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Sound as Popular Culture

A Research Companion

edited by Jens Gerrit Papenburg and Holger Schulze

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Preface

Our work on this volume started in 2009. It all began with a phone conversation, in which we, Jens Gerrit Papenburg and Holger Schulze, discussed our mutual interest in working together on some form of collective research project concerning the state of contemporary research on sound in popular and media culture—a project that could be conducted at the cross section of a variety of disciplines, scholarly and professional practices, aesthetic genres, and everyday experiences. From this starting point, and in collaboration with our great and cherished colleague Maria Hanáček, we developed a project proposal to bring both young and experienced scholars working in these fields in Germany together with scholars from all over Europe, the United States, and Canada.

As soon as the national German Research Foundation (DFG) had granted us the funding for our project as a research network, we started inviting a group of twenty-two researchers to take part in a series of international workshops: at the Berlin University of the Arts and the House of World Cultures Berlin (host: Holger Schulze), at the London College of Music (host: Simon Zagorski-Thomas), at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna (host: Dietrich Diederichsen), at the Humboldt University Berlin (host: Peter Wicke), at the Leuphana University Lüneburg (host: Rolf Großmann), and at the Istituto Europeo di Design Milano (host: Franco Fabbri). Between 2010 and 2013, we held and heard presentations, working papers, preliminary concepts, revisions, and discussions concerning the definition and the history of sound, both the everyday and the studio aspects of sound, and regarding anthropological, technological, and design approaches to sound as part of contemporary popular culture in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Our thanks go to the network's members and guests: Karin Bijsterveld, Susanne Binas-Preisendörfer, Jochen Bonz, Michael Bull, Claudia Bullerjahn, Thomas Burkhalter, Mark J. Butler, Dietrich Diederichsen, Veit Erlmann, Franco Fabbri, Golo Föllmer, Marta García Quiñones, Rolf Großmann, Thomas Hecken, Anahid Kassabian, Carla J. Maier (née Müller-Schulzke), Carlo Nardi, Thomas Schopp, Jonathan Sterne, Paul Théberge, Peter Wicke, and Simon Zagorski-Thomas. Thanks also to everyone who contributed a lecture or performance, or who took part in

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Carolyn Birdsall

In an article written over a decade ago, Germany's central storage facility Barbara-Stollen was criticized for its limited definition of national historical and cultural heritage: "The current commission maintains an archival concept that is almost entirely oriented towards the State, as critics have complained. This means that anything the State has not produced and preserved itself is not included in the [Barbara-Stollen] facility" (Marek 2003). This underground UNESCO-protected site was established outside of Freiburg in the 1950s, several years after the official formation of the West German Federal Republic, in the context of escalating Cold War tensions and fears of nuclear attack. Kept secret until 1990, today there are around 30 million meters of microfilm duplicates (including copies of East German archival records) selected for what has been described as the "Super Archive of German History and Culture."¹

Film and sound recordings are absent from the national heritage selection at the Barbara-Stollen.² However, in the case of sound recordings, we can note similar past efforts to not only archive and preserve recorded sound, but also to protect it from potential wartime destruction. The national broadcasting authority, Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft (RRG), started making recordings as early as the late 1920s, with Berlin station director Hans Flesch initiating the first radio sound archive in 1930.³ Contemporary commentators praised the establishment of radio production archives, with a distinct emphasis on their potential development as national sound archives dedicated to Germany's shared sonic heritage (see Tasiemka 1930, 4; Vertun 1932, 1055–1056).

