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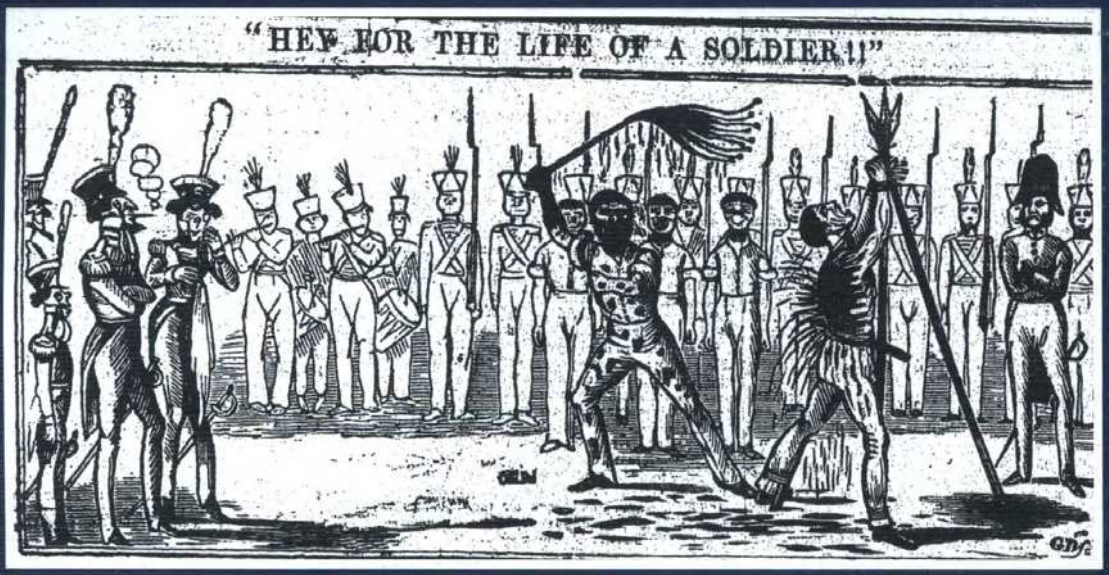
Music and Torture | Music and Punishment



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Anti-flogging cartoon from the British newspaper *The Northern Star*, 17 February 1838.
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Music and Torture | Music and Punishment

Birgit Abels
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Guest Editors

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Introduction

M. J. Grant & Anna Papaeti

This issue of *the world of music (new series)* focuses on the use of music in connection with punishment and, more specifically, with torture. Four of the five texts on this issue published here are case studies derived from ongoing research by the authors, and often constitute the first extended publications, from a musicological perspective, on the cases in question. The issue also contains an interview with Prof. Manfred Nowak, an expert on human rights generally and torture specifically, on some recent and relevant developments in the global fight against torture and other forms of cruel, inhumane and degrading treatment. These recent developments, specifically revelations concerning the use of music in torture by US security forces in the context of the so-called "War On Terror," have brought the subject of music and torture to a wide academic and general public. Path-breaking musicological investigations by Suzanne G. Cusick in particular have responded to these developments, underlining the urgent need to examine the military and cultural logics by which states have used music as an instrument of torture (Cusick 2006, 2008a, 2008b). Cusick's research has also considered the issues raised by these developments—methodological, philosophical and ethical—for our work as researchers of the musical cultures of the world. That musicologists should deal with such issues at all is, as Cusick herself has noted, not self-evident. Viewed from another angle, however, a confrontation with the ways in which music can be used as an instrument of violence and of torture is a logical new development in the increasing trend for musicologists to address issues relating to the social and political contexts and uses of music, including in the specific contexts of the exercise of state power (be this in monarchies, democracies or totalitarian regimes) and in situations of armed conflict.

In conceiving this volume, we have focused on perspectives on this topic that widen the scope of the enquiry and, in so doing, demonstrate two related and disturbing facts that anyone working in this area quickly has to face. Firstly, the use of music in connection with torture and cruel, inhuman and degrading punishment is widespread and by no means a recent phenomenon. Secondly, such uses have until very recently been tolerated not least due to misunderstandings surrounding the impact of music in such contexts. Only when we look at this wider picture, and undertake further in-depth research into the origins and functions of these practices and the ef-

fects not only on victims, but also perpetrators, will we begin fully to understand the details and significance of each incidence as well. It goes almost without saying that such research will impact on our understanding of what music is and can be. It could also prove to be of enormous significance for the fight against torture.

Seen from this angle, the essays in this volume represent no more than a drop in the ocean relative to the scope of the undertaking required. Not least for this reason, we hope they will inspire readers to an increased awareness and consideration of related issues in their own fields of specialization. M. J. Grant's essay on "Music and Punishment in the British Army in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" investigates not only the accompaniment of disciplinary measures up to and including executions with music, but also attempts to trace the origins and logic behind the tradition of having drummers carry out the horrific sentence of flogging. Katarzyna Naliwajek-Mazurek's article discusses findings from her ongoing research on music at sites of mass killing during the Nazi occupation of Poland; it thus presents important new perspectives on a topic which has only relatively recently entered into the focus of researchers working on music and National Socialism, and reflects specifically on why the perpetrators of these atrocities used music as they did. The essays by Katia Chornik and Anna Papaeti both deal with music in the torture and persecution of political opponents in post-war dictatorships. Chornik presents detailed information from the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile, derived in large part from an interview with a former agent who witnessed the use of music from the point of view of a perpetrator rather than a victim; it is one of the first articles to deal in detail with the use of music in torture in Chile. Papaeti's discussion of music torture in the context of the Junta in Greece in the late 1960s and early 1970s investigates references to sound and music in published trial testimonies and in new interviews conducted with torture survivors. Although in the Greek context music has so far been central to discourses of resistance, Papaeti's research on abuses establishes music within the broader discourse on torture during the military Junta.

That these two essays in particular demonstrate some striking similarities in the way music was used, is not surprising: it is well-known that torture methods used by many regimes in the Cold War period had a common origin in techniques developed, inter alia, by the USA in the early post-war period. The recent and increasingly sophisticated use of music in detention camps in the "War on Terror" is not merely a further development of this, but demonstrates—we hope—the beginnings of the closing of the circle. For by bringing the issue to the world's attention, the Bush Administration has unwittingly opened up a space for jurists, human rights advocates, but also musicologists to look more closely at the longer history and wider use of music in connection with torture, an important first step to ensuring that music torture is seen for what it is: torture.

Not least for this reason, the volume closes with an interview with Prof. Manfred Nowak, who, as former UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, offers a unique perspective on the issue including, importantly, what practical means exist for uncovering and combating abuses of the use of music against detainees. We are grateful to

him for finding the time to talk to us, and indeed grateful to all our contributors for providing such rich and thought-provoking texts, sometimes at quite short notice. Finally, a huge thank you goes to the editors of the journal, Birgit Abels and Barbara Alge, for their insight in suggesting a themed volume on this issue, and thus creating a forum for more exchange on this topic.

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Music and Punishment in the British Army in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

M. J. Grant

Abstract

Until prohibited after an intensive public campaign in the later nineteenth century, members of the British armed forces could expect to be subjected to severe forms of corporal punishment and/or humiliating treatment, sometimes for even relatively minor offences. Such punishments were generally carried out in public, and in this way served as a warning to other soldiers. Depictions of such scenarios often show military musicians accompanying these punishment rituals; indeed, the phrase "drumming out" to describe dismissal in disgrace has its literal origins in some of these practices. What images alone do not tell us, however, is that from the later seventeenth century, it was the drummers who were charged with inflicting the most severe types of corporal punishment as well. This article explores the origins, practical purpose and symbolic logic behind this very particular connection between military music and military discipline, which, as is so often the case with military traditions, was not limited to the British Army, and which reveals much about the connection between music and torture in more recent times as well.

Around the same time that this article was being written, the British daily newspaper *The Times* featured the following headline story:

> **Army told to open up system of justice**
>
> The Army should allow an outside authority to resolve complaints of bullying, sexual harassment and other abuses, according to officers, politicians and a military watchdog. The move, which is opposed by military chiefs, would prise open a centuries-old system of unchecked, internal discipline that has left many soldiers reluctant to speak out. They fear being labelled troublemakers and lack confidence in the Army's ability to investigate its own people. (Haynes 2013:1)

The article goes on to report the comments of one officer afraid that some younger soldiers may be driven by bullying and harassment to take their own lives.

"A centuries-old system of unchecked, internal discipline." The phrase would ring true for those officers, politicians and doctors in an earlier era who campaigned against the use of flogging in the British Army and Navy, a punishment which by the nineteenth century was not only out of step with developments in civilian criminal justice, but which was both notoriously harsh and liable to abuse. Until legislation limiting the extent of the punishment was introduced in 1836, on the advice of a committee set up to look into the issue, it was not uncommon for soldiers and sailors to be subjected to one thousand lashes or more, and this for misdemeanors often more trivial than treasonous; it would be another fifty years before the practice was prohibited completely. The history of public and parliamentary debate on this issue has been the subject of numerous historical studies (see e. g. Steiner 1983; Burroughs 1985). One particular aspect of military justice in this period has not, however, been discussed in any detail. This is the fact that by a long-standing tradition not limited to the British Army, the execution of many of the more serious sentences, extending from dishonorable discharge through to flogging and even to the death penalty, had a significant musical element. Drummers and other military musicians not only often played on such occasions, but in the specific case of flogging were generally in charge of carrying out the punishment.

This article stems from an initial investigation into this connection between music and punishment in the military, not least as a preamble to research into the connections between music and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment (hereafter: CID treatment) in recent times as well.[1] I have focused on sources relating directly to the British Army, although there is a wealth of material relating to the early US Army, not to mention other European armies; consideration of this material would however go far beyond the limits of this article. Similarly, I have focused on the Army and not considered the parallel case of the Navy, which regarding flogging was even more notorious; initial evidence seems to suggest that the use of music to accompany floggings in particular may have been better established in the Navy than in the Army.[2] Sources consulted include primary and secondary material relating to military discipline and political campaigns against flogging, as well as a selection of the many publications dealing with soldiers' own experiences, publications that mushroomed in the period following the Napoleonic wars. With regard specifically to military music, the library of secondary literature is relatively small. I have made extensive use of the works of Henry Farmer, including unpublished manuscripts and other material held in the Farmer Collection at Glasgow University Library. A wealth of sources remain to be processed, however; not least for this reason, this essay is to be regarded as strictly preliminary. In particular, and given the manner in which military traditions and practices were transferred between armies in times of both war and peace, comparative studies of music and punishment in other armies are called for, as are studies which follow the subject from the perspective of earlier warfare.

Music and Discipline in the Modern Standing Army

Music's crucial role at key points in a soldier's career in the period under discussion is reflected in a number of common turns of phrase still in use today. We talk about drumming up support for an idea or cause (and Germans beat the *Werbetrommel*, which is the same thing) just as drummers of a bygone age provided the first auditory signal that a recruiting party was in the locality. More relevant to the present topic, we also still talk of soldiers being drummed out of the army, a reference to a ceremony discussed in detail later; there is even a theory that the origins of the phrase "face the music" may lie in the same ceremony (an attribution which makes sense if we consider that in older linguistic usage, "music" could refer to the musicians themselves and not just the music they played). Occasional references are still made to "The Rogue's March," a piece played on such occasions and which thus became synonymous with public disgrace.

Such linguistic traces of earlier practices do not, however, reveal much about the exact context. Nor do they begin to explain other aspects of the connection between music, the military and punishment in the period under question, not least the special role given to drummers in particular. I will address this complex of issues in three stages, firstly looking at the use of music to structure and accompany disciplinary measures including corporal and capital punishment, secondly by considering the possible origins of these practices and the role of musicians within them, and thirdly by briefly discussing the longer-standing symbolic significance of music in the military, and a deeply entrenched connection between music, discipline and justice that goes far beyond the case in hand. Before proceeding to these issues, however, it is necessary to give some basic historical context.

Most discussions on military justice in the British Army take as their starting point legislation introduced during the reign of William and Mary regulating the maintenance of a standing army and the punishments that were to be applied in the case of mutiny and desertion (the so-called Mutiny Acts, passed at regular intervals from 1689 onwards). One of the most important features of this legislation was to allow for much harsher methods of discipline and punishment to be imposed by courts martial. According to John Childs, while brutal methods of corporal punishment, up to and including the death penalty, were common practice in civilian justice, it had previously been against the law for courts martial themselves to impose any punishment that endangered life and limb.[3] Civil cases took time, however, and time was of the essence in this period due to the high levels of desertion of soldiers and isolated mutinies, a crisis caused not only by divided loyalties on the part of soldiers who had previously fought for the Stuart king, but more importantly by William's intention to involve the British soldiers in his campaigns abroad (Childs 1987:4–8, 85–87).

The system of military justice developed in William's reign and in the decades that followed had the twin aims of ensuring discipline through harsh measures for the most serious crimes, but also of ensuring that any disciplinary measures were meted out with good authority. A complex, tiered system of courts martial was the

result: a source from some time after 1779, the most detailed of those I consulted, describes a system ranging from the General Court Martial (effectively a military supreme court) through regimental courts martial (which tried inferior officers and soldiers and could inflict corporal punishment, but not death) through garrison courts martial (employed where members of different regiments were concerned) to camp or line courts martial (composed of different officers in a camp) and finally to the most notorious of all, the field court martial, known also by the name "drumhead courts martial" (Anonymous n.d.:77–107). This commonly accepted nickname was a reference to the fact that the sentence was often written on the drumhead. The field or drumhead court martial was employed whenever an immediate example had to be made of the soldier involved, typically in the heat of a campaign. As such, this type of court martial sidetracked most of the checks and balances introduced at other levels of the system, and it is therefore not surprising that drumhead courts martial became almost a byword for the arbitrariness of many aspects of military justice, and more or less a synonym—still used as such in some corners today—for a kangaroo court.

To what extent the numerous rules and regulations on military justice always had the desired effect is debatable. A recurring feature of the debate against flogging in particular is the charge that despite all the guidance available, it was often dispensed at the whim of particular officers. Moreover, the creation of a specifically military system of discipline and punishment separate from civilian justice would have long-term consequences for the British Army. One result was that the use of severe corporal punishments such as flogging persisted in the British Army long after they had been outlawed for civilians, a point noted time and again by those campaigners who, in the early nineteenth century, sought to have flogging outlawed in the military context as well (see e.g. Burrows 1985:545–546).[4] Campaigners on both sides of the debate recognized, however, a vital difference between military and civilian justice which pro-flogging campaigners were quick to use to justify the practice. As Henry Marshall, a doctor who had attended many floggings in his professional capacity and who was strongly opposed to the practice, summarized, "It is essential to bear in mind that the object of military law is not to punish moral delinquencies, in other words, to make men virtuous and good, but to produce prompt and entire obedience; hence, a military offence may not be a crime in the moral sense" (Marshall 1846:117). Thus, offences such as sleeping on duty, insubordination, and drunkenness were grave affairs indeed, not least since they could in the wrong situation endanger the safety of others in the regiment. Nevertheless, campaigners were quick to point out that without sufficient regulation—meaning not just rules laid down, but actively monitored and enforced—the system was subject to abuse by officers possessed of more brutality and ego than sense.

Added to this was the issue of who actually made up the army at this point. There were various paths to a military career: gentlemen had a much different experience to normal recruits, since they were effectively fast-tracked into positions as officers. By the nineteenth century, the situation of normal recruits on the other hand was so

notoriously bad that it was extremely difficult to get men to enlist at all. Becoming a soldier was regarded, not least by those left behind, as a fate worse than death, and a fate almost certain to end in death: casualties in battle made up only a small part of this, with many succumbing to disease on foreign service, particularly in the colonies, or at sea, or as a direct result of days and weeks of marching in all weather.[5] For this reason, many recruits to the armed forces had been left no other option, for example due to previous criminal activity, and it was therefore common for people to believe that most soldiers were implicitly men of bad character, something which no doubt had an impact on attitudes to the way they were punished. The reform movements of the nineteenth century, nevertheless, were quick to point out that conditions in the army, and disciplinary measures in particular, were part of the problem rather than part of the cure. They pointed, for example, to the by that point conscription-based French Army, where corporal punishment had been phased out precisely because it was unacceptable to those citizens expected to do service in the armed forces.[6] Indeed, by the mid-nineteenth century Britain's continuing and by this stage unusual use of flogging seemed quite astonishing to witnesses from other major European armies.

The period under discussion saw not only the establishment and expansion of a standing army but also major developments in the field of military music. Inspired not least by the Prussian model, which in turn had found inspiration in the rich tradition of Ottoman military music, ceremonial military bands of the kind still maintained across Europe and, indeed, the world as a whole today, were formed and developed during this period. Of more immediate interest for the present discussion, however, is that branch of military music whose primary functions were tied to the more practical rather than ceremonial aspects of military life. This was, of course, still an age in which drum and bugles were the primary means of communication of orders on the battlefield, and as I shall discuss in more detail later, the much more ancient connotations of this function and these instruments are not irrelevant for an understanding of the links between military music and military discipline in the same period. The position of Drum-Major was well-established by the later seventeenth century (Barty-King 1988): as well as training and being in charge of the drummers and, from around the mid-eighteenth century, fifers, the Drum-Major (and by extension, the equivalent Trumpet-Major and Bugle-Major in other regiments) is important in this discussion not least because of the crucial role he played in the administration of military justice.[7] The high status awarded this position (which set the Drum-Major off from his immediate charges) corresponds to the older tradition that military musicians were also tasked with diplomacy, being sent behind enemy lines to negotiate settlements, for example.

Music During Punishment

Flogging was by no means the only form of punishment practiced in the British armed forces over the course of the period in question, but it was certainly the most notorious. In this section I will focus on flogging and military executions as well as a third notorious ceremony often preceded by flogging, namely the dishonorable discharge of a soldier. Official and unofficial publications from the eighteenth century onwards lay down the rules and regulations to be observed by officers should a court martial be necessary, as well as going into much more detail on issues such as how to take muster and how to keep financial accounts, regulations that were aimed at counteracting fraudulent activities (for example, claiming expenses for soldiers who did not exist).[8] Much less detail is given about how the sentences were actually to be carried out, so that for this information, we must look elsewhere. Most of the sources I have found come from the nineteenth century, and thus do not necessarily reflect earlier practices nor answer the question of when certain practices arose.

The accompaniment of certain punishment practices with music—sometimes the beating of drums alone, sometimes with fifes as well—is nevertheless well documented, if anecdotally at times. Certainly the most famous piece to emerge from these contexts is "The Rogue's March," the title of which, if not necessarily the tune itself, was so well-known that it entered use as a figure of speech in quite different contexts; Nourse has also suggested that this march was one of Australia's first musical imports (Nourse 2012). The version reproduced in Fig. 1 is taken from Samuel Potter's *The Art of Playing The Fife*; a hand-written note on Henry Farmer's copy states that "These fife and drum calls were adopted throughout the army, by a General Order dated 28-12-1816";[9] in the frontispiece, Potter lists himself as head drum major in the Coldstream Guards. Other sources render this tune in 2/4 rather than 6/8 (as for example does Nourse 2012).

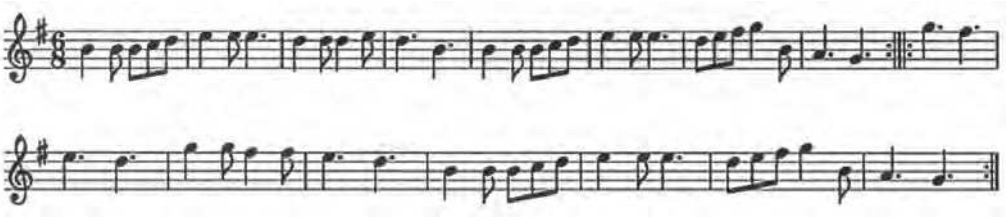

Fig. 1 "The Rogue's March" as given in Potter 1817.

The most typical scenario in which "The Rogue's March" was played was at drumming-out ceremonies. These sometimes attracted a large public wherever the regiment was stationed, and were often reported in newspapers. A particularly detailed description of a drumming-out that took place in 1857, quoted here for this reason, gives some idea of the most essential recurring elements of this ceremony:

> Yesterday morning the ceremony of drumming a soldier out of the service took place at Woolwich. The man, whose name is Leeward, a gunner belonging to the 12th battalion Royal Artillery, had been convicted of stealing a comrade's boots, and other disgraceful conduct, for which about a fortnight ago he received the first part of the punishment allotted him—namely, 50 lashes. Since that time he has been under treatment in the infirmary, and having received the medical certificate to leave the hospital, was yesterday morning brought on the parade-ground fronting the Artillery barracks, where the entire battalion, together with 20 of the respective battalions stationed at Woolwich, was formed into two lines, extending the whole length of the ground. On arriving there the sentence of the court-martial was read over, after which two stout drummer-boys stripped off his facings and buttons. This part of the ceremony having been speedily despatched, the "Rogue's March" was struck up by the drums and fifes, and the prisoner was marched forward in charge of an armed escort as far as the centre of the lines, where he was halted. The sentence was again read over, after which the music recommenced, and the procession continued its march to the end of the line of soldiers, when a final halt was made and the sentence read a third time, and the prisoner was ignominiously marched out of the garrison, and forwarded thence to Coldbath-fields for the term of six months, at the conclusion of which he will be dismissed [from] Her Majesty's service. The prisoner has long been a marked man, and only a short time before leaving the Crimea he underwent corporal punishment for having stolen a horse. (Anonymous 1857:7)

The procedures described here mark a transitional point in the move from corporal to custodial punishment (both are applied here), but several other elements of the description are common across this period, notably the ritual stripping of the uniform insignia, and the marching-out to the sound of "The Rogue's March." The fact that the drumming-out as such was delayed by a sojourn in the infirmary after the prisoner had been flogged is also not uncommon, and demonstrates that even after the reduction of the maximum sentence to "only" 50 lashes, the physical impact was considerable. Another common practice not described here was that of having the disgraced man led out of the barracks by the smallest drummer boy available, as for example reported in the case of a soldier dismissed from the 5th Fusiliers in May 1863 for feigning a bad leg; he, too, was then taken to Cold-bath Prison, for six months with hard labor (Anonymous 1863:12). Marshall, writing in the mid-1840s (1846:311), describes a variant of this—the soldier being kicked in the rear by the smallest drummer as he left—as being a "former" practice, though the report from *The Times* just cited post-dates this.

So self-explanatory was the connection between music and drumming-out that two soldiers from the Tower Hamlets Volunteer Artillery who neglected to report for duty during a prize meeting of the National Artillery Association were subjected to an improvised and informal drumming-out by their colleagues: "Every man had a tin pail, a tin pan, a frying pan, or some similar instrument, and, 'falling in' behind the two who had thus disgraced themselves, played them out, and the hubbub thus made by about 500 men was not a little heightened by the strenuous efforts of the band to hastily acquire proficiency in the 'Rogue's March'" (Anonymous 1866:5). The ragged procession was stopped, however, at the gates of the camp, with the

commanding officer ordering that the two men be taken into custody; they were then summarily dismissed. The officer then proceeded to inform the Volunteers "that when any one did not perform his duty, or in any case of misconduct, the commandant was the only one who had to administer justice, and he said that the 'Rogue's March' ought not to have been played," though he also expressed sympathy for the Volunteers' actions (Anonymous 1866:5).

Music was also used in the context of executions, and by all accounts the same music as was used for more honorable military funerals. The tune given as "The Dead March" in Potter's tutor and listed there additionally as "104th psalm" is the psalm tune *Hanover*, now generally attributed to William Croft (1678–1727) and one of the most frequently used of his psalm tunes.[10] Contemporary sources suggest a standard practice of playing both this and what is commonly known as the "Dead March in/from Saul" (in other words, the Dead March from Act III of Handel's oratorio) at funerals with military honors. An account of the funeral of the Marquis of Exeter in 1804, for example, reports that "The band playing The Dead March in Saul, and the 104th Psalm, had considerable effect upon the persons assembled" (Anonymous 1804:542); around a year and a half later, both pieces were also among those played at a much more historic occasion, namely the funeral of Horatio Lord Nelson.[11] Yet the same music seems indeed to have been used in more ignominious circumstances as well. In a detailed description of a typical military execution, Marshall describes the playing of the "Dead March from Saul" with muffled drums, as a man was lead to the place of execution (Marshall 1846:246). The music ceases when the place of execution is reached; in common with many other commentaries on military executions, Marshall also notes that after the execution, the other soldiers are generally made to march by the coffin in slow time, though he does not mention the use of drums or any other music to give the beat. Simmons offers a similar description, but notes that such great ceremony was reserved for executions by firing squad; he also mentions "the dead march" being used as the condemned man is brought in, but does not specify further (1875:314f.).

Though the playing of certain pieces at drumming-out ceremonies and as executions is well documented across a range of sources, the question of whether any form of music was used at floggings is more difficult to answer. Several documents point to "The Rogue's March" accompanying naval floggings (Nick Nourse, personal communication), but the evidence regarding the army is not quite as clear, even though Farmer—generally a reliable source—suggests that "Those drummers who were not actually wielding 'the cat' had to roll on their drums so as to drown the cries of the victim" (Farmer 1962:254f.; the reference is to the notorious "cat o' nine tails" used for flogging). Indeed, there are at least two good reasons for thinking that music of any kind at all was not a standard practice at army floggings, as I shall now explain.

