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Safeguarding of Musical Traditions. Towards the “Rehabilitation of the Alien”

According to the German anthropologist Dietmar Kamper, it may become necessary “to forestall the development of Western history into a closed parable.” This can be accomplished only through a rehabilitation of the alien. Opportunity lies in what has not been known: one must expropriate the expropriated history and then follow the trail of the alien (Kamper 1986:184).

Traditional music is the parable of the other, that of the open and opened ear, that of perception breaking up the own system, of the foreign hearing and listening. As a potential source of future diversity, traditional music in particular represents the music of minorities. It is the voice of the unacquainted, the inner voice of the not-yet-saturated, of the displaced. Traditional music bears witness to other realities. It is a challenging force between mystery, sadness, refusal and inspiration, out of which every prospective cultural history creates their openness—or ignoring it, will ethically fail.

Other world views and cosmovisions are tightly bound to their musical rites and customs. Traditional musics testify to alternative cultural concepts that challenge Cartesian, Western-oriented thinking, even with the mere question of how the latter deals with other realities. In addition, the musics of small ethnic groups keep the doors open for other forms of seeing, listening and perceptions of reality in the framework of the science of knowledge. The belief that the own or Western technological concept of reality is absolute would be a fateful illusion. Since the change of paradigm from the anthropocentric to the ecocentric world view, the fragility of cognitive theory in relation to utilitarian thinking has been heralded.

The fragmentation of knowledge and scientific interests has lost our view of reality as a whole entity and often confounds knowledge with information. Under the positivistic microscope of specific, isolated observation, the macrocosmic connectedness of the world has been increasingly lost. The Indian philosopher of religion Raimund Panikkar suspects that the mainly “implicit totalitarianism of the world view of the natural sciences” precludes real communication with the holistic reality of the world (1989:207). Speaking of the main failure of every form of ethnocentrism, the Arabic philosopher Seyyed Hossein Nasr points to the fact that the dynamics of other cultures are always perceived through the “eyeglasses of the own culture.” A real worldwide dialogue cannot arise as long as one part of humanity compels the other to use its own concepts of seeing (1989:225). Kum’ a Ndumbe III, president of the Writers Union of Cameroon, states:

Cultural imports from Europe do not enter into a dialogue with the African culture, but rather still make claims for the exclusivity of efficiency, modernity, development. This is made easier by the fact that the leaders of these countries, as identified as a target group by cultural organizations mediated from Europa, have already adapted themselves to European culture without having learned anything about African culture (1989:146; translated by the author).

This Western-dominated “one-way street” similarly holds true for interactions with cultures from Asia and Latin America. As a result, intercultural dialogue must be conceived through a broadened concept of culture. Cultural exchange should be encouraged in which a real “two-way street” is represented and which is continuously verified and corrected in view of current situations. Barthold C. Witte illustrates this one-sided “exchange” with an example from cultural institutions (Witte 1989:131). In 1989 the Federal Republic of Germany ran altogether sixty-six cultural institutes as branches of the Goethe Institute in Central and South America, Africa and Asia. But these regions themselves maintain only five cultural institutes in Germany. 31,300 women and men from the above-mentioned regions studied in 1987 at German universities, but only about 500 students from Germany studied in those areas. Witte concludes:

The reality is that cultural exchange is highly asymmetric, largely a one-way street. Under these circumstances, the term “exchange” is one of those euphemisms which are readily used in political discussions in order to mitigate—at least by abstract reasoning—a deplorable situation (*ibid.*:131; translation by the author).

Similarly, criticism of the predominant scientific ethnocentrism as a global phenomenon is comparable to "criticism of the power character of scientific activities." "The disregard and distortion of the alien as a legitimate vehicle for Euro-American modernity" have been criticized with the observation that it looked as though the language borders equaled the borders of reality (Güell 1991:8-9).

Such objections must be taken seriously. One must learn to listen to them. In terms of the media and technology, the musical world will soon become a "global village." And it can be easily seen that the rich nations transfer their science and technology to the poorer nations. The Western-oriented producers and distributors of electronic goods and broadcast programs hardly listen any longer to "the voices of the voiceless." Referring to the music world, Werner Zeppenfeld writes that the music market is firmly in the hands of internationally active cultural corporations, and all national submarkets have produced a synchronization of tastes according to Anglo-American listening standards (cf. Kampe 1989:159). The voices of the voiceless have faded out.

Whether the thesis of cultural neo-colonialism applies or not may be controversial. It is, however, a fact that today all cultures are exposed to the pressure of the interests of Western technology and are subjugated to an accelerating transformation mechanism. In the concepts of acculturation research, this process has been innocently defined as modernization, Westernization or hybridization. The main form of acculturation—that is, the direct shaping of one culture by another one—has, according to Stanley Diamond (1976:6), always been by means of conquest. The unequal power gap that has existed since the times of colonialism has continued and still remains a political and economical one. "Western" languages, techniques, politics, economics and the cultural concepts that are closely tied with these increasingly influence traditional cultures. Of 6,000 estimated languages of the world, only about 300 have a secure future (Linden 1991:52). Together with these languages, numerous songs, texts and musical genres are being lost:

Today, with little notice, more vast archives of knowledge and expertise are spilling into oblivion, leaving humanity in danger of losing its past and perhaps jeopardizing its future as well. Stored in the memories of elders, healers, midwives, farmers, fishermen and hunters in the estimated 15,000 cultures on earth is an enormous trove of wisdom. This largely undocumented knowledge base is humanity's lifeline to a time when people accepted nature's authority and learned through trial, error and observation. But the world's tribes are dying out or being absorbed into modern civilization. As they vanish, so does their irreplaceable knowledge (Linden 1991:50).