In the context of National Socialism, party officials lamented the perceived selectiveness of the Weimar-era archive, while archivists boasted about their own achievements in the preservation of recordings of historical significance after 1933 (Brauchitsch 1934, 294–298; Valentyn 1941, 234–239). In 1942, however, the escalation of aerial attacks on Berlin led to the decision to bring recordings to German-controlled Graz, Wrocław, and Prague for safekeeping, thereby separating historically valuable recordings from those used for everyday program production. In the 1950s, archivists continued to

appraise broadcast recordings of politicians, artists, and public events as historically significant, and a selection of these recordings were, in turn, held separately in a Frankfurt bank vault in case of fire.⁴

My motivation for drawing attention to sound preservation and the institutional establishment of archives is to emphasize the historical formation of heritage discourses and archival practices which have influenced the types of broadcast programming—such as those, for instance, from the National Socialist era—that are available in the historical sound archive today. In previous research, I have joined in sound studies' critique of textual and visual archives, and insisted on a critical reinterpretation of available sources in order to approach past soundscapes and histories of listening (Birdsall 2012, 13, 26–28; Smith 2004). Here, I will offer reflections on the social negotiations involved in the construction of heritage, with particular attention to the preservation and restricted distribution of Nazi-era radio and film.⁵

This chapter will begin by acknowledging existing work and theoretical concepts for the understanding of the archiving of sound, before focusing on case studies of how sound circulates through institutional archives and other less formal processes of reuse and remediation. With these perspectives in mind, I will revisit my own analysis of recorded and reused archival sound (in the form of special wartime announcements on German radio), before reviewing where and how archival sound from the National Socialist era is made available in the present day. In doing so, I will consider how a renewed examination of the archive may be productive in order to reveal the institutional and material formation of sound archives from the 1930s onward. At the same time, a more nuanced understanding of the social construction of sonic heritage may help us to reassess the relationship between sound history and contemporary developments connected to sound-based heritage.

Archiving Sound: Remediation and Recycling

As noted above, the question of cultural heritage in Germany is a complex one, particularly given the histories of dictatorship, persecution, and war during the twentieth century. The normative bent of much heritage discourse would suggest—in the case of Germany—a preference for preserving music, literature, and other (high) art forms. Against such tendencies, recent scholarship has elaborated on “conflict heritage” as an important field of inquiry, particularly as related to commemoration practices in the built environment (see Forbes et al. 2009; Bassanelli and Pogliano 2013). The history of German heritage preservation and archival practices has also been examined, with a view to the exclusive definitions of national identity, history, and memory during National Socialism (Kosher 2000; Kretzschmar and Eckert 2007).

More generally, reflections on heritage, preservation, and presentation have been extensive in numerous fields of cultural studies research, including in particular sub-fields such as music and media studies.⁶ The literature on the (digital) preservation and curation of moving images is ever growing, with a related concern about how various sociopolitical, industry, and technological shifts have shaped media archival practices (Amad 2010; Frick 2011; Fossati 2009; for television, see Dwyer 2008; Noordegraaf 2010). One blind spot in this scholarship is that “audiovisual heritage” is usually used as shorthand for discussions of image preservation, thereby neglecting sound archival materials in the scope of these discussions (Müske 2010; Campanini 2014).

Sound studies itself has been adept at examining the popular circulation of mediated sound, and has elaborated on the relationship between sound, technology, and memory (Bijsterveld and van Dijk 2009). In sound studies, and more noticeably in radio history, however, there has not been an integrated or sustained account of the institutional and noninstitutional processes of organizing, preserving, and presenting sound.⁷ The field, on the whole, has also been slower to develop a critical response to recent developments in digital heritage, and as a result, it has also failed to fully investigate both the formal and informal processes of sound archival practice, both past and present (two early exceptions include Evens 2005; Sterne 2009). There are two concepts—namely remediation and recycling—with which sound studies could productively engage in order to better attend to the ways that sound is reframed and circulated through media culture.

