

James K. Pollock
Besatzung und Staatsaufbau nach 1945

**Biographische Quellen
zur deutschen Geschichte
nach 1945**

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James K. Pollock

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Occupation Diary and
Private Correspondence 1945–1948

Herausgegeben von
Ingrid Krüger-Bulcke

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Inhalt

Einleitung	1
Zur Edition	34
Teil I: Occupation Diary and Private Correspondence June 1945 – August 1946	41
Teil II: Itinerary and Private Correspondence January – April 1947	277
Teil III: Occupation Diary and Private Correspondence May – July 1948	299
Anhang	343
Dokument I: Pollock an Brown, 7 August 1945	343
Dokument II: Paper on Länderrat, 19 February 1946	346
Dokument III: Pollock an Brown, 14 March 1946	348
Dokument IV: Pollock an Brown, 27 July 1946	350
Dokument V: Memorandum Pollocks für das State Department, 3 February 1947	351
Dokument VI: Study Trip Through the American Zone, 26 February 1947	359
Dokument VII: Summary Report on the Principal Findings and Ob- servations Arising Out of my Recent Trip to the Three Western Zones, 11 June 1948	363
Dokument VIII: Gedicht über die amerikanische Deutschlandpoli- tik bis Ende 1946	372
Zeittafel	377

VI Inhalt

Abkürzungen	383
Personenregister	387

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Einleitung

Pollock in Deutschland

James Kerr Pollock konnte es sich zur Ehre gereichen lassen, schon zu Lebzeiten als Vater von zwei sehr unterschiedlichen, aber recht bemerkenswerten Kindern gerühmt zu werden, eines amerikanischen und eines deutsch-amerikanischen Kindes. In Amerika pries man ihn als “father of Michigan’s civil service”¹ und in Deutschland ehrte und rühmte man ihn wiederholt als den „unbestrittenen geistigen Vater des Länderrats“.²

Kurz nach dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs war Pollock vom amerikanischen Außenministerium (State Department) als Sonderberater für die amerikanische Militärregierung ernannt und bald darauf nach Deutschland entsandt worden. Die Amtsbezeichnung in seiner Ernennung lautete “Special Adviser to the American Group Control Council” sowie in einem anderen Dokument “Special Assistant to Ambassador Murphy”, und Botschafter Murphy war “Political Adviser” des amerikanischen Militärgouverneurs in Deutschland. Pollocks Aufgabe war es, die Militärregierung in allen Staatsrechts- und Verwaltungsfragen zu beraten und im besonderen für den innenpolitischen Bereich Deutschlands zur Verfügung zu stehen, der mit dem Wiederaufbau der lokalen und regionalen deutschen Verwaltungen zu tun hatte sowie mit dem Regierungsmechanismus und dem Beamtenapparat. Ferner hatte Pollock einen Plan auszuarbeiten, nach dem im Verlauf einiger Jahre eine demokratische Regierung für ganz Deutschland aufgebaut werden sollte, und zwar von unten her, von der lokalen über die regionale Ebene hin zu einer gesamtdeutschen Regierung. Mit diesem Vorgang sollte das deutsche Volk auf eine demokratische Selbstregierung vorbereitet werden. Das war eine Aufgabe, die sich im Rahmen der vorgegebenen Planungen der Amerikaner für einen Wiederaufbau Deutschlands und für einen demokratischen Erziehungsauftrag bewegte.

Die Ernennung Pollocks zeigt an, daß das State Department davon ausging, daß Pollock als Berater des amerikanischen Vertreters im Kontrollrat tätig sein würde, das heißt man ging offensichtlich davon aus, daß alle diese Fragen gemeinsam mit den Alliierten im Kontrollrat abgestimmt würden, es also eine gemeinsame Deutschlandpolitik der Alliierten geben würde. Dieses stellte sich jedoch bald als unmöglich heraus.

Für Pollock wurde eigens eine Abteilung in der Militärregierung eingerichtet, der “Government Structure und Administration Branch”, der eine Unterabteilung der Civil Administration Division bildete, das bedeutete,

¹ Dennis Anderson, James Kerr Pollock. His Life and Letters, Michigan Historical Collections (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor) Bulletin No. 21 (March 1972).

² Akten zur Vorgeschichte der Bundesrepublik (AVBRD) 1, S. 998.

mit Pollocks Ankunft in Deutschland im Juli 1945 begannen die konkreten Vorbereitungsarbeiten für den Verwaltungsaufbau in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone.

Pollock hatte mit seinem Rat mehreren Abteilungen der amerikanischen Militärregierung zur Verfügung zu stehen, sowohl der militärischen Seite, die dem Kriegsministerium unterstand, als auch der zivilen Seite der Militärregierung, also der politischen, die vom State Department ressortierte. Seine Ernennung hatte Pollock zwar vom State Department, welches auch seine Bezüge zahlte, jedoch auf gemeinsamen Vorschlag des Stellvertretenden Militärgouverneurs, General Clay, und von dessen politischem Berater, Botschafter Murphy, erhalten. Später, während seiner Tätigkeit in Deutschland im Jahre 1946, wurde Pollock dann rein besoldungstechnisch vom War Department übernommen.

Von seiner Ausbildung und Profession her war Pollock für diese Tätigkeit geradezu prädestiniert, denn er hatte sich zeitlebens mit diesen Fragen beschäftigt.

Geboren wurde Pollock am 25. Mai 1898 in New Castle/Pennsylvania. Dorthin, wo seine Familie ansässig war, hielt er stets eine enge Verbindung, und die Zeitungen von New Castle verfolgten seine Karriere mit Aufmerksamkeit. Nach dem Studium der Geschichte, der Staatswissenschaften und der Politischen Wissenschaften an der University of Michigan in Ann Arbor (1916–1921) arbeitete Pollock in Harvard (1921–1925) an seiner Dissertation, während er gleichzeitig schon an einigen Colleges Geschichte und Politik unterrichtete. Er schloß sein Studium mit einer Arbeit über "Party Campaign Funds"³ ab und begann seine akademische Karriere an der University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, zunächst als Instructor (1925), dann als Assistant Professor (1927), ab 1929 Associate Professor, bis er 1934 Full Professor wurde und einen Lehrstuhl für Politische Wissenschaften an der University of Michigan in Ann Arbor bekam.

Seine Arbeiten über das Parteienwesen, über Wahlen, Wahlmechanismen und Wahlfinanzierung in den USA, ferner seine vergleichenden Studien über Wahlen in den europäischen Ländern bildeten die Grundlage seines Wissens und seiner Karriere.⁴ Seine wissenschaftliche Arbeit und sein starkes Engagement für Politik brachten es mit sich, daß seine Forschung und seine Lehrtätigkeit stets mit den gegenwartspolitischen Problemen verknüpft waren. Schon während er an seiner Dissertation arbeitete, unterhielt er engen Kontakt zur amerikanischen Regierung und wurde daraufhin 1924 vom US Committee on the Regulation of Campaign Ex-

³ Party Campaign Funds, New York, London 1926. Der Titel der Dissertation lautet: Party Finance (Diss. Harvard 1925).

⁴ Pollock (Hg.), Readings in American Government, New York 1927; Pollock, Money and Politics Abroad, New York 1932.

penditures als Sachverständiger konsultiert und 1930 von der Nye Commission on Campaign Reform als Fachmann zu Rate gezogen. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit widmete Pollock dem Staate Michigan, seiner Gesetzgebung, seiner politischen und seiner Verwaltungssituation. Er nahm öffentlich Stellung in Vorträgen und Zeitungsartikeln gegen die unangenehmen Erscheinungsformen des amerikanischen Parteiensystems, gegen das Patronage- oder Futterkrippensystem, "spoils system", da es negative Auswirkungen bis hinein in das Regierungssystem und die Verwaltung eines Staates sowie des gesamten Bundesstaates habe und dringend reformiert werden müsse. 1929–1931 wurde Pollock Mitglied des Michigan Committee on Elections und 1935 übernahm er den Vorsitz der Michigan Civil Service Commission, deren Aufgabe die Ausarbeitung des "Michigan Civil Service Law" war, das 1937 erlassen wurde. Beide Kommissionen hatten als gemeinsames Ziel die Abstellung von Mißständen im amerikanischen Parteiensystem und damit die Hebung der Effizienz der Verwaltung der Staatsregierung im Bundesstaat Michigan. In den vorbereitenden Arbeiten für das Michigan Civil Service Law wurden Vergleiche zum Civil Service anderer amerikanischer Bundesstaaten angestellt und bemerkenswerterweise auch das deutsche Beamtengesetz herangezogen. Pollock selbst erstellte eine schriftliche Analyse dieses Gesetzes.⁵ Das Michigan Civil Service Law fand zwar viel öffentliche Anerkennung, wurde jedoch von den Nutznießern des Patronagesystems bekämpft. Pollock persönlich und die Arbeit der Kommission wurden massiv angegriffen, selbst von einigen seiner Parteifreunde aus der Republikanischen Partei. Pollock gründete zur Abwehr dieser kritischen Bestrebungen die Michigan Merit System Association mit dem Ziel, "to improve and protect civil service in Michigan". Er hat sich also aufgrund seiner unermüdlichen Tätigkeit den Beinamen "Father of Michigan's Civil Service" redlich verdient.⁶

Sein stetes Engagement für die Politik und seine Kenntnisse ließen ihn öffentlich in Vorträgen, Presseartikeln und Publikationen häufig zu den Fragen Stellung nehmen, über die er forschte und arbeitete.⁷ Hinzu kam

⁵ Pollock und Alfred V. Boerner jr., *The German Civil Service Act, Chicago (The Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada) 1938*. Pollock (Hg.) *Source Book of European Governments*, New York 1937.

⁶ Anderson, Pollock, S. 3, meinte, daß Pollock diese Titel mehr als andere verdiente.

⁷ Pollock, *Election Administration in Michigan. An Exploratory Study*, New York 1934; Pollock, *County Election Costs in Michigan*, Ann Arbor 1935; Pollock, *Report of the Civil Service Commission*, Lansing 1936; Pollock, *Permanent Registration of Voters in Michigan*, Ann Arbor (1934) 1937; Pollock, *A Picture of Patronage in Michigan State Government prior to 1938*, o. O. o. J.; Pollock, *Voting Behavior. A Case Study*, Ann Arbor 1939; Pollock, *Absentee Voting and Registration*, Washington D.C. 1940; Pollock, *Direct Government in Michigan*, Ann Arbor 1940; Pollock, *The Initiative and Referendum in Michigan*, Ann Arbor 1940; Pollock und Samuel J. Eldersveld, *Michigan Politics in Transition. An Areal Study of Voting*

sein großes Interesse an Deutschland, besonders an der Weimarer Republik. Er war fasziniert von der Struktur der Weimarer Republik und von deren Mehrparteiensystem. 1928 führte er eine Studienreise nach Europa durch, verglich Frankreich, England, Irland und Deutschland und veröffentlichte seine Forschungsergebnisse.⁸ All dieses wurde durch seine vorzüglichen Sprachkenntnisse, besonders auch des Deutschen, ermöglicht. Er schrieb Zeitungsartikel über Deutschland und kommentierte die wesentlichsten politischen Ereignisse im Deutschland der 30er und 40er Jahre.

Seine Studie über die deutschen Wahlen von 1934⁹, in der er auf die Entwicklung von demokratischen zu antidemokratischen Wahlen hinwies, führte dazu, daß er 1935 vom Völkerbund als amerikanischer Beobachter der Saarabstimmung nach Europa entsandt wurde.¹⁰ Pollock veröffentlichte sogar, gemeinsam mit seinem Kollegen Heneman, eine Sammlung von übersetzten NS-Gesetzen und trug damit wesentlich zum besseren Verständnis des NS-Regierungssystems in den USA bei. Sein 1938 veröffentlichtes und 1940 und 1947 neu aufgelegtes Buch "The Government of Greater Germany" war für lange Zeit in der amerikanischen Öffentlichkeit der maßgebende Kommentar zum NS-Regime.¹¹

Während Pollock 1933 noch hoffte, Hitler könne durch vernünftige Persönlichkeiten in seiner Umgebung gezügelt werden, mußte er doch sehr bald erkennen, daß dies nicht der Fall war. Als Deutschlandsexperte unterrichtete Pollock während des Krieges neben seiner Lehrtätigkeit an der Universität zunächst an der Provost Marshal General's School der Militärakademie in Ford Custer (Michigan) von 1942–1943 und dann von 1943–1945 an der Judge Advocate General's School an der University of Michigan, der einzigen für Militärjustiz in den USA außerhalb der Militärakademien, und der Civil Affairs Training School (CAT) ebenfalls an der University of Michigan. Diese CAT Schools hatten im Rahmen des "War Training Program" des War Department

Trends in the Last Decade, Ann Arbor 1942; Pollock, The Direct Primary in Michigan 1909–1935, Ann Arbor 1943.

⁸ Pollock, The German Party System, Baltimore 1930 (Schon 1929 in American Political Science Review Vol. XXIII, No. 4, S. 859–891 erschienen); Pollock, British Party Organization, Ann Arbor 1930; Pollock, Money and Politics Abroad, New York 1932. Pollock (Hg.), Source Book of European Governments, New York 1937.

⁹ Pollock, The German Reichstag Election of 1930, [Baltimore 1930] (auch in American Political Science Review, Vol. XXIV, No. 4 (November 1930); Pollock (Hg.), German Election Administration, New York 1934.

¹⁰ Pollock, The Saar Plebiscite, Baltimore 1935.

¹¹ Pollock und Harlow J. Heneman, The Hitler Decrees, Ann Arbor 1934; Pollock, The Government of Greater Germany, New York 1938, ²1940, ³1947.

in konzentrierter Form Unterricht für amerikanische Offiziere und Reservisten zur Vorbereitung auf eine Militärregierung in den besetzten und besiegten Gebieten Europas und in Übersee zu erteilen.

Das amerikanische Kriegsministerium hatte zunächst 1942 an der University of Virginia in Charlottesville, später auch noch an 10 weiteren amerikanischen Universitäten¹² ein umfangreiches War Training Program für die amerikanischen Streitkräfte aller Waffengattungen eingerichtet, um alle Lehr- und Forschungsmöglichkeiten dieser Universitäten nutzen zu können, so auch an der University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. Von den Naturwissenschaften und den Ingenieurwissenschaften über die Medizin bis hin zu Sprachen, Landeskunde, Geschichte und politischen Wissenschaften unterrichteten die Professoren der Universität in allen 14 Programmen des War Training Program. So konnte Pollock seine Kenntnisse im Civil Affairs Training Program einsetzen bei der Vorbereitung von Offizieren sowie auch von Zivilisten auf die zukünftigen Aufgaben der Besatzungspolitik in Deutschland. Und so leistet auch Pollock mit vielen anderen Lehrenden in Ann Arbor seinen Anteil zu "Michigan's Contribution to Victory and to Peace Time Progress"¹³.

Immerhin sind an der Universität in Ann Arbor in den Kriegsjahren 13.390 junge Männer zusätzlich zu den normalen Studenten ausgebildet worden, sowohl auf college level als auch im Spezialtraining für Mannschaftsgrade. Mit einem enormen zusätzlichen Personalaufwand – 4000 von der Navy und 8000 von der Army sowie mehr als 12.000 Industriearbeitern – wurden im Rahmen des Army Training Program auch größere Versuchsreihen und Entwicklungen durchgeführt (z. B. Entwicklung von speziellem Sprengstoff, RDX, für eine Anti-Uboot-Bombe, meteorologische Versuche im Auftrag der Navy, medizinische und zahnmedizinische Testreihen für Kriegszwecke).

Im Rahmen des gesamten War Training Program war das Civil Affairs Training Program also nur ein kleiner Teilbereich, der sich neben Sprachen, Military Intelligence und Area Studies mit dem Aufbau einer Militärregierung und mit Planungen für die politische Gestaltung der eroberten und besiegten Länder, in diesem Fall mit Deutschland befaßte. Zu Unterrichts- und Informationszwecken und als Grundlage für die Planungsarbeiten wurde 1944 von der Universität ein "Survey of German Provinces" herausgegeben, an dem auch Pollock mitgearbeitet hatte.¹⁴ Im Zusammen-

¹² Karl-Ernst Bungenstab, Die Ausbildung der amerikanischen Offiziere für die Militärregierungen nach 1945, in: Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien 18 (1973), S. 198ff.

¹³ The University of Michigan's War Service. A brief report of Contribution to Victory and to Peacetime Progress, University of Michigan Official Publication, Vol. 48, No. 37 (October 24, 1946) S. 2–15.

¹⁴ Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 67–17. Material über Civil Affairs Training Program und Area Lectures und für die Regionalstudien.

hang mit weiterführenden Planungen verfaßte er auch vertrauliche Memoranden und Stellungnahmen für das War Department.¹⁵

Neben seiner Lehrtätigkeit an der Universität und bei den verschiedenen Army Training Programs entfaltete Pollock eine rege publizistische Tätigkeit. Er äußerte sich immer wieder in der Öffentlichkeit zu den aktuellen Fragen über Deutschland. Als „anerkannter Experte des Feindes“¹⁶ gab Pollock 1941–1943 wöchentliche Kommentare zur Entwicklung in Deutschland, er erstellte Nachrichtenanalysen und hielt Rundfunkvorträge über Deutschland. Er setzte sich öffentlich auch mit der Frage auseinander, was mit einem besiegten Deutschland geschehen solle und nahm damit lebhaften Anteil an der seit 1942 in den USA entbrannten öffentlichen Debatte über Deutschland und dessen zukünftiger Behandlung.¹⁷ Dabei vertrat er zwar vornehmlich seine eigene Meinung, aber es ist anzunehmen, daß auch die politischen Richtlinien für das CAT mit einfließen, also auch politische Grundpositionen, die in der Führung der Armee und der amerikanischen Regierung vertreten wurden.

Pollock trat dafür ein, ähnlich wie weite Kreise in den USA, daß Deutschland geschlagen werden müsse, und zwar so, daß die Deutschen das auch unmittelbar spüren und einsehen, und zog damit Lehren aus den Erfahrungen mit dem Ersten Weltkrieg. Nach der sofortigen Absetzung der Nazis aus allen führenden Positionen und wichtigen Stellungen und deren sorgfältiger Überprüfung und strenger Bestrafung sollte man aber sonst großzügig sein. Er befürwortete nachdrücklich die Besatzung und Kontrolle, nicht aber eine Zerstörung Deutschlands. Allerdings empfahl er eine nur kurze Besatzungszeit und einen möglichst schnellen Wiederaufbau Deutschlands auf der Grundlage der positiven Elemente der deutschen Traditionen und mit Hilfe der politisch nicht belasteten Deutschen. Damit erntete er Protest und Widerspruch bei jenen Amerikanern, die in allen Deutschen ohne Unterschied unverbesserliche Nazis sahen. Pollock vertrat immer wieder die Meinung, daß ein neues Deutschland nur mit den Deutschen und durch sie selbst aufgebaut werden könne und daß man mit dem Aufbau der lokalen Verwaltung durch Unbelastete sofort nach der Besetzung anfangen müsse.

Aus seinen Wahlanalysen der frühen 30er Jahre in Deutschland zog Pollock anhand der Vergleichszahlen nunmehr den Umkehrschluß, daß in den Regionen mit dem höchsten nationalsozialistischen Stimmenanteil die ungünstigste Ausgangslage für einen demokratischen Neuanfang gegeben sei, während in den Regionen mit dem geringsten nationalsozialistischen Stimmenanteil demnach die Basis für einen neuen demokratischen Staats-

¹⁵ Pollock's Confidential War Department Work during World War II, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 19–15.

¹⁶ “Acknowledged expert on the enemy”, Anderson, Pollock, S. 11.

¹⁷ Pollock, What shall be done with Germany, Northfield 1944.

aufbau gefunden werden könne. Er forderte in öffentlichen Reden und Vorträgen eine internationale Kommission für Deutschland, bestehend aus den Besatzungsmächten USA, Sowjetunion und Großbritannien, und machte Vorschläge für eine Einteilung in Besatzungszonen, sprach sich für eine Reduzierung Preußens aus, die Abtrennung Ostpreußens, Danzigs und einiger anderer Territorien an Polen und die Sowjetunion und befürwortete auch einen Bevölkerungstransfer. Er empfahl den föderativen Aufbau eines neuen demokratischen deutschen Staates, die Kontrolle der Industrie und der Bürokratie sowie die Lenkung und Kontrolle eines demokratischen Erziehungswesens in Deutschland.