Firstly, in the sometimes detailed descriptions given by commentators of the time on flogging practices, music is notable by its absence, while reports of other military ceremonials such as executions, running the gauntlet, and drumming-out, make

oftentimes very specific reference to music. Running the gauntlet is particularly relevant here, as it is in many ways the direct predecessor of flogging. In this practice, each soldier in a regiment was given a switch, and formed into lines; the prisoner was made to run up and down the line being lashed. Marshall states that during running the gauntlet, "the drums beat at each end of the ranks" (1846:152); Barty-King suggests this was done to drown out the man's cries (1988:36). In his extended discussion of flogging on the other hand, Marshall provides an illustration showing the square formed and the flogging taking place, but there is no indication in this illustration or in any of his other comments that drums or other instruments were played.[12] Marshall does however quote from Napier regarding the collective sound sometimes to be heard when a flogging was particularly brutal, stating that "The low sound mentioned by General Napier, which is heard issuing from the ranks during punishment, sometimes resembles what may be called *sniffing*, (drawing the air strongly up the nose) and which may be occasioned by an increased flow of tears into the nostrils" (Marshall 1846:256); it seems unlikely that this would be heard clearly if drums and fifes were playing. Simmons, who likewise gives a detailed description of procedures for flogging, suggests that the infliction (by the drummer) and counting (by the Drum-major) of each lash was timed "formerly, in some cases, by taps of the drum" (1875:316f.), suggesting that drums were often played, but contradicting the nature and function of their usage found in some other sources.

Secondly, where music is mentioned or portrayed in the context of floggings, such references tend to come in reports originating from campaigners and others concerned about the practice as a whole. Here as well, however, there is also contradictory evidence that suggests that though the practice was not common, it was not unheard of (in the most literal sense of the word). The discussions which surround this topic in primary sources are highly interesting, however, since they often revolve around a common topos regarding the use of music in connection with torture and CID treatment, namely, the idea that music's use in such contexts is primarily to acoustically mask the cries of those being punished.

Several different reports from *The Times* and Hansard relating to the debate on flogging at key points in the nineteenth century are worth closer examination in this regard.[13] In July 1834, for example, a letter to the Editor of *The Times* expressed the reader's consternation at a report of a recent flogging:

> In your paper of this day I read with horror and detestation the account of the torture inflicted upon a poor soldier at the barracks of Charing-cross. How such barbarity can be tolerated in a civilized country I am at a loss to understand [...] Talk of the sufferings of the West India slaves! what were they compared with the horrid writhings and maddening pain and anguish endured by this miserable man during the infliction of his 300 lashes? It was customary to hold up the cruel and inhuman practices of the slave-drivers and owners to public execration, to denounce them as calculated to bring down the vengeance of a just and merciful God upon the people who suffered such atrocities to exist. But what was this compared to the heartless cruelty of drowning the wretched man's cries and groans in the sound of drums? (Anonymous 1834/2: the author of the letter signs themselves "Humanitas").

And so the letter continues. The implication is that such a use of drumming was documented in the case under question. This, however, is questionable. To the extent that it is possible to reconstruct the events concerned, the report mentioned seems to have related to a petition presented to Parliament on 21 July by Mr [Charles] Tennyson, then member for Lambeth:[14]

> The petition proceeded from some of the most respectable of his constituents, and contained, among others, the signature of a clergyman of the highest character and worth among the parishioners. It complained, that J. Hutchinson, a private in the 1st battalion of the Scotch Fusileer Guards, was most cruelly and barbarously flogged at St. George's Barracks, Charing-cross, upon a charge of being drunk on sentry, and attempting to strike his sergeant when in confinement. The court sentenced him to 300 lashes, and 300 lashes were actually administered. What he complained of was, that after the pledge given by his right hon. friend, that the severity of the punishment of flogging should not be resorted to except in extreme cases, the greatest punishment should be inflicted for a comparatively insignificant offence. The hon. Member proceeded to read the petition, which stated, that the cries of the unfortunate man for mercy were of the most heart-rending and agonizing description, and that several of his fellow-soldiers fainted away, being unable to witness so horrible a scene. For the honour of the British army, he could also state, that two officers were equally overcome, and were compelled to quit such a dreadful spectacle. The petitioners prayed the House to inquire into the facts contained in the petition, with a view to the abolition of this practice, as a disgrace to the service, and an outrage to the feelings of society. (Hansard 1834/1; Anonymous 1834/2:5)

There is no mention, in this original report, of drums played to drown out the acoustic evidence of what was happening; but other evidence suggests this claim may have been made in the full text of the original petition—this is certainly the implication to be drawn from a resumption of the parliamentary debate on this issue on 23 July.[15] During this debate, Sir Matthew White Ridley is reported as denying "the statement made in the petition, that the drums were specially directed to be beaten, in order to drown the man's cries, it being well known to every military man, that it was the custom for the drums to roll on every such occasion, and they were accordingly rolled on the present" (Hansard 1834/2; Anonymous 1834/3:3).[16] His statement as reported also implies that, as well as *The Times*, the story had been taken up by a number of Sunday newspapers. A newspaper report was also responsible for triggering parliamentary debate on a later case, regarding the death of a soldier called William Saundry after a flogging in 1836. The subject was raised in Parliament by Mr Wakely, who reported that

> There was an account of the proceedings at the Marine-barracks at this place, in a newspaper of great circulation and influence—he meant The Weekly Dispatch. He would read it to the House:—"Early on Monday morning last, a private marine, named William Saundry, was led forth into the open space fronting the barracks at Woolwich, to undergo the christian-like punishment of receiving two hundred lashes. The square having been formed, and the wretched delinquent tied up to the halberts, the drummers commenced, when the screams of the miserable wretch were so loud

> and heart-piercing, that, notwithstanding the fifes and drums were ordered to drown them, it is positively stated that they could be heard above a mile and a half across the Artillery-ground! After receiving one hundred lashes, or nine hundred cords having been passed over his lacerated back, Saundry was ordered to be taken down, for what reason is not known, nor will we venture to state whether it was a voluntary or forced act by the officer in command. Saundry was led to the infirmary in a fainting state; and whether the same fate awaits him that fell to the lot of the victim Ramsay, time alone will prove [...]." (Hansard 1836; abbreviated version in Anonymous 1836:4).[17]

An illustration from the front page of the Chartist newspaper *The Northern Star and Leeds General Advertiser* from 17 February 1838 is also in this vein: under the tag line "Hey for the life of a soldier!", a reference to a popular song of the day, it depicts a flogging ceremony with fifes and drums seen playing in the background. The Chartists' campaigns for social reforms included a concerted campaign on flogging.[18]

An earlier report also suggests that the general public widely held that drums were used to cover the sound of screams during flogging, though military sources disputed this. Thus Sir Henry Hardinge, who in an 1824 debate denied "what the hon. member for Westminster (Mr. Hobhouse) had said, on a former debate on this bill, that the cries of the soldiers flogged in the Mews-barracks had been drowned in the roll of the drums. The fact was, that, during the last year, only one instance of the kind had occurred, and that flogging was abolished in the Guards, excepting under very extraordinary circumstances." The further debate grew more complicated still, calling into question the veracity of Hobhouse's sources on the basis that more generally, beating the drums on any occasion had fallen out of use in the Guards. John Smith, member for Midhurst, suggested that "His hon. friend [i.e. Hobhouse] had said that the beating of the drums in the morning was associated in the minds of the inhabitants with the idea of corporal punishment; but he did not assert, that corporal punishment was constantly taking place in the barracks," to which Hardinge is reported to have replied that "it was rather unfortunate for the position of the hon. gentleman, that the reveille had not been beaten in the morning for a considerable period"; Colonel Townshend (probably Horatio George Powys Townshend, member for Whitechurch)[19] responded to this by remarking that "it had been customary formerly, to beat the drum in the morning. But, without any application from the inhabitants, and merely from a spontaneous anxiety for their comfort, for the last six months the reveille had not been beaten. When the hon. gentleman said, that whenever the drum was beaten it was associated with the idea of flogging in the minds of the inhabitants, he was entirely at a loss to understand the meaning of so extraordinary an assertion." Finally, Mr. Hobhouse himself replied

> that what he had said on a former night was, that it was represented to him that when corporal punishment was inflicted at the barracks, the drums were beaten to prevent the cries of the sufferer from being heard; On that occasion, a gallant officer had expressed his surprise by gesture, and he (Mr. H.) had said, across the table, "not lately." He had been told, that the noise of drums in the morning alarmed the inhabitants, who thought that they were beaten during the infliction of corporal punishment. Such had been their impression; though, no doubt, from what had been said, they were mistak-

> en. The alarm, however, which had been excited in the neighbourhood of the King's Mews, proved that the place selected for barracks was a very unfit one. On one occasion, most certainly, corporal punishment had taken place. It was seen from the tops of the houses; and the story, greatly exaggerated he supposed, immediately got abroad. The consequence was, that whenever the drums were beaten afterwards, it was supposed that an infliction of corporal punishment was going on, and that the sound of the drums was introduced to prevent the cries of the soldiery from being distinguished. (All quotations in this paragraph from Hansard 1824; the debate was reported more or less in the same form in Anonymous 1824:2)

This debate and the others mentioned raise several questions that go far beyond the case in hand. If drumming were used to drown the cries of flogged men, at least on occasion, it would not be surprising that this be denied by pro-flogging members of the military and of parliament, particularly in a period marked by public consternation at the practice and in the context of parliamentary debates on whether it should be outlawed or, at very least, severely restricted. At a time when soldiers could be subjected to anything up to thousands of lashes, sometimes inflicted over a period of days or even weeks, the routine or occasional use of drumming in accompaniment would require a high level of physical stamina on the part of the musicians involved. If drumming were used in this context, it is however also reasonable to suggest that people living in the immediate vicinity of the barracks would be able to differentiate between such a necessarily sustained barrage of drumming and other daily practices involving music. Ultimately, more research would be needed to get to the bottom of these allegations. Quite apart from their truth or untruth, however, they point to a strong continuity with the use of music in later contexts of torture and CID punishment, where, again, it is often presumed or claimed that music, where used, is intended primarily to drown the cries of the victim. The difference in more recent cases is that the use of loud music as such is generally not denied; the debate is purely on its intended function.[20]

Drummers and Flogging

Though there is therefore some debate on the extent to which floggings were accompanied by drums, there is certainly no question that the drummers themselves were charged with carrying out this punishment, at least in the infantry. The origins of this tradition are unclear. Both Farmer (1960:148) and Barty-King (1988:36) suggest that it dates to the later seventeenth century. Barty-King suggests that the tradition is linked to the abolishment, in 1680, of the post of provost-marshall, who had previously been in charge of all aspects of military justice and discipline; Farmer, on the other hand, dates the practice slightly later, to the reign of William III, seemingly basing this statement on an order to the effect that the drum-major was in charge of the cats;[21] I have been unable to corroborate these statements, and neither author gives precise information on sources. Indeed Marshall (1846:135), who suggests that the practice of using drummers to this end does not date to before the early

eighteenth century, points to the fact that during the reign of William III, the provost-marshall was responsible; he also suggests that drummers came to be used when an older tradition of using hired executioners died out some time early in the eighteenth century (Marshall 1846:139).

Marshall also refers, however, to Sir James Turner's *Pallas Armata* of 1683, which includes a discussion of modern military practices as well as those of Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire. As regards the origins of running the gauntlet, Turner suggests this was the brainchild of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, who was in turn inspired by Roman traditions. Turner goes on to trace the etymology of the word—then "gatlop"—to the German words for alley (*Gasse*, or *Gas/Gat* in his version) and running (*laufen*, or *Lauffen/Laupen*). He goes on to state that "The Provost Marshal is to furnish Rods, and to give the Delinquent the first lash; but if there be neither Provost nor Lieutenant, nor Servant of his (who is called *Stokknecht*) then the Drummer gives the Rods" (Turner 1683:349.) It is not entirely clear from the context whether Turner is referring to an existing practice then used in Scotland or England (Turner was a Scot and served for the most part in the Scottish army) or to the Swedish practice, as the reference to the word *Stokknecht* might imply. Turner himself trained in the Swedish army and, like many Scots, fought in the Thirty Years War; there is every possibility, then, that if the tradition did start with the Swedish army, it entered Britain by such a route. Marshall notes that Turner himself was a provost-marshall at one point (1846:137).

Marshall also quotes Grose, from a work published in 1786, with regards to the development of flogging from running the gauntlet. The practice of having the culprit run up and down the line being found "inconvenient, and in many cases objectionable" (Grose, cited in Marshall 1846:149), the practice of tying the culprit to the halberts developed, with each soldier walking passed and delivering one lash each. However, "This, likewise, being found objectionable, as degrading soldiers to executioners, has been in a great measure left off, and the infliction of the punishment put into the hands of the drummers, under the inspection of the Drum-Major and Adjutant—the first to see the halberts are properly fixed, the cats in order, that each drummer does his duty, and is properly relieved after having given twenty-five lashes" (Grose, quoted in Marshall 1846:150). Grose's comments point to one of several reasons why drummers specifically might be charged with this task, namely, that having soldiers carrying out the punishment degraded them—this reasoning for "outsourcing" the task of flogging is underlined by the fact that in cavalry regiments, flogging was often carried out by the unit's farriers. At this point, military musicians were not officially classed as soldiers (the infantry post of Drum-major was not officially recognized until the nineteenth century). Moreover, being a drummer was to all intents and purposes something of an entry-level position into the army and, typically, many drummers were recruited as boys, who sometimes went on to long careers as regular soldiers.[22] Indeed, boys could be recruited as drummers long before they were allowed to recruit as a soldier, and in practice often began their army careers much before the official lowest age stipulated by army regulations—

boys as young as four or five years old can sometimes be found on the muster rolls, these generally being the children of soldiers in the regiment (see Grant 2011). This does not necessarily mean, however, that children, or the younger drummers, were expected to play their part in carrying out a sentence of flogging; indeed, one might expect that the less physically strong among them would be excluded for that reason alone. It has proved difficult to garner specific information one way or the other; Hamilton (1794:42) mentions with regard to one case that the drummers were "strong men," but does not indicate whether this was the general rule. A report in *The Times* (November 1835) on the inquiry into the death of a soldier who succumbed to tetanus after being flogged does however suggest that drummers of all ages would have been implicated, particularly in the years before the number of lashes was limited to 50: the evidence from Colonel Robert McLeverty, who had ordered the court martial in question, is reported as follows:

> The punishment was inflicted in the usual way, and witness [sic] expected the man would be quite well in a few days. Witness ordered him to be drummed out because he was incorrigible, and to prevent him getting in to any other service. 25 lashes were given by one drummer, who was then relieved. The same cat is used throughout. All the drummers, including boys, are ordered to do this duty. (Anonymous 1835:3)

Marshall quotes from one former drummer, by that point a commissioned officer, that "From the very first day I entered the service as drum-boy, and for eight years after, I can venture to assert, that, at the lowest calculation, it was my disgusting duty to flog men *at least three times a week*" (quoted in Marshall 1846:255, emphasis in this source; no original source given). Going on to describe the horrors of this duty—refusing would have led to he himself being struck, or sent to the "black hole"[23]—the same source goes on to state that "I have, immediately after parade, run into the barrack-room, to escape from the observations of the soldiers, and to rid my clothes and person of my comrade's blood" (quoted in Marshall 1846:255); this explains the logic behind the custom, noted by Marshall a few pages earlier, of drummers removing the outer layers of their uniform before taking up the cat. On the basis of the information Marshall gives, it is not however possible to establish what age this former drummer boy was when he enlisted: if he was promoted to another rank after eight years this would suggest that he was no younger than eight, but not necessarily much older. With regard to other aspects of military punishment, the younger boys had a very clear role to play: as mentioned previously, during the ceremony of drumming-out, it was not untypical for the smallest of the drummer boys to be selected for the task of leading the disgraced soldier from the garrison or camp on a leash. Barty-King suggests that drummer-boys were sometimes employed during flogging to add to the humiliation, particularly in such cases where the man concerned was then to be drummed out (1988:54).

Myerly also suggests that it was the low status of musicians that resulted in them being given the task, also noting in this regard the use of farriers for this task in cavalry regiments. He suggests further that

> As musicians, the drummers were considered more subservient, and their uniforms more closely resembled civilian liveries. Unlike bandsmen, they were "field musicians" transmitting commands by drum. They also had less honor because their job was to play rather than fight. Drummers were technically not combatants but were supposed to fight to the death to preserve their drums [...] This low status—reinforced by the distasteful duty of inflicting floggings—was probably the reason they tended to be unpopular. (Myerly 1996:239, n.140)

In noting this, Myerly however also points unwittingly to another and potentially important reason why drummers be assigned this task. For if drummers held a low status, the drum as such certainly did not.

The Drum as Symbol and Totem

Tracing the origins and the conceptual framework of military music traditions in an unpublished manuscript (Farmer 1962), Henry Farmer specifically draws attention to the importance attached in some cultures to apparently inanimate objects by virtue of their material and, thus, spiritual connection to the animal or natural world. His specific examples are prototypes of standard military musical instruments such as horns and drums, but his implications are wider. The suggestion, indeed, seems to be that although the belief systems of modern Europeans project a very different type of relationship to the natural world, this endowing of musical instruments with effectively sacred qualities still resonates in the context of the military.

The enormous significance attached to physical symbols of an army or regiment, of which the most important are the colors and, to a slightly lesser extent, the drum, can certainly be viewed from this perspective. To an outsider it may seem illogical, even mad, that long-standing military tradition afforded the protection of the regimental colors an even higher position than an individual's life, but guarding the colors—and, conversely, capturing the enemy's colors—was a matter of the highest honor and import. The drum as such may not ever have been afforded quite the same symbolic importance, but long-standing tradition linked the two, including, in earlier warfare, in physical proximity on the battlefield. Like the colors, the regimental drum's importance went far beyond its practical usage. Its symbolic significance is reflected in the fact that the details of campaigns fought were often inscribed onto it.

While there can be little doubt that practical and not merely symbolic reasons help explain why drummers became charged with so serious and harrowing a task as executing corporal punishments, these more immediate logics make a different kind of sense if we bear in mind this broader history and tradition. Indeed, with few exceptions—such as the harp—there is a remarkable continuity as regards the types of instruments typically used in specifically military contexts and more generally in the representation of political power over a wide historical and also geographical area. As well as processes of cultural transfer not least in the context of warfare and trade expeditions, these commonalities may also be influenced or reinforced by com-

mon historical reference points, for example in scriptural sources. Discussing music and power in the Ethiopian Christian highlands in much the same period covered here, for example, Stéphanie Weisser, Anaïs Wion and Anne Damon-Guillot (2012) have drawn attention to local representations of key biblical scenes, including depictions of the Day of Judgment, that depict angels playing horns but also kettledrums. These depictions are of interest to historians primarily for what they reveal about the type of instruments played, and how they were played, in the region at this time. Apart from this, however, they draw attention to a much longer history of associations between standard military instruments and the dispensation of justice (here, divine justice), not only in the Christian tradition. The Ethiopian case demonstrates a high level of similarity with traditions in western European countries: this includes not only the use of horns and kettledrums as two central instruments, but also such correspondences as the linking of horns specifically to kings, which has parallels in trumpets being reserved as the instruments of noblemen and kings in Europe through the Middle Ages and into the early modern period.

Bringing to mind this longer history is not to imply that such reasoning would have been in the conscious minds of the young drummer inflicting his 25 lashes, nor of the Drum-major standing over him, to say nothing of the soldier tied to the halberts or those looking on in horror. Nor would it have been at the forefront of the minds of those campaigning for and against flogging, who concentrated their attentions on the absolute necessity of discipline at any cost and the inefficacy and inhumanity of the treatment, accordingly. It does go some way to demonstrating, however, the necessity for a broader historical contextualization of such practices, informed by an understanding of how they and the logic behind them are reinterpreted and adapted over time.

A Return to the Past?

At this article's beginning, I mentioned recent calls for more transparency in military justice systems in the British armed forces, highlighting that despite the progress made, some of the negative aspects of the legacy of parallel systems of justice in military and civilian life remain with us. I want to end with another and slightly older example, taken not from a British, but an American source.

In an article published in the (US) *Air Force Law Review* in 1996, John C. Kunich argued that a modern-day version of a drumming-out ceremony could be a useful disciplinary tool for today's armed forces as well. He traces some aspects of the history of what he terms "ceremonies of ignominy" before discussing legal and organizational barriers that may prevent their reintroduction in an adapted form. The most serious such barrier, he suggests, may be the Eighth Amendment's prohibition of cruel and unusual punishment, though he notes that jurisdiction on the Eighth Amendment normally concentrates on graver issues than the one at hand (for example, focusing on "humane" methods of execution). Thus recognizing that such

practices as drumming out could indeed be potentially categorized or perceived as cruel and unusual, Kunich moves on to arguments in favor of reintroducing such a practice. Amongst other reasons, he suggests that "the fact that this particular form of punishment is uniquely military also argues in its favor. Many centuries of military tradition stand in support of ceremonies of ignominy, demonstrating that, at least until the past decades, they have not been unusual within the military context. This, coupled with the great deference civilian courts show to the military in the area of internal military matters, makes it unlikely a civilian court would find the ceremony unconstitutional" (Kunich 1996:52f.). As an additional safeguard, he suggests that it may be possible or necessary to have recruits agree (or not) in writing to being subjected to such a ceremony in the case of a major misdemeanor. He then suggests how this new ceremony could take place:

> Once the convening authority, the accused, and counsel sign the agreement and the court-martial is over, the ceremony may proceed. There could be a military formation, either in an auditorium, on a parade field, or by flagpoles. Drummers from the local military band could provide a somber drumbeat while the convicted person marches in front of the assembled troops, escorted by security police, to stand at attention at a central point, perhaps on a raised platform. The commander could then deliver a short speech, discussing what crimes were committed and what impact this had on the unit and the Air Force. As part of this speech, the commander could read the actual charges and specifications.
>
> With the drums beating faster and the entire formation at attention, the senior enlisted advisor or first sergeant could then remove the insignia of rank, if a reduction in grade was adjudged, and any unit patches. If the convicted person has a unit scarf or other unit-related items, they could be removed as well. Then, the convicted person could again march before all the troops under security police escort and exit to the steady, slow beating of the drums. A security police vehicle might await nearby to remove the offender from the unit immediately, with lights flashing and sirens screaming. (Kunich 1996:55f.)

One wonders what impact this semi-sanitized version of a drumming-out ceremony would have and to what extent, in this form, it necessitates the long discussion of cruel and unusual punishment that precedes it. The article is interesting for other reasons, however. For one thing, it demonstrates how far we have come over the course of the last two hundred years in accepting that assaults on people's dignity have no place in military justice or anywhere else. If on the other hand the article nevertheless sets alarm bells ringing, then perhaps not purely because of more recent juridical acts of conjuring performed by lawyers acting for the US government in order to justify torture and CID punishment. As such, the article seems like a symptom of a much bigger malaise: a willingness to consider and to attempt to argue the legal case for punishments, and a method of running an army, that our ancestors battled long and hard to consign to history.

Notes

1 The term "CID treatment" is now standard in human rights discourse, but elements of the phrase were also used in the nineteenth century, including in the debate on flogging, for which reason the use of the "modern" term to discuss an earlier period seems justified.

2 I am grateful to Nick Nourse for this information.

3 Both under James VII/II and under the new regime, such legislation applied only to incidents occurring on the British mainland. Abroad, it was assumed that martial law rather than the common law of England applied; see Childs 1987:85f. Such a distinction has its echoes right up to the present day. Two prominent recent examples are the debate on whether the UK Human Rights Act and other human rights legislation applies to members of the British armed forces abroad (in other words, whether they themselves benefit from its protections), and the interpretation by US military lawyers and other officials of restrictions regarding the detention and treatment of prisoners of war as not applying to those held in captivity but not on US soil.

4 Such exceptions to the general rule of a ban on corporal punishment as that which reserved for soldiers and sailors a treatment otherwise condemned, are no exception in the history of developing attitudes to misdemeanors, crime and punishment. The case of torture is one: officially abhorred, its continued use has always been justified by the attempt to segregate the victims from normal society by terming them insurgents, enemies of the state, terrorists, or any other term aimed to mask the fact of our common humanity. The case of violence against children is another: only a handful of states currently prohibit the use of physical force to discipline children, and in the country which is this essay's topic—Britain—juvenile offenders may be subject to physical force as a method of discipline and restraint even though similar methods used against anyone over the age of eighteen are regarded as archaic at best, inhumane at worst, and are in flagrant contravention of international law.

5 This fate also awaited those women and children who elected to stay with their menfolk and accompanied them on campaigns. No special accommodation was made for them, with the exception that very young boys were occasionally enlisted as drummer boys in order to ensure them a source of income and basic provisions. Soldiers' memoirs from the nineteenth century very often recount in detail the harrowing conditions faced on the march, including the sight of dying and dead men, women and children quite literally left at the roadside. See especially Howell 1819:64–82. The introduction to Myerly 1996 also gives a useful overview of the vast divide between outward military spectacle and the realities of military life in this period.

6 If earlier sources are to be believed, this marked something of a turnaround for the French army. In justification of the harsh methods of discipline used in the British army in the mid-eighteenth century, Anonymous (1756) for example quotes from French sources to demonstrate that British recruits had life easy by comparison.

7 The punishments carried out or overseen by the Drum-major and his equivalent in other regiments were not limited to flogging. Marshall notes a recent (i.e. to 1846) circular aiming to unify the way the practice of branding deserters with a capital "D" was carried out: according to the circular, the branding is to be carried out by the Drum-Major in the infantry, and the Trumpet-Major and Bugle-Major in the cavalry and rifle/light infantry respectively (Marshall 1846:309).

8 In researching this point I have referred to a number of official regulations from the period of the Napoleonic wars (e.g. the *General Orders and Regulations* for the British Army published in 1804) as well as a number of unofficial compendiums and discourses, including from an earlier period (e.g. Anonymous 1756; Anonymous 1757; Anonymous 1795; Reade 1799; Simes

1767, 1777). Clearly, this is not an exhaustive search. My thanks to the staff of the library of the National War Museum of Scotland for their assistance.

