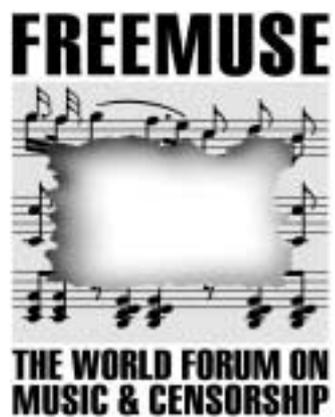


1st World Conference on Music and Censorship,
Copenhagen, 20 - 22 November 1998

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Preface

The 1st World Conference on Music and Censorship sought to create, for the first time, an international forum for the study and discussion of censorship as it applies specifically to music and musicians. Though similar efforts have long been established to examine the rights of political figures and writers, interestingly, no similar effort had been launched for this equally discriminated-against population. The focus was so new, in fact, that many of the participants invited to the conference had never thought at any great length on the topic.

A diverse group of professionals gathered from highly varied disciplines and backgrounds: international musicians and composers, of course, but so, too, lawyers, theologians, political scientists, media personnel, music industry representatives, musicologists, and human rights organizations. Not only were active cases of music censorship raised and examined, but also the issues surrounding them, including how censorship is used by governments and other powerful interests, and how this censorship affects the musician, his or her creativity, and society at large.

The conference revealed that censorship is implemented by the broadest range of interests, from governments, local authorities and pressure groups to radio and TV-stations, from record companies to the very musicians themselves who, if living in a censorial climate, may come to practice a form of self-censorship. In some countries, such as Afghanistan, for example, secular music is banned outright.

In others, musicians find their CDs seized from markets and record outlets by the police, as in the recent case of the Zimbabwean musician Oliver Mtukudzi's latest CD *Bvuma* (Tolerance), or as in China where lyrics have to be passed on to board of censors or to be edited before the release of a record. For these and other reasons, many musicians have fled their countries for being denied their political, cultural and human rights and are now residing in exile. Of those who have stayed, some are put on trial, imprisoned, or worse. The folk singer Victor Jara was murdered during Chile's coup d'Etat in the 1970s, and Lounés Matoub, the Berber singer from Algeria, was assassinated in 1998 while on a brief visit in his home country.

While much censorship is practised for political, religious, and economic reasons and in the interests of what governments consider proper for their citizens, the reasons vary widely, differing from case to case, from country to country, and so they must be viewed from political and cultural perspectives.

Cases of political repression and censorship in areas outside of music are well-known thanks to the many committed organizations that have been established to publicise them.

The human rights violations against musicians, on the other hand, are surprisingly under-represented, if they are known at all. What have contributed to this is the lack of substantial research, documentation and media coverage on global music censorship and the lack of an action-orientated organization working for the interests of censored musicians and composers.

For this reason, the participants of the conference authorized the creation of an organization that would bridge the gap from an informal network of concerned activists to a formal organization dedicated to the enforcement of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights as they apply specifically to the rights of musicians.

In October 1999, in Copenhagen, Freemuse was founded.
The name is an acronym for Freedom of Musical Expression.

Marie Korpe
Executive Director

Gerald Seligman
Freemuse Chairman,
Oct. 1999 – Oct. 2000

Martin Cloonan
Freemuse Chairman

The 1st World Conference on Music and Censorship was funded by The Danish Ministry of Culture, The Swedish Royal Academy of Music, Roskilde Foundation, KOPIFON, Danish Musicians Union and the Sonning Foundation. The music and censorship research project, which led to the conference, was implemented in cooperation with The National Danish Broadcasting Corporation.

In connection with the conference a special issue of Index on Censorship – “Smashed Hits; The Book of Banned Music” –was published by Index on Censorship.

Freemuse is an international independent membership organization advocating for musicians and composers right to freedom of expression.

Freemuse is funded by The Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and has also received additional funding from the Roskilde Foundation, year 2000.

The 1st World Conference on Music and Censorship

1 Opening session

1.1 Welcome speech by **Ms. Elsebeth Gerner Nielsen**, Danish Minister of Culture.

Good morning Ladies and Gentlemen,

Fifty years ago the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. With this declaration, we determined that everyone has the right to free speech. For if we cannot express our thoughts and opinions, we cannot contribute to changing and shaping the world in which we live. And without the input of the individual, society cannot develop.

Despite good intentions, freedom of speech is still not a matter of course. On the contrary, it is something that must be fought for. By some more than others. In some regions, people still have to fight for it with their lives.

This conference today is a manifestation that the fight is not confined to the media and literature. In the field of music, freedom of expression is violated, daily.

Music is the greatest cultural mass media in the world.

Music does not need to conform to borders or physical barriers. Music is part of any society because music can be understood and experienced, whether or not the individual can read or write. One only has to be a human being to understand music.

I hope this conference will make it clear that censoring music is serious censorship. I hope we can highlight the harmful effects of music censorship. And I hope that the results of this conference will give politicians and decision-makers, all over the world, new and concrete ideas on how we can put a stop to it.

Censorship affects people and society in many ways: politically, socially, economically and culturally. Censorship hinders dynamic processes in society, because censorship hinders people in finding their real cultural identity – an identity we must have to be active members of society.

Our identity is shaped by a number of conditions: education, the family, mass media, and culture. If censorship prevents us finding cohesion in these conditions, we are also prevented from becoming whole human beings. How can we develop our culture if we do not understand it, because important parts of it are being withheld from us?

Censorship takes many shapes and forms. Some more visible than others – we should not assume that censorship only concerns those countries where it exists today. There is only one world. Music reminds us of this.

The Danish government has supported in the past and will continue to support in the future, through the EU and the UN, all efforts that promote freedom of expression for musicians and composers.

That is why the Danish Ministry of Culture supports this world conference, bringing together international experts, for the first time, to highlight the problem. The support is a helping hand to the many that are affected by the problem. But it is also a reminder to the Danes that cultural rights are important in a democracy, and that we should never take such rights for granted.

I have no doubt that this conference will make it clear to everyone that when musical freedom is violated it is not just a question of suppressing individual artists, but also of suppressing important national and cultural values.

Artists give us an extra language by which to understand each other. It is not always possible to explain why we like – or dislike – a certain piece of music. We know only that it affects us. And when our right to be moved, touched and affected, when our right to hear the extra language is taken from us, we are impoverished.

International co-operation is extremely important in this matter.

The authors' union PEN, which grants support to censored and persecuted writers, is an outstanding example that should be followed. Could this conference maybe contribute to establish-ing a similar organization in the field of music?

I earnestly hope so.

I would like to thank the organizers of the First World Conference on Music and Censorship and, on behalf of the Ministry of Culture and myself, to bid all those who have travelled from afar welcome to Denmark.

Thank you Ladies and Gentlemen.

1.2 Welcome speech by **Mr. Morten Kjærum**, Director, The Danish Centre for Human Rights.

Ladies and gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to welcome you all here to Copenhagen to this First World Conference on Music and Censorship.

When I was first confronted with the idea of making a conference, which should focus on censoring of music and heard that this was the first of its kind I reflected shortly on why this was not done before. Maybe it is not a problem?

That could be the reason why no one else had taken this initiative.

However, it only took a few more seconds before the images came to my mind of the killing of Lounés Matoub from Algeria in June this year, the killing of Victor Jara in Chile in 1973, the banning of Paul McCartney's "Give Ireland Back to the Irish" and many more examples. Musicians have been targeted for centuries in all parts of the world by oppressive regimes if the sound or the words or the combination did not fit the taste and views of the ruling elite. Music has been and still is in far too many places perceived as a threat to the dominant culture whether this culture is defined by politicians, religious leaders or moralists.

If censorship of music is a major problem, why haven't we addressed the issue years ago? There are many reasons. However, I believe that one of the answers is indirectly linked to another question: why is the extradition case against Pinochet such a unique incident? Why did we until now let dictators and torturers go free without being held accountable for their actions?

The human rights agenda of the 1990s is dramatically different from previous decades in the way that all over the world people are trying to implement the international human right standards in their communities. People will no longer tolerate oppression, intolerance, misuse of powers and other forms of violations against the human dignity. And this global trend is causing people to react in the case of Pinochet, in relation to the continued censoring of musicians and in many other cases.

In a culture of human rights or in a culture which respects human rights there is very little room for censorship, and that is what is being realized more and more places.

The Danish Centre for Human Rights found it natural as an institution which both conducts research and practical human rights work at the international as well as domestic level to establish a platform for addressing this particular sensitive human rights issue. Economic, social and cultural rights are certainly interdependent and interrelated with the freedom of expression and other civil and political rights. The human rights norms were established and developed with the purpose of protecting the cultural diversity at all levels in our societies and music is at the heart of cultural expressions. This is true for the Kurdish minority in Turkey and other countries in the region, the black community in South Africa and the hip-hop cultures in Western countries and other places.

Musicians all over the world have always stood up in support of human rights issues, they have in many places devoted their music to the protection of other people, so it is obvious to support musicians in their right to freedom of expression.

How can this be done? In which way can an awareness of the importance of a free flow of music be created? How can any form of fundamentalistic thinking oppressing certain kinds of music be counteracted? On the other hand should the neo-nazi groups in Denmark continue to be allowed to export their hate music to all parts of the world? Is the way forward to create an organization to protect the freedom of expression for musicians as is the case for writers?

These and many more questions are to be discussed here the next couple of days at this first world conference on music and censorship. I hope that we will get a fruitful, constructive and forward looking debate. Once again I welcome you all here to Copenhagen.

Thank you for your attention.

1.3 Presentation of the project on music and censorship

By **Mr. Ole Reitov**, Editor, Danish Broadcasting Corporation.

A year ago when this project started we had two major goals: To organize this very conference and identify contributors to Index on Censorship.

Little did we realize how difficult it would be to identify those of you who are now the nucleus of the conference.

Censorship. What censorship? was the answer we got from most people within the music industry and music media.

A typical "I can't see the forest for the trees" reaction.

The participant panel reflects that it is in the field of political, cultural and religious science that studies of music censorship are being conducted today. Hopefully this conference can stimulate more people in music research and music media to focus on the rotten plants of censorship that as a cancer eat their way throughout the otherwise beautiful garden of music.

The main aims of this conference are: To describe, document and discuss why and how music is being censored.

To understand how censorship affects music creativity and people's life in general. And hopefully find ways to fight censorship and support oppressed musicians.

We do not expect consensus. We do not have a prepared declaration. But we do have hopes.

And one of our hopes is that this conference will be able to deliver some of the arguments, some of the tools that organizations and politicians need in their work.

There is a saying: silence is golden. But in politics you need words. We are here to deliver those words and I trust that the message sent from here will be carried on in other International Forums by our Minister of Culture.

Music is in itself a strong message. That is why a lot of music is being banned.

And hopefully the message from this conference even reach some of those world famous musicians that we have not been able to contact due to their own censors, their own gatekeepers. Come forward. Your colleagues out there need you.

Whether we at the end can fulfill the hope of the Minister of Culture that this conference can be the birthplace of a future organization that support persecuted musicians and composers time will show.

So let's start working.

2 The Censored meet their Censor – Music and Censorship during Apartheid in South Africa

Mr. Sipho Mabuse and Mr. Ray Phiri, musicians from South Africa, in a first face to face meeting with former censor, Ms. Cecile Pracher, Manager of the record library at South African Broadcasting Corporation. Followed by open discussion. Moderator: Mr. Ole Reitov, Editor, Danish Broadcasting Corporation.

Introduction by **Mr. Ole Reitov**:

We start with South Africa – and why that? Many people say that there is no problem in South Africa anymore.

The interesting thing about South Africa is that we have very strong personalities who have suffered for many years. But also people who want to move on. People also know that we can now see the long term effects of censorship.

The morning session is an attempt to try to understand how censorship affects people in their creativity and it is also an attempt to understand how you work within a system when you are censoring music.

I am very happy to invite three wonderful people to the podium here: **Ray Phiri** is a very distinguished musician who struggled for many years in South Africa. It took Paul Simon's *Graceland* to make him world famous but those who knew his music and his group, Stimela, before that, knew that we here had a star of world fame.

I would also like to introduce another wonderful musician: **Sipho Mabuse**. His album, *Chant of the Marching*, was banned in 1992.

You should always start with presenting the women but I would actually like to present Cecile at the end here.

Cecile Pracher is a very special woman. She worked at the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) for many years. She worked in the music library. When I got access to the archives of South African Broadcasting in August, Cecile was the lady who was hospitable to let me in and showed how music had been censored. We had long conversations on this.

We had hoped to have another guest here, **Anton Goosen**, the foremost Afrikaan singer of South Africa. What exactly happened we don't know, it seems like he missed his flight. So unfortunately Anton is not here, we only have his voice. Let's start by listening to Anton:

“We had a bomb at a big concert and in 1989 to 1990 the security police followed us. They knew what we were doing. They were listening to conversations between me and my girl friend on the phone sometimes interacting making their own little remarks. We were watched, but then after a while they realised that we were innocent, that we were only preaching cultural things. With Barbara Masekela¹ returning to the country there was a spy in my own band. Not only one there were two of them. The drummer was ex-security police and his job was to get information from the Conservative Party's diaries. The other spy was the girlfriend – the guitarist's girlfriend. She was working for National Intelligence. She is still working for National Intelligence, but for the new set.

How can you trust people like that? There were bomb threats and other threats at concerts as well”.

Ole Reitov: Ray, did you ever have spies in your band?

Ray Phiri: I'd say somebody who died when I had an accident in 1997. Later on we discovered that it was planned. He was the manager of the group and it was sad because I trusted him with all my life. He knew so much about where we were coming from and where we were getting to. After the accident the truth came out that he was part of it.

¹ In January 1995, Barbara Masekela was appointed South African Ambassador to France. Previously, she has served as Secretary for the Department of Arts and Culture, Director in the Office of the President of the African National Congress, and was a Member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC. In 1961, she joined the ANC, for which she served as chairperson of the U.S. branch. She spent 27 years in exile in Ghana, the United States, and in Zambia. In the United States, she was Assistant Professor at Livingstone College of Rutgers University from 1972 to 1982, where she taught English and Women's and African Literature.

Ole Reitov: Were you ever so dangerous that it was needed to have spies within the band?

Ray Phiri: I guess all in all in any society that is ruled by fear you do get such elements whereby you end up not even trusting your spouse. I ended up having about three places to stay so I never knew where I was going to wake up the next day.

It proved to be too expensive trying to run away so that no one catches up with you

Ole Reitov: Siphso, how does it affect the creativity of musicians when there is censorship?

Siphso Mabuse: It is obvious that censorship does affect all creative people in different ways. We obviously have experienced censorship in our respective countries differently from whatever sources they would come. I can only speak about how it affected us in South Africa (SA) as writers because censorship was based on ideological differences rather than creativity. So we as creative people were more affected by what our government of the day deemed to be dangerous to society. We had to find ways in which to circumvent the problem by writing songs in different ways.

Ole Reitov: Cecile, within the SABC there were specific rules of what was not allowed. Could you tell about what those rules were?

Cecile Pracher: The lyrics of each and every pop item had to be checked on grounds stemming from the Publication Board of SA by law. Our rules were more defined than those of the government. Things like for example swear words were unacceptable. Unacceptable sexual references were to be avoided, bad taste, any occult elements in the lyrics were unacceptable, lyrics propagating the usage of drugs, blasphemy, glorification of the devil, unfair promotion of a political party or movement and so it goes on and on. So it had a lot to do with interpretation as well.

Ole Reitov: In the Bible you need ten amendments. How many amendments did you need in SABC?

Cecile Pracher: At the time I was there between the 1980's and 1990's. It was the time of P.W. Botha and Apartheid was in full swing and the state of emergency was declared and everything became tighter and tighter. Things that would have been allowed five years earlier were frowned upon so therefore it was a very unnatural society to live in.

Ole Reitov: Ray, could you tell about the daily life as a touring artist in SA in those days? What kind of restrictions would you meet on tour?

Ray Phiri: Before that I would like to ask Cecile something. Did banning of songs include working with someone of other colour? I am still confused, because one of my songs was ban-ned because I sang with a white person. Was that undesirable?

Cecile Pracher: I am not quite sure which song you are refer-ring to. Not to my knowledge on those grounds, but I stand to be corrected.

Ray Phiri: It may have been earlier before you started working. It was a song called, "Where Did We Go Wrong", which I sang with a lady called Kathy Pannington.

Ole Reitov: What you are saying, is that when things were banned you never got an explanation, is that correct?

Ray Phiri: Yes, that hurt a lot. You did not know whether you did something wrong or not and it stifled growth of a creative person. It simply took away your dignity as a human being whereby you did not even know if you were doing the right thing or not. Somebody just decided that what you sing is undesirable without letting you know why your song was being banned. I am still hurting inside because I just want to know what it is that makes censorship members decide what is desirable and what is not. So we can also learn to understand how we can help others not to go through what we went through.

Ole Reitov: Cecile, could you tell about how different political periods would influence the way you would have to censor in SABC.

Cecile Pracher: I would say it depended very much on what time we are referring to. But I think if we talk about between the 1970s and the 1990s the guidelines I gave you were to be interpreted by the heads of department of radio and TV in the broadcast environment. We did not have an open airwave in the sense that they were only two independent broadcasts and the rest belonged to the state broadcaster, which was the SABC. Therefore this committee consisted of all heads of department and lyrics were scrutinised beforehand by the manager in the record library, which in this case was me, before it was some-body else. Those lyrics would be passed onto meeting once a week. In the years between 1980 and 1990 there were generally about 15 lyrics per week. If you take into account that we only in those days had about 480 LPs or CDs that came in per year then it was quite a substantial amount of lyrics that had to be checked and had to be voted upon. The voting system was open and my impression was that in those days virtually anything that was perceived as damaging to the state, to the SABC or to the National Party was regarded as not acceptable and we would ban it.

Ole Reitov: Siphon, you are not only a musician, you are obviously also a consumer of music. How did that period affect you as a consumer of music, access of music – to understand the music not only of SA but the rest of the world?

Siphon Mabuse: Well, fortunately for me I was more in an advantage because I was always travelling. So as a consumer I was not affected that much by not having music accessible to me. But it made it a bit difficult because the freedom for one to be able to access that music was curtailed by the fact that one always had to smuggle the music into the country. Because if you didn't smuggle the music there were no other ways that one could hear it. So in a way it made it difficult for many people at home to listen to music they felt they wanted to listen to.

But at the same time we would have wanted to hear most of the music that was written by South African musicians whom we felt had an influence on the socio-political environment in SA.

And because of the censorship we just did not have access to that type of music. So we did not know and we were not given reasons why that music was not available to us.

Ole Reitov: How did that influence you as an artist because when the market was restricted, did you have to think more commercially? For you personally how did this affect your creativity?

Siphon Mabuse: As creative people we were guided by principles and of course consciousness. One had to make decisions as to whether you live pretending that nothing is wrong or you let your voice be heard as part of what was going on in SA.

You have to understand that SA was in a repressive stage at a particular time and more so that stage affected quite a number of people – not only musicians but the society as a whole including some white people who were opposed to the system of Apartheid. Somehow we had to find a way in which we could convey such messages in our songs and we would normally use street language to communicate.

We would write songs in such a way that the officials could not detect what we meant in our songs. Because anything that would be seen as subversive would somehow be banned by the SABC which was the only form of communicating our music to the public. I remember writing a song called “Set Me Free”, the intention of this song was obvious but the contents meant something else and of course people in the townships understood exactly where we were because of the political state of that time.

Ole Reitov: Ray, you were talking about dignity before. Was it a constant feeling that someone is stepping on my dignity?

Ray Phiri: I would just like to say, life is a precious gift and anything that construes life, as not a precious gift is evil.

The closest thing to religion happens to be music. When a child is born at the celebration people are singing. At the funeral we sing hymns so music plays a very important role in our lives and society's norms also. Complete judged by its cultural output and if your life in terms of trying to educate or help society to find itself and you are denied that right, you suppress what you feel and what you see. Each and every song is based either on your personal experiences or what society is going through. They

influence your way of thinking and writing.

So immediately when you are not given the right to even express yourself then you start undermining yourself.

It's like somebody is tramping on your dignity, you are a non-person and you start doubting yourself, your confidence simply crumbles. But at some point in time heroes get born at that point which happens to be a no return point, the dignity corner where you go and look for some reflection of your people.

As a people inside SA we needed a vision but we had no right to find that vision so it came back to loosing a little bit of your confidence and dignity dying a bit. You were lucky to go through that little gap that was there. I think that censorship in its whole entirety is evil. It takes away the spirit of being a human being. It doesn't free you from the shackles of depression. You end up being so depressed up the point of no return where you don't put value into your being a contributor to life.

Ole Reitov: Cecile, could you tell about the system that surrounded you as a white Afrikaaner.

Ray was talking about music and religion. How did religion affect your way of thinking and giving you the possibility and right to censor?

Cecile Pracher: The Afrikaaner at the time was a Calvinistic religious follower and most of the way they were thinking derived from that point of departure. They unfortunately only looked after themselves and therefore everybody not towing the line as far as everything was concerned was not part of the government, its structures or its people, or for that matter they weren't really the true South Africans. Therefore they had to be white and any other colour was subservient. At the time of the state of emergency everything was clouded and got more de-pressed. Rules were strictly applied and people were thrown into jail. I think it's also the time where the struggle got tremendous momentum as the momentum grew and the opposite parties started talking to one another they clamped down on all laws. Regulations became harder and harder.

In that surrounding the rules that we had to apply in the SABC as far as lyrics were concerned obviously went by the same token also stricter. If I read the lyrics now I sometimes find it rather weird and you can actually see where it comes from.

It was a frightened society. It was frightened if you were part of the struggle and it was also obviously on the other side much worse I would imagine. I thought I would bring you Siphos record at the time, which we banned.

Records weren't banned by the SABC as a record with all the cuts. It was normally one, two or three cuts – but sometimes it was eight, nine or ten. But mostly it was about three or four cuts and we had to put on stickers onto the LP's and in fact some of the LP's were scratched so that those cuts weren't played. With CD's of course that opportunity was lost.

I thought I'd show you the record of Siphos for interest sake. (Shows the audience the record). On the back the different cuts which were banned at the time: "Chant", "Room of Horror" and "Refugee".

Siphos Mabuse: What about Mandela's song?

Cecile Pracher: I'm sorry; I missed that one (laughter)

Siphos Mabuse: There's a song about Mandela here, because we called for release of Nelson Mandela and I'm surprised that they didn't ban it, but I know they didn't play it.

Cecile Pracher: To be honest, I think there was a time in the late 1980's where the word Mandela meant that you had to look twice at the lyrics. Whether it was positive in their eyes or negative. It was mostly 'free Mandela' and I think music is a wonderful way of carrying a message because the whole world literally every album that came out, had a song concerning Mandela. Therefore I thought looking back that music made their stance very powerful in that case.

For interest sake when Tracy Chapman's *Crossroad* album was released we banned two or three cuts on it at the time.

The chairman of the record company wanted us to re-submit it. The answer from the chairman of the SABC Committee was as follows: "The two songs in question, "Freedom Now" and "Material World",

found to be undesirable because the committee was concerned that the songs would, for different reasons, offend certain sections of the community.

You must realise that the SABC's various media provides programme material for the full spectrum for the SA extremely diverse community... Because of the nature of this diversity the SABC in general and this committee in particular has to be sensitive which may even offend sections of this community... Like you we work towards new initiatives for freedom of expression and the creation of a just SA. In order to achieve this we still have to consider the sensitivities of a large section of the SABC's total audience. If we don't we may negate the very goal which we are trying to achieve”.

I told Ole Reitov – in a discussion we had – that I don't think the committee sat there and was evil per definition within them-selves, they saw it as a role, which they were playing, and a job they were doing. Most of the people around the table actually believed in what they were doing and thought it was the right thing to do so you can't shy away from that. But it was within the realms of SA that they did their job.

Ole Reitov: Ray, you wanted to say something?

Ray Phiri: What I don't also understand is why did we have to submit lyrics with request to stage concerts. How do you determine how the performance is going to come out by simply writing the whole script of your show, how each song is going to be presented? Was their censorship bought also in the security police whereby they would decide that this song is undesirable? Or whom did they consult with? Because we were playing for a community... Hence the situation in 1984 when Johnny Clegg and myself ended up just has to negotiate with the police when they came and disrupted a concert.

Ole Reitov: Ray, we actually have a tape with Johnny Clegg telling about that incident. Johnny is touring in France right now so he couldn't be here. (Johnny Clegg tape played to the conference audience):

“We were at Orlando Stadium playing with Stimela and a bunch of other black bands. We were raising money for 500 kids under the age of 17 and as young as 13 who were in indefinite political detention. Raising money for them for clothes for Christmas. We had a “Free the Children” sticker that was banned by the government. The show was banned, Bishop Tutu was going to speak and there were 12,000 people at the stadium. The place was completely surrounded by army military jeeps and soldiers and the security police.

So I was chosen with Ray Phiri and Morgan from the security guards for the show to go and negotiate.”

Ole Reitov: Ray, how did you do that?

Ray Phiri: Things were turning out a little bit ugly because by then the people knew that the concert was in aid for kids who were detained. And they came in to support this good cause. But before we could perform the police just moved in and tear-gassed everybody. They said that it was an illegal gathering and if we didn't disperse in 5 minutes they would start shooting. That's when we realized that the people's lives were in danger. So we had to go and negotiate with them. That is when one of the top security guys said: “As long as you're not going to play that “Pindamsala”.”

He did not know that the title of the song was “Don't Whisper in the Deep”. It was more like a national anthem, we were trying to bring awareness to people that they must stand up and speak their mind, stand up don't be afraid, wake up. At the time it was the height of the struggle and most of us were ready to call a spade a spade. We were doing a lot of protest songs because we believed in them and then they closed us in with Johnny Clegg and we started negotiating. We said that if you stop the show now there is going to be chaos and riots.

Can you please let each band perform for at least 10 minutes each? They agreed as long as we didn't sing that “Pindamsala.”. When I started singing the song I sang “Don't Whisper in the Deep” which was the same song. And I didn't use this “Pindamsala” – the audience did, so I thought if they sing then they have to arrest everyone. And that was the end of the show. Everybody sang along and that was the end of the show.

They started shooting tear gas and stuff like that. We asked the people not to panic, not to throw any stones or that kind.

The power of the music prevailed because they listened to those people who were begging them not to retaliate. They all walked out of the stadium and the police got mad because the people didn't retaliate. The police started shooting at innocent people with tear gas to provoke them. But eventually on that day music won.

Ole Reitov: We have a video with Johnny Clegg, so let's see it – the song is “Asimbonanga”.
(The video is played to the conference audience).

Ole Reitov: Cecile, I remember you told me that when you heard Johnny singing this song in The Market Theatre in Johannesburg, which was the centre of many political opponents especially in the theatre world, you had a particular reflection on your work after this song.

Cecile Pracher: The song itself is an extremely moving song. At the time when it was released, I think in 1987, I was part of the (censor) committee. The political atmosphere had changed drastically in those days. To me it was almost like a cry from the heart from Johnny's side, it could not be right in any circumstances to kill people just because they don't believe the same that you do. And it could not be right to have such a censorship where this message could not be given to the people. It's like blacking it out and I think that happened in SA on almost all grounds. There was no free flow of information. There was a very, very selected flow of what information people were allowed to hear, read and see. I think the music has changed a lot in the sense that Johnny Clegg could not be silenced. He was a very strong voice and he used it, as did others that were brave enough at the time. I think the value of the music didn't depend on whether it was censored or not, it still got to the people. People still heard it and the voice of the people, as you know, became stronger and stronger and could not be put down by anybody. Hence Mandela was released in 1991; hence we don't do censorship anymore at the SABC and haven't done so for quite a number of years. No form of censorship as far as music or lyrics is allowed at the SABC.

Ole Reitov: Was that a point where you started doubting what you were doing or the motives behind it, on a personal level?

