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Citation: Pace, I. (2023). Music and Internationalism in Nazi Germany: Provenance and Post-War Consequences. Journal of the Royal Musical Association, 147(2), pp. 594-616. doi: 10.1017/rma.2022.28

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Link to published version: https://doi.org/10.1017/rma.2022.28

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Music and Internationalism in Nazi Germany: Provenance and Post-War Consequences

Ian Pace

Abstract: In 1926, Hans Pfitzner attacked a *völkerfeindliche Internationalismus* ('anti-*Volk* internationalism') in music, associated with atonality, jazz and other phenomena. For a long time it was assumed by many—not least those involved in post-1945 musical planning in occupied Germany—that this type of ethos informed programming in Nazi Germany, which was said to have been cut off from both modernist and international developments for twelve years. In this article I nuance this view by considering the openness to multiple nationalisms of figures like Hermann Killer and Peter Raabe, and give an overview of the many different cross-national societies, friendship organisations and exchange programmes, and how these were affected by unfolding political events, from the long-term German-Italian and German-Hungarian exchanges prevalent throughout the regime, through those between German and Japan which followed the Anti-Comintern Pact, and the more fragile exchanges with Britain, France, Poland and Russia, to the wartime exchanges with fellow fascist countries such as Romania and Croatia. I consider the activities of the *Ständiger Rat für die international Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten* and contrast them with the *Allgemeiner deutscher Musikverein*, the, and the *Internationales zeitgenössisches Musikfest* in Baden-Baden in terms of different ideologies on nationalism/internationalism. I situate these exchanges in the context of internationalism of the Weimar era (manifested above all in membership of the *International Society for Contemporary Music*) and consider how misconceptions fuelled the post-1945 notion of *Nachholbedarf* ('catching up') which was vital to subsequent new music programming.

Introduction – *Nachholbedarf* as corrective to anti-internationalism?

In October 1945, five months after the end of the war, German critic Edmund Nick wrote the following in the American-sponsored Munich newspaper, *Neue Zeitung*:

> For we had, so to speak, been kicked and kicked on the ground for twelve years. Our concerts rarely had any value other than as an acoustic museum of older music. Now there is much with which to catch up. [*Nun gilt es viel nachzuholen*] Our ears need tutoring to become open again for new music. We have to hold on, so that we can return to a better place amongst the leading musical nations.[1]

Nick made these comments in a review of the second concert in a new series organised by Karl Amadeus Hartmann, which would later come to be called *Musica viva*. It was an orchestral concert, given by the Bayerisches Staatsorchester, conducted by Bertil Wetzelsberger, with Maud Cunita, soprano, featuring Mahler's Fourth Symphony (1899-1900), Karl Amadeus Hartmann's violin concerto *Musik der Trauer* (1939), Stravinsky's Sonata for piano (1924), and Janáček's very early Suite for String Orchestra (1891). German audiences had had almost no exposure to the music of the Mahler for the last twelve years (being Jewish), nor of that of Hartmann, who had been prominent in the later part of the Weimar Republic, but then had essentially withdrawn from musical life of Nazi Germany.

Nick's rhetoric was commonplace amongst critics and promoters immediately after the war's end, providing an ideology which came to be labelled *Nachholbedarf* or 'catching up'. In a speech to mark the opening of the *Freie Gruppe* of artists in Heidelberg in January 1946, artistic director Bernhard Klein stressed the need to catch up with the work of other countries, at an event in which the most prominent new piece of music was the Serenade for flute, oboe and bassoon of Wolfgang Fortner,[2] a former NSDAP member who had conducted the city's *Hitlerjugend-Kammerorchester*.[3] A few months later, in the *Wiesbadener Kurier*, critic Ernst Krause (a former NSDAP member, though only from 1941)[4] wrote scathingly about the effect of Goebbels, the *Reichsmusikkammer*, the racial laws and the *Entartete Musik* exhibition on musical life, concluding 'We have much with which to catch up!' (*Wir haben viel nachzuholen!*).[5]

In the programme for the *Zeitgenössische Musikwoche* in Bad Nauheim in July 1946, the first of a highly prominent series of festivals organised by Radio Frankfurt, which relocated to the main city the following year and became known as the *Woche für neue Musik*, German-born US control officer and head of music for the radio station Holger E. Hagen wrote that 'For the first time since the armistice, an attempt is being made to present to the musical public the latest works of contemporary composers from all over the world in a united form'. Other prefaces by the artistic director, Heinz Schröter and others expressed similar sentiments.[6] One critic wrote of how the event would form a 'sonic bridge over the abysses of the last years'.[7] There was some truth

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[1] Edmund Nick, 'Über neue Musik', *Neue Zeitung*, 28 October 1945.
[2] S.W., '"Die Freie Gruppe" (Heidelberg): Moderne Musik – Bildende Kunst – Dichter-Abend. Wolfgang Fortner – Dr. Hartlaub – Ernst Glaeser', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 19 January 1946; Birgit Pape, *Kultureller Neubeginn in Heidelberg und Mannheim 1945-1949* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 2000), 81.
[3] See Ian Pace, 'The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music during the Early Allied Occupation (1945-46), and its roots in the Weimar Republic and Third Reich (1918-45)' (Ph.D dissertation, Cardiff University, 2018), 70-76 on Fortner's activities during this period.
[4] Fred Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker* (CD ROM, 2004), 3934.
[5] Ernst Krause, 'Wie darf komponiert werden?', *Wiesbadener Kurier*, 19 June 1946.
[6] Hessische Hauptstaatsarchiv Darmstadt O21 (Bergsträsser) No. 26/6. The copy of the full programme is kept in this file. I am very grateful to Eva Haberkorn for locating this for me.
[7] M., 'Musikwoche in Bad-Nauheim', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 5 July 1946.

in this, as works of Hindemith and Schoenberg featured prominently,[8] as well as those of the American composers William Schuman and Quincy Porter, practically unknown in Germany before 1945. However, not only did the festival feature the likes of Wolfgang Fortner, Ernst Pepping or Heinrich Sutermeister, all prominent in Nazi Germany, but other music performed by Bartók, Malipiero or even Prokofiev were far from unknown at least in pre-war Nazi Germany.[9] Wolfgang Steinecke's introductory text for the first *Ferienkurse für internationale neue Musik* at Darmstadt in August-September 1946 was another prime example of *Nachholbedarf* rhetoric:

> Behind us is a period during which almost all the vital forces of new music were cut off from German musical life. For twelve years, names such as those of Hindemith and Stravinsky, Schoenberg and Krenek, Milhaud and Honegger, Shostakovich and Prokofiev, Bartók, Weill and many others were disdained. For twelve years, a criminal cultural politics robbed German musical life of its leading personalities and its interconnections with the world.[10]

In some, but not all cases, this could have been justified, but then (as in the case of Stravinsky) only for part of the duration of the Reich, as Steinecke would have known well.

The message was consistent and clear: Germany had been cut off from international and modernist developments in music for 12 years, creating an imperative to mount new festivals and concert series, and include new music in more mainstream programming. Yet, as I will show, this was at most only a partially true assumption, albeit one convenient for post-war promoters and advocates.

Myths of domination of Wagner and military music, and total prohibitions on jazz and atonal music, have been addressed elsewhere,[11] but less sustained attention has been

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[8] As is now well-established, there were Nazi functionaries who sought to integrate Hindemith and his work into the life of the regime in its early days (especially following his retreat from some of his more radical work of the 1920s) and he took a position in the *Reichsmusikkammer* in February 1934. However, all of this came to an end with the furore which followed the premiere in Berlin on 12 March 1934 of the *Mathis-Symphonie* and the subsequent machinations by his enemies which ultimately led to the composer's leaving the country in 1937. See Michael Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 31-56.

[9] Josef Linssen, in 'Die Frankfurter Woche für neue Musik. Ein Vorbericht', *Melos*, 14/7-8 (1947), 207, looked back on the Bad Nauheim festival as an attempt to reconnect with a 'musical world-spirit'. Similar sentiments could be found in reviews of *Neue Musik Donaueschingen 1946*; quotations can be found in Werner Zintgraf, *Neue Musik 1921-1950. Donaueschingen, Baden-Baden, Berlin, Pfullingen, Mannheim* (Horb am Neckar: Geiger-Verlag, 1987), 113, and Herbert Urban, 'Moderne Musik in Donaueschingen. Wieder internationales Musikfest – neue europäische Komponisten', *Die Welt*, 9 August 1946.

[10] The full text is reproduced in Gianmario Borio and Hermann Danuser (eds.) *Im Zenit der Moderne. Die Internationalen Ferienkurse für Neue Musik Darmstadt*, Vol. 1 (Freiburg: Rombach, 1997), 24-5; my modified translation from that in Martin Iddon, *New Music at Darmstadt: Nono, Stockhausen, Cage, and Boulez* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 24 (I change Iddon's translation of *verpönt* as 'proscribed' to 'disdained', importantly). The text was reprinted practically verbatim in Wolfgang Steinecke, 'Die Ferienkurse für Internationale Neue Musik', in *Kunststadt Darmstadt. Kultureller Wiederaufbau 1946* (Darmstadt: Eduard Roether Verlag, 1947), 28-9.

[11] See for example Pamela M. Potter, 'Music in the Third Reich: The Complex Task of "Germanization"', in *The Arts in Nazi Germany: Continuity, Conformity, Change*, edited Jonathan

paid to the profile of international music within Nazi Germany. A perspective which maintains that the ideology of Nazism isolated Germany from all other countries is echoed in various studies of culture in Nazi Germany which consider the process of 'Germanization' in terms of the pathological and fanatical exclusion of the work of Jewish artists, from the very beginning of the regime, but not the role of non-German, non-Jewish artists and art, especially from countries allied to the Third Reich.[12] Fascism was and is an international phenomena, whose origins have been argued to have begun in France, Italy or even the United States,[13] and various such movements with common ideological traits sprung up soon in Europe, the first to take power being Mussolini's *Partito Nazionale Fascista* in Italy in October 1922. The assumption of power by the NSDAP in Germany in January 1933, was followed by other regimes which have been considered fascist in Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, Croatia and Japan,[14] not to mention collaborative movements in occupied countries, also helped by friendly if nominally 'neutral' regimes in Spain and Portugal. The international character of the fascist movement became clearest when a congress of delegates from far right movements in thirteen countries met in Montreux in December 1934.[15] It is possible to accept Stanley Payne's view of fascism as 'a form of revolutionary ultra-nationalism',[16] and still recognise how multiple movements manifesting this quality in different nations can find and have found common purpose.

A comparative study of aesthetic ideologies and practical actions relating to music in multiple fascist countries is beyond the scope of this article, in which I will restrict myself to engagements within Nazi Germany with the music and musicians of other nations. Several prominent figures in Nazi musical life espoused an ideology which

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Huener and Francis R. Nicosia (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2009), 86-90; and Werner Schmidt-Faber, 'Atonalität im Dritten Reich', in *Herausforderung Schönberg. Was die Musik des Jahrhunderts veränderte*, edited Ulrich Dibelius (Munich: Hanser, 1982), 110-36.