The first term, *remediation*, was introduced by media scholars David Bolter and Richard Grusin, in their book, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (2000). This concept was introduced as a means to grasp the processes by which the contents of one medium are re-presented in another, or how new media borrow from or imitate the appearances of existing media, such as print, radio, film, or television.⁸ Each individual medium and its form of remediation depends on a network of technological, social, and economic factors. In other words, this process is not always evenly distributed across mediums, as Bolter and Grusin point out, since online media “refashion the newer perceptual media of radio, television, and telephone more aggressively than they refashion print” (ibid., 200). While their account investigates a number of hybrids produced in new media, such as computer games, digital photography, television, and the Internet, the analyses contain little elaboration on the remediation of sound, whether in other sound-based media or in audiovisual media.

The second concept of recycling has been used mainly in relation to compilation and found footage films, particularly for television history documentaries that reuse archival film materials. Film scholar Frances Guerin, for example, has studied the ways in which amateur film and photography from the National Socialist era have been

Figure 12.1

Berliner Rundfunk Sound Archive, Berlin 1946 (German Federal Archive picture 183-Z1105-501/Schwahn/CC-BY-SA, Wikimedia Commons).

recycled in contemporary print media, exhibitions, film, television, and online. Guerin draws attention to the archival function of these recyclings, namely that of preserving them for researchers today, but also the potential for “transformations in perception, in use, and in meaning of the images across time” (Guerin 2012, xviii). Guerin observes how television documentaries often depend on voice-over commentary and musical soundtracks that seek to contain recycled National Socialist images in the narrative,

but also acknowledges a range of experimental films that open up these same images to questions regarding interpretation, memory, and the archive. As such, Guerin’s approach involves the analysis of film and photographic material in both their archival and recycled forms, while asking how these iterations facilitate particular ways of remembering and forgetting the past (see also Rigney and Erll 2012). These two terms provide conceptual tools for thinking about the (digital) media that frame and remediate archival sound material, as well as the cultural narratives and media conventions that have developed in the presentation of archival material, as, for instance, from the National Socialist era.

Radio Archives and Sound History

In my own research, I discovered that one of the most remembered radio programs from World War II was the special announcements (*Sondermeldungen*) (Birdsall 2009). These announcements are quite difficult to research: given their status as interruptions to the usual broadcast schedule, they did not appear in program magazines, nor did such publications discuss this program format (for more detailed discussion of the *Sondermeldung* genre, see Birdsall 2012, 113–119, 161–162). What is striking, however, is just how many recordings of these special announcements have been preserved, with almost 150 listed in the database of the Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv (DRA) in Frankfurt.

In terms of their media composition, these special announcements contained a mixture of live and prerecorded elements. The prerecordings consisted of musical intro and brass fanfare sequences, the two national anthems, and war campaign songs. Both the sound effects and short musical sequences demonstrate a strong similarity to the prerecorded materials held in broadcast production archives, as suggested by official archival catalogs for the years up to 1939.⁹ *Sondermeldungen* not only circulated in public and private life through radio loudspeakers, but the campaign songs attained the status of catchy hit songs (*Schlager*), featuring in gramophone recordings, feature films, and newsreels, particularly in the first three years of the war.

What makes the sound archive interesting here is that radio production archives played a crucial role in facilitating the reuse of short segments from sound effects libraries (*Geräuscharchiv*) as well as the remediation and circulation of recorded music through radio. The difficulty in studying this production process is in part due to the National Socialist investment in the “liveness” of *Sondermeldung* segments (Favre 2007). Official discourse stressed their immediacy (*Unmittelbarkeit*) and the notion that the whole nation was listening attentively and simultaneously. Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels was said to be furious when the magazine *Die Woche* published a picture of the sound effects record used for fanfare sounds in *Sondermeldungen*; such evidence of prerecorded material was understood as detracting from an understanding of these broadcasts as live, spontaneous, and unrepeatable (Boelcke 1966, 383). From

the perspective of transparent remediation, *Sondermeldung* programs (and campaign theme songs) were presented and commented upon in fictional and nonfictional film genres, and even featured in television program production throughout 1941.¹⁰

