



THE SOUNDTRACK OF CONFLICT
THE ROLE OF MUSIC IN RADIO BROADCASTING
IN WARTIME AND IN CONFLICT SITUATIONS

Georg-August-Universität Göttingen. 15-17 September 2011

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15. SEPTEMBER, THURSDAY

Session 0

- 08:45-09:30 Registration/Coffee
09:30-10:00 **M. J. Grant** Welcome and introduction to the conference

Session 1 Chair: Andreas Waczkat

- 10:00-10:30 **Mauro Fosco Bertola** (Universität Heidelberg, DE)
Tradition as a Pattern of War-Incitement: The Musical Policy of Italian Radio during the Fascist Period
10:30-11:00 **Karine Le Bail** (EHESS, F)
Music on the Airwaves in Occupied France
11:00-11:30 **Katherine Baber** (University of Redlands, USA)
Jazz, World War II Radio Propaganda, and the Case of Tokyo Rose
11:30-12:00 Discussion
12:00-14:00 **Lunch**

Session 2 Chair: Christian Storch

- 14:00-14:30 **Inna Klause** (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, DE)
Music in Radio Broadcasts in the Gulag
14:30-15:00 **Chen-Ching Cheng** (University of Edinburgh, UK)
The Voice of China: Pirate Radio Broadcasting of Teresa Teng from Taiwan and Hong Kong during the Cold War period in Asia
15:00-15:30 Discussion
15:30-16:00 **Coffee break**

Session 3 Chair: Birgit Abels

- 16:00-16:30 **Pradeep Nishantha Weerasinghe** (University of Colombo, Sri Lanka)
Music and Radio during the final Stage of the Eelam War in Sri Lanka
16:30-17:00 **Ruth Finnegan** (Open University, UK)
Integration or Separation? The Story of Radio and Music in Fiji
17:00-17:30 Discussion

16. SEPTEMBER, FRIDAY

Session 4 Chair: Stephanie Leder

- 10:00-10:30 **Peter Schimpf** (Metropolitan State College, Denver, USA)
Henry Cowell and the Development of Iranian State Radio for the United States Information Agency
10:30-11:00 **Beau Bothwell** (Columbia University, USA)
Sounding American: Radio Sawa's Musical Diplomacy in the Middle Eastern Radioscape
11:00-11:30 Discussion
11:30-13:00 **Lunch**

Session 5 Chair: Cornelia Nuxoll

- 13:00-13:30 **Oluwafemi Alexander Ladapo** (University of Ibadan, Nigeria)
Martial Music at Dawn, Introit for Coup d'Etats
13:30-14:00 **Sekibakiba Peter Lekgoathi** (University of Witwatersrand, South Africa)
Radio Freedom, Songs of Freedom and the Liberation Struggle in South Africa, 1963-1991
14:00-14:30 **Paul Richards** (Universiteit Wageningen, NL)
Broadcasting and the Soundscape of War - Music in Armed Insurgency
14:30-15:00 Discussion
15:00-15:30 **Coffee break**

Session 6 Chair: M. J. Grant

- 15:30-16:00 **Sarah Angello** (CUNY Graduate Centre, USA)
Broadcasting Democracy, Silencing Freedom: Music, Broadcasting and Censorship in Rwanda
16:00-16:30 **James Parker** (Melbourne Law School, AUS)
Simon Bikindi, Incitement to Genocide and the Musicology of Justice
16:30-17:00 Discussion

Session 7a/b Lecture-Performance in the studio of Stadtradio Göttingen

- 18:30-19:30 (Group A), 20:00-21:00 (Group B)
Milo Rau and Jens Dietrich with Dorcy Rugamba
(International Institute of Political Murder, Berlin/Zürich)
Introduction to the theatre project "Hate Radio"

17. SEPTEMBER, SATURDAY

Section 8 Chair: Anna Papaeti

- 10:00-10:30 **Elli Charamis** (University of Athens, GR)
Music in Greek Radio Broadcasting in Wartime (1940-1950)
- 10:30-11:00 **Vlasis Vlasidis** (University of Western Macedonia, Florina)
Propaganda and Music: Greek and Yugoslav Public Radio in the
1940s and 1950s
- 11:00-11:30 Discussion
- 11:30-12:00 **Coffee break**

Session 9 Chair: M. J. Grant

12:00-13:00 **Closing discussion**

13:00 **End of conference**

16. September, 18:30 and 20:00 in the Studio of StadtRadio Göttingen
Introduction to the Theatre Project "Hate Radio"

International Institute of Political Murder

Director: Milo Rau

Dramaturge: Jens Dietrich

Speaker: Darcy Rugamba

On 6 April 1994, the airplane of the Rwandan President was hit by two missiles on its approach to land. This was the starting signal for the most brutal genocide since the end of the Cold War. In the months of April, May and June 1994, it is estimated that somewhere between 800,000 and 1,000,000 people belonging to the Tutsi minority and thousands of moderate Hutus were murdered.

What appeared to foreign observers as an unexpected rupture in civilisation had been planned and prepared well in advance. A long time before the "100 Days", the most popular radio station in the country "Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines" (RTLM) had been doing its utmost to run a subtle campaign of dehumanising the victims and radicalising the perpetrators with, for the most part, ingenious psycho-technical finesse. The schedule consisted of pop music, sport reports, political pamphlets and invocations to murder, which were impossible to surpass in their contempt. By mixing racist mindsets with the most modern entertainment technology, the RTLM studio became the birthplace of the first genuine "post-modern" genocide.

