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MUSIC VIOLENCE: HOW DOES IT AFFECT OUR CHILDREN

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT OF GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT, RESTRUCTURING, AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED FIFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

NOVEMBER 6, 1997

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MUSIC VIOLENCE: HOW DOES IT AFFECT OUR CHILDREN?

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1997

U.S. SENATE,
OVERSIGHT OF GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT, RESTRUCTURING,
AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA SUBCOMMITTEE,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC.

The Subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 12:11 p.m., in room SD–342, Dirksen Senate Office Building. Hon. Sam Brownback, Chairman of the Subcommittee, presiding.

Present: Senators Brownback and Lieberman.

Also Present: Senator Ashcroft and Senator Conrad.

Staff Present: Cherie Harder, Michael Rubin and Esmerelda Amos (Senator Brownback); Dan Gerstein (Senator Lieberman); and Bob Foust (Senator Conrad).

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR BROWNBACK

Senator BROWNBACK. The hearing will come to order.

Good afternoon. I would like to thank everybody for attending, particularly my good friend, Senator Lieberman, who will be our first panel presenter and is also ranking on this Subcommittee.

I would also like to recognize the attendance of Senator Kent Conrad from North Dakota—one of whose constituents will be testifying today—and Senator John Ashcroft, who has an interest in this topic—and a singer as well.

This is a very serious hearing, although I want to make certain at the outset that everyone knows that this is not a legislative hearing. There are no bills to be discussed today. This is purely an informational hearing. The purpose of this hearing is to gather information and to give a public hearing to what I and many others consider a very important public issue.

In a book I am reading on Abraham Lincoln, the author states, "Who writes the Nation's songs shapes the Nation's souls." And if that is not true in whole, it is certainly true in part.

The title of this hearing is "Music Violence: How Does It Affect Our Youth?" The question is an important one. Today's teens face far more difficulties and dangers than their counterparts did just a generation ago. Over the last 30 years, violent juvenile crime has jumped by more than 500 percent. Teen suicide has tripled. Unwed teen pregnancy has skyrocketed. And casual drug use among teens has jumped nearly 50 percent over the last 4 years alone. Such trends are especially dramatic in Washington, D.C., which is the area of jurisdiction of this Subcommittee. District of Columbia juve-

nile crime, teen death, and teen drug use rates lead the Nation. Nowhere in America does the presence of actual and virtual violence stand out so starkly. It is tragic, but true, that by most indicators of youth and teen well-being, we as a Nation have lost ground.

There is also a sense that we have lost ground in ways that defy easy measurement. There is a feeling, in the District of Columbia and across the country, that we as a society have grown coarser, meaner, and more alienated. Violence seems not only more widespread but less shocking. We have become more accustomed to tragedy, violence, and hate.

At the same time, there has been a marked increase in explicit violence and misogyny in popular music. Of course, correlation is not causation. Music is but one part of our popular culture. Whatever impact music has on youth behavior is bound to be complex and variant. But the best way to determine what that impact is, what influence violent lyrics exert, and how such lyrics fit into the cumulative impact of popular entertainment on our modern sensibility is to encourage research, debate, and discussion. Such an important public issue merits public inquiry.

The most important and appropriate place to begin that inquiry is with the music itself. Although there have always been popular songs of questionable taste or dubious merit, over the past several years, there has been a marked increase in the number of exceptionally violent, hateful, crude, racist, brutal, anti-woman songs that are not only out in the market, but in many cases, are topping the charts.

Recent best-selling albums have included graphic descriptions of murder, torture, and rape. Women are objectified, often in the most obscene ways. Songs such as—and please pardon my language here—"Don't Trust a Bitch" by the group Mo Thugs or "Slap a Ho" by Dove Shack actively encourage animosity and even violence towards women. Shock-rock singers like Cannibal Corpse go even further, with lyrics describing rape and torture, such as Cannibal Corpse's song "Stripped, Raped and Strangled." Given that the average teen listens to music around 4 hours a day, it appears young fans of such music will spend a good chunk of their formative years tuning into messages of violence and hate.

It is also worth noting that while teens spend progressively more time tuned in to music, they are spending less time with their parents. In fact, a recent Carnegie Foundation study found that the average teen spends only 20 minutes a day alone in conversation with his or her mom and less than 5 minutes a day alone with dad. The average American teens spends far more time listening to music than listening to mom or dad. For the single parents who struggle valiantly to juggle the demands of earning a living and raising a family, it can be especially difficult to find the time to monitor the music their children listen to. The result is that more children are spending more time alone with music, with less parental oversight and involvement.

Of course, the majority of popular music does not contain violent or misogynistic lyrics. Our concern is not with popular music, or even with a particular genre, such as rock or rap. Our concern is with those songs that do glorify violence, racism, murder and may-

hem, and condone the abuse of women. That is the target of what the informational hearing that we have here today is about.

It stands to reason that prolonged exposure to such hate-filled lyrics during the formative teen years could have an impact on one's attitudes and assumptions, and thus decisions and behavior. Understanding the nature and extent of the influence of music violence may well be the first step towards better addressing the problems and pathologies besetting our youth, and our best hope for ensuring a more civil society and helping our young people.

I am delighted that Senator Joe Lieberman, Democrat from Connecticut, who also serves as ranking minority on this panel, will be our lead-off witness. This has been close to his heart for some period of time. He has led the national debate on it.

Senator Lieberman, I am honored to serve with you, and I am honored to welcome you as the first presenter.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR LIEBERMAN

Senator LIEBERMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, Senator Ashcroft. Thank you, Senator Brownback, for your leadership here, for your kind words, of course, but for reviving again a dialogue begun back a ways by Bill Bennett and DeLores Tucker. And I appreciate very much the substance and the tone of your opening remarks and for asking me to come to this side of the table and begin as a witness, and then I look forward to joining you and hearing the other witnesses, because you have brought together a very balanced and important group of witnesses.

Mr. Chairman, in taking stock of our social environment in America today, it is hard not to notice a surreal quality. The fact is that our children are often better armed than our police people. We throw new bouquets of celebrity at the feet of luminaries like Dennis Rodman with each brazen elbow he throws at an opponent or at a cameraman. And we don't seem to blink when corporate citizens sell music to our children that celebrates violence, including the murder of police and gang rape, and sexual perversity, including pedophilia.

Surreal though it seems, these cultural indicators have very real implications. They bespeak a breakdown in the old rules and limits that once governed our public and private lives and the way we raised our children. We are left, I am afraid, with a values vacuum, in which our children learn more and more that anything goes and which I believe is at the heart of some of our society's worst social problems. The culture has consequences on behavior.

This vacuum is troubling in its own right. It is all the more profoundly unsettling when we consider what is filling it these days. The new values transmitters in our society are not what they used to be: Mother, father, teacher, principal, clergyman or clergywoman. The new values transmitters are increasingly the producers of television shows and movies, the fashion advertisers, the producers of video games, and, as you are focusing on today, the gangsta rappers and shock rockers, the whole host of players within the electronic media cultural complex.

These are trend setters. They exert an extremely powerful hold on our children because of the impact they have on our culture.

And I am afraid that I have to say that they too often exhibit little sense of responsibility for the messages that they are purveying.

As a result, the marketplace is flooded with too many violent and perverse television shows, shows like Fox's "When Animals Attack," which degradingly treats real life terror as a form of entertainment; video games like "Postal," which is marketed by Panasonic, in which the player is cast as a deranged gunman trying to wipe out an entire town and whose marketing brochure promises, "Chilling realism as victims actually beg for mercy, scream for their lives, and pile up on the streets," and the awful ads of Calvin Klein, which told a generation that is warming up again to heroin that it is cool to look and be strung out. These all have consequences on those who hear, who play, who listen, and who watch.

The music lyrics that you are focusing on here today are of a piece with these messages I have just described, and in many cases, they are just as reprehensible.

Perhaps what I am about to say ought to have a parental advisory attached to it. Consider a song like "Slap a Ho," which you mentioned, by the group Dove Shack, distributed by a large and respected company, Polygram, which touts the virtue of a machine that automatically smacks a wife or girl friend into line. Or the vile work of the death metal band, Cannibal Corpse, distributed through a Sony subsidiary, another great company, which recorded one song describing the rape of a woman with a knife and another describing the act of masturbating with a dead woman's head.

I apologize for expressing—describing these lyrics, but this is what we are talking about. We are not overstating. This is extreme, awful, disgusting stuff that millions of kids are listening to. These songs, and others like them, contain some of the worst thoughts and pictures and activities that I have ever heard. But they are more than offensive. When combined with all the murder and mayhem depicted by the whole gamut of media, they are helping to create a culture of violence that is increasingly enveloping our children, desensitizing them to consequences, ultimately cheapening the value of life, and I am convinced is a part of what you have described, which is the remarkable increase in youth violence, even as criminal violence in our society generally decreases.

You will hear testimony today about what social science can tell us about the impact that violent and antisocial music has on its listeners. I want to suggest that we also should take a look at the real life experiences in the world of gangsta rap, that segment of the music industry that has truly glorified murder and mayhem on CDs, but also, tragically, has then lived it in the streets.

The story of Tupac Shakur is well known. He and many other rappers recorded rhymes that helped to make killing fashionable, and it was the same kind of gangsterism they celebrated that claimed Shakur's own life and that of others and has landed several other rappers in jail. Before he was killed, Tupac Shakur himself said he went beyond representing violence: "I represented it too much. I was thug life."

Now, this music, reinforced by television through MTV and other music channels that present the gangster life as the high life, has spawned its own subculture, setting standards for how to dress,

how to treat women, and how to resolve conflict—too often violently. We are just learning, though, about what appears to be a very real criminal connection within elements of the rap industry: Links to racketeering, money laundering, gang violence, and drug running.

Death Row Records, which gave us Tupac and Snoop Doggy Dogg, and which was in business first with *Time Warner*—which then separated itself, to its credit—and then with Seagrams, is now the subject of an extensive Federal investigation involving the FBI, DEA, and the IRS. Among other things, these authorities are examining Death Row's ties to a man named Michael Harris, reputed to be one of Los Angeles' most notorious crack dealers. Harris is now serving a 28-year prison terms and claims he provided more than $1 million, probably the proceeds of drug sales, in seed money to launch Death Row Records. The FBI reportedly is looking into alleged connections between Death Row and its president, Suge Knight, and organized crime families in New York and Chicago.

Mr. Chairman, there is enough evidence here that I think we may want to pursue this connection in more depth, either at this hearing or afterward.

But for today, I thank you again for reviving the dialogue begun by Bill Bennett and DeLores Tucker. It is one that we desperately need to have. It is unfortunate that folks in the music industry, which is mostly a very constructive, elevating industry, have refused, I think, to adequately acknowledge our real concerns about this awful gangsta rap and shock-rock music that they produce. Often we have heard that a record never killed anyone or we are casually dismissed as prudes or censors. That I think has got to stop. The men and women who run the large corporations who turn out this music must stop hiding behind the First Amendment and confront the damage some—and I emphasize some—of their products are doing.

We are not talking here about censorship, but about citizenship. You and I are not asking for any government action or bans. We are simply asking whether it is right for a company like Sony, for example, to make money by selling children records by the likes of Cannibal Corpse. We are asking why another great company like Seagrams is continuing to associate itself with Marilyn Manson and the vile, hateful, nihilistic, and, as you will hear from Mr. Kuntz, dangerously damaging music, Marilyn Manson records.

By raising these questions, engaging in this dialogue, and hopefully informing parents about the kind of music their children may be listening to, I hope that we can make some real progress in dealing with this problem, because I think it is related to some of our country's worst crises.

I hope the corporate leaders of the industry, after hearing our pleas for them to exercise some responsibility, will consider adopting basic standards themselves for the music they choose to sponsor, to draw some lines they will not cross just to make more money, because on the other side of those lines is damage to our country and our children and ultimately to themselves. I hope particularly that Seagrams will start by disassociating itself from Marilyn Manson.

In the meantime, I hope that the RIAA will consider improving its one-size-fits-all labeling system so that at a minimum parents can have more basic information that they need to make wise judgments with and for their children about what music they will listen to.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you again for coming back to this critical topic. I am happy to answer questions, but, more likely, I look forward to joining you and listening to and questioning the other, quite impressive group of witnesses that you have called to this Subcommittee hearing. Thank you.

Senator BROWNBACK. Thank you very much, Senator Lieberman. I want to again say I appreciate your leadership, and I thought you had some very thoughtful suggestions here of voluntary actions by some of the corporate leaders. I hope that what we can do with this informational hearing—and as we both have stated, we are not considering legislation, and neither of us supports censorship. There is the First Amendment. But I hope that the industry itself will look, and I hope we could start a dialogue of parents with their children about what are they listening to and have a discussion that can happen there, as everybody gets more enlightened about what this music is. And I hope that can be a product of this hearing.

Senator LIEBERMAN. Thank you.

Senator BROWNBACK. Senator Lieberman, I appreciate that. Please join us here.

We will call up now the second panel: Raymond Kuntz, who is a parent. Mr. Kuntz's 15-year-old son, Richard, killed himself last December while listening to Marilyn Manson's music.

Also on the second panel will be Dr. Frank Palumbo. Dr. Palumbo is a practicing pediatrician in Washington, D.C., and is representing the American Academy of Pediatrics. And as I believe—Kent Conrad, will you be joining Mr. Kuntz at the witness table? If we could have those witnesses please come forward.

Let me say, as we get the panel in position, I very much appreciate each of you coming forward and being willing to testify today. I know particularly, Mr. Kuntz, in your case—and we have had the pleasure of being able to visit before this hearing—this is a very difficult and a very emotional subject for you. And I know this is very, very hard on you. Let me just say I appreciate you being here and being willing to speak with clarity on this subject.

Might I turn to Senator Conrad, if you would care to introduce Mr. Kuntz to the panel.

TESTIMONY OF HON. KENT CONRAD, A U.S SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NORTH DAKOTA

Senator CONRAD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to join what others have already said in thanking you for holding this hearing and thanking you for putting the focus on something that is important, something that is making a difference in the lives of people in this country, and in this case, it is not a positive difference. It is a negative difference.

Thank you, too, for the balance of your statement because I think it is critically important that people who are listening understand. We are not talking about censorship. We are not talking about vio-

lating the First Amendment. We are talking about moral issues. We are talking about things that are critically important to the fabric of our society.

I, too, want to thank Senator Lieberman for his long-term leadership on this question, along with DeLores Tucker and others who have been involved with it. Senator Lieberman was a cosponsor with me on legislation that I offered in the name of the Citizens Task Force on TV Violence, some 28 national organizations that I have worked with over a number of years to try to have an impact on reducing media violence.

Most of our focus has been on television violence, but these parents are also concerned about violence that is being transmitted in tapes, over the radio, through CDs, to our children.

Mr. Chairman, if you listen to some of the lyrics or you read some of the lyrics, it is shocking because they clearly are promoting violence against women, violence against police officers, and even teen suicide. It is hard to believe, but it is true. It is happening, and it ought to be condemned.

Now, I heard a media report this morning that suggested those of us who say there is something wrong here are advocating censorship. In fact, the report suggests that we were interested in regulating the content of musical performers and those who write the music that they perform. That is absolutely untrue.

As the Chairman has indicated, there is not a specific legislative proposal before this panel. This is an attempt to educate, to reach out and to have a national debate and discussion about something that is hurting our children. This Subcommittee and this Chairman and the ranking member ought to be commended for what you are trying to do.

Mr. Chairman, I believe, after reviewing these lyrics—this represents a small part of what the industry is producing. We recognize that. Much of what is being produced is wonderful and elevates our society, and we thank the industry and the performers for that. But the truth is there is also a small part of what is being produced that is morally reprehensible, that is socially irresponsible, and that is completely unacceptable.

And just as those who advocate this music as a First Amendment right to produce and perform these lyrics, we too have a First Amendment right to stand up and condemn—and I use that word advisedly—to condemn lyrics that are morally reprehensible, socially irresponsible, and completely unacceptable.

Mr. Chairman, I met earlier this year with several members of the recording industry, and I am not persuaded that they understand the full impact of these lyrics on our young people. Nor am I persuaded that they are prepared to responsibly address the concerns of parents all across America.

Today I am very honored to accompany and welcome a North Dakota parent, Ray Kuntz, of Burlington, North Dakota, who will express his deep concern over this music and its impact on children. Ray lost a son to suicide. On December 12, 1996, his son was listening to "The Reflecting God" on Marilyn Manson's CD entitled "Antichrist Superstar." I think as the Chairman and the ranking member know, Marilyn Manson is a composite name. It combines Marilyn Monroe, who committed suicide, with Charles Manson,

who is a mass murderer. I think that in itself says something about the mind-set of the performer.

Now, I understand fully this performer has the right in our country to write any music that he chooses, to have it produced and have it promoted. I understand that. I also understand that the companies who pay for that promotion have a moral responsibility and a social responsibility, and I hope that if nothing else is accomplished today that somewhere in some executive suite someone will hear a word of what we are discussing here today and raise the question, Gee, is this really what we want to be promoting in our company? Is this really what we want to be the result of our efforts and energies?

Mr. Chairman, I know that Ray Kuntz wants to share a message with you and other Subcommittee Members regarding this personal tragedy. In this regard, I want to take just a moment to read one paragraph from a letter that Ray shared with me earlier this year.

In that letter, Ray Kuntz wrote: "[T]his music, because it glorifies inhumane intolerance and hate, and promotes suicide, contradicts all of the community values that people of good will, regardless of faith, ideology, economic or social position, share. Simply put, this music hurts us as a people. Our children are quietly being destroyed (dying) by . . . ones and twos in scattered isolation throughout our Nation today."

I don't think any professional writer could have put it any better than Ray Kuntz did. Let me just say that I am profoundly proud of Ray Kuntz and his courage and his willingness to come forward to share a personal tragedy so that others might learn from it.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, Senator Lieberman.

Senator BROWNBACK. Thank you very much, Senator Conrad, for a very good statement, which helps articulate what we are trying to do and the information we are trying to put forward.

Mr. Kuntz, you honor us by coming forward with your bravery to talk about this tragedy. Welcome to the Subcommittee, and we would like to hear your testimony.

TESTIMONY OF RAYMOND KUNTZ,[1] PARENT, BURLINGTON, NORTH DAKOTA

Mr. KUNTZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman Brownback and Members of the Senate Subcommittee. Thank you for extending the invitation to address you today, and a special thank-you to you, Senator Conrad, for your kind introduction.

For the record, my name is Raymond Kuntz, and our family calls Burlington, North Dakota, home. I have traveled to Washington, D.C., from there today to speak to you all regarding an issue that has changed our lives forever: Violent music's impact on our children.

On the morning of December 12, 1996, as part of our family's normal daily behavior, my wife started our son's shower for him and then went to wake him. But Richard, our son, was not sleeping in his bed. He was dead. He had killed himself. Richard has left us, and he is never coming back.

[1] The prepared statement of Mr. Kuntz with attachments appears in the Appendix on page 43.

Please listen to what Richard heard as he died, hear what was in his mind, the lyrics to Marilyn Manson's "The Reflecting God" from the CD titled "Antichrist Superstar."

"Your world is an ashtray/We burn and coil like cigarettes/The more you cry your ashes turn to mud/Its the nature of the leeches, the Virgin's feeling cheated/You've only spent a second of you're life/My world is unaffected, there is an exit here/I say it is and then it's true, there is a dream inside a dream/I'm wide awake the more I sleep/You'll understand when I'm dead/I went to God just to see, and I was looking at me/Saw heaven and hell were lies/When I'm God everyone dies/Scar, can you feel my power?/Shoot here and the world gets smaller/Scar/Scar/Can you feel my power/One shot and the world gets smaller/Let's jump upon the sharp swords/And cut away our smiles/Without the threat of death/There's no reason to live at all/My world is unaffected, there is an exit here/I say it is and then it's true/There is a dream inside a dream/I'm wide awake the more I sleep/You'll understand when I'm dead."

Dear sirs, my son was listening to Marilyn Manson's "Antichrist Superstar" on his stereo when he died—I personally removed that CD with the red lightning bolt on it from his player the next day—with the rough draft of an English class paper about this artist that had been returned to him that very day for final revisions, on the stand next to his body. Richard's friends tell us that in the end this song, "The Reflecting God," from that CD was his favorite song. They say that this song was what he always seemed to be listening to whenever they came over, and the lyrics of that song read as an unequivocally direct inducement to take one's own life.

If you do not believe me, listen to the bridge in the chorus of "The Reflecting God" as performed, not as written in the liner notes: "Each thing I show you is a piece of my death"; "One shot and the world gets smaller"; "Shoot here and the world gets smaller"; "Shoot shoot shoot motherfucker/Shoot shoot shoot motherfucker"; "No salvation, no forgiveness/This is beyond your experience"; "No salvation, no forgiveness, no salvation."

