

*The American Occupation
and Agents of Reeducation*
1945-1950

HENRY COWELL AND THE OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION

Between the end of World War I and the advent of the Third Reich, many American composers—George Antheil, Marc Blitzstein, Ruth Crawford, Conlon Nancarrow, Roger Sessions, Adolph Weiss, and others (most notably, Aaron Copland, Virgil Thomson, and Roy Harris, who studied with Nadia Boulanger in France)—contributed to American music’s presence on the European continent. As one of the most adventurous composers of his generation, Henry Cowell (1897–1965) toured Europe several times before 1933. Traveling to the continent in early June 1923, Cowell played some of his own works in a concert on the ship, and visiting Germany that fall he performed his new piano works in Berlin, Leipzig, and Munich. His compositions, which pioneered the use of chromatic forearm and fist clusters and inside-the-piano (“string piano”) techniques, were “extremely well received and reviewed in Berlin,” a city that, according to the composer, “had heard a little more modern music than Leipzig,” where a hostile audience started a fistfight on stage.¹ A Leipzig critic gave his review a futuristic slant, comparing Cowell’s music to the noisy grind of modern cities; another simply called it noise. Reporting on Cowell’s Berlin concert, Hugo Leichtentritt considered him “the only American representative of musical modernism.” Many writers praised Cowell’s keyboard talents while questioning the music’s quality.² Such reviews established the tone

for the German reception of unconventional American music—usually performed by the composers themselves—that challenged definitions of western art music as well as stylistic conventions and aesthetic boundaries of taste and technique. Such music, which came to be known as “American experimental music” in Germany during the 1950s, captured the imaginations of several generations of Germans searching for something genuinely new from the New World. Leichtentritt’s assessment foreshadowed German views held more than a half a century later that only “experimental” composers created truly original American concert music.

During the 1930s, performances of works like Ernest Bloch’s epic rhapsody *America* (1927), an award-winning choral symphony programmed by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in November 1930, fed Germany’s Romanticist interest in America as an exotic cultural landscape. In 1931 a concert at the Dessau Bauhaus institute introduced works by members of the Pan-American Association of Composers, including George Antheil, Henry Brant, Carlos Chávez, Charles Ives, Wallingford Riegger, and Dane Rudhyar. Cowell, back in Europe with a Guggenheim Fellowship to study nonwestern music with Erich von Hornbostel in Berlin, played two of his own piano works.³ In February 1932 the Austrian composer Anton von Webern conducted a concert in Vienna, also with works by Pan-American Association composers, including Chávez, Cowell, Ives, Riegger, and Carl Ruggles. (Edgard Varèse had programmed works by Webern, an “honorary member” of the International Composers Guild, as early as 1926.)⁴ Less than two weeks later, on Saturday, 5 March 1932, Nicolas Slonimsky, who believed Cowell’s value abroad was measured by his ability to offset biased views of American music (and who himself wondered, “Why not try to export American music to Europe?”), conducted the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in the first of a two-part series funded entirely by Ives. The first concert featured Cowell’s *Synchrony*, Ives’s *Three Places in New England*, Ruggles’s *The Sun Treader*, and Edgard Varèse’s *Arcana*.⁵ (The second concert five days later included chamber orchestra works by Harris, Riegger, and Ruth Crawford conducted by Michael Taube.) The influential music critics Alfred Einstein, Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, and Heinrich Strobel reviewed the concert. Foreshadowing postwar sentiments, one critic took Slonimsky’s program as evidence that “something is happening over there in America, while we in Europe must ponder our own stagnation.”⁶ Slonimsky’s grouping of Ives, Cowell, and Varèse (and Ruggles, who remains less well known in Germany today) helped shape a perspective on American music that would become standard in West German new

music circles barely ten years after the war. These composers, trail blazers for midcentury experimentalism, were seen as having liberated American classical music from European dominance through their radical individualism during the 1920s and 1930s. Furthermore, simply by creating their own musical rules, they validated long-held though skeptical European beliefs about the nature of an independent American spirit. These highly individualized rules and their inherent freedoms stimulated musical invention in unprecedented ways.

Shortly before the fateful transfer of government power to the National Socialist party, in early January 1933, the American composer Howard Hanson conducted a concert of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra featuring works by Hanson, Charles Griffes, William Grant Still, and others. Billed as a special program of “New American Music,” the works all shared a stylistic preference for neoclassicism. (A telling French review of the Berlin concert complained that Hanson had not programmed music by Cowell, Ives, or Varèse.)⁷ Just three weeks after Hanson’s performance in Berlin, Adolf Hitler accepted the chancellorship of Germany from President Hindenburg. Activities of international musical exchange continued for a short time, as Cowell and others maintained contact with publishing and recording companies in Germany. Eventually, however, performances of American music in Germany’s capital city and elsewhere ceased completely. More than a decade later, in the summer of 1945, as the dust settled on the wreckage of censorship, war, and genocide, Germany’s new music community began a remarkable resurrection, although not without plenty of help from abroad.

Even before the end of the war, American composers had helped plan for the dissemination of American culture in postwar Europe. Just days before Germany’s surrender, Roy Harris wrote to Elliott Carter: “The Office of War Information is making a democratic survey of the opinions of our leading musicians concerning American music. As one of our important composers, you would aid us greatly by sending a list of the ten composers of symphonic and chamber music whom you think are most worthy to represent American culture to European nations. Your list will be kept confidential.”⁸ As the director of the Music Section in the Radio Program Bureau for the New York Office of War Information (OWI), Harris, like many others involved with OWI since the United States had entered the war, was charged with seeking the help of respected colleagues like Carter to identify the music “most worthy” of representing American culture to Europeans. Cowell, too, served the OWI during the war, where

he decided “what music to select to broadcast to foreign countries.”⁹ In 1943, the same year President Roosevelt permanently ended all federal Works Progress Administration programs in art, theater, and music, Cowell wrote to Percy Grainger that he was now working as a “consultant on foreign music for the Office of War Information.”¹⁰ A few months later, he wrote to Ives that he had prepared a radio program for OWI on Ives’s music for broadcasting abroad—“Italy and Persia, and probably for Arabia and Sweden,” he speculated.¹¹ In 1945 Cowell’s main OWI duty, aside from his task as “Associate Music Director in Charge of Continental European Stockpile,” was described as “stockpiling musical recordings for use in the Far East.” By the end of the war, the OWI had amassed a vast collection of recordings of folk music and music by American composers.¹² Though the musical choices made by American composers in wartime government positions did not always influence European compositional trends in the decades following the war, the policies they established under the supervision of the American occupying forces in Germany would help create a uniquely generous infrastructure for new music. The occupation of Germany, and the cultural practices developed during that time, set the stage for the musical events documented in this history.

THE ZERO HOUR AND AMERICAN MUSIC IN POSTWAR BERLIN

Though the final months of the war had been catastrophic for Germany’s cultural infrastructure, budding initiatives soon reestablished a lively new music community throughout the country. West Germany’s commitment to new music began immediately after the end of World War II during the so-called Zero Hour (*Stunde Null*). With respect to musical life, however, the familiar concept of the Zero Hour is flawed for several reasons. First, contemporary musical life in Germany, though severely limited, hardly ceased between 1933 and 1945. Composers Wolfgang Fortner and Hermann Heiss remained active in Germany during the Third Reich, and some scholars have written that scores by composers such as Anton von Webern and Paul Hindemith, considered degenerate (*entartet*) by the Nazis, were available in music stores through 1945.¹³ Second, Germany did not yield to the Allied invasion all at once. On the contrary, the Allies occupied many areas before the fall of Berlin, and in some cities normal activities—including newspaper production and musical performance—resumed well before Germany’s total surrender on 8 May 1945. As early as 24 November

1944, the American Military Government Control Branch had issued a law prohibiting German public activity, including publishing and recording music, broadcasting on the radio, and any type of live musical performance. This law did more than just prohibit music-related activities. Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF) Military Government Law No. 191 outlined goals for controlling publications, radio broadcasts, news services, films, theaters, and music, and for prohibiting activities of the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda.¹⁴ Finally, many musicians and musicologists active from 1933 until 1945 continued professional activities during the era of denazification.

Firsthand descriptions of Germany after the surrender, during both the Zero Hour and the subsequent *Trümmerzeit*, the chaotic time during which most cities lay in ruins, emphasize that culture was essential for spiritual survival, possibly more crucial than the need for food, water, and coal. An art historian living in Berlin after the war recalled that art and music helped heal broken spirits.¹⁵ Erich Hartmann, a double bassist for the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra from 1943 until 1985, provided an eyewitness account of Berlin in mid-1945: “One of the miracles of this period was that, despite all of the unfortunate circumstances in the bombed-out cities, attempts were made to continue cultivating culture even while most concert halls, theaters, and cinemas were destroyed.” Hartmann added, “One didn’t think of making money, rather that life should just go on.” In a diary entry written on 16 November 1945, Hans Speier described the abundance of bookshops on Heidelberg’s main street, and their window displays with books on musicology and scores by Bach. He also noted, “Everywhere in town one finds announcements of concerts, theater performances, and recitations.”¹⁶

Appealing to an American audience in *Modern Music* in January 1946, another eyewitness named Arno Huth wrote that artistic life had been paralyzed long before the end of the war, but had been boosted rapidly with the help of the western Allies. “After the surrender,” Huth continued, “hardly any opera groups or complete orchestras were left, nor were many theatres and concert halls usable because heavy bombings during the last months of the war had destroyed or badly damaged most buildings of any size. In spite of this, artistic life has picked up rapidly, thanks chiefly to aid from the allied occupation forces. In several large cities symphony orchestras and opera companies now give performances. . . . The radio stations of the military governments have become artistic centers, especially in the American zone.”¹⁷ Another report for *Modern Music* explained the mission

of American cultural reorientation. American classical music was performed infrequently, Boris Kremenliev wrote, and earned lukewarm enthusiasm or ambivalence. "In some cases," he added, "the critics thought that the compositions lacked maturity; in others the general feeling was that the message of the music was new." Finally, Kremenliev pointed out an important new trend in attitudes about new music in postwar Germany, namely, "that like all new music, American modern music should be given repeated performances in order to be fully appreciated."¹⁸

The occupying American military government, whose Cultural Affairs Branch promoted American music whenever possible, grouped "American music" in two categories for support and distribution: the first, music by composers born in the United States and by those naturalized American citizens whose musical training had been principally American; the second, music by other composers who had become American citizens and whose compositions "tend to prove that life in the United States is conducive to American musical authorship."¹⁹ Further stylistic boundaries were not so clearly defined, but were widely understood. In a "Letter from Germany," the composer and critic Everett Helm wrote of the most frequently performed American music, which included Barber, Copland, Harris, Menotti, and Piston. Helm remarked, "Of course, Gershwin is universally beloved and one must be constantly explaining that Gershwin's is *another* kind of music not to be confused with etc. etc."²⁰ By early 1947, U.S. military documents boasted that "in contrast with the eleven orchestras permitted by Goebbels in the whole of Germany between the years 1943 and 1945, 110 U.S. licensed orchestras, opera companies, concert agencies and producers of musical performances are working now alone in the U.S. Zone of Germany and in the U.S. Sector of Berlin."²¹ In the former *Reichstadt* Berlin, postwar efforts to promote American music in the midst of the burned and bruised city met with guarded enthusiasm.

