

idential candidate for the New Politics in 1972, promised the American public an eschatological age. McGovern carried only Massachusetts and the District of Columbia that year. His bitter defeat left the Democratic Party scarred and divided, and whether it will be controlled by the new liberals or the old liberals come '76 has yet to be determined.

In the meantime George McGovern is back on the campaign trail in his native state of South Dakota, a state which needless to say he was not able to carry during his presidential quest. It was expected that McGovern would have a tough campaign in 1974, after his nationally known liberal credentials proved unpalatable for South Dakotans—but politics is full of surprises. McGovern's campaign chests are overflowing with money from his presidential bid and he has also begun to shed his liberal image of the New Politics for that of a New Conservative. Evidence the *Congressional Record*, July 29, 1974:

"... at intervals I [McGovern] read observations by someone that expresses exactly what I have been thinking, but have not expressed so well as the writer. I had such an experience in reading [a] piece ...

in ... the *Washington Post* by the distinguished columnist, Haynes Johnson."

Johnson's article was entitled "The Odyssey of a New Conservative" and it depicted what Johnson called his growth from a New Deal liberal to a "new conservative." Says Johnson:

"... I grew up ... a liberal. A strong central government was essential and we, the people, could rely on the government to exercise its powers to insure that the greatest number derived the greatest benefits ... vox populi ...

"Now I find myself in a peculiar position. In private conversation with such as George Will and James Buckley, I discover far more areas of intellectual agreement than disagreement ... I am a new conservative with no place to go politically. (I long ago cast off any allegiance to the Democrats as a Party; I am not sure any more what either they or the Republicans represent.)

"I say all this because I suspect many Americans today share my disquiet."

Unlike Mr. Johnson, Senator McGovern has the means to show his new conservatism. If McGovern is now in "intellectual agreement" with Senator Buckley his vot-

ing record and public pronouncements do not reveal it. However, George McGovern is up for reelection so let's not confuse the issue with facts. Let's give the residents of South Dakota the New Politics under the more politically appealing cloaked euphemism of "new conservatism." The public will buy it!

### A Big Hit

Shortly before leaving his position as Chairman of the Council on Economic Advisors, Herbert Stein did a guest column for the *Washington Post*. Not known for mincing words Stein had the following advice to offer United States Senator Ted Kennedy (D-Mass.) on his proposal for a tax cut: "Dear Sen. Kennedy: I appreciate your effort to cut my taxes, but if it's all the same with you I wish you wouldn't. I'm afraid if you cut my taxes you will have to cut taxes for a lot of other people too. Many of them will get to the stores early and will push prices up before I get there. So I won't be any better off, and may be worse. I know your brother John cut taxes and that was a big hit. But you can't do everything he did."

Ah, indeed, the Republic lives on. □

Henry Regnery

## Our Orchestras and Their Purpose

SYMPHONIC MUSIC has become so generally available, even commonplace, through records and radio, that it is easy to take it for granted, to overlook what a magnificent instrument a fine orchestra is and the long development that made it possible. In all the other arts, earlier civilizations have done as well or better than ours; it is only in music that the civilization that developed in Western Europe, which we, justifiably or not, consider our heritage, has gone far beyond all others, and in no form of music is this more evident than in the symphony orchestra. It is not too much to say, therefore, that the symphony orchestra represents one of the greatest and most characteristic achievements of our civilization.

The instruments of the modern orchestra—the strings, brass, woodwinds, and percussion—are the result of an artistic and technical development of a high order. Their perfection derives from the application of the most skillful craftsmanship to a specific artistic objective, and this combination of artistry, craftsmanship, and rational analysis is the expression of a quality or attitude that is uniquely Western. The violin, viola, cello, and bass had been brought to their present form by the end of the seventeenth century, and although the brass and woodwinds were further developed in the nineteenth century, by the time of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven the instruments of the orchestra were available in substantially their present form, with performers capable of meeting the demands the composers placed upon them.