Weil er so intensiv tätig und engagiert in allen Deutschland betreffenden Fragen war, so sehr ausgewiesen als Wissenschaftler und Kenner Deutschlands – seiner Geschichte und politischen Verhältnisse, seiner Mentalität und Sprache – und darüber hinaus als Fachmann für amerikanische Nachkriegspolitik in Deutschland galt, war es nur folgerichtig, daß er von der amerikanischen Regierung als Experte für Regierungs- und Verwaltungsfragen und als Lehrer für die zukünftigen Verwaltungs- und Regierungsaufbau nach Deutschland entsandt wurde, um der Militärregierung als Special Adviser zur Seite zu stehen.

Im Mai 1945 fanden Verhandlungen in Washington zwischen dem State Department und Pollock statt, bereits Anfang Juni 1945 konnte Pollock seiner Familie vertraulich von dem Auftrag berichten, den ihm das State Department erteilt hatte. Sein Aufgabengebiet war in seiner Ernennung sehr genau umschrieben. Er sollte als Adviser for the American Group Control Council for Germany tätig sein, und zwar für innenpolitische Fragen, so z. B. Fragen der Lokal- und Regionalverwaltung, des Beamtenapparats und aller damit zusammenhängenden Probleme sowie Regierungsfragen: "I would be working for the General [Clay] as an advisor particularly on internal affairs such as local and regional government, civil service and related political and governmental questions. I would advise and consult, the General would then give the orders and other military men would carry them out. I would then supervise the implementation of the orders in the American zone."¹⁸ Es entsprach noch der gesamtdeutschen Zielsetzung der Politik der Vereinigten Staaten, daß Pollock seine Tätigkeit zunächst im Hauptquartier, erst später dann auch in der Besatzungszone ausüben sollte. Dem militärischen Rang nach wurde er als Colonel (Oberst) eingestuft. In der amerikanischen Armee ist es üblich, daß Zivilisten mit Sonderaufträgen beim Militär während der Zeit ihrer Tätigkeit für das Militär militärische Ränge zuerkannt werden. Pollock mußte in den ersten Monaten auch Uniform tragen, war also als Zivilist in Uniform tätig.

Am 17. Juli 1945 traf Pollock nach einer damals üblicherweise noch sehr

¹⁸ Brief vom 1. 6. 1945.

langen Flugreise in Deutschland ein. Er wurde dem Hauptquartier von SHAEF in Frankfurt-Hoechst zugeordnet, wo man für ihn eine eigene Abteilung eingerichtet hatte, den Government Structure and Administration Branch, der eine Unterabteilung der Civil Administration Division der amerikanischen Militärregierung war. Pollock war der Experte, der für die Leitung dieser Abteilung vorgesehen war, und er war genau zu dem Zeitpunkt nach Deutschland entsandt worden, als die Militärregierung aufgebaut wurde. Die Hauptaufgabe Pollocks und seines Government Structure and Administration Branch bestand darin, einen Plan zu erarbeiten, nach dem über einen Zeitraum von einigen Jahren die Struktur einer deutschen Regierung wiederaufgebaut und das deutsche Volk auf eine demokratische Selbstregierung vorbereitet werden konnte.¹⁹

Mit der Verlegung des Hauptquartiers der Militärregierung kam auch Pollock nach Berlin, und zwar am 26. Juli 1945 mit einer der ersten Einheiten. Mit spürbarer Erschütterung schildert er in seinem Tagebuch und seinen Briefen die furchtbare Zerstörung dieser Stadt, die Trostlosigkeit der Lebensverhältnisse und das Elend der Bevölkerung in Berlin und in Deutschland.

Pollock war fortan an allen Entscheidungen beteiligt, die mit dem Aufbau der deutschen Verwaltung zunächst auf lokaler Ebene, sodann auf regionaler Ebene zu tun hatten, und er sorgte auch dafür, daß seine Zuständigkeit beachtet wurde und alle diesbezüglichen Vorschläge und Entscheidungen über seinen Schreibtisch gingen.²⁰ Die Arbeit des Verwaltungsaufbaus war dadurch wesentlich erschwert, daß infolge der Entlassung aller politisch belasteten Personen die Verwaltung nahezu völlig zusammengebrochen war, daß Fachleute fehlten und nun tatsächlich ein Neuaufbau erfolgen mußte. Der Mangel an jeglichen Versorgungsgütern, die ständig einströmenden Flüchtlinge, die Displaced Persons (DP's) und das völlig zum Erliegen gekommene Verkehrswesen verstärkten die Probleme täglich immer mehr.

Pollock war zu einer Zeit in Deutschland, als über dessen Zukunft von den Siegermächten wesentliche Entscheidungen getroffen wurden. 1945 wurden auf der Potsdamer Konferenz die Weichen für Deutschlands Entwicklung gestellt. Die Siegermächte hatten Deutschland schon zuvor in Besatzungszonen aufgeteilt und einen Alliierten Kontrollrat zur gemeinsamen Verwaltung Deutschlands eingerichtet. In groben Linien war man sich einig geworden über die zukünftige Behandlung Deutschlands.

¹⁹ Brief vom 19. 7. 1945.

²⁰ Das erwies sich anlässlich einiger Aufzeichnungen als notwendig, die nicht an Clay weitergeleitet worden waren, woraufhin Clay ein Machtwort sprach. Tagebuch vom 4. 9., Brief vom 7. 9. 1945.

Das deutsche Gebiet östlich der Oder-Neiße-Linie war faktisch an Polen bzw. die Sowjetunion abgetreten worden.

1946 bemühten sich die Alliierten auf der Außenministerkonferenz in Paris, zu einer einheitlichen Linie in der Deutschlandpolitik zu kommen, wobei deutlich wurde, daß sich die westlichen Vorstellungen erheblich von denen der UdSSR entfernten hatten. 1947 bot die Moskauer Außenministerkonferenz ein desolates Bild von der Zerstrittenheit der ehemaligen Kriegverbündeten in allen Deutschland betreffenden Fragen – man ging ohne Einigung auseinander. 1948 zeigte die Londoner Sechsmächtekonferenz über Deutschland, an der die USA, Großbritannien, Frankreich und die Beneluxstaaten teilnahmen, den tiefen Graben zwischen Ost und West. Eine gemeinsame Deutschlandpolitik war nicht mehr mit der UdSSR, sondern nur noch unter den Westmächten zu erreichen.²¹

Unmittelbar nach seiner Ankunft in Berlin im Juni 1945 hatte Pollock die Gelegenheit, das politische und gesellschaftliche Treiben am Rande der Potsdamer Konferenz mitzerleben. Er traf in Babelsberg und in Potsdam mit Konferenzteilnehmern und Beratern aller vier Nationen zusammen und konnte darüber und vor allem auch von der Atmosphäre dieses wichtigen Ereignisses in seinem Tagebuch und seinen Briefen berichten. Er war sogar am Rande an den Vorarbeiten für die Formulierung des „Potsdamer Abkommens“ beteiligt. Im Anschluß an die Konferenz ging es dann um die Auswertung der Potsdamer Beschlüsse, vor allem um deren Bedeutung und Anwendung im Rahmen der amerikanischen Besatzungspolitik.

Nach der Potsdamer Konferenz war es der Kontrollrat, in dem noch für einige Zeit internationale Zusammenarbeit in der Deutschlandfrage stattfand. Es stellte sich jedoch allmählich heraus, daß diese Zusammenarbeit immer schwieriger wurde und trotz aller Bemühungen und gelegentlicher konstruktiver Ansätze in den untergeordneten Fachgremien vornehmlich, jedoch nicht allein an der Haltung der sowjetischen und der französischen Vertreter scheiterte. Pollock bezeichnete den Kontrollrat sogar als „a great school of international government. A genuine atmosphere of cooperation has been worked out slowly and an agreement has been reached on a great majority of problems“.²²

Pollock war im ersten Jahr seines Aufenthalts offenbar dem Kontrollrat gegenüber noch recht positiv eingestellt, was angesichts seiner Aufgaben-

²¹ Siehe dazu u. a. Hermann Graml, *Die Alliierten und die Teilung Deutschlands. Konflikte und Entscheidungen 1941–1948*, Frankfurt a. M. 1985; Wolfgang Benz, *Potsdam 1945. Besatzungsherrschaft und Neuaufbau im Vier-Zonen-Deutschland*, München 1986; sowie weiterführend Ludolf Herbst (Hg.), *Westdeutschland 1945–1955. Unterwerfung, Kontrolle, Integration*, München 1986. Siehe ferner Christoph Weisz (Hg.), *OMGUS-Handbuch. Die amerikanische Militärregierung in Deutschland 1945–1949*, München 1994.

²² Tagebuch vom 18. 3. 1946.

stellung, die eigentlich auf einen gesamtdeutschen Aufbau von Regierung und Verwaltung und nicht nur auf die amerikanische Besatzungszone ausgerichtet war, nicht verwundern konnte. Wiederholt begleitete er Clay zu den Sitzungen des Coordinating Committee des Control Council, konnte Russen, Franzosen und Engländer bei der Arbeit beobachten und kam zu dem Schluß, daß Clay die treibende Kraft der Viermächtezusammenarbeit sei. Häufig erwähnte Pollock in seinem Tagebuch aber auch, daß Frankreich das Hindernis für ein Übereinkommen bilde, und mit der Zeit war es nicht nur die Obstruktion oder die Haltung des "doing nothingness" der Franzosen, die er kritisierte, sondern auch das häufige „njet“ der Russen, das nach seiner Ansicht eine Zusammenarbeit und Übereinkommen der vier Alliierten im Kontrollrat mehr und mehr erschwerte.

Trotz der Bemühungen um internationale Zusammenarbeit in einer gemeinsamen Deutschlandpolitik wurde allen Beteiligten sehr bald klar, daß dieses wegen der unterschiedlichen Grundauffassungen und Konzeptionen der Siegermächte nicht möglich war. Also verwirklichte jede Besatzungsmacht in ihrer Zone ihre eigenen Vorstellungen von der Verwaltung Deutschlands, und die wichen erheblich voneinander ab. Gemeinsamkeiten der Alliierten hatten sich nur in der ersten Nachkriegszeit gezeigt. Es überwog der Wille zur Bestrafung Deutschlands. Einig waren sich die Sieger auch über die Abtretung der deutschen Ostgebiete, die Massenausiedlungen der Deutschen aus diesen Gebieten und aus Osteuropa bzw. Südosteuropa und über die Prozesse gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher. Im übrigen reichte das Einvernehmen nur noch zu allgemeinen Richtlinien: die Reinigung Deutschlands vom Nationalsozialismus und Militarismus, die Reduzierung des deutschen Wirtschaftspotentials und schon nur noch formal die bald heftig umstrittene Erhebung von Reparationen. Die Verteilung der „Beute“ ließ sich praktisch nur so darstellen, daß jede Siegermacht auf ihre Besatzungszone verwiesen wurde. Von einvernehmlichen gesamtdeutschen Konzeptionen konnte keine Rede sein.

Die Einigkeit reichte noch bis zur allgemeinen grundsätzlichen Bereitschaft, Deutschland einen demokratischen Wiederaufbau, beginnend auf lokaler und regionaler Ebene, unter gemeinsamer alliierter Kontrolle zuzugestehen und ein begrenztes Lebensniveau zu gestatten. Bei der konkreten Ausführung dieser sehr allgemein formulierten politischen Grundsätze stellte es sich jedoch heraus, daß die Auffassungen der Besatzungsmächte erheblich voneinander abwichen, ganz besonders zwischen Ost und West, und daß von der beabsichtigten politischen und wirtschaftlichen Einheit Deutschlands nichts mehr übrig blieb.

Für die amerikanische Deutschlandpolitik blieben die Potsdamer Beschlüsse noch für längere Zeit maßgebend, für den Stellvertretenden Mili-

tärgouverneur Clay und seine Besatzungspolitik waren sie „die Bibel“.²³ Nach Abschluß der Potsdamer Konferenz machte sich die amerikanische Militärregierung sofort an die Umsetzung der Beschlüsse, und Pollock war mit seinem Government Structure and Administration Branch wesentlich daran beteiligt. Neben dem Auftrag, ein demokratisches Verwaltungs- und Regierungssystem von der untersten Ebene aus aufzubauen, kam noch ein zweites wesentliches Anliegen der Amerikaner zur Geltung, nämlich der möglichst schnelle Rückzug der Militärs aus der direkten Regierungsverantwortung und Verwaltungstätigkeit. Die Amerikaner wollten Deutschland, nachdem das Hauptziel, die Zerschlagung des Nationalsozialismus und der deutschen Großmacht, erreicht war, mit möglichst geringem Aufwand verwalten und die Armee möglichst schnell aus Europa zurückziehen. In der Militärregierung sollten die Militärs bald von Zivilisten ersetzt werden. Pollock ist ein gutes Beispiel dafür. Diese Intention kam dem Bestreben nach Aufbau neuer politischer Strukturen und der damit verbundenen sukzessiven Rückgabe von Verwaltungsaufgaben und politischer Verantwortung an die Deutschen sehr entgegen – so ergänzte eins das andere, ging das eine Hand in Hand mit dem anderen.

Die Militärregierung ging zielstrebig und zügig an die Erfüllung ihrer Aufgabe heran. Clay gab sehr früh Weisung, Pläne für den baldigen Rückzug der Militärregierung aus der lokalen und regionalen Regierungs- und Verwaltungsebene zum Jahresende 1945 auszuarbeiten. Dementsprechend sollten den Deutschen mehr Aufgaben und mehr Verantwortung übertragen werden. Ferner bestand Clay auf frühen Wahlen in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone, und zwar gegen den Rat und das Widerstreben vieler seiner Mitarbeiter und Ratgeber. Pollock äußerte sich in seinem Tagebuch deutlich gegen einen zu frühen Termin und berichtete seiner Frau, daß er durch die Aufteilung der Wahlen in Etappen zu verschiedenen Wahlterminen eine gewisse Verzögerung bewirkt habe. Clay hänselte Pollock wegen seiner Bedenken, daß sogar ein liberaler Professor der Staatswissenschaften einem hartgesottenen Soldaten in den Arm falle, wenn der einem entmündigten Volk schnell das Wahlrecht zurückgeben wolle.²⁴

In seinem Tagebuch berichtete Pollock über seine Arbeit an den Plänen für den Rückzug der Militärregierung und über die Rückgabe der Aufgaben und Verantwortung an die Deutschen. Er erwähnte seine Vorschläge, die deutschen Länder durch teilweise Zusammenlegung zu stärken und die Zusammenarbeit ihrer Regierungen in zentralen Fragen zu fördern. Außerdem wollte er eine Konferenz der höchsten deutschen Regierungsvertreter in einem Joint German Staff organisieren, der auch als Verbin-

²³ Wolfgang Krieger, General Lucius D. Clay und die amerikanische Deutschlandpolitik 1945–1949, Stuttgart 1987, S. 93.

²⁴ Lucius D. Clay, Entscheidung in Deutschland, Frankfurt a. M. o.J., S. 107.

dungsstab zu den Amerikanern dienen sollte. Als derartige Pläne von Pollock entwickelt und Clay vorgetragen worden waren, gab Clay Anweisung, sie sofort auszuführen. Bereits im August/Anfang September 1945 wurden die Rückzugspläne und die Wahldirektiven ausgearbeitet. Am 19. September 1945 bildete die Militärregierung durch Proklamation die drei Länder Bayern, Württemberg-Baden und (Groß-)Hessen. Am 20. September wurde die Zulassung politischer Parteien verkündet. Und am 17. Oktober fand die Konstituierende Sitzung des Länderrats statt, der aus den Ministerpräsidenten der Länder der amerikanischen Besatzungszone zusammengesetzt war. Bereits im November nahm der Länderrat seine Arbeit auf. Jeden Monat fand eine Sitzung der Ministerpräsidenten statt, die durch das Generalsekretariat vorbereitet wurde. Alle Verordnungen und Gesetze, die vom Länderrat erlassen wurden, bedurften der vorherigen Zustimmung der Militärregierung.

Historische Bedeutung maß Pollock der Konstituierung des Länderrats bei, der einen Wendepunkt in den Beziehungen der Amerikaner zu den Deutschen markierte: Zum ersten Mal nach Kriegsende habe Clay Deutschen die Hand gereicht, nämlich den Ministerpräsidenten. Nicht nur daß man die Verantwortung voll auf die Schultern der Deutschen geladen habe, man habe darüber hinaus einen Schlußstein gesetzt: "We have now in a sense put a capstone on the structure of government in our zone."²⁵

Clay hatte Pollock damit beauftragt, die Einrichtung des Länderrats und dessen erste Arbeiten zu überwachen. Pollock meinte zunächst, daß er diesen Auftrag wohl nur in der Anfangsphase für einige Wochen in Stuttgart auszuführen habe, wie er an seine Frau schrieb. Sehr bald stellte sich jedoch heraus, daß er in Stuttgart eine längerfristige Aufgabe zugewiesen bekommen hatte. Er war zum Chef des amerikanischen Verbindungsbüros beim Länderrat ernannt worden, sein Titel lautete zunächst Senior Representative of the Military Governor, dann Director of Regional Government Coordinating Office (RGCO). Das RGCO unterstand Clay und war eine Außenstelle vom Office of Military Government US Zone (OMGUS) Berlin. Wöchentlich wurden das OMGUS Headquarter und die Landesmilitärregierungen über die Tätigkeit des Länderrats informiert. Jeden Monat fanden Stabsbesprechungen statt, wenn Clay nach Stuttgart kam. Das RGCO entwickelte sich zum Hauptinstrument der Verwaltung der amerikanischen Besatzungszone. Clay selbst bezeichnete Pollocks Position als "the number two job in Germany".²⁶ Nach Pollocks Ausführungen gegenüber dem bayerischen Ministerpräsidenten sollte der Länderrat keine Überregierung sein, die den Ländern übergestülpt wurde, er sollte vielmehr die Zonenregierung effizienter gestalten, indem er die Zusammenar-

²⁵ Tagebuch vom 17. 10. 1945.

²⁶ Brief vom 19. 10. 1945.

beit der Länderregierungen in zentralen Fragen förderte, besonders die wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit, um vor allem die Versorgung wenigstens einigermaßen zu gewährleisten. Pollock hielt den Länderrat, den er in seinem Tagebuch als legislative und exekutive Körperschaft bezeichnete, "half cabinet, half parliament"²⁷, auch für wichtig und nützlich gegen den Partikularismus und die kleinlichen Eigeninteressen einiger Länder (Bayern und Baden).

Anfang 1946 wurden die Kompetenzen des Länderrats und der gesamte Apparat desselben erheblich ausgedehnt. Und da der Länderrat mit allen zentralen Fragen, so z. B. Verkehr, Landwirtschaft, Ernährung und Wirtschaft zu tun hatte, ebenso mit der zentralen Gesetzgebung, die erst nach der jeweiligen Genehmigung durch die Militärregierung Wirkung erhielt, wurde das RGCO immer wichtiger; "my office has become the real center of Military Government in the American Zone."²⁸

Pollock ist voll des Lobes über die Tüchtigkeit des deutschen und des amerikanischen Mitarbeiterstabes und über die Qualität und Ernsthaftigkeit der Ministerpräsidenten. Vor allem lobte er wiederholt das gegenseitige Vertrauen, ohne das eine so effektive Zusammenarbeit nicht möglich gewesen wäre. Er hält es sich zugute, persönlich dieses Vertrauen zu den Deutschen in kurzer Zeit aufgebaut zu haben, wozu die Militärs in den langen Monaten ihrer Besatzungspolitik nicht in der Lage gewesen seien.

Pollock selber wurde von Clay sehr gelobt für seine Tätigkeit im RGCO und die Erfolge, die sein Stab gemeinsam mit den Deutschen erzielte. Da sich das RGCO zum eigentlichen Verwaltungszentrum der amerikanischen Besatzungszone entwickelt hatte, wurden alle Delegationen aus den USA, die sich ein Bild über Deutschland machen wollten, nach Stuttgart geschickt, um dort über die Arbeit der Militärregierung und die Probleme in Deutschland informiert zu werden. Pollock entwickelte ein konzentriertes Presse- und Informationsprogramm, beschwerte sich wiederholt über die Ignoranz und die Uninteressiertheit vieler amerikanischer Journalisten, die offenbar nur an "sex, crime and revolution" interessiert seien und sich überhaupt nicht bemühten, die wahren Probleme der amerikanischen Militärregierung und die Verhältnisse in Deutschland kennenzulernen, und daher den größten Unsinn veröffentlichten.

