in particular, would help him understand the message of his unconscious. The outcome was a unique and fascinating self-analysis in which Mahler's music addressed the fundamental conflict that had guided Reik's whole life: the struggle between feelings of shameful worthlessness and grandiose overcompensation. Reik discovered that melodies give voice to the unconscious: the unknown self begins to sing because music is so close to our emotions. He also found that the triumph of Mahler's symphony was not that it consoled him for the loss of a beloved friend; rather, it expressed his forbidden joy in Karl Abraham's death. Reik had secretly longed to supplant Abraham as the world's leading psychoanalyst. He now concluded that the haunting melody that would not leave him was his unconscious trying to tell him something about his own self that had been forgotten or had become constricted, something that was once important to him.

Protests in Public Places

It is midnight in Chicago's Grant Park on November 4, 2008. Barack Obama has just been elected the first African-American president of the United States. He stands on a platform in the chill night air and tells 100000 cheering supporters, "It's been a long time coming, but tonight, because of what we did on this day, in this election, at this defining moment, change has come to America" (Lynskey

2011: xiii). The line has a familiar ring. It is a paraphrase of words written by the soul singer Sam Cooke some forty-five years earlier: "It's been a long, a long time coming, but I know a change gonna come." At this historic moment, one of the great speakers of the day borrowed the most memorable line of his acceptance speech from an old protest song.

Fifty years earlier and much further to the south, Ernesto "Che" Guevara lauded another famous orator, his friend and co-revolutionary, Fidel Castro, by saying that Fidel

> has his own special way of fusing himself with the people [which] can be appreciated only by seeing him in action. At the great public mass meetings one can observe something like a dialogue of two tuning forks whose vibrations interact, producing new sounds. Fidel and the mass begin to vibrate together in a dialogue of growing intensity until they reach a climax in an abrupt conclusion crowned by our cry of struggle and victory. (Deutschmann & Shnookal 2007: xii)

Most cities have a public place in the form of a central square. The demonstrations in the Middle East, at Syntagma Square in Athens, the Occupy Wall Street movement in the US, Los Indignados in Spain, and the student revolts in Chile are just a few examples of the return to the *agora*, Athens' classic square in which free citizens (women and slaves excluded) could participate in contemporary democratic processes. Although today's new social media are effective in spreading information, demonstrations still require the bodily presence of individuals in order to instill power into political slogans. There are many examples of the organization of public space in the history of demonstrations. The large trans-local Vietnam demonstrations of the late 1960s, the demonstrations of the anti-globalization movement that began in Seattle in 1999, the anti-war demonstrations over the invasion of Iraq in the early 2000s, and the massive demonstrations in different parts of the world in 2010-2011 (so numerous and intense that *Time* magazine chose The Protester as the 2011 personality of the year) all showed how to occupy and use public space.

Public protests are a significant part of activist culture. The post 9/11 period has greatly restricted protests and the use of public space in the West. At the beginning of the twentieth century it was still possible to shut down factories and sometimes even whole cities, through strikes. Protest occupations and sit-ins were a tool the labor movement used to challenge the capitalist political economy. Trade unions were linked in solidarity to form a large social movement. "It created an awareness of the importance of 'taking' physical locations," observed American historian Rosemary Feuer in an interview (quoted in Hellquist 2011: 6). Social media are important, but there is no revolt possible without a physical presence and the collective corporeality of specific locations. Feuer goes on to point out that what remain of this tradition today are solidarity rallies that last for a day or two. She believes that the Arab Spring and the spin-off of the Occupy Wall

Street have reminded people of the need to have physical social spaces in order to build protest movements and communities (quoted in Hellquist 2011: 6).

Protest Songs

However, demonstrations need more than physical locations in which to take place: the atmosphere is equally important. Therefore, demonstration cultures contain significant aesthetic elements, such as music. During the Arab Spring of 2011, several songs were performed and recorded in Tahrir Square. The singer known as El General (Hamada Ben Amor) challenged the Tunisian president (now ex-president) Zine El Abedine Ben Ali with the song *Mr. President, Your People are Dying*, a protest refrain that quickly spread through the Internet. Hip-hop and rap are the genres of the younger generation's protest music, for one thing because they are simple and cheap to produce. In place of a band of musicians, all one needs is a beat and something to say. It is the undisputed contemporary genre for advancing social criticism (Hebdige 1979; Rose 1994, 2008; Eyerman & Jamison 1998; Lynskey 2011; Sernhede & Söderman 2012).