9 Farmer's copy, held in Glasgow University Library with the shelfmark Sp Coll Farmer 32, was itself a photographic copy of the edition held in the British Library. The publication date is that attributed by the British Library; there is no date on the volume itself.

10 Information on the provenance of the tune is taken from the sources and commentary collated on www.hymnary.org, accessed 20 February 2013.

11 A discussion of the music at Nelson's funeral in *The Musical Times* says that "On approaching the cathedral the bands played the 104th Psalm, doubtless the triple minor tune from Ravenscroft's Psalter of 1621"—this is a tune now generally known as "Old 104th"; Anonymous 1905: 645. Given the appearance of what is actually the tune "Hanover" in Potter's tutor published around ten years later, it would appear more likely that this was the tune played. The presumption on the part of the author of the article in *The Musical Times* may relate to "Old 104th's" darker quality and minor harmonies.

12 The depiction of flogging is, not incidentally, the only illustration found in the whole book. Marshall 1846:252.

13 Hansard is the transcript of debates in the UK Parliament. At this point, its summary reports were often published verbatim, or only very slightly altered, in *The Times*. Where this is the case in the sources cited here, I have given references to both. *The Times* itself is an extraordinarily useful resource for this period because of the ability to conduct full text searches of its digital archive.

14 This information retrieved from http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/tennyson-charles-1784-1861, accessed 18 February 2013.

15 Original copies (and thus, full texts) of petitions to parliament rarely survive from this period, and this petition would almost certainly have been among those lost in the fire that destroyed the House of Lords in October 1834.

16 Sir Matthew White Ridley is listed as having held the offices of Captain in the Northern support militia, and of lieutenant-colonel in the Loyal Newcastle voluntary infantry (information from History of Parliament Online, http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/ridley-sir-matthew-1778-1836, accessed 18 February 2013). Whether this qualifies him to talk as a "military man" is a moot point.

17 Halberts, or halberds, in this context are a type of scaffold formed of several stakes hammered into the ground to form a sort of pyramid, to which the man to be flogged was tied.

18 The image is used as the cover image for this volume of *the world of music (new series)*. It is reproduced here by permission of Nineteenth Century Serials Online, where the full content can be viewed: www.ncse.ac.uk.

19 There were several Townshends in parliament at this period, but only H.G.P. Townshend is listed as being a (lieutenant-)colonel in this period, in the foot guards. He voted against the abolition of flogging and is reported to have "refuted allegations that it was routinely inflicted in his regiment"; information drawn from History of Parliament Online, http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/townshend-hon-horatio-1780-1843, accessed 27 February 2013.

20 The cases I am referring to include a number we have collated from the 1970s onwards: see e.g. Grant 2013, also the other case studies in this issue of *the world of music (new series)*, particularly the article by Anna Papaeti. In such cases it is interesting to note that the claim that music

is used to acoustically mask evidence of torture is sometimes a strategy used by torturers themselves, but also by outsiders, to downplay or deny the often brutal physical and psychological impact of music as itself an instrument of torture.

21 The notorious cat is described in some sources (e.g. Simmons 1875:317) as consisting of a drumstick, or stick of the same length, with the nine lashes attached.

22 As in the case of John Shipp, who wrote one of the most famous of military memoirs (1830); see also Grant 2011.

23 This was a system of keeping soldiers in solitary confinement in a completely dark place, typically for a period of around 48 hours.

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Music and Torture in Nazi Sites of Persecution and Genocide in Occupied Poland, 1939–1945

Katarzyna Naliwajek-Mazurek

Abstract

In the dense system of Nazi camps, ghettos and prisons established in the occupied Polish territories after the September 1939 invasion by the Third Reich, music was present in manifold ways. Among multiple roles it played there for the oppressors and the oppressed, one is however particularly striking and demands close examination. Why was music used by the Nazis as an important element of torture and how was it intertwined with genocidal actions? What types of music were used and in which circumstances?

These and other questions are discussed and answered through analysis of testimonies of Polish-Jewish and Polish survivors of different types of camps (among others Auschwitz-Birkenau, Treblinka, Sobibor) and prisons (Pawiak prison in Warsaw). Particular cases of torture and music described in interviews with former prisoners, recently recorded by the author of the article, as well as in such important written sources as Jechiel Rajchman's memories from Treblinka (1942–1943), bring to light instances of specific uses of music as torture, treated by the Nazi functionaries as an element of the degradation of prisoners.

In the dense system of camps, ghettos and prisons established by the Nazis in occupied Polish territories after the September 1939 invasion by the Third Reich, music was present in manifold ways. Among multiple roles it played for the oppressors and the oppressed, one is however particularly striking and demands close examination. Why was music used by the Nazis as an important element of torture and how was it intertwined with genocidal actions? What types of music were used and in which circumstances? The analysis of testimonies from Polish-Jewish and Polish survivors of different types of camps (such as Auschwitz-Birkenau, Treblinka, Sobibor) and prisons (for example, Pawiak Prison, Warsaw) provides some answers to these questions. Specific cases of physical and psychological torture and the roles ascribed to music in the process of the victims' degradation were reported in written and oral

testimonies by survivors. These were also prepared for the sake of—in several cases insufficient—prosecution of German commandants as well as of German and Ukrainian staff of the camps (see Donat 1979:295).

Among written sources bringing to light specific instances of music's role in the ordeal inflicted on victims of extermination camps, testimonies by Jewish survivors who escaped from the Treblinka and Sobibor camps are of particular value and importance. Witnesses of unimaginable atrocities, they were highly conscious of the necessity to testify; the constant threat of death under which they lived since their escape from the camps (with the exception of Abraham Krzepicki, they escaped after the prisoners' revolts which took place in Treblinka on 2 August 1943, and in Sobibor on 14 October the same year) prompted them to give their testimonies as soon as possible. Thus, some of these accounts were written during the war—as, for example, Abraham Krzepicki's account, notated in Yiddish for the Emanuel Ringelblum archive in the Warsaw ghetto—or even clandestinely published in Warsaw in 1944, as in the case of Jankiel Wiernik's testimony. Others were written after the war as soon as the survivors' living conditions made this possible. To the perspicuity and the sense of responsibility of these authors we owe the most poignant accounts of the extermination system and of music's functions within it.

Roles of Music at the Sites of Mass Killings

The presence of music in Nazi camps has so far been described in part (Fackler 2000; Gilbert 2005; Brauer 2009) mainly in relation to concentration camps outside of Nazi-occupied Polish territory (e.g. Sachsenhausen) and the Auschwitz camp; with its net of subcamps, the latter combined the functions of concentration, slave labor and death camp. While the phenomenon of forced singing, the existence of musical ensembles, and clandestine music-making by inmates in concentration camps have been described and analyzed to some degree, the place of music in death camps destined to exterminate the Jews—camps built as an essential part of *Operation Reinhard*[1]—, is still not very well known. Apart from their function as death camps, Auschwitz-Birkenau and Majdanek also functioned as forced labor camps; Bełżec, Sobibor and Treblinka were constructed and functioned with one goal only: to efficiently kill and plunder European Jews. In most Nazi camps, the small percentage of prisoners who were not killed immediately after their arrival were used as slave labor and worked in extreme conditions, mostly outside the camps (with the exception of the *Sonderkommando* and some other *Kommandos* important for the internal functioning of the camp—such as, for example, the women's orchestra); they were used as road, construction, field and factory workers. The prisoners temporarily kept alive in death camps such as Treblinka "worked" as corpse carriers, "hairdressers" who cut girls' and women's hair moments before they were killed, "dentists" who extracted gold teeth, bridges and crowns from corpses, "gold finders" who had to find any valuables in the victims' clothing and belongings, cleaners of

gas chambers, and builders of different camp "facilities." In both types of camps—concentration and death camps—prisoners lived under the constant threat of torture and death and were incessantly tortured by thirst, hunger and exhaustion. However, while in concentration camps they were treated as incarcerated prisoners who could be killed at any moment by the camp staff, but had more chances to survive, in extermination camps they were treated as people already condemned to death.

In the ghastly conditions of the death camps, among killings and physical torture, prisoners were not only forced to listen to the music of the camp's musical ensemble, but also to sing and even to dance. Music was undoubtedly considered by the Nazis to be an ideal tool for psychological torture of the victims in situations of final extermination, as confirmed in numerous reports, e.g. concerning the Płaszów camp in Cracow or the Janowska camp in Lvov (see Naliwajek-Mazurek 2012:219f.). In Treblinka, the use of music had two main interlinked goals: to provide entertainment for the perpetrators—also by ridiculing the victims—and to function as a psychological torture for the prisoners. All torture is undoubtedly destined to induce mind-control mechanisms; it seems that this type of torture was considered by the Nazis in some respects even more efficient than the intimidating effect of physical torture. Different uses of music in the Treblinka camp can be found in witnesses' testimonies and allow us to evaluate the nature of the interrelationship between music and torture in the Nazi genocidal system.

Treblinka Witnesses and Their Accounts

Jechiel Mejer Rajchman (1914 Łódź—2004 Montevideo, Uruguay) was brought to Treblinka with his younger sister in a transport from Lubartów on 10 October 1942. Samuel Willenberg (born in 1923 in Częstochowa) also arrived in October 1942, in a transport from Opatów. Both Rajchman and Willenberg were chosen at the ramp for slave "work." Rywka (Rebeka, born ca. 1919) Rajchman was immediately killed with other women and children in the gas chambers. Her brother found her dress among the victims' clothing which he had to sort (once the star of David badges were removed, this clothing was then sent to Germany). Samuel Willenberg went to Treblinka of his own will, after his two younger sisters had been denounced by Polish neighbors in Częstochowa. He also found the coat of his sister Tamara among the clothing he had to sort; only at this moment did he learn of her fate (Willenberg 2004:50). Richard Glazar (1920 Prague–1997 Prague) was also brought to Treblinka on 8 October 1942 from Theresienstadt. Jankiel (Yankel) Wiernik (1889 in Biała Podlaska—1972 in Rishon Lezion, Israel) was transported to Treblinka on 23 August 1942 from the Warsaw ghetto. All four escaped from the camp during the prisoners' revolt of 2 August 1943.

Rajchman wrote his reminiscences in Yiddish, perhaps still during the war, when he was in hiding in Warsaw (although probably not during the few months in which he spent around 18 hours per day in a hide-out under his Polish friends' bed). After

the war he, like many other Polish-Jewish survivors, continued to use his "Aryan" name Henryk Romanowski from the forged documents he had received from his Polish friend Wacław Jarosz in 1943.[2] Richard Glazar wrote his account in Czech immediately after the end of the war, before he returned to Prague from Germany; this remained unpublished until 1993.[3] Jankiel Wiernik's memoirs were the first to be written and published. After his escape from Treblinka, Wiernik sought the help of his former employers, the Krzywoszewski family, who provided him with a false *Kennkarte* [identity card]. Thanks to Polish acquaintances and his "Aryan" appearance, he survived by hiding under false names. Just like Samuel Willenberg, Jankiel Wiernik fought in the Warsaw Uprising in 1944. His memoirs from Treblinka were clandestinely published under the title *Rok w Treblince* (*A Year in Treblinka*) in 1944 by the Jewish National Committee and the Polish Council to Aid Jews Żegota (there were about 2000 copies); these were microfilmed, sent to London by the Polish underground, translated into English and Yiddish and printed in New York probably as early as 1944 by the American Representation of the General Jewish Workers Union of Poland (Ogólny Żydowski Związek Robotniczy "Bund" w Polsce. Amerykańska Reprezentacja; Bartoszewski 1964). Each of the reminiscences quoted below is strikingly different, filtered through a different type of personality; thus, even if the information provided is similar, we gain a different insight into the barely comprehensible world of this camp, dehumanized yet created by humans.

Der Appell und die Musik: Music and the Structure of Camp Life

As confirmed in several of the quoted testimonies, prisoners selected from the transport in Treblinka to be used as slave labor were forced to listen to music and forced to sing themselves, especially at roll call. According to Rajchman, the roll call in Treblinka extermination camp took place punctually at six in the afternoon. Rajchman remembered that on his first day in the camp, at six in the afternoon, the trumpet sounded for roll call and during the roll call itself the orchestra played (Rajchman 2011:24).[4] Prisoners were herded to the *Appell* (roll call) after a day of carrying and throwing the corpses into large ditches, and being whipped, tortured and witnessing their fellow prisoners' executions and suicides (Rajchman 2011:42). Among these extreme experiences, hearing the sounds of music at roll call, during the tally, only augmented the sense of degradation and guilt of these people, who were forced by their families' executioners to participate in the extermination process and who were constantly reminded by their perpetrators that they could only consider themselves temporary survivors.

Rajchman described a day on which transports containing 18,000 people arrived and *Kommandos* worked incessantly. One of these brigades, called *Schlauch* (hose) after the curved path leading to the gas chambers into which naked victims were herded, had to clean all traces of blood from the path to the chambers and from the gas chamber walls, which were washed and painted anew to receive new victims.

Another brigade carried corpses; every now and then one of the carriers dropped the stretchers and committed suicide by jumping into the deep pool next to the gas chambers. At six, at the call "Antreten!" ("Report!") everybody had to stand and was ordered by the *Scharführer* Matthes to "sing a nice song."[5] This lasted almost an hour; only then could the prisoners go to the barracks (Rajchman 2011:48f.).

Forced singing added another dimension to the humiliation and torture of prisoners. Samuel Willenberg (2004:76) described torture by singing combined with torture by beating, which took place after the tally during *Appell*:

> On the orders of the Germans we sang the song *Góralu, czy ci nie żal* ... We were ordered to repeat it several times because the Germans were of the opinion that we did not infuse our singing with enough sentiment. After having sung the song [...] we were called one by one. [...] I was ordered to take off my trousers. [...] The Ukrainian began to beat me with the whip and I had to count each stroke in German. During the punishment I had the impression that all my intestines protruded upwards and downwards. I awaited the next stroke with dread. Every time it seemed to me that I couldn't endure it anymore.

Following the punishment he was additionally humiliated: like everyone else he had to say "Ich danke" ("I thank you".) After the beating, the wound he had received in September 1939 while fighting in the Polish Army reopened and he became seriously ill; he survived thanks to a fellow prisoner whom he persuaded to make an incision into the inflamed skin.

As Wiernik wrote, although physical torture was very hard to endure, it was less haunting than the psychological torture—the torture of seeing the infinite yet personalized suffering of victims:

> We had to work from dawn to dusk under the ceaseless threat of beatings from whips and rifle butts. One of the guards, Woronkov, tortured us savagely, killing some of the workers each day. Although our physical suffering surpassed the imagination of normal human beings, our spiritual agonies were far worse. New transports of victims arrived each day. They were immediately ordered to disrobe and were led to the three old gas chambers, passing us on the way. (Wiernik 1944:18)

This agonizing thought of the anonymity of the victims, killed without leaving any traces, motivated the witnesses to memorize the individuals and the way they were killed as well as the identity of their killers.[6]

Glazar (2011:121f.) described the forced singing of the official Treblinka "anthem" (not mentioned by Rajchman) at the morning and evening roll calls, as well as during the march to and from work; he also twice mentioned Ukrainian guards ordering prisoners to sing it (Glazar 2011:41, 122). After roll call, prisoners also had to sing songs liked by their guards, such as the Polish traditional song *Góralu, czy ci nie żal*. According to Glazar and others, commandant Kurt Franz came up with the idea of a Treblinka march ("*Hymne*" in the original). Franz was known for his sadism and the cruelty with which he publicly tortured prisoners or killed newly arrived babies.[7] Glazar wrote that Franz ordered a prisoner to write a text to the melody, which was to be—also on his order—composed by prisoner Artur Gold (1897–1943, a famous

composer of popular songs and a violinist). In fact, the melody had already been composed in the Buchenwald concentration camp by the prisoner Hermann Leopoldi (1888–1959) for the camp's official march, the *Buchenwaldlied.* It was Kurt Franz who brought it from Buchenwald where he had worked as a guard, and who ordered that new words be written for the official song of Treblinka. The text was probably written by Walter Hirsch; Artur Gold may have "arranged" it for the ensemble which played in the camp.[8] Another hypothesis is that Kurt Franz himself wrote the words. This was stated by *Unterscharführer* Franz Suchomel, who was part of the Treblinka personnel. He also explained that "new Jews who arrived in the morning [those selected for work and not killed] had to learn it and sing it already at the evening roll call."[9] The "anthem's" words bitterly mock the tragic situation of the prisoners, speaking of the column marching to work, and duly following not only the orders and all gestures of the commandant, but also the Nazi "sacrosanct" ideals of obedience and duty. Held in a major key, it ends with a triumphant and happy "Hurra":

Fester Schritt und Tritt
Und der Blick gerade aus
Immer mutig und treu
In die Welt geschaut
Marschieren Kolonnen zur Arbeit
Darum sind wir heute in Treblinka
Dass unser Schicksal ist tara-ra
Darum sind wir heute in Treblinka
Und gestellt in kurzer Frist

Wir hören auf den Ton des Kommandanten
Und folgen ihm auf seinen Wink
Wir gehen jeden Schritt um Schritt zusammen
Für alle, was die Pflicht von uns verlangt
Die Arbeit soll alles hier bedeuten
Und auch Gehorsamkeit und Pflicht;
Wir werden weiter, weiter leisten,
Bis das kleine Glück gibt einmal einen Wink
Hurra!

Steadily keeping pace
And eyes focused straight ahead
Always bravely and loyally
Do we face the world
The columns march to work
That's why we're in Treblinka today
Because our fate is tara-ra
That's why we're in Treblinka today
And sent here for this short time.

We obey the tone of the commandant
And follow his every cue
We march together in strict time

For everything that duty demands of us
Work is to mean everything here
And obedience and duty as well
We will work, and work
Till that little source of happiness gives us a sign
Hurra![10]

On the day when Artur Gold was brought to Treblinka with his violin and was selected from the transport, Willenberg notes (2004:80f.) the surprise of prisoners gathered for the roll call:

> [T]here was no singing of *Góralu czy ci nie żal* nor the *Fester Schritt* as usual. "Lalka" called during the *Appell: Kappellmeister raus!* And Gold and two other musicians had to play. [...] Strings resounded with pre-war hits. They weighed down on us and called up the recollection of passed, old years. The Germans were contented with themselves. That they had managed to organize an orchestra in a death camp. While we were standing during the roll call, and Artur Gold conjured up old melodies on his violin, over the whole camp a sweet sickly odor of decomposing bodies floated [...] After twelve hours of work, in spite of our weariness, we had to stand in a row and listen to this concert. The whirr of the excavator's motor joined in accompaniment. It worked in the death camp and scattered cadavers even after six. The Germans wanted to erase the traces and burn corpses as fast as possible.

Forced Singing, Music-Making and Dancing During Mass Killings

Jechiel Rajchman's memories bring to light instances of specific uses of music as torture, treated by the Nazi functionaries as an element of psychological degradation of prisoners. He began to "work" on the second day after his arrival in Treblinka, i.e. on 11 October 1942: between six and eight in the morning he was assigned to the group which sorted the clothes of the victims—there he found his sister's dress and kept a piece of it in his clothing till the end of his stay in the camp. After eight o'clock he had to cut the hair of the women who were to be killed in the gas chambers, just as his sister had been the day before. This happened under the supervision of Ukrainians with whips and rifles and the camp commandant Franz Stangl, who ordered the prisoners to work quickly. Rajchman quotes that they shouted "Los! Schneller die Haare schneiden!" ("Hurry! Cut the hair faster!"), while amongst the cries, beatings and suffering of the women their hair was cut and packed tightly in the suitcases. When the gas chamber was already filled with victims, there was a half hour break. At this moment "a few murderers enter, they order us to sing. A nice song. [...] We have to sing, to cheer up the murderers and so that they feel nice. [...] Every now and then one of them goes out to the corridor and checks out through the little window if the victims have already been killed." Rajchman described his feelings: "I am aghast: they kill people there, in the chamber, and we are to sing." Experienced prisoners knew already that they would be beaten if they do not comply with this order. Rajchman was threatened by a guard, who noticed that his lips were

closed, so he forcibly opened his mouth, as if to sing. After half an hour the next group of naked women appeared and the prisoners again had to cut the victims' hair (Rajchman 2011:28–33). During four weeks of work as a corpse carrier, Rajchman became a "dentist" and cleaner of gas chambers. During these gruesome occupations yet again, in moments when one chamber was cleaned and in the other one people still showed traces of life, "even during this short break the beasts made us dance and sing songs to the accompaniment of the Jewish orchestra playing next to our barrack" (Rajchman 2011:58f.).

In his ironic style, Abraham Jacob Krzepicki, who spent just 18 days in Treblinka and managed to escape, described how music performed by prisoners on the days of mass killings was intended to entertain the camp personnel:[11]

> The Open-Air Concert at the Death Camp. As I stood before the door of the Treblinka "bathhouse," I made a new discovery. Earlier, it had seemed to me that I heard sounds of music. I had thought it was a radio loudspeaker which the Germans had installed in order not to be isolated, God forbid, from their Fatherland's *Kultur* out here in the sticks. I was now to learn that their concern for musical culture went even further. Under a tree, about 40 meters from the bathhouse, not far from the path on which the Jews were driven into the "bath," there was a small orchestra consisting of three Jews with yellow patches and three Jewish musicians from Stoczek (who were later joined by another, better musician from Warsaw). There they stood, playing their instruments. I don't know why, but I was particularly impressed by a long reed instrument, a sort of fife or flute. In addition, there was a violin and, I believe, a mandolin. The musicians were standing there and raising a ruckus for all they were worth. They were probably playing the latest hits which were popular with the Germans and Ukrainians, for whom they also used to play at shindigs in the guard stations. The Jews would play while the Gentiles danced.
>
> A musical people, these Ukrainians. On the eve of the anniversary of the outbreak of the war—the night between 31 August and 1 September—the SS-men arranged a musical entertainment for the Jews. The musicians were taken to the roll call square and ordered to play Jewish tunes. Several young Jews were ordered to come forward and start to dance. An elderly Ukrainian corporal directed the show. The Germans thoroughly enjoyed the show; they were clapping and rolling with laughter ...
>
> Later on, when I made more detailed inquiries, I found out that this sort of Jewish open-air concert was held also whenever new transports arrived. No doubt the Jewish tunes merged with the shouts and screams of the Jewish men, women, and children who were being driven into the death bath.
>
> There they would stand and play all the time, the Jewish musicians, near the narrow path along which other Jews ran their last race, opposite the open ditches where tens of thousands of Jews lay in their last sleep. There, they stood and played. They were playing for the right to remain alive a few more weeks. (Krzepicki 1979:106f.)

Music as Entertainment in the Death Camp

As Rajchman observed, music for the camp personnel, e.g. for Karl Pötzinger (whom he however calls "Spezinger"),[12] the deputy commandant in Treblinka, was a pleasurable pastime as well as a method used to control and check the strength of prisoners. After an outbreak of typhoid fever in December 1942, 13 prisoners, still very weak, declared themselves to be healthy; they knew that otherwise the camp staff would kill them—all the other 90 ill prisoners had been shot. The 13 who were still alive were ordered to stand at roll call for an hour and sing. Rajchman ironically reported:

> It is the murderer Karl Spezinger, who is such a music-lover. He likes declamation as well. Our colleague Szpigel, a well-known artist from Warsaw, has to recite and the orchestra accompanies him. After the roll call, the order: *Abtreten! Rechts um!* We have to march on the square. SS-man Gustav,[13] noticing that some of my colleagues move with difficulty, orders them to stand out and gratifies them with a few bullets. [...]. I try to raise my legs as much as I can, and with a song on our lips we are marching—half-dead—to the barracks. (Rajchman 2011:82f.)

Rajchman tried to observe and understand the mechanisms of the killers' psychology: what kind of stimulus incites them to feel satisfied, when do they smile. This analytic approach is evident in the description of tortures inflicted by Kurt Franz. His account of Franz—as Rajchman termed him, the "atrocious murderer"—ordering a dog to attack a prisoner and shouting: "Man, bite this dog!", is accompanied by the following observations:

> It is a beautiful day, the murderers are at their ease, unrestrained. [...] Our chief Matias invites this criminal [Franz] to sit next to him and admire how beautifully the work goes on. He is sitting down and both are observing, with smiles on their faces. They are in a good mood and are happy that the work goes so well. Their hearts are filled with joy that these living cadavers bustle without a halt, in a devilish rhythm. (Rajchman 2011:63)

In March 1943, at the sight of the ditch where a quarter of a million corpses lay and which accidentally caught fire, "all the command came to look at this miracle and watched with joy this gigantic fire. All the blood came to the surface and was burning as a combustible material" (Rajchman 2011:68). By 1 July 1943, when Himmler pays a visit to Treblinka, the traces of mass killings are erased by the brigade called the "bones brigade," who had to find all the remains of bones of the victims; afterwards lupins were sown on the terrain of the former mass graves: "It seems that Himmler is glad. He is smiling and his helpers, who stood a couple of meters further away, are rapturous" (Rajchman 2011:75).

Music was an additional element that enhanced these feelings of satisfaction and well-being. Jankiel Wiernik described the use of music for the Treblinka staff camp as an "amusement" on Sundays. Just as they had a zoo in the camp, they could have "their" musicians and performers:

> In the meantime, "life" ran its "normal" course. There was no end to macabre ideas. The German staff suddenly felt the need for diversion and amusement, since they had no other worries. Accordingly, they organized compulsory theatrical performances, concerts, dance recitals, etc. The "performers" were recruited from among the inmates, who were excused from work for several hours to participate in rehearsals. The "performances" took place on Sundays. They were compulsory, with the audiences consisting of Germans and Ukrainians. Women were forced to sing in choirs, while the orchestra consisted of three musicians who were compelled to play each day at roll call after the whippings. The inmates were forced to sing Jewish songs as they marched off to work. Plans had been made for a new performance and new costumes obtained for it, but the show never took place because of our successful revolt and escape.
>
> While the Germans ate their midday meal, between noon and 1 pm, the Jews had to stand in the yard, in front of the mess hall, and provide music and song. The members of the choir had to work just as hard as the rest of the inmates, but had special hours for singing and performing their music. (Wiernik 1944:36f.)

