

TOWARD A MUSICAL APPROACH TO POSTWAR TRANSITIONS

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“We are caught in the maelstrom between the end of one world and the beginning of the next. We have a rough sea to cross.”¹ Georges Bizet wrote these words to his friend Léonie Halévy in March 1871 as the Franco-Prussian War was coming to an end and the Commune was rising up in Paris.² The composer was juxtaposing the mourning of yesterday’s world with the uncertainty of tomorrow’s for France. The country was left deeply shaken by the defeat and the fall of Napoleon III’s empire. Musical creation was just one of the vessels traversing this rough sea. Scarred by a traumatic memory, it lurched between a desire to escape and the need to rebuild—or, to quote the titles of two emblematic works composed by Bizet in the aftermath of the defeat, between *La Fuite* (The escape, 1870) and *La Patrie* (The homeland, 1873). Musical nationalism gradually emerged, with its usual procession of enemies functioning as aesthetic foils, including the exacerbation of France’s long-lasting obsession with Wagnerism and Schoenberg’s denunciation of French “kitschists” during and after World War I.³ This phenomenon is global and can be observed in any contemporary conflict. After the Tutsi genocide in Rwanda in 1994, for instance, musicians Suzanne Nyiranyamibwa and Mariya Yohana Mukankuranga tried to express the unspeakable through their songs. The perpetuation of Tyrolean folklorism after 1945 by Austrian musicians who were closely associated with Austrofascism and the Nazi regime was likewise a nationalist stance. Conversely,

music has been mobilized in postwar transitions to bring about renewed contact between former warring parties, as was the case at the Congress of Paris in 1856 and during the first tours of the Berlin and Vienna Philharmonic Orchestras in the United States, Britain, and France after 1945. It has also been used as a vehicle for collective mourning, as with Pierre-Jean de Béranger's chansons after the Napoleonic Wars.

The complex use of music in immediate postconflict periods has already been pointed out by Irish ethnomusicologist John Morgan O'Connell in his seminal article "Music in War, Music for Peace": "In the continuum that exists between war and peace, music occupied an ambiguous position, at once creating a common space for conveying dissent while at the same time providing a forum for promoting assent."⁴ The 2010 book he edited with Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, entitled *Music and Conflicts*, nevertheless focused more on the uses of music during conflicts than during their resolution.⁵ In this sense, it reflected a trend in publications on music in times of war and the use of music in torture practices,⁶ or, more broadly, on the "sound, music, violence" triptych.⁷ To date, the "war/peace continuum" highlighted by O'Connell has not been the subject of any in-depth study within music scholarship. This volume aims to fill this gap by shedding new light on music in postwar transitions, a blind spot in the growing historiography on the subject, which, albeit with some notable exceptions, contains little research on the role of the arts in perpetuating war in a period of peace.⁸ Musicologists, for their part, have worked on the aesthetic ruptures engendered by conflicts, also posing the question of institutional and musical continuities, but without integrating the notion of postwar transitions.

A War/Peace Continuum

Studying postwar transitions is not the same thing as studying the postwar period. In contrast to traditional diplomatic history, the postwar transition notion encourages us to question the ways in which a region, nation, or population emerges from a state of war once the end of that war has been officially declared. The signing of a peace treaty does not correspond to the end of a war. This is the assumption governing the notion of postwar transitions on which historians in Europe and the United States have been working since the first decade of the twenty-first century following the pioneering work of John Dower and Mark Mazower⁹ as well as the Historial de la

Grande Guerre international research center in Péronne (Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, Annette Becker, John Horne, and Jay Winter) on the cultural mobilizations and demobilizations linked to World War I.¹⁰ This was the theme of a 2001 conference at Trinity College Dublin entitled *Demobilizing the Mind, Culture, Politics, and the Legacy of the Great War, 1919–1933*.¹¹ It is therefore not surprising that the French expression “*sorties de guerre*” (postwar transitions) appeared shortly after in a 2004 work by World War I specialist Bruno Cabanes,¹² who subsequently formalized it with Guillaume Piketty in an article published in 2007.¹³ While this notion was initially adopted by World War I specialists, it quickly transferred to other periods and other types of conflicts.¹⁴

Studying postwar transitions challenges the chronology of war and peace, which is traditionally based on the signing of declarations of war, armistices, and peace treaties. The official end of a war can give rise to multiple forms of conflictual relations (including low-intensity conflicts) and traumas with infinite impacts.¹⁵ Just like any entry into war, each postwar transition has its own chronology, its own dynamics, its own temporalities, its own music, and its own polyrhythm.

