

How ‘Afro-Americanophilia’ Became Polyphilia: Joachim-Ernst Berendt’s Journey from Jazz to *Weltmusik*

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Berendt and the battle to legitimate jazz

The Südwestfunk (South-Western Radio, SWF) broadcaster, author and producer Joachim-Ernst Berendt stands tall in Germany’s postwar musico-political landscape.¹ A tireless promoter of jazz (and of himself), he emerged in the early 1950s—particularly in the wake of his bestselling *Das Jazzbuch* [The Jazz Book] (1953a)—as Germany’s most prominent mediator and interpreter of the music. He held this role from the 1950s until well into the 1970s and participated in several successive German debates about jazz, and later *Weltmusik* and New Age Music.² He also engaged with a variety of critics, including Theodor Adorno and the younger members of the ‘1968’ generation, precisely over the meaning of these musics. One should perhaps be wary of overstating the reach or uptake of Berendt’s ideas, which for the most part circulated through the somewhat arcane world of the German-speaking jazz scene which, even at its height in the mid-late 1950s, probably only accounted for some 10 percent of young people (Kater 2006). Nevertheless, Berendt was an influential figure who published widely, not only within the jazz scene, but also in a range of non-jazz media, and who was always

¹ For a full account of Berendt’s life and work, from which the following biographical sketch is largely derived, see Hurley (2009b).

² I resist translating the term *Weltmusik* (literally ‘world music’), because it had a series of connotations and a (German) history pre-dating the rise of ‘world music’ as a marketing category in English-speaking world in the 1980s and 1990s.

keen to reach demographics outside the jazz scene. Beginning in the 1960s, he toyed with pop music, and via his involvement in the influential lifestyle magazine, *twen*, he acted as a tastemaker in relation to a range of different sorts of music. He also never shied away from commenting on broader matters than jazz. For instance, he was a watchful observer of racial discrimination and the African American civil rights movement in the USA, publishing on the subject in a number of important publications including *Merkur* [Mercury] the *Frankfurter Hefte* [Frankfurt Volumes], *Der Spiegel* [The Mirror] and the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* [Frankfurt General Newspaper]

One of the benefits of looking at Berendt's career is that he represents a diachronic case that straddles many of the different phases of Afro-Americanophilia discussed by Moritz Ege and me in our two jointly authored survey essays in this special issue. Born during the Weimar Republic, Berendt came of age during the National Socialist era, and emerged as a public intellectual in the postwar era. Although he was attacked in the counterculture period, he was a survivor and continued to be active into the 1990s. Focusing on Berendt can reveal a lot about the ways in which race could be and was discussed in postwar Germany, despite the ostensible taboo; that focus also contributes to the growing body of literature on Black presences and Afro-Americanophile practices in Germany that we discuss in our joint essays. In particular, Berendt emerges as a case study for determining the extent of continuities in race talk between the postwar era and earlier eras, including the Colonial era, as well as the Weimar and National Socialist eras. A number of scholars—from Uli Linke (1999) to Heide Fehrenbach (2007) and Sabine Broeck (2011)—have discussed the continuities in this setting, and suggested that underlying ways of viewing race were often maintained, in spite of the ideology of a new start. Katrin Sieg (2009) has pointed to the ways in which postwar talking about Others, like Amerindians in the context of Karl May festivals, could also be a way of engaging in a type of surrogate talk about Jews, and establishing the speaker as a 'good German.' In a similar way, raced talk about jazz and *Weltmusik*, and expressing one's love for those musics—Afro-Americanophilia and what in this essay I call polyphilia—could also be a surrogate way of expressing something like philosemitism after the War. Philosemitism is a well-known phenomenon in its own right (Stern 1992), but the way that something related to it could manifest itself in Afro-Americanophilia or polyphilia is less well known (Fehrenbach 2005: 156; Hurley 2008). Finally, looking at Berendt's discussion of these art forms can tell us a little about the privileges of German whiteness

in the postwar era. Berendt had a long career in which he was free to chop and change in the way he discussed jazz and *Weltmusik*. Although he invested a great deal of intellectual and emotional labour in conceiving of, promoting and discussing those musics, and he felt some external imperatives to change, his position was not seriously under fire, especially from racial others in Germany. His career as a jazz and *Weltmusik* producer and writer was not subjected to scrutiny, particularly in light of that change in what Stuart Hall (2013) calls the 'relationships of representation' that arose with the emergence of Afro-German activism and scholarship in the 1980s, and which Moritz and I discuss in our second joint essay in this special issue. The extent to which the African-American and 'world' musicians whom Berendt assisted over his career were able to exercise their subjecthood, whilst important, is not the subject of this article.

Jazz was never something that was just 'musical' for Berendt. In this respect, he was very much a product of his times. Born in 1922, Berendt was raised at time when to a large extent music and politics were conflated (on this aspect, see Weiner 1993; Applegate & Potter 2002). This was especially the case in relation to jazz. Conservative Weimar-era anti-jazz discourse often focused on the idea of jazz's links with decadence, with 'inner emptiness and abandonment' (Adolf Halfeld, quoted in Poiger 2000: 19). Race also figured strongly in the conservative discussions of jazz, and this aspect was partly informed by long-standing colonial era racial ideology in Germany, as well as by more general anxieties including ones borne of the occupation of the Rheinland by Black francophone troops (Martin 1996; El Tayeb 2001; Koller 2001; Wigger 2007; Lewerenz 2011).³ In this context, jazz stood as a sign for the 'black,' in the sense of an 'Other' to the embattled German/European (see Weiner 1991: 478). Nazi anti-jazz debates continued to focus on race, but moved beyond these earlier conservative tropes by advancing, *inter alia*, the notion of a Jewish led conspiracy to undermine the racial health of the German *Volk* [people] by co-opting the dangerous sensuality of black jazz to seduce German women. Jazz was not simply jazz, it was 'Nigger-Jew-Jazz' (Jost 1997: 362; Kater 1992: 32). This historical element was important in terms of the postwar quasi-philosemitic hue of some jazz talk. In the opinion of some ideologues, jazz was not only a sign for the 'black,' but also for the racial miscegenation which offended the Nazi idea of 'pure' racial (and cultural) essences, and which the Nazi

³ On the longer traditions of German racial ideology, see Moritz Ege's and my first jointly authored survey essay in this issue.

regime sought to outlaw under the Nuremberg Laws (Kater 1992: 33). Jazz was 'musical race defilement.' One Nazi ideologue, Richard Litterscheid, noted in 1936, for example: 'Erst als auch die 'weißen' Kapellen Amerikas die Anregung eines Niggerjazz aufgriffen, entstand das eigentliche anglo-amerikanisch-negerische Mischprodukt des Jazz' (quoted in Hoffmann 1996: 99). [It was only after the 'white' American bands picked up the stimulus of Nigger-Jazz, that the actual Anglo-American hybrid product of jazz came into being.] On the other hand, whilst some German leftists were in favour of jazz as a way of peppering up stale modes of classical music (Kater 1992: 16–17), others, like Adorno, also worried about the ability of jazz to 'dissipate [the proletariat's] revolutionary potential' (Poiger 2000: 21).