"Yes," asserted Nicolas Nabokov, a central diplomat in Europe's cultural rebirth, "musical life in Berlin was indeed complicated in the winter of 1945–1946."²² Although the war nearly destroyed the city and the first postwar winters were notoriously harsh, by the late 1940s, cultural life was flourishing. One statistic reports that despite extensive complications Berlin hosted more than 120 premieres between June and December 1945. By early 1946, the city boasted nearly two hundred stages and halls used for performances. And while Berlin's façade still displayed a mountain of rock and ash, by June 1949 the American sector of West Berlin maintained seventy-six movie theaters, fifty-six licensed publishers, two daily newspapers

(with a circulation of 212,000 readers), two U.S. “information centers,” and one radio station.²³ During the initial reconstruction, the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra’s early postwar concerts gave Germans a chance to hear American music again.

In May 1945, some thirty members of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra (BPO) were dead, scores had been destroyed, and many of the musicians’ instruments had been confiscated by the Soviet army for their own military bands. After receiving authorization from the local Russian commander and district mayor on the seventeenth of May, the first orchestral rehearsal of the BPO took place in the still-intact city hall of the district of Wilmersdorf just thirteen days after the surrender was signed.²⁴ According to the orchestra’s bassist Hartmann, the musicians assembled for an organizational meeting just five days after the official end of the war, at the Gasteiner School in Wilmersdorf. Because of the decrepit state of public transportation at the time, Hartmann had to transport his large instrument to the rehearsal in a borrowed baby carriage. The Soviet authorities issued orchestra musicians a certificate that allowed them to pass safely through checkpoints and to travel by bicycle to rehearsals with their instruments. During the first weeks of rehearsals, the entire orchestra was fed a three-course meal daily by the American military government in the Café Siebert in the district of Dahlem. The daily meal helped strengthen the musicians’s constitutions, as many of them were weak, undernourished, or ill after years of war. Nabokov recalled that he and his colleagues

had to find halls and houses for the orchestras, operas and conservatories, coal to heat them, roofing and bricks to patch up the leaks and holes, bulbs to light them, instruments for the orchestras, calories for the musicians (questions raised at staff meetings included such ticklish problems as whether a trombonist is justified in getting more calories than a string player—that is, whether more calories are needed to blow the trombone than to bow the double bass). The bombed-out orchestra libraries needed parts and scores; composers needed music paper and ink; opera houses needed performers and costumes; and everybody needed shelter, food, and fuel.²⁵

During denazification, the occupying forces allotted food and fuel according to five classes of consumption. People in the first group received sixteen hundred calories per day; they included hard laborers, scholars, doctors, production managers, city and local administrators, and people active in the creation of culture and art. The inclusion of musicians in this

category attests to the high value placed on music during the postwar months, though, as indicated by Nabokov's comments, the categories themselves—and the calories allotted to trombonists and double bassists—were somewhat flexible. A report sent from Berlin in 1946 revealed the absurdity of the situation, describing how “during the week ration cards were requested by two elephants and two opera singers.” In light of the shortage of food the report added: “The opera singers were taken care of comparatively speedily but the Food and Agricultural Branch made the request that in the future plenty of warning be given before inviting any more elephants and their herbivorous and carnivorous confreres to perform in this low calorie metropolis.”²⁶ Nonetheless, between 1946 and 1948 the American zone gained a reputation for offering both basic necessities and luxuries not available in other zones.²⁷

Despite the difficulties of communication, of locating displaced and homeless musicians, and of securing instruments and scores, the BPO's first concert took place on 26 May 1945, in the Titania Palace Theater in the west Berlin district of Steglitz. The first concert featured Mendelssohn's Overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Mozart's Violin Concerto in A Major, and Tchaikovsky's Fourth Symphony. According to Hartmann, the concert symbolized hope, showing Berliners that things “could only get better.”²⁸ (The Munich Philharmonic Orchestra, a comparable ensemble in size and reputation, gave its first postwar concert six weeks later, on 8 July 1945.) Many of the BPO's initial events, like the “Concert for American Soldiers” of Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Tchaikovsky given on 24 July 1945, catered to the men of the occupying forces but were advertised in German on prior concert programs. Leo Borchard, the orchestra's first postwar conductor, led the ensemble after having been forbidden to conduct during the Third Reich. After Borchard was accidentally killed by American soldiers in August 1945, Rudolph Dunbar became the first black conductor to lead the BPO. Though trained as a musician, the thirty-eight year old Dunbar was stationed in Berlin after joining the Allied Forces as a newspaper correspondent. Advertised as “the famous American conductor,” Dunbar directed the European premiere of William Grant Still's *Afro-American Symphony* (1930), the first American composition to be performed by the BPO after the war.²⁹ Still's symphony was dedicated to Irving Schwerké, who had organized the first German festival of American music in Bad Homburg in 1931.

An early performance of American music for military employees by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra included Samuel Barber's *Adagio for Strings*

(on 10 December 1945) conducted by Captain John Bitter (b. 1909), an “authorized musical delegate of the American occupation,” and a somewhat controversial figure in the eyes of the musicians and military personnel alike due to his dual role as both the BPO’s conductor and a U.S. Music Officer.³⁰ As was typical at the time, the program notes emphasized the military involvement of both the conductor and composer: Bitter had been in the army since 1942 and currently worked for the Information Services Control Section at Berlin’s Headquarters. The composer was referred to as “*Corporal* Samuel Barber,” and the biographical notes mentioned that since joining the army Barber had enjoyed many military assignments, including “building latrines in Texas.” (Despite this rather inelegant debut, over the next decade Barber’s *Adagio for Strings* would become one of the most frequently performed pieces of American music by German orchestras, especially in Berlin.) Having shed his military connection, in program notes for a Berlin performance of his *Adagio for Strings* in early 1946, Barber was named simply one of America’s most promising talents.³¹ Bitter’s American qualities were also highlighted by the press. A reviewer of another concert Bitter conducted for the radio orchestra in Hamburg noted that he led the ensemble in a “unique, democratic way,” and that he suppressed his own desires in an un-European fashion, displaying a “wise” way of conducting that evoked the “Far East.”³²

During the Third Reich, music by Jewish composers had been removed from the BPO’s score library (and from orchestral libraries throughout Germany), but many of those scores and parts survived the war in the basement of the Philharmonic building and concert hall basements elsewhere. Thus, due to the easy availability of materials, audiences heard plenty of music by Mahler and Mendelssohn, among others, during the late 1940s. But the reincorporation of Jewish composers into the concert repertory was just part of the plan. To promote a wider variety of music in Berlin and elsewhere, after elaborate diplomatic negotiations, the four occupying governments inaugurated an International Music Library (or Interallied Lending Library, Interalliierte Musik-Leihbibliothek) on 28 September 1946 in two rooms at the State Library on Berlin’s main boulevard Unter den Linden (entrance Charlottenstraße 41). The library was stocked with scores and parts, many initially supplied by the OWI for the use of individuals and ensembles throughout Germany. A weekly report filed by an officer in Berlin described the library and its opening ceremony, which was broadcast on German radio stations and attended by British, French, Russian, and American officials:

The Library comprises appr. 600 British, 200 Soviet, 100 French, and 100 U.S. musical works. During the short musical program at the opening, the third movement of Aaron Copland's Violin Sonata was played by Hans Duenschede with Fritz Guhl accompanying him. There is a mimeographed catalogue available of all American works at the library. The catalogue also contains short biographies of the composers in German language. It is intended to enlarge the American contribution to this library as soon as additional music, musical literature and recordings of American music arrives from the States. At that time it is planned to open a branch of this library in the U.S. zone of Germany.³³

In June 1947 the Berlin office of Information Control published a small book titled *98 Amerikanische Komponisten und Ihre Werke in der Interalliierten Musik-Leihbibliothek*. The American composer, former Nadia Boulanger student, and U.S. military officer Harrison Kerr (1897–1978), writing for *Notes* in 1947, described the catalog: “[It] lists 211 works by 98 composers, and in addition to a biographical sketch of each composer, lists the performances of each work so far given in Germany; this is a valuable addition to the promotional efforts fostered by the reorientation program.”³⁴ The library held chamber music, vocal works, and compositions for large orchestra by composers born between 1853 and 1921 in the United States and abroad. American officers kept careful records about which scores were borrowed from the library and reported on that activity to military administrators.³⁵

In 1946 Berlin's music conservatory reopened with composer Heinz Tiessen as director. By 1949, Bavaria, Württemberg-Baden (as the zone was named), and the U.S. sector of Berlin maintained seven schools for music and fine arts, with a combined enrollment of some 2,230 students.³⁶ In 1947 cultural officers in the southwest suburb of Dahlem in Berlin's American sector established the Dahlem Music Society for the Promotion of Young Artists (Dahlemer Musikgesellschaft zur Förderung junger Künstler). The formation of the Dahlem Music Society represented a joint effort by Germans and Americans working for the American military government, John Bitter and John Evarts among them. In the early days, American members could pay their dues in dollars, the German members in German currency.³⁷ Indeed, Berlin's cultural renaissance was a source of pride throughout the western provinces: On 13 July 1950 the radio station in Baden-Baden broadcast a program by the German composer Giseler Klebe titled “Berlin's Music Season 1949/50.” In addition to explaining the

negative effects of the 1948 currency reform on musical exchange between east and west sectors of the city, Klebe reported on musical activity in Berlin, including an increasing public interest in new music.³⁸ Berlin's musical rebirth and the leading role Americans played in that process reflected the United States' aggressive campaign toward cultural "reeducation" during the occupation years.

REEDUCATION AND INFORMATION CONTROL

The immediate crises of surrender and occupation gradually gave way to the daily business of reconstruction. Under cover of the ambiguous agenda "reeducation," Americans helped rebuild a unique cultural infrastructure in war-torn Germany. In the American zone—Bavaria, Württemberg-Baden, Greater Hesse, a sector of West Berlin, and the city-state of Bremen—a number of media were deployed to disseminate information about American values in the context of reeducation programs and the threatening Cold War. Publishing licenses for newspapers and books, radio broadcasting stations, U.S. Music and Theater Officers, America Houses, and the State Department's exchange programs were all part of the plan to set German culture back on its feet and to guide its progress as deemed appropriate by the victors. While the occupation of Germany altered the political structure of the country, U.S. State Department control of culture became the rule in the American zone.

