

# Cultural Propaganda and Anglo-Soviet Music Exchanges 1941-1948

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**Abstract**—During the Second World War, cultural propaganda played an important role in strengthening military ties between the Allies. In particular, music, which was perceived as a common language, was used to promote understanding between the nations and to increase morale. This article gives some examples of Anglo-Soviet wartime cultural music exchanges as part of an intercultural wartime dialogue. In particular, the article discusses governmental and diplomatic organisations (VOKS, the British Embassy, the British Council) that coordinated music exchanges during the Second World War. The article's main focus is Anglo-Soviet music score exchanges. In addition, the article discusses some Anglo-Soviet wartime concerts and gives an example of a non-governmental business initiative between the USSR and the UK (Anglo-Soviet Music Press Ltd.) which outlived the Second World War.

**Keywords**—*Anglo-Soviet music exchanges; Second World War; governmental organisations (VOKS; British Embassy etc.)*

## I. INTRODUCTION

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, the U.S.S.R. Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, known by its abbreviation VOKS, published in English two pamphlets with statements, letters and telegrams from prominent Soviet, British, American and French people [1]. In these pamphlets, people of sciences and arts condemned fascism and urged unity of nations and the salvation of civilisation with its cultural and scientific heritage. For example, Dmitri Shostakovich's personal appeal to "the friends of culture in England and the U.S.A" called them to stand on the side of the Soviet Union and to crush fascism, while Nikolai Myaskovsky urged fellow composers to direct music, songs and all other activities "to one aim — to repulse the attack of the enemy [...] in defence of world culture." [2] Another Soviet composer, Reinhold Glière, stressed the importance of creating new war songs, so effectively "forging weapons for the boys at the front, weapons that will help them to fight and win" [3].

After the Soviet invasion, British public opinion favoured the closest possible cooperation with the Soviet Union [4]. In July 1941, following public requests, transcripts of broadcast speeches by Stalin, Molotov and Litvinov subsequent to Germany's attack on the USSR, originally published in the

daily press, were republished in translation in a special edition of the Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Bulletin [5]. A protocol of alliance and joint war action between the UK and the Soviet Union was signed in Moscow on 12 July 1941 [6]. Regarded as a hopeful new beginning of Anglo-Soviet relations, the Moscow Protocol or Pact was warmly welcomed in the Soviet press and by British public opinion [7]. In VOKS's 1941 pamphlets, Vladimir Kemenov, President of VOKS, characterised the signing of the Pact as "historic" and "an important step in the further unification of the nations that are fighting against fascism" [8]. In the same VOKS pamphlet, Shostakovich stated that "the whole world should welcome the Pact between the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain. All those who have the interests of culture at heart should join the Pact." Another Soviet composer Vano Muradeli expressed his conviction that 'by the joint efforts of our two nations – Great Britain and the Soviet Union – we shall carry the great war for liberation to final victory' [9]. The Pact opened the way for the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of war alliance, signed on 26 May 1942 in London, which "committed the two powers to mutual help and assistance during and after the war, and both countries agreed not to enter into any negotiations with Nazi Germany without consulting the other" [10].

## II. GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED IN ANGLO-SOVIET MUSIC EXCHANGES

In the Soviet Union all cultural exchange was coordinated, controlled and censored by VOKS, its aim being to disseminate the Soviet Union's cultural and scientific achievements abroad and reciprocally to receive foreign achievements [11]. VOKS's main administration on 17 Bolshaya Gruzinskaya Street in Moscow was organised into foreign departments and scientific or cultural sections: enquiries from the UK were directed to VOKS English department and all music enquiries were examined by VOKS Music Section, founded in 1939 [12].

