

Music, Totalitarian Ideologies, and Musical Practices under Francoism (1938-1950)¹

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Introduction

At the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, after the revolt of July 18, 1936, totalitarian ideology in Spain had been organized around a little political party, *Falange Española* (Spanish Phalanx), which soon developed a strong capacity for mobilization. During the first years of Francoism, its influence on the new State was very important, until the war turned against the Axis powers in 1943, resulting in the decrease of power for the Falange.² In spite of this, the State used the press and propaganda machinery until the fifties, and its symbol codes were those of Francoism until the end of the regime. Its institutions had an essential role in the education of young people and in the leisure of part of the population until 1975. For this, analyzing the relations between the Falange and music is the same as inquiring into an important portion of Spaniards' musical experiences during Francoism. It is also a new approach to the role assigned to music and its practices by totalitarian ideologies.

Historians and musicologists have already explored some aspects of falangist musical policies, such as censorship and musical relations between the Falange and Nazism.³ The objective of this paper is to outline a global vision of the musical policies developed by the Falange, paying special attention to the practices boosted by these policies, an aspect that has rarely been touched upon in historiography.

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² In April 1937, Franco joined the Falange with the “requetés” by decree. The new name of the party was *Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las JONS*.

³ Gemma Pérez-Zalduondo, “Música, censura y Falange: el control de la actividad musical desde la Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular (1941-1945),” *Arbor: Música y políticas. Sobre las mediaciones sociales en los fenómenos musicales* 187/751 (Madrid, September-October 2011): 875-86. Beatriz Martínez del Fresno, “La Sección Femenina de Falange y sus relaciones con los *países amigos*. Música, danza y política exterior durante la Guerra y el primer Francoismo (1937-1943),” in Gemma Pérez-Zalduondo and María Isabel Cabrera García, coords., *Cruce de caminos: intercambios musicales y artísticos en la Europa de la primera mitad del siglo XX* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación, Université François-Rabelais de Tours, 2010), 357-406; Gemma Pérez-Zalduondo, “La música en los intercambios culturales entre España y Alemania (1938-1942),” *ibid.*, 407-50.

Music and the Falange during the Civil War: the development of policies, discourses and heroes

Both, the rhetoric and the Falangist musical policies were set very early, in 1938. The first one was established in a purely totalitarian structure, in an exacerbated nationalist conscience and in tradition—a tradition that reinterpreted references inherited from the nineteenth century, especially those concerned with the school of Spanish Golden Age and folklore. Supposedly, one could find in both the singularity conferred to the Spanish school: an emotional end expressive content that made it different since its beginnings, which coincided with the early Spanish empire at the court of the Catholic Kings, the new historical point of identification for the new Spain. Such references were repeated through the official discourse, together with the condemnation of the pre-war vanguards, which were considered liberal and hence anti-Spanish, and the repudiation of the republican musical inheritance.

It is remarkable that, as occurred in other areas of culture, one of the key concepts of the discourse after the war was that of continuity. Cultural historian Jordi Gracia pointed out a few years ago that Falangist intellectuals only rescued from liberal culture aspects that fit in with their fascist State project, as a form of appropriation and abuse of the past.⁴ The allusions to Felipe Pedrell and the constant presence of Manuel de Falla, who was absent, are the best examples of the nineteenth-century, pre-war legacies interpreted in the framework of a new nationalism.

However, both the discourses spread by Falangist magazines and the initiatives undertaken by their leaders had the fundamental aim of propaganda. The political practice of the Falange during the war formed part of the powerful press and propaganda machinery set up during this period to implement their totalitarian ideology and attract the masses. Two main elements can be distinguished.

On one side, the Falange enlisted all vocal and instrumental formations to the institutions of the party. For example, in July 1938, the “Falange’s Symphony Orchestra of Granada”⁵ made its public debut, and several months later the Choir of Granada was constituted, “attached to the Provincial Propaganda Service and sponsored by Falange” directed by Valentín Ruiz Aznar.⁶

On the other side, institutions of the Falange also promoted concerts and recitals during the war. For example, the concerts given by the Bética Orchestra from 1938 onward were promoted by the provincial Press and Propaganda Delegations situated in

⁴ Jordi Gracia, *La resistencia silenciosa. Fascismo y cultura en España* (Barcelona: Anagrama, 2004), 222.

⁵ *Program from the Presentation Concert of the Falange Symphony Orchestra*, Literature Section of the provincial Propaganda Headquarters of Granada, July 25, 1938.

