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Abstract

This study undertakes an analysis of Billy Bragg’s translation of “The Internationale” as performed in 1989 at the Vancouver Folk Festival and featured on his 1990 album with the same title. The translator’s agency is examined through an exploration of textual features, including translation strategies, alongside metatextual factors, encompassing paratextual (presentation), extratextual (intention and purpose), and contextual parameters (socio-cultural and political elements). The concept of recontextualization is substantiated through two comparisons: (1) between the original 1871/1888 version (comprising lyrics by the Frenchman Eugène Pottier and music by the Belgian Pierre De Geyter) and Bragg’s new translation over a century later, and (2) between Bragg’s translation and earlier English translations. This multifaceted analysis provides insights into Bragg’s approach to rendering “The Internationale” into English, highlighting how the translator’s agency contributes to the translation’s recontextualisation.

Keywords: Billy Bragg, Pete Seeger, The Internationale, translation, adaptation, rewriting, context

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"You have nothing if you have no rights"

Reiterations of communal freedom through Billy Bragg's translation of *"The Internationale"*

This study undertakes an analysis of Billy Bragg's translation of "The Internationale" as performed in 1989 at the Vancouver Folk Festival and featured on his 1990 album with the same title. The translator's agency is examined through an exploration of textual features, including translation strategies, alongside metatextual factors, encompassing paratextual (presentation), extratextual (intention and purpose), and contextual parameters (socio-cultural and political elements). The concept of recontextualization is substantiated through two comparisons: (1) between the original 1871/1888 version (comprising lyrics by the Frenchman Eugène Pottier and music by the Belgian Pierre De Geyter) and Bragg's new translation over a century later, and (2) between Bragg's translation and earlier English translations. This multifaceted analysis provides insights into Bragg's approach to rendering "The Internationale" into English, highlighting how the translator's agency contributes to the translation's recontextualisation.

Introduction

On 12 October 2022, the English singer-songwriter and musician Billy Bragg (1957), renowned for his activism in support of workers' rights, performed a few songs to show solidarity for the Starbucks Workers United people in Buffalo, New York.[1] He had just visited an ongoing strike at the Elmwood store a week earlier (Kress 2022). His repeated visits to several picket lines conveyed that his appearances were more than just stop-overs on his North American tour and that the politically active musician was determined as ever to convey his public support for yet another case of the infringement of workers' rights.[2]

In front of the pickets in the United States, Bragg performed the popular trade union anthem *Solidarity Forever*, the lyrics of which were written in 1915 by the labour activist Ralph Chaplin (1887–1961). In the past, this song of empathy with workers' causes has inspired such artists as Pete Seeger (1919–2014) and Leonard Cohen (1934–2016), and has been an integral part of the repertoire of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) since its establishment in 1905. Billy Bragg tapped into a rich tradition

[1] At the time of the action, Starbucks Workers United represented approximately 6,500 workers at over 250 locations (Canham-Clyne 2022).

[2] Several picket lines demanded fair working conditions. Unionised workers were also being targeted by retaliation tactics after they voted to form a union less than a year earlier (Christmann 2022; Kress 2022).

of solidarity songs that continue to resonate through time, with ever changing historical contexts serving as a driving force for contemporary interpretations and recontextualisations. In support of the actions, Bragg proclaimed: "What is there to fear in empathy? And the reason they are so afraid of empathy is because if you mix empathy with activism, you get solidarity" (KRESS 2022).[3] His words highlighted the profound connection between empathy, activism, and the spirit of solidarity that underpins Bragg's unwavering commitment to workers' rights causes, a tradition that so epitomised the lives of folk and protest singers like Woody Guthrie (1912–1967) and Phil Ochs (1940–1976).

Few artists epitomize the folk-music tradition like […] Billy Bragg. […] [He] has turned into one of the world's leading voices speaking out against injustice on every front. […] Whether his forum is a concert stage, a political rally, a gathering of union representatives or a conference of fellow folkies, he never fails to inspire. (MARGOLIS 2017: n.p.)

This chapter focuses on exploring a song of solidarity that holds significance not only within Billy Bragg's repertoire but also within the broader tradition of protest songs advocating communal freedom: "L'Internationale/The Internationale" (henceforth, LI/TI). Because of its message of transnational solidarity, which resonates universally but predominantly within Western, if not largely European contexts, LI/TI has undergone numerous translations into various languages (KUZAR 2002: 89). At the Vancouver Folk Festival in 1989, Billy Bragg was tasked by Pete Seeger to write a new English version of "The Internationale" (BRAGG 2022). This version also appeared on Bragg's 1990 record, an album with the same name. A comparative analysis of this 1989/1990 translation with the original text and earlier English renditions operates on multiple levels, all of which are addressed in the 'Research context' section below. Guided by a clear intention and a renewed purpose to present the new translation to the festival audience, Bragg's rendition of LI/TI emerges as a recontextualisation of the original with a discernible functional-pragmatic imprint. Recontextualisations refer to the process of adapting, or even merely translating, a text from one context to another.[4] In this process, the original text is extracted from its original context and reinserted into a different context, often leading to a shift in its significance and implications. The concept highlights the dynamic and transformative nature of texts as they interact with different contexts. Also, the Bragg version as well as other adaptations intersect within the realms of music and translation, particularly in the domain of (political) song translation. The different adaptations make a case for retranslation comparison.
This chapter therefore aims to examine how the translation of "L'Internationale" by Billy Bragg responds to the rich history of the song and the contexts of earlier versions