While there may have been ambivalence about the extent to which listeners should be aware of prerecorded sound, in trade magazines and other publications, we can observe how National Socialist-era archivists and radio officials discussed the importance of recording technology for program production, and for the development of national sound archival collections (Valentyn 1941, 234–39). It remains difficult to ascertain where and when particular recordings were placed in storage, yet it would seem that the sizable presence of *Sondermeldungen* in the archive today is due to their perceived historical value during National Socialism and afterward. While many recordings were lost or destroyed after 1945, it can be estimated that a significant portion of these were selected for safe-keeping in occupied cities, or were among those confiscated by various Allied forces in 1945.¹¹ Either way, during the postwar period, *Sondermeldungen* did not appear to the same extent that other iconic sound clips (such as air-raid sirens) or radio programs (for example, *Wunschkonzert für die Wehrmacht*) did, even though these segments appear to be among the most remembered programs from this period, connected as they were to, first, the celebration of initial German military successes and, later, the growing sense of the war being lost in the East and on other fronts.¹²

This case offers a reminder of the role played by institutional archiving in the organization, remediation, and recycling of recorded sound in National Socialist radio. The decision to record such segments for the historical archive also reflects a choice concerning their perceived historical and political significance, and potential for future reuse. It is crucial for a critical sound studies project to be able to identify National Socialist era practices of sound archiving, as well as the choices made regarding their selection, storage, and preservation in subsequent decades. In what follows, I will reflect on some different ways in which archival sound from the National Socialist era is now available to both researchers and the general public, including the alternative sound archives of this period made available on digital platforms.

Archives of Sound

The “archives” of sound from the National Socialist period comprise not only recorded sound, but also the remediation and visualization of sound in other media, including photography, film, and print media (Schmidt 2014). In this vein, I have examined a compilation film that seeks to uncover the audio and audio-visual archive of National Socialism in the present. *Hitler's Hit Parade* (2003) is striking as a documentary film, since it reveals the heterogeneous nature of archival materials, in contrast to the

canonical selections of images that are usually recycled in contemporary media representations of National Socialism. Its usage of twenty-five hit songs from the National Socialist era, each played in full, seems like a “Best of” album of sentimental and catchy tunes from this period. The film combines hit songs from the sound archive with the (audio)visual archive of this period, ranging from feature and advertising films to amateur home movies and images of persecution. In doing so, the film reopens debates about National Socialist cultural production and the status of the image as “evidence” of this period. At the same time, the hit song soundtrack raises questions about the ongoing circulation of hit songs from the 1930s and 1940s in commercially sold CD compilations, as supposedly nonpolitical artifacts from that era.¹³ The circulation of archived sound in the present requires some investigation into how and where these materials are presented, and the interfaces—or “scripted spaces”—that structure the remediation of such materials (Chamberlain 2011).

In terms of conventional audio publishing, I have not yet ascertained a date for the earliest commercial publications of radio programming.¹⁴ While Germany and many other European nations have restrictions on the commercial publication of National Socialist era sound and film materials classified as propaganda, we can observe the commercial distribution in places such as Luxembourg, Liechtenstein, and the United States, which have not banned the trafficking of Nazi memorabilia. One example of illegal distribution is Documentary Series Est., which distributed vinyl copies of National Socialist radio recordings through Liechtenstein in the 1970s. Despite their appearance as documentary releases, it seems that this series of approximately 100 LPs was produced by German Nazi sympathizers whose operation was eventually shut down by government authorities (see Anonymous 1976; how such a large number of radio recordings came into the possession of this organization remains unclear). While this distribution was eventually prevented, library catalogs suggest that these recordings are widely available in public libraries around the world.¹⁵

As for more official publications, in 1995, the German DRA initiated a CD series *Stimmen des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Voices of the Twentieth Century) in cooperation with the Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin. Starting with a compilation of radio broadcasts on the German capitulation in 1945, this series has since put out thirty-five releases, most of which deal with political speeches, live events, and other cultural productions.¹⁶ One of the most interesting releases is *Das Verbrechen hinter den Worten* (The Crimes Behind the Words), which seeks to challenge the omissions of the National Socialist archive, and to find statements that serve as evidence of the Holocaust and others forms of persecution. Each of the releases in the CD series includes an online listening sample, and the DRA also frames archival sound through its online exhibition pages, such as the “Die Olympischen Spiele 1936 im