⁶ *Invitation to the constitution ceremony of the Choir of Granada*, Provincial Propaganda Headquarters of Granada, September 25, 1938.

the cities that it visited;⁷ José Cubiles and Gerardo Diego offered commentated piano recitals organized by the Falange's Feminine Culture Section,⁸ and Regino Sainz de la Maza took part in the musical activities promoted by Social Assistance.⁹ In this way, the Party was the basis for a good part of musical initiatives in the Spain conquered by Franco since 1938 until the end of the Civil War.

We need to know more about the musical activity in Francoist Spain during the war,¹⁰ but from what we know so far, we can observe that the war was not just the insuperable obstacle for part of the culture and music, that had reached brilliant levels until 1936; it was also the channel in which the sense of tradition and continuity was transformed. For example, while conducting the Bética Orchestra, Cubiles directed the same repertoire from the pre-war period, but now he did it within the limits of the Falange. And as the works of musicians who were supporters of the Republic were excluded from concerts, the long silences that hung over the music in exile were created.

Many of the names of the authors of the mentioned discourses and policies are of composers, performers, and critics: Nemesio Otaño, Sainz de la Maza, José Cubiles, and Federico Sopena performed as propagandists of the Falange through their articles, essays, concerts and musical critique. The Falangist newspapers presented the Falangist musicians as real heroes who took up instruments instead of arms, and not only those mentioned, but also others who were less well known but that also put their art at the disposal of the Falange and the national cause. *Patria*, a newspaper from Granada, told the story of Antonio Sáenz-Ferrer, the mandolin performer from Málaga who offered concerts in Málaga and Granada in January 1938:

Sáenz-Ferrer's art captivated critics, who considered it to vindicate, regenerate, and recreate this very Spanish instrument. How do we now combine this with Sáenz-Ferrer's personality, a Falange supporter, with his impulsive national-

⁷ *Program* from two concerts given by the Bética Orchestra under the direction of José Cubiles in Málaga on the 10th and 11th of May 1938; *Program* from the concert by the same formation, also in 1938, although with no date, in Seville's *Exposición* theatre "in aid of the rest of soldiers."

⁸ *Program* from the concert given on the 29th of March 1938, although the city is not referenced.

⁹ *Program* from the "Great vocal and instrumental concert" which took place on the 26th of April 1938 in the Coliseo María Lisarda.

¹⁰ There are recent contributions which are adding to the knowledge regarding musical life during the conflict, especially in republican Spain: Ernesto Coro Morán, "Cultura musical en tiempos de guerra: los conciertos organizados por el Control de Espectáculos Públicos en Gijón (enero-octubre de 1937)," *Leaflets by the Ateneo. Cuadernos de Historia* 26 (Workers Arts and Science Association of Gijón, November 2010): 3-47; Marco Antonio de la Ossa Martínez, *La música en la guerra civil española* (Cuenca: Spanish Society of Musicology and Publications of the University of Castilla-La Mancha, 2011).

unionist temperament and with his revolutionary nature as a man devoted in heart and soul to the youth movement of the new Spain?

There was a day, in mid-July 1936, in which Sáenz-Ferrer found himself caught between two duties. That was when, while witnessing the uprising in Larache, he didn't have a moment's hesitation and, between the cries of Long live Spain! that crackled like fireworks, he decisively put away his mandolin.

Today, with the joy of the next victory in the heart of Spain, he no longer has doubts. Was the mission of the troubadours who placed their soul in their lutes, in the times of knights, any different?¹¹

The writer finds a double heroism in the performer, on one hand from the pursuance of his duty to Spain as a falangist, and on the other from placing his art at the disposal of the same objective. The imperial rhetoric of the discourses from the time also called for comparison, not only with the great Spanish myths and epics (the author compares him to the troubadours that summed up the feats of "Mío Cid Campeador") but also universal ones:

[T]hose who know Sáenz-Ferrer know that he fits perfectly into this period of Spain, imperial, tumultuous, generational, virile, and epic. He fits as well as the spirit of Wagner in Nibelung Germania, that of Velázquez in Habsburg Spain, Homer in the Achaia of Agamemnon, or Rabindranath in the ancient India of Velmiki.

Maybe it is not by chance that the two performers worthy of this praise were both Falangists, who played instruments that were especially linked to Spanish music, the guitar in the case of Regino Sainz de la Maza, and the mandolin in that of Sáenz-Ferrer. Either way, the transformation from musicians to heroes and icons was a similar practice to those of other totalitarian regimes. In the Spanish case, due to being deployed in the middle of the Civil War, it becomes evident that the Falange considered music a good propaganda method and an important part of the cultural policy that the new State was setting at the time.