From October 2011 onwards the International Institute of Political Murder (IIPM) will perform a stage re-enactment of a show of the RTLM, which is run by three hosts, each of Rwandan background, and takes place in several European theatres and museums (Kunsthhaus Bregenz, Migrosmuseum Zürich, Hebbel am Ufer Berlin, Théâtre du Grütli Genève, Centre Pompidou Paris etc.) The project is based on extensive research in Rwanda and aims at a mode of depiction that makes available aspects of the RTLM phenomena that are missed in other accounts. It combines artistic and scientific research and thus asks how events which cannot be explained can be presented on stage. This lecture performance will discuss this principle of reenactment, interspersed with material and commentary from the upcoming production

We gratefully acknowledge the cooperation of StadtRadio Göttingen and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Niedersachsen e.V. in making this lecture-performance possible.



THE IIPM-INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF POLITICAL MURDER is based in Berlin and Zurich. Its aim is to intensify and theoretically reflect on the exchange between theatre, fine arts, film and research in the area of re-enacting historical events. The last project produced by the IIPM, “The Last Hours of Elena and Nicolae Ceausescu” (2009/10) was nominated for the Berliner Theatertreffen and the Prix de Soleure. A series of panel discussions as well as a documentation volume (together with Friedrich Kittler, Heinz Bude, Ion Iliescu amongst others) expanded the project into an interdisciplinary event.

JENS DIETRICH, dramaturge and producer of the IIPM, was born in 1976 in the region of Hesse, Germany. After graduating in Applied Theatre Studies in Giessen he worked at Richard Foreman’s Ontological Theater in New York, at the Städtische Bühne Köln and at the Theater Freiburg. Since 2004 he has been working as a freelance dramaturge for theatre productions in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Romania and Italy.

MILO RAU, director of the IIPM, was born in 1977 in Berne (CH). He studied French and German Literature, Linguistics and Sociology in Paris, Zurich and Berlin and is currently pursuing a doctorate with a study of the “Aesthetics of Reenactment”. Alongside his work in theatre and film, he is active as a lecturer (Universities of Lüneburg and St. Gallen, Art Schools of Berne, Zurich a. o.) and an essayist (NZZ).

DORCY RUGAMBA was born in Rwanda in 1970 and moved to Belgium after the genocide. There he studied acting and directing, and began to deal intensively with the not-too-distant experiences from 1994. He worked on the play “Rwanda 94” and in a film with the same name, both under the direction of the Belgian Jacques Decuvellerie. Back in Kigali, Rugamba founded the theatre group Urwintore and directed “The Investigation” (“Die Ermittlung”) by Peter Weiss. In 2004 he performed in Peter Brooks’ “Tierno Bokar (Bouffes du Nord)”; in 2007 he toured through France, Belgium, Switzerland and Mali with a play he wrote and performed himself, “Bloody Niggers”. In HATE RADIO Rugamba plays the role of the host Kantano Habimana, the dreaded ideologue of the radio.

Please note: The lecture performance will take place in the studio of StadtRadio Göttingen, Groner Strasse 2, 37073 Göttingen. Since space in the studio is restricted, there will be two performances, one at 18:30 and one at 20:00; each lasts no more than one hour. More information on which performance you should attend, and how to get to the venue, will be given on the day.

ABSTRACTS

in alphabetical order

SARAH ANGELLO

BROADCASTING DEMOCRACY, SILENCING FREEDOM: MUSIC, BROADCASTING AND CENSORSHIP IN RWANDA

This paper examines political censorship in post-genocide Rwanda, specifically as it targets the dissemination of music. Radio was a powerful agent in the Rwandan genocide of 1994—the role of the Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTL) in the conflict is considered an actualizing agent of violence, not simply a transmitter of hate speech or an outlet of expression. The widely-listened to station was an instigator of the event and an active participant in the violence. In the aftermath of the genocide, the Rwandan government led by Paul Kagame has enacted strict boundaries and limits on the media, earning the nation a score of 157/175 on the Reporters Without Borders Press Freedom Index. By studying the position of music within the context of censorship during and after the Rwandan genocide, I aim to illustrate the twofold expressive purposes of music, which demonstrate artistic freedom and social commentary in this context. An analysis of transcripts preserved in the Rwanda Documents Project of radio broadcasts during the conflict demonstrates the rallying power of music and the manipulation of patriotic, religious and cleverly produced popular music to further the agenda of the broadcast. I also examine Rwanda’s harsh censorship laws in the post-genocide era, focusing on music represented on the radio. While Rwanda has certainly been widely studied, it is an intriguing case study representing possible courses of action for a state or region emerging from conflict and reestablishing a relationship between media and government.

SARAH ANGELLO is a student at the CUNY Graduate Center, pursuing her PhD. in Ethnomusicology. A graduate of Gettysburg College, her academic background is in political science and music. Her interest in the intersection between the two grew after working for the Foundation for Sustainable Development in Masaka, Uganda. Recent conference appearances include the 2010 Hawaii International Conference on Arts and Humanities in Honolulu, Hawaii, and *Celebrate: Conference on Undergraduate Research* in Gettysburg, PA, where she presented a lecture-recital of piano music from the Cold War period. Sarah recently received a University Fellowship, and has previously received grants and citations from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Johnson Center for Creative Teaching, and the

American Association of University Women: Gettysburg Chapter. Her research interests incorporate multiple facets of the complicated relationship between music and politics, and the political economy of music.