[12] Even a major recent book, Michael H. Kater, *Culture in Nazi Germany* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019) does not really engage with internationalism in Nazi culture. The most significant recent text which does is Benjamin G. Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order for European Culture* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2016), though the focus here is primarily on German-Italian relations. Pamela M. Potter, in *Art of Suppression: Confronting the Nazi Past in Histories of the Visual and Performing Arts* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2016), while drawing upon a range of scholarship arguing that Nazi control of artistic life was less powerful than earlier imagined, and also drawing various comparisons between cultural life in Nazi Germany and other fascist countries, does not really consider other than in passing the role of non-German artists in Nazi Germany.

[13] The view of *Action française* as the first fascist organisation was first put forward in Ernst Nolte, *Three Faces of Fascism: Action Française. Italian Fascism. National Socialism*, translated Leila Vennewitz (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1965) (German original *Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche* (1963)) and has been influential, though Roger Eatwell, in *Fascism: A History* (London: Pimlico, 2003), 24-5, sees it as a precursor rather than a fully-fledged fascist movement. The possibility that fascism began with the Ku Klux Klan is entertained in Robert O. Paxton, in his *Anatomy of Fascism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004), 49

[14] Beyond the example of Japan, which Stanley Payne is disinclined to link too closely to European fascism (see his *A History of Fascism, 1914-45*, 328-37), theorists of fascism have generally been sceptical about drawing too close links with extra-European movements. See ibid., 337-54, or Alistair Hennessy, 'Fascism and Populism in Latin America', in *Fascism: A Reader's Guide*, edited Walter Laqueur (London: Penguin 1979), 248-99, but for another view, Walter Laqueur, *Fascism: Past, Present, Future* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 147-78.

[15] Roger Griffin, 'Introduction', in *International Fascism: Theories, Causes and the New Consensus*, edited Griffin (London; Arnold, 1998), 1.

[16] Payne, *A History of Fascism*, 3-19.

promoted 'strong' nationalism characterised by exclusivity, even purity, but respected the right of different nations each to espouse such a thing. This was reflected in a range of societies, organisations and exchange programmes which linked Nazi Germany to other 'friendly' nations, while three different festival organisations responded to this changed political climate in various ways, as I will detail below. But in some ways the process went further, stressing cultural commonalities and interactions, not least with other 'Nordic' nations.

Nationalisms in Multiple Nations

The cosmopolitan musical culture of Weimar Germany had had its critics from the beginning, expressed most obviously in the polemics between Paul Bekker and Hans Pfitzner,[17] which led to the plethora of writings on *Neue Musik* in the first half of the 1920s.[18] In *Die neue Ästhetik der musikalischen Impotenz* (1920), Pfitzner associated Bekker with an 'international Jewish tendency', and attempts at revolutionary cultural upheaval with 'Russian-Jewish criminals'.[19] In the preface to the third edition published in 1926, he wrote of *völkerfeindliche Internationalismus* ('anti-*Volk* internationalism') in music, linked to related tendencies.[20]

Such sentiments were echoed in traditional music journals such as the *Allgemeine Musikzeitung*, *Zeitschrift für Musik* and *Signale für die musikalische Welt*. Alfred Heuss, editor of the *Zeitschrift für Musik*, wrote in 1921 that Franz Schreker's *Schatzgräber*, and its supporters including Bekker, who Heuss compared to Wagner's Alberich, embodied a 'crime against the German soul'.[21] Three years later Heuss wrote of the country 'dealing with a test of strength between Germanness and – now let it be said openly – a specifically Jewish musical spirit'.[22] This type of view undoubtedly entailed a quite fanatical anti-semitism and anti-communism,[23] and a wider hatred for a type of cultural miscegenation, but not necessarily a rejection of multiple national musics – or even acceptance of non-German musics defined in fundamentally racial terms. In the years leading up to the Nazi take-over, musical ultra-nationalism reached its apex with the publication of Richard Eichenauer's *Musik und Rasse*, which updated Wagner's *Das Judenthum in der Musik* in light of new racial theories, in order to criticise composers such as Mahler and Schoenberg for what were portrayed as their attempts to sound German and supposedly corrosive

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[17] Paul Bekker, 'Neue Musik' (1919), in *Neue Musik. Gesammelte Schriften III* (Stuttgart and Berlin: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1923), 85-118; Hans Pfitzner, *Die neue Aesthetik der musikalischen Impotenz. Ein Verwesungssymptom?* (Munich: Verlag der Süddeutschen Monatshefte, 1920).
[18] For an overview, see Pace, 'The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music', 17-20, and for more detail, Christoph von Blumröder, *Der Begriff "neue Musik" im 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich and Salzburg: Musikverlag Emil Katzbichler, 1981), 52-78.
[19] Pfitzner, *Die neue Aesthetik*, 109, 123-4, 126-7.
[20] Hans Pfitzner, 'Vorwort zur dritten Auflage', in *Gesammelte Schriften Band II: Zur Grundfrage der Operndichtung*, third edition (Augsburg: Benno Filser-Verlag, 1926), 109-10
[21] See Christopher Hailey, *Franz Schreker 1878-1934: A cultural biography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 144-8. This led to a response by rival Leipzig critic Adolf Aber (1893-1960) in the form of a pamphlet entitled *Der Fall Heuss*, to which Heuss replied at the end of the year questioning the qualifications and integrity of Aber, drawing attention to Aber's Jewishness. (ibid., 172-3). An imagined link between Jewish people and internationalism was of course a personal obsession of Hitler himself. See Ian Kershaw, *Hitler 1889-1936: Hubris* (London: Allen Lane, 1998), 104, 192, 289, 304-5, 330.
[22] Cited in Matthew Boyden, *Richard Strauss* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999), 283.
[23] See Potter, 'Music in the Third Reich', 96-100, on the 'Dejewification' of musical life.

effect upon German music.[24] To the likes of Eichenauer, such composers' actual nationality and upbringing was immaterial; the fact of their being Jewish placed them outside of any national affiliation viewed as acceptable.

From early on during the Nazi regime, there were certainly xenophobic views on music expressed publicly,[25] but some other Nazi ideologues found ways of embracing multiple nationalisms. This relatively non-antagonistic attitude, difficult to imagine in a post-1945 world in which nationalism is frequently equated with extreme racial or tribal ideologies, does not look so strange if situated within a longer history going back at least as far as the Enlightenment. In early writings, Herder celebrated many nations (including those in Peru, the Caribbean or North Pacific islands), defined separately above all in terms of their 'tribal language' and poetic and other cultural traditions emanating from these, whilst recognising the dangers of mutual enmity which could then follow.[26] Whilst later also recognising geographical factors,[27] Herder's view was unequivocal, 'the most natural state is thus also a single people, with a single national character' and to this end he found 'unnatural' the mixing of peoples and enlargement of states.[28] While this can superficially be read as an argument against cosmopolitanism and miscegenation, equally it can be interpreted in opposition to imperialism and expansionism.[29] Kant's cosmopolitan ideals, and construction of patriotism in terms of a state, a political entity, not defined in cultural or ethnic terms, nor representing a 'people',[30] are sharply distinct from and in some ways fundamentally opposed to the ideas of Herder, but as Pheng Chea argues cogently, Kant's opposition was to the principle of absolute statism rather than nations per se.[31] Chea notes further how Kant's ideals were found to be adaptable towards the early nationalistic writings of Johann Gottlieb Fichte and many of the nationalist movements (Greek, Belgian, Polish) which arose in early post-Napoleonic Europe,[32] while a 'nationalist cosmopolitics' can be traced through the course of the nineteenth-century. Daniel S. Malachuk does so using examples such as Giuseppe

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[24] Richard Eichenauer, *Musik und Rasse* (Munich: Lehmanns, 1932).

[25] See for example Hermann Unger, 'Die Zerstörung der Deutschen Music', *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten*, 21 March 1933, reproduced in *Die Musik*, 25/11 (1933), 870-71; or the view of Rolf Cunz in 1937 of how in the *Deutsche Musikjahrbuch*, which he had founded in 1922, had published several special volumes in opposition to 'Marxist internationalism', finding that 'true champions of German blood' had successfully fought for 'a clear and clean divorce from the music of world nations'. See Rolf Cunz, introduction to *Deutsches Musikjahrbuch 1937* (Berlin, 1937), 4, cited in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, 926.

[26] Johann Gottfried Herder, 'Treatise on the Origin of Language' (1772), in *Philosophical Writings*, trans. and ed. Michael N. Forster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 146-54.

[27] Johann Gottfried Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, edited Martin Bollacher (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1989), 40-50

[28] 'der natürlichste Staat ist also auch *Ein* Volk, mit Einem Nationalcharakter'; ibid. 369-70.

[29] See in particular Vicki A. Spencer, 'Kang and Herder on colonialism, indigenous peoples, and minority nations', *International Theory*, 7/2 (2015), 360-392.

[30] Pauline Kleingeld, *Kant and Cosmopolitanism: The Philosophical Ideal of World Citizenship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 20-22. Kleingeld also considers the ideas of Christoph Martin Wieland in a similar fashion.

[31] Pheng Cheah, 'Introduction Part II: The Cosmopolitical – Today', in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation*, edited Cheah and Bruce Robbins (Minneapolis, MI and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 22-5.

[32] Ibid. 25-6Cheah is keen to observe that 'nationalist politics is not necessarily a form of identity politics' (26). For a wide-ranging exploration of multiple revisionist perspectives on cosmopolitanism and their consequences for music, see Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley, 'Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities', *Musical Quarterly*, 99/2 (2016), 139-65.