While musical discourses and the figures of the musicians served as a means of propaganda for the totalitarian ideology, there is another aspect that has so far been studied in little detail: the highly successful promotion of music that celebrated and glossed the coup d'état and the new Spain. Traditionally, these kinds of *circumstance-works*, with a highly explicit ideological and political objective, were considered exceptional, but curricula such as Eusebio Quesada's, a lyricist from Granada who specialized in light musical theater, make us think that maybe it was the authors of zarzuela or other popular genres who composed glosses, on many occasions as a way of adapting to the new political situation, or of making people forget about past republican

¹¹ Ignacio Mendizábal, "Antonio Sáenz-Ferrer. Y hasta la bandurria, a fuer de española, vistió camisa azul," *Patria*, January 23, 1938, 4.

supporters who could arouse suspicion.¹² The contribution of these musicians to the “patriotic” repertoire may have been greater, and more “transitory,” than that of composers of “highbrow” or concert music.

Music and the Vice Secretary of Popular Education: hymns, folklore and popular music to attract the masses

Once the Civil War was over, the potential intervention of Spain on the side of the Axis and the central role of the army in the interior boosted the creation of hymns. The activity deployed around this repertoire is linked to the creation of the Falangist system of symbols.

In the General Archive of the Administration can be found the proceedings for the creation of a hymnal with handwritten scores, mostly of recent creation and with the permission from the authors for printing.¹³ Nazi and fascist hymns, as well as the *March of the Grenadiers*, the new Spanish hymn, also make up the collection.

It is surprising that, in a fashion similar to what we pointed out earlier regarding authors of *circumstance-works*, we only find three well-known names amongst the authors of the hymnal: two authors of zarzuela, Moreno Torroba and Fernando Díaz Giles, and Francisco Calés Pina, renowned author of hymns before 1936. The vital participation of Nemesio Otaño, who contributed scores to the genre and harmonized many of those contained in the hymnal at the time, also stands out.¹⁴ Regarding literary figures, we must emphasize the intellectual Falangist Agustín de Foxá. No less than the official poet of the Regime and a friend of Falla, José María Pemán, and the theatre author Marquina presented their texts for the Spanish Hymn.

In 1941, the government entrusted all the press and propaganda machinery to a new Falangist institution, the Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular (Vice Secretary of Popular Education). Its purpose was to control and censor all cultural activity, from the press to the radio, as well as the propaganda of Falangist ideology and the attraction of masses.

¹² Letter dated June 19, 1938, and addressed to Salamanca, to the State Delegation for Press and Propaganda. Quesada presented for censorship the lyric-patriotic interlude *Three of the Falange*. But in the same dossier the titles of other compositions appeared, such as *Heroes of Spain*, a zarzuela in one act, *Those who Sacrifice Everything*, a comedy in three acts, up to a total of seven compositions, with another three that the author states are “in preparation.” AGA (03)052.022 Caja 79080.

¹³ AGA 21/44.

¹⁴ The works and authors mentioned were part of the volume *Himnos y canciones*, published by the Vice Secretary of Popular Education in 1942, and they are included, with music and text, in the recent volume written by Ossa Martínez, *La música en la guerra civil española*, 351-91.

From that moment onwards, when it seemed that Hitler would win the war and the whole of Europe would become totalitarian, control and censorship were intensified. In the context of music, this included scores, recordings, conferences, broadcast texts, contests, musical literature, organization of concerts, musical societies, and refinement of creators and performers.¹⁵

Censorship was guided by political and ideological criteria, a strongly nationalist and moral character, and by an elitist concept of music. Nationalist criteria implied the suppression of non-Spanish texts in popular music and the condemnation of foreign popular music, especially jazz. The moral criteria were particularly applied to musical theater, to musical comedies and to the so-called *revistas* (variety shows). It was also forbidden and censored to adapt the “cult” repertoire to “dancing rhythms.” That is, although a fierce control was exerted on any kind of music, there was a higher impact on popular and consumer music, a question that, on the other hand, was in line with the objective of the Vice Secretary: the direction of popular culture. Its main efforts were made in replacing urban popular music, especially foreign music, with folklore practices.