1. “World Music” as Message of the Media

The omnipresence of the electronic mass media and their “world music as music by which the world is ruled” (Fritsch 1981:23) is an industrially produced form of globalization. The example of MTV illustrates this. The Music Television Video channel, which operates worldwide, celebrated in 1991 ten years of operation. It broadcasts rock and pop music around the world, twenty-four hours a day. Its fast video clips imitate the basic elements of commercials. MTV is found almost everywhere: in America, Europe, Australia and Latin America, from Lisbon to Moscow, from Tokyo to Sidney, from Mexico City to Rio de Janeiro. Today MTV reaches 180 million households in thirty-seven countries over cable or satellite. In the fall of 1991, twenty-seven more countries will be added, among them Saudi Arabia and South Korea. Also on this list are Afghanistan, India, Cambodia, Vietnam and Kuwait; Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore and Taiwan have already been hooked up (Pareles 1991:1, 22). As a post-modern phenomenon of consumer culture, this “rocking around the clock” is a kind of “fast food music chain,” witty and brilliant. MTV is based on the “coming-up-next mechanism” (Kaplan 1989:4) and on the commercial clip concept, by which the viewer expects rapid changes in video content. The appeal of advertising a product remains the essence. The visualization of music removes the necessity for the viewer to need or want to understand anything. The music supported by pictures is quantitatively a powerful product, recycled quickly; most clips are used up within a few weeks, when they fall out of the Top Ten and fail to interest viewers any more.

Although the video clips pretend a visual diversity and deceive with the appearance of plurality, the music itself is a unified product of a worldwide, Western-oriented “musical-electrical Esperanto.” A global network idea of postmodern music technology has developed in accordance with the spirit behind the earlier worldwide establishment of Western conservatories, and seems to be their direct descendent.

As with all developments, MTV also can be judged as two sides of a coin: in a positive sense with respect to its internationalizing aspect, negatively as the dominating simplification towards one music model which—should it remain without alternatives—seems over the long run to level local and regional models. MTV establishes something like a consciousness of one musical world. Like the worldwide CNN channel in the field of daily news, MTV suddenly opens for many countries an “entrance” to the “wide world,” i.e., to popular music with Western characteristics. Especially for the East European countries, MTV brings a new feeling of life, symbolically linking them to the new world in

which they find themselves. The access of MTV to musically local forms and to non-Anglo-American music texts has been thwarted in growth. In the first years of MTV, even the appearance of black American musicians was relatively rare. Only with rap music has this situation changed.

On the one hand, video clips shake up the transmitted canon of aesthetic and societal conventions (Kaplan 1989:144) and break traditional stereotypes, but on the other hand, those clips are themselves not free from that canon. MTV's own conventions are refracted by alienating pictures. Visual illusions, realities, emotions and connotations are surrealistically thrown together. The listening ego is self-forgotten, left behind and intoxicated with pictures. Time is no-time, space is no-space.

Pareles has succinctly summarized the MTV concept, as follows:

MTV has often compared itself to an art gallery, exhibiting music videos it doesn't make, but MTV is no neutral environment. It's an amalgam of videos, commercials, ironic self-promotions, video jockeys (sometimes savvy, sometimes inane, often sexist), news (usually informative, sometimes promotional) and non-music programs, including a comedy show. It's a circumscribed sphere where youth, pleasure, noisy fashion, mild rebelliousness and consumption are all connected—a concentrated version of commercial television pitched at a young audience that, judging by MTV's advertising, is fueled by sugar, burgers, and chips. Anyone who took MTV literally would be nearly as warped as someone who believed soap operas were documentary (Pareles 1991:19).

A phenomenon like MTV is to be understood here as a paradigm and stands for a reality that became fiction—a reality which in its quantitative and long-term feedback probably will have a qualitatively deep-reaching impact on humans and society.

Should we fear the worst: that with the intense distribution of the multinational media, a form of "cultural imperialism" is taking place, as John Tomlinson (1991) has suggested? Only five large music companies control two-thirds of the world music market of sound recordings. In Germany, the second largest music market of the world (just behind the U.S.A. and still ahead of Japan and Great Britain), the sales of these five music corporations amount to as much as 84 percent of total music sales, according to Kampe (1989:152). Are the multinational networks going to mentally wire up all heads in one world- and sound-picture? Is the disorientation of local identities to be understood as transformation to a global world concept? Or does the powerful music market, with its few key decision makers, determine the musical reality of the world?

Do the fundamentals of market and production strategies decide the contents of future music? Are such questions at all relevant? Or do we merely repeat here the critical objection that has already been raised by Walter Benjamin in this “epoch of technical reproductions”? Is the “mediamorphosis,” as outlined by Blaukopf (1990:126), one of those developments that conservative thinkers will always limp after, or might there be something similar to a “bad conscience” vis-à-vis the unheard cultures that have been pushed out of the “surface of sound and pictures.”

Do endangered cultures not fall deeper, day by day, into the vortex of the entropy of space and time? Have the traditional ecologies, which have lasted for hundreds of years, even a chance to survive these economic times? Is the media doctrine of quantitative production and adopted loudness something to which the qualities of the other have to bow? In the end, are we dealing with the repressed fear of the unknown, of the invasion of reality concepts that partially signify a mental foreign country and foreigners, a fear which can shift abruptly to a hate of strangers? Can a bow of reflection with distance and proximity at its two ends be so tightly drawn that synchronization becomes a defense mechanism? Is the “alien” tolerable only when romanticised as the “distant and mysterious exotic,” converting into fear when it becomes “something that becomes known” because it makes one too unsure?