Clay war mit seiner Besatzungspolitik in Deutschland in das Kreuzfeuer der amerikanischen Pressekritik geraten. Es gibt nicht nur im Tagebuch Hinweise, sondern auch in den Pollock Papers eine ganze Reihe von Stellungnahmen Pollocks zu amerikanischen Presseartikeln, offensichtlich Material, das für Stellungnahmen an das State Department und das War Department benutzt wurde, um falschen Darstellungen über die Tätigkeit der amerikanischen Militärregierung in Deutschland entgegenzutreten.

²⁷ Tagebuch vom 5. 2. 1946.

²⁸ Brief an Mutter vom 16. 2. 1946.

Im RGCO liefen nicht nur die Fäden zwischen der amerikanischen Militärregierung und den deutschen Länderregierungen zusammen, die Länderratstagungen boten auch Gelegenheit zur Aussprache zwischen Clay und den Ministerpräsidenten, was nicht nur der gegenseitigen Information diente, die Zusammenarbeit förderte und Vertrauen bildete, sondern es auch ermöglichte, unliebsame und heikle Fragen neben der offiziellen Tagesordnung zu erörtern und abzuklären und damit eine öffentliche Diskussion zu vermeiden. Pollock berichtete von dem sehr starken Eindruck, den Clay mit seiner besonnenen und bestimmten Art auf die Ministerpräsidenten gemacht habe.

Pollock war nicht nur für die deutsche Seite zuständig, sondern auch für die amerikanische, die die deutsche erst regiert hatte und dann kontrollierte. Pollock überwachte als Leiter des RGCO die Arbeit des Länderrats, und auf seinen Inspektionsreisen durch die amerikanische Besatzungszone überprüfte er die Militärregierung auf regionaler und lokaler Ebene. Er versuchte herauszufinden, wie die Militärregierung vor Ort funktionierte, wobei sowohl die Zusammenarbeit mit den übergeordneten Militärregierungseinheiten als auch mit den Deutschen untersucht wurde. Wiederholt kritisierte Pollock, daß die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Headquarters und "the men in the field" nicht funktionierte, da diese nicht genügend informiert seien und sich daher vernachlässigt fühlten. Außerdem nahm Pollock des öfteren Stellung gegen die Militärs, die einige Aufgaben nicht an die Deutschen zurückgeben wollten, weil sie sie gern herumkommandierten (Eisenbahnen), und er kritisierte "the economic destructionists" unter den Militärs, denen er vorwarf "[to] have friends with the Public Safety people". Die negative Haltung gegenüber den Deutschen sei in den ersten Besatzungsmonaten notwendig gewesen, sei aber unklug, wenn man ein demokratisches Deutschland aufbauen wolle.²⁹ Er stellte fest "denazification directive interfered seriously with reconstruction"³⁰, außerdem behindere die "production control policy" die deutsche Industrie. Noch im August 1946 fürchtete Pollock "CIC interference in German denazification tribunals will mess up the good work which has been done" und er moniert die ständigen Kontrollen der Deutschen durch die Armee als Eingriff in die Zuständigkeit der Militärregierung.³¹

Pollock kritisierte nicht nur die sich gegenseitig störenden Aktivitäten von Armee und Militärregierung, sondern auch die unterschiedlichen Ansichten von Militärs und Zivilisten innerhalb der Militärregierung, was nicht nur mit Kompetenzstreitigkeiten und der Sicherung von Machtpositionen im Rahmen der Umorganisation der Militärregierung zu tun hatte, wobei die Militärs sehr darauf bedacht waren, ihre Positionen zu wahren,

²⁹ Tagebuch vom 1. 10. 1945.

³⁰ Tagebuch vom 26. 8. 1945.

³¹ Tagebuch vom 2. 8. 1946.

sondern auch mit einer unterschiedlichen Auffassung über grundsätzliche Fragen der Besatzungspolitik und mit voneinander abweichenden Einstellungen gegenüber Deutschland. Es gebe, so meinte Pollock im April/Mai 1946, offenbar einige Besatzungsoffiziere, die am liebsten die gesamte wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Struktur Deutschlands ändern wollten. Dies sei unmöglich, man könne den Deutschen nur die Ideen geben sowie das moralische Klima und die politischen Bedingungen schaffen, alles andere müßten die Deutschen selber machen.

Die Umorganisation der Militärregierung und ihr schrittweiser Rückzug aus der Regierungsverantwortung brachte einen Personalabbau mit sich. In diesem Rahmen bedauerte Pollock bereits im Oktober 1945 das damit sich verschärfende Personalproblem. Die Militärregierung habe zu wenige fähige Offiziere, und die wenigen könnten bei der Tendenz, die Militärregierung abzubauen, nicht gehalten werden, da keiner genau wisse, wie lange die Militärregierung in Deutschland bleiben werde. Man müsse etwas unternehmen, um ein "complete run-away of Americans from occupation responsibilities" zu verhindern.³² Damit kritisierte Pollock das Nichtvorhandensein einer Gesamtplanung der Militärregierungsaufgaben.

1948 kam Pollock erneut auf das Personalproblem der Militärregierung zu sprechen. Zu dem Zeitpunkt hatte sich die Lage wesentlich verändert, die Militärregierung war bereits erheblich reduziert worden. Pollock gab Empfehlungen zur geplanten Reorganisation. Ein Abbau von Personal sei an sich nicht alarmierend, entscheidend sei vielmehr, daß qualifiziertes Personal desto wichtiger werde, je weniger Leute man habe. Diesem Personal, besonders den Intelligence People, müsse immer wieder der politische Auftrag genau erklärt werden, nämlich nur Überwachungsfunktionen auszuüben. Pollocks besonderes Anliegen war – vor allem bei wachsendem Personalangel – eine gut organisierte Zusammenarbeit und Informationspolitik innerhalb der Militärregierung zwischen allen Ebenen und Einheiten, wobei er die enge Zusammenarbeit zwischen Militärgouverneur und den Direktoren der Landesmilitärregierungen für unerlässlich hielt.

Pollock gehörte zu der kleinen Fraktion derjenigen in der Militärregierung, die gut über Deutschland Bescheid wußten und die die deutsche Sprache beherrschten. Gelegentlich monierte Pollock, daß in der Militärregierung wenige etwas von Deutschland verstünden, häufiger jedoch formulierte er es anders herum. Er erwähnte in seinem Tagebuch oder seinen Briefen jeden freudig, der seiner Meinung nach etwas von Deutschland verstand. Es waren offenbar wenige. Seine gute Kenntnis von Deutschland und den Deutschen trug dazu bei, daß er eine durchaus positive Haltung gegenüber den Deutschen hatte und, nach einer deutlichen Bestrafung unmittelbar nach Kriegsende, einen Wiederaufbau für sinnvoll hielt, und

³² Tagebuch vom 30. 10. 1945.

zwar mit Hilfe der positiven Kräfte und Traditionen in Deutschland. Er begründete dies damit, daß es andernfalls viel zu teuer für die USA würde. Eine zu lange währende direkte Militärregierung, die alle Verwaltungs- und Regierungstätigkeiten selbst auszuführen hätte, erfordere eine enorm große Anzahl von Militärs in Deutschland, und das für einen langen Zeitraum. Pollock hatte Zutrauen zu den Deutschen und meinte, diese könnten das selbst viel besser. Zudem könnte ein unterernährtes Volk zu Unruhen neigen und den Verlockungen des Kommunismus erliegen. Ohne fähiges Personal sei eine Wirtschaft jedoch nicht wieder aufzubauen, also dürften nicht alle entlassen werden, nur weil sie politisch belastet seien. Ein Volk ohne einigermaßen funktionierende Wirtschaft könne sich nicht selbst versorgen und werde daher dem amerikanischen Steuerzahler zur Last fallen. Also sei ein begrenzter wirtschaftlicher Wiederaufbau unter Kontrolle der Besatzungsmacht notwendig, ebenso die Rückgabe der Verwaltungs- und Regierungsfunktionen an die Deutschen unter Aufsicht der Militärregierung. Die Engländer, in vielen anderen Fragen von Pollock sehr geschmäht und abqualifiziert, wurden in diesem Punkt von ihm gelobt. Sie hätten es von Anfang an besser gemacht als die Amerikaner und die Deutschen in eigener Verantwortung die Arbeit tun lassen. Auf diese Weise hätten sie viel mehr erreicht; deshalb arbeiteten schon im September 1945 die Fabriken, Eisenbahn und Post in der britischen Zone.

Früh hatte Pollock also begonnen darauf hinzuwirken, daß die Verantwortung für Verwaltung und Regierung den Deutschen bald und ganz zurückgegeben werden sollte. Mitte Dezember 1945 schrieb er seiner Frau, daß er Clay zwei Monate lang habe drängen müssen ("strong urgings"), bis dieser dazu bereit gewesen sei.

Die wiedererlangte deutsche Regierungsverantwortung auf lokaler und regionaler Ebene sowie dann im überregionalen Länderrat war jedoch wesentlich eingeschränkt durch die Kontrolle der Amerikaner. Alle Gesetze mußten der amerikanischen Militärregierung zur Genehmigung vorgelegt werden, alle politischen Leitungspositionen von den Amerikanern bestätigt werden. Die Bestätigung erfolgte keineswegs immer. Nicht selten geschah es, daß man schon in der Vorbereitungsphase auf die Gestaltung von Gesetzen oder auf Ernennungen Einfluß nahm. Ohnehin war den deutschen Verantwortlichen von Anfang an klar gemacht worden, daß sie über Freiheit und Selbständigkeit nur im Rahmen der Politik der amerikanischen Militärregierung verfügten. General Clay hatte bereits auf der Konstituierenden Sitzung des Länderrats gegenüber den Ministerpräsidenten der Länder ausgeführt: "within expressed U.S. policy 'yours is the responsibility'. We will not dictate to you except as you violate expressed policy. We expect you to accept and to carry out your responsibility within that

policy.”³³ Und um dieses sicherzustellen, verkündete Clay zudem: “A small American staff will be assigned at Stuttgart to supervise the work of the council and to see that it keeps within the scope of approved United States policy.”³⁴

Pollock als Direktor des amerikanischen Verbindungsbüros zwischen Länderrat und Militärregierung saß also an der obersten Stelle der amerikanischen Kontrollinstanz über die deutschen Ministerpräsidenten und den Länderrat. In intensiven Gesprächen mit den Ministerpräsidenten und dem Generalsekretär des Länderrats verfügte er nicht nur über sehr direkte Kontrollmöglichkeiten, es boten sich ihm auf diesem Wege auch die besten Möglichkeiten der Einflußnahme im Sinne des Erziehungsauftrags, den Deutschen demokratisches Bewußtsein beizubringen und für einen dezentralisierten föderalistischen Staatsaufbau zu sorgen. So griffen die Amerikaner ein, wenn sie diese Ziele gefährdet sahen, z. B. gegen partikularistische Bestrebungen der einzelnen Staaten oder bei Gesetzesformulierungen, wie dem Entnazifizierungsgesetz und dem Betriebsratsgesetz. Ein heilsamer Zwang wurde durch die Tatsache ausgeübt, daß Entscheidungen des Länderrats nur einstimmig erfolgen durften, und da man unter dem Druck der wirtschaftlichen und Versorgungsprobleme Lösungen finden mußte, war man im Länderrat zu Kompromissen gezwungen.

Allen Beteiligten war klar, daß die Wirtschaft der amerikanischen Besatzungszone, vor allem die Versorgung der Bevölkerung durch die Zoneneinteilung schwer beeinträchtigt war und immer bedrohlicher wurde und daß Deutschland eigentlich nur als ökonomische Einheit lebensfähig war. Man erkannte jedoch auf amerikanischer Seite immer deutlicher, daß es dabei angesichts der unterschiedlichen Konzeptionen und Interessen keine Gemeinsamkeit mit der Sowjetunion gab und die Franzosen sich nach wie vor allen zentralen deutschen Verwaltungsinstanzen widersetzen. Also versuchten die Amerikaner bereits im Dezember 1945, erste Kontakte zu der ihren Ansichten am nächsten stehenden Besatzungsmacht, der britischen Zone aufzunehmen.

Anfang Dezember 1945 hielt Pollock einen Vortrag über die Probleme der Viermächteverwaltung Deutschlands vor dem Stab der 7. Armee in Heidelberg und äußerte sich über die territorialen und administrativen Voraussetzungen eines zukünftigen föderalistischen deutschen Staates. Das waren die grundsätzlichen Fragen, mit denen sich die Verantwortlichen in der Militärregierung schon seit einiger Zeit auseinandersetzten. Pollocks Memorandum über dieses Thema wurde von Murphy dem State Department zur Entscheidung vorgelegt.³⁵ Im Laufe des Dezember 1945

³³ Ansprache Clays auf der Konstituierenden Sitzung des Länderrats am 17. 10. 1945, AVBRD 1, Dok. 2.

³⁴ Ebenda.

³⁵ Vortrag am 8. 12 1945, Some Problems of Quadrupartite Occupation; Memo

machte Pollock wiederholt Vorschläge, daß man ein Treffen der Länderregierungen der amerikanischen Besatzungszone mit denen der anderen Besatzungszonen fördern sollte, um damit eine Zusammenarbeit der Länder in die Wege zu leiten. In seinem Tagebuch stellte er sich die Frage, wie wohl "topside" in dieser Angelegenheit reagieren und entscheiden werde. Hier zeigen sich deutlich die ersten Vorbereitungen zur Zusammenführung der neuen deutschen Staatswesen zu einem föderalistischen deutschen Gesamtstaat. Im Länderrat war ein Modell entworfen worden, wie die einzelnen Länder über die Ministerpräsidenten pragmatisch zusammenarbeiten konnten. Nun sollte diese Institution durch Erweiterung Ausgangspunkt für den Aufbau eines dezentralisierten Bundesstaates werden mit dem Ziel, wenn schon nicht einen deutschen Gesamtstaat, so doch wenigstens einen deutschen Weststaat zu errichten.

Zum neuen Jahr, am 1. Januar 1946, notierte Pollock seine sehr widersprüchlichen Gedanken über die Zukunftsaussichten der Politik der amerikanischen Militärregierung. Nur dann, wenn es gelänge, die festgefahrene Situation im Kontrollrat aufzubrechen, und wenn man Deutschland als ökonomische Einheit verwalten könne, sei 1946 ein Fortschritt möglich. Doch wenn es so weitergehe und auch die Franzosen ihren Widerstand gegen jegliche zentrale deutsche Verwaltung nicht aufgäben, könne sich die sowieso schon schlechte Situation Deutschlands nur noch verschlimmern, "from bad to worse", und ein wirtschaftlicher Kollaps sei dann nicht mehr ausgeschlossen. Dann seien die Amerikaner gezwungen, eine Zonenregierung einzusetzen und aus dem Länderrat eine starke zentrale Autorität zu machen. Wenn Deutschland nicht von einem Zentrum aus wiederaufgebaut werden könne, dann müsse es sich möglicherweise selbst auf Länderebene zusammenschließen, so wie sich die drei Länder der amerikanischen Besatzungszone zusammengeschlossen hätten.

Es ist spannend zu beobachten, wie sich – notgedrungen aus der Situation heraus – Schritt für Schritt die Erkenntnis durchsetzte, daß man von der Deutschlandplanung zur Weststaatsplanung übergehen mußte, ja daß die Planungen schon im Übergang begriffen waren. Damit war die Entwicklung vorgezeichnet. Der Länderrat wurde ausgeweitet und bekam immer mehr Aufgaben, Ausschüsse und Sonderbevollmächtigte, wurde mit Arbeit überhäuft und bewältigte Unmengen davon, wie Pollock wiederholt staunend anmerkte. Und dies alles geschah unter der Aufsicht der Amerikaner, besonders Pollocks, der auf diese Weise mit allen wesentlichen politischen Fragen dieser Zeit befaßt war und durch Empfehlungen und intensive vertrauliche Gespräche Einfluß auf die Deutschen nahm.

Ende Januar/Anfang Februar 1946 erfolgte auf Pollocks Anregung hin

Pollock vom 10. 12. 1945, von Murphy an State Department am 18. 12. 1945, Foreign Relations of the United States. Diplomatic Papers (FRUS) 1945 III, S. 1032, Anm. 13. – Siehe auch Hinweise in Tagebuch vom 8. 12. 1945.

Clays Einladung an die Länderchefs der britischen Zone. Das erste Treffen zwischen Vertretern der amerikanischen und der britischen Zone unter Führung der jeweils zuständigen Besatzungsoffiziere fand am 6. Februar in Stuttgart und das nächste vom 28. Februar bis 1. März in Bremen statt. Pollock berichtete von dem unterschiedlichen Aufbau der britischen Militärregierung und damit auch von dem anderen Aufbau der deutschen Verwaltung in der britischen Zone, und er wies wiederholt darauf hin, wie weit diese in der Entwicklung der amerikanischen Zone hinterherhinkte.

Es fanden immer häufigere Treffen zwischen Regierungsvertretern der amerikanischen und der britischen Zone statt bis dann, in Reaktion auf die ganz unbefriedigenden Ergebnisse der Pariser Außenministerkonferenz und in Übereinkunft zwischen Washington und London, im Oktober 1946 die ersten Schritte für die Einrichtung des Vereinigten Wirtschaftsgebiets getan wurden durch die Abkommen über die Schaffung bizonaler Verwaltungen für Ernährung, Verkehr, Wirtschaft, Finanzen und Post. In einem Abkommen vom 2. Dezember 1946 wurde schließlich die Bizonengründung vereinbart, die zum 1. Januar 1947 in Kraft treten sollte.

Die Phase des Zusammenschlusses erlebte Pollock nicht mit. Er hatte sie zwar vorgeschlagen und intensiv mit vorbereitet vor seiner Abreise aus Deutschland, jedoch auch wiederholt auf die Schwierigkeiten hingewiesen, die ein Zusammenschluß der beiden Zonen wegen ihrer Unterschiedlichkeit notwendigerweise mit sich bringen würde.

Vor seiner Abreise aus Deutschland gab Pollock dem Länderrat noch eine Mahnung und Warnung mit auf den Weg. In seiner Abschiedsrede warnte Pollock den Länderrat eindringlich vor einem zentralistischen Staat und mahnte die Ministerpräsidenten, kompromißlos an einem gesunden föderalistischen Staatsaufbau festzuhalten, der sich auf eine starke und ausgewogene regionale Grundlage in Form starker Länder stütze, und dieses vor allem bei den bevorstehenden Verhandlungen und Vereinbarungen mit den anderen Zonen nicht aus den Augen zu verlieren. Außerdem wiederholte er mit Nachdruck seine Besorgnisse wegen einer möglicherweise alles beherrschenden Bürokratie, die der parlamentarischen Kontrolle entgleiten könnte.³⁶

Als Pollock Anfang 1947 für zweieinhalb Monate wieder nach Deutschland kam, geschah dies auf Wunsch Clays, der Pollock in dieser schwierigen Übergangsphase der Länderregierungen bei sich haben wollte, "during the critical transition period to the new Land Assemblies".³⁷ Pollock sollte für

³⁶ Pollock's farewell address to the Laenderrat and Rossmann's reply, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 64-5 sowie Koblenz Bestand Länderrat Z 1/65, S. 267 ff.

³⁷ Wie Litchfield Pollock in einem Brief vom 25. 11. 1946 vertraulich, "strictly between ourselves", mitteilte. Litchfield Correspondence 1946-1949, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 18-5.

Clay eine Inspektionsreise durch die Westzonen durchführen und eine Analyse der politischen Lage erstellen. Die britisch-amerikanische Zusammenarbeit war zu diesem Zeitpunkt schon in vollem Gange, aber nicht ohne Schwierigkeiten. "The joining up with the British zone is a mess as I predicted it would be."³⁸ Mitte 1947 wurden dann die bizonalen Verwaltungen reorganisiert, um sie effektiver zu gestalten.

International stand Anfang 1947 alles im Zeichen der bevorstehenden Außenministerkonferenz von Moskau, auf der ein letzter Versuch der Amerikaner unternommen wurde, mit der Sowjetunion zu Gemeinsamkeiten in der Deutschlandpolitik zu kommen. Auch Pollock war beteiligt. Unmittelbar vor seiner Abreise nach Deutschland (27. Januar 1947) wurde er vom State Department in Washington am 24. Januar 1947 gefragt, ob er nicht für die Vorbereitung des neuen Außenministers Marshall³⁹ auf das auf der Moskauer Konferenz zu behandelnde Deutschlandproblem zur Verfügung stehen würde. Pollock lehnte ab mit dem Hinweis auf seine Verpflichtungen gegenüber Clay, sagte jedoch ein Memorandum zur Deutschlandfrage zu⁴⁰, welches er gleich in den ersten Tagen seines Berlinaufenthalts ausarbeitete und, nachdem er es Clay gezeigt hatte, nach Washington sandte.