Obviously, folklore had been considered as the expression of the way of feeling of every people since the nineteenth century. This romantic idea was now reinterpreted as a mean of spreading Falangist ideology, and the institution in charge of this task was the *Sección Feminina* (Feminine Section) of the Falange. The Vice Secretary supported these folklore practices, searching for their utility as propaganda. In June 1942, due to the celebration of the First National Choir and Dance Competition of the Feminine Section, a circular by the National Press Representative (Delegado Nacional de Prensa) to every press and agency director demanded:

[T]o intensify the undertaken campaign around the mentioned competition, dedicating information, commentaries, and *entrefiletos*¹⁶ until the specified date, so that the final announced performance will be of the highest brilliance, because it is the demonstration of the purest artistic and patriotic sense and will be at the same time the best proof of efficiency and spirit of the Feminine Section.¹⁷

In order to include in a proper way all the information concerning the competition, the Vice Secretary sent to every newspaper four texts, half a sheet long, to be used as guidelines for the writing of several other editorials of compulsory publication. The first one of them was written around one of the central ideas at the time: unity.

Every people, of young potential and old history, needs strong lungs for singing imperial chants to the winds, the seas, and the earth. Its epics and deeds need an anonymous popular singer to spread on national veins the emotion and joy of

¹⁵ Gemma Pérez Zalduondo, “The Musical Policies of the Third Reich in Relation to the First Years of Francoism (1938-1943),” in *Music, Oppression and Exile: The Impact of Nazism on Musical Development in the 20th Century* (London, forthcoming).

¹⁶ Sentences added among newspaper pages.

¹⁷ Circular 249, dated June 17, 1942. AGA (3)49.1 21/77.

patriotic tradition. The Nation that does not sing cheerfully and youthfully is a power in decline, a people invaded by exotic airs, by strange dances.¹⁸

In the days of yore, diluted in local colors and flavors, it was meant to transform, in the cause of regional differentiation, the essence of each province, no matter that unity is always composed by parts or pluralities integrated in a higher destiny to accomplish. For that, the Falange's Feminine Section has claimed the task of restoring the true meaning to that folkloric treasure, threatened with getting lost among minor differences and circumstances.

National-sindicalist women blend with their voices melodies of all Spanish territories. In this way, in the superior national harmony, regional chants and dances find their authentic nuances and their best expression."¹⁹

Unity was a leading ideological value during the first period of Francoism. It alluded to unity of thought, action, and also to patriotic unity.²⁰ Folklore should enable every Spaniard to sing the same song, and songbooks were published with that purpose. The slogan was *unity in plurality*, although in 1952 it was already recommended to practice only dances of one's own region.²¹

The Vice Secretary also promoted non-folkloric popular repertoire, which can be observed in the acts of different types and purposes that the regional delegations, who were also in charge of censorship, promoted until 1945. For example, three functions were held in honor of the Blue Division, the column of the army that supported the Germans in Russia, at every town. In Palencia, a group of serenaders was organized with the same name as those honored, "made up of representatives of Education and Rest and the Catholic workers' union of mutual benefit societies and councils." In the last days of 1942 they gave a concert "in honor and tribute to our glorious Blue Division," with fragments from one of Haydn's Trios, from *La boda de Luis Alonso* by Jiménez, and the jota *La bruja* (The Witch) by Chapí.

¹⁸ These texts had been written by the Department of Publications and Slogans of the Press Delegation, as we can conclude from the circular that the leader of this Department sent to the National Press Representative: "For your information I enclose four scripts regarding 'Regional songs and dances and the Feminine Section,' which had been entrusted to this Department of Publications and Slogans." Circular without number, dated May 12, 1942, *ibidem*.

¹⁹ Circular 209, dated May 18, 1942, *ibidem*.

²⁰ Isabel Cabrera García and Gemma Pérez Zalduondo, "La unidad: concepto referencial para las artes y la música en el primer Francoismo," *Cuadernos de Arte de la Universidad de Granada* 35 (2004): 183-96.

²¹ Beatriz Martínez del Fresno, "La danza in Spagna durante il franchismo," in Alessandor Pontremoli, ed., *Sara Acquarone. Una coreografa moderna in Italia* (Turín: UTET, 2009), 54-90.

