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Christophe Bennet

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FRENCH MUSICAL BROADCASTING IN THE TURMOIL OF WORLD WAR TWO

by Christophe BENNET

The escalation of the perils at the end of the thirties throws French broadcasting into a new era. Over the lapse of a few years, this institutional medium is going to face profound upheavals, linked to the military and political events that shake France and Europe. From the summer of 1939, when the general mobilization perturbs the workforce and programs, the radio becomes a genuine echo chamber of the successive events in the country¹.

The sharing of transmitters between the Germans and the Vichy government almost matches the geography of the demarcation line. In the occupied zone, the transmitters are under the control of the occupation authorities. In the free zone, “*Radiodiffusion nationale*” starts again on July 5th 1940. The power of its transmitters is weak and its services are scattered between Vichy, Toulouse and Marseille. The new regime uses it as nothing but one of the essential supports of its propaganda. The program of Radio Vichy is based on the motto of the regime: morals, work, family patriotic values, and highlights Maréchal Pétain’s self-righteous sententious allocutions. From 1941 on, however, one can see a disaffection of the audience, who for the most part prefer the style and more inventive tone of Radio-Paris, Radio Sottens, and above all the BBC². From September 1940 on, Radio-Paris develops its main themes: “*collaboration with Germany for the establishment of a new Europe, and attacks against the British, the French based in London, the Jews and the Freemasons*”³. The station, where music is dominating, skillfully mixes propaganda and entertainment, like in the program “*Au rythme du temps*” (following time’s rhythm), which combines music and satirical songs with talks and oriented comedies.

Then came the time of the liberation of the territory by the Allies, when new operators appeared once again. For each of the three main periods, recent historiography has brought into light some of the aspects of broadcasting that had remained unknown until then. It enables us to better understand the repercussion of politics on musical broadcasting⁴.

¹ The French version of this article could be read in : Christophe Bennet, *1925-1975 : Cinquante ans de musique classique à la radio* (direction), Les Cahiers d’Histoire de la Radiodiffusion, Cahier thématique n°95, janvier-mars 2008, 250 p.: http://cohira.fr/cahier_n_95_de_1925_a_1975_janvier_a_mars/

² But we must indicate that powerful Nazi transmitters were scrambling the reception of this station, which remained, anyway, banned by the occupant.

³ Anne Bouchez-Trifunovic, Karine Le Bail and Aurélie Luneau, “*La Guerre des Ondes*”, in Jean-Noël Jeanneney, “*L’écho du siècle*”, 1999, Paris, Hachette Littératures, p. 38.

⁴ This article owes much to the thesis of Karine Le Bail, “*Music, power and responsibility 1939-1953*”, Phd thesis of the “*Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Paris*”, September 2005 and to Cécile Méadel’s survey of Radio-Paris during the Occupation: “*Musical pauses or the brilliant silences of Radio-Paris*”, in Myriam Chimènes (dir.), “*Musical life under the Vichy regime*”, Paris, Complexe, 2000.

**THE PHONY WAR: A VASTLY ENLARGED STAFF,
SYMBOLIC REPERTOIRES**

Between September 25th 1939 and September 12th 1940, the city of Rennes is going to be the scene of an experiment in “cultural decentralization” which will be duplicated in Marseille after the armistice. For one year, the capital of Brittany becomes the “capital of the phony war.”⁵

RENNES HOSTS MUSICIANS AND ORCHESTRAS

What is known in English as “the phony war” with operations at a standstill between September 3rd 1939 was called the “drôle de guerre” by Roland Dorgelès, one of the reporters of the journal *Gringoire*, in October 1939, which literally mean “the funny war”, to be understood as “the strange war”. But funny situations also arise from the general mobilization. While a large number of male artists are mobilized in the front, the others take refuge in the provinces. The transfer of the musical sections of the broadcasting services is expensive and fastidious. Whereas “entertainment music” is channeled away toward Nice, and the “Drama sections” toward Montpellier and Bordeaux, Rennes is designated to house the musical sections⁶. In a specially chartered train, many of the soloists of the radio are massively transferred there, particularly the musicians who belonged to orchestras A, B, C, D, E, together with the two choirs linked to the radio and some provincial stations. In addition, the activity of all the other government stations had been limited to a single Parisian program broadcasted by Radio-Paris and Radio-PTT. On this occasion, other provincial musicians are quite simply dismissed.