Cecile Pracher: Yes, it was not one particular song. It was a time when people started thinking differently. I don't think the state machine worked that efficiently anymore. There were voices from within the community that they couldn't put down effectively anymore because they became so loud and there were so many of them and so urgent. I don't think the message could be suppressed like it was in the earlier days anymore.

The Afrikaaner and myself we started looking for other possibilities of handling the situation – not being prescribed by or dictated to by people who think for you. Our frame of mind as an Afrikaaner was very much that it was a paternal society where freedom of thought was not a norm and I think that has changed a lot in the late 1980's.

Sipho Mabuse: I think while our discussion here has centred mostly around the role of the SABC and the security police, it is just as important for us to reflect and get an inside on what the role of the recording industry itself was in the process of censorship. Because I do not believe that the whole industry can be absolved of the responsibility of censorship. While of course the SABC was catalyst, was the main culprit, to what extent did the recording industry allow us, the creative people, to express ourselves freely. So that whatever expressions were not going to affect the coffers. Now, did the censorship go as far as the SABC – were the record companies party to this?

I think we need to reflect on that because we also have problems with the record companies. Fortunately for us we seem to be influential and we were able to record whatever we wanted to, but there were other musicians who were not as influential. They could not go in there and record their music because it would be seen as subversive. That also affected creativity as far as those musicians are concerned. I would like us to bring insight into those kinds of experiences.

Maybe Ray could help us? Maybe you too Cecile, could give an input because maybe in your interaction with the record companies you would know exactly which companies would assume that certain music was not right for us to record.

And you duly perform your duties as the censor.

Because censorship in SA was not only between the creative people, the musicians and the SABC. It

went as far as the government and the business, which is important, because if we don't address that part we could still, end up with the same problem.

The government may have got rid of censorship but what about business? What about the record companies? Are they going to say: "Well, we were not part of it. We don't censor".

Ray Phiri: That's true; they played a role in being allies with the state broadcast system. Because if I am not mistaken, then in 1972 I was five years into my recording career. A song called "Highland Drifter" was banned and then the record company said: "We told you to stop writing in English. You've got to do more Zulu or Zulu languages".

So they were censoring me not to write in a much larger medium whereby I would be able to reach the four communities – because if you grew up in SA around this period, you would understand that there were four communities: Indian, coloured, black and white.

The "Highland Drifter" single was banned in 1972 only to find that in the neighbouring countries like Zimbabwe, at that time called Rhodesia, it was on their Radio 1 chart and stayed there for 18 weeks at the no. 1 spot, which was undesirable in SA.

They couldn't understand this.

We toured Zimbabwe with "The Beaters" before they became "Harare". Most of their music was done as The Beaters.

They were the first group influencing SA artists to start writing in English.

Sipho Mabuse (interrupts): Before you speak about the pieces maybe you need to explain who the Beaters were. He is actually talking about me...

Ray Phiri: The Beaters were the first original band that "Hotstix" Sipho Mabuse was leading. He co-founded that.

So they had to change their name from The Beaters because now they were banned again from the airwaves. They changed their name to Harare.

Sipho Mabuse: They thought we were the Beatles...

Ray Phiri: The record industry promoted that. Again in the 1980's they did the same thing when I was called aside. I was signed with one record company for 25 years and don't look at me with amazement – I am an old man trapped in a young man's body. Maybe some day I will grow... And so again I was called into a meeting and I was cautious not to write political songs. But I said: "Who gave you the right to tell me what to write and not to write?"

From 1978 until 1982 we were frozen, had no contract or nothing. So I started writing under different names: Ray Zulu, Fana Phiri – I had a lot of different names around and most of those records became popular. Until I was found out, but I told them: "You don't know what you have. If you knew what you had you would let me do what I do best". Then I was banned from recording for the companies by my record company.

So I was forced to produce only for one company. They were now allowing me to do those songs because they were making money. Censorship plays a very important role in the music industry even up to date. Most musicians who are writing original material are being told that "this doesn't sell", so the music industry is contributing a great deal to censoring and stifling creativity.

Ole Reitov: There was a question to you Cecile about the relations between SABC and the record industry. Could you tell about that?

Cecile Pracher: The effect of the SABC clamping down on information was directly resulting in the record companies taking a particular stance. They were in it for business – that's very clear – and they were protecting their rights. They knew that most often if a song is not given air time it doesn't have the same chance of being popular as the next one. So they forced a kind of censorship on their artists. I think what happened then was that the artists had their own censorship forced on them-selves for bread and butter. If you rely on your income then you very often take the easier road. That had a major effect on SA's music in the 1980's and the 1970's. If censorship wasn't so completely successful, there would sooner have been a reaction from the people. That goes for music, but also much wider.

Sipho Mabuse: I think there's one other issue that we perhaps need to clarify as far as censorship in SA. I think it should be clear that it was not really a question of black and white. It was a system which was fearful, which was scared. That would censor everything that sings to oppose its legitimacy. So I think when you see us here – Cecile, Ray and us; the two blacks and the one white woman – it is not really a true reflection of how censorship operated in SA. Of course the whites were in power but there were also white musicians who were affected by the censorship in SA. So I just wanted to say that it was never really a case of whites censoring black musicians.

Ole Reitov: There were also black censors at the SABC censoring black music. There is another thing I think we should talk about because you are talking about how the industry dealt with it and obviously SA musicians suffered from the fact that they were also not tuned into the world. I think that it was quite obvious to all of us when Paul Simon made *Graceland*.

Let's all have a look at that.

(Video of Paul Simon with Ray Phiri playing in Harare shown to the conference audience).

Ole Reitov: Before I leave the floor open for questions to the panel, could all three of you say something about how you look at the boycott today.

Ray Phiri: Looking back you can say that the cultural boycott helped to expose the evils of Apartheid to the international community. It also helped us to own our creativity and we became good at what we are doing. In a way it helped us focus more on the local content.

Sipho Mabuse: I think the cultural boycott did focus a lot on the political interest in our country. It allowed musicians at home to be more creative and to be more appreciated. But at the same time it made it difficult for our music to be heard.

One would say it was necessary because without the cultural boycott the chain was somewhat broken down. We needed the cultural boycott so that it became part of the ongoing struggle.

Cecile Pracher: The cultural boycott was obviously very successful; it was part of the other boycotts against South Africans and the ruling government. Be it not for the outcry worldwide – and part of that being the cultural boycott – it might have taken longer to free Mandela and for him to become the president of our wonderful country.

The cultural boycott obviously was successful, but I am sorry though for all the artists within SA who because of that could not fulfill what they wanted to do in the world out there. Because it went both ways, it was not only going into SA, but the SA artists didn't have the same opportunities outside internationally. For that I am sorry, but it did have a wonderful influence in the whole struggle for freedom.

Open discussion:

(Moderator: **Ole Reitov**)

Mr. Henrik Strube, musician, Denmark:

In the late 1980's I was participating in the UN Conference in Athens, "Artists against Apartheid".

At that time Paul Simon had just released his wonderful record, *Graceland*. I would like to hear Ray and Sipho's opinion about this because at the symposium there were even strong voices claiming that Paul Simon in fact was violating the cultural boycott of SA in going in there and working with SA music and recording in this area. I was thinking a lot about that because on one hand maybe he was violating it and on the other hand, if he didn't do that then we wouldn't have had this wonderful record with listeners from all over the world and all this focus upon the problem in SA. What is your opinion about that?

Ray Phiri: I would like to answer that in this fashion: I think in a way the only person who knew what he was doing was Paul Simon. We became pawns in a thing much bigger than our situation. One, he went and found out from people like Quincy Jones and Harry Belafonte. When he got to SA he also got in touch with some of the internal political organizations. He got in touch with the UDF-guys (United Democratic Front).

We would not have worked with him if we were not given the 'go-ahead', because we also consulted

inside the country.

But we didn't know that there was a much bigger picture than what we saw at that point in time. Also like any clever business person that looks through the definitions of the cultural boycott – it appeared that it didn't cover recording with SA artists.

So he used that loophole. He never worked in SA, he worked with SA artists outside, he exported them.

So in that sense he just went for the loop hole hence the contention that he broke the boycott. He stood up and said, "I didn't break the cultural boycott, it didn't define that it covered working with SA artists". The most important thing is that the world community knew about the SA situation and this way we used him more than he used us to get SA culture into the inter-national community.

Ole Reitov: We now have a question from a distinguished piano-player who was in jail for some time and was tortured. Due to support from many of his colleagues he succeeded getting out of jail.

Mr. Miguel Angel Estrella, Musician, composer, Director of Musique Espérance, Argentine/France:

It is not a question that I want to raise but more a remark that I want to make because of the fact that we as musicians are often called to take sides for or against boycott. Personally I respect both points of view but I am more in favour of non-boycott.

At the time of the cruel dictatorship of Videla in Argentina, Pinochet in Chile and others in Paraguay, Uruguay and Bolivia, I remember that the Philharmonic Orchestra of Radio France made a tour in South America and that the musicians asked me whether they should go there and play. I said to them: "You know, it is very necessary that you go there". Just like I had advised Simone Signoret, Yves Montand and other great French comedians to go and present films at the Festival of French Cinema in Argentina.

I also told them: "If you just tell the audience for instance this: We know that for you life is not happy but we are here because of you".

That suffices; it is a message that the public understands very well. The same applies to you as musicians. When you go and play at the Theatre Colón you tell the audience: "We are here exclusively for you".

At the time of a dictatorship as cruel as that of Videla it was very difficult for foreign musicians to take such a stand because there were people, foreigners who disappeared like flies.

So the fact is that at the end of its tour the orchestra returned with a huge quantity of documentation from mothers on behalf of grandmothers, from grandmothers on behalf of mothers and from all the human rights organizations of Argentina which have very much helped the campaign of people supporting the boycott and certainly the Argentine resistance abroad.

(Translated by Rikke Dam Andersen.)

Mr. Daniel Brown, Producer, Radio France International:

I have a few questions for all three of the panelists.

The first one concerns the financial ruin that many musicians in SA were faced with as a result of the censorship and, as you said, Spho, crossed all borders, like Jennifer Ferguson for example – her initial albums. She is a former white parliamentarian with the ANC and she could hardly sell any of her albums as a result of the ban and that obviously goes without saying for you too. So just how harsh was it at the time for musicians financially and was it at all compensated by "under the table" sales of cassettes in town ships? Was there a kind of informal circuit created where the music managed to circulate countrywide or region-wide to overcome this ban and if so I imagine that these were pirate copies?

Also another brief question to Ray: how much did *Graceland* launch the careers of the musicians involved?

To Cecile: I was wondering if you could comment on the certain perversity of the Apartheid system. You had a very small example of the censors enjoying the censored music at home.

I don't understand in the Index Book ("Index on Censorship: The Book of Banned Music") when you're quoted saying: "Johnny Clegg was the first to cross-over, that cross-pollination was the greatest loss of our life". What do you mean by that?

Spho Mabuse: I would like to address the compensation question. I think the fate of white musicians because of Apartheid was more severe than it was for the black musicians because fortunately for most of the black musicians, we had a community that was very sympathetic. Of course the opposite was true for the white musicians because they were literally seen as white musicians and if they had to sell records they would have to sell mostly to the white communities. One would understand that the white

communities in SA at that particular time were averse to any musician who would seem to be on the opposite side. So basically most of the white musicians suffered more than we did because our position was that if we sang songs that were alluding to the struggle, our community was always there behind us and we were always able to sell a significant number of records. For instance in the banning of Stimela's "Don't Whisper in the Deep" and "Chant of the Marching" that only propelled the interest from our communities because one has to understand the division that existed at the time. So we sympathised with Jennifer Ferguson and some of the musicians who suffered that fate.

Ray Phiri: Yes, a lot of careers of individuals have been propelled to greater heights. Ladysmith Black Mambazo is one. Baghiti Kumalo is one of the most respected bass players around the world, and one of the top ten bassists in New York. But he made the choice of going back home and try to develop other budding young artists rather than to stay out in the inter-national community. What is much more important is, that we did our part in SA. We contributed and *Graceland*, whether we like it or not, will haunt those who used it as a way of benefiting them as individuals, monetarily or anything of that kind. But we won the war by simply going out there and winning more hearts!

Cecile Pracher: We did take the LP's home, we did take the CD's home, we did listen. To be quite honest I think it has a lot to do with the change of heart as well, because the message at long last came through. I am not so sure about the quote you were talking about, Daniel, but I think the end of the quote should have meant that Johnny Clegg doing the cross-over thing for us was a major gain to the music industry and to music in SA.

Ole Reitov: Also since this was not possible for so many years as SA music lost many years to develop its own, what we could term as world music, and lost a great big part of the market. When the world market was ready for world music SA could not take part in it and benefit financially from it so it's definitely one of the long term effects.
Last question is from Morten Kjærum.

Mr. Morten Kjærum, Director, The Danish Center for Human Rights:

Just a brief comment and a question. The issue of boycott I think is a very interesting and burning issue to address.

We have never seen so many boycotts as we see actually these days after the end of the Cold War. The international community has agreed in the Security Council on very many boycotts. I am very doubtful whether they benefit anyone else than actually the rulers – the target of the boycott, if we look at Iraq and other places. But that is another discussion.

In this part of the discussion at least some of us have believed that maybe the cultural boycotts and the sports boycotts would be an area which could be interesting to uphold if you leave other kinds of boycotts aside. So I listened very carefully to what Mr. Estrella just mentioned from your experiences in Argentina and maybe during the next couple of days the issue could be raised every now and then. Because it is important to learn as we, in my view, are in a major discussion or should be in a major discussion on how to relate to the international boycott because actually very many people all over the world are deeply suffering from these boycotts and the dictators are still there.

A small question: We know that during the years of the Apartheid system small victories were won using the court system. The SA Legal Defence Foundation supported a lot of brave lawyers and human rights organizations in bringing specific issues to court. I just wondered if some of these issues of censoring were ever brought to court and if any court decisions were made in this particular field as I guess we have seen in other fields.

Sipho Mabuse: I suppose most of us musicians were ignorant of those types of privileges. We have always assumed that those were on demand for political interests. We never imagined that we could use them to challenge the courts or the SABC's position as far as censorship was concerned.

So, as far as I remember, none of the musicians have been in a position to take the censorship or the government to court.

I'm glad that you brought it to our attention. The next time the new government decides to censor us we will take them to court, definitely. But at least we have the constitutional court and our constitution allows us to take such steps. We are grateful that we today have a government that is probably more

democratic than most so-called democratic countries are.

At least we have a constitution that allows us the freedom to challenge it at any given time.

Ray Phiri: I would say it baffled me before because I know for a fact that the music industry would simply go to their media lawyers when they felt that they were going to make a lot of money out of a particular record and they would appeal.

It would be reviewed and you would end up finding that the record was being given another chance. It never crossed my mind if we had a right, but the music industry had media lawyers who represented them. Sometimes too much information gives you little truth and so we were never exposed to that kind of information.

Ole Reitov: Thank you very much. I wouldn't claim that this was the first Truth Commission of SA, but maybe in the future there could be a Truth Commission on what really happened in all aspects of music life in SA. With all participants including those that we don't know about who were behind all this.

Let me express my thanks to you for coming here and explain-ing.

3 Music Censorship and Fundamentalism, Part 1 – Music and Islam

3.1 The Situation of Musicians in the Arab World

By *Mr. Bashar Shammout*, Recording engineer, Bertelsmann, Germany/Palestine.

Music in the Arab Islamic world has been discussed for centuries and it has been debated among conservative Moslem societies whether it should be permissible or not.

Some fundamentalist Moslems do have an aversion towards music as it is associated with the taste of pleasure and luxury, two elements of life which somehow stand in contradiction with the principles of modesty in Islam. The dominance of religion in the Islamic world led to the paradoxical situation that on the one hand music was forced to become unpopular among certain fundamentalist societies – as it is the situation today in Afghanistan, and on the other hand it was naturally very much able to emphasize many mystical and spiritual elements of Islam and reaching by that a high level of development in its musical structure – Qur'an chanting and Sufi music in particular. However, neither the "Sunnah", the theological soul of Islam, nor the Qur'an itself have clearly and precisely prohibited music as a cultural element in Moslem societies.

By the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century the situation of Arab musicians started to change when two major factors influenced many societies in the Arab and Moslem world, especially in Egypt in the second half of the last century. The first was that music started to get involved in the political struggle against colonialism and the second was that colonialism itself made the Arab world become exposed to modern European civilization and to its values of art and music.

An important milestone was set by the opening of the Cairo Opera House in 1869. The social acceptance of the musician as an "Artist" in the modern western sense of understanding started then. Music teaching in private and public took place as well as theatres performing the latest works of local musicians. However, until today the influence of religion on music is still sensible, especially in countries like Saudi Arabia, Iran, Sudan, Algeria and of course Afghanistan.

Muhammad Abdel-Wahhab, one of the most leading and most respected Egyptian composers who died 5 years ago, was insultingly attacked by Moslem fundamentalists after publishing one of his compositions in the late 1980's in which he raised the question of human existence. Other musicians lately in Algeria had to pay with their lives!

The other major and more limiting control on Arab musicians is that Arab governments and regimes today, as many others in the third world countries have recognised the influence and power of arts in general, and music in particular as a carrier of direct political messages. Most Arab musicians have to pass the stage of political state censorship as well as to accept the idea of self censorship regarding religious issues, before being able to enjoy any kind of professional rights. Commercial musicians and those who run along with the official political line of the ruling system can usually survive and might even become wealthy and powerful. Others, like Marcel Khalife, an outstanding Lebanese composer and singer who became very popular in the 1980's when he committed the major part of his art to the political struggle of the Arab and especially the Palestinian People, is now living in France away from any kind of political censorship and mental self censorship.

Personally, I had once to pay the Jordanian intelligence service a visit in 1994 to explain my involvement in a music group called El-Fajer, which was performing political songs in the late 1980's in Kuwait.

To ensure the functionality of the state control Arab governments usually set up a direct link between copyright protection, as one of the major professional rights, and censorship. In most Arab countries such as in Jordan the word "copyright" remains, despite official regulations, practically a "foreign word". Only in some countries of the Arabian Gulf, musicians, artists and journalists can enjoy a well functioning copyright protection which is carried out usually by the Ministry of Information, however in combination with a strict, mainly political and moral/religious censorship.

Politically independent, and on economic basis functioning copyright institutions such as the European GEMA, SACEM or BIEM in the music business or equivalent in other media sectors do not exist in the Arab world. There are several trade unions and institutions of journalists and artists that have a rather

political character, and therefore are again directly controlled by the governments themselves.

In the Palestinian territories the situation is even more difficult. The terms "Palestinian Art and Intellectual Creation" have for many years been understood as politically engaged artistic works and intellectual productions. This was and in many ways still is due to the political reality of "occupied" Palestine.

No professional rights, no freedom of expression, only a tough strict censorship practised by the Israeli Military forces.

A friend of mine, a Palestinian musician had to spend 6 months in Israeli prison after he was caught at a checkpoint during the Intifada transporting with him hundreds of recorded cassettes of his music calling for freedom and struggle against Israeli occupation.

Now, after that some Palestinian territories are being controlled by a local national government. Palestinians are becoming more and more aware of the necessity of the establishment of a functioning regulation to protect their intellectual property giving them freedom of expression, without having to pass through censorship. The fear is big that censorship in Palestine will follow some examples of other Arab states.

An open discussion in Palestine with this context (workshop is planned for January 1999) could be the first of its kind in the Arab world and might lead some other journalist and arts associations to follow. Artists and musicians and also journa-lists are in real need, more than ever of a powerful lobby of their own to protect their professional rights and interests while being able to enjoy the freedom of expression and thinking.

3.2 The Talibans have Banned all Music in Afghanistan

By **Mr. Naim Majrooh**, Director, Afghan Information Center, Editor in chief, *Afghanistan Quarterly*, USA.

Ladies and Gentlemen.

In the last 20 years due to war, political and social instability, disorder and lawlessness many aspects of our culture have been devastated.

Museums have been looted, libraries have been burned, important and valuable books and documents destroyed or sold in the neighbouring countries. The contents of Afghan National Archives have disappeared and the music has been banned.

The musicians were forced to leave the country. As a whole the rich cultural heritage of Afghanistan is in danger of disappearance and destruction and talents are being wasted.

According to the theme of this conference, "Music and Censorship", I would like to focus only on one aspect of our cultural devastation, which is the Afghan music. Here I will share with you some information and ideas about the glorious past and the present tragic situation of music in our country.

The history of music in Afghanistan is deeply rooted in the Arian civilization of the city of Balkh in northern Afghanistan, centuries before Christ, which started from Rigveda Religious songs.

After the introduction of Islam to Afghanistan, schools of Sufism were established that mixed music with religion.

Eight hundred years back Maulana Salaluddin Balkhi (Rumi) has established the Mulavia School of Sufism worshipping Allah with music and dance. He has repeatedly mentioned Rebab (one of the oldest music instruments) in his poems. Kwaja Mohenoddin Chushti of Chust of Herat in western Afghanistan has created the Chushtia school that worship Allah with music and songs which is later called Qawwali in India. The Sufi's schools of thought were introduced to northern India under the Mongol and Afghan Khilgi, Lodi and Suri dynasties.

Classical Indian music was elevated to a height by Amir Khusran Balkhi who is considered the inventor of modern Sitar and Tabla. He has invented Rags and Tals of which one is particular for Pashtu music. According to some sources of information the Afghan Rubab was converted into Sarod by a Pashtun settler, among whose descendant is modern India's most celebrated Sarod player, the great Amjad Ali Khan.

In the 19th century during the rule of Amir Sher Ali Khan classical music was introduced to the upper class of Afghan society. The Amir invited a group of Indian musicians to Kabul in order to promote classical Indian music and to train Afghan musicians. Their presence was viewed by many Afghan musicians as a challenge and efforts in the form of cultural re-awakening started. From this time of our history besides traditional music a cell of Indian classical music was established which was called "Kharabat". While the concept of Kharabat is rooted in our classical literature it has a broader meaning rather than simply the name of a musical house or cell.

During the rule of King Zahir Shah (1933-1973) Radio Afghanistan was established which played a crucial role in promoting the culture of folk music. Two other main centres were created and developed namely "Logari" in the south of Kabul and the Malang Jan (national poet and composer) School in Ningarhar in the East.

The famous composers, singers and musicians of past time were Khalifa Qurban, Ustad Qasim, Ustad Gholam Housain, Ustad Natu, Ustad Nabigul, Ustad Mohammad Omar and Ustad Mirac. And the later time Ustad Durai (the founder of modern Logari music), Merman Parwin, Ustad Mahwash, Ustad Zaland, Ustad Awal Mir (the singer of the unofficial anthem), Ustad Sar Ahang (the crown of classical music), Ustad Ayoub, the Elves of Afghanistan Ahmad Zahir etc.

Great composers such as Nainawas and Zakhel have composed many famous songs and trained many singers. Kabul Television (opened in 1977) played a vital role in the development of Afghan culture and

music.

Unfortunately the downfall of music started after the Communist coup of 1978. The Communist regime has corrupted the music culture by implementing the Soviet style of music and dance for the sake of pleasure and not as an aspect of culture. They were organising music and national dance shows in Kabul Television performed by teenage girls and boys recruited from schools. Selected pretty girls were invited to special parties of alcoholic drink and prostitute dance for the pleasure of high-ranking officials. Family members who prevented their children from attending such parties were either arrested or killed. Female musicians were forced to prostitution as well.

A number of musicians who were not singing the Communist slogans were arrested or forced to leave the country. The great composer Nainawas was executed and famous singer Ahmad Zahir arrested and apparently killed in a car accident in 1979.

The music further suffered by the attitude of Islamic extremists within the resistance. A ban on music first started by the extremist resistance groups during the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. Shouting the slogans of international Muslim brotherhood they started banning people from exercising their cultural traditions and customs. Those defending the country's national interests were marked as nationalist infidels charged like the Communists. Afghan musicians in exile were banned from performing music and were threatened. Female singers Bakht Zamina and Khan Qarabaghai were killed in Kabul.

After the fall of Kabul the so-called Mujahideen leaders' council decided the first official censorship on music in April 1992.

On the first days when they entered Kabul while watching television in the palace they criticised the appearance of women newscasters. The council ordered the female staff to wear Islamic clothes (cover themselves). Next evening when the council members were watching a television programme the female newscaster appeared in Islamic dress with covered head and arms. Most of the council members said that she looked prettier than before. A fanatic member of the council has suggested that she should turn her back to the camera or not appear at all. As a result women and music was eliminated from Kabul Radio and Television.

But later on some Mujahideen marches were mixed up with musical instruments.

Music for the people was censored but musicians were forced by the high-ranking officials to perform music at girls prostitute dancing parties for men only. In July 1994 when Gulbodin Hekmatyar entered the city of Kabul as Prime Minister of Rabani a total ban on music in radio, television, restaurants, shops etc. was ordered and cinema theatres were closed.

When the Taliban religious militia took over in 1995 they did not only ban music but also executed TV sets by hanging them from electric poles in major intersections. They started searching vehicles to confiscate and destroy music cassettes.

Because the Taliban consider music to be against Islam then television, movies, videotapes and even pictures are seen to be against Islamic morals, codes and values. Although there are some groups within the Taliban's ranks that are not against music. However for the time being all of them try their best to maintain unity and avoid division and differences in order to achieve the final goal which is total victory over the opposition.

For this very purpose they share a common position regarding the issues of music, women's rights and education. Related to music there are some grounds and reasons for Taliban's position. The Afghan traditional, classical as well as folkloric music was negatively affected by Indian and Pakistani movies and music cassettes made only for commercial purposes and were imported to Afghan markets. Under the Communist regime and so-called Mujahideen government, music and dance was misused for immoral and improper purposes. Thus, they brought music and national dance from a position of being an important part of tradition and culture to being instruments of improper pleasure. However in relation to music the Taliban should re-consider their position. Because there is no clear indication pro or against music in Islam.

"The Holy Prophet Mohammad (POBH) was once on a journey with a caravan of camels. A woman on a camel back was singing. The Prophet called the woman by name and asked her not to sing and said that

the camels will travel faster and they will be unable to travel enough the next day. The Prophet Mohammad was in a place where a wedding was going on nearby and women were singing. He was lying down with his face covered when Abubarker Sedig (the first Khalif) came in and called on the women not to sing. The Prophet rose his head and said to Abubarker to let them sing because it is a wedding".

(from Imam Mohammad Zekria Reni)

Culturally the Afghan music is cheerful and part of national and individual pride. When you listen to musicians in Kabul or in the countryside you will find a variety of music that reflects the culture of various regions. Their songs and melodies are full of excitement. The classical Afghan music is the return of music from India that carries religious considerations too.

Therefore music is a vital part of the Afghan culture and traditions. Without it the Afghan nation will lose its cultural identity. Traditional dance such as "Atan" performed during weddings and other ceremonies or collective work and folkloric poems "Landai" and "Char Baiti" which distinguish the Afghan culture from the rest of the world will also be lost. Because the short two-sentence poems called Landai (Shorty) made mostly by women play a major role in describing every aspect of Afghan life from war to love and from criticism to politics. During the Afghan-British war a single Landai said by a brave Afghan woman (Malalai) changed the nature of the war and turned the retreating Afghan army into a victorious one.

Ban on music has drastic effects on weddings and other celebrations, the art of production of musical instruments and the life of the musicians and the cultural heritage. Lack of music is slowly turning the Afghan people into a dead nation, their weddings and funerals are performed in the same manner.

Censorship on music has increased the people's desire for music – they discreetly listen to music in their private homes.

In villages where there are lesser Taliban influence people openly listen to music and celebrate weddings and other ceremonies with music. Folk music in these areas is still alive in its original tradition but the situation in the cities is tragic.

A life without Afghani music is impossible, an alternative solution is found called the Taliban songs. The Taliban songs or marches are songs without musical instruments. It mostly consists of national poems describing the situation or criticising the deeds of the opposition or concern stories of Jihad (the holy war against foreign invaders and their puppets).

The Taliban songs are composed based on the famous Afghan songs with traditional melodies that are sold widely in Afghanistan.