Gentlemen, we are all certainly free to make our own decisions regarding the value of content. But if you were to ask me, I would say that the lyrics to this song contributed directly to my son's death.

Additionally, two of my son's friends, who have been treated for attempted suicide since his death, are and were caught up in Marilyn Manson's fearful, frightening music and are still considered to be at risk.

Sirs, this music, because it glorifies intolerance and hate, and promotes suicide, contradicts all of the community values that people of good will, regardless of faith, ideology, race, economic or social position, share. Simply put, this music hurts us as a people. Our children are quietly being destroyed (dying), by this man's music, by ones and twos in scattered isolation throughout our Nation today.

This artist's own words, in his lyrics and interviews, and his actions, indicate that this injury to society is intentional. The predatory world that Brian Warner markets, through his stage persona as Marilyn Manson, is a world no normal person would wish to live in.

Brian Warner's band members have adopted androgynous, two-part stage names, the first part derived from a female celebrity and the second part from a convicted male mass murderer. And Brian got lucky; as the lead, he got to pick "Marilyn" from Marilyn Monroe, the female celebrity who committed suicide, and "Manson" from Charles Manson, mass murderer.

By their natures, corporations do not have consciences, and it is understandable that MCA would wish to defend a product that entered the Billboard 200 chart at No. 3. But even though they are soulless, corporations do have social obligations and responsibilities.

I understand that the lyrics to individual songs and the content of interviews made by artists with obscure magazines and newsletters are below a CEO's event horizon. But somewhere down the hierarchy line, someone who is aware of both artistic content and stated intent is making corporate economic decisions driven by greed that kill. Corporate decisionmaking that kills.

Shaming major corporations into more responsible behavior is good. But forcing a corporation to divest itself of a socially unacceptable, still functional subset, possibly at a profit, does nothing to rectify the problem or wash clean the hands of those involved.

From my experience, and based on the fact that you have seen the need to convene this hearing, there is no question in my mind that the damage that this music is doing to our children is a serious problem in our country today.

I believe we need to make the voluntary RIAA parental advisory sticker program mandatory so that parents, moms and dads, can better monitor their children's listening to help keep dangerous materials out of their hands.

From what my family has experienced, this music is a cancer on our society. I have given you my ideas of what we can do to solve this problem and stress that we must act as a people to protect our children from the twin evils of murder and suicide.

Sirs, if there is anything you can do about this problem, my wife, Christine, and I are ready to help you in any way that we can.

Thank you.

Senator BROWNBACK. Thank you, Mr. Kuntz, for your very touching testimony, and thank you for your courage at being here.

I understand that your son, as you stated in your testimony, was doing a paper for his English class on Marilyn Manson?

Mr. KUNTZ. Yes, he was.

Senator BROWNBACK. Could you or would you care to share any of the thoughts that your son was writing at that time in that English paper?

Mr. KUNTZ. If my son were still alive today, I would say that I believe from the contents of this paper that he was starting to mature, even though it is in a school boy's language, that he was starting to mature intellectually and was beginning to grasp and understand social values that we all share, because the paper addresses these kinds of things. But my son is dead, and I really do not know what to think of this paper.

A line from the paper: "His album projects an image of hate towards the Christian community, and the drugs he uses publicly are mind-degrading."

"Throughout his set, he rips and tears at his jagged clothes until naked except for a leather jockstrap. Then he grabs a bottle, breaks it over his head, and invites the crowd to shower him in spit." In a world of AIDS, is that a wise idea?

"Manson's second album 'Smells Like Children' is a tribute to two tracks, 'abuse' (part one and two) and 'confusion' which were on the original cut but were . . . taken off the album before it was distributed. Manson explains the reason for this in an interview with Rudolf 'both tracks' featured collaborations done sometime last year with a guy named Tony Wiggins. It involved illegal activities."

My son's closing: "Through the tolerance of 'evil' groups such as Marilyn Manson, many children's minds are being degraded. Marilyn Manson shows that it is possible for a Christian society to produce somebody who is against everything it stands for. Believing that what he is doing is good and promoting it through music, he gains followers by epitomizing children's black thoughts of rebellion."

Senator BROWNBACK. Did you talk with your son's friends about coming here to testify?

Mr. KUNTZ. Yes, I did.

Senator BROWNBACK. What did they think about you testifying on your son's suicide?

Mr. KUNTZ. Our son's friends have been a great source of comfort for us. They come to our home and visit us. They stop by the store and talk to me. We comfort them; they comfort us. And I have talked to them extensively about this kind of music and what I plan to do. I have asked them if this is proper, if they approve of what I am doing, and part of the reason that I am here today is because they tell me that what I am doing is the right thing to do.

Senator BROWNBACK. How did they respond to this whole ordeal? You mentioned that they came by your store and spoke with you. Right after this happened, how did they respond to the whole ordeal?

Mr. KUNTZ. They were horrified and surprised and couldn't understand and terribly hurt. I found out something about our society then. We really do care for each other. We care for our family; we care for our friends and neighbors. Our children do, too. Nobody wants to experience this kind of loss.

Senator BROWNBACK. Did you know your son was listening to this type of music, Mr. Kuntz?

Mr. KUNTZ. Yes, as a matter of fact, I did. I talked to my son as long as—well, it would be 3 years ago now—about the heavy metal music that he listened to. I didn't care for the liner art. I didn't care for the titles of the songs. I didn't care for the lyrics as I read them. And 1 day I had a talk with him. He was an aggressive roller-blader, a really athletic boy, and he had a ramp built and some other stuff. And he had symbols on there that I didn't care for, things like swastikas and anarchist symbols and this sort of stuff. And I talked to him about the music and where the symbols were coming from and told him that I didn't want him to use those symbols because I didn't want him to become desensitized by casual exposure to symbols that have a very real, historical association with evil. And he painted them out, and things went on.

And 2 years ago, when he was 13, we came back from the lake and a camping trip, and he talked to me afterwards, and he said, "Dad," he said, "you know, you don't like some of the music that I listen to, but some of the kids down there were listening to stuff that I found offensive." And I said, "What was that, honey?" And he said, "White Zombie and Marilyn Manson." And I said, "Well, what did you do?" He says, "Well, I took them away and I wouldn't let them listen to them."

Well, sir, I am afraid that he took those albums away from those children and brought them into his own life. I thought my son, when he told me this story, was making headway towards maturity.

Senator BROWNBACK. Have you talked with other parents in North Dakota or your community or around the country that have experienced something similar to what your family has experienced?

Mr. KUNTZ. No, not directly. We have had other suicides in the community. Every child who suicides is a different person with a different life, not necessarily associated with this kind of music. There was a suicide 4 months after my son's death where a young man drove his car off a cliff on the way back from a neighboring community, coming back from some heavy metal concert. I don't know who it was. But as far as talking to parents about it, no, I haven't.

People who have experienced suicide in their lives that are survivors rarely talk to other people. They will occasionally. They will open themselves and talk to somebody who has experienced suicide, but not to the general community. And it is amazing how much there is out there.

Senator BROWNBACK. I hope your testimony will embolden and empower some of those parents to be willing to talk about what has to be a terribly anguishing, just gut-wrenching experience. And I would invite them to contact this Subcommittee if there are others that want to speak out about it. I appreciate your candor and your courage in coming forward.

Senator Lieberman.

Senator LIEBERMAN. Thanks, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Kuntz, I very much appreciate your coming here. I was so struck by your letter when you sent it to me earlier in the year about what you had been through, and it has got to be—it is, obviously, very, very painful to recount this tragedy that you and your family have undergone. And I admire you for having the courage to do it. Each of us who are parents can feel what you are feeling, and it is terrifying. It is a nightmare.

I know your hope is—and I admire you tremendously for this—that it is worth coming forward and telling your story as a warning to other people and to try to help us do something about it, and in a way today to give you the opportunity to speak directly to some of the people in the recording industry, who are good people but are part of producing some terrible music that you have reason to believe helped to end your son's life.

I was thinking, as you were reading from his paper, which was quite eloquent—and I apologize if this seems like a digression; I am going to do it very briefly—but it so movingly speaks to a concern

that I think motivates so much of our effort here and the reflections your son had about the contrast between what Marilyn Manson music was doing and religion, in this case Christianity.

I talked about a values vacuum in my testimony. There is a wonderful man named Father Richard Neuhaus who has written a book called "The Naked Public Square," in which he describes the extent to which we in our country, sometimes for good reasons, have nonetheless pushed out of the public square acceptance and respect of one of the major sources of values and discipline in our culture traditionally, which is religion, beyond constitutional reasons, and that what happens then when the public square is naked is that something else fills it. And too often in our time what is filling it is this abominable culture, music, TV, movies, too much of it giving our kids exactly the wrong message.

Look, we are an imperfect species, human beings. We strive to maintain our stability and to improve ourselves. And the influences on us, whether they set standards and help us conduct our lives, or whether they destroy our ability to do so, have a major impact on how we as individuals and how our overall society goes forward.

And your testimony is just the most stunning evidence of that that I have heard in a long time, quite explicitly—I mean, down to the title of the CD that your son was listening to.

I want to just ask you one or two questions. As you know, a lot of people in the record industry who have spoken out on this problem say, yes, some of this music is awful, but the artists, so-called, have a First Amendment right to have their music produced. And the real responsibility here is on parents to monitor what music their kids are listening to.

How do you respond to that argument?

Mr. KUNTZ. We all have a responsibility to look after our children, not just parents but the political establishment, the churches, the schools, the corporate world, the business community. If we don't look after our children, our society is ultimately not going to make it. It is a joint thing. Nobody is exempt from responsibility here. We all share it.

Senator LIEBERMAN. So parents really can't do it alone.

Mr. KUNTZ. It is impossible to do it alone.

Senator LIEBERMAN. Right. I agree. I am from Connecticut so—I have been to North Dakota. Senator Conrad talks to me about it all the time. But some of the perverse behavior that is celebrated in music such as we are focused on today, it has always existed. But traditionally, in the history of the human race, it has been in the shadows. It has been concealed. And part of what has happened in our time is that vile material like this gets produced, gets mass marketed, it is on television; it is in the movies, and your son in Burlington, North Dakota, not in some dark alley in one of America's big cities, gets to tap into the lowest, most degrading aspects of our culture. And it really is part of why—I think you are absolutely right. Parents can't do it themselves, no matter where they live. Nobody is safe. There are no sanctuaries anymore. And that is why we have to go back to the top of the corporations that are producing this and ask the executives to be responsible.

Let me ask one final question that goes to the comment you made about the existing record industry association labeling sys-

tem. You touched on some of this briefly in response to Senator Brownback. I think you said to Senator Brownback that you knew that your son had Marilyn Manson CDs or albums. Did you know what was on those albums?

Mr. KUNTZ. No. I was aware that my son was writing this English class paper on Marilyn Manson. I wasn't aware until then that he was listening to it. We skipped from the incident at the camping to writing this paper about Marilyn Manson, and I thought that he was doing an intellectual, academic exercise. And my little boy, about 2 weeks before he died, he brought this—he said, "Daddy, come here." He had me come into his bedroom, and he said, "Here, this is the 'Antichrist Superstar' CD that I am doing for my English class paper." And I looked at it, and I looked at the flip side, looked at the liner art, and I looked at the text, and I blew up, told him I didn't want this stuff in my house. And after talking with my wife and my son—and my wife had talked with the English teacher, who I believe was blindsided by the—I don't believe she had any idea whatsoever what the contents of this stuff was. I let it slide.

But I missed an opportunity there. I failed my son as a father. My son came to me and said, "Daddy, Daddy, look what I have." And I failed to recognize that my son was holding a hand grenade and it was live and that it was going to go off in his mind.

I wish to this day that I had been a reasonable and rational person and sat down and gone over the lyrics with him and talked about it and reached out and touched my son, and perhaps what he was doing would have remained an academic exercise.

Senator LIEBERMAN. I understand how you feel, but don't be too hard on yourself. Almost every parent in America in that position would have done exactly what you did because it didn't look like a hand grenade. It looked like a CD. Unfortunately, it was a hand grenade.

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for having the guts to come forward and tell this story. I wish you and your wife and family well. Thank you.

Senator BROWNBACK. As do I, and please do not be too hard on yourself, and thanks for the courage in coming forward.

I would like to go to our next panel presenter, Dr. Palumbo. Dr. Palumbo is a practicing pediatrician in Washington, D.C. He is here representing the American Academy of Pediatrics. Dr. Palumbo, thank you very much for being here.

Senator Conrad, if you would like to join us, you are welcome to, as well.

Senator CONRAD. That is very kind of you. I have another obligation, Mr. Chairman, but I deeply appreciate your holding this hearing, especially the way you have conducted it.

Senator BROWNBACK. Thank you.

Dr. Palumbo.

TESTIMONY OF FRANK PALUMBO, M.D.,[1] ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PEDIATRICS, WASHINGTON, DC.

Dr. PALUMBO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Senator Lieberman, and Senator Ashcroft. You have my written statement, and I will submit that. I had drafted some oral remarks that, in light of the previous testimony, I think are somewhat superficial and unneeded.

I will say, though, that there is no question about the effect of music in our lives, on all our lives, how it can take us to the heights of joy and, as we have seen, to the depths of depression.

Children today are exposed to many things. Their lives have changed dramatically over the last four decades. They are exposed to many things like drug abuse and alcoholism, homicide, and, as we have seen, suicide. And despite what the song says, suicide is not beautiful. Suicide is a terrible thing.

I had the opportunity to read through some of the lyrics of the songs we are talking about and found them incredibly depressing. It is not hard to see how someone who is conflicted, someone who is at risk, could be deeply affected by what they are reading and seeing and hearing.

Mr. Lieberman, you mentioned the phrase "anything goes," and I am going to read some lyrics by Guns N'Roses. It says: "I've been thinking about, thinking about sex/Always hungry for something that I haven't had yet/Maybe, baby, you got something to lose/Maybe I got something, I got something for you/My way, your way, anything goes tonight/My way, your way, anything goes/Panties 'round your knees with your ass in the breeze/Doing that rhyme with a push and a squeeze/Tied up, tied down, up against the wall/Be my rubbermaid, baby, and we can do it all/My way, your way, anything goes tonight."

I think you are right. Anything does seem to go. We hear a lot about responsibility. We hear a lot about corporate responsibility, personal responsibility. I don't think there is any question that we as pediatricians, myself as a pediatrician, our organization, we as parents need to have input and knowledge of what our children are seeing and reading and listening to.

But, on the other hand, there is also a corporate responsibility, something that we at the academy have been discussing for a long time. And this kind of thing, lyrics like this, lyrics like Marilyn Manson, although popular, profitable, I feel are incredibly harmful and that there has to be some responsibility taken by those who write, produce, market, and sell this kind of thing.

This is not poetry. Some people have said this is poetry. This is not poetry. We need to have a sensibility and a sensitivity at the highest level. In addition, we need to get the word out. We all need to know what is being sold and marketed to our children. And if anything, I hope that the actions of this Subcommittee and subsequent committees in hearings will at least be able to promote that activity.

I agree with you this is not about censorship—although I believe in censorship. I believe in censorship in the home, and that is where it has to start and should start. But this is not a First

[1] The prepared statement of Dr. Palumbo appears in the Appendix on page 55.

Amendment issue, not by any stretch. This is an issue of being concerned about the safety, well-being, and health of our children.

Thank you.

Senator BROWNBACK. Thank you very much, Dr. Palumbo.

We are joined again on the panel by Senator Ashcroft, and I have a couple of questions for you, and then I will turn to Senator Ashcroft, if you would care to have any questions.

Dr. Palumbo, why are pediatricians concerned about music violence? You are here representing the American Academy of Pediatrics. Why are they concerned about music violence?

Dr. PALUMBO. Well, we are concerned about it because we see the results, I guess you could say. There is much anecdotal evidence of harm being done to kids by this. We certainly heard one today.

In talking with other health care professionals, child psychiatrists in their counseling, they are convinced that music videos and violence in music develops an atmosphere, an environment that can easily confirm and affirm the struggles and the conflicts of a young child or an adolescent. It may not always necessarily cause them to perform an act, but it certainly provides them with the ammunition, the affirmation that what they are doing, what they are thinking of doing is reasonable and approved. And it is because of that and it is because of what we see just in general in our society with youth violence being such a problem—drug abuse, teen pregnancy, AIDS—all these issues are becoming more and more important. They are more and more prevalent. And this certainly is one piece of that problem that we feel needs to be addressed.

Senator BROWNBACK. You have been a practicing pediatrician in Washington, D.C., for some period of time. Have you seen specific instances in your experience treating young people in the District that you would characterize the effects of prolonged exposure to this type of music, this violence or misogyny? Have you seen that in your practice?

Dr. PALUMBO. I haven't seen it directly. Where we see it, where one sees it, is, again, as part of a culture, part of an environment that promotes certain behaviors in kids. The most disturbed kids that I have in my practice seem to be the ones that are most involved with this. And, again, it is not causal, but it does promote—aid and bet, I guess you could say—that behavior.

Senator BROWNBACK. As somebody who has run for public office, I hear a lot of parents saying that I am tired of fighting the culture to raise my kids, almost saying that the culture used to be something that buttressed and helped them raise their children and would surround them with positive, and instead they feel like they are fighting it all the time. Is that reflective of your experience?

Dr. PALUMBO. Yes, and it is interesting because it certainly isn't just music, music videos. We talk a lot about television and its effect on kids. It does seem to be a constant struggle. Parents have to constantly fight off the efficacy of slick commercials, well-produced programs, and it is not an easy battle.

Sometimes, I have a few parents, and the way they fought it is by simply eliminating a TV in the home. Just take it out. The ultimate censorship. And, remarkably, those—or maybe not so remarkably, those children happen to be very well read, well-rounded, nice

kids. There is a cause and effect there. There is no question about that.

But it is a constant struggle. Media in general is so pervasive, whether we are talking about the Internet, videos, VCRs, video games, whatever. It is incredibly pervasive and invasive, and an incredibly potent adversary for parents.

Senator BROWNBACK. There has been a lot of discussion recently, and talks and studies, about the loss of self-esteem among teen girls in particular. Much of this music that we are talking about today—and, again, I want to reiterate there is a lot of good music, but what we are targeting today and looking at is very hateful towards women and derogatory. Do you think there is any relationship there amongst the self-esteem issue amongst teen girls and this music's treatment towards women?

Dr. PALUMBO. Well, that I can't answer. I think that in general the media presents an image and a portrait of a woman and what a woman should be and what a girl should be. And whether it is a super model who looks perfect on the screen or something in a lyric, teenage girls today are driven toward an image and a goal that is very unattainable for most, and then, therefore, it can be very damaging. The epidemic of anorexia nervosa in our teen girls I think is the best example of that.

Senator BROWNBACK. Dr. Palumbo, we appreciate very much your testimony. We will be able to look at your written testimony.

Senator Lieberman.

Senator LIEBERMAN. Thanks, Dr. Palumbo.

Very briefly, let me present a kind of lay person's concern that I have and ask you to respond as a professional, as a pediatrician, as somebody who has been in practice, and also is more familiar with the literature than I am.

This music that we are focused on today is objectionable within itself. It violates so many of the commonly held values and standards that we have as a society about violence and sexual behavior and the rest. But it obviously concerns us here because we are worried about its consequences. And as you correctly said—and I think this is an important point—we are focused on the record industry today, and I tried to make this point in my opening statement. This is part of a cumulative picture of messages that kids are getting from very alluring, effective electronic media, television most pervasive of all, music, movies, etc.

OK. I set that on one side. And what it seems to me to be sending, a lot of messages, anything goes, resolve conflict with violence, violence is portrayed with much more brutal and graphic realism than used to be the case. Television, I have seen studies of this, people calculate actually the number of times that sexual acts are either simulated or discussed on television without any discussion of the consequences. This is all part of the "anything goes culture."

So we take all the violence and sexual messages from the media, including the recording industry. Then I look at some of our society's most troubling problems: Enormous rise in youth violence, enormous, an outbreak, which we have all talked about constantly, has been heading up, plateaued a little bit in the last year or so of teenage pregnancy, of unwed girls giving birth, outrageously irresponsible behavior by both, but particularly by the young men in-

volved, or older men, as is the case sometimes, who just walk away leaving a girl with a baby, increase in sexually transmitted diseases among young people.

So naturally, we say to ourselves—and it is part of—it is not just taste, but it is an offense to our morality that moves Senator Brownback and me to be concerned about this. We are worried about whether it is affecting behavior. And I don't blame youth violence and teenage pregnancy on the recording industry or the television industry, but it just seems to me by common sense that what they are putting out is contributing to those problems.

Now, how do you respond to that as a professional, as a doctor, as a pediatrician?

Dr. PALUMBO. There was in the past a statement that said: Children learn what they live. This was directed more toward parents, and when children see parents or adults acting in a certain way, they automatically assume that that behavior is appropriate because it is an adult parent and parents and adults do the right thing.

