

ONE ORCHESTRA, TWO ARTISTIC POLICIES, ONE CENSOR

Symphonic Music by the Great Symphony Orchestra of Belgian Radio (1940-1944)

- Eric Derom¹ -

How did military authorities deal with the Great Symphony Orchestra of Belgian Radio in occupied Belgium during WWII? Were listeners forced to endure tons of music by Wagner, or were only scores by Jewish and modernist composers blacklisted? Was the orchestra still allowed to play French impressionistic music, formally forbidden in Nazi-Germany, present contemporary music, and premiere new compositions as it had before 1940? Did the *Propaganda-Abteilung Belgien* instrumentalise the orchestra to promote the German *Kulturerbe* and the National-Socialist *Weltanschauung*? What about Flemish music, which some claimed was neglected before WWII? How did the *Propaganda-Abteilung Belgien* (PAB) deal with both of these artistic directions within the setting of a radio institution which had only one orchestra at its disposal and what was their degree of autonomy? Using a detailed analysis of the repertoire played by the Great Symphony Orchestra of Belgian Radio during WWII, the present paper assesses how the *Propaganda-Abteilung* misused that orchestra for its own sake, while demonstrating a remarkable differentiation when approaching the Francophone and Flemish community.

I. Introduction

It is often claimed that Nazi Germany attempted to reach an incontestable degree of military hegemony in Europe during the Second World War through the appropriation of economic resources, the robbery of numerous works of art, and the installation of a racist and antisemitic policies. Nazi Germany, however, also continued implementing its pre-war policies to create, in conjunction with fascist Italy, a new order of European culture, with an awareness that political and economic power is rooted in cultural hegemony². From 1939 on, Germany started executing a program of cultural imperialism and Germanisation, which was more aggressively applied in Eastern Europe than in countries and regions with Germanic roots such as the Netherlands and Alsace³. Overall, it was important to demonstrate to the populations of occupied and neutral countries that Nazi Germany was not only a war machine but also a nation of culture.

On 10 May 1940, German troops overran Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and France. After eighteen days of bitter fighting, Belgium was forced to capitulate, leaving room for a military administration led by *Befehlshaber der Militärverwaltung* Alexander von Falkenhausen, assisted by Eggert Reeder as head of his administrative staff. As General of the *Wehrmacht*, von Falkenhausen was only

accountable to the *Oberkommando der Wehrmacht* and Hitler himself⁴. The *Militärverwaltung* primarily promoted a *Ruhe und Ordnung* policy, aimed at the integration of the Belgian industrial production in the *Kriegswirtschaft*⁵. In order to simulate a state of normality, shops, universities, museums, and cinemas reopened, concert halls, theatres, and opera houses resumed their activities and writers were encouraged to continue publishing poetry and novels⁶. All of this occurred against a background of hunger, unheated homes, unemployment, requisitions for forced labour, and political persecution. In the last months of occupation, on 18 July 1944, six weeks before liberation, the military administration was replaced by a *Zivilverwaltung* under the power of the Nazi Party and the SS, a sign that von Falkenhausen and Reeder had lost their battle against Himmler⁷.

Most established musical institutions and opera houses in Belgium's major cities were able to resume their activities a few months after capitulation. Their programs, however, had to first be approved by the *Propaganda-Abteilung*⁸. The *Propaganda-Abteilung* forbid so called "degenerate music" and works by composers of enemy countries and blacklisted all Jewish composers and performing artists. It sometimes also urged concert organisers to replace a Belgian or French work with one by a German composer or "suggested" they invite a German or Nazi-friendly

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2. BENJAMIN G. MARTIN, *The Nazi-Fascist Order for European Culture*, Cambridge, 2016, p. 1-11.

3. KATARZYNA NALIWAJEK, "Nazi musical imperialism in occupied Poland", in *The Routledge Handbook to Music under German Occupation, 1938-1945. Propaganda, Myth and Reality*, London and New York, 2019, p. 61-81. VERA PONJÉE, "Deutsches Theater in den Niederlanden 1942-1944. Het verhaal van een gezelschap", in *Spelen onder spanning. Verhalen over theater tijdens de bezetting*. Amsterdam, 2005, 105-127. BERNHARD VON HÜLSEN, *Szenenwechsel im Elsass*, Leipzig, 2003, p. 359-419.

4. JOHAN PUTSEYS, "Zender Brussel – Radio Bruxelles", in *De Belgische radio-omroep tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Het NIR-*INR* in het verzet 1939-44*, Wommelgem, 1988, p. 226.

5. WILLEM MEYERS, FRANS SELLESLAGH, MARK VAN DEN WIJNGAERT, RUDI VAN DOORSLAER and ETIENNE VERHOEYEN, *Het minste kwaad*, (België in de Tweede Wereldoorlog Deel 9), Kapellen, 1990, p. 9.

6. HERMAN VAN DE VIJVER, *Het cultureel leven tijdens de bezetting*, (België in de Tweede Wereldoorlog Deel 8), Kapellen, 1990, p. 5.

7. ALBERT DE JONGHE, "De Strijd Himmler-Reeder om de benoeming van een HSSPF te Brussel-Vijfde deel. Salzburg voor en na", *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Tweede Wereldoorlog*, no. 8, 1984, p. 5-234.

8. WILLIAM HOOK, "Belgian Panorama", in *Musical Times*, no.86, 1945, p. 142-143. LOUIS FORTEMPS, ROEL VANDE WINKEL, "The German Military Propaganda Department Belgium (Propaganda-Abteilung Belgien) vis-à-vis "Cultures of Spectacle" in occupied Belgium (1940-1944)", published elsewhere in this issue.

artist⁹. For example, the prestigious Francophone Brussels *Société Philharmonique* was forced to drop compositions by modernist composers Igor Stravinsky, Karl-Amadeus Hartmann and Pierre Dallapiccola or the English composer Henry Purcell initially scheduled for the 1940/41 season¹⁰. Nevertheless, the *Propaganda-Abteilung* did not object when the *Société Philharmonique* invited Parisian conductors or instrumentalists to present some of the newest works by French composers such as Francis Poulenc and Arthur Honegger as it had done before the war¹¹. Throughout occupation, the *Société Philharmonique* resisted repeated requests of the *Propaganda-Abteilung* to program contemporary German music and invite German guest conductors and soloists¹². The management of the concerts of the Liège Conservatoire and the Francophone Royal Operas of Brussels and Liège behaved in a similar fashion and continued to play largely the same repertoire as in pre-war times¹³. However, the *Propaganda-Abteilung* forced Charles Houdret, chief conductor of the Francophone *Orchestre de la Chapelle Reine Elisabeth* to replace compositions by Eugène Ysaÿe, Oscar Espla or Igor Stravinsky initially listed for the 1941/42 season with those by German composers Hans Pfitzner, Max Trapp, and Kurt Hessenberg¹⁴.

Rather than exerting similar pressures on pre-war Flemish music institutions, the *Propaganda-Abteilung* preferred to seduce Flemish-speaking music lovers residing in Brussels, Ghent, and Antwerp

by financially supporting and even creating “German-friendly” musical organisations such as the *Muziekfonds*, the *Philharmonie Brussel*, and the *Alhambra Volksschouwburg* in Brussels, the *Philharmonisch Orkest* in Antwerp and the *Koninklijke Stadsopera* in Ghent¹⁵. These organisations operated parallel to previously established ones. Although primarily managed by Flemish nationalist intellectuals who wanted to stimulate Flemish music and counterbalance the influence of the French repertoire on musical life in Flanders, these “German-friendly” institutions increasingly became a vehicle of German musical culture by proposing attractive programs with some of the best German soloists and conductors¹⁶. Their repertoire for the two last wartime seasons became so blatantly pro-German that the programs proposed by the *Philharmonisch Orkest van Antwerpen* or *Philharmonie Brussel* and those given by the orchestras in Cologne, Freiburg, or Breslau were almost interchangeable¹⁷!

The present study aims to analyse whether observed differences between the symphonic repertoire proposed to the Francophone and Flemish concertgoer also prevailed in the programming of the Great Symphony Orchestra of Belgian Radio (GSO), when it played for either the Francophone or Flemish radio, an issue that has never been investigated before. More specifically, we will investigate whether the artistic direction of the musical departments of the Francophone and

9. MARIANNE KLARIC, *La vie musicale à Bruxelles sous l'occupation*, Masterthesis, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1985, p. 97.
10. STEFAN FRAGNER, *Music in the Shadow of Politics. The Brussels Société Philharmonique and the German Occupation*, Dissertation Final Honour School of Music, University of Oxford, 1994, p. 17-18.
11. VALERIE MONTENS, *Le Palais des Beaux-Arts. La création d'un haut lieu de culture à Bruxelles (1928-1945)*, Bruxelles, 2000, p. 287.
12. STEFAN FRAGNER, *Music in the Shadow of Politics...*, p. 24-25.
13. STÉPHANE DADO, “Fernand Quinet et la genèse de l'Orchestre (Philharmonique Royal) de Liège (1938-1960)”, *Revue belge de Musicologie. Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap*, no. 65, 2011, p. 171-201. BARBARA BONG, “Le Théâtre royal de Liège durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale: Répertoire d'un théâtre de province sous les contraintes de l'Occupation”, *Revue belge de Musicologie. Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap*, no. 69, 2015, p. 177-187. CHRISTOPHER BRENT MURRAY, “The Théâtre Royal de la Monnaie During the Second World War”, *Revue belge de Musicologie. Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap*, no. 69, 2015, p. 189-217.
14. MARIANNE KLARIC, *La vie musicale à Bruxelles sous l'occupation*, p. 107.
15. ERIC DEROM, “Symphonic Music in Occupied Belgium, 1940-1944: the role of the German-Friendly Music Societies”, in *The Routledge Handbook to Music under German Occupation, 1938-1945. Propaganda, Myth and Reality*, London and New York, 2019, p. 142-157.
16. ERIC DEROM, “Symphonic Music in Occupied Belgium, 1940-1944: the role of the German-Friendly Music Societies”, in *Revue Belge de Musicologie. Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap*, no. 69, 2015, p. 114.
17. We refer to the advertisements published in *Musik im Kriege*, 1943/1944 for the subscription concerts of the orchestras in the German cities Cologne, Freiburg, and Breslau for the upcoming concert season.

Flemish radios aligned their artistic policies with choices made by the Flemish “German-friendly” concert organisations or in the contrary, proposed a more balanced and diversified program as they did before the war. To clarify and contextualise our findings, the present analysis is preceded by a brief overview of the pre-war management of Belgian Radio and its musical departments (section II), the re-initiation of Belgian Radio after capitulation (section III) and its administration during German occupation (section IV).

II. The GSO at the NIR-*INR*: its First Years of Existence (1935-1940)

In Western-Europe, most state-owned radio institutions were created in the late 1920s and early 1930s. They provided information and entertainment through “spoken programs” and music. Preceded by a few embryonic experiments, the state-owned Belgian *Nationaal Instituut voor de Radio – Omroep/Institut National de Radiodiffusion (NIR-*INR*)* started its activities with a Flemish and French program on 1 February 1931. Marcel van Soust de Borkenfeldt was its first Director General¹⁸. Restructuring the *NIR-*INR** according to Belgium’s bilingual status in 1937 provided radiophonic autonomy to both the Flemish and French community. This led to the creation of a Flemish and a Francophone radio within the *NIR-*INR**, each headed by a Director General who ran these entities independently. Besides a secretariat, each entity consisted of a department for “spoken programs” and a musical department. A third entity, to which the orchestras also belonged, provided administrative and technical support to both the Flemish and the Francophone radios.

The development of the gramophone and the formation of radio institutions in the late 1920s and early 1930s offered a unique opportunity for larger audiences not accustomed to visiting concert halls and opera houses to familiarize themselves with a variety of music genres. At this time, gramophone records of classical music reached only a very small segment of the population and the radio offered unique opportunities in this regard¹⁹. It is of note that the growing popularity of the new medium led Belgium to count some 999,468 radio devices in 1940, corresponding with twelve radios per 100 inhabitants²⁰.

In order to guarantee a certain variety in their program and good quality broadcasts, these radio institutions created one or more orchestral ensembles. Indeed, commercial recordings covered only a minor part of the classical repertoire, – recordings of operas, contemporary music and large-scale symphonies were rare –, and wear and tear to 78 rpm records led to broadcasts of poor technical quality.

In the first years of the *NIR-*INR**, small ensembles played light music and jazz whereas two musical directors, Arthur Meulemans and Jean Kumps, were in charge of an orchestra of 42 musicians to perform the symphonic repertoire²¹. In order to improve the coherence of the musical programming and the level of orchestral performances, in 1935 the *NIR-*INR** decided to create a large symphony orchestra of 84 salaried professional musicians. The two co-directors were replaced by one principal conductor, Franz André, a Francophone professional violinist who had studied orchestral direction with Felix Weingartner in Berlin before World War I. The Flemish press and some Flemish-national cultural circles perceived the dis-

18. ANN VANDAMME, *Het orkestleven binnen de openbare omroep in België (1924-1998)*, Masterthesis, RUG, Gent, 1998, p. 14.

19. For example, between 1937 and 1940, only 406 copies (862 78 rpm records in total) of Beethoven’s *Leonore III Ouverture* by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra and Bruno Walter and only 242 copies of Fauré’s *Élégie* by the Boston Symphony orchestra and Sergei Koussevitzky were sold in France (personal communication by Philippe Morin, 2020, Paris).

20. TANIA VANDEN BOSCHÉ, *Hier Zender Brussel! De stem van het Rijk: 1940-1944*, Masterthesis, Universiteit Gent, 1996, p. 12.

21. KRISTIN VAN DEN BUYS, “De beginjaren van het Belgisch nationaal instituut voor Radio-Omroep 1930-1940”, in *Het geheugen van de geluidsfabriek. De Vlaamse muziek in de voormalige bibliotheek van de openbare omroep*, Leuven, 2004, p. 9-19. ANN VANDAMME, *Het orkestleven binnen de openbare omroep in België (1924-1998)*, Masterthesis, RUG, Gent, 1998, p. 16.