The triumph of loudness and pictures drowns out the voices of the voiceless and faceless. The twenty-four-hour marathon of MTV produces, like “suffering of the eyes” (Kamper 1991), “suffering of the ears.” Will contemplation of the other musics of the world become obsolete after the “expulsion of quietness” (Lietdke 1988) by mass music? Even before we have had a chance to reflect on what has already happened, music and film as holographic events will have caught up with us. It seems that the mental processing of substance must always run behind technical developments.

But on the other end of the spectrum of reflection, they are still singing and dancing—the Indians of the rain forests. They dance a desperate dance, a dance that wants to keep their ecology alive. Conscious of the fact that their world is coming to an end, Indians are beginning to document themselves in order to save at least their remembered knowledge and heritage with their songs. Michael Jackson and Madonna flicker over all media channels of the world; they also can be heard over the radio in the Amazons. But the fading songs of endangered peoples are obliterated in the transnational media world. They are “too special,” “too primitive,” and this is the reason that these songs and rituals are not brought to the media attention: they remind us of the repression

of unrevealed knowledge that is dying with their last representatives. In the mad rush to adjust to the tastes of the masses, the majority of media producers seem to have forgotten how to listen to the faint voice. The deafness of a high decible world has silenced the weak voices.

They, the Indians of the rain forest, have become living metaphors: they should be expelled from the last great forests, with the flashing sword of slashing and burning and the flood of planned waterworks. Along the Xingu and Tocantins Rivers alone, the culture and very existence of 200,000 Indians are endangered. The expulsion from the "green paradise" into the burned out "hell" has some mythic qualities. Giant trees fall under the greed of an incessantly advancing human avalanche. The eternal *garimpeiros* are on the lookout for shiny gold and devastate the land. Suddenly, the Kayapó Indians have stood up to rise their voices: with music and machetes against the \$500 million of the World Bank, against the flooding of their land, but also against the destruction of their life subsistence, their forests, and against the stifling of their songs.

Between this large spectrum of MTV and Kayapó Indians lies the tension of reflexion that thinks in metaphors and comprehends music too as a part of the whole world. The stumbling blocks of contradiction are strewn over the path between them.

2. Music of the World as Stage and Viewing Screen of Conception

The Western technological world has developed a musical behavior (when music is even distributed over the mass media) that has consolidated the concept of stage performance. Leisure time behavior transforms anything into a stage spectacle and reduces the enigmatical and subtle into superficial perceptions that fit in the timeframe of ninety-minute units, the length of a concert visit. Exchange and festival programs of traditional music also succumb to this mechanism. Foreign music is presented to the concert audience on the stage as if shown from the viewpoint of a timelapse motion camera. With the power to freely dispose of the available space on stage, one also disposes of time. Whether one deplores this fact or not, concepts of the "own" time and of the "own" space slowly begin to form the basis of these practices and are put upon the musics of other cultures. It is impossible to escape the paradox that, in the concert business as a whole, traditional music represents a real alternative which, at the same time, reconfirms and sup-

ports Western musical behavior for that music. The shortened *rāga* or *maqām* or the condensed *gamelan* orchestra piece accelerates the musical content through abridged forms of entertainment. Nevertheless, concentrated awareness of the potential otherness is still recognizable. Although the “other” seems to subordinate itself incessantly to the “own” and there is no fundamental dialogue with the “otherness,” there is still the attempt

to appreciate the other in his radical “otherness” and to establish communication with him on the basis of this acknowledgment (Güell 1991:9).

This appreciation only succeeds if an intensive confrontation of different value systems is allowed or, as Dettmar has expressed it, “a new construction of the Own and the Foreign only comes to pass as a result of an intensive encounter” (Dettmar 1991:85). To be sure, all cultures have their own forms of ethnocentrism, the tendency to subordinate the “alien” to their own categories of behavior. But the quantitative dimension that appears to be a one-way street in the epoch of mass media may give birth to a new qualitative dimension of monocultural behavior for the future. This danger may arise if we do not succeed in rehabilitating the otherness, the alien, in order to integrate those peoples into the broadened concept of culture defining the principle of transcending dialogue (cf. Witte 1988) and transcultural cooperation as a partnership of equal rights (Baumann 1991:27).

While the Western-oriented cultural models and their forms of music presentation and commercialization dominate the international market, the flow of models in the opposite direction from the so-called Third World countries is poor. Promising are, for example, the attempts toward a “new profoundness” in the contemplation of a holistic understanding of the meditative role of music and its spiritual penetration, and of music as a healing process in the context of an ecologically oriented cultural concept. Such concepts are very difficult to intermediate. They cannot be subordinated to the universal concept of entertainment. In the field of film, good documentary films through which an “other view” of the world is expressed are in demand. Similarly, there is a strong need for careful music documentation, records and video films that are accompanied by extensive commentaries which articulate the musicians’ concerns, needs, concepts and world views. The West still must go to the school of the specialists, of the wise and knowing people of other cultures; those specialists must be taken seriously and a dialogue with them has to evolve. As Anthony Seeger says: “... a

dialogue among cultures rather than a monologue about other people's culture" (Seeger 1991:298).

Without doubt, the mass media and the stage have come to characterize Western-oriented musical behavior, and thereby leisure time behavior all over the world. Paradoxically, this reveals that the introduction of numerous new media channels and music festivals does not necessarily mean additional enrichment or the presence of diverse kinds of music, styles and concepts. On the contrary, radio and TV broadcast stations, and even the majority of musical productions and events, succumb worldwide to the pressure of musical adaption, to the law of mass production.

The ideology of television and radio ratings, of sales and visitor statistics reflexively influences the consumer and producer with increasingly monocultural musical behavior and stereotypes. The regional "discomfort of culture" as registered in many places can often be understood as a sign of protest against the increasing modernism of global culture. The concept of many "musics of the world" is increasingly subordinated to the concept of the one "world music." This world music seems to absorb elements of other cultures, hybridizing them into transnational fusion music without, however, giving up the fundamental concepts of electronic Western popular music:

Der Impuls zur Synthese geht in der Regel vom westlichen Partner aus, und Regel ist auch die Unterordnung des Außereuropäischen unter die Konditionen westlicher Musikproduktionen. Synthese im Sinne eines gleichberechtigten, offenen, machtfreien Diskurses—das ist bislang die Ausnahme (Wilson 1987:7).