Backed and directed by the White House, the War Department, the State Department, the Treasury Department, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and several other high-level government departments, the United States Office of Military Government in Germany (OMGUS) and its field offices comprised the main apparatus in charge of affairs in the occupied American zones of Germany from 1945 until 1949. (After the dissolution of OMGUS in October 1949, the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany [HICOG] oversaw German reconstruction until 1953.) The immediate chores facing OMGUS and the Allied forces included reeducating and reorienting German citizens, then rebuilding, redistributing, reestablishing, restoring, and reviving all areas of society. In German-language directives these goals fell under four complex tasks: denazification, democratization, demilitarization, and decentralization.³⁹ The U.S. Military Government's long-range plans for Germany's reconstruction, issued in June 1946, identified "cultural reeducation" as a top priority.⁴⁰ Specific "Cultural Objectives" of the "Directive from the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the Commander-in-Chief

of United States Forces of Occupation, Regarding the Military Government of Germany” (JCS 1779) read as follows:

Your Government holds that the reeducation of the German people is an integral part of policies intended to help develop a democratic form of government and to restore a stable and peaceful economy; it believes that there should be no forcible break in the cultural unity of Germany, but recognizes the spiritual value of the regional traditions of Germany and wishes to foster them; it is convinced that the manner and purposes of the reconstruction of the national German culture have a vital significance for the future of Germany.

It is, therefore, of the highest importance that you make every effort to secure maximum coordination between the occupying powers of cultural objectives designed to serve the cause of peace. You will encourage German initiative and responsible participation in this work of cultural reconstruction and you will expedite the establishment of these international cultural relations which will overcome the spiritual isolation imposed by National Socialism on Germany and further the assimilation of the German people into the world community of nations.⁴¹

General Clay received this directive on 11 July 1947. It broadly outlined goals for officers engaged with German reconstruction, and superseded the previous directive issued on 26 April 1945 (JCS 1067), which had not included a specific cultural directive. The later directive meant that American cultural officers in Germany obeyed orders from Washington for rebuilding a democratic, decentralized, and autonomous cultural apparatus in West Germany. OMGUS also requested the services of German cultural figures for radio, newspapers, and art venues, and even sent U.S. Army jeeps to escort back to the cities journalists, scholars, actors, writers, musicians, and other exiles who had spent the war years in rural areas.⁴² The “Re-establishment of International Cultural Relations” clarified the directives that soon would allow German and American travel under State Department sponsorship along with “the free flow of cultural materials to and from Germany.”⁴³

In September 1947, Harrison Kerr, acting as the War Department Reorientation Branch’s Chief of Music and Art Unit, described reeducation’s analogous musical reorientation efforts to the readers of *Notes*:

The term reorientation is used in the sense of re-education, but with somewhat broader implications. Since it is our tenet that democracy is the only antidote for dictatorship, this program is directed toward the

replacement of a belief in absolutism by teaching the meaning of democracy. One way to accomplish this is to make available to all who are interested the products of democracy. When such interest does not exist, it must be awakened. Thus, in addition to the function of control exercised by the Music Officers, they have the added duty of informing the nationals with whom they deal of the best of American musical achievement.⁴⁴

As an officer directed to promote and document performances of American music, Kerr added statistics concerning the use of American music from an OMGUS report issued in Germany on 12 June 1947:

Three hundred and seventy-four performances of orchestral and chamber music works were given during the period from January 1, 1946 to June 12, 1947. Of these, 285 performances were in the American Zone, seventy-seven in the Russian Zone, seven in the British Zone, and five in the French Zone. Fifty-six German performing organizations (orchestras and chamber groups) gave the 285 performances that were held in the American Zone. Eighty-nine different American works were performed in twenty-seven cities of the American Zone and in the American Sector of Berlin. In Kassel a newly founded string quartet made its debut playing two American quartets.⁴⁵

Much to the advantage of the culture-starved Germans, and especially in Berlin, the four occupying powers competed for cultural prestige by organizing art exhibitions, reopening theaters, and issuing newspaper licenses. OMGUS reviewed all activities in public cultural life in its zones, including newspapers and concert programs. Censorship was common in the first years after the war, and as early as 12 May 1945, the American Occupying Forces published a "Manual for the Control of German Information Services" to aid officers in their management of public information.⁴⁶ Approved documents received an admittance number (*Zulassungsnummer*) and a publishing license from the Information Control Office. All concert and festival programs were stamped with an approval number from OMGUS, and this practice continued through 21 September 1949, when authority was passed to the new Federal Republic.⁴⁷ Music festivals and summer programs were stamped with OMGUS-issued publishing licenses; festival directors such as Karl Amadeus Hartmann (director of *Musica Viva* in Munich) had to apply for such licenses during the early occupation.⁴⁸ Music publishers, too, had to be cleared by OMGUS before

printing scores; in March 1947, Edition Peters in Frankfurt received its publishing license.⁴⁹ Newspapers and radio news programs also applied for licenses; following the presurrender licensing of the Aachen paper, one of the first German licenses was issued on 1 August 1945 to Frankfurt's liberal daily newspaper (*Frankfurter Rundschau*). Berlin's first postwar daily paper (*Der Tagesspiegel*) was first printed on 27 September 1945; Munich's daily paper (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*) quickly followed the others, on 6 October 1945. Between 1945 and 1949, OMGUS issued 149 newspaper licenses in the western zones.⁵⁰

In 1947, to aid education on American culture, OMGUS licensed the publication of a German translation of Virgil Thomson's collection of concert reviews called *The Musical Scene* (1945). Hans Kasperek, the German publisher of Thomson's book, also published a translation of Copland's *What to Listen for in Music*.⁵¹ Elliott Carter sold the rights and title to his article "Music in America, 1947" to the U.S. Department of the Army, Civil Affairs Division, for one hundred dollars.⁵² In November 1946 the new music journal *Melos* resumed publishing; its immediate goal was to educate the public about what they had missed since 1933. *Melos* had been founded in 1920 and discontinued during the war years. On 3 September 1946 *Melos* editor Heinrich Strobel explained to Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt that his primary task was to educate a completely ignorant public about the music of Schoenberg, Berg, and others.⁵³

The music critic Heinz-Klaus Metzger remembers that the years between the end of the war and the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany allowed for an unprecedented freedom of the press.⁵⁴ But soon after the war, despite official rhetoric about freedom and democracy, censorship in the American zone soon took on Cold War characteristics, and OMGUS refused to issue publishing licenses to Communist Party members.⁵⁵ Seeking a widespread tool of information control, the American Military Government created the *Neue Zeitung*, an American-subsidized "American newspaper for the German public," published daily in both Munich and Berlin, for which prominent critics would be well paid to write articles on musical life in Germany and the United States. A statement by General Eisenhower appeared in the first issue, in the fall of 1945. Eisenhower predicted that the "*Neue Zeitung* will help to bring before the eyes of the German people the necessity of the work lying ahead of the German people." Furthermore, he warned, the Americans would help the Germans with this reconstruction, but would "by no means provide the actual work for the Germans."⁵⁶ German employees of the *Neue Zeitung* and other

publications were obliged to follow the “Responsibility of German Licensees” rules spelled out in a “Responsibility Policy Instruction,” issued on 30 September 1946. By early 1946, this “extremely influential instrument of public opinion” reached a circulation of 1.6 million with an estimated readership of up to ten million; it continued to be published nationwide through 1953, and in West Berlin through 1955.⁵⁷

Sponsoring American celebrities for tours of German cities helped the U.S. reeducation program put a human face on its policy. Leonard Bernstein, who had established a stellar reputation as a composer and conductor since the early 1940s, embodied a smart, muscular American quality wholly appropriate for OMGUS purposes. Bernstein toured Germany as a cultural ambassador in 1948. A somewhat contradictory OMGUS document describing his visit to Munich sheds light on the official policy regarding cultural propaganda, the ongoing tension between American and German musicians, and the practical difficulties American officers faced during the occupation. The author emphasized that the Music Section regarded Bernstein’s Munich visit, during which he was scheduled to conduct the Bavarian State Opera Orchestra in two May concerts, as “the most important musical event from a reorientation standpoint that has taken place in Bavaria since the war.” The author explained that Bernstein

had been invited by the Bavarian State Opera Orchestra and was traveling through Germany as a private citizen without Military Government sponsorship. The morning of Bernstein’s arrival the State Opera began its food strike and at first it was thought that there could be no concerts. The orchestra finally rather unhappily agreed to one concert with a limited number of rehearsals, since Bernstein was the first American conductor of any importance to conduct in Germany. After the first rehearsal the orchestra’s devotion to and admiration for Bernstein were so great that there was no longer any doubt that there would be a concert. As news of Bernstein’s talent spread in the music community critics and conductors of the vicinity began to gather for the last two rehearsals. The surprise expressed all too frequently was that an American could come and teach Germans how to play. One critic commented that only one other conductor in Germany could rival Bernstein in conducting Schumann. The concert itself, which consisted of Schumann’s Second Symphony, Roy Harris’ Third Symphony and the Ravel Piano Concerto with Bernstein playing the solo part and conducting at the same time was a complete success. Bernstein had to repeat the last movement of the Ravel Concerto. Persons lined the sidewalks after the concert to applaud Bernstein and German cars escorted

him along Prinzregentenstrasse cheering him. All press reports were exceptionally enthusiastic.⁵⁸

Before Bernstein's concert in Munich, however, a streetcar strike made it impossible to transport the orchestra to rehearsals and to the concerts; the local military government was unable to provide transportation. In the end, the report explains, a "group of Jewish DP [displaced persons] trucks drove the German orchestra members to and from two rehearsals and the concert, and saved the day." Finally, despite overcoming this hindrance, interest in Bernstein's visit on the part of military personnel was minimal. As a result, the local military office had to bribe musicians to attend rehearsal sessions:

It was a source of much disappointment to the Music Section that the Americans in Munich took so little interest in the Bernstein event. Less than a dozen persons from OMGB [Office of Military Government, Bavaria] attended the concert, even though tickets were offered to a number of people. At a tea given for Bernstein at Geiseltasteig by the Music Officer, to which a number of leading Germans and Americans were invited, only two Americans came. A press conference for members of the German press was held at the Munich America Haus. A package of cigarettes was made available through OMGB for each member of the "striking" orchestra at one of Bernstein's rehearsals.

Bernstein's ambiguous success in Munich nonetheless paved the way for other American musicians, conductors, ensembles, and orchestras who toured Germany during the years of the military occupation and after. Embracing the role of a musical messenger from the free world, Bernstein joined a diverse gamut of tools, both human and institutional, for rebuilding German culture. As a central vehicle of reeducation, OMGUS created its Information Control Division (ICD) in late 1945, which oversaw and licensed all activities in music, theater, film, radio, and print media. Under the organizational structure of OMGUS (and later HICOG as well), field offices of the Cultural Relations Division were closely related to the Information Services Division. Between 1945 and 1949, the Theater and Music Branch division of OMGUS took on staggering tasks of cultural reeducation. Most significantly, the ICD engaged the radio as a powerful medium capable of reaching large audiences during the postwar period when paper for printing newspapers was scarce.