Nationaal Instituut voor de Radio-Omroep – Institut National de Radiodiffusion (NIR-INR)

1939-1940	Musical Department of the NIR		Musical Department of the INR	
	Artistic director	Conductors		Artistic director
	Paul Collaer	Franz André (principal), Theo Dejoncker (assistant)		René Tellier
1940-1944	Musical Department of Zender Brussel		Musical Department of Radio Bruxelles	
	Artistic director	Conductors	Conductors	Artistic director
1940-1942	Arthur Meulemans	Theo Dejoncker (principal)	Paul Gason (principal)	Edouard Chambon
1942-1943	Gaston Feremans	Paul Douliez (assistant)	André Souris (assistant)	
1943-1944	Maurits Schoemaker		Franz André (guest)	

Table 1: Simplified organigram of the musical departments of the NIR-INR (1937-1940) and of Zender Brussel and Radio Bruxelles (1940-1944).

missal of Meulemans as a putsch against Flemish culture²². Meulemans was eventually re-engaged by the NIR-INR, but only as permanent member of the audition jury and, from 1938 on, as head of the musical library. In 1936, Flemish composer Theo Dejoncker was appointed as assistant conductor²³.

As a composer, Dejoncker belonged, together with Marcel Poot, Jules Strens, René Bernier, Maurice Schoemaker and a few other pupils of Paul Gilson to a group known as the *Synthétistes*: a collective which attempted to synthesize the achievements of contemporary music into well-defined and balanced classical forms²⁴.

From 1937 on, Paul Collaer and René Tellier headed the musical departments of the Flemish and the Francophone radios (Table 1). By programming contemporary works by Arthur Honegger, Darius Milhaud, Alban Berg, Igor Stravinsky, Paul Hindemith, Hans Krenek, Gian Francesco Malipiero, and Béla Bartok, often in close personal contact with the composers, the GSO, the conductor

André and artistic directors Collaer and Tellier rapidly gained an international reputation²⁵. Linguistic barriers did not affect their artistic and musical projects, as regularly, the first part of a studio concert was broadcast by the Flemish and the second part by the Francophone radio²⁶. One important event, among others, was the world premiere of Stravinsky's *Le Roi des Etoiles* on 19 April 1939.

Despite a certain scepticism, Collaer and Tellier programmed contemporary Flemish and German music. In 1939, Dejoncker conducted *Mater Dolorosa* composed by Daniël Sternefeld, and André conducted the world premieres of Jef Van Hoof's *Symphony no. 1* on 28 July 1939 and Arthur Meulemans' *Symphony no. 4* on 15 December 1939 and programmed *Oeuvre* by Karl-Amadeus Hartmann, a composer disliked by the National-Socialists, and Carl Orff's *Carmina Burana*²⁷.

In the preceding year, the NIR-INR had inaugurated the Flagey broadcasting house, which contained a concert hall, *Studio 4*, with a limited capacity of

22. KRISTIN VAN DEN BUYS, "De beginjaren van het Belgisch nationaal instituut...", p. 27-30.

23. *Jaarverslag van het NIR, Dienstjaar 1936*, Brussel, 1936, p. 44.

24. JAN DEWILDE, *Poot Marcel, Höflich-uitgave: Vrolijke ouverture (1934)*, in Studiecentrum Vlaamse muziek. <https://www.svm.be/content/poot-marcel?display=article&detail=29385> retrieved 15 November 2020.

25. KRISTIN VAN DEN BUYS, "Het Groot Symfonie-Orkest van het NIR binnen de publieke omroep als instrument van volksverheffing en internationaal statussymbool", in *Het Orkest, Van radio-orkest tot Brussels Philharmonic*, Tiel, 2013, p. 67-87.

26. KRISTIN VAN DEN BUYS, "De beginjaren van het Belgisch nationaal instituut...", p. 36.

27. LUC LEYTENS, *Van Hoof Jef. Höflich-uitgave: Symfonie nr. 1 in A (1938)*, in Studiecentrum Vlaamse muziek.

<https://www.svm.be/content/van-hoof-jef?display=article&detail=29425> retrieved 5 February 2020. JAN DEWILDE, *Meulemans Arthur. Höflich – uitgave: Symfonie nr. 4 in a voor blazers en slagwerk (1934)*, in Studiecentrum Vlaamse muziek. <https://www.svm.be/content/meulemans-arthur?display=article&detail=29359> retrieved 5 February 2020. Jan Boon and René Lissens, *NIR Jaarverslag 1939*, Brussel, 1939, p. 42-48.

400 seats where the GSO performed its concerts²⁸. Though transmitted live by the Flemish and/or Francophone radio, some of these studio concerts were also accessible to public. The creation of a choir in 1937 and the inauguration of a large organ on 30 April 1940, ten days before the attack by Nazi Germany, allowed for the performance of their complete orchestral and choral repertoire.

The GSO was not the only orchestra which provided the listeners with live orchestral music on Belgian radio. Two small orchestras of 30 musicians each, respectively known by Flemish listeners as *Omroeporkest* and by Francophone listeners as *Orchestre Radio*, gave around 600 concerts a year with light music and popular classics. The *Omroeporkest* was conducted by Karel Walpot and Paul Douliez, the *Orchestre Radio* by Paul Gason and André Souris²⁹. Moreover, Stan Brenders gave several jazz sessions a week with his ensemble of 15 musicians, for both the Flemish and Francophone radio. The *NIR-INTR* also broadcast concerts given by Belgian and foreign ensembles. To put everything into perspective, during the 1936/37 season, the *Omroeporkest/Orchestre Radio* produced 520 hours of music, the Jazz Orchestra 320 hours and the GSO 280 hours³⁰.

III. The Belgian Propaganda-Abteilung in 1940: Masters in Misleading the NIR-INTR Personnel When Relaunching Belgian Radio

The numerous ways in which the *Propaganda-Abteilung* used cunning tricks and emotional

manipulation to restart the Belgian Radio after capitulation have been described in detail elsewhere³¹. In brief, a substantial part of the personnel of the *NIR-INTR*, among whom were members of the technical and logistic staff and the two Director Generals, Jan Boon of the Flemish and Theo Fleischman of the Francophone program, sought refuge in France at the start of the German offensive against Belgium³². Being unable to leave Belgium in time, Antoine Delfosse, the minister in charge of Belgian Radio, was contacted by the *Propaganda-Abteilung* shortly after capitulation (28 May 1940) to restart the broadcasting activities of the *NIR-INTR*. Initially, the *Propaganda-Abteilung* offered to give Belgium autonomy for cultural and musical programs while the Germans would use the *NIR-INTR* infrastructure for news and military reports. Having obtained a safe passage from von Falkenhausen, Delfosse met Boon in France at the end of June 1940 and convinced him and the *NIR-INTR* personnel to regain Belgium and resume their pre-war positions at Brussels Radio, as to avoid giving adepts of the “New Order” a chance to seize these positions in their absence³³. Only Fleischman, of Jewish descent, decided not to return to Belgium, eventually reaching London in 1942³⁴.

Meanwhile, members of the *NIR-INTR* personnel who had remained in Belgium during the German offensive had begun broadcasting from Flagey under control of the *Propaganda-Abteilung* on 28 June 1940, six weeks after capitulation. The personnel that had sought refuge in France reached Brussels on 7 July 1940 and most of them

28. KRISTIN VAN DEN BUYS and KATIA SEGERS, “Inleiding” in *Het Orkest. Van radio-orkest tot Brussels Philharmonic*, Tiel, 2013, p. 11-14.

29. ROBERT WANGERMÉE, *André Souris et le complexe d’Orphée: entre surréalisme et musique sérieuse*, Bruxelles, 1995, p. 198-200. KRISTIN VAN DEN BUYS, “De beginjaren van het Belgisch nationaal instituut...”, p. 20.

30. *Jaarverslag van het NIR, Dienstjaar 1937*, Brussel, 1937, p. 32-48 and p. 86-101.

31. HELEEN PERSOONS, *Muziek tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Casus: de muziekprogrammatie van Zender Brussel*, Masterthesis, KU Leuven, 2001, p. 66-69. GRETA BOON, *De Belgische radio-omroep tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Het NIR-INTR in het verzet 1939-44*, Wommelgem, 1988, p. 101-105. JOHAN PUTSEYS, “Zender Brussel”. MAURICE DE WILDE, “Zender Brussel”, in *Van bevrijding naar vrijheid. De media tijdens en na de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Acta van het colloquium van 1-2 september 1989 te Antwerpen*, Brussel, 1990, p. 45-56.

32. GRETA BOON, *De Belgische radio-omroep tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog...*, p. 67-96.

33. GRETA BOON, *De Belgische radio-omroep tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog...*, p. 89-91. JOHAN PUTSEYS, “Zender Brussel”. MAURICE DE WILDE, “Zender Brussel”, in *Van bevrijding naar vrijheid. De media tijdens en na de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Acta van het colloquium van 1-2 september 1989 te Antwerpen*, Brussel, 1990, p. 45-56.

34. GRETA BOON, *De Belgische radio-omroep tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog...*, p. 124.

were re-engaged on 19 July 1940³⁵. Within two months, the *Propaganda-Abteilung* had reached its double goal: the re-initiation of Belgian Radio with experienced and skilled personnel and the creation of a sense of continuity between the pre-war and the wartime broadcasting activities.

Having reached this first and essential step, the *Propaganda-Abteilung* was no longer interested in a semi-autonomous Belgian Radio. Boon was sacked on 31 July 1940 and *Sonderführer* Köppe from the *Propaganda-Abteilung* was appointed as *Kommissarischer Verwalter des Belgischen Nationalinstituts für Rundfunksendungen (NIR-INTR)* by the *Militärverwaltung* on 1 August 1940³⁶. Köppe was later succeeded by *Sonderführer* Karl Gunzer (1941) and *Sonderführer* Friedrich Badendieck (1942). The latter was notorious for having drastically enhanced the propagandistic programs and forced the personnel to commit itself to the political aims of the National-Socialists³⁷.

IV. Unstable Belgian Leadership at the Former NIR-INTR, Now Formatted as Zender Brussel and Radio Bruxelles

As outlined in part 8 of the present issue of this journal, the *Propaganda-Abteilung* deliberately attempted to please the Flemish nationalist

movement by lessening the influence of French culture in Belgium³⁸. French-written newspapers formerly published in Flanders were forbidden and Ghent's *Théâtre Français* was reorganized into a purely Flemish opera house³⁹. Splitting the Belgian *NIR-INTR* into two independent entities, *Radio Bruxelles* and *Zender Brussel*, in August 1940 was in line with that policy⁴⁰. Making the two pre-war wave lengths operational enabled *Radio Bruxelles* and *Zender Brussel* to each present a complete daytime program from on 23 March 1941 onward.

Kommissarischer Verwalter Köppe was assisted by French-speaking *Sonderführer* David Sapper and *Sonderführer* Nikolaus Spanuth to supervise the activities of *Radio Bruxelles* and *Zender Brussel*, respectively⁴¹. No information has been found on Köppe or Sapper, but Spanuth was a composer living in Leipzig, member of the Nazi Party, and a notorious anti-Semite⁴². During the occupation, he added some of his orchestral songs to the repertoire of the GSO and exchanged correspondence with antimodernist German composer Hans Pfitzner about Belgian musical life⁴³. In two papers issued in *Die Musik* in 1941, Spanuth expressed his views on pre-war musical life in Belgium and displayed his profound understanding for the current dissatisfaction of Flemish composers and his support for boosting the promotion

35. MAURICE DE WILDE, "Zender Brussel", in *Van bevrijding naar vrijheid. De media tijdens en na de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Acta van het colloquium van 1-2 september 1989 te Antwerpen*, Brussel, 1990, p. 45-56. JOHAN PUTSEYS, "Zender Brussel".

36. GRETA BOON, *De Belgische radio-omroep tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog...*, p. 101-113. WILFRIED BERTELS, *Die dingen behoren allemaal tot het verleden...*, p. 157.

37. HELEEN PERSOONS, *Muziek tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog...*, p. 80.

38. LOUIS FORTEMPS, ROEL VANDE WINKEL, "The German Military Propaganda Department Belgium...". *Propaganda-Abteilung Belgien, Propagandalage- und Tätigkeitsbericht, Jahresbericht, CEGES AA570, August 1941, 1941, p. 2: "Durch eine geschickt gelenkte Kulturpropaganda den bisher vorherrschenden französischen Einfluss zu brechen und deutsches Kulturgut bekanntzumachen".*

39. ELS DE BENS, *De Belgische dagbladpers onder Duitse censuur (1940-1944)*, Kapellen, 1973, p. 141. SANNE BAECK, *Van Théâtre Royal Français de Gand naar Vlaamse Opera in drie bedrijven*, Masterthesis, Universiteit Gent, 2012, p. 9-12.

40. *Propaganda-Abteilung Belgien, Propagandalage- und Tätigkeitsbericht, Jahresbericht, CEGES AA570, August 1941, 1941, p. 52: "In der Programmarbeit wurde von vornherein darauf geachtet, daß eine klare Trennung der beiden vorhandenen Volkstümer, des flämischen und wallonischen, eintrat und daß der flämischen Abteilung, im Gegensatz zu früheren Jahren, eine freie, nur eigenen Interessen dienende Entwicklung gewährleistet wurde".*

41. KRISTIEN BEURMANS, *Muziek en muziekpolitiek in het Derde Rijk. Casus: de muziekprogrammering van Radio Bruxelles*. Masterthesis, Universiteit Gent, 2002, p. 97. MAURICE DE WILDE, "Zender Brussel", in *Van bevrijding naar vrijheid. De media tijdens en na de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Acta van het colloquium van 1-2 september 1989 te Antwerpen*, Brussel, 1990, p. 45-56.

42. NINA OKRASSA, *Peter Raabe, Dirigent, Musikschriststeller und Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer (1872-1945)*, Köln, Weimar, Wien, 2004, p. 285-291.

43. HANS SCHEIDER, *Hans Pfitzner, Briefe, Zweiter Band Kommentarband*, Tutzing 1991, p. 570-571. Betty Backer sang on 25 March 1942 a few of his orchestral songs, accompanied by the GSO under Theo Dejoncker.

and diffusion of Flemish music. In the second part of his paper, Spanuth greatly rejoiced in the fact that *Zender Brussel* supported the propagation of German music including romantic and contemporary German composers, rarely played in Belgium before the war⁴⁴. In this way he prefigured his active contribution to the creation of the *Philharmonie Brussel*, for which he engaged the GSO to compete with the French-oriented *Société Philharmonique*⁴⁵. According to Maurice Dewilde, Spanuth's engagement in the *Philharmonie Brussel* safeguarded him to be sent to the frontline⁴⁶.