The fusion of all kinds of Western musics, of its art, entertainment, folk, and popular music (with some colorful touches of traditional music of other cultures)—these superficial processes of mixing and synthesis are dependent on accelerating endogenous as well as exogenous acculturation. Because of its monolithic character and rapidness, the newer, technological form of acculturation overshadows all earlier processes of cultural meltdown. Although the recent phenomenon of "world music" or "fusion music" is creative, interesting and challenging, it remains problematic because there are dominating forces throwing themselves like a tight net over the globe and ensnaring ever tighter the traditionally grown music cultures within that net. The majority of the musics of the world, i.e., the voices of the many people and of ethnic minorities, seem hardly to have any prospects of survival. They disappear with their ecosystems even before one became aware of them, before one tried to listen to them, not to mention having documented them.

The obliteration of such music cultures is gradually being perceived as a deep loss for humankind, analogous to the loss of particular species of fauna and flora when they become extinct. The strength of future resources and the guaranty of democratic diversity for tomorrow lies in the pluralism of world cultures and in their conservation as potential forms of expression.

Without becoming trapped in a crude form of cultural conservatism, critical objections still seem necessary in view of the unbalanced gap between the Western world and traditional worlds. Criticism of this biased pattern, as well as the role expectations and adaptations connected with it, was formulated by E. Kraus already in 1967. With respect to the great number of small ethnic groups and cultures, Kraus summarized the situation in the following statement, which still holds true after twenty-five years:

Western music owes this world-wide diffusion to technical progress and to its eminent universality. Our music inundates the other nations which then tried to imitate it, because they confused the power of technical development with higher level of musical culture Many musical cultures are in danger of losing their individual qualities and of adopting the uniform style of a world-wide civilization.

The crisis due to Western music can be seen in the fact that it contributes to a loss of individuality and levelling through the manipulations of the music industry. It consumes its energy in forcing a single musical language on all nations, instead of entering into a fruitful dialogue with still remaining musical idioms (Kraus 1967:10).

Since 1967 this situation has not changed in any fundamental way. Only alternative and dialogic productions and concepts of events will be able to stand firm in the face of the global tendencies of adapting and adjusted listening and musical behaviors. This approach does not intend to speak against commercialization, but on the contrary tries to apply commercialization to the service of a broadened concept of culture in the sense of Ernst U. Weizsäcker's "earth policy" (1989). A broadened cultural concept ("*erweiterter Kulturbegriff*") requires the principle of reciprocity on all levels. The communicative act of reciprocal give-and-take is determined by the principle of partnership between cultures. Aspects of equity of cultures, and particularly of music genres, must be holistically seen in the circular feedback of economic, societal and cultural political assessments. Through this, cultural exchange can become a "real two-way street" (Witte 1989:131).



Fig. 1.

Xikrin Indios recording themselves during the nhok ritual. Cateté, Pará, Brazil 1988. Documentation project of the IITM in cooperation with the "Sé-tor de Etnomusicologia" de la Universidade de São Paulo. Photo: Linda Fujie



Fig. 2.

A Xikrín checks the sound quality of a field recording. Documentation project of the IITM in cooperation with the "Setor de Etnomusicologia" de la Universidade de São Paulo. Photo: Linda Fujie

3. Musical Reality and the Living World

According to estimates of anthropologists, there exist approximately 4,000 to 5,000 indigenous or aboriginal cultures in the world (Burger 1991:180). To keep their knowledge alive, to preserve their wisdom and to further mutual understanding are among the foremost duties of contemporary man. Some good attempts aside, international organizations, the transcultural media and producers have not often enough represented a proportional and partnership-oriented cultural policy, using sensible ideas. The reflections of the 1982 UNESCO World Conference on cultural policy in Mexico and the UNESCO plan for the "Safeguarding of Oral Traditions" aim in this direction (cf. UNESCO 1983, 1987 and 1989). The protection of endangered music cultures through international organizations, as proposed by Alain Daniélou already in 1971, is even more necessary today:

The international organizations and governments have an essential role to play in the preservation of the threatened cultures and monuments. There would be very few ancient monuments still standing if the "Fine Arts" did not intervene to prevent their destruction. For the living monuments, which the craft and musical traditions actually are, criteria and methods need still to be defined (Daniélou 1971:117).

Appreciation of facts and questions of promotion methods and practices cannot be definitively determined and demand a permanent rethinking process. Promotion signifies the simultaneous evaluation of those areas that will not be promoted. Certainly, the criteria are not to be understood as an inflexible scheme, but as a permanent attempt to continue the dialogue about cultural values of self-determination, submission, integration and urgency.

The modest value placed on culture may be gathered from the fact that the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 1987 spent only \$5 million from a total budget of \$590 million on culture (Kerckhoff 1989:143). The International Music Council (IMC) has nineteen member organizations, but seventeen of them deal almost exclusively with Western-oriented musical concepts as their subject. Only the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) strives for an intimate understanding of particular musical cultures and concepts. ICTM organizes world conferences, regional study groups and the focused exchange of information and results derived from primary, local-oriented field research documentation. For several years, the International Council of Festival Organizations and Traditional Arts (CIOF) has developed

festival concepts that transcend the former framework that was limited to European countries. But referring to the IMC member organizations as a whole, there remains the preying question: Who speaks for the many voices in the one world? (cf. Tomlinson 1991:11ff.) International organizations in particular must be sensitive enough to create organizational structures that allow those affected to speak for themselves about their "other" cultural concepts in such a way that the musical discourse does not remain a discourse on the others, but a discourse with the others, on an equal basis.