Whether there is a causal relationship or not, it is interesting to note that it was dur-

ing the age of rationalism that the instruments of the modern orchestra were developed; so was the understanding of the nature of sound, doubtless another necessary element in the creation of symphonic music. For the fact that all this should have occurred in time for such creative geniuses as the Bachs, Haydn, Beethoven, and Mozart to make use of it, who were themselves the result of a long artistic development, there can be no rational explanation; we can only say that we are fortunate that it happened, and should regard it as an indication that God is kindly disposed toward man. No less a rationalist than Descartes, in 1618 at the age of twenty-two, published one of the early studies of acoustics and the aesthetics of music, but for the basic work in the scientific study of sound we are indebted to Joseph Sauveur (1653–1716) who, although born nearly deaf, was the first to devise an accurate method to measure the frequency of vibration of sounds. It was the scientific analysis of sound and the determination of the mathematical relationship between the frequency of vibration of the different notes of the scale which led to the tempered scale and the understanding of the elements of harmony. Whatever else we may lay at the door of the age of rationalism, it seems reasonable to say that we have it to thank for the instruments of the orchestra and the understanding of the nature of sound, two of the essential elements which culminated in the music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven.

According to Richard Strauss, who, if anyone, should know about such things, "The origin of the symphony orchestra is to

be found (besides in Bach's fugues for organ), in the string quartets of Haydn and Mozart." Paul Bekker, in his *Story of the Orchestra*, says much the same thing. The form of the symphony, according to Bekker, "was fixed by P. E. Bach, the symphonists of Mannheim, and, finally, Haydn. The decisive factor ... was ... the transference of the constructive principles of the piano and quartet sonata to the orchestra, organized as a quartet choir, its dynamic effects completed by the gradual addition of winds."

The orchestra of the Prince of Esterhazy, for which Haydn wrote many of his more than one hundred symphonies and which therefore played a central part in the development of symphonic music, was quite small, with only twenty-five to thirty musicians, and the orchestras for which Mozart and Beethoven wrote their masterpieces were not much larger. Such orchestras, it should be noted, were not organized on any sort of permanent basis, but were simply brought together to play a specific program, which was often organized for the benefit of the composer. The virtuoso orchestra as we know it, the orchestra, that is, with salaried players on a professional basis, a conductor, regular rehearsals, and public performances, began to develop in the 1830s, one of the first being the orchestra sponsored by the Duke of Meiningen. When Hans von Bülow, in 1886, invited Richard Strauss, who was then twenty-two, to come to Meiningen as his assistant, the Meiningen orchestra had become the leading orchestra of its time. Writing much later of his Meiningen experience and its influence on his artistic development, Strauss described

conducting one of his early compositions with no less a figure than Johannes Brahms in the audience, and Brahms' comments after the concert. Of von Bülow's musicianship and the Meiningen orchestra under his direction, Strauss had this to say: "There was never a trace of arbitrariness; everything came by necessity out of the form and content of the work itself. His driving temperament, always directed by the strictest artistic discipline and devotion to the spirit and letter of the composition (both are more identical than is usually believed) brought the work, by the most exacting rehearsals to a purity of presentation which for me still stands as the peak of perfection of performance of works for orchestra." It is worth mentioning, perhaps, that in contrast to the modern orchestra of a hundred or so musicians, a size now considered essential, the Meiningen orchestra managed with fifty-five.

The first American orchestras go back to the period during which the European orchestras were being organized as permanent institutions. The New York Philharmonic, for example, was founded in 1841, and the predecessor of the Philadelphia Orchestra, the Germania Orchestra, in 1856. The Boston Symphony was founded in 1881, but like the Philadelphia Orchestra, continued a much earlier tradition. The Chicago Symphony was founded in 1891, about the same time as the Berlin Philharmonic, and the Cincinnati Orchestra in 1895. We can make no claim to having produced composers comparable to Beethoven, Brahms, or, coming closer to our time, Richard Strauss, but in the performance of music we began early and have established a solid tradition of excellence. The leading American orchestras rank among the best in the world, and there are many others of high quality which bring great music, played with proficiency, spirit, and understanding, to many people. The first conductors and most of the players came from Germany or were German trained—Leopold Damrosch in New York; Theodore Thomas and Frederick Stock in Chicago; Alexander Scheel in Philadelphia; Georg Henschel, Wilhelm Gericke, and Arthur Nikisch in Boston. By now the players are usually

American born and trained—many Americans, in fact, now perform in European operas and orchestras—but for conductors we seem still to be dependent on Europe, Leonard Bernstein being one outstanding exception. We owe a cultural debt to Germany for the many well-trained German musicians who brought us good music and helped to establish a musical tradition, just as Germany is indebted to Italy for the many Italian musicians who contributed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the development of German music.