Mazzini and Walt Whitman, who viewed nationalism and cosmopolitanism as allied ideologies in the name of a universalist vision.[33]

The late nineteenth century of course saw a shift from 'civic', 'voluntarist' or simply 'territorial' nationalisms to their 'ethnic' variant,[34] while the series of European wars from the 1860s through to 1914-18 had undoubtedly delivered a major blow to cosmopolitan ideals. The ultra-nationalism of Nazi Germany was clearly incompatible with any type of meaningful cosmopolitanism, but the regime was not *isolationist*, and actively sought allies and international influence. As such, extreme German nationalism had to be combined with some at least limited recognition of other cultures, while the general paranoid view of post-1918 German nationalists towards transnationalism (by which I mean a phenomenon perceived as standing outside of or even sublating national traditions), including in music, meant that this acceptance of multiple nationalism, tempered by strong inclinations towards German domination and supremacy, was the only meaningful way forward. A clear articulation of this position for music was provided by Nazi critic Hermann Killer (later an editor of the *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik*)[35] in an article written in advance of the *Internationales Musikfest* in Hamburg in June 1935 organised by *Allgemeine Deutsche Musikverein* (ADMV) in association with the *Ständiger Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten*, and featured music by such composers as Elgar, Holst, Manuel de Falla, Ennio Porrino, Kodály, Dohnányi, Ture Rangström, Sibelius and Yryö Kilpinen (see Fig. 1). In the article, Killer clearly distinguished 'Marxist-inspired political internationalism', which he claimed blurred all boundaries of nations and peoples, with international cultural exchange, which (naturally enough) ought in Killer's view to take place in Germany as a 'natural cultural centre of Europe'.[36] Killer was more ready than some to acknowledge the receptiveness of German culture to foreign influences, though he insisted nonetheless that art must be intimately bound together with race, nationality, and nation. Killer's anti-transnationalism was clear through his condemnation of 'all-world-artistry' (*Allerweltsartistentum*), arguing that modern music had crowded out nationality, and for this reason Germany was in the process of eliminating foreign musical influences, thus abandoning the internationalism he had briefly entertained. At the Hamburg festival, there would be a celebration of music of 'all the countries of the world', in a spirit of internationalism and friendly co-operation, but with national musics to the fore.[37]

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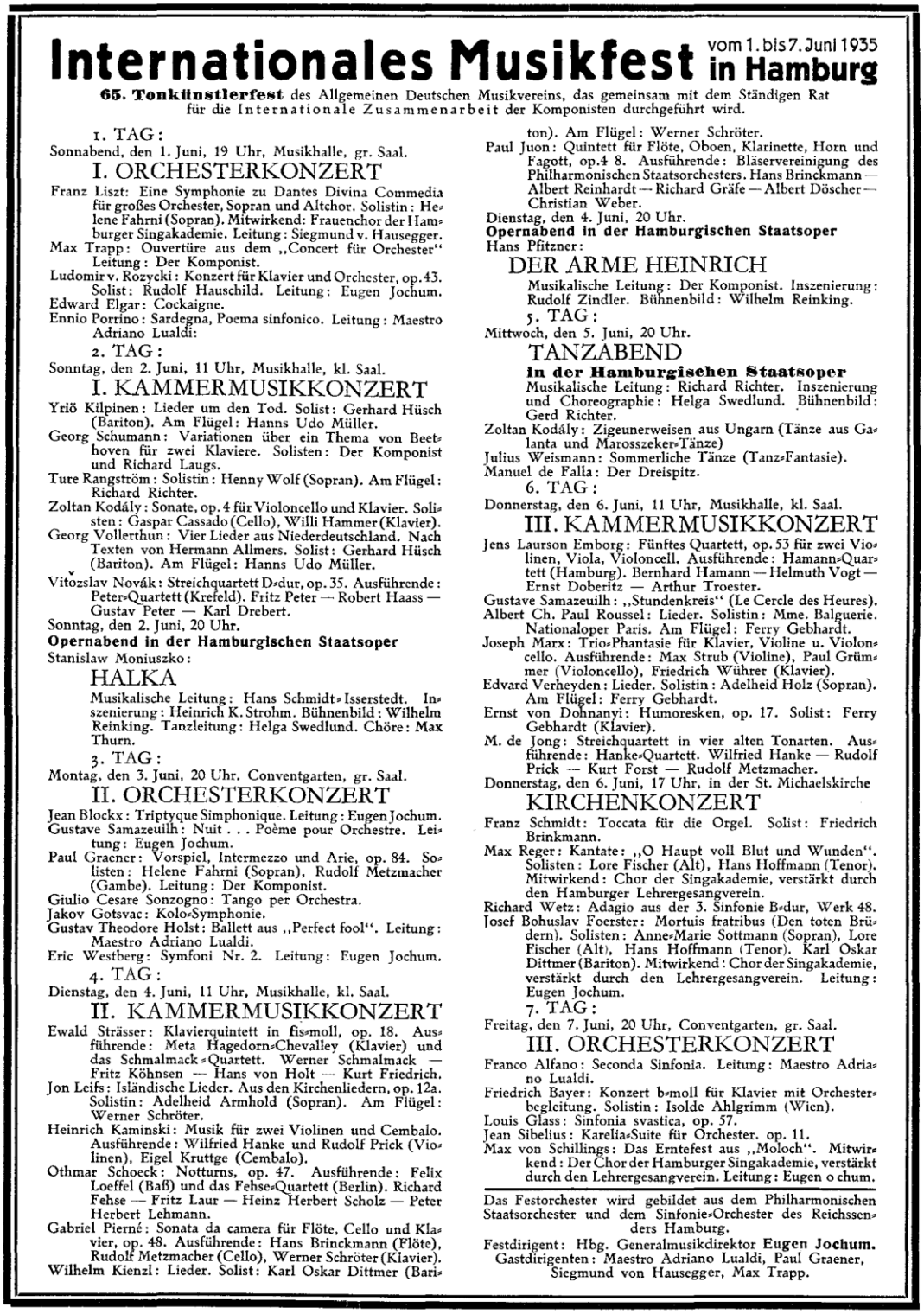
[33] See Daniel S. Malachuk, 'Nationalist Cosmopolitics in the Nineteenth Century', in *Cosmopolitics and the Emergence of a Future*, edited Diane Morgan and Gary Banham (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 139-62.

[34] See Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010), 42-6 for a good brief overview of these categories, which does not ignore the ways in which the older forms of nationalism could still produce 'illiberal, xenophobic polices' (44).

[35] Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, 3650.

[36] Hermann Killer, 'Musik und Internationalität', *Die Musik*, 27/9 (June 1935), 642.

[37] Ibid., 642-3.



Internationales Musikfest vom 1. bis 7. Juni 1935 in Hamburg

65. Tonkünstlerfest des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins, das gemeinsam mit dem Ständigen Rat für die Internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten durchgeführt wird.

1. TAG:

Sonnabend, den 1. Juni, 19 Uhr, Musikhalle, gr. Saal.

I. ORCHESTERKONZERT

Franz Liszt: Eine Symphonie zu Dantes Divina Commedia für großes Orchester, Sopran und Altchor. Solistin: Helene Fahrni (Sopran). Mitwirkend: Frauenchor der Hamburger Singakademie. Leitung: Siegmund v. Hausegger.

Max Trapp: Ouvertüre aus dem „Concert für Orchester" Leitung: Der Komponist.

Ludomir v. Rozycki: Konzert für Klavier und Orchester, op. 43. Solist: Rudolf Hauschild. Leitung: Eugen Jochum.

Edward Elgar: Cockaigne.

Ennio Porrino: Sardegna, Poema sinfonico. Leitung: Maestro Adriano Lualdi:

2. TAG:

Sonntag, den 2. Juni, 11 Uhr, Musikhalle, kl. Saal.

I. KAMMERMUSIKKONZERT

Yriö Kilpinen: Lieder um den Tod. Solist: Gerhard Hüsch (Bariton). Am Flügel: Hanns Udo Müller.

Georg Schumann: Variationen über ein Thema von Beethoven für zwei Klaviere. Solisten: Der Komponist und Richard Laugs.

Ture Rangström: Solistin: Henny Wolf (Sopran). Am Flügel: Richard Richter.

Zoltan Kodály: Sonate, op. 4 für Violoncello und Klavier. Solisten: Gaspar Cassado (Cello), Willi Hammer (Klavier).

Georg Vollerthun: Vier Lieder aus Niederdeutschland. Nach Texten von Hermann Allmers. Solist: Gerhard Hüsch (Bariton). Am Flügel: Hanns Udo Müller.

Vitozslav Novák: Streichquartett D-dur, op. 35. Ausführende: Peter-Quartett (Krefeld). Fritz Peter — Robert Haass — Gustav Peter — Karl Drebert.

Sonntag, den 2. Juni, 20 Uhr.

Opernabend in der Hamburgischen Staatsoper

Stanislaw Moniuszko:

HALKA

Musikalische Leitung: Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt. Inszenierung: Heinrich K. Strohm. Bühnenbild: Wilhelm Reinking. Tanzleitung: Helga Swedlund. Chöre: Max Thurn.

3. TAG:

Montag, den 3. Juni, 20 Uhr. Conventgarten, gr. Saal.

II. ORCHESTERKONZERT

Jean Blockx: Triptyque Simphonique. Leitung: Eugen Jochum.

Gustave Samazeuilh: Nuit . . . Poème pour Orchestre. Leitung: Eugen Jochum.

Paul Graener: Vorspiel, Intermezzo und Arie, op. 84. Solisten: Helene Fahrni (Sopran), Rudolf Metzmacher (Gambe). Leitung: Der Komponist.

Giulio Cesare Sonzogno: Tango per Orchestra.

Jakov Gotsvac: Kolo-Symphonie.

Gustav Theodore Holst: Ballett aus „Perfect fool". Leitung: Maestro Adriano Lualdi.

Eric Westberg: Symfoni Nr. 2. Leitung: Eugen Jochum.

4. TAG:

Dienstag, den 4. Juni, 11 Uhr, Musikhalle, kl. Saal.

II. KAMMERMUSIKKONZERT

Ewald Strässer: Klavierquintett in fis-moll, op. 18. Ausführende: Meta Hagedorn-Chevalley (Klavier) und das Schmalmack-Quartett. Werner Schmalmack — Fritz Köhnsen — Hans von Holt — Kurt Friedrich.

Jon Leifs: Isländische Lieder. Aus den Kirchenliedern, op. 12a. Solistin: Adelheid Armhold (Sopran). Am Flügel: Werner Schröter.

Heinrich Kaminski: Musik für zwei Violinen und Cembalo. Ausführende: Wilfried Hanke und Rudolf Prick (Violinen), Eigel Kruttge (Cembalo).

Othmar Schoeck: Notturns, op. 47. Ausführende: Felix Loeffel (Baß) und das Fehse-Quartett (Berlin). Richard Fehse — Fritz Laur — Heinz Herbert Scholz — Peter Herbert Lehmann.

Gabriel Pierné: Sonata da camera für Flöte, Cello und Klavier, op. 48. Ausführende: Hans Brinckmann (Flöte), Rudolf Metzmacher (Cello), Werner Schröter (Klavier).

Wilhelm Kienzl: Lieder. Solist: Karl Oskar Dittmer (Bariton). Am Flügel: Werner Schröter.

Paul Juon: Quintett für Flöte, Oboen, Klarinette, Horn und Fagott, op. 48. Ausführende: Bläservereinigung des Philharmonischen Staatsorchesters. Hans Brinckmann — Albert Reinhardt — Richard Gräfe — Albert Döscher — Christian Weber.

Dienstag, den 4. Juni, 20 Uhr.

Opernabend in der Hamburgischen Staatsoper

Hans Pfitzner:

DER ARME HEINRICH

Musikalische Leitung: Der Komponist. Inszenierung: Rudolf Zindler. Bühnenbild: Wilhelm Reinking.