Music cassettes and videotapes are smuggled into Afghanistan from Pakistan, India and Dubai for black marketing and are available everywhere like drugs in the West. So far no reports of arrests and punishment in this regard have been received. Taliban young people discreetly listen to music cassettes and even some times watch videotapes of folk music. Radio stations such as Kabul, Herat, Kandahar, Paktia, Pul-e-Khomri, Ningarhar and Mazar-e-Sharif follow a total ban on music. These stations broadcast only the Taliban songs besides news and other programs.

In Afghanistan the ban on music is not only a cultural disaster but also the lives of thousands of artists and musicians have been threatened. Musicians living in Taliban controlled areas have to live very low profile as ordinary people or leave the country. In areas under the control of the opposition they face security problems. A large number of Afghan musicians live in Pakistan but only a limited number of professional musicians have the chance to financially support their families.

They have to compose music according to the market demand or the demands of the person who pays them. Poor musicians after late night performances at weddings often have to share their income with the Pakistani police officials on night duties.

Unfortunately the Afghan music in exile is influenced by foreign culture and it is going to lose the traditional composition of the genuine melodies. Poor economy, lack of qualified composers, lack of good music instrument players and lack of a studio of their own is resulting in the Afghan music

gradually losing its original style. The classical Afghan music is slowly disappearing.

A small number of Afghan musicians who managed to get to the West have had to adopt themselves to playing keyboards due to the lack of music instrument players. An increasing number of young amateur musicians or entertainers perform music in every Afghan community in the West.

A small number of them with good talents manage to keep the tradition of the music culture alive but most of them lack the skill to compose new songs.

A common problem is that they steal or copy songs and tend toward the dance music with keyboards and lack respect for the Afghan music principles.

Realising the current tragic situation and for the purpose of reviving the culture of music the Afghan Information Center (AIC) is going to open a recording studio in Peshawar where a large number of Afghan musicians live in very poor conditions. The studio will rehabilitate the culture of the Afghan music with the genuine melodies played with traditional music instruments. This project called "Afghan Folk Music" will provide the musicians with financial support in exchange for music recordings. Besides that the late Professor Majrooh (founder of the AIC) started to collect popular songs during the war of liberty. AIC continued collecting those songs after his assassination in Peshawar in 1989. The center has managed to collect about 1500 hours of songs with and without musical instruments.

In order to achieve this goal in spite of financial limitations, I personally managed to purchase some digital recording equipment in USA and transfer them to Peshawar. This time again I am carrying a big load of necessary equipment to Peshawar. This would serve as a first step for our goal which is free radio broadcasting for Afghanistan.

We Afghans respectfully expect all concerned people of the world to pledge their support in any category or magnitude to cover the expenses that may be required to fulfil this dream and do a great service to a nation that once had a very proud place in the international community.

Thank you.

3.3 Sudan: Can't Dance/Won't Dance?

By *Mr. Peter Verney, Sudan Update, UK.*

In the 1980s I used to take a mobile disco around the shanty areas of Khartoum – until 1989, when the security police of the National Islamic Front (NIF) came and took it away. Around the same time police burst into a women's traditional Zar ceremony, armed with Kalashnikovs, and carted everyone away to the lock-up, confiscating the drums that powered the ritual and calling them "pagan".

The dictatorship of Sudan's NIF embodies in repressive laws the attitude that can't dance and won't let anyone else. Musicians such as Abu-Araki al-Bakheit, Mohammed el Amin, Saif al-Jami'a, Yousif al-Mousli and the band Igd el Djilad have been prevented from performing in public and banned from the airwaves.

In Sudan there's an added dimension to the ages-old argument over the legitimacy of music and dance under Islam: one third of the people affected by it are not even Muslim.

And whatever their religion, Sudan's people – 300 ethnic groups – embody such a collision of Arab and African cultures that it's often impossible to tell where one culture ends and the other begins.

Arab tribes arrived in the 14th and 15th centuries from across the Red Sea and the northern fringe of Africa; in the 16th century West Africans began journeying through northern Sudan on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Both settled and inter-married with the indigenous people. Southern Sudan, largely cut off until the mid-19th century by the vast swamps of the White Nile, was treated as a source of slaves, ivory, ostrich feathers and gold.

No wonder the continent's largest country has an identity problem alongside a deep-rooted civil war.

Scenes from Modern History

Itang refugee camp, near Asosa, Southwest Ethiopia, 1990:

Nubian superstar Mohammed Wardi gets even the lame dancing, at a concert for Southern Sudanese displaced by a horrific civil war. Land-mine victims on crutches and able-bodied alike respond enthusiastically to a singer who tran-scends the murderous hostilities between north and south Sudan. Unity and harmony momentarily seem to be more than just cliches.

The rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army videos this extraordinarily moving occasion, but fails to exploit it.

Khartoum, mid-1994:

The government-controlled media gives extensive air-time to hardline Islamist mosque leaders campaigning to outlaw secular music altogether.

Abri, Wadi Halfa province, Nubia, Northern Sudan, September 1994:

75 wedding-guests are arrested when police with tear-gas, batons and live ammunition break up defiant party-goers protesting at a ruling that wedding parties – formerly an all-night affair – must end before sunset

prayers and be supervised by sheikhs and police. Conflict is sparked when guests, including children, arrive after dusk. Demonstrations continue for several days until the army moves in.

Omdurman, Sudan, October 1994:

Travelling home at night, a professional violinist is stopped, taken to the edge of Omdurman and severely beaten by security police who smash his instrument. Told he should stop playing music and follow Islam, he turns round and quotes eloquently from the Quran in his defence. His tormentors are left speech-less.

Omdurman, by the Nile, November 1994:

Khogali Osman, a well-loved singer in his early forties, is killed by a "fanatic" – a religious primary

school teacher – who talks his way into the Musicians' Club and stabs several people in the belief that secular music is an abomination.

”Merdoum King” and international recording artist Abdel Gadir Salim and a violinist are wounded.

The government denies any role in the assault, but buries the singer in great haste to avoid public protest. Security police threaten other musicians not to talk about the killing.

(Meanwhile the regime increases its efforts to appear tolerant on the international stage, supporting ”cultural festivals” in London and Paris.)

Khartoum, Sudan, 1998:

The National Islamic Front (NIF) government enacts a new law banning women from dancing with men or in their presence during folklore celebrations or wedding parties. It also segregates the sexes on public transport.

So long as the NIF is in power, you'll have to go to the rebel-held territory of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (most of Southern Sudan) to join in ”legal” mixed dancing – no such hang-ups there.

The lyre, that ancient instrument, is a common instrument throughout Sudan, usually in various forms of improvised construction. In war zones like south Sudan and the Nuba Mountains, these days the instrument is just as likely to be made from a hub-cap or a land-mine casing as from the gourds of old.

Even today, few Sudanese musicians have access to modern recording studios, although a couple more have recently been built in Khartoum. A growing number of Sudanese CDs has been released on the international market, but few people in Sudan have CD players and many classic performances are still on cassette only – if you can find them at all.

South Sudan

In 1992 the controllers of Radio Juba – government-held capital of the south – wiped its unique tapes of the celebrated Southern Sudanese singer Yousif Fataki. It's an apt demonstration of the government's attitude to the south, to erase a cultural artefact to make way for its own propaganda.

And although South Sudan, like the Nuba Mountains, creates plenty of music, there are fewer opportunities to hear it now than in recent decades.

Back in the 1960s, a Southern Sudanese musician and folklorist – Dr William Remzy – was working at the University of Khartoum. In the 1970s and 80s, while there was peace, the southern capital Juba had nightlife: Groups like the Skylarks and Rejaf Jazz, and venues like DeeDee's Disco, taking their inspiration from Kampala and Nairobi. All are long gone, dispersed by war...

Nowadays the best chance to hear Southern Sudanese music may be in church, possibly in the refugee camps in northern Uganda, or among the rebel soldiers. There's an ever-growing repertoire of new songs about war and liberation – defiance and yearning for peace.

”New Sudan Sings”, a recording from 1997, is an essential dose of reality – songs from the war zone. Sudan's imbalance of power is highlighted by the fact that these stirring and poignant field recordings by Maggie Hamilton are about the only musical material from Southern Sudan available at present. Among the group chants and hymns – Dinka, Zande, Nuer, Didinga and other languages – are some extraordinarily beautiful unaccompanied women's songs. Words like ”[peace] agreement” and ”Killington [Clinton]” stand out in an otherwise unfamiliar tongue.

Nuba mountains

The Nuba are caught on the dividing line between the warring cultures of north and south Sudan. The government has bombed them and deprived them of aid, but they are fighting its programme of ”ethnocide” with their own reawakening identity. Under the squeeze of the government's crude ”Islamisation” campaign, the diverse, multi-religious Nuba communities are uniting in resistance,

defending their own culture as much as their land.

The Kambala, or harvest festival, is still celebrated, and there is a proliferation of new songs and artists. The vibrant Black Stars are part of a special "cultural advocacy and performance" unit of the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) in the Nuba Mountains. Their most famous vocalist is Ismael Koinyi, an accomplished guitar player who sings in Arabic and in several Nuba languages.

When journalists were flown in to the Nuba Mountains for an anniversary celebration in 1998 by the charismatic Nuba SPLA leader Yousif Kuwa, they were treated to an amplified concert in the remote mountain retreat courtesy of solar power. Electricity is a rare luxury, however, so with stringed rababas, a clay-pot bass drum, tin bongos and shakers, Nuba bands usually play their form of "Je-luo" – a catch-all term for Kenyan or Congolese guitar styles – unplugged.

The lyrics of Nuba bands like the Black Stars dwell on the battles – military and psychological – through which the Nuba continue to struggle, and the dancing often goes on till daybreak.

Don't confuse the Nuba of south-west Sudan with the Nubians, like Wardi and Hamza al-Din, who are from Nubia in the far north of the country – between Dongola and the Egyptian border at Wadi Halfa (and beyond).

Both groups are indigenous Sudanese, rather than of "Arab" origin, but any link is ancient history.

Northern Sudan - A crisis of identity

The rest of the country is more divided - to the point of split

personality, sometimes. Few Northern Sudanese whole-heartedly support the government's obsessive division of the sexes, lots are repressed dancers, and many older ones look back nostalgically to the era before 1983 and Sharia law.

That was when President Nimeiri, with NIF support, closed the bars in Khartoum and chucked the alcohol in the Nile.

Two years later, the Sudanese people chucked Nimeiri out.

(I remember a soldier of the Presidential Guard breakdancing on our veranda, overjoyed at being out of a job.)

But in 1989, the NIF came back, seizing total power in a military coup. The drinking, and the dancing, still go on behind closed doors.

But in a totalitarian, informer society, who dares admit to such sins?

Attitudes towards music within Islamic societies are certainly

problematic. The Quran does not itself clearly prohibit music, and music has always been very important in Arab culture. Some Quranic verses have been interpreted as approving, others as condemning it. Choosing only the latter, the "fundamentalist" stance is that music is linked with illicit sex and drinking, dangerous diversions from religious duty.

Dancing is likewise equated with immorality. Not much difference from "fundamentalist" Christianity, in other words.

(And a small proportion of today's missionaries in South Sudan enforce equally daunting views.)

The Sufi teachers who brought Islam to Sudan were by no means "fundamentalists", however, and happily made use of music and dance.

Quranic recitation, which is sung, is not regarded by Muslims as music, but the influence of this technique on the secular art is unmistakable – and the devotional chanting of the Sufi Zikr must be somewhere between the two.

Early days

Modern urban music in Northern Sudan began taking shape between the 1920s and 1940s. Regarded by some as the father of contemporary Sudanese music, singer Khalil Farah was also prominent in the independence movement.

The Sudanese Graduates' Congress used a song entitled "Sahi ya Kanaru" ("Wake Up, Canary") to spread resistance to British rule. Since then, many others have used the image of a beautiful creature, woman, or lover to refer obliquely to their country, and have stirred feelings sufficiently powerful to get the author jailed, sometimes. Translations, of course, rarely capture these allusions.

As early as the 1920s Egyptian producers brought Sudanese singers to record in Cairo, and instruments of the orchestra began to replace the chorus in call-and-response.

Southerners, Nuba and other non-Arab communities were well represented in the police and armed forces across the country. For impoverished young conscripts in post-independence Sudan, the police and army "jazz-bands" offered the best access to equipment, and what started out as British military brass band styles often metamorphosed in the 1960s and 70s to become "jazz" in the East African sense. This imitates the intersecting guitars of Kenya's Shirati Jazz and the myriad Luo language bands around Lake Victoria – although any soukous, rhumba or benga gets called "Je-luo" in Sudan. (By the time their music reached as far north as Khartoum, even African stars like Franco and Tabu Ley were frequently rendered anonymous in this way. Few knew their names, they just recognised the style. Is this loss of identity symbolic of a wider process?)

Foreign artists

During the 1960s, Ray Charles ("Hit the Road, Jack") and Harry Belafonte made a big impression on urban Sudanese musicians such as Osman Alamu, and Ibrahim Awad – who became the first Sudanese singer to dance on stage.

(1985: Sherhabeel Ahmed, a quietly progressive musician and illustrator whose wife used to play bass guitar, sings "Kingston Town" at a famine concert echoing Live Aid. Harry Belafonte is in the audience, representing the charity USA for Africa, and is openly moved to tears.)

In the 1970s it was the turn of James Brown and Jimmy Cliff. Kamal Kayla modelled his style on the hugely popular JB.

The 1980s made Bob Marley and Michael Jackson household names. Marley was recognised by some as the spiritual kins-man of Sudan's own Sufi dervishes, and an inspiration to thousands of ghetto children.

Dance and Trance

The Sufi Muslim dervishes, or darawiish, brought the first wave of Islamic influence to Sudan several hundred years ago.

Their often wild and colourful appearance, some with dreadlocks and elaborate patchwork clothes, and the spectacular manner of their religious devotions, made a lasting impression on the British rulers of the "Anglo-Egyptian Sudan" in the late nineteenth century.

But the Victorian caricature of the "whirling dervish" misses the point. Within the religious tradition of zikr – "remembrance" – the dervishes use music and dance to work themselves into a mystical trance. Undulating lines of male Sufi dancers bob their way to ecstasy with a physical grace that confounds ageism. Their tolerant spirit has profoundly influenced the easy-going approach that characterised Sudan until relatively recently.

Zar

The most spirited rhythms – in every sense – are mainly for women, in the psychotherapeutic zar cult. Zar sessions combine mesmeric drumming with incense, massage and a licence to release deep frustration. Under the guidance of the sheikha az-zar, gatherings last either four or seven days, drumming from dawn to dusk for different spirits that plague people and have to be brought out and pacified.

These are occasions outside the bounds of life's ordinary rules, when women can smoke and drink and act out rebellious fantasies without having their religious piety or social respect-ability called into question.

The zar cult is older than Islam and works around and through it rather than compete against it. But like everything else that challenges the ruling National Islamic Front's social programme, zar is suffering a government clampdown under the pretext that it is anti-Islamic.

Mohammed el Amin

Song lyric: "Al-Jarida – The Newspaper", by Mohammed el Amin.

"You seem distracted ... my love, absent-minded, lost in thought. I can read my life in your eyes ... while you are absorbed in your newspaper. Tell me, what are you reading ... talk to me! Is it really that important? Do you have to read an entire article, even a whole story?

How many months of separation did we endure, nothing between us but distance? Our eyes, filled with tears, are crying ... our hearts, filled with longing, are still hoping, each thought that crossed my mind... each story or piece of news.

I have important things to tell you, things that reflect the longing in me. Spare me just one moment and listen to me ... don't be so obstinate. Should I tell you ... or would it be better to leave you to your newspaper?"

Mohammed el Amin is a Sudanese folk-hero for his majestic voice and superb oud playing, and a brilliant composer and arranger. Born in Wad Medani, central Sudan, in 1943, he began learning the oud at the age of 11, taught by the well-known professor Mohammed Fadl. He wrote his first compositions aged 20, and went on to become honorary president of the Sudanese Artists' and Composers' Society. Frequently in trouble for provoking one military dictatorship – he was jailed by Nimeiri's regime in the 1970s – he moved to Cairo after 1989 to avoid similar run-ins with the National Islamic Front, but returned to Khartoum in 1994 and kept a low profile.

Mohammed Wardi

"Art is like water: you can't seal off its source. It will trickle inexorably through the rock to emerge in a new spring some-where else" – said Mohammed Wardi, exiled leader of the Musician's Union, speaking in London at the Memorial Concert for Khojali Osman, the singer who was murdered at the Musician's Club, Omdurman, November 1994.

The soaring voice of "golden throat" Mohammed Wardi has won acclaim right across the African Sahel and the Arab world. Although this singer from Nubia – born in 1932 near old Wadi Halfa - is now in exile, his music always stirs emotion for many Sudanese. His first hit was in 1960, and he still has the most extraordinary effect on a Sudanese audience, having come to embody the collective memories and aspirations of an entire nation. Mohammed Wardi sings not only in Arabic but also in his native Nubian – drawing on 7,000 years of culture.

Sometimes he sings with directly political allusion – to the October 1964 popular uprising, for example – and sometimes more obliquely, but always with powerful resonance. He's had spells in jail, which only confirmed his popularity; at a human rights demonstration outside the Sudan Embassy, his unaccompanied voice galvanised the spirit of an otherwise sombre gathering.

But the most compelling occasion of all must be his 1990 concert at Itang, temporary home to 250,000 war-displaced southern Sudanese in Ethiopia, performing from a makeshift wooden platform in the dusty wastes of a refugee camp.

The healing power of music was never more convincingly displayed, and for a while the prospect of reconciliation in this torn country seemed a little less forlorn.

The contemporary poet and teacher Mahjoub Sherif often writes in colloquial Arabic, mixing observations on everyday life and politics with love songs and poems for children.

He has also been detained for long periods under Sudan's military dictators. Even in the remote western desert prison at Shalla he continued writing lyrics that became songs of resistance. Many have been set to

music by Mohammed Wardi.

Poem by Mahjoub Sharif

Hey, buffoon!
Cling tightly!
Beware falling apart!
Beware and be alert!
Bend your ears to every sign of movement
Keep watch on your own shadow
and, when the leaves rustle,
Shut yourself off and keep still!
Life is so dangerous, buffoon.

Open fire!
Bullets aimed at everything
every word uttered
every breeze passing
without your permission
My lord buffoon.

Instruct the sparrows,
the village lanterns,
the towns' windows,
every whispering blade of grass
to report to you.

As police, let the ants infiltrate
and build the security state.
Ask the raindrops
to write their reports,
Buffoon...

(Credit translation: Africa Watch 1991)

Abu Araki al-Bakheit

The songs of Abu Araki al-Bakheit, like Wardi, were banned from the airwaves by the NIF. In the early 1990s he was arrested and told by the authorities not to sing his political songs at public gatherings. He responded by saying he would prefer silence, and would no longer play. The public outcry at this news eventually prompted him to sing again, in defiance of the authorities, but at the cost of repeated harassment and threats. His friends say he is walking a tightrope, and his popularity is his only protection.

Igd el Djilad

The multi-vocalist band Igd el Djilad was formed in the mid-1980s by a dozen young music students with progressive aims. Their song lyrics reflect these concerns, and their music strives to be both forward-looking and reflective of the country's roots, using rhythms and chants from right across the country. To an outsider this seems innocuous enough, but it's an approach that takes courage. Members of Igd al-Jalad have been arrested on several occasions, questioned by security police and threatened. Rather than being stopped from playing altogether they were forced to give written assurances that they would not provoke the authorities with songs about poverty and famine.

Kafka by the Nile

The fact that you can still find plenty of music in northern Sudan might give the impression of freedom, but it's a system that Kafka would recognise for its arbitrariness, in which repression can descend at any moment. It's still possible to find, for example, cassettes of Mohammed Wardi on open sale despite the probability that the singer himself would be imprisoned if he returned because of his outspoken role in opposition to the National Islamic Front. In this split-personality atmosphere, nothing is straightforward.

The NIF both fears and seeks to manipulate music and musicians. Any references to past freedoms in Sudan prior to the 1989 coup are unacceptable. Periods of repression are alternated with periods of coercion; officials differ in their interpretation and application of the 1990 Public Order Acts which regulate performances.

Hostile to art that it cannot control, the NIF has introduced an "Islamisation of Art" programme in an attempt to dictate the terms of the discourse. All performers and works of theatre, cinema and music are supposed to be approved by religious jurists. Songs in praise of the para-military Popular Defence Force and jihad are broadcast all the time. Sporadic prohibition is enforced on "low grade" Western music. More important, the diverse range of folk music and dance within Sudan itself often fails to meet the criteria, or is relegated to condescending "ethnological" broadcasts.

Attacks on artists

In 1996 the Cairo-based Sudanese media workers association reported to the UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights in Sudan, Dr Gaspar Biro, on harassment of musicians in Sudan by the NIF.

The Morality Monitoring Unit of the shadow "police force" known as the General Administration of Public Order extends its remit to musical performances at wedding parties - the most frequent venue for music.

Weddings are regular targets for raids on the grounds of Public Order Act offences, mixed dancing, or "unapproved" songs or singers. Seven singers were arrested in one week at the beginning of 1993.

Broadcasting editor Salma al-Sheikh was interrogated for hours after allowing a student at the Institute of Music and Drama to use a radio tape of Sudanese songs banned by the regime.

She played music by Mohammed Wardi, Mohammed al-Amin, Abu-Araki, Mustafa Sid Ahmed and Yousif al-Mousli on her daily radio programme "Good Morning My Country" until it was taken off the air in 1992.

In the early 1980s, song lyrics referring to women's bodies were among those banned. The official decree remained on the books after Nimeiri's overthrow, but was ignored by broadcasters.

The NIF coup in 1989 was followed by a decree in which the Director-General of Radio Omdurman prohibited the broadcast of any song other than those glorifying religion or the jihad of the National Islamic Front.

Video and music cassettes of songs mentioning kisses or wine, or with political allusions, have been erased and pro-NIF speeches and religious sermons recorded over them.

Large amounts of irreplaceable studio archive material have been lost in this way.

In 1995 singer Sayyid Khalifa declared that all songs in the archives of the national radio station, Radio Omdurman, were being reviewed and revised. New "moral" versions would be made, excising all unacceptable references.

The Institute of Music and Drama

When Sudan's Institute of Music and Drama was begun by the civilian government in 1969, dedicated

teachers like El-Mahi Ismail, its first director, helped provide college-level practical instruction and research in music, drama and folklore for the first time in Sudan. Despite funding and status wrangles, the Institute survived until 1989, when the National Islamic Front regime took power and it became a target for political demolition. A new director began "Islamization" of the Institute: new, ideologically-approved lecturers were brought in, and the talent test for admission was replaced with an inter-view on religious attitudes.

Women singers

Half a century ago, urban women singers such as Mihera bint Abboud and Um el Hassan el Shaygiya began carving individual styles from the rich oral heritage of traditional women's songs. The most famous woman from this era was the accomplished Aisha el Fellatiya, who made her name as a singer during the Second World War when she toured the camps of the Sudan Defence Force across North Africa to boost the troops' morale.

Demurely echoing the rise of the 1960s girl groups in the west, a few female duos rose to local popularity including Sunai Kordofani, Sunai el Nagam and Sunai el Samar. In the early 1980s three gifted teenage Nubian sisters with a supportive father formed the group Balabil. Trained by oud player and songwriter Bashir Abbas, who also found lyricists and musicians for them, they found an avid audience around the Horn of Africa.

In the uncertain climate of Sudan's "sharia" law, however, they were sometimes banned from television.

The fortunes of women singers mirror the social trends of recent years.

Consider an extreme case, Hanan Bulu-bulu, the pouting provocative Madonna (or Marie Lloyd) of 1980s Sudanese pop. After the popular uprising that overthrew President Nimeiri and ended his despised version of Islamic sharia law, Hanan Bulu-bulu reflected a new mood at the 1986 Khartoum International Fair. Her notoriety arose from her stage act, captured on video, which borrowed the sensuous bridal "dove-dance" of Sudanese weddings and orchestrated the often saucy songs of the urban women's daloka or tom-tom tradition.

But the backlash came soon after, as Islamist hardliners banned her concerts and beat her up for immoral behaviour.

They insulted her "half-Ethiopian" background, which for them was a euphemism for sexual licence. She was by no means the best singer, but a welcome antidote to the hollow pieties of the fundamentalists. (Apparently she's still performing, somehow, somewhere.)

More credit should go to women such as Gisma and Nasra, from whom Hanan Bulu-bulu took much of her act. In the 1970s and 1980s they pioneered a performance version of the erotic kashif wedding display, coupled with torrential drumming and facetious, worldly-wise lyrics. They were popular at private gatherings and were frequently arrested for the irreverent and revealing nature of their songs.

Despised by the political elites of left and right, they were regarded as a much-needed source of dirty realism by the lower classes. Home truths such as "Hey Commissioner, we know your Toyota's the pick-up for the groceries, and your Mercedes is the pick-up for the girls," and "This sharia is driving us to drink" were never likely to endear them to the authorities.

Most Sudanese women can drum and sing, and delighted in reproducing Nasra and Gisma's salty treatment of the traditional daloka style.

Peter Verney, Sudan Update

This draft extract of a report for the Rough Guide to World Music (2nd edition, November 1999) was the basis for a talk at the 1st World Conference on Music and Censorship, in Copenhagen, Denmark, 20-22 November 1998.

See also: "Does Allah like Music?" by the editor of Sudan Update in Index on Censorship "Smashed

Hits", December 1998, and "Verfemt – Verbannt – Verboten: Muzik und Zensur – weltweit" (Der Gruene Zweig 206, Werner Pieper Hg).

DISCOGRAPHY:

A good selection of cassettes is available from Natari in the UK and Africassette in the US. For information on field recordings, including Zar and women's music, contact Sudan Update.

CD: MOHAMMED WARDI: Live in Addis Ababa 1994 (Rags Music, UK).

Cassette: NEW SUDAN SINGS (Counterpoint, Christian Aid, Birmingham, UK, 1997).

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Sudan Update is an independent, non-profit information and referral service, which aims to encourage informed dialogue towards peace and reconstruction in Sudan.

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4 Music Censorship and Fundamentalism, part 2 – USA

4.1 Hip Hop, Black Islamic Nationalism and the Quest of Afro-American Empowerment

By Mr. Mattias Gardell, Ph.D. Theology, University of Uppsala, Sweden.

Black Islam is a racial nationalist recasting of Islam, used as a creed of black empowerment in a quest for African American independence. Originating in the industrial inner-cities during the Depression, its leading organization, the Nation of Islam, was long at the margins of black aspiration despite renowned spokespersons like Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X and Louis Farrakhan. With the 1995 Million Man March it made an historic breakthrough, a development that can be related to the conditions of present-day black America.

The Presidency of Ronald Reagan was part of a white backlash that reversed the trend towards bridging the gap between black and white America that had commenced with the Civil Rights Era. Reaganomics was in short a massive redistribution of wealth from the poorer to the richer, as shown by the fact that the top upper class of less than one percent of the population increased its share of Americas' total assets, from 24 to almost 50 percent. The Reagan Revolution made the United States the most unequal country in the industrial world, with grim consequences for African America. Fifty percent of all black children are raised in poverty. Single mothers, many of them teenagers, head a majority of black families. Dubbed "welfare queens" they were targeted by the Reagan/Bush administrations' cutback policies. The average black family has less than one tenth in assets compared with the average white family. The levels of black unemployment, under-employment, share of low-income jobs, poverty, illiteracy, drug use and crime skyrocketed.

Around one million blacks found themselves somewhere in the criminal justice system. The hyper-segregated black inner cities, home to roughly one third of the black population, turned into war zones. Statistics show that a black male was more in danger at home than he would have been as a soldier during the Vietnam War. In sum, the policies resulted in a situation in which blacks in the US became the only Western population with a declining life expectancy rate – a man in Bangladesh is more likely to reach 65 than a black male in the inner city.

Minister Louis Farrakhan, the present leader of the Nation of Islam, urge American blacks to stop wining about racist injustices, as this leads nowhere. Had the administration been interested in solving the problems of its black citizens it would have done so way back. Liberation will only come from within. By reaching back to his roots, the black man will reconnect with his true, divine nature, and start acting according to his inherent creative power that is of God and is God.

