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Designing Democracy

Re-education and the America Houses
(1945-1961)



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EDITION

Introduction

On May 19, 2011, US President, Barack Obama, delivered an address about the newly emerging Arab democracies and the US policy in the Middle East.¹ Pledging economic support, the concept of economic development was nevertheless a secondary factor in the President's plan for encouraging positive change in the region. The President's speech had started with the need to uphold human rights² and advance political reforms in this area. His main focus on civil rights and democracy is the integral American philosophy rooted in *E Pluribus Unum*.³ This Latin expression, found on the Great Seal of the United States means "one from many," is innately intertwined with supporting civil liberties and a democratic system. These essential principles form "the one" while respecting the individual differences of "the many." Essentially a guiding light for America, this basic notion shapes peaceful co-existence especially where differences abound. In emerging democracies, such differences pose a constant threat to the order of government. Left unsupported the possibility exists that democracy will not establish permanence in these countries. Thus, it is essential that firmly established democracies aid and support these countries in developing their own democratic roots.

Economic support, as promised by President Obama is only one means to guarantee political reforms. It is clear that without economic stability emerging democracies will suffer. The punitive economic measures that took place in Germany after World War One (WWI), as outlined in the Treaty of Versailles (1919)

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- 1 Barack Obama, "Barack Obama's speech on Middle East – full transcript," *The Guardian*, 19 May 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/may/19/barack-obama-speech-middle-east> (accessed 3 October 2011).
 - 2 For a definition of human rights see: Faculty of Law at the University of Oslo, "United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948," <http://www.jus.uio.no/lm/un.universal.declaration.of.human.rights.1948/portrait.a4.pdf> (accessed 29 September 2011). Most documents agree on the rights of life, liberty and happiness (often defined as security). Other rights often include equality, freedom of speech and a fair trial.
 - 3 The Latin translation of *E Pluribus Unum* is "one from many" or "out of many, one." This expression is found on the Great Seal of the United States and is on a banner held in the mouth of the American bald eagle. See: Dr. Lucia Knoles, Dr. John McClymer, and Dr. Arnold Pulda (co-directors), "E Pluribus Unum Project," Assumption College, <http://www1.assumption.edu/ahc/> (accessed 29 Sep. 2010). Also see: U.S. Department of State, "The Great Seal of the United States," Chapter 1.0:15, <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/27807.pdf> (accessed 29 September 2011).

combined with the world financial crisis of 1929⁴ are considered crucial contributory elements to the demise of the short-lived German Weimar Republic. The establishment of political reforms which Obama defined in his address as “free speech; the freedom of peaceful assembly; freedom of religion; equality for men and women under the rule of law; and the right to choose your own leaders...”⁵ are also of paramount importance. Set in place, it is often assumed that these reforms will forge a long-term democracy. Yet, the mere establishment of democratic structures in nations new to democracy is, as history has proven, often not enough. After WWI democratic structures were set in place in Germany; nevertheless, in 1933 these structures did not prevent Hitler from being appointed German Chancellor. Thus, it is crucial that these emerging democracies develop democratic concepts within the individuals of society and the society as a whole. One of the best methods of achieving this permanent change is through a process of education or rather democratic re-education.

The term re-education is defined by the Oxford Dictionary, as “to educate again, esp. to change a person’s views.”⁶ In societies which have been controlled by dictatorships the absence of democracy can actually hinder long-term democratic change making re-education for new or struggling democracies of utmost importance. In other words, fundamental political changes when moving from a dictatorship to a democracy need to be accompanied by a corresponding change in the mind-set of the affected populace. Thus re-education anchors the positive benefits of subsequent political change and provides much-needed support for the new democracy to ensure its long-term survival as a system of choice.