Protest and battle songs date back centuries. During the French Revolution people were marching to the tune of 'La Marsellaise': "Aux armes, citoyens / formez vos bataillons / marchons, marchons! / Qu'un sang impur/ Abreuve nos sillons!" (To arms, citizens / form your battalions! / March, march! / Let impure blood water our furrows!) which later became France's national anthem. *The Internationale*, the song of the labor movement from the early 1900s, is still sung on squares around the world on May Day, the day celebrating the movement's birth. In the 1960s, the music of Bob Dylan and Joan Baez attracted thousands of people to outdoor concerts, while the London riots of 2011 were accompanied by dance music that created a completely different atmosphere reminiscent of some of the sounds of The Clash's classic *London Calling* (Lynskey 2011).

The commitment and mood of political gatherings are what drew people to them. Joan Baez, who rose to prominence at the Newport Festival in 1960, fought against racism with Martin Luther King Jr., traveled to Vietnam, and was imprisoned, states that "politics would be very unrealistic in the streets unless it involves music. The music pours forth from the soul, especially in times of crisis" (quoted in Hellquist 2011: 6). She sees rock and pop music as having coincided in a fruitful way with the American protest movements of 1960s and 1970s: "I call it 'the perfect storm': the music, politics, the civil rights movement, the war in Vietnam" (quoted in Hellquist 2011: 6). Lynskey writes that in order for a protest song to take hold it must be part of a larger political movement. He concludes that while the past fifteen years have seen many protest songs, no larger social movement has emerged to unite them. However, music can act as a mediator and cohesive element, as has happened to the Internet-based music culture of the Arab Spring (Lynskey 2011).

While Lynskey treats protest songs as a form of pop music that arises out of concern, anger, doubt, and, in almost every case, sincere emotion, film scholar Linda Williams points to melodrama, horror, and pornographic films as "body genres" that use tears, fear, and sexual arousal to elicit evisceral reactions among viewers (Williams 1991: 2-13). Her idea recalls Aristotle's theory of catharsis and can also be applied to a certain kind of music that requires immense exertion from performers and in turn provokes strong corporeal responses among members of the audience. Protest song is such a genre.

An affect is usually the immediate physiological reaction to a stimulus. In my case it took the form of tears. Characteristic of affects is that they are bodily expressions, and bodily reactions are more immediate than conscious emotional awareness. Human beings become aware of their reactions only after the fact. Affects are inscribed on our emotional and memory-based soundtracks early in life. These memories are archived, and as it were, make their reappearance when least expected. Bodily-based affects are the total sum of the events one has experienced in life. Thus, how people relate to their emotions is determined not only by the individual, but also by one's life history and the culture of which we all are a part. My trip to Cuba brought something vital from the past to life again.

Refrain of a Song

Hasta siempre exists in a number of versions: the Cuban revolutionary original, a rock tune, Latino pop, jazz, salsa, bolero, reggae, and hip-hop/rap. The Cuban composer Carlos Pueblo wrote it in 1965 in response to Che Guevara's farewell letter to the Cuban people. *Hasta siempre* expresses the gratitude of the Cuban people to their beloved Che:

> Aprendimos a quererte / desde la histórica altura donde el sol de tu bravura / le puso cerco a la muerte. Chrous: Aquí se queda la clara / la entrañable transparencia / de tu querida presencia/ Comandante Che Guevara. Tu mano gloriosa y fuerte / sobre la historia dispara/ cuando todo Santa Clara / se despierta para verte. *Chorus:* Aquí se queda la clara / la entrañable transparencia / de tu querida presencia / Comandante Che Guevara. Vienes quemando la brisa / con soles de primavera / para plantar la bandera / con la luz de tu sonrisa. *Chorus:* Aquí se queda la clara / la entrañable transparencia / de tu querida presencia / Comandante Che Guevara. Tu amor revolucionario / te conduce a nueva empresa / donde esperan la firmeza / de tu brazo libertario. *Chrous:* Aquí se queda la clara / la entrañable transparencia / de tu querida presencia / Comandante Che Guevara. Seguiremos adelante / como junto a ti seguimos / y con Fidel te decimos: Hasta siempre, Comandante!. *Chrous:* Aquí se queda la clara / la entrañable transparencia / de tu querida presencia / Comandante Che Guevara.