The traces of the conflictual relations that continue to act on a society once a peace treaty has been signed have been considered from a number of angles, and their interconnection now structures the field of postwar transitions studies. A first key theme is reconstruction. It encompasses territorial occupation policies;¹⁶ the return of soldiers, deportees, exiles, and emigrants;¹⁷ urban, landscape, and institutional reconstruction;¹⁸ reparations and restitutions;¹⁹ clean-up of state apparatuses;²⁰ and transitional justice in the case of societies torn apart by civil wars.²¹

Memory constitutes another major research area in Postwar Transitions Studies. Work in this domain has focused on a range of themes: the persistence and appeasement of individual or collective trauma after a conflict;²² the way in which mourning is organized or trauma is sublimated collectively through commemorations or war memorials;²³ and the conflicts of memory that can arise after a war.²⁴

What are the processes of “*demobilizing the mind*”²⁵ that ended the use of artistic institutions, artistic works, and discourses on artistic works for a country’s war aims? Studying these processes of appeasement implies considering their corollary, namely the persistence of the cultural mobilization of a nation or group after a conflict has ended. The first question was mapped out by John Horne. It concerns the reconciliation of populations through overcoming

the antagonisms and hateful representations that have separated them.²⁶ The second issue concerns reeducation programs. Whether implemented by totalitarian or democratic regimes, these programs closely combine education and propaganda.²⁷ The third element, which is the most recently developed and least studied to date, concerns the “disarmament of minds,” by which we mean the end of the mobilization of the cultural and scientific world for war purposes.²⁸ Research on cultural demobilization highlights the different forms of disengagement from the violence that is inherent in the culture of war,²⁹ as well as the persistence or reconfiguration of representations of the enemy, sometimes long after a conflict has come to an end.³⁰

Taking all these different issues into account reveals the multiple temporalities of the postwar transition processes—from the appeasement of physical and symbolic violence to the rise of the pacifist ideal—as well as the many domains through which they are played out. The main contribution of Postwar Transitions Studies is therefore to postulate the possibility of a “war in peace”³¹ and, more fundamentally, to question the dividing line between these two notions, which in most languages are structured as diametrically opposed, mutually exclusive notions. At what point and under what conditions can we say that a postwar transition process is fully complete? And, more significantly, is it possible to transition fully out of a war?

Bringing Music into the Field of Postwar Transitions Studies

From an anthropologic perspective, music is an active factor in the construction and reconstruction of human communities. By proposing to incorporate music—understood here in the broad sense of repertoires, discourses, practices, and musical sociability—into Postwar Transitions Studies, this book opens up a vast field of study that is situated at the intersection of four domains that have so far received little scholarly attention: the relationship between music and war culture;³² the commemorative and consolatory dimension of music;³³ migration and exile;³⁴ and the links between music, cultural diplomacy and propaganda.³⁵

Based on a comparative, multidisciplinary approach that brings together historians, political scientists, psychologists, and musicologists working on various geographical areas and musical repertoires (art music, folk music, and popular music), this volume offers

the first study of the subject and makes the case that the specificities of postwar transitions are linked not only with specific periods or places but also with types of conflict. This perspective has emerged out of the studies initiated during the colloquia entitled “Music, Nationalism, Transnationalism” (Royal Northern College of Music, Manchester, 2015) and “Music in Postwar Transitions 19th–21st Centuries” (University of Montreal, 2018) and with the “Music et Nation” research program launched by Université Paris-Saclay in 2015.

