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Research

The evolution of international protection mechanisms for musicians at risk

A historical perspective exploring Pau Casals's legacy

Laurence Cuny









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Author's note

As a human rights worker and researcher, my starting point for this article was the protection of artistic freedom under international law, and in particular the evolution of mechanisms for the temporary relocation of artists. I wish to thank colleagues, researchers, human rights and cultural actors as well as artists who share a common interest in questioning the role of the arts in society. I am grateful to the Pau Casals Foundation for offering the opportunity to explore the archives and learn more about Casals's commitment, in particular Nuria Ballester and Isaura Solé. I am also grateful to Bertrand Meillat for sharing his deep knowledge of Casals and putting it in the perspective of the field of music in general and the trajectories of other musicians.

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Introduction

The organized protection of 'artists at risk'¹ is a fairly recent subject in international law and practice. Initiatives for the temporary relocation of artists threatened or forced into exile have multiplied in the last decade. The work of the United Nations Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights (SRCR), and in particular the 2013 report on freedom of artistic expression and creation, have been among the driving forces. The report called upon States to support artists and initiatives to establish safe cities —cities that temporarily host these artists, including musicians. The UN Rapporteur further added visibility to this issue by focusing on the role of the arts in promoting rights-respecting societies and by highlighting the potential role of artists as cultural rights defenders, expanding the notion of human rights defenders to the arts and cultural sector.² At the UNESCO level, artistic freedom has emerged as an area of monitoring of the 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005 Convention). Since 2019, the 151 Parties to the 2005 Convention must indicate whether they have developed initiatives to protect artists at risk or in exile in their quadrennial periodic reports.

The situation of artists and cultural actors during the Arab Springs and more recently in Afghanistan and in Ukraine has prompted new initiatives and commitments. In 2023 UNESCO issued a report on defending creative voices in emergencies, recommending learning from journalist protection measures and adapting existing mechanisms to artists, including a possible UN Plan of Action on the Safety of

¹The term 'at risk' means in danger, threatened or forced into exile. It comes from previous initiatives to protect academics, particularly the Council for At-Risk Academics (CARA), a British organization created in 1933 to assist academics forced to flee the Nazi regime in Germany. The organisation changed its name in 2014. It is also used by Scholars at Risk, which began in American universities in 1999. In the field of the arts, we find Artist at Risk, a project of Perpetuum Mobile created in Finland in 2013 to assist, support and relocate artists who are at risk of persecution or oppression, or are fleeing war or terror. Created the same year in Norway, Safemuse provides a safe place to stay and develop their art for 'artists at risk'. Artists at Risk Connection (ARC) was launched as a project in 2017 and has recently become an independent organization with a global mandate. The UN uses different terminology such as artists threatened or artists under attack or under assault, or artists in emergencies when it examines violations of artistic freedom. UNESCO refers to artists at risk in monitoring the 2005 Convention.

² Cultural defenders are defined in the SRCR report in 2020 as human rights defenders who defend cultural rights in accordance with international standards. They defend the right of all to take part in cultural life, without discrimination, and the rights to freedom of artistic expression and scientific freedom.

Artists. The level of awareness of the risks faced by artists is on the rise and protection mechanisms are developing to respond. There is no doubt the cellist Pau Casals would have benefited from these mechanisms had they existed at the time of his exile in 1939 due to the Spanish Civil War. When he left Barcelona, Casals was possibly the world's most-acclaimed musician, and he received many offers of asylum. It was his choice to stay in France close to the Spanish border where he could assist refugees living in camps. After World War II he refused to play in countries that did not condemn Franco's regime. He later became a champion of peace in reaction to the threat of nuclear weapons and committed to the UN. He embarked on a 'crusade' for peace with the oratorio *El Pessebre*, which he conducted until 1972, a year before his passing.

The protection of cultural rights defenders and artists in exile is on the international agenda. It is a timely opportunity to recall the important legacy of Pau Casals as a musician and a humanist and his connection to the UN, and to put protection mechanisms in a historical perspective. This article examines the protection of musicians as a human rights issue (Part I). It explores the work and commitment of Pau Casals by questioning his role as a cultural rights defender (Part II). Finally, it examines the current landscape of protection, its potential gaps, and how reclaiming the figure of Casals continues to be of value to address these gaps (Part III).

Methodology and research questions

An initial desk review of the literature, and a mapping of actors involved in the international protection of artists at risk with a focus on musicians, was conducted in May 2023. This was followed by research in the archives of the Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya with the support of Fundació Pau Casals in July 2023. A visit to the Pau Casals Museum located in El Vendrell completed this part. The objective of the research was to identify what type of support, if any, Pau Casals had received during his exile, whether this support came from organizations and to inquire into his work and commitment to peace and human rights values. The objective was also to examine whether his situation prompted debates about the protection of musicians within the UN, other international organizations and civil society actors such as non-governmental organizations or trade unions. The next step was a series of interviews conducted in November and December 2023 with key actors identified during the mapping: Freemuse, Safemuse, Artists at Risk Connection, PEN International, International Federation of Musicians, Brandeis University and the UN Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights.³ Additional relevant actors including musicians and civil society organizations (ICORN, SH|FT - Safe Havens Freedom Talks, Perpetuum Mobile, etc.) were dismissed to keep to the time and scope limits of the research. The first five questions were common to all interviewees and aimed at gaining information on whether the current actors in the field of international protection of artists at risk knew about Pau Casals's commitment to the UN and support for exiles. The last three questions covered the current landscape, the involvement of musicians and the role of the UN, including the desirability of a UN Plan on the Safety of Artists.4 They were also common to all interviews to gain views on the evolution of the field of protection and current challenges. The other questions were adapted based on desk research, documentation available, articles, websites of the organizations, and video materials. The list of interviewees and a sample of questions can be found in Annexes 1 and 2.

³ See Annex 1.

⁴ See Annex 2.

Research questions:

Do actors involved in the protection of musicians today know about Pau Casals's commitment to peace and human rights?

Did support mechanisms for musicians exist at the time of Pau Casals's exile?

Do musicians in exile engage with the United Nations as Pau Casals did in his time?

Do musicians and actors involved in protection today engage with United Nations mechanisms?

Are there new perspectives to protect artists in emergencies?

PART I

Recognizing the protection of artists as a human rights issue

The role of artists and cultural professionals as well as the challenges they face has only recently been recognized as a human rights issue. In 2019, Reitov and Whyatt noted:

Freedom of artistic expression has always been subject to censorship and persecution. The arts and artistic expressions — such as music genres, lyrics, dance, books, film productions, visual arts, street performances and theatre — touch on the philosophical and political questions around what views are acceptable in society. Whereas art has been under attack for centuries, organised advocacy for artistic freedom is a newer phenomenon.⁵

The organized advocacy to which the authors refer has multiplied since the establishment within the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights of a specific mandate on the protection of cultural rights in 2009.⁶ The newly established mandate on cultural rights devoted one of its first reports to freedom of artistic expression and creation in 2013.⁷ The Special Rapporteur found that freedom of creation was increasingly at risk as had been exemplified in the 2011 Arab Spring uprisings. Social media were used to gather protesters asking for democracy and those wanting to silence them. The recommendations called upon States to support artists who were threatened and initiatives to establish safe cities.⁸ Ramy

⁵ Ole Reitov and Sara Whyatt, Arts. Protecting and Promoting Artistic Freedom (University of Hildesheim, 2019).

⁶ The office of the High Commissioner was established in 1993 in the wake of the World Conference on Human Rights that reaffirmed that human rights were indivisible, interdependent and interrelated and opened the way for the development of economic, social and cultural rights. UN, Resolution A/RES/48/141, 85th Plenary Meeting, December 20, 1993. On the development of cultural rights see Janusz Symonides, "Cultural Rights: A Neglected Category of Human Rights", International Social Science Journal 50, no. 158 (1998): 559-72; Patrice Meyer-Bisch, ed., Les droits culturels: une catégorie sous développée de droits de l'Homme (Éditions Universitaires, 1993).

⁷ UN, A/HRC/23/34, "The right to freedom of artistic expression and creation", March 14, 2013.

⁸ UN, A/HRC/23/34, "The right to freedom of artistic expression and creation", § 91, c) and § 7.

Essam singing in Egypt's Tahir Square was a symbol of this situation. He had to leave the country and benefited from protection mechanisms.⁹

Censorship and persecution of artists is not a new phenomenon. The novelty was that a UN mandate paid special attention to this situation as a human rights issue pertaining to artistic freedom. ¹⁰ A few years later, in 2018, the mandate issued a report on the contribution of artistic and cultural initiatives to maintaining rights-respecting societies. ¹¹ It was a first move towards the recognition of cultural rights defenders that in turn opened possibilities for the development of specific protection mechanisms for artists, including musicians. The 2018 report recognizes that:

[T]he transformative power of arts and culture lies in the nature of the aesthetic experience, which links cognitive faculties with sense and emotions, creating platforms rich in potential for learning, reflection, experimentation, and the embrace of complexity. Artistic and cultural practices can offer experiences of non-coercive, constructive meaning making and empowerment that can contribute to reaching a wide range of human rights goals. It is because cultural and artistic expressions are powerful that they are at risk of being targeted, manipulated or controlled by those in power or in search of power.¹²

The 2020 report raised awareness about the work of cultural rights defenders — those who defend cultural rights in accordance with international standards — and considered them "an important constituency among human rights defenders". ¹³ It opened the way for an extension of the existing protection mechanisms for human

⁹ Following threats and arrests he eventually found a safe haven in Malmö, Sweden through the International Cities of Refuge Network (ICORN) at the end of 2017. See UN Special Procedures letter to the Egyptian Government, UA EGY 7/2018, May 9, 2018.

¹⁰ Artistic freedom embodies the following bundle of rights protected under international law: the right to create without censorship or intimidation, the right to have artistic work supported, distributed, remunerated, the right to freedom of movement, the right to freedom of association, the right to protection of social and economic rights, the right to participate in cultural life, UNESCO, Artistic Freedom (UNESCO, 2019).

¹¹ UN, A/HRC/37/55, "The contribution of cultural initiatives to creating and developing right-respecting societies", January 4, 2018.

¹² UN, A/HRC/37/55, "The contribution of cultural initiatives", 3, § 3 and 4.

¹³ UN, A/HRC/43/50, "Cultural rights defenders", January 20, 2020.

rights defenders and for the establishment of specific mechanisms for cultural defenders and artists. ¹⁴ The report mentions especially those who use their work in the arts or culture to defend human rights generally. In the case of musicians this can be directly through the lyrics of their songs or in the case of instrumentalists indirectly through their actions and commitment to human rights. ¹⁵ One of the interviewees who had collaborated with the mandate on the 2018 report put it this way:

Musicians are culture bearers, whether they are working in traditional musical forms or more avant-garde or contemporary. They carry the human legacy. What they have to offer is of benefit for all humanity. People who have invested in the study of art of all different kinds should warrant protection. ¹⁶

So, was Pau Casals a human rights defender? Or a cultural rights defender? We can leave this question open for the next part, as we turn to the emergence of protection mechanisms and their extension to musicians.

1. The emergence of protection mechanisms

The first initiatives to create protection mechanisms came from civil society as an act of solidarity with persecuted writers.¹⁷ The International Parliament of Writers, established in 1993, founded the Cities of Asylum Network, which in 2006 became the International Network of Cities of Refuge (ICORN). This organization

¹⁴ Maik Müller, ed., *Temporary Shelter and Relocation Initiatives: Perspectives of Managers and Participants* (Ifa Edition Culturel and Foreign Policy, 2019), 11; UNGA, A/RES/53/144, "Declaration on the Right and Responsibility of Individuals, Groups and Organs of Society to Promote and Protect Universally Recognized Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms", March 8, 1999. For a discussion on the consequences on protection see Laurence Cuny, "Cultural Rights Defenders: Strengthening Protections for Artists and Creatives", Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, October 5, 2021, https://gjia.georgetown.edu/2021/10/05/cultural-rights-defenders-strengthening-protections-for-artists-and-creatives/.