Though the numerous forms of democracy are not without criticism; it is nevertheless the political form that best supports human rights. This noble concept, however, which many stable democracies take for granted, is not adequately rooted in emerging democracies. Re-education allows for these ideas to establish themselves. Considering West Germany as an historical example, re-education was part of the basic US foreign policy which took place after WWII. The policy’s underlying purpose was to change “the inward character”⁷ of individuals who

4 Anthony P. Adamthwaite, *The Making of the Second World War* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

5 Barack Obama, *The Guardian*, 19 May 2011.

6 *DK Illustrated Oxford Dictionary*, s.v. “re-education.”

7 Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, *The Conference of Berlin 1945 (The Potsdam Conference)*, Vol. I, Doc. 349 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960), p. 500–503.

had built or reinforced borders. It was aimed not at incarceration or punishment of those concerned, but rather to positively encourage a civilized society where individuality could be respected and civil liberties supported, in a democratic setting. The important role that re-education took in this change and its success in ensuring a stable democracy in Germany after WWII is unique. One of the key areas where this re-education took place was in the Information Centers, better known in Germany as the America Houses.

The re-education policies of the Western Allies in Germany have been the subject of several books.⁸ These have mainly focused on the strong Prussian tradition and the lack of US staff as being the main roadblocks in the implementation of re-education.⁹ The British historian Nicholas Pronay sees the roots of the post war re-education policies as being British.¹⁰ However, a re-education program on this scale required enormous funding after WWII. The Americans, whose financial reserves and whose country and infrastructure had suffered little damage compared to that of the British, were simply in a better position to provide this. Admittedly, the word re-education has been a subject of controversy, due to the negative connotations inherent in its historical usage as a “method” employed by dictators and other regimes to support their policies. This resulted in a change of terminology within the post-war American re-education program itself, replacing the term “re-education” with the more socially acceptable term of reorientation. However, more than half a century later the term re-education, at least with regard to West Germany, is considered in a more favorable light.

From 1945 to 1949 Germany was an occupied country with military governments in the various zones and it was understandably during this time, that the most “direct” re-education activities occurred. Nevertheless, America’s activities in this area continued well beyond 1949, beyond the time of the Office of the Military Government for Germany, which was referred to as OMGUS. With the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) in May 1949 direct re-education policy control ended. Thus a more indirect, advisory position was needed by the

8 A few notable ones are: Karl-Ernst Bungenstab, *Umerziehung zur Demokratie? Re-education-Politik im Bildungswesen der US-Zone 1945–49* (Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann, 1970); Helmuth Mosberg, *Reeducation* (Munich: F.A. Herbig, 1991); Nicholas Pronay and Keith Wilson, eds., *The Political Re-education of Germany and her Allies after World War II* (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1985).

9 See: James F. Tent, *Mission on the Rhine, Reeducation and Denazification in American-Occupied Germany* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982) p. 121–3, p. 313–16.

10 Pronay and Wilson, *Political Re-education*, p. 2–8.

United States Government and subsequently overseen by the Office of the United States High Commission for Occupied Germany (HICOG).¹¹ Here, a further re-thinking of the re-education policy was necessary with even more weight falling on the America House program. In 1955, with the abolishment of HICOG, these Houses would now play a significant educational role in encouraging democratic concepts. It is the America Houses that are the focus of this dissertation.

America Houses

The America Houses, which were originally referred to as Information Centers (IC), became part of the Information Control Division (ICD) at a very early stage in post-war Western Germany. First they were connected to OMGUS and then HICOG. When in 1953 the United States Information Agency (USIA) was established, it oversaw the United States Information Services (USIS), which eventually became responsible for the Houses. Even though the USIA was an Independent Executive Agency it received its political direction from the Department of State.¹² The Information Centers in Western Germany were integrated into this network, yet were in a unique situation as the German language term, *Amerika Haus* (America House) was used on the buildings themselves and officially adopted. Nevertheless, many of the American reports naturally used the English term and which will be used throughout this paper.