In diesem Memorandum an Hilldring vom 3. Februar 1947⁴¹ stellte Pollock einen Zeitplan für den Aufbau einer deutschen Zentralregierung auf: zunächst Bildung eines nationalen Länderrats, dann eines beratenden Volksrats. Am 1. April 1948 sollten die Vertreter einer nationalen verfassungsgebenden Versammlung gewählt werden, die am 1. Mai zusammenzutreten und außerhalb Berlins eine Verfassung auszuarbeiten hätte, welche am 1. September 1948 einer Volksabstimmung unterworfen werden sollte. Gleichzeitig sollte die Wahl eines Nationalparlaments erfolgen und danach die Regierung gebildet werden. Zwei Monate nach der Regierungsbildung wären die Kontrollratsvertreter in Hochkommissare umzuwandeln und, sobald Deutschland in die Vereinten Nationen aufgenommen worden sei, wären die Hochkommissare durch Botschafter zu ersetzen.

Pollock nahm in seinem Memorandum auch zur Frage einer internationalen Ruhrkontrolle und zu den deutschen Grenzen Stellung und gab Empfehlungen für die von der amerikanischen Delegation auf der Moskauer Konferenz einzunehmenden Haltung. Es sei wichtig, die Russen dazu zu bewegen, das auszuführen, wozu sie schon in Potsdam zugestimmt hätten, nämlich eine zentrale deutsche Regierung zu bilden. Diese sei eine dringende Notwendigkeit und nichts sei wichtiger für einen neuen Staat als genügend Land, um seine Bevölkerung zu unterhalten und eine gesunde

³⁸ Brief vom 9. 2. 1947.

³⁹ Byrnes war am 20. 1. 1947 zurückgetreten.

⁴⁰ Brief vom 24. 1. 1947.

⁴¹ Siehe Anhang, Dokument V.

ationale Wirtschaft aufzubauen. Falls diese Entwicklung nicht schnell genug vorangehe, würde eine chaotische Situation eintreten. Und wenn die Deutschen keine Aussicht auf eine angemessene wirtschaftliche Entfaltung hätten, würde kein demokratisches System eine Chance auf Erfolg in Deutschland haben.

Im Hauptquartier von OMGUS in Berlin war ebenfalls alles auf die Moskauer Konferenz eingestellt, man wartete voller Spannung, ob und wer vom State Department aufgefordert würde, mit der amerikanischen Delegation nach Moskau zu reisen. Nachdem die Unterlagen des State Department für Moskau eingetroffen waren, konnte Pollock seiner Frau gegenüber stolz feststellen, das State Department "follows almost exactly what I had proposed".⁴² Pollock nahm zu den offiziellen Konferenzpapieren Stellung⁴³ und half Clay bei seinem Memorandum für Marshall.⁴⁴

Die Delegationen, auch Briten und Franzosen, reisten auf ihrem Wege nach Moskau durch Berlin, so daß auch Pollock Gelegenheit hatte, deren Zusammensetzung kennenzulernen. Er beurteilte die amerikanische Delegation sehr kritisch. Er hielt Clay, der immer noch nicht aufgefordert worden war, mit nach Moskau zu reisen, für den einzigen, der eine saubere Lösung zustandebringen könne, "the rest are small potatoes".⁴⁵ Es waren alle technischen Vorbereitungen getroffen worden, damit Clay und einige seiner Ratgeber hätten nach Moskau fahren können; doch es kam anders. Erst im letzten Moment, nachdem schon deutlich geworden war, daß von der Moskauer Konferenz nicht allzuviel zu erwarten sei, wurde nur Clay nach Moskau gerufen. Pollock, der sich schon auf dem Heimweg in London befand, erhielt kurz vor seiner Abreise aus England einen Anruf von Clay aus Moskau. Amerikaner und Sowjets hatten sich in den Deutschland betreffenden Fragen nicht einigen können und gingen ohne Ergebnis auseinander.

Ebenfalls Anfang 1947 befand sich der Länderrat in einer kritischen Phase, da seine Zuständigkeit – besonders für die Gesetzgebung – durch die aus den ersten freien Wahlen hervorgegangenen Landesregierungen in Frage gestellt worden war und nun eine gegenseitige Lähmung der Aktivitäten von Länderrat und Landesregierungen zur Folge hatte. Auch die bizonalen Instanzen hatten einige Kompetenzen auf sich gezogen, so daß ein regelrechtes Kompetenzvakuum entstanden war. Pollock berichtet von langen Diskussionen mit Clay, in denen er Clay von irrigen Ansichten abzubringen versuchte, bis Clay schließlich doch das machte, was Pollock ihm vorgeschlagen hatte. Clay stellte klar, daß die Befugnisse der Minister-

⁴² Brief vom 2. 3. 1947.

⁴³ Comments on State Department Plans and Proposed Directives, 4. 3. 1947, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 62–16 (IfZ Bd. 10).

⁴⁴ Memo Clay-Marshall, März 1947, FRUS 1947 II, S. 462–471. Siehe auch Hinweis im Brief vom 6. 3. 1947.

⁴⁵ Brief vom 6. 3. 1947.

präsidenten, zoneneinheitliche Gesetze zu erlassen, weiterhin bestehen blieben, trotz der Länderparlamente.⁴⁶

Pollock kam im Verlauf seiner Studienreise durch die amerikanische Besatzungszone zu der Erkenntnis, daß die Stimmung der Deutschen auf einem Tiefpunkt angelangt sei.⁴⁷ Der extrem strenge Winter habe die sowieso schon kritische Versorgungslage noch verschärft, die Flüsse seien zugefroren, der Eisenbahnverkehr unterbrochen, so daß Kohle und Lebensmittel nicht transportiert werden konnten. Es sei nicht nur die schwierige Lage, sondern vor allem auch die Unsicherheit über die Zukunft, die die Bevölkerung verzweifeln lasse. Pollock forderte eine „Aktion Hoffnung“, um dem zu begegnen. Und obwohl er den Auftrag habe, besonders die politischen Fragen und Entwicklungen der Zone zu untersuchen, seien immer wieder die Wirtschaftsfragen in den Vordergrund getreten; auch gewisse Irritationen bei Amerikanern und Deutschen über das Nichtfunktionieren der Bizone spielten eine Rolle.

1948 reiste Pollock erneut nach Deutschland; auf Clays Wunsch und nach Anforderung durch den amerikanischen Heeresminister unternahm er eine siebenwöchige Reise von Mai bis Juni 1948 durch die westdeutschen Besatzungszonen. Eigentlich hätte Pollock schon einige Monate früher kommen sollen, um Clay bei dem „basic installation program“ in Frankfurt zu helfen.⁴⁸ Clay fühlte sich nicht mehr ganz im Bilde über die Entwicklungen in Deutschland und die Gedanken der Deutschen und bat seinen geschätzten Ratgeber, ihm eine Beurteilung der Lage zu liefern. Clay erteilte Pollock den Auftrag, auf einer Inspektionsreise durch die drei westlichen Zonen die allgemeine Stimmung im Lande und die Lage zu erkunden, die Meinung der Deutschen zu erforschen und Bericht über die Entwicklungen zu erstatten.

Auf seiner Reise in einem Sonderzug mit Büro, Sekretariat und Empfangsmöglichkeiten konnte Pollock eine deutliche Verbesserung der Lage in allen Zonen feststellen, sowohl der wirtschaftlichen als auch der sozialen Bedingungen, obwohl es nach wie vor eine große Anzahl jugendlicher Arbeitsloser gab und die Massen von Vertriebenen zur Überfüllung des verfügbaren Wohnraums führten. Dennoch sehe es überall sauberer und aufgeräumter aus. Im Vergleich der drei Westzonen schneide die amerika-

⁴⁶ Das geschah in der Besprechung am 23. 2. 1947 in Berlin, zu der Clay die Ministerpräsidenten nach Berlin beordert hatte, AVBRD 2, Dok. 9. Veröffentlicht wurde diese Regelung durch Proklamation Nr. 4 der amerikanischen Militärregierung vom 1. 3. 1947, Sammlung der Länderratsgesetze, o.O., O.J., S. VIII.

⁴⁷ Siehe Anhang VI. Study Trip through the American Zone, Memo Pollock-Clay, 26. 2. 1947.

⁴⁸ Brief Litchfield – Pollock vom 30. März 1947, Pollock solle von Mitte Dezember 1947 bis Mitte März 1948 nach Deutschland kommen. Litchfield Correspondence, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 18–5.

nische am besten ab, sie sei in einem weitaus besseren wirtschaftlichen Zustand. Die Stimmung der Bevölkerung sei schlecht zu beurteilen, jedoch herrsche die Meinung vor, daß dies das Jahr der Entscheidungen werde. Soweit die Deutschen neben ihrem täglichen Kampf um Nahrung und Unterkunft Zeit hätten, sich über öffentliche Angelegenheiten Gedanken zu machen, würden drei Hauptthemen genannt: 1. die Währungsreform, 2. die Bildung einer westdeutschen Regierung, 3. die Sowjets. Viele Deutsche hätten sich Gedanken über die notwendigen Schritte für den Aufbau eines westdeutschen Staates gemacht; "in fact, almost every leading German has a constitution in his pocket."

Pollock monierte, daß ungeachtet der enormen Fortschritte der lokalen Selbstverwaltung nicht genügend Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet werde und daß in den Landtagen und den gesetzgebenden Institutionen zu viele Beamte säßen, mehr als ein Drittel, das sei eine "dangerous practice"! Ferner machte Pollock auf Probleme aufmerksam, die mit dem Fallen der drei Zonengrenzen für die Militärregierungen auftreten würden, da sich die Rechtslage geändert habe. Durch ein gut ausgearbeitetes Besatzungsstatut und durch die deutsche Verfassung müsse die Position der Militärregierung genau definiert werden. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit müsse der territorialen Organisation des Weststaates gewidmet werden, man sollte zu große oder zu kleine Länder vermeiden, dieses Problem gewissermaßen den Ministerpräsidenten als Vorbedingungen nennen.⁴⁹

Erneut kam also Pollock 1948 in einer für Deutschland wichtigen Phase nach Deutschland. Die west-östlichen Beziehungen waren auf einem Tiefpunkt angelangt, nachdem die Londoner Außenministerkonferenz im Dezember 1947 wegen der Gegensätze in der Deutschlandfrage abgebrochen worden war. Da eine Verständigung mit der Sowjetunion nicht mehr möglich war, vereinbarten die Amerikaner und die Briten, eine Lösung der anstehenden Fragen unter den westlichen Alliierten zustandezubringen. Als Pollock nach Deutschland kam, tagte gerade die zu diesem Zweck in London einberufene Sechsmächtekonferenz zur Deutschlandfrage, deren Beschlüsse richtungweisend für die Entwicklung Westdeutschlands wurden. Pollock erlebte das angespannte Warten auf eine Entscheidung in London und den amerikanischen Ärger über die permanente Verweigerungshaltung der Franzosen. Als sie schließlich doch zustimmten und man am 2. Juni 1948 zu einer Einigung in London in der Sechs-Mächte-Empfehlung⁵⁰ gekommen war, waren die wichtigsten Entscheidungen für einen Wiederaufbau Deutschlands getroffen und der Weg frei gemacht worden für die Zukunft. Es wurde empfohlen, 1. in Deutschland ein förderatives

⁴⁹ Siehe Anhang, Dokument VII. Summery Report, Pollock-Clay, 11. 6. 1948.

⁵⁰ Six Power Recommendation vom 2. 6. 1948, FRUS 1948 II, S. 76–83. Deutsche Übersetzung in: Der Parlamentarische Rat 1948–1949. Akten und Protokolle, Bd. 1, Boppard 1975, Dok. 1 (Parl. Rat).

Regierungssystem zu errichten, 2. die westlichen Besatzungszonen Deutschlands am Marshallplan zu beteiligen und damit am Wiederaufbau Europas, 3. eine internationale Ruhrkontrolle einzuführen sowie 4. ein militärisches Sicherheitsamt einzurichten und ein Besatzungsstatut zu erarbeiten.

Pollock erlebte auch die heftige Reaktion Moskaus auf die Einigung der Westmächte in der Deutschlandpolitik: den Auszug des sowjetischen Vertreters aus der Kommandatura in Berlin (16. 6.) und die Blockade des Berlinverkehrs durch die Sowjets (ab 24. Juni), die Haltung der amerikanischen Regierung, die nicht klein beigab, sondern im Gegenteil die Position behauptete und die Luftbrücke einrichtete zur Versorgung der amerikanischen Truppen und der Berliner Bevölkerung. "Berlin is the front line and we must hold it."⁵¹ Wie Pollock seiner Frau schrieb, habe Clay den Russen klargemacht, falls sie versuchen sollten, die Amerikaner aus Berlin zu verdrängen, würde das Krieg bedeuten "and the Russkis don't want war".⁵² Pollock berichtete auch von deutschen Befürchtungen, daß die Amerikaner vielleicht doch Berlin aufgeben könnten.

Während Pollocks Aufenthalt in Deutschland 1948 wurde in den drei Westzonen am 20. Juni die Währungsreform durchgeführt. Sie war die wichtigste Voraussetzung für die wirtschaftliche Erholung und die Teilnahme Westdeutschlands an der Marshallplanhilfe. Nur so konnten in Deutschland berechenbare wirtschaftliche Verhältnisse hergestellt werden.

Auf seiner Rückreise machte Pollock zunächst Station in Paris, von wo aus er Clay über seine Gespräche mit Botschafter Harriman, Sam Lowell und anderen wichtigen Persönlichkeiten sowie über die Arbeit und die gesamte Planung der ERP(European Recovery Program)-Kommission, also der Hilfsaktion für den Wiederaufbau Europas, berichtete. Sodann blieb Pollock einige Tage in London, setzte sich dort mit dem amerikanischen Botschafter Douglas in Verbindung und informierte ihn eingehend über die Lage in Deutschland, vor allem über die Berlin-Blockade und Clays Haltung dazu. Pollock setzte sich auch mit britischen Politikern in Verbindung, sorgte sehr für eine umfassende Information der britischen Seite über die brisante Situation in Deutschland, versuchte gemeinsam mit Botschafter Douglas, Unterstützung für die amerikanische Haltung zu finden und auf eine starke, unnachgiebige britische Haltung gegenüber den Russen hinzuwirken. Pollock nahm auch an einer Unterhausdebatte über die Deutschlandfrage teil, in der Bevin, Eden und Churchill zur Deutschlandfrage sprachen.

Seine Mission in London hielt Pollock für wichtiger, als an der Ministerpräsidentenkonferenz am 1. Juli 1948 in Frankfurt teilzunehmen, obwohl

⁵¹ Tagebuch vom 19. 6. 1948.

⁵² Brief vom 26. 6. 1948.

Clay ihn eingeladen hatte und ihn mit einem Sonderflugzeug aus London nach Frankfurt holen lassen wollte. Er erlebte also nicht den großen Moment, als die Militärgouverneure den 11 westdeutschen Ministerpräsidenten die Frankfurter Dokumente überreichten.⁵³ Pollock machte Politik in London im Sinne Clays und meinte damit eine wichtigere Aufgabe zu erfüllen.

Die Frankfurter Dokumente enthielten die Vorgaben der Westalliierten für einen Wiederaufbau Westdeutschlands: 1. die verfassungsrechtlichen Bestimmungen, 2. die Länderneugliederung und 3. die Grundzüge eines Besatzungsstatuts. Diese Punkte waren schon in Pollocks Denkschrift für das State Department von Februar 1947 enthalten.⁵⁴

Am 2. Juli, kurz vor der Abreise Pollocks aus England, fand noch ein Telefongespräch zwischen Clay und Pollock über die aktuelle Lage statt, in dem Clay Pollock dringend bat, als Ratgeber zu ihm nach Deutschland zurückzukehren – aber nicht ohne seine Frau.

In der letzten Tagebucheintragung faßte Pollock seine Ansichten über die Zukunftsaussichten Deutschlands folgendermaßen zusammen: Wenn die Berlin-Blockade beigelegt werden könne, wenn die Währungsreform erfolgreich sein werde und wenn es gelinge, eine gute Regierungsstruktur zu errichten, dann werde Westdeutschland sich sehr schnell aufwärts entwickeln und seinen Anteil am Erfolg des Marshallplans leisten, „but don't forget the 'ifs'“, man möge aber nicht die vielen „wenns“ vergessen.⁵⁵

Neben dem chronologischen Ablauf der Ereignisse, der politischen Entwicklung und den persönlichen Erlebnissen, die Pollock in seinem Tagebuch aufzeichnete und von denen er in seinen Briefen berichtete, gibt es noch einige andere Besonderheiten, die unter vielem anderem bemerkenswert sind; so z. B. das Verhältnis Pollocks zu Clay.

Pollock bewunderte Clay, seine distanzierte Haltung und seine Autorität, seine schnelle Auffassungsgabe und seinen umfassenden Überblick über alle Probleme der Besatzungspolitik. Allerdings machte Clays spontane Entscheidungsfreudigkeit Pollock etwas zu schaffen. Clay konnte sehr schnell nach einem Vortrag oder überzeugenden Argumenten Entscheidungen treffen, deren Ausführung sofort zu erfolgen hatte, was seinen Ratgeber Pollock zur Vorsicht mahnte. Pollock hielt Clay für den einzigen, der die Probleme der amerikanischen Besatzungspolitik und deren Bedeutung für die Politik der USA wirklich kannte und der leider in Washington nur selten gehört und auch zu den Außenministerkonferenzen nicht genü-

⁵³ Konferenz der Militärgouverneure mit den Ministerpräsidenten der westdeutschen Besatzungszonen am 1. 7. 1948 in Frankfurt, Parl. Rat 1, Dok. 3, mit Übergabe der „Frankfurter Dokumente“, Dok. 4.

⁵⁴ Siehe Anhang V.

⁵⁵ Tagebuch vom 2. 7. 1948.

gend herangezogen werde, besonders unter dem neu ernannten und unerfahrenen Außenminister Marshall, der leider keine guten Berater habe. In dieser Beurteilung zeigt sich die enge Bindung Pollocks zu Clay und dessen gutes Verhältnis zu dem ehemaligen Außenminister Byrnes. Nach Byrnes' Ausscheiden ließ auch Clays Einfluß im State Department nach.

Ebenso hielt Pollock die Beurteilung Clays und seiner Verdienste um die amerikanische Besatzungspolitik durch die amerikanische Presse für ungerecht und einseitig. Durchgehend zeigt sich, daß Pollock eindeutig auf Clays Seite stand, sowohl während seiner Tätigkeit 1945–1946 in Deutschland als auch 1947 und 1948. Das wird deutlich u. a. in Pollocks ständigen Bemühungen, Informationen und Aufklärung über die wahren Ziele und Probleme der amerikanischen Militärregierung in Deutschland zu verbreiten, in seinen engagierten Stellungnahmen zu Pressestimmen in den USA und zur Kritik an Clay, und in der Überzeugung, daß Deutschland das Hauptproblem für die amerikanische Außenpolitik sei. Auch während seiner Inspektionsreisen in Deutschland im Jahre 1947 und 1948 monierte er in seinem Tagebuch und seinen Briefen, daß der Deutschland-Experte Clay auf den internationalen Konferenzen zu wenig Berücksichtigung finde.