[3] Video coverage of episode can be found on YouTube:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_aRiahmC_hg

[4] As a reviewer of an earlier version of this chapter rightly pointed out, ultimately, all messages are re-entextualised and recontextualised (SILVERSTEIN & URBAN 1996).

in English in order to provide a more contemporary recontextualisation. In providing an answer to the question "How does the 1989 translation of "L'Internationale" by Billy Bragg respond to the rich history of the song and the contexts of earlier versions in English in order to provide a modernised adaptation?", the different translations of LI/TI into English are analysed using a descriptive sociological approach that focuses on elements drawn from the respective texts and on extratextual and contextual factors of those texts. The latter is supported by statements made by the translator, Billy Bragg, drawn from existing material online as well as from a semi-structured interview conducted by the researcher. In order to provide a heuristic framework to answer the research question, relevant literature was reviewed. Elements were drawn from functionalism and song translation research, and to a lesser extent also from translation criticism and retranslation research.

The expected outcome of this study is that contextual elements surrounding the 1989/1990 translation of LI/TI into English coalesce to create a new reality for the anthem, rendering it more amenable to adaptation and recontextualisation. By examining the interplay between these contextual factors, the research seeks to shed light on how the 1989/1990 translation strikes a delicate balance between preserving historical continuity and embracing contemporary reinterpretations.

Research context

When aiming to analyse the 1989/1990 translation of "L'Internationale" by Billy Bragg, several types of theoretical conceptualisation play in the translational relationship between source text and target text, including previous translations into English, and – more importantly – their respective cultural contexts. Translation, understood both as a process and a product, consists of many spheres, many of which have been dissected and studied by different scholars in different but sometimes complementary ways. Early approaches to translation analysis primarily centred on textual comparison, but from 1970 onwards the polysystem framework introduced a more comprehensive understanding of translations by recognising their place within the broader target (literary) language system (Shuttleworth 2009: 197; Baker 2009: 189–190). Focus shifted from viewing translations as isolated phenomena to a comprehensive examination that took contextual parameters into consideration (Baker 2009: 190). Similarly, rather than prescribing how translations should be, Gideon Toury (1978; 1981) centred his research on the description of actual translation behaviour, an empirical approach that provides valuable insights into the inherent characteristics of translation practices and the underlying patterns governing translators' decisions. By contextualising translated texts within historical and social dimensions and by recognising translations as an integrated part of the target (literary) language system, polysystem researchers provided a pathway into a more sophisticated understanding of translation processes (Batchelor 2019). While not usually labelled functionalist, Toury's work emphasised the importance of the target text's function within its cultural context. This approach acknowledges the impact on the

translator's decision-making process by taking into account metatextual elements that surround the main text and paratextual, extratextual and contextual factors.

Paratextual parameters serve as an intermediate sphere between the (literary) source text and the surrounding world. They encompass the composition of a published work in which a text or translation appears, such as titles, prefaces, footnotes, illustrations, and glossaries (Genette's peritexts), but also prolongations of the original work beyond the material text itself, such as interviews or advertisements, Genette's epitexts (GENETTE 1987; ALVSTAD 2011).[5] These parameters accompany the main text and exert considerable influence not only on its reading and interpretation but also on its translation (GENETTE & MACLEAN 1991; BUENDÍA 2013). Conversely, extratextual parameters pertain to external factors that shape the translation process, including the intended audience, the purpose of the translation, and the function of the target text. These factors are central to functionalist approaches to translation, most notably exemplified by Hans J. Vermeer and Katharina Reiss's skopos theory proposed in 1984. According to this theory, translations should be guided by the specific purpose (skopos) they aim to fulfil within the target culture (REISS & VERMEER 2014). Christiane Nord further expanded upon this concept, placing added emphasis on the target text's function within specific cultural and communicative contexts (NORD 2018). Contextual parameters constitute another crucial aspect influencing translation choices. These parameters encompass broader social, historical, and cultural factors. In his empirical approach, Toury duly acknowledges the impact of these contextual elements on the translator's decision-making process (TOURY 1995). As such, contextual factors play an integral role in shaping the translator's approach to rendering the source text into the target language.

The process and outcome of translation are inherently context-driven. Even when contextual parameters appear concealed, they still manifest within the target text. This profoundly function-oriented approach to translation aligns seamlessly with the evolution of a focus on translation sociology within translation studies. In essence, understanding the cultural and historical contexts that influence translations provides crucial insights into the multifaceted nature of this intricate linguistic and communicative practice. By embracing a context-driven perspective, translation scholars can uncover the intricate web of factors that shape the translation process and its resultant products.

Influenced by sociological models of Pierre Bourdieu, but also others, translation researchers turned to uncovering "the function, influence and value of translation in the target context, the mapping of translations and the analysis of the effects of translation upon the context" (ROSA 2010: 96), recognising that eventually all translation involves a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose (HERMANS 1985: 11). Translators not only translate; they also actively participate in how the respective translation is perceived by the audiences it aims to reach. This vision of translation practice is a clear activist and sociological take on pragmatic-functionalism, but it does not reduce translations to consumer goods, nor is the discourse of translation dedicated entirely to

[5] Peritextual elements can also relate to the overall physical presentation (book covers, book size, book binding) and layout of the text, such as typography (choice of font, font size, spacing, etc.).

functionalism or mechanism (GOUANVIC 2010: 121). With translations squarely positioned within a social theory of symbolic goods, the agency of the translator can act, and the cultural capital of a translation can come to fruition.