The America Houses in West Germany had an American library and in due time offered programs, lectures, educational courses, films, music, exhibitions, theatre and musical reviews. Most importantly, the America Houses supported the concept of individualism. In supporting American culture to communicate democratic values and by providing a “safe house” for Germans to explore what the Nazis had condemned, re-education could take root. America was too far away and too expensive to visit, however the Houses themselves could demonstrate the concept

11 HICOG stands for the High Commission for Occupied Germany. There was a High Commissioner for each of the three Western allies. USHCG is used for the United States High Commissioner for Germany. However, as the USHCG was commonly referred to HICOG and as this paper has to do with the German-American relationship from 1945–1961 the reference to HICOG within the context of this paper refers to USHCG.

12 Thomas Klöckner, *Public Diplomacy - Auswärtige Informations- und Kulturpolitik der USA: Strukturanalyse der Organisation und Strategien der United States Information Agency und der United States Information Service in Deutschland* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1993), p. 50.

of *E Pluribus Unum*. Today, these Houses remain unique to America's re-education efforts in Germany. Thus, a focus on these Houses, their programs and the buildings built for this special purpose allow for a deeper understanding into a very important aspect of America's role in post-war re-education.

Goals

This paper argues that the America Houses were instruments of America's post-war re-education efforts and that these efforts continued significantly longer than has been considered to date.¹³ The Houses, established directly after WWII not only functioned during OMGUS and HICOG, but with the construction of such specifically built Houses re-education efforts continued long after "direct" control and the advisory position of HICOG had disappeared. The America Houses in Germany at one point numbered 47 and included a network of 20 bookmobiles and 115 German-American libraries.¹⁴ These numbers alone are enough to make any scholar question why more has not been written for the English-speaking world about this uniquely extensive program.¹⁵

While many Americans may have heard of the Fulbright Program¹⁶ or Voice of America,¹⁷ few Americans have ever heard of the United States Information Centers.¹⁸ These Centers existed in most countries throughout the world (numbering one or

13 Bungenstab, Mosberg, Tent, Pronay and Wilson consider the time of OMGUS and the direct controls.

14 USIA Historical Collection (USIA-HC), Office of the US High Commissioner for Germany, *The America Houses: A Study of the U.S. Information Center in Germany*, Prepared by The Management and Budget Division and The Office of Public Affairs, September 1953. (Future Ref. HICOG: Study 1953) For a more detailed look at the number of America Houses see 2.2. The number 47 contrast with the more commonly quoted 26 or 27 from the OMGUS period.

15 This differs significantly to the German literature. See existing research.

16 U.S. Department of State, "Fulbright - International Educational Exchange," <http://fulbright.state.gov/> (accessed 3 October 2011).

17 Voice of America, <http://www.voanews.com/english/news/> (accessed 3 October 2011).

18 For example: A "Google" search of "United States Information Centers" results in no such entries. This differs with the "United States Information Agency" (USIA) where a "Google" search results in the website archive of the former USIA site from September 1999, when it was last in operation. See: Department of State Foreign Affairs Network, "The United States Information Agency Homepage," <http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/usia/> (accessed 10 October 2011). Nevertheless, the history of the Information Centers goes back to Office of War Information Libraries (see: 1.2) and later many of the Information Centers were part of the State Department, before the establishment of USIA.

two per country) and were considered institutions of American culture. In West Germany, however, they were located in virtually every major city and became synonymous with the term re-education. In this context they worked directly and indirectly through their services, programs and even the physical make up of the buildings to promote democratic concepts and ideas. Even after 1955, when many direct forms of re-education and the advisory influence of HICOG had been removed, the Houses remained in a position to guide West Germany down the path of democracy. These institutions, unique in America's re-education efforts, demonstrate the depth and breadth of the program. The extensive network established through these Houses, their book mobiles and branch libraries highlight the enormity of the change that re-education attempted. This undertaking was further reinforced by the building of new specially designed America Houses in the 1950s.

This work attempts to highlight the fascinating historical development through the use of various original source materials, including many which have yet to be used in research to date.¹⁹ The dissertation combines established literary sources with more recently declassified materials on the America Houses. Though this dissertation has been written with the international community in mind, a key audience is the US reader. Whereas in Germany, the topic of post-war re-education continues (see 1.1), in the US there has been little research into America's extensive and long-term involvement in promoting democratic values in Germany through the America House program.