THE RADIO BROADCASTING SYSTEM

After Germany's surrender in 1945, the American military took over the existing stations in their zone, in Frankfurt, Stuttgart, and Munich, renaming them Broadcasting Stations of the Military Government. Army cartographers sketched geographical calculations regarding the broadcast territory now under their control.⁵⁹ Radio Munich broadcast the first postwar radio program on 12 May 1945 on a frequency maintained by the Military Government in Bavaria. The following day, the Berliner Rundfunk (the dominant station during the Nazi era) began broadcasting in the Soviet-occupied zone. Radio broadcasting became one of the most important tools of reeducation in the OMGUS period, though for the history of postwar classical music its influence deserves to be questioned: a confidential study on "Radio Listening in Germany" reported that in the winter of 1946, only about 15 percent of Germans in the American zone listened regularly to classical music.⁶⁰

The broadcasting system in the American zone transmitted information about life in America. On 21 November 1945 the OMGUS at the U.S. Headquarters of the Berlin District and Headquarters of the first Airborne Army announced the "Reopening of the *Drahtfunk* system [wire broadcasting through telephone connections] in the American Sector of Berlin."⁶¹ Because Berlin remained a battleground right up to the end of the war, the first broadcast by the new American radio station DIAS (*Drahtfunk im amerikanischen Sektor*) took place later than the American-run Radio Munich. The weak-signaled DIAS soon evolved into RIAS (*Rundfunk im amerikanischen Sektor*), the name change reflecting the switch to a broadcasting network no longer dependent on telephone lines. In 1946 RIAS sent its first broadcasts out over the airwaves in Berlin. From five o'clock in the afternoon until midnight, RIAS featured news, current reports, music, and entertainment. The initial broadcast season included programs with titles like "News from around the World," "Phonograph Records from Overseas," "Studio for New Music," and "Forbidden Books."⁶² In the early days, the emphasis was on "catching up" rather than on overt political topics. New music, previously banned books, and information about other countries were all topics central to reeducation. Furthermore, the task of relaying "objective" information over the airwaves corresponded with a "no entertainment" policy of "austerity" favored by the Information Control Division during early reeducation.⁶³ Along with information about the world at large, the overwhelming presence of American culture became evident in this new medium: fifteen minutes into the maiden broadcast, after a brief "greeting,"

listeners were treated to “jazz” followed by the Voice of America. Three hours later the Voice of America returned, followed by “Well-Known Dance Bands” and “Voices from the Press in the American Zone” and finally, to round off the hour, more “jazz.” At ten o’clock listeners could catch up on “Modern Symphonics” (Richard Strauss and Paul Hindemith were heard on the first evening), followed by dance music, a short news report, and a preview of the following day’s highlights.⁶⁴

On 5 September 1946 RIAS—“a free voice of the free world” (a phrase included on their stationary)—was upgraded to an AM station. Following Berlin mayor Dr. Arthur Werner’s inauguration address, listeners heard songs by Jerome Kern. That evening, following the Voice of America broadcast at 10:15 P.M., listeners enjoyed a half-hour of highlights from *Oklahoma* (followed by Schubert’s “Trout” Quintet).⁶⁵ RIAS, however, was but one of many radio stations in the occupied zones. By June 1949, five radio stations—RIAS Berlin, Radio Bremen, Radio Frankfurt, Radio Stuttgart, and Radio Munich—were operating in the U.S. zone, as compared with one each in the Soviet (Berliner Rundfunk), French (Südwestfunk [SWF], Baden-Baden), and British (Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk [NWDR], Cologne and Hamburg) zones.⁶⁶ Many of them had changed administrative hands by that point; for example, OMGUS transferred Radio Munich to German radio authorities on 25 January 1949.

In rebuilding the radio network, the Americans did not impose their own privatized broadcast system on Germany, but they also rejected the centralized, state-controlled system favored by the French and implemented by the Nazis. This decision would come to have significant consequences for the life of new music and would set Germany’s radio culture apart from that of England, France, and Italy. Drawing on the original network established in the mid-1920s, the western allies established a decentralized, public system similar to the radio system used during the Weimar Republic.⁶⁷ An OMGUS document issued in April 1949 paved the way for the establishment of German Broadcasting Organizations, though RIAS continued to be operated by OMG Berlin. Another document issued in September 1949 explicitly stated that “the German press, radio and other information media shall be free”; the Allied High Commission, however, retained ultimate authority over the system. Through 1951 West German stations were required to broadcast at least thirty minutes of Voice of America programs six days a week.⁶⁸

On 10 June 1950 the six stations in the western zones excluding RIAS in Berlin banded together to create a common “working pool” known as

ARD (Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland): in Hamburg and Cologne, Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk (NWDR until 1955, then split in 1956 into Norddeutscher Rundfunk [NDR] and Westdeutscher Rundfunk [WDR]); in Munich, Bayerischer Rundfunk (BR); in Frankfurt, Hessischer Rundfunk (HR); in Stuttgart, Süddeutscher Rundfunk (SDR); in Bremen, Radio Bremen (RB); and in Baden-Baden, Südwestfunk (SWF). The stations Sender Freies Berlin (SFB; initially in Soviet hands), and Saarländischer Rundfunk (SR; in Saarbrücken) joined the ARD network in 1953 and 1957, respectively. Collaboration between ARD stations helped provide all of West Germany with diverse programming around the clock. Program exchange, shared “in-house” recordings (station studio productions), technical interaction, and recordings of live concerts made broadcast materials available even to small stations with limited budgets. ARD’s decentralized federal system—modeled after the political system of the Federal Republic of Germany as put in place by the Allies—established connections to the noncommercial, nongovernmental European Broadcasting Union (EBU; created, like the ARD, in 1950), a voluntary network of West European radio stations for the purpose of sharing material and planning major events. The EBU made possible an even larger pool of collaboration and provided money for commissioning new compositions. These linked institutions paved the way for a uniquely thriving contemporary music culture.

Before the formation of the ARD, OMGUS transmitted educational programs about American culture over its airwaves in addition to the cultural propaganda distributed on RIAS and the Voice of America. Radio Stuttgart, which had broadcast a weekly new music evening program featuring Ives and many other American composers (“Neue Wege in der Tonkunst”) from November 1945 until September 1946, presented an OMGUS-sponsored program titled “Modern American Music” on 18 October 1948, at 8:30 P.M.⁶⁹ Broadcast in German, the show began with an excerpt from William Schuman’s Symphony for String Orchestra. A speaker then announced that the program would demonstrate “how Georg Mueller became a friend of modern music.” A dialogue followed, between a fictional Peter and his friend Georg, described as “the ordinary man in the street who found a new source of pleasure in the music of his own time.” Peter introduced several new records of “modern American music” he had just received “from his uncle in America.” The uncle, Peter explained, “has been in New York for five years and has become very much interested in musical things over there.” Peter began his examples with an excerpt of

Appalachian Spring, by “one of the best American composers” who “has been played a great deal in America and Europe.” After listening, Georg admitted that the music was “really quite pretty in spots.” Georg and Peter then discussed why some music sounds unfamiliar, disorienting, or even unpleasant. Peter explained that the American “conception of and feeling for rhythm is quite different from the European—it is apt to be more irregular, less conventional, and full of surprises.” When Georg complained about the harsh sound of some new music, Peter responded: “Music is an expression of our time, and our time is full of dissonances.” Finally, Georg gave up: “You win, Peter—from now on I’m going to give up my old-fashioned prejudices against modern music and try to enjoy it . . . it’s clear to me that I’m at fault and not the music I have been criticizing.” Peter claimed victory in the name of new music: “The battle is won—if you just keep listening to modern music with an open mind you’ll soon find yourself liking it and understanding it.” He concluded: “Don’t expect a miracle to happen in five minutes . . . you will find it takes considerable time before you really appreciate the most advanced modern music.” The pair then enjoyed a trio for flute, cello, and piano by Norman Dello Joio.

OMGUS eagerly supported such programs on Radio Stuttgart and other stations to educate German listeners about the cultural and intellectual value of modern music though the U.S. government itself rarely supported similar programs at home. Such contradictions in domestic and foreign cultural policy suggest that cultural products were manufactured and disbursed as mere tools of reeducation and, later, in the Cold War effort to maintain maximum cultural control in western Europe. Observing the same contradictory phenomenon in terms of generous American funding for a Berlin music festival in September 1951, Ernst Krenek lamented that there was “a slight irony in the realization that one had to come all the way to Berlin in order to see American public funds employed for the benefit of serious modern art.”⁷⁰

MUSIC OFFICERS AND AMERICA HOUSES

Reeducational programs on the radio complemented work by individuals in the field. In 1947, while still working for the War Department (Special Staff in Civil Affairs), Harrison Kerr wrote for *Notes* about the various facets of Information Control, including Music Officers and Information Centers. Kerr explained that “the general term ‘Information Control’ indicated an administrative body whose responsibilities include the direction

and policing of the use of such cultural, informative, or recreational media as Periodicals, the Press, Radio, Books, Films, Theatre, Music, and Education.” The Military Government officials attached to the Information Control unit

are charged with the task of supervising all activities of a public nature that fall within the scope of their office. In Germany, the central control is in Berlin, and there is another divisional office in each of the “Land Capitals”—Wiesbaden for Greater Hesse, Stuttgart for Württemberg-Baden and Munich for Bavaria—as well as in Bremen and the U.S. Sector of Berlin. . . . We are dealing, however, with only two aspects of Information Control—Music Control and the Information Centers. The former has, under the jurisdiction of its Music Officers, all the musical activities that have any public significance. The Music Officers assist in the reorganization of musical life and prevent the return to influential positions of undesirables.⁷¹

Eager to assist the reeducation program and to help rebuild musical life, some classically trained American and German-emigrant composers and musicians took jobs as Music Officers in the Theater and Music Branch of OMGUS. As an OMGUS official in Berlin, Nicolas Nabokov explained that Music Officers were kept busy ejecting Nazis from German musical life and licensing “clean” German musicians, controlling programs of concerts in Germany, and guarding the monuments of German culture that had fallen into Allied hands. “All of the rest,” Nabokov added, “was supposedly left to the Germans and was none of the concern of the officers of the Music Control Branch.”⁷² Nevertheless, Music Officers wielded enormous power over the musical life of German citizens and the future of their careers. About the work of the Music Officers he hired and sent to Germany from his New York office, Kerr explained that they had direct control of scores and parts held in the new orchestral libraries:

Performances of the compositions in these libraries may be arranged through the Music Officer, who grants permission for the use of the material and who makes certain that the copyright owner is fully protected. Performance and rental fees are collected in local currency, just as they would be in the United States, except that, until monetary exchange again becomes possible, the funds so obtained are deposited in a blocked account to the credit of the owner of the rights. When and if these funds may be legally paid, they will be transmitted to the proper individuals, firms, or societies through Military Government channels.⁷³

