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Ian Pace

The Democratic Renewal of German New Music: Germany's 1948 Re-entry to the ISCM in the Context of Occupation and the Early Cold War

The process leading to Germany's readmission to the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) in 1948 is linked here to a range of other aspects of the reestablishment of a culture of new music in the occupied country from 1945 onwards. This process also involved many of the key individuals involved in this latter process. In turn, the reentry fed into the subsequent new-music culture that flourished in the Federal Republic. This re-entry has never before been fully explored within its historical context, or against the wider background of the occupation and early Cold War. This chapter draws upon archival documentation, in particular the correspondence found in the Karl Amadeus Hartmann-Nachlass in the Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek München, in order to trace in more detail than hitherto some of the actions and positions which informed and made possible the reentry.

Germany and the ISCM from its Inception

It has long been established that a range of German musicians were involved with the ISCM from its inception in 1922. Considering that some of the most radical musical directions during this period were being pursued in Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia (at that time still with a large Germanic population), and the concept of "Neue Musik" was regularly pursued in contemporary music journals from these countries – *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, published by Universal Edition (UE) in Vienna from 1919, *Melos*, published in Berlin from 1920, and *Der Aufakt*, published in Prague from 1920 – then it should not be surprising that key musical individuals from these countries – specifically Adolf Weißmann from Germany, Rudolph Réti from Austria, and both Karel B. Jirák, and Erich Steinhard (the editor from 1921 for

Auftakt) from Czechoslovakia – would be at the forefront of efforts to push the Society in a more strongly avant-garde focused direction.¹

The president of the German Section from 1922 to 1925 was Adolf Weißmann, from 1925 to 1930 Wilhelm Furtwängler, and from 1930 to 1933 Max Butting.² The initial committee for the German section included as executive directors Philip Jarnach, Heinz Tiessen, and Ernst Krenek, with Eduard Erdmann and Alois Hába serving as ordinary members, and Hermann Scherchen as committee chair.³ German jury members during the 1922–1933 period were Scherchen, Rudolf Schulz-Dornbusch, Jarnach, Tiessen, and Butting. Works by German composers including Paul Hindemith, Eduard Erdmann, Heinrich Kaminski, Ferruccio Busoni (represented as German), Butting, Jarnach, Ernst Toch, Wladimir Vogel (also represented as German), Kurt Weill, Manfred Gurlitt, and Edmund von Borck featured at the early international festivals.⁴

ISCM concerts were hosted in Berlin from 1922 to 1924, and separate regional groups within Germany were founded from an early stage: in Berlin (1923, with Weissmann as president; then another group in 1925); Leipzig (1924); Frankfurt (1928) and Hamburg (1929), with existing groups in Mannheim and Cologne adopting the ISCM statute, the so-called “Richtlinien für Gründung von Ortsgruppen” of 23 October 1923, which mostly preserved the autonomy of groups while making a few financial requirements. Furthermore, two special events in Bad Pyrmont were programmed by Butting and Tiessen in 1930 and 1931 to raise the profile of the German Section.⁵

¹ Anton Haefeli / Reinhard Oehlschlägel, *International Society for Contemporary Music*, in: *Grove Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.13859> (2001). For a comprehensive account of the development of the concept of *Neue Musik*, see in particular Christoph von Blumröder, *Der Begriff “neue Musik” im 20. Jahrhundert*, Munich / Salzburg: Musikverlag Emil Katzschler 1981, pp. 28–113.

² Heinz Tiessen, *Die Neue Musik, die IGM und ihre Deutsche Sektion vor 1933*, in: *Neue Musik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Dokumentation 1958/59*, London / Paris / New York: Schott 1959, pp. 7–21: 19 (Mainz: Schott’s Söhne 1959).

³ Martin Thrun, *Neue Musik im deutschen Musikleben bis 1933*, Bonn: Orpheus-Verlag 1995 (*Orpheus Schriftenreihe zu Grundfragen der Musik* 2), p. 433.

⁴ Information here and elsewhere about jury members and programming is taken from the various pages on individual festivals indexed at <https://iscm.org/wnmd-world-new-music-days/previous-festivals/> (29. 4. 2023).

⁵ Thrun, *Neue Musik im deutschen Musikleben bis 1933* (as note 3), pp. 437–440. For details of the membership of the different regional groups, see Tiessen, *Die Neue Musik, die IGM und ihre Deutsche Sektion* (as note 2), p. 19.

Germany hosted the annual festival in 1927, in Frankfurt, with an extravagant, forward-looking and markedly international programme featuring major works of Bartók, Berg, Hauer, Janáček, Pijper, Mosolov, Vogel, Turina, Copland, and Busoni's *Doktor Faustus*. An enviable line-up of performers including Claudio Arrau, Bartók, Walter Gieseking, Eduard Steuermann, Rudolf Kolisch, the Amar and Kolisch Quartetts, Furtwängler, and Scherchen also marked it as a milestone event in the early development of the ISCM.⁶ Notably, however, the only work by a German-born composer was Heinrich Kaminski's *Magnificat*. This contrasts significantly with the strong representation of composers from the host nation in some of the other early ISCM festivals.

At the time of the Amsterdam ISCM Festival in June 1933, Edwin Evans noted that there remained an invitation to host the festival in Berlin in 1935.⁷ In 1934, however, Germany withdrew from the ISCM (according to Butting, then president of the German Section, at his behest, in order that it could not be abused by Nazi figures)⁸ and would remain outside the organisation for 14 years. A few German composers continued to feature on ISCM programmes thereafter, some of them in internal or external exile: at the 1934 ISCM Festival in Florence, both Rudolph Holzmänn, then resident in France, and Hindemith, less than a month after the debacle surrounding the premiere of his Symphony from *Mathis der Maler* on 12 March 1934, were selected by the jury.⁹ A report by Karl Holl in the May/June 1934 issue of *Melos* indicated that “since the political upheaval” the German Section “has appeared to have fallen asleep”.¹⁰ In Prague in 1935, Hartmann's symphonic poem *Miserae* was played, and

⁶ Anton Haefeli, *Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik (IGNM): ihre Geschichte von 1922 bis zur Gegenwart* (hereafter simply *IGNM*), Zürich: Atlantis Musikbuch-Verlag 1928, pp. 485f.

⁷ Edwin Evans, *The I.S.C.M. Festival at Amsterdam*, in: *The Musical Times*, vol. 74, no. 1086, August 1933, p. 707.

⁸ Max Butting, *Musik Geschichte, die ich miterlebte*, Berlin: Henschelverlag 1955, pp. 207–209. Also Butting to Hartmann, place unknown, 20 August 1947; Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek (hereafter simply BSB) Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik..

⁹ Responses to the premiere were not unequivocally negative, but the situation was exploited by the Nationalsozialistische Kulturgemeinde to secure broadcast bans and restrictions on performances. See Ian Pace, *The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music during the early Allied Occupation (1945-46), and its Roots in the Weimar Republic and Third Reich (1918-45)*, PhD thesis Cardiff University 2018, pp. 56f.

¹⁰ “Seit dem politischen Umschwung”; “aber schein die Sektion Deutschschland entschlafen zu sein”; Karl Holl, *Das Internationale Musikfest in Florenz*, in: *Melos* 13 (1934), Heft 5/6, pp. 199f. Holl, at least at this time, was treated with some suspicion by leading Nazi music critics including Fritz Stege, who attempted to have him excluded from the *Kritikerverband* after having taken the side of a Jewish critic, Arno Huth against Stege following a Bach Festival in Kiel. See Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933-1945* (CD-ROM, edition 2/2009), p. 3426.

this was interpreted by some as a political statement, with its indication “Dachau 1933/34”¹¹. Additional examples are Edmund von Borck at the famous 1936 Barcelona Festival¹²; Richard Strauss (*Till Eulenspiegel*) and a work of Peter Schacht scheduled but withdrawn after Nazi political pressure at Paris in 1937; as well as another work of Hartmann’s, his String Quartet No. 1, “Carillon”, Hindemith (excerpts from *Mathis der Maler*) and one work of Werner Josten, a German-born emigré to the US, in London in 1938.

It is worth noting, however, that the continued presence of Austrian composers during this period meant that the German-speaking lands were not unrepresented:

- Florence 1934: Ernst Krenek on jury. Works of Alban Berg (*Lyric Suite*), Leopold Spinner (*Quartettino*), and Hans Erich Apostel (*Fünf lyrische Lieder*).
- Prague 1935: Hermann Scherchen (in exile in Switzerland) on jury. Works of Arnold Schoenberg (Variations for Orchestra, op. 31), Anton Webern (Concerto for Nine Instruments, op. 24), and Berg (*Lulu Suite*)
- Barcelona 1936: Webern on jury. Works of Berg (Violin Concerto and suite from *Wozzeck*), Ludwig Zenk (Piano Sonata op. 1), and Egon Wellesz (*Five Sonnets of Elizabeth Barrett Browning*).
- Paris 1937: Work of Apostel (*Vier Melodien nach Texten von Rilke*, op. 6).
- London 1938 (three months after the ‘Anschluss’): Works of Webern (*Das Augenlicht*), Viktor Ullmann (String Quartet no. 2, op. 7), and Krenek (*Kantate von der Vergänglichkeit des Irdischen*).
- Warsaw and Krakow 1939: Work of Webern (String Quartet op. 28)
- New York 1941: Krenek on jury. Work of Webern (String Quartet op. 28 again) and Artur Schnabel (Piano Piece in Seven Movements)
- Berkeley 1942: no German or Austrian works.

After 1945

The context in which Germany came to reenter the ISCM emerges from other developments very early after the war, which created the foundations for a culture of new music. This process becomes visible to a significant degree in five cities: Munich, Berlin, Frankfurt, Baden-Baden and Cologne.

¹¹ Michael Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits*, New York: Oxford University Press 2000, pp. 89f.

¹² Von Borck’s work was still being played at prominent events in Germany through the course of the Reich, and he sought an audience with Goebbels. See Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933-1945* (as note 10), pp. 681–685.

Early post-war musical life in Munich was steered by American officers, primary amongst them pianist Eduard Kilenyi, who had studied in Budapest with Ernő Dohnányi, and later John Evarts, a former music professor at Black Mountain College.¹³ Kilenyi was involved with the initial interviews of Karl Amadeus Hartmann in June 1945, which resulted in his being appointed as “Dramaturg und Leiter der Morgenveranstaltungen” in the city¹⁴ and enabled him to begin the series of new-music concerts beginning on October 1945. Under the title *Musica Viva* (only adopted in the third season), they resembled somewhat his earlier series *Die Juryfreien*, which ran from 1928 to 1932. This featured the likes of Debussy, Ravel, Stravinsky, Milhaud, Honegger, Prokofiev, Janáček, Martinu, Szymanowski and others from the beginning - few of which were well-known names to German audiences at this stage.¹⁵ Despite low attendance, the series was backed strongly by Evarts, enabling it to continue.¹⁶

In November 1945, Kilenyi brought the conductor Hans Rosbaud to the city to take over the Munich Philharmonic, and he soon put on concerts for Hartmann’s series.¹⁷ Then, in February 1946, Rosbaud and Hartmann founded, with the full blessing of Evarts,¹⁸ what was reported as being the first post-war German regional section of the ISCM (though this could have no official capacity within the organisation until

¹³ David Monod, *Internationalism, Regionalism, and National Culture: Music Control in Bavaria, 1945-1948*, in: *Central European History* 3 (2000), No. 33, pp. 348–350; and David Monod, *Settling Scores: German Music, Denazification and the Americans, 1945-1953*, Chapel Hill / London: University of North Carolina Press 2005, pp. 21f. and 38; Andrew Kohn, *Black Mountain College as Context for the Writings of Wolpe*, in: *On the Music of Stefan Wolpe: Essays and Recollections*, ed. by Austin Clarkson, Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press 2003, pp. 111-132: 112.