Equally important, this dissertation looks at many different questions regarding re-education and the America Houses: How did the programs in these Houses aid re-education? How did the cultural differences play a role in German re-education in the America Houses? To what extent were these Houses a form of American propaganda and was there a difference in the US Government's internal usage of this term in contrast to that in Germany? What were the initial objectives of the America Houses and how do these interconnect with re-education? These and other similar questions underline the vastness of unanswered and unconsidered questions regarding the Houses and re-education.

19 The most detailed book to date about the America Houses is from Maritta Hein-Kremer. This well-researched account however, was published before 1998 when many of the confidential documentation relating to the America Houses were declassified. See: Maritta Hein-Kremer, *Die amerikanische Kulturoffensive: Gründung und Entwicklung der amerikanischen Information Centers in Westdeutschland und West-Berlin 1945–1955* (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1996).

These questions will be addressed in the following chapters. Using detailed analysis of original documentation, visits to the Houses and interviews, the quantitative and qualitative questions that arose through the research shall be addressed. Photographs, program material and copies of original documentation present an interesting, informative and highly insightful look into the America Houses as representatives of America's presence in West Germany from 1945 to 1961.

Review of existing research

The lack of research on this topic meant secondary sources were limited. Besides the specialized studies produced by and for OMGUS and HICOG there is Henry Pilgert's 1951 publication *The History of the Development of Information Services through Information Centers and Documentary Films*.²⁰ As the Chief Historian for HICOG, Pilgert was in a position to access and summarize documentation about the America Houses in Germany. Later Harold Zink's classic work *The United States in Germany, 1945–1955* mentions the Information Centers, but admits that his information was taken mainly from Pilgert.²¹

Hansjörg Gehring's book *Amerikanische Literaturpolitik in Deutschland 1945–1953. Ein Aspekt des Re-Education-Programms* came out in 1976 and focused on the literary offers of the America House libraries.²² Gehring analyses the literature in the light of re-education and categorizes it accordingly. Not wishing to repeat Gehring's research, this dissertation does not explore this aspect of the libraries but considers other declassified and original materials already in print. Though the libraries were the "heart" of the Houses and many started off as such, with time the other programs on offer were developed so extensively that the libraries simply became integrated into the wide range of activities available.

Though newer research has been done on the Houses, most notably Maritta Hein-Kremer's book *Die Amerikanische Kulturoffensive 1945–1955*, her historical

20 Henry P. Pilgert, *The History of the Development of Information Services through Information Centers and Documentary Films* (Historical Division, Office of the Executive Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for Germany, 1951).

21 Harold Zink, *The United States in Germany, 1945–1955*, reprinted ed. (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1957; Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1974).

22 Hansjörg Gehring, *Amerikanische Literaturpolitik in Deutschland 1945–1953: Ein Aspekt des Re-Education-Programms*, Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte: Nr. 32 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt GmbH, 1976). The title translates to: *The Politics of American Literature in Germany 1945–1953: One Aspect of the Re-education Program*.

overview considers the programs but does not focus on re-education and its link to the Houses. More importantly Hein-Kremer's research does not look at the Houses built especially for the purpose of re-education, thus her book does not provide a comprehensive overview of the America Houses in Germany, however, is recommended to understand the America House equation in a wider context. Other more recent publications about the Houses and re-education such as Reinhild Kreis' article *Von der Reeducation zur Partnerschaft: Amerikahäuser und Deutsch-Amerikanische Institute in Bayern*²³ also look at a very limited facet of this complex picture.