The orchestras are quickly rebuilt: the “*Orchestre National*” is strengthened by female and non mobilized performers. The “*Radiodiffusion nationale*” can also rely on a reserve of highly qualified soloists who are like magnetized by the attractive force of the radio. Although the installation is laborious, this artistic convergence permits to recreate five orchestras: the “*Orchestre National*” (80 performers), the “*Orchestre Symphonique*” (60), the Messenger orchestra (50), the Raugel (40) and Gouverné (38) choirs. The rhythm of the programs is intense. The “*Orchestre National*” gives about three weekly concerts: on Sundays (12.45 – 1.30 pm on Paris-PTT); on Tuesdays at 8.45 on Radio-Paris; on Fridays (7.45 to 9.45 pm on Radio-Paris and Paris-PTT), under the baton of Inghelbrecht. The “*radio-symphonique-lyrique*” orchestra performs on Wednesday and Friday evenings at the end of the programs, still conducted by Rhené-Bâton, in the form of a “midnight concert” which he had instituted in the year 1935. As for the Messenger orchestra, it gives daily “dinner – concerts” of “light and variety music”, live from the Lecoq-Gadby restaurant, from 12.45 am to 2.20 pm. Eventually, the orchestras in Rennes have to feed the programs of the Paris-Mondial station, with conductors Eugène Bigot, Jean Clergue or Inghelbrecht.

⁵ Karine le Bail, *op. cit.* p. 56. The elements mentioned here come from her chapter titled “Music at the gun end”.

⁶ Agathe Mella, “*Les services musicaux de Rennes à Marseille*”, “*Cahiers d’Histoire de la Radiodiffusion*”, # 29 of December 1990, p. 66. Agathe Mella was then secretary of the musical sections of the French Broadcasting Services under the direction of Emmanuel Bondeville.

The latter, whom Karine Le Bail calls a genuine “*pater familias*” has the bright idea of founding a collective war journal, aiming at maintaining a symbolic contact between the front and the rest of the country. Called “*Courrier de l’ON*”, this publication of a few pages proves a very consistent source. During the month of expectation, then the weeks of walloping, musicians have noted their feelings, their hopes, and their disarray. Actually, it records the patriotic fervor and soon the boredom in a “not so funny” war, the feeling of a lack of preparation, of inferiority. It already underlines, the historian says, “*a non-political character shared by the musical world, whose repercussions [will be found again] under the Occupation*”⁷.

A VERY FRENCH MUSIC OPENED TO THE SPIRIT OF FRIENDLY COUNTRIES

Between the war declaration and the armistice, the presence of French composers on the waves of public radio is important. French music anyway constitutes the argument of Rhené-Bâton’s late evening concerts. Between September 29th 1939 and June 16th 1940, 114 concerts by the “*Orchestre National*” are broadcasted. In the hit parade of the great French composers, one can notice the strong presence of Chabrier, Bizet, César Franck, Florent Schmitt, Chausson, Gounod, Lalo, Saint-Saëns, Massenet and Fauré⁸. Since one of the missions of this orchestral jewel is the defense of contemporary music, the “War ON” also boasts: Milhaud, Honegger, Poulenc, Ibert, Tomasi, Gaubert, Hahn and Manuel Rosenthal, for the most famous in its programs. But Inghelbrecht’s favorite composer dominates the broadcasting of this period. This is Claude Debussy, an emblem of the national genius, who used to sign “Claude de France”.

Beside this dominant Frenchness, no less symbolic tributes are usually paid to the composers from allied countries. Poland and Czechoslovakia, two martyr countries of the 3rd Reich, are honored, respectively on January 22nd (Smetana’s “*La fiancée vendue*” by the “*Orchestre National*”) and April 5th 1940 (with notably the great Polish composers Frederic Chopin and Ignace Paderewski). The military context also seems to orientate the program of March 18th, broadcasted on Radio-Paris and Paris-Mondial, since Swedish composers Hugo Alfvén and Kurt Atterberg appear for the first time in the repertoire of the “*Orchestre National*”, a choice which is interpreted by Karine Le Bail as a “genuine signal” to this neutral country⁹. Loyal to its unifying reputation, music witnesses the links between France and the neutral, but also the allied countries like Belgium, Romania or The Netherlands.

But the French radio program makers never renounce the great masters of the rival nation. In fact, only the works that are considered partial are banned from the stations of the broadcasting network. This is particularly the case of the relay of the original version of *Lenore* by Beethoven, released by Radio Zurich within the frame of the International Broadcasting Union (UIR) in February 1940. The musical section of the “*Conseil supérieur de la radio française*” refused to broadcast this performance. Although Wagner’s music remains “unrecommended¹⁰”, numerous masterpieces of German music appear to have transcended politics. While the German repertoire could have been boycotted for the ideology

⁷ Karine Le Bail, op. cit., p. 59.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 62.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

¹⁰ Jacques Parrot, “*La Guerre des Ondes : de Goebbels à Kadhafi*”, Paris, Plon, 1987, p. 77, mentioned by Karine Le Bail, op. cit., p. 63.

it sometimes carries, this repertoire is taken into account by Inghelbrecht without any kind of ostracism. The conductor of ON (for “Orchestre National”) anyway seems to join the conception of novelist and academician Georges Duhamel. The latter, who is Deputy Manager in chief of the listening department of “*fort de Bicêtre*” for cultural programs¹¹, assures in December 1939:

“*Bach, Wagner, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and some others are, like the great Louis Pasteur, like Descartes or Rodin, conquered the world through the world’s love.*”¹²”

The surrender of June 1940, which was to plunge France into four years of military occupation, sparked an unpublished screenplay: Radio-Paris, a “German radio” on French soil, and Radio-Vichy, the “national radio”¹³ in the hands of a government known as “l’État français”.