Trotz seiner Bewunderung für Clay spricht Pollock andererseits seiner Frau gegenüber ganz deutlich aus, in welchen Fragen er Clay geholfen habe, nämlich in allen wesentlichen Fragen des Verwaltungs- und Regierungsaufbaus in Deutschland: "I showed Clay how to organize our zone into states which would later fit into a pattern of a future federal Germany. I helped him to set up proper governments in those states. Then I told him how to tie them altogether in a coordinated whole along democratic lines. I knew German administration. I knew how to handle the Germans. Clay gave me full authority and a privileged position. Everything clicked as I thought it would, but even better. Our zone now becomes a model for the others."⁵⁶

Ohne falsche Bescheidenheit erwähnt er immer wieder, wann und wo er Clay beraten habe, bei welchen Reden, Memoranden und Entscheidungen. Insbesondere und durchaus zu Recht strich er seine eigene Bedeutung für den Länderrat heraus. So war er in der Tat der geistige Vater des Länderrats und des deutschen Regierungsaufbaus. Überhaupt spricht Pollock in seinen Briefen offener, stolzer, ungeschützter – vielleicht sogar auch etwas eitler über seine eigene Position und seine Leistungen. Der gesamte Mitarbeiterstab Pollocks wird zwar lobend erwähnt, jedoch entsteht der Eindruck, daß es außer Pollock nicht sehr viele wichtige Berater mehr gab. Eine sehr wesentliche Eigenschaft Pollocks war offensichtlich seine sehr geschickte Art, sich durch gezielte Befragungen ein Bild von den Problemen zu verschaffen, auch von den Meinungen und Vorstellungen

⁵⁶ Brief vom 16. 6. 1946.

anderer. Er sammelte viel Material, Stimmungsberichte, Ansichten. Dieses alles faßte er zusammen und machte daraus ein Ganzes in Kurzform, leicht für "topside" zu verstehen. Pollock war ein Befragungskünstler, kannte sich mit der Analysearbeit aus, ergriff schnell den wesentlichen Punkt des Ganzen, vereinfachte es und war dadurch, daß er den wissenschaftlichen Fundus hatte, ein überaus nützlicher Ratgeber. Bezeichnend dafür sind die vielen intensiven Gespräche Pollocks mit seinen ehemaligen Mitarbeitern im Stuttgarter RGCO unmittelbar nach seiner Rückkehr nach Deutschland Anfang 1947, um ein möglichst genaues Bild aller Probleme zu bekommen: "In that way I could pick their brains and in a short time learn what is happening."⁵⁷

Neben den politischen Ereignissen im Nachkriegsdeutschland, die Pollock mit entschieden, beeinflußt oder auch nur miterlebt hatte, und seinen Erfahrungen als Zivilist in der Zusammenarbeit mit den Militärs, deren Hierarchie und Verwaltungsmaschinerie, sind es auch seine Beobachtungen, Beurteilungen oder Berichte über die Lebensverhältnisse in Deutschland, die Ernährungslage und die Wohnungssituation, die Stimmung in der Bevölkerung, den Grad der Zerstörung der Städte, die einen sehr direkten Einblick in die Zeit nach 1945 bieten. Dabei kommt Pollocks Betroffenheit über das wahre Ausmaß der Zerstörung und das Elend der Menschen, der scheinbar ziellos auf den Straßen entlangziehenden Flüchtlinge und Heimatlosen und die Trostlosigkeit der gesamten Situation in Deutschland noch unmittelbarer in der Korrespondenz zum Ausdruck, besonders in den Briefen an seine Frau, als im Tagebuch, in dem er eine etwas abgewogenere Beurteilung bevorzugt, gelegentlich mit moralischen Quintessenzen versehen, wenn er – auch in Briefen an seine Mutter – sagt, man dürfe trotz aller beklagenswerten Zustände in Deutschland nicht zuviel Mitleid mit den Deutschen haben, da diese den Krieg verursacht und soviel Unheil über die Welt gebracht hätten.

Es sind auch scheinbare Nebensächlichkeiten aus dem täglichen Leben eines Besatzungsoffiziers, die das Bild abrunden und Rückschlüsse auf die damaligen Nachkriegsverhältnisse zulassen, sei es die Schilderung seiner Unterbringung, der zunächst eingeschränkten Versorgung – mit genauen Berichten über Verpflegungsrationen und Lebenshaltungskosten – oder auch des nicht funktionierenden Postverkehrs zwischen USA und Deutschland; teilweise kamen Briefe mit monatelanger Verspätung an. Es sind die Gedanken und Beobachtungen eines Zivilisten in Uniform – erst ab März 1946 wurde Zivilkleidung erlaubt – über die Lebensverhältnisse und Umstände eines Mitglieds der Militärregierung in einem besiegten und zerstörten Land. Seiner Familie, die er gern in seine Nähe, nach Dänemark oder in die Schweiz, geholt hätte, schrieb Pollock im Oktober 1945: "Germany

⁵⁷ Brief vom 7. 2. 1947.

is out of the question. You have no idea the chaos and disorder which still continues. No trains, no mail, no hotels except for military, few restaurants, little food, nothing to buy, no telephone etc. In three months there will be some improvement, but it would not be attractive to bring you all here in the midst of this destruction except to see it and move on. Even military people carry their own rations when they travel and also carry their own blankets. I never have because I have always traveled de luxe and have been well taken care of.”⁵⁸

Mit der Zeit normalisierte sich die Versorgung des Militärregierungspersonals und es wurde ein recht angenehmes Leben, das besonders die höheren Besatzungsoffiziere in Deutschland führten. Pollocks Beschreibungen der großen Essen und Empfänge sowohl im Hauptquartier der amerikanischen Armee in Heidelberg als auch bei den Gouverneuren der Landesmilitärregierungen oder im Hauptquartier OMGUS – nur für Stabsoffiziere oder auswärtige Gäste – legen ein beredtes Zeugnis dafür ab, welche Bedeutung Pollock der Tatsache beimaß, daß er selber daran teilnahm und welche Personen von hohem Rang anwesend waren. Auch die getreue und genaue Erwähnung von Einladungen anderer Art in Tagebuch und Briefen zeigt, wie sehr Ansehen und Prestige einer Person im amerikanischen Gesellschaftsleben davon abhängen, wer von wem wie oft eingeladen wird oder mit wem ißt.

Pollocks Berichte von den großen Essen und Empfängen der Amerikaner heben sich aber auch krass ab von dem Versorgungs- und Ernährungsnotstand der deutschen Bevölkerung, besonders im Laufe des Jahres 1946, als es bei Pollock noch kurz vor seinem Abschied Mitte 1946 heißt, daß die schlimmste Zeit für die Deutschen noch kommen werde, da alle wirtschaftlichen Reserven nun endgültig aufgebraucht seien. In diesem Zusammenhang ist die Schilderung einer kleinen Geschichte bemerkenswert, die Pollock in einem Offizierskasino erlebte. Ein amerikanischer Offizier bemerkte beim Essen, daß er sich nun mit 3000 Kalorien stärken müsse, um die Kraft zu haben, den Deutschen die Kürzung ihrer sowieso schon geringen Lebensmittelration auf 1000 Kalorien mitteilen zu können.⁵⁹

Neben den angenehmen Seiten des Daseins eines Besatzungsoffiziers hatte die Tätigkeit für die Militärregierung auch eine ganz andere Seite: sie war, wie aus dem Tagebuch und den Briefen Pollocks immer wieder ersichtlich, überaus anstrengend, gewissermaßen ein strapaziöser Job, besonders für diejenigen, die sich wie Pollock voll mit ihrer Aufgabe identifizierten, mit ganzem Engagement arbeiteten, angetrieben von den politischen Erfordernissen und von dem überaus fleißigen Chef Clay, und die darüber hinaus auch noch eigene politische Ideen und Vorstellungen in die Tat umsetzen wollten.

⁵⁸ Brief vom 11. 10. 1945.

⁵⁹ Tagebuch vom 20. 3. 1946

Pollock als Politikwissenschaftler mit Leib und Seele, als Kenner Deutschlands, als ein Mensch, der sich immer rückhaltlos und mit ganzer Kraft für eine Sache einsetzte, fühlte sich voll in seinem Element in seiner Position bei der amerikanischen Militärregierung in Deutschland. Wiederholt berichtete er voller Stolz seiner Frau und besonders seiner Mutter, welche ein großes Erlebnis ihm seine Tätigkeit für die amerikanische Militärregierung in Deutschland sei und welche eine großartige Erfahrung es für ihn bedeute, an dem Versuch teilzuhaben, eine andere Nation zu regieren. Mit fast freudigem Erstaunen, Dankbarkeit und Genugtuung bekannte er seiner Familie gegenüber, welche ein außerordentliches Erlebnis und zugleich wissenschaftliches Experiment für einen Professor darin bestehe, das in der Praxis durchzuführen, worüber er vorher nur in der Theorie geforscht, gelehrt und geschrieben habe. Sein Stolz und seine Erfüllung von seiner Aufgabe waren aufrichtig, fast voller Bewunderung für eine solche Fügung der Lebensumstände. In Hochstimmung vertraute Pollock seiner Frau an: "I'm oh so happy about how this baby of mine [Länderrat] down here has developed. It has great possibilities for the future development of our program and the rebuilding of Germany"⁶⁰; es sei eine große Freude und Genugtuung, das eigene „Baby“ so prächtig wachsen zu sehen.

So war es nicht verwunderlich, daß sich Pollock mit ganzer Energie für seine Aufgabe einsetzte und engagierte bis an die Grenze des physisch Möglichen. Pollock berichtete von einigen, die das mörderische Arbeitstempo und die Streßsituation in der Militärregierung nicht durchgestanden hatten und die für ihren Arbeitseinsatz nicht die Anerkennung fanden wie Pollock; für sie endete die Tätigkeit in der Militärregierung mit Magengeschwür, Kreislaufkollaps oder Nervenzusammenbruch.

Die Anerkennung seiner Verdienste und Leistungen blieb nicht aus. Pollock hatte den Länderrat von seinen Anfängen bis zu seinem Ende begleitet, er war sein Werk gewesen, er hatte ihn geplant, aufgebaut, ausgeweitet und intensiv mit ihm gearbeitet – in der vollen Absicht, daß der Länderrat eine Übergangslösung auf dem Wege zu einer deutschen Regierung sein sollte. Pollock war bei der Gründung des Länderrats im Jahre 1946 dabei gewesen und bei einer der letzten Sitzungen im Jahre 1948 kurz vor dessen Auflösung ebenfalls (28. September 1948 letzte Sitzung). Wie schon im Jahre 1946 so wurde Pollock vom württembergisch-badischen Ministerpräsidenten Maier am 1. Juni 1948 erneut als „geistiger Vater des Länderrats“ begrüßt. Man habe stets voller „Verehrung und Anerkennung“ seiner staatsrechtlichen Grundsätze gedacht. „Wir konnten uns durch Erfahrung überzeugen, wie richtig Ihre Auffassungen über den Aufbau einer Demokratie von unten nach oben“ und „wie richtig Ihre Auffassung und Ihr Unterschied von einem gewählten Abgeordneten und einem ernannten Abgeordneten sind und wie schwerwiegend Ihre Be-

⁶⁰ Brief vom 11. 12. 1945.

fürchtungen waren, daß nicht die Volksvertreter obsiegen, sondern die Ministerialräte.“ Clay ergänzte dieses Lob Maiers und fügte dem hinzu: “Like you [Maier] I, too, have learned the sound principles of democratic government from Dr. Pollock. Every once in a while I find myself forgetting them and send for him to come over here and tell me again. I am grateful that he always responds and does come.”⁶¹

Nach seiner Rückkehr in die USA 1946 stand Pollock in regem Briefverkehr mit seinem Schüler Edward H. Litchfield, dem er 1945 eine Position im Headquarter von OMGUS in Berlin besorgt hatte. Litchfield war zunächst Special Assistant to Ambassador Murphy, ab 1946 Leiter des Government Structure and Administration Branch, seit Mitte 1947 – 1949 Direktor der Civil Administration Division und hatte auf diese Weise mit den gesamten Deutschlandplanungen der Militärregierung zu tun und arbeitete eng mit Pollock und dem RGCO zusammen. Auch nach Rückkehr Pollocks in die USA wurde diese Zusammenarbeit in Form eines Briefwechsels fortgesetzt⁶², durch den Litchfield Pollock über alle wichtigen Entwicklungen in der Militärregierung und in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone unterrichtete. So war Pollock auch in der Zeit seiner Abwesenheit von Deutschland über die dortigen Verhältnisse gut informiert. Von 1948 an waren es hauptsächlich Verfassungsfragen und -entwürfe, über die sich Litchfield und Pollock austauschten.

Pollock übte auch nach Beendigung seiner hauptamtlichen Tätigkeit für die Militärregierung gewisse beratende Funktionen in Spezialfragen aus. Das erstreckte sich auch auf die Formulierung des Besatzungsstatuts, wie aus einem handschriftlichen Randvermerk hervorgeht, den Howard Trivers am 11. Januar 1949 der Übersendung des London Report vom 1. Juni 1948 hinzufügte: “Many, many thanks for your great helpfulness with respect to the Occupation Statute.”⁶³

Auch auf vielen anderen Gebieten blieb Pollock nach Beendigung seiner Tätigkeit für die amerikanische Militärregierung mit ungemindert großem Interesse und in mannigfaltiger Form Deutschland sehr verbunden, nicht nur durch seinen Briefwechsel mit Litchfield und die Beratertätigkeit, sondern auch durch offizielle und halboffizielle Reisen sowie persönliche Freundschaften oder enge Bekanntschaften mit Deutschen, u. a. Ludwig Erhard und Theodor Heuss. In Amerika wurde Pollock Mitglied des 1948 vom American Council of Education eingesetzten Advisory Committee on Cultural and Education Relations with the Occupied Countries, dessen Hauptanliegen die Intensivierung des, in diesem Falle deutsch-amerikani-

⁶¹ AVBRD 4, S. 539 und 541.

⁶² Litchfield Correspondence 1946–1949, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 18–5.

⁶³ Schreiben Howard Trivers – Pollock vom 11. 1. 1949, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 62–8 (IfZ Bd. 11).

schen, Kultur- und Erziehungs-Austauschprogramms war sowie die Förderung und Unterstützung kultureller Institutionen in den besetzten Ländern und deren Kontakt zu ähnlichen amerikanischen Institutionen. Dieses Komitee wurde 1950 einem regierungsunabhängigen und gemeinnützigen "Governmental Affairs Institute (a private, non-profit professional organization)" zur Förderung von Forschung und Kulturaustausch zugeordnet, dessen Direktor Pollock und dessen Beiratsvorsitzender (chairman of the board) sein Schüler Edward H. Litchfield war.

Ebenfalls 1950 unternahm Pollock im Auftrag des US Hochkommissars John McCloy eine Reise nach Deutschland zum Zwecke einer "fact-finding mission" über die konkrete Handhabung und Wirkung des Grundgesetzes der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Pollock pflegte sehr enge Beziehungen zur Atlantik-Brücke, einer Vereinigung, die der deutsch-amerikanischen Verständigung dient und noch heute existiert. Und er war Mitglied in der Franz-Lieber-Stiftung in Bad Godesberg, deren Hauptziel ein vereinigtes demokratisches Deutschland in einem vereinigten Europa war. Für seine großen Verdienste um Westdeutschland, die Bundesrepublik und die deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen verlieh Bundespräsident Heuss James K. Pollock 1953 das große Bundesverdienstkreuz der Bundesrepublik Deutschland.⁶⁴

Seine Kenntnisse und Erfahrungen über die amerikanische Militärregierung in Deutschland wußte Pollock in Amerika gut anzuwenden in seiner Lehre und in Vorträgen am National War College⁶⁵ und bei anderen Institutionen, in Zeitungsartikeln oder Veröffentlichungen.⁶⁶

An seiner Universität Ann Arbor war Pollock überaus aktiv in Lehre und Verwaltung. Er tat viel für das Ansehen seines Department of Political Science und für die Einrichtung eines Vandenberg Center on Foreign Policy at Michigan, setzte sich für eine praxisnahe Lehre und humanistische Erziehung der Studenten ein und warb auch für die Förderung der Kommunikation unter der Professorenschaft durch Propagierung und schließlich die Einrichtung eines faculty club. Ebenso aktiv war Pollock in Berufs- und anderen Verbänden, die International Political Science Association hatte er 1949 mit gegründet und von 1955–1958 als Präsident geleitet.

Parallel zu seinem Lehrberuf, den er stets an zeitgenössischen Probleme

⁶⁴ Kopie der Verleihungsurkunde und Zeitungsartikel sowie Photos von der Verleihung in Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll.

⁶⁵ National War College 1946ff., Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 19–16.

⁶⁶ Pollock und Edward S. Mason, *American Policy toward Germany*, New York 1947; Pollock (Hg.), *Change and Crisis in European Government*, New York 1947; Pollock und James H. Meisel, (Ed.), *Germany under Occupation*, Ann Arbor 1947, ²1949. Pollock und Homer Thomas, *Germany in Power and Eclipse. The Background of German Development*, New York 1952; Pollock u. a., (Hg.), *German Democracy at Work*, Ann Arbor 1955.

men orientierte, war Pollock in verschiedenen Regierungskommissionen tätig, die sich mit der Reform von Verfassungen und Institutionen von Staats- und Bundesregierung beschäftigte. So war er von 1947–1949 Mitglied in dem vom amerikanischen Kongreß eingerichteten Committee on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, der sogenannten Hoover Commission, die sich mit einer besseren Koordinierung zwischen Präsident und den übrigen Zweigen der Bundesregierung befaßte. 1949–1952 arbeitete Pollock an demselben Problem im Citizens' Committee for the Hoover Report, nur daß er nun die Reformvorschläge der Hoover Commission von außen mit Lob oder Kritik begleitete. Wegen seiner Betätigung auf dem Gebiete der Verbesserung der Beziehungen zwischen Einzelstaaten und Bundesregierung wurde Pollock ad personam von Präsident Eisenhower zum Mitglied und stellvertretenden Vorsitzenden der 1959 vom Kongreß eingesetzten Advisory Commission on Governmental Relations ernannt. Nach dem Regierungswechsel 1961 war Pollock nicht mehr als Mitglied dieser Kommission, sondern als Sachverständiger des Kongresses für diese Fragen tätig.

Wie auf Bundesebene so war Pollock auch im Staate Michigan an mehreren Kommissionen beteiligt, die sich mit Regierungsreformen und Gesetzgebung befaßten, so in der Citizens' Conference on State Legislature und in der Governor's Special Commission on Legislative Compensation. Damit eng verknüpft war Pollocks politisches Engagement für die Partei der Republikaner. 1961 wurde er von seiner Partei zum Delegierten für die Michigan Constitutional Convention gewählt. Damit hatte Pollock wesentlichen Anteil an der Ausarbeitung einer neuen modernisierten Verfassung für den Staat Michigan.

Seine vielseitigen Aktivitäten und sein Engagement brachten ihm im Kollegenkreis nicht nur Freunde ein, sondern auch Neider und Kritiker. Wie sein Schüler und Nachfolger auf dem Lehrstuhl für Politische Wissenschaften in Arbor, Professor Samuel J. Eldersveld in einem Interview im April 1993 betonte, waren Pollocks Forschungen jedoch unumstritten, etwa seine Pionierarbeiten über Parteienfinanzierung, die modernsten Methoden der Wahlanalysen und sein "Basic Textbook on the Government of Greater Germany". Stets sei es Pollocks Bestreben gewesen, Erneuerung und Reformen voranzutreiben und eine Verbesserung des demokratischen Regierungssystems durch die Verbesserung seiner Institutionen zu erreichen. Pollock sei unter den Politologen ein "institutionalist" gewesen. Ebenso vehement habe er sich für eine intellektuelle Erneuerung der Politischen Wissenschaften eingesetzt und damit auf eine Verbesserung der praktischen Politik hinwirken wollen. Als Präsident der International Political Science Association und glänzender Redner habe er dafür ein breites Forum gefunden.

Seine umfangreichen Tätigkeiten finden ihren schriftlichen Niederschlag in seinem sehr umfangreichen Nachlaß, der zu fast allen Fragen, mit denen

sich Pollock beschäftigte, Material enthält. Diese "Pollock Papers" werden in der Bentley Historical Library der University of Michigan aufbewahrt und sind ein Teil der Michigan Historical Collections. Ein Führer durch diesen Nachlaß wurde von Anderson verfaßt und als Sonderdruck von der Bentley Library veröffentlicht.⁶⁷

Öffentliche Anerkennung für seine Leistungen und Verdienste fand Pollock von seinem Heimatstaat Pennsylvania, er wurde 1952 zum Botschafter ehrenhalber des Staates Pennsylvania ernannt. Das war eine Auszeichnung, die nur wenigen auserwählten Söhnen dieses Landes zuteil wurde, die es außerhalb des Heimatlandes zu Ansehen gebracht hatten.

Pollocks vielseitige Tätigkeit schloß auch ein sehr enges Verhältnis zu seinen Studenten, zu seinen Freunden und Mitarbeitern, zu Parteigenossen und z. T. zu seinen Kollegen ein. Über allem jedoch stand seine Familie, sie war neben seinem fachlichen und politischen Ehrgeiz der höchste Wert für ihn. Die Korrespondenz mit seiner Frau, z. T. auch die mit seiner Mutter, zeigt die engen Beziehungen zueinander, das Bestreben, den Partner voll und ganz zu informieren, an seinem Leben teilhaben zu lassen, geradezu das Bedürfnis, erst durch diese Teilhabe an allem seine eigene Anerkennung zu vollenden. Pollock bedurfte seiner Frau nicht nur als Adressat für seine Mitteilungen, sondern vielmehr als Partner für einen geistigen Austausch mit einer ihm ganz vertrauten Persönlichkeit. Pollock liebte seine Arbeit, seine Aufgabe, sein politisches Engagement, seine Freunde und seine Familie – und er wollte von ihnen geliebt werden. Um so tragischer war Pollocks persönliches Schicksal. Seine so geliebte und verehrte Frau verstarb nach seiner Rückkehr aus Deutschland noch im Jahre 1948. Seine ihm eng verbundene, schwer zuckerkrankte Tochter starb 1961 und Pollock selbst erlag kurz nach seiner Pensionierung 1968 einem Krebsleiden.