A contemporaneous report on the “History of Theater and Music Control Branch Wuerttemberg-Baden” described the administrative hierarchy of the performing arts in Stuttgart and the day-to-day work of cultural officers during the early years of the occupation. Carrying out denazification screening and issuing appropriate licenses constituted the primary tasks at hand:

When the first American officers came to Stuttgart they found the only theater opened under French administration was the Wuerttemberg State Theater. It was not licensed, so the question arose: should the theater be closed when the Americans took over or should it continue to play. It was then decided to retain the intendant, Mr. Kehm, and a license was issued him in July 1945. . . . The denazification of the Wuerttemberg State Theater in Stuttgart began in July 1945. However in September a special screening team was sent down from Bad Homburg for the express purpose of screening all personnel within the State Theater. To say that this screening team left havoc and chaos in its wake would be a gross understatement. In less than ten days more than 15% of the personnel were thrown out.⁷⁴

Music Officers and OMGUS reeducation administrators aimed to popularize American music in the American zones, and to broaden German views of American music. Weekly OMGUS reports indicated that German musicians and audiences still harbored deep prejudices about “serious” American music, consistently finding it inferior and limited in value, though its reception varied greatly from city to city depending on the attitude of the local conductors and musicians. Music Officers were expected to diversify the stylistic range of repertoire while exposing Germans to both American music and modern music. Making music available through locales like the Interallied Music Library in Berlin supported this goal, while competition for parts and occasional unauthorized stockpiling of library scores by certain ensembles complicated matters for Music Officers. Contempt toward American culture and suspicion about musical modernism made the task even more difficult. The organization called Friends and Enemies of Modern Music, founded by Music Officers in Stuttgart in 1947, was one successful attempt to promote American music and contemporary music. Soon, similar chapters of the organization, which sponsored highbrow concerts with educational preconcert lectures, were founded in Bremen, Heidelberg, Karlsruhe, and Munich. A report about the initiative found a positive outcome in the efforts of agents of

musical reeducation in Stuttgart, reporting that “we can now say today, with a certain pride, that American music has gained in stature and respect.”⁷⁵ The Friends and Enemies polled audiences after concerts to gain insight into the listeners’ reactions to contemporary music. Those spontaneously passionate, handwritten responses described a variety of emotions—from confusion to admiration, criticism to appreciation. One listener, after a concert of chamber works by Jacobi and Harris, concluded his comments by writing: “America has a great future, also in music.”⁷⁶

As a Music Officer in postwar Germany, the American pianist and composer John Evarts (1908–1989) contributed enormously to cultural revitalization efforts. Evarts’s work had long-reaching consequences for Germany’s musical life, and he stood central to many major developments in the postwar rebirth of contemporary music in the American zones. Following musical training at Yale (1926–1930), Evarts studied in both Munich (1930) and Berlin (1931). Before the war, he helped found Black Mountain College in North Carolina and became its first music instructor, and he taught there from 1933 until he joined the army in 1942. After the war Evarts stayed in Germany to assist reconstruction. Like other Music Officers, he enjoyed enough European contacts for the State Department and OMGUS to employ him as a cultural administrator during reeducation.

Stationed in Bavaria, Berlin, and eventually Bad Nauheim near Frankfurt, Evarts found his work “absorbing and stimulating, as well as exhausting.”⁷⁷ He supplied money to young venues and helped create an infrastructure that integrated radio stations, concert venues (such as opera houses), and new music festivals. Between 1945 and 1947 Evarts worked primarily in Bavaria, where he estimated that 90 percent of all theaters and concert halls in the major cities were ruined or severely damaged. He described how the revival of musical activities there, as in Berlin, struggled with simple details: “[A]longside the political clearance problem, practical problems played a heavy role. This office was faced with such varied problems as: How can we get strings for the orchestra instruments? How can we transport our conductor from Salzburg to Munich? How to find a room for the oboe player to sleep in? Where to find ten nails to complete repairs on the Opera House? Some—in fact many of the requests were impossible or ridiculous. But somehow the essential difficulties were overcome.”⁷⁸ In the same report he noted that when his office was established in May 1945 “rubble and the dust of fallen bricks all but covered the city of Munich.” Despite these difficulties, Evarts accomplished a great deal. With his organizational help and support from other local military leaders

who followed his lead, Karl Amadeus Hartmann's annual festival of contemporary music *Musica Viva* survived Munich's most desperate years. Financial records listing OMGUS reorientation funds reveal that between October 1948 and October 1949 the greatest support went directly to Hartmann, who received DM (Deutsche Mark) 4,200 for *Musica Viva*. (As early as June 1945, during Bavarian denazification interviews, Hartmann had been described as "a man of the utmost integrity and possess[ing] a musical outlook which is astonishingly sound and fresh for a man who has survived the Nazi occupation.")⁷⁹

From 1947 until 1951 Evarts coordinated the activities of Music Officers in Berlin and Hesse. During this period, while the McCarthy era anti-Soviet stance justified excessive American control of culture in West Germany (as well as an intolerant, hostile cultural climate at home), Evarts spoke out against U.S. censorship of American plays. In a memorandum to Colonel MacMahon written on 4 May 1949 from his office in Bad Nauheim, Evarts compared American censorship to that of the Nazis or the Soviets themselves, claiming that the effort to forbid the works of certain authors (in particular, Arthur Miller) would only lead to a greater interest in their writing. He emphasized that such obvious contradictions to American freedom and democracy would lead to distrust of U.S. policy.⁸⁰ Long before this incident, in 1947, a confidential OMGUS report on reassignments for Film, Music, and Theater officers in Germany described Evarts as "trustworthy and a hard worker—just the man to deal with [difficult situations]."⁸¹ Despite his reputed patriotism and high moral character, HICOG dismissed him a few years later on charges of alleged homosexuality after an extensive FBI investigation. Because of his "general reputation of being a homosexual" and his association with "known homosexuals" in Germany, Evarts's position was eliminated by HICOG's Office of Public Affairs in January 1951.⁸² He spent much of the rest of his life in France working for UNESCO. Those who worked with him in postwar Germany or remember his integrity and influence praise him highly. In a description of the lively cultural activity in Berlin's American sector, Stuckenschmidt mentioned Music Officers Evarts and John Bitter as "supplying contacts and money." Friedrich Hommel claimed that "without Evarts, there wouldn't be a Berlin Philharmonic today."⁸³ In November 1986, three years before his death in a West Berlin nursing home, the Federal Republic of Germany awarded Evarts a Distinguished Service Cross in recognition of his work during the occupation. An obituary published in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* on 15 July 1989

reminded readers that “music and culture in postwar Germany owed much to John Evarts.”

Everett B. Helm (1913–1999), another American composer active in Germany after the war, held a position as Chief of the Theater and Music Branch in Greater Hesse from early 1948 until 1950, replacing Theater and Music Control Officer Gerhard Singer in Wiesbaden. Born in Minneapolis in 1913, he earned his bachelor of music degree at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota, in 1934, before moving to Boston. At Harvard he studied musicology with the German immigrant Hugo Leichtentritt (who had fled Germany in 1933), composition with Walter Piston, counterpoint with A. Tillman Meritt, and choral music and conducting with Archibald T. Davison. After completing his M.M. degree, Helm received Harvard’s prestigious John Knowles Paine Traveling Fellowship (1936–1938). He chose to study with Gian Francesco Malipiero in Asolo, Italy. In 1936 Helm’s ship docked in Rotterdam, and from there he traveled to Asolo by train. Riding south through Germany he experienced “enough Nazism to make me sick,” as he vehemently declared in an interview. Once settled in Asolo, Helm studied composition with Malipiero while “living like a king” on his stipend of \$1,500 per year. After completing his lessons with Malipiero and additional study in Europe with Alfred Einstein and Ralph Vaughan Williams, Helm returned to the United States and received his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1939.

During the Second World War Helm was classified 4-F (“incapable of shooting people,” he claimed), and the State Department sent him to Latin America as a music ambassador. After the war Helm returned to New York, where he served briefly on the board of directors for the League of Composers. There he encountered Harrison Kerr, who now supervised the Music, Art, and Exhibits Section of the Army Civil Affairs Division, a cultural institution that oversaw activities in Germany, Austria, and Japan. Helm expressed interest in working in the occupied countries, and after a State Department security check, Kerr offered him a job in Germany. Now under contract of the American military, Helm arrived back in war-torn Germany in February 1948, just a few months before the monetary reform in June that introduced the German Mark, and the resulting immediate Soviet blockade of Berlin that intensified Cold War tensions. Helm first reported to Stuttgart, but within the year he was transferred to Wiesbaden, the new capital of Greater Hesse. Situated between the Rhine River and the Taunus mountain range, Wiesbaden served as a summer residence for aristocrats; since the mid-nineteenth century Wiesbaden had

been primarily a resort town. For that reason, unlike Hesse's three historical seats of power—Kassel in the north, Darmstadt in the south, and the mercantile center of Frankfurt—Wiesbaden emerged from the war relatively unscathed, making it a prime location for many OMGUS offices.⁸⁴

Though Helm declared himself “against the military in all forms,” he now found himself a high-ranking civilian officer of the Theater and Music Branch. His duties were spelled out in the directives for cultural reeducation (JCS 1779): secure cultural coordination between Germany and the Allies and expedite establishment of international cultural relations; encourage initiatives and participation in cultural reconstruction; and assist the free flow of cultural materials to and from Germany. From his Wiesbaden office, Helm reviewed and distributed licenses for film and stage performers based on clearances issued by security agencies in Frankfurt. (Information Control registration was no longer required, effective 31 May 1947, of “conductors, directors, stage managers, dramatizers, stage designers, and all chiefs of theater departments, actors, singers, dancers, instrumentalists, recitalists, variety artists, and other performers.”)⁸⁵ Helm also requested and authorized funding for new or struggling cultural enterprises, and obtained scores, books and other materials—often donated by American publishers and collected by the New York Field Office—for orchestras, ensembles, and libraries that had lost their collections during the war. Finally, as specified in JCS 1779, Germans wishing to travel between the different zones had to request permission to do so, as did those wishing to leave the country. Helm granted permission to journalists and musicians for travel between zones—interzone passes had been allowed since late September 1946. Before Stuckenschmidt could travel with his wife from the West sector of Berlin to Darmstadt for a music event in 1947, for example, he needed an official invitation from the event's administrator to apply for an interzone pass; this pass would have been issued by an OMGUS officer and would allow passage to the American zone of Greater Hesse.⁸⁶ Helm often authorized such mobility for journalists and musicians. Within these specific areas of activity, he and other music officers enjoyed a certain amount of independence.