¹⁴ Carola Arlt, *Von den “Juryfreien” zur “musica viva”*. *Karl Amadeus Hartmann und die Neue Musik in München*, Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang 2010 (*Studien zur Geschichte des Bayerischen Rundfunks* 5), pp. 48f.

¹⁵ Pace, *The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music* (as note 9), pp. 260–264; for full details of the programmes, Barbara Haas, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann 1905-1963. Zeitzeugen und Dokumente zum 100. Geburtstag des Komponisten*, Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel Verlag 2004, pp. 281–325.

¹⁶ Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv (hereafter IfZArch), Office of Military Government, United States (hereafter OMGUS) 10/48-1/5, *Weekly Report*, 26 October 1945; Evarts, *Weekly Report*, 4 February, 11 and 31 May 1946.

¹⁷ On the circumstances leading to this, and the testimonies which benefited Rosbaud, see Marita Krauss, *Nachkriegskultur in München. Münchner städtische Kulturpolitik 1945–1954*, Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag 1985, pp. 59f.; Monod, *Settling Scores* (as note 13), pp. 62–64; Joan Evans, *Hans Rosbaud and New Music: From 1933 to the early Postwar Period*, in: *Deutsche Leitkultur Musik? Zur Musikgeschichte nach dem Holocaust*, ed. by Albrecht Riethmüller, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 2006, pp. 127–129.

¹⁸ IfZArch, OMGUS 10/48-1/5, John Evarts, *Weekly Report*, 4 February 1946 (as note 16).

Germany rejoined). Rosbaud then established both a Verband Münchener Tonkünstler in June of that year¹⁹, and a Studio für moderne Musik at the end of the year, a successor to the Vereinigung für zeitgenössische Musik in the city in the late 1920s,²⁰ for which he appointed Hans Mersmann (see below) as director.²¹ By the regional ISCM's second season, now supported with a subsidy from the Bayerische Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus²², Hartmann included dedicated concerts of French, Russian and American music, in line with the occupation, and from Autumn 1947, the American authorities allowed Hartmann to use the Munich Amerika Haus for various events, without demonstrating any bias towards those concerts which featured American music.²³

Other important activities came about in Berlin, especially through the work of Josef Rufer, Schoenberg's assistant in the 1920s. Rufer's activities during the Nazi era have not been researched in detail. It is nonetheless known, for example, that he worked as a music critic and teacher for a period before being conscripted into the army, where he served in the Luftwaffe before being permitted to move back to Berlin prior to the end of the war.²⁴ If there were any other reasons for serious questions to be asked about his activities (he later claimed to have been shocked to see the camps in Poland), then they were not known to the various occupying authorities in the city.

¹⁹ Anon., *Kulturelle Nachrichten*, in: *Tagesspiegel*, 29 June 1946.

²⁰ Gabriele E. Meyer, *Neue Musik-Wochen in München, 1929-1931*, in: *Historisches Lexikon Bayern*, http://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/artikel/artikel_44916 (2. 5. 2023). Programmes for the 1928-29 season of the Vereinigung, and the 1930 and 1931 Neue Musik-Wochen it presented, are available here.

²¹ Wolfgang Gieseler, *Zwischen Klassik und Moderne*, in: *So viel Anfang war nie. Deutsche Städte 1945-1949*, ed. by Hermann Glaser, Lutz von Pufendorf and Michael Schöneich, Berlin: Siedler Verlag 1989, pp. 244-249: 247.

²² Arlt, *Von der "Juryfreien" zur "musica viva"* (as note 14), pp. 60-62.

²³ See Haas, *Hartmann* (as note 15), pp. 127f. and 286-292. For example, there was a concert of Russian and French music on 13 and 21 October 1947, then of British, French, Spanish and German music on 10 November of that year.

²⁴ Joan Allen Smith, *Schoenberg and His Circle: A Viennese Portrait*, New York / London: Schirmer 1986, pp. 282f.; Bruce Saylor / Michael von der Linn, *Rufer, Josef (Leopold)*, in: *Grove Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.24100> (20. 1. 2001); Edith Gerson-Kiwi, *Gradenwitz, Peter (Emanuel)*, in: *Grove Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.11574> (20. 1. 2001); and especially Rufer's own account to Schoenberg in a letter of 11 November 1945, https://archive.schoenberg.at/letters/letters.php?id_letters=15488&action=view&sortieren=id%20DESC&vonBis=60-79 (2. 5. 2023). No other correspondence is known to have survived between Rufer and Schoenberg from 27 March 1939 until this date. Rufer's view of the camps is in Peter Gradenwitz, *Arnold Schönberg und seine Meisterschüler. Berlin 1925-1933*, Vienna: Paul Zsolnay Verlag 1998, p. 41.

Berlin was under full Soviet control from the end of the war, but the other allies arrived in the city towards the end of June and four-power control is generally dated from 7 July 1945. As early as May 1945, the critic and art enthusiast Franz Wallner-Basté formed a cultural committee in the south-west district of Zehlendorf.²⁵ From June, this organisation initiated concerts in the Park am Waldsee, behind the Haus am Waldsee on the Argentinische Allee, featuring at first the Berlin Philharmonic and some concerts with new music.²⁶ This would come under American control as Zehlendorf fell within their sector of the city. By the middle of that month, Wallner-Basté invited Rufer to establish a Studio für Neue Musik in Berlin, a move that likely helped in consolidating Rufer's position, through recommendations from Schoenberg.²⁷ This development led to a regular series of concerts in the Haus am Waldsee, beginning in January 1946, with the spotlight falling on works by Hindemith, Stravinsky, Bartók and Schoenberg.²⁸ In an early report, American officer John Bitter described these concerts as "perhaps the only ones in Berlin that are really fresh and new", and noted that the hall was packed for the opening Hindemith concert.²⁹ These are remembered by some as a deeply important factor in developing wider awareness of new music³⁰, and were the most extensive series of their type other than that in Munich. By December 1948, these would become billed as concerts of the ISCM.

²⁵ Franz Wallner-Basté, *Betrifft: Musikabteilung. Aus den Akten des Kulturamts Zehlendorf*, in: *Musikstadt Berlin zwischen Krieg und Frieden. Musikalische Bilanz einer Viermächtestadt*, Berlin / Wiesbaden: Bote & Bock, 1956, pp. 10–28; Elizabeth Janik, *Recomposing German Music: Politics and Tradition in Cold War Berlin*, Leiden: Brill, 2005 (*Studies in Central European Histories* 40), pp. 121f.

²⁶ See weekly reports of Musikabteilung for 28 May–2 June, 4–9 June, 11–16 June, 18–23 June 1945, in Wallner-Basté, *Betrifft: Musikabteilung* (as note 25), pp. 15f.; Anon., *Biographisches Verzeichnis*, in: Ursula Heukenkamp (ed), *Unterm Notdach. Nachkriegsliteratur in Berlin 1945-1949*, ed by Ursula Heukenkamp, Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag 1996, pp. 529-562: 541f.; Anon., *Nur wer die Liebe hat, darf hart urteilen. Zum 100. Geburtstag des Kritikers Walther Karsch*, *Tagesspiegel*, 11 October 2006.

²⁷ Various correspondence between Rufer and Schoenberg during this period, available at https://archive.schoenberg.at/letters/letters.php?sortieren=id%20DESC&action=uebersicht&vonBis=60-79&listensuche_1=name_from&suchwert_1=1933 (2. 5. 2023) show that Schoenberg may have played a part in encouraging a member of American military personnel to accept Rufer.

²⁸ For details of the concerts at Haus am Waldsee, see Pace, *The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music* (as note 9), pp. 267–268, 270–272, A178–180.

²⁹ IfZArch, OMGUS 5/242-3/13. FTM Weekly Report, 18 January 1946.

³⁰ See in particular Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Zum Hören geboren: Ein Leben mit der Musik unserer Zeit*, Munich et. al.: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag/Bärenreiter 1982; Stuckenschmidt, *Margot. Bildnis einer Sängerin*, Munich: Piper 1981, p. 44f.; Stuckenschmidt, *Neue Musik in Deutschland nach 1945*, in: *Neue Musik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Dokumentation 1957/58*, Frankfurt / London / New York: C.F. Peters, 1958), pp. 11–12; and Erwin Kroll, *Das erste Nachkriegsjahr der Musikstadt Berlin*, in: *Berliner Almanach 1947*, ed. by Walther G. Oschilewski and Lothar Blanvalet, Berlin: Lothar Blanvalte Verlag 1946, pp. 170–185. See also Irene Tobben, *Das Haus und seine Veranstaltungen. Musik 1945-2013*, in: *68 Jahre Haus am Waldsee. Vom privaten Landhaus zum Ort internationaler Gegenwartskunst in Berlin*, ed. by Walther König, Berlin: Haus am Waldsee 2013, pp. 131–133.

But a key part of the new cultural landscape in Berlin was provided by the Kulturbund zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands (Cultural Association for the Democratic Renewal of Germany), an organisation planned by exiles from Nazi Germany in Moscow, especially the writer Johannes Becher.³¹ This received a Soviet licence on 25 June 1945, and started hosting concerts with music and anti-fascist political statements, calling for the best of German cultural and intellectual life to be rescued from the recent past. Many artists and intellectuals, and some international organisations, became supportive of their work, though Soviet fears about tolerance for “bourgeois tendencies” made them fill it with functionaries.³² A working group on music was run first by Bernhard Bennedik, then Heinz Tiessen, who brought to the group the likes of composer Paul Höffer, and later Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt (following his return to Berlin from a prisoner-of-war camp in the spring of 1946) and Erwin Kroll.³³ Wider branches of the Kulturbund, somewhat frustrated by Western occupying powers’ resistance to organisations linking cities or crossing zonal boundaries, were formed in many German cities in 1945–46³⁴, while others not formally aligned, such as the Freie deutsche Kulturgesellschaft in Frankfurt (Free

³¹ On the founding of the Kulturbund, see David Pike, *The Politics of Culture in Soviet-Occupied Germany, 1945-1949*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press 1992, pp. 80f., and for considerable detail Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *In a Cold Crater: Cultural and Intellectual Life in Berlin 1945-1948*, translated by Kelly Barry, Berkeley, Los Angeles / London: University of California Press 1998, pp. 72–106, and especially Magdalena Heider, *Politik – Kultur – Kulturbund. Zur Gründungs- und Frühgeschichte des Kulturbundes zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands 1945-1954 in der SBZ/DDR*, Cologne: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik 1993.

³² Norman Naimark, *The Russians in Germany: A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945-1949*, Cambridge, MA / London: Harvard University Press 1995, pp. 402f.

³³ Kulturbund to Tiessen, Berlin, 28 January 1946, Tiessen to Kulturbund, Berlin, 16 February 1946, Akademie der Kunst (hereafter AdK) Nachlass Heinz Tiessen, File 2110; List of Kommission, undated; Maren Köster, *Musik-Zeit-Geschehen. Zu den Musikverhältnissen in der SBZ/DDR 1945 bis 1952*, Saarbrücken: Pfau 2002, p. 124.