The first Head of VOKS Music Section was the composer Sergei Prokofiev (1939-1941), but his wartime evacuation resulted in the appointment of Grigori Shneerson as Head of VOKS Music Section. Through the 1930s and 1940s, Shneerson acquired a wealth of knowledge on music exchanges via his roles as a general secretary of the

International Music Bureau of the Union of Soviet Composers (1931-1935), its subsequent head (1935-1940), as VOKS's consultant (possibly in early 1940s) and finally as Head of VOKS Music Section (1942-1948) [13]. The work of VOKS Music Section involved forging and retaining contacts with foreign musicians and conductors, while promoting Soviet music abroad with rentals of Soviet music scores. The VOKS Music Section acted as a recipient of foreign musical journals, music scores, records and newspaper clippings concerning foreign performances of Soviet music. Major Soviet composers including Myaskovsky, Prokofiev, Khachaturian and Shostakovich resided in its presidium and advised on organisation of Soviet music concerts abroad and concerts of foreign music in the Soviet Union [14].

As Pauline Fairclough has observed from the evidence in British and Russian archives, the music exchanges of 1940s to early 1950s were "regarded by both governments as conduits for propaganda". [15] Fairclough has outlined the mechanics of wartime Anglo-Soviet music exchange: the Ministry of Information (UK), responsible for controlling British propaganda abroad, worked with the British Council, which during the war, was based in the British Embassy in Moscow. The Foreign Office collaborated with the British Council and the Ministry of Information "to bring as much of British culture as possible to Russia" [16]. British cultural enquiries were passed mostly to the British Embassy in Moscow and less often to the Soviet Embassy in London. In either case, enquiries were then directed to VOKS's main administration and from there to VOKS's English

department and, according to the nature of the enquiry, to the appropriate VOKS section. According to Fairclough, cultural invitations from the UK were passed from VOKS onto the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (NKID), which subsequently would direct the enquiries to the Committee on Arts Affairs. The head of the Committee on Arts Affairs, Mikhail Khrapchenko (who occupied the post 1939-48), would transfer enquiries to the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Hence, the decisions on Anglo-Soviet relations were taken at the highest Soviet level: these were communicated back to Khrapchenko, who would then report back via VOKS. Khrapchenko could impose a veto on any cultural enquiry, but he was not able to authorise any enquiry without Central Committee approval [17]. Thus, VOKS was subordinate to the party's censorship.

A final possible route for British enquiries was to bypass the Embassies and to write directly to Moscow's VOKS with the help of Anglo-Soviet friendship organisations (e.g. the Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR, SCR), a common practice during the 1930s. However, as Fairclough has stated, a private impresario from the UK would require the help of the Foreign Office and the Soviet Embassy, and possibly SCR as a "go-between" to reach VOKS. In the 1940s the UK government largely marginalised SCR and took "over its ambassadorial role" [18]. However, no single cultural enquiry could escape VOKS's monitoring, and even the Embassies and diplomacy had to adhere to its monitoring function, which made direct communications between British and Soviet organisations practically impossible. ("Fig. 1")