I think what we are seeing here is something similar in that if it is on TV, if it is being produced and marketed and portrayed on TV or in a video, then it must be OK. It must be OK. What I am feeling, what I am thinking, what impulses I am having, what urges I am having, are OK because, look, they are doing it, so I guess I can do it, too.

It promotes the acceptance, as I said before, the affirmation, the confirmation that anything goes. Smoke two joints in the afternoon, and it is going to make you feel great. To live is to drink, and on and on and on and on.

You watch enough of this, see enough of this, and if this is your world, if this is your experience, then you become part of it, believe it, and then act on it. It is not a one-to-one cause and effect relationship, but it certainly is a very, very powerful motivator of behavior and of thoughts and actions that are there, that are normally there in kids as they go through adolescence. But, hopefully, there are other forces and influences that counter-balance those urges, those drives. This certainly does not do that. It promotes it.

Senator LIEBERMAN. Thank you. Thanks, Dr. Palumbo.

Senator BROWNBACK. Thank you very much, panel members, Mr. Kuntz and Dr. Palumbo. We appreciate your coming forward and testifying.

Our next panel member will be Ms. Hilary Rosen. Ms. Rosen is the President of the Recording Industry Association of America.

Ms. Rosen, thank you very much for coming here and testifying in front of the Subcommittee. We appreciate your willingness to come forward.

TESTIMONY OF HILARY ROSEN,[1] PRESIDENT AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER, RECORDING INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, WASHINGTON, DC.

Ms. ROSEN. Thank you. Good afternoon, Mr. Chairman, Senator Lieberman.

[1] The prepared statement of Ms. Rosen appears in the Appendix on page 61.

Before I start, I have a couple of statements that I would ask be inserted into the record, one in particular from a woman named Nina Crowleyn, Massachusetts Music Industry Coalition, who you met, Mr. Chairman, who had asked to testify, but she has some things about young people in Massachusetts and around the country that she would like inserted in the record.

I would like my full statement, which I will summarize today, be inserted in the record as well.

Senator BROWNBACK. Without objection.

Ms. ROSEN. Thank you.

For much of this century, whether it is ragtime, rhythm and blues, rock and roll, or rap, each generation has seen adults who compare today's music to the music of their youth and say, "This is different." For good reason. Popular music, after all, has often been the vehicle for young people to express the ways they differ from their parents.

I am grateful, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to speak this morning. I share your concern for young America. We in the recording industry are alarmed by the pervasiveness of drugs and violence in American culture and in the lives of young people.

We are involved in an industry important to young people. We are parents, too. Every time I pick up the newspaper or watch the evening news, I am reminded of how precious our children's lives are and how vulnerable.

This sensitivity animates our work to fight drugs, promote good citizenship, and end violence. Heavy D's involvement in Operation Unity promoting racial harmony in America's cities, to Ice Cube's non-profit Brotherhood Crusade in South Central L.A., to Queen Latifah's Daddy's House, providing educational opportunities for underprivileged children—I have hundreds of examples of artists that have done things to help young people in their communities.

In fact, I just returned from Los Angeles where RIAA and the Musician's Assistance Program joined the Partnership for a Drug Free America by organizing several recording artists to record and launch a PSA campaign to urge young people to stay away from drugs. These PSAs will get nationwide exposure on MTV and other outlets that will continue throughout the year.

It was just a small part of our ongoing efforts.

The music community is making a positive difference in many ways that don't get attention. This by no means implies that our artists are perfect. Frankly, they probably don't want to be. There are songs I wouldn't want a 10-year-old to hear any more than I would want them to see scenes from "Chain Saw Massacre" or "NYPD Blue." And it is precisely because the record industry realizes that many parents are genuinely concerned about the music their kids are listening to that we label our product. We began in 1985.

We labeled records with a parental advisory sticker so parents could make intelligent listening choices for their children. When people said it wasn't enough, we did more.

Today, record companies are vigilantly applying that sticker. Indeed, it is ironic that every one of the albums being attacked here today has been rated and stickered with the parental advisory label.

But that is not all. Record retailers restrict sales of albums to consumers under the age of 17.

Give parents information? We agree.

Don't sell to minors? We agree.

And we don't stop there. We have a consumer awareness campaign to enlighten parents about the parental advisory program.

For all of that, let me put this issue in perspective, although, frankly, Mr. Chairman, I think you have already done that today. In a retail record store with over 110,000 titles, less than one-half of 1 percent are going to be stickered product. In fact, the No. 1 album in Billboard last week was LeAnn Rimes' remake of the Debbie Boone hit, "You Light Up My Life." If young people are so influenced by music lyrics, we are in pretty good shape.

For those people who are sincerely offended by any music, the remedy is obviously clear: Read the labels. If your child comes home with a CD, read the lyrics. Retailers will take it back if you don't like it. In this, we stand with mainstream America, 94 percent of whom agree it is the responsibility of parents to monitor the type of music that their children listen to.

It is not an easy decision to sign an artist and release a record. A record company invests in an artist because that artist has a unique vision and a creative way to express it. Music is not just about the lyrics. The melody and the rhythm combine with an expression of the soul that captures the essential moments of understanding and mood. People respond to an artist's expression, but music is a connection. It is not a directive.

I would prefer not to disagree with a loving parent like Mr. Kuntz, who has suffered, obviously, the unimaginable loss of his son, Richard. But medical studies have concluded that while music may echo an adolescent's emotional state, it is not the cause of it. In fact, the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry lists 14 signs to look for in a suicidal child, and music is not among them.

Record companies constantly make choices not to put out songs or albums because they don't meet the test of artistic credibility. Every company I represent has a review committee, and once an album is created, if they do decide to release that record and it warrants a label, one gets applied.

Why at this point would we want to stifle the very voices that give us so much insight into the diversity of issues facing our young people? Shouldn't we indeed be listening a little more carefully to the music instead of trying to turn it off?

For a record company to unilaterally deny artists an opportunity with a difficult message is to deny that there are some in our society who express pain and anger in a way that is valuable, even musical, and that adds to our Nation's diversity of culture. A determination to shut down the voices would be doomed to failure, which is as it should be. It is not a First Amendment claim I am making. It is simply a cultural one.

I would like to close this morning by some place where we may be able to find common ground. We agree that young people are worth investing in. They need our help. There is a generation of teenagers out there who are crying out for respect, understanding, and leadership. They have an inherent belief that this is a wonder-

ful time to be alive, and they are smarter than their critics give them credit for. Most of them, that is. Others have more despair. Violence in their schools, in their homes, in their communities, the high cost of education, and the pervasiveness of drugs in society scares them.

This maybe could be the start of a new dialogue with young people, one that appreciates their unique bond with music. It would offer you an opportunity you don't normally have to participate in a positive discussion about the future of young America. That is what I would hope would come out of this hearing.

Let's make sure that 40 years from now, when the controversial singers of today are remembered with the nostalgia we—or some of us, anyway—remember Elvis, that people say we reacted not just with fear but with foresight, not just with slander but with solutions. Thank you.

Senator BROWNBACK. Thank you, Ms. Rosen.

I frankly hope we do not act with too much nostalgia in the case of Marilyn Manson in future years, looking back and reading through those lyrics, which I am sure you have looked through. And perhaps we can have future hearings with the Recording Industry to explore this subject.

Let me ask a few things if I could. What specific standards do record companies use for making decisions about whether to produce or not to produce and to market a particular album?

Ms. ROSEN. Probably three main things. The first one is does it have a musical sensibility, because after all, music is much more about the music than it is about the lyrics, ultimately. The second is does that artist have an artistic credibility; is what they are saying coming from a real place, whether or not the record company executive agrees with it, or are they just being sensationalist.

And probably the third is whether it is something different, whether it is something new that has not been said or done before that adds to that cultural diversity that I spoke about.

Senator BROWNBACK. So if it is particularly violent or misogynistis, that is not considered in any of the criteria by a record company whether or not they would market it. You say the criteria are that a single different, sensational, have musical sensibility—I am not exactly sure what you mean by that. But if a single lyric is particularly hateful toward women, that would not necessarily be in the decisionmaking criteria by a company?

Ms. ROSEN. I am not quite sure what you mean, because obviously——

Senator BROWNBACK. Well, we can read some lyrics.

Ms. ROSEN [continuing]. Lyrics are open to interpretation, and what I said was that if there is a credibility about what that artist's expression is, that would be the judge. If there were particularly harsh lyrics——

Senator BROWNBACK. So if there is credibility in being anti-female, then that is OK.

Ms. ROSEN. Well, you are making a judgment about what the interpretation is by saying it is anti-female, and I do not know that I could go there. The particular issue is whether or not the lyrics are explicit, and if they make a decision that there is artistic credi-

bility, and the lyrics are explicit, then it gets stickered—like this one.

Senator BROWNBACK. Let us take that one, if we could, because I want to see what standards the record company goes through. That is what I am trying to understand. Now, that album I just had staff take down to you is the Marilyn Manson album that we just heard Mr. Kuntz testify about. As you know, he had a terrible situation that happened in his family, and I think everybody feels that.

Now, that album is labeled; is that correct?

Ms. ROSEN. Yes.

Senator BROWNBACK. And it is labeled "Parental Advisory." Now, what does that label require the record company or the distributor, the actual sales point, to do?

Ms. ROSEN. What this label does is give the signal—the first place is to retailers, that when they are displaying this album, they are conscious that it has a "Parental Advisory" sticker. Every, single retail store in America has signs about what the "Parental Advisory" logo means; so retailers know that if there is a record stickered, they should have a sales-restrictive policy. That is what virtually every retailer in America has already implemented.

Senator BROWNBACK. OK. They are not required to restrict sales to those under age 17, but most try to do that, is that correct?

Ms. ROSEN. Most retailers in America have that policy, yes.

Senator BROWNBACK. OK. But that is not required, and they do not have to do that?

Ms. ROSEN. That is right.

Senator BROWNBACK. OK. So this label is just to try to advise them that this music is with some explicit lyrics; is that correct?

Ms. ROSEN. Yes.

Senator BROWNBACK. Now, in this album—and the lyrics are printed in that one—you can take it out, and there are lyrics inside it, or we can get them printed for you—I would like to go through some of them in light of the record company's decision-making criteria.

Ms. ROSEN. Senator, the "Anti-Christ Superstar" record of Marilyn Manson is a take-off on the "Jesus Christ Superstar" album. It tells a story of one man, 16 loosely-connected songs that trace the rise of an abused child railing against a hypocritical society. That is what Marilyn Manson himself has said. That is about all I can tell you right now about what these lyrics mean, because they have an interpretation to him and everybody else who listens to them differently. So I am frankly going to decline the opportunity to sit here and go through the lyrics with you.

Senator BROWNBACK. Now, it is marketed by what company?

Ms. ROSEN. It is marketed by Interscope Records.

Senator BROWNBACK. And that is owned by whom?

Ms. ROSEN. It is owned by two individuals.

Senator BROWNBACK. Is that the MCA group that has Interscope?

Ms. ROSEN. Universal Music Group, but they do not own Interscope Records.

Senator BROWNBACK. It is a large corporation.

Ms. ROSEN. Yes.

Senator BROWNBACK. And in that——

Ms. ROSEN. And they are following their corporate responsibility in their distribution by putting a sticker on this album. There is no secret about it.

Senator BROWNBACK. OK. But I am asking about the wording, and if there is any decision made by the companies themselves that market this record in looking at the lyrics that they put forward. That is why I would invite you to look—there is plenty to look through on the album, but "Irresponsible Hate Anthem" is in there, and the words are there to that. I would like to know do the record companies consider the words being put forward in whether they are going to market it or not market it.

Ms. ROSEN. They consider the whole work as to whether they are going to market it or not market it, and whether they believe that, as a whole work, this record or any other record has a level of artistic credibility, satire, theater—any kind of message that has some validity in today's society. That is what makes their decision.

But more importantly, they are not trying to pull the wool over anybody's eyes. They recognize that this is not appropriate for young children. That is why they put the sticker on it; that is why retailers do not sell it to young children. That is exercising their corporate responsibility. But there are adults who like Marilyn Manson and should be entitled to get access to them.

Senator BROWNBACK. Who purchases Marilyn Manson albums? Do you know anything about the demographics of those who purchase those albums?

Ms. ROSEN. No.

Senator BROWNBACK. Have you looked at that or studied the demographic profile of those who purchase shock rock or gangsta rap records—or is your industry——

Ms. ROSEN. No. We cannot really——

Senator BROWNBACK [continuing]. It seems to me the industry would be interested in knowing.

Ms. ROSEN. Obviously, records are sold in hundreds of thousands of outlets throughout the country. What I can tell you is that the overwhelming majority of music in America is bought by people over the age of 18. The two biggest records among young people this past year were the Spice Girls and "Aqua."

Senator BROWNBACK. Which I am glad about. And as I stated at the outset, and several of us did, I am delighted to see that we have those sorts of albums. But I believe Marilyn Manson's "Anti-Christ Superstar" album actually started out at No. 3 on the charts?

Ms. ROSEN. I actually do not know what it is; it is not on the charts now, not even in the top 200.

Senator BROWNBACK. And the Recording Industry does not know the demographics of the purchasing of this sort of music, which you yourself would contend has a great deal of hateful comments toward women?

Ms. ROSEN. Well, again, young people do not have to go to music to find messages against women in this society. They need not look much farther than many corporations, or the floor of Congress, or in many ethnic cultures.

The fact is what corporate responsibility is to make sure they are not trying to encourage young people to buy lyrics that they know are most appropriate for adults, and they do that with the sticker.

Senator BROWNBACK. OK. But what I am trying to understand is what set of standards the industry puts forward, and basically, what I am getting from you is no definite standards at all. And you refuse to look at the words—I would be happy to read them off here and have you react to them, of one of the songs that is in that album—but you are telling me that basically, you do not have any standards at all that any major company looks at in selling a record?

Ms. ROSEN. No, I did not say that. I said that the standard is a level of artistic credibility and expression that has validity in today's society. I know you do not agree with this, but when you look at a painting, what makes one painting good and one painting bad? It is a matter of taste. So you may assume that something is simply bad taste because you do not like it, but that does not mean there is not a level of artistic creativity that went into the creation of it. And record companies make those judgments every day.

Senator BROWNBACK. And this is a major company. Let me read you the words, then, to "Irresponsible Hate Anthem," that is in an album that is marked, but there is no blockage of it being sold to children under the age of 17. And I would be very interested myself to see the demographic purchasing of some of these.

These are just some of the lyrics—and I am not going to read all of them, because I do not think they are appropriate to say. "I am so all-America, I would sell you suicide. I am totalitarian. I've got abortions in my eyes. I hate the hater. I rape the raper. I am the animal who will not be himself." And then the "F" word—"it. Hey, victim, should I black your eyes again? Hey, victim"—and then it goes on from that point.

Now, this is put forward by a major company; it is marketed across the country in large quantities, and I guess you are saying that this has a musical sensibility to it that is fine to be able to market and even for people under the age of 17 to get hold of?

Ms. ROSEN. I do not have to be in the position of defending Marilyn Manson. I would just try to open your eyes a little more to culture in America.

"I shot a man in Reno just to watch him die" is a line from Johnny Cash's "Folsom Prison Blues." "Romeo and Juliet" was all about youth suicide and tragic love. "King Lear," there is murder in the family.

This is just, in the grand context of things, one more piece in that broad diversity of information that is in America.

Senator BROWNBACK. Ms. Rosen, I do have to disagree with you that there is a difference between "Romeo and Juliet" and Marilyn Manson's "Irresponsible Hate Anthem."

If there were research that demonstrated that violent music lyrics did exert a harmful effect on teens, how would the Recording Industry respond to that in its marketing of these songs?

Ms. ROSEN. The marketing of stickered products actually is a good question, because these songs are not played on the radio. Videos are not played on MTV, or if they are, they certainly do not depict any images of that explicit nature. MTV, Black Entertain-

ment Television, VH–1, the primary video outlets in this country have very strict standards of what goes on the air. Radio stations put this on the air. To get this, you have to go and affirmatively buy it. There is no marketing of this music that is instantly accessible to young people that the record companies promote.

Senator BROWNBACK. And you do not know how many albums of this one particularly, the Marilyn Manson album, sold at its peak point?

Ms. ROSEN. I do not know that.

Senator BROWNBACK. I am sure you would be interested in that, wouldn't you, I mean, given some of the words I have read you today and that others——

Ms. ROSEN. It has probably sold a few hundred thousand.

Senator BROWNBACK. But that does not draw any cause of concern to you as a responsible citizen in this society, or representing companies that are marketing this? I mean, you are not interested in where this music is going or who is purchasing it?

Ms. ROSEN. Senator, again, the purchasers of this album in retail stores are over the age of 17.

Senator BROWNBACK. It is not required.

Ms. ROSEN. Record retailers voluntarily—and we have many statements, and you have been sent them, by record retailers from around the country—impose that restriction on sales purchases. That sticker means young children cannot buy these records.

Senator BROWNBACK. I would like to see if that is actually the way it works and happens. And I would presume the industry would be very interested to see if that system actually works.

Ms. ROSEN. Well, actually, we tested it several times.

Senator BROWNBACK. And so you know where these records or CDs are being sold now and who is purchasing them?

Ms. ROSEN. No. We have tested several retailers in buying stickered products with young children, and in every case, we have been rejected.

Senator BROWNBACK. So you have tested it sporadically, but you do not know basically the age range of people who are purchasing these albums, and you are basically telling me today that you do not want to know, either.

Ms. ROSEN. No, Senator. What I am telling you is that record retailers restrict the purchase of stickered albums to people above the age of 17. If this one is stickered, it falls under that rules.

Senator BROWNBACK. Senator Lieberman.

Senator LIEBERMAN. Thanks, Mr. Chairman.

Ms. Rosen, I am disappointed by your testimony, but I am not surprised. We are frustrated by what you have had to say, but the truth is you are here representing an industry, and the people whom we are really upset with are the people who run the record companies.

I will tell you why I am disappointed, and you tell me if I am hearing you wrong. I do not hear in your testimony any real acknowledgment about how terrible this music is or any willingness by the companies that are part of the association you represent here today to change their marketing policies. And you know, when you make reference to, "For much of this century, whether ragtime or rhythm and blues, each generation has seen adults who compare

it to the music of their youth and say this is different," believe me—and you know this stuff—Marilyn Manson, Tupac Shakur, Cannibal Corpse, Snoop Doggy Dogg—is a long way from ragtime and rhythm and blues. You mentioned Elvis at one point. When I was growing up, the big question was whether Ed Sullivan was going to let Elvis move his hips a little bit on television; and now we are talking about murder of cops, gang rape, pedophilia. It is outlandish stuff, and I cannot view it, as Senator Brownback said, in the same league with some of the artistic experiences that you have described.

I want to mention the First Amendment. The First Amendment has never been absolute in our country, as much as we prize it in the center of our freedom. Today, there are forms of pornography—people have been arrested for selling pornography. That is illegal, and it has been sustained as constitutional speech is limited by our laws of libel and slander. And then there is the classic, you cannot yell "Fire!" in a crowded theater when there is no fire, because of the harm that would result to the people who are there.

So I hesitate to say what I am about to say, because I am not for censoring this stuff; I am really calling on all of you for more responsibility—but to me, this music is the equivalent of yelling "Fire!" in a crowded theater where there is now fire. And that is why I hope we are continuing a dialogue, and I hope that the people you represent will hear it.

These are great companies. The five big producers of this stuff are enormous companies. Their leaders tend to be first citizens of their communities, both here and abroad, as a lot of them are foreign owned. But you know, too much of this continues.

It is my information—and you correct me if I am wrong, or maybe we should both check our information—that Seagrams still owns 50 percent of Interscope and is still therefore responsible for some of the stuff that Interscope is producing and some of the Seagrams-owned labels—it is a complicated business—MCA is still distributing some of that stuff and still making money on it.

When you hear—and this is the tragedy we heard about today, and we understand that all of us and our children are imperfect, and we are buffeted by events around us—when you hear the testimony of Mr. Kuntz, doesn't it make you want to go back to the folks at the recording company that sell his stuff and ask, isn't it time that we draw the line on Marilyn Manson?

Ms. ROSEN. As I said before, losing a child has an unimaginable grief for a person, but the fact is that most experts, virtually every expert that we have seen—in fact, even Dr. Palumbo today said that there is no causal connection. I do not want to further exploit the situation about the signs that should be looked at when a child is suicidal, but I encourage you to pay more attention to that.

And you raise some important sociological issues about music and its role in society, generally, and I think that this Subcommittee and both of you Senators have lost something today by not having the opportunity to listen to people who are actually experts in studying this music. Dr. Michael Eric Dyson is actually sitting behind me. He has spent his entire career, now at Columbia University, studying this music and has much to say about the impact of the connection between young people and society.