KATHERINE BABER

JAZZ, WORLD WAR II RADIO PROPAGANDA, AND THE CASE OF TOKYO ROSE

Studies of radio propaganda during World War II tend to focus on individual personalities or structural and political issues, although scholars such as Michael Kater have begun to address the significance of various musical styles, particularly jazz, within the programs broadcast by both Axis and Allied powers. However, the role of jazz as a cultural signifier extends to radio propaganda in the Pacific theater as well. In particular, the combination of American jazz recordings and live performances used by the Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) directly contributed to the widely acknowledged failure of the “Zero Hour” program, a regular propaganda broadcast aimed at American forces in the Pacific and made infamous by the radio personality known as “Tokyo Rose”.

The format of the broadcasts was constructed to inspire “war weariness” by juxtaposing unsettling domestic and military news (often false or exaggerated) with the familiarity of jazz “sweet and hot”, all delivered by a seductive feminine voice. However, the testimony of American servicemen indicates that the program failed to generate the intended cognitive discord among its listeners. The objectification of the announcer “Tokyo Rose” (a composite of several women) is one obvious reason for this failure. However, the cultural associations of swing-era jazz also allowed the audience to assert auditory ownership of the program. Furthermore, the use of jazz recordings provided a way for the American and other Allied prisoners of war recruited to produce the “Zero Hour” to undermine the propaganda they were instructed to send with their own musically-encoded message. Similarly, the live portions of the broadcasts opened a space for Japanese jazz musicians to continue performing even after the music was banned by the government in 1940. Not only does the failure of the “Zero Hour” illustrate the crucial role of music in propaganda, it also demonstrates the continuum between collaboration and resistance available to individuals under totalitarian regimes.

KATHERINE BABER is Visiting Professor of Music History at the University of Redlands and a Ph.D. candidate (A.B.D.) in musicology at the Indiana University

Jacobs School of Music. Her research interests include the music of Leonard Bernstein, topical theory and musical meaning, jazz historiography and reception, and American musical modernism. Her dissertation, “Leonard Bernstein’s Jazz: A Musical Trope and its Cultural Resonances”, focuses on the reception and meaning of Leonard Bernstein’s use of jazz and blues in works for the stage and concert hall. Previous publications and research include models of deliberation and democracy in the music of Charles Ives, the interaction of African American music and Jewish identity in the work of Mel Brooks, the role of jazz and popular song in World War II propaganda, and field research on the commoditization of Chicago blues.

MAURO FOSCO BERTOLA

TRADITION AS A PATTERN OF WAR-INCITEMENT: THE MUSICAL POLICY OF ITALIAN RADIO DURING THE FASCIST PERIOD

As studies of “cultural memory” have evidenced over the past 30 years, we can conceive of traditions as social constructs that are subject to structural tensions between past and present; as Aleida Assmann puts it “traditions are always the result of decision processes” which aim at constructing collective identities for the present.

In its attempt to stress central aspects of its identity, Italian Fascism has also recurred to “traditions”. More specifically, the myth of the ancient Roman Empire directly bequeathing modern-day fascist Italy (“romanità”) was key to the militarization of society and to its expansionist foreign policy. Could it eventually have been possible to politically exploit Italy’s musical “tradition”?

1924-1930: It took quite some time for “ancient” Italian music to become part of radio programming, particularly so for purely instrumental works. Yet, this process happened to mirror the way in which the Fascist leadership developed an increasing awareness of the political possibilities potentially to be drawn from the new medium. It is particularly remarkable how broadcasters presented “ancient” music to their audience: programming constantly made sure to present points of reference to contemporary or recent Italian music. Thus, “ancient music” came to be staged not as representative of ancient times passed by since long, but as part of an ever evolving national “tradition”.

1938-1939: During the 1920s, the sporadic presence of “ancient music” in radio broadcasts did not transcend a general glorification of the Italian nation. However, when radio broadcasts became a commonly used instrument of Fascist

mass indoctrination in the 1930s, the role of “ancient music” underwent a fundamental change. In my talk, I will illustrate the nature of these changes through a presentation of the German-Italian Joint Programs realized in 1938 and 1939. At this point, Italian musical tradition happened to assume a specific role in contemporary politics of power: it was to claim the supremacy of Italian Fascism against its ally Germany with respect to the construction of a European “New Order”. In that sense, Italian musical tradition joined the ranks of the “romanità” myth in fostering the expansionist politics of Fascism.

MAURO FOSCO BERTOLA currently lectures in the Department of Musicology of the University of Heidelberg (DE) and is a past recipient of a fellowship at the *Deutsches Historisches Institut* in Rome. He is a fellow of the post-graduate programme at Heidelberg and is preparing a doctoral thesis on music and national identity in German and Italian broadcasting stations in the 1920s and 1930s.

BEAU BOTHWELL

SOUNDING AMERICAN: RADIO SAWA’S MUSICAL DIPLOMACY IN THE MIDDLE EASTERN RADIOSCAPE

In 2002 the Bush administration replaced the Voice of America’s 51-year-old Arabic-language service to the Middle East with a new group of stations called *Radio Sawa* (Radio Together). Modeled on the American Top-40 radio format, these stations mix Arabic and English-language pop music with short news segments as part of an increased outreach to young people in the Arabic-speaking world following the attacks of September 11th, 2001 and the advent of the Bush Administration’s “Global War on Terror.” This paper will map the radio and media environment in Damascus, Syria in order to contextualize Radio Sawa and its music within the existing range of radio possibilities available to the Damascene listener.