Thus, music performed by prisoners was to provide entertainment for the camp personnel. Glazar gave the most vivid accounts of music as entertainment in Treblinka and described the moment when the orchestra was enlarged:

> SS-men needed entertainment, the most resourceful of them was "Lalka" [Kurt Franz]. Everybody knew he liked music and when he learned about the famous composer and violinist Artur Gold, who came with one of the last transports from the Warsaw ghetto, [he] chose him and ordered him to create a small orchestra in Treblinka. Musicians were here in profusion: two red-head brothers Schermann (the only siblings in Treblinka), tenor Salwe, small Edek with his accordion and others. Our masters and chiefs brought after their vacation different instruments, trumpets and clarinets among other things. Violins from transports were there already. Even Küttner got scores with German songs and marches. But he was outdone by Franz—he procured percussion from somewhere and ordered everybody to sing with the accompaniment of the band. (Glazar 2011:122f.)

In Sobibor, where Jews were murdered between April 1942 and October 1943, music was even more exploited by the Nazi functionaries as an element of psychological degradation of prisoners. Eda Lichtman, who was herself beaten almost to death by Germans and Ukrainian guards in Sobibor, described in her account the executions of prisoners after attempts to escape or when such plans had been denounced by co-prisoners to the German authorities of the camp. After one such denunciation by Josef Kohn, all the Dutch prisoners, 72 men, were taken on the orders of Gustav Wagner to camp III, where after a few minutes they were executed:

> During all this time we had to stand in a row at attention. The execution lasted maybe half an hour. At this time Frenzel[14] appeared and ordered the Dutch women to sing songs. A series of shots cut the silence, intermingling with the tones of forced songs, which distorted with agony the faces of sisters and wives of victims murdered at the same time. Rashly, Frenzel ordered that planks be arranged, which were to serve as a dance floor. He organized an orchestra and we all had to dance and sing, though our faces were wet from tears, and lips contorted with pain. When the Germans came

back from the execution, their uniforms were spattered with blood. They won over 72 defenseless Jews. (Lichtman in Bem 2010:31f.)[15]

Lichtman also described another humiliating activity that involved music:

One day, after evening roll call (*Appell*), Otto Weiss, the SS-man, gave orders for a long wooden chest to be brought to him. He directed one of the camp inmates to don a black silk *kaftan* and a *shtreimel*, and to lie down full-length in the chest. Weiss dropped the lid and broke into song, "I'm a Jew with a long snout!" Weiss half-opened the chest lid and ordered the prostate man to salute those who had gathered and repeat his words. Then he continued, "Beloved God, hearken to our song, stop up the Jews' voices so that mankind will have relief. Amen!" The SS men sang the song in a chorus. They ordered the "*Hassid*" to sway back and forth as if praying, and made us say "amen" over and over again. They had such a good time.

One day, they took a Jew who had just arrived from the platform. He had black hair and swarthy skin. The SS immediately dubbed him "der Neger" (the Negro). Wagner ordered him to sing. The fellow improvised in Yiddish, looking at the wonderful pine forest that surrounded the camp:

Vi lustig ist de unser lebn,
Man tut unz tsu essen gebn,
Vi lustig ist im grynen vald
Vo ich mich ofhalt ...

[How joyful is our life here
They give us food;
How happy it is for me in the green forest,
Where I am!]

Wagner liked the song. He instructed us to learn it by heart and to sing it after roll call. This "Negro", a cobbler from Kalisz, was a really decent fellow, a soul mate to us all.[16]

Glazar (2011:32f., 63) also described in more detail performances by Izaak Salwe, the tenor and actor brought from the Warsaw Ghetto who sang *Szema Yisrael* for fellow prisoners, and the 14-year-old Edek (only his first name was remembered); Edek played the accordion while Salwe sang *Mayn yiddishe mame*. This music-making was suffused with bitterness and for some prisoners was unbearable. Willenberg (2004:91f.) remembered the Czech song *Ostatnia niedziela* played by a prisoner on harmonica and how another prisoner shouted, telling him to stop. For others music was a way to go back to the past. For the accordionist Edek, who later played an important part in the revolt and died during it, a child whose "sad face with sad eyes is devoid of any childlike feature" and whose parents and siblings were killed immediately after arrival ("They had not played any musical instrument," as Glazar bitterly observed (2011:33)), playing these songs could be at one and the same time torture and perhaps a way to sing memories of his home.

Trying to analyze the type of relations between prisoners and personnel, and the place of music within these relations, Glazar wrote:

> One could use the term "masters and slaves" to describe all bipedal creatures in Treblinka. [...] But it is not that simple in Treblinka. [...] All sing and all are sung of—Germans sing *Heimat, deine Sterne*, Ukrainians *Oy pri luchku, prishirokim poli*, Jews *Shtetele Belz, mayn gelibtes Belz* or *Yidishe mame or Eli, Eli* ... (Glazar 2011:50)

Music seemed to be omnipresent at this horrific site of mass killings and thus was it remembered, especially by Glazar, who mentioned in an interview with Lanzmann that one could not hear any birds singing in Treblinka, but that it was nevertheless filled with sounds: of yelling, of moaning, of crying and with sounds of music.[17]

Music as Part of the Nazi Strategy of Deception

The genocidal system was thought out and organized by the Nazis in a way meant to minimize the costs and effort and to maximize profits. That is why the plundering of the Jews was organized in subsequent stages—from dispossessing them of their houses and apartments, bank accounts, factories, shops, art collections, musicals instruments, and books up to the pillage of their last valuables and belongings, their clothing and their hair just before the moment of their death. Meticulously planned methods of deception constituted an important, sometimes even crucial element of this plan. Musical ensembles in the death camps were often used as part of the strategy. This is confirmed by Rajchman, who juxtaposed information he received with the reality around him when speaking about transports of Jews from Skopje that arrived on 29 and 31 March and 5 April 1943. Those in the transports were completely unaware of what awaited them in Treblinka, and they even brought their furniture:

> The murderers knew however to whom these things will belong—to the *Herrenvolk*. We heard from the workers in Camp I that when the Bulgarian Jews arrived, the orchestra was playing. The Jews were convinced that nothing bad will happen to them. Getting out of the train, they kept asking if it is here, this big plant in Treblinka ... SS-man Karl Spezinger appears and warns us, the "dentists", that we must pay attention very well, because almost every Bulgarian Jew has artificial teeth. [...] A few minutes past four, of the thousands of young, beautiful Bulgarian Jews not even a remembrance is left. (Rajchman 2011:70)

Music as Accompaniment to Torture Outside the Death Camps

The reminiscences of Polish prisoners, such as Pawiak in Warsaw or Montelupi in Cracow, who experienced torture themselves or were witnesses of it, bring an insight into the sphere of persecution in places other than the death camps, namely in the cities. This topic is beyond the scope of this article, and is only mentioned in passing here. Through the windows of Pawiak's home, which was next to the Ghetto wall, prisoners witnessed the murder and torture of Jews, sadistic games played by SS-men Zander, Bürckl, Albert Müller, Brockmann, Frühwirth, Wyppenbeck and others

who made the victims crawl on the hot clinker, or perform different "gymnastic" exercises; some victims were openly murdered by hanging, shooting, strangling or by dogs. A special "game" for the SS-men was boxing (popular also among Sobibor camp staff)—Jews were partly undressed, made to smear themselves with a black paste and ordered to hit each other. If somebody did not hit hard enough, he was whipped. Sometimes the Jewish ghetto orchestra was brought and ordered to play during this "entertainment" (Karzinkin 1964:138).

Radio music was often used during interrogations, and was described in several accounts. Maria Zieleniewska-Ginter, who spent almost a year in Pawiak prison (26 November 1940–15 July 1941) managed to notate some of her experiences in the prison. Alongside persecution and the descriptions of the fate of fellow women prisoners who in several cases were tortured ("her body seemed more like raw animal meat than a human body," 1964:208), executed or sent to Ravensbrück or Auschwitz, she recollected interrogations in Al. Szucha Gestapo prison cellars. While she waited for the interrogation, the radio played dance melodies all day to drown out the sounds of torture. In short breaks between the music one could hear the sounds of beatings, the moans of prisoners and the shouting of Germans from the prison court. She could see a boy who almost fainted as he was made to stand with his hands raised; another had to jump for an hour, while being whipped (1964:209). She also described (1964:212) cases of mental illness among women prisoners, e.g. Jadwiga Litwinowicz, later executed in Ravensbrück (on 29 April 1943), who sang the Polish national anthem and patriotic songs very loudly.

Some witnesses described their experiences in poetic form. These poems and songs were collected by Aleksander Kulisiewicz. Elżbieta Popowska (1887–1965) is the author of the poem *Tramwaje, Aleja Szucha* (Strzelewicz 1984:194f.) that begins with a soundscape description—as the author of the poem, we are the ears: we cannot see, but we can hear. The narrator sits in the place where prisoners waited for the often extremely cruel interrogation in the Gestapo prison. The juxtaposition of contrasting auditory sensations (terrible—lovely) reflects the incoherence of the sounds perceived, leading to a tragic discovery:

Jęki, westchnienia, urwane słowa,	*Moans, sighs, words cut through,*
Twarda, złowroga niemiecka mowa,	*Stiff, menacing German language,*
Krzyk straszny... dusza się wzdryga	*A terrible cry...soul shudders...*
Radio gra cudny „Poranek" Griega	*The radio plays the lovely "Morning" by Grieg....*
Zgrzyty... Coś niby obroty kół,	*Grindings...Something like a rotation of the wheels,*
Ktoś jęczy głucho.... Ktoś pięścią w stół	*Someone lets out hollow groans... Someone's fist on the table*
Wali ze złością... Uderzeń grad...	*Pounding angrily...A hail of blows...*
Krzyki nieludzkie... Boże! mój brat?! ...	*Inhuman scream...God! My brother?!...*

Forced Labor Camps and Music as Torture

Leopold Kozłowski—pianist, composer, conductor, and Klezmer musician born in Przemyślany near Lvov—is the only survivor of the famous Kleinmann family.[18] After the Nazis entered Przemyślany in June 1941, his father was murdered by the German troops. Leopold, his brother (who was a gifted violinist), and their mother were confined to the Przemyślany ghetto from August 1942. After the liquidation of the ghetto, they were prisoners in the *SS- und Polizeiführers* forced labor camp in Jaktorów, where they worked on road construction and also played music. In the camp they were transferred to—the *SS- und Polizeiführers Zwangsarbeitslager* camp in Kurowice—on the order of the camp commandant, *SS-Scharführer* Karl Kempke, Leopold and his brother played music; occasionally, on more "solemn" occasions they were accompanied by two other inmates on the clarinet and double bass. Leopold was also forced to play and tortured during the frequent orgies organized by SS soldiers. He described in an interview given to me in April 2012 a particular case of torture interrelated with music:

> I played after three days of fasting, I was not even allowed to wash myself, so that I could not drink any water, nothing at all.
> I was guarded by a Kapo, by the way, a very decent man, but he had to do it.
> After three days they brought me to the *Lagerführer*. Tables were covered with food, everything was there, because it was after the "hunting." They ate and I was so hungry that my mouth was bubbling as if I put some soap in the saliva.
> I saw the food but I was not allowed to touch anything. Yes, they poured mayonnaise on me, there was some herring they threw in my direction.
> I was allowed to eat only what stayed on my chest, food which fell on the ground was for cats, dogs, not for me.
> I played naked, the accordion was almost heavier than me, so I had to bend. So one of these bandits, these murderers, had this idea and put a candle to anus, he lit it and they were lighting their cigarettes from it.
> And I had to play "Es geht alles vorüber, es geht alles vorbei,
> auf jeden Dezember folgt wieder ein Mai."
> Everything passes, after each December comes May. All is beautiful, all is happy.[19]

Leopold Kozłowski gave the following answer to the fundamental question of the ethical dimension of music and how it was destroyed through music's abuse by the Nazis:

> It was their aim. They did not treat music as music.
> They treated music as—they were happy that they can shoot to the sound of music.
> This was an accompaniment to their murders, to their shootings—and music was in the background.
> For them shootings sounded nice—with music in the background.
> They did not treat music as we did—with a capital M—for them it was a game, a hideous game.
> But in my case it saved my life. Not only mine—Szpilman's too...

The Interrelationship of Torture and Music in a Psychoanalytic Mirror

It is a demanding task to comprehend the reasons for the constant presence of music at the sites of mass killings and its relationship to the torture of prisoners, just as it is difficult to grasp the reality of an extermination site itself. Musical activities normally associated with pleasure and joy, such as singing, were forced upon prisoners immersed in utter despair, clearly for sadistic reasons. To answer the initial questions posed by this article—why was music used as an important element of torture by the Nazis, and how was it intertwined with genocidal actions—it seems that music was considered by the Nazis as the ideal tool for additional psychological torture (see Naliwajek-Mazurek 2012:219f.), torture destined always to induce mechanisms of mind-control.

Forced singing in the concentration camps, especially those which operated in Nazi Germany since 1933, was aimed among other things at the re-education of political prisoners. The functions of songs used there were to humiliate prisoners and to offend their personal beliefs. Songs in the extermination camps on the other hand served only the functions of psychological torture aimed at destroying prisoners' morale, and—more importantly—entertainment for the guards. Observing Franz Suchomel, who sings the Treblinka "anthem" to Claude Lanzmann while unaware that he is being filmed, one cannot help feeling that he not only actually likes the song, but that he is also proud that no Jew remembers this song anymore.

The socio-psychological motivations of the Nazi SS war criminals in using music in connection with torture are undoubtedly also rooted in the sadistic personalities of the perpetrators. Sadism in a broad sense is defined as a "characterological tendency to enjoy hurting others; this is seen in association with 'malignant narcissism,' paranoid personality disorder, antisocial disorder, and in its most macabre form, serial killing" (Akhtar 2009:251). Pleasure is achieved by personally inflicting pain, cruelty, degradation, or humiliation, or by watching such behavior. The link between pleasure derived from victims' suffering is only enhanced by the enjoyment provided by music, while the humiliation of victims by forced singing of offensive and/or satirical texts in the tragic conditions of the death camp augments the pleasurable sensations of the perpetrator even more. Another term, "messianic sadism," recently coined by Salman Akhtar (2007), seems even more appropriate in the ideologically and racially motivated sadism of the Nazi camps and prisons personnel. The psychoanalytical definition reads as follows:

> [C]ruelty towards others that in the internal world of the perpetrator seems morally justified. "Messianic sadism" is a facet of extreme ethnoracial and religious prejudice. As the extreme end of hateful prejudice is approached, the raw aggression of the id begins to flow in the veins of the superego. An idealized self-image and an ego syntonic sadistic ideology begins to rationalize antisocial behavior. Thinking becomes dangerously stilted and all capacity for empathy with others is lost. When such a state of mind receives encouragement from politico-religious exhortations, violence appears to be guilt-free and even 'divinely' sanctioned. Killing others becomes a means of buttressing one's own callous megalomania and also merging with an idealized

> deity or leader who comes to embody an archaic and omnipotent superego. (Akhtar 2009:171)

In the psychopathology of Nazi criminals, torture by music of large groups of prisoners at roll call merged with the process of idealizing this situation as "divinely" sanctioned by the same; the ceremonial-like character of musical performances[20] were a powerful boost to the megalomaniac personalities of camp commandants, whose ambitions were limitless, and whose ranks and careers depended on the effectiveness of their genocidal actions. From their pre-war status of average men they gained the status of a leader, which they could internally compare to their idealized deity—*der Führer*. Glazar recalled what happened when Kurt Franz returned from the vacation appointed deputy commandant, and in the higher rank of *Untersturmführer* (he had earlier left as *Oberscharführer*). Franz shouted: "I want to hear singing here, a powerful choir of all your plucked scalps!" (Glazar 2011:122). This is why the album with horrific photographs from Treblinka found upon Kurt Franz's arrest was entitled "Die schönsten Jahre meines Lebens" ("The Most Beautiful Years"). He was unable to dispose of this precious souvenir even if it was important evidence in his criminal case: it evoked his personal glory years, when the sound of music augmented his personal power.

Notes

1 Operation Reinhard (in German *Aktion Reinhard*) was the code name under which the Nazis realized their plan to murder citizens of European countries occupied by the Third Reich, considered by them as Jews according to the Nuremberg Laws. It took place between October 1941 and November 1943 in the General Government on the territory of occupied Poland. Conceived as the method of *Endlösung der Judenfrage* (Final Solution of the Jewish Question), it was implemented even before the Wannsee conference in January 1942 (see Donat 1979:11). As Michael Thad Allen (2002:248f.) explained, "The operation was twofold. First, Globocnik intended to rid the East once and for all of Jews. Second, he designed the operation to extract all possible remaining wealth from the murdered Jews for transfer to Reich accounts. [...] The total robbed assets from dental gold and other valuables from Operation Reinhard came to between 7 and 23 million Reichsmarks. [...] Total confiscated Jewish assets due to disenfranchisement, insurance fraud, and countless other criminal activities seem to have amounted to something over 400 million Reichsmarks."

2 Later on he used the first name Yehiel and the diminutive Chil. His memoirs—if effectively written around the first half of 1944—were probably lost during the 1944 Warsaw Uprising and the ensuing destruction of the city. After the war, he rewrote them with the help of Yiddish poet and writer Mosze Bomze. The original Yiddish title of his memoirs is *Zichrojnes fun Jechiel Mejer Rajchman (Henryk Romanowski)*. The book was, however, first published in 1998 in Uruguay in Spanish. In 2009 followed the French translation (*Je suis le dernier Juif. Treblinka 1942–43*. Paris: Éditions Les Arènes), with major changes from the original, and the German translation (*Ich bin der letzte Jude: Treblinka 1942*. München: Piper), then in 2010 the Swedish one (*Jag är den sista juden: Treblinka 1942–1943*. Stockholm: Norstedts). In 2011 an English (*Treblinka: A Survivor's Memory, 1942–1943*. London: MacLehose) and a Polish translation were published. Quotations used in this article are however translated by the author of the artic-

le, and are based on the 2011 Polish version (Rajchmann 2011). The footnotes and the epilogue to the Polish translation were provided by Ewa Koźmińska-Frejlak, who tries to establish when exactly Rajchman's memories were written, which is not clear. In her preface, the translator B. Szwarcman-Czarnota points out Rajchman's consistent use of the present tense (which makes readers of his memoirs be immersed in the "here and now" of the author) and his choice of vocabulary to denote oppressors and the oppressed: the staff of Treblinka camp are always called "murderers," "bandits," "criminals;" Jews brought to Treblinka are prevailingly named "victims" (Yiddish "korbanes" from Hebrew "korbanot," which denotes martyrdom).

3 I have quoted here from the Polish edition (Glazar 2011). Other editions have been published in German (1993 *Die Falle mit dem grünen Zaun: Überleben in Treblinka*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag), Czech (1994 *Treblinka, slovo jak z dětské říkanky*. Prague: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny), and English (1995 *Trap with a Green Fence: Survival in Treblin*ka. Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press). In 1997 Glazar committed suicide after his wife Zdenka died.

4 In various testimonies from Treblinka the term "orchestra" is used even though—as E. Koźmińska-Frejlak points out in the footnote to Rajchman's text (Rajchman 2011:24f.)—since October 1942 only two musicians chosen by the Germans (among them Jerzy Rajgrodzki) played during roll call in the *Totenlager* (death camps); after a certain time a third musician joined them. Only from Spring 1943 was there a band which could be termed an "orchestra" in the "lower camp" in Treblinka II, called "ghetto," where 700 to 1500 Jewish prisoners lived; it was composed of circa ten professional musicians from the Warsaw ghetto under direction of Artur Gold and gave performances in special clothes.

5 Heinrich Arthur Matthes (1902–?) had been in the SA from 1934, and later in the NSDAP. He took part in the *Wehrmacht*'s military campaign in Poland and France, and then participated in the Nazi euthanasia program Action T4. In August 1942, he was ordered to Lublin and became *SS-Scharführer* (Sergeant) assigned to Operation Reinhard. In the Treblinka extermination camp he was appointed chief officer commanding Camp II, which consisted of the extermination area and the gas chambers. Matthes himself shot many prisoners, e. g. for not properly cleaning the stretcher used to transport corpses, for drinking some water etc. In autumn 1943, after the Treblinka rebellion, he was transferred to the Sobibor extermination camp. He was later a policeman in Trieste till the end of war. He was sentenced to life imprisonment in the 1965 Düsseldorf trial. Pre-war, war-time and post-war biographies of Nazi criminals responsible for establishment and operation of death camps were tracked down only recently by Ernst Klee (2007; as well as earlier and subsequent editions).

6 "One of the Germans, a man named Sepp, was a vile and savage beast, who took special delight in torturing children. When he pushed women around and they begged him to stop because they had children with them, he would frequently snatch a child from the woman's arms and either tear the child in half or grab it by the legs, smash its head against a wall and throw the body away. Such incidents were by no means isolated. Tragic scenes of this kind occurred all the time." "Suddenly, I saw a live, nude woman in the distance. She was entirely nude; she was young and beautiful, but there was a demented look in her eyes. She was saying something to us, but we could not understand what she was saying and could not help her. She had wrapped herself in a bed sheet under which she was hiding a little child, and she was frantically looking for shelter. Just then one of the Germans saw her, ordered her to get into a ditch and shot her and the child. It was the first shooting I had ever seen." (Wiernik 1944:10).

7 Kurt Franz (1914–1998) worked at the Buchenwald camp from 1939, when the former Treblinka commandant Franz Franz Paul Stangl (1908–1971) and most of the Treblinka German personnel took part in the euthanasia Aktion T4. Since April 1942 he was the commandant of

the death camp in Bełżec. Four months later he was appointed deputy commandant of Treblinka camp. Nickhamed "Lalka" ("Doll") by the prisoners because of his appearance, his favorite pastime was to mutilate prisoners by ordering his dog Barry to bite their genitals. He was sentenced to life imprisonment in the Düsseldorf Treblinka trail in 1965 and released for health reasons in 1993.

8 I extend my thanks to Bret Werb, music curator at the United States Memorial Holocaust Museum, who provided me with this information.

9 Since March 1941 *SS-Unterscharführer* (Corporal) Franz Suchomel (1907–1979), like most of the German Treblinka staff, had taken part in Action T4 as a photographer at the Hadamar Euthanasia Centre in Berlin, taking photographs of euthanasia victims before their death. Suchomel was a good singer. After 1949, he worked as tailor, played in five amateur orchestras and sang in the Catholic church choir in Altötting, Bavaria, where he lived. He was sentenced to six years in prison in 1965 (Klee 2007:615). In a (secretly recorded) interview with Claude Lanzmann, he not only stated that Franz wrote the words of the "anthem," but also sang it (in B-major). Ending the song with a glad smile, he added proudly, pointing his finger forward: "Sind Sie zufrieden?"—"Are you satisfied? This is unique. No Jews know it today anymore!" He seems however slightly embarrassed after thus disclosing his true sentiments. Earlier on he asked Claude Lanzmann: "You want history? Here you have history." The interviews by Claude Lanzmann are part of the Claude Lanzmann Shoah Collection and in part available at the United States Memorial Holocaust Museum website. The interview with Franz Suchomel is also available on youtube.

10 Translation by M. J. Grant and Cornelia Nuxoll.

11 Drafted into the Polish Army in 1939, and taken prisoner by the Germans, he then lived in Warsaw. On 25 August 1943 he was deported to Treblinka from *Umschlagplatz* (a point in the Warsaw ghetto where people were gathered for transportation to extermination camps). After his escape he returned to the Warsaw ghetto, joined the Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa (Jewish Fighting Organization), was a member of the Hanoar-Hatzioni group headed by Jacob Praszker, and was killed in the ghetto uprising in April 1943. His testimony was written between December 1942 and January 1943 for the ghetto underground archives organized by the historian Emanuel Ringelblum. The manuscript in Yiddish, buried in the ruins of the ghetto, was recovered in 1950. The manuscript is preserved at the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw. It appeared in 1956 "Bleter far Geshikhte," vol. XI, published in Warsaw. I have quoted here from the English version, Krzepicki 1979:106f.

12 Karl Pötzinger (1908–1944), SA member, took part in the euthanasia program in Brandenburg and Bernburg. He was transferred to Treblinka; as *SS-Scharführer* he was Matthes' deputy, supervised the gas chambers, and later was transferred to Sobibor and then to Italy.

13 Probably Gustav Münzberger (1903–1977), since 1938 member of the SS, since 1940 of the NSDAP. From 1940 he participated in the T4 Action of euthanasia in Sonnenstein. As *Unterscharführer* he was made a member of the Treblinka staff from September 1942 to November 1943. Sentenced in Düsseldorf in 1965 to 12 years in prison, he was released already in 1971. Münzberger earlier beat Rajchman almost to death for not noticing that one corpse's mouth was full of teeth. As Rajchman (2011:56) reported: "This time I received some seventy strokes. He beat me on my back with all his strength, almost all the time on the same spot. He nearly broke my vertebral column. When I got up with great difficulty, blood guttered in streams all over my body, dripping to my trousers." His life was eventually saved by a fellow prisoner, the medical doctor Cymerman, who cleaned his inflamed wound.