This music for young people is a reflection of what is going on. These messages out of this music are not the first place they are hearing them. I mean, companies frankly are a convenient corporate scapegoat. What we have decided is that our labeling and review program is as good as we can make it, but the fact is that young people around this country are watching this hearing, and they are watching it with some sense of cynicism and despair that the real problems that they are facing are not being addressed. What about their college scholarships? What about gun control? What kinds of jobs are available for them? Where are the fathers and the——

Senator LIEBERMAN. Oh, please—absolutely. But one does not justify the other. Good God, in so many other committee rooms and on the Senate floor, people are fighting for gun control, fighting for aid to bring families together and to bring fathers back to families. And even if we were failing at that, which we are in some cases and are not in others, that does not justify the record companies putting out this awful stuff.

Here is what I am convinced of—and I have watched the change as I have watched the ages of my four children—television, movies, music used to be entertaining and not threatening. And now, I think that more and more parents in this country feel that the culture is their enemy. We are asking you, as Mr. Kuntz did—he could have said it was all their fault, but he accepted some responsibility—but the companies that produce this stuff have responsibility, too, because this stuff does not just reflect—I hope to God—I am absolutely confident it does not reflect the mainstream of the kids of our country—it does not reflect what they are thinking, but it creates standards, fashions, inclinations.

And, look, I do not know where music was on the list of factors that affect kids' behavior, but as Dr. Palumbo said, we all know that music has the capacity to make us very happy, to make us wild, to make us very sad. That is the nature of the art, and I think you just have to acknowledge that music has consequences.

Ms. ROSEN. Senator, with all due respect, if music had that much influence, for every song that has a drug message in it, there are three that have anti-drug messages; for every violent act, there is someone crying because their sister was murdered. For every song that you can point out to me and say something horrible happened, I will point out to you 10 more songs that talk about the joy of life and how we all have to love each other.

Senator LIEBERMAN. Well, more power to them.

Ms. ROSEN. So that frankly, if music had that much influence, this society would be in a lot better shape.

Senator LIEBERMAN. It is music, it is television—you turn on the TV in the afternoon, and soap operas have become sex operas. Talk shows encourage the participants who have disagreements to scream at each other, push at each other—and millions of kids are watching.

Senator Brownback asked you about sales of the Marilyn Manson album. I do not have the numbers, but I had the impression that it had, as you say in the business, "gone gold" or become gold, which would mean that it would have sold more than half a million copies, the "Anti-Christ Superstar."

Do you know?

Ms. ROSEN. I am sorry, I just do not know.

Senator LIEBERMAN. Well, one number I do have before me is that Tupac Shakur's "All Eyes on Me" did sell 5 million copies, and the last time we looked at this was last year, when 15 of the albums that Bill Bennett—and DeLores Tucker is here—15 of the albums that we targeted as the worst—gangsta rap, shock rock—were on Billboard's Top 100, and four of those titles sold a total of more than 7 million copies. So a lot of kids are gaining access to them.

We did some random surveying, and we found—and it is not your fault—but we found that a lot of retailers were not applying the age-based regulation that you have suggested—and that is understandable, unfortunately.

I do want to give credit to Wal-Mart—and there are a few others—which still refuses to stock CDs or records that have your "Parental Advisory" label on them. And I gather that some of the companies in fact have altered the content of the albums to essentially pass Wal-Mart's standards so they do not get the sticker on them.

Let me ask you about the sticker. Unfortunately, for better or worse, I have been involved in this whole question of labeling and disclosure to help kids, parents and consumers better understand what is inside the package, whether it is television and the rating system or the video games. Video games have adopted a very comprehensive and I think easy to understand labeling system, which basically tells parents how much sex, violence, and vulgarity are in the games. The TV rating system, we have argued over, and it is getting better.

Your rating system, your label, is very, very general and vague. In other words, it says, "Parental Advisory, Explicit Content." It does not tell us what we should be worried about if our kids come home with one of these CDs—is it violence or vulgarity or sexual abuse of women or whatever?

Would you consider—and when I say "you," I mean the record industry—going to a more explicit label that would better inform consumers about what is in the product and what is on the CD?

Ms. ROSEN. Like what?

Senator LIEBERMAN. Like what the video game or TV people—or even the age-based movie system.

Ms. ROSEN. Well, it is a good question, and the answer is no, for this reason—not to be unhelpful—because we do independent surveys with parents all the time who say that this sticker actually is a very useful tool for them. The reason——

Senator LIEBERMAN. Well, I am sure it is useful, but I am just saying it can be more useful.

Ms. ROSEN [continuing]. Let me finish—the reason is this. John Denver for years complained about the fact that radio stations and people yelled at his song, "Rocky Mountain High," because they decided it was a drug song, because that word "high" to some people meant drugs and to other people meant the crispness of the mountain air. Now, unlike motion pictures and unlike television and unlike video games, where you have a connection of the actual what it is—you can see it, you can see three breasts, two arms and a

something—music is just so subject to interpretation, we just do not really see how you can get any more specific than this.

Frankly, we do not see people crying out for the need for it, because the other difference between music and these products is that now, most lyrics are printed in these albums, as you can see; people have made no attempt to hide these words. You can read the lyrics before your child listens to the album, and if you do not like it, you can send it back.

Senator LIEBERMAN. Can you read the lyrics before you buy the album?

Ms. ROSEN. Some stores let you open it right there——

Senator LIEBERMAN. But generally not.

Ms. ROSEN [continuing]. But I am not in charge of retails. I will tell you this, that every retailer we have spoke to who subscribes to the National Association of Recording Merchandisers Association says that they take back records if parents do not like them. If it is too violent, if it is too offensive, if they thought it should have had a sticker and it did not, they take it back.

Senator LIEBERMAN. Well, I want to ask you to, if you would—we are crying out, and I can tell you that a lot of parents that I am talking to in Connecticut and elsewhere around the country are crying out—if you would take that back to your board and ask them to consider it. Tell us—you can distinguish—I mean, art is art, but good God, on these record albums, the stuff we read from today, and a lot of stuff that we have not had the guts to read from because it is so violent and vulgar—you can distinguish between violence and vulgarity, abuse of women, subjects like pedophilia that are in some of the albums.

I ask you to do that, and I ask you to go back one more time—and Senator Brownback and I are going to keep this up, not for legislation, but just to continue to focus on what is on these albums—and ask your companies, which are great companies, making a lot of money, and the distinguished people at the top of those companies to ask themselves to forsake a little of that money in the public interest and in the interest of their country and the kids of the country.

I repeat what I said at the beginning. You have a job to do, and I understand that. But I am disappointed because in your testimony today, I have not seen or heard a movement an inch away from "We are doing as much as we can do. We are not responsible. We are not going to give you better labels. This is all art."

Ms. ROSEN. I am sorry if I have disappointed you, Senator. I think it is also important to point out that unlike most other entertainment products, music is not a product of a corporation. Music is an artist's vision. And what this Subcommittee could hear from and should have—and you know, Senator, I have encouraged you to for many years—to meet with artists and find out what it is they are talking about, understand what their motivations are, talk more to young people who listen to this.

This is not about the corporate relationship between you and me; this is about whether or not music is really having the kind of impact on young people that you suggest, or whether it really is artists' expression of what is going on in their lives.

Senator BROWNBACK. I hope we can have some future hearings and have some of those artists. We were limited on time for this hearing today; we are getting toward the end of the session, so we were not able to be as broad as we could.

I also want to say that, as you have noted, and I agree, that much of today's popular music is very good. You are catching the grief for a certain segment, but we do hope that you will look carefully at those items, because I think there are things that can be done that could be helpful to all.

Thank you for being here. I appreciate very much your testimony, and the good things that many of your companies are doing, but I hope you will take a look at some of the rest of the items.

Senator BROWNBACK. Our final panel will be Dr. C. DeLores Tucker. Dr. Tucker is Chair of the National Political Congress of Black Women. She has been actively involved in protesting the lyrics of violent songs out of concern for their effects on the inner-city community.

We also welcome Professor Donald Roberts. Dr. Roberts is the Thomas Moore Stork Professor of Communications at Stanford University. His new book entitled, "It's Not Just Rock n' Roll," is considered to be one of the definitive works on the impact of music on youth behavior, and it is due to be released later this month.

We appreciate very much our panelists being here. I believe we have a vote scheduled at 2:30. Not to make our witnesses shorten their statements, but we can include your written statements in the record in their entirety, and if you can summarize, we would appreciate that, so we will have time to both hear your testimony and be able to ask some questions.

Dr. Tucker, thank you very much for joining us. You have been involved in this for some time. We look forward to your testimony.

TESTIMONY OF C. DELORES TUCKER,[1] CHAIR, THE NATIONAL POLITICAL CONGRESS OF BLACK WOMEN, INC., SILVER SPRING, MARYLAND, ACCOMPANIED BY CHAD SISK, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

Ms. TUCKER. Thank you, Senator Brownback, and thank you, Senator Lieberman, for having this hearing today.

I would like to share, if I could, some of my time with a young man, 14 years of age, Chad Sisk.

Senator BROWNBACK. Please, come on up and have a seat.

Ms. TUCKER. Just before I came over here today, I heard on TV this statement: "Kids are like sponges and absorb messages like their TV snacks. Children between 2 and 5 watch more TV than any other groups, and more violence is shown during kids' shows than on prime TV." A passion that drives and motivates me is to stop these messages from being absorbed like sponges by our children.

The question was raised about who owns and distributes the music of Marilyn Manson. I was to testify yesterday at the Seagrams stockholders' meeting in Canada. Because of illness and my doctors preventing my traveling to Canada, my husband testified for me, and he addressed Mr. Bronfman, Sr., and the entire 1,500

[1] The prepared statement of Ms. Tucker appears in the Appendix on page 83.

or more who attended the stockholders' meeting and challenged them, as you are providing us now a chance to challenge the "Big Six" that continue to spread these messages of disease, and not only suicide, but death and carnage, to many of our children—and not only to our children, but to our culture and all the values we hold so dearly in this Nation and in the world.

I speak as Chair of the National Political Congress of Black Women, but more than that, for over 100 organizations, including the World Council of Churches, the Congressional Black Caucus, and many, many other organizations.

I am pleased that this arm of Congress has taken the time to address the urgent problem of the social impact of music violence, a subject in which we have been engaged for more than 5 years in a relentless struggle to persuade the giant music industry to stop the production and worldwide distribution of violent, pornographic, misogynistic gangsta rap music.

Those malicious lyrics grossly malign black women, degrade the unthinking young black artists who create it, pander pornography to our innocent young children, and hold black people, especially young black males, universally up to ridicule and contempt, and corrupt its vast audience of listeners, white and black, throughout the world.

I am filled with hope and anticipation because this congressional body is holding a hearing. I trust and pray that your Subcommittee will follow through with positive action to save our children from the cultural scourges that are besieging them. I applaud the action Congress took to protect children from the cultural filth on the Internet—but there are so many children who have no Internet, who have no home, who have no parents like most of us have, to protect them.

We say that action must be taken to curb and control the proliferation of this vile, demeaning and misogynistic music. We are not talking about censorship. Instead, we are talking about establishing guidelines for more responsive and responsible corporate citizenship. A corporation must be granted authority by a governmental body in order to exist. No corporation should be allowed to exist if engaged in activities that contaminate and infect the minds of children. We protect whales, we protect owls, we protect rivers. There are already laws in existence that protect children from child pornography and exploitation, but not from purchasing this music.

I beg of this body to clarify and strengthen the existing laws on the books so there is no doubt as to their purpose and intent. I have met with the Justice Department about doing just that. There are relevent laws that already exist. Let us make them work for our children.

We simply want some means or measures to provide an exception to freedom of speech, just as the classic yelling "Fire!" in a crowded theater is prohibited. We want to bring a return of civilized discourse to our musical art. When I met with the Justice Department, I took them proof that this music meets the Miller test—it is offensive and can be stopped.

For black women, the depressing existence of drugs, violence and death in the black inner cities of this country is alarming. We are the grandmothers, the mothers, the sisters, the aunts, the cousins,

the sweethearts, the wives, the family friends of the targeted black male—fathers gone, along with hope and jobs; streets filled with drugs, violence and death. Those escaping this are headed for a new address—prisons—jails that are bulging with young black men and, now, an increasing number of young black women. Right here in this city, for over 60 percent of young black males ages 16 to 24, and in Baltimore, and all of our major urban cities, we have what I call the "3–P plague" operative. Sixty percent are either in prison, on parole or on probation.

During the past 5 years since the corporate moguls of the music industry started spending millions to promote and distribute music that teaches kids that it is cool to kill, it is cool to use drugs, it is cool to gang-rape girls and denigrate women in the most vulgar and violent ways, jails are bulging, and teenage drug use has increased four-fold.

Tupac Shakur told the young kids: "It is cool to smoke and use drugs. I need a smoke right away. I need a smoke now. It is the American way."

It was revealed on the "Geraldo" show yesterday that the number of 14- to 17-year-olds committing murder in this country has more than doubled since 1985. This is when the first form of gangsta rap was introduced. It was also revealed yesterday on his show that the number of teens who committed murder hit a 10-year high in 1993, and 1993 is when we started this crusade. That is when Tupac Shakur and Snoop Doggy Dogg were the heroes of our young people, telling them to "do it (sex) doggy-style," telling them in one song "her body's beautiful. I'm thinking rape . . . slit her throat and watch her shake." Telling them that it is better to rape and kill and steal and take drugs than it is to go to school—"F" school, "F" homework, "F" the teachers, "F" your parents, kill your parents.

Furthermore, 50 percent of all violent juvenile crime occurs between 2 and 8 p.m. on school days—50 percent. That is why we need to look at latchkeying children to a better place than the street and places where there is no parental care because one parent in too many homes is working, and no one is at home.

Again, we say that we are not trying to tell the record industry how to conduct their business. We only want them to transform it, to stop it from the production of filth that demeans us as a race, corrupts our children and spreads this noxious poison.

But listening to the recording representatives here today (RIAA), as you quite acutely observed, Senator Lieberman, they seem to have no care at all about the harm that they are doing. Yet, when I wrote Mr. Bronfman, Sr., the chairman of Seagrams, expressing my dismay about his having purchased 50 percent of Interscope from *Time Warner,* he sent me a letter and said, "We have purchased it with the understanding that we will not distribute any music that is offensive to anyone." But then, shortly thereafter, they put out "Makaveli," which not only offended me as a black woman, teaching our children again to kill and to be called "niggers," but also insulted my own faith and the faith of others, condemning it, one song saying, "Hail Mary, Hail Nigger." This is wrong, and since we have brought this to his attention, nothing has changed. In fact, they have had the greatest increase in their prof-

its from Interscope because of the sale of this music that is destroying our children.

We want the industry to respect us like they do others. When pop star Michael Jackson included some words in his album, "They don't care about us," that our Jewish friends considered anti-semitic, they protested. Michael Jackson said two words offensive to the Jewish people—"kike me" and "Jew me"—and the Jewish leaders went to Sony, and the president said, well, it must have slipped through. But they protested, the CD was recalled, and Michael Jackson was taken off MTV and VH–1. I wish our African-American community and all communities would protest whenever any music is offensive to anyone; we should not have offensive music like this in our society. We should respect everyone. We want the industry to treat our complaints with the same promptness and respect as they treated those of our Jewish friends.

I applaud the Jewish leaders for their swift action and have challenged our black leaders to do the same. Based on that episode, one can only conclude that the "corporate gangstas" in the entertainment suites, the true cause and propagators of this filth, not the young "gangstas" in the streets who are exploited, are merely the victims of the converging malevolent forces.

As I have said time and time again, the drug trade in the black community is fueling much that is ravaging our young people in abandoned communities that have already been savagely raged. I have said from the beginning that this music is drug-driven, race-driven, greed-driven, and violence-driven.

The wealthy mavens of the record industry—for example, Ted Field, heir to the Marshall Field fortune and owner of Interscope Records, is the only one that I have seen, at least as reported in *The Wall Street Journal,* say, "I love this gangsta rap stuff," and no matter who does not like it, they can "kiss his a-s-s." Well, I have not heard any gangsta rapper saying that. He is the only one, and he bankrolled Death Row. Our protests resulted in *Time Warner* getting rid of Interscope. Our protests also resulted in Thorn EMI ceasing their negotiations to buy Interscope. And now I am challenging Seagrams to stop producing gangstra/porno rap music and join with all of us who want to save our children from hearing shock rockers Marilyn Manson, 9-Inch Nails, and others who are carrying these nasty, satonic, nihilistic messages to our children.

I want to say this in closing. The effects of this music on children are evident from a quote in a letter from a prisoner who wrote me when I first started this crusade and said: "I am in prison right now here in Washington, D.C. I started listening to rap 3 years ago. I am in prison now for 25 years because I started listening to this music. They made it sound so good and look so real that I would drink and smoke drugs, just like on the video, and I would listen to the music and put myself in the place it speaks of. My 'hood girls, whom God gave to please me and multiply the Earth with respect, became 'hos and bitches. What is so bad is that they accepted it. You know why? Because they put themselves in the video too, and the guns, the money, the cars, the drugs and men became reality. And because good children are destroying themselves, because of lack of knowledge, we begin to think that this is the only way we could be somebody. I mean, everybody wants

to be somebody, and look where I am. But please continue to press the issue. May God be with you in his name. Amen. Love always, and God love you for what you are trying to do."

And then, on the other side of the ocean, many of you might have read about two well-bred little girls in France who listened to Kurt Cobain just like the son of the gentleman who was here today listened to Marilyn Manson. These 12- and 13-year old girls told their 14-year-old friend that they were going to kill themselves. He did not believe it, so he left them. Later on, he said, Let me go and check on them, and they had killed themselves listening to Kurt Cobain—in France.

So this is not just in our ghetto areas. This is universal.

Finally, I want to show you just what this Marilyn Manson is all about. In this poster, he is with something I have never seen before, with two tubes extending from his genitals going into the mouths of two young people kneeling at his side. This is from "Monitor," magazine, which rates the music from Hollywood of the "Big Six" distributors. An editorial by the Publisher, Charles Gilreath, analysis of Mr. Marilyn Manson (who derived his name from Marilyn Monroe and Charles Manson, the serial killer) said the following: "Manson enjoys pandering to youth on the verge of not knowing what their sexuality is." His fascination with kids is echoed by Manson himself, who has stated in interviews that he has a symbiotic relationship with 14-year-old boys, who make up the bulk of his audience. Although some dispute his claims, saying that young girls are also voicing their approval, one thing is certain—Manson music, which is overtly laced with juvenile lure, catchwords such as "cotton candy" and "sweets," is definitely not being packaged for mature audiences. He just finished opening for 9-Inch Nails and is currently touring with Ozzie Osborne. Manson has perfected his on-stage antics, which include performing oral sex on a male guest, or strapping on a dildo"—d-i-l-d-o; and mimicking masturbation while singing a tune penned by convicted killer Charles Manson. It is further stated in the magazine: "Raise your kids better, or I will raise them for you. I want to raise kids in truth and tell them that everything is a lie—there is no truth."

Senator BROWNBACK. Ms. Tucker, if I could, since this has shortened the hour, and we have set witnesses here—Professor Roberts came a long way to testify—if we could, we will try to get to Chad, but I would like to go if possible to Professor Roberts at this time, because we do have a vote coming up.

Ms. TUCKER. I am sorry I took so much time.

Senator BROWNBACK. Professor Roberts, you have a book coming out soon on this topic. We would love to hear your testimony.

TESTIMONY OF DONALD F. ROBERTS, THOMAS MOORE STORK PROFESSOR OF COMMUNICATIONS, STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Mr. ROBERTS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am here, I think, because I have spent the last 30 years of my life studying children and media—media content of all kinds. A colleague of mine, Dr. Peter Christianson, from Lewis and Clark College in Portland, and I have a book coming out next week called, "It's Not Only Rock n' Roll: Popular Music in the Lives of Adolescents." The core thesis of this particular book is that it is impos-

sible to understand adolescents in the United States today if you do not understand their relationship with popular music. It is at the heart of adolescent culture.

I have submitted a written statement, and I will let that stand. I am going to skip over a few comments I had to say about the content. We have heard a great deal about the content today.

I just want to stress that we are talking about two genres out of—well, Billboard now charts 20—and that kids are spread out across these genres. By the time they reach adolescence, they generally focus on one or two, and that is where they listen. So there is a large audience for rap and there is a large audience for heavy metal, but it is by no means the largest audience; kids listen across all of the different genres of music.

Most kids hear some of it, but a lot of kids hear just some of it and do not pay a lot of attention. So, who is the audience? Well, in a sense, there are two different audiences—heavy metal and rap. They are both very much male-oriented music, but there, the similarities go away.

For heavy metal, the predominance of fans are largely young, white males. By "young," I am talking about early to mid-adolescence and then on up through adolescence. We can find examples of girls and African-Americans and Hispanics listening, but they really form a minority of that particular audience.