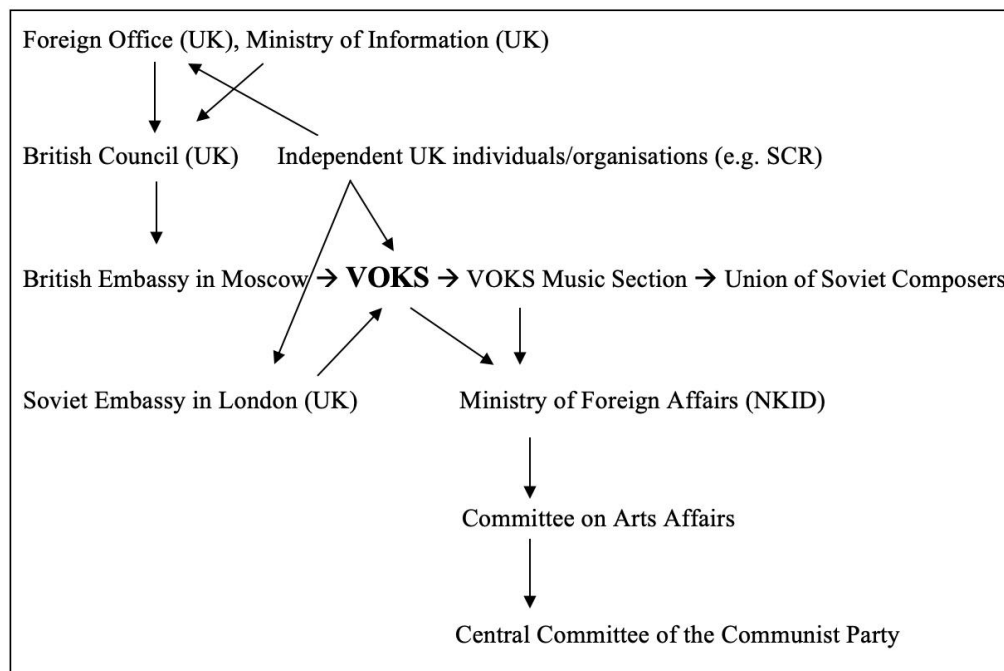


Fig. 1. Scheme of UK's cultural music enquiries entering the Soviet system in 1940s.

### III. EXAMPLES OF ANGLO-SOVIET MUSIC EXCHANGES, 1941-1948

According to Fairclough, the earliest wartime contact between British and Soviet musicians was in either late 1941 or early 1942, involving an exchange of music scores between the British Embassy and Moscow's VOKS [19]. Fairclough also points out that in 1941 the British Council sent a large quantity of English scores and recordings to Moscow via diplomatic bags. However, in 1942 the English composer William Walton wrote to the British Ambassador Sir Stafford Cripps about challenges with availability of English music in the Soviet Union [20]. Yet, an example of 1942 score exchange from VOKS's archive (GARF f. 5283) indicates that a postage of English music scores was successfully established with the aid of the British Council and that these scores reached the Union of Soviet Composers.

A letter of 20 November 1942 by Pamela Hee-Collins, secretary of Music Committee at the British Council, provides the evidence:

"Dear Union of Soviet Composers, in response to your letter of 5<sup>th</sup> August and in return for the scores of modern Soviet composers which you were good enough to send us, we are sending you some works by the younger generation of British composers, which we hope you will accept as a gift from the British Council. [...] we have included the full score of Alan Bush's new Symphony in C, the miniature score of Benjamin Britten's new String Quartet [No. 1, 1941] and a Rhapsody by Dennis [sic] Matthews, a young composer now in the Air Force. Should you want to perform the Symphony [...] we can send you out hired parts." [21]

Alan's Bush new Symphony in C (No 1, Op. 21, 1940) had been premiered in London at a Promenade Concert on 24 July 1942 at the Royal Albert Hall. Just a month before, on 22 June 1942, Shostakovich's Leningrad Symphony (No 7) received its London Proms premiere under Sir Henry J. Wood and the London Philharmonic Orchestra, a proof of an early wartime Anglo-Soviet score exchanges. Cultural propaganda played an important role in strengthening military ties, and music was extensively used to raise the fighting spirit, of which Shostakovich's Leningrad Symphony is a good example. The wartime unity of nations was also echoed by Alan Bush in his letter to Shneerson of 18 November 1942: "May we express confidence that the exchange of cultural experiences between our two great nations united by common aim of struggle for peace and human happiness will promote mutual understanding and collaboration of Soviet and English people" [22].

The wartime Anglo-Soviet music collaboration was predominantly achieved with music score exchanges. However, Fairclough has described in great detail the extensive unfruitful negotiations between the British Council, the British Embassy, VOKS and Committee on Arts Affairs on the subject of bringing the Bolshoi Theatre of Opera and Ballet to the UK between 1942-1946 [23].

A careful examination of VOKS music correspondence of the 1940s (GARF f. 5283) suggests that VOKS Music Section's main wartime contacts were with Chiefs of VOKS

English Department (M. Urnov later succeeded by B. Bogatyrev) and with the British Embassy's Press Department (George Reavey and Horace White, Press Attachés). Moreover, British musical enquires were addressed either to Shneerson, Head of VOKS Music Section, or to Vladimir S. Kemenov, President of VOKS, or to Alexander V. Karaganov, Vice-Chairman of VOKS, or to Lydia Kislova from VOKS's Board of Directors. A typical example of Anglo-Soviet music exchange correspondence is Reavey's letter of 21 May 1943 to Shneerson about sending William Walton's vocal score of *Belshazzar's Feast*, and scores of E. J. Moeran's *Symphony in G minor* and Alan Rawsthorne's *Bagatelles* for piano [24].