The *Propaganda-Abteilung* appointed Flemish poet and influent member of the Flemish movement Wies Moens as “*Algemeen Leider*” (General Leader) for *Zender Brussel* in January 1942 (he had headed the department for “spoken programs” of *Zender Brussel* since April 1941)⁴⁷. Moens had been involved in Flemish activism during the First World War and had already collaborated with Germans during that earlier conflict. Thereafter, he became an independent theorist of greater Netherlands nationalism and displayed strong sympathies for the right-wing *Vlaamsch Nationaal Verbond* (VNV). In the 1930s, he edited the journal *Dietbrand*, which was strongly anti-Belgian, anti-parliamentary, and authoritarian⁴⁸. Once installed at *Zender Brussel*, Moens became increasingly concerned about the growing influence of the *Deutsch-Vlämische Arbeits-Gemein-*

schaft (*DeVlag*) and the SS on the propagandistic content of the spoken programs. Having been forced to report on the creation of the *Hitlerjugend Flandern*, Moens left *Zender Brussel* in December 1943⁴⁹. He was immediately succeeded by the conductor Paul Douliez, who had already offered his services to the German authorities in June 1940 and served in January 1944 as *SS-Kriegsberichter* (war-front reporter for the SS) at the Eastern Front⁵⁰. His appointment sealed the steadily growing influence of the SS and the *DeVlag* at *Zender Brussel* at the expense of moderate forces among which were the *Militärverwaltung* and the VNV.

Francophone journalist Gabriel Figeys was engaged in June 1940 as General Leader for *Radio Bruxelles*. As a self-made man, he created a few entertainment programs at the pre-war *NIR-ISR*. In September 1939, he published a manifesto in which he pleaded for Belgian neutrality and denounced democratic internationalism, narrow-minded Free Masonry, and Judaism⁵¹. He left *Radio Bruxelles* in September 1942 because the steadily growing grip of the Germans on the programs and the militarist attitudes of the collaborating Francophone right-wing Rexist Party were incompatible with his pacifist views⁵². Sapper appointed the more trustworthy Serge Doring, secretary general of the Rexist Party, as his successor. Doring further enhanced the radicalization of spoken work programs at *Radio Bruxelles*⁵³.

44. NIKOLAUS SPANUTH, “Wandlungen im Belgischen Musikleben”, in *Die Musik*, no. 33, 1941, p. 211-212. NIKOLAUS SPANUTH, “Deutsche Musik im besetzten Gebiet, Erstaufführungen in Belgien” in *Die Musik*, no. 33, 1941, p. 355-57.

45. ERIC DEROM, “Symphonic Music in Occupied Belgium...” in *Revue Belge de Musicologie. Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap*, no. 69, 2015, p. 110-120. ERIC DEROM, “Symphonic Music in Occupied Belgium, 1940-1944: the role of the German-Friendly Music Societies” in *The Routledge Handbook to Music under German Occupation, 1938-1945. Propaganda, Myth and Reality*, London and New York, 2019, p. 145-149.

46. HERMAN VAN DE VIJVER, *Het cultureel leven tijdens de bezetting*, p. 66. MAURICE DE WILDE, “Zender Brussel”, in *Van bevrijding naar vrijheid. De media tijdens en na de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Acta van het colloquium van 1-2 september 1989 te Antwerpen*, Brussel, 1990, p. 45-56.

47. JOHAN PUTSEYS, “Zender Brussel”. WILFRIED BERTELS, *Die dingen behoren allemaal tot het verleden...*, p. 157.

48. ELKE BREMS, *België in oorlog. Persoonlijkheden. Wies Moens*. <https://www.belgiumwwii.be/nl/belgie-in-oorlog/persoonlijkheden/wies-moens.html>. EDWIN TRUYENS, *Wies Moens*, <https://wiesmoens.be/> Retrieved 8 August 2021.

49. JOHAN PUTSEYS, “Zender Brussel”. WILFRIED BERTELS, *Die dingen behoren allemaal tot het verleden...*, p. 158. MON DE GOEYSE, “Directeur van de Vlaamse Omroep”, in *Wies Moens 1898-1982: Gedenkboek*, Antwerpen, 1984, p. 207-210. JOOS FLORQUIN, *Ten huize van...* 12, Brugge, 1976, p. 51-54.

50. JOHAN PUTSEYS, “Zender Brussel”.

51. JEAN DUJARDIN, “Belgique”, in *La guerre des ondes. Histoire des Radio de langue française pendant la Deuxième Guerre mondiale*, Paris, Lausanne, Bruxelles, Montréal, 1985, p. 155-226.

52. JACQUES PARROT, *La guerre des ondes. De Goebbels à Kadhaïf*, 1987, Paris, p. 139.

53. CELINE RASE, *Les ondes en uniforme. La propagande de Radio Bruxelles en Belgique occupée (1940-1944)*, Namur, 2011, p. 255.

The different departments of *Radio Bruxelles* and *Zender Brussel* were run by Belgian personnel and controlled at all administrative levels by a *Rundfunkbetreuer*⁵⁴. The musical departments of *Radio Bruxelles* and *Zender Brussel* were controlled by the *Sonderführer* Bartholdy and Cappel, about whom no information could be found. They did not re-engage the pre-war artistic directors Tellier and Collaer in August 1940⁵⁵. For *Radio Bruxelles*, Tellier was replaced by organist and archivist Edouard Chambon, about whom we have no further details⁵⁶. For *Zender Brussel*, Collaer was successively replaced by the Flemish composers Arthur Meulemans, Gaston Feremans, and Maurits Schoemaker (Table 1).

Flemish composer and conductor Arthur Meulemans was embedded in Flemish musical tradition and involved in the 1936 and 1937 editions of the *Vlaams Nationaal Zangfeest* (a yearly Flemish nationalist choral festival). As mentioned in section II, he had been denied the position of chief conductor of the GSO in 1935, leading to personal frustration⁵⁷. With other Flemish intellectuals and artists, he subscribed to the call of the collaborationist VNV in August 1940, and joined a broad popular movement to generate a national “folk community”⁵⁸. Appointed as head of the musical department of *Zender Brussel* in 1940, he later left *Zender Brussel* in March 1942 because artistic and financial choices were made without his consent and concert programs were altered, refused, or imposed⁵⁹.

Other sources mention a dispute about boycotted German composer Paul Hindemith⁶⁰.

His successor Gaston Feremans, a deeply religious composer of several oratorio, had also developed great sympathy for the Flemish Movement in the 1930s⁶¹. Like Meulemans, he was repeatedly involved at the *Vlaams Nationaal Zangfeest* and also subscribed in September 1940 to the call of the VNV⁶². Because of his precarious financial situation, he welcomed the invitation of Wies Moens to succeed Meulemans on 1 May 1942⁶³. During the war, he repeatedly conducted his choir *Het Vendel* at meetings and demonstrations of collaborating organisations⁶⁴. The reasons for his departure in December 1943 are not well documented but might have been in line with those of Meulemans who, much like Feremans, took one and a half years to understand that *Zender Brussel* was no more than a spider web woven by the *Propaganda-Abteilung* to serve German interests. Feremans was succeeded by wartime modulator and leader of the section “classical music” at *Zender Brussel*, composer Maurits Schoemaker, for the remainder of the German occupation⁶⁵.

Despite oral and written requests to Sapper and Köppe, Franz André was not reappointed as principal conductor of the GSO⁶⁶. He was, however, engaged as principal guest conductor twice a month by *Radio Bruxelles*, to maintain the high standards of the GSO, which the *Propagan-*

54. WILFRIED BERTELS, *Die dingen behoren allemaal tot het verleden...*, p. 157.

55. HELEEN PERSOONS, *Muziek tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog...*, p. 91-92. CÉLINE RASE, *Radio Bruxelles au pilori. Des ondes impures à l'épuration des ondes. Contribution à l'histoire de la radio, des collaborations et des répressions en Belgique (1939-1950)*, Doctoral thesis, Université de Namur, p. 522.

56. ROBERT WANGERMÉE, *André Souris et le complexe d'Orphée: entre surréalisme et musique sérielle*, Bruxelles, 1995, p. 203. CÉLINE RASE, *Radio Bruxelles au pilori...*, p. 547.

57. JEF VAN BRUSSEL, *Terugblik op leven en werk van Arthur Meulemans (1884-1966)*, Aarschot, 2005, p. 101-109.

58. *Volk en Staat*, 11 and 25 August 1940, p. 1.

59. PIETER MANNAERTS, “Het muziekleven aan de radio 1940-1960”, in *Het geheugen van de geluidsfabriek. De Vlaamse muziek in de voormalige bibliotheek van de openbare omroep*, Leuven, 2004, p. 69-104.

60. HERMAN VAN DE VIJVER, *Het cultureel leven tijdens de bezetting*, p. 87.

61. PIETER MANNAERTS, “Het muziekleven aan de radio 1940-1960”, p. 69-104.

62. *Volk en Staat*, 1 September 1940, p. 1.

63. PIETER MANNAERTS, “Het muziekleven aan de radio 1940-1960”, p. 69-104. *Volk en Staat*, 2 May 1942, p. 3.

64. HERMAN VAN DE VIJVER, *Het cultureel leven tijdens de bezetting*, p. 64.

65. HELEEN PERSOONS, *Muziek tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog...*, p. 92.

66. CÉLINE RASE, *Radio Bruxelles au pilori...*, p. 272.

da-Abteilung qualified as Belgium's best symphonic ensemble⁶⁷.

Theo Dejoncker, André's previous assistant, was appointed principal conductor when the GSO played for *Zender Brussel* and previously mentioned SS-member Paul Douliez became his assistant (Fig. 1). Gason was promoted as the GSO's principal conductor when it played for *Radio Bruxelles*. As pre-war principal conductor of the *Orchestre Radio*, his repertoire consisted mainly of light and popular classics. His previous assistant at the *Orchestre Radio*, composer-conductor André Souris, became Gason's assistant. This offered Souris plenty of possibilities to get rid of the frustrations he experienced by the limitations of repertoire imposed on the "*Orchestre Radio*" before the war⁶⁸.

V. Methods and Data Analysis

As mentioned in the introduction, the present study aims to compare the programming of the GSO, when it played for either *Radio Bruxelles* or *Zender Brussel*, as our previous research had indicated that vast differences existed between the artistic policies of the Francophone and the "German-friendly" Flemish concert organisations in occupied Belgium. Several sources were used to compile as accurately as possible the concert programs of the GSO between July 1940 and September 1944, since only a complete data set

allows a reliable analysis and comparison of the artistic policies of the two radios.

For *Radio Bruxelles*, the main source was the substantial collection of radio-transcripts⁶⁹, which detail with meticulous precision the daily contents of transmitted programs and inform about last minute changes in the program, each sheet being signed and/or commented upon by the *Leiter vom Dienst*. Missing data was completed by announcements and reviews found in newspapers⁷⁰. As radio-transcripts of *Zender Brussel* have not been preserved, main sources were announcements and reviews in newspapers and magazines completed with the few transcripts found between the files of *Radio Bruxelles*⁷¹.

Data was entered into a database and analysed with specific focus on the format of the concert, its initiator, the presence of foreign guest conductors and soloists, the nationality of the composers, the programming of living composers (born after 1890), or contemporary music (arbitrarily defined as written, published or created after 1930)⁷². Flemish and Francophone Belgian composers were defined as born and educated either in Flanders or Brussels/Wallonia, respectively. As the perspective is primarily that of the radio listener, we have not included scores recorded by Belgian, Dutch, and German conductors for Telefunken in 1941 or Odeon-Lindström in 1942 and 1944 and intended for the Belgian and German market in our analysis.

67. WILLEM PELEMANS, *Willem Pelemans 90. Hij leerde Vlaanderen luisteren. Uit de memoires van een toondichter-criticus*, Gent, Brussel, 1991, p. 32. Propaganda-Abteilung Belgien, *Propagandalage-und Tätigkeitsbericht*, CEGES AA 570, 1-15 January 1941, p. 16. "Das Symphonie-Orchester des Senders Brüssel kann zu den besten europäischen Orchestern gerechnet werden. Unter Leitung eines erstklassigen Dirigenten vom Format der grossen deutschen Generaldirektoren kann seine Leistung noch gesteigert werden. Zusammenspiel und Disziplin sind auch unter den derzeitigen, noch nicht zur ersten Klasse gehörenden Dirigenten, als ausgezeichnet zu nennen", "The GSO should be counted among the best European orchestras. Under the direction of a first-class conductor of the format of the great German general directors, its performances can be further increased. Ensemble playing and discipline can also be called excellent, even under the current conductors who are not yet first class..."

68. ROBERT WANGERMÉE, *André Souris et le complexe d'Orphée : entre surréalisme et musique sérielle*, Bruxelles, 1995, p. 199.

69. *Transcriptions des émissions de guerre de Radio Bruxelles*, 9 August 1940-15 June 1944, CEGES AA 33 and AA 1321.

70. Vooruit; Le nouveau Journal; Brüsseler Zeitung; Le Soir; Le Pays Réel; Volk en Kultuur. Files at the military court.

71. Algemeen Nieuws; De Gentenaar; De Illustratie; Gazet van Mechelen; Laagland; Laatste Nieuws; Volk en Staat; Volk en Kultuur; Vooruit; Le Nouveau Journal; Le Pays réel; Le Soir; Brüsseler Zeitung. Files at the military court on Theo Dejoncker, Edmond van Goyse, Frans Van Langendonck, Wies Moens. *Transcriptions des émissions de guerre de Radio Bruxelles*, 9 August 1940-15 June 1944, CEGES AA 33 and AA1321.

72. Biographies, textbooks, musical dictionaries, and internet sources were used to trace the year of composition, publication, or world premiere of the scores of the composers still alive when they were played by the GSO.



Fig. 1. Theo Dejoncker conducts the GSO with Siegfried Borries and Adolf Steiner in Brahms' Double Concerto at the concert of 14 November 1943 organised by the Philharmonie Brussel at the Palais des Beaux-Arts. Source : CEGESOMA, Photo n° 30820.

Indications of resistance and censorship were derived from last-minute changes as written in the radio-transcripts and differences between announced programs and their subsequent reviews in the press (section XIV).

Section XV will be more speculative, as it will deal with the elaboration of concert programs and the process of decision-making during weekly meetings held at Flagey in the presence of the Germans⁷³. In the absence of the minutes of such meetings, we confront our database with the sections on radio and music of bi-weekly *Propagandalage und Tätigkeitsbericht*, sent by the *Propaganda-Abteilung Belgiens* to Berlin Ministry of Propaganda⁷⁴. The concluding remarks will be preceded by a brief section on the destiny of those involved in the management of the musical departments of wartime Belgian radio (Section XV).

VI. Orchestral Music at Radio Bruxelles and Zender Brussel

Musical programs were an integral part of the daily programming at *Radio Bruxelles* and *Zender Brussel* and made up between 30 and 40% of broadcasting time. Of these programs, 35% were devoted to light music and jazz, and 25% to different categories of classical music: choral, chamber music and recitals, vocal music, symphonic music, opera, and operetta⁷⁵. As before the war, the *Omroeporkest*, the *Orchestre Radio* and the Stan Brenders' Jazz Orchestra provided radio listeners with light music once or twice daily. The GSO played sym-

phonic music, large-scale choral works, and operas at *Radio Bruxelles* and *Zender Brussel* two or three times a week, during weekdays in the late afternoon, early evening, and (rarely) at lunchtime and almost weekly on Sunday afternoons.