For the most part, the bulk of the audience for heavy metal is probably what we would call fairly normal, pretty good kids, and there is not much problem with them. However, it appears that this particular subgenre of music has a particular attraction for kids who have problems—troubled kids. They are alienated from school, they are alienated from their parents, they have expressed relatively low satisfaction with family relations. They are kids who tend to be risk-takers or sensation-seekers. Heavy metal fans compared to fans of other kinds of music tend to engage in more reckless behaviors, like marijuana use, cocaine use, drunk driving, casual sex. If we look at their beliefs and attitudes, it turns out that, relative to the fans of other kinds of music, heavy metal fans express lower levels of trust in others; they hold libertarian beliefs, which is sort of "anything goes"; they tend to be more Machiavellian, that is, they are engaged in social behaviors that are manipulative or cynical; and they have fewer religious beliefs.

The real heavy metal fan generally expresses more permissive sexual attitudes, manifests a lower level of respect for women, gives lower estimates of the frequency of date rape and higher estimates of the general rate of sexual activity in the general population.

As I said, troubled youth are particularly drawn to this type of music. I do not mean to imply a causal connection here. Indeed, I think most of the kids who manifest these attitudes and behaviors probably had them before they were even old enough to listen to heavy metal, but once there, they are attracted, and they become the real fans. They are fans in the true sense of the world. They are "fanatical." They are highly committed to the music, very involved in it. When you interview them, they identify with the performers. When you ask them who their role models are, they are

more likely than fans of any other group of music to label a heavy metal performer.

Knowing that an adolescent is a heavy metal fan does not mean, generally, that he has these characteristics; but knowing that an adolescent is somewhat troubled, is alienated, is at risk, makes it a very good bet that that youngster will in fact be a heavy metal fan.

The problem here is that these are the kids who may be most susceptible to being influenced by the messages in the music. They are at risk in the first place, and they are willing to say right up front, "Those are my role models." So our worry is that they are particularly susceptible.

Now, the rap audience is a little bit different, not surprisingly. Rap is the dominant favorite among African-American males. In the studies I have seen, as many as 75 to 80 percent of adolescent African-American males list this as their favorite.

However, it is not the dominant favorite, but it is a big favorite among young white males—ironically, young white suburban males. The 14- and 15-year-old white males from Edina is very likely to be a real fan of rap.

Girls of both races like the music, but they do not like the lyrics, they do not like the messages. They like rap because it is vibrant, because it is very danceable; that is what appeals to them most.

The kinds of alienated attitudinal things that I just described for heavy metal do not seem to hold up for the fans of rap, but in particular, if you assume that most of the African-American males are there, listening to rap, you would not expect to find these associations because all of the kids are into rap.

African-American youth, when you interview them, love the music for the sound, but they also love the messages, and the more of a fan they are, the more into the messages they are. The white youth love it for the sound; they do not pay a great deal of attention to the messages. However, once they are there listening, it provides them with something that they do not otherwise have access to. For a lot of white suburban youth, rap provides a window to a culture that they do not have a lot of contact with. They are in a sense engaging in something that we have called "cultural tourism." They are getting a sense of "this is what a black neighborhood—this is what a black male is like," from that music. And I think one of the things that we have to be very concerned about when we are talking about 14- or 15-year-old white kids who live in areas of this country that do not have a lot of contact is that if that is the only picture they are getting of the black culture, they are getting quite a distorted picture.

Let me turn to effects, which is what we are really interested in here. I want to note that social scientists recognize that the primary concern is behavior, but when we are talking about the effects of such things as violence and sexuality, it is very difficult to study behavior. We cannot expose kids to the music and then go and see how many fights they start, how many women they attack.

So that what a lot of these studies do is rely on attitudinal measures and perception measures—"What do you believe," and so on.

What I am going to describe to you are experiments. Identical groups of kids are exposed either to the music we consider to be

problematic, music that does not carry these messages, or to no music, and then you compare responses after they have gone through this exposure.

When you do this in the studies that have been conducted, you discover that exposure to the music with this kind of message does make a difference in how they perceive social interaction, social relationships, and in their attitudes.

One other qualifier. The effects that are found in the literature are strongest when the kids are exposed to music videos as opposed to just the straight lyrics. The picture brings with it a good deal more information. One of the interesting things about this, however, is that once an adolescent has seen the music video, when he subsequently hears the music, he replays the music video in his head. Those pictures are with one from then on. We tried to run an experiment 2 years ago where we compared kids who saw the video and kids who just heard the lyrics, and we could not run the experiment because all the kids who just heard the lyrics told us, "Well, I could not understand the words at first, so I just remembered the video." So you cannot even do those comparisons anymore.

So a lot of what I am talking about is response to videos. Specifically, videos laced with many violent images have been demonstrated in experiments to make adolescent viewers more antagonistic in their orientation toward women, more likely to condone violence in themselves and in others. That is to say, after viewing, they were likely to say, "I would engage in this kind of behavior, that kind of behavior, I would devalue women a bit more."

Antisocial videos have been shown to increase the acceptance of subsequently observed antisocial behavior. If one watchs a video that is pretty violent, one is more accepting of violence when it is seen later.

Highly gendered stereotype videos increase the acceptance of gender stereotyped behavior subsequent to exposure.

Sexually charged videos have been shown to lead viewers—and in all of these experiments I am talking about for the most part males, although a couple have been run with females, from about the age of 12 or 13 through college; I am talking about late adolescence—sexually charged videos lead viewers to perceive subsequently observed ambiguous behavior as more sexual. They also lead viewers to be more accepting of premarital sex and otherwise sexually permissive.

At least one case study, not an experiment, reported in the medical literature very recently—I just came across it a week ago—reported that in a situation where teenagers and young adults were locked up in a treatment facility, juvenile delinquents and kids with other problems, they were having a great deal of difficulty with violence and kids attacking each other and attacking their caretakers. They removed access to any music videos—MTV, VH–1 and so forth—and the reports indicated that over a period of 3 or 4 weeks the violence in this treatment facility went down.

A couple of conclusions, and then I will wind up. Findings and research on all kinds of media content leave little doubt that children, adolescents and adults learn a great deal from what they hear and see in the media, and it does not matter which medium

we are talking about. Children, adolescents and adults do not make distinctions. A screen is a screen is a screen, whether it is a television screen, a video, a rental video, a motion picture or a computer screen. It certainly is no different for adolescents and the music media. Indeed, in our book, we contend that music media are probably most important to adolescents.

Popular music is largely for, of, and by adolescents. It focuses on many of the issues that are central to their concern, many of which are taboo topics—for example, sex and cross-sex relationships—that parents, schools and churches do not do a very good job of handling. The media in general and music media in particular fill the void.

Today, studies have shown that adolescents obtain most of their information, for example, about sex and sexuality from peers and from the media—from ignorance and more ignorance. And the music media, because of their focus on topics like that, are very adept at filling this need. They address these kinds of issues—interpersonal relations, how you treat a woman, sex and sexuality, when to use violence—they address those issues frequently, they are reviewed repeatedly, listened to repeatedly, and the consequences of the portrayed behaviors are typically positive and certainly never negative. Sex is usually safe, rudeness is cool, threats toward police or other authorities are rarely punished, violence is rarely punished, and indeed, tatoos are never for life.

Perhaps most important, heavy metal and rap both attract kids to their audiences who may be particularly susceptible to influence—troubled, alienated white males in the case of heavy metal; angry, inner city African-American males in the case of rap.

Given the nature of the content of so much of the music from these two genres in particular, some remarks made by Professor Albert Bandura, who originated what is known as "observational learning theory"—a theory that is probably most potent for explaining how children learn from the media—about the likelihood that youngsters will learn from almost all the media to which they are exposed is particularly chilling. A couple of years ago, he wrote: "After the capacity for observational learning has fully developed, one cannot keep people from learning what they have seen." The literature that we review in our book indicates that you cannot keep them, particularly adolescents, from learning what they have seen or what they have heard.

Thank you.

Senator BROWNBACK. That was excellent testimony from both witnesses. I think that what we need to do is go to questions if we can at this point and some discussion back and forth.

Dr. Roberts, you point to two sections of music that are particularly troublesome out of 20, and that you have really targeted and studied those, and then you said there is a particular group of individuals in those two sections that listen to that type of music that are most susceptible to the message, and I gather from what you are saying, acting out on that message, or at least having an attitudinal change by this message.

What percentage of young people are we talking about? Is there any quantifiable——

Mr. ROBERTS. Not that I know of. I could not hazard a guess. But you raise a very interesting issue, and the issue is: At what percentage do we get concerned? When I teach a course on this, and people say, well, it is just a few kids, I ask my class if they would, for example, change the First Amendment if I could prove—which I cannot—but if I could prove that something in the media caused one killing. And generally, nobody in the class will ever want to change the First Amendment on that basis.

And then, I say, now, if I could prove that each year, something in the media caused 100,000 murders, if I could honestly prove that—and I cannot, but if I could—would you change the First Amendment? And I have discovered that most students in my classes, at 100,000 murders a year, would say yes.

Now we have a couple of boundaries, and the issue becomes where do you start to get concerned. I think that probably, we are talking about a relatively small proportion of kids who are really going to act out, but a relatively small proportion of people commit murders in this country, and yet murder is a concern. A relatively small proportion of kids in this country, or adults, or anyone else, commit suicide, and yet we are concerned about it. So the fact that we might be talking about a couple of percent—and it may be higher, and it may be lower; I simply do not know—is begging the question; it is enough kids to be concerned about.

Senator BROWNBACK. I think you point this out well in studies. Are there going to be other studies that you know of in progress, looking at the impact of music and music violence on culture?

Mr. ROBERTS. Well, there are always studies ongoing, but never enough. I do not want to wag my finger, but a few years ago, social science funding dried up, and a lot of these kinds of studies dried up. And until somebody decides that it is worth running these studies on a systematic basis, rather than have professors get four or five students to volunteer, you are going to get the occasional study. No one has been willing to put up the kind of funding that I think is needed to address these questions, regardless of what the answers are.

Senator BROWNBACK. Senator Lieberman, I think there is a vote coming up. We might want to proceed and wrap this up, so let me turn to you for questions.

Senator LIEBERMAN. Thanks, Mr. Chairman.

First, Dr. Tucker, you have been a real national leader in this. It has been my honor to have worked with you and Dr. Bill Bennett along the way, and I thank you again for your predictably riveting, honest, and for me inspiring, testimony, and I only wish the folks from the record industry would hear and do something about it. But God bless you, and keep on going forward until we get the change we want.

I do want to say, Dr. Roberts, that I think your work is very important—and maybe I say that because I find it validating—but it is validating of our concerns, the layperson-parental concerns that I bring to the table.

First, it does strike me, although you do not have any reason to know, that we are talking about significant numbers here. The one Tupac Shakur record sold 5 million copies; 4 of the 15 that Drs.

Tucker and Bennett and I targeted about a year ago sold a cumulative 7 million. So there are a lot of kids here.

The other thing you have said here is that this music is mostly bought and listened to by early to mid adolescents, that the age restriction that Ms. Rosen testified to is not a reality in the stores.

I am fascinated by the notion that it is children—and these are children, because they are under 18—who are susceptible, who are drawn to this music. It reminded me of a line from the Talmud that we should not put stumbling blocks in the path of the blind. It is common decency. Why would you put a stumbling block in front of someone who cannot see that they could fall over? To some extent what you are telling us is that we have kids out there who have vulnerabilities, and this music plays to and exacerbates their weaknesses and their vulnerabilities, and that makes it all the more urgent.

So I just want to thank you for what you have done. I do not know if you have any response to what I have said. I hope your book is a bestseller, and I hope it shakes people up.

I do want to say one thing—and we have worked on this together as a result of some of what we heard in earlier hearings—we have actually put into this year's Labor, Health and Human Services appropriations bill, if it ever breaks out of the gridlock it is in now, a directive, I believe it is to the National Institute of Child Development, to increase funding of academic studies, social science studies, of the impact of the media and messages in the media on behavior in our country. Hopefully—yes, ma'am?

Senator BROWNBACK. Dr. Tucker.

Ms. TUCKER. Senator, before you close, could I bring this young man forward?

Senator LIEBERMAN. Yes. Let us hear from Chad.

Ms. TUCKER. He can answer some of the questions you have raised. He has some tapes he has bought.

Senator LIEBERMAN. Good.

Senator BROWNBACK. We really need to be short on this. I know Chad has come some distance. Actually, if I could, Ms. Tucker, there are others in the audience who would like to testify, too, and I really think we need to conclude.

Ms. TUCKER. One point is that the parental advisory sticker did not stop him from, at the age 12, purchasing these records.

Senator BROWNBACK. That is a pertinent issue.

Ms. TUCKER. And Marilyn Manson was in his neighborhood this summer, and the young kids were lined up—black males, in skirts—for a Marilyn Manson concert. So I think that it is relevant to hear from a child.

Senator BROWNBACK. Would the witness identify himself?

Mr. SISK. My name is Chad Anthony Sisk, and I am from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Senator BROWNBACK. Have you had trouble purchasing these CDs with the label on them?

Mr. SISK. Not at all.

Senator BROWNBACK. From major retail stores—where have you purchased them?

Mr. SISK. Sam Goody, Tower Records, and The Wall.

Senator BROWNBACK. Were you ever questioned about your age?

Mr. SISK. Never.

Senator BROWNBACK. Just if you had the money, you could purchase it. And these were albums with the actual label on them?

Mr. SISK. Yes.

Senator BROWNBACK. Did you see any warnings at the store that you were not to purchase these?

Mr. SISK. Not at all.

Senator BROWNBACK. Do you have friends who have had any difficulty purchasing these CDs?

Mr. SISK. Some have.

Senator BROWNBACK. Is that because some stores do actually look into and check on the age of the purchaser?

Mr. SISK. Not that many, but there are some in Philadelphia.

Senator BROWNBACK. Is it known what stores you can go to to purchase labeled records if you are under age?

Mr. SISK. Yes.

Senator BROWNBACK. How is that known?

Mr. SISK. Well, the stores where we can buy parental guidance CDs are, like, in The Gallery or something like that, maybe around the neighborhood. So kids just pass it on to each other where they can buy it from. That is basically it.

Senator LIEBERMAN. So, word-of-mouth among kids.

Mr. SISK. Yes.

Senator BROWNBACK. And it is just not a problem purchasing these CDs?

Mr. SISK. No.

Senator BROWNBACK. OK. Chad, thank you for coming. Do you have something else you would like to add to the Subcommittee—if you have a written statement, we can take that for the record.

Mr. SISK. Well, there was a Marilyn Manson concert at the Electric Factory in my neighborhood in Philadelphia, and there was a bunch of kids—well, not kids, but they looked rather young, and the males had on skirts, and they had devil signs and things like that. The line was 3 blocks long, and they were all in my neighborhood, and this was at night—and one time, it was in the morning, too, but at night, it was for another concert—and it just really disturbed me to see them coming into my neighborhood with this. Sometimes, they would do violent things—sometimes. But it was just an embarrassment.

Senator BROWNBACK. Well, such as what sorts of violent things?

Mr. SISK. Well, some people might break a car window or something like that—not really hurt anybody, but cause distractions to the community—knocking on doors, screaming, and stuff like that, waking people up at all hours of the night, things like that.

Senator BROWNBACK. I appreciate very much the directness of the presenters and the people who have been present. I think this is a significant issue, and we will hopefully be able to have future hearings so that we can have other people present, because I think it is a significant issue, and I am glad Senator Lieberman joined us, that the presenters came forward. We are not asking for censorship, but we hope to get some dialogue going across the country, particularly amongst parents and their teenage children, and hopefully as well in some board rooms across this country, looking at this music.

Thank you all very much. We are adjourned.
[Whereupon, at 2:43 p.m., the Subcommittee was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

Prepared Statement of Raymond and Christine Kuntz, Parents of Richard Kuntz, Burlington, North Dakota

Febuary 13th, 1997

United States Senator
Joseph Lieberman
Senate Hart Bldg. Suite 316
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Lieberman,

As part our families normal daily behavior on the morning of December 12th, 1996, my wife started our son's shower and went to wake him. But our son was not sleeping in his bed, he was dead, he had killed himself. He has left us and is never coming back

Dear sir, my son was listening to Marylin Manson's "Antichrist Superstar" on the stereo when he died, (I personally removed the distinctive CD with the red lightning bolt across its face from the player) with the rough draft of a 10th grade English class paper about this artist, that his teacher had returned to him that day for final revisions, on the stand next to his body. The lyrics (enclosed) of "The Reflecting God", on that CD, read as an unequivocally direct inducement to take one's own life. Our son's friends tell us that in the end, that this was his favorite song, that this was the cut that was always on whenever they came over.

We are all certainly free to make our own decisions regarding the value of content, but if you were to ask me, I'd say that the lyrics of this song, contributed directly to my son's death.

Additionally, two more of my son's friends, who have been treated for attempted suicide since his death, are/were caught up in Marylin Manson's nihilistic music and are still considered to be at risk.

Sir, this music, because it glorifies inhumane intolerance and hate, and promotes suicide, contradicts all of the community values that people of good will, regardless of faith, ideology, economic or social position, share. Simply put, this music hurts us as a people. Our children are quietly being destroyed (dying), by this man's music, by ones and twos in scattered isolation throughout our nation today.

The artist's own words, in his lyrics and interviews (and his actions), indicate that this injury to society is intentional. The predatory world that Brian Warner markets, through his stage persona as Marylin Manson*, is one no normal (or few in the normal distribution curve of humanity) person would wish to live in.

*Note: Warner's band members usually adopt androgynous, two part stage names, the 1st part derived from a female celebrity, and the 2nd from a convicted male mass murder. And Brian got lucky, as the lead, he got the pick of the litter, "Marylin" as in Marylin Monroe, the female celebrity who committed suicide and "Manson" as in Charles Manson, mass murderer.

By their nature, corporations do not have consciences and it is understandable that MCA would wish to defend a product that entered the Billboard 200 chart at No. 3. But even though they are soulless, corporations do have social obligations and responsibilities and MCA in the name of profit, wrapped in the first amendment, is, by producing and distributing this kind of "art", creating the end, resulting from yelling Fire in a theater.

I understand that the lyrics to individual songs and the content of interviews made by artists with obscure magazines and newsletters are below a CEO's event horizon. But somewhere down the hierarchy line, someone who is aware of artistic content and stated intent, is making corporate economic decisions driven by greed. Decision making that kills.

Shaming major corporations into more responsible behavior is nice, but forcing a corporation to divest itself of a socially unacceptable, still functional subset, possibly at a profit, does nothing to rectify the problem or wash clean the hands of those involved.

The proper, responsible way to deal with organizations like Interscope Records, Nothing Records and the like would be to close them and write off the losses, with as much loud selfcongratulatorly applause as one can possibly generate.

Because the problems today are several orders of magnitude worse than they've ever been, it may also be time to reconvene the congressional hearings held in the 80's that resulted in the voluntary RIAA "Parental Advisory" sticker program. It appears to be time to make this program mandatory and give it some teeth, so that states have some kind of objective criteria to use in regulating the exposure of minors to these dangerous materials.

My wife's name is Christine, my son's name was Richard, my name is Raymond.
Sir, if there is anything you can do, we will do what we can to help.

Thank You,

Raymond Kuntz and Christine Kuntz
for Richard Kuntz
Rt 1 Box 31
Burlington, ND 58722

Copy of the rough draft of a 10th Grade English paper on "Marilyn Manson", written by Richard Kuntz, found by his body on the morning on December12th, 1996.

Marilyn Manson is the epitome of both "drug fiend" and "shock rocker " He is self described as a sato masochist and good role model His shows posses every detail in the order of shocking His albums project an image of hate toward the Christian community, and the drugs he uses publicly are mind degrading.

Just a taste of Manson's outrageous antics can be described in one of his shows in Washington DC. During the course of the show he "slashed himself across his chest with a shard of glass from a broken bottle'(some). if this wasn't enough he also 'exposed his genitalia" and also "sodomized himself with a stick and then threw it into the gaping crowd"(some). Accordingly you should start to see the "shock" factor of his shows.

New York City is yet another stop on this shock rockers tour. "Parading onto the stage in front of a giant Ouija board" the band already shows its dark side(some), though out his set he "rips and tears at his ragged clothes until (naked except for a leather jockstrap)" (some 2) "then he grabs a bottle, breaks it over his head and invites the crowd to shower him in spit"(some 3) As a result of this he's proved to us his "shocking" side and has therefore gotten our attention, what he wants.

Manson believes in his music and is making a strong impression on young people today. In an interview with Deirdue Pearson, Manson was quoted as saying "the point of the album was to at least try to make a difference, to promote individuality, for everyone to be responsible for themselves, and for the people who just aren't tough enough to just lay down and let the others crush them with the wheels of progress."{ Due to this

response it would be difficult to not wonder what type of values he possesses The album he was referring to "Antichrist Superstar,* is his latest and "strongest musicall7y" (Pearson, Deirdre 2).