The score exchange of 1942-1943 resulted in the organisation of some concerts. On 25 May 1943 a concert of English orchestral music was held in Moscow, featuring Edward Elgar's *Enigma Variations* and Alan Bush's *Dance Overture*. A reciprocal 1943 exhibition of Soviet music was organised in London. Moreover, in September 1943 Bush was involved in BBC radio programme *Soviet Music in Peace and War*, which was broadcast on 19 September 1943 [25]. During the same month, on 24 September 1943 Reavey (British Embassy) sent to Shneerson programmes of London's Promenade Concerts that featured works by Soviet Composers [26]. In 1943, the Proms premieres included Anatoly Alexandrov's *Overture on Russian Folk Tunes*, Kabalevsky's Suite from *Colas Breugnon*, Khachaturian's "Lezginka" from his *Dance Suite*, and Shebalin's *Overture on Mari Themes* [27].

Apart from his frequent correspondence with VOKS on Anglo-Soviet music exchanges, George Reavey also paid personal visits to VOKS. Evidence comes from Reavey's correspondence with Sergei Prokofiev, whom he met at VOKS in early March 1944. Reavey's letter of 7 March 1944 reads:

Dear Mr Prokofiev, It was a great pleasure to make your acquaintance at VOKS last Friday evening. [...] as I have just received a recording of your Concerto in D major for Violin and Orchestra (Joseph Szigeti and London Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham), you might like to have it, and I am therefore sending it to you care of Miss Kislova [28].

The record was indeed passed by Kislova to Prokofiev, who on 23 March replied:

Dear Mr Reavey, May I thank you for having sent me the recording of my violin concerto by Joseph Szigeti. Szigeti is an excellent violinist, and it is a great pleasure for me indeed to possess his records [29].

Moreover, on 7 and 8 March 1944, G. Reavey sent to Kislova a selection of recordings of English works and English folksongs, as well as a number of English music scores that included among others William Walton's *Belshazzar's Feast* and Benjamin Britten's *Sonnets of Michelangelo* for the Union of Soviet Composers [30]. For this delivery, Kislova thanked Reavey in a letter of 13 March 1944 [31].



To commemorate the Soviet Union's cordial relations with its war Allies, VOKS coordinated two concerts of English-Soviet and American-Soviet music on 20 and 21 May 1944 in the Great Hall of Moscow's Conservatory. The Anglo-Soviet concert, held on 20 May and conducted by A. Orlov, included in its first part works by English composers and in the second part works by Soviet composers. The first part consisted of Elgar's *Cockaigne (In London Town) Overture*, Op. 40, Christian Darnton's *Stalingrad Overture* (1943), Ralph Vaughan William's *English Folk Song Suite*, and transcriptions for voice and orchestra of English and Scottish folk songs arranged by Shostakovich and Prokofiev. The second part featured Shostakovich's *Piano Concerto No 1* with Shostakovich performing the solo piano part, Prokofiev's *Russian Overture* and two choral fragments from Prokofiev's cantata *Alexander Nevsky*. On 21 May a short review published in Soviet newspaper *Pravda* conveyed the concert's big success and commented that it was attended by representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (NKID), Soviet and foreign journalists, composers and Moscow's artistic elite [32]. On 27 May Shneerson wrote an extended article on both concerts in newspaper *Literatura i Isskustvo* hailing the concerts as a "brilliant manifestation of the friendship and the strength of cultural relations between great democratic nations, combating fascistic aggression" [33].

Returning to Anglo-Soviet music score exchange of 1944, on 1 September 1944 Reavey posted a piano score of Edward Elgar's *Violin Concerto* to Kislova with a request for it to be forwarded to David Oistrakh. Oistrakh's reply, forwarded by Kislova, reached Reavey at the British Embassy on 15 September and it reads: "I am deeply touched by your attention and with gratitude confirm the receipt of the piano score of Elgar's *Violin Concerto*" [34]. An extra copy of Elgar's *Violin Concerto*, alongside 12 popular songs, was sent from Reavey to Shneerson on 13 February 1945 and in June 1945, Shneerson forwarded for the second time Elgar's *Violin Concerto* to Oistrakh [35].