NS-Rundfunk." Such pages include contextual framing and visual documentation, with digitally remastered audio delivered through an MP3 player embedded on the site. Other official archives, for example the British Library, also list copies of National Socialist era recordings in their online database. All of these sound recordings are available online, and are suggestive of dual holdings shared with the DRA; some of these materials also potentially extend to programs recorded by UK propaganda monitors during World War II.¹⁷

The unofficial circulation of National Socialist era audio materials is vast and is in part connected to a broader memorabilia culture and collectors' market, whose online presence in Europe has been a point of controversy in recent years.¹⁸ In this process, even collection specialists at large institutions like the Deutsches Historisches Museum have been called to reassert their faith in the pedagogical benefits of including original artifacts in exhibition displays (Steffes 2014). On download forums and other platforms for sharing digital content, there is noticeable popularity for original sound recordings, particularly of military marches and wartime songs, along with National Socialist propaganda films and newsreels. Aside from unofficial channels, there are also open access archival platforms like the nonprofit Internet Archive (www.archive.org). On the site's Community Audio section, we can find numerous recordings of National Socialist radio, primarily of speeches by National Socialist party leaders Adolf Hitler and Joseph Goebbels. While it is possible to see who provided these recordings, very little contextual or technical information is given. For example, one collection is titled "Wartime Radio (1932–1946)," and was put together in 2011 using donations from "Ad Bongers-Scheltema Verlag" and "Clauds Historical Record and Recording Collection." Although some technical information is supplied about recording formats, it remains very difficult to track down the collectors or find out more about the provenance of these collections.

More generally, one of the other key means of accessing archival material is through their reuse in radio, television, and film. In the case of radio, much of these efforts have been linked to the perceived pedagogical use of the voices of Hitler and Goebbels for the understanding of German history. Indeed, during the 1950s, Hamburg-based NWDR (later NDR) and other stations were preoccupied with securing copies of recordings, as part of an effort to close the gaps in the archived sound history for "The Weimar period up to 1945."¹⁹ These materials, as I pointed out earlier, should be examined critically as to their structural absences and omissions. It should therefore be remembered, as wartime propaganda analyst Ernst Gombrich pointed out, that crucial information about Jews and Eastern European slave labor remained all but absent from wartime German radio.²⁰

The reuse of historical clips in West German radio appears to have been common practice, as suggested by correspondence in the mid-1950s when requests for historical spoken word clips tripled between 1955 and 1956 (Anonymous 1955–56, 3). During a

1958 radio feature, marking "60 Years of Sound Documents," a Frankfurt reporter takes a tour of the national sound archive. The archive is presented as providing the listener with access to "the voices of the past" and performing "contemporary sonic history" through sound recordings. In the program, there is a pedagogical introduction to German history from 1918 to 1945, with the inclusion of Reichstag parliamentary recordings, communist and Nazi party anthems, and speeches by Adolf Hitler and Joseph Goebbels. In this reuse of historical recordings, radio's limited definition of the public sphere is confirmed through the particular selections of sound recordings, which are mainly restricted to the voices of male political leaders and well-known events (Lacey 1996). Moreover, it allows former National Socialist radio functionaries like archivist Hans-Joachim Weinbrenner to ignore their own role in earlier propaganda production. Instead, Weinbrenner's statements are consistent with the selective remembering of the 1950s, and he interprets these historical recordings according to the values of the West German democratic state (see *60 Jahre Tondokumente*, 1958; Moeller 2001). Within the general trend of remixing found footage and other forms of reuse from the 1960s to the present day, the ongoing presence and appropriation of National Socialism in contemporary digital culture is also worth noting (Tofts and McCrea 2009; Rosenfeld 2015).