In English translation the song goes something like this:

> We learned to love you / from the heights of history / with the radiance of your bravery / you laid siege to death. *Chorus:* Your beloved and luminous presence / became clear here / Comandante Che Guevara. Your glorious and strong hand / fires at history / when all of Santa Clara awakens to see you. *Chorus:* Your beloved and lu-

> minous presence / became clear here / Comandante Che Guevara. You come burning the winds / with spring suns to plant the flag / with the light of your smile. *Chorus:* Your beloved and luminous presence / became clear here / Comandante Che Guevara. Your revolutionary love / leads you to a new undertaking / where they are awaiting the firmness / of your liberating arm. *Chorus:* Your beloved and luminous presence / became clear here / Comandante Che Guevara. We will carry on as we did along with you / and with Fidel we say to you / You will always be with us, Comandante! *Chorus:* Your beloved and luminous presence / became clear here / Comandante Che Guevara.

My problem with *Hasta siempre* is that it associates religious overtones with a male revolutionary hero. It is not difficult to recognize the worship of another stereotypical altruistic male revolutionary, Jesus Christ, as the paradigm of *Hasta siempre*. It may, therefore, be relevant to ask whether I, as a queer feminist, can forgive anything for a good tune? Why I am crying as I listen to *Hasta siempre*, although I can understand all the problems connected with this sort of worship? In my research, and in several books and articles, I have dealt with affect, voice, gender, and sexuality: the mezzosoprano in trouser roles ("the Sapphonics"), women in Wagner's operas (voice and power), Zarah Leander and queer diva culture, and, in my most recent book, anger, hope, and solidarity (Rosenberg 1998, 2000, 2006, 2009, 2012). The emotional connections are complex and we are not always in control of how our internal soundboard resonates when played upon by certain melodies. In Reik's psychoanalytical terms it is the unknown or forgotten self who sings in our head.

In an essay entitled "Le grain de la voix" (The Grain of Voice) Roland Barthes proposes the rebirth of the author "inside" of the artwork. Barthes eliminates a specifically male position (the author, logos) by supplying it with its overtly female and musical force: the voice. What we experience, Barthes writes, is the voice, not the musical notation, and it transcends its "masculinity" (Barthes 1981). In Barthes' thought, as in French poststructuralist theory in general, the feminine is the utopic space, the Promised Land we have not yet experienced. Barthes also makes a distinction between representing and presenting live bodies on stage. Performance is characterized by a certain instability, something a prescriptive narrative has difficulties controlling. This means that the singing voice that conveys a haunting melody in a performance is not merely representing a given piece of music. It is the key to something forgotten that was once important to the listener. The reaction does not need to be the Freudian musicogenic epilepsy, and yet it is always a physical occurrence.

For Barthes, listening is an active erotic act that takes place in a space where body and language meet without completely merging into one another (Barthes 1981). In this combination of the abstract and corporeal, he sees an art form without a system of the signifier and the signified. The grain of the voice is the materiality of the body speaking its mother tongue. In my own case *Hasta siempre* carried me back to my personal entrance into leftist politics. The military takeover by

Augusto Pinochet in Chile occurred in 1973, when I was fifteen years old, and it awakened me politically. This early political engagement was accompanied by a musical repertory of protest song that I have carried in my memory to this day. *Hasta siempre*, to use Barthes's notion, was my memory speaking its mother tongue.

Sentimentality and Revolutionary Kitsch

I understand, of course, that I am the perfect target for the Cuban tourist industry in branding revolutionary nostalgia as kitsch and selling it to middle-aged Western leftist visitors. My tears over all kinds of unfinished revolutions are an illustration of political sentimentality (but also frustration) over the state of leftist politics today.