5. TAG:

Mittwoch, den 5. Juni, 20 Uhr.

TANZABEND

in der Hamburgischen Staatsoper

Musikalische Leitung: Richard Richter. Inszenierung und Choreographie: Helga Swedlund. Bühnenbild: Gerd Richter.

Zoltan Kodály: Zigeunerweisen aus Ungarn (Tänze aus Galanta und Marosszeker-Tänze)

Julius Weismann: Sommerliche Tänze (Tanz-Fantasie).

Manuel de Falla: Der Dreispitz.

6. TAG:

Donnerstag, den 6. Juni, 11 Uhr, Musikhalle, kl. Saal.

III. KAMMERMUSIKKONZERT

Jens Laurson Emborg: Fünftes Quartett, op. 53 für zwei Violinen, Viola, Violoncell. Ausführende: Hamann-Quartett (Hamburg). Bernhard Hamann — Helmuth Vogt — Ernst Doberitz — Arthur Troester.

Gustave Samazeuilh: „Stundenkreis" (Le Cercle des Heures).

Albert Ch. Paul Roussel: Lieder. Solistin: Mme. Balguerie. Nationaloper Paris. Am Flügel: Ferry Gebhardt.

Joseph Marx: Trio-Phantasie für Klavier, Violine u. Violoncello. Ausführende: Max Strub (Violine), Paul Grümmer (Violoncello), Friedrich Wührer (Klavier).

Edvard Verheyden: Lieder. Solistin: Adelheid Holz (Sopran). Am Flügel: Ferry Gebhardt.

Ernst von Dohnanyi: Humoresken, op. 17. Solist: Ferry Gebhardt (Klavier).

M. de Jong: Streichquartett in vier alten Tonarten. Ausführende: Hanke-Quartett. Wilfried Hanke — Rudolf Prick — Kurt Forst — Rudolf Metzmacher.

Donnerstag, den 6. Juni, 17 Uhr, in der St. Michaelskirche

KIRCHENKONZERT

Franz Schmidt: Toccata für die Orgel. Solist: Friedrich Brinkmann.

Max Reger: Kantate: „O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden". Solisten: Lore Fischer (Alt), Hans Hoffmann (Tenor). Mitwirkend: Chor der Singakademie, verstärkt durch den Hamburger Lehrergesangverein.

Richard Wetz: Adagio aus der 3. Sinfonie B-dur, Werk 48.

Josef Bohuslav Foerster: Mortuis fratribus (Den toten Brüdern). Solisten: Anne-Marie Sottmann (Sopran), Lore Fischer (Alt), Hans Hoffmann (Tenor). Karl Oskar Dittmer (Bariton). Mitwirkend: Chor der Singakademie, verstärkt durch den Lehrergesangverein. Leitung: Eugen Jochum.

7. TAG:

Freitag, den 7. Juni, 20 Uhr, Conventgarten, gr. Saal.

III. ORCHESTERKONZERT

Franco Alfano: Seconda Sinfonia. Leitung: Maestro Adriano Lualdi.

Friedrich Bayer: Konzert b-moll für Klavier mit Orchesterbegleitung. Solistin: Isolde Ahlgrimm (Wien).

Louis Glass: Sinfonia svastica, op. 57.

Jean Sibelius: Karelia-Suite für Orchester. op. 11.

Max von Schillings: Das Erntefest aus „Moloch". Mitwirkend: Der Chor der Hamburger Singakademie, verstärkt durch den Lehrergesangverein. Leitung: Eugen o chum.

Das Festorchester wird gebildet aus dem Philharmonischen Staatsorchester und dem Sinfonie-Orchester des Reichssenders Hamburg.

Festdirigent: Hbg. Generalmusikdirektor **Eugen Jochum.**
Gastdirigenten: Maestro Adriano Lualdi, Paul Graener, Siegmund von Hausegger, Max Trapp.

Fig. 1. Full programme for *Internationales Musikfest*, Hamburg 1935.[38]

On paper this did not look so different from the ideology of the ISCM (in terms of its development with no strong aesthetic agenda, as distinct to early desires on the part of

[38] From *Die Musik*, 27/9 (June 1935), 644.

German, Austrian and Czech representatives for an avant-garde focus),[39] or indeed of a good deal of international festivals and events in the first decades after 1945. But in reality, the programme featured a clear majority of German works, many more than from any other single nation, and contemporary works by a relatively conservative selection of composers such Elgar, Holst, Roussel, Kaminski, de Falla, Ture Rangström, Sibelius, Yrjö Kilipnen, Kodály, and Ludomir Różycki (no composers from outside Europe), but no Ravel, Bartók, Stravinsky, Prokofiev, Varèse, Milhaud, Hába or Malipiero.[40] Even this was not enough to satisfy Nazi critic Herbert Gerigk, who found the event 'oppressive' and indeed unrepresentative, blaming insufficient care over the programming, which was insufficiently open to younger figures and national socialist organisations.[41]

If Killer espoused internationalism, the complex figure of Peter Raabe went further in the direction of a moderate internationalism. Raabe was a dedicated follower of Hitler who would succeeded Richard Strauss in 1935 as President of the *Reichsmusikkammer*, but whose wider aesthetic sympathies are evidenced in the fact that he had conducted works of Schoenberg, Hindemith, Erdmann, Tiessen, Scriabin, and others who would now be categorised as modernist (and were marginalised in the Reich) when *Generalmusikdirektor* in Aachen from 1918 to 1929; Rabbe had also been impressed upon hearing Berg's *Wozzeck*.[42] In an article published in 1926, Raabe had advocated restrictions on 'internationalism' as this this was causing a decline in German music, which needed protecting.[43] However, at a speech given nine years later at the Hamburg Festival, Raabe denied that music need choose between nationalism and internationalism. He acknowledged the difficulty of rooting art in folk culture, and the complexities for composers and artists who were born to parents of multiple nationalities or who received nationally varied education or other cultural influences. Raabe, much more than Gerigk, came close to nationalist cosmopolitics in a passage from this speech in which he argued that one could reconcile the Goethian idea of 'world-citizenship' (*Weltbürgertum*) with national allegiances and roots; he cited Goethe, Schiller, Kleist and others in support of this argument. However, while these classic thinkers could reconcile their art with an interest in foreign *political* ideas, there was not an equivalent for composers. Music, by contrast to literature, dealt not with some 'universal language' which transcended boundaries, as many had claimed, but rather with feeling, which stood above political concerns.[44]

Other Nazi writers found different ways of interpreting the relationship between German and other musics. In his extended 1937 book *Die Musik der Nationen*, Ernst

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[39] Anton Haefeli, *Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik (IGNM): ihre Geschichte von 1922 bis zur Gegenwart* (Zürich: Atlantis Musikbuch-Verlag, 1928), p. 56, 479-91; Anton Haefeli and Reinhard Oehlschlägel, 'International Society for Contemporary Music', at *Grove Online*.

[40] Full programme for *Internationales Musikfest in Hamburg vom 1. bis 7. Juni 1935* in *Die Musik*, 27/9 (June 1935), 644.

[41] Herbert Gerigk, 'Vergreisung oder "Fortschreitende Entwicklung"? Bemerkungen zum Hamburger Musikfest 1935', *Die Musik*, 27/9 (June 1935), 722-7.

[42] Nina Okrassa, *Peter Raabe. Dirigent, Musikschriftsteller und Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer (1872-1945)* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004), 92-4, 101. Raabe also however viewed African-American dance bands and American films as a major threat to German culture and wrote on this in 1926. See Pamela M. Potter

[43] Peter Raabe, 'Deutsches Musikwesen und deutsche Art', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 53 (1 October 1926), 737-8, cited in Okrassa, *Raabe*, 106-7.

[44] Peter Raabe, 'Nationalism, Internationalismus und Musik', *Die Musik* 27/11 (1935), 801-3.

Bücken attempted to write a history of plural musical developments from the 'Orient', through the classical world, through various interactions or even battles between different national styles through the Middle Ages and Renaissance until, like a miracle (after a period of uncertainty and blurring of styles), Germanic 'national taste' is represented through the Mannheim School and the Viennese classicist. This point is reached less than halfway through the book and the remainder is heavily dominated by Germanic composers, battling for supremacy with other traditions which are recognised but placed in a decidedly secondary position.[45] In a much more explicitly racially-focused book from 1944, Hans Engel attempted to sublate the German-Italian opposition which featured strongly in Bücken by claiming racial commonalities between Southern German and Northern Italy, then contrasting an underlying biological unity with different musical manifestations owing to the cultural properties of distinct regions, but unsurprisingly favouring the Germanic, in which 'Nordic' qualities remain more unsullied by encounters with other races.[46]

Despite some internationalist leanings, for most Nazi writers, music involving or associated with Jewish people was wholly off-limits. Robert Pessenlehner attempted in 1937 to claim that in Schoenberg's work, there is the beginning of 'a shift in music, *not towards internationalism*, but towards a non-European musical formation, in which non-Aryan linguistic rules find expression'.[47] A different and more common anti-semitic formation could be found from Walter Wünsch, who in a favourable 1938 article about South-Slavic folk music portrayed the Balkans as a 'mighty bridge from the Orient to the Occident'.[48] However, in a follow-up article, Wünsch claimed this tradition to have been undermined by Jewish city-dwellers, involved in commerce, and for this reason celebrated anti-semitic songs in this tradition.[49] Those who could celebrate a plural range of European musics had consistently to view Jewish traditions as alien to these.

Societies, Organisations and Exchange Programmes[50]

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[45] Ernst Bücken, *Der Musik der Nationen* (Leipzig: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1937); quote about the miracle of German 'national taste' on p. 6.

[46] Hans Engel, *Deutschland und Italien in ihren musikgeschichtlichen Beziehungen* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1944); for a summary, see Mauro Fosco Bertola, 'Beyond Germanness? Music's History as "Entangled History" in German Musicology from the End of the Nineteenth Century to the Second World War', in *Nazi Germany and Southern Europe, 1933-45: Science, Culture and Politics*, edited Fernando Clara and Cláudia Ninhos (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 32-4.

[47] Robert Pessenlehner, *Vom Wesen der Deutschen Musik* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1937), 176-7, cited in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, 6288.

[48] Walther Wünsch, 'Südslawische Volksmusik als Ausdruck südslawischer Volksgeschichte', *Die Musik*, 30/7 (1938), 450-5 (quote p. 450)

[49] Walther Wünsch, 'Der Jude im balkanslawischen Volkstum und Volksliede', *Die Musik*, 30/9 (1938), 595-8. There were three other related articles by Wünsch published soon afterwards in the same journal: 'Südslawische Musikinstrumente und Lieder', *Die Musik*, 30/12 (September 1938), 796-800; 'Vorchristliche Restbestände im balkanischen Volkstum. Ihre Beziehung zur Volksmusik der Slawen in Südosteuropa', *Die Musik*, 31/4 (1939), 242-6; 'Goethe und das südslawische Volkslied', *Die Musik* 31/6 (1939), 363-5.