In summary, there is a range of ways in which archival sound from the National Socialist era has been preserved (in various media and formats), archived (in institutional and noninstitutional frameworks), and made accessible (through various forms of publishing and access). The remediations and recycling of such material have been emphasized as important operations in the ongoing negotiation and production of German sonic heritage. As this chapter has shown, media scholars have called for a more nuanced understanding of "archival footage" as not only restricted to "physical materials stored in archives controlled by state or other institutions, collections officially sanctioned as authoritative repositories of audiovisual evidence about the past. However, this definition is problematic in that it simply refers to a location in which certain documents, whose contours are determined by variously informed acts of inclusion and exclusion, are stored" (Baron 2014, 7). Such observations recognize that an archival document is constituted not only by virtue of its professional appraisal or storage in a particular location, but also through its circulation, reuse, and the experiences of media audiences. Through examining conditions of archiving, preservation, presentation, and circulation of archival sound, sound studies research will be better situated to offer critical insights into the constitution of sound-based heritage, both past and present.

To conclude, then, it is evident from the previous discussion that a critical perspective on archiving and the social production of sonic heritage is crucial for the understanding of sound in media culture. Using conceptual tools from media studies and developing comparative approaches to media archiving may offer a means

with which researchers can grasp the specific processes by which mediated sound is made available for the purposes of analysis today. This awareness does not require sound scholars to abandon their critical assessments of the limits to visual and textual archives, nor to fetishize the sound archive; rather it requires us to further inquire into the ways in which sound materials are preserved and presented in the present, as well as the historical formation of sounds from the past. An awareness of such processes—in combination with critical perspectives drawn from archive and media theory—is essential in order to reach a more nuanced understanding of the constitution of mediated sound.

Notes

1. See the official brochure for the facility, published on the website of Germany's Federal Office of Civil Protection and Disaster Assistance (Bundesamt für Bevölkerungsschutz und Katastrophenhilfe, BBK): http://www.bbk.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/BBK/DE/Publikationen/Broschueren_Flyer/Flyer_Barbarastollen.pdf?__blob=publicationFile (accessed June 2, 2014).
2. This omission may be in part due to the existence of other organizations involved in audiovisual preservation, the most prominent being the German Film Institute (Frankfurt), Deutsche Kinemathek (Berlin), German Music Archive (Leipzig), and the public broadcasting funded Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv (Frankfurt and Potsdam).
3. Of course, sound archiving began earlier, following the invention of the phonograph in the 1870s, although primarily in the context of academic research. Here, however, I mainly discuss archives that were perceived in shared national terms.
4. In 1950, the *Lautarchiv des Deutschen Rundfunks* (now *Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv*), was announced as the central historical archive for all stations of the West German ARD broadcast organization (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlichen-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*). For the use of bank vault storage, see "60 Jahre Tondokumente: Besuch im Lautarchiv des Deutschen Rundfunks," *Hessischer Rundfunk*, November 2, 1958 (Reporter: Käthe Beckmann; interviews with Kurt Magnus, Hans Weber, Hans-Joachim Weinbrenner). Sound recording held at Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Frankfurt.
5. For discussions of the dangerous nature of certain National Socialist films, and postwar restrictions on their distribution and exhibition, see Leiser 1974 and Kelson 1996.
6. In popular music studies, for instance, recent research has shown increasing interest in heritage discourses and institutions such as museums, music tourism, fan practices, and online archiving initiatives. See, e.g., Bennett 2009, 474–489; Brandellero et al. 2013.
7. In radio history, none of the major national history volumes has devoted significant attention to archival practice in broadcasting. Two recent exceptions that discuss the archiving of radio include Dolan 2003 and Jensen 2012.