There are now probably more orchestras in the United States than in any other country, ranging from the self-styled "Big Five"—Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, New York, and Philadelphia—through excellent orchestras in such cities as Minneapolis, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, and Detroit, which offer their players year-round contracts, to orchestras in such smaller cities as Indianapolis, Kansas City, Rochester, and New Orleans, which are all professional, but play for only part of the year. In addition, there are several hundred orchestras made up of people who love to play, many of whom play with professional competence but make their living in some other way. One such orchestra, the St. Louis Philharmonic, was founded in 1860, and is therefore one of the oldest orchestras in the country. Such orchestras usually have a professional conductor, rehearse regularly, and bring in leading soloists; and while they make no claim to playing with the virtuosity of one of the leading orchestras, they bring good music to their communities and enrich the lives both of their members and of those who hear them. One who has never had the experience of taking part in the performances of great music can have no conception of what it means to those who do.

### Budget Problems

The one thing that all these orchestras—and there are more than a thousand—have in common, besides dedication to good music, is difficulty in balancing the budget. Like most of the better things of life, good music "doesn't pay." The income from the sale of tickets is almost never

enough to cover the cost of putting on the concert. The budget of the Chicago Symphony, which will be quite representative of the orchestras in the larger cities, for the season 1973-74, in round figures looks about as follows:

### Income:

<b>Ticket sales and related income,</b>	
home concerts	<b>\$1,885,000</b>
<b>Touring and out-of-town concerts</b>	<b>606,000</b>
<b>Recording and TV</b>	<b>196,000</b>
<b>Endowment and special grants</b>	<b>1,098,000</b>
<b>Hall and Building</b>	<b>210,000</b>
<b>Total Income</b>	<b>\$3,995,000</b>

### Expense:

<b>Orchestra</b>	<b>\$2,285,000</b>
<b>Chorus</b>	<b>97,000</b>
<b>Related music and concert expense</b>	<b>790,000</b>
<b>Touring</b>	<b>331,000</b>
<b>Recording</b>	<b>148,000</b>
<b>Administrative, fund raising,</b>	
general	<b>1,100,000</b>
<b>Hall and building</b>	<b>606,000</b>
<b>Pensions, social security, insurance</b>	<b>408,000</b>
<b>Total Expense</b>	<b>\$5,765,000</b>

All of which leaves a deficit, to be raised from private sources, of \$1,770,000.

The total budget of the twenty-eight major American symphony orchestras in the 1972-73 season was \$75,600,000; income from ticket sales was \$35,000,000, and government support amounted to \$8,000,000. The deficit to be raised from private sources came to \$32,600,000, but after the most strenuous efforts a net deficit of \$2,800,000 remained. What such deficits portend for the future is made depressingly evident by the decision last spring of the trustees of the Dallas Symphony to discontinue their orchestra.

The budgets of the smaller, less professional orchestras, needless to say, are on a very different scale, but present the same difficult problems for those responsible for them. The orchestra in Elkhart, Indiana is probably a good example of such a group. The conductor, who is a native of Elkhart and founded the orchestra some twenty-eight years ago, is a well-trained, dedicated,