In the last twenty-five years, the International Institute for Comparative Music Studies and Documentation (now called International Institute for Traditional Music) has edited for the IMC three UNESCO Collections of traditional music of the world: the "Anthology of Traditional Music" (Bärenreiter/Disco-Center), "Musical Sources" (Philips Holland), and "Musical Atlas" (EMI Italiana). In total, about 140 records with commentary have been published, most of which were based on field work documentation. Within the mass production of international pop and rock music and of Western music in general, this is not more than a pitiful drop in the bucket.

One observes a somewhat better situation at the American company Smithsonian Institution/Folkways Records, probably the largest editor of ethnographic records in the world. Of their 2,200 records, some 600 titles of musical traditions outside the United States have been produced (Seeger 1991:292). However, the sum total is disastrous, in view of the estimated 5,000 existent indigenous cultures, or the total of about 15,000 extant cultures in the world. On the international level, the majority of musical cultures have been forgotten. The music traditions of endangered peoples hardly seem to affect the musical conscience. With regard to Brazil, Lux Boelitz Vidal defines this situation dramatically. For the estimated 180 ethnic groups still existing in Brazil, there have been issued only two well-documented ethnographic records.¹

From a radical point of view, one could argue: What does it matter anyway? Is it necessary to display everything in the light of the public and of media attention? Does documentation itself not initiate the dissolution of these cultures? Does it not bring about the expropriation of culture, the marketing of "musical authenticity?" Is it not the conservation of "authenticity" that compels a paralyzing purism at the price of a conservative ideology of culture?

Perhaps the paradox between paralyzation and dynamism, between preservation and revival, safeguarding and obliteration, myth and market, and folklore and folklorism, is no longer a choice between the principal "either-or," but rather a gradual "not only-but also." In the

words of Peter Niklas Wilson (1987:8), “a self-reflected purism” would not fail even if it produced meager results, just as the endeavors of biologists who try to save endangered species are not wasted, even as their “red lists” get longer and longer:

Gewiß, derartiger Purismus ist am Erhalt von Strukturen interessiert, die von selbst mittlerweile kaum noch lebensfähig sind. Doch wenn der Westen schon eine Vielzahl traditioneller Musikkulturen auf dem Gewissen hat (und das hat er, ungeachtet der Qualität mancher neu entstandener Mischformen), dann sollte er ihnen wenigstens (im übertragenen wie im Wortsinn) Museen bauen—mit all den Vor- und Nachteilen, die kulturkonservatorische Bemühungen an sich haben—und Bedingungen schaffen, daß nicht-westliche Musiker wenigstens die finanziellen Früchte der westlichen Umarmung ihrer Traditionen ernten (Wilson 1987:8).

Arguments tortured by strict scruples against documentation of the existing—that is, that documentation would destroy just that which it pretends to save—misjudge the extent of the processes of change that have already affected many cultures even before ethnographers and anthropologists began their work.

One might melancholically observe along with Lévi-Strauss (1960) that anthropologists represent at any rate the awareness or bad conscience of the Western world and form collectively, so to say, a fig leaf for a naked reality. Perhaps such arguments and counter-arguments contain something of a policy of refusal. Although—as expressed by Maurice Godelier—the West is not a model without failures, it is much more attracting than repelling. But he adds this warning:

As with every historical reality, the West runs the risk of one day being overtaken by its own contradictions and ambiguities (Godelier 1991:123).

Is the West really going to become a “universal model for mankind” (cf. Godelier 1991)? How do the rich nations behave towards a pre-industrial society whose mothers prefer not to have children rather than have them acculturated into an alienated world?

In such discussions on safeguarding, promotion and documentation, sensitive arguments must also be included, such as those made by Catherine Ellis.² She relates cases among Australian Aborigines, for example, in which the knowledge handed down through texts and songs is secret. The ethics of international copyrights must listen to indigenous copyrights and respect those rights as a whole. This is an area in which local thinking, which is experienced only within a cultural con-

text, has to be brought into global reconsideration. Such thinking and acting should only be evaluated on the basis of mutual relations in a bilateral partnership.

In addition, the rights of musicians and their own concepts of life and self-representation, as well as the rights of collectors and authors, have to be respected (cf. Schneider 1991:302ff.). Without becoming paralyzed by difficult details, Anthony Seeger (1991:290ff.) summarizes the most important postulates of ethics for collectors and editors in a way that does not overshoot the goal of practical application.

The reality of international organizations is, as a general rule, separate and distinct from the basis of other spheres of life. In the context of their global organizational structures, their approaches are hardly able to understand the basis of the fundamental other. On the other hand, the ethnomusicologist working at the local level is a mediator, a *traduttore* or *traditore* (however it is viewed), and he often would like to withdraw from political-cultural decision making, from bureaucracy and from the “world alienation” experienced on both sides. Both sides are caught in a dilemma, as in the saying: “Those who know, do not like to act, and those who have to act, are not in the condition to know.”

Thus, musical reality plays a role as a global communication chain between the horizontal, generalizing organizational structures and their vertical specialization and fragmentation. What the lifestyle of small ethnic groups is like, what their concepts of reality are, what their world views are, how the shaman sees the world—such questions hardly ever find their way into the abstract concepts of world organizations and cultural programs. At the same time, we must assume that every ethnic group makes a rich contribution to the total sum of human knowledge with its cognitions, skills, songs, rituals and rites: “Lost tribes, lost knowledge” (Linden 1991).