Manson's second album, Smells like children, is a tribute to two tracks, "a buse" (part one and two) and "confusion" which were on the original cut but were eventually taken off before the album was distributed. Manson explains the reason for this in an interview with Rudolf "both tracks featured collaborations done sometime last year with a guy named Tony Wiggins. It involved illegal activities. The record company said they didn't want them on the album, which caused Tony Wiggins, a volatile person to try and kill somebody. Some talk these off (Randolf 3). With this in mind it is easy to see why the albums release was so delayed.

Another point to consider when talking about Marilyn Manson is his extravagant use of drugs. in an interview with Zern Tsarfin, Manson said he "started smoking pot again", he had initially stayed away from "grass" for fear of jeopardizing his singing career (1). He only smokes it in the form of a "joint" he doesn't mess around with pipes or bongs" (Zana Tsarfin 2). What kind of Maniac would smoke dope?

Manson was also "really into LSD when the band was first starting, about 5 or 6 years ago"(Zena Tsarfin 3). Jokingly Manson said he "would take acid and go to Disney World, everything seemed larger than life, it was terrifying"(Zena Tsarfin 3). Clearly Marilyn Manson portrays the phrase drug fiend, he believes "all drugs should be legal," (Zena Tsarfin 4).

Through the tolerance of "evil" groups such as Marilyn Manson, many children's minds are being degraded. Marilyn Manson shows that it is possible for Christian society to produce someone who is against every thing it stands for. Believing that what he is doing is good and promoting it through music, he gains followers by epitomizing children's black thoughts of rebellion.

Web browser "Bookmarks" that Richard apparently used in preparing his English class paper on "Marilyn Manson".

http://papermag.com/magazine/manson.html
http://pw2.netcom/ mhannon1/index.html
http://student-www.uchicago.edu/users/cdbrown/inter.html
http://www.utech.net/chico/prop.html
http://www.hallucinet.com/underscope/nov95/manson.html
http://www.hooked.net/toadophile/manson.html
http://www.netrail.net/ sonicenu/manson.html
http://www.lia.co.zq/users/marko/cool.html
http://www.hightimes.comht/mag/9606/manson.html

(CHORUS)
EVERYONE WILL SUFFER NOW...
"YOU CAN'T SAVE YOURSELF..."
(CHORUS)

the reflecting god

YOUR WORLD IS AN ASHTRAY
WE BURN AND COIL LIKE CIGARETTES
THE MORE YOU CRY YOUR ASHES TURN TO MUD
ITS THE NATURE OF THE LEECHES, THE VIRGIN'S
FEELING CHEATED
YOU'VE ONLY SPENT A SECOND OF YOU'RE LIFE
MY WORLD IS UNAFFECTED, THERE IS AN EXIT HERE
I SAY IT IS AND THEN IT'S TRUE, THERE IS A DREAM INSIDE A
DREAM, I'M WIDE AWAKE THE MORE I SLEEP
YOU'LL UNDERSTAND WHEN I'M DEAD
I WENT TO GOD JUST TO SEE, AND I WAS LOOKING AT ME
SAW HEAVEN AND HELL WERE LIES
WHEN I'M GOD EVERYONE DIES
SCAR/CAN YOU FEEL MY POWER?
SHOOT HERE AND THE WORLD GETS SMALLER
SCAR/SCAR/CAN YOU FEEL MY POWER
ONE SHOT AND THE WORLD GETS SMALLER
LET'S JUMP UPON THE SHARP SWORDS
AND CUT AWAY OUR SMILES
WITHOUT THE THREAT OF DEATH
THERE'S NO REASON TO LIVE AT ALL
MY WORLD IS UNAFFECTED, THERE IS AN EXIT HERE
I SAY IT IS AND THEN IT'S TRUE,
THERE IS A DREAM INSIDE A DREAM,
I'M WIDE AWAKE THE MORE I SLEEP
YOU'LL UNDERSTAND WHEN I'M DEAD
(BRIDGE)
(CHORUS)
"EACH THING I SHOW YOU IS A PIECE OF MY DEATH"
SHOOT SHOOT SHOOT MOTHERFUCKER LIKE
NO SALVATION [illegible] FORGIVENESS
"THIS IS BE[illegible] EXPERIENCE"
FORGIVENE[illegible]

HIGH TIMES
MAGAZINE RACK
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BUZZ!

MARIJUANA MANSON & THE MEDICINE SHOW

BY ZENA TSARFIN

Florida's reigning shock-rockers, Marilyn Manson, like their potions white and their "grass" green and sticky. With musical heroes like Dr. Hook and Dave Wyndorf, it should come as no surprise that they've smoked bones--that is, the human kind.

I've just wrapped up a phone interview with Marilyn Manson, the lead singer of the band that bears his adopted name. The phone rings again. "It's Marilyn," the voice goes. "I forgot to tell you about the time we smoked human bones." Hmmm. From just about anyone else this might seem outrageous, but with Marilyn Manson it's just another way to test the boundaries of society, which happens to be the band's specialty.

Ever since the release of their debut album, *Portrait of an American Family* (Nothing), in 1994, Marilyn Manson have gained a well-deserved reputation for being parents' worst nightmare. From such songs as "Cake and Sodomy" and "Lunchbox," depicting the band's rebellion against mainstream society, to wild accounts of stage antics that have occurred during their stints as both headliners and openers for the likes of Nine Inch Nails, Marilyn Manson have managed to become the reigning champions of shock-rock.

Last year, the band--Manson, guitarist Daisy Berkowitz, bassist Twiggy Ramirez, keyboardist Madonna Wayne Gacy and new drummer Ginger Fish (the names were chosen to depict the duality of

the band: part beauty, part revulsion)--followed up with the EP *Smells Like Children*, which featured several remixes of "Dope Hat," samples of everything from talk shows to porn films and blistering covers of Patti Smith's "Rock & Roll Nigger" and Screamin' Jay Hawkins' "I Put a Spell on You." They are currently working on a new album, tentatively titled *Antichrist Superstar*, that's scheduled for a September release.

Combining the influences and excesses of '70s glamsters such as Kiss, David Bowie and the Stooges with their own brand of drug-soaked satanic verses, the Florida-based band brought decadence back to rock'n'roll at a time when image and charisma were giving way to political correctness. This decadence includes their industrial-tinged style, wardrobe of rubber and vinyl and openness about drug use. Recently, Marilyn Manson himself dialed HIGH TIMES' number, not once but twice....

HIGH TIMES: Rumor has it you started smoking pot again. Is this true?

Marilyn Manson: It's funny, because I hadn't really smoked pot since high school. When I started singing, I kind of stayed away from smoking because I thought it would hinder my throat. We just finished a tour that went about five or six months; we were doing a lot of coke and crystal meth, stuff that pumps up the edge to my personality. I've never been one to want to take off the edge, but I guess out of boredom and wanting to try something new, I started smoking pot again.

How long had it been?

The very first time I smoked marijuana was when I was about 16. This was in Ohio, where I had a real cornfield childhood. I went over to this kid's house to stay for the weekend and his brother pulled up in a GTO. He got out of the car and he instantly started firing off a pistol into the sky, which I knew meant that I was in for an interesting weekend. He had this special party room that was real dark with lava lamps and all these posters of Grim Reapers and skulls. He broke out a bong and we started smoking marijuana, while listening to Ozzy Osbourne. Then, he talked me into drinking the bongwater. I got sick for like a week.

Do you smoke from bongs now?

I don't mess around with pipes or bongs. I prefer it in the form of a joint. I only refer to it as "grass" or "reefer." If someone gives me pot, I convert it over to grass or reefer. Our keyboard player, Madonna,

smokes pot from the minute he wakes up 'til the minute he goes to sleep. Both he and Daisy. I didn't want to be a part of their group smoking "pot." So Twiggy and I kind of stick to ourselves. We bring along our favorite concert t-shirts--Iron Maiden, Journey, Judas Priest--and our suitcase with cheesy sirens and strobe lights. We hook them up in our room on tour, turn 'em on, start playing acid rock and smoke some grass.

Do you think "grass" should be legal?

All drugs should be legal. Then the people who want to kill themselves will have the opportunity to--you know, a bit of Social Darwinism weeds out the weak people. I like to do drugs just to know that I don't have to. I do it as a test to myself, to challenge my personal strengths.

Have you ever taken psychedelics?

I used to be really into LSD. When we were first starting the band about five or six years ago, my favorite thing was to take acid and go to Disney World. Everything seemed bigger than life and terrifying. It was like being a kid again.

Do you have revelations when you're high?

One time I had a vision of Dave Wyndorf from Monster Magnet appearing in the shape of a fairy and he had wings made out of marijuana leaves. He floated up and give me these little messages about smoking grass. We were in Memphis and it was about five in the morning. We'd been up all night with our sirens and strobe lights going and were listening to Monster Magnet. We have just have this fetish with Dave Wyndorf.

Why is that?

Actually, the first interview I ever read with Wyndorf was in HIGH TIMES, when he said that he wanted to shoot up a donkey with heroin on stage ("It's a Satanic Drug Thing...," Jul. '92 HT). That's when I first began to love the word of Dave Wyndorf. In fact, if I'm not mistaken, Dave Wyndorf invented marijuana.

How do you figure that?

He got in a spaceship and traveled back in time and invented marijuana. It's just a theory I have.

Who else is important to you besides Dave Wyndorf?

Dr. Hook--that's Ray Sawyer --who I believe probably invented cocaine. We got this [1972] album *Sloppy Seconds* by Dr. Hook and the Medicine Show. Just about every song mentions having sex with teenage groupies and snorting drugs. So we're very intrigued by this Dr. Hook music. "Get My Rocks Off" has become our anthem: "Some men need some killer weed/Some men need cocaine/Some men need some cactus juice to purify their brains." These guys were very decadent. Music like theirs probably would be very much frowned upon today. It's more controversial than what we do.

You're from Florida, a state known for censorship. Have you run into any problems there?

I've been arrested twice in Florida, both times for lewd and lascivious behavior. Back then, I tested the boundaries more just to see what you can really get away with. I think there's always going to be some sort of censorship. Where would we be if we didn't have it? Would the things I have to say be as valid?

[After a few more questions, the interview ends. Then a few minutes later the phone rings. It's Marilyn.]

I forgot to tell you about the time we smoked human bones.

You what?

When Twiggy and I were living in New Orleans, we went out one night gravedigging, because in New Orleans bones stick out of the ground everywhere. You just kind of like pick 'em like strawberries. So we had a big bag of bones that we carried with us on the road. About five months ago in L.A., we were in a hotel room, and there were all these people there we didn't know. We talked them into chipping off pieces of the bones, putting it in a pipe and smoking it. We smoked it too. It was terrible--it smelled like burnt hair, gave you a really bad headache and made your eyes red. Oh yeah, and after that we talked someone else into smoking a Tic Tac.

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My boy ..... my lovely boy

My boy ..... my lovely boy
You are so much like me, your hands curve the same, your head, your nose, your eyebrows, your shoulders, and the long beautiful eyelashes.

My boy .... my lovely boy
The black and blue eyes look like leftovers from a fight.
The smile that turns up at the corners, the smile.

My boy ... my lovely boy
With the long narrow feet.
The long narrow feet that made it so easy for you to ride the rails

My boy ..... my lovely boy
You were always there to give a hug
And always willing to take a hug.

My boy ..... my lovely boy
Always willing to give your mom a head rub.
Always needed your mom to give you a foot rub.

My boy ..... my lovely boy
The scars on your knees because you played so hard
And even while healing you still had to play hard.

My boy ..... my lovely boy
The way you move roller blading to town
The constant even flow, your swinging arms.

My boy ..... my lovely boy
The way you playfully skated backwards
in a tight little circle at the clinic, so beautiful, so happy.

My boy ..... my lovely boy
You were so trusting, you believed in me,
And I failed you.

My boy ..... my lovely boy
I love you.

American Academy of Pediatrics

TESTIMONY

of the

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PEDIATRICS

on

THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF MUSIC VIOLENCE

before the

SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT OF GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT, RESTRUCTURING, AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Presented by

Frank Palumbo, M.D., FAAP

November 6, 1997

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Good afternoon Mr. Chairman, members of the subcommittee. Thank you for the opportunity to testify today about the social impact of music violence. My name is Dr. Frank Palumbo and I am a practicing pediatrician here in Washington D.C. I am testifying on behalf of the American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP), an organization of 53,000 primary care pediatricians, pediatric medical subspecialists and pediatric surgical specialists dedicated to the health, safety and well-being of infants, children, adolescents and young adults.

Pediatricians' concern about the impact of music lyrics and music videos on children and youth compelled the AAP Committee on Communications to issue a policy statement on the subject in December 1989, as well as one on media violence in 1995. Policy statements are the official position of the Academy concerning health care issues, and help guide pediatricians in their assessment and treatment of patients.

Pediatricians with a specialty in adolescent medicine are keenly aware of how crucial music is to a teen's identity and how it helps them define important social and subcultural boundaries. One study found that teens listened to music an average of 40 hours per week.

During the past four decades, rock music lyrics have become increasingly explicit -- particularly with reference to drugs, sex , violence and even of greater concern, sexual violence. Heavy metal and rap lyrics have elicited the greatest concern, as they compound the environment in which some adolescents increasingly are confronted with pregnancy, drug use, acquired immunodeficiency syndrome and other sexually transmitted diseases, injuries, homicide and suicide.

For example, Nine Inch Nails released "Big Man with a Gun," with the following lyrics: I am a big man (yes I am) and I have a big gun; got me a big old dick and I like to have fun; held against your forehead, I'll make you suck it, maybe I'll put a hole in your head;

you know, just for the f--k of it...I'm every inch a man, and I'll show you somehow; me and my f--king gun; nothing can stop me now; shoot shoot shoot shoot shoot...

Marilyn Manson has quite the way with a lyric: "Who said date rape isn't kind." "The housewife I will beat" and "I slit my teenage wrist" are just a sample from two songs.

To date, no studies have documented a cause-and-effect relationship between sexually explicit or violent lyrics and adverse behavioral effects, i.e., I'll listen to a song about killing someone and therefore I go out and kill. But we can all acknowledge the overall effect music has on people, including adolescents and children. Otherwise, we wouldn't listen to it. Music wakes us up in the morning, makes us want to dance, soothes us when we're feeling sad and grates on some folks' nerves in the elevator. From infancy to adulthood, it is an integral part of our lives. Mothers sing lullabies to babies, toddlers and children play "ring around the rosie," and teenagers become absorbed in songs they believe help better define them during this rocky transition into adulthood.
Make no mistake about it, music can summon a range of emotions, most of which are wonderful. Yet there is some music that communicates potentially harmful health messages, especially when it reaches a vulnerable audience.

If parents in the 50s didn't like Elvis' gyrating hips, those same people would be astounded at how rapidly we've reached the "anything goes" mentality of the 90s. With the advent of MTV and VH-1, not only do we have to listen to violent lyrics that for example degrade women, but we also get to see it acted out in full color. A handful of experimental studies indicate that music videos may have a significant behavioral impact by desensitizing violence and by making teenagers more likely to approve of premarital sex. According to a U.S. Department of Education report, a large percentage of young women and girls have been "subjected to a pattern of overt sexual hostility accompanied by actual or threatened physical contact and the repeated use of obscene or foul language."

An article in the May 1997 issue of the Archives of Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine documented televised music videos with multiple episodes of violence or weapon carrying. Rock's Guns-N-Roses and Beastie Boys each reached 36 violent episodes in performing just one song.

A wide majority of adults surveyed in a 1997 report from Public Agenda, "Kids These Days: What Americans Really Think about the Next Generation," decried sex and violence in the media as threatening to the well-being of young people. The report, however, couches this as a problem without a solution. "Given the intense complaints about the media, it is somewhat surprising that only half of those surveyed (49%) think pressuring the entertainment industry to produce movies and music with less violence and sex will be a very effective way to help kids. Perhaps people doubt that the industry will be responsive to public pressure, or wonder just how much influence they as individuals can bring to bear," it states.

We believe something can and should be done. Poll after poll laments the belief that our country, including its youth, is losing its moral center. Responsibility, respect and discipline are thought to be a thing of the past. Crime and violence have escalated to the point where it is a public health problem. Although there is no one solution, awareness of, and sensitivity to, the potential impact of music lyrics and videos by consumers, the media and the music industry is one important piece of the puzzle. It is in the children's best interest to listen to lyrics or to watch videos that are not violent, sexist, drug-oriented, or antisocial.

The Academy strongly opposes censorship. As a society, however, we have to acknowledge the responsibility parents, the music industry and others have in helping to foster the nation's children.

Although the evidence is incomplete, based on our knowledge of child and adolescent development, the AAP believes that parents should be aware of pediatricians' concerns about the possible negative impact of music lyrics and videos. The Academy recommends that:

- **Research should be developed concerning the impact music lyrics and videos have on the behavior of adolescents and preadolescents.**

- **The music video industry should be encouraged to produce videos and public service messages with positive themes about relationships, racial harmony, drug avoidance, nonviolence and conflict resolution, sexual abstinence, pregnancy prevention, and avoidance of sexually transmitted diseases.**

- **Music video producers should be encouraged to exercise sensitivity and self-restraint in what they depict, as should networks in what they choose to air.**

- **The music industry should develop and apply a system of specific content-labeling of music regarding violence, sex, drugs, or offensive lyrics.** For those concerned about the "forbidden fruit" syndrome, only one study has examined the impact of parental advisory labels, and it found that teens were not more likely to be attracted simply because of the labeling. We label the food we eat, and the movies we watch -- why not label the music? If labeling is not done voluntarily by the music industry, then regulation should be developed to make it mandatory.

- **Performers should be encouraged to serve as positive role models for children and teenagers.**

- **Pediatricians should join with educators and parents in local and national coalitions to discuss the effects of music lyrics on children and adolescents.** The possible negative impact of sexually explicit, drug-oriented, or violent lyrics on compact discs, tapes, music videos and the Internet should be brought to light in the context of any possible behavioral effects.

- **Parents should take an active role in monitoring music that their children are exposed to and which they can purchase, as well as the videos they watch.** Ultimately, it is the parent's responsibility to monitor what their children listen to and view. Pediatricians should encourage parents to do so.

- **Pediatricians should counsel parents to become educated about the media. This means watching television with their children and teenagers, discussing content with them, and initiating the process of selective viewing at an early age.** In order to help this process, the Academy has launched Media Matters, a national media

> education campaign targeted to physicians, parents and youth. The primary goal of the Media Matters campaign is to help parents and children understand and impact upon the sometimes negative effects of images and messages in the media, including music lyrics and videos.
>
> Media education includes developing critical thinking and viewing skills, and offering creative alternatives to media consumption. The Academy is particularly concerned about mass media images and messages, and the resulting impact on the health of vulnerable young people, in areas including violence, safety, sexuality, use of alcohol, tobacco, and illicit drugs, nutrition, and self-concept and identity.
>
> For example, if a music video shows violence against women to any degree, a viewer, including young girls, could be led to believe such action is acceptable. If they are educated about the media, the premise in the video would be questioned and hopefully rejected.

Again, let me reiterate the point about a collective solution. Parents, pediatricians, the music industry and others have critical roles in discussing and addressing the increasing amount of violence in society, particularly when it comes to children and adolescents. It is my sincere hope that this hearing will begin a dialogue with all interested parties.

Thank you for your time today, and I am willing to answer any questions you may have.

STATEMENT
by
HILARY ROSEN
President and Chief Executive Officer
Recording Industry Association of America
before
United States Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs
Subcommittee on Oversight of Government Management, Restructuring, and the District of Columbia
342 Dirksen SHOB
November 6, 1997

In 1956 the attention of America was largely directed at a singer whose gyrations that year led Ed Sullivan to call him "unfit for a family audience."

In 1997, there are those who think Elvis Presley is still around.

On this the recording industry is neutral.

But we see a similarity in the attacks on Elvis and those on contemporary music that lead us to this hearing today.

For much of this century, whether Ragtime or Rhythm and Blues or Rap, each generation has seen adults who compare it to the music of their youth and say, "This is different."

For good reason.

Popular music, after all, has often become the vehicle for young people to express the ways they differ from their parents.

While we approve of any forum focusing on the serious and real problems faced by today's young people, we passionately believe that most of the attacks on the lyrics of the 1990s should be categorized with those of the alarmed parents of 1950s teenagers in love with Elvis.

For that reason I'm particularly grateful to you, Mr. Chairman, for allowing us to speak this morning.

We share your concern. We are alarmed by the pervasive presence of drugs and violence in American culture and in the lives of young people.

In an America where each day 3 children die from child abuse, 15 die from guns, and 1,340 teenagers give birth, who could be indifferent to such problems? Certainly, we are not.