In these studies, France has served as a starting point for initiating the field of postwar transitions studies. Yet the diversity of postwar transition situations involving the musical world emerges throughout the book. The geographical diversity perhaps stands out most of all, with chapters looking at locations such as Rwanda, the villages of South Tyrol, the Parisian cabarets, and the most prestigious stages of Berlin, Vienna, and London. There is also a diversity of repertoires that extends well beyond art music, with a special focus on chanson, popular, and folk music as vehicles for expression and investment in identity. The chapters cover a diversity of actors, too, including musicians, composers, performers, conductors, and collectors of popular songs, as well as all the cultural intermediaries associated with music, such as concert agents, music publishers, administrators, and music critics, who acted not just as mouthpieces during postwar transitions but as full-blown participators in the context of musical patriotism. In addition to these private actors, the book takes in public actors, who were particularly significant during these reconstruction periods, including international organizations, trade unions, and political states. Finally, there is a consideration of functional diversity in the volume. Music can reflect the postwar transition processes as they happen, and at the same time, can play an active role in these processes. As such, it can contribute to accelerating or slowing down the return to peace. This ambivalent political use of music invites us to go beyond an irenic conception that seems to reduce music to simply being an agent of peace and harmony between peoples.

Aesthetic, Institutional, and Political Reconfigurations

Beyond the diversity of the situations, periods, and regions observed, the study of music in postwar transitions nevertheless reveals common overarching themes, which have been used to structure this

book. The first part of the volume considers the aesthetic, institutional, and political reconfigurations that the musical world undergoes in the aftermath of a conflict. What are the mechanisms that operate in musical culture to generate its transformations, resilience, and reactivations (if it had slowed down or stopped during the conflict)? To what extent does war bring about a sudden change?³⁶ How far can a postwar transition open the way for other music or music practices?

Hervé Lacombe adopts this perspective in his study of Bizet's itinerary in the aftermath of the 1870 Franco-Prussian War. He examines the composer's creative process and the experience of a "postwar transition through music" at an individual level. Bizet's works from the early 1870s bear the marks of the sublimation of defeat and mourning but also a sense of urgency and finitude. As such, the composer contributed to the French musical territory's recomposition, a process that was accelerated in the aftermath of the conflict with the creation of the Société Nationale de Musique and its famous motto *Ars Gallica*.³⁷ Lacombe concludes that the postwar transition therefore appears to have been a time of aesthetic and political elucidation.

Pablo Palomino's chapter on Mexican musical life in the two decades following the 1910 revolution sheds light on the aesthetic and political crystallization process by focusing on institutions. He shows how the new regime introduced musical policies aimed at reconciling the "many Mexicos" opposed in the civil war. Conceived as a vehicle for national identity, music—along with mural art, education, and public ceremonies—was to promote the regime's unifying discourse. The new institutions that were set up contributed to structuring a professional field that brought together musicians, orchestra directors, impresarios, and music teachers. Palomino writes that the postwar transition coupled with a change of regime gave rise to a varied, new, and modernizing musical order that included village and military bands and choirs, working-class musical associations, urban and rural musical education, conservatoire programmes, and nightlife commercial music.

The reconstruction of musical life was also taking place on an international level, with the resumption of musicians' travels and tours, which had been interrupted by the particular conflicts. Friedemann Pestel focuses on the first international tours of the Berlin and Vienna Philharmonic Orchestras after World War II. What was to be done with these orchestras of undeniable international stature? Many of their musicians had joined the Nazi Party, and both

orchestras had been an aural showcase for Nazism. The question of their denazification and return to the international stage was raised. Wilhelm Furtwängler remains the most polemic figure among those who made a controversial return, while the great conductor Bruno Walter's return from exile allowed the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra to play the victim card. Pestel highlights the role of the "musical tandems" that emerged between the musicians who returned, like Walter, and those who remained in Nazi Europe.

Cultural Demobilization

The second part of the volume analyzes the uses of music for cultural demobilization and the return to peace. The press, and particularly the music press, offers one of the best vantage points for observing these phenomena, as Emmanuel Reibel demonstrates in his chapter on France after the 1870 Franco-Prussian War, a subject that has experienced a real historiographic renewal since the first decade of the twenty-first century. Reibel's study of the publications that reappeared in the two years following the war reveals a tension between, on the one hand, a desire to encourage people to forget the traumatic conflict by reviving prewar practices and discourses and, on the other, a tendency to transfer the war that had just ended on the field of battle into the field of music.