¹⁵ UN, A/HRC/37/55, "The contribution of cultural initiatives", § 8.

¹⁶ Interview with Cynthia Cohen, December 7, 2023.

¹⁷ For the origins of the protection for academics at risk, see note 1.

negotiates agreements with city authorities to host writers for two-year periods. Barcelona, for instance, is one of these Cities of Refuge, operated by the local PEN International group, PEN Català. PEN International was a pioneer in this field. Created in 1921 to promote literary exchange, it soon became involved in defending writers' freedom of expression and persecuted writers in the context of book-burnings in Germany and the Spanish Civil War. To date, PEN maintains a case list of persecuted writers and works with other organizations to find hosts. Its focus is on the written word, covering journalists, writers of fiction, poets, playwrights, and other creative writers. This means that there is only a limited opportunity for musicians through their lyrics. In 2014, in the aftermath of the UN report, ICORN extended its reach to all artists. Since then, other relocation initiatives have emerged, but they fall short of the needs of individual artists. Also, these initiatives that match individual artists with cities or relocation spaces cannot respond to large-scale emergencies when groups of artists need to flee, as recently witnessed in Afghanistan and Ukraine, and as was the case in the time of Casals.

2. Setting the scene for the protection of musicians

In 2010, in an article reflecting on their journey as founders of Freemuse, Korpe and Reitov noted:

¹⁸ For more details see Laurence Cuny, "La mise en œuvre de la liberté artistique dans les politiques publiques", in Accéder à soi. Accéder à l'autre. La Convention de l'UNESCO de 2005, la liberté artistique et l'inclusion des personnes migrantes dans les sociétés démocratiques, dir. Véronique Guèvremont, Laurence Cuny and Ivana Otasevic (Publication de la Chaire UNESCO sur la diversité des expressions culturelles, 2022), 51.

¹⁹ Reitov and Whyatt, Arts, 19-22. Records mention Federico García Lorca but not the passing of a resolution in defense of Catalan writers and culture at PEN International 18th Congress in Stockholm in June 1946 (also Bask and Galician). See Fundació Pau Casals/Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya (FPC/ANC). Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-538.

²⁰ Interview with Sara Whyatt, December 5, 2023; Reitov and Whyatt, Arts, 9 and 19-20.

²¹ The decision was taken at ICORN's General Assembly in 2014.

²² Kara Blackmore, *African Artists at Risk: Opportunities for Temporary Shelter and Relocation* (Ifa, 2021); Laurence Cuny, Relocating Artists at Risk in Latin America (Ifa, 2021).

When the Rushdie affair exploded in 1989, media all over the world started focusing on threats against writers. While famous authors have defended Rushdie and Taslima Nasrin, who has faced similar problems in Bangladesh, famous musicians run campaigns against hunger and other good causes — but neither Bono, Sting or Bob Geldof are out there defending their musical colleagues. The music industry and music media seem to have a blind spot.²³

While working in Pakistan, Korpe and Reitov had become aware of the extent of music censorship experiencing the ban on music in public spaces and the self-censorship of women singers to obey decency criteria. Further research unveiled that music censorship for religious or political reasons was also a common phenomenon in Tunisia, Sri Lanka, Tanzania or Kenya. This prompted the organization of a first Conference on Music and Censorship in Copenhagen in 1998. After the conference, Freemuse was established as an organization with the mandate to document violations and defend the freedom of expression for musicians and composers.

The organization has helped to shape a more complex understanding of the relationship between music and human rights.²⁷ Musicians have a strong potential to reach audiences. This means that under authoritarian regimes they are on the frontline and can be severely repressed —or suppressed—if perceived to be opponents or denouncing human rights violations. Two interviewees mentioned becoming conscious of the power of music, and the means deployed by authoritarian

²³ Marie Korpe and Ole Reitov, "Banned: A rough guide", Smashed Hits 2.0. Index on Censorship 39, no. 3 (September 2010): 38.

²⁴ Interview with Ole Reitov, November 3, 2023. With partner Marie Korpe they became first aware of the situation of musicians in Pakistan in the 1980s. Korpe worked for the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency and UNICEF and Reitov as a journalist.

²⁵ Interview with Ole Reitov, November 3, 2023. For instance, Iqbal Bano, a renowned ghazal singer, could not perform until her daughter was married. See Korpe and Reitov, "Banned".

²⁶ Marie Korpe, ed., 1st World Conference on Music and Censorship, Copenhagen, 20 - 22 November 1998 (Freemuse, 2001); Marie Korpe and Ole Reitov, "Not to be broadcasted" in Sounds of change, Social and Political Features of Music in Africa, ed. Stig-Magnus Thorsén, Sida Studies 12 (2004), 70-87. Since then, Freemuse has expanded its work to all artists.

²⁷ The literature on the topic is very recent. See for instance Peter G. Kirchschläger, "A human right to music — an ethical justification", *International Journal of Human Rights and Constitutional Studies* 8, no. 4 (2021): 284-87.

regimes to silence voices in particular, through the assassination of the songwriter Victor Jara in Chile.²⁸

Freemuse's documentation also shows that in some contexts playing a certain instrument, performing in a public space or singing in the language of one's culture are not tolerated. It is a human rights protection issue to defend the right to participate in cultural life and to artistic freedom. Before then, only the potential of music as a means to convey human rights messages was widely acknowledged, ignoring the need to protect musicians as cultural rights holders and defenders.

Amnesty International's world tour of concerts, *Human Rights Now!* in the 1980s illustrates this point.²⁹ While Amnesty understood the potential of music to convey human rights messages it did not carry out specific research on music censorship or violations against musicians in the countries it toured.³⁰ Other human rights organizations such as Index on Censorship and Article 19 later documented violations against artists or the arts sector but this was not done in a systematic manner.³¹

Even in 2010, ten years into the creation of Freemuse, the founders considered it "still rare to find records of music censorship and violations of musicians' rights

²⁸ Interviews with Alfons Karabuda and Jan Lothe Eriksen. Freedom songs or protest songs that appeal for peace or protest a political situation are often associated with a social movement. A paradigmatic case is L'Estaca, the song written by Lluis Llach first authorized by the Spanish censorship board and later prohibited. The 50th anniversary of Victor Jara's execution was commemorated in Catalonia just a month before the concert marking the 50th anniversary of Casals's passing on 22 October 2023 at the Palau de la Música Catalana.

²⁹ The Human Rights Concerts is the collective name informally used to describe the series of 28 concerts presented worldwide in 1986-1988 to raise funds for and awareness of the human rights organization Amnesty International.

³⁰ The role celebrity played in Amnesty International's Human Rights Now! global tour of rock musicians in 1989 has been recently analysed in an article by Charles P. Henry, "Celebrity as a Political resource: The Human Rights Now! Campaign", *Human Rights Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (February 2020): 174-94. It can be noted that none of the five objectives of this campaign was directed at protecting musicians.

³¹ Index on Censorship was first created in 1968 after an appeal from Pabel Litvinov published in The Times and calling for the creation of an "international committee or council that would make it its purpose to support the democratic movement in the USSR. This committee could be composed of universally respected progressive writers, scholars, artists and public personalities from England, the United States, France, Germany and other western countries, and also from Latin America, Asia, Africa and, in the future, even from Eastern Europe....", Marie Korpe, ed., *Shoot the Singer! Music Censorship Today* (Zed Books, 2004).

to freedom of expression in reports from Amnesty, Human Rights Watch and other global free expression watchdogs". They also noted that it was "still rare to find mention of these violations in reports from embassies, and so far no organisation accredited to the United Nations has raised these issues during the sessions of the United Nations Universal Periodic Review".

The first case before the United Nations human rights mechanisms was introduced by Freemuse in collaboration with Freedom Now in 2010. It was an urgent action petition filed with the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention on behalf of the Cameroonian singer-songwriter and democracy activist Pierre Roger Lambo Sandjo "Lapiro de Mbanga". It resulted in a condemnation of the Cameroonian government.³⁴

One might think that classical musicians, in particular instrumentalists or composers such as Casals, are exempt from censorship or other forms of silencing because they do not deliver a direct message through their lyrics. However, musicians' commitment to playing can be considered political, or they can use their public tribune to make a political stance. This was the case of the pianist Miguel Angel Estrella who was considered a communist because he played his music in poor areas and believed in the right to music.³⁵ It has also been the case more recently of the pianist Andreas Schiff, who left Hungary following threats after criticizing the regime and who is in exile in the United Kingdom.³⁶ A recent article shows the

³² Korpe and Reitov, "Banned", 34.

³³ Korpe and Reitov, "Banned", 34.

³⁴ The UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, called for the government to pardon Mr. Mbanga and to pay him compensation, Opinion No. 32/2011, UN, A/HRC/WGAD/2011/32, 2011, https://www.freedom-now.org/lapiro-de-mbangas-legal-team-files-petition-to-un-to-obtain-opinion-that-his-ongoing-detention-is-in-violation-of-international-law/.

³⁵ See Miguel Angel Estella, "A quoi bon jouer du Beethoven quand les gens ont faim?", *Le Monde diplomatique*, juin 1989, 27. Following his detention in Uruguay, Miguel Angel Estrella found exile in France. He is also an example of a solidarity campaign led by musicians including Yehudi Menuhin and Nadia Boulanger. In 1982 he founded Musique Espérance to place music at the service of human rights, peace and youth in 1982. He later also founded the Orchestra for Peace in the Middle East, Salam Shalom, who played at UNESCO on December 9, 2014. He became UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador and Argentina's ambassador to UNESCO.

³⁶ There is a striking proximity in the position of Schiff and Casals. See BBC World Service, "Why I won't perform in Hungary", December 23, 2013.

ambivalent attitude of the Spanish authorities towards Casals and reveals that he was under close surveillance.³⁷ Surveillance is not only directed to the authors of protest songs although they are the most visible part.

3. Safe havens for musicians

The focus of Freemuse's pioneer work was on documenting violations. It did not provide direct protection or relocation for musicians at risks but it gave inspiration to another organization, Safemuse, to create "a music-focused Safe Haven program parallel to the ICORN Cities of Refuge program, at that point a program mainly for writers". In 2012, the city of Harstad in Norway declared itself the world's first Safe Music Haven and has welcomed several artists over the years. In Lothe Eriksen recalls that "we wanted to act in solidarity with our musician colleagues, and in 2014 Safemuse welcomed the first artist in residence. In Norway, the Norwegian Society of Composers and Lyricists and the International Federation for musicians (FIM). The main purpose was to facilitate safe places to work and stay for persecuted artists and musicians at risk.

This work was also supported by the Swedish Society of Popular Music Composers, which awarded Freemuse a prize in 2011 for its efforts to stop musical cen-

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³⁷ Josep Maria Figueres, "El primer franquisme contra Pau Casals", *Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics* XXXIV (2023): 145-208. The author makes a thorough review of the means deployed by the regime against Casals in particular through the press, judicial proceedings, diplomatic surveillance and censorship of the book by Corredor. What emerges from this reading is that his fame and relationship to the royal family in Spain (in his early music education years) and in other European countries protected him. He was under close surveillance. There is also a speech by Queipo de Llano on Radio Sevilla where he threatened "when I catch him, I know how to put an end to this. I'll cut his arms off at the elbow". Attacking the ability to play is also what happened to Miguel Angel Estrella while in detention and to Victor Jara.

³⁸ Interview with Jan Lothe Eriksen, November 23, 2023.

³⁹ Iranian black metal artist Sina Winter was the first of Safemuse's artist residents. Safemuse received the Freemuse Award 2014 for inspiring other cities to offer safe residencies to musicians and other artists at risk.