**RADIO-PARIS, A VERY MUSICAL AND
ENTERTAINING GERMAN STATION**

Although the German station begins emitting as early as July 7th 1940, the programs in German are not cancelled before October 13th. The Germans give their station the name of the “*Poste national Radio-Paris*” and install themselves in the buildings of the “*Poste parisien*” at 116bis, avenue des Champs-Élysées¹⁴. Its operating costs are paid for by the French Government, as stipulated in the Armistice Convention.

BETWEEN PROPAGANDA, POLICY AND CULTURE, AND ENTERTAINMENT

Created on July 18th 1940, the *Propaganda-Abteilung*, the official organ of the Nazi propaganda in France, is animated by a will of intervention in cultural matters. It clearly aims at implementing an “ideological repression tool”¹⁵ in every field of culture, the “*beaux-arts*”, but also the radio. To sum up the broadcasting of Radio-Paris, Cécile Méadel describes a “*kind of quasi schizophrenic dualism*”¹⁶: a large majority of cultural or entertainment programs carefully avoid any reference to the political situation of the country, although the news bulletin and a few programs of propaganda full of hatred are serving the collaboration and the Nazi ideology. Spreading the idea that music has no homeland, the *Propaganda-*

¹¹ A great opponent to the radio at the beginning of the thirties, Georges Duhamel had totally changed his mind since being appointed member of the Superior Board for the Radio and Manager of the programs of the national radio in 1939. He left this post at the armistice.

¹² Georges Duhamel, “*Wagner, mage de ma jeunesse*”, in “*Conférenci. Journal des Annales*”, mentioned by Karine Le Bail, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

¹³ It controls the private stations of Toulouse, Lyon, Montpellier, Agen, Nîmes and Nice.

¹⁴ Its audience is henceforth extended thanks to the use of its five transmitters in occupied area but audible in almost all the country: Rennes-Alma, Allouis O.C.I., Radio Normandie (public stations) and le Poste parisien, Bordeaux Sud-ouest (private stations).

¹⁵ Gérard Loiseaux, “*La Littérature de la défaite et de la collaboration d’après “Phonix oder Asche ?” de Bernhard Payr*”, Paris, 1995.

¹⁶ Cécile Méadel, “*Pauses musicales ou les éclatants silences de Radio-Paris*”, in Myriam Chimènes (dir.), *op. cit.*

Abteilung places a “*mask of normality*”¹⁷ on the face of Radio-Paris and doesn’t involve itself so much in the station’s musical choices. Renewing the tradition of the prewar-year stations from the summer of 1940 on, Radio-Paris presents itself as an entertainment radio and multiplies popular programs, such as the “*concerts à la carte*” (personalized concerts). Its aesthetical choices are hardly different from those of the musical broadcasting of the thirties by catering to mainstream tastes, even if it inaugurates an unprecedented didacticism in the commented concerts. Besides, the audience figures are very strong, as is shown by numerous letters from listeners¹⁸.

The manager of the *Propaganda-Abteilung*, *Oberleutnant* Bofinger, the former manager and initiator of the German jewel Radio-Stuttgart, recruits a strong conservative workforce: Claude Jeantet, from “*Le Petit Parisien*”, Georges Suarez, the manager of “*Aujourd’hui*”, Lucien Rebatet and Jean Lousteau, reporters of “*Je suis partout*”. A rather well known pianist, *Sonderführer* Otto Sonnen, also linked to the Stuttgart station, rules the musical section of Radio-Paris. Through threats and gratifications, cynical manipulation and unexpected praise, the *Propaganda-Abteilung* manages to draw new French contributors. The wages of the artists, like those of the reporters, the announcers and the staff, are indeed largely higher than those before the war, but also than those of the other stations. Pierre Hiégel, a strong link of the artistic programs, is, from the summer of 1940 to the Liberation, the MC of music on Radio-Paris. He seems to be passionately in love with music, any music, and he finds a remarkable groundbase to express and spread his passion. A famous announcer of the station and a usual columnist of the Radio-Paris journal, “*Les ondes*”, this former record collector on Radio-Cité declares: “always trying to put [himself] in the seat of the listener”¹⁹. Since he was the only Frenchman to attend to the musical broadcasting section of the station, he was able to impose a maximum of French music, “*by a patient and repeated action*”: Ravel, Fauré, Duparc, Roussel, Messager, and Debussy. He actually calls his last son after the latter’s first name, “in the hope of placing him under the protection of Debussy.”²⁰

PRESTIGIOUS PERFORMERS AND AN ORCHESTRA OF UNEQUAL QUALITY

By proposing exorbitant fees²¹, the station draws the most popular celebrities of the moment without any problem: Yvonne Printemps, Tino Rossi or Maurice Chevalier for operetta and song; cellist Maurice Maréchal, pianist Ginette Doyen or female singer Germaine Cernay for chamber music²².