Music Officers like Evarts and Helm also helped administer programs at Information Centers, fundamental tools of reeducation, which existed in most larger German cities by the early fifties. By early November 1947 the moniker “America House” adorned many of these centers.⁸⁷ An OMGUS report titled “Development of Information Services” shows that less than two years later, the U.S. zone in Germany contained twenty-five Information



1. Music Room, America House, Bremen. Courtesy of NARA.

Centers, and that a total of twenty-eight were planned, including three centers in West Berlin alone. Another statistic suggests that around 1950 twenty-seven America Houses operated in the larger West German cities, and some 135 reading rooms were opened elsewhere.⁸⁸ America Houses had been established “for the unilateral dissemination of information about the history, traditions and customs of the United States and the social, political, industrial, scientific and cultural development of the American people.”⁸⁹ After 1953 they worked closely with the United States Information Agency (USIA), which also promoted the image of American culture abroad.

America Houses and their affiliated reading rooms sheltered books, newspapers, historical documents, and musical scores (see Figures 1 and 2). They



2. “Old America House,” Karlsruhe. The posters show Leopold Stokowski, Marian Anderson, Yehudi Menuhin, and Carl Sandburg (from left). Courtesy of NARA.

also supported English-language lending libraries open to Germans and housed small collections of German-language books. In addition to books and scores, recordings of American music were collected and made available to the public. In 1956, on an America House tour in Germany, Henry Cowell reported to his friend Wallingford Riegger that many contemporary recordings of American music (two or three times as many as in London, he noted) were available at America Houses in Germany, and that those recordings received constant attention from patrons. Both Friedrich Hommel (the music critic and director of the Darmstadt summer courses for new music from 1982 to 1994) and Josef Anton Riedl (the Munich-based composer and concert organizer) remarked that their earliest exposure to American music came through America Houses in Heidelberg and Munich, respectively. Furthermore, Riedl said that he first encountered works by avant-garde American composers—including new percussion music—by borrowing scores and recordings from Munich’s America House and was allowed to use electronic equipment and space there for concerts he organized himself.⁹⁰

Alongside the libraries, America Houses provided rooms for free concerts, lectures, and exhibitions. Central to the success of reeducation, these frequent America House programs exposed Germans to all aspects of American life. Popular topics included Abraham Lincoln, political freedom, and civil liberty. An OMGUS cultural report issued in 1948 included a description of Munich's America House events under the category of lectures, recorded concerts, and exhibits: "A lecture on American music was given in the Munich Amerika Haus by the Music Officer and an evening of recorded American music (including symphonic, ballet, chamber and folk music and music by American performers) was arranged as the opening event of Amerika Haus Week in Munich. An exhibit of American recordings and scores was made for the Amerika Haus and a one-month exhibit with scores and recordings arranged for the International Press Exhibit in Munich."⁹¹

During the 1950s and 1960s, the Berlin America House offered presentations on life in the United States, including such topics as fashion, religion, politics, history, economics, regional and ethnic studies, literature, art, theater, *Porgy and Bess*, music in American schools and universities, Stephen Foster, the *Down Beat* poll, the Newport Jazz Festival, the history of jazz, Native American music and dance, folksong, and musicals. Critics and musicologists like Helm, Stuckenschmidt, and Bruno Nettl lectured on classical music, jazz, pop, and indigenous folk musics, and these lectures included live examples or recordings. American soloists and ensembles frequently performed American music in America Houses. In 1949, for example, the U.S. State Department and the Department of the Army sponsored a seven-week tour by the Walden String Quartet in West Germany; most of the quartet's performances took place in America Houses. Gretchen Finney, who toured Germany in 1956 with her husband, composer Ross Lee Finney, recalled that the America House in Berlin was "organized and active," and that as a result, "intellectual and cultural life thrived."⁹² Alongside their work at American venues like these, Music Officers worked to establish good human relations and practical support for German-administered local initiatives.

MILITARY SUPPORT FOR NEW MUSIC IN DARMSTADT

In 1946 one of the most influential postwar musical communities took shape in Darmstadt, some twenty-five miles south of Frankfurt in the Odenwald forest region. OMG Hesse first documented Darmstadt's new music activities in a report written in July 1946: "A public instructional



3. Downtown Darmstadt in 1945, looking north along the Ernst-Ludwig-Straße toward the “Weißer Turm” (white tower). The photograph shows rubble from the Darmstadt Schloss (to the right of the tower) and the formerly Jewish-owned department store Hermann Tietz (far right). Photograph by Konrad Schoeller. Used by permission of René Schoeller.

course on contemporary music is taking place in Darmstadt’s Schloss Kranichstein under the sponsorship of the Darmstadt cultural authorities. It is intended to give a concise panorama of the contemporary music scene for those individuals who find it of importance for their profession and will spread this knowledge in their own circles.”⁹³ Nearly 80 percent of the city had been destroyed and more than eleven thousand people killed during a British Royal Air Force air raid on the night of 11–12 September 1944 (see Figure 3). When the war ended for Darmstadt with the American occupation of the city on 25 March 1945, 70,000 of its remaining 115,000 inhabitants were homeless.⁹⁴ But it was there that Wolfgang Steinecke (1910–1961), a thirty-six-year-old music critic from Essen now working for the city of Darmstadt as an adviser for cultural affairs, took charge of the new Kranichsteiner Ferienkurse für Neue Musik (later renamed Internationale

Ferienkurse für Neue Musik, hereafter IFNM or Ferienkurse). Established by Darmstadt's first postwar mayor, Ludwig Metzger, this contemporary music summer series featured composition and instrumental courses, workshops, master classes, seminars, public lectures, and performances over a period of several weeks. Although Darmstadt had lost its status as the capital of Greater Hesse after the war, the city benefited from being located in the American zone of occupied Germany, since the American Military Government contributed generously to the reconstruction of ruined cities like this one. OMGUS, in fact, found that Darmstadt "very roughly resembled in some aspects" the urban industrial town of Gary, Indiana.⁹⁵

Early IFNM programs were stamped with OMGUS publishing licenses, and Ferienkurse participants had to receive a clearance issued by the Music and Theater Branch.⁹⁶ Music Officers stationed nearby, like Everett Helm in Wiesbaden, quickly came into the orbit of contemporary music activities in Darmstadt. Requests by Steinecke and others to the Military Government for money, performance space, bedding, and food were frequent, and frequently granted.⁹⁷ A piano that had been confiscated from the Nazis by the Allies during the war was supposedly donated in 1946 by American soldiers, who transported the Steinway grand to Jagdschloss Kranichstein—the location of the first three Ferienkurse—on the back of a military jeep. In her book on the CIA, culture, and the Cold War, Frances Stonor Saunders goes so far as to call the Ferienkurse "a bold initiative of the American military government."⁹⁸ This statement, though an exaggeration of the facts, reflects a widely held belief that U.S. agencies actually initiated cultural venues rather than just supporting them financially and materially.

Wolfgang Steinecke visited Everett Helm in Wiesbaden during early 1949 to request support from the OMGUS Music Branch for the IFNM. At the time, many institutions, including Steinecke's, suffered financially due to the currency reform that had introduced the Deutsche Mark. Money accessed by Helm for Steinecke in 1949, some DM 4,000, was to be used for the *Patenring*, a scholarship fund for some of the dozens of students attending the Darmstadt courses.⁹⁹ Money also was made available for bringing composers to Darmstadt. In the spring of 1949 Steinecke, John Evarts, and Harrison Kerr corresponded with Arnold Schoenberg about a possible American-sponsored visit to Darmstadt. As a "visiting expert," Evarts explained, Schoenberg would be entitled to have the U.S. government pay his travel expenses.¹⁰⁰

Helm received orders to visit Steinecke's venue in Darmstadt to make sure that the military's investment was justified. As a composer himself, Helm found that the new music activity in Darmstadt constituted a worthy cause, fulfilling OMGUS's hope that "the reconstruction of the cultural life of Germany must be in large measure the work of the Germans themselves."¹⁰¹ In a manuscript called "Letter from Germany," Helm described Ferienkurse activities: "Now in its third year, this remarkable enterprise gives interested students, at a very modest fee, the opportunity to study with a carefully selected faculty for a three week period. Contemporary music *only* is taught and performed—and then only the more advanced varieties. R. Strauss and J. Sibelius do *not* come into consideration."¹⁰² In addition to supplying money for IFNM, Helm helped Steinecke contact American composers (including Copland and Schuman) and obtained scores of American music for use in Darmstadt.¹⁰³ Helm's Darmstadt-related activities were widely known, if not inflated. In 1959 Elliott Carter wrote: "As a U.S. Army Theatre and Music Officer in Wiesbaden, [Helm] helped to establish the Darmstadt School after the war and at various times since has saved it from being overwhelmed by numerous situations that have threatened its existence." Carter concluded that Helm had "earned the gratitude of a whole generation of young European musicians."¹⁰⁴ Not all people involved with postwar German new music were so enthusiastic. Arnold Schoenberg, for one, resented the American influence on contemporary music activities in Hesse.¹⁰⁵

Though Helm served as a Music Officer only until late 1950 (and by then the Music and Theater Branch had been eliminated), he spent most of the rest of his life in Europe, finding it easier to make a living as a freelance music journalist in Europe than in America. In June 1951 in Darmstadt, alongside lectures on musical life in England, France, Italy, Australia, and Latin America, Helm described "The Situation for New Music in the U.S.A." Helm also gave lectures at America Houses throughout West Germany, wrote broadcasts on American music for several radio stations, and submitted reviews of concerts and new music festivals to American and German journals and newspapers. In 1954, for example, he wrote for *Musical America* about the new music scene in the "West Sector": "Germany since 1945 has been very probably the most open minded and progressive country of the musical world. The annual Holiday Courses of the Darmstadt Kranichsteiner Musikinstitut, the annual Donaueschingen Festival, the festivals of contemporary music sponsored by the various radio stations, the construction of a studio for research in electronic music in Bonn [*sic*],

the concerts of the Musica Viva society in Munich—these are only a few brilliant examples of a truly amazing amount of avant-gardist musical activity.”¹⁰⁶ In discussing the orchestral programs for the 1953–1954 season, however, and as a struggling orchestral composer himself, Helm complained “it is a matter for some astonishment” that

not one piece of American music is represented. Without pretending to be able to offer a complete explanation of this unfortunate fact, I would at least venture to name two contributing factors. In the first place, American music has practically no adequate commercial representation in Germany, nor, indeed, in Europe. American music is practically unobtainable in Europe except on a loan basis from the United States Information Centers (in Germany called Amerika Häuser) where small libraries of piano, vocal and chamber music may be examined and the music borrowed for a limited time.¹⁰⁷

Helm continually negotiated performances of his own work. In early 1955 he appealed to Swiss conductor Paul Sacher, writing: “Although I have been associated with the Ferienkurse since 1948 and was able at one time to render considerable material assistance in support of Kranichstein, I have not as yet had any work performed there, and I can think of no better occasion than the present.”¹⁰⁸ That year at the Ferienkurse, perhaps with Sacher’s support, Alfons and Aloys Kontarsky performed Helm’s four-movement neoclassical sonata *Eight Minutes for Two Pianos* (1943). In 1955 and 1956 Steinecke and Helm worked together on a Charles Ives project to be exhibited in Darmstadt, though the project seems only to have resulted in Helm’s 1956 lecture on Ives and Satie and an IFNM performance of Ives’s *The Unanswered Question* that summer.¹⁰⁹ Helm’s connection with IFNM had many consequences. Most significantly, he himself facilitated the earliest contact between John Cage and Steinecke, in early 1954.¹¹⁰

Continuing Helm’s work on behalf of the Ferienkurse, in 1950 John Evarts had become Steinecke’s primary contact with the offices of HICOG. For the short time he remained at HICOG, Evarts continually helped Steinecke, especially with the acquisition of scores. Between 1949 and 1951, because of the work of Music Officers like Helm and Evarts, the United States contributed about 20 percent of Steinecke’s annual budget.¹¹¹ Even into the late fifties, the IFNM were advertised by the U.S. Army as an alternative source of leisure-time entertainment for American enlisted men. In 1948, for example, a notice about the IFNM appeared in the Special Services Bulletin “for Americans taking interest in modern music.” Ten years

later a military official wrote to Steinecke requesting information on the IFNM, suggesting that GIs in need of entertainment might attend the events.¹¹² In May 1958, in response to this request, Steinecke sent fifty copies of the Darmstadt brochure to the Special Activities Division in Nuremberg. Though they were no longer associated with the U.S. military by that time, both Helm and Evarts attended the IFNM that year.