Martin Guerpin's chapter highlights a similar transfer in the domain of French café-concert and music hall chanson repertoires that referenced the enemy—sometimes not without humor—in the wake of the 1870 Franco-Prussian War and World War I. The difference in this case was that these chansons followed on from other works that had been produced *during* the war. A comparative approach to the chronology of the publication of these chansons, their lyrics, and their musical content after each war reveals that the nature of the conflict and their outcomes conditioned the duration and nature of the postwar transition processes, as well as the persistence of enemy stereotypes for a given country.

The question of postwar transition nationalism can also be approached through music from the perspective of aesthetic taste and sensibility. Philippe Gumpłowicz examines the loathing that the writers Céline and Abel Bonnard and the musicologist André Coeuroy expressed for variety music after the 1940 armistice, which the vast majority of French people saw as marking the end of the war. Considered immoral, seedy, and cosmopolitan, these popular chan-

sons were totally alien to the song of France's provincial heartland and were thought to have emasculated the populations and thus contributed to France's defeat.

While Martin Guerpin's chapter reveals the possibility that the demobilization of music was not fully complete in the intervening years between the two conflicts, Michael Wedekind's study of Tyrolean folk music repertoires and institutional structures from the 1900s to the present day shows that this absence of demobilization can extend over several conflicts and over a long period of time. Even before the First World War, Tyrolean folk music had been mobilized as a means of ethnic, ideological, and even racial in-group/out-group conditioning. It had been used as a means of disseminating a conservative, antisocialist, anticapitalist, nationalist, and often xenophobic ideology that was rooted in a rejection of urban aesthetics, urban cultural interactions, and the urban lifestyle. The two world wars led to a radicalization of this vision and strengthened the position of its proponents, and the transition periods that followed them did not change this situation. Folk music can thus be seen here as an extension, through other means, of the ethnic conflicts that had shaken the region.

Memory, Mourning, and Commemoration

The third part of this book explores music as a space for the expression of memory, mourning, and commemoration. Among the different topics linked with postwar transitions, this field is the most explored in recent literature, especially by scholars in musicology. Music has been studied as a way to soothe war traumas and injustices thanks to cathartic and therapeutic means,³⁸ and as an efficient way to reenact traumas and thus construct and reconfigure their memory.³⁹ The perspective of postwar transitions leads us to question the function of music commemoration as a tool to appease and soothe minds and bodies. Chapters grouped in this section once again cast out one-sided, conciliatory views on music. They show that commemorative repertoires and uses of music can express the failure of reconciliation and perpetuate a state of collective cultural mobilization against a former (or newly constructed) enemy. Sophie-Anne Leterrier sees the corpus of songs created by the "national chansonnier" Béranger in the post-Napoleonic period not only as a weapon in the fight for liberalism but also as a vehicle for feelings, mourning, hope, and the memory of past events and struggles as the songs engaged

in a subtle interplay with censorship and the shared memory of the Napoleonic period.

Lesley Hughes's approach is distinctive in being based on a specific work, *Minimax* (1923) by Paul Hindemith (1895–1963). Her analysis of this string quartet is informed by the composer's correspondence before, during, and after the Great War. She reveals a series of parodic devices that make *Minimax* a true satire of German militarism. Hughes thus shows that this musical work served both as an outlet for the anger felt toward the horrors of a war that had ended a few years earlier, and as a means of exorcising through humor and laughter the trauma it may have engendered.

Jean-Sébastien Noël examines the process of constructing a transatlantic musical memory of the genocide of European Jews after World War II that spanned Vilnius, New York, and Buenos Aires. His analysis is based on the itinerary of the poet and publisher Shmerke Kaczerginski, one of the principal collectors of songs written by resistance fighters and Jewish victims of the genocide. Kaczerginski's most influential work, *Lider fun di getos un lagern* (Songs from the ghettos and camps), which was published in New York in 1948, established a repertoire for commemorating the genocide and forms of Jewish resistance. Noël reveals the role of music in the reestablishment of cultural flows and transfers between the main centers of Jewish life from the 1930s to the 1950s. His contribution shows the value of an approach that consists in combining music history and diasporic studies, because the construction of the memory of a conflict through music is a dimension of postwar transitions.