Sentimentality has gotten a bad reputation because of its kitschy aesthetics. The scholars and theorists who associate sentimentality with kitsch, especially those who do so with political aspirations, are not only students of loving and tender feelings; they also position sentimentality in a broader cultural and political context. There is no consensus as to what constitutes kitsch, but ever since the term was coined sometime after World War I, it has enjoyed notoriety. It is an epithet that denotes worthless, commercial art, or simply any kind of bad art. But not all substandard art qualifies as kitsch, nor can kitsch, in the words of Austrian writer Hermann Broch, be seen unconditionally as artistic failure, that is, a work of art in which everything went wrong (Broch 1955: 295-309).

Emotions have long been looked at with suspicion although there have been philosophers such as David Hume who have praised the importance of emotions in relation to reason, rationality, and morality. Research increasingly shows that emotions cannot only be seen as a threat to rationality, but may be a prerequisite to it (Cvetkovich 2003; Nussbaum 2003; Ahmed 2004; Berlant 2004). Theorists have emphasized how affects have assumed a central role in society, especially as elements of social networks and new social media.

Feminist theorist Sara Ahmed explores how emotions work to shape the "surfaces" of individual and collective bodies, that is, how bodies take the shape of the contact they have with objects and others (Ahmed 2004: 1). She writes:

> One way of reflecting on this history of thinking about emotion is to consider the debate about the relation between emotion, bodily sensation and cognition […] Emotion is the feeling of bodily change. The immediacy of the 'is' suggests that emotions do not involve processes of attribution or evaluation: we feel fear, for example, because our heart is racing, our skin is sweating. A cognitivist view would be represented by Aristotle, and by a number of thinkers who follow him. (Ahmed 2004: 2)

Ahmed approaches emotions as a form of cultural politics or world-making. Her argument about the cultural politics of emotions is

> developed not only as a critique of the psychologizing and privatization of emotions, but also as a critique of a model of social structure that neglects the emotional intensities, which allow such structures to be reified as forms of being. Attention to emotions allows us to address the question of how subjects become *invested* in particular structures such that their demise is felt as a kind of living death. (Ahmed 2004: 12)

Sentimentality and kitsch are often defined as bad taste, but it has been hard to identify what exactly constitutes this bad taste. The early critique of kitsch and sentimentality as formulated in the 1950s and 1960s by Broch and others such as Ludwig Giesz in *Phänomenologie de Kitsches* was based on a critique of Nazism and its use of emotionality for political propaganda. This notion has been re-evaluated by queer theorists interested in camp as a special cultural sensibility for queers. It was formulated by cultural theorist Susan Sontag in her groundbreaking essay "Notes on camp" and later developed by a number of queer scholars writing on aesthetic theory (Sontag 1964; Koestenbaum 1993;Cleto 1999).

A general definition of camp has been formulated by cultural theorist David Bergman as follows:

> First, everyone agrees that camp is a style (whether of objects or of the way objects are perceived is debated) that favors 'exaggeration', 'artifice' and 'extremity', Second, camp exists in tension with popular culture, commercial culture, or consumerist culture. Third, the person who can recognize camp, who sees things as campy, or who can camp is a person outside of the cultural mainstream. Fourth, camp is affiliated with homosexual culture, or at least with a self-conscious eroticism that throws into question the naturalization of desire. (quoted in Cleto 1999: 4)

In this re-interpretation of kitsch as an element of camp, it forms its own aesthetic category, a status it shares with queer as culturally undesirable. Also like queer, kitsch has been banished to the nether realms of cultural history, to oblivion, to the domain of the invisible and inaudible. Similar to the way in which sentimentality is denied and described as perverse, the disdain for kitsch appears to create a special form of cultural and artistic non-existence that constantly demands attention, but at the same time has to be disregarded so as not to sully normative 'great' art and culture (Rosenberg 2005).