Based on my analysis of hundreds of hours of radio recordings taken in Syria in 2009 and 2010, as well as a variety of Arabic-language print media and personal interviews, the paper describes the music, talk, and news programming that comprise the radio soundscape in Syria. Pinpointing the musical and programming attributes that differentiate, or fail to differentiate, Radio Sawa from its local competitors, I describe a sonic definition of Americanness characterized by the interaction between Radio Sawa and the local media environment.

In order to place the Damascus radioscape in the larger context of the various Arab national audiences to which Radio Sawa is broadcast, this paper briefly addresses the neighboring radio markets of Amman, Beirut and Ramallah. Though from the American governmental point of view Radio Sawa represents an attempt to create a unified conception of the US and its policies in the minds of Arab listeners, this paper illustrates that the vastly different radio markets in these four neighboring cities create entirely different backgrounds against which Radio Sawa’s particular mix of American, Lebanese, and Egyptian pop music is defined.

BEAU BOTHWELL is a doctoral candidate in the Music Department at Columbia University, where he is writing a dissertation on the use of music in American radio broadcasts in the Middle East. His research addresses the intersection between music, mass media, and transnational politics in the Middle East and the US. Beau has lived and studied Arabic in Yemen while on a fellowship from the American Institute for Yemeni Studies, and in Syria with support from the Columbia Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race and a FLAS grant. He received his M.A. and M.Phil. from Columbia University, where he teaches courses in the Music Department and has lectured on various aspects of music, culture, and media in the Arab world. Beau also holds degrees in Music and Ethnomusicology from UCLA, where he began his interest in Arabic music and culture playing the oud in UCLA’s Near Eastern Ensemble under Ali Jihad Racy. Beau has articles forthcoming in the *American Music Review* and the *Grove Dictionary of American Music* (2nd edition).

ELLI CHARAMIS

MUSIC IN GREEK RADIO BROADCASTING IN WARTIME (1940-1950)

On the eve of the Second World War radio broadcasting started to flourish in Greece. During the Greek-Italian War (Oct. 1940 – Apr. 1941) popular patriotic songs were transmitted through Greek Radio. During the German Occupation radio belonged to the Nazi military forces and it was used by them as a propaganda tool. In those years Greek composers, like Dimitris Levidis, created works with a hidden national meaning (e.g. *Iliad*), which were transmitted through the radio. After liberation, during the Greek Civil War, the Government faced radio in a utilitarian way. The heroic Greek music, as it was then called, especially in national anniversaries, was prevalent. At the same time two different broadcast

relay stations were founded: one by the Greek State/Governmental Army, which transmitted mainly Greek traditional music and the other by the Left partisans, which provided information to the rebels about the most important news in Greece and in foreign countries. These two broadcast relay stations undertook the main mission of propaganda during the Civil War and as a result the official governmental radio started to approach a more cultivated audience. The presence of operas and classical music was very common in radio programmes of that era. This music was created mainly by foreign composers. However, among them were also Greek composers.

All these cases should be related to the historical and cultural context of the period. The purpose was the construction of a national musical discourse. People and organizations who participated in this process were not passive. On the contrary, they tried to create through music and radio a historical narrative in which they dealt with a traumatic situation of a period full of conflict. As a consequence, they could be considered as structural parts of the historical culture of the 1940's.

ELLI CHARAMIS was born 1981 in Athens, Greece and studied History at the University of Athens from 1999 to 2004. She pursued studies under Prof. Antonis Liakos, focusing on Modern Greek History and Theory of History. In 2010 she completed her Master's thesis on victims' associations of the Second World War in Greece. The concept of her research was focused on trauma, memory studies and the way in which they influenced the actions and the rhetoric of the associations. She is also currently studying violin performance at Atheneum Conservatory. In December 2010 she began work on Doctoral Thesis on how the historical facts of the 1940s in Greece (Second World War – Civil War) were connected with music. The interaction between history and music, cultural and memory studies is thus the main theoretical bedrock of her Doctoral Thesis.

CHEN-CHING CHENG

THE VOICE OF CHINA: PIRATE RADIO BROADCASTING OF TERESA TENG FROM TAIWAN AND HONG KONG DURING THE COLD WAR PERIOD IN ASIA

The main aim of this paper is to present Chinese collective music consciousness of pirate broadcasting to China from Taiwan and Hong-Kong starting from the end of the Cultural Revolution (1976) up until the Tiananmen Square Uprising (1989).

A particular focus is Teresa Teng (1964-1995) who is considered the most influential popular singer able to transcend ideological barriers in East Asia.

Through in-depth interviews carried out in mainland China during 2010, a collective treatise focusing on audience memories of Teresa Teng instigated by radio stations was recorded and analyzed. Three key themes emerged: the first theme regarded the use of the radio as a means of surpassing political barriers set up between Communist China and Kuomintang-controlled Taiwan and also the colonies of Hong-Kong and Macau. Although China had outlawed listening to non-government approved radio stations, the popularity of Teresa Teng, who was based in Taiwan, can only be understood as a moment of political defiance against the suppressive regime. The second theme emerging from the interviews concerns how Teresa Teng's songs were able to convey meaning that surpassed these ideological barriers of her fans, drawing on the different imagination and sense of nostalgia towards an 'ideal' China where an inspiration of democracy might exist. This would eventually lead to the use of Teresa Teng's songs in the Tiananmen Square uprising by her fans, which is also the third key theme presented: Teresa Teng's support through the radio for the Uprising on the 2nd of June 1989 through one of her songs performed on TVBS in Hong Kong.