In other cases, military bands had a leading role. For example, in Pamplona, during the same days as previously mentioned, the Band of Division 62 performed popular songs and dances (waltz, *fado*, *pasodoble*, *patio andaluz*, jota) together with well-known classical repertoire, such as the Overture to *Freischiütz* by Weber, Mozart's *Requiem*, "Hallelujah" from Handel's *Messiah*, the Prelude to *Tristan and Isolde* by Wagner, the first movement of Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony*, and the *Egmont Overture* by Beethoven.²²

All in all, choirs, groups of serenaders, and military bands performed a popular repertoire. *Pasodobles*, jotas, waltzes, Andalusian music, fragments of zarzuela, and compositions of the Classical and Romantic repertoire, especially Wagner—extraordinarily popular in Spain after the war—were the most listened-to works in the musical events organized or controlled by the Vice Secretary.²³

Types of concerts and repertoires promoted by the Vice Secretary of Popular Education

Indeed, the objective of the Falangist institution, as its name says, was popular education, which was attempted through such informative initiatives as the publication of a collection of little music biographies—all of them of Austro-German origin—to educate the Spanish audience's tastes,²⁴ and the organization of several free "popular symphonic concerts" in Madrid with the *Madrid Classic Orchestra*, with compositions by Wagner, Holst, Haydn, Rameau, Debussy, and Falla. Those that took place in December 1943 were aimed at the "districts of Madrid," and the tickets, which were free, were available at the Falange's political headquarters in Madrid.²⁵

For some special occasions, the offices organized concerts with a single propaganda thrust. For instance, in Oviedo, in the last week of 1942, the Education and Rest Chamber Orchestra closed a cycle of conference-concerts with compositions by Haydn. This was an event attended by the highest authorities of the Vice Secretariat. A representative later sent a detailed report to Madrid regarding the details surrounding the organization of this concert and its reception: "The feeling in the audience was excellent and it emphasized the need and success of all kinds of activities in this area in our province."²⁶

Speakers during this cycle included university professors, who spoke on various subjects, and Falangist activists, who spoke about questions of an ideological and political nature. Lectures on musical subjects were provided by the clergyman Secundino Magdalena.

²² AGA (03)49.1 21/1532

²³ AGA (3)49.1 21/1532.

²⁴ Letter from Torres López to the Vice Secretary of Popular Education of Madrid, dated May 22, 1942. AGA 21/102.

²⁵ The second one took place on December 12, 1943. *ABC*, December 11, 1943, 27.

²⁶ Report from the last week of December 1942, from the Delegation of Oviedo. AGA (3)49.1 Caja 21/1532.

In such difficult economic times, the high standing of the invitees and the enormous resources that the Falange dedicated to the organization of this type of event are surprising. Without a doubt, important media exposure and impact were expected, as can be seen in the wide coverage the event received from the press. The audience included the Vice Secretary of Popular Education and the Head of the Oral Propaganda and Musical Education Section of the Vice Secretary of Madrid—that is, some of the institution’s highest dignitaries at the national level. The city’s main authorities (Falangist activists, official organizations, and contributing partners of the regional symphony Orchestra, that also appeared in the concert) were among those who had received invitations. Specifically, 200 tickets were sent to the Provincial Delegation of Education and Rest to be distributed amongst the orchestra’s patrons. They were also given to other Falangist institutions: the Old Guard, the Feminine Section, and the Spanish University Union (SEU). The rest, some 400, were distributed free of charge to the Provincial Delegation. In short, we can conclude that the Vice Secretary’s important propagandistic project already had a very willing audience.

In Madrid, the cycles of conference-concerts were given by Falangist (or close to the Falange) music critics, such as Antonio de las Heras and Víctor Espinós. In 1942, one of the sessions was dedicated to Granados and another to “Arbós and the musical critique”; two years later, they were dedicated to the Romantic century (Brahms, Wolf).²⁷

In the provinces, chamber music was the favorite. In Seville, the office of the Vice Secretary organized a series of concerts in 1944 with the performance of compositions by Beethoven and Dvorák.²⁸ The third concert featured songs by Schubert, Duparc, and Turina, while the fourth centered on Mozart, Haydn and Spanish music by Falla, Granados, Ernesto Halffter, and Albéniz.²⁹ Another kind of concert, still little studied, was organized in factories, following German and Italian models. Representative examples of this were the “company concerts” authorized at the end of 1942 at six Asturian labor centers.³⁰

These were all intended to establish a bridge between the audience and a known repertoire, though relatively short of Spanish music, always represented by Albéniz, Granados, Falla, Ernesto Halffter, and Joaquín Turina.

If we compare the repertoire promoted by the Vice Secretary with the official discourse, it is surprising the tiny presence of Spanish historical music, practically confined to concerts by Cubiles and Sainz de la Maza.³¹ It is also surprising that in the

²⁷ *ABC*, November 22, 1942, 36, and November 24, 1942, 6.

²⁸ Among others in which the dancer Esperancita Acosta performed. *ABC* (Seville), March 18, 1944, 17.

²⁹ *ABC* (Seville), March 28, 1944, 21.

³⁰ Financed by the orchestra linked to the Regional Department of Education and Rest. (3)49.1 21/1532.