To contrast the reality as seen from the global perspective of a satellite eye with the living reality of a local village reveals the broad gap between abstract and concrete, between far and near, between unknown and known:

Finally then, we are face to face with the enigma. What we view from the warmth of our home, our own village, our own country, and what we view from the magnificent cold distance of Voyager are part of a majestic cosmic continuity. In all humility, we have not yet evolved a conceptual system that allows us to reconcile the two ends of this continuum. As we struggle toward a conceptualization of the unity of all known parts, the future of one race, the human

race, may well rest in our ability to insist that every exposition of detail take place within a context of the whole (Brown 1991:374).

4. The Rehabilitation of the Categories of the Alien—On Listening to the Voices of the “Other”

Johann Gottfried Herder’s original idea of listening to all “voices of the people in their songs” (1778-79) was gradually narrowed, as that concept and definition of the subject came under the influence of collectors who were nationally oriented. The concept, which aimed at a history of the ideas of mankind, was emptied of meaning under the pressure of specialization and relativism. The dictum of Ronald Daus (1983:7), that the broadening of horizons accompanies the narrowing of thinking, may be true. It seems that every interest divides time and space, reducing objects into small pieces, and dismembering sound into small units. Music then becomes an aesthetic-formal phenomenon, bare of its content, particularized and hardly recognized by the mass media as a reality linked to a context of life cycles. Fission decomposes the subject of our interests; particles become more important than the whole, individual variants more interesting than the *gestalt*, the object more central than man. Slowly and laboriously, man has begun to change his thinking from musical text to societal context again. The open space in Herder’s thinking about song collection was encircled by the nationalistic ideas of folklorists, who reduced themselves to categories of the own, of homeland and state. Around 1900, at the same time that comparative musicology was developing, one began to think of the far spaces again, still under the shock of the colonized aliens. The triumphant advance of conservatories had already musically occupied the “other” countries. The “own” had become the doctrine, even before the “alien” was recognized on its own terms and before the difference between emic and etic was understood, i.e., between “own” and “alien” cultural views. The colonial history of conservatories still needs to be uncovered and written in order to understand it as part of a history in which the broadening of horizons is accompanied with a narrowing of thinking.

The unquestioned reproduction of models of thinking, teaching and schooling in other places, without listening to the cultural otherness of those places, seemed to be a late consequence of the missionary fervor that understood “truth” as a set of commands rather than the free dialogue of cultures. Considering the omnipresence of industrial civili-

zation, the potential otherness has become more and more marginalized. It seems hardly possible any more to listen to and understand the other time in the other place. The view of things constructed in such a way is declared as normal, without the “normalized” remaining recognizable in it any longer. The marginalized cultures and traditions become—similar to the so-called *Rückzugsgebiete* (areas of withdrawal) of the 18th and 19th centuries—the ecological space of consciousness. The time-place distance between the “old savages” and the “new savages,” between the local *Heimatschutz* (home defence) and the globally conceived *Umwelt- und Artenschutz* (environmental and species protection) seems to repeat its own patterns.

Above all, there is hope not only to preserve the marginalized for the future, but—with a qualitative jump to the other side of time—to bring the marginalized into the dialogue as knowledge: “Dialogue becomes free of domination only then, when we establish contacts with the planet again” (Stüben 1988:124). Only the experience undergone in the change from anthropocentrism to ecocentrism will lead the way from self-determination of the “own” to the co-determination of the “alien” through the voices of the others.

Because ethnomusicologists are always grappling with trans-cultural understanding, the dialogue between the “own” and the “sting of the alien” (Waldenfels 1990) is the constitutive element of any theoretical as well as practical approach. The days when a researcher can undertake an expedition alone in order to pursue his own individually conceived interests are numbered. Already in the field of planning, the principle of dialogue demands the participation of the partner countries and their organizations, as well as of the musicians themselves. This presupposes not only a democratically oriented principle, but also the insight that every culture and every group has created their own reality concepts and that those concepts are always relative. If one were to take the cognitive theoretical approach seriously—that so-called reality is always only the result of communication (Watzlawick 1989:7)—then the principle of broadened dialogue in the framework of a “joint venture” becomes the necessary prerequisite of any theory of knowledge and of any intercultural understanding, investigation and documentation.

The intercultural concept of cooperation in partnership demands a bilateral organizational structure from its very foundation that plans together, organizes together and carries out projects together. In this dialogical structure, mutually achieved needs, interests and goals have to be evaluated and reflected upon on both sides. The prerequisites for such a project as “Safeguarding of Musical Traditions” lie in approaches to “rehabilitating the alien” and concede that the perception of the alien

always widens the self. This also applies to projects in one's own country that deal with particular ethnic groups. Because musicologists comprehend themselves as a special group, with their own reality concepts and specific ways of thinking, they always see themselves as the "others" in their understanding of the foreign as well as in their self-understanding. The intra- and intercultural approaches to dialogue do not distinguish themselves methodologically in a fundamental way, but rather subtly. Understanding and appreciation in the dialogical concept always form a spiral of feedbacks:

In order to understand oneself, one has to be understood by another.
In order to be understood by another, one has to understand the other.³