We are involved in an industry important to young people. We are parents, too.

To read a letter like the one this Committee has from Mr. and Mrs. Kuntz is to be reminded of how precious our children's lives are -- and how vulnerable.

This sensitivity animates our work to fight drugs, promote good citizenship and end violence.

It is a concern shared by many of the artists being criticized here today and known only by the characters they play onstage.

You see this in Heavy D's involvement in "Operation Unity" promoting racial harmony in America's cities...Ice Cube's non-profit Brotherhood Crusade to aid the homeless and elderly....Queen Latifah's "Daddy's House" providing educational opportunities for underprivileged children.

In fact, I just returned from Los Angeles, where RIAA, the Musician's Assistance Program, the Partnership for a Drug Free America, and several recording artists launched a PSA campaign to urge young people to stay away from drugs. These PSA's will get nationwide exposure on MTV and other outlets and will continue throughout the year.

It was a small part of our effort.

To us, success is not just measured in hit records. It is Joey, a learning disabled kid at the Nordoff Robbins-Center for Music Therapy in New York; it's Eduardo Garcia, a 12 year old learning to read at Rosie's Garage in La Habra California, supported by Walt Disney Records; or Malika Roberson, scholarship winner in the World of Expression program created by BMG Entertainment.

Probably the most visible such effort -- at least in Washington -- is our Rock The Vote campaign, which registered millions of young people in 1992 and 96. One should look at why so many of those young people did not vote in the most recent election even after we registered them but perhaps that is the subject for a whole other hearing.

The music community is making a positive difference in many ways that don't get much attention.

This by no means implies that our artists are perfect -- or that all performers are singing gospel.

There are songs I wouldn't want a ten year old to hear anymore than I would want them to see scenes from Chain Saw Massacre, or NYPD Blue.

And it is precisely because the recording industry realizes that many Americans are genuinely concerned about the music their kids are listening to that we label our products.

We began in 1985.

We labelled records with a "parental advisory" sticker so parents could make intelligent listening choices for their children. When some said it wasn't visible enough, we did more.

Today, record companies are vigilant in applying those stickers. Indeed, it is ironic that every one of the albums being attacked here today, including Marilyn Manson and Snoop Doggy

Dog, has been affixed with the "Parental Advisory" Label.

But that's not all. We support efforts to have retailers restrict sales of albums to consumers under the age of 17. We believe that decision should be left to parents.

Give parents information? We agree.

Don't sell to minors? We agree.

And we don't stop there.

We have a consumer awareness campaign to enlighten parents about the Parental Advisory Program.

For all of that, let's put this issue in perspective. In a retail record store with 110,000 titles, less than one-half of one percent of that store's total inventory will carry the Parental Advisory logo.

Just look at this week's Billboard Top 20. It reflects a culture more musically diverse than any culture in the history of the world.

In fact, Number #1 in Billboard last week was LeAnn Rimes' remake of the Debbie Boone hit "You Light Up My Life."

If young people are so influenced by music lyrics, we're in good shape.

Now, I must do something that both saddens me and makes me personally uncomfortable. I would prefer not to disagree with a loving parent like Mr. Kuntz, who has suffered the unendurable loss of his son, Richard.

The most controversial lyrics in popular music certainly reflect the violence of our culture. In some cases they mock the violence and drug use in ways that have been misinterpreted. In others, it is clear that performers are portraying a character -- describing

society -- rather than preaching a message. But medical studies have concluded that while music may echo an adolescent's emotional state, it is not the cause of it. The American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry lists 14 signs to look for in a suicidal child. Music choices are not among them.

We don't think Marlon Brando is a Godfather. We don't think James Earl Jones really wants to turn people to the "dark side?" Why believe any differently when we're listening to contemporary music?

For those who are sincerely offended by any music, the remedy is clear.

Read the labels.

If your child comes home with a CD, read the lyrics.

In this, we stand with mainstream America, 94% of whom agree it is the responsibility of parents to monitor the type of music their children listen to.

Members of this Committee should know that it is not an easy decision to sign an artist and release a record. The reason a record company invests in an artist is because the company believes that the artist has a unique vision and a creative way to express it. Music is not just about the lyrics. It is about the melody and the rhythm, combined with an expression of the soul that allows an artist or a band to capture the essential moments of understanding and mood. People respond to an artist's expression but music is a connection, not a directive.

Record company executives constantly make choices to not put out certain songs or albums because they don't meet the test of artistic credibility. But, for record companies to unilaterally deny opportunity to an artist with a difficult message is to deny that there are some in our society who express pain or anger in a way that is valuable, musical, and adds to our nation's

cultural diversity of talent.

Why would we want to stifle the very voices that give us so much insight into the diversity of issues facing our young people. Shouldn't we listen more carefully instead of trying to turn off the music?

A determination to shut down the voices would be doomed to failure.

We are not a monolithic industry.

As long as there is an audience demanding to listen, there will be people willing to produce artists far outside the mainstream.

Which is as it should be.

I fully understand those who with utter sincerity feel differently. But remember: at other points in history the critics were equally sincere. Art is subjective. And that is why America has wisely given free expression such latitude.

After all the test of whether America allows free speech is not whether it grants freedom to those with whom we mildly disagree. It is whether we grant it to those whose views -- and language -- make us apoplectic.

And to grant freedom of speech but deny the means of being heard? That's censorship as well, and a dangerous course. Most record companies take pride in the diversity of their rosters. It would be hypocritical to say artists can speak what they want -- but deny their access to people who would listen. America has fought that battle before. We know that to allow speech but not the platform is not only to start down a slippery slope -- it's to plunge off the edge of a cliff.

I'd like to close this morning where we may be able to find common ground.

We agree that young people today are worth investing in.

They need our help. There is a generation of teenagers out there who are crying out for respect, understanding and leadership. They are smarter than we give them credit for. They have an inherent belief that this is a wonderful time to be alive. Most of them, that is. Others have more despair. Violence in their schools or in their homes, the high cost of education and the pervasiveness of drugs and violence in society scares them. Recording artists have a unique ability to reach them in a positive way. This Committee can be the start of a new dialogue with artists and young people. One that appreciates their unique bond and offers you an opportunity you don't normally have to participate in a positive discussion about the future of young America.

That's what I hope comes out of today's hearing.

Let's make sure that forty years from now, when the controversial singers of today are remembered with the nostalgia we -- or some of us -- remember Elvis ... that people say we reacted not just with fear but with foresight...

...not just with hysteria but with hope...

...not just with slander but with solutions.

Thank you.

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STATEMENT OF DR. C. DELORES TUCKER

BEFORE THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT OF GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT, RESTRUCTURING AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA'S HEARING ON:

"The Social Impact of Music Violence"

I speak as Chair of the National Political Congress of Black Women, Inc. — a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization for the political and economic empowerment of African-American women and their families.

I am pleased this arm of Congress is taking the time to address the urgent problem of "The Social Impact of Music Violence," a subject that I and the NPCBW have been engaged for more than five years in a relentless struggle to persuade the giant music industry to stop the production and worldwide distribution of violent, pornographic gangsta rap music. Those malicious lyrics grossly malign black women, degrade the unthinking young black artists who create it, pander pornography to our innocent young children, hold black people (especially young black males) universally up to ridicule and contempt, and corrupt its vast audience of listeners, white and black, throughout the world.

I am filled with hope and anticipation because this Congressional body is holding a hearing. I trust and pray that you will follow through with positive action to save our children from the cultural scourges that are besieging them. I applaud the action Congress took to protect children from the cultural filth on the Internet. The same concern and action is needed by Congress to protect the children from the violent and pornographic messages that are promoted to them over the airways and peddled to them in record stores. We say that action must be taken to curb and control the proliferation of this vile, demeaning and misogynistic music. We are not talking about censorship. Instead, we are talking about establishing guidelines for more responsive and responsible corporate citizenship. A corporation must be granted authority by a governmental body in order to exist. No corporation should be allowed to exist if engaged in activities that contaminates and

we protect children, cults

infects the minds of children. There are already laws in existence that protect children from pornography and exploitation. I beg of this body to clarify and strengthen the existing laws on the books so there is no doubt as to their intent and purpose.

We simply want some means or measure to stop the classic "yelling fire in a crowded theater!" We want to bring a return of civilized discourse in our musical art.

To black women, the depressing existence of drugs, violence and death, in the black inner cities of this country is alarming. We are the grandmothers, mothers, sisters, aunts, cousins, sweethearts, wives, and family friends of the targeted black male — fathers gone, along with hope and jobs, streets filled with drugs, violence, death — those escaping this are headed for a new address — prisons — prisons, jails that are bulging with young black men, and now an increasing number of young black women. A recent report declared that one out of every four young black men is either in prison, on probation, or parole. I have deemed this the 3-P plague.

During the past five years, since the corporate monguls of the music industry started spending millions to promote and distribute music that teaches kids that it's cool to kill, use drugs, gang rape girls and denigrate women in the most vulgar and violent ways, jails are bulging and teenage drug use has increased four-fold.

Again, we say that we are not trying to tell the record industry how to conduct their business. We only want them to transform it — to stop it from the production of filth that demeans us as a race, corrupts our children, and spreads this noxious poison. All America should take note — the poison exists not just in the inner cities, but is spreading to the more affluent suburbs as well.

We want the industry to respect us like they do others. For example, when pop star Michael Jackson included some words in his album, "they don't care about us," that our Jewish friends considered anti-semitic, they protested, and Jackson was immediately forced to remove the offensive words. The Jewish complaints forced MTV to eliminate the song from its playlists! We want the industry to treat our complaints with the same promptness and respected concern! I applauded the Jewish leaders for their swift action. Black leaders should have made the same demands when this music first surfaced.

Based on that episode, one can only conclude that the "Gangstas in the Entertainment Suites," the true cause and propagators of this filth, not the young gangstas in the streets, are merely the victims of the converging malevolent forces.

So as I have said time and time again, the drug trade in the black community is fueling

much that is ravaging our young people in abandoned communities that have already been savagely raged. There is no safety net there. Gangsta music is drugs-driven, race-driven, sex-driven, greed-driven and violence-driven. The wealthy mavens of the record industry — for example, Ted Field, heir to the Marshall Field fortune and owner of Interscope Records, Edgar Bronfman, millionaire owner of Seagrams, who recently bought an interest in Interscope Records from Field — prey on the hapless and desperately poor, young black artists to produce gangsta rap filth and will simply accept nothing else. These young artists, many of them highly talented, living as they do in communities where there are no jobs, families are ripped apart, surviving where everything is bottomed out, are easy prey. Self-hate is all consuming. The desperate need for money and the life status it brings, reigns.

An example of how racism is undergirding Gangsta Rap can be seen in the experiences of rapper Lichelle "Boss" Laws. As the Wall Street Journal article of February 3, 1994 reported, when Lichelle's style of rap was considered soft, she was told that she would not be produced unless her rap became hardcore with profanity. This has been true for many African-American artists seeking record contracts. Placing profit ahead of social obligation must cease.

I am saying that principle must come before profit. Congress has an obligation to the children and families of this nation to confront the music industry elite about the deplorable music products that they routinely inflict upon society.

Permit me for a moment to share some quotes from Mrs. Coretta Scott King, Dr. Benjamin Hooks, Former Executive Director of the N.A.A.C.P., and Rabbi Eric H. Yoffie.

Mrs. King stated, "*Young people often look to performing artists for moral guidance and inspiration as well as entertainment but when these artists glorify guns and beatings they are injecting poison into the veins of America's future.*"

Dr. Hooks noted, "*Our cultural experience does not include debasing our women, the glorification of violence, the promotion of deviant sexual behavior. This type of music is widely aberrant from the great music and musicians born of our culture and which have graced America.*"

Rabbi Yoffie stated in an open letter to the music industry that "*The music is also profoundly racist, using black artists and targeting African-Americans as its major audience (although half of the records and CDs are sold to white kids in the suburbs). It presents blacks in stereotypical images: black people kill, commit violent acts,*

disdain family values, black men are predators. Black women are a special target, constantly referred to as 'bitches' and 'hos' (whores)."

In closing, I wish to remind this body that banning the sale of violent misogynistic and pornographic music to our children is one preventive action Congress can take to curb violence. But it is one that is imperative to begin the process of healing our nation. NO ONE and NO INDUSTRY should be allowed to continue the social and psychological poisoning of the young minds of this nation that occurs with the music industry.

Finally, I say to you this day that there is a cultural cancer spreading through America. The sooner we recognize this, the sooner we can stop it before it becomes terminal. My organization and I have vowed to continue this fight to a successful conclusion. We hope that Congress will assist us in any way it can.

Thank you.

Mass. M.I.C.

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- The First Amendment Guarantees free speech to all citizens. This includes musicians. Any recommendation or restriction put on musicians or recording companies as a result of these hearings would be a violation of the right to free expression of many citizens.
- Any recommendation or restriction put on musicians or recording companies as a result of these hearings would be censorship.
- Is censorship dangerous? As our society becomes more and more polarized due to pressure from highly organized and well funded religious and far-right and left organizations it is essential that our government discourage censorship in every instance in order to preserve our freedoms. The adage "censorship is a slippery slope", although over used, unfortunately is very true. Pressure from special interest groups today makes that slope even slipperier. For example:
    - In an effort to limit teens exposure to "adult themes". In 1995 a high school principal and his superintendent canceled a production of Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* They canceled the play in reaction to previous complaints by a community member over the "vulgarity and profanity" in a recent high school musical production: *South Pacific.*
    - In 1992 and 1995 a statue of Christopher Columbus was vandalized. The statues hands were painted red and the word invader written across the base. Groups protest Columbus and Columbus day contending that the navigator exploited and killed Native Americans.
    - In 1995, in honor of black history month, a Dorchester, Massachusetts school librarian showed ten minutes of the school library's documentary "Eyes on the Prize" by Henry Hampton to a third grade class. After the showing of the award winning film on the civil rights movement a third grade teacher complained to the administration that it promoted racism and segregation and was too confusing. Consequently the school's principal prohibited use of all of the school library's films.
    - In Boston, in 1995, after receiving complaints that some of the music played on Emerson college radio station WERS was too violent or promoted drug abuse, college president Jacqueline Liebergott relayed the complaints to the faculty general manager of the station. The general manager ordered a review of the students working at the station and ordered a student programmer to create a playlist of only 40 songs, nearly devoid of rap, which would be used for future shows. The administration also requited djs of the formerly rap show to play "at least" two rhythm and blues songs each hour. How dangerous is censorship - students at Emerson College are being trained in communications. The future of the communications industry starts here.

- Censorship has always been dangerous, but in these times when attacks on art are driven by religious zeal and political and financial gain, America needs more than ever the leadership of the Senate in holding strictly to the mandates of the Constitution.

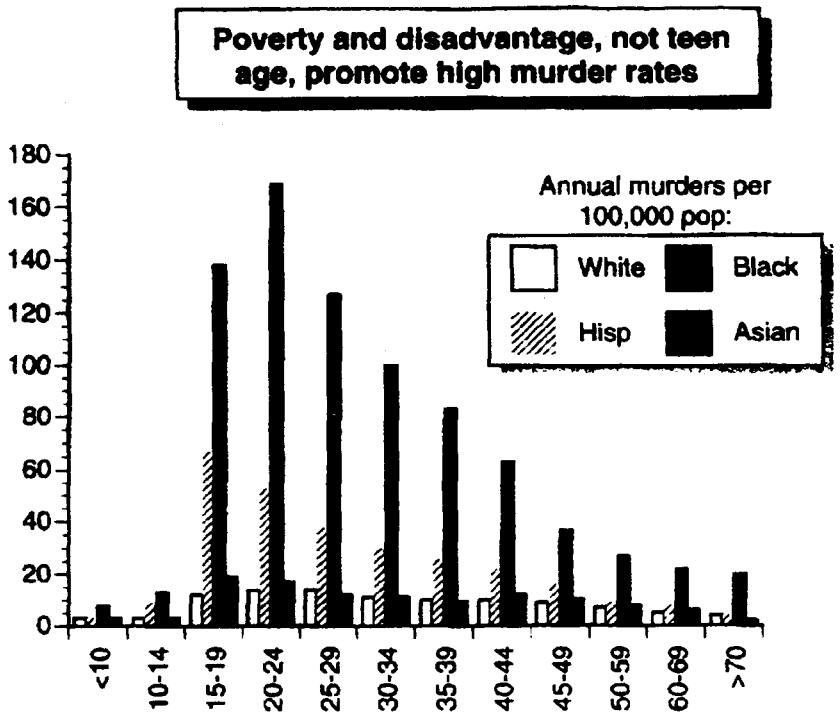
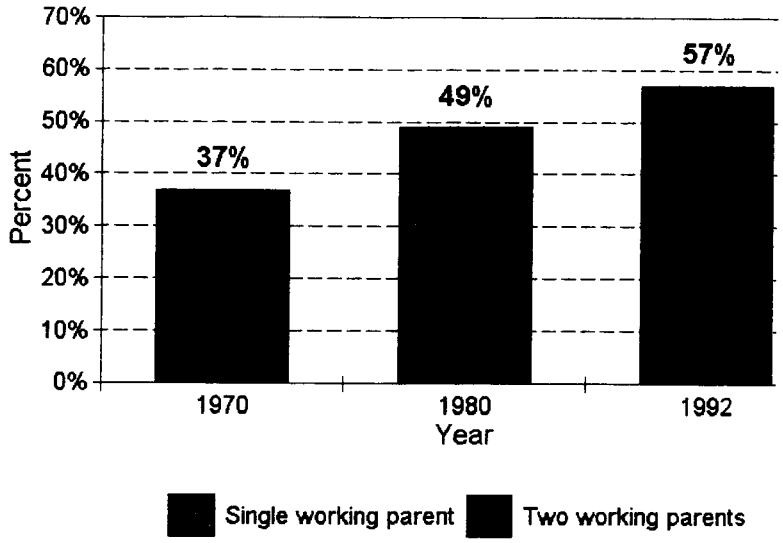


Fig 4.4

Source: Center for Health Statistics, California Department of Health Services (1995) See endnote 105.

Fig 10. Percent of Families with Children Under 18 Lacking Full-time Parental Supervision



Source: Glenn Pierce, Disinvestment in America, and Census Bureau, Current Populatio

Table 8.3

Teens are not the age group most likely to die from violence:

Deaths per 100,000 population by age, race, and sex, 1991

All races	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
All deaths	25.8	89.0	110.1	123.0	154.1	197.7	253.6	380.5
All violent deaths	14.7	71.8	84.2	71.6	67.2	61.1	54.6	54.2
Males	20.6	108.6	134.8	114.2	107.9	95.2	84.7	81.4
Females	8.6	32.9	31.7	28.7	28.7	27.5	25.1	28.0
White	9.9	58.7	69.9	57.3	57.1	54.7	51.0	50.8
Hispanic	17.7	83.6	87.4	82.0	76.2	68.5	58.7	53.6
Black	22.8	115.3	160.7	136.8	126.0	115.6	106.6	87.5
Asian/other	5.0	23.0	26.0	25.7	24.6	23.7	23.3	24.9
All accidents	11.1	41.2	44.4	36.6	35.3	32.9	30.3	29.4
Auto accidents	6.1	31.2	32.8	23.3	19.3	16.2	14.2	14.6
All other acc.	4.8	9.1	10.7	12.1	14.3	14.8	14.6	13.7
Suicide	1.4	11.0	14.9	14.9	15.5	15.1	14.3	15.7
Homicide	2.2	19.6	25.0	20.1	16.4	13.1	10.0	9.1

Source: National Center for Health Statistics (1995). *Vital Statistics of the United States* 1991. Mortality, Part B. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Table 8-5. Hispanic and white totals apportioned from 1990 national and California ethnicity breakdowns.

Table 4.6

Adults, not youths, are the chief murderers of youths

Age of murderer by age of victim, California 1993

	Age of Murderer				
Murderer	<12	12-17	18-19	20+	Total
Total murderers	2	578	514	2,698	3,792
Age of victim:					
<12	0	24	30	101	155
12-17	2	155	69	126	351
18-19	0	118	85	127	331
20-24	0	97	139	491	728
25-34	0	97	101	848	1,047
35-64	0	81	74	880	1,035
65+	0	5	15	125	145

Sources: Law Enforcement Information Center (1994). Willful homicide crimes, 1993, age of victim by age of offender (printout). Sacramento, CA: California Department of Justice. Center for Health Statistics (1993). Microcomputer Injury Surveillance System (MISS), 1990. Sacramento: California Department of Health Services (diskette). Calculations cross-matching arrestees, victims, and homicide tolls by age are by the author to estimate victims/offenders of unstated age.