The postwar setting changed some, but not all, of the ideological weighting of jazz. Although there was again a spectrum of different attitudes to jazz, positive and negative, these tended to be reduced in debates to the binary of *Jazzfreund* [friend of jazz] and *Jazzgegner* [opponent of jazz], and the *Jazzgegner* were perceived as being significantly in the majority (see e.g. Berendt 1950).⁴ *Jazzgegner* held widely differing perspectives from Adorno's—he re-stated his critique in 1953—and ranged from the conservative and the ex-National Socialist. In some cases there was a continuity of sorts between the conservative and the ex-National Socialist. For example, the conservative music pedagogue Wilhelm Twittenhoff published an early post-war study of jazz, *Jugend und Jazz* [Young People and Jazz] (1953), which sought to inform music teachers about jazz, so that they could steer their young charges into an appreciation of more wholesome types of music. Twittenhoff had been a National Socialist—which is not to say that his post-war interventions replicated the anti-jazz arguments of Nazi-era ideologues. In any event, in a context where other 'carry-overs' existed—for example, popular anti-Semitism continued in West Germany well into the 1950s (Stern 1992; Höhn 2002: 221)—some *Jazzfreunde* felt there to be an ideological inheritance from the days of National Socialist indoctrination against jazz. This carry-over was genuinely troubling, but, perversely, it also represented an opportunity of sorts. On the one hand, it suggested that the Germans might not have learned their lessons, and that the virus of fascism might re-emerge. On the other hand, it made jazz a potent musico-political tool, both for

⁴ There was, for example, a groundswell of postwar German opposition to jazz in the pages of the radio magazine *Hör Zu* in 1947 (Badenoch 2008: 71). In these circumstances, *Jazzfreunde* banded together into an association, the Deutsche Jazz Föderation [The German Jazz Federation], that might act as a 'bulwark' against the prevalent 'jazz defamation' ('DJF Bollwerk' [DJF Bulwark] 1953).

strategies of personal distinction, that is for seeking to draw a thick line between oneself and the recent past, and also for a broader, informal type of 'denazification,' which might be carried out by 'liberal watchdog' *Jazzfreunde*. This latter possibility was of great import to Berendt. During the late 1940s and 1950s, in particular, he repeatedly pointed to the National Socialists' ideological opposition to jazz, suggesting that jazz was inherently 'international,' opposed in its deepest nature to 'authoritarian' behaviour, and that it even 'inoculated' against totalitarianism, as he put it in his rebuttal to Adorno in 1953 (1953b: 890). Jazz, therefore, could act as a tool with which to overcome the disastrous tradition of German (cultural) nationalism. In his view, it was therefore vital to rehabilitate jazz in postwar Germany given that jazz

ging ... um etwas Gesellschaftliches, im Grunde Politisches. Es ging darum, das Kulturleben – und damit das Bewußtsein – in unserem Lande welthaltiger, offener, toleranter, weniger national um sich selbst kreisend, weniger auf sich selber bezogen zu machen. (Berendt 1996: 314)

[concerned something [that was] societal, [something] fundamentally political. It concerned making cultural life in our land—and with it the consciousness—more worldly, open and tolerant, and less nation-centric, less self-oriented.]

Berendt's image of African-Americans in the late 1940s and 1950s: 'Afro-Americanophilia' and 'colour-blindness'

'Race' played a critical yet complex role in Berendt's postwar discussions of jazz. Like other phenomena including the public debates about the proper education and future that should be offered to the Afro-German children of African-American GIs and German women, and Robert Stemmler's 1952 film, *Toxi*, Berendt's texts about 'authentic' and 'true' jazz offer another example of how race very much continued to be a topic after the would-be caesura of 1945, even though it became a taboo.⁵ On the one hand, Berendt's language betrayed a distinct Afro-Americanophilia (Moritz Ege's term) based on a no doubt quite genuine love for the music. However, in contradistinction to the occasionally playful/ironic notion that Ege (2007) examines in relation to the West German counter-culture of the late 1960s and early 1970s, this seems to have been a more 'serious' and morally-charged mode of Afro-Americanophilia, more conditioned by a longer and deeper socialization in the National Socialist era, as well as by the long-running postwar battles to legitimate 'Negermusik' [Negro Music]. It found its echo in the moralising '*Stellvertreter* [surrogate] abolitionism' sentiment towards African

⁵ On the debates about Afro-German children, see Lemke Muniz de Faria (2002) and Fehrenbach (2007). On *Toxi*, see Fenner (2011).

America that Sabine Broeck (2011) has discerned more generally in postwar German left-liberal circles. Yet there were clear overlaps with some counter-culture era Afro-Americanophilia, as well as with earlier forms of Weimar-era 'Negrophilia,' especially in the form of a commonly romanticised picture of the African-American and his/her attributes. This aspect was clearly not closely grounded in Berendt's real, if somewhat sporadic, contacts with African-American musicians during the late 1940s and 1950s. Berendt, for example, made a beeline for Harlem soon after arriving in the USA during his first, three-month stay in the country in 1950. He also hosted many African-American jazz musicians who were either resident in Europe, including as servicemen, or who visited the continent to perform, including for his employer, the SWF. However, on the evidence I have seen, these do not seem to have been long-term, intimate friendships between equals.⁶

That said Berendt's romanticized image of African-Americans and their 'essential' qualities was primarily borne by a highly critical attitude toward German (and more broadly, Western) society. To complicate matters, however, Berendt also looked to jazz as an important space in which racial difference, which he took as a given, like most of his German contemporaries of the day (Fehrenbach 2005: 150), might be creatively and productively transcended. These seemingly contradictory aspects reinforce ethnographer John Hartigan, Jr.,'s observation that individuals' 'racial thinking' can have a 'dense aspect ... wherein people may hold contradictory feelings about race' (2010: 13). They also underline the point that Berendt's prime motivation may have simply been to openly transvalorise Nazi racial discourse in relation to race and jazz—now jazz as black, now jazz as miscegenation.

Berendt gave his diagnosis of the problems which beset Germany's (postwar) culture in various publications, including when discussing so-called *Swingheinis* [Swing Twerps] and *Halbstarken* [Half-Strongs], figures referred to as Juvenile Delinquents (JDs) in contemporary Anglophone parlance. Particularly in the early-to-mid 1950s, many German commentators, including Theodor Adorno, viewed these jazz and rock 'n' roll enthusiasts' behaviour as anything but harmless. Rather, their tendency to 'lose control' at concerts was seen as genuinely worrying, and perhaps even proto-fascist in nature

⁶ On the comparative intimacies that could and did emerge in the 1950s in the West German garrison communities that hosted (African) American GI's, see especially Höhn (2002).