The most recently published work regarding the America Houses is: *Funktionale Eloquenz: Das Kölner Amerika Haus und die Kulturinstitute der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika in Deutschland* by Sonja Schöttler.²⁴ This book deals mainly with the architecture of the America Houses built specifically for this purpose. The photo work is excellent and the book was printed with the support of the Fritz Thyssen Foundation which bought the Cologne America House and officially opened on April 6, 2011 as the Foundation's new home. This purely architectural focus however, does not examine in detail the re-education function of these Houses. Nor does it explore the political communication aspects, the objectives of the Houses, nor the program content. Published in the last phases of this work, it has nevertheless been taken into consideration as the final chapter of this dissertation looks at the architecture of the Houses themselves. All of these more recent publications are in German and written from a German perspective, differentiating them from this work.

Method of research

Due to the lack of information regarding re-education and the America Houses, the majority of research was drawn from original material. One major starting

23 Reinhild Kreis, "Von der Reeducation zur Partnerschaft: Amerikahäuser und Deutsch-Amerikanische Institute in Bayern," in *Wiederaufbau und Wirtschaftswunder*, eds., Christoph Daxelmüller, Stefan Kummer, Wolfgang Reinicke (Augsburg, 2009), p. 186–195. The title of the article translates to: *From Re-education to Partnership: America Houses and German-American Institutes in Bavaria*. Ms. Kreis' own dissertation considered the America Houses from 1960 to 1985.

24 Sonja Schöttler, *Funktionale Eloquenz: Das Kölner Amerika Haus und die Kulturinstitute der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika in Deutschland* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, 2011). The title translates to: *Functional Eloquence: The Cologne America House and the Cultural Institutes of the United States in Germany*.

place for this dissertation was the National Archives (NA) located in College Park, Maryland, US, where several weeks of intensive research were spent combing the archives. The bulk of material from 1945 to 1949 is taken from papers of the *Office of Military Government, US*, with most of it accessed under *Record Group 260* (RG 260). From 1949 until 1955, America's influence in West Germany lay mostly in the hands of the *Office of the US High Commissioner for Germany* and a degree of material relating to this period can be found under *Record Group 59* (RG 59), which is the number for the *General Records of the Department of State*. In 1953 the United States Information Agency was established and the control of the America Houses fell under this agency, thus information could be found under the record group pertaining to USIA or *Record Group 306* (RG 306).²⁵ Although this Agency was first established in 1953, interestingly enough the material is dated back to 1947.²⁶ A large bulk of the information obtained at the National Archives was declassified in 1998 and thus not available to Hein-Kremer when she researched her book.

Additional information was gathered at the USIA Archives in Washington, DC, during the time period when USIA was still in existence. This material was a welcome supplement to the material found in the National Archives, as it contained newspaper clippings and other informative sources not kept in the National Archives. In addition, the USIA Archives contain a collection of "oral histories" or interviews with various persons involved with USIA over time, some of which are used in this research. The time spent in Washington, DC was enhanced through personal interviews with Jay W. Gildner, former Information Officer in West Germany in the mid 1950s, and Tom Tuch, former Frankfurt America House Director.

In Germany, the author visited all of the major America Houses specifically built for this purpose. Some of these Houses were visited both as US Information Centers and later in their "new" functions, after they had been returned to the cities in question. The exception to this rule was the America House in Hamburg which was torn down in 2004. Here all information is based solely on historical documentation. Touring these Houses was immensely helpful in understanding their function as well as the breadth and scope of the re-education programs they offered. Through the use of photos as well as descriptive explanations it is the intention of the author to deepen the understanding of how these Houses could architecturally and culturally aid re-education. These initial visits were also enhanced by the

25 All of these record groups are to be found in College Park, Maryland.

26 National Archives, "Records of the United States Information Agency," <http://www.archives.gov/research/guide-fed-records/groups/306.html> (accessed 25 April 2011).

opportunity to speak with the various program directors. Dr. Gerhard Wiesinger in Frankfurt, Bernd A. Herbert in Cologne, Renate Semler in Berlin and Dr. Christoph Peters in Munich were especially generous with their time and helpful in answering questions as well as opening the archives of the respective Houses.