³⁴ Carola Spies, *Der Kulturbund zur Demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands. Seine Anfänge in Westdeutschland aufgezeigt anhand der Entwicklung in Düsseldorf*, in: *Öffentlichkeit der Moderne. Die Moderne in der Öffentlichkeit: Das Rheinland 1945-1955; Vorträge des interdisziplinären Arbeitskreises zur Erforschung der Moderne im Rheinland (Düsseldorfer Schriften zur neueren Landesgeschichte und zur Geschichte Nordrhein-Westfalens 53)*, ed. by Dieter Breuer and Gertrude Cepl-Kaufmann, Essen: Klartext 2000, pp. 69–84: 70; Eva Moser, *Überlingen 1945 – Deutsche Kunst unserer Zeit*, in: *Neuordnungen. Südwestdeutsche Museen in der Nachkriegszeit*, ed. by Landesstelle für Museumsbetreuung Baden-Württemberg, Tübingen: Silberburg-Verlag 2002, pp. 34–59: 60f.; Moser, *Deutscher Kulturbund Stuttgart*, in: *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 16 February 1946; Birgit Pape, *Kultureller Neubeginn in Heidelberg und Mannheim 1945-1949*, Heidelberg: C. Winter, 2000, pp. 82–86; Anon., *Kulturelle Nachrichten*, in: *Tagesspiegel*, 4 June 1946; Franz Götting, *Freier Kulturbund Wiesbaden*, in: *Wiesbadener Kurier*, 9 July 1946; Heider, *Politik – Kultur – Kulturbund* (as note 31), pp. 40–54.

German Cultural Society)³⁵, the Kulturliga in Munich³⁶, and the Kulturkreis des Bodenseegebietes in Konstanz³⁷, shared a similar purpose and were visited by Becker.³⁸ This process strongly mirrored the foundation of the regional sections of the ISCM in the 1920s.

Höffer had taught at the Berlin Musikhochschule from 1923, becoming a professor in 1933. After a mixed start, he had had a reasonable career in the Third Reich, with some major performances and commissions, as well as composing many marches and militaristic works, some in collaboration with the *Hitlerjugend* and *Kraft durch Freude* organisation.³⁹ He incurred the disdain of an interviewing officer (which may have been Bennedik, who was sympathetic to the Soviets) preparing for the reopening of the Musikhochschule at the end of October 1945, not least as a result of providing malicious information on colleagues within the first five minutes of an interview.⁴⁰ He would later receive a denazification ranking of ‘Black’,⁴¹ the most severe, though by November 1946 this was raised to ‘Grey’ (acceptable).⁴² Rufer also collaborated with Höffer to create a rival institution to the Musikhochschule, the Internationales Musikinstitut, based at Haus am Waldsee and dedicated to teaching new music,⁴³ with

³⁵ Anon., *Aufruf der Freien Deutschen Kulturgesellschaft. Frankfurt am Main*, in: *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 7 December 1945; Sean A. Forner, *German Intellectuals and the Challenge of Democratic Renewal: Culture and Politics after 1945*, Cambridge / New York: Cambridge University Press 2014, pp. 202f.

³⁶ Gerhard Hay, “Kulturliga” und “Schutzband deutscher Schriftsteller”, in: *Trümmerzeit in München. Kultur und Gesellschaft einer deutschen Großstadt im Aufbruch 1945-1949*, ed. by Friedrich Prinz, Munich: Münchner Stadtmuseum 1984, pp. 217–219.

³⁷ Anon., *Zusammenschluss aller Kulturschaffenden*, in: *Südkurier*, 16 July 1946, cited in Manfred Bosch, *Der lange Weg zur Moderne – Literatur im deutschen Bodenseeraum nach 1945 zwischen Restauration und Aufbruch*, in: *Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte des Bodensees und seiner Umgebung* 122 (2004), Heft 7, p. 177.

³⁸ Forner, *German Intellectuals* (as note 35), p. 201.

³⁹ Pace, *The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music* (as note 9), pp. 75f.

⁴⁰ Landesarchiv Berlin (hereafter LAB) C Rep. 120 Nr. 88, Aufnahme der Geschäftstätigkeit der Hochschule für Musik. Aktenvermerk, 23 August 1945. The identity of the officer is not clear, but on the day mentioned of the interview, 8 August 1945, Höffer mentioned in his diary a visit from Bennedik. See Paul Höffer, “Eine Weltkatastrophe liegt dazwischen, aber ich selbst sitze noch immer an dem selben Fleck”. *Aus den Tagebüchern von Paul Höffer 1945-1949* (subsequently simply ‘Höffer, “Tagebüchern”’), in: “Kunst, im Aufbau ein Stein”. *Die Westberliner Kunst- und Musikhochschulen im Spannungsfeld der Nachkriegszeit*, ed. by Christine Fischer-Defoy Berlin: Hochschule der Künste 2001, pp. 275-280: 275f.

⁴¹ IfZArch, OMGUS 11/47-3/25, *White, Grey and Black List for Information Control Purposes, 1 June 1946. Supplement 1 to List of 1 April 1946*.

⁴² IfZArch, OMGUS 5/242-1/48, *White Grey and Black List for Information Control Purposes. 1 November 1946. Supplement 1 to List of 1 August 1946*.

⁴³ The most comprehensive account of this institution is in Fischer-Defoy, “Kunst, im Aufbau ein Stein” (as note 40), pp. 309–318. See also Pace, *The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music* (as note 9), pp. 268–270.

strong support from Bitter at the Office of the Military Government of the United States, or OMGUS.⁴⁴ The likes of Sergiu Celibidache, Margot Hinnenberg-Lefèvre, Siegfried Borries, as well as composers Rufer, Höffer, and Boris Blacher, all taught here, though the institution only lasted two years until Höffer was appointed president of the Musikhochschule.⁴⁵

Other institutions for new music in early post-war Berlin included an important series in the Charlottenburg Musikbücherei, in the British zone⁴⁶, and in particular a new Arbeitskreis für Neue Musik founded by Heinz Tiessen at the end of November 1946. Tiessen, a veteran of the Weimar Era Novembergruppe, had also had a reasonable career from 1939, in contrast to his own later self-portrayal as an inner emigrant.⁴⁷ This was largely because of the support of Heinz Drewes, head of the music department of the Propaganda Ministry, who had been Tiessen's student.⁴⁸

The Kulturbund allowed Stuckenschmidt (who had returned to the Berlin in spring 1946 following a period as a prisoner of war) to organise yet another series of concerts in the Mitte region, quite adventurous in their programming, beginning in December 1946 and continuing for several years.⁴⁹ The first of these, with works of Prokofiev, Britten, Hindemith, Copland and Milhaud, was almost like an exercise in box-ticking of the occupying powers. Tiessen made clear in a document from the time that he saw the activities of the Arbeitskreis and also of the Kulturbund as a means of preparing Germany for re-entry to the ISCM.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ OMGUS 5/242-3/13, Weekly Report, 16 November 1945, reproduced in Brewster S. Chamberlin, *Kultur auf Trümmern. Berliner Berichte der amerikanischen Information Control Section Juli-Dezember 1945*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt 1979, p. 218; LAB OMGUS 4/8-1/7, Music Report, 24 January 1946.

⁴⁵ Tobben, *Das Haus und seine Veranstaltungen. Musik 1945-2013* (as note 30), pp. 131f.

⁴⁶ Pace, *The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music* (as note 9), p. 272, A181–183.

⁴⁷ Heinz Tiessen, *Wege eines Komponisten*, Berlin: Akademie der Künste 1962, pp. 56f.

⁴⁸ Albrecht Dümmling, *What is Internal Exile in Music? The Cases of Walter Braunfels, Heinz Tiessen, Eduard Erdmann and Philipp Jarnach*, in: *The Impact of Nazism on Twentieth-Century Music*, ed. by Erik Levi, Vienna / Cologne / Weimar: Böhlau 2014, pp. 9-25: 19; Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933-1945* (as note 10), pp. 7193–7195.

⁴⁹ Werner Danneberg, *Nachholebedarf. Kulturbund und neue Musik 1945-1952*, in: *Musik und Gesellschaft* 6/90 (1990), p. 306–311; for full programmes, Pace, *The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music* (as note 9), A261–264.

⁵⁰ Heinz Tiessen, *Arbeitskreis für neue Musik*, undated, probably from some time in November 1946; Tiessen to Charlotte Bartsch, Erny Lamadin, Alfred Schlute and Fritz Thöne, Berlin, 12 November 1946; AdK Nachlass Tiessen, File 1381.

Radio Frankfurt, at the heart of broadcasting in the American Zone, began re-broadcasting from 1 June 1945 from a mobile transmitter, then from a makeshift centre in nearby Bad Nauheim⁵¹. The first music director was actor Holger Hagen, working for OMGUS⁵². But even more significant was the appointment of the pianist Heinz Schröter in late 1945. Put in charge of chamber and contemporary music, Schröter had previously worked as a pianist for American Forces Network and then Radio Frankfurt itself.⁵³ With the backing of Hagen, he was able to organise the first concentrated event devoted entirely to new music in July 1946: the *Zeitgenössische Musikwoche* in Bad Nauheim⁵⁴, which from 1947 would take place in Frankfurt under the new title *Woche für Neue Musik*. Like most new music events in Germany at the time, it prominently featured Hindemith, but also Stravinsky and, most notably, Schoenberg in a 1946 festival concert featuring three of his works (very unusual for this time). In line with occupation policy as specifically ordered to Schröter by Hagen, American works by William Schuman, and Quincy Porter were included⁵⁵. The festival received a wide range of detailed press attention⁵⁶, and arguably it became a template for many later festivals around Germany and further afield. After its success,

⁵¹ Michael Crone / Hans Sarkowicz, *Von Radio Frankfurt zum Hessischen Rundfunk. Der Neubeginn nach dem Krieg (1945 bis 1949)*, in: *hr – Hier kommt Hessen. 60 Jahre Radio und Fernsehen*, ed. by the same, Frankfurt: Societäts-Verlag 2008, pp. 56–84: 56; Lawrence Hartenian, *Propaganda and the Control of Information in Occupied Germany: The US Information Control Division at Radio Frankfurt 1945-1949*, PhD thesis Rutgers University 1984, pp. 101, 233 and 235f.

⁵² Alfred Sous, *Ein Orchester für das Radio. Das Radio-Sinfonie-Orchester Frankfurt*, Frankfurt: Verlag Waldemar Kramer 1998, wrongly lists Hagen as being in this position solely from June to November 1946; in E.K., *Komponisten und Musiker im Rundfunk*, in: *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 26 April 1946, Hagen is listed as having worked for the station for the past half-year.

⁵³ Private communications with Schröter's daughter, Barbara Schmidt-Blankenhagen, forwarded in e-mail to the author, 11 August 2011. I am immensely grateful to Daniel Wolf for fielding some questions from me to Schmidt-Blankenhagen. By March 1946 Schröter was described as the "house pianist of the radio"; E.K., *Drei Pianisten*, in: *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 22 March 1946.

⁵⁴ See Pace, *The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music* (as note 9), pp. 289–291, A192–194 for a detailed account of this first festival, its programming, and reception. The full programme is in HHStAD O21 (Bergsträsser) No. 26/6. I am very grateful to Eva Haberkorn for locating this for me.

⁵⁵ E-mail from Schmidt-Blankenhagen, 11 August 2011. On OMGUS policy and strategy for promoting American music in Germany during this period, see Amy C. Beal, *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification*, Berkeley et. al.: University of California Press 2006, pp. 11–51.