³¹ Concert program from the 10th of November 1942 in the Cervantes Theatre in Almería, “sponsored by the Falange Provincial Headquarters and organized by the Provincial

religious music concerts programmed by the same institution in Madrid on the occasion of Holy Week in 1943, very few works from the Spanish repertoire were included, despite the fact that Victoria, Morales, and Guerrero were the composers singled out in official discourse as the reference point for the most magnificent moments in Spanish musical history.³²

We should also mention that the Vice Secretary was involved in the musical initiatives promoted by institutions unconnected to the party, such as the renovation of the Seville Concert Society, whose organizing Commission “asked for our cooperation [that of the Falange], which of course we gave from the very beginning, both officially and personally.”³³

Through the reports sent to the Vice Secretary in Madrid from the provinces, we can observe the existence of different realities within the national territories: the enthusiastic representative of Bilbao celebrated the “awesome” boosting of the music fandom at Vizcaya after the end of the war:

For two years now, the musical fandom in our province has increased in a very impressive way. Any concert performed today, no matter if orchestral, choir, piano, or any other medium, attracts enough people to fill the theatres.³⁴

The opposite occurred in Badajoz, whose representatives reported weekly that no new compositions to censor nor concerts or conferences had been organized by the office or any other organism of the state.³⁵ In the capital of Almería, the aforementioned recital of Sainz de la Maza was among the few that had to be reported to Madrid. During the years 1941–43, the representative’s reports show varied musical activities of negligible musical quality. For example, in Guadalajara, during the second week of December 1942, there were no concerts other than the appearance of the Madrid University District *Tuna* in “The Festival in aid of the Blue Division’s Christmas Bonus.”³⁶

Delegation of the Vice Secretary of Popular Education and Education and Rest.” The guitarist Sainz de la Maza included works by Domenico Scarlatti, which are, in fact, highly representative of eighteenth-century Spanish music. AGA (3)49.1 CAJA 21/1531.

³² They took place April 18-21 in the María Guerrero Theater, financed by the Spanish National Orchestra (ONE), directed by José María Franco, the Choir of Madrid, with the maestro Benedito, and the organist Miguel Echeveste. The repertoire was made up of works by Bach, Beethoven, Frank, Torroba (first concert), Bach, Franck, Guilmant, Pierné, Bonnet, Renaud, Echeveste (second and third concerts), Carissimi, Bach, Gounod, and Wagner (fourth concert). *ABC*, April 16, 1943, 12.

³³ Report from Seville regarding the week of December 8-14, 1942. AGA (03)49.1 Caja 21/1533.

³⁴ Report, s.f. AGA (3)49.1 21/1531.

³⁵ Files, s.f., regarding cultural activities in Bilbao and Badajoz during the final months of 1942. AGA (03)49.1 Caja 21/1531.

³⁶ Weekly Propaganda Report, December 7-13, 1942. AGA 21/118.

The lack of economic resources for the organization of cultural, especially musical, events in these hard post-war years becomes evident on several occasions. For example, the representative of Guadalajara wrote in November that “nothing is done in our province” regarding musical education, and he noted:

It would be of great interest to us to organize a festival, initiating a campaign in this sense, and also that we were offered some income with which to meet cultural necessities, which are possible for us to remedy in many villages.³⁷

In other equally run-down cities, important musical events were held as part of the Party’s activities, for instance, in Albacete, where the pianist Leopoldo Querol gave a recital, organized by the Regional Popular Education Delegation, “corresponding to the Course for Propagandists, who spread the national-unionist doctrine.” The representatives also spread information about musical events that took place in small towns: at the end of 1942, in Sorbas, a village in Almería, *Molinos de viento* (Windmills) was staged, financed by the “lyrical panel of Education and Rest.”³⁸

The aforementioned concerts and festivals occupied an important part of musical life, which today can be examined through the press. Another important part was the concert activity organized within the context of cultural relations with Portugal, Italy, and especially Germany.³⁹ Music critics reflected it in newspapers in the form of propaganda of the Third Reich. The presence of German music and musicians in Spain was the counterpart to the presence of Spanish composers, performers, and critics who were in Germany, at the invitation of the Nazi government. The Seville press reported on the departure of Feminine Section groups to Berlin in 1942:

Feminine Section folk group in Berlin. This morning, thirty-two comrades from the Feminine Section of Salamanca, Pontevedra, and Lerida arrived in Madrid. They are part of a folk group that will leave for Berlin on the 4th, invited by the Hitler Youth. They will visit hospitals, where they will perform regional songs and dances, sporting typical attire from their province.”⁴⁰

It is clear that the musical activity promoted by the Falange during these years included both amateur musicians and non-oppressed professionals. Nevertheless, the list of people who wrote discourses, promoted policies, and were involved in the most ideological activities is very small, as they were present in the documents and press of the time. Many of them were on the panel that judged the final test of the second edition of the Choir and Dance Competition, representing several institutions: José Cubiles; Benito García de la Parra, musical consultant of the Feminine Section; Tomás Andrade de Silva,

³⁷ *Weekly Propaganda Report from the 9th to the 15th of November 1942*. Ibidem.