Towards the end of the war, the Royal Philharmonic Society awarded the Gold Medal to Prokofiev as "sincere respect not only to the composer but to all Russian musicians who are taking part in the development of the culture of their country", as Reavey wrote to Kemenov on 2 May 1945. In this letter, Reavey informed that the medal was awaiting at the British Embassy and that the Ambassador wished to present it in person to Prokofiev [36]. As a cordial gesture of Anglo-Soviet music relations, the award ceremony was arranged for 18 June 1945 at a special meeting of VOKS Music Section, and featured attendees representing British and Soviet governments. Among the guests were the British Ambassador Sir Archibald C. Kerry, members of the British Embassy staff and British Military Mission, VOKS President Vladimir Kemenov, Alexander Solodovnikov representing the Soviet Committee on Arts Affairs, renowned Soviet musicians and Soviet and foreign newspaper correspondents [37]. The special meeting was opened by Kemenov and included speeches among others by Solodovnikov and the British Ambassador, who congratulated Prokofiev as "a composer of world renown". The meeting was closed with a concert. In his speech Prokofiev thanked for honour and 'this

high token of attention' and expressed his genuine sympathy of sentimental nature towards England:

"I have been in England quite often, and came to love the musical life of London, its magnificent orchestras and its hospitable and really musical public. With London I associate many pleasant and fond recollections, and gratifying creative friendship binds me with London musicians. I regard my being decorated with the Gold Medal as an expression of the mutual sympathy and cordial feelings which our victorious peoples have for each other." [38]

Yet, according to Shneerson who attended the award ceremony, the gold medal had been accidentally left behind at the British Embassy and the Ambassador, after pausing and blushing, offered his golden watch to Prokofiev instead. This anecdotal incident was perceived with humour and loud applause with all delegates gently laughing [39].

The year 1945 had been very productive for Anglo-Soviet music score exchanges. Apart from score exchanges between the British Embassy and VOKS, a private business initiative between the British publishing firm Boosey & Hawkes and Moscow's copyright agency Preslit resulted in a ratification of a mutual preliminary contract in the summer of 1945. The preliminary contact granted Boosey & Hawkes sole representation of Soviet music in the UK and Northern Ireland concerning both hire and publication [40]. In effect, this business agreement meant that all subsequent Soviet music scores would be disseminated via Boosey & Hawkes instead of VOKS and diplomatic services. Indeed, when in January 1946 a British request by Mr Chaplin-Smith for Myaskovsky's *Violin Concerto* reached VOKS, Shneerson replied by advising to "address this request to Mssrs [sic] Boosey and Houkes [sic] Ltd., 295 Regent Street, London, who are the sole representatives for Soviet music in England" [41]. In 1946, after extensive negotiations between Moscow's Preslit and Boosey & Hawkes, a subsidiary to Boosey & Hawkes, the Anglo-Soviet Music Press (ASMP), was created. Led by Alfred Kalmus from London's headquarters, ASMP managed to publish newly composed Soviet works in the UK on the same day they were released in the Soviet Union [42]. The creation of the ASMP strengthened Boosey & Hawkes's monopoly in sole representation and dissemination of Soviet music in the UK.

Returning to Anglo-Soviet music relations of 1945, in autumn 1945 another Anglo-American concert was organised, but this time in Leningrad. On 19 December 1945 Shneerson sent posters of this Anglo-American concert to Horace White at the British Embassy. The concert, held on 18 November in Leningrad, was conducted by Nikolai Anosov and featured Edward Elgar's *Introduction and Allegro* and Arthur Bliss *Checkmate Suite* [43]. As of late 1945, the British Embassy continued to send English music to VOKS. An example is the vocal score of Britten's opera *Peter Grimes* posted by Horace White on 20 December 1945 [44].