(see e.g. Adorno 1953 and Kotschenreuther 1956; for a summary, see Poiger 2000). Adorno took the view that jazz was a special type of commodity offered up by what he and Max Horkheimer (1947) famously called the Culture Industry, and which benighted consumers. Although the improvisation that jazz exhibited seem to offer the so-called 'jazz subject' freedom, it was actually quite a tame form of freedom, and the sado-masochist (and secretly authoritarian) jazz subject even enjoyed this emasculated freedom (see generally Poiger 2000: 142–145; Hurley 2009a: 37–37). For Berendt, *Halbstarcken* and *Swingheini* behaviour was clearly damaging to his overarching goal of legitimating serious jazz within Germany's culture, however he also took the view that it was psychologically understandable, and in this respect he was in key with the increasing 'liberal consensus' that Uta Poiger (2000) has described as emerging by the late 1950s in relation to jazz and unruly youth behaviour. In this way, Berendt was on the winning side of the West German debates about jazz, even though he emerged the loser from his public tussle with Adorno in the pages of the journal *Merkur* in 1953. Berendt's rather weak response to Adorno had been partly to mark off what he called true jazz from what Adorno mistakenly referred to as jazz, that is to indicate how true jazz shared many features with so-called *Ernste-Musik* (serious music). What Adorno thought of as jazz was actually rather worthless *Schlager* ('hit' or pop) music, in Berendt's view. To Berendt's disgust, Adorno was also given the last word in the *Merkur* debate (Broecking 2002).

To some extent Berendt sympathised with the rowdy music enthusiasts, something that the horrified Adorno certainly did not do. At fault, according to Berendt, was both the highly organised and rationalised state of modern society, as well as the lack of understanding extended to these young people by the older generation (see Berendt 1958). Adopting Nietzsche's terminology, Berendt identified the true culprit: a steady Apollinization of Western society, in which it was, lamentably, 'allenfalls noch eine literarische Erfahrung ... daß es neben dem apollinischen auch ein dionysisches Kunst- und Kult-Erlebnis gibt' (1956c: 172–173). [at most now only a literary discovery that there is also a Dionysian art and cult experience alongside the Apollonian.] Enthusiastic involvement (*begeistertes Mitgehen*) in a music club provided an important moment of Dionysian intoxication, otherwise missing from bloodless modernity. If society were to better accommodate a touch of the Dionysian, he suggested, it would be all the better for it. If the nature of Western society's problems was clear to Berendt, it was also clear

where he looked for answers—to jazz, and beyond that to the *Neger* (Negro), that durable nineteenth century construct that conflated African Americans with Africans of all varieties:⁷

Für ihn [den Neger] ist die Welt nicht auseinandergefallen in 'Weltliches' und 'Religiöses', in 'Sinnliches' und 'Geistiges' oder wie man auch immer die Dualismen bezeichnen mag, zwischen denen sich das dialektische Spiel abendländischer Reaktionen bewegt. Eine Musik spricht ihn 'total' ... oder überhaupt nicht an, sofern er ohne die manchem modernen Großstadt-Neger natürlich offenstehende Möglichkeit der bewußt vollzogenen Anpassung an die weiße Verhaltensweise reagiert. Das musikalische Erlebnis kommt aus einer Geschlossenheit und Unversehrtheit, einer Totalität, an die die meisten modernen Europäer kaum noch eine Erinnerung besitzen. (1956c: 171. See also Berendt & Knesebeck 1955: 83)

[For him [the Negro], the world has not fallen apart into the 'secular' and the 'religious,' the 'sensual' and the 'intellectual,' or however else you wish to describe the dualisms, between which the dialectic play of Occidental reactions move. Music speaks to him 'totally' ... or not at all, insofar as he has not reacted by taking the option open to many a modern big city Negro—that of consciously complete assimilation to the white pattern of behaviour. The [Negro's] musical experience emerges from a completeness and unspoiled-ness, a totality, of which most modern Europeans scarcely even possess a memory any more.]

Here as elsewhere, Berendt constructed an idealised image of blackness, which could offer postwar Germans a model for reconnecting with a lost 'Dionysian' element, or with a more 'authentic' state of being, even if only in a small dose at a jazz club. Although positively intended, and ostensibly interested in transcending Manichaean ways of reading race, such an attitude still painted the '*Neger*' as radically other; as somehow pre-modern and as being incapable of 'suffering' from the evils of rationalised Western civilization, even if he did concede that some modern 'big city *Neger*' in the USA had fully assimilated to the white man's ways. His picture had little to do with the complex reality of black existence(s). Nor did it, at heart, reject the stereotypes of the instinctual black person advanced by Nazi ideologues. Rather, it simply inverted them by giving them a positive weighting, in a similar way to the 'Negrophile' German primitivists of the 1920s. And yet, Berendt's racial discourse was brave in the context of the day, given the perceived Nazi 'carry-over,' and the extreme attitudes and threats of violence to which he, as the public face of German *Jazzfreunde*, was sometimes subjected by opponents of jazz.⁸ His image was also not out of keeping with other attitudes current at the time, particularly in Europe. Charley Gerard has noted,

⁷ On Negrophilia of the Weimar era, see Moritz Ege's and my first jointly authored survey essay in this issue. For an analysis of how Negrophilia acted as a screen for white German projection, see Weiner (1991).

⁸ In the late 1940s, he apparently received anonymous threats of violence in listeners' mail sent to the Südwestfunk (South-Western Radio) that warned him to stop broadcasting *Negermusik* (Berendt 1996: 313).

for example, that there has been a proportional relation between white jazz writers' peripherality to the African-American jazz community, and the latitude they have enjoyed to wax lyrical about what he terms the 'black mystique' (1998: 97ff). Berendt's own take on the 'black mystique' was surely influenced by his European peripherality. And that, in turn, was a result of a peripherality enforced by the Nazis—many German jazz enthusiasts in the postwar era felt that they had a lot of catching up to do in terms of developments in the American jazz world that they had missed out upon during the eight years of Nazi rule—and by the extant European, especially French, jazz literature, much of which was highly romanticised (Gennari 2006: 57–58). Whilst Berendt was quick to identify what he called the 'Crow Jim' tendencies in European—and particularly French—jazz talk (1956b), he was not able to entirely escape the tendency to see in the African-American jazzman a form of noble savage with a trumpet.⁹

For all this, there was a complicating dimension to Berendt's discussion of race, which was seemingly in tension with the 'black mystique,' and it was here that the link between jazz, race, and 'inoculating' against the virus of German chauvinism may have been strongest. For Berendt, the *Neger* might have the secret to a more 'authentic' nature. However, jazz also offered up a vision of an integrated society in which race no longer mattered. In this way, Berendt's language prefigures some of the white would-be 'colourblind' multiculturalism of the present-day, discussed in Ege's and my second joint essay in this issue (see also Hartigan 2010: ix; El Tayeb 2011). Berendt made the link between jazz and a post-racial state of affairs in several ways. Primarily, he noted that there had been 'mixing'—both on-stage and in the audience—in southern American jazz concerts at a time when Jim Crow segregation was still the rule (1956b). Citing examples where white musicians had employed African-Americans, Berendt even asserted that jazz had contributed more to the overcoming of segregation than anything else. In this respect, he quoted Louis Armstrong with approval: 'Jazz ist ein großartiges Mittel in der Rassenfrage. Er macht die Leute wunderbar farbenblind' (1956b) [Jazz is a

⁹ Other types of literature may well have had an influence on Berendt as well, including the 'Negritude' poetry of Aimé Césaire and Léopold Sédar Senghor. Negritude attempted to counter Western racism towards the African by reversing racist discourse, and revalorizing precisely those attributes (including, for example, intuition) which racism denigrated (McLeod 2000: 77–78). Berendt was a great appreciator of poetry and one of his pet projects was to create radio programs in which poetry was presented, often with a backing of modern jazz (Meifert 1999; Hurley 2010). He assembled at least one such program with Césaire's and Senghor's poetry ('Jazz und Dichtung' [Jazz and Poetry] 1958). He was also familiar with the writings of Janheinz Jahn, the translator and German popularizer of Negritude, whom Senghor made honorary consul for Senegal in 1965 (Berendt 1956b).