Given the object under study, one aspect of the social networks that act as recipient audience of a translation of a song is the sense of sharedness, which can only take place with the acknowledgement of both the text and spirit of the lyric and the empathy aroused by the tune. To identify specific functions of song translations (purposes/skopoi), Peter Low builds on the skopos theory and proposes five translation strategies that correspond to these particular skopoi (LOW 2003). Low introduces the "pentathlon principle," which addresses the challenge of ensuring that the target text of a song aligns with the music and remains singable (LOW 2010). Translators, who may also be performers or be considering specific performances, take into account singability, coherence of meaning, naturalness, adherence to rhyme, and adherence to rhythm when translating songs (LOW 2010). Similar to skopos theory, Low advocates an approach that embraces flexibility and adaptability to increase the likelihood of creating a successful and favourably received target text. Low's pentathlon rebuilds interconnections between the textual (rhyme and rhythm as drivers of translation strategies within the target text), the paratextual (the performance) and the implied extratextual (the perceived singability and naturalness). Franzon utilises micro-structure analyses to elucidate the challenges faced by translators when translating songs, providing insight into the intricate process involved in song translation: metaphrase (literal, near word-for-word translations), paraphrase (using other words for conveying the same meaning), reorganisation, and addition/omission (FRANZON 2009). This approach showcases the translator's agency, wherein fidelity extends beyond mere semantic imitation (FRANZON 2009).[6] Notably, fidelity is not only directed towards the original text but also towards the music itself, encompassing the aspect of presentation, singability, as emphasised by Low.

The presentation of translated songs is a multifaceted phenomenon, encompassing both performance and contextual considerations. Translated songs can be stand-alone performances or part of a sequence of other translations or performances. They may be intended for repeated renditions in diverse contexts. For instance, when a translated song is included on a CD or streaming platform, its purpose is to be actively listened to and sung along with by members of varying audiences. Alternatively, if featured in a live performance, it aims to resonate with physical audiences repeatedly, creating a sense of sharedness within the performance space. Intention of the translation and matching with the intended audience are key functions when it comes to comparing a target text with its original or assessing the quality of the translation as a new text. In translation criticism, typically two approaches prevail. The first involves including the source text to allow for a thorough comparison between the source and target texts based on a set of selected evaluative parameters (DE BEAUGRANDE 1978; HATIM & MASON 1990). The second approach, seen in models like Toury's (1978), focuses on the function of the translation within the target culture. In this case, the translation may reflect the translator's

[6] Based on a translation from Swedish by Åkerström (2010).

particular identity, motivation, and intention to reach the target audience and align with several contextual dimensions of the text (VALERO 1995: 204). Texts are not written in a vacuum, and as translators rewrite texts within the parameters set by the culture for which they translate, nor are translations (LEFEVERE 1992). This not only concerns translating but also rewriting previous translations and retranslating.

Retranslation involves deliberately departing from previous translations and aligns with a renewed agency, intention, and purpose, i.e., retranslations are recontextualised translations.[7] Retranslations often entail aspects of adaptation, especially when the new intention itself needs to be translated (for want of a better word) into a new function, for which approaches are used that can be organised along Franzon's categories of metaphrase, paraphrase, reorganisation and addition/omission in order to support each of Low's parameters. The context for creating the new translation then prompts data, including intertextual relations between source text and existing previous translations, between previous translations and the new adaptation, and between the original and the recontextualised new translation.

Methodology

In translation analysis, drawing from both the polysystem theory of the early-to-mid-1970s and the functionalist theories of the 1980s, contextual dimensions form an integral part of systemic descriptive approaches. As such, translation itself should be regarded as a cultural and historical phenomenon, inviting exploration into its context and the factors that shape its nature. As Hermans (1999) aptly puts it, this endeavour allows us to seek grounds that elucidate the reasons behind the existence of translation in its various forms. In order to provide an answer to the research question, my analysis of different translations of LI/TI into English therefore employs an interdependent approach. Textual elements derived from the respective texts and metatextual elements derived from the circumstances surrounding the creation of those texts, including authorial information drawn from a semi-structured interview with the translator of the 1989/1990 version, are amalgamated with a comparative analysis predominantly focused on the target text.

Paratextual	Extratextual	Contextual
peritexts: titles, prefaces, footnotes, illustrations, and glossaries (presentation) epitexts: interviews or advertisements	the intended audience, the purpose of the translation, the function of the target text	broader social, historical, and cultural factors

Figure 1: metatextual elements that surround a text and that affect the translator's decision-making process

[7] For more on retranslation and multimodality in translation studies, see Albachten and Gürçağlar (2020).