In their chapter on songs composed after the Tutsi genocide, Benjamin Chemouni, and Assumpta Mugiraneza also focus on the impossibility of forgetting a genocide and the difficult reconstruction of an annihilated society. During the Rwandan Civil War (1990–94), song, sometimes under the guise of bucolic invocations of a fantasized Rwanda, created an atmosphere of violence and fear that prepared Rwandans for the annihilation of the other. But what was to become of song in the civil postwar transition, where the genocide was imposed as the new yardstick of Rwandan life? Chemouni and Mugiraneza address this question through a study of the way in which two artists, Suzanne Nyiranyamibwa and Mariya Yohana Mukankuranga, expressed their feelings of paralysis at a country rendered unrecognizable by the “genocide by proximity” and tried to give the victims back the dignity that their deaths had denied them. The voice that rose up through song tried to express the unspeakable and to offer a substitute for revenge.

Music, Diplomacy, and Peacebuilding

The fourth part of the volume concerns the establishment of musical diplomacy in postconflict situations and the mobilization of music to promote peace. The links between music, diplomacy, and propaganda have been the subject of very active research since the publication of Jessica Gienow-Hecht's pioneering book *Sound Diplomacy* (2009). Historians, political scientists, and musicologists have highlighted various uses of music in international relations, during wars or to assert the strategic interests of states.⁴⁰ As Danielle Fosler-Lussier has shown, music, often presented as apolitical, could be used as a diplomatic weapon, serving the soft power of the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War, through the creation of an "international economy of prestige."⁴¹ As a practice and source of shared emotions, music has also been able to serve great international causes, in postconflict situations, as underlined by Yehudi Menuhin's commitment to UNESCO; or, more recently, that of Daniel Barenboim and the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra for peace in the Middle East, or the Silk Road Project led by the cellist Yo-Yo Ma for the promotion of "multicultural artistic collaborations" beyond the borders and political rivalries that cross the Asian continent. This musical diplomacy, with its share of idealism, as well as the geopolitical approach of states and international organizations, provide many elements for thinking about the role of music in post-war transitions.

"Congresses never work better than when they dance."⁴² Repeating this quip made by a journalist during the Paris Congress of 1856, Damien Mahiet looks at the role of music and dance in peace negotiations from the Congress of Vienna (1815) to the mid-nineteenth century. Do balls, operas, concerts, and operettas facilitate diplomatic action, or do they just serve to mask the interests of the various actors involved? Drawing from press reports, histories, memoirs, and diaries, Mahiet retraces the nineteenth-century history of an idea—musical peacemaking and the pursuit of pleasure as a component of congress diplomacy—and examines the sonorous recomposition of the "European concert" and international system. He shows that music and dance not only modeled conceptions of peace but also compounded misunderstandings and, on occasion, enmity. Diplomats mobilized music and musicians at once as instruments of cooperation and communion, and as weapons in the battlefield of salons and media.

Barbara L. Kelly compares the organizations that became the British and French sections of the International Society for Contemporary Music: the British Music Society and London Contemporary Music Centre in Britain, and the *Revue musicale* and Concerts de *La Revue musicale* in France. She explores the overlapping commitments to national promotion and international exchange as well as the tensions between the two positions. The end of hostilities motivated a network of composers, conductors, critics, and performers to promote musical exchange with the aim of promoting peace and cooperation through culture. At the same time, it was also an opportunity for nations to make their mark on the international stage. This was particularly true for Britain as it sought to stimulate interest in its contemporary music both at home and abroad and to look toward France, its wartime ally, rather than to Germany as a model. Wartime attitudes also persisted in the very brand of internationalism, which sought to challenge the historic dominance of Austro-German music within a European framework. While postwar musical culture bore some resemblances to the vibrant internationalism of the prewar period, there were also notable differences in reflecting new power relations and alliances resulting from the experience of conflict.