⁴⁰ Interview with Jan Lothe Eriksen.

sorship and artist persecution and as a means to bring this issue into the work of the Union. One of the interviewees explains what motivated support:

One concrete issue was that Safe Havens that existed in Sweden were only for writers (journalists) but there was nothing for musicians whose lyrics have the most immediate effect in a revolution and who are silenced by power. The rationale behind it was to say that it is not as much about protecting people but the democratic process that is equally important to us, to help ourselves. This is why we are helping them. 41

Korpe and Reitov had remarked: "The silence from the music industry and organisations representing musicians and composers still astonishes us, as if the problem didn't exist." This is consistent with other interviews that highlight that in the past there was some individual commitment to the issue to musicians' freedom of expression, but no collective stance. 43

Artists hosted through Safemuse benefit from professional support, material and financial resources and spaces for expression. This support is completed by a record label called LIDIO, a sub label of Norway's largest independent record company and a tribute to Victor Jara. 44 One example of a musician resonates with issues that would have been dear to Casals as he defended the use of minority languages. Singer-songwriter Ghawgha Taban, persecuted for being the voice of female artists and minority groups such as Hazaras, the language of a minority across Afghanistan and Iran has been hosted in the City of Harstad. 45 Another striking parallel is that for her first record in exile Ghawgha recorded a lullaby, just like *Song of the Birds*, a traditional Catalan song and lullaby. Her EP was released on Music Freedom Day, celebrated on 3rd March, and her full album, "Qaf" was released in November 2024.

⁴¹ Interview with Alfons Karabuda.

⁴² Korpe and Reitov, "Banned", 34.

⁴³ Interviews with Alfons Karabuda and Jan Lothe Eriksen.

⁴⁴ Named after Víctor Lidio Jara Martínez. The label is a tribute to Victor Jara and all artistic freedom defenders.

⁴⁵ In some cases, artists are persecuted on the basis of their identity as well as their expression: ethnicity, gender, and cultural expression. Interview with Julie Trébault and Artists at Risk Connection, *Art is Power* (ARC, 2023).

PART II

Revealing the work of Casals as a cultural rights defender

Pau Casals was a major musician of his time. Before going into exile, already in his sixties, his worldwide prestige and fame were immense. He was the most renowned cellist of his time. He had given concerts in every European capital, had toured the United States and had lived in Paris and New York. He was probably the highest-paid musician of his time, and also a respected conductor, allowing him to invite great soloists, conductors and composers to Barcelona. When he went into exile there were many opportunities for him abroad. He turned these opportunities down to stay close to his country and use his fame to give support to exiles. He is remembered as a humanist and some readers may have seen images of the concert at the UN where he played the *Song of the Birds* (Fig. 1).

However, the extent of his commitment to Spanish refugees, non-governmental organizations, peace and UN values is not widely known to the actors involved today in the protection of artists at risk. The hypothesis made here is that the human rights movement was emerging at the time of his exile and did not prioritize the protection of musicians. Today, artists including musicians are considered drivers of change and part of the civic space to be protected.

Unsurprisingly, interviewees working in the music field knew Casals as a musician. "I am a composer and live with music. He is part of the musical universe we have inherited, have been inspired and influenced by" says one interviewee. 47 But when asked about his involvement with human rights they admitted being aware of some kind of commitment with humanistic values without knowing of the details. The documents in the archives leave no doubt about the extent of his commitment. He would now be considered a cultural rights defender. Would he have accepted this?

⁴⁶ Offer from the US of a special passport with a letter from intellectuals directed by Einstein. Following the occupation of Prades, a group of musicians including Toscanini and Ormandy asked the German government that Casals be allowed to leave France and get a safe-conduct to Portugal. Albert E. Kahn, *Reflexions de Pau Casals. Pensaments íntims i personals* (Antoni Bosch, 2020), 167.

⁴⁷ Interview with Alfons Karabuda.



Figure 1. Pau Casals playing the Song of the Birds at the UN Day Concert. United Nations Headquarters, New York, October 24, 1971. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-N-2564.

If asked he would have probably answered, as many defenders do today, that he felt he was just doing what he thought to be right.

1. Putting his career on hold and his music at the service of refugees

Even before his exile, Casals had taken a position for the freedom of thought and conscience. He refused to play in Russia after 1917 and later in Germany as long as freedom of thought and art would be held captive. At the start of the Spanish Civil War, Casals went to Paris. However in his reflections shared with Albert Kahn he explains that "The Eisenbergs persuaded me to see an old friend, Guarro from Barcelona. He talked to me for hours and convinced me to move to the South of France, to a village close to the border called Prada" (Prades, in French) and that his friend told him "Many of the inhabitants of Prada speak Catalan. You will feel like you are living in Catalonia. You will be close to the fellows that are in the concentration camps. They need you." He moved to Prades in October 1938, remaining there for seventeen years. From there he visited the camps where the exiles lived: Rivesaltes, Vernet, El Volo, Septfonds, Argelès which he describes in the same book as Inferno from Dante.

When I saw the living conditions, I felt I had a duty. With some friends who were lucky enough to be free we started to organise support to refugees. We wrote hundreds of letters to French, English, American and other countries' organizations to ask for support. The response was great, and we received parcels, food, clothes and money. I also started a correspondence with many refugees in camps that were too far away for me to visit.⁴⁹

In this quote Casals speaks in plural as he was accompanied by poet and friend Joan Alavedra, also in exile. 50 There is evidence in the archives of the many actions

⁴⁸ Kahn, Reflexions, 158.

⁴⁹ Kahn, *Reflexions*, 160 (translated from Catalan).

⁵⁰ He would later compose *El Pessebre* on the basis of a poem written by Alavedra.

taken in support of refugees, including charity concerts during the war.⁵¹ In 1950, the Prades Festival was first organized, and the money was donated to the hospital in Perpignan where Spanish refugees were being attended.⁵² He collaborated with Nancy MacDonald in the creation of Spanish Refugee Aid (SRA), an organization founded in 1953 to assist refugees from the Spanish Civil War who were in France. He became its honorary President in 1953 and remained involved throughout his life (Fig. 2).⁵³

At the end of the war, Casals received many honours from the French Government and continued organizing concerts to support refugees. In June 1945 he was invited to the UK.⁵⁴ When he returned to the UK some months later, the discourse towards Franco, Spain's dictator, was one of conciliation. He decided to turn down a doctorate at Oxford and Cambridge and announced that his concert in Liverpool would be the last in any country recognizing Franco's regime, as a mark of protest and solidarity. This inaugurated a period of 'musical silence' as he decided to stop playing in any country that would not condemn Franco's regime.⁵⁵

For instance, he refused an invitation by the UN to play at the third anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1951. He wrote: "Perhaps you are not unaware that it is precisely in protest of the non-compliance of these sacred rights in Spain that I voluntarily live in exile. The UN votes in favor of Franco do not seem compatible with the celebration in question." ⁵⁶

⁵¹ For instance the archives contain the programme of a recital with the French Red Cross at the Opéra de Lyon on November 17, 1941. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-9484. See Annex 3 and Annex 4. Gemma Caballer is currently developing research under the Pau Casals Chair on this specific topic of Casals' aid to refugees. See also, René Puig, *Pablo Casals*, *ou*, *le rendez-vous de Prades* (J. Roca, 1965).

⁵² The archives show the crucial role of Alexander Schneider in establishing the festival as well as in the concerts at the White House (1961) and at the UN (1971). More broadly, Casals encouraged students and musicians attending the Festival to donate; see Greenhouse's testimony. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T- 11083.
⁵³ Letter from Nancy MacDonald to Pau Casals, August 31, 1954. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-5163.
Gemma Caballer is currently developing research under the Pau Casals Chair on SRA archives (Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives). The SRA later became a programme of the International Rescue Committee.
⁵⁴ Kahn, Reflexions, 174.

⁵⁵ He plays in Paris on November 13, 1945 and then in Monte Carlo in March 1946 and Switzerland.

⁵⁶ Letter of refusal to M. Cohen, April 9, 1951. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-9609. See Annex 5.



Figure 2. Brochure of the Spanish Refugee Aid, 1953. Pau Casals Museum (El Vendrell, Spain).

He also refused an invitation from the UNESCO director Jaime Torres Bodet to play for the centenary of Bach. The director was conscious of Casals's position and wrote "I know —who doesn't— your decision not to accept any contract." His efforts to convince him were unsuccessful. His refusal to play was combined with activism to raise awareness of the situation of Catalonia in international public opinion. In fact, the entry of Spain in UNESCO prompted a letter of protest, initially planned to be sent with Pablo Picasso. Despite his admiration for the painter, Pau Casals opted to write alone. He wanted to remain apolitical and avoid the risk of being associated with communism. The letter was also sent to the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva. 58

In 1955 he supported the publication of a white paper on Catalonia to be submitted to the UN. He wrote:

 ⁵⁷ Letter from Jaime Torres Bodet to Pau Casals, April 26, 1950. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-7832.
 ⁵⁸ Petition by Pau Casals to the UN and UNESCO to speak out against the Franco regime and the repression of the

Catalans and their culture. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-10557. The Commission replied on March 25, 1964 that his letter would be included in the report of communications and sent to the Spanish Government.

Above all, the UN and its principal bodies, in particular UNESCO, should not remain ignorant of the fact that in Western Europe there is a people whose basic rights are being denied, such as the use of its own language and its centuries-old culture. They must know that remaining indifferent, their silence becomes complicity.⁵⁹

In 1953, he sent these words to be read at PEN's 25th Congress in Dublin.

The reason for my exile is none other than my loyalty to the freedom of mind. Allow me to remind you in the beginning of your solemn session, the sad situation into which the whole of Spain has long since fallen, and especially Catalonia where I was born [...]. In Catalonia, the regime is making a relentless effort to destroy a literature and a culture that has a thousand-year-old tradition. If so many governments who call themselves democratic have abandoned us, at least we will not fall short of receiving your praises of talented writers. There are no closed compartments in the realm of the mind; If man does not fight evil there, it ends up overflowing and corrupting everything. Freedom also is indivisible.⁶⁰

This is a particularly clear stance for the protection of cultural rights. That same year he wrote to a journalist:

To have to refuse to play in the great democratic countries because of their governments' apparent lack of these same principles is indeed ironic and personally tragic for me. It is however the only attitude I can take that is consistent with my feelings. These feelings have not, at any time, changed since 1945.61

In 1956, Casals moved to Puerto Rico where he remained until the end of his life in 1973. This situation introduced a change in his activities. Being close to the US

⁵⁹ Letter from Pau Casals, Prades, August 1955. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-10557.

⁶⁰ FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-9648. Casals is also mentioned in Simona Skrabec and Jaume Subirana, "From Catalan PEN to the World: Writers, Activists, and Diplomats", in *Culture as soft power. Bridging Cultural Relations, Intellectual Cooperation, and Cultural Diplomacy*, ed. Elisabet Carbó-Catalan and Diana Roig (De Gruyter, 2022), 201 and 209.

⁶¹ Letter from Pau Casals replying to a possible article by Irving Kolodin in which he explains his position. FPC/ ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-8807. The article was published in *Saturday Law Review* under the title "I have not changed my mind", March 28, 1953.

connected him to international politics.⁶² A paradigmatic moment was the concert at the White House in 1961 where he met President Kennedy. He had hoped to change US policy towards Spain. A few months later, the US Secretary of State visited Madrid to have an interview with Franco, whom he considered an ally against communism. Casals made the following statement to clearly denounce this alliance:

I should like to state, as clearly and forcefully as I can, that all steps I have taken and will henceforth take on behalf on the freedom of my people have been and will be inspired on the principles of complete freedom of worship, of speech and conscience, all of which have been taken from Spanish people. Anything that stands less than these principles I firmly repudiate.⁶³

2. Casals's connections with the human rights movement

The first years of Casals's exile were devoted to providing support to refugees in the French camps. To this end, he sent letters to his friends all over the world for financial support. He belonged to certain groups of intellectuals but his activism was focused on the urgent needs of exiles and denouncing the situation in Catalonia. His involvement in peace activism was prompted by the nuclear threat and was conducted with his friend and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Albert Schweitzer (Fig. 3). Together they signed the manifesto against nuclear weapons in 1958. The archives of the Schweitzer Foundation show that their correspondence had started in 1948. They both shared a desire to remain apolitical and to act for peace. He would later become a sponsor of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

⁶² He writes articles, meets students. See also the analysis of his commitment to Spain while living in Puerto Rico by Pedro Reina-Perez, "A Cellist in Exile. Pablo Casals and the Cold War", *Harvard Review of Latin America*, vol. XV, no. 2 (December 11, 2016).