Comparative analysis

The 1989/1990 translation of LI/TI by Billy Bragg only retained three stanzas and the chorus from the French original (see FRANZON 2009, discussed above, for omission as a translation strategy). Based on a social ecology of the music industry (the dimensions of creative production, recording and performing all include the creator-translator, the music company, the touring entourage, the performer and the audience) and on the intention of the translator-performer to limit the number of stanzas in comparison to the original, the three stanzas and the chorus of the 1989/90 translation form the basis of the subsequent comparison with earlier translations. Only those same parts are analysed for the source text and other translations. In order to differentiate between the different versions, only the first few lines are retained below.

As previously noted, the source text in question is a tune composed by Pierre De Geyter in 1888, which drew inspiration from Eugene Pottier's 1871 poem. Pottier, a member of the International Workingman's Association (The First International), penned the poem in the aftermath of the Paris Commune and the ensuing massacre (LI/TI-0, 1871/1888).

Debout, les damnés de la terre / Debout, les forçats de la faim
La raison tonne en son cratère / C'est l'éruption de la fin

It is not easy to retrieve the origins of different translations of LI/TI. Translations appeared in songbooks, pamphlets, journals, magazines, and are often not complete either. This is confirmed by Kuzar (2002: 91) who also had difficulty in attributing the details of providence of several translations into Hebrew.

The first translation of "L'Internationale" into English, LI/TI-1 (1900/1901), was arguably produced by the American publisher Charles H. Kerr (1860–1944). This version became known as the version of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) (DUBOFSKY 2000: 87). No clear timestamp has been found, but a first appearance seems to be by Kerr himself in January 1900, and formed part of the booklet *Socialist Songs*, even though the title given there was *The International Party*, the same title used for an iteration in the *International Socialist Review* of December 1900:

Arise ye pris'ners of starvation / Arise ye wretched of the earth
For justice thunders condemnation / A better world's in birth![8]

[8] Kuzar (2002: 92) connects his version to the Peace and Freedom Party of California, but attributes no year. He also has the South-African version start with the same line, although the version then diverges from the Kerr one: *Arise ye prisoners of starvation / Arise ye toilers of the earth ...* (ibid.: 91).

Another early translation was retrieved from a document published in 1920 (*Hearings before …* 1920), but references to the first lines of this translation in the American journal *The Daily People* in 1912 predates that publication. This is referred to as LI/TI-2 (1912/1920):

Stand up! Ye wretched ones who labor / Stand up! Ye galley-slaves of want.
Man's reason thunders from its crater / 'Tis th' eruption naught can daunt.

One English translation that is sometimes attributed to Pottier himself – which is not very likely (*The International* n.d.) – appears in print (and online these days) without further acknowledgement. A recorded testimony of Reg Weston's experiences during the Battle of Cable Street, 4 October 1936, mentioned references to standing in unity and singing that very version.[9] However, there was no reference to the time of recording, which is why the source is not included in the reference section. However, the oldest occurrence retrieved was by the rather anonymous "A.P.H." from the pages of *Punch* in December 1920. This version is referred to as LI/TI-3 (1920). Kuzar 2002 refers to this translation as the Standard English version (91). In June 1975, the LI/TI-3 version was still included in *Songs of the Workers*, a booklet published by The Socialist Party of Ireland:

Arise ye starvelings from your slumbers / Arise ye criminals of want
For reason in revolt now thunders / And at last ends the age of cant.[10]

Both printed and online sources of different kinds, from books by renowned publishers to more obscure and anonymous sites, struggle with the dates of the different translations in English. It is no surprise then that, in 1976, the Communist Federation of Britain decided to retain the newest translation as it was deemed better and politically more correct. However, they were referring to LI/TI-3 (1920), a few lines of which had already been published around the same time as LI/TI-2 (1912/1920), but above all a translation that was over half a century old.
The modern adaptation of LI/TI translated by Billy Bragg (LI/TI-4, 1989/1990) was performed first at the 1989 Vancouver Festival, and released in 1990 as one of the tracks from his album, *The Internationale*:

Stand up, all victims of oppression / For the tyrants fear your might
Don't cling so hard to your possessions / For you have nothing, if you have no rights

[9] https://tinyurl.com/2zcw5ru9

[10] A similar translation, arguably an even more literal one, uses the following lines: "Arise ye workers from your slumbers / Arise ye prisoners of want / For reason in revolt now thunders / And at last ends the age of cant." This version was referenced as being used in the mid-1930s by a group of people including Elia Kazan (BUTLER 2022: 174), so it dates to the same period as the similar and related version.

In the discussion, two comparative analyses converge: one comparative analysis puts the three above translations in parallel, and one target text-oriented approach aligns the Bragg translation with the source text. There is a focus on textual elements that are considered representative for the context from which it emerged, especially for LI/TI-4.

Semi-structured interview

If textual data form the basis for the comparative analysis of the different translations, that target-text-oriented analysis is supplemented by material drawn from a semi-structured interview with Billy Bragg, which can be considered a peritext of the translation. After a first contact at the start of the summer of 2022, Billy Bragg's management and the singer himself agreed to respond to questions about LI/TI and the 1989/1990 version. Subsequently, a seven-page document was sent by the author to Billy Bragg on 17 August 2022 with the following intention:

The questions I would like to put to you concern acknowledgement of facts about the emergence of that version, your view of that version in comparison with the original, the use and value of both the original and your version(s) today.