Embarking on the blackosophic path of racial gnosis, the black man will break the mental chains that keep him stuck at the bottom of society, to arise as a Nation of Gods, mastering his own destiny. This is the true meaning of Islam, which if you break it down stands for I-Self-Lord-Am-Master.

The United States is condemned as Babylon the Great, bastion of the devil, whose global supremacy now is at its predestined end. Despite the apocalyptic orientation, black Islam is a religion of action, and the Nation has gained respect through its practical approach to problems produced but not solved by American society. Organized as a self-proclaimed administration of an independent state, ruled from the Black House in Chicago, the Nation has minister led departments for economy, trade, foreign relations, justice, education, medical and health care and defence.

A nationalised economy provides an infrastructure and helps finance other projects such as private schools, HIV clinics, and rehabilitation programs for drug addicts and criminals.

Soldiers of the Islamic Army are employed as security at various housing projects and the Nation has been instrumental in implementing a peace process in gang-land black America. For the first time in this century, violent black crime is dropping, which in part can be explained by the impact of black Islam and the spirit of the Million Man March.

Observed from the perspective of civilising theory, the Nation can be described as a movement of auto-civilising that ultimately will adjust a segment of the African American community to the norms of the dominant culture of American society. Although the Nation is frequently portrayed as un-American,

much of its Original Islamic ideals proves compatible with those of conservative, white, middle-class Americans: The black-man-is-God thesis can be seen as an extreme version of a very American positive thinking, fully in line with its can-do orientation. Black Islam hails traditional family values, loyalty to the Nation and obedience to God. They applaud the decent, hard-working, God-fearing hetero-sexual, who should be neatly dressed, polite, modest, law-abiding and respectful to authorities. Its members are non-smoking, non-drinking, clean-living moralists who encourage self-help, mistrust social welfare, and value a God-centered education with emphasis on discipline and learning.

From a critical perspective, the Nation has a number of troubling features: reflecting the failure of democracy to ensure a decent living, the Nation suggests a theocratic alternative.

God, not the nation's citizens, elected Farrakhan, who, according to the NOI Constitution appoint and discharge his ministers largely by will. The Nation has a militarized chain of command and does not approve of any internal dissident.

Black Islam is a racist and homophobic creed and has during the eighties developed a pronounced anti-Jewish sentiment.

Politically, it has adopted elements of both the right and the left. With its authoritarian conception of race as an organism and with its morally conservative and socially progressive agenda, it can be seen as a black Islamic third positionist movement, that is, a leftist leaning black National Socialism.

Some critics portray the Nation as a black Ku Klux Klan, and it has in fact developed a discreet network with white racial separatists.

The comparison is nonetheless false, a-historical and lacks a power perspective. White racism developed as an ideology of dominion, black racism developed as an ideology of empowerment. If the Nation suddenly would come into power in America, its creed might transform into an ideology of dominion, but that's a strictly hypothetical scenario.

The difference between black and white organized racism is also reflected in action. The Nation of Islam has, to the best of my knowledge, not been lynching any white spokespersons, not been burning any white churches or bombed any school buses with white children. What violence there has been has largely been kept within the confines of the black community or in self-defence against the police.

Beside Farrakhan's personal charisma and its constructive community service, perhaps nothing has been as instrumental in spreading the gospel of black Islam as the raptivist faction of the hip-hop culture. Originating as a genuine street beat in Harlem and the Bronx in the 1970's, rap music is a translation of the black urban youth experience. During the eighties, its popularity skyrocketed and the genre is presently a multi-billion industry, exploited also by outside producers and company executives. Expanding further it soon proved global in reach, and I got an interesting collection of localized rap music from Tai Pei over Karachi to Tripoli, where the meaning of its call for social justice and fight the power differ according to context.

Rap music is rhythmically moving postmodern bricolages, with samplings from various sound sources, from older hits to sermons, sirens or political speeches, frequently overlaid with explicit lyrics. This very explicitness frequently has been denounced as obscene and immoral, and certainly, there are many rap artists who confine their message to ego-boosting descriptions of sex, drugs, violence and easy money.

This glorification of self-destruction is criticised not only from mainstream white America but also by spokespersons in the black community, including the raptivist category of the hip-hop culture, which is the category of main concern here.

Most of the more influential message rap artists are either members or sympathisers of the Nation of Islam or other, related, black Islamic organizations, such as the Moors or the Nation of Gods and Earths. This include renown stars like Public Enemy, Brand Nubian, Poor Righteous Teachers, Lakim Shabazz, Paris, KAM, Ice Cube, Queen Latifah, Sister Souljah, Prince Akeem, KRS-One, Professor Griff, Big Daddy Kane, Mister Cee, Skinny Boys and Afrika Bambaataa, to name but a few. They all preach black Islam and address issues like police brutality, gang violence, and social injustice. Aiming at reversing self-destructive patterns among black youth, rappers call for community up-building and black liberation.

Rap lyrics frequently include quotations from black Muslim teachings, or make implicit allusions, using

metaphors unintelligible to those unfamiliar with black Islamic beliefs, like “dead niggaz” (non-Muslim blacks), “Yacub’s crew (whites) or “cave bitch” (white female). Ironically, raptivist is popular also among white youth, who might be unaware of the fact that they dance to their own destruction – a situation described by Ice Cube on his *Lethal Injection* album.

It opens with a scene where a generic white man impatiently waits for Dr. Cube to give him a lethal injection, much like the way his white fans line up to buy their annual hit of his funky anger. Dr. Cube then approaches the white man with a pistol, saying, “You want me to blow your head off, you gullible muthaphukka? And you’re actually gonna pay me for it? Brace yourself!” and then BAM, he puts a bullet in his head.

Everyone is obviously not that content. The FBI has condemned rap lyrics that “encourage violence against and disrespect for the law enforcement officer”.

Police organizations, such as the Fraternal Organization of Cops, called for a boycott of Warner Brothers during a ranging controversy over Ice T – who is not a black Muslim, but still a raptivist – and his “Cop Killer”, a song dedicated to the LAPD, due to its record of police brutality (81 killings in proven police-misconduct cases only in 1991 when Ice T wrote his tune). The album was eventually withdrawn.

Jewish organizations unsuccessfully tried to persuade CBS to stop the Public Enemy single “Welcome to the Terrordome”, but managed in getting the video banned from the Canadian channel Much Music. The Anti-Defamation League listed Public Enemy, Professor Griff and Ice Cube on their widely circulated report *Black Demagogues and Extremists*, President Bill Clinton publicly denounced Sister Souljah as a black racist and war monger, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center called for a boycott of Ice Cube’s album *Death Certificate*.

To some extent, the reactions are understandable. To call a white woman “cave bitch”, to name a white “Lucifer, the devil, a snake”; to brand Jews “bloodsuckers of the poor”, or to shout, “Fuck the Police”, might seem offensive to the target - and this is as intentional as black Muslims believe American inequality to be. Rap is revolutionary music, carrying a message of ‘either we gonna have justice or you better get ready, ‘cause we gonna fight the powers that be and call down the consuming flames of Armageddon’. But to think that one can clear away the problem by banning the rappers or doing away with Minister Farrakhan is to be blind to the roots of the matter. Black Islam is not so much a problem as it is a symptom of increasing social problems tearing American society apart. Remove Farrakhan or the rappers and you’ll probably find them replaced by other voices produced by the same social conditions that produced them.

Black Islam is basically a consequence of the black experience, it is a social product, stamped with a “Made in the US”, and if one really wants to rid it from American society, one need to address the real problems that black Islamic nationalism is a product of.

4.2 Religious lobby Groups influence Politicians and Recording Industry & The Marilyn Manson Saga

By *Ms. Nina Crowley, Massachusetts Music Information Centre (Mass MIC), USA.*

My name is Nina Crowley and I am the director of Mass MIC, a non-profit organization that works to promote and protect free expression in music.

Since the “birth of rock” in 1954 no less than 51 individual religiously based organizations have been documented as attacking popular music. These attacks had their effect. But in today’s America, as a result of the speed and breadth of internet communications and the American press’ fascination with scandalous controversy, the knee jerks of religious zealots are magnified ten times over what they were 40 years ago.

Their effects are far-reaching and long lasting.

As a case study of how the religious right can mount an attack on popular music I would like to focus on the “**Marilyn Manson saga of 1996, 97, and 98**”.

The band, Marilyn Manson, was formed in 1991.

With the exception of one, all members of the band take their first names from pop culture icons and their surnames from serial killers hence: Marilyn Manson, Twiggy Ramirez, Madonna Wayne Gacy, and Ginger Fish. Their “shock rock” albums have contained songs entitled “Cake and Sodomy”, “Smells Like Children” and “May Cause Discoloration of the Urine or Feces”.

In 1995 Manson himself was arrested twice in Florida for indecent exposure. Protests against MM shows in the past three years have forced a three-fold increase in police presence; no one in the band has been arrested since 1995.

From the latter part of 1996 through the fall of 1997, the band toured the US and was coming under attack at virtually every stop. Early in 1997, rumor had it that the religious right would try to make ‘an example’ out of Marilyn Manson.

The rumor became truth.

Over the course of the tour there would be 145 articles in 45 newspapers in the US and Canada, countless TV and radio debates and discussions, many of which I participated in. Articles discussing the band’s live performances appeared in religious and secular magazines. From December 1996 to fall 1997 they were picketed in 22 cities. Protesters preceded and followed the band’s trek across the US, unrelenting when Manson joined Ozzy Osbourne’s ‘Ozzfest 1997’, and on to Canada during the summer of 1997. This is a story, which has not ended.

Of the myriad religious right organizations operating in the United States today there are four who were instrumental in directing the faithful in this campaign.

The American Family Association (AFA) of Tupelo, Minnesota. Founded in 1977 by Donald Wildmon the AFA puts their membership at ½ million and circulation of the AFA journal also at ½ million.

The AFA stands for traditional family values and focuses primarily on the influence of television and other media on society. They believe that the entertainment industry, through its various products, has played a major role in the decline of those values on which our country was founded and which keep a society and its families strong and healthy.

Focus on the Family (FotF) began in 1977 in response to Dr. James Dobson’s increasing concern for the American family. Dr. Dobson holds a Ph.D. in child development, worked 14 years as an associate clinical professor of paediatrics, 17 years on the staff of the Los Angeles Children’s Hospital, and was advisor to President Ronald Reagan in the 80’s. Dr. Dobson and his organization command a great deal of power. When he calls upon his followers to support him by pressuring Washington, James Dobson has the ability too cause 500,000 to 1 million phone calls and letters to descend on Capitol Hill in a matter of hours. FotF has more than 74 different ministries requiring nearly 1,300 employees.

Their daily broadcast explores family issues on over 4,000 facilities worldwide. The organization produces six additional broadcasts, ten magazines sent to more than 2.3 million people a month, award-winning books, films, and videos. FotF also responds to as many as 55,000 letters a week, offers professional counselling and referrals to a network of 1,500 therapists, and addresses public policy and cultural issues. Dr. Dobson's method attempts to "turn hearts toward home" by reasonable, biblical and empirical insights so people will be able "to discover the founder of homes and the creator of families – Jesus Christ".

Pat Robertson founded the **Christian Coalition** (CC) in 1989 to give Christians a voice in government. They represent a growing group of nearly 2 million members and supporters who believe it's time for people of faith to have a voice in the conversation we call democracy. The Coalition is driven by the belief that people of faith have a right and a responsibility to be involved in the world around them. That involvement includes community, social and political action. There are 2000 local chapters of the CC producing newsletters, voter guides and action alerts.

The Bob Larson Ministries (BLM) of Denver, Colorado has been actively fighting rock music since the 60's. Its founder Bob Larson likes to relate experiences from his previous career as a rock musician in which he reports being forced, by record company executives, to produce obscene songs. In 1967 this rocker turned fundamentalist published a book entitled "Rock and Roll: The Devil's Diversion". His book contains the "Anti-Rock Pledge".

Readers were urged to sign the pledge, include their name and address, and return it to Bob Larson directly. Bob Larson has long believed that capitalism is being undermined by subliminal messages in rock songs. Larson's more recent book "In The Name of Satan" purports to tell parents how the forces of evil work and what they can do to defeat them.

It is also important to remember as the events of this tour unfold that the First Amendment to the United States Constitution states, "government shall make no law prohibiting the free exercise of or abridging the freedom of speech."

It has been upheld in the courts numerous times that this proscription also applies to state and local governments and their representatives.

In a 1997 survey conducted by the Freedom Forum, a majority, 50% of American's polled cited freedom of speech as the freedom they felt was most important. When asked if they would approve the First Amendment if asked to vote on it today, 93% stated they would approve it.

In that same survey, 68% of those polled said that people should be allowed to express unpopular opinions, but the minority, at 31%, said musicians should not be allowed to sing songs with words that others might find offensive.

Popular music, rock, rap, disco, hip-hop, r&b etc. have always existed as the bastard child of the arts. Seen as a less worthy art form by the artistic community at large and an expendable form of art by those outside the community. It is interesting to see these statistics played out by government officials and the public during the course of the Marilyn Manson tour.

The controversy surrounding the tour began in December of 1996 in Salt Lake City, Utah. On December 19., John Whitake, director of the publicly funded Fairpark Coliseum announced the cancellation of a January 11. Marilyn Manson concert stating "The Utah State Fairpark desires to maintain a reputation of standards in all phases of our business activities". Nine Manson fans filed suit against the Coliseum on December 27. They sought a judgment prohibiting the Fairpark from discriminating against performers based on the content of their music, as well as an immediate order to allow the show there.

US District Court Judge David Winer refused to force Fairpark to stage the show because the promoter, Scott Arnold, now refused to assure him that the show would go on at the Coliseum. Arnold reportedly didn't want to alienate Coliseum management as he hoped to be able to do business there in the future. A Salt Lake City newspaper praised Fairbank's decision saying that "If groups are permitted to spew profanity and anti-establishment swill from the Coliseum's stage – for a profit, yet – the state may be seen as endorsing their disgusting speech, possibly lowering community values and standards of conduct in the process."

February 1997 brings the resurgence of the Bob Larson Ministries. Larson's TBN TV program called Talk Back begins marketing a 30 min. video of Marilyn Manson for a 50\$ pledge to the ministries. The

video “Rock Music Madness” – the latest of the worst in rock music including the group Marilyn Manson. The volume is described as a must-see for concerned parents.

A February concert in Las Cruces, New Mexico, is cancelled due to lack of security and February 4. sees a Lubbock, Texas show attended by 2,000 fans and 75 picketers.

Rev. Dale Webster, pastor of Temple Baptist Church, looked on as the line of teens waited to enter and shook his head.

“If this is what the fair promotes in the off-season, how can they expect us to support them as something good and positive for the community?” and protester Molly Fogel said she was “praying for the souls of the people going to the concert, and also for the members of the band – just that Christ will come over them and that he will send his Holy Spirit to the concert and that he might change lives there.”

“Oklahomans for Families and Children” have asked for cancellation of the February 5. Oklahoma City concert charging that Manson’s show may violate the state’s “harmful to minors” act. Gov. Frank Keating, Oklahoma, announced his support of a cancellation stating that “these people are peddling garbage.

It’s further proof that society’s moral values continue to crumble.” Manson’s attorney, Paul Cambria met with Oklahoma City officials and had with him a copy of a lawsuit against them. The show is reinstated.

In February 7., The Elmbrook Middle School bans the Marilyn Manson “look” from the school. Including: black lipstick, fishnets, white face paint, pentagram jewelry, and band t-shirts.

This incident marks the beginning of the “fallout” from the Marilyn Manson witch-hunt. From this point on to today, schools across the country will institute clothing bans and expel students for “Manson attire”, “band t-shirts” or “disruptive attire”.

Also on February 7., Christian Coalition Chairman Pat Robertson on his TV program “The 700 Club” announces:

“I think it’s time that people protest all over this nation. This thing is the most degrading ... It incites people to murder, to rape ... saying date rape is no big deal. In an era where we’re so concerned about sexual harassment ... how harassing can it get?!”

Robertson sided with OK Gov. Frank Keating who urged a boycott of a May 2. Oklahoma show.

Reporter Richard Hunt posts an article to “The 700 Club” web site dated 2/3/97, telling of a MM internet church with a “digital counter clicks away” from “the number of souls that have been damned as a result of sampling the web page”.

Omaha, Nebraska Mayor Hal Daub warns parents to keep their young ones at home with them on the night of the concert because “Marilyn Manson is a group that promotes themes such as Satanism, murder and date rape.”

A parochial school teacher and eight of her students, from Fitchburg, Massachusetts, supposedly stumble upon MM on the internet and file with the city council to cancel a scheduled February 21. MM show.

Church leaders meet privately with the Mayor to discuss cancellation. There are tears, prayers, and hymns and a petition to stop the show is distributed. Church officials are asked to circulate the petition during local church services. The Mayor announces in the local paper that he believes the founding fathers did not have MM in mind when they wrote the First Amendment. Three weeks of picketing by religious organizations is followed by a heated city council meeting where two petitions are submitted to the council asking for a cancellation.

A christian organization “Hope for America” is allowed to decorate the council chambers with their banner.

The City Solicitor rules that the show cannot be cancelled.

One counsellor accepts, at the meeting, a private check for \$5,000 towards paying the band not to play and proposes that the council and Mayor raise other money. Council rejects this idea. I have distributed flyers from the picketers at the Fitchburg show. (“Please realize as you descend the stairs and rows to your seats, you are descending into great spiritual darkness”. “Counsellors will be available as you exit tonight’s event.” “You will be able to identify them by small ‘glow in the dark’ crosses taped to their

jackets”.)

Area religious organizations call for “a code of ethics” to be formed for future concerts.

More MM fallout - this instance is the first of what will be many calls for concert ratings and concert review boards.

The idea of “concert ratings” will persist and grow into another major attack on the free expression of bands and music fans over the next two years.

Anchorage, Alaska, Normal, Illinois, and Biloxi, Miss. experience protests by religious groups. The Anchorage City Council passes a resolution that the band’s promoter be notified about the city’s obscenity laws prior to the performance and Anchorage Assembly member Cheryl Clementson says “There won’t be any eating little animals on the stage, or oral sex, or anything else that they have claimed to do.”

Clementson and church leaders urge parents to buy up the tickets so kids can’t get them.

In April of 1998, the most effective strike in the MM war is directed by the American Family Association with the help of its regional chapter the Gulf Coast AFA.

The Gulf Coast AFA launches an Internet web site entitled “Christians opposed to Marilyn Manson Concerts In Their Town”. The web site was complete with information on the band and their schedule, directions on how to mount a protest, and “sworn” affidavits by teens attesting to “satanic church services”, “naked female guitar players”, drugs being “constantly passed out from the front to the back”, and “real and simulated sex” by band members. Print versions of the “sworn affidavits” begin to be circulated at MM shows.

On April 30, 1997 Manson’s attorney, Paul Cambria, sends a cease and desist order to the AFA in regards to “sworn affidavits” Cambria announces that they are preparing a lawsuit against the AFA, the parent group of the Gulf Coast AFA for defamation of character.

All trace of the affidavits are instantly removed from the web site and no one seemed to be able to find them. Gulf Coast head David Rogers tells the New York Times in April that the affidavits removal had nothing to do with either their validity or their graphic nature. He professes that the “affidavits” were taken down at the request of a mysterious, unnamed, Oklahoma organization that were allegedly conducting an obscenity investigation with the help of two unnamed government agencies. He declined to identify the group saying, “We were cautioned by someone who’s working with an investigative group that (the affidavits) should not have been made public, so we inadvertently got information out that shouldn’t have got out.”

The unsubstantiated and erroneous statements in the supposedly sworn affidavits will reappear in the hands of protesters for months to come.

On April 10.: Columbia, South Carolina concert scheduled for a state owned venue is cancelled and is not been reinstated.

State Treasurer Richard Eckstrom after hearing of Manson’s Satanism at church writes to University of SC (venue) calling Manson “needlessly offensive and dehumanising” and demanding immediate cancellation of the concert.

SC State Representative Dan Tripp (R) introduces a referendum to the SC House of Rep. banning Manson from ever performing in SC on state property. The referendum passes. The state will also pay Manson \$40,000 not to play.

The payment comes from prior concert proceeds at the venue. SC Governor David Beasley’s office is “very pleased” the university cancelled the show. SC State Rep. tells me on CBS Radio during interview 4/16/98, says when it comes to state property he has to answer to a “higher power”.

State Senator Ron Farris of Miss., citing the Gulf Coast AFA web site writes to promoter asking that groups with “counter-cultural and/or radical messages” refrain from bringing their “spectacles” to Biloxi, MS, and 5,000 people contact the Jacksonville, FL Mayor’s office calling for cancellation of their April 17. show.

It should be noted here that in each case, despite protesters and their sympathetic city officials only two

concerts have actually been cancelled permanently. The American Civil Liberties Union and Manson attorneys stepped in time to defend the rights of the band and its fans.

Ultimately officials had to acknowledge the existence of American's First Amendment right to free expression.

In May of 1997, Mass MIC also facilitated a statement in support of MM's free speech rights signed by 26 major US first amendment advocacy organizations. Mass MIC began circulating this statement to city officials in each town across the US where protests arose.

As the tour continues Manson "fallout" continues on April 17. – The Texas State Finance Committee approves a measure to ban Texas state entities from investing state monies, i.e. pension funds, in any company which holds 10% or more interest in companies which take part in the production, distribution etc. of music with offensive lyrics. This bill will eventually pass the house and senate and be signed into law by Texas gov. George Bush. Only after a court challenge is the law overturned in 1998. Later in 1997 similar bills will be introduced and fought in California and Maryland.

In Saginaw, MI. Reverend Dana Wilson collected 20,000 signatures asking for a cancellation of their April 25. MM show arguing that the Bill of Rights does not apply to people under the age of 18.

The Reverend has asked the city to institute a ruling that minors could not get into the show without a parent. Rev. Wilson, "Someone somewhere has to draw a line and say what these concerts are exposing our youths to." Reverend Wilson calls for a concert rating system so that future concerts such as this would receive an R rating.

On April 29., the Bill McGinnis Ministries issues an Internet prayer to "bind" the evil spirits of Marilyn Manson.

In May of 1997 the Detroit News reports that the MI State Senate will urge concert halls to ban minors from performances by bands known for raunchy lyrics. The resolution, written by Senator Dale Shugars, passed on a voice vote. Shugars says his resolution is in response to a Marilyn Manson concert in Kalamazoo. He has reportedly received a 10,000 signature petition to stop Manson from the Kalamazoo Citizens for Children and Families.

Later in 1997, Senator Dale Shugars submits a formal bill, which would ban attendance by any under the age of 18 not accompanied by a parent at any concert, which has received a harmful to minors rating. The bill calls for a citizen board to be formed, which would make judgments about ratings for, a band based on albums and past performances. Mass MIC and hundreds of activists in the music and free speech community fought this bill and its rewritten versions throughout 1998. This summer (1998) the 4th writing of the bill was sent back to committee for revision. It still sits in committee. Although support for the bill has waned and it is not expected to reappear this year.

Senator Shugars swears that he will be back with a new bill next year and onward until he succeeds.

In May, the Rev. Shirley A. Jackson marches along the steps of the Richmond Coliseum site of an upcoming MM show praying aloud. "The Lord came to me", she said, "and told me that for 13 days I had to come out here and pray." "We believe we are casting out the devils".

Jackson was previously famous for her Median Strip Ministry where she and her two foster children would preach and sing daily along the media strip on Chamberlayne Ave., Richmond.

Protests occur before concerts in Hamilton, Ontario, Utica, New York, and Washington D.C.

The Reverend Donald Wildmon of the American Family Association tells USA Today that Marilyn Manson is "blatantly anti-Christian in the songs they sing ... what flows from it is Satanic messages." Although he reports never having seen a show.

In the July and August 1997 "American Family Association Journals", there are two anti-Manson articles. One of them which asks that: "God's people should recognize what God has ordained song: A song is much more than sound and rhythm; a drama, more than players on a stage; these works are the deepest window into the soul of the artist".

Citing Manson's statement that his band may, through song, be able to bring about the downfall of Christianity, they propose that "alternative" and "heavy metal" music are as less brazen, but still proselytise a bitter vision of a world gone hopelessly wrong. An that "rap", "dance", and contemporary

“r&b” feature “illicit sex and vulgarity” as their dominant themes, and “Gangsta rap” mixes in violent motifs and has been linked to numerous real life crimes.”

The August articles author calls Manson the “most demented artists to hit the scene in the history of rock music.”

Richmond, Vancouver city officials cancel a May 10. show after City manager Robert Bobb states that MM “was not consistent with our community standard”. “Satan worship and animalistic type of programming is not consistent with the image we’re building for our community”. After American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) action the concert is rescheduled.

In June, responding to reports of puppy eating at concerts, “People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals” organization writes to Manson’s management to make sure no animals are being injured during Manson shows.

US Senator Joe Lieberman in the press calls Manson “the sickest group ever promoted by a mainstream record company”.

Concerts in Calgary, Winnipeg, and Edmonton, Canada come under heavy attack from religious groups. As I mentioned earlier, it was fall out from this very campaign against the band which led to the violation of the rights of many students in the fall of 1997 and throughout 1998.

The US Courts have previously found in that t-shirts, clothing, were a means of expression and were therefore protected under the First Amendment to the US Constitution. The courts have ruled that school officials could not stop such actions unless they “substantially interfered with the school’s discipline and operation.”

In September 1997: 18 students were stopped as they tried to walk out of South View High School in Fayetteville, North Carolina. Half of those students were suspended. The students were protesting a school ban on “disruptive” t-shirts.

“Disruptive” t-shirts were defined as those of Marilyn Manson, “gangsta rap”, such as Wu-Tang Clan and Tupac Shakur. One student had been suspended the day before for a home made t-shirt which bore only the spray painted words “Tupac Shakur” and “Marilyn Manson” on the back and “First Amendments Rights R.I.P.”

School principal Tony Parker told reporters that if he had his way offensive t-shirts would be banned nationwide and that too much freedom of expression can cause problems. “When it downgrades the moral fibre of our society, I do”, he said.

In December 1997: An 18-year-old man is arrested in a New Braunfels, TX grocery store. He is charged with violating the city obscene display ordinance for wearing a Marilyn Manson t-shirt.

In January 1998, the ACLU of North Carolina announces that it will come to the defence of teenager from Cumberland County High School who was disciplined for wearing Marilyn Manson t-shirts.

And in April 1998: A 20 year old woman is arrested in Tenn. ‘At the Tater Days’ festival for wearing a MM t-shirt on the fair grounds. Authorities say she violated the state harassment statute.

As we come into the fall of 1998, the band Marilyn Manson is again on tour. In October, the Charlotte, NC Coliseum Authority meets to discuss an upcoming MM concert scheduled for November 10. The band’s contract already includes a \$10,000 fee if the band calls for fans to leave their reserved seats. Council member Nasif Majeed called the band “repulsive” and “sickening”. And mandates three times the usual number of security personnel in attendance (at the promoter’s expense). Authority members criticized the band and said they would look into a ratings system for future Charlotte concerts.

And in Syracuse, New York - Mayor Roy Bernardi is joined by some Onondaga County legislators to pressure operators of Syracuse’s Landmark Theatre to cancel a show scheduled for November 19, 1998. County Legislators threaten to withhold \$30,000 in state development funds to the theatre if they don’t cancel. The Mayor threatens to pull the theatre’s entertainment permit if the show goes on. Resultant Syracuse Post-Standard editorial points out Mayor Bernard’s evangelical Christian bent and recent attendance at Promise Keepers rally.

In October 1998, Houston, Texas reports that a teenage boy brutally stabs a teenage girl friend. The papers and police officials note that he and the girl were watching a Marilyn Manson video on the afternoon of the stabbing.