marvelous tool in the racial question. It makes people wonderfully colour-blind]. This idea that jazz was a way of creatively surmounting racism—and even of turning existing tensions between the races into a dynamic, positive, artistic outcome—was and is a common trope within the liberal jazz literature, irrespective of the authors' nationality (DeVeaux 1997: 18–19).¹⁰ In the USA, its strongest advocate during the 1950s was Leonard Feather. He elevated the art of using jazz criticism as a venue to urge for colour-blindness to the point where interracialism became an *idée fixe* that perhaps coloured, as it were, his objectivity as a critic (Gennari 2006: 56). Feather's investment in the dream of a colour-blind world, for which jazz stood as a cipher, was partly borne of his status as a European Jew—he was born in England and later migrated to the USA—who had lived through the Hitler years (Gennari 2006: 58). As we have seen, Berendt had a slightly different investment in the same project. However, any current discussion of the notion of aspirational colour-blindness must register two facts. First, ignoring race is a privilege to which not all have access (Hartigan 2010: ix). Second, attaining a state of colour-blindness does not at all preclude the continuation of racial discrimination. Citing Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's recent work on 'racism without racists' in the USA, John Hartigan Jr asks, for example: 'How is it possible to have this tremendous degree of racial inequality in a country where most whites claim that race is no longer relevant?' (2010: 8–9).

For Berendt, the 'colour-blinding' aspect of jazz was based in an interpretation of the racial genesis of the music, which, it should be noted, he made in the absence of detailed ethnomusicological training or analysis. Put simply, jazz was racially indeterminate; a radically hybrid form, it was both black and white, and was not imaginable without the presence of each element in dynamic tension with the other (Berendt n. d. a). As he observed in the 1953 *Jazzbuch*, for example, 'Nur im Zueinander von "schwarz" und "weiß" entsteht und besteht Jazz' (1953a: 13) [It is only in the interaction of 'black' and 'white' that jazz comes into being and persists]. In this way, he attempted to hold a position within German jazz debates equally distanced from both the so-called 'African Party' (Berendt n. d. b) of writers such as the musicologist Alfons M. Dauer, who by the mid- to late 1950s had made detailed analyses of the African roots of jazz, and those, such as the discographer and chronicler of jazz in Germany Horst H. Lange who, somewhat peculiarly, published an article in 1960

¹⁰ For a more recent variant, see Sudhalter (2001: xvii).

declaring that jazz was actually a creation of whites (Dauer 1958; 1961; Lange 1960). Berendt attempted to distance himself from this debate about the racial heritage of jazz, by suggesting that both extreme positions were unsustainable, and actually said more about the speaker than they did about jazz. They indicated:

daß die Frage, was "afrikanisch" und was "europäisch" am Jazz sei, ohne sachliche Bedeutung ist ... daß sie nur subjektiv-relativ-psychologisch beantwortet werden kann ... daß der Streit darüber sachlich nicht entscheidbar ist ... und vor allem: daß der Jazz etwas Neues, Eigenes, In-sich-geschlossenes ist, in das—wie bei jeder in-sich-geschlossenen Kunstform—Kritiker wie Musiker das hinein-projizieren, was ihrer persönlichen Situation entspricht ... Und jeder konnte und kann seine Ansicht "wissenschaftlich beweisen." (Berendt n. d. b)

[The question of what is "African" and what is "European" in jazz is without objective meaning It can only be answered subjectively-relatively-psychologically ... Jazz is something new, of itself, and in itself complete and ... as with all such art forms, critics and musicians project into it that which suits their own situation ... And everyone can prove his/her view "scientifically."]

Berendt's radically relativist statement was, of course, perhaps most revealing about himself. It showed his disdain for academic musicology, and for scientific method in general, which would manifest itself later in his writings about *Weltmusik*. Just what sort of jazz was Berendt referring to? Was all jazz devoid of all Africanisms, for example? The statement also hinted that Berendt's position about the radical racial indeterminacy of jazz might have its own psychological motivations. These, once again, related partly to Berendt's attempt to use jazz as a tool to overcome the German past. As we saw, it had, among other things, been precisely the *racial indeterminacy* of jazz which had so aggravated Nazi ideologues. Here too, Berendt flipped the Nazi discourse about race and jazz on its head. 'Miscegenation' becomes a virtue rather than a vice. I have shown elsewhere how this argument performed a type of transposed or surrogate philosemitism (Hurley 2008).

Whilst billing jazz as a hybrid of uncertain makeup, Berendt showed great interest in those musicians who confounded jazz criticism's traditional descriptors of black and white. There were, as he observed in 1956, strange reversals of the usual musical 'responsibilities' within jazz groups and it was no longer possible, even for the expert, to determine just by listening whether a black or white musician was playing (1956b).¹¹ Moreover, in the context of that French/European 'Crow Jim' tendency to valorise black

¹¹ He was here no doubt referring to the famous 'blindfold test' that Leonard Feather conducted in 1951 with the black trumpeter Roy Eldridge for *Downbeat* magazine. Eldridge had boasted about being able to determine a player's racial background just by listening; however, when put to the test, he was confounded. Berendt also conducted such blindfold tests for the SWF during the 1950s and made a similar experience (Berendt 1956a; Gennari 2006: 56).

musicians simply on the basis of their skin colour, Berendt called on jazz fans and writers to speak less about skin and more about music, an appeal echoed by several other German jazz writers at the time (Berendt 1953a: 13; Berendt n. d. a; Rosenberg 1961). And yet, just as Berendt's publications sometimes advanced a romanticised reading of the *Neger*, they also continued to apply the epithet 'black' as a musical descriptor (1953a: 26; 1960: 40). In the very article in which he appealed to fans not to focus on skin colour, he engaged in a speculative analysis of the ways in which black musicians were 'better' than white musicians and vice versa. Whilst concluding that each was better in his own way (black musicians tended to be more innovative, but white musicians tended to be more technically proficient), one must nevertheless query why, if it was necessary for others to focus less on race, Berendt himself entered into a hair-splitting analysis of the intersection between race and jazz aesthetics (n. d. a: 4).

Whilst Berendt's 1940s and 1950s discussions about jazz and race were pitted against (and inverted) Nazi notions that were thought to have 'carried over' into postwar Germany, in another way it occurred within a 'friendly' environment; there was not any serious disputation about the 'relationships of representation.' As we have seen, Berendt's language was consistent at different times not only with other European attitudes about jazz, but also with the liberal ideas of the prominent English-American jazz critic, Leonard Feather. By the mid-1960s, however, a more strident mode of African-American cultural politics was asserting itself within jazz criticism in the USA. This put into question not only Berendt's role as a white jazz critic; it also attacked his notion of jazz as being a site or model for the creative overcoming of racism and the building a post-racial world.