The document contained a one-page introduction about the author of the chapter and the aims in relation to the intended publication. The second page covered a succinct contextualisation of "L'Internationale" and the 1989/1990 translation. The background against which the 1989/1990 translation took shape was covered in several online sources, not least of which two YouTube clips,[11] and detailed specific extratextual and contextual aspects of the translation. The intention of the interview with the singer was to expand on known facts on the basis of the target text. The document concluded with a four-column table, including the full Bragg translation, the respective source text parts and two other English translations, LI/TI-1 (1900/1901) and LI/TI-2 (1912/1920).

On the basis of the available information about the circumstances and of a prior analysis of the Bragg lyrics of LI/TI-4, several pages of open questions followed, asking not only about choices in the translation but also about motivations behind specific translation choices. The open questions were phrased to prompt discussion. The opportunity for the singer-translator to elaborate on the open questions came during a forty-five-minute online interview on 31 August 2022 (referred to below as BRAGG 2022). Both interviewer and interviewee explored specific themes further. It was agreed that prior to publication the translator-singer should be able to review his contributions to the chapter and suggest alterations if necessary.

[11]See Billy Bragg and Côr Gobaith (2009) singing Bragg's version in Aberystwyth (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bg7Bb4J6-jY) and Billy Bragg (2020) singing his version at the celebration commemorating Pete Seeger's 101st birthday (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NBgfNy7dk4I). (Seeger died in 2014, aged 94.)

Discussion

Context of the source text

Both contextual and extratextual factors that shaped the original are well-known. The 1871 Paris Commune, however short-lived, was a very temporary idealistic, as well as egalitarian, attempt on the part of the Paris workers to install revolutionary reforms. Although crushed within a matter of days – 30,000 were slaughtered at the barricades and another 60,000 executed afterwards (MARX 1988) – collective consciousness and new "complexes of feelings and thoughts" emerged (TROTSKY 1923: n.p.) and LI/TI became one of their most noted expressions. With lyrics by the Frenchman Eugène Pottier (1816–1887) and music by the Belgian Pierre De Geyter (1848–1932), "L'Internationale" had become a rousing anthem for labourers by the end of the nineteenth century. LI/TI also became one the most translated songs in history, serving rallying movements across the globe (GIELKENS 1996). The workers' hymn became the mobilisation for emotion and, through its global adoption, effectively became an anthem prompting the oppressed to fight for their rights: written in the aftermath of the Commune and composed in the decade after, the hymn became an anthem for, among others, the Communist Party, the Russian Revolution, the Spanish Civil War, strikers in Lawrence, Massachusetts in 1912, students and workers in Paris in 1968 and the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests (FERRO 1996; BRETON 2000; DAWSON 2009; ZHANG et al. 2002; CLOUD & FEYH 2015).

Songs have long played a vital role in spreading a message of solidarity among workers. A prominent production of this desire to share songs of protest was the paratextual aspect of inclusion in songbooks like the *Little Red Songbook*, published by the Industrial Workers of the World in 1909.[12] In the first songbook, labour activist songs by Ralph Chaplin, Charles Seeger (1886–1979), Pete Seeger's father, Joe Hill (1879–1915) and T. Bone Slim (1880–c. 1942) appeared alongside "The Internationale", positioning the Pottier/De Geyter anthem squarely within the activist spirit, "the collective experience of being among a group of people all singing the same song" (BRAGG 2022) for a shared moral purpose.

The use of LI/TI, in whatever language, serves a purpose that has long transcended the era of the Paris Commune and its immediate aftermath and has had reiterations. In their analysis of LI/TI's rhetorical work, Cloud and Feyh reveal that "the text itself affords theorists and critics evaluative criteria based on the construction of the collective working class agent, identification of the text's antagonistic demands, and a theory of *reasonable* [sic] emotion specific to particular class standpoints" (2015: 302). If extratextual and contextual features drive the spirit of LI/TI, then clearly the prime purpose of a translation of "L'Internationale" is to replicate that construction, identification and emotion within the spatial and temporal timeframe in which it was created. This construction and identification relate to the prominent, if not the dominant, pragmatic factor in Low's pentathlon and also warrants the use of more contemporary language.

[12] Thirty-six editions of the Little Red Songbook were published between 1909 and 1995.

Seeing that 'contemporary' shifts along temporal progress, this creates an opportunity for adaptations of LI/TI that can perhaps be adopted more easily (than earlier versions, nowadays considered more dated and stilted). Translations and retranslations of LI/TI therefore become additional dimensions, new versions of that source text with added contextual parameters and functional requirements.

Different translations of the first verse

As mentioned earlier, the comparison of the different versions of LI/TI is based on the length of the 1989/1990, i.e., three stanzas and one chorus, a textual characteristic that also bears on the paratextual dimension of presentation. The first stanza of the source text relates to a situation in which working class people suffer from poverty and in which protest is often criminalised (GLUCKSTEIN 2008). At the time of the Commune, the Catholic church played a dubious role, barely providing any support for the protest. In fact, they upheld the notion of the divine organisation of society and objected to people's desires to change their institutions (ibid.). This justified the Commune's revolt and the accompanying rallying cry to ditch any superstitions or any institutional beliefs. Slaves of labour would be set free or would free themselves (LI/TI-1), providing the reason for the working class to cleanse the old tables (LI/TI-2) or to end the age of religious cant (LI/TI-3). Still, despite minor semantic differences, translators of the anthem had been loyal to replicating the French original closely (KUZAR 2002: 89), including its extratextual aspects of intention and purpose.