Based on the information presented through the focal points above, the role of radio is depicted as a means of political struggle between warring ideologies in the region, even if this was done through the airwaves using sentimental music from a popular music idol.

CHEN-CHING CHENG left a career in Economic Journalism to pursue a PhD in Film Studies at Peking University (2005-2008) and currently he is on his second PhD in Musicology at the University of Edinburgh under Prof. Simon Frith. His first dissertation was titled *"The Chinese Imaginations and Reappearance" in the Narratives of Music Movies: Huang Mei Diao* and was supervised by Professor Ji-Xiang Peng; its focus was on film music representation of an ideological perspective in Classical Chinese historical motifs. His current PhD thesis involves music in cold war Asia with a focus on China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Japan and with a special interest in Teresa Teng. He has undertaken fieldwork research in Asia to interview audience members regarding Teresa Teng's ability to overcome cultural and ideological barriers in the Cold War period. In addition, Chen-Ching has various secondary projects studying the post-cultural revolution in China with a particular focus on the popular music and film scenes.

RUTH FINNEGAN

INTEGRATION OR SEPARATION? THE STORY OF RADIO AND MUSIC IN FIJI

Fiji, that small cluster of islands in the South Pacific Ocean, is notable for its complex threefold musical culture, drawn, respectively, from European, Indian, and Pacific musical traditions. This is well reflected in the rich offerings of local radio, by now dating back nearly 80 years, in which music predominates. At once integrating and separating, the music of local radio both brings together and separates the threefold social and political divisions of Fijian society which music subtly reflects and reinforces while in some respects also undermining – the divisions for the most part submerged, while at the same time shaping people's perceptions, but at times breaking out into open violence. The paper draws both on fieldwork conducted in 1978 and 2010 and on documentary secondary and primary sources, principally from the BBC's magnificent Written Archives Centre in Reading, England.

RUTH FINNEGAN studied classics at Oxford, followed by social anthropology, then fieldwork and university teaching in Africa. In 1969 she joined the Open University where she is now Emeritus Professor. Her books include *Oral Literature in Africa* (1970), *Oral Poetry* (1977/1992), *Literacy and Orality* (1988), *Oral Traditions and the Verbal Arts* (1992), *South Pacific Oral Traditions* (joint ed., 1995), *Communicating* (2002), and *The Oral and Beyond: Doing Things with Words in Africa* (2007).

INNA KLAUSE

MUSIC IN RADIO BROADCASTS IN THE GULAG

Radio broadcasts were one component of the so-called "cultural education programme" in the Gulag, a programme imposed by the central camp authorities on all camps. According to the ordinances of the central camp authorities, the aim of the cultural education programme - which was in place for the whole history of the camp system - was discipline and reeducation of the prisoners on the one hand, and increased productivity on the other. In some camps, radio transmitters were only installed in selected barracks and not others, and being able to listen to radio was regarded as a privilege for certain prisoners. In most camps with radio, however, all the inmates had access to it since the transmitters were often installed on poles in the centre of the zone.

This paper aims to investigate the situations in which music broadcasts were transmitted in the Gulag, which music was used in them, and how it was received by the prisoners. The discussion will cover not only the main prison camps, but also pre-trial detention and transportation to the camps, since from the perspective of the prisoners these were inseparable constituents of the camp experience. Of note are strikingly divergent functions of radio which can be understood as presenting two diametrically opposing poles: perceived by the inmates as an anachronism in the day-to-day functioning of the camp, it could on the one hand cause pain by provoking memories of life before detention, but on the other provide strength in critical situations. This in turn resulted in very different reactions to music broadcasts on the part of prisoners: while some of the camp inmates were driven even to try and destroy the radio transmitters, others exposed themselves to temperatures well below freezing in order to listen to the music. Reminiscences from prisoners also testify that music broadcasts were misused as a form of torture when prisoners were forbidden to switch off the radio devices installed in the barracks.

INNA KLAUSE studied music education at the Hochschule für Musik, Theater und Medien Hannover (HMTM) from 1998 to 2003, with studies in bayan (button accordion) with Prof. Elsbeth Moser as her main subject; she received her teaching diploma in 2003. From 2000 to 2005 she also studied musicology and philosophy (M.A. 2005). Her Master's thesis dealt with the life and compositions for bayan of the Russian composer Vladislav Zolotaryov (1942–1975). Since 2005 she has been a doctoral candidate in musicology at the HMTM, preparing a dissertation with the title "Music and Musicians in Soviet Labour Camps from the 1920s to the 1950s" under the supervision of Prof. Stefan Weiss. In Autumn 2007 she organized the international congress "Vladislav Zolotaryov: His Life and Work", funded by the DFG, at the HMTM. In June 2010 she organized the international, DFG-funded conference "Composers in the Gulag" which took place at the Department of Musicology at the University of Göttingen. She is currently a research associate in the same Department.

OLUWAFEMI ALEXANDER LADAPO

MARTIAL MUSIC AT DAWN, INTROIT FOR COUP D'ÉTATS

Aspiring to positions of power with all its accompanying perquisites of prestige and access to resources is as old as humankind itself. The relative scarcity of

positions of power has however, always resulted in conflicts among contenders to power. Violent removal of persons occupying positions of power within state contexts, also known as putsches and coup d'états, have taken place since antiquity, and are still occurring in the 21st Century, despite the spread of democratic ideals. The majority of modern day coups can be classified as Low Intensity Conflicts because few lives are lost during these episodes and in some cases, no fatality is recorded. As such, coups rarely find their way onto conflict databases. This is definitely without regard to the fact that coups usually serve as triggers or gateways to other conflicts of higher intensities.