As early as July 1940, a middle level orchestra is constituted. Conducted by Godefroy Andolfi until April 20th 1941, it gives “lunchtime concerts”. The orchestras led by Victor Pascal and Raymond Legrand succeed it. They are then followed by symphonic Paris orchestras, such as the “*Orchestre Lamoureux*”, the “*Orchestre de la Société du Conservatoire*”, or the “*Concerts Padeloup*”. Wednesday October 15th 1941 will remain as

¹⁷ Laurence Bertrand Dorléac, “*L’Art de la défaite. 1940-1944*”, Paris, Seuil, 1993, p. 48.

¹⁸ Backing on German archives, Karine Le Bail says that : “Every program carries 300 to 600 listeners points of view.” Even more, the program “This record is for you” brings between 2,200 and 2,500 daily letters. [“*Musique, pouvoir, responsabilité*”, p. 123].

¹⁹ « *Les Ondes* », #33 of October 7th 1941: “*Vous êtes chez vous*”, by Pierre Hiégel

²⁰ « *Les Ondes* », #136 of December 5th 1943.

²¹ The “*Commission Consultative des Dommages et des Réparations*” “will be evaluating about 30 million of francs after the war the amount that covered the fees and wages of the artists, reporters, and announcers of this station [“*Musique, pouvoir, responsabilité*”, p. 123].

²² Which doesn’t prevent these two artists from giving a recital on Tuesday December 28th at 11.35 on “*Radio Nationale*”!

one of the top dates of the hit parade of the highest musical performances of the radio. That day the “*Grand orchestra de Radio-Paris*” actually gives its first concert. A little earlier, musicians had been recruited in a very exclusive way, for fabulous wages, which constituted an opportunity in those times of dearth. Whereas most of the strings come from the “*Orchestre Padeloup*”, the artistic quality of the orchestra is strengthened by the presence of some prestigious section leaders, like cellist Paul Tortelier²³. We can also mention the names of Maurice Gendron, second cellist, Pierre Nérini, first violinist, and Pierre Dervaux, percussionist and future orchestra conductor. The “*Grand Orchestre de Radio-Paris*” rehearses in the mornings and gives two to three daily concerts. Within a few months, it overtakes almost any French orchestra. Given at the “*Théâtre des Champs-Élysées*”, the public concerts of this “home orchestra” are proposed to the Parisian audience for free, initially on Sundays at 3 pm, then in the evenings, as soon as May 20th 1943. The fact that non public programs are also recorded in this place makes the station’s journal say that: “*the listeners can imagine seeing the proceeding of the concert.*”²⁴ The “*Grand Orchestre*” tries every genre, ancient music, romantic or modern, but also “light music”, operetta or “café-concert.”²⁵ As far as the classical repertoire is concerned, the monitoring of the programs permits to enlighten the artistic policy of the station²⁶. One won’t be astonished by the preeminence of German music. On an average over the four years, French music however occupied 27% of the broadcasting, against 17% for foreign music²⁷. The huge presence of Beethoven should be underlined. Two cycles are devoted to him, including the ones of May 20th to June 10th 1943²⁸. The monitoring of the contents however shows another reality and another fetish composer: Maurice Ravel is scheduled 24 times, over a total of 98 works, amounting almost to a quarter of the orchestra’s repertory.

Jean Fournet, a young unknown 28-year-old conductor, became the main conductor of the orchestra as of October 1941, after a probation period of a few months²⁹. He, however, was to have to move aside in favour of famous German guest conductors. Their presence is confirmed in 1943, since Jean Fournet only conducts 9 public concerts of the orchestra, out of a total of 34 performances. Still in 1944, 36 of the 43 concerts of the Radio-Paris orchestra are conducted by German conductors or conductors from German allied countries³⁰. Twice again, Herbert von Karajan comes and conducts the “*Grand Orchestre de Radio-Paris*” at the “*Théâtre des Champs-Élysées*”: on April 20th and May 4th 1944³¹.

²³ « *Les Ondes* » #39 of January 25th 1942.

²⁴ *Ibid.*: “*Le Grand orchestre de Radio-Paris*”.

²⁵ According to M. René Renot, consulted about the eclecticism of the programs, the programs called “café-concerts” were performed by the “*Orchestre de Casino*” and not by the “*Grand Orchestre*”. Furthermore, the latter made room for R. Legrand for the “entertainment” section; “The ‘Orchestre National’ did so with, for instance, Richard Blareau who was also much heard on Radio-Paris.” [Report of December 26th 2007].

²⁶ Karine Le Bail analyzed the contents of the concerts from November 9th 1941 to July 2nd 1944.