On November 10, 1998, we learned that in Fort Worth, Texas, a non-profit organization called the Crime Prevention Resource Centre (CPRC) is offering "Marilyn Manson Awareness Training" for educators. Although no fees will reportedly be collected for the seminars some State funding is allegedly used to support the CPRC (unconfirmed funding as of yet).

Impetus for the sessions is Manson show in Dallas on November 5, and in Houston November 4, and the October stabbing.

By TX state law any group can be defined as a gang if there are three or more of them, they dress alike. The CPRC is recommending that Manson fans and fans of other goth-rock bands be considered gangs. Ramon Jacquez, program director states, "a majority of them are taking drugs, do graffiti in their neighbourhoods, on the school, on their books."

Such criminal activity puts them in the same category as Crips, Bloods, and Latin Kings. Mr. Jacques reportedly has no data to support his claims of criminal activity. Jacques also believes a majority of goth-rock fans engage in ritual sacrifice. 3 sessions of MM training were held over the summer of 1998 and more are planned. The training includes: "Marilyn Manson and Other Cults: The Impact on Education", a discussion of Manson's biography with handouts of text segments, songs, viewing of MM "Dead to the World" home video, and reprints of fan and official web sites.

Jacques stresses "no interest in censorship". But says teens already "fragmented minds" may make them more susceptible to lyrics like "Kill your mother; Kill your father" – what will that do to that mind." There is reported to be some inclusion of gangsta rap in this seminar but we have yet to secure those details.

A Chicago area Rock Island County Regional Education Office employee is reportedly participating in similar seminars. Delano Gilkey authored a manual for a conference on Satanism and Satanic Youth – the Rock Island County Regional Office of Education, RICROE of Illinois, sponsored the conference. Gilkey's manual sites the Jewish Star of David and the Islamic Crescent and Star as symbols of the occult. It has been reported that Gilkey may speak at a Texas "Manson" session.

In November of 1998, the AFA distributed a Marilyn Manson Action Alert regarding Marilyn Manson's new tour. They now describe Manson as not satanic, not hedonistic, but nihilistic – Manson's message they say is shared with three devils of the twentieth century – Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini.

The article goes on to discuss this form of atheism, Nietzsche, and nihilism complete with URLs for more info.

This year they advise if Manson comes to your town – Educate yourself and others, work with city officials to organize a citizens committee to pre-screen incoming bands before they are booked and insist that police and other officials strictly enforce local ordinances against drugs and nudity.

They state: "A strong argument can be made that if a concert will likely draw a crowd where illegal activities are inevitably going to take place at a level that police are overwhelmed and cannot enforce the law, the concert should not be allowed to happen."

Mass MIC has to date received e-mails from young people regarding t-shirt bans in 16 high schools and Jr. high schools across the country and we are certain there are many, many more that we never hear about. We are still fighting Sen. Shugars concert rating bill and expect to fight it and others like it for years to come. In 1998 we fought bills in Georgia and Tennessee, which would prohibit those under the age of 18 from purchasing CDs of allegedly "obscene" music and we will surely have to fight more such bills next year. In every instance the band Marilyn Manson is cited as a kind of music, which spurs the ban or the bill.

This struggle to either destroy or preserve free expression in music is far from over.

5 Nationalism, War and Censorship

5.1 Censorship on Music during the German Occupation of Denmark

By *Mr. Hans Skaarup, Producer, Danish Broadcasting Corporation.*

Imagine a young person in a music quiz in the radio or on TV. The question is: "Has the German composer Mendelssohn ever been prohibited in The Danish National Radio?". You can imagine the answer: "No, of course not".

But the answer is wrong. Mendelssohn and all other Jewish composers were banned in the Danish radio during the German occupation from 1940-1945. The same happened to the composers and musicians, which the Nazis stamped as ENTARTET; degenerated.

The German censorship in The Danish National Radio during the Nazi occupation of Denmark is relatively well documented in recordings in the radio archive. There is documentation in a few books about the history of the Danish Radio but as far as I can see, nobody has been especially engaged in that part of the history, not even in radio programmes.

The Danes and the staff at the radio house had to accept the situation at that time and did so without protest. But the radio director F.E. Jensen and the radio board tried to keep as much of the radio administration as possible on Danish hands.

The German Reich-Rundfunk tried with strong persistence in the end of the thirties to tempt the Danish Radio to transmit the endless speeches of Adolf Hitler. The Danes thanked courteously NO, and broadcasted only very short cuts in the news and programmes.

When the Second World War broke out on the 1st of September 1939 the radio-board decided to make severe restrictions regarding the light programmes and they cancelled entertainment and cabaret. Instead they concentrated the energy on news and programmes. Broadcasts ended as early as 11 o'clock p.m.

When the German troops attacked Denmark in the morning at 4 am on the 9th of April 1940 there was silent in the radio studios of the old radio-house at Kongens Nytorv close to the Royal Theatre.

The first programme began at 7 am and was broadcasted according to the plan, while the technicians heard the shooting in the streets of Copenhagen.

Just before 8:30 am German troops entered the radio-house.

It was done quietly and no one put up resistance.

The Germans ordered the Danish speaker Mr. Schiønning to read the German proclamation, thrown as flyers over the larger Danish cities by aeroplane.

From that moment on the Danish Radio was governed by Nazi ideology. The real head of Radio Denmark was now Dr. Joseph Goebbels, the Third Reich Secretary of Propaganda. From now on and for the next 5 years it was this highly gifted brain of the Nazi top in Berlin, who controlled Danish cultural politics.

On the evening of the 9th of April Goebbels spoke in the Great German Radio informing the German people about the invasion of Norway and Denmark.

The new political regime was characterised by extreme racism. Music of Jewish composers was immediately prohibited in Denmark: Mendelssohn, Fritz Kreisler, George Gershwin – just to name a few. Planned programmes with Jewish composers were cancelled. However, it was not just the Jewish composers. In Nazi Germany they had an expression for art, not accepted by the Nazi regime, it was called ENTARTETE KUNST; degenerated art, and many world famous Arian artists was stamped with this expression.

For me today it is completely impossible to understand. For me Mendelssohn's music seems politically harmless and from a musical point of view very German and very important.

Totalitarian States have always known how important ART is as a spiritual weapon. During the occupation of the Danish Radio the Nazis showed an extreme fear of any criticism of the system and especially of DER FÜHRER, Adolf Hitler. Here the worst in the Prussian attitude to life was combined with an extreme hypersensitive Nazi angle, totally lacking humour and self-irony. The years of the German occupation of the Danish Radio is a story combined of tragic and humorous elements. A fight between Danish humour and the stupidity of the fanatic Nazi ideology.

Immediately the day after the occupation the Danish tone changed. A German military censor moved into the radio-house. It was his duty to monitor the programmes so that nothing would conflict with German interests. As soon as the 12th of April, a civil censor came from the short wave radio station in Berlin. The Danish National Radio was now a part of the German cultural front and the programmes were forced to promote Danish-German understanding. Danish nazi friendly programme controllers were hired. Teaching English and French in the radio was to be stopped immediately.

The Danes were forced to learn German only. But the radio-board would not accept this so the English teaching programmes was for a very long time a point of tension between the leader, Mr. Jensen and the German radio commissioner Mr. Lohman.

Mr. Lohman declared that English would not play a part at all in the new German dominated Europe after the war.

Even weather forecasts were not allowed, because this way allied flyers would know how the weather was in Denmark and would be able to find the right time to throw weapons down for the Danish resistance people.

For the board and for Mr. Jensen especially, it was a balance at knife-edge and a lot of tactfulness was required in the relationship with the German authorities. It was important to keep as much as possible of the administration on Danish hands. Many jobs were involved and after the battle of Stalingrad it was clear, that the Germans were not going to win the war. Therefore it was very important that the Danish staff was intact when the war was over and the Germans had left Denmark.

The first years of the occupation passed quietly. The radio programmes became more and more boring and the Danes listened to the English BBC instead, who broadcasted news in Danish every evening. The Germans installed jamming stations all over the country but with a good antenna it was still possible to listen to the BBC.

When USA and Russia entered the war, American and Russian music was prohibited too. Danish national songs with anti-German lyrics were forbidden and the Danish Schallburg Squad, Danish soldiers in German service, fighting at the eastern front in Russia, took beloved Danish songs and gave them a Nazi inspired lyric.

The great radio hit in 1941 was the German song “Lili Marleen” sung by Lale Anderson. It was recorded in 1939 but was quite unknown until the German soldiers who occupied Beograd, chose it as their battle song. After a very short time the lyrics were translated into 42 languages and was sung all over the world. In Denmark it was recorded with an in-offensive Danish lyric and the march rhythm was reduced.

The national disposition and the talk in Copenhagen during these years was very ironic and witty as a contrast to the German occupation. The lyrics of “Lili Marleen” were rapidly changed to an anti-Nazi version.

It is very difficult to ban the wit of the people. The Minister of Justice himself sang the persiflage version at a cabinet meeting. The Germans demanded the unofficial lyric stopped immediately. But how could the ministers stop the Danish wit. It was impossible. Then the Germans banned “Lili Marleen” completely – even the German version with Lale Anderson.

It was not allowed to be played in restaurants, with or without the lyrics and it was banned in radio programmes.

For many years physical exercises were a tradition in the morning programme. It was a tradition too, to begin the programme with a cheerful melody or a march. One morning in 1943 the speaker played

Sousa's "Liberty Bell". Big trouble!

In September 1944 the Germans arrested the Danish police and sent the police officers to German concentration camps.

The radio was silent a couple of days and when it started the first song played was the overture of Franz von Suppes "Banditenstreiche", in English this means something like Scoundrel-Tricks.

Both speakers were threatened with a court-martial.

But Mr. Knuth who played "Banditenstreiche" did not understand what he had done wrong. He told the German radio-dictator, Herr Lohmann, that he wanted to play "a cheerful piece of fine German Arian music". He could not see that anything could be wrong there. This make believe NAIVE attitude saved him from a court-martial.

The period of the German occupation is full of stories of this kind. It was also forbidden to play another specimen of good German Arian music, namely Carl Maria von Weber's "Jubel-overture". Weber was Arian through and through but the problem was that the end of the overture: "Heil dir im Siegerkranz" is the same tune as "God save the Kind".

Emmerich Kalmann's Operettas "The Czardas Princess" and "Countess Mariza" were also banned. Even if only the lyric-writer was of Jewish origin, this was enough to ban the whole operetta.

During the occupation the Danish National Radio was forced to transmit Hitler's speeches in full length without translation.

Ib Wiedemann, who worked as a speaker during the last 3 years of the war, has told me about the transmission of Hitler's last speech on the 30th of January 1945, the 12 anniversary of the Nazi regime. Hitler finished with the words "Und möge der allmächtige das Grossdeutsche Reich bewahren" – "And may the mighty God save the Great German Empire".

Mr. Wiedemann couldn't hold back a quiet AMEN.

The German controller who was a convinced Nazi from Berlin, came up and strangle-held him and said: "You could have saved me from that". A friendly Austrian occupation officer told Mr. Wiedemann to escape for some time to avoid a court-martial.

When he came back the Nazi apologised and told him that his wife and 5 children were in Berlin and Hitler said nothing about the Russian soldiers who were approaching Berlin at that time. This was why he reacted to strongly.

For Mr. Wiedemann the night between the 4th and the 5th of May 1945 was the greatest event of his life. From 11 o'clock in the evening until 8 o'clock in the morning he was free to play all the banned records, still available in the archive.

This was the most euphoric moment in the history of the Danish National Radio.

5.2 Britain at War. How Music was "restricted" during the Falkland and Golf War

By *Mr. Martin Cloonan, Ph.D., Research fellow, University of Stirling, Scotland.*

What I would like to do is to give you a taste of censorship in Britain. Britain is quite often seen as a place where censorship doesn't occur but it certainly does. I will explain how the law works in Britain and then talk about broadcasting regulations and then come on to talking about the Golf war. Let me start with the legal situation in Britain. The legal situation in Britain is quite complicated because the constituent four countries in Britain have slightly differing laws about censorship. However the most important law, which covers England and Wales, is called the 1959 Obscene Publication Act. This covers obscene articles of all sorts, books, films, records etc.

The law bans material, which would deprave and corrupt its likely audience. There have been cases where music has been held to have that capacity. It is a very controversial piece of legislation. It's been on since 1959. There have been numerous debates about what to do with it. Let me just give you a taste of what happens should you be in the unfortunate position to be a musician who has become victim of this law. I will give you an example from 1991.

The police in Nottingham raided a record company called Earache Records, which is a death metal and speed metal organization. They raided the record plant and took away a lot of stock. What happens is that the police will raid and take your stock away. But they have to list the stock that they take away, and this is where it becomes very interesting. A list of stock seized from Earache Records included stock by bands called The Filthy Christians, Carcass and various things. But it also has some wonderful things where the police get slightly paranoid so there are copies of newspapers among other things. My very favourite one is that they seized an Alice Cooper poster complete with 'blue-tack'. So they can presumably stick it on the wall in the police station. That material was held for about 16 months before it was returned to Earache Records, it was not actually prosecuted. That is the kind of thing that happens.

The situation in Britain is also complicated by the fact that censorship is not centralised. Local councils still have power over film and over licensing of venues and so on. Regional police forces have a great deal of autonomy; there is no national police force. So to an extent the type of censorship you are subject to in Britain depends on where you live. Most importantly of all, the British State has farmed out the broadcasting to the broadcasters themselves. Whilst there are legal restrictions upon what broadcasters can broadcast, essentially broadcasting is run by the interpretation of various rules.

The broadcasters in Britain are covered by the law but also their own regulations. Both the commercial stations and the state owned BBC Network have obligations not to offend taste and decency, this is written into their regulations.

OK, so what's taste and decency? I think we heard this morning that there is a very important role played by interpreters of regulations. Obviously at times of national crisis the definition of taste and decency tends to narrow a little. This is most obviously the case in times of war. One of the things that are quite obvious with censorship is that it is inexplicably linked to contemporary events. There is a sort of censorial climate, which goes up and down. Certainly in times of war the censorial hate will come up. What has happened in Britain is that whenever there has been war, censorship has increased.

For example if you go back to the First World War there were censorship of musical songs. During the Second World War obviously the BBC was not particularly keen on playing German music. There were bans during the Falklands war for certain records. I think it would be fair to say that records that criticised the government policy during the Falklands war did not get a great deal of airplay. Of course the longest running saga of censorship in contemporary Britain was the war in Ireland. We heard this morning of Paul McCartney getting banned and there were various bands and records about the situation in Ireland.

So by the time we get to the Golf war in the early 1990s you can see the broadcasters have a history of being sensitive about certain material. I think it is probably true to say that it is not a matter in Britain of the central state saying, "You can't play this". It is a matter of broadcasters saying, "we're supporting our

boys in this one, we're not going to rock the boat”.

The broadcasters had a somewhat ambiguous role during the Golf war. At one level, a whole BBC Radio station was devoted to coverage of the Golf war, minute by minute, 24 hours a day. They kind of separated the Golf war from mainstream broadcasting. I think what effectively happened was that popular entertainment, popular music was not allowed to impinge on the war. Even though Radio One, the main broadcasting station, went out to the Golf and broadcasted from there, there was still a sort of mental separation that popular entertainment must carry on regardless of the war.

So what happened was that during the run up to the Golf war on commercial radio, on Jazz FM, a man called Gilles Peterson decided that as the United Nations deadline for action against Iraq was coming close he would play two hours of peace music. Fairly impartial, one would have thought, just to play music calling for peace. The result of that was that he was sacked, he was deemed to have broken broadcast regulations for displaying political partiality. Independent commercial radio in Britain is supervised by the Radio Authority. When complaints were made to the authority about the sacking of Gilles Peterson for playing peace music they said that it was an internal matter, it is just what the station decides itself. However, they upheld complaints against Jazz FM for not being politically impartial.

Meanwhile back at Radio One and back at the BBC a famous list of records was produced. What happened was that this list of records was not a ban as such it was just a list of records produced which BBC producers and DJ's might like to consider carefully before playing. This is not a ban; it was produced by local radio within BBC.

Just a few examples from this list. It says, “Be very careful about playing these records during the Golf war”: ABBA: “Waterloo”, Kate Bush: “Army Dreamers”, José Feliciano: “Light my Fire”, Queen: “Killer Queen”, 10CC: “Rubber Bullets”.

I think in retrospect one of the things that this ridiculous list of records did, because it got quite a lot of press, was actually to make the war thing less important. Whatever the persons making this list intended I think in Britain it made the war seem less serious than it was.

We heard some talk today about musicians having a history of resistance. During the Golf war in Britain I think it was very hard to resist the war and not be tainted with being a supporter of Saddam Hussein. It was very hard politically to do that. There was a group called Musicians Against the War, which was formed. It got almost no press and I think apart from holding a singing outside the BBC to protest against this list, its overall impact I would say was nil. There were other sorts of petty acts of censorship during the Golf war. During the annual Brit Awards for music in 1991 the artists who appeared on that show were told not to mention the war. Artists who broke that rule, including people like Lisa Stansfield, who said when she was receiving the award, “This award is very nice but it would be a much better reward for me if the war stopped”, received a great deal of media hostility straight away. Sinead O'Connor also spoke out against the war and boycotted the Brit Awards that year. She found that instead of a video of “Nothing Compares 2 You” being shown, that they showed a video of Whitney Houston singing “Star Spangled Banner” as a direct insult to Sinead O'Connor who had been protesting against having the American National Anthem played at a concert.

So all sorts of petty spite going on.

Within the record industry they knuckled down as well, saying we don't want to rock the boat here, we don't want to offend people. Forget the fact that the British Army is out there slaughtering Iraqis. So they asked bands to change their names, Massive Attack became Massive, The Happy Mondays have a song called “Loose Fit” which talks about blowing up an airport base, that line was dropped from the song when the single was released. A band called Carter the Unstoppable Sex Machine had a record called “Blood Sports for All” which is a critique of racism within the British Army. The record company made them swap that and put it on the B-side of the single during the Golf war. So there are various sorts of petty censorship going on. So I think that overall this is not the sort of central state saying, “you must do this”, there is a kind of atmosphere where you don't rock the boat. The context of all this is that the BBC was being accused of being left wing in the 1980s.

The Conservative Party was not very keen on the BBC at times. So by the time the Golf war came about, the BBC was very sensitive about what it did during the war. For example when asked whether they would play the Rolling Stones record “High Wire”, which is a critique of arms dealers, the head of Radio One at that point said, “No, we won't play it because we don't want to be the leftie BBC fighting the enemies of freedom again”. So there was a kind of attack on the BBC. At the same time the commercial

networks had just been subject to new legal restraints from the 1990 Broadcast Act. So they kind of censor themselves anyway and they don't need the state to tell them.

So I would argue that popular music at its best probably is when it is resisting and being a dissident voice and during the Golf war that voice wasn't heard at all. I don't think you have to be a supporter of Saddam Hussein to hope that at least next time popular music might get more voice and get back its radical tradition.

Thanks.

5.3 Music and Censorship in Ex-Yugoslavia: Some views from Croatia

By *Mr. Svanibor Pettan, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.*

People who dominated the first Southern Slav state from 1918 to World War II (Serbs, Croats, Slovenes) or became fully recognized in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Montenegrins, Macedonians, ethnic Muslims, ethnic Albanian minority) differed in several respects.

In some issues they had very little in common, in others they were mutually opposed. Lack of commonality can be seen e.g. in a comparison between the Central-European Alpine style of music in Slovenia and the Balkan, Turkish influenced music in Kosovo. An opposition can be seen in highly respected epic songs in which Christian and Muslim singers, respectively, glorified heroes belonging to the mutually opposed sides.

What one ethnic group looked at as the glorious past, the other looked at as a national tragedy. Consequently, patriotic songs of one ethnic group were treated as nationalistic by the other.

Yugoslav authorities made considerable attempts to bring people together on common grounds. Organizers of musical life were sent from one part of the country to the other, folklore ensembles were stimulated to perform programs with songs and dances from all republics and provinces, and music in the media was directed in a way that would promote "Brotherhood and Unity" among the peoples within Yugoslavia. Instead of these basically positive aspects of Yugoslav cultural policy, I will concentrate rather on some negative, less known ones, since they are more likely to help us comprehend the violent end of Yugoslavia. The key word is "enforcement", nicely composed in an adage used by American anthropologist of Serbian descent Andrei Simic: "Woe unto a brotherhood and unity imposed by force of law".

Political authorities in post-World War II Yugoslavia were aware of the impact certain music could have on the population and therefore forbade public performance of (1) songs related to national identity of the constituent peoples of Yugoslavia - if not within the frame of Yugoslavia, and (2) songs with religious contents outside the places for religious services. I shall present two cases to document the former category and another ones to document the latter.

The Croatian national anthem »Lijepa naša« (Our Beautiful Homeland) was recognized as such by the Croats on both mutually opposed sides at the time of World War II - by the Ustashas and by the Partisans. Strangely enough, this particular song was officially proclaimed as the anthem much later, first in the 1972 amendments and finally in the 1974 Constitution. But still, it was not supposed to be performed neither alone nor together with Croatian patriotic / nationalistic songs. It was supposed to be performed only next to the Yugoslav national anthem »Hej Slaveni« (Hey, Slavs), thus pointing to Croatia as part of Yugoslavia. Otherwise, according to ethnologist Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin, it could have been treated as a criminal offence and sanctioned with a sixty-day prison term.

Another indicative example of censorship was the song about ban (viceroi) Josip Jelačić. Jelačić was a 19th century Croatian politician who at some point militarily opposed the Hungarians – and not the Serbs, nor any other group later included in Yugoslavia. But Yugoslav authorities considered him a Croatian nationalist leader, for whom the Croats called with this particular song whenever they felt repressed. The statue of Jelačić was removed from the main square in the Croatian capital Zagreb after World War II by the communist regime and was re-erected only in the course of political changes a decade ago. The example of the song »Ustani, bane« (Wake up, viceroi) demonstrates that a song related to different historical circumstances can be – and in fact was – recognized as a threat by the authorities and therefore banned.

As far as religion was concerned, music director of the brass band in the Croatian town of Samobor was discharged after the performance of the ensemble in a church procession in 1953 (according to Bogolin 1992). Religious symbols were never mentioned nor shown in radio and television programs about traditional music, so a poorly informed listener would be led to the false conclusion that traditional weddings in Croatia had nothing to do with churches. I remember that as late as in the 1980s cover notes accompanying some recordings of traditional music in the archives of the national radio station in Zagreb

conveyed warnings such as: God is mentioned in this song, so be very careful about using it or do not use it in regular programs at all. In general, radio editors showed no interest in recording religious songs in the course of their fieldwork, because they knew that such songs should not be broadcasted. It is important to note that it was the editor himself / herself who was claimed responsible for obeying the limits. And this kind of imposed auto-censorship was very efficient.

From today's perspective one could also laugh at certain examples of banned music from the post World War II period. At the time, however, such examples were interpreted in very serious terms. As an example, a Croatian choir gave concert in Montenegro about 30 years ago.

Its repertoire included traditional song from their home-town Samobor entitled »Samoborci piju vino z lonci« (The inhabitants of Samobor drink wine from the buckets).

Local authorities in Montenegro claimed that the word »Samoborci« could also be interpreted as the two words – »samo borci« meaning "only the (partisan) fighters" – and forced the choir to remove this particular song from the program. Another example is related to a performance of the Croatian professional folklore ensemble named Lado in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1980s. The problem was raised by the fact that the dancers' traditional belts resembled the colours of the Croatian national flag – red, white, and blue, and that there was no Yugoslav symbol on it – the red star – which was present on the flag.

Some of the finest musicians were punished after World War II for having been on the “wrong” side in the war or simply for their bourgeois background. The conductor Lovro Matačić, who later became well known, used to be the principal for military music in the Independent State of Croatia during the war and was sentenced to death in 1945. The sentence was later changed to a prison term (according to Završki 1993).

The composer Boris Papandopulo, of aristocratic background, was forced after the war to be a truck driver (according to Martinčević 1993). Composers known for being religious were on blacklists and their compositions were rarely publicly performed. Jakov Gotovac's opera-oratorio *Petar Svačić* was forbidden in 1971 for political reasons (according to Tomić, 1992).

Part of these problems can be explained in regard to the ideology of proletarian egalitarianism favoured by the communist partisans who emerged victorious from the war in 1945. Their cultural concept was opposed to the pre war bourgeois culture. As an example, the conductor Pero Gotovac recalled the performance of his father's opera *Kamenik* in the main Zagreb theatre in 1946: "...during the second act, a group of young people came in whistling, beating with their feet, and shouting the slogans 'Burn the score' ... and 'Down with ... author'. I think it was a group from the partisan secondary school, young people in uniform, some of them armed.

The archivist ... hurried to conceal the score, and my father barely escaped from the Western door [probably back door, op. S.P.] of the theatre, while the protesters spontaneously formed the *Kozaračko kolo* [a popular partisan circle dance, op. S.P.] all around the theatre” (Tomić 1992).

Silvije Bombardeli, one of the rare composers faithful to the partisan ideals as late as in 1986, wrote: “Although abnegated through the liberation war and revolution [World War II, op. S.P.], the bourgeois understanding of culture consolidated again, and from the 1950s on became particularly aggressive. As opposed to the bourgeois thesis that the synthesis of art and revolution is impossible...I claim that only their synthesis can result with the relevant!” (in Vesanović 1986). The fact is that the urban (“bourgeois”) culture, based either on the Habsburg or the Ottoman tradition, was too deeply rooted in various parts of Yugoslavia for any kind of newly created syntheses to be widely adopted as an alternative.

The process of liberalization following the constitutional changes in the 1970s and the death of the principal Yugoslav authority, Marshal Tito in 1980, brought into the political arena several concepts about the future of the South Slav state. Former emphasis on commonality among the groups gave place to the emphasis on mutual differences. In late 1980s, the attempts of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo to achieve greater autonomy and determination of the Serbian state to cut off the autonomous status of that province were reflected in lyrics of the songs. Historical topics justifying the right of either group over Kosovo were mixed with current events (e.g. alleged Albanian rapes of Serbian women) and new heroes (a verse about Slobodan Milošević; “although you are a Communist, we love you like Jesus Christ”). Forceful suspension of Kosovo autonomy, with Vojvodina and Montenegro already being dominated by the Milošević's regime, raised anxiety and quickened the events in the western part of Yugoslavia. Slovenia and Croatia were soon followed by Bosnia-Herzegovina and also by Macedonia in their attempt to reach sovereignty, first within Yugoslavia (only if transformed into a loose confederation), later also

outside the Yugoslav framework. And music was there to help – to mobilize people for their new roles and to support those who gained political power.

By the late 1980s, the national(ist) insignia, often with problematic connotations related to the World War II period, were available at street stands in all major cities throughout Yugoslavia.

Music cassettes with songs emphasizing Serbianness, Croatianness, and so on (rather than Yugoslavianness), many of them forbidden for decades, suddenly became available.

In Croatia, at least, many people interpreted this change as a sign of arriving democracy. One of the first ensembles to perform and even record Croatian songs that had been forbidden for political reasons was neo-traditional tamburica band “Zlatni dukati”. After a concert in late 1989, the ensemble members were called to the police for an informal interview. Josip Ivanković, the ensemble leader, recalls it: The police officer asked us if we knew that these songs were forbidden. 'No, where is it specified?' - I replied. 'It should have been specified in a written form to be an argument'. But this was an unwritten law and everybody knew that these songs were not supposed to be performed. Police officer documented what we said, and if the political conditions would not have been changed so fast, I am positive, we would be sentenced for the famous two-month prison terms." (personal communication 1993).

Political changes in the late 1980s and early 1990s set the terrain for the breakdown of some boundaries and for the creation of the new ones. Ideologically motivated ban of public performance of nationalistic, anti-Communist and religious songs ceased to exist in Croatia, while the ban related to the shared heritage with the enemy (pro-Yugoslav and pro-Communist songs, the Balkan-style novokomponovana narodna muzika – newly composed folk music folk-pop genre) came into existence. No music-related censorship was mentioned in legal documents, but the »unwritten law«, just like in the Yugoslav period, called for the sense of self-censorship on behalf of the individuals employed in the state media.