⁶³ Statement by Pablo Casals, December 19, 1961. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-8833.

⁶⁴ Union nationale des intellectuels, letter dated May 31, 1946. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-465.

⁶⁵ A letter from September 29, 1959 expresses gratitude at his acceptance to be Honorary Chairman on the new Puerto Rico Committee. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-9431.

⁶⁶ Archives of the Schweitzer Foundation. Document A001-A978-Z001-C0004, 3.10.1958.

⁶⁷ FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-12018. The Foundation established in 1963 still exists today: Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, http://www.russfound.org/.

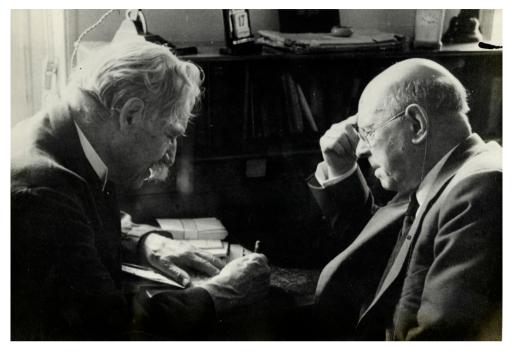


Figure 3. Pau Casals working with Albert Schweitzer in Gunsbach, 1955. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-N-1484.

The archives reveal that Casals was linked to some of the organisations that today work for the protection of artists and the recognition of the role of the arts in society. As seen before, he had addressed the members of PEN International. One of the most striking elements of the archives was to discover that *Pablo Casals* (he was known by his Spanish name while in exile) was one of seven personalities chosen by Amnesty International at the time of its creation in 1961 to be part of the Committee of Patrons and represent "one of the great civilisations of humanity". 69

⁶⁸ The notion of the human rights movement has to be nuanced here. At the time, the human rights movement was nascent. Organisations were fewer and less structured than today. In coherence with his stance not to be politically involved, Casals supported the causes as an individual but was not a spokesman for an organization. Casals put his trust in institutions, in particular the United Nations, and specific individuals, in particular Albert Schweitzer and Bertrand Russell.

⁶⁹ Letter from Vicente Girbau Leon, March 22, 1961 inviting Casals to join the call for the amnesty of prisoners. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-9432. See Annex 6.The reason for Vicente Girbau Leon to write this letter seems to be his contact with Peter Benenson, Al director. This is suggested in Salvador Gurucharri and Tomás Ibáñez, *Insurgencia libertaria*. *Las Juventudes Libertarias en la lucha contra el franquismo* (Virus editorial, 2010), 31 and 186.

We have chosen seven personalities like yours, each representing one of the great civilisations of humanity and we have asked them to join the Committee of Patrons. All of them are like you, known over the entire world for their achievements in the field of ideas and not dependent on politics. The six other people to whom this request has been made are T.S. Eliot, Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt, Doctor Albert Schweitzer, Vice-President Radhakrishnan, Ilya Ehrenburg and Cardinal Rugambwa of Tanganyika. [...]

We wish to insist that this appeal has no relation with politics. We ask for an Amnesty for people who are imprisoned, not because we agree with their ideas, but because we believe they have right to express any opinion that does not in itself lead to violence. One of the fundamental reasons why we have chosen your name and why we ask you to allow us to use it, is that we want to make clearly emphasize that there is no political objective in our Campaign.⁷⁰

The letter explained that the call would be launched in the independent weekly newspaper *The Observer* on May 28, 1961 as well as other journals around the world. While there is no acceptance letter in the archives, Casals appears in the letter head of Amnesty among the patrons in subsequent documents.⁷¹ This is clear evidence of the perception of his role as a human rights defender both committed and apolitical.⁷²

The archives also reveal that in 1968 he was the first musician to receive the Freedom House Award (Fig. 4).⁷³ It would be another 50 years before a second musician received the award: Cuban musician and activist Maykel Castillo Pérez (known as Maykel Osorbo) with Luis Manuel Otero Alcántara in 2022.

 $^{^{70}}$ Another letter from 1971 calls on him to provide support with the situation in Mexico. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-9432.

⁷¹ FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-9432.

⁷² The scope of this study did not allow an examination of how the Spanish authorities responded to his exile and position, but scholars argue that there were reprisals against him. See Phryné Pigenet, "Pablo Casals ou les modalités et les significations de l'engagement d'un musicien", *Le Mouvement Social*, vol. 3, no. 208 (2004), 133. An article in *The New York Times* speaks about a spiritual boycott and Casals saying that the authorities warned against meeting with him as he was 'an enemy of the state', July 16, 1951.

⁷³ See Annex 7. Luis Muñoz Marín, governor of Puerto Rico, received the award in 1956. It was during a dinner in his honour that Casals played at the White House in 1961. Freedom House, "Freedom Award", https://freedomhouse.org/annual-freedom-award; US Department of State, "Dinner is served. Pablo Casals", https://stories.state.gov/dinner-is-served/dance/pablo-casals/.



Figure 4. Pau Casals with Governor Luis Muñoz Marín at the Freedom Award ceremony, at the Freedom House Dinner. New York, April 8, 1968. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-N-7929.

Among the honours given to Casals was an honorary doctorate from Brandeis University that acknowledges his use of music as a weapon for peace. The letter reads as follows:

This year the Commencement is built around the theme of developing international perspective and there are few people in the world who have done as much to break through the barriers and restraints of the chauvinism that is the bane of our world. Music to you has not simply been an art form, it has been a weapon to fight for an enlightened universalism. It is appropriate therefore, that you should receive the grateful tribute of the University world.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Letter from A.L. Sachar, President of Brandeis, to Pau Casals, December 28 1961. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals. ANC1-367-T-10737. Other letters in the same file, show that Brandeis wrote again in 1962, 1964 and 1971 with replies from Casals. There is no evidence that he finally accepted.

The link with Brandeis is noticeable because of the role of this university and in particular of Professor Cynthia Cohen in documenting the role of the arts in peace building. Hence, the letter was a great discovery but came as no surprise. In the interview, Cohen indicated she was not aware of the role of Casals, his involvement with refugees and with the UN. However she considered that many of his commitments resonated with programmes that are carried out by the University until today concerning the role of the arts in peace building and transforming societies. The control of the arts in peace building and transforming societies.

The archives also revealed Casals had a role at the time of the creation of the International Music Council, the organisation at the origin of the 5 Music Rights. In 1949 UNESCO asked him to be a member of the European Consultative Committee to distribute the grants of the International Fund for Music with other musicians such as Ernest Ansermet or Jean Sibelius. He seems to have refused at first, as evidenced by a letter in the archives that examines his reasons: "you live retired from the world and busy, that you don't see how you could represent your country from which you are separated, that you cannot take responsibility for managing funds". A further letter points to his acceptance as it announces the first grants and thanks Casals for raising attention about the situation of Johannes Roentgen.

Casals was called upon and recognised as an influential, apolitical personality committed to peace. He had entered into musical silence as a sign of protest and maintained this position for more than 20 years with exceptions to play at the United

 78 Letter from UNESCO to Pau Casals No. ALM/90107, April 8, 1949. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-9572.

⁷⁵ This University and Cynthia Cohen as director of the programme Peacebuilding in the Arts have done extensive work at the nexus of the arts, culture, justice and peace. Cynthia Cohen, "Removing the Dust from our Hearts: The Search for Reconciliation in the Narratives of Palestinian and Jewish Women", National Women's Studies Association Journal, vol.6, no. 2 (1994): 197-233.

⁷⁶ Brandeis University, Acting Together Programme resources, https://www.brandeis.edu/peacebuilding-arts/publications/newsletter/2022/acting-together-anniversary.html.

⁷⁷ See Annex 8.

 $^{^{79}}$ Letter from UNESCO to Pau Casals No. ALM/99019, June 1, 1949. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-9572.

 $^{^{80}}$ Letter from UNESCO to Pau Casals No. ALM/116183, October 20, 1949. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-9572.

Nations.⁸¹ It was in early 1962 that he announced that he would go on a personal crusade for peace with his composition *El Pessebre*, playing music again but as a tool for peace.⁸² He was then almost 85 years old. In 1972 he wrote:

Ten years ago, in the moment of most intensity of what is called the cold war, and when the fear of atomic war was all around the world, I embarked on a call for peace with the only weapon I had in hand: my music.

It was at the start of 1962 when I decided to bring my oratorio 'El Pessebre' around the world and to conduct it as a personal message for international understanding and world peace... I am a man first, and an artist second. As a man, my first obligation is to fight for the wellbeing of humanity.⁸³

3. A commitment to peace and the United Nations values

In 1958 Casals was invited by Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld to perform in a concert commemorating the 13th Anniversary of the United Nations in New York (Fig. 5). He had not played in the United States for thirty years as he maintained his protest against Franco's dictatorship in Spain. He accepted the invitation because the headquarters of the United Nations was considered neutral international ground. His words provide an insight into the role of music as a source of communication and understanding.

Music, this marvellous universal language understood by everyone, everywhere, ought to be a source of better communication among men. This is why I make a special appeal to my fellows at the service of mankind...musicians everywhere, asking each to put the purity of his art at the service of mankind, in order to unite all people in fraternal ties.

⁸¹ Kahn, Reflexions, 204.

⁸² Kahn, Reflexions, 205.

⁸³ Kahn, Reflexions, 18 (translation from Catalan).



Figure 5. Dag Hammarskjöld, General-Secretary of the United Nations, welcoming Pau Casals at the UN Headquarters in New York, October 22, 1958. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-N-2540.

The 'Hymn to Joy' of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony has become a symbol of love. And I propose that every town that has an orchestra and chorus perform it on the same day, and have it transmitted by radio to the smallest communities and to all corners of the world, and to perform it as another prayer through music for the Peace that we all desire and work for.⁸⁴

The concert and Casals's message were broadcast live in 27 countries, with delayed broadcasts in 34 other countries reaching the five continents.

^{84 &}quot;Message by Pablo Casals", October 24, 1958. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-8813. See Annex 9.



Figure 6. Pau Casals conducting his oratorio *El Pessebre* in the UN Day Concert at the United Nations Headquarters in New York, October 24, 1963. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-N-7866.

The second time Casals went to the United Nations was in 1963, when Secretary-General U Thant invited him to conduct his oratorio *El Pessebre* with the Casals Festival Orchestra and Cleveland Orchestra Choir (Fig. 6). He delivered the following message confirming he considered it a duty tu play his music to promote peace.

Music, that wonderful universal language, should be a source of communication among men. I once again exhort my fellow musicians throughout the world to put the purity of their art at the service of mankind in order to unite people in fraternal ties. With this objective in mind, I consider it my duty to offer my humble contribution in the form of a personal crusade. Let each of us contribute as one can until this ideal is attained in all its glory; and let us unify our fervent prayers that in the near future all humanity may be joined in a spiritual embrace.⁸⁵

In November 1970 U Thant asked Casals to undertake the writing of a new Anthem for performance at the 1971 UN Day Concert. Although the new song could not be adopted formally as the official anthem of the UN, he hoped that it would come to be performed on appropriate occasions.⁸⁶ The New York Times would later write:

An ode to world peace by W.H. Auden, the poet, with music by Pablo Casals, has been commissioned by Secretary General Thant for the United Nations anniversary concert on Oct. 24. The theme of the work is music as an instrument of international harmony. It is inspired by the Preamble of the UN Charter.⁸⁷

Casals received the UN Peace Medal from U Thant on October 24, 1971 (Fig. 7). He received three letters from Secretary General Kurt Waldheim. The first, dated February 15, 1972, was a thank you note following his nomination. Waldheim wrote "it is particularly gratifying to me to know that I can count on the support and cooperation of an artist of world renown like yourself". **8** The second letter dated April 4, 1972 announced that Peabody award for the Television Promotion of International Understanding had been granted to the UN TV film featuring Casals's appearance at the UN Day Concert. In the third letter dated September 10, 1973, in which the Secretary General acknowledges the receipt of the *Hymn to the United Nations*. Sylvia Fuhrman, special representative of the Secretary General, was one of the driving forces behind the writing of the hymn. These are the words she addressed to Auden: "Needless to say, you and Maestro Casals are the first artists ever commissioned by the Secretary General to create such a work. There are great and wonderful plans for the use of the hymn."