Anaïs Fléchet retraces the early years of the International Music Council, an organization founded in 1949 in the wake of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to promote “an ideal of peace and universal harmony.” Conceived as a forum for exchange between composers, performers, and musicologists, regardless of political borders or rivalries between nations, the organization nevertheless appears to have been closely linked to Washington in the dual context of the end of World War II and the beginning of the Cold War. At UNESCO in the late 1940s, the links between music, diplomacy, and propaganda were being reconfigured because, as the American ethnomusicologist Charles Seeger, who was the International Music Council’s main promoter, pointed out, “the arts, without exception, are equally prime fields of competition and for cooperation.”⁴³

The authors of this book thus explore disruptions to the musical world in the aftermath of a war as well as the influence of prewar cultural, political, and institutional legacies. The relationship between music and postwar transitions is twofold and reciprocal. On the one hand, postwar transition periods are favored times for institutional reconfiguration. On the other, music plays a role in prolonging or ending postwar transition periods. Hence, there are commemora-

tive repertoires that encouraged fraternity between former enemies (John Foulds's 1921 *World Requiem* or post-1994 Rwandan songs, tackled in chapter 14) and songs that perpetuated the stigmatization of the enemy, such as those studied in chapter 5. *Music and Postwar Transitions* offers a first synthesis of all these subjects by situating them in the context of the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries. In so doing, it aims to contribute to the renewal of the history of music by proposing a history *through* music with a double agenda: demonstrating the importance and specificity of music in understanding the cultural continuities and transformations that run through contemporary societies.

No one can deny what so many historians and musicologists have affirmed over the last thirty years: that music is a language through which a community shares feelings, representations, and knowledge. This language, whether it be sounds, songs, or the speeches that accompany them, only takes on its meaning through the concrete situation in which it is produced and received. In each postwar period, particular voices have been raised to express grief, honor the dead, celebrate victories, salute the newfound peace, attenuate passions or, on the contrary, excite them. Musical institutions were reconstituted at the same time as national communities were reformed or projects for democratic conflict resolution were forged. In this volume, the reader will find studies on the management and production of collective emotions that only music can arouse—and this over a span of more than two centuries and three continents.

Notes

1. Bizet, *Correspondance générale*. "Nous sommes entre un monde qui s'en va et un monde qui vient. Nous avons une rude mer à traverser."
2. This introduction was translated from French by Clare Ferguson.
3. Picard, *Wagner*, 299–328; Buch, "Métaphores politiques," 66; Kelly, *Music and Ultra-Modernism*, 85, 166.
4. O'Connell, "Music in War, Music for Peace," 117.
5. O'Connell and El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, *Music and Conflicts*; O'Connell, "Sound Bites."
6. Urbain, *Music and Conflict Transformation*; Wu, "Music's Role in Peacebuilding," 138–43; Dieckmann and Davidson, "Peace, Empathy and Conciliation through Music," 293–99; Urbain, "Overcoming Challenges to Music's Role in Peacebuilding," 332–40.
7. Cusik, "Music as Torture, Music as Weapon."
8. Bergmann, "The Sound of Trauma"; Bergh Arild, "Music and Art in Conflict Transformation"; Becker, *Voir la Grande Guerre*; Guerpin, "Le Courrier musical et le premier conflit mondial." 35–57; and Kelly, *Tradition and Style in the Works*