One may wonder that jazz was permitted at *Radio Bruxelles* and *Zender Brussel*, as the National-Socialists considered jazz as a “destructive, superficial, intellectualistic, and primitive product of Anglo-American, negroid, internationalist, bolshevist and Jewish origin”⁷⁶. Nevertheless, jazz was never forbidden, neither in occupied France or Belgium and even in Germany, Joseph Goebbels preferred a policy aiming at the gradual transformation of jazz into “decent” light music above an abrupt and explicit ban on it⁷⁷. Interestingly, the ensemble led by Brenders was not the only jazz band to be heard during occupation at Belgian Radio: Fud Candrix and Jean Omer also regularly performed in the studios at Flagey, unless they were playing at a Brussels nightclub or the *Delphi Palast* in Berlin for the *Wehrmacht*⁷⁸.

During the occupation, the GSO gave 561 concerts, 280 for *Radio Bruxelles* and 281 for *Zender Brussel*, equally distributed among the four seasons under investigation. For *Radio Bruxelles*, 279 of the 280 concerts are well documented in terms of compositions and performing artists allowing us to identify 1015 works. For *Zender Brussel*, the program of seventeen (6%) of the 281 concerts is missing, notably twelve given during the 1943/44 season. This leads to slight underestimation of the total number of compositions played, 985 works.

73. HELEEN PERSOONS, *Muziek tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog...*, p. 110. WILFRIED BERTELS, *Die dingen behoren allemaal tot het verleden...*, p.159.

74. Propaganda-Abteilung Belgien, *Propagandalage-und Tätigkeitsbericht*, CEGES AA 570, August 1940-March 1942.

75. KRISTIEN BEURMANS, *Muziek en muziekpolitiek in het Derde Rijk...*, p. 103.

76. CORNELIS WOUTERS, *Ongewenschte muziek: De bestrijding van jazz en moderne amusementsmuziek in Duitsland en Nederland, 1920-1945*, University of Amsterdam, 1999, p. 64.

77. LUDOVIC TOURNÉS, «Le jazz: un espace de liberté pour un phénomène culturel en voie d'identification», in *La vie musicale sous Vichy*, Paris, 2001, p. 313-333. ELS BUFFEL, “Jazz als protest? Een casestudie naar het organisatorisch jazzlandschap in bezet België, 1940-1944”, in *Revue Belge de Musicologie. Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap*, no. 69, 2015, p. 219-237. CORNELIS WOUTERS, *Ongewenschte muziek: De bestrijding van jazz en moderne amusementsmuziek in Duitsland en Nederland, 1920-1945*, University of Amsterdam, 1999, p. 95.

78. KRISTIEN BEURMANS, *Muziek en muziekpolitiek in het Derde Rijk...*, p. 116. MARIANNE KLARIC and EMILE HENCEVAL, “Candrix”, and “Omer” in *Dictionnaire du jazz à Bruxelles et en Wallonie*, Liège, 1991, p. 93-96 and 217-220. HORST H. LANGE, *Jazz in Deutschland: die deutsche Jazz-Chronik bis 1960*, Hildesheim, 1996, p. 130-141.

As before the war, the GSO did not monopolise the broadcast of orchestral music. Indeed, *Zender Brussel* aired live performances from the *Antwerps Philharmonisch Orkest* as well as from the Antwerp *Koninklijke Vlaamse Opera*. Likewise, *Radio Bruxelles* broadcasted live performances by the *Belgian National Orchestra*, the *Grand Orchestre de Radio-Paris* and the Brussels and Liège operas, particularly in the weeks the GSO was operating for *Zender Brussel*. On at least seven occasions, *Radio Bruxelles* relayed concerts by the GSO organised by *Zender Brussel*. In all these concerts, notable German musicians were involved. By contrast, *Zender Brussel* never broadcasted any of the concerts organized by *Radio Bruxelles*.

VII. The Repertoire of the GSO : France Against Germany Versus Flanders Against Germany

The nationality of composers played at *Radio Bruxelles* appears to be well distributed between composers belonging to the German and the French cultural heritage, each getting one third of the repertoire. Almost one fifth of the music was written by Francophone Belgian composers. By contrast, Flemish composers were rarely programmed by *Radio Bruxelles* (Fig. 2).

The nationality of composers played at *Zender Brussel* was less balanced: almost half of the works were written by German and 40 % by Flemish composers. Scores from Nordic or Mediterranean composers were occasionally played (8%), whereas the French and Francophone Belgian repertoire was almost absent (3 %).

Analysing the evolution of the nationality of the composers played at *Radio Bruxelles* and *Zender Brussel* over the course of the war reveals that this distribution remained remarkably stable at *Radio Bruxelles* over the four wartime seasons (Fig. 3). Conversely, at *Zender Brussel*, the presence of

German composers dramatically increased from 1940 on, reaching 60 % in 1944 at the expense of Flemish music, which made up only 25 % of the repertoire at the end of the war. French music tended to recover slightly over time to reach a timid 7 % during the 1943/44 season.

The observation that at the end of occupation almost two thirds of all composers played by the GSO at *Zender Brussel* were German and only one third at *Radio Bruxelles* may suggest that from 1942 on, the Belgian *Propaganda-Abteilung* found it appropriate to familiarise the Flemish population increasingly with German music, whereas that concern did not apply to the Francophone listener.

VIII. Between Promoting Their Own Musical Heritage, Ignoring That of the Neighbours, and Misplaced Opportunism

As outlined in the previous paragraph, *Radio Bruxelles* infrequently programmed Flemish music and *Zender Brussel* rarely programmed French and Francophone Belgian repertoire. In the case the GSO played French compositions for *Zender Brussel* during wartime, half of these belonged to César Franck, whom National-Socialist musicologists considered to be of German descent⁷⁹.

The artistic directions of *Radio Bruxelles* and *Zender Brussel* saw the occupation as a unique opportunity to promote their own respective musical heritage (Appendix Table 1). Two of the three non-German composers most often played by the GSO at *Radio Bruxelles* were French (Maurice Ravel and Claude Debussy), with the Francophone Belgian composer Joseph Jongen in third place. For *Zender Brussel*, the top three non-German composers were August De Boeck, Arthur Meulemans and Paul Gilson. Overall, ten composers were invariably responsible for only 60 % of the music within each cultural subgroup, offer-

79. CATHERINE A. HUGHES, "Der enträtselte César Franck: German Claims to a Belgian National Hero, 1940-1943", in *Revue Belge de Musicologie. Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap*, no. 69, 2015, p. 77-88.

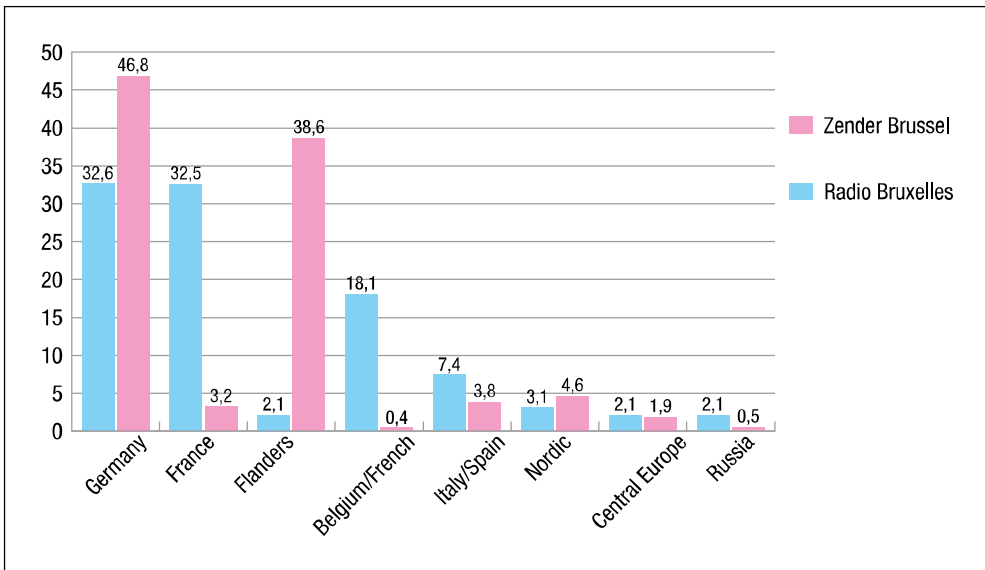


Fig. 2 : Distribution of the works per nationality played by the GSO. Data is expressed as a percentage of the total number of works played for Radio Bruxelles and Zender Brussel (1940-1944), respectively.

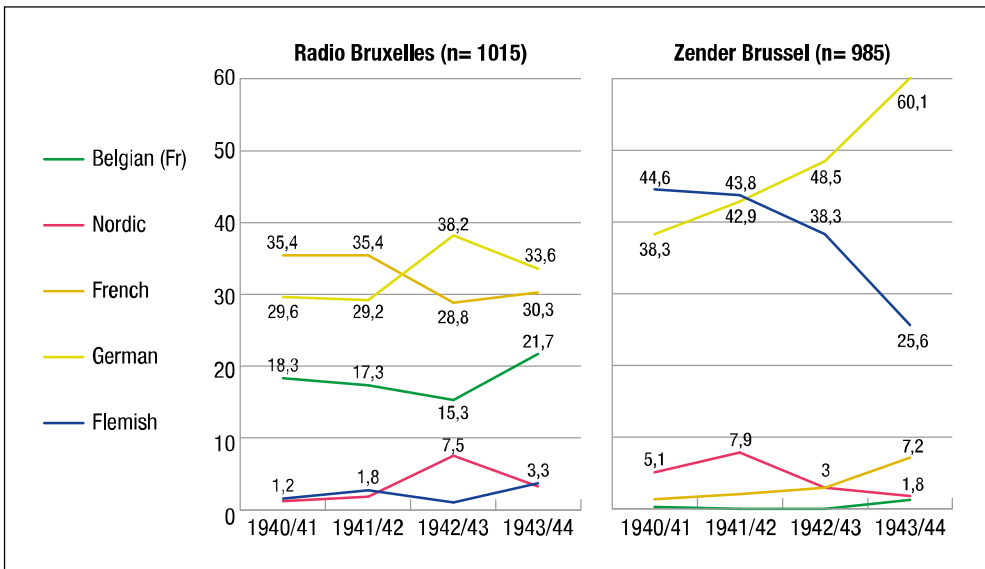


Fig. 3 : Evolution of the nationality of the composers played by the GSO for Radio Bruxelles and Zender Brussel (1940-1944).

ing plenty of opportunities to *Radio Bruxelles* and *Zender Brussel* to familiarise music-lovers with rarely played or contemporary composers from Belgium and France.

A more detailed analysis reveals that the artistic direction of *Zender Brussel* used the GSO as a platform to promote the artistic output of composers employed by their institution. Indeed, 95 of the 380 Flemish compositions played during wartime by the GSO belonged to the conductors Dejoncker and Douliez, the managers Spanuth, Meulemans, Feremans, and Schoemaker, the chorus master Karel De Brabander, or members of the technical staff or the orchestra: Jef Van Durme, David Van de Woestijne, Reimond Keldermans, and Victor Legley. The attitude of *Radio Bruxelles* was definitely more self-effacing as the GSO programmed only five scores by its assistant conductor André Souris and one by Victor Legley.

IX. Resetting the Public's Taste by Imposing German Music?

In their own country and occupied countries, the National-Socialists instrumentalised German music to convince audiences of Germany's superiority and tried to seduce music lovers with Bruckner symphonies and Wagner operas, which were particularly appreciated by Hitler himself. In contrast to what is widely believed, the number of complete Wagner concerts played by the GSO was small and did not exceed five for *Radio Bruxelles* and three for *Zender Brussel*. A similar restraint to play Wagner too frequently was observed in Paris, where the *Propaganda-Staffel* was reluctant to allow the Parisian opera to program Wagner operas as not to feed the impression that the French stage was a German affair⁸⁰. *Zender Brussel* consistently preferred German singers over Francophone singers from the

Monnaie opera from Brussels, usually engaged by *Radio Bruxelles*.

By encouraging performances of some lesser-known romantic composers such as Max Reger, Hans Pfitzner, or Paul Graener not belonging to the core orchestral repertoire in occupied countries, Nazi Germany propagated their own *Kulturerbe* (Fig. 4). Moreover, they were very keen at promoting contemporary composers who had not left Nazi Germany⁸¹. *Zender Brussel* did not spare any effort to promote these rarely performed composers, reaching almost 25% of the German repertoire played by the GSO. Each season, German guest conductors performed at least two Bruckner symphonies, Dejoncker limiting his contribution to one of his overtures. Although *Radio Bruxelles* also programmed some of the lesser-known German romantic and contemporary composers, their works barely exceeded 10% of all German music played during occupation. *Radio Bruxelles* programmed only three of Bruckner's large-scale symphonies, all of which were conducted by Franz André.

X. Music from Nazi Germany's Allies

Although rarely programmed, the GSO played for *Radio Bruxelles* and *Zender Brussel* symphonic works by composers who belonged to countries which supported Germany's war effort, such as Jean Sibelius (Finland), Zoltan Kodaly (Hungary), and Ottorino Respighi (Italy). A more detailed analysis reveals, however, that *Radio Bruxelles* programmed Hungarian composer Béla Bartók, who repeatedly visited Brussels in the late 1930s and disagreed with fascism and National-Socialism⁸². Conversely, *Zender Brussel* favoured compositions by Italian composers Alfredo Casella, Gian Francesco Malipiero, Adriano Lualdi, and Ildebrando Pizzetti, all linked to Mussolini's

80. KARINE LE BAIL, *La musique au pas. Être musicien sous l'Occupation*, Paris, 2016, p. 33-35.

81. ERIC DEROM, *Data on musical live for Cracow, Belgrade and Strasbourg* (on file).

82. JÁNOS BREUER, "Bartók im Dritten Reich" in *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, T. 36, 1995, p. 263-284.