HANS HEINZ STUCKENSCHMIDT IN AMERICA, 1949

The musicologist and music critic Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt (1901–1988) served as a German counterpart to John Evarts and Everett Helm. As an employee of American enterprises in Germany, a cultural ambassador to the United States through the State Department, and a spokesman for American music in the German press, Stuckenschmidt furthered the cause of reeducation in multiple roles. Articles resulting from his American tour in 1949 helped shape new German opinions about music from the United States—and also reinforced stereotypes about American musical life. After the occupation Stuckenschmidt, like many American and German musical figures given unprecedented authority by the U.S. military apparatus, achieved enviable positions of status and influence. Most of all, they remained a constant thread in the woven fabric of people who embodied the German new music community during the Cold War.

In December 1934 Stuckenschmidt had been forbidden by Germany's new fascist government to continue his professional activities as a music critic because of his positive review of the premiere of the fifth movement of Berg's *Lulu Symphony*. At the end of that month, Stuckenschmidt wrote to Henry Cowell that because of the cultural-political events of the last months, he, along with Furtwängler and Hindemith, had been "pulled into the strudel of events" and could no longer work in Germany; he appealed to Cowell for help in arranging a lecture tour in the United States.¹¹³ Soon Stuckenschmidt fled to Prague where the work ban caught up with him. In the summer of 1935 he wrote Cowell that his situation had not changed, "nor that of Hindemith and the other chief exponents of modern music in Germany." Stuckenschmidt, however, continued writing for foreign newspapers. "In the last few days I began a series of articles about new American music," he announced, "and I will send it to you when it has appeared."¹¹⁴ When the Germans occupied Prague in March 1939, they took Stuckenschmidt's passport and with it his last chance for emigration. According to his autobiography, he was forced to choose

between arrest and voluntary military service in 1941; he chose the latter. After a period of military training in 1942, but having been denied a position at the propaganda section in Potsdam, he joined the German army as an English and French interpreter. Stuckenschmidt recalled that he was suspected of being “undoubtedly influenced by Jews.”¹¹⁵ Near the end of the war, the Americans took him prisoner. Soon after his release in April 1946, Stuckenschmidt received full political clearance from OMGUS and was allowed to work again, since Nazi censorship of his professional activities ensured his fitness for reeducation service. His international reputation as a music critic guaranteed him a leading role in the postwar reconstruction of musical life. By May 1946 the U.S. command in Berlin requested that Stuckenschmidt direct the Studio for New Music section at RIAS, the American station in West Berlin. As a prominent radio journalist, Stuckenschmidt received an interzone pass and permission from OMGUS to participate in the second IFNM in 1947.¹¹⁶ Stuckenschmidt reviewed the IFNM events for the American-run newspaper *Neue Zeitung* in August 1947, and for many years to come.

In early 1949 Evarts informed Stuckenschmidt that the U.S. State Department desired Stuckenschmidt's services as a cultural ambassador in the United States. To his own surprise, as a recognized leader in the areas of music, press, and radio, he was the State Department's first choice for the job. The purpose of the proposed visit was to “revive international cultural relations” (as described by JCS 1779 in 1947) by talking to musicians and university professors, and by learning about the musical infrastructure in America. As a German expert chosen to observe American practices and mores, Stuckenschmidt traveled with all expenses paid as a temporary U.S. government employee.¹¹⁷ On 25 February 1949 he sailed for New York on a steamship full of American soldiers for a two-month visit. On his return he published a series of articles in German newspapers (primarily *Neue Zeitung*) about music in America. Stuckenschmidt's impressions of American musical life indicate what was known about American music in midcentury Germany from the perspective of one of that country's chief writers on music.

In an article about American opera, for instance, Stuckenschmidt emphasized the perils of private patronage, claiming that opera was possible only with large amounts of public or state funding, as was the case in Germany. He revealed that few American ensembles or institutions received financial aid from public sources, and what they did get hardly paid the bills. He prophesized that it “could take a long time before this situation is altered.”¹¹⁸ Discussing the repertoire of the Metropolitan and

City Center Opera companies in New York, Stuckenschmidt reviewed a number of American productions of German, Italian, French, and Russian opera. He observed that American singers wanted European training and performance experience on European stages. Only in a second article on American opera did Stuckenschmidt mention works by American composers, namely William Grant Still's *Troubled Island* and Gian-Carlo Menotti's *The Medium* and *The Old Maid and the Thief*. Stuckenschmidt praised Menotti's *Medium*, calling it the best opera performance he had attended in America. Yet he also called Menotti's music "reactionary" while emphasizing the influence of Broadway musicals on American opera. Stuckenschmidt judged Still's opera more harshly than Menotti's, finding in it "neither good taste, nor good theater," and adding that the music itself made the opera even less enjoyable. He criticized the City Center Opera for what he saw as the flaunting of a liberal stance by premiering—amid much publicity—the work of an African American composer. Stuckenschmidt admired the creative energy of black popular music, but complained that Still's score depended instead on late-Romantic harmonic and emotional conventions. The instrumental "orgies" of the black "Bee Bop" [*sic*] orchestras intrigued this German visitor much more. These exoticist descriptions of the popular power of Broadway musicals and new jazz idioms were Stuckenschmidt's only references to music outside the European classical tradition. Stereotypes like these, perpetuated by Stuckenschmidt and others, supported durable German biases against American vernacular and classical culture; yet Stuckenschmidt also determined that "in this country one lives very fast" and that views change rapidly compared to the slow march of history in Europe.¹¹⁹ While in New York, Stuckenschmidt also attended a concert at Columbia University with Hindemith that included Cage's recent music for prepared piano.

Another series of articles written by Stuckenschmidt during his American tour described music on the West Coast.¹²⁰ Roger Sessions, who had been a frequent visitor at Stuckenschmidt's Berlin home between 1930 and 1933, met Stuckenschmidt's train in Berkeley. Stuckenschmidt spent a day at Mills College in Oakland with Darius and Madeline Milhaud; he had last seen his friend Milhaud at the Paris premiere of Stravinsky's *Persephone* in 1935. He spent another day on the campus in Berkeley with Sessions. With both of his hosts Stuckenschmidt discussed current musical issues in California including Schoenberg's twelve-tone method and Thomas Mann's recently published *Doktor Faustus* (the first English translation appeared in 1948). The California residencies of immigrants such as Mann,



4. Harry Ernsthaft, Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, Maria Stoesser, and Everett Helm (from left) in front of the Berlin America House, early 1950s. Photographer unknown. First published in Everett Helm, "America Houses in Germany: Good-Will and Understanding," *Musical America* 72 (February 1952): 13.

Schoenberg, Krenek, and philosopher Theodor W. Adorno enhanced cultural life for West Coast artists and intellectuals. In Los Angeles Stuckenschmidt visited old colleagues and friends such as Mann, Schoenberg, Stravinsky, and George Antheil. Stuckenschmidt's comparisons of musical life on the East and West Coasts perpetuated views of California as provincial

and unsophisticated, and he suggested wryly that musicians on the West Coast did not belong to a social class burdened by tradition like their cousins on the East Coast. According to the German visitor, Sessions was planning to leave California for precisely this reason. Stuckenschmidt also compared the sound of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra with the orchestras he heard in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. For him, the San Francisco orchestra was less refined, but clearer and more expressive, allowing the audience to listen to the music and not to the novelties and nuances of the virtuosic instrumental performances that he observed elsewhere in the country.¹²¹

Back in Germany, as an HICOG “local employee,” Stuckenschmidt frequently lectured on American music and musical life at America Houses (see Figure 4). Though officially aiming to serve the cause of reeducation, Stuckenschmidt’s lectures often included incomplete or distorted information based on what he had experienced in the United States, ultimately reinforcing Germans’ views of American music as underdeveloped and inferior. He continued working for the USIA until 1955, when HICOG discontinued the remaining Berlin edition of the *Neue Zeitung*, for which he had been writing for nearly a decade (the nationwide edition of *Neue Zeitung* had been discontinued in 1953).¹²² During the years of his service, the USIA sponsored his trips to concerts around Germany for reviews in the paper. According to an Efficiency Report for Local Employees of HICOG (for the fiscal year June 1953–May 1954), Stuckenschmidt’s salary for work on *Neue Zeitung* shortly before his dismissal was DM 25,200 per year (about \$6,000), an enviable sum for a music journalist.¹²³

EDGARD VARÈSE IN DARMSTADT, 1950: A QUESTION OF *KULTUR*

In Darmstadt the presence of musicians and composers from the United States complemented contact with American Music Officers and their support for Steinecke’s programs. Like Evarts and Helm, Stuckenschmidt provided an important connection between the two continents for the annual IFNM. Thanks to Stuckenschmidt’s affiliation with American-funded enterprises such as RIAS and the *Neue Zeitung*, he was often a first contact for Americans coming to Germany or for European emigrants returning to the continent as representatives of American cultural life. Before visiting Germany during the 1950s, for example, both Stefan Wolpe and John Cage appealed to Stuckenschmidt for help in securing performances.¹²⁴