- of Darius Milhaud, 1912–1939, 11–15; and Kelly and Moore, *Music Criticism in France, 1918–1939*, 127, 140–49.
9. Dower, *War without Mercy*; Mazower, *After the War Was Over*.
 10. Becker, *Les Monuments aux morts*; Winter, *Sites of Memory*; Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker, *14–18: Retrouver la guerre*; Audoin-Rouzeau and Prochasson, *Sortir de la Grande Guerre*; Winter, *War beyond Words*.
 11. Horne, “Démobilisations culturelles après la Grande Guerre.”
 12. Cabanes, *La Victoire endeuillée*.
 13. Cabanes and Piketty, *Retour à l’intime au sortir de la guerre*.
 14. Pernot and Toureille, *Lendemains de guerre*. . .
 15. Creveld (van), *Les Transformations de la guerre*; Cohrs, *The Unfinished Peace after World War I*.
 16. Ménudier, *L’Allemagne occupée (1945–1949)*; Knowles, *Winning the Peace*.
 17. Cabanes and Piketty, *Retour à l’intime au sortir de la guerre*; Agazzi and Schütz, *Heimkehr: eine zentrale Kategorie der Nachkriegszeit*; Reinisch and White, *The Disentanglement of Populations*.
 18. Woolf, *Italia, 1943–1950*; Diefendorf, “Urban Reconstruction in Europe after World War II”; Clout, *After the Ruins*; Castillo (del), *Rebuilding War-Torn States*; Clapson and Larkham, *The Blitz and Its Legacy*; Michonneau, Rodríguez-López, and Vela Cossío, *Paisajes de guerra*.
 19. Barkan, *The Guilt of Nations*; White, “Making the French Pay”; Colonomos, “De la réparation à la restitution”; Perrot, “Les biens culturels dans les réparations pour dommages de guerre.”
 20. Aron, *Histoire de l’épuration*; Virgili, *La France “virile”*.
 21. Klotz, *Zivile Konfliktbearbeitung*; Rettberg, *Entre el perdón y el paredón*; Priemel and Stiller, *Reassessing the Nuremberg Military Tribunals*.
 22. Grossmann, *Trauma, Memory and Motherhood*; Santos, *Memoria de la guerra y del franquismo*; Aróstegui and Godicheau, *Guerra civil*.
 23. Becker, *Les Monuments aux morts*; Winter, *Sites of Memory*; Tison, *Comment sortir de la guerre?*
 24. Ostriichouk, *Mémoires de conflits, mémoires en conflits*.
 25. Horne, “Demobilizing the Mind.”
 26. Gorguet, *Les Mouvements pacifistes*; Bar-Siman-Tov, *From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation*; Horne, “Guerres et réconciliations européennes.”
 27. Pronay and Wilson, *The Political Re-education of Germany and Her Allies*; Mombert, *Sous le Signe de la rééducation*.
 28. Rasmussen, “Réparer, réconcilier, oublier”; Dagan, *La Nouvelle Revue française de la guerre à la paix*.
 29. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*; Hassner and Marchal, *Guerres et sociétés*; Dimitrijevic, “Sorties de guerres et de violence”; Boyle, *Violence after War*.
 30. Dower, *War without Mercy*; Jeismann, *La Patrie de l’ennemi*.
 31. Horne and Gewarth, *War in Peace*.
 32. Watkins, *Proof through the Night*; Audoin-Rouzeau, Buch, Chimènes and Durosoir, *La Grande Guerre des musiciens*; Morag, “On Music and War.”
 33. Rehding, *Music and Monumentality*; Rogers, *Resonant Recoveries*.
 34. Baily, *War, Exile and the Music of Afghanistan*.
 35. Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy*; Fléchet and Marès, “Musique et Relations internationales,” 155–56; Gienow-Hecht, *Music and International History*; Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America’s Cold War Diplomacy*.
 36. Kelly, *French Music, Culture, and National Identity*.
 37. Strasser, “The Société nationale and Its Adversaries,” 225–51; and Duchesneau, *L’Avant-garde musicale à Paris*, 16–63.

38. Rogers, *Resonant Recoveries*.
39. Fauser and Figueroa, *Performing Commemoration*.
40. Ahrendt, Ferraguto, and Mahiet, *Music and Diplomacy*; Fléchet and Marès, “Musique et Relations internationales”; Gienow-Hecht, *Music and International History*; Mikkonen and Suutari, *Music, Art and Diplomacy*; Ramel and Prévost-Thomas, *International Relations, Music and Diplomacy*; Dunkel and Nitzsche, *Popular Music and Public Diplomacy*.
41. Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America’s Cold War Diplomacy*.
42. “Les congrès ne marchent jamais mieux que quand ils dansent.”
43. Seeger, “The Arts in International Relations,” 41.

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