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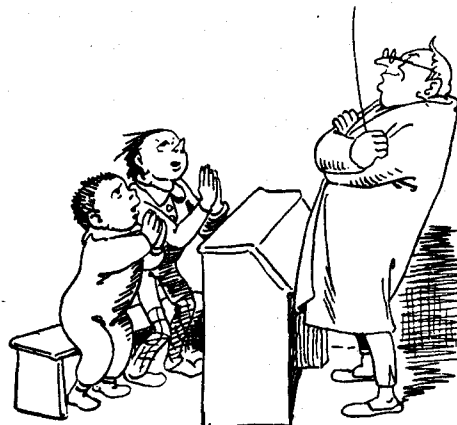
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and thoroughly competent musician. With a budget of less than \$45,000, of which about 40 percent comes from ticket sales, the Elkhart orchestra, by making it possible for many people to hear great music and to take an active part in making it, makes a substantial contribution to the cultural life of the community. The full orchestra of some eighty players rehearses weekly during the season, and gives six to eight public concerts each year. There are also several chamber-music groups associated with the orchestra who play publicly and provide innovative and imaginative performances for the schools. A year or two ago the Elkhart orchestra gave an inspiring performance of Beethoven's Ninth symphony. The program for the coming season includes Bach's *Christus lag in Totesbanden*, Rossini's *Stabat Mater*, and a concert performance of Verdi's *Tosca*. Such an orchestra, and there are many like it in our country, demonstrates that great music need not be an artificial art confined to the museumlike atmosphere of the concert hall, but can still play a vital part in the life of the community.

The musicians in the larger orchestras are not underpaid, but considering the professional skill and long years of training required, and the demands made on them, their compensation is relatively modest.



The minimum basic salary of a musician in the Chicago Symphony for the 1973-74 season was \$350 per week. There are many extras, it should be mentioned, and the principals are paid substantially more. The salary scale in the other comparable orchestras will be about the same, but considerably lower in the orchestras in smaller cities, where playing in an orchestra must be accepted as a part-time job, as it used to be also in the major orchestras. The emoluments of the big international conductors, on the other hand, who rush by jet plane from one concert to another, are something else again, but this is at least partly a matter of supply and demand—there are not many Soltis or Karajans. Solti is no doubt paid more for conducting one concert than Mozart received in a year of the most overwhelming creativity, but our time produces no Mozarts, and must seemingly content itself with the Soltis, whom we treat more like reigning princes than musicians.

### Structural Problems

The typical American professional orchestra is organized as a non-profit corporation, administered by a board of trustees, and supported largely by contributions from private sources. The trustees are usually people interested in civic affairs, some of

whom may have a particular interest in music, but more often than not they are selected on the basis of what they can contribute financially to the orchestra, or raise from others. The affairs of the organization are entrusted to a professional manager, who, with the approval of the trustees, usually employs the conductor or music director, who, in turn, is directly responsible for the artistic affairs of the orchestra—guest conductors, programs, soloists, and employment of musicians. Many orchestras have a "screening committee" made up of players, which auditions candidates for membership in the orchestra, but the final decision is made by the music director. The members of nearly all the professional orchestras are members of the musicians union, which is usually a condition of employment, so that the relationship of the trustees to the musicians is that of employer to employee; this has led to much misunderstanding, long, drawn-out union negotiations, and, in a number of cases, to strikes. Last fall in Chicago, for example, negotiations were deadlocked for weeks, with musicians parading back and forth in front of Orchestra Hall carrying the aggressive, self-righteous signs which have become customary on such occasions, and which serve no other purpose than to exacerbate matters still further.

If looked at realistically, this whole arrangement would appear utterly absurd: the trustees are not employers, as properly understood, and the musicians are not employees; to organize a symphony orchestra on the same basis as a factory makes no sense, and is completely contrary to the artistic purpose for which it exists. The trustees give their time, and usually money, thereby making it possible for a group of musicians to exercise their talents and professional skills, all for the purpose of keeping a great art alive and providing the community with good music.

The contract between the musicians union and the Orchestral Association of Chicago, which is typical of all such contracts, must be seen to be believed. Every aspect of the musicians' employment is set out in complete detail—the duration and number of concerts and rehearsals, the number of players in each section, the terms under which the orchestra may give special concerts or be used for radio, TV, and recordings, etc. If a flutist also plays the piccolo during a concert he must be paid an additional \$25. "Open rehearsals" are defined as "rehearsals before an audience of members of auxiliary groups of the Association" and only four are permitted each year; when the orchestra spent a week at the University of Illinois and a few students slipped into a rehearsal, the union demanded that the players be paid the additional amount required for an extra concert.