Nevertheless, unsophisticated junk – artistic detritus – has a unique allure. The Frankfurt School criticized mass culture and its devastating impact with reference to Nazism. Kitsch, in the critical Marxist analysis, was a base and despised element. In a definitive essay on kitsch theory entitled "Einige Bemerkungen zum Problem des Kitsches", Broch designates kitsch as the evil in the value system of art (Broch 1955: 295-309). Giesz developed Broch's notion of kitsch and contextualized it as a part of the modern mass culture stating that kitsch has a strong emotional aura (*Gefühlsaura*) and that a person who loves and consumes kitsch (*Kitschmensch*) tends to be over-emotional and sentimental (Giesz 1971: 39). Aesthetically, kitsch has come to be associated with such subject matter as weeping children and gaudy sunsets in cheap poster art. Kitsch products tend to be variations on the theme of beauty that are exceedingly charged with emotional, sen-

timental stereotypes that "spontaneously" arouse pre-programmed responses, such as tears. Typically, the subject is rendered in such a way that is unmistakably easy to recognize (Kulka 1988: 18-27).

Kitsch has a special, highly ambiguous relationship to modernity and modernism. Sentimentality is often defined as exaggerated emotionality. It is insincere and of lower standing than High Art. Modernism initiated a shift in values that cultural theorist Rita Felski has characterized as "cultural remasculinization" (Felski 1999: 11-35). One objection to Broch's and Giesz's critique is that emotionality was once common to both women and men, and was not feminized until the emergence of modern Western culture. It was then that a detached, non-emotional attitude attained a higher status than emotionality. Over time sentimentality became increasingly associated with femininity, fantasy worlds, and sexuality. Terms such as sentimental, melodramatic, theatrical, and romantic were given negative, outmoded connotations relating to phenomena that turned away from a critical analysis of reality in favour of beautiful illusions and strong or exaggerated emotional expressions.

Sentimentality is commonly associated with soft, comforting, and tender feelings, such as care, sympathy, affection, and empathy. These feelings do not immediately arouse the censure of aestheticians in the way sentimental pleasure does. What the critics deride is boundless, uninhibited hedonism. It is sentimentality of that sort they condemn as immoral and unworthy (Knight 1999: 411-420).

In fact, some denounce sentimentality as perverse (Kupfer 1996: 543-550). The pleasure it gives is excessive and repetitive. Thus, a consumer of sentimental genres watches the same films and repeatedly listens to the same music (including melodramatic bel canto arias and bombastic Wagner overtures) over and over. Joseph Kupfer, one of the more scathing critics of sentimentality, claims that sentimentality is a character flaw rather than an aesthetic expression (Kupfer 1996: 543-550). He regards with disgust anyone so low as to wallow in a sentimental flood of emotions, as Flaubert's Emma Bovary once did. Kupfer dismisses the sentimentalist as self-centred and maintains that the object of sentimentality is the sentimentalist her or himself.

Last Movement

I enjoyed my revolutionary kitsch because it reminded me of many things I still believe in. Art historian Kathleen Higgins, who has studied picture postal and greeting cards with cute kittens, wide-eyed spaniels, and other sentimental motifs, speaks of "sweet kitsch" (Higgins 1990). She wishes to shift the focus of kitsch from the objects of pleasure to what she considers to be its most essential aspect: response and experience. She claims that kitsch and non-kitsch objects arouse the same kind of feelings. What sets the categories apart is that some people are

drawn to kitsch, while others shy away from what they find to be unsophisticated and blatant sentimentality.

One possible clue in understanding kitsch lies in the "stickiness" *(Klebrigkeit)* of sentimentality, as stated by Broch and Giesz. Much music is penetrating, but kitschy sentimentalism has an appeal that is compelling with an astonishing power – a power that dodges common sense and goes straight for the effect. This penetrating capacity seizes us whether we like it or not. In "Der Fall Wagner" Nietzsche writes that Wagner's music not only attacks the listener but is intended to persuade the nerves (*die Nerven überreden*) (Nietzsche 1888/1983). Wagner's ecstatic music operates bodily-physically in approximately the same way as drugs or ecstatic sex.

In the worlds of sexuality and sentimentality, tears, body, and sensuality are merged to form a unity that does not slacken its grip. It is sticky and cannot be shaken off. Sticky things, like bodily effluents, are fluid, soft, and flexible. They shape themselves according to emotional movement. In the same way that they merge subject and object, they are also both passively receptive and actively penetrating. Stickiness symbolizes the sensual being and the concrete experience of this sensuality.