1960s-1970s: countering the Afrocentric turn

The 1960s saw an increasing politicization among many American jazz musicians and critics, particularly in the second half of the decade. This tendency was often twinned with a preference for free jazz, which emerged towards the end of the 1950s in the practice of Ornette Coleman and others, and in which there was a 'subversion of the various jazz conventions' (Gioia 1997: 344). The notion of freedom was now raised vigorously within the contexts of both avant-garde jazz and the Civil Rights movement, and the one soon found reflection in the other (Gioia 1997: 338). Various modern jazz compositions serve to illustrate the point, including Max Roach's *We Insist: Freedom*

Now Suite (1961) (Jost 1973). During the 1960s (free) jazz *aesthetics* and the politics of African American emancipation were also united in a newly critical, sociologically grounded jazz discourse, which self-consciously broke with the liberal consensus among established (white) critics.

The sociohistorical context is important here. It involved a growing disillusionment among African Americans about the possibility of a peaceful integration into white American society. In this setting, Black cultural separatism and militant Black Nationalism were in the ascendancy. In the jazz world, these phenomena manifested themselves in the more militant stance—the ‘Black music ideology’ (Gerard 1998)—adopted by some African American musicians and critics toward what they regarded as *their* musical property (Jost 1982: 176–177; Budds 1990: 116–127). According to Gerard, ‘Black music ideologists are offended that each style of jazz ... has been appropriated from the African American community almost from the day after it was first heard there.’ Further, these writers argued that stylistic change should not be explained by would-be aestheticist interpretations; it was ‘not the result of musical development per se but of sociopolitical events affecting the African American community’ (1998: 6, 35). The critic who contributed the foundational text to the Black music ideology was Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones), who published his influential study *Blues People* in 1964. Baraka’s writing became more polemical and assertive and exclusionary on racial issues in the mid-1960s, when he adopted Islam and a new name, and left his white wife, Hettie. Baraka then became a ‘lightning rod of cultural combat’ (Gennari 2006: 279ff, 279). Others, such as the free jazz saxophonist Archie Shepp and the American Marxist historian Frank Kofsky, as well as the French Leftist critics Philippe Carles and Jean-Louis Comolli followed Baraka’s lead, outlining the links between free jazz, the Black music ideology, and a critique of the white-run ‘culture industry,’ to borrow Adorno’s and Horkheimer’s term (Shepp 1965; Carles & Comolli 1971; Kofsky 1998 [1970]).¹² In West Germany, works by Baraka, and Carles and Comolli appeared in translation in the late 1960s and 1970s, and younger ‘68er’ music critics such as the *Frankfurter Rundschau*’s [Frankfurt Review’s] Wilhelm Liefland, now also began to advance a Leftist view which interpreted jazz’s development (and the

¹² See Gennari (2006: 251ff). As these critical perspectives were being advanced, some musicians were also attempting to form alternative models for the diffusion of their music, including ‘rebel’ festivals and collectively run record labels (Jost 1982: 211–222; Gerard 1998: 90–96).

emergence of free jazz) in a materialist, sociologically grounded fashion.¹³ This approach was thoroughly opposed to Berendt's notion of a continuous, and as they would have it 'aestheticist,' jazz development (see Liefland 1975; 1976).

The 'aggressively liberal' Berendt watched these developments with extremely mixed feelings. On the one hand, he reveled in his status as Germany's most prominent jazz authority and did not wish to dissociate himself from the emergent trends. He ensured, for example, that Max Roach's *Freedom Now* suite was not only released locally (on the Philips/*twen* imprint) in 1962, but also that it became the subject of a SWF television special in 1964. He invited Archie Shepp, then one of the most strident advocates of the Black music ideology, to participate in the prestigious *Donaueschinger Musiktage* [Donaueschinger Music Days] and the *Berliner Jazztage* [Berlin Jazz Days] in 1967. He also referred—albeit tangentially—to Black music ideology in his treatment of free jazz in the 1968 edition of the *Jazzbuch* (1968: 41).

However, Berendt also gently distanced himself from that ideology during the 1960s and 1970s. He thought it 'tragic,' for example, that militant African-American hard bop musicians excluded white jazzmen from performing with them, even if he thought that their stance was psychologically understandable (1962: 41). When introducing Shepp to German jazz enthusiasts, he tempered the saxophonist's strongest statements—'I am an American Negro. Of course I'm angry'—with his own more conciliatory gloss: 'But if the esthetic is Black, it need certainly not be exclusive. It simply asks to be taken on its own terms' (Berendt & Shepp 1967).¹⁴ Elsewhere, he stressed that the Black music ideology was but a minority perspective (Berendt 1966a; 1966b: 149; 1967a: 349; 1968: 41). So far, the picture is of a liberal humanist who, in the interests of democracy and tolerance, is prepared to discuss more extreme views, something which he had prided himself upon in the 1950s (Berendt 1956c).

Increasingly however, Berendt also began to express alarm at the parallels he discerned between Black Nationalist statements and Nazi ideology—and this stance drove him eventually to harshly criticize the former. For example, in a 1970 essay in the

¹³ On the West German reception during the 1960s and 1970s of Baraka's works, as well as of other texts by Black nationalists such as Eldridge Cleaver, see Ege (2007).

¹⁴ In a contemporaneous review of Shepp's music, he also shrewdly suggested: 'Shepp weiß, daß die Protesthaltung ihm hilft, seine Musik zu verkaufen' (1967b) [Shepp knows that the protest stance helps him sell records].

Frankfurter Hefte, in which he examined a dispute between the African-American authors and critics, Eldridge Cleaver and James Baldwin, he reflected on:

die geheimen—und oft gar nicht mehr so geheimen—faschistischen Tendenzen der “Black Nation,” des neuen “Schwarzen Nationalismus,” der den schwarzen Dramatiker Leroi Jones ... in einem *Spiegel*-Gespräch zu der Bemerkung veranlaßte: “Wir begreifen uns in gewissem Sinne als Nationalisten ...,” danach so ganz nebenbei und dadurch umso verräterischer: “-und Deutsche wissen bestimmt, was Nationalismus ist.” (1970: 340)

[the secret—and often no longer secret—fascist tendencies of the “Black Nation,” of the new “Black Nationalism,” which motivated the black playwright Leroi Jones ... to make the following comment in a *Spiegel* interview: “In a certain way we conceive of ourselves as nationalists,” and then [he added] quite by-the-by, and all the more revealing because of it, “and Germans must know what nationalism is.”]

He also openly questioned the Afrocentric stance: ‘[D]ie furchtbarsten Vernichtungen seit Hitlers Versuch, die Juden auszurotten, finden auf afrikanischem Boden statt. Wollen die Schwarzen Amerikas in den USA ähnliche politische Verhältnisse schaffen wie in Afrika?’ (1970: 341) [The most dreadful exterminations since Hitler’s attempt to destroy the Jews are now taking place on African soil. Do America’s blacks want to create in the USA similar political conditions to those [that exist] in Africa?]

Berendt’s view was most strongly advanced in ‘Schönheit, die ich meine: der neue Faschismus in Jazz und Rock’ [Beauty in Mind: The New Fascism in Jazz and Rock], a controversial essay written in late 1975 and published in a range of different locations over the next three years.¹⁵ This essay speculated about whether some of the popular music of the 1970s betrayed worrying ‘fascistoid’ tendencies. Although the essay was clearly inspired by the opinions of Leonard Feather, as well as by Susan Sontag’s 1975 ‘Fascinating Fascism’ essay on the Nazi era filmmaker, Leni Riefenstahl, and her re-emergence as a stills photographer of African tribesmen in the 1970s, it was also very much in keeping with a West German ‘liberal watchdog’ disposition (Berendt 1976b: 9; Sontag 1980: 73–105; Gennari 2006: 56 ff).