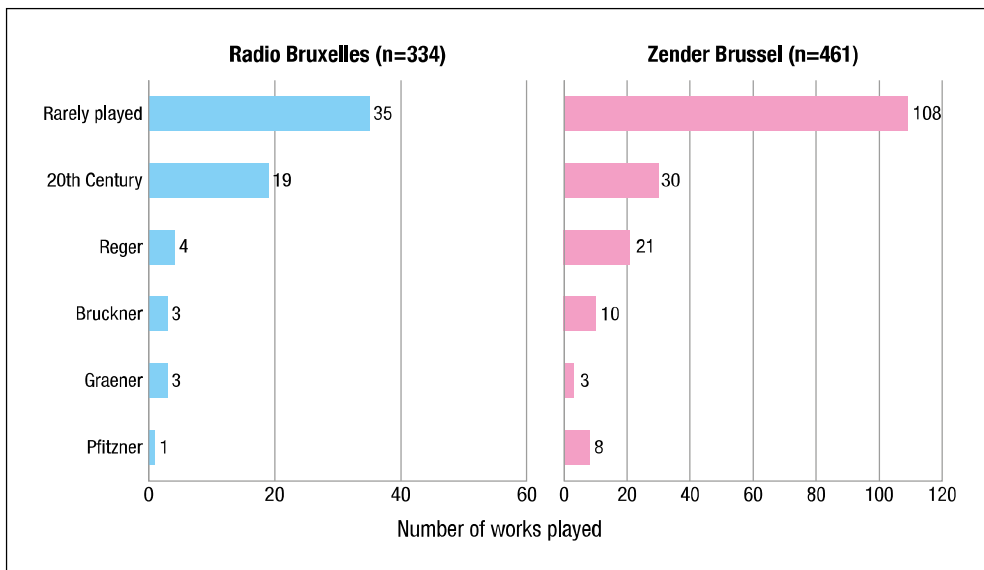


Fig. 4 : Number of German scores not belonging to core repertoire of the GSO before the war, played during wartime by the GSO for Radio Bruxelles and Zender Brussel. The first bar represents the total number of works. The other five bars account for the number of compositions written by composers born after 1880, Max Reger, Anton Bruckner, Paul Graener, and Hans Pfitzner. Numbers between brackets in the heading refer to the total number of German works played by the two radios.

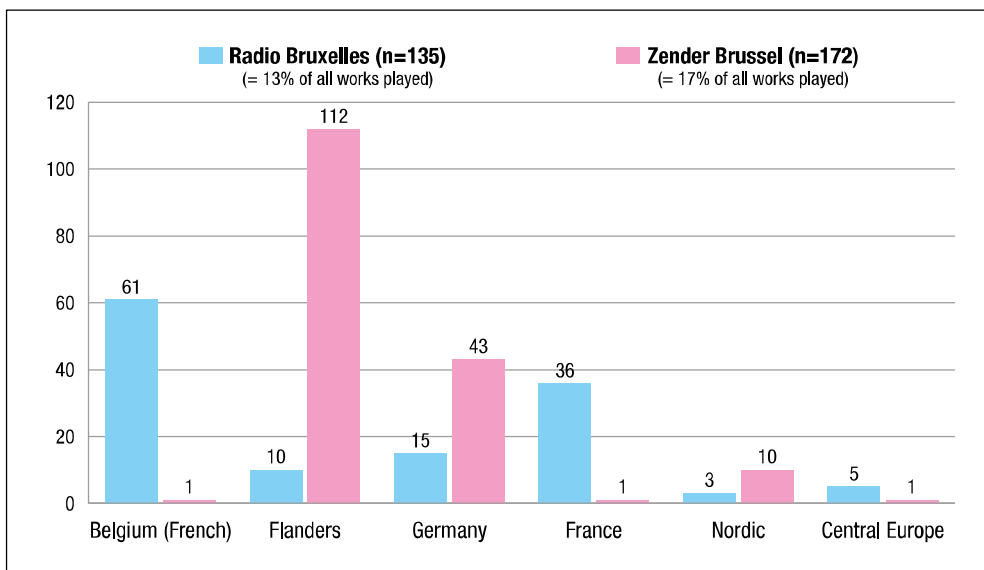


Fig. 5 : Number of works composed, edited, or created after 1930 played by the GSO (1940-1944) classified per nationality for each radio. Numbers between brackets indicate the total number of contemporary compositions played and their proportion relative to all works played during wartime.

regime or by German-friendly Slovakian composer Eugen Souchon⁸³.

XI. Promotion of Contemporary Music and World Premieres

The *Propaganda-Abteilung* did not fundamentally alter the pre-war artistic policy of Belgian Radio to promote contemporary music and make radio-listeners familiar with lesser-known musical works. Indeed, the GSO continued to play contemporary works and musical novelties for both *Zender Brussel* and *Radio Bruxelles*, as approximately 15% of all compositions presented throughout the war were composed, created, or edited in the year 1930 or thereafter (Fig. 5). More specifically, *Radio Bruxelles* programmed 135 modern orchestral works, 97 (72%) of these composed by either Francophone Belgian or French authors. Similarly, *Zender Brussel* programmed 172 contemporary orchestral compositions, two thirds of these being of Flemish origin.

Radio Bruxelles and *Zender Brussel* did not hesitate to premiere compositions by Belgian composers. Indeed, the GSO played the world premiere of at least 29 works with reasonable certainty, whereas for an additional 9 other works, a confirmation from complementary sources is required. *Zender Brussel* only premiered works of Flemish composers, whereas *Radio Bruxelles* was less narrow-minded, as it premiered scores from both Francophone and Flemish composers (Appendix Tables 2 and 3).

Thirty-six works from contemporary French composers were played at *Radio Bruxelles* (Fig. 5), whereas Dejoncker conducted only one French

work for *Zender Brussel*, Roussel's Symphony no.3, dating from the 1930s, for which he was heavily criticized⁸⁴. Wartime conditions did not hamper the artistic direction of *Radio Bruxelles* from programming French scores edited or created in 1938 or thereafter (Appendix Table 4).

Thirty-three German compositions played by the GSO for *Zender Brussel* were written, premiered, or edited in 1930 or later, whereas *Radio Bruxelles* programmed only thirteen of these (Appendix Table 5), mainly under the conductors Dejoncker, Douliez, and Souris; Belgian soloists were occasionally engaged for these programs. Often, the composers of these work were on the *Gottbegnadetenliste*, which listed the artists exempted from military duties, and considered to be crucial to German cultural heritage⁸⁵. André's limited his contribution to the *Carmina Burana* and two works by Max Trapp. Two guest conductors, Robert Heger and Hans Weisbach, presented their own works during concerts of the *Philharmonie Brussel*. Unexpectedly, Gason and GSO world premiered the *Sommerkonzert* by *Wehrmacht* soldier Gerhart Münch in 1942 during a charity concert organised by *Radio Bruxelles* in the *Palais des Beaux-Arts* (Fig. 6)⁸⁶.

Interestingly, only *Radio Bruxelles* identified the three French and German contemporary works which ultimately withstood the test of time and still belong to the current repertoire: Honegger's *Symphony no. 2*, Poulenc's *Organ Concerto*, and Carl Orff's *Carmina Burana*. Conversely, none of the other German contemporary compositions programmed by *Zender Brussel* or *Radio Bruxelles* had an enduring international presence after the war, although prestigious German conductors premiered some of these or had these on their repertoire⁸⁷.

83. ERIK LEVI, "The Rome-Berlin Axis: musical interactions between fascist Italy and Nazi Germany in redrawing a New Order for European Culture", in *The Routledge Handbook to Music under German Occupation, 1938-1945. Propaganda, Myth and Reality*, London and New York, 2019, p. 103-121. FRED K. PRIEBERG, *Musik im NS-Staat*, Köln, 2000, p. 374.

84. *Laagland*, 11 April 1944.

85. *Gottbegnadetenliste*. Bundesarchiv Berlin Lichterfelde, files R55 20.252 F 1 – 11.

86. Heriberto Cruz Cornejo, personal communication.

87. Hans Knappertsbusch premiered Graener's *Wiener Symphonie* in 1941, Oswald Kabasta Berger's *Legende* in 1941. Wilhelm Furtwängler had Hessenberg's *Concerto Grosso*, Heger's *Verdi-Variationen*, Müller's *Morgenrot-Variationen* und *Konzert für Orchester* on his repertoire.

PALAIS DES BEAUX-ARTS (Grande Salle)

LE VENDREDI 11 SEPTEMBRE 1942, A 20 HEURES PRECISES

CONCERT EXTRAORDINAIRE

sous le patronage des « Classiques Metrophone »
Au profit de « L'Aide Paysanne aux Enfants des Villes »
avec le concours du

GRAND ORCHESTRE SYMPHONIQUE DE RADIO BRUXELLES
sous la direction de

PAUL GASON

et du célèbre pianiste

GERHART MÜNCH

Au programme :
Œuvres de J. JONGEN, J. BRAHMS, G. MUNCH et DVORAK

PLACES DE 15 A 50 FRANCS

Location au PALAIS DES BEAUX-ARTS (Tél. 11.13.74)

Fig. 6 : Announcement of a charity concert by the GSO at the Palais des Beaux-Arts, as published by Le Nouveau Journal of 3 September 1942. Paul Gason premiered with the composer-pianist and Wehrmacht soldier Gerhart Münch his Sommerkonzert. Source : OCD/private collection Eric Derom.

Radio Bruxelles				
Fête de la Communauté wallonne	28 Sept. 1941	Studio 4	Paul Gason	3
	22-23 Sept. 1942		Franz André	
	23 Sept. 1943		Franz André	
Journée wallonne	29 Mar. 1942	Liège, Conservatoire	Paul Gason	1
Communauté Culturelle wallonne (chambre bruxelloise)	15 Nov. 1942	Brussels, Conservatoire	Paul Gason	1
Aide paysanne aux enfants des villes	11 Sep. 1942	Brussels, PBA	Paul Gason	1
Trade Union (UTMI)	12 Dec. 1942	Studio 4	Paul Gason	1
Commémoration du départ de la Légion wallonne	13 Aug. 1944	Brussels, PBA	Paul Douliez	1
Total				8
Zender Brussel				
Muziekfonds	1940-1942	Brussels, PBA and Studio 4		20
Vlaamse Kunstenaarsgilde	1941	Studio 4		3
Flemish National Day	11 July 1941	Brussels, PBA	Jef Van Hoof	1
R. Tollenaere Hommage	8 Feb. 1942	Brussels, PBA	Theo Dejoncker	1
Flemish Mozart-Commemoration	3 May 1942	Brussels, Senate & PBA	Theo Dejoncker	2
	9 May 1942		Hans Knappertsbusch	
Philharmonie Brussel	1942-1944	Brussels, PBA		36
Flemish Cultural Days (Malines)	13 June 1943	Malines	Jef Van Hoof Gaston Feremans	1
Hölderlin Commemoration	23 June 1943	Studio 4	Theo Dejoncker	1
National-Socialist Youth in Flanders (NSJV)	12 April 1942	Studio 4	Theo Dejoncker	2
	23 Sept. 1943			
C. Verschaeve 70 th Birthday	14 May 1944	Studio 4	Paul Douliez	1
Total				68

Table 2: Involvement of the GSO in politically tinted concerts and commemorations (1940-1944). PBA = Palais de Beaux-Arts.

Indirect evidence indicates that the *Propaganda-Abteilung* used a list of compositions it wanted to be performed. A cut in the duration of daily broadcasting time made meant that the program of 19 August 1943 had to be shortened. Hence, Orff's *Der Mond* scheduled for that day could not be played by the GSO under André. This work was, however, programmed by the *Orchestre Radio* conducted by Souris two months later, on 18 October 1943⁸⁸.

XII. The Format of the GSO's Concerts: Where and for Whom?

Although the GSO played most of its regular concerts in *Studio 4* at Flagey, the orchestra occasionally offered public concerts in Brussels and other Belgian cities. The 74 public concerts organised by *Zender Brussel* vastly outnumbered the eleven public concerts organised by *Radio Bruxelles*. Some of these could be described as

88. *Transcriptions des émissions de guerre de Radio Bruxelles*, file of 19 August and 18 October 1943, CEGES AA 33.

non – political: charity concerts for *Winterhulp* or commemorative concerts for a musical institution or a Belgian composer: the 100th anniversary of the creation of the Conservatory of Malines, the 200th anniversary of André-Ernest Grétry's birth, the 50th anniversary of César Franck's and the 10th anniversary of Eugène Ysaÿe's death⁸⁹. Most public concerts, however, were initiated by organisations functioning as cultural covers for collaborationist institutions such as the *Communauté culturelle wallonne*, the *Muziekfonds*, or the *Philharmonie Brussel* (Table 2).

For *Zender Brussel*, 68 of these concerts (or 24% of all concerts given by *Zender Brussel* during German occupation) were politically tinted or even overtly political in nature, mostly organised at the Brussels *Palais des Beaux-Arts* with its capacity of 2200 seats (Fig. 7). On the contrary, only eight out of eleven public concerts arranged by *Radio Bruxelles* (3% of all wartime concerts) could be labelled as politically tinted. These were less visible than those of *Zender Brussel*, since only four of these were performed in a large concert hall, with the remaining four for a limited audience at the Flagey's *Studio 4*. Five of these programs fitted well within the policy of the *Propaganda-Abteilung* to promote the cultural particularity of Wallonia⁹⁰.

Forced participation of the orchestra in overtly political ceremonies was rare. Indeed, the *Propaganda-Abteilung* was reticent to implicate the GSO

in such events, as can be discerned in a letter written to Spanuth after the Flemish National Day of 1941⁹¹. For *Zender Brussel*, the GSO, and Dejoncker (summoned after Meulemans refused) livened up the homage ceremony to glorify Reimond Tollenaere (a member of the collaborationist VNV) as a martyr after his death on the Eastern Front on 22 January 1942⁹². The GSO was requisitioned twice by the *Nationaal-Socialistische Jeugd Vlaanderen* (National-Socialist Youth in Flanders) and for the 70th birthday of Cyriel Verschaeve (a Flemish-nationalist priest, recognized as a spiritual leader by many Flemish collaborationists).

Radio Bruxelles engaged the GSO for the *UTMI*, the collaborationist trade union, and at a ceremony commemorating the third anniversary of the departure of the *Légion wallonne* (Walloon Legion) to the Eastern Front. That commemoration was held at the *Palais des Beaux-Arts* on 13 August 1944, less than three weeks before the liberation of Brussels. It represented a culmination of the instrumentalization of music for political purposes, as reported by J. Demarceau a few days later in *Le Pays Réel*⁹³: “It would, however, be unfair to ignore the exceptional value of the support we received from the SS-Unterscharführer, *Kriegsbericht* of SS-Flanders, Paul Douliez, director of Flemish broadcasts of *Radio-Brussels*. It was his responsibility to carry out the heavy task of conducting the great symphony orchestra which had to play a particularly important role: he executed it with a technique

89. In contrast to organism bearing the same name in Nazi Germany and the Netherlands, the Belgian *Winterhulp-Secours d'Hiver*, “Winter Help” was a Belgian initiative, approved by the *Militärverwaltung*, see HILDEGARD VAN DONGEN, *Winterhulp 1940-1944. Aspecten van de Voedselvoorziening en de hulpverlening in de bezettingstijd*, Masterthesis, UGent, 1983, p. 101-126.