14 Karl Frenzel (1911–1996) was commandant of Camp I (forced labor camp) at Sobibor. One of the most brutal members of the staff camp, he often whipped prisoners. He was arrested by the

US Army, but released; he then worked in Frankfurt. He was sentenced in 1966 to life imprisonment. In 1982, he was released on appeal. Sentenced to life imprisonment again in 1985, he was eventually released due to his physical condition and spent the last decade of his life in a retirement home near Hanover. For more detailed information see Klee:2007.

15 Eda Lichtman's account was given in Polish in Holon, Israel, in May 1959. I have quoted here from Bem 2001. Original source: Archiv Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustitzverwaltungen Ludwigsburg, sign. 208AR-Z/251/59, copy in the collection of Muzeum Pojezierza Łęczyńskiego-Włodawskiego, which holds the memorial for the Sobibor camp.

16 Source of the English version of this section of the testimony: www.zchor.org, accessed 28 February 2013. The testimony of Eda Lichtman was also given at the Sobobor trial in Hagen, West Germany (1965), and completed by Miriam Novitch at the Ghetto Fighters' House Museum in Israel. Thanks to the shared initiative of Judy Cohen and Ada Holtzman, the testimony was translated from Hebrew to English in January 2005 and was edited by Ada Holtzman.

17 Richard Glazar interviewed by Claude Lanzmann. The Claude Lanzmann Shoah Collection available at the United States Memorial Holocaust Museum website.

18 He is the grandson of Pesach Brandwein, who together with his sons ran Galicia's most renowned klezmer orchestra. The band played for Marshal Józef Piłsudski and Emperor Franz Joseph among others. Kozłowski's father, Hermann Kleinman, was also an eminent violinist and ran his own klezmer orchestra. Leopold studied piano at the Lvov Conservatoire with composer Tadeusz Majerski. With the help of Tadeusz Klimko, a Polish partisan fighter from Lvov, Leopold and his brother escaped from the camp. Their mother was murdered in Kurowice camp. Later his brother was cruelly murdered by the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army). His biography was written by Jacek Cygan. See Cygan, Jacek 2010 *Klezmer. Opowieść o życiu Leopolda Kozłowskiego-Kleinmana [Klezmer. A Tale of the Life of Leopold Kozłowski-Kleinman]*. Cracow–Budapest: Austeria Publishing House.

19 I would like to address my warmest thanks to Leopold Kozłowski for his kindness and his generosity in agreeing to let me record this interview.

20 For a discussion of links between music and the ideology of Nazi officials, see Naliwajek-Mazurek 2012:223f.

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Music and Torture in Chilean Detention Centers: Conversations with an Ex-Agent of Pinochet's Secret Police

Katia Chornik

Abstract

On seizing power on 11 September 1973, General Augusto Pinochet established over a thousand detention centers, from the Atacama Desert to the Magellan Strait. Tens of thousands of prisoners were held in these centers, without recourse to fair trials and lacking elementary judicial guarantees. Most inmates were subjected to serious abuse through physical and psychological torture; many were killed, their bodies "disappeared." Despite the regime of terror, precarious living conditions and censorship, prisoners developed diverse musical activities on their own initiative, including composition, performance and teaching. Pinochet's system also used music to indoctrinate detainees and as a form of and soundtrack to torture. Evidence of the above is fragmented and little known, and has been largely overlooked by critics. This article documents and contextualizes the testimony of a former agent of Pinochet's secret police recently interviewed by the author, discussing the musical landscape of various detention and torture centers in Santiago and the provinces, including Chacabuco, Londres 38, Villa Grimaldi, Tejas Verdes, Irán 3037 (aka La Discothéque) and José Domingo Cañas 1305. To the present day, this is the most detailed account specifically dealing with forced musical activities in captivity during the Pinochet regime, but also the only one coming from a Chilean ex-agent.

In 1998 the British Metropolitan Police arrested General Pinochet in London after an international warrant was issued for extradition to Spain, indicting him for human rights violations committed during his dictatorship (1973–1990). Pinochet was eventually released by the British government on the grounds of ill health. Back in Chile, he was charged with a number of offenses and placed under house arrest, yet he never faced the courts or was convicted of any crime. Among his regime's measures was the imprisonment of circa 40,000 political prisoners in 1,132 centers throughout the country (Comisión Presidencial 2011/1:301), without recourse to fair trials and

lacking elementary judicial guarantees. Most inmates were subjected to gruesome physical and psychological torture, thousands were killed or "disappeared."[1]

Despite the regime of terror, precarious living conditions and censorship, inmates developed diverse musical activities on their own initiative, evidence of which is fragmented and little known, and has been largely overlooked by critics.[2] Evidence of music in relation to punishment and torture is even scarcer. Although the report of the National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture (Comisión Presidencial 2011/1, aka Valech Report) mentions music being used by agents in various torture centers, it does not contain details about its practices, repertoire and effects. It has been very difficult to compile a repertoire and explore in depth how music was experienced by the inmates under these circumstances: my perception is that victims are far more open to discussing musical activities they initiated. In December 2012, I distributed an email call through networks of survivors of Villa Grimaldi, Estadio Nacional, Cuatro Álamos and José Domingo Cañas 1367 (Santiago), asking for information about compulsory singing and music during interrogation and torture. I received circa 20 replies dealing with music in captivity, of which only four referred to the specific question asked. Former prisoners reported being obliged to sing the national anthem, "Orden y Patria Es Nuestro Lema" and "La Novia Va Prendida en el Avión," and having sung or listened to, during torture, songs by Julio Iglesias, Edith Piaf's "La Vie en Rose," George Harrison's "My Sweet Lord," Félix Luna's "Alfonsina y el Mar," Nino Bravo's "Libre" and Wendy Carlos's soundtrack to Kubrick's film *A Clockwork Orange*.

As someone whose parents suffered political imprisonment and torture under Pinochet, my tendency has been to consider the topic from the point of view of prisoners only. It is now my belief that research on perpetrators allows the possibility of constructing a stronger case against torture and in defense of human rights. With this view, on 26 and 28 December 2012 I interviewed an ex-agent of Pinochet's secret police; for ethical reasons, I will not call him by his real name but by the pseudonym of González. González was doing his military service when Pinochet came to power on 11 September 1973, overthrowing the government of Salvador Allende which represented the coalition of left-wing parties Unidad Popular (Popular Unity). After the coup, González was sent to the Atacama Desert to work at Chacabuco concentration camp and later became a member of Pinochet's secret police, the Dirección Nacional de Inteligencia (DINA—National Intelligence Directorate). As a DINA agent with the rank of *Suboficial* (Warrant Officer), he operated primarily in two notorious torture centers in Santiago, Villa Grimaldi (aka Cuartel Terranova) and Londres 38 (London Street). González also worked at the DINA headquarters Rinconada de Maipú (Santiago) and centers Tejas Verdes and Rocas de Santo Domingo (Valparaíso region). In addition, he had contact with personnel from four other Santiago centers—Irán 3037 (aka Venda Sexy and La Discothéque), José Domingo Cañas 1305, Cuatro Álamos and Marcoleta 90—as well as with Colonia Dignidad (Maule region in the south), a German sect led by the Paul Schäffer, a former colonel of Hitler's army. In 1975 González deserted the DINA and fled to Germany, where he lived for

over a decade. He has given evidence for the Rettig and Valech Truth Commissions, and for various criminal court cases in Chile and Europe, in some cases on a voluntary basis. González is one of the 98 former DINA personnel prosecuted in relation to the so-called *Operación Colombo* (part of the multi-national operation *Caravana de la Muerte*), which resulted in the killing and disappearance of 119 opponents (it was the *Operación Colombo* that stripped Pinochet of his parliamentary immunity). Although González is not currently imprisoned in relation to this case, he has to report to the Chilean Supreme Court on a monthly basis.

The present contribution documents and contextualizes González's testimony. With the purpose of keeping the focus on the relationship between music, punishment and torture, and protecting the identity of the interviewee, I have summarized and omitted substantial sections of his oral account, which is circa four hours long. When interviewing González, I used biographical-interpretive techniques developed by Hollway and Jefferson (2000), eliciting stories and avoiding closed and "why" questions. I felt it was inappropriate to tackle issues of personal responsibility and purposely did not pursue questions that he answered with "I don't know" (e.g. "how did music played during torture sessions impact on prisoners and agents?" and "what do you think were the motives for choosing you for the DINA?"), or that he ignored (e.g. "was it your experience in Villa Grimaldi that made you take the decision to leave the DINA?").

An in-depth analysis of this material will follow at a later stage, once I have conducted further interviews that will allow me to fill in gaps in the former agent's account and gain a deeper understanding of the way jailers used and abused music. To test possible overlapping of inmates' and jailers' musical experiences, I asked six ex-prisoners, who were in Chacabuco, Villa Grimaldi and José Domingo Cañas 1305 and have a strong musical background, to confirm if they had been obliged to sing, or listen to any of the pieces mentioned by González during torture sessions. All ex-inmates firmly denied they had come across these pieces while they were detained. On the other hand, former detainees mentioned a number of songs that González did not recall in his account. These discrepancies, which I will examine in a future study, may be due to prisoners being held at various times and dealt with by different staff.

González's Testimony

González was born in La Serena, northern Chile, in 1954. He moved to Santiago with his family aged six. Once he finished school, he entered the Army:

> The military service was compulsory and people who did it were from the middle classes.[3] So I had to do it. Before joining the Army, I was part of a movement called FER [Frente de Estudiantes Revolucionarios—Revolutionary Students Front]: all students were revolutionized, we were all into that. But in the Army I kept away from this as I was not studying. At that time I liked the music of Inti-Illimani, which was very popular, and Quilapayún.

González's involvement with the FER is significant, for this movement was associated with the radical *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria* (MIR—Revolutionary Left Movement), many members of which were imprisoned, killed and "disappeared" in DINA centers.[4] That González liked Inti-Illimani and Quilapayún, two key bands of the movement *Nueva Canción Chilena* (Chilean New Song), further suggests that his political views (at least until he joined the Army) were closer to those of the prisoners than the ideology promoted by the regime: *Nueva Canción* artists were committed to social reforms and played an active role in Allende's campaign.[5]

González went on:

> As a squaddie I was sent to Calama [ca. 1,600 kilometers north of Santiago], where I had to do the *Juramento a la Bandera* [Oath to the Flag] that all soldiers do to defend the Homeland against any aggression. That was on 7 or 8 July 1973. Then I came to Santiago and stayed longer than I was supposed to. I was already a deserter. Then there was the *Tanquetazo*[6] [The Tank Putsch], before the coup that overthrew Allende.

When he reported to the military quarters in Calama, he was arrested and on the following day was sent to Canteras de Toconao (Quarries of Toconao) in the Atacama Desert (ca. 1,400 kilometers north of Santiago), which he described as "very cold, really freezing." He soon learned about Pinochet's coup on the military radio: "we hear they are bombing La Moneda [the Presidential Palace] and shanty towns. As the Army is always at war with the Peruvians and Bolivians, we thought it was the war." He described the negative effects of the coup only in personal and economic terms:

> The coup marked me. It was pure horror. We did not have anything to eat and went out to steal. We robbed trains. Our bosses knew about this and turned a blind eye to it. The Army was extremely poor, we did not even have shoes. They only gave us a kilo of beans, lentils or chickpeas a month. When trucks transporting meat from Argentina passed, we stopped them and took some meat. We stole in our uniforms. We were indigent, the punished ones of the Army.

González was transferred to the former mining town of Chacabuco (Atacama Desert), where he planted explosives outside the camp before prisoners arrived. Chacabuco was one of the largest camps in the country, extending to 36 hectares. Guard duty rotated between personnel from the Army, Air Force and Carabineros (Chilean police). Prisoners were routinely threatened and tortured, forced to do military training and spend long hours in the open, suffering the intense climatic conditions of the desert. The camp gradually began to empty out from July 1974, with prisoners being transferred to different camps in Santiago and Valparaíso region (Comisión Presidencial 2011/1:324f.).

González recalled that prisoners "arrived in Chacabuco in a batch, all singing the national anthem."[7] They would get up at dawn with the *toque de diana* (cornet call) played by guards called "*estafeta*." Every morning, detainees had to sing the national anthem and perform the *Juramento a la Bandera*, and every evening, to sing the anthem again as well as military marches. "Prisoners sang these songs not because it sprang from them but because they were obliged to. I think the aim was to push them

to breaking point." Nervously laughing, he added: "yes, that was the aim. I think this now, having visited Nazi concentration camps in Germany. There they made prisoners sing to re-educate them." Soldiers working in Chacabuco were also required to sing the anthem and marches: "we all had to sing, to imbue patriotism and love for the Homeland." The most often performed marches were:

- "Los Viejos Estandartes" ("The Old Banners"), lyrics by Jorge Inostroza and music by Willy Bascuñán, member of the vocal quartet Los Cuatro Cuartos. The march honors General Manuel Baquedano, hero of the War of the Pacific. It was popularized through the album *¡Al 7° de Línea!* (1966) by Los Cuatro Cuartos. Since 1975, it has been the official anthem of the Chilean Army.
- "Adiós al Séptimo de Línea" ("Farewell to the Seventh of Row"), composed by Gumercindo Ipinza and Luis Mancilla in 1877 as a homage to the military regiment of Carampangue. To the present day, the anthem is always performed during events commemorating the War of the Pacific.
- "Las Glorias del Ejército" ("The Glories of the Army"), brought from Prussia by Captain Emil Körner, who in 1885 settled in the country as Chief of the Prussian Military Mission, and subsequently modernized the Chilean Army and founded the Chilean War Academy.
- "El Himno de Yungay" ("The Anthem of Yungay"), composed by José Zapiola and Ramón Rengifo in 1839, in honor of the victory over the Peru-Bolivia Confederation in the Battle of Yungay during the War of the Pacific.
- "Lili Marlene," lyrics written in 1915 by Hans Leip and music composed in 1939 by Norbert Schultze. The song expresses the anguish of separation of a WWI soldier from his sweetheart. During WWII, the song was played frequently and became popular among both Axis and Allied troops. It has been translated into 48 languages and features in military parades worldwide.

González mentioned he heard prisoners singing many songs by Violeta Parra, especially "La Jardinera" ("The Woman Gardener"), "El Casamiento de Negros" ("Wedding of Blacks"), "Run Run Se Fue Pal Norte" ("Run Run Left for the North") and "La Paloma Ausente" ("The Absent Dove"). He did not expand on the details or significance of Parra's music as being sung by the inmates; however, he highlighted that he never heard them attempting her song "La Carta" ("The Letter"), which explicitly deals with imprisonment, social inequality and absence of freedom of opinion and speech.[8]

After Chacabuco, González was sent to the military camp Tejas Verdes, where he became a DINA member:

> It must be September 15 or 20 when the Captain, with all his medals, arrives [to Chacabuco]. He tells us to get ready, showered and shaved. "We are going to the war," we said. When we arrived at the regiment [in Tejas Verdes], the soldiers looked strange. Silence. We did not know what was happening. Then I see some *gringos*. But now I know they were Germans, because now I know the language. To me they were all *gringos*, all handsome. They were dressed in the uniform of the Chilean Army. Then the Colonel tells us that among the entire Army we are the chosen ones to defeat Marxism. We have to sign a piece of paper that said "PMNP," that is "Puras Mentiras

> No Pregunte" ["Only Lies, Don't Ask"]. He asks us if we know what we signed. We tell him we do not. He says we are now in the DINA. We did not know what the DINA did as it did not exist before. We were 600 people from all over the country. Then it started.[9]

He recalled that prisoners in Tejas Verdes had to sing the national anthem every morning and afternoon. In the afternoon they also had to sing anthems from various military regiments, evoking traditional values and heroism. González was then sent to the DINA training center in Las Rocas de Santo Domingo (Valparaíso region), where he took an intelligence course for two months. From January to March or April 1974, González operated in the centers on London Street (known to DINA personnel as Londres 90) and Marcoleta 90 in Santiago, sleeping at the headquarters in Rinconada Maipú every night. González did not recall hearing any kind of music in the Londres torture chamber, contradicting the Valech Report (Comisión Presidencial 2011/1:529), according to which detainees in this center "estaban expuestos a ruidos molestos durante la noche para impedirles dormir, especialmente música a todo volumen" ("were exposed to unpleasant noises during the night, especially music at full volume.").

From April 1974 González began working in Villa Grimaldi (known to DINA personnel as Cuartel Terranova), which became the headquarters and operational center of the Brigada de Inteligencia Militar (BIM—Metropolitan Intelligence Brigade): "Before the coup Villa Grimaldi functioned as a disco for the privileged classes. I was one of the first ones to go inside. We went to clean up empty bottles of wine and expensive liquors that were not common in Chile." Villa Grimaldi is located on the outskirts of Santiago, in the borough of La Reina, and occupies a surface of 10,200 square meters. An estimated 5,000 people were imprisoned and tortured there. The most common torture method was known as "*parrilla*" ("barbeque"), whereby naked prisoners were tied to a metal bunk bed and subjected to electric shocks. Other common methods included hanging (often aggravated by electric shocks, beatings and cuts); submerging detainees' heads in containers of dirty water or some other liquid, or placing their heads in plastic bags, almost until the point of asphyxiation; and raping of women, including those who were pregnant. Prisoners were held at the so-called Corvi Houses and Chile Houses (nicknamed after social housing built by previous governments) and at the Tower. Corvi Houses were small structures of 80x80 centimeters used for breaking down individual prisoners. Chile Houses measured 1 x 2 meters and accommodated five prisoners undergoing interrogation and torture. The Tower was a six-meter water tank with tiny cubicles to keep prisoners in total isolation (Comisión Presidencial 2011/1:531f.).[10]

González recalled that among his duties as a DINA employee were the guarding, maintaining and cleaning of the cartel, and registering new detainees who

> [...] arrived 24 hours a day, blindfolded. Some came from other DINA centers. We gave each a number, and this was our way to identify them. I would not know what number we reached. I had to write down what happened during the day, anything that was unusual. Later an officer would come, read the book and sign it. Then one could

> leave. If the officer found something wrong, one had to stay. In a normal day I would start at 8 am and would finish by 6.30 or 7 pm. That was the routine every day, unless a General came, in which case one had to stay longer. General Contreras came several times a year. Prisoners were locked up all day. There were some who stayed for six months, a year, and then they were sent to other centers like Cuatro Álamos. I mounted guard in the Tower, where torture was inflicted all day and night.

González did not dwell on the subject of torture, however he mentioned a medic nicknamed Doctor Mortis, who "was bad: people said he hypnotized. With some prisoners he used Pentothal."[11] He mentioned a type of torture whereby prisoners were made to lie down on the grass so that agents could drive a van over their legs. He also recalled the hitting and subsequent killing of a soldier, which he was obliged to watch. When I asked him about sexual torture, he bluntly replied: "there was not any. They just raped women or simply tortured them. One New Year's Eve they were on their own and raped them."

In Villa Grimaldi, recalled González, agents often listened to the "*lora*" ("radio" in DINA slang, literally "female parrot"). He remembered hearing Radio Cooperativa and Radio Nacional de Chile, especially the program "*el Hocicón*" ("the Big-Mouthed") from the latter station, which played Mexican music, mostly *rancheras*, a genre dating from the Mexican Revolution (early twentieth century). (Radio Nacional was the official radio station of the Pinochet regime and broadcast numerous political speeches; interestingly, González did not remember listening to these.) He added:

> We had our own radio to communicate. The radio operator was an agent called Michel Troncoso (alias) who liked singing in French. He always sang the same song: "Aline" [1965, a ballade by French songwriter Christophe], which was in fashion. He would always carry his guitar, he liked music very much. He sang all the time, even in front of prisoners. There was another agent who liked playing the songs "La Vaca Blanca" ("The White Cow") and "La Loca María" ("Crazy Maria") on LP. At that time, people went to *quintas de recreo* [popular premises with food, drink, music and dance], where that kind of music was played. "La Vaca Blanca" is about a cow looking for a husband. She goes to a party with a bull from the high society. And "La Loca María" is about a perfidious woman looking for a boyfriend. Typical...They played these songs every day and all the time because people liked them. Everybody liked them. Even the guards were singing them. The agent in charge would choose the record that would be played during torture sessions. Officers had a different taste; they didn't like music like "La Vaca Blanca" and "La Loca María." They liked classical music, they were more educated.

On being asked whether he liked "La Vaca Blanca" and "La Loca María," he replied ambiguously: "well, that is what people listened to." He could not remember who wrote or recorded these songs. Following his description above, I identified a *cumbia* (a dance genre originating in Colombia and Panama) called "La Vaca Blanca," by the Peruvian group Los Girasoles, who were active in the 1960s and 70s. It goes like this:

Yo tenía una vaca blanca
que se llamaba Piedad
estaba comprometida
porque ella era de sociedad.
Ella me pidió permiso
pa' contraer matrimonio
con un torito pintado
que lo llamaban Antonio.
Mi vaca blanca se me fugó
ese torito se la llevó
el sinvergüenza se la raptó
mi pobre vaca cuanto sufrió.
Y yo le negué el permiso
pa' contraer matrimonio
porque la gente decía
que ese toro es un demonio.

I had a white cow
that was called Piedad
she was engaged
because she was from the high society.
She asked me permission
to get married to
a suitable little bull
they called Antonio.
My white cow ran away
that little bull took her away
that swine kidnapped her
how much my poor cow suffered.
And I did not give her permission
to get married
because people said
that bull is a devil

I have been unable to establish whether it was Los Girasoles' recording that circulated in Chile: DINA agents could have played one of the many covers of this song. A possible contender is the version by the Chilean tropical band Los Vinkings 5. Another candidate is the version by the band Los de Colombia, especially as it was released on the same LP as "La Loca María," also a *cumbia*:[12]

A la vuelta de mi casa
vive la loca María
es una loca elegante
es una loca traviesa
se la pasa todo el día
haciendo de motoneta.
Loca María
Loca María

Loca María
Loca María, adiós mi amor.
Cuando los muchachos
le gritan adiós mi amor
adiós mi loca querida
adiós loca consentida
y ella con suave sonrisa
se pone que es furor.

Round the corner from my house
lives crazy Maria
she is an elegant crazy woman
she is a naughty crazy woman
she spends the whole day
looking for a ride.
Crazy Maria
crazy Maria
crazy Maria
crazy Maria, goodbye my love.
When boys
shout to her goodbye my love
goodbye my dear crazy woman
goodbye spoilt crazy woman
and she, with a soft smile
becomes a fury.

González did not report any compulsory singing in the Villa. He recalled that prisoners "did not do anything on their own initiative. They were locked up all day and had nothing to do. That they would do something creative? No, nothing, nothing. In Chacabuco they did but that was because they had a guide who was from the Army." This statement is certainly contestable: within the tight limitations imposed by the regime, people in different levels of imprisonment managed to pursue a wide range of creative activities by themselves.[13] Later, González did remember prisoners singing on their initiative:

> On Saturdays, Sundays and Bank Holidays we [DINA personnel excluding the commander and officers] were on our own. It was very quiet and we were the authorities. In the summer of 1974 the swimming pool was filled with water. We would swim during the day and opened the door to the prisoners so they could swim at night, to have fun. They would sit on a bench near the pool and in the afternoon would sing songs from the Mexican Revolution, corridos, "El negro José," songs by Víctor Jara like "Juan sin Tierra" and "Joaquín Murieta."[14] I remember they sang "Un Millón de Amigos" ["A Million Friends"] by Roberto Carlos [Brazilian pop composer and singer], which deals with kindness, with humility. The lyrics would leave you a message.

On being asked about the torture house Irán 3037 (Santiago), González explained that he was not based there but often went to deliver food to the "*paquetes*" ("packages," that is "prisoners" in DINA slang). He had to collect the food from the Diego

Portales building, seat of Pinochet's executive power (1973–1981) and legislative power (1973–1990). The house on Irán Street was known as La Venda Sexy due to prisoners remaining blindfolded while they were being regularly subjected to sexual abuse (see Comisión Presidencial 2011/1:529f.). The house was also known as La Discothéque because recorded music was played constantly. González explained from where they obtained equipment and records:

> For example, today I would break into your house and take all that you had, including record players and LPs. Then we would play your music, whatever you had, and what music was featured? Whatever was in fashion, whatever was played on the radio. As simple as that. That happened in Villa Grimaldi too, but not in Londres 38. The agents themselves nicknamed it La Discothéque. They had broken into the house of someone who had a big loudspeaker. They took the equipment and set it up in the room that was used for torture, on the first floor. It was so loud, so very loud. They would put music on to cover the screams of the prisoners, so people walking down the street would not think they were torturing. It was on all day long, at least the times when I went there. That would not have been called sonic torture and I do not know what the prisoners may have thought or felt about it. One could often hear recordings of "La Vaca Blanca," "La Loca María," "La Gallina de los Huevos de Oro" ["The Hen of the Golden Eggs"], Ramón Aguilera, Sandro (especially the song "Rosa, Rosa") and Leonardo Favio.[15]

González mentioned he would also deliver food to the torture house José Domingo Cañas 1305, known to DINA personnel as Ollahue. In this center, inmates were kept blindfolded, tied up and chained, deprived of food, water and sleep. Common methods of torture included punches, electric shocks, rapes, mock executions, asphyxia and burns (Comisión Presidencial 2011/1:530f.). González recalled that

> [...] in Ollahue they also played recorded music so that the screams of tortured prisoners would not be heard. There they played a *cueca* from an LP every day.[16] I do not remember which one but it was always the same. They broke into someone's house searching for Marxist literature. As they took everything away, they took the record. People were singing along to it. They also had a "*lora*" ["radio"], which was always on.