LI/TI-0 (1871/1888)	*Debout, les damnés de la terre / Debout, les forçats de la faim* *La raison tonne en son cratère, / C'est l'éruption de la fin.* *Du passé faisons table rase, / Foule esclave, debout, debouts* *Le monde va changer de base / Nous ne sommes rien, soyons tout*
LI/TI-1 (1900/1901)	Arise ye pris'ners of starvation / Arise ye wretched of the earth For justice thunders condemnation / A better world's in birth! No more tradition's chains shall bind us / Arise, ye slaves, no more in thrall; The earth shall rise on new foundations / We have been naught we shall be all.
LI/TI-2 (1912/1920)	Stand up! Ye wretched ones who labor, / Stand up! Ye galley-slaves of want. Man's reason thunders from its crater, / 'Tis th' eruption naught can daunt. Of the past let us cleanse the tables, / Mass enslaved, fling back the call, Old Earth is changing her foundations, / We have been nothing, now be all.
LI/TI-3 (1920)	Arise ye starvelings from your slumbers / Arise ye criminals of want. For reason in revolt now slumbers / And at last ends the age of cant. So away with all your superstitions / Servile masses arise, arise, We'll change forthwith the old conditions / And spurn the dust to win the prize.
LI/TI-4 (1989/1990)	Stand up, all victims of oppression / For the tyrants fear your might Don't cling so hard to your possessions / For you have nothing, if you have no rights Let racist ignorance be ended / For respect makes the empires fall Freedom is merely privilege extended / Unless enjoyed by one and all

Figure 2: first stanza of "L'Internationale" in French and four translations in English.

Not only did Billy Bragg adapt the language in the 1989/1990 version, but the theme of religion has also shifted towards worldly possessions, which lull working people into a false sense of security, just like institutions do. Although the original invokes that reason is the basis for both understanding and morality, still upheld in LI/TI2, this aspect is present in Bragg's version in a more implied manner: religions and institutions no longer form the foundation of knowing what is allowed or permitted. The Bragg version also included a much more contemporary postcolonial stance in which racist ignorance should be replaced by respect in order to attack a racist colonial past. Kuzar (2002: 92) views the approach as a clear encoding of the song in "discourse of the European-American liberal-democratic tradition". Also, whereas in earlier versions there was a need to revert to what the institutional elite deemed to be unworthy, Bragg extends the compelling need for respect to the duty of sharing freedom with everybody. This collective sense of community through class consciousness and solidarity (KUZAR 2000: 88) can only be achieved by uniting the human race in song. Here extratextual factors and contextual aspects intertwine and shape the recontextualisation.
Whereas previous translations covered the chorus in a very linear manner, as a repeat of the corresponding source text line, the Bragg adaptation avoids that repetition and divides the message contained in the original across two related rallying cries: struggle is shared among all labourers, regardless of where they are from, and "The Internationale" is the prime uniting song. Freedom can only be a liberal value when it is shared by everyone (cf. KUZAR 2002: 92).

As long as you're not expecting music to change the world, what it can do is change people's emotional state, make them feel as if they are not alone. And then when you bring that into activism, music can play an important role in helping people to recharge their activism and to find the courage of their convictions. (BRAGG 2022)

The folk tradition also adds to the Bragg version of LI/TI and as such perpetuates the idea behind the original and the purpose of the song itself, through Bragg's words but also through ad hoc adaptations.

Choirs do that for themselves. Often I go and see a choir and they have changed it a bit and that's alright. I do not own "The Internationale" … The mainstream political parties have been captured and ordinary working people are going to have to stand up for themselves and organise. There is a lot of sympathy for that! (BRAGG 2022)

Although the target text is more of an adaptation than a translation, its core message still remains very truthful to the original as "time and place" equally represent the location of "groupons nous" and the time of "demain". Unity in song and communal freedom as the core characteristics of all is both "le genre humain" and "the human race", presenting a strong sense of idealistic internationalism.

LI/TI-0 (1871/1888)	C'est la lutte finale ; / Groupons nous et demain L'Internationale / Sera le genre humain.
LI/TI-4 (1989/1990)	So come brothers and sisters / For the struggle carries on The Internationale / Unites the world in song So comrades come rally / For this is the time and place The international ideal / Unites the human race

Figure 3: the original chorus and the Bragg adaptation.

The context of the 1989/1990 Bragg translation

The Bragg translation was triggered by specific contextual circumstances relating directly to the activist singer-translator personally as well as to more global contemporary geo-political developments that urged activists and socialists to re-align themselves; longstanding alliances and institutionalised dissent had to be modernised, doing away with the now older and sometimes even archaic language of earlier translations into English. In 1989, more than a century after De Geyter had put the Pottier poem to music, Billy Bragg presented his version of "The Internationale" at the Vancouver Folk Festival in July 1989 (Bragg 2022), aiming to recast the adaptation "for the twenty-first century" (ibid.). At the festival in July 1989, Pete Seeger urged Billy Bragg to come up with a fresh, new version of song – a modern British version to replace the existing ones that were deemed outdated (a functionalist extratextual intention and purpose). Bragg's translation – with some distinct adaptations in comparison with the source text[13] – appeared on Bragg's 1990 album (Utility Records) with the same name. The core message of the source text and the spirit in which the anthem was sung in solidarity was echoed in the modernised Bragg translation with adaptations such as the line "You have nothing if you have no rights" (BRAGG 1989/1990).