²⁷ Karine Le Bail, *op. cit.*

²⁸ We could notice here the Dutch Willem Mengelberg, a great Beethoven specialist, whose coming to Paris was considered a great event. At the liberation of the Netherlands, he was arrested for collaboration, judged and condemned to a six-year banishment; he then settled in Switzerland where he died without ever seeing his country again.

²⁹ In number 101 of “*Les Ondes*”, of April 4th 1943, he explains his education and experience to Jacques Tilly.

³⁰ Karine Le Bail, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

³¹ On that occasion, he is interviewed in #157 of the journal “*Les Ondes*”.

LE GRAND ORCHESTRE

LES ONDES
N° 17 19/08/1941

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(Reportage photographique. Inconnu.)

DE RADIO-PARIS

billets et des ouvertures d'opérettes. Durant les déjeuners-concerts, on a pu remarquer qu'il exécutait non pas des grandes œuvres symphoniques, mais de la *bonne musique légère*, genre trop souvent délaissé en France avant la guerre.

Du 20 avril au 31 juillet, le Grand Orchestre de Radio-Paris, n'a pas joué une seule fois le *matin marocain* malgré deux ou trois concerts hebdomadaires. C'est là la preuve d'un immense effort dans la recherche, l'étude et l'exécution d'œuvres nouvelles ou oubliées.

(Reportage photographique. Inconnu.)

11

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Page 4 de 4

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Les Ondes, # 17 of August 17th 1941

ECLECTICISM OF THE GENRES AND OMNIPRESENCE OF “CLASSICAL COMPOSERS”

A sampling of Radio-Paris’ program schedule shows that, even more than on the other stations, music is very present, since it fills more than two thirds of the programs. The very strong diversity of the interpreters, the orchestras, the composers, the musical genres also appears. The monitoring of nine weeks of broadcasting programs between January 1940 and May 1944 shows that more than eighty bands are broadcasted, relevant to “any musical genre (symphonic societies, chamber orchestras, harmonies, jazz-bands, tango and Napolitano orchestras, and Cuban trios).³²” The will to diversify the musicians and the titles is also visible in the programs. Over a period of nine weeks for instance, more than three hundred soloists and almost one hundred bands are performing 915 works (including 14 live performances every day, plus records). Concerning the performers, the pianists are omnipresent: Marthe Pellas-Lenom, Marguerite André-Chastel, Eugène Wagner or Tasso Janopoulos³³.

In order to assess the musical output of the German station, Karine Le Bail used another source: the weekly reports that were sent to Berlin by the *Propaganda-Abteilung*. In the one dealing with the week starting October 7th 1943, we learn that 43 musical programs were scheduled, including 22 live ones³⁴. The survey of these weekly reports shows that music was the preferred genre. As early as November 1940, one can count more than 65 daily musical programs, including 32 live ones. The report established by Otto Sonnen, the chief of the musical section of the *Propaganda-Abteilung*, on May 23rd 1941 shows the proportions of French and German music: one can clearly read that as early as the summer of 1940, there is 35% of German music and 65% of French and foreign music, which proves, according to the historian, the will to containing German music to a reasonable share, acceptable by the occupied people³⁵.

Beside the “*Grands concerts symphoniques*” and the sequences of recital and chamber music, other programs bridge the gap with classical music: the didactic programs and the slots of variety music which mix masterpieces of the grand repertoire and trendy little songs. Concerning the didactic programs, we could mention for example the one that was broadcasted in Tuesday November 3rd 1942 from 11.30 am to 11.45, entitled: “Françoise discovers music”; hosted by Pierre Hiégel with a little girl, Simone Metgen. As far as the songs are concerned, they are broadcasted daily under various titles: “morning concert”; “a bit of orchestra”; “Mr. so-and so and his orchestra”, etc. As a comparison, we could observe the programs of December 29th 1943. For the noontime concert, the journal “*Les Ondes*” mentions the “orchestra of Gaston Lapeyronnie” on Radio-Paris, while Radio Nationale broadcasts a concert called “varied music”; conducted by William Cantrelle, with Marcel Moyse³⁶, a flute player, performing works by Granados and Chabrier. It is followed by a concert by the Marseille Orchestra conducted by Henri Tomasi, at 1.45 pm. At that time, Radio-Paris broadcasts the “*Orchestre du Normandie*” conducted by Jacques Météhen³⁷.

³² “*Pauses musicales ou les éclatants silences de Radio-Paris*”. Cécile Méadel targeted these weeks: 1st week of January 1940, 3rd week of May 1941, January 1941, and September 1942, 1st week of January 1943, May 1943, September 1943, January 1944 and May 1944.

³³ M. Guy Bernède told us he was the uncle of singer Georges Guétary.

³⁴ “*Musique, pouvoir, responsabilité*”, p. 125.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ The latter anyway frequently interprets chamber music on Radio Nationale (such as on Wednesday November 4th 1942, from 8.05 to 8.37 am).