⁵⁶ See for example E.K., *Komponisten und Musiker im Rundfunk*, in: *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 26 April 1946; M., *Musikwoche in Bad-Nauheim*, in: *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 5 July 1946; Josef Linssen, *Die Frankfurter Woche für neue Musik. Ein Vorbericht*, in: *Melos* 14 (1947), Heft 7–8, p. 207; E.W., *Zeitgenössische Musik in Bad Nauheim* and i.u., *Petersen-Uraufführung in Nauheim*, in: *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 16 and 25 July 1946; b-r., *Die zeitgenössische Musikwoche in Bad-Nauheim; Zeitgenössische Musikwoche in Bad-Nauheim; Ausklang der Nauheimer Musikwoche*, in: *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 9, 12 and 19 July 1946; H.U. Engelmann, *Zeitgenössische Musik. Festwoche in Bad-Nauheim*; Hans Ulrich Engelmann, *Musikwoche in Bad Nauheim, Darmstädter Echo*, 20 and 24 July 1946.

Schröter was able to broadcast a special series of recordings of new music on Monday evenings.⁵⁷

Musical life in the French zone was centred around the spa town of Baden-Baden and was largely thanks to the work of Heinrich Strobel. De Gaulle had ordered the establishment of a radio centre for the zone⁵⁸, which, after some early broadcasts from an extant transmitter in Koblenz, became Südwestfunk, newly established on 31 March 1946 with the main station in Baden-Baden.⁵⁹ Strobel had returned to Germany in November 1945 and was invited to Baden-Baden by Pierre Peronnet, who would become a leading control officer for the station. Armed with references from major cultural and political figures in both France and Germany, as well as testimonies from the likes of Arthur Honegger and Claude Delvincourt⁶⁰, while being found by music controller for the French zone in general, René Timmonier, to be “an excellent propagandist for French music”, he was appointed to be music controller for the whole station.⁶¹ He broadcast a wide range of what was then new music to Germany, especially that of Hindemith, Stravinsky and a range of French composers, not least with the new orchestra for the station (built out of the existing city orchestra), which was directed by Rosbaud from the end of the 1947–48 season. They became the leading commissioner and performer of new music of all the radio orchestras in the different zones. Strobel also produced a programme entitled *Musik der Welt*, devoted to new international music⁶², and reflecting his various lectures and writings on the

⁵⁷ Heinz Schröter, *Ein Sender aktiviert das städt. Musikleben: Zwei zeitgenössische Musikwochen in Frankfurt/M.*, in: *Melos* 14 (1947), Heft 6, pp. 182f.; Anon., *Notizen*, in: *Melos* 14 (1947), Heft 13, p. 394.

⁵⁸ Reproduced in Sabine Friedrich, *Rundfunk und Besatzungsmacht. Organisation, Programm und Hörer des Südwestfunks 1945 bis 1949*, Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft 1991, p. 255.

⁵⁹ Christoph Kahlenberg, “*Stimme der Heimat*”. *Hörfunk in Rheinland-Pfalz*, in: *Auf der Suche nach neuer Identität. Kultur in Rheinland-Pfalz im Nachkriegsjahrzehnt*, ed. by Franz-Josef Heyen and Anton M. Keim, Mainz: v. Hase & Koehler Verlag 1996, pp. 587–608; Klaus Fischer, *Baden-Baden erzählt. Der Kurort im alten und neuen Glanz*, Bonn: Keil Verlag 1985, pp. 218f.

⁶⁰ *Object: a/s du nommé STROBEL Henrich*, 11 July 1949, Archives de l’occupation française en Allemagne et en Autriche/Actions culturelles (hereafter AOFAA/AC) 595-8 Strobel – Réservées; Manuela Schwartz, *Exil und Remigration im Wirken Heinrich Strobels*, in: *Musik – Transfer – Kultur. Festschrift für Horst Weber*, ed. by Stefan Drees, Andreas Jacob and Stefan Orgass, Hildesheim / Zürich / New York: Georg Olms Verlag 2009, pp. 385–406.

⁶¹ SWF-Archiv. Timmonier to Monsieur le Consul de France, Baden-Baden, 15 February 1949, cited in Schwartz, *Exil und Remigration* (as note 60), p. 394.

⁶² *Programmes du Südwestfunk, La propaganda française* in: *La France en Allemagne*, numéro special – Information et Action culturelle (August 1947), pp. 74f. Over a few weeks in late 1948, *Musik der Welt* featured broadcasts of works of Stravinsky, Barber, Berg, Vogel, Pijper, Mlipiero, Petrassi and Magnard. See Anon., *Notizen*, *Melos* 15 (1948), Heft 12, p. 349.

subject of *Weltmusik* from 1946 onwards.⁶³ Later of course he would take control of the Donaueschinger Musiktage, from 1950, in which capacity he did much to promote the new works of Olivier Messiaen and Pierre Boulez.

Strobel had had a mixed record during the Nazi occupation, of Paris in particular, which I have researched extensively.⁶⁴ While he wrote a number of propagandistic and nationalistic articles for the occupation newspaper, and mixed within circles of similar viewpoints, all of this should be seen the context of the fact that Strobel's wife, Hilde Levy, was Jewish, and he did whatever was necessary to save her. Strobel had long been a Francophile, and a sceptic about most German music between Mozart and Hindemith, so his credentials and genuine commitment to advancing the type of music favoured by the French occupiers was never in doubt; though upon discovering some of his wartime activities (after Strobel's appointment), it is at least arguable that they could have used this to maintain a hold over him.

In the Weimar era, the city of Cologne had one of the most sustained and consistent new-music scenes in Germany, with the Gesellschaft für Neue Musik. The philosopher Herbert Leyendecker and composer Heinrich Lemacher founded it in 1921; in 1927, it became the IGNM Ortsgruppe Köln until its dissolvment in 1933 (by which time many equivalent organisations had folded due to precarious financial resources).⁶⁵ In 1941, thus during the heart of the war, Lemacher was able to refound the society as the Gesellschaft für Neue Musik im Gaukulturwerk Köln-Aachen, albeit under the chairmanship of Nazi ideologue and scourge of atonality, Ernst Bücken.⁶⁶

⁶³ Made most explicit in Heinrich Strobel, *MELOS 1946*, in: *Melos* 14 (1946), Heft 1, pp. 1–5, in which he proclaimed his mission to spread *Weltmusik* since 1900 throughout Germany.

⁶⁴ See Pace, *The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music* (as note 9), pp. 32, 35, 51–53, 57, 59, 86f., 93–98, 244–249, 256, 279, 289, 291, 307–310, 333, 340, 357, 367, 372–374 and 384 covering Strobel's career and activities from the Weimar Republic to the early post-war era. Amongst the most important works of earlier research into Strobel which I incorporate are Michael Custodis / Friedrich Geiger, *Netzwerke der Entnazifizierung: Kontinuitäten im deutschen Musikleben am Beispiel von Werner Egk, Hilde und Heinrich Strobel*, Münster: Waxmann 2013; and Manuela Schwartz, "Eine versunkene Welt". *Heinrich Strobel als Kritiker, Musikpolitiker, Essayist und Redner in Frankreich (1939-1944)*, in: *Musikforschung – Faschismus – Nationalsozialismus. Referate der Tagung Schloss Engers (8. bis 11. März 2000)*, ed. by Isolde V. Foerster, Christoph Hust and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, Mainz: Ars Musik Verlag 2001, pp. 291–317.

⁶⁵ Thrun, *Neue Musik in deutsche Musikleben* (as note 3), pp. 698–702: 702; *Festbuch zur Hundertjahrfeier der Concert-Gesellschaft in Köln 1827-1927*, ed. by Hermann Unger (ed.), Cologne: Concert-Gesellschaft Köln 1927, p. 201.

⁶⁶ Robert von Zahn, "Als ob sich eine lang aufgestaute Musizierlust plötzlich Bahn bräche". *Der Wiederbeginn des Musiklebens in Köln 1945/46*, in: *Köln nach dem Krieg. Facetten der*

This society, while conservative overall, presented the world premiere of Bernd Alois Zimmermann's String Trio on 23 June 1944.⁶⁷ Cologne Radio also broadcast the series *Zeitgenössische Musik* from 1935.⁶⁸

Herbert Eimert, who had produced one of the very first treatises on atonal/twelve-tone music back in 1924⁶⁹, but had gone on to work primarily as a journalist during the Nazi era⁷⁰, was given a position at the new branch of Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk in Cologne in August 1945, at the latest.⁷¹ Although Eimert's own pre-1945 record was certainly not unblemished, the British apparently thought him beyond suspicion, and he did not even have to complete a Fragebogen until May 1946 (and when he did, it contained some lies).⁷² When he was given a full contract in October 1946, it was as a literary editor⁷³, and he was denied the type of senior role held by some of his counterparts in other regions (not least during the short period in which communist Max Burghardt was intendant for the Cologne station).⁷⁴ Nonetheless, he produced a range of music broadcasts, though not at this stage especially focused upon new music. In October 1948, however, he was able to found the *Musikalisches Nachtprogramm*, a fortnightly programme on highly serious musical and literary themes, which would include features on the Second Viennese School, Messiaen, Hindemith's critique of Schoenberg, and so on.⁷⁵ This programme would come to

Stadtgeschichte, ed. by Georg Mölich and Stefan Wunsch, Cologne: January 1995 (*Kölner Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur* 24), pp. 223-239: 235.

⁶⁷ Ibidem pp. 235f.

⁶⁸ Joan Evans, *Hans Rosbaud: A Bio-Bibliography*, with foreword by Pierre Boulez, New York et. al.: Greenwood Press 1992, pp. 27–31; W. St., *Ein neues Oratorium*, in: *Neues Musikblatt (NMb)* 14 (1935), Heft 10, p. 2; *Ein Wort zu den Konzertprogrammen*, in: *NMb* 14 (1935), Heft 10, pp. 3f.

⁶⁹ Herbert Eimert, *Atonale Musiklehre*, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel 1924, p. 31.

⁷⁰ Pace, *The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music* (as note 9), pp. 98–101 for more on Eimert's Nazi era journalism.

⁷¹ Westdeutscher Rundfunk Archiv (WDR)/HAC, *German Staff*, August 1945, cited in *Der neue WDR. Dokumente zur Nachkriegsgeschichte des Westdeutschen Rundfunks*, ed. by Wolf Bierbach, Cologne and Berlin: G Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung 1978, p. 20. Eimert was actively working at the station by 2 October at the latest: WDR/HAC MF, *Dr. Herbert Eimert: Getanzte Musik. Sendung mit Schallplatten, 2.10.1945, 19.00 – 20.00, 1. Programm*.

⁷² My thanks to Petra Witting-Nöthen, director of the WDR Archive, for clarifying about the initial situation with Eimert. The Fragebogen he eventually completed is in Bundesarchiv (BA)/Berlin Document Centre (BDC)/Reichskulturkammer (RKK)/Reichsschriftumskammer (RSK), Entnazifizierung, Eimert, Herbert. *Military Government of Germany: Fragebogen*, signed 4 May 1946.

⁷³ WDR/HAC *Kostengruppe 23 – Blatt 3*, unfiled document. My thanks to Petra Witting-Nothen for bringing this document to my attention.

⁷⁴ WDR/HAC 9476a, BCU *Cologne Progress Report No. 51 for week ending 13 July 46* mentions other individuals in positions relating to music, but not Eimert.