The archives of various America Houses supplemented the research done in Washington, DC. These archives afforded detailed insights into the specific programs and into their development. The most complete program collection was to be found in Munich. It is this collection that is part of the analysis of many of the programs.²⁷ Like much scientific analysis which covers a significant time period, the whole collection could not be examined in detail, rather a representative sample was considered. Dividing the year into quarters, the middle month of each quarter was taken and the programs from the first week of that month evaluated according to the criteria selected, be it the number of democratic lectures given or the amount of films seen. The Munich America House is considered representative due to its tactical location in the American Zone and its later evolution as one of the remaining strategic Houses. Additionally, it was also one of the first to be established and one of the last Houses to be closed.

The analysis of the Munich House program collection has been supplemented by an analysis of the Cologne America House programs. Though the Cologne House opened much later, this comparison provides further insights into the later developments of the programs. The program collection of the Frankfurt and Berlin America Houses proved to be incomplete with considerable material missing, and that of Essen virtually non-existent. The concentration on the major American Houses is due in part to the material access that these Houses provided as well as their overall locations, which represented a strategic positioning of the American Information Centers in Germany.

Besides visiting the Houses, a look at the original building plans was essential for the final chapter which covers re-education and the America Houses built in Germany. The building plans were obtained through the various city planning offices or from the Houses themselves, while viewing permission for these plans was obtained from the current and former owners in question. In addition, files relating to these buildings (obtained from various planning offices) added depth and various city archives were also helpful in gaining additional material. In Berlin the Allied

27 Though there were programs on offer before this time, the first program in the archives of the Munich America House is from 1948. The next most extensive program collection is that of the Cologne America House, located at the US General Consulate in Düsseldorf. This collection also contains information regarding the House in Essen.

Museum Archives (AMA) were a welcome source of architectural information, although interestingly enough these were not used by Sonja Schöttler in the research for her book. This material has been complemented by historical photographs obtained from the Houses themselves, as well as photos taken on site by the author to provide a visual tour of the Houses as a center of re-education.

Finally, in the twenty-first century the availability of research materials in the Internet must be taken into consideration. The wealth of information available here is potentially undermined by the excessive amounts of trivia which permeates the web. Nevertheless, many sites of substance exist and the information found through them cannot be ignored by any modern day scholar. The following were just a few of the many sites accessed during the course of this work: the American Historical Association, the University of South Florida, the Goethe Institute and the German Historical Institute.

Time and content framework

This work considers the time period from 1945 to 1961. Only over an extended period can the development, peak and stagnation of these Houses and many of their cultural activities be considered. Not only did the Houses reach their high point in terms of physical facilities over this sixteen-year period but also in terms of the number of visitors. In addition, it is during this period that the actual building of America Houses specifically designed for the program took place in West Germany. The construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 constituted a break in America's policies regarding West Germany, especially in Berlin. This ushered in a new chapter in German-American relations and an end to the time under consideration in this paper. Nevertheless, America Houses existed in the reunified Germany up until the start of the 21st Century. These last remaining Houses, with the exception of Leipzig which had been added after the fall of the Berlin wall, were located in buildings constructed in the 1950s by the US Government with US taxpayers' dollars.²⁸

Closing

Commenting about the America Houses in a 1954 article, journalist John Gould wrote, "I suppose scarcely any American taxpayers even know they are running

28 Essen was financed fully with US funds. Other Houses, such as Munich, were only financed in part. For more information regarding this, see chapter four.