The original song as well as early iterations of it were associated with communist regimes, but these were rumbling by the time of Bragg's version. Earlier that year, in June, the clamp down on student protests on Tiananmen Square in Beijing required activists and socialists alike to seek a new direction and purpose for the songs that praised solidarity and safeguarding one's rights. Rephrasing the archaic words of dissent – echoes from a troubled (recent) past – into a more contemporary melody of empathy and union was the key function of the new translation.

In 1989, Bragg – at a national level already a staunch anti-Thatcherite over her crushing of unions and unjust social policies – felt that with Tiananmen, where demonstrations had been suppressed in a cruel manner by the communist authorities, and, later on, with the fall of the Berlin Wall, traditional socialist culture was being thrown into the bin on an international level as well (BRAGG 2022). Hoping that music is still "the way that young people talk to one another and to the generation of their parents" and knowing that "music still has the power to make people feel that they're not alone" (BRAGG 2022), the Bragg translation aimed to free LI/TI from the shackles of a troubled

[13] See, for instance, the omission of religious institutions and the inclusion of empire and racism, explained above.

past – "the terrible shadow of Stalin" (ibid.). Bragg felt that through an adaptation of "The Internationale" he might be able to salvage it as well as maintain the tradition of internationalism that underpins it. This reinvigorated sense of respect for older protest songs was felt throughout the wider context of each of the songs featuring in his 1990 album, aptly called *The Internationale*.

The album contained seven tracks, each of which represented a legacy of discontent, protest and unity. In making the value of the paratextual presentation explicit, Bragg argued that the collection of songs on the album was "a reassertion of my rights as an individual" (COLLINS 2013: 215) and through the album title and inclusion of LI/TI-4, the 1989/1990 version was built around the spirit of "The Internationale", the internationalist drive towards unity in demanding and/or upholding your rights. "I Dreamed I Saw Phil Ochs Last Night" was Bragg's interpretation of "I Dreamed I Saw Joe Hill Last Night", a song about an American trade unionist who was allegedly framed on a murder charge and executed in 1915. The poem had been written around 1930 by the British novelist and poet Alfred Hayes (1911–1985), set to music by the American Earl Robinson (1910–1991) in 1936 and made famous by the American activist-singer Paul Robeson (1898–1976) first, and next by the likes of Pete Seeger (1919–2014) and Joan Baez (˚1941). Bragg changed the name in the title to Phil Ochs (1940–1976), the American protest singer who joined rallies to support civil rights and who objected to the Vietnam War.

As recently as 2014, "Joe Hill" appeared to be one of the three most requested songs by British Labour Party politicians on the radio programme Desert Island Discs, along with William Blake's "Jerusalem" (Weaver & Arnett 2014), the unofficial English anthem. "Jerusalem" – Blake's rallying cry for a better society in England's green and pleasant land (ibid.) – was also recorded by Bragg on the same album in 1990.[14] Blake puts forward the idea that people are chaining themselves up if they refuse to open their minds, an idea included in Bragg's "The Internationale" almost verbatim.[15]

Another song, also in the 1990 *The Internationale* album by Bragg, was "The Red Flag", which appeared as the first song in the first *Little Red Songbook* in 1909.[16] "The Red Flag" – written by the Irish political activist, Jim Connell (1852–1929) and inspired by the 1889 London Docks Strike – has been an anthem of the British Labour Party ever since it was established and is typically sung at the end of party conferences, along with "Jerusalem". In part building on the 1909 *Songbook*, the 1990 album *The Internationale*

[14] "One of the first things I did in the Labour Party was in 1984 at an event for the European elections at Manchester Free Trade Hall. They handed out Labour songs, among which was "The Red Flag", and "Jerusalem" was there, like the third on the list. So it has always been a song of the left." (BRAGG 2022)

[15] A reviewer of the text added that the idea also persists in other popular songs and referred to two songs: the anti-war song turned anti-establishment and pro-social change "Revolution" by The Beatles (The White Album, 1968) and "Redemption Song" by Bob Marley (UPRISING 1980).

[16] Clearly, the *Little Red Songbook* was of much inspiration to Billy Bragg as other songs have also been covered and recorded by Bragg, such as "Bread and Circuses" and "Which Side Are You On?".

– especially the title song, the spirit of "Jerusalem" and the context of "The Red Flag" – provided several elements that seem to come straight from the 1871/1888 "L'Internationale" pedigree: socialists, protest songs, political activism, reassertion of rights, a transnational call and international appeal.

From the Bragg translation of "L'Internationale" – despite, and also, because of the changes that were not motivated by the lyrics themselves but the ideas contained within them, as is clearly evident in his Joe Hill / Phil Ochs twist – a clear vision emerges. Fidelity to the original source text is not always fit for the purpose, most definitely not when adapting the language and the ideas behind the words to a more contemporary audience that is one century removed from the original song. Billy Bragg was always going to use "The Internationale" with as much respect as possible, but he moulded it equally into an attitude of resistance, a weapon against the establishment in the tradition of Woody Guthrie, Phil Ochs and Pete Seeger, all firm believers in the power of song as a vehicle for social change.