⁷⁵ Andreas Vollberg, "Weit mehr als eine bloße Musikfabrik", in: *Die Geschichte des Nordwestdeutschen Rundfunks*, ed. by Hans-Ulrich Wagner, Bd. 2, Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe 2008, pp. 247–249; *Zwanzig Jahre Musik im Westdeutschen Rundfunk. Eine Dokumentation der*

broadcast the first programmes on electronic music, and Eimert would of course be the driving force behind and first director of the new electronic music studio at the station.⁷⁶

Günter Wand was appointed director of the Gürzenich-Orchester in November 1945.⁷⁷ Composer Walter Braunfels was brought to the city at some point during the summer of 1945, by the new mayor, Konrad Adenauer, to direct the re-establishment of the Musikhochschule, assisted by Phillip Jarnach and others.⁷⁸ However, after Adenauer himself was dismissed from his position in early October⁷⁹, Braunfels left the city for a period, settling in Überlingen⁸⁰, where he became involved in what can be argued to be the first new-music festival after the war. The Musikhochschule initiative was instead taken up by the more compromised Lemacher.⁸¹ After Braunfels returned in March 1946, he returned to the project, and the institution opened in early May, with Lemacher, Jarnach and Wand all teaching there.⁸²

Hauptabteilung Musik 1948-1968, ed. by Westdeutscher Rundfunk, Cologne: Westdeutscher Rundfunk 1968, pp. 9, 17, 32, 43, 60, 75, for the first few seasons of programming.

⁷⁶ Lowell Cross, *Electronic Music, 1948-1953*, in: *Perspectives of New Music* 7 (1968), ser. 1, pp. 45–50; and for a detailed account, Marietta Morawska-Büngeler, *Schwingende Elektronen. Eine Dokumentation über das Studio für Elektronische Musik des Westdeutschen Rundfunks in Köln 1951-1986*, Cologne: P.J. Tonger 1988.

⁷⁷ Wolfgang Seifert, *Günter Wand: So und nicht anders. Gedanken und Erinnerungen*, revised and expanded edition, Mainz: Schott 2007, pp. 146–148.

⁷⁸ Robert von Zahn, “Erziehung durch die Musik, nicht zur Musik”. *Walter Braunfels und die Staatliche Hochschule für Musik Köln*, in: “Zeitlos unzeitgemäß”. *Der Komponist Walter Braunfels 1882-1954*, conceived by Katrin Pollems, realised and produced by Erika Sonnenschein and Werner Wittersheim, Cologne: Kölner Philharmonie 1992, pp. 29-43: 38.

⁷⁹ Hans-Peter Schwarz, *Konrad Adenauer: A German Politician and Statesman in a Period of War, Revolution and Reconstruction*, translated by Louise Willmot, Providence, RI / Oxford: Berghahn 1995 (*From the German Empire to the Federal Republic, 1876-1952* 1), pp. 320–328.

⁸⁰ Michael Custodis, *Walter Braunfels* (2006), in: *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit*, ed. by Claudia Maurer Zenck and Peter Petersen, Hamburg: University of Hamburg 2005–, at http://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00001413;jsessionid=98C72BF7B59477EE2D51923B2750E603?wcmsID=0003 (12. 7. 2023).

On the Überlingen festival, see Pace, *The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music* (as note 9), pp. 264–267.

⁸¹ Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933-1945* (as note 10), pp. 4183–4185; Michael Custodis, *Entnazifizierung an der Kölner Musikhochschule am Beispiel von Walter Trienes und Hermann Unger*, in: *Deutsche Leitkultur Musik? Zur Musikgeschichte nach dem Holocaust*, ed. by Albrecht Riethmüller, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 2006, pp. 61–84: 66; Dietmar von Capitaine, *Conservatorium der Musik in Cöln. Zur Erinnerung an die wechselhafte Geschichte einer musikpädagogischen Einrichtung der Stadt Cöln*, revised edition, Norderstedt: Books on Demand 2009, p. 123.

⁸² Ute Jung, *Walter Braunfels (1882-1954)*, Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag 1980, p. 302; Von Zahn, *Erziehung durch die Musik* (as note 78), pp. 39f.; Capitaine, *Conservatorium der Musik in Cöln* (as note 81), pp. 123–127.

Braunfels also brought in Hans Mersmann as a “second director” in 1947. Mersmann, another key figure for new music who had published a book in the subject back in 1928⁸³, would undertake a lot of the actual direction and become sole director after Braunfels’ retirement in 1950.⁸⁴ Although heavily censured during the Nazi era, he had taken a position at the Munich Musikhochschule in 1946⁸⁵, and also became director of a special Studio für Neue Musik created by Hans Rosbaud in the Bavarian capital.⁸⁶ He would also direct a Gesellschaft für Neue Musik in Hannover from 1947,⁸⁷ and was involved with running the courses at the Institut für Neue Musik in Bayreuth from 1948⁸⁸, as well as lecturing about new music in a range of West German cities in 1947.⁸⁹

Eimert, Lemacher, Jarnach and Braunfels came together to form a new Kölner Concert-Gesellschaft, and tried to garner the interest of new mayor Hermann Pünder (Adenauer’s replacement) for wider initiatives, but only encountered a half-hearted response.⁹⁰ So Eimert and Lemacher, with Wand, took their own initiative, presenting small chamber and ensemble concerts.⁹¹ They were turned down again by the British when attempting to have the society established on a permanent basis – the reasons are unclear, as surviving British occupation documentation is highly fragmentary, but Lemacher’s personal history in particular may have been a factor. In March 1948, they were finally successful and would come to transform the society into a local branch of the ISCM.⁹²

The early initiative to rejoin the ISCM

⁸³ Hans Mersmann, *Die Tonsprache der neuen Musik*, Mainz: Der Melosverlag 1928.

⁸⁴ Michael Custodis, *Die soziale Isolation der neuen Musik. Zum Kölner Musikleben nach 1945*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 2004, p. 35.

⁸⁵ Fritz Schieri, *Mersmann, Hans*, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 17 (1994), at <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd116905026.html#ndbcontent> (12. 07 2023).

⁸⁶ Gieseler, *Zwischen Klassik und Moderne* (as note 21), p. 247.

⁸⁷ Anon., *Notizen*, in: *Melos* 14 (1947), Heft 14, p. 425.

⁸⁸ Pace, *The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music* (as note 9), pp. 374f.

⁸⁹ Anon., *Notizen*, in: *Melos* 14 (1947) Heft 10–11, p. 309; Anon., *Musica-Bericht*, in: *Musica* 1 (1947), Heft 3–4, p. 218.

⁹⁰ von Zahn, *Der Wiederbeginn des Musiklebens in Köln 1945/46* (as note 66), p. 230f.

⁹¹ Ibidem p. 235; Br., *Werbekonzert für Neue Musik*, in: *Kölnische Rundschau*, no. 9 of 16 April 1946; Robert von Zahn, *Geburt zweier Szenen. Neue und Alte Musik in Köln*, in: *Kunst und Kultur in Köln nach 1945*, ed. by Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, Cologne: Wienand Verlag 1995, pp. 68–99: 81.

⁹² Seifert, *Günther Wand* (as note 77), p. 166; von Zahn, *Der Wiederbeginn des Musiklebens in Köln 1945/46* (as note 66), p. 236; Martin Thrun, *Redaktionelles Nachwort*, in: *Klangraum. 40 Jahre Neue Musik in Köln 1945-1985*, Cologne: Wienand Verlag 1991, pp. 350–353: 352.

The precise dating of some the events leading to Germany's re-entry into the ISCM remains unclear because of varying accounts, the most readily available being Rufer's in the series *Neue Musik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*⁹³, from the late 1950s the journal of the German Section. But based on extensive correspondence in the Hartmann Nachlass, which illuminates the key roles of Hartmann and a group of composers in Berlin, in particular those involved with the Kulturbund, it is possible to retrace the process in considerably more detail than has hitherto been done.

The process of re-application began, as mentioned earlier, with Hartmann and Rosbaud gaining permission in February 1946 to found a new German Section (representing solely the US zone of occupation) from John Evarts, one of the US music officers in Munich, who had been instrumental in gaining Hartmann his important position in the city. This apparently involved a total of seven members, who were found by Evarts to be politically beyond reproach, but are not listed.⁹⁴ Formal application to the ISCM itself appears to have begun at sometime in mid-1946⁹⁵, at the behest of Rufer, Butting, Tiessen, Blacher, and Höffer, who were all based in Berlin and most of whom were representatives of the Kulturbund.⁹⁶ Butting had been based in Berlin since 1940, and had set up a new German composers' association in the summer of 1946.⁹⁷ According to accounts from Rufer and Butting, in the spring of 1947, Edward Clark, who would become ISCM president that summer, had informed him, Butting, Tiessen and Blacher, that nothing stood in the way of setting up a German Section, and they had only to arrive at an agreement with Hartmann, who had already sent in an application (probably after receiving the permission from Evarts). Tiessen and Höffer then signed an application for inclusion of such a section.

⁹³ Josef Rufer, *Die Deutsche Sektion der IGNM seit 1945*, in: *Neue Musik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1958/59*, Mainz et. al.: Schott 1959, pp. 22–24.

⁹⁴ IfZArch, OMGUS 10/48-1/5, John Evarts, *Weekly Report* (as note 16 and 18); Monod, *Settling Scores* (as note 13), p. 38; and *Internationalism, Regionalism, and National Culture: Music Control in Bavaria, 1945-1948* (as note 13), pp. 351–353.

⁹⁵ BSB, Nachlass Hartmann,, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Butting to Hartmann, 20 August 1947; Ana 407.I.1. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Hartmann to Rufer, 4 April 1948.

⁹⁶ All were involved in the music programming of the *Kulturbund* except Blacher, as far as I have been able to establish, though Blacher was programmed within their concert series in 1947 and 1948. See Pace, *The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music*, p. A262–264.

⁹⁷ Dietrich Brennecke, *Das Lebenswerk Max Buttings*, Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik 1973, pp. 135f..

Furthermore, at the 1947 ISCM Festival in Copenhagen, it was apparently decided that such a section would indeed be included.⁹⁸

Hartmann was a natural figure to initiate such dialogue, having had prominent performances at the ISCM during the Nazi era, during which period he was already in contact with Clark following the performance of his First String Quartet at the 1938 ISCM Festival in London.⁹⁹ When the composer made first contact with American officers after the end of the war, he asked Clark for a personal reference.¹⁰⁰ Hartmann later told Rufer that when initially writing to Clark, he asked Mersmann to do so as well, but apparently there was little interest; according to Hartmann, only Rosbaud supported his actions.¹⁰¹ However, Mersmann would become involved later, and would be the key figure in the British zone outside of Berlin.

Butting wanted everyone to work together. Seeking to establish a section that would be apolitical, he believed it would be best to set it up in the British sector, with Blacher, Tiessen, Höffer, and also Stuckenschmidt and a Dr Berner, as founding members. Butting said that Tiessen and Höffer were more important than himself (he also likely had in mind that the authorities would come to hear about Butting's own NSDAP membership – no. 7.623.597, from June 1940 onwards)¹⁰², and Hartmann was not in Berlin, so unable to report to the British authorities in person. If granted, Butting proposed that a wider working committee should be formed involving key people from around Germany, including Jarnach and Strobel. The necessary finances for the section's ISCM membership and also to cover expenses related to travel and performances of German works appeared just about manageable, if raised through

⁹⁸ BSB, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Butting to Hartmann, 20 August 1947; Rufer to Jarnach and Mersmann, 15 March 1948.

⁹⁹ Andrew D. McCredie, *Karl Amadeus Hartmann. Sein Leben und Werk* (Wilhelmshaven, Locarno and Amsterdam: Heinrichshofen's Verlag, 1980), pp. 49–51; BSB, Ana 407.I.3, Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Edward Clark to Hartmann, 10 December 1938. Hartmann and Clark were in contact at least as early as 1936 – see <https://www.hartmann-gesellschaft.de/brief/winterthur-montag-brief/> (13. 7. 2023).

¹⁰⁰ *Karl Amadeus Hartmann und die Musica Viva*, ed. by Renata Wagner Munich / Mainz: Schott 1980, pp. 314f..

¹⁰¹ BSB München, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Hartmann to Rufer, 2 April 1948.