90. HERMAN VAN DE VIJVER, *Het cultureel leven tijdens de bezetting*, p. 26.

91. HELEEN PERSOONS, *Muziek tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog...*, p. 104.

92. Files at the military court on Theo Dejoncker.

93. “Il serait cependant injuste de passer sous silence la valeur exceptionnelle de l'appui que nous apporta le SS-Unterscharführer, *Kriegsbericht* de la SS-Flandre, Paul Douliez, directeur des émissions flamandes de *Radio Bruxelles*. C'était à lui qu'incombait la lourde tâche de diriger le grand orchestre symphonique qui avait à jouer un rôle particulièrement important: il s'en est acquitté avec une technique et un enthousiasme conquérant qui lui valurent de longues ovations [...]. D'emblée, le magnifique interlude de “*Rédemption*” de César Franck plaça toute la cérémonie sous le double signe de la ferveur recueillie et de la gloire triomphale: et il n'est sans doute pas inutile de noter l'émotion avec laquelle le public accueillit le message de cette “grande musique” avec laquelle, cependant, dans sa grosse majorité, il n'était nullement familiarisé. Sur les dernières mesures, le rideau s'ouvrit. Sur une immense tenture blanche, on put admirer, encadré de deux panonceaux au signe de la SS, un grand aigle bicéphale portant le collier de la Toison d'Or et frappé du blason immaculé à la Croix de Bourgogne écarlate, qui, après avoir saigné sur les vieilles bannières wallonnes, brille aujourd'hui de son rouge éclat sur nos étendards”. *Le Pays Réel*, 16 August 1944, p. 4.



Fig. 7: Picture taken at the Palais des Beaux-Arts on 9 May 1942 during the interval of the concert which closed the Flemish Mozart Week. From left to right: Nikolaus Spanuth, German conductor Hans Knappertsbusch, and Belgian soloists Franz Wigy (violin) and François Broos (viola). Source: CEGESOMA, Photo n° 32194.

and a conquering enthusiasm which earned him long ovations [...]. From the start, the magnificent interlude of "Redemption" by César Franck placed the whole ceremony under the double sign of collected fervor and triumphal glory: and it is undoubtedly not useless to note the emotion with which the public received the message of this "great music" with which, however, its vast majority was by no means familiar with. During the last bars, the curtain opened. On a huge white wall hanging, one could admire, framed by two signs with the emblem of the SS, a large two-headed eagle wearing the collar of the Golden Fleece and struck with the immaculate blazon displaying the scarlet Burgundy Cross, which, after bleeding on the old Walloon banners, today shines with its red radiance on our standards".

It should also be mentioned that *Radio Bruxelles* dedicated on 22 November 1942 a studio concert to "Music from the Axis" featuring Beethoven, Respighi, Brahms, and the Japanese composer and conductor Count Hidemaro Konoye, whose brother was a confidant of the Japanese emperor and that *Zender Brussel* occasionally opened the doors of *Studio 4* at Flagey "to wounded soldiers" (Fig. 8).

XIII. Inviting or Excluding German Performers from the Concert Stage?

A large majority of the concerts given by the GSO at Flagey were conducted by their respective chief and assistant conductors Dejoncker and Douliez for *Zender Brussel* and by Gason, Souris, and André for *Radio Bruxelles*. Both radio stations also invited Belgian composers, including André Marsick, Léon and Joseph Jongen, Fernand Quinet, Martin Lunssens, Jef Van Hoof, Arthur Meulemans, Gaston Feremans, Karel Candaël, and Flor Alpaerts to conduct their own compositions and the current repertoire. A considerable number of Belgian vocal and instrumental soloists

were also contracted for participation in concertos, oratorios, or studio versions of operas. *Radio Bruxelles* did not make a systematic and consistent distinction between the cultural community to which these soloists belonged: Flemish singers Mina Bolotine or Franz Toutenel performed both at *Radio Bruxelles* and *Zender Brussel*. Conversely *Zender Brussel* rather infrequently engaged Francophone soloists, among them violinist René Costy, pianist Mathilde Malengré (possibly because she had the rarely performed piano concertos of Reger and Pfitzner in her repertoire), and viola player François Broos, the latter more because of his undeniable musicianship than his overt membership of the Rexist Party⁹⁴.

The number of international, *non-German* soloists and conductors invited by *Radio Bruxelles* and *Zender Brussel* for guest appearances was small and almost similar in number (Table 3). Conversely, remarkable differences seem to exist between the two organizations concerning the engagement of *German* soloists and conductors.

For *Radio Bruxelles*, that number was limited to 9 for the complete duration of the occupation (Table 4), among whom was violinist Otto Schärnack. As member of the *Hitlerjugend*, he was presented to listeners as an ideal example of the German artistic youth.

Zender Brussel invited a German conductor 33 times and a German vocal or instrumental soloist 32 times. More German musicians, among them the renowned Günther Ramin and Elly Ney, were scheduled, but forced to cancel their engagements in 1944 because of transport issues. Many of these conductors and instrumentalists were universally acclaimed artists and contracted to boost the prestige of the German-friendly *Philharmonie Brussel*, which started its activities during the 1942/43 season. Globally, the number of engagements of German performers by *Zender Brussel* increased from year to year.

94. Private interview Jean Van den Doorn on 22 December 2010.



Fig. 8 : Wounded soldiers assisting at the concert of 27 October 1943 in Studio 4 of Broadcasting House. Johannes Berthold conducted the GSO, with Mireille Flour as soloist. Source : CEGESOMA, Photo n° 12107.

	Radio Bruxelles		Zender Brussel	
	Soloists	Conductors	Soloists	Conductors
1940/41	-	Alberto di Minaldo Oscar Espla	-	-
1941/42	Marcelle Meyer Pierre Nérini Paul Tortelier	Jean Fournet	Corry Byster Suze Luger Frans Vroons Willem Ravelli Tiny Kaiser	Pierre Reinards
1942/43	Lola Bobesco Marcelle Meyer Jeanine Micheau Pierre Nérini Jacqueline Schweitzer	Jean Fournet Hidemaro Konoye	Albert De Klerk	Willem Mengelberg
1943/44	Pierre Fournier Aline Van Barentzen (2)	-	Marcelle Meyer Elsa Larcèn	Hidemaro Konoye
Total	11	5	8	3

Table 3: International, non-German soloists and conductors involved in concerts with the GSO (1940-44). The number between brackets indicates the number of engagements per season.

	Radio Bruxelles		Zender Brussel	
	Instrumentalists	Conductors	Instrumentalists	Conductors
1940/41	Richard Staab	-	Richard Staab (2)	Fritz Lehmann Hans Weisbach
1941/42	Richard Staab (2) Gertrud Steingässer	Hans Rosbaud	Hans-Walter Guth Richard Staab (3)	Karl Elmendorff Hans Knappertsbuch Fritz Lehmann (2) Hans Weisbach (2)
1942/43	Gerhart Münch Otto Schärnack Richard Staab	Bruno Aulich	Walter Gieseking Hans-Walter Guth Wilfried Hanke Wilhelm Kempff Georg Kulenkampff Richard Staab Adolf Steiner Ernst Unterste-Vos	Herbert Albert (2) Heinz Dressel Robert Heger (2) Fritz Lehmann Hans Weisbach (3)
1943/44	-	-	Siegfried Borries Joe Hoffmann (2) Otto Schärnack Adolf Steiner Richard Staab	Hermann Abendroth Herbert Albert (2) Johannes Berthold (2) Herbert Charlier Fritz Lehmann Robert Heger Carl Schuricht Wilhelm Rolf-Heger Hans Weisbach (4) Manfred Willfort (2)
Total	7	2	20	33

Table 4: German instrumentalists and conductors involved in concerts with the GSO (1940-44). The number between brackets indicates the number of engagements per season.

German musicians were present during wartime on the stage of Flagey and the *Palais des Beaux-Arts* in 51 (18%) of the 281 concerts organised by *Zender Brussel* and only in eight (2%) of the programs arranged by *Radio Bruxelles*. That *Radio Bruxelles* invited more French than German soloists, might create the impression that the *Propaganda-Abteilung* intervened to a lesser extent in their artistic choices than they did with *Zender Brussel*. It is, however, noteworthy that Jean Fournet, Pierre Nérini, and Paul Tortelier were all on the payroll of *Radio-Paris*⁹⁵, stringently managed by the *Wehrmacht*, and their visit to Brussels should be seen in the context of an exchange between the two radio stations, Gason and Souris conducting in Paris in their turn⁹⁶. Marcelle Meyer, who played with the GSO for both *Radio Bruxelles* and *Zender Brussel*, was married to an Italian fascist officer and Pierre Fournier gave concerts with Wilhelm Furtwängler in Berlin during wartime⁹⁷.

XIV. Censorship and Acts of Resistance

Unfortunately, a lack of reliable sources does not allow an accurate description of the process of censorship for the concerts given by the GSO at *Radio Bruxelles* and *Zender Brussel*. A detailed inspection of the radio-transcripts of *Radio Bruxelles* shows that Nazi censorship was meticulous but unsystematic, and highly dependent on the musical intelligence of the *Rundfunkbetreuer* of the musical department. Although commercial recordings by artists with a Jewish background were broadcast, their names were sometimes mentioned (Pierre Monteux), but sometimes barred (Frieder Weissmann, Arthur Schnabel). Apparently, the *Propaganda-Abteilung* was not aware that French composer Benjamin Godard

had Jewish origins. Likewise, only a last-minute intervention prevented a live broadcast of an opera by Jewish composer Sigmund Romberg⁹⁸. Instrumentalists Gaby Altmann and André Gertler had Jewish roots, the latter playing for *Radio Bruxelles* three times with the GSO and countless times with his quartet. Gertler's repeated engagement at *Radio Bruxelles* is very puzzling, as the *Propaganda-Abteilung* was informed about his Jewish origins⁹⁹. Moreover, recordings of composer Paul Hindemith, despised by the National-Socialists, were broadcast, as was his Sonata op. 2 no.2, aired live from the studios at Flagey during a chamber session by German pianist Richard Staab and Belgian violinist Frans Wigly on 22 January 1942¹⁰⁰.

As symphonic concerts require extensive planning (hiring and preparation of the scores, appointments with conductors and soloists, rehearsals), last minute interventions by the *Propaganda-Abteilung* rarely occurred. If last minute changes in programming of a concert were made, these were, according to radio-transcripts from *Radio Bruxelles*, usually dictated by time constraints rather than by specific directives from the *Propaganda-Abteilung*. A few last-minute alterations in the programs of the GSO, however, suggest that the *Propaganda-Abteilung* had, for unclear reasons, second thoughts about its initial approval. For example, Leon Jongen's *In memoriam Regis* was eventually substituted by the more neutral Prelude to D'Indy's opera *Fervaal* on 8 July 1942¹⁰¹. Likewise, Souris was forced to replace the *Symphonische Tänze* (1937) by Hindemith, programmed on 20 February 1942, by Pepping's Variations (1936) and André to substitute Hartmann's *Miseriae* (1934), dedicated to the prisoners of Dachau and scheduled for 14 January 1944, by Reger's *Mozart-*

95. Eric Derom, data on file.

96. ROBERT WANGERMÉE, *André Souris et le complexe d'Orphée : entre surréalisme et musique sérielle*, Bruxelles, 1995, p. 208.

97. KARINE LE BAIL, *La musique au pas. Être musicien sous l'Occupation*, Paris, 2016, p. 79. René Trémine, *Wilhelm Furtwängler, Concert Listing 1906-1945*, Bezons, 1997, p. 54.

98. *Transcriptions des émissions de guerre de Radio Bruxelles*, file of 12 October 1941, CEGES AA 33.

99. Propaganda-Abteilung Belgien, *Propagandalage-und Tätigkeitsbericht*, CEGES AA 570, 1-15 February 1941, p. 14.

100. *Transcriptions des émissions de guerre de Radio Bruxelles*, files of 7 September 1941 and 22 January 1942, CEGES AA 33.

101. Comparison of the Announcements in the newspapers, the *Transcriptions des émissions de guerre de Radio Bruxelles*, file of 8 July 1942, CEGES AA 33 and the review of the concert by Espla in *Le Soir*, 10 July 1942.

*Variationen*¹⁰². The programming of Hindemith and Hartmann, both blacklisted by Nazi Germany, might be seen as an attempt to challenge the alertness of *Propaganda-Abteilung*. Before the war, André and Collaer had established close contacts with Hindemith and Hartmann and hence, were well-informed about the cultural agenda of the National-Socialists¹⁰³.

At other occasions, the censors of the *Propaganda-Abteilung* were less attentive when reviewing the programs of the GSO. Indeed, *Radio Bruxelles* managed to program the *Concerto for string quartet* and the *Cello concerto* by Czech composer Bohuslav Martinů, who was also boycotted by the National-Socialists¹⁰⁴. A few days before its broadcast, that cello concerto was announced as being authored by “*un compositeur roumain*”, which might have misled the censor not familiar with the biographies of contemporary composers¹⁰⁵. Even more daring was André’s performance of Bartók’s *Suite* from *The Miraculous Mandarin* on 27 May 1942, a composition particularly disliked in Nazi Germany¹⁰⁶.

Unfortunately, the small number of preserved program transcripts of *Zender Brussel* does not permit to perform a similar analysis. Censorship was definitely present there, as Meulemans complained in his already mentioned letter of resignation to Köppe about alterations in programs and changes in guest artists which occurred without consulting him¹⁰⁷.

Possibly, more subtle forms of resistance at *Radio Bruxelles* were not picked up by the *Propaganda-*

Abteilung. Examining the distribution of the works among Germany’s most famous composers indicates consistent differences between *Radio Bruxelles* and *Zender Brussel* (Appendix Table 6). The Nazi regime identified itself with Beethoven, Wagner, Brahms, Liszt, and Strauss, which were far more frequently played at *Zender Brussel* than with Bach, Mozart, and London-based Händel, who gained a more prominent place at *Radio Bruxelles*.

Protesting the intrusive cultural domination of Nazi Germany in musical life and the prohibition of Jewish and contemporary composers was not a purely Belgian phenomenon, but also occurred in Denmark and even in fascist Italy. The Afro-American opera *Porgy and Bess* by Jewish composer George Gershwin was successfully staged at Copenhagen opera during the 1943/44 season and perceived as a sign of protest¹⁰⁸. Likewise, Bartók’s *Miraculous Mandarin* and Berg’s *Wozzeck*, both despised by National-Socialists, were highly acclaimed in 1942 at the Milan and Rome operas, despite unmistakable protests of the German Ministry of Propaganda¹⁰⁹.