³⁸ All the concerts mentioned took place in the final months of 1942. AGA Cultura (03)49.1 Caja 21/1531.

³⁹ See, for example, the report regarding the concert by the Berlin Kammerorchester in Alicante at the end of 1942. AGA (03)49.1 Caja 21/1531.

⁴⁰ *FE* (Seville), August 29, 1942, 3.

civil servant in Madrid at the Musical Education Section of the Vice Secretary; the critic Antonio Fernández-Cid. It is noteworthy that the representatives of the Feminine Section, Regino Sainz de la Maza and José María Franco, were men.⁴¹ Just like the main figures of the period, Federico Sopena and Nemesio Otaño, their professional work during these years was closely linked to the politics of the *Nuevo Estado*, or New State, specifically to the Falange, and their names regularly appear in musical texts in the press.⁴²

In 1943, as the course of the World War changed, we note the first signs of a desire to separate the image of the regime from that of other totalitarian countries. An example of that is the censoring by the Foreign Office of a report written by the Vice Secretary for its publication in all newspapers. The information was the following:

GREAT HISPANIC-GERMAN FESTIVAL.

Arrival of artistic ensembles from the German Force for Joy.

In order to celebrate the agreement between the Obra española de Educación y Descanso and the German Force for Joy, today, Saturday, the great musical ensemble of the Hitler Youth from Nuremberg and the German popular music ensembles from Württemberg, under the direction of the distinguished maestros Freder and Bann, will arrive in Madrid.”⁴³

The Foreign Office crossed out with blue pencil the first part of the text (until “today, Saturday”), to eliminate any reference to the Hispano-German agreement and limit the news to the visit of folkloric ensembles.

Music and the Falange after the Second World War

In 1945, the Falange lost the influence it had wielded so far and the areas of competence of the Vice Secretary were passed to the Undersecretary of Popular Education, which reported to the Ministry of National Education and was not linked to the Falange. The new body was unconcerned with the control that the Vice Secretary had exercised in the area of popular music. That is, the totalitarian discourses from the real

⁴¹ *ABC* (Seville), October 19, 1943, 9.

⁴² *ABC* (Seville), October 19, 1943, 9.

⁴³ The article continued: “Made up of nearly one hundred members, these groups, which are currently the most important in Germany, will present a folk festival, on St. Peter’s day, at the Paseo de las Estatuas of the Retiro Park, in which, besides the Education and Rest Choir of Asturias, the jota song-and-dance groups of Education and Rest, which have a more distinguished artistic history, will take part. Today, Saturday, at 5:30 p.m., both German groups will be welcomed at the Atocha station by the Spanish, German, and Party national hierarchies, the Education and Rest Unions, the German colony of Madrid, and the most prominent representatives of work, industry, and art.” Press cutting from *ABC*, Gallery no. 4, June 26, 1943, Vice Secretary of Popular Education, National Press Delegation. Gallery Bulletin submitted by the Ministry of Foreign Press Affairs during the month of June 1943. AGA (3)48 21/0079.

circles of power disappeared, as did the policies aimed at instilling the Falange ideology in the population through popular music. Musical life related to “highbrow” or “elite” repertoire was part of the State’s propaganda, but the interest of the political leaders in the population’s everyday musical experience diminished.

At the same time, music criticism had forgotten the impassioned and extreme style previously used to build up the propaganda of totalitarianism in Spain. Once the harangues disappeared that condemned “foreign” popular music, articles such as the one signed by the playwright Joaquín Calvo-Sotelo affirming the universality of jazz,⁴⁴ made Falangist discourses and practices from the war period seem distant, not only in time but also in the minds of many Spaniards.