¹⁰² Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945* (as note 10), p. 860. This was despite Butting's having been in the *Liste der Musik-Bolschewisten* of 26 July 1935 (ibid). Butting's eventual withdrawal was made clear as being due to his party membership, and a letter from Edward Clark to Blacher in July 1947 which spoke of 'the principle of the exclusion of Nazis'. BSB München, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Rufer to Mersmann, 15 February 1948.

fees from individual members and good will from local groups. Butting also suggested that Hartmann might involve Werner Egk (who had just recently been cleared from a denazification ranking of “black”)¹⁰³, and believed that if a full committee was set up without delay, it might be possible to take part in the 1948 Festival.¹⁰⁴

On 11 September 1947, Blacher and Rufer wrote to Hartmann noting that a letter had been received from the ISCM from 18 July, in which they, he, and Butting, Höffer and Tiessen as representatives of the Kulturbund, were named as applicants, but which also indicated that only one section would be possible for each region of Germany (presumably meaning each occupation zone). At the same time, they mentioned further correspondence from Butting to the ISCM on 20 August, which was apparently undertaken without their knowledge, even though he invoked Blacher’s name. Blacher and Rufer wanted to remedy this with a joint proposal.¹⁰⁵ Rufer also wrote to Hartmann the same day, in part about other matters (including to draw Hartmann’s attention to the Internationales Musikinstitut), but also to mention his meeting from the previous winter with Blacher and British officer about the application.¹⁰⁶

In a reply from Hartmann to Blacher, Butting, Höffer, Rufer and Tiessen on 24 October, Hartmann felt the need to introduce himself, noting his study with Hermann Scherchen, his withdrawal from German cultural life from 1933, and performances as an independent participant in the 1935 and 1938 ISCM festivals, making clear that he was not close to (at least some of) the Berlin group. He announced that it would not be possible to participate in the 1948 ISCM Festival in Amsterdam, as the delegates who would participate would have to approve the proposals then.¹⁰⁷ Butting wrote back to Hartmann in November, reemphasising his own activities in the 1920s and 1930s, as well as explaining complications arising from some disagreements with

¹⁰³ Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era* (as note 11), pp. 23–30.

¹⁰⁴ BSB München, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Butting to Hartmann, 20 August 1947.

¹⁰⁵ BSB, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Blacher and Rufer to Hartmann, 11 September 1947.

¹⁰⁶ BSB, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Rufer to Hartmann, 11 September 1947.

¹⁰⁷ BSB, Ana 407.I.1. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Hartmann to Blacher, Butting, Höffer, Rufer and Tiessen, 24 October 1947.

those in Berlin; as a result, he would be withdrawing his own application, to be superseded by that of Blacher, Höffer and Tiessen. Nonetheless, he echoed his earlier view that the German Section should be made up of musical ‘friends’, not just composers, not least to emphasise the international dimension.¹⁰⁸

Rufer wrote to Hartmann in January 1948, referencing a card that Hartmann had sent on 20 December, containing some ‘votes’ (*Stimmen*) for which Evarts had apparently paid (what exactly this entailed is unclear). More importantly, he mentioned a letter from the ISCM office in London from 12 December, inviting for German works to be submitted for a meeting of the jury in Amsterdam.¹⁰⁹ Evarts would apparently take care of their transportation to Amsterdam, and Rufer had agreed with Blacher, Höffer and Tiessen that the founding members should not present their own work (but requested Hartmann’s view on this). Instead, it was proposed to submit works of Ernst Pepping, Rudolf Wagner-Régeny, Wolfgang Fortner, Hans Werner Henze and Schoenberg’s student Winfried Zillig, who had recently become principal conductor at Radio Frankfurt. All of these composers except Henze were compromised. Pepping had had a successful career through the Reich and some of his works had been deemed appropriate to celebrate Hitler’s ascent to power;¹¹⁰ Wagner-Régeny had also flourished for a period, with his opera *Johanna Balk* presented with the patronage of Baldur von Schirach, Gauleiter for Vienna and *Hitlerjugend* leader, though there is some evidence of dissidence on his part;¹¹¹ Fortner, whilst having been branded a *Kulturbolschewist* in 1933, found accommodation with Nazi organisations, conducted NS-dedicated pieces, ran a HJ orchestra, and joined the NSDAP in 1941 (membership number 7,818,245);¹¹² while Zillig, as well as being a successful twelve-tone composer in Nazi Germany, took a position as principal conductor of the *Reichsgautheater* in occupied Poznań, Poland, during the period of ‘Germanisation’ of the administrative area including the city, called the *Warthegau* by the Nazis, under the direction of Gauleiter Arthur Greiser, a fanatical racial ideologue who was also

¹⁰⁸ BSB, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Butting to Hartmann, 3 November 1947.

¹⁰⁹ Hartmann would later opine that this appeared to be an error from the ISCM secretariat. See BSB, Ana 407.I.1. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Hartmann to Rufer, 2 April 1948.

¹¹⁰ Michael Kater, *The Twisted Muse: Musicians and their Music in the Third Reich*. New York: Oxford University Press 1997, pp. 165-166.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem.*, pp. 192-195.

¹¹² Pace, *The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music* (as note 9), pp. 70-74.

responsible for the first mass gassings in the extermination camp of Chelmno in early December 1941.¹¹³ Rufer also asked solicited names of other worthy candidates from Hartmann.¹¹⁴

Hartmann, in his reply, did not see why founders' works could not be submitted¹¹⁵, referencing his own last performance at the 1938 ISCM Festival in London,. At this point Hartmann suggested, following discussions with Hans Mersmann, that there should be a permanent representative for each zone of Germany: Mersmann for the British sector, Rufer for the Soviet, Strobel for the French, and Hartmann himself for the American. Then there would also be a president.¹¹⁶ In Rufer's reply, he queried whether Hartmann meant this just for the domestic section, as the founding committee had already been agreed. As an American licensee, Rufer himself would be unable to represent the Russian zone, and he thought either Höffer or Tiessen would be more suitable, as both belonged to the Kulturbund. But Rufer emphasised how complicated the politics were in Berlin¹¹⁷; while he did not mention it, the Kulturbund had been banned in different US-occupied regions of Berlin from May 1947 onwards, then in the whole sector in November, followed by a British ban soon afterwards.¹¹⁸

Further confusion arose through correspondence apparently sent by Mersmann and Jarnach¹¹⁹ to Höffer, Tiessen and Butting, but from which Rufer and Blacher were excluded. Rufer,, concerned about what this might communicate to others about lack

¹¹³ Ibidem., pp. 60-64. For more on Zillig and Paul von Klenau as two twelve-tone composers who achieved success in the Reich, see Werner Schmidt-Faber, *Atonalität im Dritten Reich*, in *Herausforderung Schönberg. Was die Musik des Jahrhunderts veränderte*, ed. by Ulrich Dibelius, Munich: Hanser 1982, pp. 110-36; and Hans-Günter Klein, *Atonalität in den Opern von Paul von Klenau und Winfried Zillig – zur Duldung einer im Nationalsozialismus verfehmten Kompositionstechnik*, in *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Bayreuth 1981*, Kassel & Basel: Bärenreiter 1984, pp. 490-94. The most comprehensive account of Zillig's activities in the Reich and especially in Poland is in Christian Lemmerich, *Winfried Zillig. Komponist unter wechselnden Vorzeichen*. Tutzing: Verlegt bei Hans Schneider 2012, pp. 62-158. Some including Schoenberg and Adorno were defenders of Zillig after the war, but neither may have been fully aware of the extent of his embroilment with the occupation.

¹¹⁴ BSB, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Rufer to Hartmann, 9 January 1948.

¹¹⁵ Indeed he had already submitted works of his own. See BSB, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Rufer to Jarnach and Mersmann, 15 March 1948

¹¹⁶ BSB, Ana 407.I.1. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Hartmann to Rufer, 13 January 1948.

¹¹⁷ BSB, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Rufer to Hartmann, 9 February 1948.

¹¹⁸ *Der Kulturbund in Berlin. Eine Denkschrift*, ed. by Kulturbund zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands, Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag 1948, pp. 35f., 40f..

¹¹⁹ Rufer discovered that Jarnach was also a signatory later. See BSB, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Rufer to Jarnach and Mersmann, 15 March 1948.

of unity amongst German musicians, made a proposal with Höffer and Blacher (Tiessen was unavailable and Butting had withdrawn by this stage) that the German Section and the formal founding should be separated, and the process for the latter restarted with London. The German-wide organisation would then be directed by Hartmann, Mersmann and Strobel (so representing three zones), distinct from the Berlin Group, with Berlin treated as a fifth zone.¹²⁰

Humphrey Searle, as honorary secretary of the ISCM, had replied to Rufer and Hartmann in late January 1948, confirming that the application would be brought before the General Meeting of Delegates at ISCM Amsterdam in June, and wondered if they might be able to send representatives.¹²¹ In March, Hartmann, who had received the draft programme from Searle the previous month¹²², wrote directly to Clark, clearly unhappy about the fact that his own *Symphonische Expressionen* (probably his *Symphonische Hymnen*, 1943) would not be played, as no German composers would, a policy that was at odds with what had been indicated in December 1947.¹²³

Various tempers were clearly becoming frayed by this stage, but Rufer attempted still to keep people together, writing to Jarnach, Mersmann, Strobel and Karl Holl, who was running a unit of the Cultural Ministry (Kultusministerium) in Frankfurt¹²⁴ and had given lectures on German music there and in Darmstadt. He also assumed that Hartmann and Stuckenschmidt would be able to join them.¹²⁵ Hartmann confirmed himself for the American zone, Mersmann for the British, Strobel for the French, and Blacher for the Soviet, and wanted Rufer again to be president of the German Section,

¹²⁰ BSB, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Rufer to Mersmann, 15 February 1948.

¹²¹ BSB, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Humphrey Searle to Rufer and Hartmann, 27 January 1948.

¹²² BSB, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Searle to Hartmann, 10 February 1948.

¹²³ BSB, Ana 407.I.1. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Hartmann to Clark, 19 March 1948; the contradiction between the request of December 1947 and the actual programming is noted explicitly in BSB, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Rufer to Hartmann, 15 February 1948.

¹²⁴ On Holl, see Jochen Zulauf, *Verwaltung der Kunst oder Kunst der Verwaltung. Kulturverwaltung, Kulturförderung und Kulturpolitik des Landes Hessen 1945-1960*, Wiesbaden: Historische Kommission für Nassau 1995, pp. 24–41. See also Pace, *The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music* (as note 9), pp. 166, 170.

¹²⁵ BSB, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Rufer to Jarnach, 31 March 1948.

based in Berlin.¹²⁶ Rufer wrote back, after the formal application had been submitted (from himself, Tiessen, Blacher, Höffer, and Stuckenschmidt, as all had to live in the place of foundation), and declined the offer of the presidency. He also communicated London's apparent regret that no works had been chosen by the jury for the festival that year in Amsterdam. Nonetheless, there was an official invitation to Rufer to attend.¹²⁷ A further hiccup occurred with an attempt by Holl, Jarnach, Mersmann, the conductor Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt, Strobel, and Joseph Haas to found a Germany-wide Neue Gesellschaft für Musik in Wiesbaden in May 1948, which failed after instructions from Clark and others in London that there must be only one German Section.¹²⁸

In the end, Stuckenschmidt, Strobel, and Rufer attended the Amsterdam Festival, which ran from 5 to 13 June. The German Section was granted admission during this, after they had managed to convince the organisation that none of the committee members had Nazi affiliations (which was true in the sense that none were party members)¹²⁹. It was formally founded on 22 June 1948, with Blacher, Höffer, Rufer, and Stuckenschmidt attending the first meeting, also as members of the committee. In Strobel's report, he also noted that the delegates named nine people as founding members: himself, Rufer and Stuckenschmidt, all in attendance, together with Blacher, Jarnach, Hartmann, Rosbaud, Schmidt-Isserstedt, and Tiessen. Tiessen became the first president of the German Section, and Rosbaud, Rufer, and Strobel would serve on the jury for the 1949 ISCM Festival in Palermo.¹³⁰ A formal invitation to Hartmann to come to Palermo followed much later, in March 1949.¹³¹ This news was announced in the July-August 1948 issue of the music journal *Stimmen*¹³², which had been started by Stuckenschmidt, and Rufer in November 1947; with the

¹²⁶ BSB, Ana 407.I.1. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Hartmann to Rufer, 2 April 1948.