James Kerr Pollock verkörpert in besonderem Maße den Typus des gebildeten Amerikaners, der nicht nur in seinem Beruf aktiv ist, sondern der es als seine Pflicht ansieht, sich an öffentlichen Aufgaben und in der Politik zu betätigen, am öffentlichen Leben teilzunehmen und an der Lösung aktueller Probleme mitzuwirken. Pollock war ein homo politicus, ein besonders ausgeprägtes Exemplar der amerikanischen politischen Führungsschicht, die es geradezu als Aufgabe und Verpflichtung ansieht, neben dem Beruf in allen Bereichen des öffentlichen Lebens und in der Politik aktiv zu sein und in all dieses die Familie mit einzubeziehen.

⁶⁷ Siehe Anm. 1.

Zur Edition

Grundlage dieser Veröffentlichung ist das Besetzungstagebuch Pollocks aus den Jahren 1945–1948 “Occupation Diary. From Potsdam to Paris 1945–1948” sowie die Privatkorrespondenz Pollocks mit seiner Frau und seiner Familie aus demselben Zeitraum. Pollock selbst hatte nach Aussagen seines Sohnes, Mr. Robert N. Pollock, eine Überarbeitung seines Tagebuches anhand der Briefe an seine Frau und Familie geplant, war jedoch nie mehr dazu gekommen. Die Privatbriefe stellen eine wertvolle Ergänzung des Tagebuchs dar, sind in der Beurteilung von Personen und Ereignissen ungeschminkter, unmittelbarer als das geglättete Tagebuch, das offensichtlich für einen breiteren Leserkreis geschrieben war. Zudem sind in den Briefen gelegentlich Ereignisse und Themen erwähnt, die nicht im Tagebuch berücksichtigt wurden.

1. Das Besetzungstagebuch

Das Besetzungstagebuch ist ein Teil des Pollock-Nachlasses (Pollock Papers), der sich in den Michigan Historical Collections der Bentley Historical Library der University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, USA befindet. Das Original des Occupation Diary umfaßt drei Bände sowie einige gesonderte Aufzeichnungen und Briefe im Anhang. Eine Mikrofilmkopie dieses dreibändigen Tagebuchs befindet sich im Bundesarchiv in Koblenz sowie im Institut für Zeitgeschichte in München. Mit Einverständnis des Sohnes, Mr. Robert N. Pollock, wurde diese Veröffentlichung möglich.

Das Occupation Diary wird vollständig und vor allem in seiner Originalsprache zum Abdruck gebracht, da eine Übersetzung den Charme und die Originalität des Tagebuchs wesentlich beeinträchtigt hätte.

Die einzelnen Bände des Occupation Diary sind nach Umfang, Inhalt und Form unterschiedlich. Die Bände 1 und 2, der weitaus größte Teil des Tagebuchs, umfassen die Tagebuchaufzeichnungen Pollocks aus der Zeit seines Aufenthalts in Deutschland von Juli 1945 bis August 1946. Band 1 reicht bis zum 22. April 1946 und ist paginiert (mit einem Stempel), Band 2 beginnt mit dem 23. April 1946 und endet am 18. August 1946; er ist nicht paginiert. Ihm sind die losen, aber nummerierten Seiten mit den Notizen Pollocks von seiner Reise nach Deutschland von Januar bis April 1947 hinzugefügt. Der 3. Band enthält die Tagebuchaufzeichnungen Pollocks während seiner Inspektionsreise durch die drei westli-

chen Besetzungszonen Deutschlands von Mai bis Juli 1948; dieser Band ist ebenfalls nicht paginiert.

Beim Abdruck wird der Einteilung nach sachlich zusammengehörenden Zeitabschnitten der Vorzug gegeben, der erste Teil faßt deshalb die Bände 1 und 2 der Tagebuchaufzeichnungen bis zu Pollocks Abreise aus Deutschland im August 1946 zusammen. Der zweite, sehr viel kürzere Teil enthält dementsprechend den Zeitraum der Inspektionsreise Pollocks durch die amerikanische Besatzungszone von Januar bis April 1947. Beim dritten Teil fällt die Einteilung des Abdrucks mit der des letzten Bandes der Tagebücher zusammen.

Pollock führte sein Tagebuch zunächst handschriftlich, und zwar acht Monate lang bis Ende Februar 1946. Ab 28. Februar 1946 befinden sich die Tagebucheintragungen maschinenschriftlich auf kleineren Seiten, die in das Tagebuch eingeklebt wurden. Er pflegte jeden Morgen seiner Sekretärin etwa 10 Minuten Tagebuch zu diktieren. Die Kurznotizen aus dem Jahre 1947 liegen handschriftlich vor. Die Tagebuchaufzeichnungen aus dem Jahre 1948 beginnen mit zwei Seiten handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen, sodann folgen vom 15. Mai bis 16. Juni maschinenschriftliche, ins Tagebuch eingeklebte Tagebuchaufzeichnungen und ab 23. Juni wieder handschriftliche Eintragungen. Nach seiner Abreise aus Berlin am 23. Juni stand Pollock keine Sekretärin mehr zur Verfügung.

Aus vielen Briefen ist ersichtlich, daß Pollock wegen zu großer beruflicher Verpflichtungen keine Zeit fand, jeden Tag Eintragungen in sein Tagebuch zu machen, daß er jedoch offensichtlich Kurznotizen machte, auf Grund deren er für einen zurückliegenden Zeitraum, für einige Tage oder mehr, nachträglich die Tagebucheintragungen vornahm. Auch aus den eingeklebten maschinenschriftlichen Tagebucheintragungen wird ersichtlich, daß Pollock Tagebucheintragungen nachträglich für zwei oder drei Tage diktierte, was bei seinen häufigen Reisen anders auch nicht möglich war und durchaus üblich ist.

Tatsächlich angefangen hat Pollock sein Tagebuch letztendlich erst Ende Juli/August 1945. Am 24. Juli 1945 bittet er seine Frau, "save my letters", um wenigstens etwas Schriftliches aus der Zeit zu retten, am 29. Juli schreibt er, daß er nun mit dem Tagebuch beginnen wolle, am 5. August erklärt er der Familie, daß er an diesem Tage einige Stunden am Tagebuch zu arbeiten beabsichtige, am 14. August schließlich konnte er seiner Frau erfreut mitteilen: "got my Diary started and will try to keep it going."

Im Dezember 1945 klagte Pollock gegenüber seiner Frau wiederholt, daß er kaum Zeit für sein Tagebuch finde, so daß er es zu lange habe vernachlässigen müssen. Er habe so viel zu arbeiten, daß er abends, wenn er heimkomme, zu müde sei. Am 15. Dezember heißt es aber: "I want to spend several hours today" an seinem Tagebuch. Am 27. Januar 1946 klagt Pollock schon wieder: "I'm away behind on my Diary. I never get to read anything but official reports." Im Laufe des Februar steigerte sich seine

Unzufriedenheit damit, daß er für Tagebuchaufzeichnungen keine Zeit fand wegen der Vorbereitung und der Abhaltung der ersten freien Wahlen in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone. Am 3. Februar 1946 schreibt er seiner Frau: "My Diary ist away behind. It's a shame because I can't possibly write all the thrilling experiences I am having, and the interesting part I am playing in this great adventure." Aber: "I've tried to keep you informed."

Am 24. Februar teilt er seiner Frau mit, daß er nun ein neues System entwickelt habe, um die Ereignisse festzuhalten, von denen er berichten möchte: "I've adopted the system now of getting down on a piece of paper the ideas I want to write to you and then in all the rush of other things I won't forget." Schließlich beginnt Pollock mit dem täglichen Diktat von Tagebuchnotizen.⁶⁸ Dennoch klagt er im weiteren Verlauf seines Deutschlandaufenthalts immer wieder darüber, daß ihm zu wenig Zeit für sein Tagebuch bleibe: "I'm trying so hard to keep up my Diary, but it's a big chore."⁶⁹

2. Pollocks Privatkorrespondenz

Die Äußerung des Sohnes, daß Pollock selbst eine Überarbeitung seines Tagebuchs anhand der privaten Briefe an seine Frau und seine Familie (aus demselben Zeitraum seiner Deutschlandaufenthalte) geplant hatte, veranlaßte mich, die Familie Pollock zu bitten, nach der zunächst nicht auffindbaren Privatkorrespondenz zu suchen und ihr Interesse an dieser nicht leichten Aufgabe wachzuhalten. Das dauerte seine Zeit. Schließlich wurden die Briefe von der Familie, der ich zu großem Dank verpflichtet bin, gefunden und an die Bentley Historical Library der University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, gegeben, wo sie nunmehr als Private Correspondence einen weiteren Bestandteil der Pollock Papers und damit der Michigan Historical Collections bilden. Nach einer längeren "processing procedure" waren diese Privatbriefe dann auch zugänglich und standen mir mit Einverständnis der Familie für eine teilweise Veröffentlichung zur Verfügung.

Pollocks Privatkorrespondenz aus dem Zeitraum seines Deutschlandaufenthalts in den Jahren 1945–46, 1947 und 1948 ist recht umfangreich und enthält vornehmlich Briefe an seine Frau, aber auch an seine Mutter und Schwester (seine hochbetagte Mutter lebte seinerzeit bei seiner Schwester in New Castle, Pennsylvania, USA). Während Pollock seiner Frau sehr häufig schrieb, in den ersten Monaten mehrere Briefe pro Woche, gelegentlich jeden Tag, zuweilen zwei Briefe an einem Tag, schrieb er seiner

⁶⁸ Brief an seine Mutter vom 24. 3. 1946.

⁶⁹ Brief an seine Frau vom 9. 6. 1946.

Mutter etwa alle Woche bis 10 Tage einen Brief. Ab März/April 1946 wird die Beanspruchung Pollocks durch seine Tätigkeit so groß, daß er seiner Frau nur noch 2–3 Briefe pro Woche schrieb, ab Mai bis Juni 1946 werden die Briefe dann noch etwas seltener und während der Reisen gibt es nur “my usual Sunday letter”.

Während seiner Deutschlandreise von Januar bis April 1947 gelang es Pollock trotz guter Vorsätze nicht, ein Tagebuch zu führen. Noch im Januar 1947 heißt es: “My Diary hasn’t started yet – I hope, I hope I’ll get time!”⁷⁰ Doch am 8. März muß er eingestehen: “I’m not being able to get things written down like I want to.” Aus diesem Zeitraum sind nur seine Kurznotizen erhalten, ein Itinerar von seiner Inspektionsreise gewissermaßen, das erst durch die Briefe vervollständigt wird. Für das Jahr 1947 stellen also die Briefe nicht nur, wie für den ersten und dritten Teil der Edition, eine Ergänzung des Tagebuchs dar, sie bieten die Hauptinformationen über Pollocks Aufenthalt in Deutschland und haben daher ein größeres Gewicht.

Aus dem Jahre 1948, Mai – Juli, liegen wieder Tagebuchaufzeichnungen Pollocks vor, so daß die Privatkorrespondenz für diesen Zeitraum eine Ergänzung zum Tagebuch darstellt.

Soweit feststellbar, sind die Briefe Pollocks an seine Frau, bis auf einen, alle vorhanden. Da Pollock sehr bemüht war, seiner Frau klar zu machen, wann er jeweils das letzte Mal an sie geschrieben hatte, und er mit diesen genauen Angaben wohl auch kontrollieren wollte, ob alle seine Briefe ankamen, besonders im ersten Jahr seines Deutschlandaufenthalts, hat man einen recht guten Überblick. Offenbar sind alle Briefe vollständig, bis auf zwei: von einem (17. November 1945) ist die Hälfte der ersten Seite abgerissen, und der andere Brief (15. Dezember 1945), den Pollock am Geburtstag seiner Frau an sie geschrieben hatte, liegt nur zusammengestückelt vor; offensichtlich wurden ganze Absätze herausgeschnitten und dann der Rest zusammengeheftet.

Die umfangreiche Privatkorrespondenz Pollocks wurde nicht vollständig zum Abdruck gebracht, da sie in weiten Teilen sehr persönliche und private Angelegenheiten enthält. Es wurden nur die Briefe oder Ausschnitte von Briefen abgedruckt, die politisch relevant sind, die von seinen täglichen Erlebnissen in seiner Arbeit und auch vom Alltag eines amerikanischen Besatzungsoffiziers Zeugnis ablegen, in denen Beurteilungen von Persönlichkeiten bemerkenswert sind, Anmerkungen über die sozialen oder politischen Fragen und über Lebensverhältnisse ganz allgemein in Deutschland, über Stimmung und Atmosphäre im Lande oder Hinweise auf Pollocks Meinung über Deutschland und die Deutschen sowie über die Alliierten. Dabei wurden auch scheinbare Nebensächlichkeiten berücksichtigt, die das Bild abrunden, das sich Pollock von seiner Aufgabe, seiner

⁷⁰ Brief an seine Frau vom 29. 1. 1947.

Umgebung und der damaligen Zeit machte und das uns auch die Persönlichkeit Pollocks von den verschiedensten Seiten zeigt.

Es werden sowohl ganze Briefe als auch, mehrheitlich, Briefausschnitte veröffentlicht. Auslassungen sind durch drei Punkte in eckigen Klammern [...] gekennzeichnet. Die vielen privaten Passagen der Briefe wurden fortgelassen.

Da das Tagebuch Grundlage und wesentlichster Bestandteil der Veröffentlichung ist, wurden die Briefe dem Tagebuch untergeordnet und parallel zum Tagebuch zum Abdruck gebracht, und zwar in chronologischer Reihenfolge unter dem jeweiligen Datum anschließend an die Tagebucheintragung. Nur in wenigen Ausnahmefällen wurde davon abgewichen, nämlich dann, wenn der betreffende Brief offensichtlich vor Beginn der Tagesarbeit, vor einer Reise oder einer bestimmten Aufgabe abgefaßt worden war. Um die Privatkorrespondenz auch rein äußerlich vom Tagebuch abzuheben, wurden die Briefe kursiv gesetzt.

Die Briefe an Frau und Familie schrieb Pollock fast ausschließlich mit der Hand. Es gibt nur einige wenige Ausnahmen, in denen er Briefe mit der Schreibmaschine schrieb. Diese sind im Abdruck an einem ganz kleinen Merkmal zu erkennen: In den maschinenschriftlichen Briefen wird die Briefanrede mit einem Doppelpunkt abgeschlossen, bei den handschriftlichen Briefen folgt auf die Anrede ein Gedankenstrich oder, ganz selten, ein Komma.

3. Anhänge

Pollock plante nicht nur eine Überarbeitung seines Tagebuchs, sondern offensichtlich auch dessen Veröffentlichung. Dies geht aus einer Notiz Pollocks in seinem Nachlaß hervor, in der er festhielt, welche Zusätze er zu seinem Tagebuch beabsichtigte: 1. das Kapitel "Germany under Military Occupation", das er 1947 in einem Sammelband in New York und in einer anderen Edition ebenfalls 1947 in Ann Arbor veröffentlichte⁷¹, 2. "Paper on Laenderrat" vom 19. Februar 1946 und 3. "Ten year plan for Germany", wie er ihn in seinem Memorandum für das State Department vom 3. Februar 1947 umrissen hatte. Das bereits mehrmals veröffentlichte Kapitel wird hier nicht noch einmal aufgenommen. Jedoch werden drei Schreiben Pollocks an Everett S. Brown aufgenommen, die sich im Anhang des Tagebuchs befinden, sowie ein Gedicht über die amerikanische Deutschlandpolitik, das ehemalige Mitarbeiter der amerikanischen Militärregierung in Erinnerung an ihre große Zeit und Aufgabe in Deutschland auf einer Weihnachtsfeier 1946 in Ann Arbor vorgetragen haben und das sich im Pollock-Nachlaß befin-

⁷¹ Siehe Anm. 66.

det, so daß folgende Dokumente im Anhang zum Abdruck gebracht werden:

- Dokument I: Pollock an Brown, vom 7. August 1945;
- Dokument II: Paper on Laenderrat, vom 19. Februar 1946;
- Dokument III: Pollock an Brown, vom 14. März 1946;
- Dokument IV: Pollock an Brown, vom 27. Juli 1946;
- Dokument V: Memorandum Pollocks für das State Department, vom 3. Februar 1947;
- Dokument VI: Study Trip Through the American Zone, vom 26. Februar 1947;
- Dokument VII: Summary Report of the Principal Findings and Observations Arising out of my Recent Trip to the Three Western Zones;
- Dokument VIII: Gedicht über die amerikanische Deutschlandpolitik bis Ende 1946.

Die Schreibweise Pollocks wurde nur, soweit notwendig, in einigen Punkten vereinheitlicht, ansonsten weitgehend übernommen, das gilt ganz besonders für seine Eigenheiten wie seine Vorliebe für Gedankenstriche, durch Bindestriche verbundene Hauptwörter, seine Angewohnheit, Plural-“s” durch Apostroph an eine Abkürzung zu hängen, seine Abneigung gegen Kommas, generell seine eigenwillige Handhabung der Interpunktion sowie die Großschreibung militärischer Titel und Einheiten, ebenso seine Angewohnheit, Briefanreden und Grußformel am Schluß eines Briefes groß zu schreiben. Die anfänglich bei den maschinenschriftlichen Tagebucheintragen 1946 jedem Tag vorangestellte Überschrift “Highlight Summary of the Day” oder “Highlights of the Day”, die Anordnung und Formulierung des Datums und die unter jeder maschinenschriftlichen Tagebucheintragung abschließend angefügten Initialen Pollocks “J.K.P.” wurden so wie im Original übernommen.

Die Kommentierung wurde so knapp wie möglich gehalten und soll u. a. nur einige Hinweise auf weiteres Material in dem sehr umfangreichen Pollock-Nachlaß und auf offizielle Dokumentationen geben.

Teil I

Occupation Diary and Private Correspondence

From Potsdam to Paris

June 1945 – August 1946

Ann Arbor, June 1, 1945

Dear Folks:¹

To save time and provide all the necessary details, I will write one letter and send all of you a copy. I want you to know what happened to me in Washington because it seems rather important.

As a result of my many interviews and conversations I learned that my services had been requested by Ambassador Robert Murphy and General Clay who is General Eisenhower's deputy for German affairs. They have asked the State Department to appoint me as an adviser to the American group of the Central Control Council which is to govern Germany. My appointment would be in the Foreign Service of the State Department which would become responsible for my travel and other administrative arrangements. I would be working for the General as an adviser particularly on internal affairs such as local and regional government, civil service and related political and governmental questions. I would advise and consult, the General would then give orders and other military men would carry them out. I would then supervise the implementation of the orders in the American zone. Obviously for some time to come, the work would be at the top wherever the Central Control Commission has its headquarters. Later it would be both at the top and within the American zone which will be south Germany. The army would provide housing and food. I would probably have to wear a uniform for identification and control purposes at least at first. The rank I understand is to be the same as colonel.

My salary I told them had to be enough so that I would not have to make any financial sacrifice, and they assured me that this was no problem. I would be paid a base salary plus overtime and living allowance. The latter would probably amount to about \$ 1500 and I understand is tax exempt. The Foreign Service will provide travel for me and my family and effects from home to the place of duty and return. Obviously I would not want to take the family at this time or for some months to come. But later it might be arranged and they could go to Switzerland or France or Denmark where they would be comfortable and where the kids could go to school.

They would like me to go for a year, and to leave within a month or six weeks. They suggested that I not wait for final appointment to begin to take shots for typhoid, tetanus, typhus, yellow fever as well as a physical exam. When I suggested that my President might not like to give me a year's leave of absence General Hilldring said: "Do you think that he would refuse a request direct from President Truman?"

¹ Es handelt sich offensichtlich um einen Brief Pollocks an seine Familie; seine Mutter lebte bei der verheirateten Schwester in New Castle, Pennsylvania, USA.

It looks like a position for which I am qualified and in which I could make a contribution. It would be working with the top policy makers and it would not only develop me but it is really quite flattering to be considered. Naturally I am thinking not merely of my future career but also of my family. Agnes sees how important it is for me, but she is upset at the prospects of either staying alone without me or even of coming over to Europe to be with me. I hope this can be worked out satisfactorily for it will take the edge off the whole thing if everybody isn't happy about it. I think I see all the difficulties as well or better than anyone else, and of course I will not accept unless everything can be worked out to my satisfaction. You should have heard the kids when I told them about it all last night at supper. They were both ready to get on a plane tomorrow! Bob said: "I really need a year in Europe." But of course kids don't see all the problems. All I want to be sure of is that the family is well provided for either here or with me over there or at least near me. I don't want to be away from them any more than they want to be away from me.