With the advent of public radio in the early 20th Century, a musical phenomenon became noticeable during coups. This phenomenon is the broadcasting of music classifiable as martial music on public radios during coup d'états. This paper will attempt to demonstrate generally that the airing of martial music on radio as a coup accompaniment is widespread. The paper will then specifically examine the intention and effects of the martial music aired during the Nigerian military coup d'états in 1976 and 1983. Materials for the paper will be sourced from news items, official records, historical accounts, biographies of and interviews with actors and witnesses of the selected coup d'états.

OLUWAFEMI ALEXANDER LADAPO is a Legal Officer at the Ministry of Justice in Ibadan, Nigeria and a PhD candidate in the Peace and Conflict Studies Program of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ibadan.

KARINE LE BAIL

MUSIC ON THE AIRWAVES IN OCCUPIED FRANCE

The historiography of World War II asserts, from both political and cultural perspectives, that the French territory represented an exception among the European countries occupied by the Nazis: a political exception, because the terms of the Armistice supported a government with a relatively free reign; a cultural exception, because the Occupiers postponed their project of engulfing French cultural life and of gradually eroding any perception of French intellectual superiority. More than the other arts, music constituted a major component of the Occupiers' strategy: that is, to try to numb patriotic consciousness using the neutralising formula: 'Art has no nationality', while at the same time considering music to be a manifestation of German genius.

In occupied France in the 1940s, emerging from defeat and on both sides of the demarcation line, two French language radios represented a radically new broadcasting space in a European territory under German domination. In the southern zone, a national broadcast of weak range, « Radiodiffusion nationale », tried to maintain the illusion of an undivided France, united behind Maréchal Petain, while, in the occupied zone, a German broadcasting station, Radio- Paris, detained the most powerful systems and could be heard throughout France. In both radio stations, art acquired the function – as theorized by Eugen Hadamovsky, Head of Programmes for the Reich Radio – of “advertising politics”. The two Occupation Radios sought to employ French music's greatest names, famous singers and virtuoso instrumentalists, prestigious opera voices and conductors. The German radio station led the race and frequently aired the artistic elite thanks to a policy of high fees that overcame most hesitations and doubts. By exploiting the French music-lover's taste for the great German masters, the Occupier programmed radio music that contributed to a blurring of any collective perception of patriotic or collaborative music.

Analysis of the programmes aired by these two radio stations – initially rivals but soon complementary, in line with the radicalization of the Vichy regime and the collaboration policy - will therefore attempt to show the new political functions of music in an Occupier-Occupied situation.

KARINE LE BAILE is a historian. She is a researcher at CNRS (Centre de recherches interdisciplinaires sur l'Allemagne - EHESS) in Paris and produces the programme *Les Greniers de la mémoire* for France Musique. Her work focuses on the social history of artistic professions in the twentieth century. Recent publications include a work on Jean-Louis Barrault, *Une vie sur scène* (2010), in collaboration with Denis Guénoun. Together with Myriam Chimènes she edited the memoirs of Henry Barraud : *Essai autobiographique. Un compositeur à la tête de la Radio* (2010).

SEKIBAKIBA PETER LEKGOATHI

RADIO FREEDOM, SONGS OF FREEDOM AND THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1963-1991

Access to radio broadcasting has been one of the major priorities of movements fighting wars of liberation in many parts of the world. During the struggle against apartheid, radio became a strategic priority and a crucial tool of political

mobilisation for the liberation movement in South Africa. For this reason the apartheid state sought to monopolise the airwaves and to have tight control over programme content on state radio stations. Despite this, the African National Congress (ANC) and its allies managed to operate a clandestine radio station called *Radio Freedom*, which operated very briefly and erratically inside the country between 1963 and 1966. Because of state repression, however, the station relocated to Zambia in 1967 and was also accommodated on several other African state radio stations that were supportive to the South African liberation struggle. It was from outside the country's borders where *Radio Freedom* was able to project the voice of the ANC to its listeners back home. Although it was illegal to listen to it, individuals from the younger, more politically active generation of black South Africans did find creative but discreet ways of tuning into *Radio Freedom*, to get some inspiration from listening to the voices of their political leaders in exile and the liberation music that was banned from the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). A significant component of the station's programming involved music with lyrical content that touched on the themes of oppression, struggle and freedom. This station was arguably one of the major sources of information on the liberation struggle, shaping political education and understanding of the developments and influencing political activities inside the country not only through propaganda but also through music programmes. The sources of evidence used in this paper are oral interviews, and audio and archival material of the liberation movement.

SEKIBAKIBA PETER LEKGOATHI teaches African history and American history, including African American history. He has a wide range of research interests including ethnicity and the making of the 'Transvaal Ndebele'; the history of radio in South Africa, mainly African language radio stations of the SABC, and especially Northern and Southern Sotho, Tswana and Ndebele language services; the history of the ANC's Radio Freedom; white anthropologists, black research assistants and fieldwork in Southern Africa; and history teaching and teacher development as well as research on heritage issues. He has also played an important role in organizing and facilitating teachers' workshops under the auspices of the History Workshop, and he has contributed to the writing of History school textbooks. He has published widely in the leading academic journals. Dr. Lekgoathi is currently in the process of turning his PhD thesis on the crystallisation of Northern Ndebele Ethnicity into a book manuscript while at the same time working on a comparative study of Nicholas van Warmelo (chief

ethnologist of the Native Affairs Department) and Isaac Schapera and their relationship with their African research assistants.