this program.”²⁹ Over 50 years later most Americans are still none the wiser about America’s involvement. We must, however, become wiser as history demands we learn from the lessons it provides. We must re-educate ourselves regarding respect for the individual while encouraging the basic values of a democratic society and other principles inherent in *E Pluribus Unum*. German historian Diethelm Prowe stated that, “Today West Germany stands as one of the most stable and prosperous democracies in the world. Europe, if not the world, has enjoyed a longer period of peace in the last decades than ever before. Is this the result, perhaps the proudest achievement of American foreign policy in this century?”³⁰ Germany’s peace and stability are clearly the result of many factors, far too numerous to list. Nevertheless, with regards to America’s foreign policy achievements in the twentieth century, Germany stands out. Even up until 1989, the year the wall fell, the USIS budget for Western Germany was the highest of all European countries, being almost double of what was spent on any other European nation.³¹ Without financial support, this “proudest achievement” could never have taken place. We must remind ourselves that education, especially re-education requires financing. It is only with this kind of support that results can be achieved. The America Houses benefited directly from this funding, being one small but important part of an encompassing American foreign policy which helped to establish and guide democracy in Germany. They also remain one of the more fascinating parts to have received so little attention.

In 1981 the International Design Center located in Berlin (IDZ), brought out a publication by German, aesthetics professor, Bazon Brock and author, Ulrich Giersch.³² Their publication took a historical walking tour to better inform and educate about Prussian history similar to what a tourist does when visiting local attractions. This “cultural educational thread of historical imagination,” as the authors called it, was the IDZ’s contribution to Prussian Year. Similarly, on June 28, 2009 it was possible to take a bus tour of a “cultural re-educational thread,” in

29 *Christian Science Monitor*, “Amerika Haus,” 28 January 1954

30 Diethelm Prowe, “German Democratization as Conservative Re-stabilization: The Impact of American Policy” in *American Policy and the Reconstruction of West Germany, 1945–1955*, (German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C.), eds., Jeffery M Diefendorf, Axel Frohn and Hermann-Josef Rupiepe (Cambridge, New York, Victoria: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

31 Thomas Klöckner, *Public Diplomacy*, p. 173.

32 Bazon Brock and Ulrich Giersch, *Im Gehen Preußen verstehen: Kulturlehrpfad der historischen Imagination im Rahmen der Ausstellung „Preußen - Versuch einer Bilanz“* (Internationales Design Zentrum Berlin: Ludwig Austermeier, 1981).

commemoration of the 60th Anniversary of the end of the Berlin Blockade. This “Re-education Safari,”³³ started at the Berlin America House (*Amerika Haus*). Besides this *Amerika Haus*, the places of interest in this tour were *Haus der Kulturen der Welt*, *Akademie der Künste*, *Amerika-Gedenkbibliothek*, *Studentendorf Schlachtensee* and the *Freie Universität Berlin* with its Henry Ford Building. The tour looked at “The Presents of the Americans.” Grammatically, it is not surprising that ‘present’ and ‘presence’ are phonetically close, as one could argue that in giving a present one’s presence remains in the consciousness of the receiver.

These presents continue to be conscious and subconscious reminders of America’s presence in Berlin. However, as instrumental as America was in Berlin, it was not only Berlin where America left its ‘presents.’ Just as the re-education tour started at the Berlin *Amerika Haus*, it is only by ‘touring’ the America Houses of Germany that a deeper understanding of American re-education efforts can be achieved. Although none of these Houses are currently being used by the US Government they remain a physical reminder of America’s presence and represent a “cultural re-educational thread of historical imagination” of the US in Germany.

This work is divided into four main chapters. The first chapter covers the political communication regarding the America Houses; their introduction, cultural differences, and the questions of propaganda and re-education. Chapter two provides a more detailed look at the structure of the Houses while chapter three focuses on the number of visitors, target groups and the programs that took place. The fourth chapter looks at the buildings which were designed for the specific purpose of German re-education. It is the intent of the author to bring forth new information on this topic, to look at the America Houses in a new light thus increasing the awareness of these institutions, and finally to illustrate how positive re-education can reinforce democracy. This positive reinforcement remains essential to embed democracy not only in the formal governments and laws of a country, but also in the minds of its inhabitants.

33 Mila Hacke, “Geschenke der Amerikaner: Das Architekturerbe der Alliierten Präsenz in West-Berlin,” <http://www.geschenke-der-amerikaner.de/rahmenprogramm.html> (accessed 10 September 2010).