I suppose it will be ten days or two weeks until I hear definitely but it looks as if I should accept. It seems like a great honor and a great opportunity. You understand that it is still secret and you must not talk about it to others. When I have to make definite arrangements I will let you know. In any case I would not leave until after the Fourth of July.

I don't want to cause anyone to worry. I can't help it if I'm called to do an important job; it seems now that there's nothing to do but go.

Love,
James

Department of State, Washington, July, 11, 1945

My Dearest Mother:

I am writing you a birthday letter on this stationery of the government agency for which I am now working. Who would have known a year ago that I would now be Uncle Sam's employee instead of an employee of the University of Michigan? And who would have known that your whole family except two of your grandchildren could not be with you on your 83rd birthday. I feel very bad that I am not now with you, but I hope you got my telegraphic greeting this morning and that you understand that it had to be worded to meet present government regulations that no birthday greetings can now be sent.

I am writing this letter from the State Department Building which used to be called the State, War, and Navy Building. I am using a reception room set aside for the use of members of the Foreign Service of the United States of which I am now a humble member. I am waiting to call on a couple of high officials as a matter of courtesy to get their suggestions before my departure.

I cannot be sure just which day I shall leave but it now looks like the end of the week. Things move slowly in big government offices. Agnes has been a big help and has made all my work more pleasant. I now have the uniform and equipment necessary, and most of the other thousand and one details are being worked out. It takes a lot of jumping around between buildings and I'm pretty tired when I get back to the hotel. [. . .]

With my deepest expressions of love and my heartiest congratulations on your 83rd birthday! You are indeed the most wonderful Mother in the world and I want you to enjoy many more years of good health, and so I can have a better chance to show you how much I love you.

James

Washington D.C., July 13, 1945, 10:30 P. M.

Dearest Mother –

I'm scheduled to depart about midnight, and I take my last few minutes of preparation to send you my love. [. . .]

The air transport people make you feel that a flight over the ocean is just another flight. It is a great adventure for me. [. . .]

God bless you, Mother dear, and write me soon.

Lovingly,
James

Paris, July 15, [1945]

My Dearest –

Excuse the paper and pencil, but there is nothing else available and I want to send you a note of my trip from Washington without delay. I cabled you from the Embassy here as soon as I got down town from the airport. I hope it was received promptly. I will send you word from Frankfurt about address as soon as I get it.

My trip was quite ideal. We left Washington at 12:30. Unfortunately I did not have an opportunity to phone you. There were only five passengers: an airforce colonel, two newspapermen, a JAG major and myself. It was a cargo and hospital plane and not one with plush seats. But, because there were so few of us we could stretch out on the bunks or on the floor and really sleep. It was much smoother and quieter than a train. I slept most of the way to Newfoundland where we arrived at six o'clock. There we had breakfast and an hour's stretch. Then the 8 1/2 hour hop over the ocean to the Azores. The weather was perfect – sun all the way and the sea like a millpond. We arrived at the Azores about 3:30 in the afternoon with a stop of about 1 1/2

hours there for food, and refueling. New crews at each stop. Then the final hop to Paris of about 8 hours where we arrived about 8:15 Paris time (six hours faster) this morning. We saw land first at Brest about six and the French countryside was picturesque with the small fields in various colors. The pilot took us specially over and through Paris which was a great thrill. The airport is at Orly about 10 miles from the center toward Fontainebleau. Delays at the airport – baggage, breakfast etc. put us down town near the Ritz at the Place Vendôme – Air Transport Command offices – about 11. Interesting ride into the city. After some delay I got a good room with a bath at the Wagram opposite the Tuileries gardens on the Rue de Rivoli. Officers' mess here in the hotel makes it very convenient. Hotel is taken over for Embassy and ATC people. I paid 5 francs for a meal – other people not in uniform paid 25 francs. The franc is now 2 cents. I then went to the Embassy to report and to cable you.

Yesterday was Bastille Day – the French Fourth of July and the whole city is bedecked with flags. It was very hot this afternoon and after a bath I took a 2 hour nap. Then a hard shower cooled the air and I took a swing around the Opéra, the Boulevards, the Madeleine and back to the hotel down the Rue de Rivoli. Our old Hotel Cambon is still there.

Paris looks quite the same except it is somewhat shabbier. But it is still a beautiful city. This being Sunday the boulevards were thronged with American soldiers.

Tonight after dinner I stepped across the street to the Tuileries gardens and lingered for two hours trying to catch up with myself. I saw the sun set over the Arc de Triomphe as I stood in the gardens near the Louvre. You remember that grand vista stretching from the Louvre clear up to the Arch. I was too tired to walk up the Champs-Élysées but I sat for a time at the Place de la Concorde watching the people.

There are no taxis and so you walk everywhere except when you have army transport. Only a few private cars – everything else jeeps, trucks, and Paris busses requisitioned for army use.

I plan to go directly on to Frankfurt probably by plane tomorrow afternoon. [. . .]

Having slept two nights in my army clothes and walking around today, I now feel at home in them. I was saluted often so I must look like an officer! [. . .]

I saw lots of perfume at \$ 25 a bottle and many beautiful things in the windows at equally prohibitive prices. Only army things are provided cheap. People use cigarettes as tips – 2 cigarettes a meal! Transportation is the problem. My next letter will be from Frankfurt.

Love and Kisses to you dear and to my dear kids,

Jim

Frankfurt-Hoechst, July 17, 1945

Arrived here before noon after two hours' flight from Paris where I had spent two pleasant days following my flight from Washington. I came in response to a State Department and War Department invitation which said "there was urgent need for outstanding men who know Germany". My passport calls me a "Special Adviser to the American Group Control Council for Germany", and my official appointment calls me a "Special Assistant to Ambassador Murphy" who is General Eisenhower's Political Adviser. It was understood in my conversations with General Hilldring and the State Department that I am to deal with government and politics at the top level of Control Council activities. It is a challenging opportunity and I am happy to play a humble part in a great experiment – to try to govern a nation of sixty million people who have brought ruin not only to their own country but to the whole continent.

On the way to USFET headquarters (the successor to SHAEF) we drove through the ruins of Frankfurt. Although I had lived one time in Frankfurt for two weeks during the election campaign of 1928 and knew the city well, it was difficult to find any familiar landmarks. Mr. Lynn Adams, the outstanding American Public Safety Officer who for 25 years was the head of the Pennsylvania State Police, was with me in the car and remarked: "We should put up signs in front of these rubble piles which were once magnificent buildings and homes and say 'This need not have happened!'"

Military Hqs. were impressive utilizing the former huge, modern building of the I.G. Farben which was largely untouched by the bombing all around. Soon we were driven on to Hoechst, the Frankfurt suburb where other large buildings of the I.G. served as the offices of the American Group Control Council. Soon I had an excellent billet – thanks to my friend Col. Looney who had preceded me here. Brig. Gen. Milburn, General Clay's Chief of Staff was most helpful and courteous and Brig. Gen. Smith sent his aide with me to see that I was well settled – a grand guy young Lt. Snyder. Shortly I was unpacked in what was formerly the Oberförster's lodge at the edge of Hofheim some eight miles from Hoechst.

Dinner in the officers' mess was good and was served by Polish DP's who didn't want to go home. Met several people I knew including two former students – Gary and Berkes.

Frankfurt, July 17, 1945, 10 P. M.

My Darling –

Before going to bed I must at least briefly recapitulate this eventful day. I will cable you my APO number in the morning so you can start the letters coming. I need a word from you already even though I have been excited with all that I have seen and done.

The forty-eight hours in Paris were interesting and I could have stayed longer. But it was best to come here directly. I left Paris by plane at 8:30 this morning reaching Hanau airport 12 miles east of Frankfurt at 10:45. The plane service went on to Berlin and Bremen. The drive through Frankfurt was my first sight of the results of the bombing. I can't adequately describe it. The Bockenheimer Landstrasse is there, but not many houses. Where did we stay by the way – what number? We were taken to the SHAEF headquarters which were magnificent – nothing less. Gardens, modern restaurant, pie a la mode! Imagine this in the midst of utter destruction. The people ride and walk around apparently quite aimlessly having no place to go. The Carlton Hotel opposite the station is functioning. The station is a wreck. But some of the streetcars are running. So much for a brief description. After lunching at SHAEF headquarters we were taken to Hoechst, the western suburb where a very large medicine plant was intentionally not bombed. It too is quite modern and very commodious. Here the U.S. Control Group is located. Col. Looney came over to give me good tips on places to stay. But it wasn't necessary, for very soon word was passed on to Brig. Gen. Milburn, General Clay's Chief of Staff, and he had me escorted around by his aide, a very attentive young lieutenant. After the usual registration procedure I was taken to General Luther Smith who is General Echols' right-hand man. The new reorganization puts Echols up with Clay and makes General Smith the active head of a large new Division called Civil Administration – a central core in the whole control council. Smith is a West Pointer – very polished and agreeable and did he lay it on about me – how they had waited for my arrival before deciding several important policies, and how the whole structure of the new German government was to be built under my direction! I almost dropped through the floor when he said in so many words: "Dr. Pollock the whole control of German government depends on what you work out, and I have created a special branch to be known as the Government Structure and Administration Branch and have made you the head of it with all the assistance you need." He also added that we will be moving into Berlin in a few weeks. I am definitely included in the higher echelons and entitled to eat with the generals and higher officers in a special dining room if I so choose. Howard Jones, now a Lt. Col. will be with me. The others I have not yet gotten acquainted with.

Since Ambassador Murphy is in Berlin I did not see him, and I don't know his plans for me. But I am certainly well taken care of. I am billeted in

a charming villa with three other men – all very important including Streik you remember whose write-up was in the paper, and Mr. Adams who for 25 years was Commissioner of the Pennsylvania State Police. We are about ten miles up the hillside in a quiet wooded area and are driven out and back in a command car. I've just had a lovely bath in a huge bathroom, have thrown out the head rest from the big bed, unpacked – how will I ever pack it again? – and when I finish this letter, I'll be off to the first real sleep since I left you. I might add the village – it is called Hofheim – is policed and we have a 24 hour guard posted outside our gates! All the officers wear side arms but we don't have to. Honestly, I can't imagine where I am and what I'm doing! It is verily a most exciting and important experience. (Flowers all over the house). [. . .]

I'm tired but happy to learn definitely that my place here is important and very challenging indeed. The dinner was excellent – in fact I must watch out or I will eat too much. But no wine, just beer and some cognac. I used my ration card to get a supply of Lux and cigarettes and soap to use in rewarding the Germans who will wash and clean up our large house for us. I wish you could see me! I can't believe I'm here. Good night darling – I'll dream of you. Kiss the children.

*Love,
Jim*

July 18

Reported to the Political Division – Mr. Muccio in charge in Ambassador Murphy's absence in Berlin at the Conference. Learned there was some misunderstanding as to whom I am to work with. "We can't let the army kidnap you like this" said Mr. Muccio. Apparently I'm in the midst of a jurisdictional dispute but I don't care where I work as long as my services are properly utilized. Everyone very kind. Am beginning to orient myself in all the background planning which has gone on in London, at Versailles, and here. Major Harold Zink, an old friend and fellow Political Scientist is most helpful since he has been with the group from the beginning. Also Navy Lt. Muelder, a Michigan history Ph.D. who is in what they call the Analytical Section. Beginning to learn about earlier decisions I never understood. Many very able and important people here – also many army colonels who never before knew anything about Germany – most of the latter, however, are very agreeable and seem to suffer a mere civilian in uniform like me quite gladly. All in all a very fine looking group of officers.

July 19

Had a very reassuring talk with Gen. Smith the Director of the Division of Civil Administration. He literally laid the promised land before me and told me of the central importance of what I was expected to do. It is my job, he said, to work out a plan by which over a period of years the structure of German government can be rebuilt and the German people prepared for democratic selfgovernment. I was a bit overwhelmed at the confidence and respect Gen. Smith had for me. I soon found that he had created a new branch of his Division in order to give me a proper place in the organization and a proper army status. When I found that an executive officer, a personal aide and other officers had been assigned to me, I began to realize what rank and status means in the army. What is my assimilated rank anyway? I'm told it is B.G. that I am a V.I.P. – army for Very Important Person! When I protested to General Smith that I didn't want to be involved in administrative matters, he assured me my exec. officer would take care of that and I was to have every opportunity to “put my feet up on the desk and think”. I added that Barney Baruch had found a park bench quite adequate. The new branch of which I am to be the chief – subject I insisted to Ambassador Murphy's approval – is called Governmental Structure – very broad and sweeping in its outline and implications. General Smith makes a fine impression on me – a West Pointer of the class of 24 – a Texan with a good army record.

Hoechst, Germany, July 20, 1945

My Dearest –

I'm sitting quietly in my quarters in the chief forester's lodge out in the woods several miles from the headquarters. We are driven into Hoechst in the morning and out again after dinner. I've been in such a whirl I can't remember what I've told you already but I want you to know just how I live. Hoechst is a suburb to the west of Frankfurt about 6 miles. A large medicine factory with elaborate office and recreation buildings are used for offices and mess hall for officers. A special dining room with linen serves colonels and generals if they wish to eat by themselves. The food is good and adequate. Everything else is rationed. I can't buy any clothes for 90 days and I picked two weeks' ration of cigarettes and candy yesterday. Also my soap and tooth-paste.² A good many things are available including a flashlight which I bought but have not used. Also Kleenex I was able to get today. Weak beer is

² Im Brief vom 19. 7. 1945 an seine Frau bat Pollock: “Please send any wool shirts I had to leave behind. Laundry soap is also welcome. A pair of sheets are needed with pillowcase. Underwear could also be sent.” Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Michigan Historical Collections.

abundant and occasionally a bottle of wine is put on the table at dinner. The mess is like a huge club dining room and everyone is friendly. Some French and British here yet.

I have had in many respects a most amusing time. It seems that both the War and State Departments requested my services and when I got here two divisions want me. Ambassador Murphy and General Clay being at the Berlin conference³ I sort of moved around to get acquainted while they decided which spot to put me in. There is no doubt about how important an assignment I will have nor my rank nor status, but merely where I was to do most of my work. As a matter of fact I have a desk now in both the Division of Political Affairs and the Division of Civil Administration. General Smith has lined up a whole staff for me and I'm beginning to learn how important a top man is in the Army. They will send me to Berlin in the first echelon of the American control group which goes in. That will be right after the Potsdam Conference ends. We will be billeted in Dahlem and Grunewald, the best areas, but I'm not sure about the furnishings there. Here they are super. I'm in no hurry to move, it is so pleasant here.

The first of the week I will make a trip of a day or two by car probably up to Kassel and back to Marburg, Wiesbaden, and maybe Heidelberg and Darmstadt. I want to get the feel of what the military government men are doing, as well as see some of the country and observe the people generally. [. . .]

I spend little here. Meals cost \$ 1.00 a day! Billets are furnished by the army with maid service including laundry. This morning I left two shirts and other things and tonight they are back clean. We are trying to arrange a breakfast here Sunday morning so we won't have to drive into town and back. [. . .]

I've run into several of my students here – my studies are being used – I'm being quoted all over the place, and so far at least I'm glad I'm here. There are a lot of very important people here. It is really an amazing group. It will just take time to get everyone adjusted in the right groove. [. . .]

*Love and Kisses,
Jim*

July 21

My studies develop certain opinions. I'm not sure the dividing line in the Group CC organization between the Political Division and the Civil Administration Division is sound. I don't like the way SHAEF and now

³ Potsdamer Konferenz der drei Siegermächte USA, UdSSR und Großbritannien, 17.7. – 2.8.1945, Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS). Diplomatic Papers. The Conference of Berlin (The Potsdam Conference) 1945, Vol. I-II.

USFET have made and are still making policy. Maybe they had to because no one else was doing it – I don't know yet. I definitely do not like the boundaries of the American zone – especially the perfectly silly cutting up of both Württemberg and Baden by giving the French the southern portions of those two states which have always been the most democratic in all of Germany. Even a county – Lindau was detached from Bavaria to please the French, and quite as foolish was the separation of Rhein-Hessen from the rest of Land Hessen and giving it to the French too. Also the five counties of Provinz Hessen-Nassau, opposite Coblenz were given to the French for a bridgehead! Quite as stupid as all this was the delimitation of our port of entry at Bremen, where I learn from some bright Navy Lt. [that] several counties from Provinz Hannover and one from Land Oldenburg were detached from the British zone in order to give us control of both banks of the Weser. I wonder if they ever saw the Weser – with its marshy hinterland, and why are they worried about security with the British? If they wanted security why didn't they also demand Cuxhaven and Wilhelmshaven? My remark to the young Navy Lt. who was trying to defend the zone was to repeat an observation I one time heard Austen Chamberlain make – “if you do a stupid thing do you have to do it the stupidest possible way?”

I learn the Baden-Württemberg line was drawn where it is because the SHAEF transportation men were principally interested in making sure that the Autobahn was in our zone! Administrative and political boundaries apparently meant nothing!

July 22

Today being Sunday we managed to get enough food to have a good breakfast and lunch in our billet – the spacious and comfortable forester's lodge. Col. Dingley, Col. Jensen, Col. Looney, Mr. Adams, Mr. Bishop – a grand man from Chicago who came here to advise in Production Control – and I enjoyed the freedom of our own quarters. Since the others knew no German, I had to tell the maids how to cook the rations, serve us etc. We had a charming walk through the woods and up the hill toward Königstein where we could see Mainz and Wiesbaden on the Rhine.

In the evening Col. Looney, Col. Jensen and I took another walk – this time through the quaint village of Hofheim. I talked with the village priest, with several boys and old women and began to get the German feeling about the present situation.

July 23

A short trip to Wiesbaden with Col. Benner, the executive officer of the Division. Less destruction there – but plenty. Visited with Major Hoke Pollock – the handsome, able young officer I had met in the Judge Advocate's School at Ann Arbor. He promised to call on me and bring me some Rüdeshheimer wine and some cognac – both of which I have thus far been denied for reasons which have not made sense to me!

July 24

Feeling the need for some contact with the Military Government officers who are actually running our part of Germany, I asked Lt. Col. Dimmitt my executive officer to arrange a short trip to Heidelberg where the Seventh Army was in the process of establishing permanent headquarters. I asked Col. Jensen to go with us. We followed the Autobahn, left it to go through Mannheim, crossed the Neckar, on a pontoon bridge, and reached Heidelberg toward noon. Mannheim seems almost totally destroyed except some Hitler slogans which were still smeared on wrecked buildings and which irritated me. I wanted to strike them out and put up some of our own. Have we any?

Heidelberg was as picturesque as ever – almost unhurt except the bridges which the Nazis blew up. The University, the Schloss, the old town are quite the same. After lunch in the Europäischer Hof – now a field officers' mess – we called on Colonel Canby – the G-5 for the Seventh Army. I got an excellent picture of the situation in what is called the Western Military District – everything in our zone except Bavaria. Impressed with Canby's ability and grasp of the problems involved. It is clear that the chain of command must be simplified otherwise inordinate delays will occur. Returned through Darmstadt. It was scarcely recognizable to me – only the big monument in the center of town providing me with a landmark I recalled. The German car – an Opel – we were using after being repaired once finally broke down for good. This gave me an opportunity to talk to some Germans and to arrange for transportation back to Hoechst. The army is a wonderful institution. We hopped a ride to Offenbach with an officer and there thanks to Col. Dimmitt's acquaintance, we enjoyed a fine dinner with music at the local officers' mess. This is the town in which by the foresight of our MG detachment the local leather industry was revived, and is now not only providing employment for many Germans but is affording army personnel from privates to generals an opportunity to purchase leather goods.

Hofheim – 7 miles from Fr., where I've been sleeping, July 24, 1945

My Dearest –

I've just finished addressing some shipping tags and attaching them once more to my luggage. Col. Looney has come up to help me pack my newly acquired bed roll and my big bag is now filled ready to move on tomorrow by plane to Berlin.

General Smith is sending me up in the first echelon or group and I will be there before the Potsdam Conference is over. I don't know what conditions I'm getting into, so it is another adventure. I learn from officers who have returned from Berlin that it will be a bit ragged for a time, but I won't know until I see for myself. The American zone in Berlin is the best part – Dahlem, Zehlendorf, Grunewald etc. I've been favored with good billets so far and I believe they will treat me well. I shall see Ambassador Murphy in Berlin. He has not been here.