JAMES PARKER**SIMON BIKINDI, INCITEMENT TO GENOCIDE AND THE MUSICOLOGY OF JUSTICE**

Between September 2006 and December 2008 renowned Rwandan singer and popular figure Simon Bikindi stood trial before the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), accused of inciting genocide with his music. A combination of extensive radio airplay, the sale and distribution of audio-cassettes and public performances had meant that his songs were very much a part of the Rwandan soundscape in the run up to and during 1994's genocide. And, whatever Bikindi's intentions may have been, the awful fact is that many of those directly involved in the atrocities could be heard singing his songs actually during the genocidal act: literally 'as they hacked or beat to death hundreds of thousands of Tutsis with government-issued machetes and homemade nail-studded clubs,' as Donald McNeil provocatively put it for the New York Times.

My doctoral work employs the written, audio and audio-visual archives in this case (of which I have been lucky enough to obtain a nearly complete copy on a recent trip to the ICTR) to consider what might be involved in a specifically *Acoustic Jurisprudence*. However, not all of this project is directly relevant to the theme of this conference, so I will present only a small part of my work here.

In this paper I consider the various ways in which Bikindi's songs was represented at trial: from the opening statement of the Tribunal's Chief Prosecutor, through the testimony of the 'expert' and other witnesses called by each side and, finally, to the judgment eventually rendered by the Chamber itself. In each instance I am interested in how music was *understood* by the Tribunal, what it thought it *meant* and *did*. How was it *used*? For whose *purposes*? And with what *effects*? My aim, then, is to offer some sense of what it really means to say that the ICTR accused Simon Bikindi of inciting genocide with his music, of killing with his songs.

JAMES PARKER completed his undergraduate degree in jurisprudence at Oxford and his LLM by research at the University of McGill in Montreal. He has taught at a number of universities throughout Australia, had both his academic work and music journalism published and can be heard irregularly on Melbourne's PBS radio. He is two years into his PhD candidature in at Melbourne Law School. His thesis uses the trial of Rwandan musician Simon Bikindi before the ICTR to

explore the relationship between law and sound. More particularly, it aims to (re-)introduce the acoustic into contemporary aesthetic and critical jurisprudence.

PAUL RICHARDS

BROADCASTING AND THE SOUNDSCAPE OF WAR - MUSIC IN ARMED INSURGENCY

Social theory has begun to consider the part played by coordinated rhythmic action in generating the kind of effervescent agency underpinning armed conflict. Recent findings in evolutionary musicology and cognitive anthropology have helped revitalise important debates first shaped by social theorists such as Durkheim and Schutz. The paper surveys some of these debates, and then looks specifically at ethnographic evidence relating to war as soundscape and performance on the Upper West African coast. Insurgency is inchoate in character and its fluid dynamism is both hard to control and harder to predict. It is, in effect, a massive improvisation with few rules and little structure. Music (it will be argued) is an important generative capacity at the disposal of all parties to insurgency (both war mongers and peace makers). This capacity is extended by the power and reach of modern electronic media, and radio broadcasting in particular (since radio is more "portable" in regard to insurgency than other platforms). A survey is made of the civil war in Sierra Leone (1991-2002) to identify the kinds of settings in which the soundscape of war seemed to play a relevant part. Evidence is then presented on what is (as yet) known about the role of broadcasting and broadcast music in this conflict. In seeking an interpretive framework for these fragmentary data, concluding attention is paid to the later work of the anthropologist Mary Douglas, and the emphasis it places on the importance to peace-making of "composition" (the elaboration of virtual performative structures through which sociality can be rehearsed).

PAUL RICHARDS is Professor Emeritus of Technology and Agrarian development in Wageningen University, NL. Prior to that he was Professor of Anthropology at University College London. His research training was in human geography, social anthropology and ethnomusicology and he has published in all three fields. He is an Honorary Associate of the research group "Music, Conflict and the State" at the Georg-August-Universität Göttingen.

PETER SCHIMPF

HENRY COWELL AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF IRANIAN STATE RADIO FOR THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

Following his release from prison in 1940, renowned modernist composer Henry Cowell entered into a new career with the United States government as a wartime radio programmer. As a convicted felon, Cowell was an unlikely choice for a government position, but his reputation as a scholar and teacher of world musical traditions made him an attractive asset to a United States government that sought to expand its reach around the world during the Cold War. In 1942 Cowell was named Senior Music Editor for the Overseas Branch of the Office of War Information where he was to gather and organize a large library of musical materials including recordings to be used as radio propaganda. According to Cowell, he was to organize "selections which create and strengthen the bond of sympathy, understanding and admiration" of foreign nations towards the United States. Though his initial duties during World War II were primarily oriented toward European countries, his assigned area of focus following the War moved to the strategically-crucial Middle East. In 1956, under contract with the United States Information Agency, Cowell was dispatched to Iran for a two-month stay in which he was to assist with the development of the Iranian State radio, advising on the programming of both Western and Persian musics. Several unique documents in the Cowell Collection in New York provide fascinating details about his activities in Iran. This paper examines these documents and describes the specific aspects of his work, which was complicated by the sometimes conflicting needs of the US government, the Iranian government, and Cowell's own personal musical interests.