The following clause will give some idea of the spirit of the union contract: "If the playing of a concert during the subscription season has concluded within the maximum time limits for the concert, and applause at the conclusion of the concert delays the time at which the Members are excused from the stage beyond the maximum time limits, then overtime will not be payable if the delay does not exceed five minutes. If the delay exceeds five minutes, then overtime will be paid for the entire period of the

delay; and if such delays occur on more than five occasions during any contract year, then overtime shall be paid for each occasion in excess of five, whether or not the delay exceeds five minutes."

To all this the musicians would reply, and with considerable justification, that if they are treated like employees they will act like employees. Rather than keep a structure which puts management and musicians on opposite sides of the fence, it would seem more reasonable to work out an arrangement in which the proper role of each in the ultimate purpose of the organization—good music—would be recognized. As all the larger symphonies are presently organized, responsibility for the selection of the manager and the music director, and therefore for the artistic direction of the orchestra, lies solely in the hands of the trustees. Managers and music directors no doubt seek the advice of the musicians, but however much they may be consulted, the musicians are not recognized as having any responsibility for the basic artistic decisions affecting the orchestra: choice of conductors, soloists, and programming. Is it any wonder, then, that they consider themselves, and behave, as employees?

To work out a structure which recognizes the proper relationship of the trustees and musicians to the purpose of the orchestra



would not be easy, especially with the present absurd organization and appalling union contracts as a starting point, but if the symphony orchestra is to survive as the creative and positive influence which is its only reason for existence, a start must be made. As Rafael Druian, who has served as concertmaster of the Dallas, Minneapolis, Cleveland, and New York orchestras, put it in a recent article, "The orchestra is not there to pay musicians. The orchestra is not there to provide ego satisfaction for conductors. The orchestra is not there to be a property of its board of directors and its manager. The orchestra is there to make music. And only if that function is carried out at the highest possible level of achievement can answers be found for the problems that develop in trying to achieve that end" (Symphony News, June 1974).

As a practical matter, the present arrangement with its union contract is not to be condemned because it has brought the musicians much higher incomes than they had in the past—no one begrudges them that—but because by severely restricting the flexibility of the orchestra and, in turn, its usefulness to the community, the present employer-employee relationship endangers the orchestra's future. Embattled trustees, facing ever-rising deficits, dream of government subsidies, but that would be no

solution, only the source of a host of new and worse problems; consider what the racial quotas and "affirmative action" programs the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has forced down the throats of the colleges and universities would do to a symphony orchestra. If the government supplies money, its bureaucrats will soon discover means to find self-fulfillment by issuing orders and regulations.

#### A Place for Orchestras?

In view of all the problems that beset the professional orchestra, it is fair to ask whether there is really any place in modern society for the highly organized, costly, and rather artificial institution the big symphony orchestra has become. Does all this—the super-star conductors, the professional managers and public relations experts, the musicians who seem more interested in squeezing out the last penny for overtime than in music, the prestige-conscious trustees, the women's boards and all the rest—have anything to do with the music of Beethoven and Mozart? If those who attend the concerts are not willing to cover their costs, why should others, and especially the taxpayers, be asked to do so?

Little or no music is being composed for symphony orchestras these days that more than a handful of people want to hear; for those who want to hear the classics, excellent recordings are available. Has not the symphony orchestra become an anachronism, as far removed from our world as the eighteenth century courts where it originated?

While there may appear to be some justification for such an attitude, the symphony orchestra has a far more important role in modern life than to play a few concerts a week to a limited audience. One of the most important and perhaps least understood functions of a great orchestra is to maintain standards, and in a time when all standards—standards of conduct, of workmanship, of integrity—are disintegrating in the face of the attack on the destructive element that is present in any society, this function becomes all the more important. The merchandise we buy may be shoddy, the officials we elect corrupt, our judges venal, our teachers incompetent, our repairmen careless, our theatre and literature obscene, our press hypocritical and self-serving, but when one of our good orchestras plays one of the great classics of music we can still be reasonably sure that the per-

formance will be dignified, and as nearly faultless as it is humanly possible to make it. It may be, as one of the most serious concert artists we have once put it, that it will be the poor musician, who has usually sat at the lower end of the table, who will be the last to uphold the traditional values of our civilization.