As part of his duties, González took a prisoner from the DINA-operated center Cuatro Álamo (Santiago) to Colonia Dignidad (Maule region), and handed him over to the German settlers. He recalled having a superb meal in the company of the top officers including Paul Schäffer. He learnt that the prisoner was dead when Paul Schäffer "made a gesture with his hands and said '*fertig*' ['done (with)']. From then onwards I never forgot that word."

González left the DINA in 1975, "without any explanation, just like this." He fled Chile and settled in Germany, living in Koblenz (a village near the River Rhine) and later in Hamburg. He became involved with Amnesty International's campaign to raise awareness of Colonia Dignidad:

> One day, while walking, I saw a stall of Amnesty International. There was a British woman giving people information about what had happened in Chile. I told the *gringa*: "I was there." She asked for my number and address. They sent me a telegram and then a priest visited me. I told them the story but they did not believe me much

> because they thought I was an agent, an infiltrator. But finally I started giving names of prisoners I knew and in this way they trusted me.

Living in Germany allowed González to generate connections between Nazi concentration camps and his own past as a DINA agent:

> 60 kilometers from Hamburg there is a Nazi concentration camp. I did not want to go in, I was scared. But one day I went to Dachau and did go in. Not to remember the past, that would have been masochist. I went with a German friend, with whom I had a son. Then I went to almost all other Nazi camps. Chilean camps were bad, bad, but not as bad as the Nazi ones. They were in "Chilean style."

According to him, a key difference between Nazi and DINA centers was that in the latter, orders were not carried out. "Not even the orders of General Manuel Contreras [the founder and Director of the DINA]?" I asked. "Ehhh, well, no, no. Because there were lots of people who I put on the lists to kill and were declared dead, but they are still alive. They were in the Tower of Villa Grimaldi, which was the place to kill people. No, Chilean centers were not like Nazis camps. It was not like we had a... What was the name of the musician adored by Hitler?" Here González was not counting the thousands who did get killed or "disappeared," following the regime's policy of eradicating political opponents. Interestingly, he drew connections with Wagner, even though he could not remember his name, to dismiss a comparison with Nazi camps.

Conclusion

It is a remarkable fact that González, having participated in the setting up and running of some of the most significant torture and concentration centers of Pinochet's regime, and having been indicted for a notorious case of human rights violations, was so open to talk about his past. His recurrent use of the present tense suggests his experience as a DINA agent remains vivid to him. His mixing of the first and third person (e.g. in his description of the raids in which DINA personnel obtained the records that were subsequently played during torture sessions), makes it unclear whether he took on the role of a witness or participant (or both) in episodes involving violence. Whatever his position(s) might have been, and bearing in mind that he spent most of the interview not talking about music (suggesting music had not been particularly relevant to him in general and during his time in detention centers), his references to forced singing and music as a soundtrack to torture are not only the most detailed to the present day but also the only ones coming from a former agent. As mentioned earlier, this article only provides the first reading of González's account. For a fuller discussion of the system's uses and abuses of music, more interviews with former prisoners and agents will need to be conducted. Possible threads to follow are the repertoire, practices and effects of music constantly played as a background to and as a form of torture in centers such as Londres 38, La Disco-

théque and La Casa de la Música (Concepción), and possible links with CIA interrogation and torture techniques that incorporate sound and music.

Notes

1 According to the first list of victims of the National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture, aka Valech Commission (Comisión Presidencial 2003), 27,153 adults and 102 minors were imprisoned and tortured during the Pinochet regime. A second list (Comisión Presidencial 2011/2) added 9,795 prisoners, bringing the total of victims officially recognized by the State to circa 40,000. Both the Valech lists and its full report are found on http://www.indh.cl/informacion-comision-valech, accessed 30 January 2013. See also the second of the three-volume Report of the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission, aka Rettig Commission (Comisión Nacional 1991). English translations of excerpts of the Rettig Report relating to some of the main detention centers are found on http://www.derechoschile.com/eng lish/stgo.htm, accessed 12 February 2013. All translations in this article are mine.

2 I was the first to study music in captivity during the Pinochet regime. See my BBC radio series and online project "Canto Cautivo" (Chornik 2005). Montealegre's (2010) comparative study of Chacabuco concentration camp (Chile) and Punta de Rieles prison (Uruguay) has a section on prisoners' creative activities (252–359), which discusses crafts, visual arts, theater, literature and music; the chapters on music analyze the testimonies I previously collected, adding significant new information. Recent musicological studies dealing with the Pinochet era, but not specific to captivity, include Jordán (2009), on the relationship between pirate recordings and underground political activity, and Party (2010), on apolitical music genres and the role of movements like *Nueva Canción Chilena* (New Chilean Song) beyond political agendas. Bauer (2009) discusses her music therapy work with survivors of Colonia Dignidad but does not examine the musical effects of the tight collaboration between this organization and Pinochet's secret police. There is significant literary research dealing with captivity under Pinochet, including Lazzara (2006, 2011), on post-dictatorship narratives, memorial sites and visual art representing traumatic memories, and Peris (2005, 2008), on political uses of testimonial literature during the post-dictatorship. The present article is a pilot for a three-year project I am currently developing, which will deal with musical experiences in Pinochet's torture chambers and concentration camps from the perspective of both prisoners and jailers, and with contemporary musical initiatives commemorating violence under dictatorship.

3 González may also be referring here to low-income classes. Wealthy people could "buy" their way out of the army.

4 The FER is still active. See http://www.chile-fer.cl, accessed on 12 February 2013.

5 *Nueva Canción* came to prominence in the 1960s, rooted in the work of artists who revitalized Latin American folk music, especially Violeta Parra (Chilean) and Atahualpa Yupanqui (Argentinean). In 1965, Ángel and Isabel Parra (Violeta Parra's children) founded "La Peña de los Parra," a nightclub that established the sound of *Nueva Canción* and created an audience for luminaries such as Patricio Manns and Víctor Jara. Pinochet's coup badly affected *Nueva Canción* artists, who were forced to go underground. Víctor Jara was killed and many others (including the bands Quilapayún, Inti-Illimani and Illapu) had to go into exile. An urban movement called *Canto Nuevo* emerged after the military government banned traditional Andean instruments. For further information on *Nueva Canción*, see Anonymous n. d./1 and García 2013.

6 The *Juramento a la Bandera* is not performed on 7 or 8 July, but on 9 and 10 July. This tradition was established in 1882, during the Guerra del Pacífico (War of the Pacific) against Peru and Bolivia. See Anonymous n.d./2. *El Tanquetazo* or *Tancazo* of 29 June, 1973, was a failed coup attempt led by Army Lieutenant Colonel Roberto Souper against the Allende government. It was successfully put down by loyal constitutionalist soldiers led by Army Commander-in-Chief Carlos Prats, who was later killed by the DINA in Buenos Aires in September 1974.

7 Everywhere in the country, the national anthem had to be sung with an additional verse that glorifies the Army. This verse was officially added by Pinochet in 1973 and removed in 1990, when democracy was restored. However, some extreme right-wing sectors of society still sing it in private ceremonies. Neustadt (2011) discusses the changes to the music, text, reception and interpretation of the Chilean and Costa Rican anthems, arguing that these "developed, and continue to develop, changing with, and according to, shifting images of national identity."

8 Violeta Parra (1917–1967) was a Chilean songwriter, performer, folk-music collector and graphic artist. Her work was inspired by diverse folk music traditions, achieving a great popularity through mass distribution, particularly from the 1950s onwards. In 1957 she founded and managed the Museo de Arte Popular at the University of Concepción in southern Chile. She lived in Paris for several years, performing at the United Nations and UNESCO, and exhibiting her paintings, tapestries and wire sculptures at the Louvre's Musée des Arts Decoratifs. Upon her return to Chile in 1965, she set up a circus tent on the outskirts of Santiago, to promote Chilean popular culture. Parra committed suicide at the age of 49. For a personal account of the significance of Parra's music in two of Pinochet's concentration camps, see Montealegre 2012:76–111. For an analysis of the political content of "La Carta," see Borland 2006.

9 According to the *Rettig Report*, the DINA was organized in November 1973 and officially created in June 1974 (Comisión Nacional 1991 v. I:55). The *Valech Report* confirms that the DINA began operations before its official founding (Comisión Presidencial 2011/1: 358). It is possible that DINA General Director Manuel Contreras had conceived it before the coup. In 1977 the DINA was replaced by the Centro Nacional de Información (CNI—National Information Center).

10 The buildings of Villa Grimaldi were demolished by the military in 1989 just before the first democratic government took office. Since 1997 it has been a Park for Peace, and since 2004 a National Monument. The Park is currently run by a corporation, which organizes educational programs and holds an oral archive of testimonies. For further information about Villa Grimaldi, see the *Rettig Report* and the website of the Corporación Parque por la Paz, http://villagrimaldi.cl, accessed 2 Feb ruary 2013. For an analysis of the Park as aesthetic object and memory site, see Lazzara 2006:127–147.

11 Doctor Mortis was a sinister radio and comic strip character created in the 1940s by the Chilean writer, actor and musician Juan Marino Cabello. Pentothal is used as general anesthetic and to induce coma in euthanasia and as one of the drugs administered during lethal injections in the USA.

12 The LP recorded by Los de Colombia containing "La Loca María" and "La Vaca Blanca" is titled *Cumbia Colombiana: Clásicos de los 60*. Los de Colombia must not be mistaken for the Colombian band Los Ocho de Colombia, which was active and very popular in that country in the 1970s. I suspect the former band was not from Colombia: it would have been too coincidental that two bands with almost the same name would operate in the same country. I have not been able to find out whether Los de Colombia's version of "La Loca María" is the original. To my knowledge, Los Girasoles did not record this song.

13 There are several testimonies in the oral archive in Villa Grimaldi that evidence activities developed by inmates on their own initiative. See also Montealegre (2010:252–359) and the website *Prisioneros Políticos de Chacabuco,* http://www.prisionerospoliticosdechacabuco.cl/, accessed 2 February 2013.

14 "El Negro José" became an anthem for political prisoners in many detention centers. See "La historia del Negro José" (Chornik 2005). "Juan sin Tierra," an anonymous Mexican *corrido*, was popularized by Víctor Jara. Jara recorded two songs inspired by the nineteenth-century Mexican figure Joaquín Murieta: "Así Como Hoy Matan Negros" (based on the play *Fulgor y Muerte de Joaquín Murieta* by Pablo Neruda and Sergio Ortega), and with Quilapayún, the "Cueca de Joaquín Murieta."

15 There are many different genres of songs under the title "La Gallina de los Huevos de Oro." I have not been able to identify possible contenders yet. The Chilean singer Ramón Aguilera and Argentine singers Favio and Sandro (also known as Sandro de América and the Argentine Elvis) are associated with the genre *Balada romántica latinoamericana.*

16 *Cueca* is the most popular traditional music genre and dance of Chile. It is also played in Peru, Bolivia, Argentina and Mexico, where it is called *marinera* or *chilena. Cueca* is a mixed partner dance with no body contact. The man follows the woman persistently, imitating a cock courting a hen. The couple pursue and retreat, pass and circle one another in an imaginary ring, twirling handkerchiefs as they dance. *Cueca* is played in most regions of Chile with some variations.

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Music, Torture, Testimony: Reopening the Case of the Greek Junta (1967–1974)

Anna Papaeti

Abstract

The use of music and sound during detention and interrogation is an issue that has emerged strongly in recent debates on the so-called War on Terror. However, music and sound have been used extensively in the past as a weapon against political prisoners. This article explores how the Greek military Junta that ruled Greece from 1967 to 1974 used music and sound during detention and interrogation in the detention centres of the civil Security Forces in Athens and Piraeus, and of the Greek Military Police and the Special Interrogation Unit (EAT/ESA), Athens. Documenting the infliction of traumatic violence under the dictatorship, the testimonies of survivors at the European Court of Human Rights, Strasbourg, as well as the transcripts of the 1975 Torturers Trials account in detail the brutality of the Greek Junta and its systematic use of torture. The use of music/sound as an instrument of terror is legible in these documents, but was not given any special recognition or emphasis. Drawing on new interviews with former political prisoners and soldiers, the article explores the ways in which the Greek Junta deployed music as an instrument of terror. Either heard continuously in high volume, or employed in the form of forced singing, music served as another way through which subjectivity was targeted and traumatized. The article also discusses the process of witnessing, while confronting research problems related to the interviewing of survivors of torture.

On 21 April 1967 a military Junta seized power in Greece. The regime lasted seven years, falling in July 1974. To sustain itself in power, the Junta organized a brutal police state. Its opponents were intimidated, detained, sent into internal exile and systematically tortured. The main agencies carrying out this repression were the Security Forces (Asfalia) and Greek Military Police (ESA). The use of torture by the Junta has been a subject of great scrutiny and debate in Greece. Already during the dictatorship many testimonies circulated abroad, sparking international debate. Testimonies were also crucial to a complaint brought by Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands to the Council of Europe's Commission of Human Rights in October

1967, six months after the military coup. As a result, Greece left the Council in 1969 in order to avoid suspension. In the aftermath of the dictatorship, a series of trials took place to prosecute the crimes and abuses of the Junta. Those put to trial included the coup "instigators," those involved in the bloody suppression of the Polytechnic University in Athens, and the Junta torturers. The latter were instigated by private lawsuits by survivors, bringing the perpetrators into court and public view.

Despite copious information available on torture under the Greek Junta, music has so far been conspicuously absent from the discourse. At the time of the Torturers' Trials, non-physical torture was not a designated offence under Greek law; this fact is probably the main reason why the use of music was not clarified in the trials. The emphasis on physical contact continued in the ensuing decades. Moreover, in the Greek context music has consistently and emphatically been placed on the side of resistance. Opposition to the Junta is strongly associated with the music of left-wing composer Mikis Theodorakis; his music featured centrally in the accounts of all former political prisoners interviewed in the course of this research. Reconstructing the abuse of music by the regime requires brushing against the grain of coherently constructed narratives that have been relayed consistently for nearly 40 years. In addition to a careful re-reading of sources, the research process includes new interviews with survivors in order to ask direct questions with regard to music.[1] In this article I explore the ways in which music was used to terrorize, humiliate and "break" political prisoners. I examine these techniques in light of the most current torture methods of the time. These were developed by the USA and its allies, such as Canada and the UK, in the context of the Cold War and of the much-discussed Soviet "brainwashing" (McCoy 2006:21–59; Grant 2013; see also pages 80–81 below). In closing, I discuss issues related to the interviewing process, and to testimony and subjectivity.

Greece 1967–1974: A State of Terror

In the aftermath of the coup of 21 April, the regime used terror systematically against its opponents. From the first day, communists and other left-wing individuals and groups were targeted. According to the 1977 report by Amnesty International, already in the first few months 6,000 people were held in prison camps on Greek islands. These numbers had decreased by January 1968; however, the report notes that there were still 2,777 people held without trial in prison camps on the islands of Yaros and Leros (Amnesty 1977:10). These numbers do not include those detained by the Military Police (ESA), by the civil Security Forces (Asfalia) in Athens and other urban centers, and by the gendarmerie (Chorofylaki) in the provinces. Nor does it include those imprisoned in facilities throughout Greece. The persecution, imprisonment and exile of the Left was an ongoing legacy from the Civil War (1946–1949). The Junta continued these practices, but also—and without precedent—expanded the range of those targeted. After 1967, the regime detained democratic and royalist

military and naval officers. Some of these were veterans of NATO forces in the Korean War and some had even fought against the Communists in the Civil War.

Internationally, the Junta was pressed to justify and defend its suspension of constitutional rights and civil liberties. Five days after the coup, on 26 April 1967, the Council of Europe had called on the Greek authorities to reinstate parliamentary democracy and the constitution (Hammarberg 2007; Nijboff 1972; Konstas 1976; Becket 1997:9–132; Amnesty 1977:79–84). A month later it invited member states to submit reports on constitutional change to the council. This action gave rise to the so-called Greek case, which focused not only on the suspension of the Greek constitution but also on numerous cases of brutal torture and serious violations of human rights. After two years of diplomatic pressure and reporting, Greece left the Council of Europe in December 1969 in order to avoid being expelled. The main case against Greece brought on 20 September 1967 by Denmark, Norway and Sweden, concerned violations of eight articles of the European Convention on Human Rights. A similar complaint by the Netherlands followed. These, however, did not include violations of Article 3, which prohibits torture. On 2 October 1967, the Human Rights Committee of the Council of Europe decided to investigate the above-mentioned complaints, asking the Greek government to submit a written explanation.

Torture under the Junta became a focus of public debate abroad through testimonies smuggled out of prisons and detention centers to the foreign press in November 1967. The UK newspaper *The Guardian* was the first to publish allegations of torture, opening Pandora's box and setting in motion an international debate that took place in the media, but also in parliaments (see Hansard 1968), governmental bodies and international organizations. *The Guardian*'s correspondent in Greece was Cedric Thornberry, a renowned human rights attorney. His article "Greek Prisoners Speak of Police Torture," published on 24 November 1967, included forceful allegations of torture.[2] The debates provoked by Thornberry's article were followed up by the recently formed NGO Amnesty International, which sent two investigators to Athens. US and UK attorneys James Becket and Anthony Marecco[3] visited Athens at the end of December 1967 in an attempt to record as much information as possible on the issue of torture. Amnesty's first report was published in January 1968—ironically the Year of Human Rights. It concluded that contrary to Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights, torture and cruel treatment had been inflicted on numerous occasions, underlining that torture was a government policy and an administrative practice. A second report followed in April 1968. These reports, along with other evidence, led the complaining European countries to add violation of Article 3 to their case against Greece (Amnesty 1977:11; Becket 1997:15f.).

The January 1968 Amnesty report distinguishes between physical and non-physical torture. However, sound does not feature in it, apart from mention of the screams of others being tortured; this method crushed detainees, causing "a number of nervous breakdowns" (Amnesty 1968:4). It was also described as one of the worst tortures by all participants I interviewed. Sound, however, is mentioned in more detail in the statements by survivors made for the European Court of Human Rights

in Strasbourg (Nijhof 1972:589). According to the testimony of Kitty Arseni, detained and tortured at the notorious "terrace" at the Security Forces headquarters at Bouboulinas Street, a "motor" and a "gong" sounded continuously in order to cover her screams of torture:

> They took me to the "terrace." It is a room on the terrace, something like an old laundry room. It has two or three showers on the left side as you enter. Near the showers there must be a machine that makes a noise like that of the motorcycle to cover the screams. It [the room] is approximately 2.50 x 3.50 meters. There is a wide bench in the middle, a rope and on the right a big cauldron, which they hit with a metal, sounding like a gong to cover the screams. [...] He continuously asked for names, pulled my hair and hit my head on the bench. At the same time the cauldron was gonged to cover my screams—the motor of a motorcycle was already on. (Becket 1997:46f., my translation; see Nijhof:229; Giourgos, Kambylis and Becket 2009).

The "motor" at Bouboulinas has been mentioned by many former detainees and became probably the best-known example of the regime's use of sound during torture. The assumption has been that this was done solely to drown out the sound of detainees, since the building was directly adjacent to houses and apartment buildings, in a densely populated area of central Athens. However, research mentioned in the CIA Interrogation Manual Kubark (1963)[4] notes that stress, anxiety, panic, physical discomfort, even loss of reality were caused by the continuous use of motorized sound (Anonymous 1963:89).

Another use of sound was noted by Major Angelos Pnevmatikos in his testimony in the Strasbourg trial. Pnevmatikos described the torturous use of sound during his detention at the Training Centre of Military Police (KESA) in Athens, where he was taken on 3 April 1968:

> As soon as he brought me the food, which I found hard to swallow, the noise of a "Harley" motorcycle began outside the cell. For three hours I suffered from this damn noise. This was repeated many times. No one came to see me until the night, when a soldier brought food like before. All night long they were banging the metal doors and the rails, and at the same time the only light in my cell was shaky. I stayed under these conditions until the evening of Saturday, 6 April [...]. A dozen of them came outside the door of my cell and started making a terrible noise, banging metal canes and sticks on metal. They continued for a long time, with short breaks of three to five minutes during which an officer would come in and demand my confession; if I refused they would torture me. (Becket 1997:101, my translation)

In the transcripts of the Torturers' Trials, and particularly in the first ESA trial, references to the use of sound, loud music and forced singing are more substantiated. At the time, Greek law did not define or specify torture as a criminal offence, even though all Greek constitutions condemned torture.[5] For this reason, the main charges included abuse of authority, bodily harm, insults, violence against a superior officer, and serious physical injury. Psychological torture and the combination of several techniques which amounted to torture were not given any consideration, and therefore, were not emphasized by the witnesses. Overall between 100 and 400 torture trials took place in Greece, according to Amnesty International.[6]

What is beginning to emerge from the trial testimonies, but also from numerous accounts given in interviews or in the form of autobiographical writings, is a complex and differentiated picture of the use of music, sound and silence during detention and/or interrogation. During this time there were numerous prisons, detention centers, and exile prison camps throughout Greece. Treatment of prisoners and methods varied, depending on facilities, staff training, and the personnel active at different times. It is, therefore, difficult to establish a unified or exhaustive picture of torture and interrogation techniques. However, a close look at some cases from across facilities and agencies can begin to illuminate the use of music during detention and interrogation. This use of music complements better-known techniques used to target detainees, highlighting the historical continuities in the use of sound and music during detention and interrogation which today have become synonymous with the so-called War on Terror. Moreover, investigation of the Junta's use of music underscores Greece's political alliance with the USA in the Cold War and hence ties it to other US-supported military regimes in Latin America and elsewhere.

In this article I briefly discuss a few cases of detainees at the Security Forces headquarters at Piraeus and Athens (Bouboulinas). I then focus on testimonies of prisoners detained at the notorious Special Interrogation Unit of Greek Military Police in central Athens, the so-called EAT/ESA. This unit was noted for its use of a combination of techniques of interrogation, which in certain periods included repeated music and forced singing. Pseudonyms are used to protect the identity and privacy of interviewees. All interviewees were presented with a detailed information sheet, a list of the questions and a consent form. The inverviews consisted of open-ended questions so that survivors could tell their story at their own pace and have control over the information (see UN High Commissioner for Human Rights 1999; Giffard 2000).[7]

Security Forces Headquarters in Piraeus and Athens (Bouboulinas Street)

Repeated sound was used by Security Forces at the Piraeus headquarters in the form of electric bells. The Strasbourg trial examined allegations of a "very large and deafening bell that was rung for hours on end," effectively depriving detainees of sleep (Nijboff 1972:313). According to the report of the European Commission of Human Rights, all witnesses described a bell inside their room of detention, in close proximity to the door, noting its loud sound and the fact that it kept them up at nights (Nijboff 1972:337). The use of the bell was also reported in *The Guardian* as early as April 1968 (Thornberry 1968a). This was followed up in another article on 8 December 1969, noting that the bell was "used to keep men awake," driving them "nearly out of their minds" (Thornberry 1969b). Although the Junta denied these allegations, the investigating commission on behalf of the complaining European countries "found unmistakable traces of a bell and its wiring having been removed

from the place where it was said to have been;" the Junta officials did not even try to plaster or paint the walls where this bell was torn away (Thornberry 1969b).

Interviewee C was subjected to this kind of torture in December 1967, during her 36 to 40-day detention in isolation at the Piraeus headquarters; being under 21 years old she was underage at the time. She was then moved to Averof prison in central Athens, where she was remanded in custody for nine months. A court martial convicted her to three years in prison with a five-year suspension. The isolation section at the Piraeus headquarters consisted of three tiny cells, she said. In this space, an electric bell rang day and night:

> Yes, [it rang] continuously. In a tiny place that had three cells. Each one was as wide as the span of our out-stretched arms, and in length just enough for you to lie and sleep. Very few square meters. Continuously, it rang continuously. It rang all the time, depending on who was on shift. If it was someone softer, more humane who understood what this meant, he would stop. He pretended he forgot it, did not ring it [all the time] and you knew that this one was doing the shift and not the other one whose finger was stuck on it.

At first C found the repeated sound confusing and frightening. Soon though, she realized that she would have to resist it. Indeed she was able to do so due to her remarkable ability to fall asleep within minutes; this is something she always used as a defense mechanism during difficult times in her life, she noted. C would calculate the time needed between one push to the next and would fall asleep to the dismay of the man held next door, who was in despair and tried to wake her up in order to have company during this ordeal. For C, hearing the cries of other detainees, who were being tortured, was another intentional and tormenting use of sound:

> I think this is worse for every detainee, to hear the other. When one suffers [torture], he observes what is happening and can see where things are going. But when one hears the other without knowing what's happening, he panics because he fears for the worst. And this is a kind of torture. Terror for the other, but of course for what will possibly happen to you later when they take you in [for interrogation]. [... T]here was no other sound apart from the bell and the torturing of others taking place in an office, which was of course a familiar sound.

Probably the most notorious torture centre was the Athens headquarters of the Security Forces at Bouboulinas Street. A four-storey building, it has gained a place in public memory for two of its spaces: the so-called terrace where brutal interrogations and systematic torture took place, and the infamous cells of its basement, the so-called well (*πηγάδα*), which one interviewee, E, described as a grave. The "well" consisted of 13 cells, each approximately two meters square. These were damp and full of vermin. There was only one lamp in the central space of the basement.[8] Detainees were held there in silence and semi-darkness, sometimes without even a blanket to lie on. After several days in isolation, they would be taken for interrogation up to the "terrace," where brutal torture would be inflicted to the accompanying sound of the "motor."

Interviewee E was part of the last council of the outlawed Youth Organization Rigas Ferraios, close to the Greek Communist Party of the Interior, a splinter party of the main Communist Party. He was arrested on 23 December 1970, and spent one month in the "well" at Bouboulinas. From there he was moved to Korydalos Prison where he stayed until his trial in August 1971. E was only tortured once at the "terrace" under the sound of a "motor;" he considers this lighter treatment due to the fact that his father was a lawyer, visiting the Security Forces on a daily basis during his detention.