Table 4.5

U.S. firearms deaths are highest among adults in their 20s, not teens:

Firearms deaths*	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
Number of Male deaths**	441	3,656	4,707	4,253	3,557	2,811	2,203	1,606
Suicide rate	1.2	12.5	16.5	14.9	14.3	13.5	13.8	14.9
Accident rate	1.7	3.6	2.4	1.6	1.2	1.0	1.0	0.7
Homicide rate	2.2	23.7	29.4	23.3	17.2	14.1	10.6	8.0
Male death rate	5.0	39.9	48.3	39.7	32.7	28.6	25.4	23.8
Number of Female deaths	119	474	586	729	703	580	459	362
Suicide rate	0.4	2.1	2.2	2.6	2.7	2.9	2.7	2.9
Accident rate	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.0
Homicide rate	0.8	3.0	3.7	3.9	3.5	2.7	2.4	2.2
Female death rate	1.4	5.4	6.2	6.9	6.4	5.8	5.1	5.2
Number of Male and Female deaths combined	560	4130	5293	4982	4260	3391	2662	1968
Suicide rate	0.8	7.4	9.5	8.7	8.5	8.1	8.2	8.8
Accident rate	1.0	2.0	1.4	1.0	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.3
Homicide rate	1.5	13.7	16.8	13.7	10.3	8.4	6.4	5.2
Both sexes, death rate	3.3	23.1	27.7	23.4	19.5	17.1	15.1	14.3

*In 1990.

**Death rate is per 100,000 population.

Source: National Center for Health Statistics (1995). *Vital Statistics of the United States 1990*. Volume II, Part A, Mortality. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Table 1-27.

Community Violence: Prevention

- ACT (Acting Collaboratively Together) to "Act" to Decrease Youth At Risk
- Albuquerque Human Services Collaborative
- Alexandria Community Network Preschool
- The Alliance for a Safer, Greater Detroit
- Alternatives to Gang Membership
- Alternatives to Violence Project/USA, Inc.
- AmeriCorps*VISTA
- Athens County Coalition Enhancement
- Boys & Girls Club of Stockton
- Bailey's Community Making the Grade Project of Fairfax County, Virginia
- Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC)
- Beacon School-Based Community Centers (Beacons)
- Become Streetwise!
- Brooklyn School/Business Alliance Project
- Caring and Collaborating for Youth/Pottawatom ie County
- Center for Adult Education and Literacy
- Center for Child Protection and Family Support (CCPFS)
- Community Councils for Youth At Risk--Clermont County
- Central New Mexico Gang Strategies Coalition (GSC)
- Chicanos Por La Causa (CPLC)
- Chicago Alliance for Neighborhood Safety (CANS)
- Citizens for Community Improvement of Waterloo (CCI)
- Commun ity Board Program (CBP)
- Commercial Security Survey Program
- Coachella Valley Council on Gangs
- Court Alternatives Division Volunteer Program
- Council for Unity
- COZI
- Community Responses to Drug Abuse (CRDA)
- Day One Pasadena/Altadena
- Division of Injury and Disability Prevention and Rehabilitation (DIDPR)
- Early Childhood Education and Assistance Program (ECEAP)
- Education, Counseling, and Community Awareness
- Emerge
- The Enhanced Code Enforcement Team
- Enhanced Crime Prevention Demonstration Program (ECPDP)
- Facing History and Ourselves
- Family Focus School Age Child Care Project
- Female Law Offenders Work Evaluation, Release, and Study (FLOWERS) Program
- Gospel-Based Programs and Faith Formation in Nonviolence
- The Greater Newburgh Area "Make a Difference" Program for Youth
- Haltom City Police Department "Storefront"
- Healthy Cities Program: CITYNET
- Illinois Council for the Prevention of Violence (ICPV)
- The Indochinese Mutual A ssistance Association of San Diego (IMAA)
- Inland County Health Systems Agency

- Interactive Learning Environment Project/Project Launch
- JustServe
- Korean Youth and Community Center Counseling Unit
- Lancaster Employment and Training Agency (LETA)
- Logan Square Neighborhood Association (LSNA)
- Martin Luther King Dispute Resolution Center
- Massachusetts Adolescence Violence Prevention Project
- The Mayor's Youth Initiatives Office
- Mediascope
- Me lding Yelders Conference
- Mill City/Gates 4-H Development Projects
- MY Health
- National Association of Partners in Education (NAPE)
- Nation al Senior Service Corps (NSSC)
- National Citizens' Crime Prevention Campaign Public Service Advertising
- New Bridges
- Oakland Men's Project (OMP)
- Organizing Minority Neighborhoods for Better Health
- Ozarks Fighting Back
- Philadelphia Anti-Drug/Anti-Violence Network (PAAN)
- Pacific Center for Violence Preventio n
- Peer Group Training and Community Empowerment
- Peer Volunteer Development Project
- Physicians for a Violence-Free Society (PVFS)
- PACT (Policy, Action, Collaboration, and Training) Violence Prevention Project
- Police Community Action Team
- Pomona Valley Center for Community Development (PVCCD)
- Project CARES (Children At Risk Extended School)
- Project FINE (Focus on Integrating Newcomers into Education)
- Project HOPE (Helping Our Peers Evolve)
- Proyecto Pastoral at Do lores Mission
- Public and Youth Education Programs
- Reaching Adolescents, Parents, and Peers (RAPP)
- Region Nine Community Prevention Project
- Rheedlen Centers for Children and Families
- R.I.C.E. School-Age Child Care Education Project
- Safe at Home
- SAFE NIGHT
- San Francisco Inju ry Center for Research and Prevention
- Santa Fe Mountain Center (SFMC)
- Say Yes to Willow Run
- Startsharp
- St. Joseph Youth Alliance: A Targ eted Prevention/Intervention Coalition
- St. Paul Police Department Community Outreach Program (ACOP)
- Strong Families, Competent Kids, and Caring Community
- Summer and After-School Employment and Activities
- Texas City Action Plan To Prevent Crime (T-CAP)

- Tri-Lateral Committee To End Violence in the Black Community
- Turn Off the Violen ce
- United Way's Success By 6
- Vietnamese Community Outreach
- Violent Injury Prevention Program (VIPP)
- Violence Prevention Campaign
- Violence Prevention Education Project
- Washington Community Violence Prevention Program
- Washington Heights--Inwood Coalition
- We Are Family
- West Oakland Health Council
- Wind River Indian Reservation Youth and Family at Risk Project
- Wisconsin Youth Futures
- Worcester Youth at Risk Program
- Yes! Atlanta/Rising Star
- Youth Intervention Project (YIP)
- Youth Issues Education
- You th Development Project

- What's New
- Subscribe to PAVNET
- Submit a Program
- User's Guide
- Other Resources

PAVNET PARTNERS

- U.S. Dept. of Education
- U.S. Dept. of Agriculture
- U.S. Dept. of Labor
- U.S. Dept. of Justice
- U.S. Dept. of Defense
- U.S Dept. of HHS
- U.S. Dept. of HUD

Partnership's Against Violence Network

INTRODUCTION

PAVNET Online is a "virtual library" of information about violence and youth-at-risk, representing data from seven different Federal agencies. It is a "one-stop," searchable, information resource to help reduce redundancy in information management and provide clear and comprehensive access to information for States and local communities.

For clarification or comments contact:
John Gladstone
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jgladsto@nalusda.gov

Mass. M.I.C. empowers the Massachusetts music community and ensures that it will continue to create and communicate to the fullest.

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Mass. M.I.C. Executive Board

Nina Crowley, Executive Director
Oedipus, WBCN
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What can you do right now?

Join Mass. M.I.C.:
Send your name, address, and t-shirt size, and $10 membership fee to:

Mass. M.I.C.
P.O. Box 333
Leominster, Ma. 01453

and visit these Internet sites:

http://world.std.com/~kip/bcfe - Boston Coalition for Freedom of Expression

http://w3.trib.com/fact/ First Amendment Cyber-Tribune. Everything you need to know about your rights and the people working to protect them.

www.ultranet.com/~crowleyn/mmic.html -Mass. M.I.C.

Read *Anti-Rock, The Opposition to Rock'n'Roll* by Linda Martin and Kerry Segrave, DeCapo Press, NY.

▼▼▼

Be a watchdog for your rights. Read the papers, listen to the news, know what's going on.

☞ VOTE !

If your rights are violated call:

- Mass. M.I.C. - 617-537-1669
- Boston Coalition for Freedom of Expression - 617-497-7193
- ACLU Arts Censorship Project: 212-944-9800 x704
- Artsave of People for the American Way - 202-467-4999
- National Coalition Against Censorship - 212-807-NCAC

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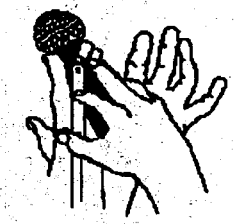
Mass. M.I.C



Protecting the freedom of expression in Massachusetts

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What is Mass. M.I.C.?

Mass. M.I.C., the Massachusetts Music Industry Coalition, is a non-profit anti-censorship organization focusing on music issues in Massachusetts.

The freedom of expression in Massachusetts has often been challenged.

Recently:

- ⊘ an attempt was made to ban the sale of CD's and tapes with Parental Advisory Labels to anyone under 18.
- ⊘ Emerson College administration severely edited the rap playlist at Emerson radio WERS, reportedly to stop break-ins at the college.
- ⊘ The Governor's Alliance Against Drugs and a uniformed DEA agent entered Boston radio station WBCN and demanded the station cease air play of *Hempilation*.

▼▼▼

- ○ Mass. M.I.C. fought the CD ban and won.
- ○ Mass. M.I.C. fought the rap ban at Emerson in the press and with the administration. Nearly all of the edited rap has been returned to WERS.
- ○ Mass. M.I.C. is calling for the resignation of the head of the Gov. Alliance. We are now working with the ACLU, Mass. Cann. and NORML to bring about an investigation into the incident.

Mass. M.I.C. will fight every attempt to take away your freedom of expression. We provide all members of the Mass. music community from musicians, to promoters, to broadcaster, to fans, with a mechanism through which you can exercise your political voice. Mass. M.I.C. realizes that the right to create and experience every aspect of our rich music community is a precious liberty. It must be defended and promoted with persistence.

How does Mass. M.I.C. protect your rights?

Mass. M.I.C. is an active participant in local and national networks of free expression organizations.

Our Internet home page at: *www.ultranet.com/~crowleyn/mmic.html* provides the public with instant information on censorship issues. Through this page we can issue an *Action Alert*. In these *Alerts* we can provide you with details of censorship attempts, with actions you can take immediately. We provide *hot links* to all of the major free speech organizations in the US. Mass. M.I.C.'s *Know Your Enemies* page provides descriptions and *hot links* to organizations which promote censorship. Our *Events* page lists upcoming Mass. M.I.C. events which highlight the value of free musical expression.

What are Mass. M.I.C.'s future plans?

Mass. M.I.C. is developing working relationships with Massachusetts legislators. Communication with our state government will assure that legislators appreciate the importance of free expression.

Mass. M.I.C. is planning music community meetings which will give members the opportunity to share their talents and ideas about the future of their community.

Mass. M.I.C. is working on a resource list of musicians and others who are available for community activities across the state.

Mass. M.I.C. will sponsor activities with local and national artists to raise funds for an economic impact study of the music industry in Mass. The industry's financial contributions to Massachusetts need to recognized by out state's leadership.

Mass. M.I.C. will sponsor *Music Freedom Celebrations*. These programs will highlight the diversity and richness of our industry. The events will also provide information workshops for young people interested in music, and will give information to parents to aid them in understanding sensitive issues in today's music.

The Microphone

September 1997 Volume 1, Issue 3

The Massachusetts Music Industry Coalition Newsletter

Texas Goes Gunning For Popular Music

On June 20, 1997 Governor George W. Bush, Jr. signed Texas House Bill1 and it's rider # 174 into law. HB 1 is an appropriations bill, it's rider #174 is a law designed to censor popular music into non-existence. The law states that as of September 1, 1998 neither the state nor any entity of the state can use state funds to invest in any private corporation or other private business that owns 10% of a corporation which records or produces any song, lyrics, or other musical work that explicitly describes, glamorizes, or advocates:

- acts of criminal violence, including murder, assault, assault on police officers, sexual assault, and robbery
- necrophilia, bestiality, or pedophilia
- illegal use of a controlled substance
- criminal street gang activity
- degradation or denigration of females
- violence against a particular sex, race, ethnic group, sexual orientation, or religion.

This means that state cannot invest any of their money in many record companies due to the content of songs. Ultimately the labels will lose money. What do you think their reaction will be? Historically most recording labels have not stood up to pressure to censor artists. We are afraid that this legislation could lead to widespread censorship of musicians.

***Note the bill covers not only songs which glamorize or advocate this list of "evils", but covers all songs that merely describe these things. The number of songs which fit this category is endless. To name a few:

- Willie Nelson - "Red Headed Stranger"
- Marilyn Manson - *Anti-Christ Superstar*
- Frank Sinatra - "Mack the Knife"
- Tupac - *All Eyes on Me*
- Bing Crosby - "Pistol Packin' Mama"
- Bob Marley - "I Shot the Sheriff"
- Verve Pipe - "The Freshmen"

Take a minute and write down other songs you think would be included by this legislation. Send the list to Mass. M.I.C., PO Box 333, Leominster, Ma. 01453, or crowleyn@ultranet.com. We'll post the list on our web site.

A number of free speech organizations including Mass. M.I.C., PFRR, ROC, and the RIAA are trying to fight this legislation. The Recording Industry Associ-

Fight Censorship
Listen to the Banned

aiton of America (RIAA) will be filing suit in Texas stating that the law is unconstitutional.

What can you do?

This type of legislation has been attempted and failed in other states in the past. We believe that renewed efforts will be made to push through this kind of law elsewhere. Watch the newspapers and listen to the news in your state for any mention of such a bill. Call or email Mass. M.I.C. at 508-537-1669 or crowleyn@ultranet.com with details.

Marilyn Manson P.O.A.A.F. spoodykids spoodykids

Marilyn Manson played an outstanding show at the Wallace Civic Center, Fitchburg, Ma. on Feb. 21. The show was also a victory celebration for Mass. M.I.C. and Manson fans after battling with anti-Manson forces for week. Marilyn Hartigan, Jr. High teacher at a Fitchburg parochial school, sounded the "family values" alarm after her students stumbled on a Marilyn Manson Internet site. Religious organizations and individuals in the Fitchburg area mounted a campaign to halt the show. Many Manson fans and Mass. M.I.C. members carried signs and distributed flyers suporting free speech, opposite anti-Manson picketers at the Center. After weeks of picketing and an avalanche of articles and letters in the local media, the issue was brought before the Fitchburg City Council. Several Manson fans and Mass. M.I.C. members spoke in support of free expression. Anti-Manson arguments were also heard. A city councillor accepted a $5,000 check and ask the city to add to it to "pay Manson not to play". The council finally acknowledged Manson's right to free speech and ordered the show to go on.

Religious protesters were on hand the night of the show to "offer absolution" to concert goers! They had also promised free food and alternative entertainment but these things never materialized. The show went off without problems. Fitchburg Mayor Jeff Bean, even had his picture taken arm in arm with Marilyn.

Mass. M.I.C. would like to express our thanks to all Mass. M.I.C. members and Marilyn Manson fans who helped with picketing, letter writing, and telephone calls. Your help was invaluable. We also salute and thank Ben Ruggles, Mgr. of the Wallace Civic Center who never faltered in his belief in the importance of free speech and stood his ground for several difficult weeks before the show.

P.O.A.A.F.A, the Portrait of An American Family Association, is one of the good things that have come out of this anti-Manson hysteria. P.O.A.A.F.A. was created by young Mass. woman named Nova. The group is a way for Manson fans to unite in order to fight music censorship. You can reach P.O.A.A.F.A. and Nova at: Nova Bonzek/Moonfier 33 Norman Terr. Unit 80 Feeding Hills, MA 01030 or on the Internet at: http://www.geocities.com/SunsetStrip/Palms/4154/poaafa.html

So Many Bands
Little Time
IF YOU LIKE: "THE MIGHTY MIGHTY BOSSTONES" - YOU'LL LIKE "LESS THAN JAKE"!
IF YOU LIKE: BOB MARLEY YOU'LL LIKE "TOOTS AND THE MAYTALS"!
IF YOU LIKE BOB DYLAN YOU'LL LIKE TOM WAITS!

The new release by Insane Clown Posse (ICP) "The Great Milenko", left stores as fast as it came in, but not in the hands of their fans. After pressure from "family values" advocates, Hollywood Records pulled ICP's CD from stores just 6 hours after it arrived. A spokesman for Disney, owner of Hollywood Records, said the album's lyrics were "inappropriate for a product released under any label of our company". Southern Baptists recently began a boycott of Disney because of their apparent "tolerance of gay lifestyle". Rumor has it that ICP may have been offered up as a 'sacrifice' by Disney in an effort to win back the favor of the Baptists.

American Family Association - is a non-profit organization founded in1977 by Donald Wildmon. AFA stands for traditional family values, focusing primarily on the influence of television and other media on society. Wildmon, more than any other individual, precipitated the current culture war in the US. Regional chapters of the AFA facilitated protests against Marilyn Manson this spring through their "Christians Opposed to Marilyn Manson Concerts in Their Town" web site. The site offered directions on how to mount a protest, how to write to local leaders, tour schedules, and false affidavits supposedly from teens who attended shows.

The July AFA Journal, circulation 425,000, reports on the "depths to which record companies have stooped to make a buck". They say "no theme is too damnable if enough young, impressionable listeners will buy it".They condemn Manson concerts and state that "alternative" and "heavy metal" acts are equally bad. The article continues to round up the rest of popular music by citing "illicit sex and vulgarity" as the dominant themes in "rap", "dance" and "contemporary r&b". "Gangsta rap" they say is a mixture of "violent motifs . . .linked to numberous real-life crimes."

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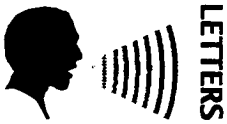
The AFA basically condemns all of popular music today - - their 'perfect world' would be awfully quiet!

"It will be gone by June."
Variety (on rock and roll) 1955

"Rock 'n'roll music is here to stay."
Alan Freed, 1955



From : Sean - Puerto Rico"All this Etiquette, Protocal, all in all shackles on my freedom . . .
Freedom to express myself. . .
Freedom to let it be known how I feel . . .
Freedom to be myself!!! . . . No matter what it takes . . . I want to know that what I've done has made a difference in this war against the distorted vision of imposing false morality."

From: Jesse - Massachusetts "C. Delores tucker says that everything offensive should be removed. Doesn't she realize that there would be nothing left? . . . If you don't like it, turn it off but don't try to ruin it for anyone else."

From: Justin - Massachusetts "I believe that music is the purest and most important form of expression that we have today. Whether it be about political, social or religious beliefs, I think that music is the most effective way

to voice those beliefs. And while I may not agree with what Marilyn Manson say or does, I by no means believe that they should be censored."

From: 'concerned parent' - Massachusetts "I don't want my kids or anyone elses thinking those lyrics are acceptable in our society. As for musicians censoring themselves, it's apparent they can't, and only want to profit from kids who think it's cool to listen to that trash."

From: Kelly - Massachusetts "... we can't even express how we feel without someone jumping down our throats about it. If we made a first amendment, then why can't we be protected under it? Censorship is just another way to keep us bottled up in the mold they've formed for us."

From Jeffrey - Washington "Societies problems cannot be blamed on music. Legislatures need to stop attacking decoy targets like the arts and work to solve real problems like inner city education systems, increasing unemployment, and the ineffective welfare program."

We must be the change
we want to see
in the world.
-Ghandi

Good Guys

Rock & Rap CONFIDENTIAL

Rock & Rap Confidential is a monthly music and politics newsletter. The newsletter is put together by Dave Marsh and Lee Ballinger and covers culture and politics, funk and country, hiphop and heavy metal, racism and revolution, jazz and reggae, folk music and ska, censorship and the phony war on drugs.

Along with the newsletter ***Rock & Rap*** has an excellent Internet site at http://www.kaiwan.com/rockrap/. Their section entitled ***The Hidden History of Rock and Rap Music, 1983-1997*** is an unparalleled view of the political and social history of popular music. This is a must for anyone dedicated to fighting music censorship.

The ***Rock & Rap Confidential*** newsletter is available for $27.00 per year

from: RRC
Box 341305
Los Angeles, CA
90034 (USA)

The quote on their subscription page says it all:

"We accept no advertising so we are free to tell the truth about what's going on in music.
We promote every style of music."

Mass. M.I.C.'s Internet site at http://www.ultranet.com/~crowleyn/mmic.html has Action Alerts, News, Enemies, Good Guys, the Sound of Free Speech, and a "Fight Music Censorship" petition you can sign.

TO:
Lee Ballinger, Dave Marsh, Nova, Jesse, Paul Russinoff, Kelly, Sean, Justin, Ben Ruggles, and Spookykids.

FREE SPEECH
ADVISORY
FIGHT FOR IT!