Censorship in music in Croatia and in other independent states, brought to life through the break-up of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, however, opens up a new topic and will be considered at some other occasion.

6 Political Correctness, Self-censorship, Market and Media, Part 1- Political correctness

6.1 **Mr. Miguel Angel Estrella**, Musician, composer, director of Musique Espérance, Argentine/France

Can culture and art play a part in the development of a lasting freedom or not?

Many artists and intellectuals throughout all times, believing that culture and art were a privileged way of transmitting aesthetic beauty, have asked themselves how to implicate their profession within the socio-political reality in which they lived. Following different ways, but each achieving a capital impact, musicians such as Bach, Händel, Mozart, Beethoven, Chopin, Liszt, Brahms, Moussorgsky, Bartok, writers such as Machado, Unamuno, Zola, Victor Hugo, Goethe...have done so, and with them, all those who have understood that, without liberty, there is no art but that without art there can be no liberty.

In order to speak of what I know best, I should say that South American military dictatorships have always considered artists and intellectuals as a potential danger.

At the end of the fifties and beginning of the sixties, I used to be one of the students member of the National Conservatory of Buenos Aires who were asking themselves a number of questions: Why were the programs we had at the time the exact replica of the Paris conservatory from the 1920?

Why would music be divided into either popular or so called classical, and the first one was considered as a third class inferior product, or in any case of mediocre origin?

Why, if Mozart or Stravinsky were universal, did the greatest part of the population, that is to say the poor, have no right to listen to them?

Such questions were enough to get us accused, in spite of the fact that the majority of us were actually Christians; we got branded as communists and started to be the object of surveillance.

Fifteen years later, in the south cone of Latin America, military rules have imposed their dictatorships. Many young artists and intellectuals had set up some kind of cultural programs for the benefit of the whole population, but while doing so, they had focused their attention mainly on the poor. We were the Vatican's children and we were trying to implement its teachings with our own actions.

Very soon, we became the object of searches and arrests as subversive elements.

The south cone secret police had a model: It was designed like in the Soviet Union and it applied the same methods. Actually, we have to admit that the south cone police force had set up a most efficient cooperation. Argentineans would "vanish" into Brazil, Uruguay, Bolivia or Paraguay or Chile and vice versa.

My torturers were in the habit of telling me: "We know that you are not a member of the guerrilla...but you are worst, because with your piano, your "charisma", you can put the "negrada" working class into your pocket. Over here, we are the Gods and we are waging an anti-communist, anti-catholic crusade in the south cone. You, you could be rich, but you have chosen the "shit" society, the negro workers, the peasants, the Indians, the poor populace...and much more of the same kind."

To be "worst" for them was to fight against their ideology with words, music, art and culture weapon less, but relying on the example of a life totally devoid of compromise. This meant that our battle was more a matter of contributing to the people's education so that they could themselves hold their own destiny into their hands.

I remain convinced, as I was at the beginning of my socio-musical involvement, in the middle of the sixties, that music and art in general, that is to say culture, can bring a fundamen-tal contribution to society.

Today, we do not have to face any more any military junta capable of bygone cruelty, fine, yet it may just depend on where you happen to be. Anyway, it does not happen any more in the vast majority of Latin American countries.

In order to serve our socio-cultural cause, we need to meet head on and tackle a number of crucial issues. In spite of the fact that “Musique Espérance” (Music Hope) – the non-governmental organization (NGO), I had created those fifteen years ago – has been able to prove that it is possible to unite art and culture in a number of development programs, which aim at a higher quality of life, I shall mention a few of the negative tendencies or drawbacks with which we have been confronted and against which we ought to be fighting.

The invasion of ephemeral subcultures of consumption, which are totally rootless and designed solely for moneymaking purposes – subcultures which propagate violence, bad taste and the objective of which is to unify thoughts so as to mondialise them by cramming down minds with an unsavoury fast-food which of course sells very well. This kind of “integration” of profitability is apparent in the music field, and signals itself by such catch words as “the look” or by “integrals” which commercial marketing laws force down onto us. Pseudo-music is being globalised according to criteria of a strictly mercantile nature, in just the same way as bad taste, alienation, poverty, indigence are mondialised.

The lack of understanding of the political class, which persists into looking upon art as just a decoration, an ornament, a privilege, and not an all-consuming passion. To re-gild “the look” of a political figure, prestige campaigns are launched and fortunes are spent. But when you talk to those same politicians about any long-term social program, they grow reluctant.

It does not hold any interest for them. What does hold their interest on the other hand is what can be seen, what will come out through the television screen and have a bold impact.

Social life is in constant regression, on account of the problems inherent to the present society of our times, which generate the continuous expansion of a highly dangerous individualism.

The lack of communications between neighbours and within one’s own family – there are places where couples do not even dance together any more, but each for him or herself, locked up into a kind of autism...

I mention this just to give an example of the kind of deterioration, which is taking place on the level of social and familial relations.

The most powerful among the communication media do not display the interest they should for the initiatives developed by the civil society. They demonstrate or evince a morbid complacency by dealing with taboos and displaying the sores of society.

Such information is occasionally broadcasted in a libertine manner which amounts more to a kind of disinformation of the public whilst diverting its attention to totally different topics. For example Clinton’s fly, the fact that Pavarotti or Placido Domingo earns millions by singing just “boleros”, or that Julio Iglesias has devalourised tango...or the issue of Michael Jackson’s fatherhood, are considered more important by such medias. But it is difficult, even practically impossible to broadcast a letter from Yehudi Menuhin addressed to President Clinton and to Saddam Hussein enjoining them to avoid war.

In this kind of political invasion of the “show business world”, it is extremely difficult to find a space in order to say that Musique Espérance and UNESCO are working together in order to create an Andin Indian culture centre which will be open to the influences of all the various cultures deeply rooted into the local history...or to find a space in order to say that, with the intervention of culture, such NGO as Musique Espérance are likely to be able to set up and implement whole development programs, or to invent some new North-South and East-West relations...or to suggest in which manner musicians could help the Chernobyl victims or participate in the rebuilding of Lebanon or other countries which have suffered wars and whose populations have been massacred.

How are the news broadcasted by those medias being selected?

I shall give a single example: When democracy was re-conquered in Argentina, we were subjected to some systematic bashing up of the military dictatorships by the media.

Information was essentially focused upon the morbidity and perversity of the tortures...but it was not focused on the attempted aim of the military junta. In my opinion, this information was demobilising, for one did not know how to, nor did one want to put in evidence the deep hatred of the military party, not

only against the workers, the peasants and the natives indigenes, but as well against the whole fabric of the civil society.

There are integrations of all kinds racial, musical, and political.

In other words, intolerance, such as we can see displayed in front of our eyes every day. Even a democracy like France with the human rights tradition of that country, has fallen into the trap of extreme right.

Preconceived ideas such as: Poor are uncultured, what is the point of playing any Beethoven or Fauré to them since they will not be able to understand anything?

We have been working for many years in order to flood the places where we hold our concerts with good jazz music, rock, so called classical music, rural folklore, Tango. We want to establish a dialogue with the young people, get to know their medium of expression, try to establish with them a musical and cultural dialogue which helps them regain a sense of their own value, and create with them some long lasting links.

PROJECTS WE ARE WORKING ON:

Program of integrated development on the basis of the local cultures.

North-South Relations: Twin cities and other kind of co-operation

Chernobyl: Ensure that young musicians from the three republics (Byelorussia, Russia and Ukraine) pledge their cooperation for and with the victims in the rehabilitation centres (physical and psychological), which have been set up by UNESCO.

East-North-South Relation.

Music and Peace (with UNESCO): Youth for solidarity. Twin cities, sponsorship (Berne-Tafi del Valle) – training of social musicians who will perform concerts and live shows in workshops in high percentage immigrant areas, in the jails, hospitals and rural country.

Organize concerts, which cater to a wide range of music types.

Select young people. Combine a high level of aesthetic sense with a high humanistic level. Replace aggressive competition with social projects in which the selected musicians will become the actors of solidarity programs.

WHAT WE HAVE NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO DO:

Create an orchestra of young people.

“East-West-South” (Byelorussia – France – South Cone of Latin America).

Create an orchestra of young Arabs and Israelis.

But we have already been working in this direction.

Translation by Michelle Bonnet-Darmais Mukarji.

6.2 Ms. Malouma Mint El-Meidah, Singer, Mauretania

I was born in an artist's family. I was taught traditional music by my father who was known as the best musician in my country. I was distinguished from other musicians because I was considered to be the first "modern" musician. I sang many songs composed by myself. I was on National TV for the first time in 1986, and since then I was given the name "The Star of The National Television". And from then on I became the country's national star. I was the first who sang for the people in a modern way and I met people's feelings through my music. The people welcomed my music because it touched the "real" feelings of the public and what was going on in reality.

My songs quickly became easy to repeat and were extended to other societies of the Middle East and North Africa. For this reason I expected much support and encouragement from the government but unfortunately the authorities did not understand me at all. In fact our culture gives little attention to musical development. There is not one single academic curriculum in the country today that teaches music or develops it.

In 1991 I sang a song about "freedom of speech" and another about the "beloved of the people" who was about the man holding the opposition during the electoral presidential votes in 1991. Since then the ruling party decided to impose a sanction against me and I was soon banned from national TV and radio.

The authorities banned me from concerts and from all contact I had with organizations. They denied me having a permanent address. Before I was always invited by all the top embassies at all ceremonies. I have been banned out of all these contacts, both socially as well as professionally.

I have written several songs on politics although they are not well recorded due to the poor equipment in Mauritania.

Since my sanctions I have not travelled anywhere for the pro-gresssion of my career. I live in hard conditions of which I could perhaps speak more about to you later.

Again I thank you for your interest and co-operation.

Yours faithfully

Maalouma.

7 Political Correctness, Self-censorship, Market and Media, Part 2 - The Market and Media Censors

Introduction by Mr. Ole Reitov, Editor, The Danish Broadcasting Corporation. Moderator: Mr. Johan Fornäs, Prof. Stockholm University, Dept. of Journalism, Media & Communication, Sweden.

Panellists:

Mr. Noam Ben-Zeev, Music Critic & journalist, Haaretz Daily, Lecturer, Alon School for the Arts & Sciences, Israel

Mr. Gerald Seligman, Senior Director, EMI UK, founder of Hemisphere, UK

Mr. Martin Cloonan, Ph.D., Research fellow, University of Stirling, Scotland

Ole Reitov:

In the national broadcasting systems today we discuss national quotas on music. In Denmark we try to have 30% Danish music, in the national broadcasting in France I think the quota is around 40%. Is that censorship? Maybe. National chauvinism? Possibly. Is it cultural protectionism? Definitely. Is it boring? Absolutely!

So I would love to see the reverse policy dictating that at least 30% should be music from other countries than the homeland or the Anglo-American scene. And if you say that this is wishful thinking then, yes, absolutely. We have a panel of people who know the industry inside out. We have a moderator, Johan Fornäs, who has been doing research in the field of popular music and he has been working a lot together with Martin Cloonan. And I know that Johan Fornäs who is a professor at the Stockholm University, together with Martin has worked on the issues on censorship within the circles where they work: The International Association for Studies of Popular Music. So I will leave that over to you, Johan.

Johan Fornäs:

Thank you very much. Yes, I am very grateful to Marie Korpe and Ole Reitov that this conference has been organized. We are many who have felt the need for such an event but it is you who have actually made it happen and it is wonderful. The activities, which Martin is working with, will hopefully lead to an anthology which is going to discuss cases and principles concerning the limits of musical freedom in various parts of the world. It will come out within a year or so hopefully.

The theme of this session concerns market and media censorship. What mechanisms are there preventing the media from being an open and free forum of communication that they could potentially have been? And what prevents the free market orientated music industries from actually enabling free exchange of musical ideas? Besides the pressures from states and governments that have been discussed earlier and from various fundamentalist pressure groups and movements there are obviously also very problematic limitations within the market itself. Including conservative prejudices among gate keepers in the market and media, monopolistic tendencies and also perhaps the crucial mechanisms of all the commodity production to fulfil only those needs that have sufficient money behind them. Such limitations often prevent oppositional or experimental music to be produced and spread which in its turn provokes artists and activists to try to create alternative means for music making and distribution.

I myself, some 20 years ago maybe, started in the Swedish alternative music movement.

That was such an example of how the limitations in the music industry provoked alternative means of production and distribution. All this and related issues I think will be debated here by people who all have profound experience and knowledge of such mechanisms within the music press, broadcasting, publishing, record companies, distributors or concert organizers. And it will be very interesting to hear what you have to say. Are the music industry censorship problems the result of external constraints of the free market mechanisms or are they inherent in that same mechanism to be counteracted perhaps by state measures and NGO activists? And what can be done in the field of music and market and media censorship?

Noam Ben-Zeev:

I would like to present a case that is unique to Israel: the case of the music of Richard Wagner. It is almost purely a media boycott and there are no political motivations behind it.

This ban does not come from above and also it has a lot to do with the market forces, because it is not only about listening to Wagner on the radio, but also in concerts. It also answers the question that was raised yesterday about boycotting music and not only lyrics and words. In this case it is a very 'live' problem in Israel.

The debate arises from time to time and is always there, and that is why I decided to bring it before you. Also, it isn't a clear cut obvious case - so I will not give answers but just present it.

A short history of banning Wagner's music: It began 60 years ago in November 1938. The first season for the Palestine Orchestra, which started two years before that. It is really a fascinating and unique story. The one who founded the orchestra was Bronislaw Huberman – then a very well-known figure in Europe, active in Pan-Europa Movement, and above all a very famed violinist. He was not a Zionist at all. He was even part anti-Zionist. He thought that the right place of the Jews was in Europe: Huberman said that the most European thing in Europe was the Jews, and he believed that the Jews should stick to their cultural surroundings there.

Palestine at that time, before the Israel independence in 1948, was for Huberman a bit of a strange phenomenon. He came to Palestine in 1929 and was very impressed with the music-loving population, the Jewish one. He was very suspicious about developing it, but history decided for him; because when Jews came to be persecuted in 1933, he saw the future music life in Palestine as saving Jewish musicians. He decided to found the orchestra to achieve this, and went all around Europe to make auditions and picked up players from many orchestras: The Vienna Philharmonic, opera orchestras of Dresden, Poland and Hamburg, and many other places. The Palestine Orchestra came in 1936 in one ship, and its premiere concert was conducted by the greatest conductor of that time, Toscanini.

In November 1938 what became known as "The Crystal Night" took place in Germany.

Many synagogues were set on fire, Jews were massacred and the shops were looted. These news came to Israel when Wagner's "Meistersinger" Overture was being started. They felt then that German music should not be played, so they changed the programme and put on Mendelsohn's "Midsummer Night Music" instead of Wagner. From then on no sound of Wagner was to be heard in Israel anymore.

So this is the history of the boycott.

I would like to make some points regarding this boycott.

Why is the boycott taking place now after so many years?

First of all the man himself was a proclaimed anti-Semite, we all know that, and an important figure in the making of modern anti-Semitism. He published his famous article, "The Jews in music", which exposes his regressive ideologies – as if proving in it that Jews could not be real creators, having no real cultural roots.

Another possible reason for the ban is that the music of Wagner itself: its ideology of sweeping the audience of their feet to overwhelm them, the connection with Germanic mythologies, the violence of it. Maybe a stronger point is the symbol that Wagner had become. He was adopted by the Nazis as the emblem of the ideology of National Socialism. Adolph Hitler was always trying to show how much he loved Wagner's music (although we know that he loved operettas much more).

Hitler used to come to Bayreuth, the palace of Wagner in Germany, and he had a special place there; and he had strong relations with the Wagner family. Wagner was adopted by Hitler and his party as the great symbol of Germany. In the memory of the survivors he is engraved that way.

Some points concerning the ban. First, what do we lose if we don't hear Wagner? It seems a lot, professionally; because a symphony orchestra today cannot understand and feel the repertoire since 1900 without understanding the music of Wagner. Most of it stems from that. Second, should we identify the man and his ideas with his creation? Shouldn't we overcome this identification? We know that there are a lot of anti-Semite creators and composers. It is said that Chopin was one, and Beethoven, too – but we are not boycotting them. Where should one draw the line? Third, as to the memory of the Jews who suffered, shouldn't they be able to choose whether they would like to turn off the radio or refrain from going to a concert where Wagner is played?

I will finish with a reminder that there have been some trials to perform Wagner in Israel during that time. But they didn't work; the orchestras were threatened by the audience, debates were raised, some members of the orchestras would not play, and two concerts had to be stopped in the middle. So it was given up. I will leave this subject open now, thank you.

Gerald Seligman:

One of the things I wanted to talk about was some distinctions, as I understand them, between certain economic factors involved in determining what and whom gets recorded and the issue of censorship. Because I think there is some important differences. I am not a corporate spokesman although I work for a multi-national company. I have no access to the decision-making process and so can't really comment on it. But what I can do is offer some observations that I can make by working within a company and on the kinds of music that major multinational companies tend not to be interested in.

I run a label called Hemisphere, which is a label of music from all over the world. In a sense my professional life has mostly been an attempt to reverse the trend that music from the Anglo-American countries take over the rest of the world and rather open up for all the other music cultures to be heard internationally. One of the things I would like to say is that there is some distinction between the economic factors and censorship. I think for the most part the industry does not really censor music, instead I think certain economic factors come into play. The record industry has this in common with other industries as well. For example on the issue of censorship: if a gallery owner declines to mount a show with a given artist, is he then censoring the artist? Or if for example a construction firm decides not to use the work of a particular architect because people don't really want to live in the homes that this architect designs, is that censorship? Likewise if a radio station in the UK decides not to play African music because they think that African music will not bring enough of an audience to satisfy what the advertisers are expecting. Is that censorship?

It is pretty clear in these three examples that these decisions have a very negative effect on the artist, the architect and African music. But they're not really censorship.

The record industry is just that – an industry – and as such it is governed by certain commercial laws. For example if a group were selling 20,000 records why would they get dropped?

My immediate question would be how much was spent on the album, what were the costs of making the album? I would like to distinguish between censorship in the media and in the industry which obviously has a marked effect on what we hear and why. It is my contention that the reasons why a political government or system or culture would censor music and the reasons why a label might make certain decisions can be very different. I lived and worked in Brazil for some years and political censorship there had a great effect on the culture. When the dictatorship intensified in 1968 many artists were exiled. The government banned all manner of political songs and even songs that had very subtle political content. So some of the great songwriters like Gilberto Gil and Milton Nascimento all found that they couldn't get their songs on the radio. As the years went by a very interesting thing happened because less and less of their music was being heard obviously. A new generation was tuning into the radio and forming their own opinions about musical culture and suddenly they lost exposure to songwriters who used Brazilian traditions to discuss Brazilian interests.

Simultaneously the globalisation of the record industry was taking place and so while the local industry recorded, supported and sold music from their own culture an ever-greater emphasis was placed on finding new markets for mostly English and North American artists. With their own artists banned from the radio waves what Brazilian companies did was obviously to get the English bands on the radio which was far cheaper for them as well. They could sell records that they did not have to spend money on signing. All of this had a really insidious affect on Brazilian culture and it is my contention that the rupture of what had been a glorious line of Brazilian traditions ever evolving and the present day commercial pop that you hear in Brazil took place at this time and for these reasons.

The new generations growing up formed their own groups and played the music that they heard around them. Now what they heard around them was not Brazilian music, it was international pop music. So with each generation the roots of Brazilian music went further underground.

Today when you turn on the Brazilian radio or Brazilian MTV you can hear Brazilian rap, hip-hop and pop, rock, heavy metal, reggae and whatever. You can also hear Brazilian forms but they are no longer close to being in the musical mainstream. What has happened is obviously that Brazilians in some ways have marginalized their own culture. So in short, both the media and the industry played a role in this rupture. But the media applied censorship and the industry applied a form of economics. Both have undeniable political connotations but I don't believe that they are the same things. I don't think for the most part that the Western industry censors music. If it will sell somebody will issue it. If you just think of gangsta-rap, which we had examples of yesterday, with the combination of glorification of violence then you will see that there is no shortage of labels that will release it. A major label even distributed the song mentioned yesterday – "Cop Killer" – until political pressure put a stop to it, but it was not the industry actually that censored it, but the political groups.

The record industry exists within a very strained dynamic – you might call it an unholy alliance between apparently incompatible interests – that of art and commerce. And while there are many who are in the industry because of the chance to be able to work with art and artists, at the end of the day it is the commercial argument that wins. When a record label decides against releasing a particular artist it is probably not a form of censorship. Working at a major record company I accept certain conditions because this is once again a commercial enterprise. So to keep it going I must show a profit. A label like mine is not mainstream music but a project that is dedicated to good music whatever it may be. It provides some internal political assets in that not only are we insisting that they release the artists from Anglo-American cultures but we are also trying to provide a place for them to release their artists as well and give them international distribution. There are those in the company that support the project for non-commercial reasons but I don't fool myself. Because if I did not show a profit I don't think the effort would be allowed to continue to exist.

So an important point I want to emphasise is this: I am not saying that just because this is not censorship it doesn't have a harmful effect on music and culture – I believe it does.

And I am worried about the increasing centralisation of the music industry and think that only a new generation of independent companies run by enthusiasts, musicians, business men and women and also non-profit companies can help re-introduce some of the diversity that is being lost. When it comes to content my own experience is instructive: There are no guidelines, no external requirements and no overseeing of any kind of what I release. Nobody knows what I am releasing until it is actually in the market place. Once it is in the market place no one has ever talked to me in any political way about the releases that I issue. So how do I decide what to issue?

The music is first. Is it good? Does it reach me the way music should emotionally? Is there a story here worth telling?

And happily it is not only commercial arguments that win at the end of the day. I can balance my bigger sellers with what I sell less. I can do this kind of balance so long as I show a decent profit at the end of the year.

Finally if I receive a tape with such racism as that in the worst forms of gangsta-rap. Or tapes of some of the more insidious forms of Neo-Nazism or whatever, then I won't release it no matter how much money I think might be made from the given release. So am I a censor? In 1993 when I received a tape of Yusef Islam, who was the former Cat Stevens, singing the Quran, I did not reject the tape for artistic reasons. It had everything to do with his very public support of the Fatwa against Salman Rushdie. I am not only a defender of Rushdie's right of free expression but also a great admirer of his writing. Is this a contradiction? Am I censoring a censor? In my defence I would say that I do not seek to legislate anyone else's right to release his music. It's just that I won't do it myself. Then again keeping in mind that the issue of censorship deeply concerns me, I did reject the project on purely political grounds and something in all of this troubles me.

Martin Cloonan:

The market may be the most censorious agent of all, while also being the hardest to monitor and therefore to counter.

This is because whereas a great deal of censorship can be seen as the actions of one agent – the state, the police, a pressure group, a cleric etc. – censorship by the market is often the culmination of a number of discrete decisions taken by various agents which can result in an artist being censored.

To give one perhaps trite example, in a way decisions by record companies to drop artists can be seen as

an acts of censorship, as they effectively deny these acts a voice and an audience.

The decision to drop an act will often be taken on a commercial basis – the act may not be selling enough records, or not selling them quick enough or not meeting targets, or only selling to a domestic audience or whatever. But note that fans are also implicated in this. Acts can be dropped in the UK for "only" selling 20,000 copies of an album. This reflects a point made by Richard Peterson in the 1960s that profit is the most potent censor of all.

If we want to look for a censorial agent here it is obvious that record companies are a key area of focus. Decisions about what acts to sign are in many ways censorial ones, for until they are signed acts lack an effective voice. Keith Negus (1992) has shown that a number of decision-makers in a record companies can affect an act's fate and freedom to exercise artistic control. These include the A&R men who sign them in the first place, publicists, company owners and so on. In such arguments bands may be told to drop certain members (often, in the video age, those who lack the necessary looks), to shorten or lengthen songs (especially for radio edit) to use a certain producer, or video-maker or cover artist. All this may not be censorship *per se*, but it does have serious implications for artistic freedom.

For bands, which seek an international audience with one of the major international record companies, perhaps the first problem is the need to write material in English. Will acts have to move away from their native language in order to express themselves artistically? Almost certainly yes, as English has become the language of the pop market place.

I think that one of the most interesting debates of recent years has been how to preserve national cultures from market forces. Here it appears that the state can promote certain sorts of music and act as a benefactor rather than a censor. An obvious example of this is the introduction of quota systems for domestic music on national radio. Here the state can act as a counter to the market. So one issue, which needs to be addressed, is that if it is true that the market, or the profit motive, is the biggest censor of all, what should be done about this? I suppose that we might all agree that what we want is the greatest amount possible of musical diversity and expression, but it remains a moot point as to whether it is the market that can provide this. The question is under what socio-economic condition does musical artistic freedom best thrive? I don't want to say more about this at the moment, but I think it's an issue which we might want to come back to.

Consideration of the market by musicians can also lead to self-censorship, which is possibly the most insidious form of market censorship. Musicians may become only too aware of record company and audience expectations, and then write material, which suits them, possibly at the expense of music, which they would otherwise make. Often this is not even done consciously. I have spoken to musicians who tell me that they don't even distinguish between self-expression and writing for an audience – the processes have become one and the same.

Simon Frith has noted how the audience can act as a censor, for example in live shows when audiences will expect old material rather than new. There might be a tension between being a star and being an artist. Reebee Garofalo (1987: 81/82) has that the star system itself limits both quantitatively and qualitatively the range of music available to the public. Again this may not lead to direct censorship, but it can have implications for artistic expression. This perhaps raise the issue of what we mean by the market as censor – do we mean the audience, that is the actual market for the goods, or do we mean those who market the goods – the record companies?

It is also probably the case that the more commercial clout an artist has, the more artistic freedom they will have, although there have been cases where acts have toned down their material once they have started to sell, so as not to alienate their newly found audiences.

We may also want to consider the role of critics here.

Certainly in the UK at least a small number of people working in the London-based music press have traditionally wielded a great deal of influence and shaped the way in which acts are perceived. The music press have helped the demise of a number of careers, again with implications for notions of artistic freedom.

Another market related area is that of technology. We might like to consider how the advent of CD and video has impacted artistic expression and how future technologies might impact. The issue of control of

these new technologies is a key area and raise the question of copyright, another censorial agent. Here the question of control blurs into the question of censorship.

So I think that we again end up with issue of control and regulation. With the escalation of processes of globalisation, the market appears to be growing rather than diminishing in strength compared to the nation state. But is, as has been suggested, the market the biggest censor of all, then this has very serious implications.

8 Hate Music

8.1 White Noise Music – an International Affair

By *Ms. Helene Lööw, Ph.D., National Crime Prevention, Sweden.*

Every revolutionary movement has its own music, lyrics and poets. The music in itself does not create organizations nor does the musicians themselves necessarily lead the revolution.

But the revolutionary/protest music creates dreams, visions, and fantasies of the revolution and the utopian society that will follow and give a voice to these dreams and to the perception of reality held by the movement.

The modern racist propagandist is not, like in the 1930's, a party strategist or skilled speaker, but a combination of rock star, speaker and street fighter. It's no longer a question of music for the national socialists/racists, but a music that is National Socialism and racism in itself.

A study of the choreography of the White Noise concerts makes it evident that the singer walks stiffly like a speaker back and forth over the stage. He is the high priest of a ritual celebration, the leader that controls the public in the very same way the national socialist speaker of the 1930's did.

The White Noise music and the racist/extreme nationalist counterculture have grown during the past ten years – and its “members” are predominantly born in the 1960's and 1970's.

The White Noise music, as well as the separatist rock came to Sweden in the late 1970's/early 1980's when the anti-immigration organization Bevara Sverige Svenskt (BSS Keep Sweden Swedish) started to distribute tapes with music labelled as “music for patriots”. Already in 1985 the first White Noise concert took place in Sweden, when Skrewdriver played in Stockholm.

During the early years and up until the beginning of the 1990's the movement and the musical industry were in bad financial shape. The constant lack of money, the photocopied magazines and the home-made tapes disappeared during the first half of the 90's and in 1995 the growing music industry of White Noise music together with the mail order companies connected to it is the financial base of the growing underground culture of White Power.