From the evidence in the VOKS archive, by 1945 the mechanisms behind the Anglo-Soviet score exchange were effectively established and, as aforementioned, some concerts were organised. However, by early post-war, the

Anglo-Soviet music relations had not progressed far enough to enable concert touring or visits of cultural representatives. According to Fairclough, Soviet officials regarded the British organisations as less prestigious than American, and hence invitations from Britain were received differently [45]. In July 1945, VOKS President Vladimir Kemenov wrote a letter to Molotov requesting that the Soviet composer Dmitri Kabalevsky was sent to London as VOKS representative. A similar letter was sent to Molotov in September 1945 by Karaganov (VOKS presidium). Karaganov's letter reached to the highest levels of the Central Committee and included a proposal of a Soviet delegation comprising of the composer Kabalevsky, the writer K. Simonov, the sculptor V. Mukhina, the film director S. Gerasimov and the academic Vavilov to be sent to England [46]. None of these proposals were realised and neither of the British invitations were approved by the Soviets.

Among unsuccessful British post-war invitations can be mentioned David Oistrakh's concert tour of May and June 1946. On 9 January 1946 Robert Dunbar, Press Attaché at the British Embassy, wrote to Kemenov at VOKS offering official invitation from the British Council to Oistrakh for a series of concerts in March [47]. A further letter of 22 February 1946 from Horace White, Acting Press Attaché at the British Embassy, to Karaganov at VOKS includes further details of the proposed tour:

"Mr Harold Holt, who is the leading concert impresario in Great Britain, offers Mr Oistrakh six concerts including broadcasts between May 19<sup>th</sup> and June 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1946. He suggests an inclusive fee of £400. In addition the Decca Record Company (which has already issued some of Mr. Oistrakh's works) would like Mr. Oistrakh to record twelve sides of solos and one concerto. They offer a fee of £173 plus royalties on sales. The British Council would play Mr. Oistrakh's return fares and all expenses during his stay in Britain. They emphasise that if Mr. Oistrakh feels able to accept this offer he must arrive in Britain by May 15<sup>th</sup>. I enclose a letter in similar terms addressed to Mr. Oistrakh" [48].

In December 1945 Oistrakh corresponded via VOKS with the British Embassy concerning his Decca recordings. Oistrakh's letter of 27 December 1945 confirmed that he received his recording of Myaskovsky's *Violin Concerto*, and in addition contained his request for Khachaturian's *Violin Concerto* and Scriabin's *Nocturne and Etude* [49]. However, it remains unclear whether Oistrakh was involved in any negotiations concerning his May-June 1946 concert tour in Britain. Karaganov's reply to Dunbar of February 1946 mentioned that since 21 January 1946 Oistrakh was absent on a prolonged concert tour in the Soviet Union and only upon his return relevant negotiations could be conducted [50].

Another British invitation, this time to composers Shostakovich and Prokofiev, reached VOKS on 8 September 1946. The letter, written by Lady Wood and addressed to Kislova, reads:

"I particularly invite Dmitri Shostakovich and Sergi [sic] Prokofieff to come for concerts under the direction of THE

HENRY WOOD CONCERT SOCIETY at an early date in 1947, or late December 1946 – preferably, in 1947, when it would enable us to get together materials for a Gala Concert of Concerts, and to welcome in the name of Music these great artists to our country" [51].

According to Fairclough, this invitation was never forwarded from Kislova as Soviet officials 'didn't favour trips [...] by just one or two individual citizens' abroad for reasons of possible defection and challenges of supervision of these artists on a foreign soil [52]. During this period, dissemination of music scores and the organisation of concerts were effectively the only means of Anglo-Soviet music exchange endorsed by the Soviet government. This is evident from Oistrakh's letter of 25 December 1946 to Brenda Tripp at the British Embassy, forwarded by VOKS. In this letter Oistrakh thanked for the posting of sheet music and records of violin concertos by Edward Elgar and William Walton, and informed Miss Tripp that he performed Elgar's *Violin Concerto* on 9 December 1946 at the Moscow Conservatory under Kirill Kondrashin and Walton's *Violin Concerto* on 15 December in Leningrad with Leningrad Philharmonic Orchestra directed by Kurt Sanderling. Concluding his letter, Oistrakh mentioned that Walton's *Violin Concerto* was due to be performed in Moscow at the end of January 1947 [53]. Indeed, both concertos were featured in Oistrakh's 1946-1947 five concert series titled *Development of Violin Concerto* at the Moscow Conservatory [54]. In his letter of 26 February 1947 to Oistrakh, Walton conveyed that 'your interpretation of my *Violin Concerto* was the best, which this work has received to date' [55].