Bragg's 1989 translation of "L'Internationale" and its subsequent inclusion on the 1990 album share a context and metatextual setting that clearly align the agency of the singer-translator with that of the original authors and earlier translators. The recontextualization undertaken by Bragg not only preserves the spirit and purpose of the original but also infuses it with a renewed vitality, rendering it relevant to workers actively advocating for their rights through action and to supporters who align with worker's causes or who object to social injustices. This approach persists in Bragg's translation of the second and third verses as well.

Bragg's translation of the second and third verse

The second verse of the Bragg translation is most likely the version that is mostly representative of both Bragg's spirit of adaptation and the maintenance of the source text sentiments. Stressing once again that the working class should free itself from the shackles of exploitation, a very Marxist idea in itself, all labourers should indeed be united and undivided ("let no one build walls to divide us"). Added to that idea is the idea that we all inhabit this one planet and that no national borders should stand in the way of social justice.

LI/TI-4 (1989/1990)	Let no one build walls to divide us / Walls of hatred nor walls of stone Come greet the dawn and stand beside us / We'll live together or we'll die alone In our world poisoned by exploitation / Those who have taken, now they must give And end the vanity of nations / We've but one Earth on which to live

Figure 4: the second verse of the Bragg translation.

At the start of the third verse, Bragg compensates for the loss of "lutte finale" in the translation of the chorus through "the final drama". In a more typical intertextual approach, "unbowed" could be viewed as an echo from the past. In the poem "Invictus"

(written in 1875 and published in 1888 – at exactly the same period as "L'Internationale"), William Henley (1849–1903) used the phrase "my head is bloody but unbowed". Although the reference was not intentional (BRAGG 2022), the word 'unbowed' does have a long tradition of representing an attitude of resilience. The image of standing unbowed in front of armour also resonates with the world-renowned image of one single student-protester at Tiananmen holding up a line of tanks, representing the courage behind anyone's cry for action against oppressors – "definitely a no pasarán thing" (ibid.).[17] In 2020, an edit was introduced into the translation, "like and love" became "life and love" (ibid.). If you love life, you also cherish likeminded activists.

LI/TI-4 (1989/1990)	And so begins the final drama / In the streets and in the fields We stand unbowed before their armour / We defy their guns and shields When we fight, provoked by their aggression / Let us be inspired by life and love For though they offer us concessions / Change will not come from above

Figure 5: the third and last verse of the Bragg translation.

Conclusion

The 1989/1990 Bragg version of "L'Internationale" favoured a choice for adequacy of spirit and connotation on the one hand and a choice for acceptability in the target cultural environment on the other. Even though the Bragg translation has elements of rewriting and adaptation, the singer-translator has built on the original with as much respect as possible, maintaining its empathetic lyrics and arousing tune in an attitude of resistance. On the day the author spoke to Billy Bragg about "The Internationale", the singer-songwriter had just returned from a set, supporting a picket line in Bridport, performing "to encourage people to engage with their sentiments" when singing together in social collectivity (BRAGG 2022).

The target audience of the Bragg translation of *L'Internationale* is not defined by language. With English being the lingua franca it is, spoken and recognised across the globe, specific activist anthems for labourers in their fight for their rights clearly transcend the 'English only' singability. The recognition of the tune will already play into the hands of those who sing it in English, maybe even without knowing much about its lyrics, but empathy will follow, sympathy among those who are singing the lyrics will become stronger, both during a specific event and across different events/sites/venues. Like earlier translations, the core messaging has been shifting; it has been recontextualised through selected translation strategies in support of the translator's agency and through application of metatextual parameters, not least paratextual ones such as presentation, and extratextual ones that allowed for a reinvigorated purpose in answer to the adapted contextual parameters that draw from different spatial and temporal settings.

The power of "L'Internationale" / "The Internationale", especially the Bragg version, is still capable of acting as a vehicle for communal freedom as well as social change,

[17] 'Unbowed' initially did not make it into the translation. "We bear our chest before their armour", Bragg's first solution, was discarded by Peggy Seeger who pointed out that both connotation and denotation were different for women (BRAGG 2022).

although limitations and other dimensions have affected that capacity. "You don't get to sing "The Internationale" every night [...] but there are moments when you bring that song out [...] you are connecting with something bigger than what you are doing there that day, you are connecting to a tradition" and this is very important as both social media and digitisation has changed reception of culture and perception of sharedness (ibid.).

Bragg adapted the song and its lyrics to our contemporary world, even though the internationalism of "The Internationale" is battling it out with globalisation – that ultimate exploitation of people somewhere for the benefit of people elsewhere, whilst the latter have become detached from the rights of the former. The anthem, now nearly 150 years old, therefore remains a symbol of internationalism, of cross-cultural solidarity, trying to encourage people to feel something beyond their own personal experience, to allow music to draw out emotions, see that music is empathy and that you are not alone (cf. ibid.) and that indeed you have nothing if you have no rights. It should therefore be noted that, in light of the predominantly male-dominated realm surrounding "L'Internationale" (both the original and the various English translations), and in light of acknowledging the persisting challenges women face in engaging with the music industry compared to their male counterparts (cf. ibid.), the translator-performer Billy Bragg has been extensively involved in bringing attention to social injustices rooted in gender disparities.

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