XV. Who Decided on the Programming at Belgian Radio During German Occupation? A Hypothesis

The data summarised in sections VI-XIII of the present paper raise questions about who actually determined the musical programs at Belgian Radio during German occupation. When the GSO played for *Radio Bruxelles*, its programming was

102. *Transcriptions des émissions de guerre de Radio Bruxelles*, file of 20 February 1942 and of 14 January 1944, CEGES AA 33.

103. JOHN WARNABY, “Karl Amadeus Hartmann’s ‘Klagegesang’ and the Re-Emergence of His Early Music”, *Tempo*, no. 180, 1992, p. 6-12.

104. MILOŠ ŠAFRÁNEK, “Bohuslav Martinů”, *The Musical Quarterly*, no. 29, 1943, p. 329-354.

105. *Transcriptions des émissions de guerre de Radio Bruxelles*, file of 26 December 1943, CEGES AA 33.

106. ERIK LEVI, “The censorship of musical modernism in Germany (1918-1945)”, *Critical Studies*, no. 22, 2004, p. 61-83.

107. PIETER MANNAERTS, “Het muziekleven aan de radio 1940-1960”, p. 69-104.

108. MICHAEL FJELDSØE, “Getting away with cultural Bolshevism. The first European performance of *Porgy and Bess* in Copenhagen, 1943”, in *The Routledge Handbook to Music under German Occupation, 1938-1945. Propaganda, Myth and Reality*, London and New York, 2019, p. 303-318.

109. NICOLÒ PALAZETTI, “Bartók against the Nazis. The Italian premieres of *Bluebeard’s Castle* (1938) and *The Miraculous Mandarin* (1942)”, in *The Routledge Handbook to Music under German Occupation, 1938-1945. Propaganda, Myth and Reality*, London and New York, 2019, p. 489-510. ERIK LEVI, “The Rome-Berlin Axis: musical interactions between fascist Italy and Nazi Germany in redrawing a New Order for European Culture”, in *The Routledge Handbook to Music under German Occupation...*, p. 103-121.

characterized the pro-emergence of the French, Francophone Belgian, and conventional German repertoire. Programming of compositions not belonging to the German symphonic core repertoire was rare and the presence of German guest soloists and conductors was only occasional.

This finding fits well with the way the *Tätigkeitsberichte* of the *Propaganda-Abteilung Belgiens* informed Berlin about *Radio Bruxelles* and its musical department. Indeed, its editor was already delighted when *Radio Bruxelles* programmed works by Beethoven, Brahms, Wagner, and Lehár, broadcasted live a Max Reger commemoration organised by *Zender Brussel*, and relayed programs from German Radio¹¹⁰. The same editor was far more focused on the propagandistic impact of spoken programs containing a positive testimony of a Walloon miner who volunteered in Germany than on music programs¹¹¹. Interestingly, a survey performed in Germany in the summer of 1939 revealed that besides news, radio listeners were mainly interested in light, popular, military, and dance music, whereas opera, symphony concerts, and chamber music belonged to the least preferred radio programs¹¹². To read in the *Tätigkeitsberichte* that “contemporary Walloon composers [...] were brought to the attention of the French department [of Belgian Radio] in view of the ongoing free program planning” further confirms our reading of the *Tätigkeitsberichte* in this regard¹¹³.

Indeed, the term *weitergehend freie Programm-Gestaltung* suggests that the *Propaganda-Abteilung* granted a certain degree of autonomy to the musical department of *Radio Bruxelles*. This might

explain why the repertoire of the GSO remained remarkably stable, was not affected by the course of the war, and why only few concert programs organised by *Radio Bruxelles* were propagandistic or politically tinted, in contrast to the spoken programs of *Radio Bruxelles*, which became increasingly propagandistic¹¹⁴. The self-effacing attitude of the musical department of *Radio Bruxelles* towards the predominant repertoire in Nazi Germany fits well within *Ruhe und Ordnung* strategy of *Militärverwaltung* and its policy not to intervene in the cultural life in Wallonia and the *Conseil culturel d'expression française* and not to intimidate the Francophone inhabitants with a potential annexation of Wallonia to Germany¹¹⁵.

Conversely, the musical direction of *Zender Brussel* not only programmed orchestral works by Flemish composers but also a wide spectrum of works of German composers including a substantial number of scores barely known to even the most musically informed Flemish listener. Moreover, *Zender Brussel* also supported public concerts arranged by German-friendly organisations and engaged plenty of German soloists and guest conductors for the GSO's engagements at politically tinted-events.

The cultural aspects of the *Flamenpolitik* elaborated by the Reeder were vague: giving Belgium a place in a greater German context and reducing the influence of French culture in Belgium¹¹⁶. As detailed in part 8 of the present issue of this journal, the *Tätigkeitsberichte* were more explicit with respect to the *Flamenpolitik*: using *Zender Brussel* to strengthen Flemish self-confidence,

110. Propaganda-Abteilung Belgien, *Propagandalage- und Tätigkeitsbericht*, CEGES AA570, 15-26 February 1941, p. 9, 15-30 March 1941, p. 8, 15-30 April, p. 7, and 1-15 May 1941, p. 7.

111. Propaganda-Abteilung Belgien, *Propagandalage- und Tätigkeitsbericht*, CEGES AA570, 15-30 March 1941, p. 8.

112. KRISTIE BEURMANS, *Muziek en muziekpolitiek in het Derde Rijk...*, p. 102.

113. Propaganda-Abteilung Belgien, *Propagandalage- und Tätigkeitsbericht*, CEGES AA570, 1 February 1941: “Zeitgenössische wallonische Komponisten, die dem deutschen Hörer weniger liegen, wurden mit Rücksicht auf die weitergehend freie Programm-Gestaltung der französischen Abteilung zu Gehör gebracht”.

114. CELINE RASE, *Les ondes en uniforme...*, p. 95-218.

115. HERMAN VAN DE VIJVER, *Het cultureel leven tijdens de bezetting*, p. 9-28.

116. BRUNO DE WEVER, *Greep naar de macht. Vlaams-nationalisme en Nieuwe Orde. Het VNV 1933-1945*, Tiel, 1994, p. 362. ALBERT DE JONGHE, “De personeelspolitiek van de Militärverwaltung te Brussel gedurende het eerste halfjaar der bezetting (juni-december 1940). Bijdrage tot de studie van de Duitse Flamenpolitik in Wereldoorlog II”, *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Nieuwste Geschiedenis*, 1972, p. 1-49.

promoting Flemish composers and their compositions, eliminating the influence of French music and replacing it with works by Flemish and German composers, and creating a clear separation between the Flemish and the Francophone Radio program¹¹⁷. This all fits well with the cultural program of the Flemish movement, leading the Flemish nationalist composers Meulemans and Fere-mans to accept the position as musical directors at *Zender Brussel*. That both composers had demonstrated their sympathies to the VNV undoubtedly facilitated their appointment, as the VNV assisted at that time the *Militärverwaltung* in smoothening its contacts with the Belgian administration¹¹⁸.

The *Tätigkeitsberichte*, however, also contains more critical assertions about the cultural, musical, and intellectual level of Flemish population. For example, it states that there is a “need to educate the Flemish population in the appreciation of valuable and beautiful music” and to “familiarize them with the complete spectrum of German music”, as Flemish musical culture was “more successful in the domain of popular songs and choral music than in the symphonic repertoire”¹¹⁹. The *Tätigkeitsberichte* repeatedly underscore the importance of German music broadcasted by *Zender Brussel*, its presence in concert halls of Flanders and Brussels and the programming of contemporary German music¹²⁰. It therefore advocates financial support of Flemish, German-friendly music organisations such as the *Muziekfonds*, which it claims to be under German

influence¹²¹. Finally, the *Tätigkeitsberichte* make statements about the importance of “uplifting the sluggishness of Flemish character with its inferiority complexes” and literally mentions that the Flemish journalists are intellectually inferior to Francophone colleagues in covering foreign politics, a difference that should be attributed to the oppression of Flanders over the last centuries¹²².

The well-defined strategy outlined in the *Tätigkeitberichte* to export and impose the German cultural world view on the Flemish population and to educate them intellectually and musically can be seen as the ideal constellation for the *Propaganda-Abteilung* to pave the way for an increasing preponderance of German music at *Zender Brussel*. That policy was further magnified by the creation of the *Philharmonie Brussel* by Spanuth and the musicologist and member of *DeVlag* Walter Weyler¹²³. The increasing presence of German works in concert programs of the GSO at the cost of Flemish music perfectly explains the disillusionment of Meulemans and Fere-mans who left *Zender Brussel* once they had realized that their position as musical directors only served as window dressing. That Friedrich Hölderlin, a poet without any link to Flanders, was commemorated with support of the GSO at Studio 4 on 23 June 1943 confirms the existence of an ongoing program of Germanisation of Flanders and reveals who determined the artistic and musical policy of *Zender Brussel* and the GSO in the second half of the occupation.

117. LOUIS FORTEMPS, ROEL VANDE WINKEL, “The German Military Propaganda Department Belgium...”. *Propaganda-Abteilung Belgien, Propagandalage-und Tätigkeitsbericht*, CEGES AA 570, August 1940, p. 2. 11-25 Oktober 1940, p. 3, 25 Oktober – 10 November 1940, p. 4, 1-15 December 1940, p. 5, 1-15 January 1941 p. 6, 1-15 March 1941, p. 8.

118. BRUNO DE WEVER, *Greep naar de macht...*, p. 364.

119. Propaganda-Abteilung Belgien, *Propagandalage-und Tätigkeitsbericht*, CEGES AA570, 15-31 March 1941, p. 7 and 1-15 June 1941, p. 7. “...dem gesundempfindenden Bevölkerungsteil das Rückgrad zu stärken und ihm zu beweisen, dass Negermusik nicht immer notwendig ist, um verwöhnten Ansprüchen zu genügen...” – to strengthen the part of the population with a healthy attitude and prove to them that negro music is not always necessary to meet their spoiled demands...”. *auf musikalischem Gebiet kommt dem flämischen Volks-und Chorlied in Vergleich zur Orchester-Literatur die grössere Bedeutung zu* – in the musical domain, flemish folk and choral song is of greater importance than orchestral literature.

120. Propaganda-Abteilung Belgien, *Propagandalage-und Tätigkeitsbericht*, CEGES AA570, 16-31 January 1941 p. 6, 5-26 February 1941 p. 9 and 1-15 March 1941, p. 9.

121. Propaganda-Abteilung Belgien, *Propagandalage-und Tätigkeitsbericht*, CEGES AA570, 1-15 February 1941 p. 15 and 1-15 September 1941, p. 6.

122. Propaganda-Abteilung Belgien, *Propagandalage-und Tätigkeitsbericht*, CEGES AA570, 15-30 April 1941, p. 3 and 1-15 June 1941, p. 6.

123. ERIC DEROM, “Symphonic Music in Occupied Belgium...”, p. 111-112.

XVI. After Liberation: Was Justice Done?

At liberation, *Zender Brussel* and *Radio Bruxelles* were immediately suspended, and its personnel sacked. The pre-war *NIR-INTR* was re-established and Director Generals Jan Boon and Theo Fleischmann returned to their pre-war positions for the Flemish and the Francophone program, respectively, as did the artistic directors of the two musical departments, Paul Collaer and René Tellier.

Although up to 75 % of the personnel employed by the *NIR-INTR* before May 1940 had been engaged by collaborationist *Zender Brussel* and *Radio Bruxelles*, the post-war *NIR-INTR* only re-engaged personnel positively evaluated by the *Onderzoeksraad-Commissie d'enquête*. Members of the musical departments were individually assessed by another commission, the *Erejury-Jury d'honneur*. That "Jury of Honour" used the somewhat subjective notion of "deficit in patriotism" to advise the management of the *NIR-INTR* about possible re-engagement¹²⁴. In addition, some persons employed by the wartime radios were also trailed by a court martial¹²⁵.

Regarding *Zender Brussel*, its general leader Wies Moens was sentenced to death in May 1947¹²⁶. As he lived in hiding at that time, he escaped that sentence. Five months after the court's decision, Moens turned up in the Netherlands where he lived in exile until his death in 1982¹²⁷. His successor at *Zender Brussel*, conductor and *SS-Kriegsberichter* Paul Douliez, was also sentenced to

death. He also escaped that sentence, as he had been captured by the Russians during the *Battle of Berlin*. Having spent five years in Russian detention camps, he was handed over to Belgium in March 1950, but released one year later¹²⁸. He settled in Stuttgart, Germany, where he worked for a record company and wrote books on music¹²⁹.

According to his biographer, Arthur Meulemans' engagement as artistic director of the musical department of *Zender Brussel* did not affect his post-war career¹³⁰. Nevertheless, as Meulemans was officially still employed by the *NIR-INTR* in 1945, he passed before the "Jury of Honour" which suspended him for four months. The management of the *NIR-INTR* forced Meulemans, however, to resign, using incivism as an excuse to dismiss a person it had wanted to get rid of since the pre-war period. Attempts to revise that decision were unsuccessful¹³¹. His successor, Gaston Feremans, was jailed for 2 years, lost his civil rights for 10 years and lived in poverty for the remainder of his life, making a living as church organist¹³². Chief conductor Theo Dejoncker was jailed for some time and acquitted, but never re-engaged by the *NIR-INTR*. From 1951 to 1961, he worked as a controller at the *SABAM*, the Belgian Association of Authors, Composers, and Publishers, and went on composing chamber music¹³³.

The general leader of *Radio Bruxelles* Gabriel Figeys was imprisoned in 1944 and sentenced to life imprisonment. In 1950, he was pardoned and released. Interviewed in the 1970s, he claimed that it was necessary to keep a Belgian at the head

124. CÉLINE RASE, *Radio Bruxelles au pilori...*, p. 97-100.

125. RAF CASERT, "De Belgische Radio-Omroep en het oplossen van de oorlogssituatie (1939-1947)", in *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Nieuwste Geschiedenis-Revue belge d'histoire contemporaine* no. 3-4, 1984, p. 487-510.

126. *Vooruit*, 18 May 1947, p. 1.

127. <https://wiesmoens.be/> retrieved on 8 August 2021.

128. Files at the military court on Paul Douliez. PAUL DOULIEZ, *Machorka*, München, Stuttgart, Gütersloh, 1979. *Volksgazet*, 23 maart 1950, p. 12.