Nevertheless, the institutions of the Falange’s Feminine Section, the Youth Organization (Frente de Juventudes), and the Choirs and Dances of Education and Rest (Coros y Danzas de la Obra Sindical de Educación y Descanso) carried on in charge of youth and, in the case of women, musical education. Its style and symbolical machinery, clearly military, were those of Francoism, even when Falange was removed from real government management. In other words, when the Falange had to differentiate itself from totalitarian regimes, it constructed a system of symbols to represent and spread its ideology. But the historical interpretation of its role in musical life during the final years of autarchy must reflect its relegation to a secondary position, compared to other entities that had also supported the coup d’etat of 1936.

Other Falangist institutions continued offering their own musical program. Of special interest is the Circle of Medina of Madrid, belonging to the Feminine Section, created in 1941 to “spread superior culture in all its noble manifestations.”⁴⁵ With this purpose conferences were organized and piano or chamber concerts. Although it didn’t have a very active musical life, it was constant, especially in the reception of female performers.

However, Falange’s loss of influence is also apparent in the fact that the Ateneo, one of the most important societies for promoting music during the 1920s and ’30s and administered by the Falange until 1946, became dependant on the Undersecretary of Popular Education, who raised its status to that of an Autonomous Body. In 1949, it was visited by Poulenc and Pierre Bernac.⁴⁶ In December of that year, the Pamplona Choral Ensemble included in its Ateneo program the *Spanish Songs* by Adolfo Salazar, along with several other works by Guridi and Remacha.⁴⁷ This was one of the first steps towards the revival of music from inner and outer exile. The incorporation of this silenced pre-war repertoire is precisely one of the paradigms of the new critical discourse that was outlined in the second half of the 1940s in the musical texts included in Falange magazines, which once again played an important role.

⁴⁴ “Algo sobre el ‘jazz,’” *ABC*, January 1947, 3.

⁴⁵ “El miércoles reanuda Medina sus tareas culturales,” *ABC*, October 10, 1943, 32.

⁴⁶ *ABC*, April 9, 1949, 18.

⁴⁷ “Informaciones, noticias y críticas de recitales conciertos,” *ABC*, December 7, 1949.

Both the articles and reviews published in the Falangist *Escorial*, as in the Catholic University *Alférez*, which included members of the new generation that had not fought on the front, show the ideological transformation and definition of new reference points: the recovery of the pre-war European avant-garde, focused on Stravinskian neoclassicism, which was clearly distinct from Soviet musical activity at the precise moment the regime needed to escape its isolation and that anti-communism became the new desired image for the country. In this way, Federico Sopena compared Shostakovich's *Seventh Symphony*—"romantic, "boring," and "belonging in a conservatory"—unfavorably with the work of Stravinsky—"playful" and "tender"—interpreting the authors as two complete opposites both aesthetically and politically. While in 1941 this critic had reproached the author of *The Consecration* for his intellectualism,⁴⁸ now not only did he justify and embrace the aesthetic projection of Stravinsky's work, but he also appropriated his person for the Spanish "cause":

Europe's most revolutionary music, which has made people think for twenty years, Stravinsky's music, is diametrically opposed to that imagined by Soviet intellectuals. Stravinsky, friend of the order and, let me remind you, friend of the Spanish cause in its poorest moments, was certainly right to feel "revolutionary" compared to Soviet musical ideas.⁴⁹

The legitimization of the French musical avant-garde and the recovery of the Generation of 98 in the figure of Falla are other factors that mark the end of a time of isolation and the search for new paths for Spanish music at the end of the forties. In 1947 the General Music Commission published the works of this composer from Cádiz, with an introduction and notes by Federico Sopena. In a complete reinterpretation of the Falangist intellectuals' regenerationism, the pages of *Alférez* refer to:

. . . his totally Generation of 98 character, maybe the most "typical of the Generation of 98," along with Unamuno, because if Unamuno is like no other in temperament and figure, Falla seems to be a clearer example of the special historical function of this generation, at least in so much as the effect his grandchildren and heirs have on us.⁵⁰

In this way, while the Falange disappeared as the institution with responsibilities in the musical area, which were then passed to dependant bodies of the National Education Ministry, its press bodies actively participated in the transformation of the discourse and verified the failure of post-war musical policies. At the same time, new reference points were formulated, which were more consistent with the new model of the historical moment.

⁴⁸ Federico Sopena, "Notas sobre música contemporánea," *Escorial* 4 (1941): 277.

⁴⁹ Federico Sopena, "Una sinfonía rusa," *Alférez* 1 (February 28, 1947).

⁵⁰ V, "Acotación al 98 Musical," *Alférez* 6 (July 31, 1947).

From 1951 to 1956, this new discourse was reflected in the musical policies carried out by the Education Minister Joaquín Ruiz Jiménez, who was the first to try and open up culture and music in Spain.