My analysis falls short of grasping the complex feelings *Hasta siempre* aroused in me, but it says something of the emotional power of music. Music as a mediator of the emotions is more potent than words because melodies (*meloidia*) are closer to our feelings than words (*logos*). By the time a melody takes possession of your mind, you might wonder how it came there. The haunting Cuban melody also reminded me that one never gets the revolution one wants. Human life and social justice always require solidarity, but solidarity cannot be their sole issue. New social movements and their accompanying coalition politics often refuse to let themselves be guided by political parties or parliamentary systems. On the one hand, they make room for the many novel social movements that appear, while on the other, they have failed to achieve a more durable, comprehensive solution without falling into totalitarianism.

If political empathy makes us share the feelings and experiences of others, solidarity, which renders us human, becomes a principled attribute. Empathy can foster individualization or a group-specific collectivization of emotion, but may not necessarily extend to broader social issues. It is in the recognition of the other's needs that politics begin, a process that also plays a vital role in art.

Feminists cannot only focus on gender, just as socialists cannot focus exclusively on social class relations. While contemporary leftist politics that deal with commonalities do not require uniformity in their political ranks, they must stress multi-solidarity. Being a member of the anti-racist struggle should make it easier to have a feminist perspective on racism, to tie the fists of homophobia, and believe a clearly defined boundary will always exist between rich and poor. Multi-solidarity means that although one may most feel at home in one of the social

movements, one must also bring in other perspectives. Even Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci realized this when he claimed that the Left needs to incorporate new social movements regardless of their transient ideological status (Gramsci 1971). The price for not including the new social movements together with the old is reaction, and ultimately fascism, as the dominant classes and their representatives feel their interests threatened by such movements.

Multi-solidarity is inspiring, not divisive. It forces us to cooperate with one another across borders and not at the expense of each other. Giving priority to class struggle used by the early labor movement as an argument against addressing women's specific demands for action. It was declared at the time that the two main divisions, class and gender, would not be able to coexist and that class struggle must always take precedence over women's struggle. Not until the 1970s did socialist feminists dare to question this and join the two concepts by a new slogan: "No class struggle without women's struggle, not a women's struggle without class struggle." Multi-solidarity encourages multiple parallel perspectives. The one form of discrimination recognizes the others, and then elevates the thoughts and commitments of the first to a larger social movement in which political questions are voiced and negotiated. Freedom requires interpersonal solidarity, ethical action, meaningful work, cultural awareness, and shared prosperity. People can only be free together, not in isolation.

The iconic power of the Cuban Revolution assumes the same kind of fans as cultural theorist Wayne Koestenbaum has characterized in his work on Jackie Kennedy and Maria Callas (Koestenbaum 1993, 1995, 2000). The worship of these icons can be puzzling, but it can also release the yearning for another life among worshipers. The Cubans had considerable success in developing a musical culture to accompany the Revolution. Emotional experiences are amplified and have legitimacy when they are shared with others, enabling us to do things we could not have done on our own. One way to accomplish this is to gather around common symbols. Film scholar Richard Dyer points out that entertainment "presents, head-on as it were, what utopia would feel like rather than how it would be organized. It thus works at the level of sensibility, by which I mean an affective code that is characteristic of, and largely specific to, a given mode of cultural production" (Dyer 1992/2002: 20). Briefly stated, *Hasta siempre* makes me *feel* the revolution.

There are certainly many important things I have forgotten over my life's course, memories that need to be acknowledged and reflected upon. These memories are no coincidences, Freud would say, they are my forgotten self singing to me. Embarrassing, perhaps. But Reik's memory of two lines of a childhood song while writing *The Haunting Melody* is comforting. He recalled a refrain that seemed to echo the final quest of Odysseus, another male hero, who, setting forth with his oar on his shoulder, mirrored Reik's own psychoanalysis: "Wo man singt, da lass dich ruhig nieder, böse Menschen haben keine Lieder" (Find a place where

there are people singing: that's where you can settle down at ease. Nasty people don't sing songs) (Reik 1953: 145).

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