Although it was not endorsed as an official hymn, there were plans for the United Nations Hymn for Peace to be the signature of all UN radio and television pro-

 $^{^{85}}$ "A peace message by Pablo Casals", October, 24, 1963. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-10153. See Annex 10.

⁸⁶ World Federation of United Nations Associations, WF/CIR/995.

⁸⁷ Henry Raymont, "Auden and Casals writing 'Hymn' to Peace for U.N.", *The New York Times*, August 26, 1971; "Casals is acclaimed in concert at UN", *The New York Times*, October 25, 1971. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-10057.

⁸⁸ Letters from UN Secretary General Kurt Valdeim to Pau Casals. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-9375.

⁸⁹ Letter from Sylvia Fuhrman to Mr. Auden, September 14, 1971. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-10057.



Figure 7. Pau Casals receiving the UN Peace Medal from General-Secretary U Thant at United Nations Headquarters, New York, October 24, 1971. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-N-2567.

grammes.⁹⁰ It was also expected that schools would play it instead of national anthems.⁹¹ At this time, Casals was 95 years old. In a letter dated November 4, 1971 to Sylvia Fuhrman, Marta Casals is reported as saying: "The Maestro [...] has always placed so much trust and faith in the United Nations as the only institution we have today to prevent a world holocaust and bring peace through rational understanding, that he would do anything to help the United Nations."⁹²

This involvement with the United Nations is well documented and widely known. The legacy of Casals as a humanist comes from it. For instance, the film of the concert features in the permanent exhibition at the Pau Casals Museum. Other

⁹⁰ See Annex 11.

⁹¹ Letter from Sylvia Fuhrman to Pau and Marta Casals, September 14, 1971. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-10057

⁹² Letter from Luis Cueto Coll to Sylvia Fuhrman, November 4, 1971. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-10057.

commitments have not received the same attention. The archives feature a letter from the Organization of American States Secretary General Galo Plaza thanking Casals for composing OAS's hymn with lyrics by the Dominican poet Hector Inchaustegui Cabral.⁹³

His relation to the United Nations can be compared to the modern-day involvement of different musicians with the United Nations. In this sense, there is a continuity of commitment to the ideals of peace of the Organisation and a legacy of Casals as a musician and a humanist.

4. Today's recognition of musicians by the UN

The United Nations Messengers of Peace is one of the mechanisms that did not exist at the time of Casals. This group is composed of prominent personalities designated by the Secretary General. Five of the thirteen current United Nations Messengers of Peace are musicians, including the Israeli pianist Daniel Barenboim who along with Palestinian advocate Edward W. Said co-founded the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra. The others are Chinese pianist Lang Lang, cellist Yo-Yo Ma, violinist Midori, and songwriter Stevie Wonder.

Going back to the mandate of the Special Rapporteur that was presented in Part I, the mandate holder Alexandra Xanthaki recalls that it took some time after the mandate was established to start receiving information on artists and musicians. This information might have gone first to the long-standing mandates on arbitrary detention or freedom of expression. ⁹⁵ Since then the mandate has been active in showing the power of the arts, including music. Some artists have been committed since the beginning of the Special Rapporteur's work on artistic freedom. For

⁹³ Concert commemorating the 25th anniversary of the Organization of American States, May 22, 1973. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-10257.

⁹⁴ Quoted as an example by Cynthia Cohen in her interview and in the UN, A/HRC/37/55, "The contribution of cultural initiatives".

⁹⁵ Interview with Johanne Bouchard, Human Rights Officer, UN Special procedures, November 29, 2023.

instance, performance artist Tania Bruguera, multimedia artist Larissa Sansour, playwright Shahid Nadeem and composer Alfons Karabuda participated in the meeting of experts on artistic freedom.⁹⁶ The rapper Didier Awadi from Senegal was present during the presentation of the report to the States at the UN in Geneva.⁹⁷ Other examples include Deeyah Khan, singer, filmmaker and journalist, who became UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador for artistic freedom and creativity in 2016.

A UNESCO report in 2023 found that "Artists are also often unaware, or not keen to engage in the UPR and other UN processes". 98 The reasons are multiple, including the fact that this engagement is not seen "to be a priority when undergoing an emergency situation" and the mechanisms are seen as distant and with no direct returns. The Special Rapporteur notes:

Music is a language that builds bridges beyond words, can go beyond the rational understanding and helps us connect at a level of shared humanity that does not know borders. 99 And she adds, 'the emotions that are raised by music are important in understanding the deep effect of human rights on the individual psyche. This is the way music has always been working towards understanding better the message of human rights. But music is also used for the opposite. We see a lot of violators of human rights who use music in order to push for violations including hate speech'. 100

The mandate has intervened in cases when music is suppressed altogether and has also worked on the effects of gender segregation. Xanthaki and Bouchard pointed to the fact that cellists in particular seem to be able to carry emotions in conflict situations. Casals talked about the "indivisible affinity between art and human values". 101

⁹⁶ Interview with Alfons Karabuda. Fair Music Project on the impact of new technologies at SKAP.

 $^{^{97}}$ In 1989, Awadi founded a hip-hop group named Positive Black Soul (PBS) grounding his music and lyrics in the concept of "conscious rap."

⁹⁸ Rosario Soraide, Defending Creative Voices. Artists in emergencies: learning from the safety of journalists (UNESCO, 2023).

⁹⁹ Interview with Johanne Bouchard.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Alexandra Xanthaki, November 29, 2023.

¹⁰¹ Kahn, Reflexions, 8.

In Ukraine, a cellist played Bach Cello Suite no. 5 in the ruins of Kharkiv. Another cellist played in a church in Nagorno Karabakh damaged in the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, performing a piece that went viral on social media. "It has a huge power. It's an act of defence. It's claiming the space, occupying it to state that it is part of the heritage". ¹⁰² This can be connected to the images of Mstislav Rostropovich playing Bach's cello suites on November 11, 1989 in front of the Berlin Wall two days after its fall. Rostropovich, whose father had been a student of Casals, was a UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador for his commitment to peace, human rights and education. ¹⁰³ There is also a Ukrainian National Anthem Cello Project that claims Casals's legacy and quotes him as saying "The cello is my only weapon". ¹⁰⁴ The project is supported by the International Rescue Committee, the organisation Nancy MacDonald belonged to before she created Spanish Refugee Aid. ¹⁰⁵

Outside the UN, an example of continuity of commitment by musicians is the role of the gambist Jordi Savall as a European Union Ambassador for Intercultural Dialogue. His Orpheus XXI project gathers around twenty musician refugees and migrants selected in Europe, including Abazar from Sudan, the first ICORN musician in the city of Harstad in 2014. Together they form an ensemble and also work on the musical and cultural transmission of their home country. These musicians maintain a memory and are holders of musical repertoires that are threatened

¹⁰² Armenian-born cellist Sevak Avanesyan, first cellist of the Belgian National Philharmonic Orchestra sat in Ghazanchetsots Cathedral after a bombing and played *Krunk* by Armenian composer Komitas to mourn the destruction of the building, October 12, 2020. See The Strad, "Belgian-Armenian cellist plays in bombed-out church", https://www.thestrad.com/video/belgian-armenian-cellist-plays-in-bombed-out-church/11333.article.

¹⁰³ UNESCO Press release, "Death of master Russian cellist and UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador mourned", April 27, 2007, https://news.un.org/en/story/2007/04/217072.

¹⁰⁴ The Cello Museum, "Ukranian National Anthem Cello Project, https://cellomuseum.org/ukrainian-national-anthem-cello-project/.

¹⁰⁵ "146 cellists from around the world perform the Ukrainian national Anthem on YouTube and Facebook at 1 PM EDT on 24 April 2022 to show moral support for Ukraine and help raise funds to assist Ukraine on April 23, 2022. See The Strad, "146 cellists play the Ukrainian National Anthem", https://www.thestrad.com/video/146-cellists-play-the-ukrainian-national-anthem/14779.article.

¹⁰⁶ Abazar is a renowned signer, fighting for peace and human rights in Sudan. After receiving threats, he chose exile in Cairo in 2008. In 2009, he created the "democratise music" project jointly with other Sudanese and Egyptian Muslims, a forum to share resources rather than fight each other. Abazar arrived at SafeMusic Haven, Harstad, on December 10, 2014.

by war, ethnical or religious intolerance¹⁰⁷. One of the objectives of the project is to offer professional opportunities to young refugee musicians. Savall justifies his commitment: "I feel I can't have the privilege of playing in the most beautiful concert halls in the world and stay away from the crisis that our society is going through". ¹⁰⁸ This also translates to the refusal to receive certain honours. ¹⁰⁹ The legacy of Casals seems present here also, as in this statement by another musician, singer and songwriter Elie Kamano from Guinea: "An artist first has his art as a weapon. And it is a formidable weapon because what the artist can give as a message in five minutes, the politician cannot give in two days." ¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ In this sense they are cultural defenders and they protect and preserve cultural expressions that are at risk of extinction, under serious threat, or otherwise in need of urgent safeguarding in line for instance with the 2005 UNESCO Convention (see Article 8).

¹⁰⁸ See Palais de la Porte Dorée, "Jordi Savall avec Orpheus XXI", https://www.histoire-immigration.fr/agen-da/2017-08/jordi-savall-avec-orpheus-xxi.

¹⁰⁹ Letter from Jordi Savall of October 30, 2014 to Spain's Minister for Education, Culture and Sports renouncing the 2014 National Music Prize. Savall has acknowledged Casals as an inspiration. He visited Casals in Prades. In 2017, he received the first Pau Casals Award from the Generalitat de Catalunya, which entails being an Ambassador of Catalan culture for two years. Generalitat de Catalunya, press release, "El Govern aprova concedir la primera edició del Guardó Pau Casals al músic Jordi Savall", March 21, 2017.

¹¹⁰ Artists at Risk Connection, Art is Power.

PART III

The landscape for the protection of musicians at risk: continuity in the issues at stake and current challenges in addressing them

The protection of musicians has gained momentum and visibility within the human rights movement in the last decade. Part I revealed new terminologies such as 'artists at risk', 'temporary relocation' and 'safe havens', as well as the reference to artistic freedom in the work of regional and international organizations. These elements are all evidence that the issue of the protection of artists, including musicians, has become a human rights concern. However, many of the challenges that faced a musician in exile at the time of Casals still remain. The issues raised by Pau Casals about the role of the arts and his role as musician for the protection of peace, human rights and democracy in Part II still resonate. They are close to the challenges that relocated artists face today as noted by academic research and practitioners.¹¹¹

1. The protection mechanisms remain highly selective

The relocation mechanisms that have developed in recent years have a limited capacity and cannot match needs. This means that artists with high profiles and connections are in a better position to be selected. Musicians who fit the music industry will have better possibilities of being hosted. This has not changed from the times of Casals. It remains difficult to assess what happens to musicians who do not have this high profile but choose to leave their country. As relocation needs exceed capacity, obtaining support can be dependent on the musician's

¹¹¹ The report by Sara Whyatt and Ole Reitov, *The Fragile Triangle of Artistic Freedom* (Ifa, 2024) points to the lack of academic research and the fragility of the field of protection of artistic freedom as it is dependent on a few donors.