> It was not a real motorcycle, because in the past they [comrades] said that they did have a real one...It was something like a record player I think...The confusion was such...it seemed like the sound of the motorcycle. Some comrades said that there was a motorcycle outside. Now had they seen it? I didn't see one.

In discussing sleep deprivation, E noted that although he had not suffered this, he had heard from older comrades arrested in the early years of the dictatorship and held at Bouboulinas that they used repeated sound on those who had suffered brutal torture: "Older comrades said that to those who had had nails plucked out, to those who had haematuria, they played continuously some kind of music to break them at Bouboulinas."[9]

Greek Military Police (ESA)[10]

Torture was also practiced at the detention centers of the Military Police, ESA. ESA was established in the aftermath of World War II. Modeled on the British equivalent, ESA's founding charter assigned to it, according to Daraki-Mallet, the maintenance of order and discipline among troops (Daraki-Mallet 1976:11). Having played a crucial role during the coup, ESA's powers were significantly reinforced by the establishment of the Special Interrogation Branch (EAT/ESA) in autumn 1968. ESA members enjoyed a close proximity to the regime, and numerous privileges. Torture was a daily practice at the EAT/ESA,[11] conducted not only by officers but also by guards and other ESA soldiers; these were doing their obligatory two-year military service. They were carefully chosen and brutally trained at the ESA Training Centre, KESA, for three months; most of them came from poor, right-wing families from rural areas and were not highly educated. Essentially these soldiers were subjected in training to most of the torture they were later to inflict on others. This system of turning young soldiers into torturers emerged at the first ESA trial (1975), giving rise to many discussions, an Amnesty International film, and several academic publications (Daraki-Mallet 1976; Gibson and Haritos-Fatouros 1986; Haritos-Fatouros 2003a, 2003b; see McCoy 2006:49). In the first ESA trial, music was mentioned for the first time with regard to torture, used either as a repeated loud sound, or as forced singing. Even though the trial transcripts do not focus on music or other techniques understood as "psychological torture," due to the above-mentioned legal restrictions, they do contain important information about how music and sounds were

used to mentally break and humiliate prisoners. Music from radio and loudspeakers, noise, songs, and forced singing recur in the testimonies of those detained at EAT-ESA, even though such references are mostly made in passing. Survivors trying to come to grips with non-physical torture often enough mention music. Significantly, these witnesses are often interrupted by the judge who calls for brevity and asks them to restrict their testimony to the charges in the bill of indictment. The instances discussed below mainly took place at the Special Interrogation Unit of the Military Police (EAT-ESA) headquarters in Athens.

Retired Chief of the Navy, Constantine Engolfopoulos, was arrested on 24 May 1973 and was detained for 60 days at EAT/ESA. Before his interrogation began, he was left for two days in total isolation. During that time he began hallucinating and lost all sense of reality. In his trial testimony he says: "The loudspeaker started playing loudly. The shouts began. This situation transformed me in two days from a human being to a corpse" (Rodakis 1976:128). Virginia Tsouderou was arrested on 28 March 1973 and was detained for 40 days at EAT-ESA. She was put in a cell and given paper to write her statement. She recalled:

> Then the noises began. Part of the suffering was the noises. Noises caused by the guards' raids, noises caused by technical means: you thought that you were surrounded by radios and televisions with many uncoordinated programmes. You'd go crazy. I have to repeat that what they wanted from me and my fellow-detainees was to exhaust us as human beings. (Rodakis 1976:167)

Similar was the testimony of an Air-Force Major, Nikolaos Stappas, arrested on 2 June 1973: "needless to say, I did not sleep all these nights, because they did not let you sleep. Banging the doors, noise, cursing. Like [the song] ... 'Charon is on the prowl' and other similar vulgarities. The cursing, noises, a radio at maximum volume, and the threats created a hellish atmosphere" (Rodakis 1976:225). The popular-song "Charon is on the prowl" ("Ο χάρος βγήκε παγανιά") was released in 1972. It was not successful until 1973 after a newspaper described it as "a crime-provoking song" in relation to a highly publicized massacre of three people and the injuring of eight by Nikos Koemtzis in Athens in February 1973; although the song had nothing to do with the massacre, this association turned it into a hit (Che 2007).

The song that was singled out in detail in the trials was the so-called "Tarzan" ("Ο Ταρζάν"). Composed in 1972 by Yannis Markopoulos, it contained veiled anti-Junta lyrics, but had successfully managed to pass the regime's censorship, becoming a popular hit of the time. The lyrics describe an urgent fantasy of insurgency and resistance:

> Θα πάω στη ζούγκλα με τον Ταρζάν / θα την περάσω φίνα. / Θα πάω στη ζούγκλα με τον Ταρζάν / θα φύγω σ'ένα μήνα. / Κι αν θα με φάνε τα άγρια θηρία / θα με γράψουν και στην ιστορία / πως με φάγανε τα ζώα / κι όχι η μπόρα του αιώνα.
>
> *I'll go to the jungle with Tarzan / I'll have a ball. / I'll go to the jungle with Tarzan / I leave in a month. / And if the wild beasts eat me / It will also be written in history / that I was eaten by animals / and not by the century's disaster.*

This song was singled out in the trial by pharmacy student A, arrested in May 1973. He says:

> In the afternoon, somewhere outside, there were a lot of beatings, and I heard the torturers' shouts. They played a loudspeaker, so the voices wouldn't be heard. The motif of the time was [the song] "I will go to the jungle with Tarzan." It was the song we heard all the time until we left. The military policemen were shouting: "Wait for your turn." Waiting was worse than being beaten. (Rodakis 1976:408)

In his testimony A also remarked on being forced to sing: "a military policeman-candidate and future torturer made us sing and he sang too. He told us to dance. He did not harm us, though" (Rodakis 1976:408).

In 2010 I met A in Athens and discussed his time at EAT/ESA. Thirty-five years after the trials he did not remember being forced to sing; this, however, was not emphasized or marked as a traumatic instance in his testimony, but was simply mentioned in passing. He did recall, though, several occasions when fellow detainees were humiliated by forced singing. Most importantly, he spoke about other aspects of the terror of the "Tarzan" song. "In the evening," he told me, "the soldiers would return to the prisons drunk and they would sing the Tarzan song in order to terrorize us. They would enter the cells for the so-called 'tea party' or 'tea party with toast.'" "Tea party" here refers to guards surrounding a detainee, shouting and cursing. While beating him, they would throw him against the bed or the chair. "Tea party with toast" was a similar torture, but with even more brutal beatings. During this time, B remembers them singing the "Tarzan" song. He told me: "This was not music. This was terror. It was part of the system."

The repeated use of "Tarzan" was confirmed in interviews with four more former detainees, conducted in 2010 and 2012. All of them were held at EAT/ESA around May and June 1973. It has also been confirmed by an ESA soldier, X (see page 76 below). Lieutenant Commander B was arrested on 25 May 1973 for his participation in the Navy Movement, which intended to overthrow the Colonels. This was a big blow to the regime because this time resistance came from the ranks of the military and not civil society. B was mainly held at the General Navy headquarters (YEN), where he spent 89 days in isolation. He was taken to EAT/ESA around 16 June and was held there for a week. In his opinion, his short stay at EAT/ESA was due to the fact that many more had already been captured, brutally tortured and interrogated, and the authorities had already formed a clear picture of the mutiny. When asked about music or sound, he said:

> What I remember is that they played day and night a song which I remember, I never forget it. It is "I will go to the jungle with Tarzan." Day and night, top volume... Repeatedly. It's like the [Chinese] drop. It grates on the nerves...Loud is of course relative. It depends where the loudspeaker is positioned and where the cell...And there were, of course, various sounds, screams, and some staged screams when they shouted between them...We were made to stand all the time. Standing up continuously, no bed, no nothing..."Tarzan" [was played] all the time. This has stayed in my memory. It has been imprinted. Now if there were any other [songs], maybe, though I

> say this with caution...What is that song, the one that says "little boats in the Aegean" which was a bit ironic...Well, these ones. Now pushing my mind it came to me...[for this song] to be played to us was a bit ironic, do you understand?

The second song B is referring to here is called "White, Red, Yellow, Blue" ("Άσπρα, κόκκινα, κίτρινα, μπλε," 1972) by Vicky Moscholiou, in which the narrator wants to board one of the little boats in the Aegean to take her to her beloved; the colors refer to the boats. In the context of the Navy Movement and the high-ranking officers detained at ESA and tortured by low-ranking soldiers, this song was ironic and humiliating. It was certainly perceived as such by B. However, for B, the use of music/songs, "a repetition that broke your head, it didn't let you sleep," was nevertheless not the worst torture taking place at EAT/ESA. However, this depends on one's character, he was quick to add. When asked whether he had heard the music, and particularly "Tarzan" since then, B noted that he hadn't, saying that these songs are not played anymore; had he heard it, he would have switched off the radio, he said. B also pointed out that he was aware of similar stories from friends held at KESA at the same time as him. A friend of his, who also wished to be interviewed but was unavailable at the time, confirmed to him that indeed there was music at KESA; they were playing similar songs such as "Tarzan," "Maria in Yellow" ("Μαρία με τα κίτρινα," 1972) and "White, Red, Yellow, Blue." However, "EAT/ESA was wilder," B noted: at KESA they did not play the music at night, something he attributes to the fact that KESA was also a barracks, and not solely a detention centre.

The use of music in the barracks of KESA, where prisoners were also detained, and at the headquarters of EAT/ESA is also confirmed by ESA soldier X, who served from November 1973 to 1976. He was not based at EAT/ESA but on visits there he had witnessed torture. X notes that at KESA loudspeakers played Greek popular music, hits of time, during the day.[12] Among those he recalled are "Tarzan" and the folksong "Gerakina" ("Γερακίνα"). He also noted that music was played at EAT/ESA repeatedly: "The music that people usually refer to, who were 'raped' [i.e. violated] by the regime, was played during their torture. [...] When logic and emotion are blinded by pain, they heard this music; some of them could trace it, perhaps others in their pain were not able to understand what it was." When asked whether he had witnessed forced singing, he noted that he had a personal experience during his training at KESA. Being an actor and a dancer, he was forced to dance in order to be ridiculed. One had to obey to such orders, otherwise he would be tortured, he said. They would also make soldiers sing, he noted.

Forced singing and forced playing of musical instruments were also confirmed by Z, another ESA soldier who was at EAT/ESA from 1971 to April 1973. During his training at KESA, Z was forced to play the bouzouki, and to make satirical poems. He was then beaten by the person he was forced to satirize. He had also seen other soldiers being forced to perform the traditional dance Kalamatiano. With regard to his time at ESA, he was not very forthcoming, but noted that at night they would rev jeep engines and play the radio very loudly so that the shouts would not be heard. Such accounts also come up in the book *At the Wasp Nest of the Seven Years* by for-

mer ESA soldier Yiannis Maniateas. Maniateas mentions several instances where, for example, a doctor prisoner was made to dance rebetiko, or another man was asked either to sing, say the "Our Father," or dance (Maniateas 1975:42, 96). His refusal led to torture. With regard to the training in KESA, he writes:

> A corporal, who when looked at brought to mind a fox, has made the enlistees dance Kalamatiano. They sing and dance. You can't have seen such sacrilege in a dance. They drag their feet slowly-slowly without spirit and sing by force. When the circle passes in front of the corporal, he kicks them hard on their backs. The song is interrupted for a moment, and then continues shaky. "When you go to Ka—lamata..." I look at one [soldier] who is limping after a kick and drags his feet, singing while weeping. (Maniateas 1975:21f., my translation)

Though forced singing seemed to be a forgotten experience for most interviewees, this was not the case with D, who was arrested on 18 November 1973, in the aftermath of the bloody repression of the Polytechnic uprising. He spent three and a half months between EAT/ESA and KESA; he was initially detained at ESA, and then moved to KESA, however all interrogations would take place at EAT/ESA. D recalled an incident when he was forced to sing, after the soldiers had found out that he was a conservatory student. After spending three to four days at EAT/ESA, D was moved to KESA. On his way there, he was told that they were going to execute him in a firing squad at Goudi barracks. While in the car, they told him to sing and dance ("now you will sing and dance to us"), and started singing and clapping. As he was about to start singing, he managed to stop himself:

> At the beginning they started shouting, saying, "you are not obeying orders" etc. At this moment where you lose your mind, you develop an entirely flat logic, so I get the courage, no it wasn't courage it was despair, the despair of logic, and I turn and with an intense expression I tell them: "but you are going to kill me anyway, either now or later at the firing squad." They laughed, cursed me and stopped.

Just like A, D also recalls soldiers singing late at night, when they would return from their day off. Often drunk, they would enter the cells, beat up the detainees, and sing. "It was a kind of their own language,...communication through song. In other words: You and I who torture this person share something at this moment. What we share is our common song, which we sing together." He himself did not recall the use of repeated music, but he relayed the story of a friend of his late brother, also a known resistance fighter who was imprisoned and tortured. This friend, a law student, was subjected to a song played nonstop. B did not recall the title of the song. However, he remembered that upon his release, the friend bought about 15 LP records of this song and broke them on his knees.

Last but not least, an important testimony both in terms of the use of repeated music and forced singing is that of F. A Cavalry Captain, F was arrested on 31 May for his participation in the Movement of the Navy, organized by officers who planned to overthrow the Junta. Just like A and B, F singled out "Tarzan," and identified an additional song "We will all live ["The guys, the guys"]" ("Ολοι θα ζήσουμε," 1973) by Giorgos Kinousis.[13] These were played continuously during torture. A third song,

"Stephanos" ("Ο Στέφανος," 1972) by Antonis Kalogiannis, was played right at the end of torture. It talks about the death of Stephanos the good man, who was mourned by his friends.[14] He told me: "My ears still buzz 'The guys, the guys, the good buddies' from 100 radios. I don't know how many radios played this little song of the time by Kinousis. 'The guys, the guys,' and 'I will go to the jungle with Tarzan.'" F remarked that these songs were repeated without any interludes from a radio presenter, leading him to suspect that it could have been an audio-recording. He said:

> They were constantly the same songs. They played them during torture so that the screams would not be heard, and at night when the guards came back drunk...Imagine to be standing for days without water, to be hit with truncheons and then to hear this music, what kind of a situation that made. You felt like going crazy...In the end I had hallucinations. I thought the wall was a fridge and went to get a Coke. They hit me and their faces would transform. I thought that they were my friends and family. I'd tell them, Gianni why do you hit me? That's how it was. And with all this, to hear this music "The guys, the guys, the good buddies" and "I will go to the jungle with Tarzan." When the torture time was up, for it never occurred at fixed times, they would play the song, "Stefanos is dead, the good man."

In the torture context, the songs' lyrics and their order are mocking and demeaning. F does not consider the choice of songs a coincidence. In the case of "Tarzan" the analogy with the devouring wild beasts is clear. As for "The Guys," the undertone, for him was, "confess, say everything and then you can go, everything will be ok between us." Listening to this music now makes him melancholic.

Significantly, in his trial testimony F described how he was forced to sing while in a stress position in which he would have to hold his head back as far as possible for an extended amount of time. Suffering from drink deprivation, he would choke on his saliva: "The dry thick saliva would block my larynx and I thought that I was choking," he said. During our meeting F did not recall being forced to sing, even though he mentioned it in his trial testimony. He stated that he was not asked to do so, probably, he told me, "because they knew my reaction to it." I did not press the point and did not rephrase the question, given that these first meetings aimed more at establishing trust and familiarity.

Lapses of memory and other discrepancies from trial testimonies are an important issue and problem of such research. Survivors of torture on many occasions tend defensively to suppress memories of traumatic events they have not been able to sufficiently symbolize or deal with. F's detailed description of forced singing in the trial was painful, though no more traumatic than his descriptions of hallucinations and physical torture. However, his phrase "they never asked me, because they knew my reaction" is puzzling. In EAT/ESA there was no sense of logic that would prevent his torturers from asking him to do anything. Any refusal would simply result in more torture; indeed there are many testimonies that corroborate this. F's phrase here says more about himself and how he values dignity rather than about his torturers. As a Cavalry Captain, F perhaps viewed forced singing as more humiliating than any physical torture he was subjected to, a subject about which he was very forthcoming. In this sense, the memory lapse seems to be a defense mechanism, betraying his sen-

sitivity on the issue of humiliation and loss of dignity. It also shows how the use of music in torture, understood by some as "benign" or mild, can in fact scar the person subjected to it more than physical torture.

Overall, lapses of memory here may also be due to the fact that 36 years have passed since the trials. In the trials themselves the survivors were not encouraged to talk about so-called psychological torture, let alone music (Rodakis 1976:359f.). The trial's focus on physical torture, which was reproduced in the ensuing public debate, probably contributed to the abuse of music slipping from the discussion, and gradually from memory. Consequently, the narratives of the victims were coherently structured and reiterated repeatedly during the public debates in the ensuing decades, in ways that excluded registering the use of music as a weapon of terror. On the contrary, music was firmly established in the discourse of survival and resistance.

"To be honest, there wasn't any 'scientific' torture here": the ESA and the CIA

This research has had to resist the established notion that music is intrinsically benign or noble. At first several interviewed survivors did not tend to attribute the use of music to a systematic attempt to damage their subjectivity. Music as a tool of survival was more central to their discourse.[15] Although in their descriptions they acknowledged the damaging effect music and sound had on them, when first asked about its use, they viewed it mainly as a means to acoustically mask torture. However, as the interviews unfolded more instances of the use of music were recalled, including damaging effects. Interestingly, the headquarters of EAT/ESA in central Athens did not have any residences immediately adjacent to it. At one end was a park, and at the other the Navy Hospital and the Military Hospital 401. In contrast, the Asfalia at Bouboulinas was closely surrounded by residential buildings. Indeed, there were evidently differences in the methods of the Security Forces and ESA. The former relied on isolation (darkness, silence) in a damp basement, where beatings and other kinds of torture and harassment (particularly with regard to female detainees) also took place. These were interrupted by brutal sessions of interrogation and systematic torture on the "terrace," which included beatings, falanga (foot whipping), nail pulling, electric shock, and sexual torture, with the constant sound of motorized machinery (and in some cases of a "gong"). Contrary to this, the EAT/ESA torture routine was different. Mock executions, plucking of hairs (for example, beards) which the detainees were forced to eat, falanga, brutal beatings by groups of people (euphemistically called tea party and tea party with toast) were reported, and in some cases, resulted in fatal conditions (for example, in the case of Major Spyros Moustaklis[16]). However, interrogation and torture were to a greater extent structured around the detainee's isolation. The detainee was made to stand in an empty room, some times in a circle marked by chalk or in a stress position (for example, on one foot), for days, for as long as it would take, for as long as he could last. It is important at this point not to forget the complicity of medical doctors who oversaw these

sessions and decided when torture could no longer be physically endured. This ritual was accompanied by brutal beatings, humiliating insults, sleep deprivation, food and drink deprivation (or in some cases extremely salty food), and, at least in one period established here (March to November 1973), by repeated loud music. This combination led to hallucinations. Given the relatively isolated location of EAT/ESA, music was not needed to mask the screams. This difference in torture methods has given rise to the idea that there was no "scientific torture" at EAT/ESA (as for example, electroshock), but that it mainly consisted of beatings. Indicative is the following passage from Maniateas' book: "To be honest, there wasn't any 'scientific' torture here. There were no wires, sockets, wood planks with nails, like they write, and underground graves. We didn't use to do burials. Whatever was accomplished was by the truncheon, the hands and the legs." (Maniateas 1975:73, my translation)

And yet this combination of techniques practiced at EAT/ESA was on the cutting edge of interrogation techniques at the time. In fact, it closely matched methods devised by the CIA in the 1950s and codified in the Kubark manual (1963) in the early 1960s. As Alfred McCoy has shown, these methods included isolation, sensory deprivation, stress positions, sleep deprivation, repetition of sounds, and continuous standing leading to hallucinations (2006:21–59). Indeed McCoy notes the simplicity of this combination of techniques, to which some of the Greek torturers referred in the trials, trying to deny allegations of torture: "Refined through years of practice, the method *relies on simple, even banal procedures*—isolation, standing, heat and cold, light and dark, noise and silence—for a systematic attack on all human senses" (McCoy 2006:8, my emphasis). He also notes how these practices were disseminated by the CIA worldwide in allied countries often through aid programs (McCoy 2006:11). Similar techniques were also part of the so-called Survival, Evasion, Resistance, Escape (SERE) training program of the US military, introduced after the Korean War to develop soldiers' resistance during enemy captivity (Worthington 2008). This combination of techniques became the main charges in the case of Ireland versus the UK at the European Court of Human Rights in the late 1970s. These charges included teaching the Royal Ulster Constabulary and authorizing five interrogation techniques against 14 prisoners suspected of being members of the IRA: wall-standing, hooding, subjection to loud and hissing noise, deprivation of sleep, and deprivation of food and drink. Even though the court adopted a restricted meaning of torture and the 1978 judgment held that they amounted "only" to inhuman and degrading treatment, there was one vote against the latter by a Greek Judge Dimitrios Evrigenis. Evrigenis emphasized the need for a definition that covered "various forms of technologically sophisticated torture," rather than one that placed "the distinction between torture and inhuman treatment very high up on the scale of intensity of the suffering inflicted."[17] This combination of techniques was condemned as torture in the mid 1990s, in the context of complaints about interrogation techniques, including loud music, used by Israel's General Security Service (GSS) against Palestinian detainees. Although Israel's High Court of Justice (HCJ) initially prohibited some or all of these measures in 1996 (Ginbar 2007), it later accepted

the State's justifications for their use, sparking intense reaction internationally. In 1997 the UN Committee Against Torture issued a statement in which such methods constituted "torture as defined in article 1 of the Convention [against Torture]" (UN Committee Against Torture 1997). In 1999, Israel's HCJ re-considered the methods in question and banned their further use by the GSS (BBC News 1999).

What emerges from the EAT/ESA torture routine is a consistent use of this combination of interrogation techniques, which together target both the physical and mental state of the subject, shattering subjectivity. Indeed research conducted in the 1950s and early 1960s by American, Canadian and British scholars, funded by the CIA, underlined that such techniques were much more efficient than the use of hallucinogenic substances, but also than more painful approaches, since pain often induced resistance (see McCoy 2006; Anonymous 1963:82–95). The ties between the CIA and the military and the Greece Security Forces go back to the aftermath of WWII. Around 1947 and during the catastrophic Civil War, Greece came under the sphere of influence of the USA. The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan were landmarks of this transition from British to American support and influence. Aid poured into the country, accompanied by consultants of all kinds, many of whom were CIA agents in disguise (Becket 1997:35; Blum 1995:37). From this time on, the Greek military was equipped, trained and overseen by the USA (Blum 1995:37). In 1953 the Central Intelligence Service (KYP) was formed. It was modeled after the CIA, which funded it to a great extent.[18] KYP chiefs up to that time had been military officers, thus establishing strong relations with the military. Indeed Georgios Papadopoulos and other leading figures of the Junta were part of this world. According to Blum, among the hundreds of officers receiving training in the USA during the KYP's formative years was George Papadopoulos (1995:217). As Becket reports, James M. Potts, the CIA Chief-of-Station in Greece, used to boast in Athenian circles that "George, he's my boy" (1977:36).

Furthermore, in 1957 the CIA opened a military barracks outside Athens, near Agia Paraskevi, where they interrogated people rendered by communist countries; detainees were interrogated and tortured by Greek officers (Becket 1997:37). According to Becket, these barracks were also used by other NATO countries. Lieutenant Commander Marotis, an eyewitness who testified in Strasbourg, gave detailed information about what he called "NATO" barracks, noting that when he transported a detainee there, a KYP officer had told him "Don't worry, we will get to the truth here because we have all the scientific methods!" Last but not least, at Bouboulinas, torturers told detainees that a special white whip came from the Americans, while another former policeman told a detainee that American military aid included a number of "iron wreaths" which the ESA refused to share with the Security Forces (Becket 1997:39).

US support to the Junta is documented and uncontroversial; President Clinton's apology during his visit to Greece in 1999 was a formal corroboration of the financial, military and diplomatic support offered to the Colonels by the US government. Many Greek officers were trained in military schools in the United States, includ-

ing the director of the ESA (1970–1972), Theodoros Theofylogianakos. According to survivors' testimonies in the first ESA trial, several military officers boasted that they were "scientist interrogators," with studies on psychological interrogation in the United States. According to the trial testimony of Nikos Constantopoulos, Theofylogianakos had told him: "we studied in special schools, we renew our knowledge and in here we have the technical means... no one can escape us" (Rodakis 1976:249f.). Furthermore, Member of Parliament Virginia Tsouderou, who had mentioned the torturous use of sound in her testimony, stated in the trial that the torture methods used by ESA were taken from a NATO manual. She characteristically said: "This programme was not Greek. Science was put in the hands of torturers .... It was a deceptive and criminal system. It was a plan for which there was a manual. These are written. This manual is not written by Greeks. They took it and copied it here. [...] Yes it is a manual of how to resist torture. I saw a copy that clearly comes from a NATO school in Germany" (Rodakis 1976:170).[19]

Bearing Witness

Despite the traumatic nature of their experiences, the interviewed survivors were able to recount their stories coherently, without any visible display of emotion. They were all proud of their experience and involvement in the resistance. Indicative is the case of C. When I mentioned that I was sorry to bring back such memories, she smiled and said that these were the best years of their lives, "difficult but the best, because we still had hope and we still dreamed."