[50] For reasons of space, I have assembled a highly detailed downloadable chronology of important international musical events from 1933-1945, together with overviews of various institutions which featured international music, details of principal musical and cultural exchange programmes between Nazi Germany and Italy, Spain and Portugal, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Japan, the Soviet Union, France, Britain and Poland, Czechoslovakia, multiple 'Nordic' countries, Belgium and the Netherlands. See 'Timeline and Data Sources for article on "Music and Internationalism in Nazi Germany: Provenance and Post-War Consequences"' [hereafter simply 'Timeline and Data sources'] at

In contrast to the view presented by the advocates of *Nachholbedarf*, there were many cultural and indeed musical interactions and exchanges between Nazi Germany and other countries. But this process was far from unlimited; in general, the other nations in question fell into one of were three categories: (a) 'racial' allies, viewed as fellow 'Aryans', including the Scandinavian countries (including Iceland) and Finland, the Netherlands and to some extent Belgium; (b) political allies, most notably Italy and Hungary from an earlier stage, then Japan, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia and even Russia during the period of the Nazi-Soviet Pact; (c) other European nations with which there were more mixed relations, notably Britain, France, Poland and the Soviet Union from 1933, most of which would later become hostile.[51]

I will consider first (b). A range of exchange and friendship societies between Germany and other nations, which to varying degrees (some beginning as trading organisations) promoted academic, intellectual, cultural and some political relationships, organised cultural events and supported visiting foreign artists and scholars,[52] were created both before and during the Third Reich. Societies pairing Germany with Greece, Bulgaria, Finland, Sweden, France, Portugal, Yugoslavia, Japan, Hungary, Spain, Italy (with the support of Mussolini) and Britain (Deutsch-Griechische Gesellschaft, Deutsch-Bulgarische Gesellschaft, etc.) were formed between 1914 and 1932,[53] and these became various stronger or weaker after 1933 in a manner generally mirroring wider political allegiances or antagonisms with between Germany and the other countries in question. Further such societies were formed after the Nazi assumption of power, usually with clearer ideological motivations: with Norway in 1934, England in 1935 (founded directly by von Ribbentrop and used to try and cement better relations with England), with the Netherlands in 1936, somewhat more atypically with Poland in 1938, with Belgium in 1938, then Slovakia in January 1939, just around six weeks before the creation of the fascist Slovak Republic following the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia. During wartime followed societies with Hungary in April 1940, Denmark in Autumn 1940, following the occupation, on the model of the Norwegian society, Romania in 1943, somewhat late considering Ion Antonescu's signing of the Tripartite Pact in 1940 and participation of Romanian forces in Operation Barbarossa in 1941, and Croatia in 1944, the last of its type, narrowing the earlier Yugoslavia organisation in light of redrawing of borders and installation of satellite fascist regimes.

While some of these were based in multiple German cities (the Deutsch-Griechische Gesellschaft had branches in Munich, Hamburg and Berlin), nonetheless, as Johannes Dafinger has noted, these organisations were generally small and highly elite.[54] By

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[*Reference to place where this is online*] I will summarise the findings here; most of the data sources (especially journals and newspapers from the time) are provided there.

[51] See section 3 of 'Timeline and Data Sources' for detailed consideration of German musical interactions with each of these countries, from which I draw summaries here.

[52] Johannes Dafinger, 'Treason? What treason? German-foreign friendship societies and transnational relations between right-wing intellectuals during the Nazi period', in *Intellectual Collaboration with the Third Reich: Treason or Reason?*, edited Maria Björkman, Patrik Lundell and Sven Widmalm (London: Routledge, 2019), Kindle edition, Chapter 4.

[53] See the section on 'Societies Pairing Germany with Other Nations' in my document at [URL] for full dates and references on these.

[54] Dafinger, 'Treason? What treason?'.

1940, the largest in Berlin were those with Greece, Italy, the Netherlands and Japan, but a further 26 organisations existed.[55] Some fragmentary documents show that in the summer of that year, Goebbels and von Ribbentrop even urged Albert Speer to build a large building in Berlin to house all these types of associations to which they were sympathetic (representing nations allied to Greater Germany), and thus bring them into a type of centralised arrangement.[56] While this never came to fruition (because of other priorities), it shows how importantly they viewed such activities.

All of this proceeded in parallel with concentrations of representation of composers and performers from these various other nations.[57] These began with concerts featuring music and musicians from Nazi Germany's most obvious ally, Fascist Italy, intensifying the declaration of the Rome-Berlin Axis in November 1936, leading to various events to celebrate the friendship between the two nations. Hungary was also an early key ally, having moved to the political right 1932 onwards, under Prime Ministers Gyula Gömbös and Kálmán Darányi, and many music events followed the foundation of the Deutsch-Ungarisches Kulturabkommen in May 1936, at the behest of Goebbels and others. As other countries became more closely aligned with Germany, concerts and exchange concerts were sponsored or promoted by the appropriate international societies, and considerable help from the German Foreign Ministry under the control of Hans Sellschopp from 1939.[58] Spanish music became more prominent in Germany from early in the Civil War, and especially after Franco's victory; prominent events featuring Greek music followed the coming to power of the authoritarian regime of Ioannis Metaxas in Greece in August 1936, as a bit later did Bulgarian music after King Boris III took direct rule in 1935 and gradual move towards alignment with the Axis (after which came a major Deutsch-Bulgarisches Konzert in Breslau in late 1941 to celebrate the nations friendship).

Following the outbreak of war, in December 1939 Killer argued that 'German art, and in particular music, is placed in the front line of the spiritual defence of the country [*innerer Front der geistigen Landesverteidigung*]', but that this was also a reason for the continuation of international musical exchange events.[59] In 1940, a review in *Die Musik* on musical life in Munich pointed out how 'Cultural exchange with friendly nations was very important', going on to mention exchanges with Italy, Bulgaria and Japan.[60] Exchanges also increased with Romania after Ion Antonescu took power in September 1940 and the signing of both the Tripartite and Anti-Comintern Pacts (especially featuring conductor George Georgescu, who had appeared with the Berlin Philharmonic since 1935), and similarly with Croatia after Ante Pavelić and the

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[55] Bernd Sösemann, 'Philhellenen in der "Volksgemeinschaft". Die "Deutsch-Griechische Gesellschaft" in Berlin als Mitglied der nationalsozialistischen "Vereinigung zwischenstaatlicher Verbände"', in *Internationale Dilemmata und europäische Visionen*, edited Martin Sieg and Heiner Timmermann (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2010), 202-3

[56] Ibid., 201-2.

[57] See section 1 of 'Timeline and Data Sources' for plentiful evidence of this. Such events were mirrored in many concert tours by German musicians to occupied or ideologically allied nations. These are beyond the scope of this article to detail, but see for example the numerous foreign trips of the Berliner Philharmoniker, detailed in Peter Muck, *Einhundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonische Orchester*, Band 3 (Tutzing; Hans Schneider, 1982), 256-314.

[58] Waldemar Rosen, 'Deutschland im europäischen Musikaustausch', in Hellmuth von Hase (ed) *Jahrbuch der deutschen Musik 1943*, edited Hellmuth von Hase (Leipzig and Berlin: Breitkopf & Härtel and Max Hesses Verlag, 1943), 65-6; Prieberg, *Handbuch deutscher Musiker*, 6560.

[59] Hermann Killer, 'Berliner Konzerte', *Die Musik*, 32/3 (1939), 100-1.

[60] Karl Blessinger, 'München', *Die Musik*, 32/10 (1940), 356.

Ustaše took power in Croatia in April 1941. The Berlin Philharmonic presented a series of government-ordered concerts in 1940-41 with guest conductors from Spain, Italy, Japan and Croatia.[61] Many articles in Nazi-controlled music press presented sympathetic views of the art and folk musics of these other nations.

Fig. 2. Advert in *Führer durch die Konzertsäle Berlins* for *Internationales Austauschkonzert: Rumänien*, organised by Singakademie Berlin, 6 February 1941.[62]

Despite the obvious ethnic distances between Central Europeans and East Asians, the Japanese were even referred to by Hitler as 'honorary Aryans',[63] and there were wide range of German-Japanese musical interactions during the Reich, and at some times. Japanese conductors Hidemaro Konoye and Kōichi Kishi conducted the Berlin Philharmonic from early in the regime (Konoye was described to Staatssekretär Hans Heinrich Lammers by Staatskomimissar Hans Hinkel as 'the Japanese Furtwängler as early as October 1933),[64] while after the signing of the Anti-Comintern Pact in November 1936, the Deutsch-Japanische Gesellschaft increased its cultural activities for propagandistic reasons.[65] A concert in he conducted in Leipzig two days after the signing of the pact, including some traditional Japanese court music, was greatly admired by Kurt Herbst in *Die Musik*, not least for Konoye's exactitude and sharp rhythms, from which he concluded that 'the Japanese interpret the music of our

[61] Aster, *The Reich's Orchestra*, pp. 124-5; Muck, *Einhundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonische Orchester*, Bd. 3, p. 298. The conductors were José Cubiles, Konoye, Franco Ferrara, and Lovro von Matačić respectively.
[62] *FddKB*, 21/20 (1941), 5.
[63] Ricky W. Law, *Transnational Nazism: Ideology and Culture in German-Japanese Relations, 1919-1936* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 284.
[64] Joseph Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation* (Gütersloh: Rowholt, 1963), 94. Hinkel also went on to describe Konoye as 'the greatest non-German interpreter of Richard Strauss' (ibid.). This followed a concert which Konoye conducted with the Berlin Philharmonic on 3 October, with works of Schubert-Konoye, Strauss, Reger and traditional Japanese Music. See Muck, *Einhundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonische Orchester*, Bd. 3, 257. This was reviewed extremely positively by Fritz Ohrmann, in 'Hidemaro Konoye, Philharm. Orch', *Signale*, 91/41 (1933), 681-2.
[65] Kyungboon Lee, 'Japanese Musicians Between Music and Politics During WWII', *Itinerario*, 38/2 (2014), p. 124.