¹²⁷ BSB, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Rufer to Hartmann, 24 April 1948.

¹²⁸ Rufer, *Die Deutsche Sektion der IGNM seit 1945* (as note 93), p. 23. See also Thomas Schäfer's chapter in this volume.

¹²⁹ Haefeli, *IGNM* (as note 6), pp. 199f.

¹³⁰ Rufer, *Die Deutsche Sektion der IGNM seit 1945* (as note 93), pp. 22–24; Heinrich Strobel, *Besuch in Holland. Das Amsterdamer Fest der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Melos* 15 (1948), Heft. 8–9, pp. 232f.. Tiessen's Presidency was determined immediately after the end of the festival – see BSB, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Telegram from Rufer to Hartmann, 16 June 1948

¹³¹ BSB, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Società Internazionale Musica Contemporanea, XXIII Festival in Palermo to Hartmann, 19 March 1949.

¹³² Anon., *Notizen*, in: *Stimmen*, (1948), Heft 9/10, p. 301.

November-December 1948 issue, it was declared the official organ of the ISCM German Section.¹³³

Relationships continued to become frayed, especially between Rufer and Hartmann. Rufer indicated in an exasperated letter that a series of ISCM concerts was planned in Berlin, with the support of the Dalhem Deutsche-Amerikanische Musikgesellschaft, of which Stuckenschmidt was president. But he also expressed frustration for not having heard back to invitations for these sent to Mersmann, Strobel and other members, including Hartmann.¹³⁴ These became the series in the Haus am Waldsee, beginning with a programme of Schoenberg, Stravinsky, Krenek, and Blacher on 16 December 1948.¹³⁵ Rufer was impatient to hear which ISCM-related events were happening in Munich as well as the plans for Palermo, so that details could be published in *Stimmen*.¹³⁶ Hartmann apparently submitted a proposal that Munich should host the 1950 ISCM Festival, but this was rejected (it took place in Brussels instead).¹³⁷

Beyond the Berlin group, regional ISCM chapters were established in Cologne in late 1948, as mentioned earlier, from the society founded by Eimert, Lemacher and Wand, in Darmstadt in 1950¹³⁸ and Karlsruhe in 1950¹³⁹. An alignment of the Frankfurt Arbeitsgemeinschaft to become an ISCM group occurred in 1955¹⁴⁰, and for organisations in Hannover and Münster in 1958.¹⁴¹

¹³³ The contents list of *Stimmen*, (1948), Heft 13/14 (no page number) indicated *Offizielles Organ der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Sektion Deutschland*. The journal however was discontinued in 1949, likely financially unsustainable following currency reform the previous year.

¹³⁴ BSB, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Rufer to Hartmann, 16 October 1948.

¹³⁵ Werner Bollert, *Berlin Musikum die Jahreswende*, in: *Musica* 3 (1949), Heft 3, pp. 102f.. Pace, *The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music* (as note 9), p. A187 for more details of this series.

¹³⁶ BSB, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Rufer to Hartmann, 16 October 1948.

¹³⁷ Wolfgang Steinecke, *Frankfurt 1951 – Baden-Baden 1955. Zwei Weltmusikfeste in Deutschland*, in: *Neue Musik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Dokumentation 1959/60*, Berlin / Wiesbaden: Bote & Bock 1960, p. 14.

¹³⁸ In Darmstadt, *Kranichsteiner Musikgesellschaft*, in: *Neue Musik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Dokumentation 1957/58*, Frankfurt / London / New York: C.F. Peters 1958, pp. 83-84.

¹³⁹ *Gruppe Karlsruhe der Deutschen Sektion der IGMN* (as ibidem.), p. 85.

¹⁴⁰ Anon., *Frankfurt/Main, Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Neue Musik*, in: *Neue Musik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Dokumentation 1957/58*, Frankfurt / London / New York: C.F. Peters 1958, p. 84

¹⁴¹ Anon., *Hannover, Studio für Neue Musik* and Anon., *Münster i.W., Arbeitskreis für Neue Musik*, in: *Neue Musik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Dokumentation 1958/59*, Mainz: Schott 1959, pp. 135-136: 135, pp. 137-138: 137.

Tiessen resigned the presidency in 1949 and was succeeded by Stuckenschmidt, who served from 1949 to 1953 (with Hartmann as vice-president and Wolfgang Steinecke as secretary)¹⁴², followed by Hartmann from 1953 to 1956, Bernd Alois Zimmermann from 1956 to 1957, then Wolfgang Fortner for a long period from 1957 to 1971.¹⁴³ Strobel would go on to become President of the international ISCM from 1956 to 1969.¹⁴⁴

There were no German works performed in Palermo in 1949, though Hartmann's Fourth Symphony had been scheduled but then withdrawn. In 1950 in Brussels, however, there was Fortner's Cello Sonata and the rescheduled Hartmann, as well as Hanns Eisler's Chamber Symphony, with the composer now representing East Germany (having previously been represented as an Austrian).

Darmstadt and the work of Wolfgang Steinecke in developing the Ferienkurse there has not previously been mentioned, and it is true that Steinecke and the Institut do not appear to have had any input into the application to rejoin. However, the Darmstadt ISCM group, the Kranichsteiner Musikgesellschaft, was set up in 1950 by Steinecke, and took over the management of the German Section that year. The previous year, a meeting of the General Assembly of the ISCM took place during the course of the joint *Woche für Neue Musik* and Ferienkurse, on 23 June 1949.¹⁴⁵ Steinecke himself also relates another such meeting, in Darmstadt in July 1950, which according to Rufer led to the decision to host the 1951 ISCM in nearby Frankfurt¹⁴⁶, following an invitation from Hessischer Rundfunk.¹⁴⁷ By 1957, new statutes were adopted for the German Section, and Darmstadt took over from Berlin as the seat, thus consolidating the position of the city as the leading centre for new music, also hosting the

¹⁴² A vote of the committee elected Rufer as President, but Stuckenschmidt was agreed after Rufer did not want to do it. BSB, Ana 407.I.3. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Rufer to Hartmann, 17 December 1949. Rufer expressed his view in this letter that, on the basis of the events in Amsterdam and Palermo, the ISCM had become 'outdated', and that many other new music societies around Germany had no necessary reason to join the section.

¹⁴³ Rufer, *Die Deutsche Sektion der IGNM seit 1945* (as note 93), p. 24; Matthias Roth, *Ein Rangierbahnhof der Moderne*, Freiburg, Berlin / Vienna: Rombach 2008, p. 323.

¹⁴⁴ Haefeli, *IGNM* (as note 6), p. 617.

¹⁴⁵ See Thomas Schäfer's chapter in this volume.

¹⁴⁶ Rufer, *Die Deutsche Sektion der IGNM seit 1945* (as note 93), p. 24.

¹⁴⁷ Steinecke, *Frankfurt 1951 – Baden-Baden 1955* (as note 133), p. 14.

Ferienkurse and a wider Institut für Neue Musik und Musikerziehung which had relocated there in 1951 from Bayreuth.¹⁴⁸

The 1951 Frankfurt Festival booklet included an introduction from Clark saying that the presence of the ISCM in this city signalled “the resumption of working relations with the musical life of Germany, after nearly twenty years of destructive interruption”.¹⁴⁹ The programme featured a strong range of German works: Hartmann’s Symphony No. 3 (1948–49), Orff’s *Catulli Carmina* (1940–43), Hermann Reutter’s, Concerto in E-flat major for two pianos and orchestra (1946), played by the composer and Schröter, Egk’s Sonata for Orchestra (1947–48), all within a special concert presented by ISCM German Section, featuring the Chorus and Orchestra of the Bayerischer Rundfunk, conducted by Eugen Jochum. There was also Giselher Klebe’s String Quartet No. 1, op. (1951), Helmut Degen’s Concert for String Orchestra (1946), Richard Mohaupt’s Concerto for Piano and Orchestra (1938, rev. 1951), and a further concert of German works: Blacher’s *Orchester-Variationen über ein Thema von N. Paganini*, op. 26 (1947), Henze’s Concerto (No. 1) for Violin and Orchestra (1947), Fortner’s *Fantasie über die Tonfolge B-A-C-H* for two pianos and orchestra (1950), and Hindemith’s *Symphonische Tänze* (1937); Zimmermann’s Violin Concerto (1950) was programmed but not performed.

The Frankfurt Festival should also be viewed in the context of the major *Woche* of 1949, in which Frankfurt and Darmstädter Ferienkurse came together.¹⁵⁰ The biggest event of its type since the end of the war, it brought together the major radio orchestras from Hamburg, Frankfurt, and Baden-Baden, and included a whole concert of Schoenberg. It stood as a testament to the range of new music being presented in Germany at the time and included a strong range of international composers. There was no *Woche* in 1950, but the 1951 Festival can be seen as an extension, also

¹⁴⁸ Christine Werner, *Aus der Geschichte des Instituts*, in: *Neue Musik – Quo vadis? 17 Perspektiven*, ed. by Dieter de la Motte, Mainz: Schott 1988, pp. 168f.; *Vom Singen und Spielen zur Analyse und Reflexion. 50 Jahre Darmstädter Institut für Neue Musik und Musikforschung*, ed. by Helga de la Motte-Haber and Julia Gerlach, Hofheim: Wolke 1996, p. 22.

¹⁴⁹ Stadtarchiv Frankfurt am Main, Tst 51/1, Programme for Internationales Musikfest Frankfurt/Main, 22.6-1.7.51.

¹⁵⁰ For the full programme, see *Im Zenit der Moderne. Die Internationalen Ferienkurse für Neue Musik Darmstadt 1946–1966: Geschichte und Dokumentation in vier Bänden*, ed. by Gianmario Borio and Hermann Danuser, Freiburg: Rombach 1997 (Rombach Wissenschaften. Reihe Musicae 3), pp. 533–536.

including the radio orchestras in Munich (and also the choir), Cologne and for RIAS in Berlin. This was a key year in post-1945 West German new music history, when many things had come together, with the firm establishment of new radio series in Hamburg and Cologne¹⁵¹, as well as the true beginnings of avant-garde composition.

Otherwise, works of Fortner, Hartmann, Zillig, Egk, Zimmermann, Hindemith, Siegfried Reda, Wilhelm Hübner, Giselher Klebe, and Hans Ulrich Engelmann featured on the programme of the 1952 ISCM Festival in Salzburg; thereafter the German presence was more muted in Oslo in 1953 (with works of Henze and Jarnach), and in Haifa in 1954 (with works of Hindemith and Hartmann).