8. They concede that this is a longer-term process, citing examples of how television has remastered film since the early 1950s. However, Bolter and Grusin do not, perhaps, sufficiently acknowledge the differences between the television culture of the United States and other global contexts.
9. For the first catalog of the Weimar period, see *Schallaufnahmen der deutschen Rundfunkgesellschaften in den Jahren 1929/1931* (Berlin: Hesse, 1931). For the two subsequent catalogs, see *Schallaufnahmen der Reichs-Rundfunk GmbH von Ende 1929 bis Anfang 1936* (Berlin: Reichs-Rundfunk-GmbH, 1936); *Schallaufnahmen der Reichs-Rundfunk GmbH von Ende 1936 bis Anfang 1939* (Berlin: Schallarchiv der Reichs-Rundfunkgesellschaft, 1939).
10. See, e.g., Millner 1940; Anonymous 1941a; Anonymous 1941b.
11. For German-language radio recordings held in Russia, see the DRA publication, Tischler 1997.
12. For a rare example of a compilation that included *Sondermeldungen*, see *Aus Dem Führerhauptquartier Teil 1 + 2*, vinyl LP, catalog no. DS 353, Documentary Series Est. Schaan (Liechtenstein), year unknown. I discuss this LP series in more detail in the following section.
13. An illustrative example is the CD release *Heimat Deine Sterne*, which includes digitally remastered film hit songs from the period 1930–1942, thus spanning both Weimar and National Socialist cultural production.
14. Against the background of limited explicitly political content on radio (prior to 1933), the National Socialist party did produce gramophone releases, such as a 1932 speech by Adolf Hitler as part of election campaigning. *Völkischer Beobachter* (July 15, 1932), cited in Paul 1992, 198.
15. For a full listing of the series and library holdings, see the discography available at Discogs (<http://www.discogs.com>) or the bibliographic listings offered by WorldCat (<http://www.worldcat.org>).
16. Titles directly relevant to the National Socialist era include historical overviews like "Frauenstimmen, 1908–1997," "Hymnen der Deutschen," "Prosit Neujahr!," "Hundert deutsche Jahre 1900–2000," and "Von Pan-Europa zur Europäischen Union." Titles that are more specific to National Socialism include "Weimar—Das Scheitern einer Demokratie," "1933—Der Weg in die Katastrophe," "Die XI. Olympischen Sommerspiele" and "Der Nürnberger Prozess" (the full list can be accessed <http://www.dra.de/publikationen/cds/>).
17. More generally, the British Library Sound Archive has had global scope and ambition since its inception as the British Institute of Recorded Sound in 1955. See Saul 1956, 173.
18. A French court ruled in 2000, for instance, that Yahoo! was responsible for the accessibility of Nazi memorabilia to the French public, in violation of the French criminal code. More recently, the availability of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* online and preparations for a critical edition of this book have been the subject of further debate. See, e.g., Brändlin 2014; Range 2014.

19. German original: "Zeitgeschichte von der Weimarer Zeit bis 1945." See the annual report for the DRA-foreunner in Frankfurt: "Jahresbericht des Lautarchivs des deutschen Rundfunks 1955/56," 4, NWDR/NDR Sammlung, file 1381, held at the Hamburg Staatsarchiv. In 1955, the BBC allowed NWDR archivist Dietrich Lotichius to spend a week in London in order to register and copy a selection of approximately 4,500 disks with Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft broadcast content. In earlier archivist correspondence, an estimate was given that 2,000–3,000 disks held in London needed to be copied to avoid imminent deterioration. See internal correspondence from March 1955, NWDR/NDR Sammlung, file 1381, held at the Hamburg Staatsarchiv.
20. Gombriech, an Austrian art historian with a Jewish family background, worked for the BBC Listening Post between 1939 and 1945, monitoring German-language broadcasting. As he recalled, "the concentration camps were not mentioned on the Home Service except very late in the war when they were described in a talk as places of harsh corrective labor, presumably both to intimidate and to reassure the home population" (Gombriech 1970, 23).

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