During his 1949 tour, Stuckenschmidt met Edgard Varèse in New York. Like the French artist Marcel Duchamp, Varèse had come to America in 1915, long before the wave of European immigrants of the 1930s and 1940s. On Stuckenschmidt's recommendation, Steinecke invited the composer to lecture at the 1950 IFNM.¹²⁵ The U.S. State Department sponsored Varèse's trip to Germany. In the middle of May 1950 Varèse received a letter from the Division of Exchange of Persons stating that "the Department is pleased to award you a travel grant to enable you to direct a study course in the 1950 'International Summer Courses for New Music' at the invitation of the City of Darmstadt, and to participate in the Department's cultural exchange program with Germany."¹²⁶ The State Department's sponsorship was remarkable for two reasons. First, Varèse was neither a native-born American citizen nor a German-born resident but an immigrant from France; he had become an American citizen in 1927. He was considered an American composer in some parts of Europe, however, and the State Department was eager to sponsor trips to Germany by European emigrants living in the United States. Second, Varèse's music was neither popular nor widely known in America in the early 1950s. He had all but stopped composing in 1935, and his influence at that time barely reached beyond New York City. The idea of sending Varèse overseas as a cultural ambassador for the United States during a time of cultural conservatism is not so unusual, however, given the American commitment to promoting the widest possible diversity in the arts and to sending European emigrants back to Europe during reeducation—especially those composers who had become U.S. citizens and whose compositions "tend to prove that life in the United States is conducive to American musical authorship," as outlined by OMGUS Cultural Affairs Branch policies.¹²⁷ Many people, both American and German, helped bring Varèse to Germany, including Music Officer John Evarts. In Germany Evarts secured additional money for Varèse through HICOG, as he did that same year for Ernst Krenek, who also taught at the Ferienkurse in 1950.¹²⁸ In July 1950 from Bad Nauheim, Evarts wrote to Schoenberg of activities in Germany:

Despite the political tension in Berlin, it is still the most interesting and stimulating city in Germany and the most cosmopolitan. In the fields of music and theatre, there is always a great deal going on, and much of it is of high quality. . . . You have perhaps heard that the Kranichstein Institut is having another session during the summer and that both Ernst Krenek and Edgar Varèse will be participating. I still regret very much that it was not possible for you to come there last summer.¹²⁹

The 1950 IFNM took place during two weeks in mid-August. On the first day Varèse lectured on “The Sound-World of Electronic Music.” Hermann Scherchen conducted young IFNM participants in the first European performance of Varèse’s *Ionisation*. The musicologist Heinz-Klaus Metzger and the composer Dieter Schnebel both attended Varèse’s composition courses. Schnebel recalled the first performance of *Ionisation*, performed in a concert with Schoenberg’s *A Survivor from Warsaw* on 20 August 1950, as a scandal, with the audience booing and hissing during the performance.¹³⁰ After Varèse’s return to New York, the State Department requested a written report on his visit to Germany, which, in addition to teaching at the IFNM, included lectures in Frankfurt, Munich, and Berlin, for the Cultural Relations Division of the Information Service.¹³¹

Varèse initially saw Darmstadt as a chance for Americans to join an international cultural elite. Steinecke, enthusiastic about Varèse’s potential as a new beacon of the avant-garde, invited the composer to return to the IFNM in 1951 (Steinecke also asked Krenek to provide addresses of young American composers to whom he could send Darmstadt publicity materials).¹³² But Varèse’s financial situation was precarious, and since he believed that the State Department had “no budget for cultural or educational activities any longer,” he claimed he was unable to return “for a pleasure trip.”¹³³ Nevertheless, between 1951 and 1961 Steinecke repeatedly invited Varèse to attend the IFNM, with the exception of 1954, 1958, and 1960. In late 1953 Stuckenschmidt wrote to Varèse: “Through your participation at the IFNM in Darmstadt 1950 you opened the eyes of a whole generation of young German composers for possible future developments.”¹³⁴ Beginning in 1957, Steinecke engaged the American composer Earle Brown, who saw Varèse frequently in New York, to acquire further information about the older composer and assist communication. At the time, Steinecke considered offering Varèse a position as the IFNM’s permanent artistic advisor. Despite his enthusiasm for Steinecke’s Darmstadt, Varèse refused each invitation and never visited the IFNM again.¹³⁵

Back in the States after his 1950 trip, Varèse told Harold Schonberg, a writer for the *New York Times*, that “there is in Germany a greater interest in American music than many of us suppose,” while admitting that Germans still did not accept Americans as a cultured people. Varèse also suggested a fundamental obstacle in the reception of American music: “The Germans will listen to, but not accept, any suggestions as long as they are not convinced that they are coming from a Kulturvolk. And we are not entirely accepted today in Germany as a Kulturvolk. This we must fight for. . . .

The Europeans believe in the cultural elite, the artistic elite. We must show that we, too, are of the elite. But here in this country many don't realize that art is more important than baseball."¹³⁶ No amount of reeducation could erase years of skepticism about American culture, nor could it alter Germans' unwillingness to accept American music as equal to the legacy of the European grand tradition. A well-traveled but opinionated critic like Stuckenschmidt was not alone in constructing negative images of musical life in the United States, or drawing attention to time-honored stereotypes. During the occupation and after, many West German newspapers printed articles on American art music by Germans who were living in the United States or who had spent the war years there. A feature in the *Bremer Nachrichten* introducing the music of Barber, Copland, Gershwin, Harris, Piston, Schuman, Still, and others chided its readers: "There is hardly an educated European who hasn't yet read an American book, but there are many who know nothing about music-making in America." Another writer explained that thanks to "the great European legacy powerfully spreading its roots in the fertile soil of the New World," Americans were only now becoming a "music-friendly people," no longer just a country obsessed with technical progress.¹³⁷ The reeducation program resulted in increased exposure to American music, but most depictions of the United States, Americans, and American culture were still based on century-old views despite all efforts to dispel them.¹³⁸ Germans tended to characterize American music as young, innocent, and fresh, but also naive, second-rate, and historically ignorant. The United States was seen as free from tradition while Europe was burdened by it. From the 1940s on, reviewers of music by Harris, Piston, Copland, Barber, Diamond, and others continually called this music "unburdened by tradition," "not rooted in the past," "independent from Europe," and "intellectually simple." Such descriptions haunt reviews of American music even today.

In 1947 H. W. Heinsheimer, a German-born music editor living in the United States, surveyed the American radio broadcasting system for *Melos*. He excused the crass business aspect of sponsorship through advertising because "the musical development of the United States, unlike that of other countries, doesn't look back over a long tradition."¹³⁹ Having lived in the United States since 1938, Heinsheimer characterized America's audience for new music as naive and indiscriminating, entirely without prejudices, though uncommonly polite in the face of radical new compositions. Indeed, their lack of discrimination often was seen as a positive side effect

of the naiveté plaguing American audiences.¹⁴⁰ Efforts to combat German skepticism about the historical validity—and quality—of American music continued well into the HICOG era. In 1953 the Pan Verlag in Zurich and Stuttgart published Heinsheimer's optimistic book about musical life in the United States, under the title *Menagerie in Fis-Dur* (actually two books, combined, translated, and edited by Willi Reich). Heinz Joachim, reviewing the book on SWF in Baden-Baden on 8 February 1954, announced: "What we learned right after the war about American musical life served well to awaken our interest and attention and to correct the slanted or just plain incorrect images from earlier times."¹⁴¹ This book, Joachim continued, clearly explained why musical life was so different across the Atlantic. Heinsheimer discussed the differences in copyright laws in America and focused considerable attention on the interest in radio and recording technology. Because of the increase of musical activity since around 1918, one could even speak of an "American miracle," he wrote. Despite such efforts, a scholar of postwar German-American relations claims: "To many outside observers the mass culture symbols of American affluence projected an image of the United States as not only materialistic but crude, without Kultur. From the eighteenth century onwards, conservatives and radicals had regarded European civilization as superior to American culture which was considered utilitarian and vulgar. . . . The writer Carl Zuckmayer, returning from America after the war, described it as a country without traditions from which Germans could learn nothing."¹⁴²

The view of America as lacking tradition continued in part because of German emigrant musicians and musicologists who spoke on American musical life after the war. Dr. Hans Rosenwald, lecturing in Berlin in August 1949, remarked that the absence of musical tradition in the United States made practicing musicology there a challenge; furthermore, he added, in the United States one could not assume any sort of preexisting base of knowledge on the part of the audience. American ensembles deployed in Germany attempted to counteract such widespread bias. The creation of the Stuttgart-based Seventh Army Symphony Orchestra (1952–1962) attests to the United States' continuing effort after the occupation to convince Germans that Americans, too, had culture. The orchestra's public debut in Göppingen (near Stuttgart) on 5 July 1952 included performances of Roy Harris's Third Symphony, Leroy Anderson's *Jazz Pizzicato*, and Morton Gould's *American Salute*. The Seventh Army Symphony Orchestra was admittedly used for "selling the United States and

the United States Army in Germany.”¹⁴³ But old views and a new world structure complicated the relationship. A critical journal associated with Adorno’s so-called Frankfurt School of aesthetic theory pondered the topic of “Europe and the Americans” in 1951, and concluded that Europeans viewed Americans as momentarily superior (due to the postwar distribution of power), and that they were intrigued by Americans’ generosity and spontaneity while resenting their optimism: “We see them as naive, partly inexperienced and unpleasantly obligated to us.”¹⁴⁴ Wolfgang Stresemann, a German conductor who had left Germany in 1939 and returned from a tour there in 1951, echoed Varèse’s warning when he submitted to the *New York Times* his “Recipe for Germany”:

Music has always played a vital part in Germany and will continue doing so. Therefore, speak to the Germans through music and you will be on much safer ground. Make them feel that America, too, is a musical country that has to offer much to Germany as Germany has to offer plenty to the United States. . . . The United States have done a tremendous job in helping Germany to get back on her feet, but dollars alone will not suffice to bring about a real understanding between the two countries.¹⁴⁵

Soon after, Everett Helm, too, admitted that “Germans, like other Europeans, are still somewhat skeptical about the quality and extent of American culture, and a certain amount of passive resistance has to be overcome.”¹⁴⁶

On 8 May 1949 the western zones forming the new Federal Republic of Germany had adopted a basic constitutional law (*Grundgesetz*), and the relationship between the occupying military government and the new independent state had begun to change, even though reeducation-era initiatives continued. President Truman declared an official end to the state of war with Germany on 24 October 1951; the occupation formally ended several years later, on 5 May 1955. Though reeducation efforts between 1945 and 1955 tried to establish American classical music as equal to its European counterpart, Germans continued to see it as mostly derivative and unworthy of serious attention. By the late 1940s, when the OMGUS Music Section had fractured into “a travel bureau, a concert agency, a ticket and miscellaneous agency for Americans, a music control office, a center for the promotion of American music, and a focal center for collecting and distributing,” increasingly independent German radio stations and new

music festivals emerged with cultural agendas of their own.¹⁴⁷ Especially in the blossoming new music circles, the flush of postwar-era interest in the music of Barber, Copland, Harris, Menotti, Piston, and other mostly tonal neoclassicists quickly faded. While mainstream contemporary American music received little or no attention at new music festivals, tentative awareness of something radical from the New World began to spread on the radio and in new music venues.