¹¹² An interesting area for research would be exploring the impact of civil war on the musicians who were part of Casals's Orchestra. This connects to current discussions on the protection of artists as living heritage.

profile and connections at the international level. The exile of the Afghan National Institute of Music illustrates this point (Fig. 8).

This is a description by the UN Special Rapporteur of the situation in Afghanistan after the Taliban took power in Kabul in 2021:

Artistic images and artefacts, including murals, and musical instruments have been destroyed at the Afghanistan National Institute of Music. Musicians and artists have been subjected to public shaming and penalties, including lashing, slapping and harassment, forcing many to flee the country or go into hiding. The Special Rapporteur emphasizes that preservation of cultural heritage is key to avoiding ethnic tensions, threatening the country's already fragile security situation.¹¹³

From his exile in Australia, Director Ahmad Sarmast mobilised an international response. The Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights asked cultural and educational institutions to extend invitations to Afghan artists, cultural workers and students, especially women and members of minorities, to enable them to continue their work in safety. She reminded State Parties to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of the importance of international cooperation in securing cultural rights and the need to protect cultural heritage and those who defend it.¹¹⁴

As a consequence of the various mobilisations, a unique response was found. The 284 members of the school, students and teachers, were granted asylum by Portugal and the school is now in exile in Braga. But such a response remains exceptional.

The 2023 report by Artists at Risk Connection (ARC), called Art is Power, notes:

There have been a few awareness-raising campaigns and efforts to support famous persecuted artists —such as the Chinese protest artist Ai Weiwei and the Iranian

¹¹³ Human Rights Council, A/HRC/51/6, "Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Afghanistan", September 9, 2022, § 50.

¹¹⁴ United Nations Human Rights Special Procedures, "The Special Rapporteur on cultural rights". UN expert warns of "cultural disaster", urges visas for the vulnerable, August 17, 2021.



Figure 8. The Afghan Youth Orchestra with its founder, Ahmad Sarmast (Courtesy of the Afghanistan National Institute of Music).

filmmaker Jafar Panahi, whose visibility, one could argue, has also sprung from their dissidence and political activism. However, most artists who face risks do not have such high profiles and have not benefited from any such campaigns. Their struggles remain barely known and their need for support barely recognized. 115

Support is also selective depending on the country and remains linked to international politics as illustrated by support granted to Ukrainian musicians as compared to musicians in other conflict situations.

It is easier to get support for neighbours. It was possible to make room for Ukrainian colleagues in our buildings. There have been many examples of individuals wanting to collaborate, for instance heads of programming in concert houses wanting to programme Ukrainian musicians and have a Ukrainian repertoire. 116

¹¹⁵ Interview with Julie Trébault and Artists at Risk Connection, *Art is Power*, 22.

¹¹⁶ Interview with Alfons Karabuda.

2. Relocation rests on international solidarity and most initiatives are in the 'Global North'

Most organizations offering protection to artists at risk and relocation schemes are located in Western Europe and the United States. ¹¹⁷ In recent years, several European Union States such as Germany or France have extended hosting programmes to artists. ¹¹⁸ Such programmes are also developing in other continents, particularly in Latin America and Africa. ¹¹⁹ The impact of proximity to the country of origin and language issues in maintaining the connection to an audience are documented. ¹²⁰ Recent research notes that "many TIRIs (Temporary Relocation Initiatives) based in the Global North are part of development cooperation or strategies of foreign cultural politics and thus linked to a political agenda and subject to a set of rigid rules and regulations". ¹²¹ The Special Rapporteur on cultural rights notes for instance that "The issue that I see more often is how cities, especially western cities, are giving money to bring musicians from countries facing conflict or other human rights issues. However they do not give equal access to the music sector to the long-term migrants they have within their State. This is a very clear problem." ¹²²

Pau Casals in his exile chose to live in Prades, a village near the border, because the architecture and the language reminded him of Catalonia. This advocates for temporary relocation within the same region provided there are no security risks associated with it.¹²³

¹¹⁷ Nordic Ministers of Culture Declaration in support for artistic freedom, May 2, 2016.

¹¹⁸ Laurence Cuny and Véronique Guèvremont, "A European perspective on safeguarding the diversity of cultural expressions and artistic freedom in the digital environment", in *European Yearbook of Human Rights*, ed. Philip Czech, Lisa Heschl, Karin Lukas et al (Intersentia, 2023); and Laurence Cuny, "La mise en œuvre de la liberté artistique", 51.

¹¹⁹ See reports on relocation, note 22.

¹²⁰ Rana Yazaji and Marion Schmidt, *An Exercise in sitting with discomfort: Towards more equitable support for international relocation in North-South Contexts* (MRI; Ifa, 2022).

¹²¹ Yazaji and Schmidt, An Exercise in sitting with discomfort, 15.

¹²² Interview with Alexandra Xanthaki, November 29, 2023.

¹²³ Blackmore, African artists at risk.

3. Protecting artists involves protecting their economic and social rights

The definition of artistic freedom includes the right to be remunerated. UNESCO is increasingly working on the issue of fair remuneration, especially in the digital environment, and linking it to its monitoring of artistic freedom. 124 Fair remuneration is one of the Five Music Rights promoted by the International Music Council. In the interview, its representative underlined:

What I learnt early is the importance of being able to claim your rights and also understand your rights. It's not either culture or money. If you cannot afford to be professional, you cannot afford to have your own original voice or be critical of existing structures. Fair remuneration is not just the luxury of having money, it's about being able not to be dependent on others and to have your own say.¹²⁵

This point was clear for Casals. He stood for the rights of musicians to be paid during public rehearsals in Brussels and raised the salaries of musicians of his Orchestra, the Orquestra Pau Casals (Fig. 9), in Barcelona. 126

4. Artists in emergencies: a UN Plan for the Safety of Artists?

When Casals went into exile, he was one of many creatives who fled the regime. He received protection and helped other musicians but there was no organised support. In 2023, UNESCO issued a report on the situation of artists in emergencies. The objective was to learn from the example of journalists and the Plan of Action for the Safety of Journalists. As explained in the report:

¹²⁴ UNESCO, Empowering Creativity, Implementing the UNESCO 1980 Recommendation Concerning the Status of the Artist, 5th Global Consultation (UNESCO, 2023).

¹²⁵ Interview with Alfons Karabuda.

¹²⁶ Kahn, Reflexions, 93-94.



Figure 9. Pau Casals with his orchestra, the Orquestra Pau Casals, and the violoinist Eugène Ysaÿe during the concert held to commemorate the centenary of Beethoven's death, at the Palau de la Música Catalana. Barcelona, April 19, 1935. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-N-2800.

The safety of journalists in emergencies has received significant attention over past decades, resulting in the establishment of a strong body of international, regional and national law and policy in this field. Political leaders, intergovernmental organizations, civil society and media stakeholders have combined forces to strengthen journalists' freedom of expression, physical safety and social and economic rights in the context of crises such as conflicts, political instability and natural disasters. Artists and cultural professionals lack the same opportunities and safety nets of protection, despite facing many of the same threats to their safety and livelihoods that journalists endure. 127

Based on this analysis it raises the question: What further actions could be taken to guarantee their protection in emergency contexts and recovery periods?

¹²⁷ Soraide, *Defending Creative Voices*, 3. Several ways of enhancing the protection of artists are envisaged in the study: for instance, public statements by States or coalition of States in emergency situations that are specific to artists, or the inclusion of artists in UNESCO communications when addressing emergency situations. Another avenue explored is related to the guidelines published by UNHCR regarding the application of refugee law to specific populations and on issues generating controversy.

Consultations held with UNESCO World Heritage site managers, museum professionals, artists and other cultural professionals in Ukraine identified the provision of physical security for artists (through safe havens inside Ukraine or relocation abroad) and the protection of cultural infrastructure and artworks among the most urgent needs. Besides the legal protection for cultural property during both international and non-international armed conflicts, the situation of artists is now increasingly addressed. ¹²⁸ Artists are identified as a group in need for protection and solutions are being explored such as using the UNESCO Heritage Emergency Fund. ¹²⁹ UN Special Procedures have started taking into consideration the situation of artists in conflicts in their communications. ¹³⁰ However, the desirability of a UN Plan of Action for the Safety of Artists divided interviewees. They all agreed artists needed protection as they can easily become a target in armed conflicts, but the comparison with journalists was not considered fully appropriate because artists lack the recognition mechanisms that come with certain duties. Some questioned if the Plan would be suitable for artists, especially independent ones.

Beyond the issue of artists' protection during emergencies and armed conflicts, the role of the arts in peace-making is also currently addressed. The work of Brandeis University provides a theoretical framework for questions that animated Casals in his time. He questioned for instance what it meant for refugees in camps to receive the support of a musician. Cohen explains "I still believe that aesthetic modes of engaging with the world are very aligned with the kinds of ways of knowing and understanding that are required for peace-building and reconciliation." ¹³¹

¹²⁸ UNESCO, Note to the 1999 Committee for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict submitted by the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, C54/22/17.COM/6, 2022.

¹²⁹ The Heritage Emergency Fund created in 2015 finances emergency preparedness and response activities within the domains of the UNESCO Culture Conventions.

¹³⁰ UN Press release November 23, 2023 "Speaking out on Gaza / Israel should be allowed". UN expressed alarm at the worldwide wave of attacks, reprisals, criminalisation and sanctions against those who publicly express solidarity with the victims of the ongoing conflict between Israel and Palestine. Includes 2 references to artistic expression and 5 references to artists. See UN, "Speaking out on Gaza / Israel should be allowed: UN experts", https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2023/11/speaking-out-gaza-israel-must-be-allowed-un-experts.

¹³¹ Interview with Cynthia Cohen.

For Karabuda, "musicians maintain civic space and bring a sense of urgency and importance. We tend to talk about artistic freedom and freedom of speech as a separate area instead of understanding that it should be part of all environmental, gender or equity policies. They need to influence your whole structure. We tend to have them as isolated matters but things are connected." 132

5. Effective protection of musicians requires the involvement of cultural and education actors

"Artistic freedom is still isolated and is not part of any music education. It is rarely that we can talk about artists' rights, and freedom of speech is not part of the educational system. That is missing as that is where you build a strong foundation." ¹³³This quote illustrates the point that arts curricula or music education seldom include training on musician rights or artistic freedom. 134 It more largely points to a difficult bridge between human rights protection criteria and artistic criteria. From the arts organization's perspective there can be lack of recognition of socially engaged art as art from an aesthetic point of view. From the human rights organization perspective, artistic practices that do not deliver a human rights message may fall short of protection. 135 Julie Trébault puts it this way: "In large part, this is because socially engaged artists often fall into a gap between the human rights world and the art world, with each group considering them the other's responsibility. There is a lack of commitment on the part of cultural institutions which is one of the reasons that prompted the report Art is Power." 136 In the report, Jose Falconi, a renowned scholar from Latin America and currently professor of art and human rights at the University of Connecticut, observes that "There's this idea that art is not a deep engine of change but rather a decorative aspect of social movements."137

¹³² Interview with Alfons Karabuda.

¹³³ Interview with Alfons Karabuda.

¹³⁴ Laurence Cuny, Freedom & Creativity. Defending art, defending diversity (UNESCO, 2020).

¹³⁵ Laurence Cuny, Relocating Artists at Risk in Latin America (Ifa, 2021).

¹³⁶ Interview with Julie Trébault.

¹³⁷ Artists at Risk Connection, Art is Power, 19.

Whatever their commitment to human rights, musicians at risk bring new sounds, new understandings and visions of music and new tools to raise emotions. They build new networks. They also put a face to the problems that made them leave their country, making them much more understandable for the host countries and bringing different representations and narratives about migration.

Conclusion

The musical and humanistic legacy of Casals remains vivid, as shown by the commemorations of the 50th anniversary of his passing. On October 5, 2023, the Barcelona Youth Symphony Orchestra performed a concert at London's Cadogan Hall. The presentation notes "At the heart of this project lies our desire to strengthen the cultural ties between the UK and Spain while highlighting the educational values and commitment to peace and human rights that were so important to Pablo Casals."