This famous aphorism denotes the feedback spiral of different reality concepts and particular reference systems. Dialogue should integrate complementary approaches under intra- and intercultural conditions and promote alternative methods in differentiating polar contradictions. With respect to these aspects, authentic dialogue considers it necessary to be able to question the reality concepts of both sides, and that one—in the search for a better world (Popper 1989:11)—can emancipate oneself from exclusivity. In using such an approach, a unilateral model should be avoided. An attempt should be made to break with the traditional school models of Western world views in order to provide alternative thinking and acting. On the other hand, the anthropological attitude of only identifying the other has to be avoided so that the description of the "otherness" in "its truth" will not become a prescription for all time. The surmounting of these outdated models is only possible if other cultural concepts are taken seriously, without imputing primitive interpretations to them. The ethnomusicological approach is qualified to do this in several ways: on the one hand with respect to the possible structures of dialogical plurality, on the other hand with regard to the theoretical aspects of knowledge in the framework of communication theory and practice. Plurality of dialogue evolves from dialogue between musicians and researchers, between cooperative institutions and cultural politicians and through a broadened forum of published results and open discussions. Communication theory and its practice takes the horizons of both cultural backgrounds seriously and understands them as expandable as well as transcendable. Dialogue cannot be self-sufficient in identifying only differences or commonalities, but must investigate the chances of mutual teaching and learning, i.e. giving and taking. In fact, one has to be sure that cooperation as partnership are not only

words and do not form the net of a one-sided and imbalanced power structure. The “authentic dialogue with the otherness” is compulsory:

Es ist die Fähigkeit, dem anderen zuzuhören, nicht zu predigen, nicht zu interpretieren, sondern sich verunsichern zu lassen, es ist das, was Kurt Wolff mit dem Begriff der “Hingebung” [surrender] umschrieben hat; es ist das, was ich einmal im Anschluß an Susan Sonntag als eine Erotik der Erfahrung bezeichnet habe, die das methodische Philistertum ablösen muß, zumindest in der Phase der Wissensgewinnung, die ja mit unseren körperlichen Sinnen vonstatten geht. Wir sollten uns nicht durch das positivistische Wissensgewinnungsideal dazu verführen lassen, mit allen möglichen Methoden des Messens (um der Genauigkeit willen) unserer Angst vor der Hingebung an das Anderssein auszuweichen (Köpping 1990:18).

5. Towards the Initiative “Safeguarding of Musical Traditions”

It is the path of listening that leads to the project “Safeguarding of Musical Traditions”: the art of hearing and of listening is a metaphor for vanishing times, but also for the intention of listening to those times at the present. Music must be conceived as one aspect within a holistic approach. The project of hearing is a path—like the Tibetan Book of Death—which teaches us the proper life, to listen to the death of cultures and to their dying, to be objecting witnesses to genocide, deculturation and the suffering of those who are condemned to speechlessness. The concern is against trying to listen “correctly,” for example, against the tendency to perceive foreign musical scales according to our own terms, and “always to refer everything to our own cultural norms” (Wilson 1987:7). The concern is also to keep musical languages alive, as well as their democratic plurality as heritage and commitment. We are not concerned with a reenchantment of the world or an obsession for objects, but rather the continuation of the many stories and histories, of the many times at many “other” places, in order to forestall (as quoted earlier) the “development of Western history into a closed parable” (Kamper 1990:258).

On the way to the third millenium, it is inescapable to examine differently the resources of the traditions of humankind that have been “rejected” by modern times. This eminently rich archive of the symbolic, the imaginary and the real contains all the key symbols

that will be required for the continuity of a rewarding life on earth (Kamper 1990:258; translated by author).

In this sense, the rehabilitation of the alien through the means of traditional musics is proposed here as a part of the project "Safeguarding of Musical Traditions." This is a project in which one must remain vigilant over all difficulties, paradoxes and necessities linked to its contradictions—a project that lives from the vision of coexistence and equal togetherness, that advocates intercultural dialogue and practices cooperation as partnership as in the concept of "joint venture." This project should, in a sense, sponsor the musical traditions in the process of being obliterated and render a service to international and local organizations in its political representation of musical diversity.

The UNESCO record collection of traditional music that Alain Daniélou initiated at the International Institute for Comparative Music Studies is being continued, even though UNESCO as well as the IMC have withdrawn their financial support. The newly conceptualized compact disc series "Traditional Music of the World" is also currently being published by the Institute (under our new name, the International Institute for Traditional Music, Berlin), in cooperation with the International Council for Traditional Music. Different approaches to organizational structures may emerge in which forms of bilateral cooperation and of music documentation can be broadened. There is a need to think about how financial and legal questions of copyright can be improved,⁴ and how the rights of musicians of traditional music can be extended. These and many other kinds of questions have been brought up in the UNESCO Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Folklore, but they still require practical realization. Models must be developed which conceive of documentation within a holistic concept, as a part of intercultural dialogue, and which apply practical ethics. Models have to be found that perceive the "own" as well as the "alien" as ethnocentric value categories and which do not systematically defend the status quo. These models will be based on a network of preexisting infrastructures which are coordinated with new projects in such a way that the concentrated actions form the bricks for a whole building of transcultural dialogue. Cross-cultural communication is constitutive and realizes itself on different levels of dialogical forms. The main goal always is the self-organization of the other:

- (1) Designs of organization, research and products have to be bilaterally established. At the beginning, needs, interests and goals must be discussed and evaluated with regard to both partner countries. Agreements of cooperation must be signed that name

- both rights and duties. This first step initiated between representatives of partner institutions might be called the scholarly dialogue.
- (2) Discussions, seminars, development and field research projects are carried out with the participation of musicians and musicologists. Representatives, for example, of the "World Council of Indigenous Peoples," representatives of basic organizations and speakers of musical groups are included. This may be called the musical dialogue, which emerges from work with the traditional music. Rights and duties are discussed with respect to documentation, archiving and publication and are included in the agreements.
 - (3) The documentation will be brought to a local archive as the result of a cooperation project. Evaluation, interpretation and publication are parts of this cooperation. The material can be used in both partner countries in an expanded dialogue, over the media, so long as they observe the different legal rights, agreements and ethics. Emphasis must be put on the presentation and intermediation of other reality concepts.
 - (4) Exchange programs between scholars and musicians may foster the communication network in the dialogue of interchanging roles, i.e. between host and guest in the own or foreign context.