cultural circles very well'.[66] A review by Fritz Stege of a concert by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Konoye, featuring Kilpinen's *Fjeld-Lieder*, hinted that Konoye's more distant geographic origins were also appropriate for conducting Finnish music, but also gave high praise to his interpretations of Schubert and Brahms.[67] Richard Ohlekopf, writing in *Signale*, portrayed Konoye as one 'who has grasped the spirit of German music in such a way that he is able to its authoritative advocate in his country'.[68] Other articles from around this time also celebrated Japanese traditional music, comparing it to the culture of Ancient Greece.[69] Konoye recorded with the Berlin Philharmonic, including one 78 released in 1938 combining the German National Anthem, the *Horst-Wessel-Lied* and the Japanese National Anthem in Konoye's own arrangement.[70] During the war, his press releases spoke of 'comradeship with German artists'[71] and he eventually gave concerts to boost morale of soldiers and civilians. After a successful concert in December 1942, violinist Nejiko Suwa was presented with a Stradivarius violin by Goebbels in the presence of the Japanese ambassador Hiroshi Ōshima, whose speech claimed this symbolised the close cultural relationship between the two countries.[72] Konoye's score of *Etenraku* (1930), based on the traditional gagaku melody, was played widely throughout the Third Reich and its allies.[73]

[66] Kurt Herbst, 'Funkmusikalische Auslese', *Die Musik*, 29/4 (January 1937), 282. Konoye had conducted in Germany much earlier, making his debut with the BPO back in 1924. See Eric Charles Blaek, *Wars, Dictators and the Gramophone, 1989-1945* (York: William Sessions, 2004), 117.
[67] Fritz Stege, 'Berliner Musik', *Zeitschrift für Musik* 104/2 (February 1937), 184.
[68] Richard Ohlekopf, 'Hidemaro Konoye, Gerh. Hüsch', *Signale für die musikalische Welt* 95/1 (6 January 1937), 5.
[69] Albrecht Urach-Württemberg, 'Aus 40 Jahren moderner japanischer Musikentwicklung. August Junker, der Pionier deutscher Musik in Japan', *Die Musik*, 29/10 (July 1937), 675-7.
[70] All re-released as *Konoye: The Complete Berlin Philharmonic Recordings*, Pristine Audio PASC288 (2011). See also 'Neuafnahmen in Auslese', *Die Musik*, 32/2 (1939), 66.
[71] Karl Blessinger, 'München', *Die Musik* 32/10 (July 1940), 356; Erwin Völsing, 'Berliner Konzerte', *Die Musik* 33/5 (February 1941), 181.
[72] 'Zeitgeschichte', *Die Musik*, 35/6 (1943), 194.
[73] Lee, 'Japanese Musicians', pp. 126, 128-30.

Fig. 3. Hidemaro Konoye conducting the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, 1942.

Ideologies of pan-Germanic or pan-Nordic racial purity, the latter of which had informed the creation of the *Richard Wagner Gesellschaft fur germanische Kunst und Kultur* back in 1913, and were reflected in such books as Richard Eichenauer's *Musik und Rasse* (1932) constructing a 'Nordic' musical identity, incorporating canonical

Germanic composers, around both a proclivity for polyphony and an aptitude to battle,[74] underlay other musical events from early in the regime. A *Nordische Gesellschaft*, originally set up in 1921 in Lübeck to promote trade and cultural exchange, became a vehicle for fanatical racial ideologies from 1934, counting Himmler and Rosenberg amongst its members.[75] The society promoted a wide range of events (especially in Lübeck) celebrating Nordic music, to the extent to which it could be linked to that from Germany, albeit in an inferior relationship. In 1933, an article in *Die Musik* held up Grieg and Sibelius as shining examples of *Blut und Boden* in contrast to the 'worthless drivel' of atonality, the product of a 'Jewish-inclined clique'.[76] Others who featuring regularly included Swedish composer Kurt Atterberg, whose opera *Fanal* was presented in Braunschweig in February 1934 then produced in a range of other cities, and Finnish Yrjö Kilipinen, who was used by Nazi critic Fritz Stege as an example of the links between Finnish and German music.[77]

Fig. 4. Advert in *Führer durch die Konzertsäle Berlins* for *Deutsch-Dänisches Konzert* given by Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, 5 April 1934, in association with the *Nordische Gesellschaft*.

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[74] See Albrecht Dümling, 'The Target of Racial Purity: The "Degenerate Music" Exhibition in Düsseldorf, 1938', in *Art, Culture, and Media Under the Third Reich*, edited Richard A. Etlin (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 48-50; Eichenauer, *Musik und Rasse*, 157-81, 205-9.
[75] Wolf Stegemann, 'Nordische Gesellschaft – eine ideologisch völkisch-rassische Organisation der NSDAP mit Rothenburgs bürgerlicher Hautevolee', *Rothenburg unterm Hakenkreuz*, 20/1/2014, at http://www.rothenburg-unterm-hakenkreuz.de/die-nordische-gesellschaft-eine-ideologisch-voelkisch-rassische-organisation-der-nsdap-mit-rothenburgs-buergerlicher-hautevolee/ (accessed 20 September 2019). For a thorough investigation of this organisation, see Erika L. Briesacher, 'Cultural Currency: *Notgeld*, *Nordische Woche*, and the *Nordische Gesellschaft*, 1921-1945 (PhD dissertation; Kent State University, 2012), 140-218, and an earlier study of these themes, Hans-Jürgen Lutzhöft, *Der Nordische Gedanke in Deutschland 1920-1940* (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1971.
[76] Henning Rechnitzer-Möller, 'Nordische Musik', *Die Musik*, 26/1 (1933), 69-71; see also Helmut Schmidt-Garre, 'Der rassische Stil der nordischen Musik', *Volksparole*, 24 October 1934, reprinted in *Die Musik*, 27/2 (1934), 154-5.
[77] Fritz Stege, 'Yrjö Kilpinen', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 106/9 (1939), 921-30.

Dutch music appeared prominently at various points, especially in a Holländisches Musikfest in Wiesbaden in May 1935, while works of Henk Badings were performed in various contexts. But after the occupation of the Low Countries in 1940, more active attempts were made to propagandise for common Germanic musical roots. César Franck was presented as an essentially Germanic composer,[78] while an article in *Die Musik* paired together 'Jewish and Francophile interest groups' in opposition to Flemish music (in line with Hitler's instructions to the invaders of Belgium to 'favour the Flemish' over the Walloons and stoke antagonisms between the two primary groups).[79]

There were events in the 1930s featuring music of what would become hostile nations - Britain, France, and Poland - some involving their own exchange societies. The Deutsch-Französische Gesellschaft in particular supported the 1938 festival in Baden-Baden (see below) and presented some other events. But following a communique from Raabe on 1 October 1939, confirmed on 1 February 1940 and further on 4 November 1941, Polish, British and French music (with the specific exceptions of music of Chopin and Bizet's *Carmen*) were essentially prohibited.[80] Russian music had continued to be heard in the 1930s, including a number of Stravinsky performances, but received a boost during the period of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, August 1939 to July 1941. Radio Munich cancelled a scheduled talk entitled 'I accuse Moscow – the Comintern Plan for World Dictatorship' and replaced it with thirty minutes of Russian music.[81] Prominent concerts of Russian or Slavic music were heard in Berlin (including a number of Prokofiev performances by the Berlin Philharmonic), Cologne, Osnabrück, Kiel and Baden-Baden, while Walter Gieseking revised his repertoire to add Russian music.[82] After the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, the Baden-Baden orchestra under Lessing still programmed works of Chaikovsky and Borodin in two concerts,[83] but then Raabe banned performances of all Russian music on 15 July 1941.[84]

However, one should be wary of attributing too many developments to wider artistic policy. Much of the most internationally-oriented programming, like that which continued to feature some more advanced forms of modernism, was as much the result of particular individuals' work as of any wider artistic policy: Gerhard Frommel and Hans Rosbaud in Frankfurt, Carl Schuricht in Wiesbaden, Fritz Zaun in Berlin,

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[78] 'Caesar Franck – ein Deutscher! Zum 50. Todestag des Meisters am 9. November 1940', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 107/9 (1940), 517-29. But see also Reinhold Zimmermann, 'War Casar Franck ein "urfranzösischer" Musiker?', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 108/3 (1941), 187-9.

[79] Werner Warmbrunn, *The German Occupation of Belgium 1940-1944* (New York et al: Peter Lang, 1993), 127, 130-1. Further examples of such sentiments applied to music are Nicholas Spanuth, 'Deutsche Musik im besetzten Gebiet. Erstaufführungen in Belgien', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 108/7 (1941), 459-60; and Walter Weyler, 'Zur Erneuerung der flämischen Musik. Vom Volkslied zur Polyphonie', *Die Musik*, 34/5 (1942), 162-5.

[80] Evans, 'Stravinsky's Music in Hitler's Germany', 581-4; Directive from Raabe, 4 November 1941, in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, 5645. There were some exceptions, as when for example the Berlin Philharmonic in Clemens Krauss performed Ravel's *Boléro* in 19/20 November 1944 at the Staatsoper, demonstrating that the prohibition was not rigidly enforced. See Muck, *Einhundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonische Orchester*, Bd. 3, 311, 313.

[81] Terry Charman, *Outbreak 1939: The World Goes to War* (London: Virgin, 2009), 57.

[82] David Monod, *Settling Scores: German Music, Denazification, and the Americans, 1945-1953* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 157.

[83] Advert in *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 108/9 (1941), 621.

[84] Directive from Raabe, 12 July 1941, reproduced in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutscher Musiker*, 5644.

Fritz Büchtger and Adolf Mennerich in Munich, Johannes Schüler and Albert Bittner in Essen, Ewald Lindemann in Braunschweig, Adalbert Kalix in Nuremberg. Some other institutions did also play a crucial role, especially the Berliner Singakademie, under the directorship of Georg Schumann, which continued to organise the many foreign exchanges it had done since the beginning of the century, and the Preußische Akademie der Künste in Berlin, which organised many international exchange concerts from 1937 onwards. What is most significant is that all of these were able to proceed with these activities generally without interference and sometimes with encouragement.