There are very few surveys made that show how many individuals who actually listen to the White Noise music. In 1997 the Centre for Migration Studies and the National Council of Crime Prevention in Sweden made a survey among school children from 12 to 18 years of age. And a couple of the questions dealt with the White Noise music. The survey showed that 12,2 percent of the school children sometimes or often listened to racist music. The number of boys were larger then the number of girls (15,3 and 9,4 percent). The largest proportions of consumers of White Noise music are boys with a Swedish origin, where 17 percent claim that they sometimes or often listens to White Noise music.

The students were also asked to answer how they had got in contact with the music and 86,1 percent claimed that they had been introduced to the music by friends. Other important ways of contact were the media, the school and the home.

One of the reasons for this development is Ragnarock Records and its founder Lars Magnus Westrup.

Ragnarock Records was founded in 1993 by Westrup and a handful of nationalist businessmen and activists. Westrup had a long history of activism in various national socialist, fascist and extreme nationalistic groups. During the Second World War he was a member of the national socialist organization Sveaborg. After the war, Westrup left for Spain and became the founder and director of the Swedish radio station on Majorca. After the death of General Franco he returned to Sweden and became the secretary of the right-wing extremist party – Framstegspartiet (the progressive party). Westrup started out by selling tapes of Rudolf Hess speeches and the poetry of the Swedish fascist leader Per

Engdahl. After a while he expanded his business and stroke gold when he started to produce and sell White Noise music. He founded the record company Ragnarock Records, signed contracts with a number of bands, used his marketing and journalist skills and made an instant success. Lars Magnus Westrup died in May 1995.

In 1996 Ragnarock Records founded Wasakåren, an umbrella organization for promoting genuine Swedish music.

There has from time to time been a strong rivalry between the various firms selling CD records, books, videos etc. Some of the firms are also not very well looked upon by part of the racist underground – they are being accused of “living on the movement”. In 1994 the magazine Nordland came into being. Nordland is the leading White Noise magazine in Scandinavia, and is besides a magazine, also a mail order and record company. Nordland has close connections to Resistance.

In April 1994, the largest NS-demonstration, since the war took place in the small town of Alingsås, a few miles from Gothenburg, on the west coast of Sweden. 500-600 demonstrators from Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Germany marched from the town, after the march a concert was held in the nearby village of Sollebrunn, where Totenkopf, Svastika, No Remorse and the Welsh group Celtic Warriors played. That was the starting point of a long series of large concerts. Since November 1993, 14 larger concerts have been held in various places in Sweden and countless of small local ones.

The Swedish White Noise rock groups such as Division S, Vit Aggression, Bäsärkarna, Svastika, Enhärjarna, Odins Änglar, and Dirlwanger, is an important part of the racist counter-culture in the same way as the White Noise groups in other countries are. The number of White Noise groups has grown rapidly during the last two years in Sweden and the various groups have produced a number of CDs. The production and distribution of propaganda material has increased rapidly during the first half of the 1990's – a number of mail-order companies and stores selling White Noise music, national socialist/racist literature, literature about the Viking era and 'Asa belief', T-shirts, stickers, armbands, banners and insignias, videos, uniforms, magazines, posters, jewellery etc. All have been established as connected to the movement.

Legal aspects

In 1996 Ragnarock made the following declaration, as a response to several reports of incitement of racial hatred to the Chancellor of Justice, by the Swedish Committee Against anti-Semitism: “Ragnarock Records and its artists do not encourage their customers or listeners to use violence or hatred towards individual migrants of ethnic minorities, but to combat the anti-Swedish politicians who uses mass-immigration as a mean to exterminate the Swedish people and the Swedish culture. To protect your own people, your culture or nation is not racial hatred.”

Nordland, the other key company, responded to the reports filed by the Swedish Committee Against anti-Semitism by pointing out that the lead singer in the Punk group Stockholm's Negerer (Stockholm's Niggers) – nowadays spokesman for the state-organized campaigns Youth Against Racism, financed by the Ministry of Civil Affairs – in 1986 received similar complains for texts like; “Bloody Swedes, move out, we also live here... you blond blue-eyed beautiful creep... Death to all blond bloody Vikings, what the devil how I hate you.” – but was freed of charge by the Chancellor of Justice, due to the freedom of artistic expression.

Nordland, however pointed out that they were aware that equality before the law did not apply to them, and stated; “Even when our enemies are badmouthing us and our opinions, they can no longer deny that the music is unique and talented and that our ideals are presented in an attractive and intelligent fashion.”

The reports from the Swedish Committee Against anti-Semitism led to charges against the owner of the White Noise company Svea Music, for distributing and selling the CD *White Solidarity*. There were however only one song on the CD that was considered incitement of racial hatred, a song by the Finnish group Mistreat. The owner were convicted, this is so far the only verdict concerning the music.

8.2 Violence, Sexism, Hate Speech – The Limits

By *Mr. Charles Onyango-Obbo, Editor, The Monitor, Uganda.*

The difficult thing about arguing whether there should be a limit to violence, sexism, and hate speech in the arts is that there can really be no neutral objective limit on them.

Whether they should be permitted depends on where one stands. Rights and freedoms usually exist to protect that which ordinarily wouldn't survive because it is against the mainstream. If we remove the philosophical assumption that rights are primarily to protect the fringe, the objectionable, the minority view, then it all doesn't make sense. If a community totally agreed on everything, from not having violent lyrics, hate speech, etc. why would laws exist to protect them?

Secondly, forms like the violent lyrics we hear from rappers are mostly the product of a cultural protest against the iniquities of Establishment America by minorities. This points to a different dimension – that violent lyrics can be progressive in that sense, opposed to the reactionary variety, which would advocate the lynching of blacks for example.

In Africa, there is a lot of suppressed music – and some of it is banned – because it incites violence against the cultural politics of the old ruling class, which dehumanises women for example. Or which gives old traditional aristocracies privileges while the underclass lives in poverty. It would be working against progress to support the suppression of such music and drama.

It seems to me that violence songs and hate speech, can have a redemptive value, despite the very contradiction that conjures up. For this reason, music and the gamut of cultural products, which degrade women, must be seen as being different from violence and hate speech. It does not have a redemptive value, and it is almost never produced by the people seeking liberation (the women) but by their tormentors.

Personally as a black male who has had to function many times in Western society where I have faced unfair treatment because of the colour of my skin, the more immediate reaction has been to see salvation in legal and formal bans on racial discrimination.

But the same Western society has lessons to the contrary; about how Fascism was defeated. In the old Communist bloc, Fascism was simply banned by law. In the US, and parts of Western Europe, it was difficult in the market place of ideas.

In arguments before the people Fascist parties or politicians were allowed to contest in open elections, and they were defeated democratically. The idea of Fascism was killed freely by a superior idea, which espoused the humanity and equality of all people, and their rights to live as free beings. In the old Communist country where Fascism was banned, and not defeated in open free debate, we have seen the rapid emergence of Neo-Fascism and shocking levels of anti-Semitism.

So in moments of reflection, I am inclined toward letting all music, and all speech, including hate speech, flourish without limit. At a smaller level, when I am not seeing myself as a black person in a global context threatened by some Neo-Nazi, I find myself at home as a member of a very small minority community within Uganda. The struggle for small communities to preserve their culture and way of life is more intense and passionate than will be seen at this conference.

As a Jopadhola in Uganda, I would oppose any language that somehow seeks to regulate the cultural market. It is always used to oppress small powerless groups. I see the survival of my small community culture being more secure in the sweeping cultural regime, which allows EVERYTHING, than in the selective one, which picks and chooses.

8.3 Summarising Comments on the Subject of Hate Music

By Mr. Isi Foighel, Prof. Dr. of Law, Denmark. Former Judge to the European Court of Human Rights.

I think that we have listened to very many interesting speeches brought to us from the participants at this conference.

I think that the organizers of this conference deserve a tribute for arranging a conference on or against censorship and then putting up the subject: What do we do about hate music? – if we have to do something.

I would also like to pay tribute to our first speaker because she said something, which I think was forgotten a little bit during the debate. Namely that in Sweden as a matter of fact there was a case in the Court of Law against hate music. This I think was a very interesting statement and I hope that you and especially myself will have a chance to read this judgement so that we can find out something about how many of the problems we have debated here today are solved in Sweden: What is hate music? Who is going to decide? What are the criteria? What is the effect? I don't know whether they are solved correctly in Sweden but it would be interesting to take this as a starting point.

I think it is clear to all that the subject we have been discussing today is so complex. So it really invites someone to make a study on it and maybe there is some group here that would like to go into this. As a matter of fact we are not starting on "sand" because there already exists some rules for this. We learned something which I think was very important: the code of ethic in the cultural life which I think is a very important document and then we have, of course, the Human Rights document.

We both have the Universal Declaration in Article 17 and what I think is much more important, the European Convention of Human Rights. This is the law of the land in most of the countries that are represented here. It is absolutely stated that freedom of expression not only includes rights but also obligations. Obligation not to harm others, obligation not to misuse the right of expression.

I would like to spend one minute of your time to tell you about the latest development in this field. How it was at the European Court of Human Rights when interpreting the limits of freedom of expression. First of all it is absolutely clear that you have to make a distinction between different groups. They have already been mentioned: musicians, producers, buyers, children and adults and so on. The freedom of expression might be different for all those groups. We have seen cases where we make a distinction between who the victims are of the misuse of freedom of expression and who is the actor who expresses.

It goes without saying that if the actor is a journalist who describes what he hears in the world then he has nearly unlimited freedom of expression. The reason for this absolutely obvious case is that we for the last 50 years have seen that countries, both in Europe and elsewhere, have been under dictatorship and have suffered a great deal. One of the reasons for the suffering is of course that there were no journalists who could describe what was going on to the citizens in the country and to the outside world. So that's why the court of Human Rights in Strasbourg has handed out judgement that journalists have a nearly unlimited freedom of expression. Even if this means that they disseminate racist hatred.

Then we make a distinction of who are the victims. If the victims are the judiciaries, the judges, then your freedom of expression is very very limited. Because you cannot say anything bad about judges at all. On the other hand if the victim is a politician you can say nearly everything. I happen to have been both a politician and a judge so I think that I am very "in between". We have seen a development in Europe, which without any doubt goes to move the limits for freedom of expression in a direction where we widen the freedom of expression. That has to do with the fact that most countries understand democracy in such a way that it is a place for debate. So if people come with hate speech you can answer with argument and you should do it in this way. I am not sure if it works this way but at least it is the way one thinks that it should work. How this can be transferred to music? I have to admit that I do not know, but I do think that it would be the most interesting thing if in some of the countries in Europe, and that is about 40 countries, a case came up concerning hate music, and if this case was brought to the European Court of Human Rights because the judgement of this court is law for about 850 million people. Even outside Europe people are looking to that.

I think it would be a good idea if some of you when you come home to your organization could think

about that maybe time is right try where the limits are for freedom of expression when it concerns music.

Thank you.

APPENDIX

Conference programme

Friday 20 November 1998:

09.00 Opening session

Welcome speech, by Mr. Morten Kjærum, Director, The Danish Centre for Human Rights.

Welcome speech, by Ms. Elsebeth Gerner Nielsen, Minister of Culture, Denmark.

Presentation of the project on music and censorship, by Mr. Ole Reitov, Editor, Danish Broadcasting Corporation.

09.30 The Censored meet their Censor

Music and censorship during Apartheid in South Africa.

Mr. Siphon Mabuse, Mr. Ray Phiri and Mr. Anton Goosen - musicians from South Africa in a first face to face meeting with former censor Ms. Cecile Pracher, Manager of the Record Library at South African Broadcasting Corporation.

Open discussion: Moderator: Mr. Ole Reitov, Editor, Danish Broadcasting Corporation.

**11.15 Music Censorship and Fundamentalism,
Part 1 - Music and Islam**

Introduction by Mr. Bashar Shammout, Sound Engineer, Bertelsmann, Palestine/Germany.

The Talibans Have Banned all Music in Afghanistan. Introduction by Mr. Naim Majrooh, Director, Editor in Chief, Afghanistan Quarterly, USA.

Sudan. Introduction by Mr. Peter Verney, Sudan Update, UK.

Algeria. Introduction by Ms. Nathalie Boudjerada, lawyer and member of the International Federation of Human Rights, France.

Video about the late Lounès Matoub, Algeria.

Open discussion. Moderator: Mr. Marc Schade-Poulsen, Ph.D., Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network, Denmark.

**14.00 Music Censorship and Fundamentalism,
Part 2 - USA**

Hip-hop, Black Islamic Nationalism and the Quest of Afro-American Empowerment. By Mr. Mattias Gardell, Ph.D. Theology, University of Uppsala, Sweden.

Religious Lobby Groups influence Politicians and Recording Industry & The Marilyn Manson Saga. By Ms. Nina Crowley, Massachusetts Music Information Centre (Mass MIC), USA.

Open discussion. Moderator: Mr. Jens Lohman, Author, Danish PEN.

15.15 **Nationalism, War and Censorship**

Censorship on Music during the German Occupation of Denmark, by Mr. Hans Skaarup, Producer, Danish Broadcasting Corporation.

(The role of musicantropologists in former Yugoslavia, a historical perspective, by Mr. Owe Rånström, Musicologist, Sweden) - note: Mr. Rånström did not attend the conference.

Britain at War. How Music was “restricted” during the Falkland and Golf War, by Mr. Martin Cloonan, Ph.D., Research fellow, University of Stirling, Scotland.

(Kurdistan - by Mr. Siwan Perver, Kurdish musician in exile due to war and censorship) - note: Mr. Perver did not attend the conference.

Open discussion. Moderator: Mr. Julian Petley, Lecturer, Brunel University, UK.

Saturday 21 November 1998:

09.00 **Political Correctness, Self-censorship, Market and Media, Part 1 - Political Correctness**

Ms. Malouma Mint El-Meidah, Singer, Mauretania.
Mr. Siphon Mabuse, Composer, South Africa.
Mr. Ray Lema, Musician, Congo-Kinshasa.
Mr. Svanibor Pettan, Asst. Professor, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.
Ms. Claire Levy, Musicologist, University of Sofia, Bulgaria.
Interviewed by Mr. Daniel Brown, Producer, Radio France International, France.

10.15 **Political Correctness, Self-censorship, Market and Media, Part 2: The Market and Media Censors**

Introduction by Mr. Julian Petley, Lecturer, Brunel University, UK.
Panelists:
Mr. Noam Ben-Zeev, Music critic and journalist, Haaretz Daily, Israel.
Mr. Martin Cloonan, Ph.D., Research fellow, University of Stirling, Scotland.
Mr. John Kariuki, Arts Editor, East African, Kenya.
Mr. Gerald Seligman, Senior Director, EMI, UK.
Mr. Krister Malm, Director, Swedish Music Museum, Sweden.
Moderator: Mr. Johan Fornäs, Prof. Stockholm University, Dpt. of Journalism, Media & Communication, Sweden.

14.00 **Hate Music**

White Noise Music – an International Affair, by Ms. Helene Lööv, Ph.D., National Council of Crime Prevention, Sweden.

Violence, Sexism, Hate Speech – The Limits, by Mr. Charles Onyango-Obbo, Editor, The Monitor, Uganda.

Statements and debate:
Ms. Nina Crowley, Mass MIC, USA.
Mr. Mattias Gardell, Stockholm University, Sweden.

Open discussion. Moderator: Mr. Isi Foighel, Prof. Dr. of Law, The Danish Centre for Human Rights.

15.15 **What can we do?**

Open discussion/inputs for working groups.

Sunday 22 November 1998:

Closed Session:

10.00 Discussion groups
13.00 Group discussion continued
14.00 Summing up
15.30 Closure

Declaration from the 1st World Conference on Music and Censorship

URGENT APPEAL TO

United Nations
National governments
Human Rights Organisations
And all individuals, organisations,
Corporations and media involved in music

During the conference it has been documented that numerous governments and political and religious groups in the World Community are violating the rights of freedom of expression for musicians, songwriters, lyricists and composers.

These violations include censorship, banning, physical and mental abuse, imprisonment and even assassination.

As specified in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression. This right includes the freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers.

As a result of the conference we are establishing a network to defend the rights of musicians within the spirit of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

We ask for your support to bring violations of their fundamental rights of freedom of expression to the widest possible international attention and to dedicate yourself, along with us, to the eradication of these forms of human rights abuse.

Media Coverage

International media coverage of The 1st World Conference on Music and Censorship

News feature

The Singer, September 24, 1998, UK

Tunes they didn't want you to hear

The Times, October 29, 1998, UK

Even tyrants love a tune, by Michael Church

The Independent, October 30, 1998, UK

News piece

Amnesty Journal, October 1998, UK

News piece

Musicians' Union Magazine, October, 1998, UK

News item

Classic FM Magazine, October, 1998, UK

And the banned played on, by Martin Cloonan,

The Observer, November 8, 1998, UK

Rattling good idea. News piece on banned music, Arts page feature and interview with Sir Simon Rattle.

Review of concert with Sir Simon Rattle conducting former banned music,

The Times, November 17, 1998, UK

Rattle and friends settle old scores with the censor, by David Fanning,

The Daily Telegraph, November 18, 1998, UK

Big space feature including interview with Ursula Owen,

Daily Record, Scotland, November 18, 1998, UK

News Item

Haaretz, November 19, 1998, Israel

I'm a big fan of music. So let's ban lots more of it, by Michael White,

Independent on Sunday, November 22, 1998, UK

Musik – en farlig syssla, by Ewa Svensson,

Dagen Nyheter, November 22, 1998, Sweden

Musiikin sielun vihollinen: Sensuuri (Censorship: Enemy of the soul of music), by Päivi Väänänen,

Helsingin Sanomat, November 23, 1998, Finland

Den farliga musiken, by Sören Sommelius,

Helsingborgs Dagblad, November 24, 1998, Sweden

Yttrandefrihet för hat-musik, by Sören Sommelius,

Helsingborgs Dagblad, November 25, 1998, Sweden

Äntligen avslöjas musikförtrycket, by Carl-Gunnar Åhlén,

Svenska Dagbladet, November 25, 1998, Sweden

Codierte Lovesongs, by Verner Pieper,
Die Tageszeitung, November 25, 1998, Germany

Hold that tune, by Graham Toppinge
The Economist, November 28, 1998, UK
Now, that's what I call censorship!
The Big Issue, November 23-29, 1998, UK

News feature
Making Music Magazine, November 1998, UK

News item
BBC Music Magazine, November 1998, UK

News item
Harpers & Queen, November 1998, UK

Feature
Hot Air (Virgin Airlines) Int., November 1998, UK

Feature
Billboard, November 1998, UK

News item
Billboard Bulletin, November 1998, UK

Article
Music and Media, December 1998, UK

Feature
Hyatt (Hotel magazine), November/ December 1998, UK

The "Music and Censorship" Conference in Copenhagen
Indaba, December 1998 issue, South African Embassy, Denmark

Songs 'till Here, by Noam Ben-Zeev
Haaretz, December 2, 1998, Israel

Musik som motkraft, by Sören Sommelius,
Helsingborgs Dagblad, December 5, 1998, Sweden

A PEN for music, by Alfred Tamakloe
Weekly Spectator, December 5, 1998, Ghana

Singers sound alarm against censorship, by John Kariuki
The Sunday Nation, December 6, 1998, Kenya

Feature
Top Magazine, December, 1998, UK

Article
Kultura, December 11, 1998, Bulgaria

A High Price to Pay for the Muslim Pioneers of Explicit Lyrics, Dance, by John Kariuki
The East African, December 28 - January 3, 1999, Kenya

International Broadcasting:

Global Village, Long News Feature
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Canada, October 30, 1998

The World, Interview with Ole Reitov *Public Radio*, USA, October 30, 1998

Interview with Ole Reitov,
Südwestfunk/ARD, Germany, October 30, 1998

Mitt i musiken, interview with Ole Reitov, *Norsk Rikskringkasting*, Norway, November 6, 1998

Newshour, interview with Ole Reitov, Peter Verney & Ursula Owen, Editor, Index on Censorship,
BBC Radio 4, UK, November 13, 1998

The World Tonight – interview with CD experts and Ursula Owen,
BBC Radio 4, UK, November 13, 1998

Late Night Currie – interview with Ursula Owen,
BBC Radio 5, UK, November 15, 1998

Newsbeat – interview with Frank Fisher, production manager, Index on Censorship,
BBC Radio 1, UK, November 17, 1998

The World, three features on music and censorship, Interview with Morten Kjærum and others,
Public Radio, USA, November 19, 1998

Meridian, Feature on Smashed Hits and conference,
BBC World Service, November 20, 1998

Drivetime – interview with Frank Fisher
BBC Radio 5, UK, November 20, 1998

Dagens Eko – News piece
Sveriges Radio P1, P3, P4, Sweden, November 21, 1998

Go' morron världen, report from the conference and interview with Ole Reitov and Marie Korpe,
Sveriges Radio P1, Sweden, November 22, 1998

Outlook, News piece
BBC World Service, Int., November 25, 1998

Report from the Copenhagen correspondent,
BBC Radio News Int., November 1998

Feature syndicated worldwide – interview with Marie Korpe and reports from the conference,
Radio France Internationale, November 1998

News feature
Public Broadcasting, USA/ Int., November 1998

Syndicated feature across students campus radio stations,
Students Broadcast Network, UK, November 1998

Mitt i musikken - reports from the conference
Norsk Rikskringkasting P2, Norway, November 23, 24, 25 & 26, 1998

Djungeltelegrafan - 60 minutes human rights theme based on the conference,
Norsk Rikskringkasting, P2, Norway, December 5, 1998

TV:

Interview with Ursula Owen
BBC World TV, UK, November 23, 1998

International News Agencies
Reuters Bureau, report from Copenhagen correspondent,
November 22, 1998

National media coverage of The 1st World Conference on Music and Censorship

Kampen for musikken, Lars Rix
Aktuelt, 19. maj 1998

Musikkens nye våben, Lotte Bichel
Berlingske Tidende, 25. juni 1998

Musik – en menneskeret, kulturminister Elsebeth Gerner Nielsen,
Fyns Amts Avis, 24. juli 1998

Man dræber da musikere, Ole Reitov
Weekendavisen/Emil, oktober 1998

Den tro tjener, Ole Reitov
Weekendavisen/Emil, november 1998

Den gemte musik. Tema: Censur af musik
Aktuelt/Fokus, 13. november 1998

Fokus på musikkensur, RB
Jyllandsposten, 18. november 1998

Den farlige musik, Dorte Hygum Sørensen
Politiken, 20. november 1998

Censuren var nedbrudende, Dorte Hygum Sørensen
Politiken, 21. november 1998

En sang for frihed, Marchen Jersild
Berlingske Tidende, 21. november 1998

Den dag musikken vandt, Oliver Stilling
Information, 21. november 1998

Stalinorglets sprøde klang, Erik Kjær Hansen
Information, 21. november 1998

Det dårlige selskab, Janus Køster-Rasmussen
Politiken, 30. november 1998

Censur, Tema: Musik og censur
Djembe, oktober-december 1998

Røster der ikke vil tie, og Det udtalte, Birgitte Schmidt Andersen, P2 Musik, november 1998

Musikkensur, Jens Nielsen og Stine Golther
Chili, november 1998

Artikel fra konferencen
Djembe 27/98

Danish Broadcasting Corporation:

Musik er farlig – stop den

DR P1, 9. oktober 1998, kl. 20.05 (G: 25. december 1998, kl. 13.15)

Danmark, luk din mund

DR P1, 16. oktober 1998, kl. 20.05 (G: 26. december 1998, kl. 13.15)

Diktatorer danser også

DR P1, 23. oktober 1998, kl. 20.05 (G: 27. december 1998, kl. 13.15)

Allah elsker musik?

DR P1, 30. oktober 1998, kl. 20.05 (G: januar 1999)

Entartete Musik i nazitidens Tyskland

DR P2musik, 1. november 1998, kl. 20.30

Rock-galleriet

DR P3, 1. november 1998, kl. 21.03

Musikkensur i den “frie verden”

DR P1, 6. november 1998, kl. 20.05 (G: januar 1999)

Rock-galleriet

DR P3, 8. november 1998 kl. 21.03

Fra censurens kommandocentral

Kulturnyt, *DR P1*, 12. november 1998

Danmark under besættelsen

DR P2musik, 12. november 1998, kl. 23.00

Musik i apartheids skygge

DR P1, 13. november 1998, kl. 20.05 (G: januar 1999)

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DR P2musik, 14. november 1998, kl. 22.30

Interview med Ole Reitov, Radioavisens Middagsmagasin, *DR*, 15. november 1998

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DR P1, 16. november 1998, kl. 9.00

Verdensmusik
DR P3, 16. november kl. 21.03

Censur i Sudan
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Katapult
DR P3, 17. november 1998, kl. 13.03

Popshop
DR P3, 17. november 1998, kl. 18.10

Censur i USA
Kulturnyt, *DR P1*, 18. november 1998

Censur i Pakistan
Kulturnyt, *DR P1*, 19. november 1998

Popshop
DR P3, 19. november 1998, kl. 18.10

Beat
DR P3, 19. november 1998, kl. 21.03

Go'Morgen P3, Interview med Marc Schade Poulsen, EuroMed
DR P3, 20. november 1998

Popshop
DR P3, 20. november 1998, kl. 18.10

Radioavisen, Reportage fra konferencen
DR, 20. november 1998, kl. 18.30

Globus, Om censur i Bulgarien og Iran
DR P2musik, 20. november 1998, kl. 22.00

Spadestik
DR P3, 22. november 1998, kl. 22.03

Verdensmusik, Reportage og tema om konferencen
DR P3, 23. november 1998, kl. 21.03

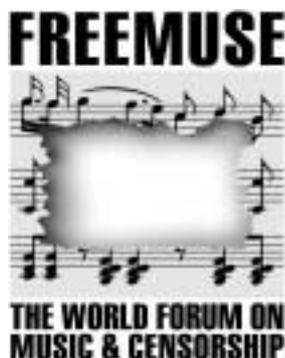
Konference - og hvad så? Interview med Morten Kjærum, Det Danske Center for
Menneskerettigheder,
Kulturnyt, *DR P1*, 23. november 1998

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DR P2musik, 27. november 1998, kl. 22.00

Reportage fra konferencen
DR P2musik, 30. november 1998, kl. 20.30

TV

Før Deadline, interview med Ole Reitov
DR2, 20. november 1998, kl. 23.00



Freemuse – El foro mundial de música y censura

Luche contra la censura de la música!

La música un derecho humano

LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS: un tema para todo el mundo en cualquier lugar. Este término abarca innumerables temas relacionados. El derecho a la libertad de asociación, a la libertad de religión, a la familia y a la vida privada, a la alimentación, a la vivienda y a la educación y mucho más, todo tratado en La Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos de Las Naciones Unidas. Los derechos son tan importantes para los músicos como para cualquier otra persona, habiendo dos aspectos clave con una relevancia especial: la libertad de expresión y el derecho a participar libremente en la vida cultural. Juntos, ofrecen protección especial a los músicos contra la censura arbitraria y la persecución.

Libertad de expresión

La música ofrece un número ilimitado de posibilidades para que los seres humanos se expresen. Las letras pueden brindar mensajes de amor, odio, miedo, rebelión, y mensajes sociales e inclusive políticos. Una melodía en sí misma puede comunicar alegría, esperanza, tristeza, un acontecimiento dramático, un estado de ánimo especial o una expresión auditiva de la vida diaria. Las melodías también pueden expresar tradiciones musicales que ayudan a formar la identidad de la gente o la cultura.

Todas estas expresiones diferentes están bajo la protección de la libertad de expresión en la Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos, Artículo 19.

Para los músicos, la libertad de expresión implica específicamente: Para los músicos, la libertad de expresión implica específicamente:

- Libertad para tocar música en público al igual que en privado
- Libertad para dar conciertos
- Libertad para publicar CDs u otro tipo de grabación playback sin importar qué expresiones puedan estar incluidas en la música o en la letra

Por lo tanto, como punto de partida, ninguna censura o ninguna acción legal puede ser impuesta en contra de los músicos por lo que expresen en su música.