Among other things, Berendt was now particularly critical of Afrocentric Black music ideology:

¹⁵ The essay was first published in the Swiss weekly *Die Weltwoche* [The World’s Week] in November 1975 (1975) and then republished in the German jazz journal, *Jazz Podium*, in January 1976 (1976b) as well as in numerous other publications (in 1981, Berendt observed that the essay had been printed in 21 separate locations [Holleufer 1981: 13]). The ‘definitive’ version, which he updated to answer his critics, was then included in his 1977–1978 compilation of essays *Ein Fenster aus Jazz* [A Window From Jazz] (1977: 272–284).

Sie tun genau das, was die Nazis taten mit ihrem Bezug auf deutsche Kunst und deutsches Denken. Die Schwarzen—und überhaupt die Jazzleute, auch die weißen, die ja im selben Boot sitzen—sprechen von “roots” ... Die Nazis sprachen von “Blut und Boden.” Man kann bis in Einzelheiten zeigen, wie beides einander entspricht. (1976b: 10)

[They are doing exactly the same thing that the Nazis did with their recourse to German art and German thought. Blacks—and indeed all of the jazz scene, including the whites, who are sitting in the same boat – talk of “roots” ... The Nazis spoke of “Blood and Soil.” You can show right down to the smallest detail just how these [terms] correspond with each other.]

What’s more, the well-travelled Berendt diagnosed that a similar ‘roots’ talk had become endemic throughout the ‘Third World’ (1976a: 7). This lent what was essentially proto-fascist discourse an exotic flavor that could be dangerously seductive *in Germany*: ‘Er strahlt aus fernen, fremden Welten auf die unsere zurück und wird dadurch um so faszinierender. Er besitzt nicht mehr die Anrühigkeit des Nur-Deutschen, Germanischen, Arischen’ (1976b: 10). [It gets beamed from distant and strange worlds back to ours and becomes all the more fascinating in the process. It no longer has the stigma of the German or Aryan].

Berendt’s essay proved extremely controversial in the German jazz press; indeed it was even reported to have caused as great a splash as free jazz had fifteen years earlier (Berendt 1976a: 6; Lindenberger 1977). Some critics objected to Berendt’s speculative reading of all sorts of political ‘content’ into what they considered to be a supremely non-political music (Kille 1976). Others argued that he used the term ‘fascism’ too loosely and that the African American minority’s focus on roots as a tool for identity building was completely different from the way in which the Nazi state had used ‘Blood and Soil’ ideology to justify its imperialist aims (Spindler 1976). Karl Heinz Nass, who was an older *Jazzfreund* of Berendt’s own generation, took a liberal stance, in some ways not too dissimilar from the one which Berendt had earlier prided himself on: he respected Berendt’s moral warning and thanked him for giving his readers food for thought. However, by focusing on the ways in which the National Socialists had deployed art and aesthetics, he argued that Berendt had put the cart before the horse: it was not aesthetics, he pointed out, that had given rise to National Socialism (Nass 1976). Berendt’s article is certainly open to the criticism made by Lisa Gates in relation to Sontag’s essay, that it involves a ‘watered-down version of fascism, devoid of ... historical specificity’ (1998: 239). Yet it was also understandable within the context of a postwar West Germany only too aware of its past—as well as coming from a complex man who deliberately sought to provoke (‘inoculate’?) his readers (Berendt 1976a: 8).

Beyond its supposedly seductive, latent fascist traits, the stance of Black cultural nationalism—which Berendt, though a German, still had the opportunity to feel at times¹⁶—interrupted his vision of peaceful intercultural dialogue. It undermined the liberal notion of jazz as an emblem of the peaceful, creative overcoming of racism. It also queried his role as a white critic explicating a black art form. These matters were not peripheral; they were central planks in his musico-political practice and fundamental to his conviction as to the value of jazz in liberalizing postwar Germany. It was here that he lost his sympathy for African American identity politics; they had ceased to be useful to him; in fact they had become harmful. It does not surprise then that *Ein Fenster aus Jazz* [A Window From Jazz] (1977–1978)—the book that contained his neo-fascism essay in its definitive form—was seen by one German critic as an important counterweight to the ‘overwrought’ Black music ideology of an Amiri Baraka or of Carles and Comolli.¹⁷

This is not to say that Berendt’s views on jazz and African-American racial politics were, by this time, mainstream within the West German jazz scene. Indeed the controversy they caused suggests otherwise. The ‘new fascism’ essay held an important place in the intellectual frame of Berendt’s 1977 book *Ein Fenster aus Jazz*, which marks a critical point in his progressive estrangement from the German jazz scene. *Ein Fenster aus Jazz* was, as the title suggested, not only about jazz. It contained various travel essays on different parts of the world which Berendt had visited (including Bali, the Caribbean and Brazil) and also betrayed his increasing interest in more spiritual matters. The book was vigorously attacked by younger critics like Liefland (Liefland 1977). Taking a lead from spiritually-inclined jazzers, such as the African-American Don Cherry, who had himself expressed criticism of the Black music ideology and urged a more ecumenical attitude (Hennessey 1966), Berendt was soon championing something which he came to call *Weltmusik* (Hurley 2009a). This music, which was both jazz-derived, but also transcended jazz, now became the successor to the ‘international’ jazz of the 1940s and 1950s—it had the power to ‘inoculate’ against German chauvinism.

¹⁶ This was the case in 1969, for example, when it apparently marred the collegial atmosphere of one of the Free Jazz Meetings which he organized at the SWF (‘Das Free Jazz Treffen des SWF’ [The SWF Free Jazz Meeting] 1970).

¹⁷ See Bachmann (1977). On the broader German-language attack on the position taken by Baraka, see Moritz Ege’s and Detlef Siegfried’s contributions to this issue.

1960s–1980s: *Weltmusik*

Berendt advanced his notions of *Weltmusik* especially in the mid 1980s, at a time when marketing categories such as 'world music' and 'world beat' were in the ascendant (Taylor 1997: 1). This is not to say, however, that his notion of *Weltmusik* is synonymous with English-language concepts of world music as 'authentic' music from the non-European margins. As commentators like Ingrid Fritsch (1981) have observed, the German idea of *Weltmusik* has a long heritage, and has meant different things at different times to different people. Even before the 1980s, it had variously referred to the idea of a 'music of the spheres,' to notions of the peaceful coexistence of the world's musical cultures, through to unifying concepts involving either the enrichment of western music, or a truly supra-national music. In this respect it resonates particularly with German notions of *Weltliteratur* (world literature), advanced by German writers and thinkers including Goethe and Feuerbach. Fritsch demonstrates that *Weltmusik* had also been negatively associated with 'environmental noise pollution' by the West. Berendt had long engaged with notions of *Weltmusik*, even if he did not always use that term. Indeed, from the mid-1960s he had been involved in promoting a series of intercultural musical 'meetings,' recorded and anthologized between 1965 and 1975 as 'Jazz Meets the World.'¹⁸ These activities combined modern jazzers from North America and Europe either with their counterparts from places like Japan, India and Indonesia, or with practitioners of non-Western and/or folk musics. Berendt may have astutely capitalized on the growing interest of jazz musicians in non-European and/or folk musical cultures but he actively promoted such encounters, always with an eye to their ideological, extra-musical value. It is hardly a coincidence that he became more and more involved in such activities at the same time that the Black music ideology was making its impact on the jazz scene, and that he was distancing himself from it. (In the same passage of the 1968 edition of the *Jazzbuch* in which he treated the impact of the Black music ideology on free jazz, he also discerned another trend in free jazz, namely musicians' opening themselves up to musics outside the jazz idiom [Berendt 1968]) Berendt's attitude to such intercultural musical encounters was initially experimental and somewhat hesitant, yet his language modulated in the 1970s and 1980s. It found its most fulsome expression in an important essay, published in 1985 and timed to coincide with a *Weltmusik* summit at the *Donaueschingen Musiktage*, which combined, on one