³⁷ The author of this article here thanks M. René Renot for his researches in the weekly newspaper of the time.

Although the cancelling of the free zone is going to favour complementarities between the two stations, they are more in competition than in a complementary pattern .

RADIO-VICHY, THE NATIONAL RADIO
SEEKING LISTENERS

As early as August 1940, Vichy's radio had thus to put up with a station (Radio-Paris) which, like every fall, massively drew artists to the capital. After much trouble to find its feet in Toulouse, Montpellier and Nice, the departments of the "*Radiodiffusion Nationale*" settled down in the fall of 1940, and then contributed to the creation of important cultural poles.

1941-1942: FROM A DECENTRALIZED PRODUCTION TO A PARISIAN TEMPLATE

Marseille became a high-profile artistic center. Taking advantage of the unexpected gathering of artists that had taken refuge in the free zone, "*Radiodiffusion Nationale*" rapidly stood out as a patron of the artistic life. Very fond of creation, it attracted all sorts of talents, and particularly those who belonged to the musical sections, such as Tony Aubin, Pierre Capdevielle, Emmanuel Bondeville, Henri Tomasi, Henri Dutilleux or also Ivan Devriès. The musical works which ordered from the composers maintained Vichy's ideology and supported hero-worship³⁸, or values such as rurality³⁹. At the end of September 1941, however, the priority was to reconquer the broadcasting waves. As early as September 10th 1941, Emmanuel Bondeville, who was in charge of the musical programs of the State radio, thought of taking back the Paris programs, in order to broadcast the great celebrities, widely appreciated by the listeners, again. Inspired by a more recreational touch of Radio-Paris (which it got closer to in the summer of 1941⁴⁰), the Radio Nationale intensified its policy of entertainment in 1942 and operated a genuine "reduction of the programs".

Thus, as far as the so-called "serious music" is concerned, musical sections imagine federative concerts such as concerts with a theme (like the one given by the "*Orchestre National*" and the Félix Raugel choir, on February 1st 1942 at 5 pm. Conducted by Henri Tomasi, with baritone Lucien Lovano as soloist, the concert is entitled "Musician sailors". Relatively depoliticized, radio then places the audience figures and the prestige of the musical performances at the core of its broadcasting policy. After reshaping its orchestras in a more rational way with difficulty, it sticks to a policy of excellence and prestige. As early as the summer of 1941, "*Radiodiffusion Nationale*" plans to rebuild a new Parisian orchestra, whose members are auditioned and hired in the first days of September. Called "Orchestre radio-symphonique de Radio-Paris", this new Parisian orchestra will soon be known as "*Orchestre Lyrique*". Beside "*Radiodiffusion Nationale*" can use in Paris the Yvonne Gouverné choir and

³⁸ e.g. many concerts are given in the honour of Joan of Arc or veterans.

³⁹ Classical composers are called on to arrange pieces from the folkloric repertoire.

⁴⁰ Karine Le Bail sees in this getting closer the "mark of political moves in the summer of 1941" ["*Musique, pouvoir, responsabilité*". 268]

a great number of soloists, instrument players, female singers and actors. By monitoring the first week of November 1942, one can see that Radio-Vichy's artistic broadcasting easily bears comparison with the German station:

“Transmission of the ‘Orchestre Padeloup’ (Sunday 1st ; [...] Concert by the ‘Orchestre National’ conducted by Inghelbrecht (Monday 2nd); The Félix Raugel Choir (Tuesday 3rd); the ‘Orchestre National’ conducted by Henri Rabaud (Thursday 5th); Concert of the ‘Société des Instruments à vent’ conducted by Fernand Oubradous, with the participation of pianist Marguerite Long (on the 7th)”.

The “seal” of Vichy's government however remains perceptible in the musical programs, like the “Concert by the music of the personal guard of the Chief of the State, conducted by Major Pierre Dupont”, which the listeners of “*Radiodiffusion Nationale*” could listen to on Friday 7th at 1.45 pm. That concert was interrupted, as used to be the case in the radio of the thirties, by a short vocal recital⁴¹.

Still, the monitoring of the works broadcasted that week mainly reveals that the national radio shows an eclecticism that could easily be compared to Radio-Paris'. The latter anyway sets the specificity of a policy of musical broadcasting. The several great rendezvous with chamber music (with cellist Maurice Maréchal as a celebrity on November 1st) or recital (including the one given by organist Olivier Messiaen on November 23rd) are accompanied by frequent concerts of varied music (by the orchestras of Toulouse, Lyon and Vichy) which always mix “serious” and “light” music. The two performances of the “*Orchestre National*” are in the highest tradition of the “symphonic concert”, and they incidentally do celebrate the national values (Festival Saint-Saëns on November 5th). As for lyrical broadcasting, it stretches from “*Mon Oncle Benjamin*” by Francis Bousquet (a relay from the Opéra-Comique on November 1st) to “*Tosca*” by Puccini (on the 3rd), and “*Isoline*” by André Messager (on the 7th). The panorama of a somewhat classical music will be complete only if we add to those few strong moments the many record playing slots (4 on November 7th only) which match the two programs, whose contents are not mentioned by *Radio Nationale*.