Sin embargo hay excepciones: Sin embargo hay excepciones:

La propaganda para la guerra siempre es ilegal, así como abogar por el odio nacional, racial o religioso.

La prohibición de la propaganda para la guerra, etc. se menciona por ejemplo en la Convención de Derechos Civiles y Políticos de la ONU, Artículo 20.

Si es necesario, los estados también pueden limitar la libertad de expresión por ciertas razones. Otras limitaciones de la libertad de expresión están especificadas en la Cláusula de Derechos Civiles y Políticos de la ONU, Artículo 19 (3):

- Respeto de la reputación de la difamación de otras personas.
- Protección de la seguridad nacional, del orden público, o de la moral o la salud pública.

En cualquier caso estas limitaciones deben ser prescritas en una ley nacional. Esto implica, p.ej. que un funcionario del gobierno no puede decidir prohibir ciertos tipos de música en la radio o en la televisión, si ninguna ley lo prescribe.

Y el gobierno no tiene permitido establecer una ley de censura, por ejemplo, para acallar a ciertos grupos religiosos o combatir opiniones políticas opuestas, porque estas no son bases legales en las que la libertad de expresión puede ser limitada.

El derecho a participar en la vida cultural

Además de ser un medio de expresión, la música es también una actividad cultural. Ver p.ej. el preámbulo de la Recomendación de la UNESCO a la Participación de la Gente en General en la Vida Cultural y su Contribución a ésta, 26 de noviembre de 1976.

Aunque una canción o una melodía pueda no expresar ninguna actitud u opinión particular, el simple acceso a tocar música puede ser considerado como un derecho humano en si mismo.

Esto está establecido en la Declaración Universal de Derechos Humanos, Artículo 27.

El derecho a participar en la vida cultural está también incluido en la Cláusula de los Derechos Sociales, Económicos y Culturales de la ONU, Artículo 15, y en la Convención Internacional de la Eliminación de todas las formas de Discriminación Racial Artículo 5 (e) (vi) relativa a la no discriminación racial y el derecho a participar libremente en la vida cultural de la comunidad.

Para los músicos el derecho a participar en la vida cultural implica específicamente: Para los músicos el derecho a participar en la vida cultural implica específicamente:

- Libertad para tocar y producir música
- Libertad para escuchar y disfrutar música hecha por otros.
- El derecho a la protección de los resultados de la producción musical propia
- Libertad para las minorías étnicas para tocar la música de su cultura propia.

El derecho a la participación cultural es distinto a la libertad de expresión. No hay bases legales que limiten el derecho a participar en la vida cultural. Por lo tanto, al menos que la música contenga letras difamatorias u otras expresiones que puedan ser limitadas legalmente con el carácter de libertad de expresión, el derecho a tocar y disfrutar música por si mismo nunca puede ser prohibido legalmente.

Recopilado por
Karen Hald,
Asistente de investigación
Centro Danés de Derechos Humanos.

Están tocando mi música

Miniguía de los derechos del compositor y del músico

EN LA MAYORÍA DE LOS CASOS cuando la música es tocada en público, el compositor y el letrista tienen derecho a remuneración de acuerdo a las reglas de la legislación de los derechos de autor en el país correspondiente. Esto se aplica tanto a los conciertos, danzas, etc. en vivo, como a las grabaciones en radio, televisión, club, etc. También hay varias instancias en donde el tocar música incluye también el derecho del ejecutante a recibir un pago.

El derecho de los músicos y la legislación concerniente a los derechos de autor difiere de un país a otro. En la mayoría se le llama copyright y se refiere a los compositores y letristas. Esto es el standard mundial pero de ninguna manera es evidente en todos los lugares pues en algunos países ni siquiera existe dicha legislación. De todas maneras en la mayoría de los países la legislación existente se basa generalmente en convenciones internacionales y es por eso similar de un lugar a otro. Aún así las reglas son algo complicadas y es fácil confundirse.

Aquí hay un pequeño avance.

Derechos de autor

Los derechos de autor son parte de un largo dominio de los Derechos de Propiedad Intelectual. Incluyen derechos económicos y morales. El primero es el derecho a la remuneración cuando la música es tocada. Más allá del compositor/letrista otras personas también tienen el derecho a remuneración. Estos son los que adaptan la música para ciertos propósitos, los traductores y los editores. Generalmente cuando un compositor/letrista también es el artista que graba, ella/el es exhortado a dar los derechos de publicación a la compañía editora que pertenece a la compañía discográfica. Pero hay que tener cuidado: Los derechos morales pertenecen al compositor /letrista.

Ellos determinan como debe ser tocada su música, p.ej. como debe ser adaptada.

La principal convención que regula la legislación de los derechos de autor/copyright es la Convención de Berna administrada por la Organización Mundial de la Propiedad Intelectual (OMPI). Los países que han firmado la Convención de Berna están de acuerdo en considerar la música tocada por autores de cualquier otro país de la convención de la misma forma que la música tocada por sus ciudadanos. Esto significa por ejemplo, que si una pieza musical de un compositor danés o hindú es tocada in Suecia, este compositor tiene el mismo derecho a remuneración que un compositor sueco.

Derechos mecánicos

Similar a los derechos de autor son los derechos mecánicos. Este es el derecho del compositor/letrista a remuneración cuando su música es publicada en disco o en algún medio similar. Esta remuneración generalmente se relaciona al número de discos vendidos.

Las Legislaciones nacionales varían, pero los derechos de autor generalmente expiran 50 o 70 años después de la muerte del autor. Los derechos mecánicos generalmente expiran 25 o 50 años después de la primera fecha de publicación del disco.

La música que es más vieja o que tiene un compositor/letrista o adaptador desconocido no está protegida por la legislación de los derechos de autor.

La legislación de los derechos de autor solamente da el derecho a la remuneración. No dice la cantidad. El poder de negociar le corresponde al dueño de los derechos. Por supuesto que es imposible para cada dueño de los derechos abarcar el ejercicio de su música y recolectar las ganancias de por ejemplo un organizador de festivales, dueño de un bar o de una estación de radio. Para ello han sido formadas sociedades colectoras en la mayoría de los países. Un dueño de los derechos puede ser miembro de una sociedad colectora la cual entonces negocia la cantidad de dinero a pagar por diferentes tipos de presentaciones. Estas también monitorean las presentaciones y recolectan el dinero. El dinero es entonces dividido entre de los dueños de los derechos, tanto nacionales como extranjeros de acuerdo al número de

presentaciones de la música de cada uno. En algunos países la recolección y distribución del dinero proveniente de los derechos es hecha por agencias gubernamentales. Los procedimientos son algo complejos. Muchas cosas pueden y de hecho van mal.

Pero hasta ahora no se ha designado ninguna manera mejor de recolectar el dinero de los derechos.

Derechos de los músicos

Los músicos generalmente son pagados directamente por el empleador de una vez o siguiendo algún tipo de acuerdo de royalty. Estos convenios son cubiertos por la legislación general de los acuerdos correspondientes.

En algunos países que han firmado la Convención de Roma también hay una legislación de los derechos de los músicos. Esta otorga a los músicos que graban el derecho a la remuneración cuando sus grabaciones son tocadas en público, p.ej. en radio, televisión, en una discoteca, en un gran almacén, etc. Para recolectar este dinero los músicos que graban en los países correspondientes han formado sociedades colectoras.

En algunos países la organización de las compañías de discos – generalmente la rama nacional de la IFPI – en representación de la industria mundial de discos, recolecta el dinero de los artistas que graban.

Qué hacer?

Si has compuesto, escrito letras, adaptado o grabado música:

- Verifica si existe una ley correspondiente a los derechos de autor o copyright en tu país.
- Verifica si tu país ha firmado la Convención de Berna y además la Convención de Roma.
- En este caso, revisa quienes están recolectando el dinero de los derechos en tu país.
- Preséntate y presenta tu música a estos recolectadores y exige tus derechos.

Recopilado por

Dr. Krister Malm,

Director General de la Recolección Nacional Sueca de Música & miembro de la dirección de FREEMUSE.

ALTO a la censura de los músicos

Imagínate el mundo sin música. O imagina un mundo en el que se nos diga qué tocar, qué cantar y hasta qué debemos escuchar en la privacidad de nuestros hogares. Ese mundo ya existe.

En más países de lo que te puedas imaginar, los músicos y compositores están bajo amenaza. Y esa amenaza está creciendo.

En países como Sudán, Afganistán y China, las violaciones al derecho a la libertad de expresión de los músicos son algo común. En EE.UU. y Argelia, grupos de presión han tenido éxito en excluir la música popular de conciertos en vivo, mantenerla fuera de los medios y el mercado.

En ex-Yugoslavia, los músicos son títeres en dramas políticos, y la posibilidad de libre expresión ha sido afectada.

Por qué censurar la música? Por qué censurar la música?

Tal vez te preguntas por qué la música es censurada. Por qué los músicos han sido torturados, encarcelados, exiliados e incluso asesinados. Por qué ciertos tipos de música han sido silenciados?

Puede ser tan simple como lo ha dicho el músico Sudafricano, Johnny Clegg: "La censura está basada en el miedo".

La música es una expresión libre de ideas, tradiciones y emociones de individuos y sociedades.

Puede expresar las esperanzas y aspiraciones de los músicos, sus alegrías y tristezas, su identidad como una cultura.

Y estas expresiones puede entrar en conflicto con las personas en el poder. Las ideas por si mismas pueden simplemente no ser populares o estar fuera de la corriente del pensamiento o de las prácticas de

un régimen o de un grupo de interés especial. Porque existe gente en todo el mundo que se siente amenazada simplemente por el libre intercambio de ideas. Hay quienes harían cualquier cosa para detenerlas.

La censura de la música ha sido implementada por estados, religiones, sistemas de educación, familias, vendedores y grupos de presión - y en la mayoría de los casos violan los convenios internacionales de los derechos humanos.

FREEMUSE en acción

Nuestros objetivos son:

- Documentar violaciones y discutir sus efectos en la vida musical.
- Informar a los medios de comunicación, a las organizaciones de derechos humanos y al público.
- Apoyar a músicos necesitados y observar sus procesos.
- Desarrollar una red global en apoyo a los músicos y compositores amenazados.

Nuestra página Web informa sobre las violaciones y a través de archivos de sonido puedes escuchar a los músicos y investigadores hablar de la naturaleza y los efectos de la censura de la música.

Asóciate...

Te puedes asociar a FREEMUSE como miembro y apoyar nuestras actividades. Tal vez no podamos detener la censura de la música pero juntos podemos dificultar el predominio de las fuerzas de represión.

AYUDA A FREEMUSE A DETENER LAS VIOLACIONES!

el nacimiento de FREEMUSE

FREEMUSE surgió de la 1ra. Conferencia Mundial de Música y Censura realizada en Copenhague en noviembre de 1998.

La conferencia reunió a profesionales de diferentes campos y países – músicos, periodistas, investigadores, profesionales de compañías discográficas y activistas de derechos humanos – para examinar, discutir y documentar una variedad de abusos desde lo aparentemente benigno hasta lo más extremo.

La alarmante extensión de la censura en la música indujo a los participantes de la conferencia a iniciar la creación de una nueva organización, FREEMUSE. Su guía son los principios establecidos en la Declaración de Derechos Humanos de las Naciones Unidas porque se refieren específicamente a los músicos y compositores.

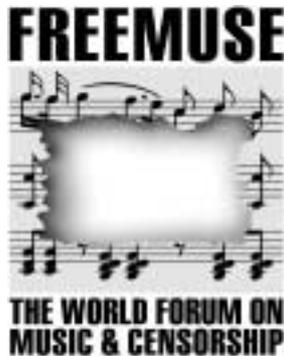
FREEMUSE fue oficialmente formada en 1999 y ahora, en el año 2000, hemos establecido el Primer Centro Global de Documentación de Música y Censura en Copenhague.

“Muchos músicos en todo el mundo son tratados paternalísticamente por sus gobiernos o por fracciones poderosas dentro de estos. Muchos de ellos son censurados cuando expresan su opinión. Incluso a veces son encarcelados. La existencia de FREEMUSE puede ayudar a que los músicos obtengan la confianza que necesitan para tocar temas reales en sus países y, cuando sean censurados, tengan el apoyo que necesiten para ser liberados”.

Ray Lema,
Compositor y músico
Miembro de la dirección de FREEMUSE

Translation by Birgitte Theresia Henriksen.

Présentation de Freemuse



Freemuse – Forum mondial sur La musique et la censure

COMBATRE LA CENSURE MUSICALE

La musique, un Droit de l'homme

Les Droits de l'Homme: C'est un sujet qui concerne tout un chacun, à tous les niveaux de la société. Et recouvre ce seul terme une foule de sujets corrélaires. Il y a la liberté d'association, la liberté de religion, la liberté de la famille et le droit à la vie privée, liberté en ce qui concerne le choix de la nourriture, le logement et l'éducation, et bien plus encore, qui sont tous délimités et définis par la Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme des Nations Unies. Les Droits de l'Homme sont aussi importants pour les musiciens qu'ils le sont pour tout autre individu, et deux éléments clés en relèvent plus particulièrement: Le droit et la liberté d'expression, et le droit ou liberté de participer librement à la vie culturelle. Ensemble, ils offrent une protection spéciale aux musiciens contre toute répression et censure arbitraire.

Liberté et expression

La musique offre aux êtres humains un nombre illimité de possibilités pour s'exprimer. Les paroles transmettent peuvent tout aussi bien offrir des messages d'amour, de haine, de peur, de révolte, ainsi que des messages de nature sociale ou politique.

Une mélodie à elle seule peut communiquer la joie, l'espoir, la souffrance, un événement dramatique, une atmosphère spéciale ou bien la couleur banale de la vie de tous les jours.

Les mélodies peuvent aussi bien exprimer et transmettre des traditions musicales qui aident à former l'identité d'un peuple et d'une culture.

Toutes ces différentes expressions sont sous la protection de la Liberté d'expression dans la Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme, Article 19.

Pour les musiciens, la liberté d'expression implique particulièrement:

- Liberté de jouer aussi bien dans des lieux publics que privés
- Liberté de donner des concerts
- Liberté de produire des CD ou tout autre forme de reproduction musicale
- Enregistrement play back, quelque soit les termes contenus dans la musique ou les paroles.

En conséquence de quoi, nous stipulons comme point de départ que: aucune censure entraînant des poursuites judiciaires ne peut être appliquée contre des musiciens à cause de ce qu'ils expriment dans leur musique.

Cependant il y a des exceptions: La propagande de guerre est toujours illégale, ainsi que le sont

l'incitation à la haine raciale ou religieuse.

L'interdiction des propagandes de guerre, etc., est mentionnée dans la Convention des Nations Unies sur les Droits Civils et Politiques, Article 20. L'Etat peut également limiter la liberté d'expression si nécessaire pour tout un ensemble de raisons. Les autres limites de la liberté d'expression sont spécifiées dans la Convention des Nations Unies sur les Droits Civils et Politiques, Article 19 (3).

- Respect de la réputation contre toute diffamation par autrui.
- Protection de la Sécurité Nationale, de l'ordre public, de la santé publique et de la morale.

En tous cas, de telles limites doivent être prescrites par une loi nationale. Cela implique par exemple qu'un membre officiel du gouvernement ne peut pas de son propre chef décider d'interdire la diffusion de certains types de musique soit à la radio ou à la télévision, s'il n'existe aucune loi le prescrivant. Et le gouvernement n'a pas le droit de promulguer de loi de censure afin par exemple de condamner au silence certains groupes religieux ou pour combattre des opinions politiques opposées, parce qu'il n'existe aucune raison légitime permettant de limiter la liberté d'expression.

Le droit de participation à la vie culturelle

La musique est non seulement un moyen d'expression, mais aussi une activité culturelle. Voir par exemple le préambule de la recommandation de l'UNESCO incitant chacun dans tous les peuples du monde en général à participer à la vie culturelle et à y offrir leur propre contribution (26 Novembre 1976.)

Même si une chanson ou une mélodie n'est pas en mesure d'exprimer une différence d'attitude ou d'opinion spécifique, le simple accès au jeu d'un instrument de musique doit être regardé en conséquence comme un droit intrinsèque de l'homme.

Ceci est stipulé par la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme, Article 27.

Le droit à la participation à la vie culturelle est aussi inclus dans la Convention des Nations Unies sur les Droits Sociaux et Economiques, Article 15, et dans la Convention Internationale sur l'élimination de toutes formes de discrimination raciale. Article 5 (e) (vi), concernant la non discrimination pour participer à la vie culturelle pour cause de race, et le droit de participer librement à la vie culturelle de la communauté.

Pour les musiciens, le droit de participer à la vie culturelle implique:

- La liberté de jouer et de donner des spectacles musicaux
- La liberté d'écouter et d'apprécier la musique jouée par d'autres
- Le droit à la protection des intérêts perçus lors d'un spectacle musical.
- La musique est non seulement un moyen d'expression mais aussi une activité culturelle.
- La liberté pour les minorités ethniques de jouer la musique appartenant à leur propre culture.

A la différence de la liberté d'expression, il n'existe pas de base légale pour limiter le droit de participation à la vie culturelle. Dès lors à moins que la musique ne contienne des paroles de nature diffamatoire ou autres expressions susceptibles d'entrer dans le cadre de la liberté d'expression, le droit de produire et d'apprécier la musique en tant que tel ne peut jamais être légalement aboli.

Résumé par Karen Hald
Assistant de Recherche
Centre Danois des Droits de l'Homme

Ils sont en train De jouer Ma Musique

Un petit guide Sur les droits des musiciens et compositeurs

Dans la plupart des cas, lorsque de la musique est jouée en public, le compositeur et l'auteur des paroles ont droit de percevoir les rémunérations selon la législation des droits d'auteur en cours dans le pays en question. Cela est valable aussi bien pour les performances en public lors de concerts, danses, etc. et dans

les cas de diffusion des spectacles à la radio, TV ou dans des clubs. Il existe aussi bien des cas où les performances musicales justifient que les musiciens qui ont joué à percevoir un cachet.

Les droits des musiciens et la législation concernant les droits d'auteur diffèrent d'un pays à un autre. Dans la plupart, on les appelle des droits d'auteur ou copyright et cela englobe les compositeurs et les auteurs des paroles. Il s'agit là d'un principe universel mais ce n'est pas pour cela évident partout, car il existe certains pays qui ne possèdent même pas de telle législation. Cependant, dans la vaste majorité des cas, la législation en cours est habituellement basée sur les conventions internationales et elle est de ce fait, identique d'un endroit à un autre. Il n'en n'est pas moins vrai que les règles en sont assez compliquées et qu'il est aisé de se tromper.

En voici un guide abrégé.

Les droits d'auteur

Les droits d'auteur font partie du vaste domaine des droits de la protection intellectuelle.

Ils comprennent les droits économiques et les droits moraux. Le premier concerne le droit à la rémunération lorsque la musique est performée. Outre le compositeur et l'auteur des paroles, d'autres personnes ont droit aussi à la rémunération.

Il s'agit des arrangeurs qui adaptent la musique de telle ou telle manière pour obtenir un certain effet, les traducteurs des paroles et les éditeurs. En général, lorsque l'auteur compositeur est aussi l'artiste qui effectue les enregistrements, on lui demande (à lui ou à elle), de concéder les droits d'auteur à l'éditeur appartenant à la compagnie d'enregistrement. Mais il faut faire attention. Les droits moraux appartiennent aux auteurs compositeurs c'est à eux que revient le droit de déterminer comment leur musique doit ou ne doit pas être jouée, par exemple, ou comment elle doit être adaptée.

La principale convention qui régit la législation des droits d'auteur, droits de copie, de reproduction est la Convention de Berne, administrée par l'Organisation de la Propriété Intellectuelle Mondiale (WIPO World Intellectual Property Organization).

Les pays qui ont signé la Convention de Berne ont décidé de considérer toute performance musicale d'auteur de pays appartenant à d'autres conventions, de la même manière que toute performance musicale nationale. Cela signifie par exemple que si une oeuvre musicale d'un compositeur Danois ou Indien est jouée en Suède, le compositeur a le même droit à la rémunération qu'un compositeur Suédois.

Les droits mécaniques

Les droits mécaniques sont semblables aux droits d'auteur.

Ce sont les droits des auteurs et compositeurs des paroles à rémunération lorsque leur musique est imprimée sur disques ou autre médium semblable. Cette rémunération est en général proportionnelle au nombre de disques vendus.

Les législations nationales varient, mais les droits d'auteur arrivent à expiration en général 50 ans ou 70 ans après la mort de l'auteur. Les droits mécaniques expirent en général 25 à 50 ans après la date de la première parution d'un disque.

Toute musique plus ancienne ou qui n'a pas de compositeur ou auteur de lyrics ou arrangeur connu, n'est pas protégée par la législation des droits d'auteur.

La législation des droits d'auteur autorise seulement le droit à la rémunération. Elle n'en n'indique pas le montant. Cela est fonction du pouvoir de négociation de celui qui possède les droits. Il est bien sûr impossible pour chaque propriétaire des droits de ne pas tenir compte de la qualité de l'exécution de sa musique et de récolter l'argent qui lui est dû. Par exemple de n'importe quelle organisation de festival ou propriétaire de bar ou de station de radio. Afin de s'occuper de cela, des sociétés de recouvrement ont été formées dans la plupart des pays.

Un propriétaire de droits peut devenir membre d'une société de recouvrement qui va de son côté négocier le montant qui doit être versé pour différentes sortes de performances.

Elles supervisent les performances et récoltent l'argent. L'argent est alors divisé entre les propriétaires de droits, nationaux et étrangers, d'après le nombre de performances de la musique de chacun. Dans certains pays le recouvrement et la ventilation de l'argent des droits sont effectués par des agences

gouvernementales. Bien des choses peuvent mal se passer, et c'est ce qui arrive souvent, mais, jusqu'à nouvel ordre, on n'a pas réussi à trouver de meilleur moyen de recouvrement de l'argent des droits.

Les droits des musiciens

Les musiciens sont en général payés directement par l'employeur une fois pour toute à partir d'une sorte d'accord sur les pourcentages. Les accords sont couverts par la législation générale concernant tout accord. Dans certains pays qui ont signé la convention de Rome, il existe aussi une législation des droits des musiciens. Cela donne aux musiciens le droit à la rémunération lorsque leurs enregistrements sont joués en publique, par exemple radio, télévision, disco ou grands magasins etc.

Afin de pouvoir recouvrer cet argent, les musiciens propriétaires d'enregistrements dans les pays concernés ont formé des sociétés de recouvrement. Dans certains pays, l'organisation des maisons de disques et d'enregistrement en général la branche nationale de IFPI – représentant l'industrie mondiale du disque recouvre l'argent pour les artistes qui ont fait des enregistrements.

Que faire?

Si vous avez composé, écrit des paroles, arrangé ou enregistré de la musique :

- Vérifier s'il existe une loi concernant les droits d'auteur ou de copie dans votre pays.
- Vérifier si votre pays a signé la convention de Berne et également la convention de Rome.
- Si c'est le cas, vérifier quels sont les organismes chargés du recouvrement de l'argent des droits dans votre pays.
- Faites vous connaître et faites connaître votre musique aux organismes de recouvrement et réclamez votre dû.

Résumé par Dr. Krister Malm,

Directeur Général de l'institut national de collection musicale en Suède et membre du panel de directeurs de
FREEMUSE.

ARRETER la Censure des Musiciens

IMAGINEZ LE MONDE sans musique. Ou imaginez un monde où on nous dit ce que nous devons jouer, ce que nous devons chanter et même ce que nous devons écouter dans le sanctuaire de notre maison. Ce monde existe déjà.

Dans bien plus de pays que vous ne pouvez l'imaginer, les musiciens et les compositeurs sont menacés et cette menace ne fait que grandir.

Dans des pays tel que le Soudan, l'Afghanistan, la Chine, la violation des droits des musiciens à la liberté d'expression est un fait coutumier. Aux USA, en Algérie, des groupes de "lobbies" ont réussi à barrer pour la musique populaire tout accès à la scène de concert, aux médias et à la vente.

En ex-Yougoslavie, les musiciens sont très souvent contraints à jouer des rôles de pion dans des drames politiques, et toute possibilité de libre expression s'en trouve fatalement endommagée.

Pourquoi la musique est elle censurée?

Vous êtes en droit de vous demander pourquoi la musique est censurée? Pourquoi les musiciens sont ils torturés, emprisonnés et même tués? Pourquoi certaines formes de musique ont été condamnées et vouées au silence? .

Peut être est ce aussi simple que le musicien d'Afrique du Sud Johnny Clegg l'a dit, à savoir: "La censure est basée sur la peur".

La musique est la libre expression des idées, traditions et émotions des individus et des peuples. Elle peut exprimer l'espoir des musiciens. Leurs aspirations, leurs joies et leurs peines, leur propre identité et leur culture. Cependant, ces expressions entrent en conflit avec ceux qui sont au pouvoir. Les idées en elles même sont peut être simplement impopulaires ou hors du contexte et mode de penser du régime ou d'un groupe particulier. Car il existe de par le monde ceux qui se sentent menacés par la nature même de tout libre échange d'idées. Il y a ceux qui ne s'arrêteront devant rien pour les museler.

La censure musicale a été appliquée par des Etats, des religions, des systèmes d'éducation, des familles, des lobbies, des organismes de vente – et dans la plupart des cas, ils violent la Convention Internationale des Droits de l'Homme.

FREEMUSE en action

Nos objectifs sont de:

- Produire des documentations sur les violations et discuter de leurs effets sur la vie de la musique.
- Informer les médias, les organisations des Droits de l'Homme et le public.
- Soutenir les musiciens en détresse et étudier leurs procès.
- Développer un réseau mondial en aide aux musiciens menacés et aux compositeurs.

Notre SiteWeb donne toute information à propos des violations et grâce aux documents sonores, vous pouvez écouter les musiciens et les chercheurs qui nous parlent de la nature et des effets de la censure musicale.

FREEMUSE est né...

Freemuse est né lors de la première conférence mondiale sur la Musique et la Censure qui a eu lieu à Copenhague en Novembre 1998. La conférence a regroupé l'ensemble des professionnels de différents domaines et différents pays – musiciens, journalistes, chercheurs, professionnels de l'industrie du disque, activistes des Droits de l'Homme pour examiner, discuter et documenter un large éventail d'abus depuis ceux qui sont apparemment les plus bénins jusqu'aux plus extrêmes.

La rapidité alarmante et sans cesse grandissante des phénomènes de censure musicale a poussé les membres de la conférence à initier la création d'une nouvelle organisation, FREEMUSE. Elle a pour guide les principes tels qu'ils sont définis par la déclaration des Nations Unies des Droits de l'Homme et s'applique particulièrement aux musiciens et aux compositeurs.

FREEMUSE a été officiellement fondé en 1999 et maintenant en l'an 2000, nous avons établi la première

documentation globale à Copenhague sur la musique et la censure.

Unissez vous à nous...

Vous pouvez devenir membre de Freemuse et sponsoriser nos activités. Nous ne réussissons peut être pas à arrêter la censure de la musique, mais nous pourrions, ensemble, rendre la tâche plus difficile aux forces de la répression et l'empêcher de prévaloir.

Aidez FREEMUSE à mettre un terme aux violations!

”Un grand nombre de musiciens de part le monde sont traités soit par leur gouvernement soit par de puissantes factions internes de manière paternaliste.

Beaucoup d'entre eux lorsqu'ils tentent de s'exprimer sont censurés. Quelquefois ils sont même jetés en prison. L'existence de Freemuse peut aider les musiciens à gagner la confiance qui leur est nécessaire pour faire face aux problèmes dans leur pays et affirmer leur position, et lorsqu'ils sont censurés, ils peuvent recevoir le soutien dont ils ont besoin pour être libérés”.

Ray Lema,

Compositeur, musicien

Et membre du panel de directeurs de FREEMUSE.

Translation by Michelle Bonnet-Darmais Mukarji