¹⁸ On this series, see generally, Hurley (2009b).

stage, European jazz musicians, a South American bandoneon player, Indian sarod and tabla players, a Brazilian percussionist, a Caribbean steel drummer, and an African American free jazz drummer.¹⁹

This *Weltmusik* summit and the accompanying essay must be read within Berendt's New Age turn during the early 1980s. Although, as the son of a Protestant minister, he had always had an eye to matters of the spirit, he experienced an awakening in the early 1970s, after beginning to practise meditation (Berendt 1985a: 270). By the beginning of the 1980s, Berendt had written a book, *Nada Brahma* (1983), in which he urged his readers to rediscover the atrophied sense of hearing, to perceive the world of sound in a 'holistic' manner, and to thereby access new worlds of experience. This book became a 'cult' New Age text in Germany (Stroh 1994). That holistic New Age context clearly lent itself to a new musical 'polyphilia,' different in quality from Berendt's earlier Afro-Americanophilia. As Wolfgang Martin Stroh (1994) and others have shown, discussions in Germany about a so-called New Age began in the late 1970s and became more prominent over the course of the 1980s. They combined various elements, spiritual, esoteric and popular-philosophical, and did so in a way that was self-consciously eclectic and associative, pointing, as Berendt did, to would-be holistic unities. They were deliberately critical of instrumental rationalism and sought to 'argue' their case by analogy. Functionally, the New Age seems to have accommodated multiple needs, including, for example: a post-1968 disillusionment with the possibilities of radical political change and a concomitant shift to a more personal 'new subjectivity;' a post-materialist rejection of the rational West's focus on progress at the expense of the natural environment; spiritual yearnings relating to a balanced, meaningful existence as well as to having new experiences; a disappointment with the spiritual life offered by the traditional Churches; and—so its critics argued—a dissatisfaction with the breakdown of grand narratives in an era of post-modernity (Stroh 1994: 9–11, 24–26).²⁰ New Age culture in Germany therefore fits within the *Alternative*, post counter-culture, new social movement milieu (on this milieu see Reichardt & Siegfried 2010; Reichardt 2014). The non-European had an important place in the New Age formation. Indeed, Stroh discerns five important 'dimensions' to New Age era philosophy and music, with the 'transcultural' dimension being vital.

¹⁹ For a full account of his late notion of *Weltmusik*, see Hurley (2009a).

²⁰ For other, more recent, analyses of the New Age movement in a West German context, see Eitler (2007, 2010, 2011).

The transcultural dimension of New Age era music was itself deliberately eclectic. Whereas 'Crow Jim' jazz enthusiasts, or at least some of them, had been especially interested in African-American musical culture, the 'source' musics for the New Age movement typically came from various parts of the non-European world, including, for example, India, Indigenous Australia and elsewhere. These 'traditional' musics were employed in the 'Suche nach neuen musikalischen Erfahrungen' (Stroh 1994: 311) [search for new musical experiences], as well as to assist, for example, in achieving and maintaining a meditative state. Critics of this iteration of *Weltmusik* would say that it was far less interested in difference—including, say, in relation to sociopolitical context and musical manifestations of culture or 'race' (Africanisms and so on)—than in would-be underlying unities, or holistic musical 'universals.'

Berendt's essay 'Über *Weltmusik*' (1985b) was ostensibly thoroughly interested in this idea of ecumenical universals, even if—in the associative style of the New Age—it withdrew from making arguments as such, relying instead on the power of analogy. The essay was actually remarkably defensive, attempting especially to counter the Leftist notion of 'environmental noise pollution,' held dear by sociologically-minded jazz critics who highlighted the commercial operation of the West's culture industry. It was in this defensive setting that Berendt called upon his experiences promoting the intercultural music encounter. Choosing to ignore the commercial context, he instead used a curious language of courtesy and of hybridization to privilege such encounters. These became a highly productive moment, during which participant-musicians obligingly accommodated themselves to the musical idioms of their partners—but communicated via common colour-blinding musical 'universals'—and then came away reinvigorated afterwards. This deliberately sexualized moment led, in Berendt's view, to the diversification of musical cultures, rather than to their levelling. In other words, he is able to main some investment in difference, even if the universal is trump. If one had to isolate the dominant ideas in the article, they would be the notion of music as having some overarching universal aspect—one that may be accessed by a spiritually inclined, wilfully colour-blind musician—allowing communication across cultural difference, as well as the value of ongoing cultural hybridization. This idea was again shot through with the recent history of German racial thinking—and especially Nazi opposition to racial (and musical) miscegenation. Berendt's notion of culture seems to be conflated at times with race and he deliberately links the notion of hybridising *Weltmusik*, and

opposition thereto, with Nazi era anti-miscegenation ideology (Berendt 1985b). This is consistent with what Uli Linke has observed in her work on race and representation after Hitler; certain genealogical tropes and metaphors, including of blood, race and bodies appear in what she calls a 'frozen continuum' (1999: 23).²¹ Hence, the polyphilic *Weltmusik* encounter was, in some ways, a successor to the earlier notion of jazz as a creative transvalorization of earlier racialised thinking, a position now made increasingly difficult by the spread of Black music ideology. Whereas jazz was once the gift of African-America, a 'universal language' able to be spoken by musicians with different cultural heritages, that role was now taken on by a polyphilic notion of *Weltmusik*. Any musician could participate, no matter the cultural background; one just needed to be open enough.

Yet Berendt's late notion of *Weltmusik*, and his advancement of other dimensions of New Age music were domains which only a few in the German jazz scene were interested in entering (Knauer 2009). This is not to say that his interventions fell on deaf ears; he attained a high profile and commercial success in the New Age market, and this persisted until his death in 2000. By the 1980s and early 1990s, however, there was probably rather more comfort in the West German jazz scene, particularly amongst younger critics, with the critical, sociologically grounded analyses of jazz which Baraka had inaugurated, even if here too many German commentators exhibited an ongoing if slightly different sensitivity to the legacies of National Socialist ideology. This is evident, for example, in the articles of Stephan Voswinkel and of Peter Niklas Wilson, who both took Berendt's theory of *Weltmusik* to task. Voswinkel (1985) and Wilson (1987) advanced a more 'anxious' notion of the spread of western music than Berendt, seeing it as consistent with the history and after-effects of colonialism. Indeed, for them *Weltmusik* was a re-run of colonialism, with the 'Third World' supplying the raw materials to the rapacious west.²² Importantly, these critics also took issue with Berendt's notion of musical universals, considering them to be another instance in which the west imposed its own criteria onto difference, thereby universalizing the Self. Moreover, the New Age holism of Berendt's *Weltmusik* utopia was criticised by German commentators for seeking to expunge difference and dissidence, and itself being totalitarian and proto-fascist (see Sloterdijk 1987: 101; Wilson 1990: 68). For

²¹ For another attack on the language of hybridity and hybridization, see Hutnyk (2000).