Another two 1947 invitations from England concerning Soviet symphonic orchestras and the composers Prokofiev and Kabalevsky remained unrealised. Of particular interest is Ivan Anisimov's (Deputy Head of Committee on Arts Affairs) letter to Karaganov (VOKS) sent on 25 July 1947: "Considering that in November 1947 all symphonic orchestras that are part of Committee on Arts Affairs' system will be occupied with activities tied to the celebration of 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Great October's Revolution, the Committee on Arts Affairs of the Council of Ministers USSR does not consider possible to carry out a tour by one of Soviet symphonic orchestras in England during the autumn of this year" [56].

Similarly, an English invitation for either Prokofiev or Kabalevsky to visit England in September-October 1947 in order to write music for Alexander Korda's film *Anna Karenina* remained unfulfilled, despite archival evidence of negotiations of May 1947 with Kabalevsky and correspondence between Karaganov and P. Kashutin (Deputy Head of VOK English Department) [57]. By 1947 the political atmosphere between the war Allies had swiftly changed from a nurturing cultural exchange policy and military collaboration to hostility.

Following Churchill's speech of 5 March 1946 at the Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, USA, where he introduced the term "Iron Curtain", on 9 February 1946 Stalin gave a speech in the Bolshoi Theatre that stressed that

"the Soviet Union had returned to an era like the one that had preceded the war and stood alone in the hostile world where outside threats are real, and an even more destructive war is possible" [58]. That signalled the beginning of an anti-formalist campaign, widely named *Zhdanovshchina* after Andrei Zhdanov. On 9 July 1947 in Moscow Kemenov "delivered the first public blow of Anglo-Soviet cultural relations, pronouncing Western art as 'anti-humanistic' and symptomatic of the decline of the capitalist world". [59] The anti-formalist campaign culminated in February 1948 with the Central Committee's attack on the Union of Soviet Composers, the Committee on Arts Affairs and the Bolshoi Theatre [60]. The days of mutual and cordial cultural collaboration were well over. VOKS suffered fundamental restructuring including dismissals of Shneerson, Head of VOKS Music Section and of Kemenov, President of VOKS.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

From Anglo-Soviet music exchanges of 1941-1948 three main conclusions can be made. Firstly, the wartime Anglo-Soviet music exchange was restricted to mainly the exchange of music scores and the organisation of sporadic concerts. British music scores were sent to Moscow via diplomatic services by the British Embassy in Moscow. The British Council, which initiated or sponsored Anglo-Soviet relations, was the main link between the British Embassy in Moscow and the UK's government. On the Soviet side, centralised VOKS administration and VOKS Music Section acted as the main recipients of music scores and as main links between the Soviet government (Committee on Arts Affairs, Central Committee) and the Union of Soviet Composers.

Secondly, while in early wartime Soviet music scores were transmitted from VOKS to the British Embassy in Moscow, the fruitful wartime political atmosphere of cultural propaganda enabled the establishment of business collaboration between the British music publishing firm Boosey & Hawkes and Moscow. This granted the British firm a monopoly presentation of Soviet music in the UK, while the Anglo-Soviet Music Press continued publishing Soviet music well into the 1950s and 1960s.

Thirdly and finally, archival correspondence did not locate any evidence of successful Anglo-Soviet exchange of artists and composers. Despite attempts to bring the Bolshoi Theatre to the UK between 1942-1946, VOKS' initiatives to send Soviet cultural representatives to England in 1945, and British invitations to Soviet performers and composers (e.g. Oistrakh, Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Kabalevsky) in 1946-1947, the Soviet government systematically blocked any such exchange at the highest level for political reasons. Yet, arguably, the political "window of opportunity" that the Anglo-Soviet war alliance offered succeeded in dissemination of a much greater amount of music between the two nations and laid the foundations for post-Stalin musical exchanges, when the exchange of artists was finally realised.