Festival Organisations with International Programming: the *Ständiger Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten*

There were a range of one-off festivals or themed concert series in Nazi Germany showcasing international music, such as the Dresden Philharmonic's series of concerts of *Meistern des Auslands* in winter 1936-7, or the *Internationales Orchester-Musikfest* in Wiesbaden in May 1939, which brought together orchestras and musicians from France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany. More central to musical life during this period were three principal recurrent festivals which each featured a degree of international music. The first is the ADMV, founded by Franz Liszt and Franz Brendel in 1861,[85] was at its outset dedicated to the promotion of the latest German music, though always featured a certain amount of music from elsewhere. . For a period in the 1920s, the festival incorporated Germanic composers associated by conservatives with a type of internationalist modernism (including Schoenberg, Hindemith, Schulhoff and others) and also a few works by foreign composers such as Stravinsky and Bartók. But this festival became much more conservative after Siegmund von Hausegger took over the presidency in 1926, and continued in this vein until it was thoroughly Nazified by 1934.[86] After Raabe took over the presidency in 1935, from which time dates the Hamburg festival mentioned earlier, there was included some slightly more advanced music (including *Elektromusik* in the 1936 Berlin festival), though generally by Germans), but after others organised against Raabe,[87] it was replaced by the *Reichsmusiktagen* in 1938. One event to note, which coincided with the Frankfurt/Darmstadt ADMV in 1937, was the exhibition *Schöpferes Musikleben des Auslands*, featuring composers from seventeen European countries, including Ravel, Dallapiccola, Szymanowski, Hába and Bartók.[88] The second internationally-oriented festival was the *Internationales Zeitgenössisches Musikfest*, which ran in Baden-Baden from 1936 to 1939, and has

[85] The most comprehensive resource on this remains the archived version of James Deaville, 'Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein', at <https://web.archive.org/web/20050307085106/http:/www.humanities.mcmaster.ca:80/~admv/admv.htm> (accessed 1 July 2019).
[86] See Friedrich W. Herzog, 'Erstes Deutsches Tonkünstlerfest im Dritten Reich. Der Allgemeine Deutsche Musikverein in Wiesbaden', *Die Musik*, 26/10 (1934), 748-54.
[87] See Raabe, 'Rede zur Eröffnung der 67. Tonkünstlerversammlung des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins in Weimar am 13. Juni 1936', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 103/7 (1936), 813; and Josef Goebbels' distrust, having been briefed by Hans Severus Ziegler, in his diary entry of June 16, 1936, in *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels: sämtliche Fragmente. Teil I: Aufzeichnungen 1923-1941. Band 3/II* (Munich: Saur, 2001), 108
[88] Eva Hanau, *Musikinstitutionen in Frankfurt am Main 1933-1945* (Cologne: Studio, 1994), 141-2.

been written about in detail by Joan Evans.[89] This featured music from seventeen mostly Western European countries and was described positively by Friedrich Herzog in *Die Musik* an 'international music festival with national emphasis', entailing an 'amicable cultural competition among nations', in contrast with 1920s events in Donaueschingen and Baden-Baden itself.[90]

But the third example best exemplifies an ideology promulgating multiple nationalisms, albeit with a clear German domination, was that embodied in the festivals organised by the *Ständiger Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten*, formed by Richard Strauss during his time as President of the *Reichsmusikkammer*. This organisation, originally designed to protect composers' international rights, and organise exchange concerts between nations, was active from 1934 to 1939, with representatives from 20 other European countries, largely directed by Austrian-Czech composer Emil von Reznicek.[91] It was nonetheless highly German-dominated, not least because most of the non-German representatives had studied in Germany.[92] Seven festivals took place,[93]as well as a range of exchange concerts,[94] while further festivals were planned,[95] but these did not materialise.

[89] Joan Evans, '"International with National Emphasis": The *Internationales Zeitgenössisches Musikfest* in Baden-Baden, 1936-1939', in *Music and Nazism: Art under Tyranny, 1933-1945* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2003), edited Michael Kater and Albrecht Riethmüller, 102-13/

[90] Friedrich W. Herzog, 'Musik der Völker in Baden-Baden', *Die Musik*, 28/10 (1936), 781, also cited in Evans, '"International with National Emphasis"', p. 103. Herzog went on to talk about an 'amicable cultural competition among nations' in place of the 'dime-a-dozen Jewish-influenced concerts disguised as international' of the Weimar era festivals (ibid). See also his similar comments in Herzog, 'Europäische Musik in Bande. Das II. Internationale zeitgenössische Musikfest in Baden-Baden', *Die Musik*, 29/7 (1937), 495.

[91] 'Amtliche Mitteilung über die Gründung des "Ständigen Rats für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten"', *Die Musik*, 26/10 (1934), 765-6; Petra Garberding, 'Strauss und der Ständige Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten', in *Richard Strauss Handbuch*, edited Walter Werbeck (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2014), 42.

[92] Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order*, 88.

[93] These were in Hamburg (June 1935), Vichy (September 1935), Stockholm (February 1936), Dresden (May 1937), Stuttgart (May 1938), Brussels (November 1938) and Frankfurt (July 1939).

[94] 'Gesellschaften und Vereine', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 103/4 (1936), 507; 'Konzertpodium', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 103/10 (1936), 1276.

[95] In Athens, Berlin, Copenhagen, Helsinki, London, Naples, Reykjavik, and Vienna. See Garberding, 'Strauss und der Ständige Rat', 43-4; 'Aus der Arbeit des "Ständigen Rates"', *Die Musik*, 32/3 (1939), 106.

Fig. 5. Cover of brochure for *Internationales Musikfest Dresden*, 1937, organised by *Ständiger Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten.*

Much of the founding ideology of the organisation came out of an extended and ranting article by Gerigk about the 1934 Venice Biennale. Interestingly, Gerigk actually blamed Italian fascism, with its avant-gardist elements, for severing a connection of Italian music to *Blut und Boden*, so that 'helpless Dadaist and unequivocally bolshevist artistic trends' were welcome, and what Gerigk recognised as true German music did not receive its due[96] (thus pre-empting the aesthetic disjunction in this respect between the two nations which came to a head following the *Ausstellung Italienischer Kunst* in Berlin in November-December 1937).[97]

[96] Herbert Gerigk, 'Musikfestdämmerung. Das dritte internationale Musikfest in Venedig und die erste Arbeitstagung des "Ständigen Rats für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten"', *Die Musik*, 27/1 (1934), 45-51.

[97] This was an exhibition of Italian art from 1800 to the present organised by the Preußische Akademie der Künste in Berlin, whose organising committee included both Goebbels and Goering, and included four rooms dedicated to twentieth-century art, including a reasonable amount of futurist painting and other work associated with different varieties of modernism. Despite also including a wide range of relatively traditionalist twentieth-century Italian artist, not to mention the range of nineteenth-century work, the exhibition was despised by Hitler, who attended on 10 December, and after reading a report described as a 'fiasco' by Mussolini. It is likely that Hitler's wrath was provoked by such featured

On the validity of festivals in general, Gerigk wrote:

> This question must be answered in the negative. There is no longer today any justification for renouncing the *Volk*. Here there are only alien (*volksfremde*) elements which have found their way from the intellect into the founding of new directions for art. This continued as long as government agencies were found which thought in the same way. As long as funds were available, such funds were taken away from real art.[98]

The concerts of the *Ständiger Rat* stood as such in direct opposition to the perceived emphasis on transnational modernism thought to be represented by the ISCM.[99] The Hamburg festival was certainly of a international nature, including leading composers such as Holst, de Falla, Kodály, Dohnányi, Sibelius and Kilipinen, That in Vichy in September 1935 coincided exactly with the ISCM in Prague, and has been analysed in some detail by Anne Shreffler, who argues that the program committee 'had made

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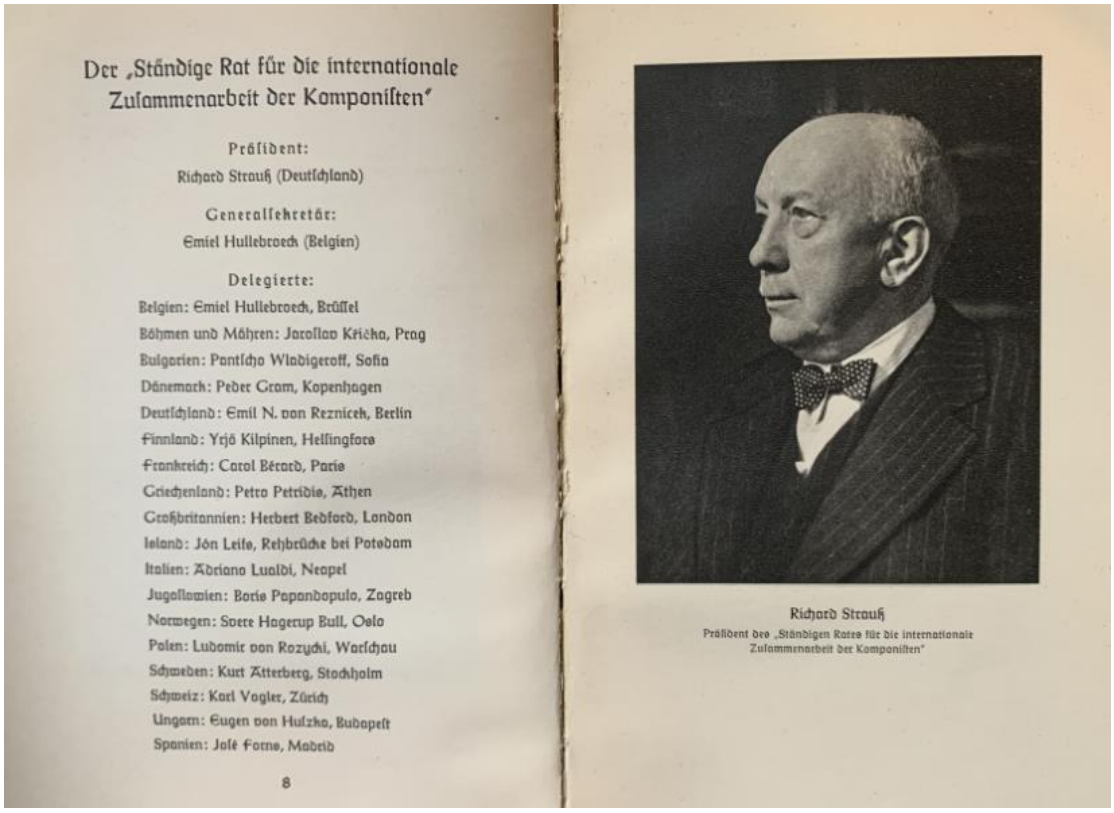
artists (to take a selection in the order they appear in the catalogue) as Pieraccini Leonetta Cecchi, Luigi Servolini, Ettore di Giorgio, Primo Sinopico, Mimì Quilici Buzzacchi, Bruno da Osimo, Francesco dal Pozzo, Pietro Marussig, Felice Casorati, Celestino Celestini, Lino S. Lipinsky, Luigi Bartolini, Carlo Alberto Petrucci, Giorgio Morandi, Gianni Vagnetti, Ardengo Soffici, Domenico Valinotti, Guido Ferroni, Mario Sironi, Achille Funi, Giuseppe Capogrossi, Dante Morozzi, Gianfilippo Usellini, Giovanni Colacicchi, Antonio Donghi, Guido Peyron, Eugenio da Venezia, Emilio Sobrero, Mario Broglio, Michele Guerrisi, Romano Dazzi, Arturo Checchi, Ugo Ortona, Mirko Basaldella, Alessandro Cervellati, Eugenio Chiostri, Orfeo Tamburi, Cipriano Efisio Oppo, Contardo Barbieri, Virgilio Guidi, Emilio Sobrero, Cagnaccio di San Pietro, Carlo Carrà, Gino Severini, Ugo Carà, Enrico Paulucci, Enzo Morelli, Luigi Spazzapan, Guglielmo Sansoni Tato, Enrico Prampolini, Umberto Boccioni, Mino Rosso or Ernesto Thayaht, whose work embodied varying degrees of distortion of vision, caricature, abstraction, faux-naivete, sexuality, unsettling subject matter, and in some cases mirrored the work of Weimar era artists. See *Ausstellung italienischer Kunst von 1800 bis zur Gegenart: November-Dezember 1937* (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1937), and Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order*, 76, 80-81. On the events leading up to the exhibition and its reception, see Benedetta Garzarelli, *Parleremo al mondo intero: La propaganda del fascismo all'estero* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2004), 209-224. In light of Hitler's successive Nuremberg speeches denouncing a range of modernist tendencies in art (see Adolf Hitler, Speech at the NSDAP Congress on Culture (3 September 1933); 'Art and Its Commitment to Truth' (September 1934), in Rabinbach and Gilman, *The Third Reich Sourcebook*, 116-18, 489-90; Max Domarus, *Hitler: Speeches and Proclamations 1932-1945. Volume Two: The Years 1935 to 1938*, translated Chris Wilcox and Mary Fran Gilbert (Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 1992), 695-6; *Offizieller Bericht über den Verlauf des Reichparteitages mit sämtlichen Kongressreden: Der Parteitag Grossdeutschlands, vom 5. bis 12. Sept. 1938* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1938), 85) there was little chance of his arriving at any agreement with the more benevolent and appropriative view of particular modernist tendencies advocated by other Nazis, including Goebbels (see Joseph Goebbels, Lecture on 'Die deutsche Kultur vor neuen Aufgaben', given in Berlin, Großer Saal der Philharmonie, 15 November 1933, in Helmut Heiber (ed.), *Goebbels-Reden. Band 1: 1932-1939* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1971), 137; Peter Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography*, translated Alan Bance, Jeremy Noakes and Lesley Sharpe (London: Vintage, 2015), 33-5; Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), 88), but this event can be viewed as consolidating such a divide.