1943-1944: RADIO-VICHY HUNTS ON THE SAME LANDS AS RADIO-PARIS'

In 1943, “*Radiodiffusion Nationale*” nevertheless has to recognize that it is being distanced by Radio-Paris, which is attracting the artists through higher fees. Besides, a report of September 28th underlines the fact that “the ‘*Orchestre National*’⁴², though ‘very good’, could however be improved, as well as the ‘radio-symphonique’. On the other hand, the ‘*Orchestre Lyrique*’ is just so so, like the Lyon orchestra. As for Toulouse's, it's a poor orchestra.”⁴³ In order to restore its image and face the competition of Radio-Paris, the “*Radiodiffusion Nationale*” is going to fight on even ground, by proposing its own public concerts. On March 22nd and April 5th and 22nd 1943, the “*Orchestre National*” makes an incursion to the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. The number of charity concerts, which were very federative and free of charge and used to irritate the Radio-Paris crowd, increase in 1944. The purpose of producing attractive “*Grande musique*” (classical music) appears in the

⁴¹ “*Radio-National*”, November 1942.

⁴² The “*Orchestre National*” settles back in Paris on March 1st 1943, the day when it gives “one too many concert” on Radio-Paris, in the honour of the “*Legion des Volontaires français*.”

⁴³ Mentioned by Karine Le Bail, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

content of the “*Orchestre National*” programs themselves. First, festivals and anniversaries are following each other, sparking genuine “announcing effects”. Besides, the gala-concerts of the “*Orchestre National*”, which include a classical and an entertainment part, look like the public “grands galas” Radio-Paris’ at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. At last, “*the collusion between the two radios is obvious*”⁴⁴ through the exchanges of conductors, as when Jean Fournet, the Radio-Paris’ conductor, comes and conducts the “Berlioz Festival” at the head of the “*Orchestre National*”, on September 13th 1943.

In 1944, Radio-Vichy’s broadcasting is very French-oriented. By monitoring the broadcasting of the “*Orchestre National*” in 1943 and 1944, Karine Le Bail noticed an exceptional increase of French music, which reached the level of 60%, against 26% of German music and only 14% of foreign music.⁴⁵ From March 12th to 16th, the “Days of Music for 1944”, organized in favour of the social and musical charities of the “National Committee for the Propaganda of Music” are also relayed by the “*Radiodiffusion nationale*”. On that occasion, conductor André Cluytens comes and conducts the “ON” in a Berlioz program (the overture of *Benvenuto Cellini*), Lalo (*The Spanish Symphony*), Rabaud (*Procession nocturne*), Georges Hüe (*Fantasy for violin and orchestra*), and Ravel (*Boléro*). As early as July 1944, although the Allied forces are on French soil, festivals of “French music” are coming through one after the other at a high speed: an “Eduard Lalo Festival” at salle Pleyel on July 16th, an “Emmanuel Chabrier Festival” on July 23rd, a “French music Festival” on July 29th, and a “Saint-Saëns Festival” on July 30th, replayed on August 5th follow each other. Besides, the dismissal of Jean Fournet from the “*Grand Orchestre de Radio-Paris*”, which had occurred in mid-November 1943, in favor of German conductors, enables the “*Orchestre National*” to get a French Music repertoire. Anyway, the presence of conductor and composer Henri Büsser at the department of musical broadcasting of the “*Radiodiffusion Nationale*” may explain the strong presence of French contemporary music, which he used to defend.

Through an assessment of those four years of the Occupation and the interesting comparison of the two concurrent stations, we can particularly notice that the broadcasting split matches the political situation. At the time when the demarcation line is set up, the procedures and the broadcasts are particularly distinct. With the cancellation of the free zone, which favours the artistic refocusing of Radio-Vichy on Paris, the two stations tend on the contrary to get mixed up. Radio-Paris, more attractive and entertaining, immediately plays the card of seduction, with a music that does not really merge with the spoken programs. Everything seems as if Radio-Paris’ broadcasting, by skillfully mixing entertainment and sophisticated music, aimed at duplicating that of the major pre-war stations. By paying well strongly established artists, Radio-Paris appears as the “French broadcasting radio of Paris.”⁴⁶ Less calculating and less generous with its artists, “*Radiodiffusion Nationale*” seems to fight with the same contradictions that faced the State network in prewar years: backing and promoting superior programs and performances while preferring music to entertainment, but without letting the listeners escape towards the German station or the BBC. On the whole, we could say that classical music, in the traditional sense of the word, remains as present as it was during the thirties. Apart from a few punctual situations, music is not a political or military stake in favor of one cause or another. The similarities that could be noticed from 1943 on show it: on Radio-Paris, as well as for Radio-Vichy, the musical programs are relatively independent from propaganda.