Recordings have their place, but they are no substitute for a live performance; a recording is fixed forever, and therefore, in a sense, artificial, but a performance, like every true work of art, is unique and related to its time and place. A symphony concert, it should not be forgotten, is also more than playing and listening to a program of music; it is a social and cultural event, it brings people together for a higher purpose, and by offering them beautiful music, gives them a glimpse, as the Spanish philosopher Unamuno would put it, of the eternal, for which there is little enough occasion in modern life.

The symphony orchestra is one of the great cultural achievements of our civilization. If such an institution, with all that it has come to mean for the order and higher aspirations of Western man is not worth saving, then our civilization may not be worth saving either. □

David Keene

## Ford and the GOP Prospect

MR. NIXON'S DECISION to resign the Presidency rather than face almost certain removal after impeachment by the House of Representatives and what would have to have been a long and bitter trial in the Senate was greeted with relief in most quarters. Even his friends were deserting him and it was clear by Tuesday of the week of his resignation that he could not survive, that the game was up.

Most Americans were sick of Watergate. They were tired of reading about it and disgusted by the whole affair. They wanted it to go away and in the end they were blaming Mr. Nixon, his Congressional critics, and the press for keeping it alive. They, like Mr. Nixon himself, wanted to "put Watergate behind us," but by July of this year they were beginning to accept the thesis that this could be accomplished only by removing the President.

It is difficult so soon after Mr. Nixon's announcement, to predict the consequences of his action on the country or on the Republican Party. Indeed, it might be safest to predict that most predictions will be wrong. The events of the past few years have astounded most of us. The Kennedy assassination, President Johnson's capitulation, Vice President Agnew's forced resignation, and now the fall of a President who swept forty-nine of the fifty states less than two years ago, could not have been predicted in advance.

Future projections barring the totally unexpected are almost as difficult since Mr. Ford has yet to really begin remaking

the national government in his own image. Still, though it may only be guessing, I suspect there are some general projections that can be made at this time.

#### Some Modest Predictions

First, it can be fairly assumed that Mr. Nixon has succeeded in "putting Watergate behind us." There will be continuing trials, of course, but the new administration will take over the front pages. The liberal firebrands in Congress and the media may continue to call for Nixon's blood, but I doubt very much if they will get it. The American people want to go on and are not likely to demand retribution from a man who has suffered enough and whom most will simply want to forget.

Politically, this will help the Republican Party, whose leaders had to be among the most grateful for Mr. Nixon's decision to step down. It was no secret in recent months that most Party leaders and GOP officeholders were quietly hoping for resignation. They knew that if the President did not "disappear" the Party would be in real trouble this fall.

Senator Goldwater was predicting that Watergate would cost GOP Congressional candidates ten percentage points in the elections, and House minority leader John Rhodes reportedly had survey data indicating that his party could expect to lose eighty House seats in November—his own among them.

These men realized that the Watergate atmosphere had destroyed Republican

morale and made it impossible for GOP candidates to get off the defensive. They also realized that any position they might take would hurt them back home. This was true because though Mr. Nixon was rapidly losing the support of independents and marginal Republicans, he still had a hard core of supporters who would turn on anyone who deserted him.

Senator Jim Buckley of New York found this out in March when he publicly urged resignation. Within two days he received nearly eighteen thousand letters, telegrams, and telephone calls. Most of them were from Nixon people who had backed Buckley's candidacy in 1970 and were now pledging to work for his opponent when Buckley comes up for re-election in two years. Those letters hurt, and most Republicans running this year therefore concluded that they could not afford to desert the President.

Mr. Nixon bailed these men out by resigning, and the Republican Party may now be able to cut its losses this fall. This will be especially true if President Ford is granted the "honeymoon" period that many are predicting.

In addition to the short-term benefits, it would appear that Mr. Ford's rise to the Presidency will allow the GOP to run with an incumbent President in 1976. If Ford runs, the Party will also have a man who is generally seen as "clean" running at a time when the public is sick of scandal and questionable ethics.

Furthermore, by allowing the Republican Party to go into 1976 free of Mr. Nixon