This research has raised questions about the role of the arts in maintaining democratic societies and the protection of artists in exile, two issues that have gained attention in recent years with the development of specific organizations for the protection of artists at risk and new mechanisms questioning the need of a UN safety plan for artists. The starting point was to inquire: was there any form of organized support for musicians at the time Casals went into exile? What can his experience contribute to the field of the protection of musicians, and artists in general?

The research revealed details of Casals's commitment to peace and human rights from the archives of the Casals Foundation. Who knew he had been one of the seven patrons of Amnesty International at the time of its creation? While the figure of Pau Casals is associated with humanistic values in international circles, his role as cultural rights defender is not sufficiently known to the actors involved in the protection of artists at risk today. His positioning and reflections in times of conflict as well as his views on the role of the arts can inspire artists that face the same issues today.

One of the objectives of this paper was to put into perspective the mechanisms that exist today to protect musicians forced to flee their countries, and to imagine what would have been the situation for Casals. In the new landscape he would have received millions of views on social media and benefitted from residencies and more organized protection. The research shows a particular role of cellists with a line from Casals to Rostropovich and Yo-Yo Ma as figures in the defence of cultural rights. It also shows that evolution towards more institutionalized protection mechanisms needs to be supported so that other Casals can use their

music as a driver for peace. Offering protection to musicians in exile is a means to protect the diversity of cultural expressions for all. 139 Curricula on artist's rights, artistic freedom and the role of the arts are still missing. Knowing Casals's interest in education, this would have probably been an area of concern for him, and part of Casals's legacy can be channelled into education for peace and human rights including cultural rights.

¹³⁸ In France for instance where Casals was first in exile there are now official programmes to host artists in exile such as the programme Pause. In Paris, he could have been hosted at l'Agence des artistes en exil (Agency of artists in exile, aa-e) that was created in January 2017 to respond to the arrival of Syrian artists. The mission of aa-e is to identify artists in exile of all origins and disciplines, to support them according to their situation and needs, to offer them work space and to put them in contact with professionals in order to provide them with the necessary means to restructure and continue their practice. Its website states: "Artists must be able to continue to practice their art, not only as individuals, but also as custodians of their culture." Among the 720 artists members from 49 nationalities there are 124 musicians. Of these musicians, 24 are composers from Afghanistan, Iran, Venezuela, Kurdistan, Syria, Russia and Ukraine.

¹³⁹ In the 2024 Venice Contemporary Art Biennale there was an Artists at Risk Pavilion. On April 9, 2024, UNESCO and Artists at Risk Connection held the event "Defending Creative Voices Protection of Artists in Times of Emergencies" at UN Headquarters in New York with an exhibition.

Key Findings

- 1. The archives reveal the details of Casals's commitment to peace and human rights and in particular his relation to organizations that are active today in protecting musicians. While Casals's musical and humanistic legacy is well known, the details of his contribution to human rights and peace are not sufficiently known to the organizations working in the protection of artists at risk. Organizations involved in the protection of artists and musicians at risk are not familiar with the history of his exile, his support for refugees and his commitment to peace and UN values. This justifies the interest of research and opening the archives. His messages to PEN International members, his role as one of the first patrons of Amnesty International in 1961 and his role in the International Federation of Musicians created in 1948 under the auspices of UNESCO deserve to be widely shared.
- The archives reveal the level of recognition he received, such as the Freedom House award in 1963, the UN Peace Medal, the nominations for Nobel Peace Prize, etc.
- 3. Casals's position and writings about the role of music in peace-making has since been documented and confirmed in particular by Brandeis University, one of the universities that awarded him a Doctorate Honoris Causa, and the work of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights.
- 4. He inaugurated a tradition of cellists committed to peace and human rights who have been recognized by the United Nations, such as Rostropovich and Yo-Yo Ma, and who inspire today's initiatives such as the project Cellists for peace in the Ukrainian conflict.
- 5. Some of the challenges to the protection of musicians in emergencies that existed at the time of Casals have been investigated in recent research by practitioners and academics and solutions including a UN Plan for the Safety of Artists should be further explored.

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Annexes

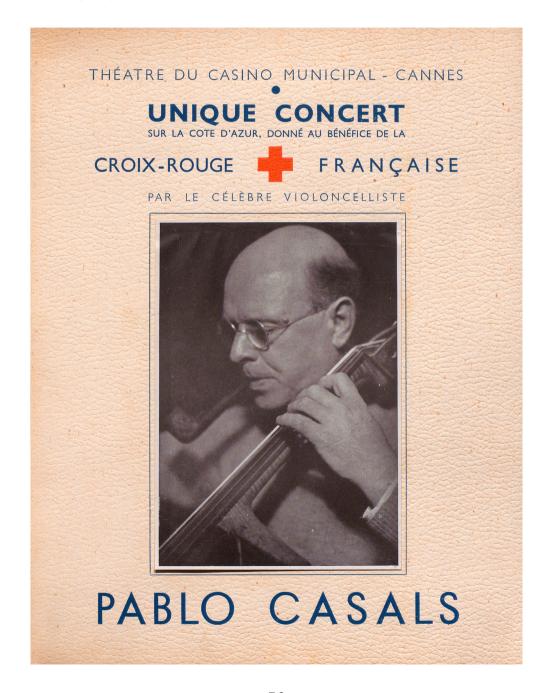
Annex 1. List of interviewees

- Cynthia Cohen, Founding Director, Peacebuilding and the Arts, Brandeis University, Senior Fellow at Impact Transforming Conflict Through Arts and Culture, 7 December 2023.
- 2. Alfons Karabuda, Composer, Cultural rights advocate, Honorary President of the European Composer and Songwriter Alliance and former President of the International Music Council (IMC), 7 December 2023.
- 3. Jan Lothe Eriksen, Founder and senior advisor at Safemuse, 23 November 2023.
- 4. Ole Reitov, Independent consultant. Co-founder and former Executive Director of Freemuse, 3 November 2023.
- 5. Julie Trébault, Director, Artists at Risk Connection, 17 November 2023.
- 6. Sara Whyatt, Independent consultant, Former director of PEN International's freedom of expression programme, 5 December 2023.
- 7. Alexandra Xanthaki, UN Special rapporteur in the field of cultural rights & Johanne Bouchard, Human Rights Officer, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 29 November 2023.

Annex 2. Questions (common base for all interviewees)

- 1. Do you know cellist Pablo Casals?
- 2. Do you know he was a musician in exile?
- 3. Do you know Pablo Casals composed a UN hymn (Song of the Birds) and was awarded the UN Peace medal in 1971?
- 4. Do you know Pablo Casals wrote to UNESCO in sign of protest when Spain joined the organization in 1952?
- 5. Do you know that Pablo Casals was one of the first patrons of Amnesty International when the call for its creation was made in 1961?
- 6. Do you have examples of musicians who are involved at UN level?
- 7. What are the current challenges in protecting artists at risk?
- 8. Do you think a Plan for the safety of artists is possible? Desirable?

Annex 3. Program of the French Red Cross benefit concert offered by Pablo Casals in Cannes. March 13, 1942. Pau Casals Museum (El Vendrell, Spain)



Annex 4. Lists of donations to Spanish refugees, 1939-1940. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-9484



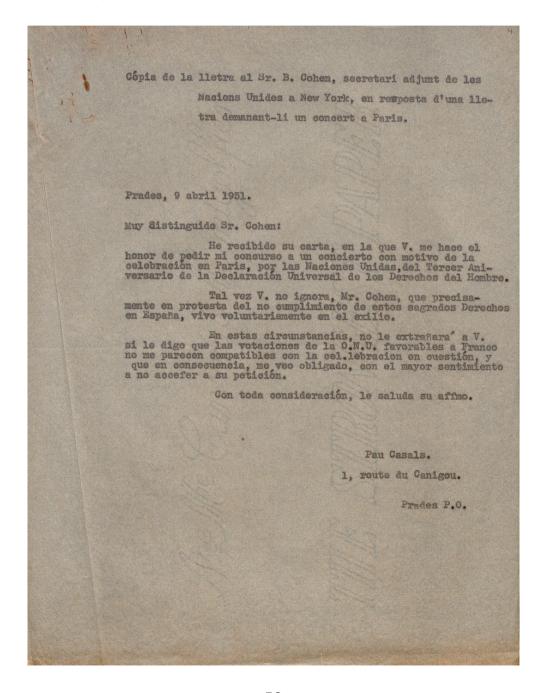
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Annex 5. Letter of refusal to Mr. B. Cohen to play at the third anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Paris. Prades, April 9, 1951. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-9609



Annex 6. Letter from Vicente Girbau Leon, March 22, 1961 inviting Casals to join the call for the amnesty of prisoners. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-9432

APPEAL FOR AMNESTY

1861-1961

APPEL POUR L'AMNISTIE

Centenary movement to call for an Amnesty to those held in confinement because of their ideals.

1 Mitre Court Buildings Temple. London, E.C.4 Mouvement centenaire pour démander une Amnistie à ceux qui sont détenus en ra raison de leurs idées.

Telephone and Telegrams: CENtral 9428. LONDON

22- Marzo-1961

Sr.Dn. Pablo CASSALS

MAESTRO:

El año 1961 se cumple el centenario de tres acontecimientos de gran importancia en la historia de la libertad del hombre. En 1861 inició su mandato presidencial Abraham Lincoln, y fué disparado el primer tiro en la Guerra Civil que había de conducir a la liberación de los esclavos. En el mismo año fué decretada en Rusia la liberación de los siervos. Y en Gran Bretaña se produjo un acontecimiento que, aunque menos espectacular, fué de no menor importancia: Gladstone abolió en su presupuesto el impuesto sobre el papel. Este impuesto había sido establecido en épocas en las que se consideraba peligrosa la circulación de periódicos y folletos a bajo precio; su abolición permitió la circulación masiva de la letra impresa, primero en la Gran Bretaña y mas tarde en el resto del mundo.

Resulta una simbólica coincidencia el que estos tres acontecimientos se produjeran en tres paises que son hoy día la primeras potencias del mundo. En los cien años transcurridos desde entonces la esclavitud económica ha sido virtualmente abolida, y se han dado grandes pasos para elevar el nivel de vida de la humanidad. También se han realizado progresos para eliminar las limitaciones a la libertad de expresión, para dar a la humanidad la libertad intelectual. Desgraciadamente queda todavía mucho camino para alcanzar este objetivo. Muchos paises han realizado grandes progresos en el camino del crecimiento económico, pero se ha prestado menos atención a la dignidad de la mente humana que a la de su cuerpo.

Existen actualmente en el mundo varios miles de hombres y mujeres en prisión o internamiento sin otra razón que sus convicciones políticas o religiosas. Todos los días se oye habita de nuevas detenciónes, periódicos suspendidos, o de personas actualmentes a las que se prohibe expresar sus opiniones por la radio o la televisión. Esta continúa persecución de las ideas sólo puede durar en tanto en cuanto la opinión pública la permita; Los pueblos de aquellos paises que han llevado la abandera de la lucha por la libertad humana tienen una especial obligación de no arriar esta bandera hasta que no sea posible que ningún hombre sea aprisionado por la expresión de una idea.

Le escribimos para preguntarle si estarfa dispuesto a apoyar, en este año centenario, un llamamiento para que se conceda una amnistía a todos aquellos que están perseguidos por sus ideas o por la «fe que profesan». Adjunto a estacarta remitimos el texto del llamamiento por la Amnistía que ha sido redactado por un grupo de juristas británicos. Ha sido traducido a diversas lenguas y enviado a todo el mundo, a los juristas o cualquiera otra persona que se haya distinguido en la lucha por la libertad. Confiamos en que en todos los paises serán recogidas el mayor número de firmas individuales que sea posible.