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- [30] GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 146, l. 29-30, 35.
- [31] GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 217, l. 8.
- [32] RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 964, l. 29. (RGALI: Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, Moscow, Russia)
- [33] Ibid., l. 30-31; GM f. 385, No. 5222, l. 6. Author's translation.
- [34] GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 146, l. 12-14.
- [35] GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 221, l. 105, 118.
- [36] GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 235, l. 25. Author's translation.
- [37] Ibid., l. 15.
- [38] Ibid., l. 23-24. The passage is also quoted in Fairclough, 'Detente to Cold War: Anglo-Soviet Musical Exchanges in the Late Stalin Period', pp. 51–52. Fairclough dates the award of the Gold Medal to Prokofiev a year later, in summer 1946. However, similarly to VOKS's dating (GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 235, l. 15), the Royal Philharmonic Society's Archive at the British Library places the award ceremony on 18 June 1945 (See RSP MS 371 f. 4). (RSP: Royal Philharmonic Society Archive, the British Library, London, UK)
- [39] Shneerson, *Articles about Contemporary Foreign Music: Essays, Reminiscences*, pp. 346–47.
- [40] Viktoria Zora, 'New Directions in Soviet Music Publishing: Preslit, Am-Rus Music Agency and Anglo-Soviet Music Press Between 1944–48', in *Entangled East and West, Cultural Diplomacy and Artistic Interaction during the Cold War*, ed. Simo Mikkonen, Giles Scott-Smith, and Jari Parkkinen (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2018), p. 230.
- [41] GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 235, l. 6.
- [42] Zora, 'New Directions in Soviet Music Publishing: Preslit, Am-Rus Music Agency and Anglo-Soviet Music Press Between 1944–48', pp. 230–35.
- [43] GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 221, l. 53, 56.
- [44] Ibid., l. 52.
- [45] Fairclough and Wiggins, 'Friendship of the Musicians', p. 41.
- [46] Fairclough and Wiggins, pp. 41–43.
- [47] GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 353, l. 46.
- [48] Ibid., l. 35-36.
- [49] Ibid., l. 75-76. Scriabin's Nocturne in F-sharp minor, Op. 5, No. 1.
- [50] Ibid., l. 62-63.
- [51] GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 235, l. 4-4 verso.
- [52] Fairclough, 'Detente to Cold War: Anglo-Soviet Musical Exchanges in the Late Stalin Period', p. 52.
- [53] GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 353, l. 82.
- [54] RNMM f. 385, No. 5222, l. 19. Elgar's Violin Concerto was programmed on the second concert alongside Mozart's Violin Concerto in A major and Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto Op. 64. Walton's Violin Concerto was programmed in the third concert alongside Chausson's Poème, Op. 25 and Sibelius' Violin Concerto Op. 47. (RNMM: Russian National Museum of Music, former M.I. Glinka State Museum of Musical Culture, Moscow)
- [55] Viktor Aranovich Jusefovich, David Fedorovich Oistrakh (1908-1974): 100th birth anniversary (Moscow: Tchaikovsky Moscow State Conservatory, 2008), p. 31; Pauline Fairclough, 'Personal Friendships, Professional Manoeuvres: Edward Elgar in Russia before and after 1917', *Slavonic and East European Review* 97, no. 1 (January 2019): pp. 9–38.
- [56] GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 384, l. 15. Author's translation.
- [57] Ibid., l. 33.
- [58] Meri E. Herrala, *The Struggle for Control of Soviet Music from 1932 to 1948: Socialist Realism vs. Western Formalism* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2012), p. 147.
- [59] Fairclough and Wiggins, 'Friendship of the Musicians', p. 46.
- [60] Kiril Tomoff, *Creative Union: The Professional Organization of Soviet Composers, 1939-1953* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press; Bristol, 2006), p. 98.