This interlocking and double symmetry, which accepts both partners with equal rights in reciprocal roles, gives rise to a holistic concept and reflects—under ideal conditions—mutual planning, organizing and realization as a result of an intercultural discourse (Baumann 1989:165-8). The process of "creating and confronting cultures" (Seeger 1991) questions at the same time problems of theory and practice, of cultural policy and ethics, of understanding and validation (cf. Hamnett 1984) and is always searching for the alternative otherness.

To unite the essential otherness with the known in a complementary way will bring new experiences for the future. The insight that the diversity and plurality of music and musical traditions are a heritage for all humankind will thrust artificial polarities into the background. With the message "We are the World," famous pop and rock singers released a record based on a charity concert, "USA for Africa." They came together to transcend their own borders with their diverse music styles. The Live Aid Concert in London and Philadelphia, the Farm Aid Concert in Champaign, Illinois and the intensive initiative in bringing together different countries in the worldwide musical event "One World, One Voice" gave birth to a new musical dialogue. Traditional musics and ethnomusicologists in particular have to work creatively on new

concepts with the pronounced goal that the “One World” resounds with “Many Voices,” and that those voices remain not only Western ones. The focus will place less emphasis on “world music” as on “musics of the world,” to whom the chance must be given to speak out for themselves.

The Brazilian pop star Milton Nascimento set an example for a musical “Alliance for the People of the Forest” with his recording “*txai*” (the other half of me). A Kayapó song leads into his song as a message of hope and is to be understood as an appeal to listen to those who have something to tell us and who want to be heard. It is—among few examples—a modest message of hope.

In spite of its oft-deplored loss of function in everyday life, traditional music will gain a new global function within the concert of peoples. It is the path of an open thinking that through the “ecology of mind” harks back to the insight of Gregory Bateson (1985:632), according to which the creature that is victorious against its surroundings destroys itself. Thus everything is, in the words of the Kaxinawa Indians of the western Amazonas, *txai*, the other half of me. This “otherness” has to care about other places and other times, because it is “the own” itself:

We have to watch over these places, take care of these places just as we take care of our own lives.

And we must be sure that the voices that are bringing this word, this new spirit, can be joined by many other voices to sing out strongly the building of a new way of living and of protecting the world in which we live (Ailton Krenak; notes to “*txai*”).

Notes

- 1 Cf. Lux Boelitz Vidal's article in this volume.
- 2 Cf. Catherine Ellis' article in this volume.
- 3 Cf. Watzlawick 1989:13; Hora 1959:237.
- 4 Wallis & Malm 1984:163ff.; Blaukopf 1990.

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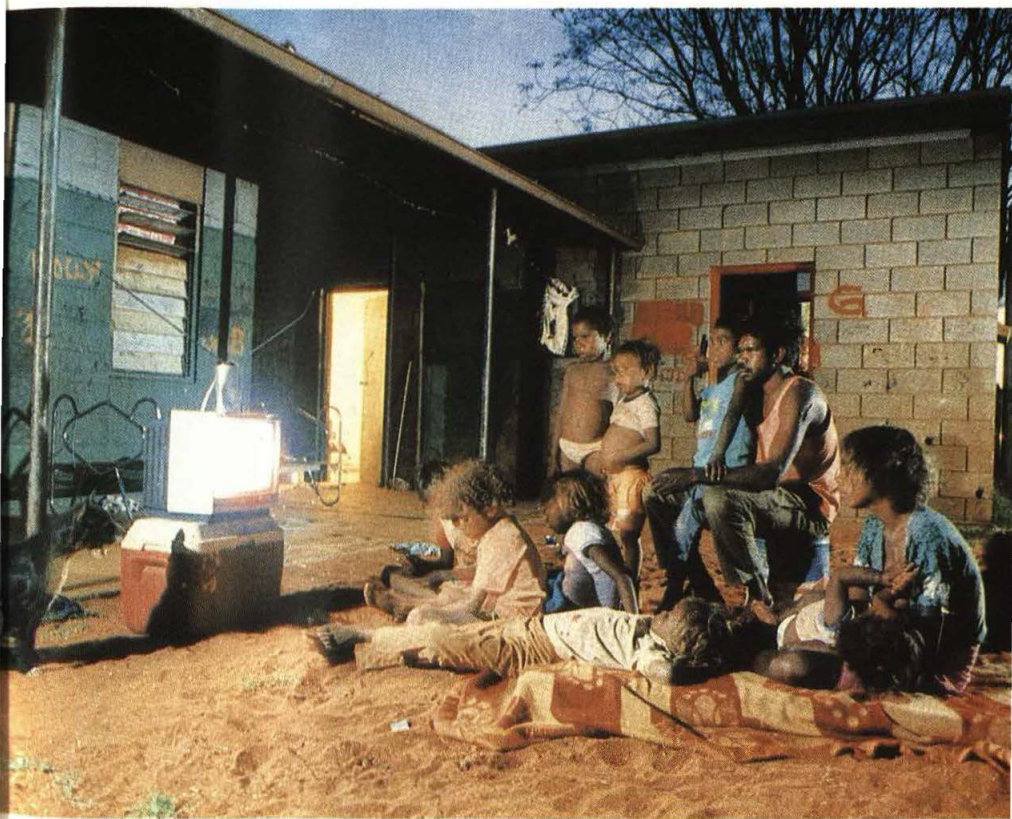


Fig. 3.

Family viewing *Imparja Television* at Yuendumu, Northern Territory, Central Australia. Photo: Nick Lockett, with acknowledgement to CAAMA (Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association)



Fig. 4. Samba musicians with sound truck. São Paulo 1987. Documentation project of the IITM in cooperation with the "Setor de Etnomusicologia" de la Universidade São Paulo. Photo: Tiago de Oliveira Pinto, IITM