129. https://nevb.be/wiki/Douliez,_Paul retrieved on 8 August 2021.

130. JEF VAN BRUSSEL, *Terugblik op leven en werk van Arthur Meulemans...*, p. 123-139.

131. CÉLINE RASE, *Radio Bruxelles au pilori...*, p. 287-288.

132. Gaston Feremans Huldecomite, *Gaston Feremans herdacht*, Antwerpen 1966, p. 39-46. <https://www.svm.be/content/feremans-gaston>

133. Files at the military court on Theo Dejoncker. HENRI VANHULST, THEO DEJONCKER, in *Nouvelle Biographie Nationale*, 2001, p. 127-128.

of the editorial staff of *Radio Bruxelles* and still did never understand his condemnation¹³⁴. His successor, Serge Doring, was sentenced to death, a conviction in absentia, as he escaped to Germany and was never found by authorities¹³⁵.

The artistic director of the musical department of *Radio Bruxelles*, Edouard Chambon was not re-engaged, nor was chief conductor Paul Gason, who, according to internet sources, was appointed as conductor of an amateur orchestra in Uccle¹³⁶. Likewise, assistant conductor André Souris was sacked by the management of the *NIR-ISR*, although the “Jury of Honour” had suggested reducing it to a one-year suspension. As in Meulemans’ case, incivism being not the cause of his dismissal, but the opportunity of the management of the *NIR-ISR* to get rid of a conductor, who was disliked by orchestral musicians and had criticized the musical and artistic policy of the pre-war *NIR-ISR*. French national radio and the *BBC* did not wait to engage Souris as conductor¹³⁷. Souris also founded a society for contemporary music in Brussels and held between 1949 and 1964 a position as professor of harmony at the Brussels Conservatoire.

The “Jury of Honour” suspended pre-war chief conductor of the GSO Franz Andre, who was engaged as guest conductor by *Radio Bruxelles* twice a month, for only two months. A press campaign in January 1945 forced the Jury to revise that decision, by adding two more months of suspension, during which André conducted abroad. It appears that André received a preferential treatment, being ardently supported by Paul Collaer and Jan Boon who could not have conceived of

depriving their radio and the GSO of the element of prestige Franz André represented from them. He resumed his activity as chief conductor in July 1945 until his pension in 1958¹³⁸. Virtually nothing is known about the destiny of the different Sonderführers. According to internet sources, Nikolaus Spanuth was hired by German radio for a few radio plays¹³⁹.

XVII. Conclusion

The observed differences between *Zender Brussel* and *Radio Bruxelles* in the concert programs of the GSO can only in part be attributed to the way their artistic directions reacted when confronted with the Nazi occupation. Facilitated by the strategy of the *Propaganda-Abteilung* not to rattle the Francophone listeners, the musical department of *Radio Bruxelles* was never forced to demonstrate any explicit commitment towards the “New Order”, applied without conviction the requests of the *Propaganda-Abteilung* and even displayed some discrete attempts of resistance, while waiting for better times. The management of *Zender Brussel* initially used the German occupation as a window of opportunity to implement in part the cultural program of the Flemish movement, with reasonable success during the 1940/41 season. The *Propaganda-Abteilung* had another agenda: the transformation of *Zender Brussel* into a powerful vehicle for German music and culture, in which it succeeded from 1942 on with help of some unconditional Flemish collaborators. This confirms the old saying: “give somebody an inch and he’ll take a mile”!

134. CÉLINE RASE, *Radio Bruxelles au pilori...*, p. 66-78. CÉLINE RASE, « Les ondes en uniforme: La propagande radiophonique allemande en Belgique occupée (1940-1944) », *Bijdragen tot de Eigentijdse Geschiedenis/Cahiers d’Histoire du Temps présent*, No. 23, 2011, 123-160.

135. *Le Peuple*, 7 January 1946, p. 1.

136. <https://www.orchestre-uccle.be/orkest-brussel-ukkel-amateur-muziek-klassiek.Y.htm>. Retrieved 8 August 2021.

CÉLINE RASE, *Radio Bruxelles au pilori...*, p. 119-120.

137. *Id.*, p. 285-287.

138. *Id.*, p. 272-274.

139. <https://hoerspiele.dra.de/> retrieved 9 August 2021.

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Appendices

Ranking	Radio Bruxelles						Zender Brussel		
	Francophone Belgian Composers N = 183			French Composers N = 328			Flemish Composers N = 380		
	Composer	N	%	Composer	N	%	Composer	N	%
1	Jongen J.	25	14	Ravel	46	14	De Boeck	38	10
2	Lekeu	16	9	Debussy	30	9	Meulemans	34	9
3	Gretry	14	8	Berlioz	22	7	Gilson	30	8
4	Vreuls	11	6	Saint-Saëns	20	6	Benoit	28	7
5	Marsick	9	5	Chabrier	18	6	Van Hoof	23	6
6	Absil	8	4	Fauré	13	4	Schoemaker	19	5
7	Th. Ysaÿe	8	4	Roussel	13	4	Dejoncker	17	5
8	Rasse	7	4	Massenet	8	2	Brusselmans	13	3
9	De Bourguignon	6	3	Chausson	7	2	Duvosel	13	3
10	Bernier	6	3	Bizet	7	2	De Greef	10	3
Total		110	60		184	56		225	59

Appendix Table 1: Top 10 and ranking of Francophone Belgian and French composers played by the GSO for Radio Bruxelles and Flemish composers played for Zender Brussel. Absolute and relative number of performances played per cultural entity are given.

Composer	Title	Date	Location	Conductor/Soloists
Theo Dejoncker	Symfonie nr. 3	11 Apr. 1943	PBA	Dejoncker
Theo Dejoncker	Ouverture op "Een aardig vrouwken"	20 Aug. 1944	Studio 4	Dejoncker
Karel De Schrijver	Romantische Symfonie	27 Aug. 1941	Studio 4	Dejoncker
Godfried Devreese	Symfonie nr. 1, andante en allegro	20 Jan. 1943	Malines	Devreese
Paul Douliez	Nieuw leven voor spreekkoor en orkest	6 Apr. 1941	Studio 4	Douliez/Choir
Emmanuel Durllet	Concerto voor piano en orkest	26 Apr. 1944	Studio 4	Dejoncker/Durllet
Victor Legley	Meispel (Richard De Cneudt)	1 May 1942	Studio 4	Douliez
Arthur Meulemans	Zwaneven	20 Oct. 1940	PBA	Meulemans
Arthur Meulemans	Zeecyclus	20 Oct. 1940	PBA	Meulemans
Arthur Meulemans	Concert nr. 1 voor hoorn en orkest	20 Oct. 1940	PBA	Meulemans/ Van Bocxstaele
Arthur Meulemans	Adagio voor strijkers	20 Oct. 1940	PBA	Meulemans
Arthur Meulemans	Ouverture Allegra	5 May 1941	PBA	Meulemans
Arthur Meulemans	Rhapsodie voor bazuin en orkest	5 May 1941	PBA	Meulemans
Arthur Meulemans	Concertino voor piano en orkest	16 Dec. 1941	Studio 4	Meulemans/Durllet
Maurits Schoemaker	Symfonische beweging	4 June 1943	Studio 4	Dejoncker
David Van de Woestijne	Fanfare	20 Aug. 1944	Studio 4	Dejoncker

Appendix Table 2: Compositions world premiered by the GSO for Zender Brussel (1940-1944). PBA = Palais de Beaux-Arts (Brussels).

Composer	Title	Date	Location	Conductor/Soloists
René Bernier	J'ai rêvé de ce voyage	6 Feb. 1942	Studio 4	André/Mousset
René Bernier	Ode à une Madone	13 Jan. 1943	Studio 4	Gason/J. Maes
René Bernier	Le tombeau devant l'Escaut	16 Feb. 1944	Studio 4	Marsick
Arthur Bosmans	Jardin des Hespérides	30 Oct. 1942	Studio 4	André
Raymond Chevreuille	Cantique du soleil	23 Jan. 1942	Studio 4	André/Choir
René Defossez	Images sous-marines	12 Feb. 1941	Studio 4	Defossez
Joseph Jongen	Prélude de fête	8 July 1942	Studio 4	J. Jongen
Victor Legley	Symphonie	29 Dec. 1943	Studio 4	Souris
Gerhart Münch	Sommerkonzert für Klavier	11 Sept. 1942	PBA	Gason/Münch
Marcel Quinet	Rhapsodie auvergnate	29 Mar. 1944	Studio 4	Souris
Norbert Rosseau	L'Inferno (extr.)	30 Apr. 1943	Studio 4	André/Anspach/ De Groote/Choir
André Souris	La Chanson de Roland	22 Apr. 1942	Studio 4	Souris/Lescanne
Wladimir Woronoff	Partita	22 Sept. 1943	Studio 4	Souris

Appendix Table 3: Compositions world premiered by the GSO for Radio Bruxelles (1940-1944). PBA = Palais de Beaux-Arts (Brussels).

Composer	Title of composition	Year of composition or publication	Conductor/Soloist
Henri Barraud	Concerto pour piano et orchestre	1939	Souris/Van Barentzen
Roger Ducasse	Jeu du furet	1940	Souris
Arthur Honegger	Symphonie no. 2 pour cordes	1941	Souris
Jacques Ibert	Ouverture pour un jour de fête	1942	Gason and André
Francis Poulenc	Concerto pour orgue, timballes et orchestre	1938	André/Hens
Francis Poulenc	Chansons villageoises	1943	André
Henri Sauguet*	Concerto pour piano no.1	1948	Gason/Declercq
Henri Tomasi	Symphonie	1941	André

*As the work by Henri Sauguet was published in 1948, it must have been played from a manuscript score, which was not unusual for the GSO.

Appendix Table 4: French contemporary music, composed, edited or created after 1938 and played by the GSO for Radio Bruxelles.

Composer	Title of composition (year of world premiere or publication)	Radio Bruxelles conductor/soloist	Zender-Bruxelles conductor/soloist
Hermann Ambrosius	Sinfonie Nr. 7 (1935) Sinfonie Nr. 8 (1937)	- -	Douliez Douliez
Theodor Berger*	Rondino giocoso (1933) Die Legende vom Prinzen Eugen (1941)	Souris (2) Souris	Douliez; Dejoncker Dejoncker (2)
Karl Bleyle	Schneewittchen-Suite (1937)	-	Dejoncker
Johann-Nep. David*	Sinfonie Nr. 3 (1940)	-	Dejoncker
Werner Egk*	Quattro canzoni (1932) Juan von Zarissa, Suite (1940)	Souris/Anspach Gason	- -
Wolfgang Fortner	Konzert für Streichorchester (1935)	Souris	Dejoncker

Composer	Title of composition (year of world premiere or publication)	Radio Bruxelles conductor/soloist	Zender-Bruxelles conductor/soloist
Gerhard Frommel*	Suite für Streicher (1935)	Souris	Dejoncker
Ottmar Gerster*	Ernste Musik (1938)		Dejoncker
Paul Graener	Die Flöte von Sans- Souci (1930) Turmwächterlied (1938) Wiener Sinfonie (1941)	Gason (2) - -	Douliez Dejoncker (2) Douliez (2)
Bernhard Hamann	Cellokonzert (1939)	-	Dejoncker/Steiner
Robert Heger	Verdi-Variationen (1933) Preludium und Fuge (1937)	- -	Heger Dejoncker
Kurt Hessenberg*	Concerto grosso (1938)	-	Dejoncker
Karl Höller*	Pasacaglia und Fuga (Frescobaldi) (1938)	-	Dejoncker (2)
Wilhelm Jerger	Salzburger Hof- und Barockmusik (1939)	-	Dejoncker
Gottfried Müller*	Morgenrotvariationen und Fuga (1932) Konzert für grosses Orchester (1939)	- -	Dejoncker (2) Dejoncker
Gerhart Münch	Sommerkonzert für Klavier (1942, UA)	Gason/Münch	-
Carl Orff*	Carmina Burana (1937)	André	-
Ernst Pepping*	Variationen "Lust hab'ich gehabt" (1936)	Souris	-
Hans Pfitzner*	Sinfonie in cis (1932) Cellokonzert (1935)	- -	Meulemans; Douliez (2) Dejoncker/Baeyens (2)
Kurt Rasch	Toccatà (1939)	-	Douliez
Heinz Röttger	Sinfonisches Vorspiel (1939)	-	Dejoncker
Gustav-Adolf Schlemm	Polka Fughetta (1938) Serenade (1939)	- -	Douliez Douliez
Heinz Schubert	Lyrisches Konzert (1936) Ambrosianisches Konzert für Klavier (1943)	Souris/Broos -	- Dejoncker/Scharrès
Richard Strauss*	Japanische Festmusik (1940)	-	Heger
Max Trapp*	Divertimento (1931) Klavierkonzert (1931) Sinfonie Nr. 5 (1937)	André André/Staab -	- Douliez/Staab Douliez
Hermann Unger	Alt-Niederländische Suite (1938)	-	Douliez
Hans Weisbach	Vorspiel für grosses Orchester (1938)	-	Weisbach
Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari	Divertimento (1937)		Douliez (2)

Appendix Table 5 : German contemporary music, composed, edited or created in 1930 or later and played by the GSO. Number between brackets indicate the number of scheduled performances. Robert Heger and Hans Weisbach conducted their own works at concerts of the Philharmonie Brussel. Composers on the Gottbegnadetenliste are indicated with an asterix. AB = August Baeyens; AM = Arthur Meulemans; AS = André Souris; ASt = Adolf Steiner; CS = Charles Scharrès; FA = Franz André; FAch = Frédéric Anspach; FB = François Broos; GH = Gerhart Münch; HW = Hans Weisbach; PD = Paul Douliez; PG = Paul Gason; RH = Robert Heger; RS = Richard Staab; TD = Theo Dejoncker; UA = World premiere.

Ranking	Radio Bruxelles N = 334			Zender Brussel N = 461		
	Composer	N	%	Composer	N	%
1	Beethoven	51	15	Beethoven	69	15
2	Mozart	41	12	Wagner	62	13
3	Wagner	36	11	Brahms	35	8
4	Bach	30	9	Weber	30	7
5	R. Strauss	22	7	Mozart	28	6
6	Händel	20	6	R. Strauss	25	5
7	Brahms	20	6	Schubert	19	4
8	Schumann	18	5	Liszt	16	3
9	Schubert	10	3	Bach	14	3
10	Haydn	9	3	Schumann	13	3
	Total	257	77	Total	311	67

Appendix Table 6: Top ten and ranking of composers belonging to the German core repertoire played by the GSO (1940-44). Absolute and relative number of performances per radio station and per composer are presented.