In my research, methodological issues surrounding the interview process came to light. It must be said that the survivors I interviewed were evidently successful in processing their traumatic experiences. This was also confirmed by Dr Maria Piniou-Kalli,[20] former Medical Director of the Athens-based Medical Rehabilitation Centre for Torture Victims (MRCT). In the 1990s, Dr Piniou-Kalli led the study "The Long-Term Sequels of Torture," examining survivors of Junta torture. Despite concerns with issues of re-traumatization and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, or PTSD, the interviewees did not show any PTSD symptoms. The absence of PTSD symptoms during this process was attributed to the long time that had passed since the event, and to the specificities of the Greek case. Not only did the interviewees play a central role in the ongoing public debate in the post-dictatorship era, but they also led the political process, in numerous cases holding public offices. In the four decades that followed, many of them have spoken out repeatedly and exposed their experiences in great detail. Most of them are still active members of political parties. Most belong to the Association of Resistance Prisoners and Exiles 1967–1974, through which they try to keep alive the debate on torture and political exile.

Significantly, the only negative reaction I encountered in the interview process related to the four-page information sheet and consent form given to the interviewees beforehand. This material was approved by a local ethics committee, as required

contractually by the sponsoring body of my research. The document explained the nature of the research, legal terminology and signed consent. It guaranteed voluntary participation and anonymity, while giving the option of a PTSD expert to be present in the interview, or for consultations after the interview. All of the survivors I interviewed refused the offered consultations. Reading the document, most interviewees expressly rejected the idea of anonymity, mandated by standard ethical procedures and the law on personal data protection. They noted that they were not afraid to tell the dictator Papadopoulos their opinion during the Junta and they would, thus, not wish to hide behind anonymity now. Proud of their actions, they wished to have their testimonies recorded by name, as they had done in the past in newspaper interviews, documentaries and books. A few interviewees expressed an opinion that the scientific language of the information sheet/consent form was "cold" and impersonal. Only two people out of fifteen remarked positively on the document: a university professor familiar with such research and a lawyer who noted the adherence to data protection laws. It seems that for some, the scientific language of the information sheet and consent form may have raised associations with the bureaucratic language of the state. Political prisoners since the Civil War were faced with the pressure to sign a document declaring their loyalty to their government and their national sentiment and, where appropriate denouncing their communist ideals. Their signature was the only way out of prison. In the case of older interviewees who had been arrested and detained during and after the civil war and during the Junta, that is in the period from the late 1940s until 1974, I noticed that signing the consent form caused a concern. Most exhibited readiness and even enthusiasm, rather than hesitation, in speaking about their experiences. On one occasion, a leading figure of the Communist Party of the Interior, whom I approached for an interview, changed his mind after reading the consent document despite happily agreeing to the interview when I first contacted him; making an excuse, he said to try him again when I would be in town next time. I was later informed by a common acquaintance who had made the contact that such documents are off-putting, underlining the issue of anonymity. In this sense, it almost seems as if the information sheet and consent form, designed to protect potential interviewees, was in fact the main trigger of an association with their past experience as political prisoners.

It is obvious from the above that music was used as a part of the Junta's system to terrorize, damage, break and humiliate political prisoners. Despite the traumatic nature of the testimonies, the survivors I interviewed were able to symbolize their experience in coherent narratives, indicating that they have worked through their traumas and successfully reintegrated into the social realm. I would argue that the process of bearing witness was central in these cases. The importance of testimony has been theorized by Dori Laub (Felman and Laub 1992), co-founder of the Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies at Yale University and a Holocaust survivor himself, and later by philosopher Kelly Oliver (Oliver 2001). Witnessing, Laub writes, is not a monologue but presupposes a listener, through whom the survivor can reconstitute the internal "thou," an inner witness previously damaged by objectification and

subordination suffered through torture; in other words, through narration the survivor reclaims her position as a witness and a subject (Felman and Laub 1992:70f.). By re-establishing dialogue through which representation and meaning are possible, witnessing becomes a transformative process. Adding to Laub's theory, Oliver argues that witnessing entails a new subjectivity as an outcome of the "address-ability" and "response-ability" (2001:15f.). Subjectivity, according to Oliver, is the "result of a response to an address from another and the possibility of [the subject] addressing itself to another" (2001:105). It is this very process that is restored through witnessing. Taking as her starting point the ability to respond to the victim's testimony—to something that we cannot see but which lies beyond recognition—for Oliver, witnessing goes beyond any Hegelian master/slave dialectic premised on the seeking and granting of recognition. According to Oliver, our ethical obligation is "not only to respond but also respond in a way that opens up rather than closes off the possibility of response by others," thus creating the potential for a witnessing subjectivity beyond oppression (2001:15). In the above-mentioned cases, the process of witnessing began with the 1975 trials and continued in the form of a public debate through numerous interviews, newspaper articles, TV documentaries, books, and public office. This process has enabled survivors to successfully process the painful effects of their experience. Their example is, of course, by no means universal, as there are people who are still broken by the experience of living in the shadows of their traumas. Nevertheless, the dialectical process of witnessing emerges as an optimistic possibility that lies beyond the other's recognition and despite the abuse and violence of the past.

To conclude, the process of revisiting the existing sources on the Junta's torture, and of conducting new interviews with survivors, has shown that music and sound were indeed part of the torture regime in several detention centers, and certainly during specific periods of time. The electric bell at the Piraeus headquarters of the Security Forces, the motorized machinery and the "gong" at Bouboulinas, the banging on metal doors, forced singing and the repetition of loud music (of songs that often had a mocking character) at EAT/ESA are some examples which are by no means limited to Greece at the time. Indeed, they are encountered in several countries allied to the USA, such as Portugal, Argentina, and Chile. Connecting the dots between these cases in a national as well as an international level is crucial if one wishes to establish and understand the genealogy and continuity of the use of music and sound in detention, interrogation and torture. Such a discussion is vital given music's open institutionalization in interrogation techniques in the so-called War on Terror (Cusick 2006, 2008a, 2008b). It underlines the fact that revisiting and broadening the definition of torture is an urgent necessity.

Notes

1 I would like to thank all the interviewees for revisiting this bleak time of their lives. It was a truly humbling experience. I am indebted to the friendship and generosity of Christina and Natalie Moustakli: without their help many of these interviews would not have been possible.

2 *The Guardian* covered on a regular basis the politics of the Greek Junta and its violations of human rights. It also published messages by Greek detainees (even a song, both lyrics and score, by Theodorakis written in detention), smuggled out of Greece. See Thornberry 1967a, 1967b, 1968a, 1968b.

3 Anthony Marecco had been a Junior Counsel at the Nuremberg Trials.

4 For more on Kubark (1963), see pages 80–81.

5 In its Epilogue the 1977 report by Amnesty International is critical of the Greek government for failing to pass a law that prohibited torture by 1976. Instead it had managed to pass a law that fixed "a time-limit on the period during which victims could bring the civil suits" against their torturers: "six months for high Junta officials and three months for other officials from the date of the enactment of the law" (Amnesty 1977:65).

6 The absence of central records accounts for the striking imprecision in Amnesty's list (Amnesty 1977:75). Most of the accused, particularly those from Asfalia, were acquitted or penalized very lightly. These light (if any) sentences can be understood if one takes into account the fact that most of the plaintiffs against the Asfalia officers were communists. After many decades of institutionalized anticommunism, these survivors were considered solely on the basis of their ideology and were regarded with suspicion. It is not an exaggeration to suggest that their testimonies did not have the same status and gravity as the testimonies of officers from the Military, Air Force and the Navy, who testified against the ESA officers and soldiers. In this sense, the first ESA trial of 1975 was possibly the fairest trial/court martial in terms of sentences (see Amnesty 1977:12f.).

7 All interview translations are my own.

8 Testimony of interviewee K, who was detained at the "well" in Bouboulinas from 13 April until 26 August 1968.

9 I have not yet been unable to confirm this statement with detainees held at Bouboulinas during this time. Further interviews with detainees of these early years are planned.

10 An abridged version of this section is forthcoming in a book chapter by M. J. Grant, Anna Papaeti and Stephanie Leder 2013.

11 ESA detention centers were also at the Training Centre of Military Police (KESA), as well as at Votanikos and Nea Philadelphia in Athens. Detainees held there were also brutally tortured.

12 In all places under ESA, according to X, there was always some kind of music being played.

13 A popular hit of the time by Giorgos Kinousis. According to D, his brother, also detained at KESA, had told him that he had seen Kinousis go there to sing for the ESA officers and soldiers. "He was the favorite of the ESA soldiers," he told me. "When I see him now, I get goosebumps."

14 The use of the song "Stephanos" as well as "Tarzan" was mentioned by another former political prisoner, L, who was a student at the time; he was arrested on 7 May 1973, and brutally tortured at EAT/ESA and at ESA in New Philadelphia.

15 The use of music within survival strategies is undoubtedly important but beyond the scope of the present article.

16 Major Spyros Moustaklis was permanently damaged from brutal beatings at EAT/ESA, during which he refused to name his contacts. After a blow to his carotid artery, he suffered a brain trauma. Initially in a vegetative condition, he managed to survive but was left paralyzed and unable to speak for the rest of his life. He became not only a symbol of resistance, but also a symbol of the torture that took place during the Junta. See Amnesty 1977:45f., 53f.; Rodakis 1976:264–274.

17 "We are now confronted," Evrigenis noted, with "new forms of suffering that have little in common with the physical pain caused by conventional torture," but which nevertheless aim "to bring about, even if only temporarily, the disintegration of an individual's personality, the shattering of his mental and psychological equilibrium and the crushing of his will." Judge Dimitrios Evrigenis cited in European Court of Human Rights 1978:124.

18 According to its founding laws, the KYP was to be involved with anti-espionage actions outside Greece, and not with domestic matters. It would report directly to the Prime Minister. However, from the very beginning both the KYP and the CIA were intensely involved in home politics in Greece. In 1964 the Papandreou government tried to tame the influence of the CIA revealing that KYP's finances came directly from the CIA, and did not go through any Greek ministries (Becket 1997:34f.).

19 This kind of training seems to have solely involved ESA officials. ESA soldiers were mainly taught how to make arrests, to beat and bodily abuse the detainees without leaving marks. According to X, several of these teachings were made with American-style videos shown to the soldiers during their training.

20 I would like to thank Dr Maria Piniou-Kalli for all her help and for many invigorating discussions.

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"Human Rights Have Made a Difference": An Interview with Manfred Nowak

Manfred Nowak is Professor of International Law and Human Rights at the University of Vienna, and co-director of the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights. From 2004–2010, he was UN Special Rapporteur on Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment. Alongside many other consultancy and expert positions on human rights for the UN, the EU and the Austrian government, he served as a judge on the Human Rights Chamber for Bosnia-Herzegovina, appointed by the Council of Europe. His latest book, Folter: Die Alltäglichkeit des Unfassbaren *was published in 2012. The interview, presented here in a redacted form, was conducted by M.J. Grant.*

Prof. Nowak, you were the UN Special Rapporteur for torture from 2004–2010. Could you explain what exactly that position entails?

The highest body of the United Nations that deals with human rights is a political body, the Human Rights Council. It consists of states, but non-governmental organizations and independent experts, i.e. Special Rapporteurs, play an important role. If there is a resolution by a majority against a particular country, that is a decision made by states, but often this is based on a report by a Special Rapporteur. There are two different types of this special procedure. One is country-specific, for instance the Special Rapporteur on North Korea: he or she has the task of investigating and reporting on the overall situation of human rights in one specific country. And then there are thematic procedures, like the Special Rapporteur on Torture. My mandate was to investigate and assess the situation with regard to torture and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment in all countries of the world. So it's a global mandate, covering all countries. I did this on the one hand by dealing with individual complaints: I received many cases where somebody had just been arrested and brought to a notorious torture camp or prison or police station, and the family had immediately informed a local NGO, and the NGO had sent this to Amnesty International, for example; on the same day, my office at the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in Geneva would get an urgent complaint, which meant I could very quickly send an urgent appeal to the government requesting it to immediately investigate this allegation and see if it's true; if it's true, stop it, and if it's not true, please report back to me what they have found. The other part was conducting fact-finding missions, on the invitation of governments. I completed eighteen official fact-finding

missions to countries in all regions of the world in those six years. You go for two weeks, three weeks, accompanied by a whole team, and spend a lot of time in detention facilities, because torture always takes place behind closed doors. So we would go to psychiatric hospitals, to police lockups, to prisons, and speak in private with detainees, with victims, with witnesses. We had access to all documents, and spoke of course to the government, to ministers. Then, a report would be drawn up assessing the situation in this particular country. So that's a little bit about the working methods. And my overall conclusions were not exactly positive: in seventeen of the eighteen countries I visited I found torture, and in more than 50% of all countries torture is certainly more than isolated cases, it is routine, in some countries even a systematic practice. Also, the prison conditions in most countries were so terrible that I talk about a global prison crisis.

The period that you served as Special Rapporteur coincided with the period when detailed information emerged on torture practices used by US security forces in detention camps in the "War on Terror," practices that included various different ways of using music. People were often very shocked when they heard about these practices, and surprised when they heard how music was being used in this way. How did you approach this topic, and were you surprised when you heard about the use of music in connection with torture practices?

In addition to the eighteen fact-finding missions to countries I mentioned, we did several joint studies, including a study on the situation of detainees in Guantánamo Bay, and a global study on secret detention in the fight against terrorism. We identified 66 countries using secret detention, many of them in close cooperation with the CIA and the United States of America. In this last study in particular, which was presented to the Human Rights Council in 2010, we spoke with quite a number of former detainees who had been subjected to music torture.[1] Sometimes it's music, sometimes it's just noise, but it's very, very loud. The worst place that I heard of was the so-called "prison of darkness" in Kabul: people were kept in totally dark rooms, they were often hand-cuffed and shackled, and couldn't leave for weeks, or months. For 24 hours a day, they were subjected to very, very loud music or noise. I asked, "Well, how loud was it?" and they said that it's not as loud as in a disco, for example, where you actually feel it physically, but it is as if your neighbors have the music turned up as loud as they can, so you can't protect yourself against it; even if you really try to protect your ears it doesn't help, you still hear it very, very loud, and it drives you crazy. Sometimes it's a really shocking type of noises, but very often it's just American rap music or folk music, but it's always American music, because the idea was that the people who were subjected to it were suspected of being Islamic terrorists, who were seen as people who had a sort of hatred against western and American culture. The idea was to really bombard them with one symbol of American and western culture.

It's interesting that you said that Kabul was the place where the use of music seems to have been the most extensive and persistent. I'm wondering if there's a connection to the fact that the Taliban were one of the few regimes that has ever tried to almost completely ban music. Do you think there might be a connection there, that this happened specifically in detention facilities in Afghanistan more than elsewhere?

I didn't think about it at this point. But I know that these techniques have been used in various CIA black sites around the world, of which the prison of darkness in Afghanistan is described as the worst. Some people that I interviewed said that if you survived the prison of darkness, nothing can shock you any more. And of course there are many people who didn't survive or who survived with major mental problems.

In other words, not only the use of music was more severe, but also the other torture practices were worse in that case?

Yes, it's a combination.

Through your work as Special Rapporteur and the other positions that you have held, including for example as a judge examining severe human rights violations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, you have a uniquely global perspective on the use of torture around the world, and on contemporary forms of torture. Have you come across the use of music in connection with torture in other cases as well?

Noise has been used more often—the most famous example is the British security forces in Northern Ireland, with the so-called five combined deep interrogation techniques used against IRA suspects [in the 1970s], including the use of wall-standing, hooding, deprivation of sleep, and food and drink, but also intensive noise for a prolonged period of 24 hours or so. So that is nothing new. It's a form of disorientation of the senses, often together with things like hooding. But the use of music in the way the Americans did it, as an expression of culture that might be difficult for these persons to withstand, that I do not recall. I'm not disputing that it has been used in other cultures, of course, but that's something different. In re-education camps, like in the Chinese "reeducation through labor" camps, music is used as a form of coercion and reeducation (or brainwashing, if you like): people have to sing patriotic songs. We also know that from the Nazis, and probably from most of the totalitarian regimes, that they also humiliated their detainees by forcing them to sing patriotic songs. I know, for instance, that this was also done in the former Yugoslavia, by Serbs against Muslims—Chetnik songs and this kind of thing. But not so much as a torture method, rather as a means of degrading and humiliating prisoners.

What would you say is the difference, then, between the examples you have just cited and the way that music was used in places like Kabul?

If it takes place in a prison, in a prison cell, where there is no escape, so you're sitting there and all of the time subjected to this kind of noise or music, it makes you crazy—you can't protect yourself. Anyone who has ever been in a loud disco knows it can be nice for a certain period of time, but imagine that you can't flee, that when you decide that you've had enough, you can't just leave this place: you would have to be mentally extremely strong to bear that, because you really have to control yourself. I asked people who had been subjected to this, "How did you manage?" And one person said—and it made a big impression on me—"There are only two ways. You do it by being highly religious, religion helps, or with humor." You can't let yourself get angry, because that just makes it worse and worse. So you just have to laugh about it, you have to have this inner humor to deal with it.

We have found very many other examples, going back at least as far as the 1970s, where prisoners mention the use of music. We've found examples from Turkey and Uruguay, for example, and my colleague is looking into the case of Greece under the Junta in the late 60s and early 70s.

I also thought about the Greek case. There's also the case of Víctor Jara in Chile: they broke his fingers and then he was forced to play the guitar and to sing in extreme pain, so those are cases that I do recall, but again that is different. They were humiliating him because he was a professional musician.

We found one case in Uruguay, from a very old Amnesty report, where a prisoner actually mentions—twice in the course of one statement—the use of music as a form of psychological torture at that point, in the 1970s, so I suspect that there's more information available.

A Uruguayan case like that was submitted to the UN Human Rights Committee as well.[2]

The revelations regarding music in Guantánamo and the other detention camps have led to several campaigns against music torture, including campaigns run by composers and musicians themselves. There are also some composers and musicians who are trying to take legal action against the use of their music in that way. What do you think of such initiatives? How useful do you think that they are?

I think it's extremely important. What I heard was that Bruce Springsteen, Eminem and others have taken legal action, but I didn't really follow the outcome. In principle, of course, it's a copyright question: if I were a composer or musician and my music was misused for these kind of purposes, I would also feel that my rights as an author have been violated. So I hope that these legal actions have a positive effect.

Events in the last decade, including with regard to terrorism, but also other cases like the so-called "Daschner Case" in Germany,[3] have led to a new debate on the subject of torture, both in the sense of people talking about whether torture is in some cases admissible, but also a resurgence in campaigning against torture. Reflecting on the changing attitudes to torture, or the development of attitudes to torture in the last ten to fifteen years, what do you think has changed?

I don't really think it's a changing attitude. I think it was a kind of desperate attempt of the Bush administration to justify what is in fact unjustifiable. And they tried this with all kinds of means, Channel 24, Fox News, academics like Alan Dershowitz, and others. And of course their own people at the Ministry of Justice, people like John Yoo, Jay Bybee and others, who tried to justify torture on the one hand by redefining it, and secondly by saying that in the "ticking bomb" scenario, you have to balance the prohibition of torture with a good aim, which supposedly makes torture the lesser evil. This is no longer on the agenda—it was, as I said, a kind of desperate move, but not successful. Nobody bought these arguments, apart from a few people who are in favor of torture. A similar discussion occurred in Germany, around the idea of "Rettungsfolter" ["rescue torture"], led by Winfried Brugger, but it was only discussed in very limited circles, but again I think this is past. The case of Daschner was, I think, handled very wisely by the *Amtsgericht* [district court] in Frankfurt: in this particular case Mr. Daschner was found guilty of having ordered torture, but because of mitigating circumstances he only got a very mild suspended sentence. And I think that's fine for me. I think the principle must be clear: torture can never be justified. Of course I can understand that a person like Daschner was trying to prevent the death of a child who had been taken hostage, because it was thought at the time that the child was still alive, everybody can *understand* that, but there's a difference between *understanding* and *justifying*.

I think in the USA this discussion is over. President Obama made very clear that these practices are torture, and that the new administration would no longer engage in these practices; similarly, secret places of detention, rendition flights, everything like this I think has changed. Unfortunately, Obama has not really looked into the past, and has also failed in providing justice for the victims of torture, rendition flights and secret places of detention. Nobody has ever been brought to justice, there has been no real independent investigation, nobody has received reparation or compensation for the harm suffered. That is why I am very disappointed by Obama. But

still, the practice has changed, and I don't think anybody in the Obama administration would start justifying torture again.

Is forcing a prisoner to sing per se a violation of their human rights?

Forcing a prisoner to do something is in any case coercion, and I would say, yes, it's humiliating, unless it can be justified. Of course there are some things prisoners have to do, that is they have to work for example, or attend educational courses, in order to promote their reformation and resocialization after they have served their prison sentence. So perhaps we might find cases where a prison choir is needed for a Christmas concert or something like that. But again these are things that should really be on a voluntary basis, and what you mean is different. It's not necessarily torture, but it might be inhumane treatment; in any case it's a violation of the right to privacy of the person. If you don't want to sing, nobody should force you to sing.

When I give talks and presentations on the subject of music torture, people very often ask about the human rights framework, and what I experience is often scepticism, and a lack of knowledge as well. And I think the scepticism comes from the fact that they see, on the one hand, a very clear prohibition of torture, on the other hand so many examples in so many different countries around the world of this prohibition being contravened. What would you say to people who therefore come to the conclusion that international human rights law on torture isn't worth the paper it's written on?

I think one of the big challenges of the twenty-first century is to narrow the huge gap between the high aspirations which international human rights law has created and the sobering reality on the ground. One of the big success stories of the second half of the twentieth century is that in reaction to World War II and the Nazi Holocaust, human rights became one of the three main objectives of the international community (the United Nations and other organizations) and that we were able, on the universal level, not only to define human rights but also to establish it as the only universally accepted value system of our time. No other value system, no religion, no ideology, can claim that it's universally accepted: human rights are. That's a big step in a, historically speaking, fairly short period of time. If you have a detailed normative framework like this, of course the gap between the norms and the reality is huge, because reality hasn't changed in the same way. But that doesn't mean the normative framework has no effect. Human rights have had a major impact on reality. Think about the death penalty: in 1945, a handful of countries had abolished the death penalty and now it's two-thirds of all the countries in the world. Think about the situation of women worldwide, how that has developed. And probably also in relation to torture as well: much has been achieved. In the 1970s we had systematic

torture in most Latin American countries; the fight against torture, the fight against human rights violations, also led to redemocratization of Latin American dictatorships. The same can be said about many African countries, and also with regard to what happened in Europe: we had fascism in Spain and Portugal, and later in Greece, and we had communism in Central and Eastern Europe. So human rights are definitely being better protected in reality in the world today than they were in 1945: human rights have made a difference in reality. But that is no reason to be complacent. As I told you, I was myself actually shocked to find that in more than 50% of the countries in the world torture is widespread. But that doesn't mean that the international human rights treaties are not worth the paper on which they are written. If you drive a car, and sometimes drive a little faster than the German traffic code allows, you would certainly not say that the German traffic code is not worth the paper it's written on. Laws are there, and there are almost no laws that are not violated, but still everyone would say that it's useful to have a traffic code because otherwise, we would have chaos. It's a bit naive to think that as soon as you have a human rights treaty, all human beings become angels. That's not the reality. And we have much higher aspirations, and much higher standards, when we criticize or assess the rate of compliance of the human rights treaty on the one hand and the traffic code, or even the criminal code, on the other. How many people still commit theft, or even murder, in Germany, Austria, or any other country in the world? In law, of course, it's strictly prohibited, but we would never say that the German criminal code is therefore not worth the paper on which it is written.

Thank you, I think that was my last question.

I still have one question! When I read your questions, a movie came to my mind, *A Clockwork Orange*. It was one of the strongest movies I have ever seen, and very difficult to bear, to see the violence to the music, but also to see the music used, in a very coercive manner, as psychological treatment for violent people. And again, one could say: Is this torture? So I don't know how much this is used in your studies.

Interestingly, Anthony Burgess wrote the book of *A Clockwork Orange* just after he'd come back from service in, I think, Malaya and Brunei, and he was there at the same time that the predecessors of the "five techniques" that were used in Northern Ireland were used there in the context of the colonial uprisings. So this obviously made me wonder if Burgess had contact with people who knew about these "coercion techniques," since these are the kind of techniques he writes about. It's a coincidence, maybe, but it's certainly something I'd like to look into. The impact of the film would be interesting to analyze as well, because it does come at around the same time as some of the earliest examples we have specifically of the use of loud music. But we don't know if we found these

examples dating from this time only because this is also the period that organizations like Amnesty International started to report on these things. We still have to really look into it. But I think it's a very interesting film in that context, because it raises an awful lot of questions about where the idea came from, and what the impact of it was as well.[4]

Well, thank you very much, I think it's an extremely interesting topic you are raising and I am looking forward to reading your article!

Notes

1 *Joint Study on Global Practices in Relation to Secret Detention in the Context of Countering Terrorism of the Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms while Countering Terrorism, the Special Rapporteur on Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention and the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances.* http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/docs/13session/A-HRC-13-42.doc, accessed 1 February 2013.

2 For a discussion of both Uruguayan cases, see M. J. Grant 2013 "Pathways to Music Torture." *Transpositions: Musiques et sciences sociales, special issue Music and Armed Conflict since 1945*, forthcoming.

3 In 2002, former deputy vice-president of police in Frankfurt, Wolfgang Daschner, ordered a suspect, Magnus Gäfgen, to be threatened with torture in an attempt to find the location of a young boy he had kidnapped. Unknown to the police, the boy was already dead. Gäfgen has since been found guilty of his murder. Daschner was found guilty of coercion.

4 After the interview was conducted, we learnt from Katia Chornik that the soundtrack to Stanley Kubrick's film version of *A Clockwork Orange* was among the music reported to have been played during torture in Chile under Pinochet. See her article in this issue.