But just four years after Frankfurt, another ISCM festival followed in Baden-Baden in 1955. This was first planned by Hartmann, the Intendant of Südwestfunk, Friedrich Bischoff, Strobel and Rosbaud, who was by this stage the principal conductor of the SWF-Orchestra, which was proposed to be made available and financially supported the Festival. The proposal was sent by Hartmann to then ISCM president Johann Bentzon in 1954, before a key meeting of delegates on 12 and 13 June¹⁵², and was successful. Whilst the German presence was mostly limited to a special concert by the SWF Orchestra (with works of Blacher, Henze, Egk and Fortner), Strobel's ambitions were demonstrated by hosting the world premiere of Boulez's *Le marteau sans maître* (1955), the most radical work yet heard at a post-war ISCM festival.

Then a further ISCM festival took place in Cologne in 1960, which recognised the importance of this city, with then director of the series *Musik der Zeit* Otto Tomek taking charge.¹⁵³ Eimert had become vice-president of the German Section by 1955 at the latest.¹⁵⁴ By this time, however, new divides were appearing¹⁵⁵, and some

¹⁵¹ Vollberg, "Weit mehr als eine bloße Musikfabrik" (as note 75), p. 247; Joanna Ching-Yun Lee, *György Ligeti's "Aventures" and "Nouvelle Aventures": A documentary history*, PhD thesis, Columbia University 1993, pp. 320–345; *Zwanzig Jahre Musik im Westdeutschen Rundfunk* (as note 75), p. 41; *Musik der Zeit 1951-2001*, ed. by Frank Hilberg and Harry Vogt, Cologne: WDR 2002.

¹⁵² BSB, Ana 407.I.1. Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, Hartmann to Bentzon, 4 May 1954; Steinecke to Bentzon, undated; Ana 407.I.3. Südwestfunk <Baden-Baden>, Bischoff to Hartmann, 22 May 1954; Ana 407.I.1. an Südwestfunk <Baden-Baden>, Hartmann to Bischoff, 4 June 1954;

¹⁵³ *World Festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music*, in: *The World of Music* 1 (1959), Heft 3, p. 49; *Zwanzig Jahre Musik im Westdeutschenrundfunk* (as note 75), p. xv.

¹⁵⁴ BSB, Ana 407.I.1. an Südwestfunk <Baden-Baden>, Hartmann to Strobel, 12 April 1955.

¹⁵⁵ In this context, I find the model presented by Gianmario Borio, in his *Musikalische Avantgarde um 1960*, Munich: Laaber 1993, relating to the critiques of serialism and the influence of John Cage from

radically-oriented composers and artists around Mary Bauermeister, less enamoured of the ISCM's selections, organised a special Contre-Fest which coincided with the last five days of the ISCM. Iconoclastic works, actions and happenings of George Brecht, Sylvano Bussotti, John Cage, Toshi Ichiyanagi, Nam June Paik, Christian Wolff and La Monte Young were presented, while Heinz-Klaus Metzger read out his Kölner Manifest, entailing a Marxist and post-Adornian reading of Cage in opposition to most existing musical culture.¹⁵⁶ The series *Neue Musik München*, founded the same year by Josef Anton Riedl, stood in a similar relationship to the Munich *Musica Viva*.¹⁵⁷ Later disputes centred around the leadership of Ernst Thomas at the Ferienkurse in Darmstadt continued along similar lines¹⁵⁸, and the very possibility of the type of unity which had informed the 1951 ISCM had receded.

The *Woche* continued through most of the 1950s, but with a decreasing length, until eventually it became simply *Tage für Neue Musik*; by the end of the 1950s, it was essentially subsumed by the performances at the Ferienkurse in Darmstadt.¹⁵⁹ *Musica Viva* continues to the present day. The concerts at Waldsee and the Charlottenburger Bücherei are no longer, but others have taken their place. Cologne remains a leading centre for new music. Whilst the SWF in Baden-Baden generated a commanding presence on the international music scene after Strobel's taking over the Donaueschinger Musiktage in 1950, the SWF-Orchester continued as a leading orchestra for new music before ultimately merging with its counterpart in Stuttgart in 2013.

The events leading to Germany's re-entry to the ISCM took place during the key events of the early Cold War, including the Zhdanov Decree on music of 20 February

this point, to be the most illuminating, much more so than other models which posit a rather contrived musical 'break' in 1968.

¹⁵⁶ Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln (ed.), *Intermedial – kontrovers – experimentell: Das Atelier Mary Bauermeister in Köln 1960-62*, Cologne: Emons Verlag 1993, pp. 24–39; Heinz-Klaus Metzger, *Kölner "Manifest"*, in: *Musik wozu. Literatur zu Noten*, ed. by Rainer Riehn, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp 1980, pp. 9–14.

¹⁵⁷ Josef Anton Riedl, *NEUE MUSIK München, Siemens-Studio für elektronische Musik und musica viva (1953-1963)*, in: *"Eine Sprache der Gegenwart". musica viva 1945-1995*, ed. by Renate Ulm, Mainz: Piper Schott 1995, pp. 65–74.

¹⁵⁸ Klaus Trapp, *Darmstadt und die 68er-Bewegung*, in: *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart. 50 Jahre Darmstädter Ferienkurse 1946-1996*, ed. by Rudolf Stephan et al, Stuttgart: DACO 1996, pp. 369–375; Martin Iddon, *Trying To Speak: Between Politics and Aesthetics, Darmstadt 1970-1972*, in: *twentieth-century music* 3 (2007), Heft 2, pp. 255–275.

¹⁵⁹ Rüdiger Weißbach, *Rundfunk und neue Musik. Eine Analyse der Förderung zeitgenössischer Musik durch den Rundfunk*, Dortmund: Barbara Weißbach Verlag 1986, p. 109.

1948, the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia a few days later, the beginning of the Marshall Plan in April, the Prague conference adopting Zhdanov-like principles in May, leading to the Prague Manifesto¹⁶⁰, the Berlin Blockade from 24 June, all leading to the establishment of Trizonia in August 1948 bringing the three Western zones together. With the end of the blockade, the Bundesrepublik was founded on 23 May 1949, then the Deutsche Demokratische Republik on 7 October. Then the outbreak of the Korean War on 25 June 1950 led to many fears that this was a precursor for something similar in Germany, thus hardening battle lines.¹⁶¹

The impact of these events on new music can easily be overestimated, and I have argued elsewhere that far too much has been made of the activities of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, founded in 1950.¹⁶² With the division of Germany, West Berlin was more isolated than ever, and there was no chance of cooperation east of the city. From then onwards, attempts to establish or maintain Berlin as a major new music proved difficult, compared to the wealth of activities which took place in the city in the late 1940s. The concerts in Haus am Waldsee continued but lost a sense of momentum in terms of their programming, as with other series, whereas the Kulturbund was no longer permitted in West Berlin. The Berliner Festwochen, begun in 1951, were an important development but by concentrating on pleasing a larger audience, did not really demonstrate the same sort of commitment to the new as found elsewhere.¹⁶³ The series *Musik der Gegenwart*, established by the new Sender Freies Berlin in 1955¹⁶⁴, was one successful endeavour, incorporating from an early stage some works of Boulez, Dallapiccola, Berio, Henk Badings and Roland Kayn, and a concert of electronic music, but otherwise new music in the city was relatively patchy and less adventurous, until after reunification in 1990.

¹⁶⁰ See Julie A. Waters, *Marxists, Manifestos, and "Musical Uproar": Alan Bush, the 1948 Prague Congress, and the British Composers' Guild*, in: *Journal of Musicological Research*, 30 (2011), Heft 1, pp. 23–45.

¹⁶¹ See Samuel F. Wells Jr, *Fearing the Worst: How Korea Transformed the Cold War*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2019.

¹⁶² See Pace, *The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music* (as note 9), pp. 3f., 383f.; and *The Cold War in Germany as Ideological Weapon for Anti-Modernists, 1945-1955* paper first given in Helsinki, 2011, at <https://openaccess.city.ac.uk/id/eprint/6482/> (18. 7 2023).

¹⁶³ Elizabeth Janik, *Recomposing German Music: Politics and Musical Tradition in Cold War Berlin*, Leiden, Brill & Biggleswade: Extenza Turpin 2005, p. 244. For the 1951 programme see, Pace, *The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music* (as note 9), pp. A343–346.

¹⁶⁴ *100 Konzerte Musik der Gegenwart. Eine Dokumentation*, Berlin: Sender Freies Berlin 1981 for the full programmes up to 1981.

But Cologne, Frankfurt, Darmstadt, Baden-Baden and to some extent Munich and Stuttgart, flourished as centres for new work. What had this to do with re-entry into the ISCM? Certainly, the international festivals reflected, at most, radical and not-so-radical developments elsewhere rather than being primary instigators, but the situation was somewhat different in the regional chapters. The situation demonstrated international recognition of German new music, itself demonstrating a clear international commitment from soon after the war, and served as a type of successor to the Kulturbund and the network around it, as well as satisfying the concept of “Nachholbedarf” which arose immediately after the war.¹⁶⁵ By the time of the 1951 ISCM Festival in Frankfurt, this end could well have been said already to have been achieved.

Abstract

Many German musicians were intensely involved in the early years of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM), from the founding of the first German chapter in 1922/23 onwards under the presidency of Adolph Weissmann, until the section left the organisation in 1933. In this paper I trace the process by which German was re-admitted to the organisation, beginning with the founding of the first post-war German section by Hans Rosbaud and Karl Amadeus Hartmann in February 1946, leading to other chapters being formed in Germany soon afterwards, as well as considering the ways in which the Arbeitskreis für Neue Musik run by Heinz Tiessen in Berlin in collaboration with the Kulturbund der demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands, was viewed by Tiessen as part of the process of preparing Germany for full re-entry. This was followed invitation by the Dutch section of Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, Josef Rufer and Heinrich Strobel to the ISCM in 1947, all of whom formed a committee together with Boris Blacher, Philipp Jarnach, Hans Mersmann, Hans Rosbaud, Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt, Tiessen, Hartmann and Paul Höffer, all of whom were now playing key roles in German new music. Germany was formally re-admitted to the organisation in 1948, with Tiessen as the first German President, succeeded by Stuckenschmidt in 1949. This all led up to the key year of 1951 (something of an *annus mirabilis* for early post-war German new music) in which the Frankfurt *Woche für Neue Musik*, the Darmstädter Ferienkurse and the ISCM came together for a huge festival in Frankfurt and Darmstadt. I situate these events in the context of wider developments in the emergence of the new music infrastructure in Germany, in particular the central role of the Woche from 1947, and

¹⁶⁵ For more on this claim, based upon a very partial reading of recent history, that Germany had been cut off from international and modernist developments for 12 years, and so needed to ‘catch up’, see Ian Pace, *Music and Internationalism in Nazi Germany: Provenance and Post-War Consequences*, in: *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 147 (2023), Heft 2, pp. 594–616.

its predecessor in Bad Nauheim in 1946, the first major Frankfurt/Darmstadt collaboration in 1949 immediately after the founding of the Bundesrepublik, and the difficult situation in Cologne whereby Heinrich Lemacher, Gunter Wand and Herbert Eimert encountered difficulties in gaining the support of British occupiers for the re-establishment of the Gesellschaft für Neue Musik (which had been one of the very few new music organisations that had continued in some form in Nazi Germany), which eventually became an ISCM branch.

I situate all these developments in the context of the deteriorating Cold War situation in the late 1940s, especially in Berlin, where the important contemporary concert series in Haus am Waldsee, where ISCM concerts were hosted regularly from late 1948, stood as a Western counterpart to the Soviet-backed events organised by the Kulturbund. I argue that ISCM re-entry can be viewed as a linking factor for many wider developments and as such is of central importance in the establishment of West Germany as the leading centre for new music in the first decades after the war, with many of its activities chronicled in the ISCM publication *Neue Musik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*.