²² On the 'anxious' discourse about world music, see Bennett (2005). See, also generally, Hurley (2009a).

both groups then—*Weltmusikfreunde* [friends of *Weltmusik*] and *Weltmusikgegner* [Opponents of *Weltmusik*]—there were worrying legacies of National Socialist ideology; they just manifested themselves in different ways. Berendt identified in those who sought to defend non-European cultures against 'environmental noise pollution' a secretly racist legacy of anti-miscegenation; his younger critics stressed the 'totalitarianism' in his universalising discourse.

Conclusions

For Berendt, race figured in important, if contradictory, ways during the 1950s and beyond. During the postwar era, it was employed in two separate strands of a cultural critique directed at Germany. First, a highly positive Afro-Americanophile image of the *Neger* provided Berendt with a foil with which to criticize the lamentable spiritual state of German, and, more broadly, Western society. In this respect, he was not so much openly critical of recent German history—although that was always a theme running under the surface—but rather of the bloodless nature of German modernity. This strand had firm roots in the earlier ideas of primitivism and *Negrophilie*, that had been current in metropolitan circles in large cities like Berlin in the decade of his birth, the 1920s. Recent German history featured far more strongly in the second strand of Berendt's thinking about race in the 1950s. In it, he pondered the possibility of a raceless, colour-blind society, in which—by extension—the racial crimes of National Socialism would not be thinkable. For Berendt, post-race was never more than a utopian shimmer on the horizon; and he could never entirely live up to it (even in his own world of jazz criticism, terms such as black and white were too ensconced to be dispensed with). However, for him it represented a worthy goal, and he would, presumably, have been extremely disappointed by the persistence of real racial discrimination in an ostensibly colour-blind society, as diagnosed by recent scholars like Bonilla-Silva. What united the diverse strands of Berendt's talk about race and jazz in the 1940s and 1950s was the way in which they self-consciously (or otherwise) distanced themselves from National Socialist racial ideas about jazz as black, or jazz as miscegenation. In this way they performed a similar intellectual exercise to *Negritude*; they inverted the formerly stigmatised, but they did so from a different (white) subject position, than that of an Aime Cesaire or a Leopold Senghor. The Nazi denigration of the instinctual black man became Berendt's valorization of the *Neger*'s standing outside Western dualisms;

hybrid jazz moved from being spurned as a figure of miscegenation to being necessary to bring about a new post-racial world.

By the mid-to-late 1960s, however, the face of jazz criticism was changing abroad, and, to a lesser extent, at home. In the USA, Black music ideology emerged to take white critics to task, as well as their liberal notions of jazz's development and its privileged role in the creative overcoming of racism. Berendt's German peripherality to the US jazz scene shielded him from the most heated confrontations over the racial ownership of jazz. For a while, he could express a type of sympathy for it. On occasion, he might even assist in propagating a type of Afrocentrism that was close to the 'roots' talk he elsewhere decried. In 1971, for example, Berendt produced the expatriate African-American drummer Billy Brooks's *El Babaku* (MPS 15314). This was a highly Afrocentric album that also included a lament to the dead Black nationalist leader, Malcolm X. In the album's cover notes Berendt even allowed Brooks to reflect on the 'power and subjection' in the 'African way.' We can only understand this seeming anomaly by looking for the consistency between Brooks's anti-European image of 'Africa'—he uses 'Africa' as an 'Other' to the inauthentic West (Brooks 1971)—and with Berendt's own anti-European, Afro-Americanophile, Nietzschean ideas in the 1950s, with his notion of the more 'authentic' noble savage with a trumpet. Practically, *El Babaku* also met Berendt's desire to complete his ambitious *Jazz Meets The World* series with a 'Jazz Meets Africa' type of record.

By and large, however, Berendt looked elsewhere during the 1970s and 1980s than to Afro-Americanophilia, and jazz for a musico-political site at which to continue his 'liberal watchdog' attempts at cultural denazification. He found this in *Weltmusik*, an emergent site at which a newer, vaguer and seemingly less charged type of polyphilia might be advanced. Yet this notion, which was twinned with an attack on Black nationalism, was not at all uncontroversial in Germany. Following from Amiri Baraka's lead in relation to a sociological, materialist approach to jazz criticism, a new generation of 68er German jazz critics began to attack Berendt on various levels. *Inter alia* this extended to his 'aestheticist' interpretation of jazz's development, and to his tendency to 'sacralize' or spiritualize jazz. Berendt's racial thinking also began to be attacked too. For example, he was attacked by some for his failure to understand how, in a US

context, 'roots' talk might be productive, as opposed to 'fascistoid' [proto-fascist].²³ Moreover, Berendt's New Age model of polyphilic *Weltmusik* was itself thought by some younger critics to be secretly *fascistoid*, albeit in another way. Even though it seemed to be in favour of the diversification of cultures, it crushed difference and dissidence in the moment at which it sought to universalize. In this way, too, the perceived legacies of National Socialism continued to feed into German music debates well after the fact.

Berendt's long career in writing, radio and music production stretched from 1945 until his death in 2000. By tracking the changes in the ways he discussed race and jazz, and then *Weltmusik*, we can see how durable Afro-Americanophile thought could be in twentieth century Germany. Berendt's moralizing, postwar ideas were conditioned by the legacies of *Negrophile* thought of the 1920s and by the shock of Nazi opposition to jazz and (musical) miscegenation. His case confirms the insights of scholars like Uli Linke (1999) who have discerned threads in twentieth century German attitudes to race, both in relation to the continuation—often through simple inversion—of ideas about racial difference, and about the enduring power of genealogical tropes in German thought. Berendt was embattled at different times in his career, including early on by unambiguous anti-black racists who strongly objected to *Negermusik*. I have argued that his latterday rejection of Afro-Americanophilia in favor of polyphilic *Weltmusik* came about partly from Black music ideology-inspired debates in US, and to a lesser extent European, jazz circles. However, many of the ideas that he advanced about *Weltmusik* were very similar ones to those that he had raised in relation to jazz, but which had become more difficult to espouse there. So although in his case there appears to be a rupture with others' Afro-Americanophilia, there is a continuation of the metaphors and tropes that he had advanced in the earlier setting. The other point of significance is that Berendt's arguments in relation to jazz and then *Weltmusik* largely occurred in isolation from the Others living in Germany, be they Afro-Germans or the postwar labour migrants (compare Voswinkel 1985). Like other white left-liberals after the war and up until the emergence of a strong Afro-German voice in the 1980s, he retained a great deal of latitude to espouse on matters of race, and its would-be absence (Broeck 2011).

²³ This is not to say, however, that all younger German critics were welcoming of all aspects of Baraka's discourse. On the nuanced views of the German translators of *Blues People*, see Moritz Ege's essay in this issue.

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