[98] Ibid., 50.

[99] The opposing festivals of the ISCM in Prague and the Ständiger Rat in Vichy, both in 1935, are contrasted by Anne C. Shreffler in 'The International Society for Contemporary Music and its Political Context (Prague, 1935)', in *Music and International History in the Twentieth Century*, edited Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2015), 58-90. Shreffler presents especially interesting material on the debates between Ernst Krenek and Edward J. Dent. Krenek despised what he called the 'Blubo-Internationale' [*Blut und Boden*] (Austriacus [Ernst Krenek], 'Die Blubo-Internationale', in *23: Eine Wiener Musikzeitschrift*, 17-19 (1934), 19-25) and argued to Dent that the ISCM should directly oppose everything it represented, but was unable to do so because of too great embracing of 'entertainment music' from the West and 'folklore' from the East, in place of international new music.

little attempt to focus on contemporary music', since all works were at least five years old.[100] But this is a minor point, as five years was not that long a time in terms of new music history, and many works which would have been more shocking were written back in the 1920s. The festival was again strikingly multi-national, if somewhat conservative in its choice of composers, a pattern which continued in subsequent years.

In February 1936, Reznicek oversaw the passing of a resolution affirming that a primary task of the council was 'the promotion of musical exchange among the Nations with particular consideration for the representative, national works of living composers, *without regard to any particular [stylistic] orientation or one-sided tendencies*'. This managed to portray the organisation as open in nature in comparison to the ISCM. A further resolution said that works from a particular country could only be performed at the institution's concerts if they had been nominated or agreed by a delegate from the composer's country.[101] After Reznicek developed links with and support from Hans Hinkel and the Reichskulturkammer, Jewish composers were mostly removed. Gerigk made barbed comments at the 1938 festival about how the council was *judenfrei*, whilst on the other hand Jewish people played a significant role in Belgian musical life.[102]


Der „Ständige Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten"

Präsident:
Richard Strauß (Deutschland)

Generalsekretär:
Emiel Hullebroeck (Belgien)

Delegierte:
Belgien: Emiel Hullebroeck, Brüssel
Böhmen und Mähren: Jaroslav Křička, Prag
Bulgarien: Pantscho Wladigeroff, Sofia
Dänemark: Peder Gram, Kopenhagen
Deutschland: Emil N. von Reznicek, Berlin
Finnland: Yrjö Kilpinen, Helsingfors
Frankreich: Carol Bérard, Paris
Griechenland: Petro Petridis, Athen
Großbritannien: Herbert Bedford, London
Island: Jón Leifs, Rehbrücke bei Potsdam
Italien: Adriano Lualdi, Neapel
Jugoslawien: Boris Papandopulo, Zagreb
Norwegen: Soere Hagerup Bull, Oslo
Polen: Ludomir von Rozycki, Warschau
Schweden: Kurt Atterberg, Stockholm
Schweiz: Karl Vogler, Zürich
Ungarn: Eugen von Hubay, Budapest
Spanien: José Forns, Madrid

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Richard Strauß
Präsident des „Ständigen Rates für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten"

Fig. 6. List of members of the council of the *Ständiger Rat*, from programme booklet for Frankfurt 1939.

[100] Shreffler, 'The International Society for Contemporary Music', pp. 66-71.
[101] Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order*, 82-5.
[102] Herbert Gerigk, 'Das Internationale Musikfest in Belgien', *Die Musik*, 31/3 (1938), 200-1.

After 1942, the organisation was renamed the *Internationale Komponisten-Verband*, affirming a 'supra-national' (*übernational*) rather than international view of music.[103]

The three festivals present different models of nationalism and programming: the ADMV was national with an occasionally internationalist flavour; the Baden-Baden festival was indeed more truly multi-national and cosmopolitical, without any strong domination of any one country, whereas the Ständiger Rat's festivals were ones of multiple often aggressive nationalisms (combined with German domination), in pointed opposition to transnational modernism above all, which were associated (through a very narrow reading) with the ISCM. None of the festivals, however, made any serious moves to extend internationalismbeyond the boundaries of Europe.

Conclusion: Post-War Implications

Despite the large number of internationally-focused musical events through the history of Nazi Germany, one should not overestimate their proportion of musical life in general. Events such as the *Berliner Kunstwochen* in April-June 1935, May-June 1936, and subsequently were almost exclusively dominated by German music,[104] as was the programming of most orchestras, while the eight series of concerts presented by the *Berliner Konzertgemeinde* in 1938-39 included only a small few non-German artists.[105] Nineteenth- and some early twentieth-century Italian opera continued to be prominent in most German opera houses, but still no more so than German works. Surveys published in *Die Musik* and the *Zeitschrift für Musik* of various types of programming between 1940 and 1943 showed an overwhelming majority of German music despite some reasonable representation of that of other countries.[106]

Nonetheless, the data I have collated shows how the rhetoric of *Nachholbedarf* was in many ways misleading and one-sided. It was certainly true that certain music had been systematically excluded, most obviously that of Jewish composers, but not necessarily all other varieties of international or even modernist music. Without this ideology, though, a wide range of promoters might not have gained the traction required to secure support and sometimes funding for a whole range of new music festivals. This was certainly not the only factor, as one must also take into account the aims of the various occupying powers to promote the music from their own countries.[107]

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[103] 'Zeitgeschichte', *Die Musik* 34/10 (July 1942), p. 342; Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order*, 213-21. As Martin points out (ibid., 89), this view was shared by Ralph Vaughan Williams, who argued in 1932 that 'the composer who tries to be cosmopolitan from the outset will fail, not only with the world at large, but with his own people as well'; Vaughan Williams, 'Should Music Be National?', in *National Music and Other Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932), 2.

[104] *Führer durch die Konzertsäle Berlins* (hereafter *FddKB*), 15/28 (1935), 2-3; 16/24 (1936), 2-3; 18/28 (1938), 1.

[105] Advert for Berlin Konzertgemeinde, *FddKB*, 19/1 (1938), 12.

[106] Anton M. Topitz, 'Was brachte die Spielzeit 1940/41 im Konzertsaal?', *Die Musik*, 33/12 (1941), 423-6; Wilhelm Altmann, 'Statistischer Überblick über die im Winter 1941/42 stattfindenden Reihenkonzerte (Orchester- und Chorwerke mit Orchester)', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 109/2 (1942), 54-61; *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 109/3 (1942), 102-10; and 'Statistischer Überblick über die im Winter 1942/43 stattfindenden Reihenkonzerte (Orchester- und Chorwerke mit Orchester)', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 110/2 (1943), 59-68. See Section 5 of 'Timeline and Data Sources' for a break-down of these.

[107] See Pace, 'The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music', 103-310 for a detailed investigation of the policies of the three Western occupying powers and their implementation in terms of general concert life, the direction of radio stations, and the creation of specialist new music events in

Post-war programming in West Germany and elsewhere in Europe in the 1940s and 1950s maintained a degree of internationalism at first focused upon distinct national traditions, mirroring the programming of the ISCM, then moving away from this. This allowed for forms of modernism which did not appear to have obvious or explicit national roots, as in the Weimar era, but these did not attain any type of prominence, let alone domination, until the 1960s at the earliest, and even then only in certain institutions. Many German concert series, festivals, radio programming and critical writing continued for some time to group compositions by nation state, with internationalist modernism (represented in the 1950s by serialism, various forms of electronic music, and towards the end of the decade by the textural composition of Xenakis, Penderecki and Ligeti and the emergence of a new type of experimental music-theatre) remaining on the relative periphery.[108] In many ways, the consolidation of an internationalist or transnationalist outlook was slower in the post-war era than it had been in Weimar Germany. Nonetheless, the ideological conditions which allowed this gradual trajectory to occur were firmly rooted in responses to an at least partially imaginary immediate past.

Germany. Important earlier studies of post-war West German musical organisation and programming include David Monod, *Settling Scores: German Music, Denazification, and the Americans, 1945-1953* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Elizabeth Janik, *Recomposing German Music: Politics and Tradition in Cold War Berlin* (Leiden, Brill & Biggleswade: Extenza Turpin, 2005); Amy C. Beal, *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2006); Toby Thacker, *Music after Hitler, 1945-1955* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Ferdinand Kösters, *Als Orpheus wieder sang … Der Wiederbeginn des Opernlebens in Deutschland nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Münster: Edition Octopus, 2009); and Andreas Linsenmann, *Musik als politischer Faktor. Konzepte, Intentionen und Praxis französischer Umerziehungs- und Kulturpolitik in Deutschland 1945-1949/50* (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, 2010).

[108] A key transitional book in this respect is Ulrich Dibelius, *Moderne Musik 1945-1965* (Munich: Piper, 1966), which continues to include a substantial section on groups of composers from different nation states (pp. 270-332). For a critique of arguments asserting modernist/serialist dominance in Germany in the 1950s, see my paper 'The Cold War in Germany as ideological weapon for anti-modernists' (2011), at http://openaccess.city.ac.uk/id/eprint/6482/ (accessed 20 September 2019).