⁴⁴ Karine Le Bail *op. cit.* p. 373.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 374. The information mentioned in this paragraph is coming from the same source.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

After a hot summer in hertz fighting, Radio-Paris stops emitting on August 18th 1944. On Sunday August 20th, at 10.30 pm, the listeners from Paris can hear the broadcasting of “*La Marseillaise*⁴⁷”, followed by the announcement “This is the Broadcasting of the French nation”. Radio Vichy stops emitting on August 26th. The hour of rebuilding time has come⁴⁸.

**CLEANSING AND REHABILITATION
AT “RADIODIFFUSION FRANÇAISE”**

At the time of the Liberation, the radio’s cleansing committee condemns compromisation with the occupant (such as the eviction of the Jews from the permanent orchestras) and excludes Désiré-Émile Inghelbrecht from the Orchestre National⁴⁹. It also punishes the musicians of the “Orchestre radio-symphonique” by preventing them from performing for five years, and also the numerous choristers who had joined the Radio-Paris orchestra. The rule implemented by the public radio is severe indeed. On the whole, the ministry tempers the cleansing fervor of the committee, which eventually only proposes 350 sanctions (although 600 files had been collected in January 1945). By comparison with other sectors, however, the cleansing operation of the radio is severe, as regards the number of the people sanctioned (about 6%) and the nature of the sanctions (more than 50% final prohibitions or banishments). Beside the public workers, the composers, actors, performers who had been employed by Radio-Paris and the German television are removed. Split by its wish to punish this form of collaboration (assimilated to a spiritual betrayal) and the necessity of hiring those performers for its programs, the radio builds a compromise by applying the following scale: fifteen days of ban for those merely attending (and a final exclusion for anyone politically involved). As a matter of fact, it would have led, for the sector we are studying, to so many vacant positions in the French orchestras, and particularly in the Paris ones, that the rule was not totally implemented. For instance, the star-singer of Radio-Paris, André Claveau, and Pierre Hiégel were authorized to work for the national radio (as of 1948 and 1950 respectively). The latter was suspended from any professional occupation for only nine months. Meanwhile, he found a job on Radio-Luxembourg⁵⁰.

The programs that are published by the weekly newspaper *Radio 44* very well show the modifications, but also the continuities in the new musical broadcasting landscape. On Sunday December 17th 1944 at 11 am, in a weekly program “The Pleasure of music”, composer and musicologist Alexis Roland-Manuel announces artists that were well-known in prewar years and during the occupation periods: harpist Lily Laskine (already regularly broadcasted from 1935 on on Radio-Paris) and horn player Louis Courtinat⁵¹; and the “Orchestre symphonique de la Radiodiffusion Française”, conducted by Tony Aubin, who was Emmanuel Bondeville’s colleague at the direction of the “Radiodiffusion Nationale”.

⁴⁷ We should add that the hymn written by Rouget de Lisle was played daily at the end of the programs on the “*Radiodiffusion Nationale*”.

⁴⁸ Indeed, apart from the Limoges transmitter in middle waves, every transmitter capable of functioning had been destroyed.

⁴⁹ Karine Le Bail, “*Les musiciens de radio*” in Jean-Noël Jeanneney, *op. cit.*, p. 332

⁵⁰ According to Cécile Méadel in “*Pauses musicales, ou les éclatants silences de Radio-Paris*”.

⁵¹ In July 1940, while expecting the Orchestre National to be reshaped, he used to give concerts of chamber music on *Radiodiffusion Nationale*.

Since Inghelbrecht was removed from his responsibilities, we can notice the return of Manuel Rosenthal at the head of the Orchestre National. On Monday December 18th 1944, he conducts the *Concerto for cello and orchestra* by Boccherini, with André Lévy as a soloist⁵². The people who are responsible for the radio seem to make a point of honor in employing musicians that were banned from programs during the Occupation. Two days later, in his performing of the “*Malheurs d’Orphée*” by Darius Milhaud, it is in fact Élie Cohen who conducts the “Orchestre lyrique de la Radiodiffusion française”. On Friday 22nd, William Cantrelle gives an umpteenth concert of “varied music”, in which Adam, Haydn, Tchaikovsky and Massenet rub shoulders, whereas one hour later, flutist Marcel Moyse still hosts the 2.30 pm program of chamber music. The “*uninterrupted musical quarter of an hour*” precedes the concert by Jo Bouillon (also present in the programs of Radiodiffusion Nationale and Radio-Paris), where composer Raymond Gallois-Montbrun plays the violin, is a perfect look-alike of the quarter of an hour entitled “*The musical moment*” that could be heard on Radio-Cité from 1938 on.

All in all, and apart from some “forbidden” people both during the Occupation and the cleansing that followed, the composers, artists, and the works that were broadcasted by the “war stations” are not so different from those of the TSF’ of the prewar period.

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⁵² *Radio 44*, #13 of December 17th 1944.