PETER SCHIMPF is an assistant professor at Metropolitan State College of Denver, where he teaches courses in music history, world music, music appreciation, and the history of Rock and Roll. He is the founder and director of the Metro State Early Music Ensemble, and he has developed performing ensembles at Metro State in African drumming and Balinese gamelan. He earned a Ph.D. from Indiana University in musicology, and has a BM in performance from California State University Sacramento where he studied guitar and lute with Dr. Richard Savino. His research interests are as varied as his teaching load, including the influence of non-Western musical traditions on Western composers, the revision and development of music appreciation and

other traditional survey courses, and the performance practice of the lute, vihuela, and theorbo. He has presented papers at national and regional conferences of the College Music Society, the Society for American Music, and the American Musicological Society.

VLASIS VLASIDIS

PROPAGANDA AND MUSIC: GREEK AND YUGOSLAV PUBLIC RADIO IN THE 1940S AND 1950S

A very important aspect of the Cold War was the radio war between the two parts. The situation in the Balkan Peninsula was such. In Greece a civil war broke out between the left and right wings of the political spectrum, especially in the northern part of Greece. At the same time, a new national state was created within the borders of Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav Socialist Republic of Macedonia (SDM). The new state wished to consolidate its identity and stress its differences from other neighbouring nation states.

All of the aforementioned established radio stations: the Greek National Radio, the Network of the stations of the Greek Armed Forces (from the right wing forces), Radio Free Greece (the mouthpiece of the Greek Communist Party), Radio Skopje and Slobodna Jugoslavija were used for purposes of propaganda and counter-propaganda both within the country and abroad, anticipating by several years the battle of ideas between the opposing ideological camps, which was conducted over the radio waves throughout the Cold War period. Music and culture were used for cultural infiltration targeting the audience of the "others". The target audience was not ordinary people in the country from which the broadcasts originated, but the public in the neighbouring countries, and particularly the political leaders of those countries

Due to the special circumstances the use of radio as an instrument of propaganda began at the end of World War II, earlier than in central Europe, and became significantly less important during the period 1952-55, while in the rest of Europe, the radio war was raging at full intensity. Essentially, the only connection with these broader European developments was the suspension of the operations of the Free Greece station due to the de-Stalinization of the Communist Party in the aftermath of the Hungarian uprising.

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PRADEEP NISHANTHA WEERASINGHE

MUSIC AND RADIO DURING THE FINAL STAGE OF THE EELAM WAR IN SRI LANKA

Electronic media was a critical actor during the Eelam War that swept through North and East part of the island nation of Sri Lanka. The war originated from the military challenge of the minority (Tamils) to get rid of the military and civil domination imposed upon them by the majority (Sinhalese). Sri Lanka has a long history of radio broadcasting, dating back to the first British colony to enter the field of public service broadcasting in 1924. Just as elsewhere in the former British colonies, broadcasting in Sri Lanka was a government monopoly until 1990s. Fifteen private sector FM radio stations have emerged since the government relaxed its monopoly in 1990s. This paper will primarily focus on the following three questions:

- What was the role of radio in the war time?
- Did the war affect the general scheme of language and music ratios in radio programs compared to pre-war period?
- Was music used to spread propaganda messages?

By linking interview findings with the findings of content analysis during the course of the study, it has been found that the music used in radio programmes during the war should have reflected the true harsh, cruel and inhuman nature of war. It suggests that the music used in radio programmes under the influence of the state and the Sinhalese patriotic ideology, did not bring out the said reality of the war but showed only the surface physical nature of the war. The radio channels were inundated with musical programmes trying to create close connections between the militants and Sinhala ordinary citizens. Therefore the music took almost a military form. The pop music used in these programmes created a war mentality among the audiences. The air time of radio music

programmes was inundated with classical music that would widen the divisive gap between the minority Tamils and the majority Sinhalese. Therefore this paper proposes that the music used in radio during the last stage of Eelam war had really become part of the racist ideology.

PRADEEP NISHANTHA WEERASINGHE is a Senior Lecturer in Mass Media Studies at the Department of Mass Media Studies, University of Colombo (UCMB), Sri Lanka. Prior to joining UCMB, between 1993 and 2003 he served as a broadcast journalist and programme manager at the Sri Lanka National Broadcasting Corporation. He was a Media Expert at China Radio and Television International in Beijing. His primary research focuses are public service and community broadcasting, communication for citizen empowerment, and contemporary South Asian media practices.



About the Research Group “Music, Conflict and the State”

The Free Floater junior research group “Music, Conflict and the State” promotes and conducts research into the role(s) of music in promoting, facilitating and perpetuating violent responses to conflicts between social groups and communities, including inter- and intrastate wars. Through detailed analyses of individual examples from a number of historical epochs and cultures, the group hopes to develop a musicological perspective on the dynamics of armed and violent conflict, and how music may play a role in regulating but also intensifying such conflicts. Current focuses of our work include:

- The use of music to advocate or incite hatred and violence
- The role of music in broadcasting during wartime and in conflict situations
- The use of children as musicians in military and paramilitary organisations, and the role of music in the life of child soldiers
- Music and missionary work in the context of colonialism and colonial wars
- The use of music in connection with torture and other forms of cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment and punishment.

The research group was set up in 2008 and is supported by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in the context of the Excellence Initiative.

Information about upcoming events is available on our website and via our electronic newsletter, for which you can also subscribe via the website.

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