Le escribimos, además, para rogarle que nos permita utilizar su nombre como el de uno de los patrocinadores de este llamamiento por la Amnistía. Hemos escogido a siete personalidades como la suya, representante cada una de una de las grandes civilizaciones de la humanidad, y les hemos rogado que formen parte del Comité de Patrocinio. Son todos ellos figuras como Vd. mismo, concodios en todo el mundo por sus realizaciones en el campo de las ideas, y no dependientes de la política. Las otras seis personas a quienes se ha dirigido este ruego son: T.S. Eliot, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Doctor Albert Schweitzer, Vice-Presidente Radakrishnan, Ilya Ehrenburg y el Cardenal Rushambwa de Tangañyka.

Deseamos insistir en que esta llamamiento no tiene relación alguna con la política. Pedimos una Amnistía para la gente que está presa, no en virtud de que estemos de acuerdo con sus ideas, sinó porque creemos tienen derecho a expresar cualquier opinión que no conduzca en si misma a la violencia. Una de las razones fundamentales por las que hemos elegido su nombre y por la que le pedimos nos permita ulilizarlo, es que deseamos hacer resaltar nitidamente que no existe ningún objetivo político en nuestra campaña.

Como verá Vd., nos proponemos que este llamamiento sea hecho público el 11 de Noviembre (Día del Armisticio) de 1961, y que en años sucesivos aparezca un llamamiento similar ese día del Armisticio. La elección de ese día obedece en parte a la estrecha conexión entre las ideas de Armisticio y de Amnistía, en parte también a la tradición de silencio que rodea a ese día en que se recuerda a los muertos en dos Guerras Mundiales luchadas por la libertad; pensamos que cuando se van esfumando en el pasado el recuerdo de los que murieron, los pensamientos de las nuevas generaciones deben dirigirse hacia aquellos que agonizan en las prisiones y hacia las batallas por la libertad que habrá que reñir aún en el futuro.

El llamamiento por la Amnistía será lanzado por el semanario británico independiente "The Observer", el Domingo 28 de Mayo. Se están tomando
las disposiciones necesarias para que el texto del artículo que en el aparezca se publique por periódicos de todas partes del mundo. Uno de los mas
importantes editores británicos publicará un libro que aparecerá en Noviembre, en el que se contendrá un resúmen sobre la situación de los "prisioneros políticos" en el mundo entero, con gran número de fotografías; y se espera que pueda ser publicado simultaneamente en otros paises. Todos los
beneficios que resultan se dedicarán a engrosar un fondo de apoyo a las famillias de los presos.

Nos produciría un gran placer, y estaríamos extremadamente agradecidos, si pudiéramos tener noticias suyas lo mas pronto que le sea posible, y esrepetimos nuestra esperanza de que estará dispuesto a patrocinar el llamamiento.

Aprovechamos la ocasión para expresarle el testimonio de nuestro res peto y nuestra admiración.

Annex 7. Letter from the Freedom House to Pau Casals with the notification of the Freedom Award 1967-68. FPC/ANC.Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-10699)



July 13, 1967

Maestro Pablo Casals 79 Atlantic View Ilsa Verde, Puerto Rico

Dear Maestro Casals:

I have the very happy duty of notifying you that the officers and trustees of Freedom House have voted to present you the 1967-68 Freedom Award. A message which we have received from Governor Munoz fulfilled our hope that you will honor us by accepting the award in person at our twenty-eighth anniversary dinner, to be held in New York at a date convenient for you.

The bronze plaque, symbol of the award, has been presented annually since 1943 to a person who has made an outstanding contribution to the cause of human liberty. I think you will be interested in the distinguishing characteristics of this year's decision.

The enthusiasm of the Board of Trustees was clearly evident in their unanimous decision. Rarely in the memory of board members familiar with more than a quarter century of Freedom House's existence has there been such general agreement.

The board members expressed their admiration for your extraordinary and tenacious devotion to the spirit of freedom which has inspired all of us who long for a world in which peace is secure because liberty and justice prevail among men. The reception in New York will afford a cross section of the leadership of our nation the opportunity to express to you the warmth of their esteem and identification with your aspirations. We hope that Mrs. Casals will be free to be our guest on this occasion.

Previous award winners who have honored us by their participation in this annual ceremony have included Winston Churchill, Alan Paton, Jean Monnet, Edward R. Murrow, Harry S. Truman and, more recently, Lyndon B. Johnson. In 1956, Luis Munoz-Marin was a recipient of our award and it has occurred to us that it would be most appropriate if he were to make the presentation address.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES: Paul H. Douglas, Chairman * Roscoe Drummond, Vice Chairman * Harry D. Gideonse, President * Leo Cherne, Chairman , Executive Committee * George Field, Servetary * Rex Stout, Treasurer * Mrs. Andrew Jackson , Ast. Treasurer * George B. Ford, Whitney Rorth Seymour, Hon. Chairmen * Anthony B. Adees * Marian Andrewon * George Baker * Mirray Biron * Edward Wo. Brooke * Zhejmew Brzeinisk! * Arthur F. Berne * Mirray Biron * Edward Wo. Brooke * Zhejmew Brzeinisk! * Arthur F. Berne * Arthur F. Berne * Mirray Biron * Edward Wo. Brooke * Zhejmew Brzeinisk! * Arthur F. Berne * Mirray Biron * Edward Wo. Brooke * Zhejmew Brzeinisk! * Arthur F. Berne * Mirray Biron * Edward Wo. Brooke * Zhejmew Brzeinisk! * Arthur F. Berne * Mirray Biron * Edward Wo. Brooke * Zhejmew Brzeinisk! * Fancis F. Stewart * India A. Kriendler * India A. Krie

Annex 8. Five Music Rights adopted by the International Music Council in 2001

5 Music Rights

THE 1 To express themselves musically in all freedom

FOR 2 To learn musical languages and skills

CHILDREN

To have access to musical involvement through ADULTS participation, listening, creation, and information

ALL

THE A To develop their artistry and communicate through all media, with proper FOR facilities at their disposal

MUSICAL 5 To obtain just recognition and fair **ARTISTS** remuneration for their work

Annex 9. "Message by Pablo Casals" for the United Nations Day Concert. New York, October 24, 1958. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-8813

MESSAGE BY PABLO CASALS

Mr. Pablo Casals made the following personal statement to the Press yesterday in connection with his acceptance to participate in the United Nations Day Concert:

CONSIDER it an honor to have been invited by the United Nations to take part in its anniversary celebrations, and I am grateful for this opportunity to address the people of the world on a subject that preoccupies each one of us.

If at my age I have come here for this day, it is not because anything has changed in my moral attitude or in the restrictions that I have imposed upon myself and my career as an artist for all these years, but because today all else becomes secondary in comparison to the great and perhaps mortal danger threatening all humanity. Never has the world been nearer to catastrophe than at this moment. The extraordinary scientific discoveries of our century which some great intellects, in their thirst for knowledge, have achieved, are now being exploited for the construction of instruments of monstrous destructiveness. Confusion and fear have invaded the whole world; misunderstood nationalism, fanaticism, political dogmas and lack of liberty and justice are feeding mistrust and hostility that make the collective danger greater every day; yet, the desire for peace is felt by every human being in the world. This desire has been manifested again and again in the face of the peril menacing all of us, by many distinguished personalities, in scientific writings, in the world Press, and above all by that great citizen of the world, Dr. Albert Schweitzer.

The anguish of the world caused by the continuation of nuclear danger is increasing every day; all realize the horrifying consequences of a nuclear war, which would cause not only irreparable material and physical destruction, but also moral and spiritual degradation. How I wish that there could be a tremendous movement of protest in all countries, and especially from the mothers, that would impress those who have the power to prevent this catastrophe.

All nuclear experiments ought to be stopped altogether and I profoundly hope that the negotiations in the near future will end in an agreement that will make this possible; only later, when calm and confidence have been re-established, then the work of the scientists could be taken up again, but only under such conditions as would benefit humanity.

In order to resolve their problems, the conflicting forces must regard as the basis for their discussions the inhumanity and uselessness of war that all people condemn. The biggest and most powerful nations have the greater duty and responsibility for keeping peace.

It is my deep conviction that the great masses in these countries, as in every other country, want the understanding and mutual co-operation of their fellow men. It is for the Governments and those in power to see to it that the achievement of this desire will not become impossible and thus cause the terrible frustration felt by all those who are not living in unconsciousness.

It seems to me that all those who believe in the dignity of man should act at this time in order to bring about a deeper understanding among peoples and a sincere "rapprochement" between conflicting forces. The United Nations today represents the most important hope for peace. Let us give it all power to act for our benefit.

And let us fervently pray that the near future will disperse the clouds that darken our days now. Music, this marvelous universal language understood by everyone everywhere ought to be a source of better communication among men. This is why I make a special appeal to my fellow musicians everywhere, asking each one to put the purity of his art at the service of mankind in bringing about fraternal and enlightened relationships between men the world over.

The "Hymn to Joy" of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony has become a symbol of love. And I propose that every town which has an orchestra and chorus should perform it on the same day, and have it transmitted by radio to the smallest communities and to all corners of the world; and to perform it as another prayer through music for the Peace that we all desire and wait for.

New York, 24 October 1958.

Annex 10. "A Peace Message by Pablo Casals" for the United Nations Day Concert. New York, October 24, 1963. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals, ANC1-367-T-10153

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A PEACE MESSAGE

By Pablo Casals

During the celebration of the anniversary of the United Nations in October 1958, I was granted the privilege of appearing before that supreme forum. There, where the causes most profoundly affecting the human conscience are discussed, I used two means of communicating the oppressions which weigh on my spirit. And I used the same two means to restate my faith in the great gifts with which our Creator endowed man whom He created in His own image, a faith which persists despite my spiritual disquiet.

I used music and my voice to draw attention to the suffering which afflicts mankind because of the great and perhaps mortal danger threatening us. This is what I said at the time and which to this day holds the same urgency for me:

"If at my age I have come here for this day, it is not because anything has changed in my moral attitude or in the restrictions that I have imposed upon myself and my career as an artist for all these years, but because today all else becomes secondary in comparison to the great and perhaps mortal danger threatening all humanity. The extraordinary scientific discoveries of our century, which some great intellects, in their thirst for knowledge, have achieved, are now being exploited for the construction of instruments of monstrous destructiveness. Confusion and fear have invaded the whole world; misunderstood nationalism, fanaticism, political dogmas and lack of liberty and justice are feeding mistrust and hostility that make the collective danger greater every day; yet, the desire for peace is felt by every human being in the world. This desire has been manifested again and again in the face of the peril menacing all of us, by many distinguished personalities, in scientific writings in the world Press, and above all by that great citizen of the world, Dr. Albert Schweitzer.

"The anguish of the world, caused by the continuation of nuclear danger, is increasing every day; all realize the horrifying consequences of a nuclear war, which would cause not only irreparable material and physical destruction, but also moral and spiritual degradation. How I wish that there could be a tremendous movement of protest in all countries, and especially from the mothers, that would impress those who have the power to prevent this catastrophe.

"It is my deep conviction that the great masses in these countries, as in every other country, want the understanding and mutual co-operation of their fellow men. It is for the Governments and those in power to see to it that the achievement of this desire will not become impossible and thus cause the terrible frustration felt by all those who are not living in unconsciousness.

"It seems to me that all those who believe in the dignity of man should act at this time in order to bring about a deeper understanding among peoples and a sincere 'rapprochement' between conflicting forces. The United Nations today represents the most important hope for peace. Let us give it all power to act for our benefit.

"And let us fervently pray that the near future will disperse the clouds that darken our days now.
"I repeat, music, that wonderful universal-language which is understood by everyone should be a source of communication among men. I once again exhort my fellow musicians throughout the world to put the purity of their art at the service of mankind in order to unite all people in fraternal ties.

"With this objective in mind, I consider it my duty to offer my humble contribution in the form of a personal crusade. Let each one of us contribute as he is able until this ideal is attained in all its glory; and let us unify our fervent prayers that in the near future all humanity may be joined in a spiritual embrace."

24 October 1963

Annex 11. Pau Casals, *Hymn to the United Nations*, 1971. FPC/ANC. Fons Pau Casals ANC1-367-T-11123