Affairs have been so rushed here. I have hardly caught my breath. I'm so happy though that I've had this week at these headquarters in the Frankfurt area. Yesterday I drove to Wiesbaden, and today to Heidelberg. Heidelberg is almost untouched, but you should see Mannheim and Darmstadt which I also visited! Wiesbaden is only partially destroyed. Col. Malcolm Hay whom we saw married is Military Government officer for Wiesbaden. He opened up the best for me.

It will take a month to move everyone from these headquarters into Berlin. I'm just lucky to be going first. I was most comfortable here, but the top people are supposed to start the Berlin show going. I am being allocated a big staff – Lt. Colonels, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants, personal aides etc. – until I'm dizzy! It's going to be a great experience. And don't worry – everything moves slowly in the army and when I get settled, I'll relax. I really haven't done much work yet. The decisions already made do not all suit me, but I can't worry about that. I'll be in on the later ones, and if they don't follow my advice, they carry the responsibility not me. I'll probably get bored later, but it is certainly an exciting experience now.

I'll try to give you some more local color when I get settled in Berlin.

My address is the same as here – the one on the envelope. I learned today of a little thing to do which you may find time to send me. You see chocolate bars and cigarettes are little gifts to get things done but they are both rationed here. But by writing to the Hershey Chocolate Corporation, Hershey, P[ennsylvania] you can order 24 or 48 Hershey bars – tropical kind so they won't melt – to be mailed to my address each month. They mail the package direct to me and you pay about \$ 1.50 a month. [. .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

July 25

Ordered to Berlin in the first echelon of the Group CC. Pleasant two hours' flight. Interested to observe the efficiency of the army in organizing a mass movement by air. Arrived at Tempelhof to find the field in good shape but the buildings largely wrecked. As we left the field a smashed German plane with a swastika medal on it served as a grim reminder of the defeat of the German army. Through Neukölln and Schöneberg our bus took us to the permanent headquarters of the American Group of the Control Council – the former Luftgauamt in Dahlem. The condition of Berlin beggars description – some walls standing but street after street in perfect shambles. And yet people moved about on the street – a few shops were open but the traffic was mostly army vehicles. Got my first glimpse of the Russians and saw several of the signs they have erected and the graves of Russian soldiers they have marked.

Again well treated and taken out of line and driven to the former Harnack House where I found a beautiful house to use. Got my bearings and drove around Berlin from Wannsee down to the Linden. Scarcely a house or building intact. The Tiergarten blown to pieces – trees blown off – wreckage lying around – stark destruction in every direction. The Reichstag portal and walls still standing but utterly useless. The Brandenburg gate by strange coincidence still standing but the Pariser Platz with the Blücher Palais which we bought for an Embassy, the French Embassy, the Adlon, the British Embassy – everything along the Linden and the Wilhelmstrasse – a complete wreck. What a lesson to “the master race”! The Schloss, the Dom, the University – alles kaput.

I walked through the Reichskanzlei – that huge, ornate nerve center of the Nazi system. Everything wrecked. I picked up a card in Hitler's room to remind me of the visit. Outside the Russian soldiers were trading German medals out of the building for cigarettes! A package of American cigarettes seems to be worth about \$ 10. It is difficult to think how Berlin can ever rise again in my life time.

July 26

I talked with Donald Heath requesting an opportunity to talk with Ambassador Murphy. This was shortly arranged and Mr. Heath, who is an unusually kind man, drove me out to Babelsberg where the delegates and staffs attending the Tripartite conference are housed. After a very satisfactory conference with Mr. Murphy, he invited me to lunch. Here I met Sir William Strang, the British Political Adviser for Germany, Will Clayton, the Assistant Secretary of State, Phil Mosely who had worked so faithfully and well in London on the work of the European Advisory Commission,

Mr. Riddleberger, the chief of the Central European Division of the State Department and others. Learned a great deal about the Conference and imbibed a lot of atmosphere. When we fell to talking about the British election, Sir William related how Mr. Churchill at a dinner had made a toast to Mr. Attlee – “To the leader of the opposition – whoever he may be!” Mr. Murphy also told of his first meeting with Mr. Churchill at Casablanca when Mr. Churchill said to him: “Mr. Murphy, the Battle of the Boyne was a long time ago!” Much interesting talk and then back to Kronprinzenallee where work in our offices moves forward rapidly.

Berlin, July 26, 1945

My Dearest –

It must be a dream – it can't be true but it is! The events of the last two days have left me dizzy. I don't have time to digest what I have done, and my letter to you is the best way to pull everything together.

Yesterday morning I flew from Frankfurt to Berlin. To be part of a good-sized army movement was a revelation. Ten planes with 16 passengers each flew one after the other. The Russians prescribe the air route we must follow into their zone and the flight took about one hour and 30 minutes. We landed at Tempelhof and I was met by General Meade's aide who took me to headquarters where I was quickly put through registration and rushed off to Harnack House – a part of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute where I have previously been entertained. It is a club of elegant proportions and the officers' mess is here. I was given a choice room with bath – imagine – being treated as what they call a VIP – or Very Important Person. The General who is the Deputy Commandant looked after me and after lunch a car was sent for me, and I went driving in the area to get my bearings. I got as far as the bathing beach at Wannsee where some soldiers were lying in the sand but there was no bathing because they say the water is polluted. The same with drinking water – it is all boiled here in the mess.

The plane trip was smooth and pleasant and the trip to headquarters through the part of Berlin was amazing.

Tonight I took an officers' tour through downtown Berlin, and words fail me. About 80 % of the structures are utterly destroyed. You would not know the Tiergarten. We walked through the destroyed Chancellery and it was unbelievable. I enclose a souvenir which I picked up in what remains of Hitler's private office. Some of the officers got medals and pieces of silver. The Russian guards let us take anything. Coming home we passed 45 Potsdamer Strasse which is battered but still standing!

We are all located in Dahlem one of the best residential areas. Nearly every house has some damage – some are utterly destroyed. But most of them are livable and a good many of them are quite luxurious. I have been

assigned a house with another colonel. It has about six bedrooms and three baths, large drawing room & study, dining room etc. It is about a mile from the offices and a bus runs regularly to pick up the officers who live in the billeting area. At present a guard is posted everywhere.

The office building is still being repaired but is very modern. It is on Kronprinzenallee. My future house is at 34 Max-Eyth-Strasse. If you look at your Berlin you will know just where I am. The mess is at present in the Harnack House. This is a lovely part of Berlin next to Grunewald with lots of trees and green areas. We are a few miles from Potsdam.

Today was my big day. Mr. Heath, Ambassador Murphy's Counsellor of Embassy, sent his car for me to eat breakfast with him. He then drove me out to the Babelsberg compound where all the delegates and their staffs at the Conference live. It was very exciting to be right inside a great international conference.

I then had an hour's wonderful talk with Ambassador Murphy who could not have been nicer. I will get along beautifully with him. He then asked me to remain for lunch. Since there was about an hour I walked all around and saw Russian and British soldiers and was saluted all over the place!

The lunch is something to be remembered. He had invited Sir William Strang, the Permanent Undersecretary of the Foreign Office, William Clayton, Assistant Secretary of State, Riddleberger, the head of the German Section of our State Department etc. – eight in all. The conversation was both pleasant and exceedingly "inside stuff". Sir William was particularly anxious to talk to me and Murphy many times turned the conversation to me. I shall return for conversations several times before the Conference adjourns some time next week.

Tomorrow I am to be taken down to the Kommandatura or Joint Government of the city of Berlin to learn how it is working. After I get shaken down here, I will want to make an extended tour of the entire American zone. I tried to call Arthur Bromage from Frankfurt headquarters but the connections are still bad.

I shall be in the Civil Administration Division of the U.S. Group Control Council, but I shall also be attached to Ambassador Murphy's Office of Political Affairs – an enviable position. They are letting me write my own ticket!

The flies and mosquitoes are very bad here. Otherwise everything is fine. We will soon have dusting powder to kill the flies and mosquitoes. [. . .]

*Love and Kisses,
Jim*

July 27

A visit to Berlin Military Government officials to inquire about the work of the Kommandatura – or Four Power Council for the government of metropolitan Berlin. Col. Howley of Philadelphia who is Maj. Gen. Parks' deputy gave an excellent description of Berlin's problems. He explained how the Russians had to be gradually elbowed out of our zone, but was careful to add how well we were getting along with them. He likened his Russian opposites on the Kommandatura to his friend Al Greenfield in Philadelphia. He felt the top Russian officers were just regular hard-boiled businessmen like Greenfield. Here we have practical cooperation with the Russians – it can be done.

Finally got time to be taken to a billet assigned to me. This is the best residential portion of Berlin but I didn't see a house which was not damaged some way. The residence assigned to me is a modern well-furnished house – few windows with glass and the electrical fixtures mostly bad – but very attractive and livable. Find that Himmler's residence was just opposite – it is a wreck. The Germans are now learning what it means to have foreign armies billeted in some of the few remaining habitable dwellings.

July 28

Worked hard today on a memorandum for General Smith – who is still at Hoechst – dealing with the organization of government in the entire Hessen area. Due to the allocation of Hessian territory to the French, the smashing of Kassel, the former provincial capital, the American military headquarters in Frankfurt, there is much confusion in this area in many fields. Recommended a unification of the whole area into one Land government.⁴ I came to grips for the first time with a real problem of the occupation.

In conversations with my little maid I set her straight about several things. When she started to complain how the Russians had wrecked everything, I reminded her that neither we nor they had started the war, and that the Germans had done far worse in the Ukraine and elsewhere. I added for good measure that only hard work would save the Germans from starving. I see already a German line – to pit us against the Russians. But I don't think it will work.

The maid, Ihne [sic!] by name, related a story she said her father always told: "Germany is like a little dog which is always picking a fight with bigger dogs and getting licked. Why doesn't she learn?"

⁴ Memorandum to Gen. Smith regarding Governmental Problems in the Hessen area, Pollock – Smith, 28. 7. 1945, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 62–12 sowie Institut für Zeitgeschichte (IfZ) Bd. 73.

Berlin, July 29, 1945

My dear Family –

This is Sunday and I am alone – all alone in this big house – and the best thing I can think to do is to write you my love and bring you up to date on my activities. I am not aware of any censorship but if my letters come to you censored, let me know.

We are free on Sunday and I slept until 9 this morning, and made breakfast for myself and Col. Brisbine who is billeted with me. The maid fixed the hot water, and with the coffee you were so sweet to buy me, we made several good cups. Then with some K rations we got sugar, marmelade, and crackers. Hence I did not have to go a mile and a half to mess. I lounged around the house making things more comfortable for myself. When the windows are filled with glass, we will be very comfortable indeed. There is a grand piano, a radio – not yet fixed up – electric range and ice box – but unfortunately the Russians had removed the wine from the big wine cellar! Shortly the hot water heater will be operating, and then I can float around in one of those huge German bath tubs.

There is still a shortage of sheets – which I hope you have sent me already – laundry soap or flakes, and my kind of canned fruit juice. If you make up a box sometime, include a can of prune juice or apricot juice. I can use it on Sunday at least. But the food is very adequate and quite tasty. Strangely enough I am always quite hungry, but I am watching my figure, dear.

Berlin is a shambles but the subway is running at least to the Kurfürstendamm and I am going with two other men late this afternoon to walk up and down this formerly gay street where you and I used to stroll – and I will be thinking of you all the time.

Friday I was given an overview of the government of Greater Berlin by our American commandant – a Col. Howley from Philadelphia. Yesterday I finished a report for General Smith – the director of the Division to which I am presently attached – on governmental problems in Hesse.

I have met several officers who were in our training school at Michigan, and in the J.A.G. school. Also Art Moehlman's nephew who is attached to headquarters. I guess I told you I saw Major Pollock in Wiesbaden.

The entire control staff is being moved from Frankfurt to Berlin. Military headquarters will be retained there. It is now called USFET instead of SHAEF – United States Forces European Theatre. Presumably the United States Group Control Council will formulate the policies and USFET will issue the orders to carry them out.

Tomorrow is a big day here – a meeting of the Central Control Council consisting of Eisenhower and the other representatives of the three other powers. Great preparations! We are now directed to begin getting ac-

quainted with our opposites from the Russian, British, and French control groups. We are much advanced over the other nations.

After getting settled here I expect to return to the American zone for an extensive tour to see things for myself. I certainly hope to hear from you soon. No mail yet. [. . .]

I hope to get the Diary started today. I have kept notes but have not yet actually written in it yet. Nor have I had time to study German, but I surprise myself at the ease with which I speak and understand it. I might add that there are not many here who do!

My military aide – a young lieutenant who speaks Russian as well as German – will arrive this week. [. . .]

This morning in the house I found a fine set of scales for letters or packages weighing up to 250 grams. I have it carefully laid away. [. . .]

I might add that my ration gives me plenty of cigarettes and of course very cheap. I spend almost nothing – occasionally for a cocktail before dinner. At Hoechst I paid \$ 1 a day for meals – here I pay nothing. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

July 30

Today the Central Control Council met for its first real business session at our headquarters. Eisenhower, Shukov, Montgomery and Koenig were all received with full military honors. It was my first sight of the big Russian Field Marshall and of Monty. They both looked the part but Eisenhower shines above them. The meeting started the international control machinery in operation. It was on our initiative that the machinery was activated. Regular meetings of the Council will be held every ten days with a Coordinating Committee of Deputies meeting in between times.

July 31

Met General Clay and General Echols for the first time. They seemed to know who I was and why I'm here. They repeated what General Smith has told me that I was to work out the future German government in the terms of the directives from the top. Col. Joe Starnes was present and he did most of the talking – a lot of it good sense, however. He needed the Generals on what the American policies are. I came away in some doubt as to whether we were here to preserve chaos or to fit Germany back into civilized society, and the European economy. Perhaps the Big Three Conference will straighten things out. I have several inklings that it will.

Learned that the Hessen problem is going to be worked out in terms I recommended. Hope my batting average can stay good!

Spent the afternoon at Babelsberg. More later.

August 2

Have been studying reports particularly on Bremen. Administrative difficulties with the British authorities are inevitably arising because of the bad way in which the zone was set up.⁵

August 3

Had a delightful lunch and afternoon with Luther Gulick who is on Ambassador Pauley's Reparation staff. It was most interesting to get his impressions of Russia, and to learn about reparations and how the conference had functioned. Told me more about Cecilienhof, the Crown Prince's residence in Potsdam where the formal Big Three meetings were held. Luther had some sound criticisms of our policies and methods of negotiation.

Was happy to meet Mr. Pauley, Isador Lubin whom I had not seen for years, President Sproul of the University of California and others.

Returned to work on the Declaration which was prepared at the Potsdam Conference.⁶ General Smith wants me to take it and outline a plan to implement the Declaration by suggesting when and how Germany can develop institutions of democratic government. What an order! The General wants this in the morning.

August 4

After working until early in the morning I completed a four-page memo for

⁵ Memorandum über Bremen, Pollock – Smith, 1. 8. 1945, und weiteres Material über Bremen in : Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 62–19 (IfZ Bd. 72).

⁶ Die Potsdamer Konferenz wurde durch das von allen Beteiligten (Truman, Attlee, Stalin) unterzeichnete "Protocol of Proceedings" vom 1. 8. 1945 abgeschlossen, FRUS 1945, Potsdam II, S. 1478–1498. Am folgenden Tage wurde ein Konferenz-Kommuniqué veröffentlicht, unterzeichnet von Truman, Attlee und Stalin am 2. 8. 1945, das gemeinhin als „Potsdamer Abkommen“ bezeichnet wird, FRUS 1945, Potsdam II, S. 1499–1512; siehe auch Amtsblatt des Kontrollrats in Deutschland. Ergänzungsblatt Nr. 1, Berlin 1946, S. 13–20. Es enthält: Einrichtung eines alliierten Kontrollrats für Deutschland, Behandlung Deutschlands politisch und wirtschaftlich, Reinigung vom Nationalsozialismus und Militarismus, Einrichtung deutscher Landesregierungen und örtlicher Verwaltungen, Deutschland als ökonomische Einheit, Reparationen, Abtretung deutscher Gebiete im Osten, Umsiedlung der deutschen Bevölkerung aus den abgetretenen Gebieten und aus osteuropäischen Ländern, Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher.

General Smith to take to the Directors' meeting. I have a copy of the memo and need not note it here.⁷ The more I thought about it the more I realized how important it was to put life and meaning into the words of the Tripartite Agreement. I hope my proposals are worthy – at any rate the General was most appreciative and after I briefed him on the subject for an hour, he dashed off to the meeting.

August 5

Sunday – a chance to catch up with myself after three breathless weeks. Had a conversation with the owner of the residence I occupy, with a music teacher who has a garden here, and another German next door. All had hard luck stories – real tragedies, life histories in a few minutes. Reminded them they started the war and when they complained about how the Russians had stripped everything, I reminded them of worse German treatment of the Ukraine. It would be easy to get sympathetic if one forgot the monstrous German crimes committed everywhere in this war.

As I came out of the house in the late afternoon ran into a GI with his jeep pulled up on the sidewalk and partially filled with fresh vegetables he had taken from the little garden. I asked him what his orders were and he said the General who lives up the street had ordered him to go around in the gardens in the neighborhood and get some fresh vegetables for his mess. This is too much for me. We tell the Germans they have to feed themselves and then we steal their vegetables from them – not the excess, but all one little German has worked to produce. The German will probably think I did it. I told my officer friends and they too were shocked. A little thing – but a big principle!

Berlin, Aug. 5, 1945

My darling Wife and Children –

This is Sunday morning and I have some time to myself. Before I do anything else I want to commune with you and try to recapitulate the eventful week through which I have passed. I can't remember what I have written to you but I don't believe I have written since last Sunday. Please ask me any questions if I haven't written enough details to fully inform you. [. . .] Naturally I want you to have as clear an idea of what I am doing as possible.

⁷ Memorandum dealing with the implementation of these portions of the Berlin agreement which deal with the intentions of the Allies that the German people be given the opportunity to prepare for the eventual reconstruction of their life on a democratic and peaceful basis, Pollock – Smith, 4. 8. 1945, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 62–19 (IfZ Bd. 58).

With your coffee and a few other bits I could scrounge (army word für snitch) I had a nice breakfast here at home. The little German maid, slightly deaf but very willing to do anything I ask her, heated me some water, made some toast and warmed up some egg mix which is included in a box of Army K rations. It all tasted very good. Oh yes, I can buy one can of grapefruit juice every two weeks and I had some of it. The powdered coffee is useful and when you send a small box include some please.

Monday was the first real meeting of the Central Control Council: Eisenhower, Shukov, Montgomery, and Koenig. They met at our headquarters and were each received with full military ceremony – quite an historic event. This means the quadrupartite machinery is now beginning to function. Murphy attended the meeting as Eisenhower's political adviser. Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday I spent part of the time out at the Conference headquarters. Murphy wanted my advice on the German portions of the Tripartite Berlin Declaration which was announced Friday. You may detect a little of Jimmie's ideas in it. Also a very important problem concerning the government structure and area of a portion of the American zone had to be settled. I might add that it was done exactly as I had recommended. It is exceedingly fortunate that I got here when I did, otherwise I would not have been in on some very important developments. I prepared several other brief memoranda and informed myself generally. Thursday General Smith arrived. I enclose a clipping about him. In addition to Murphy, he is the one with whom I work most closely. He asked me to take the Berlin agreement which completely changes the Control Council's whole operating policy, and outline a tentative plan which he could take Saturday morning to General Clay and the Directors' meeting, including always of course Murphy. I worked until late Friday night, but Saturday morning the plan was ready. It provided specific steps and procedures by means of which Germany could gradually move toward democratic self-government. I shall have to tell you the rest later. The General and Murphy were delighted, and I think it really set me up. Of course it was all right down my alley, I had thought these things through before, and here was the practical application of my ideas.

Tuesday the General is sending me out, accompanied by a colonel who knows the military ropes, and a young aide to assist me, for a three weeks' trip through every part of the American zone. This will acquaint me with the problems with which we will have to deal. I couldn't ask for anything better. I will return to Frankfurt to get a car and a driver, then to Bavaria, back through Württemberg and Baden, then Hesse including Wiesbaden, Marburg and Kassel, and then Bremen and back to Berlin. [. . .]

May I bother you with something else. The Russians here are crazy for wristwatches. They will pay \$ 200 up to \$ 500 for any ordinary American watch – even one of the cheaper ones. Therefore will you buy two watches – say a pretty good \$ 35 or \$ 40 one something like mine, and a cheaper one and send them to me in one of your small 10 pound boxes in the diplomatic

pouch according to the instructions for mailing you have. Just make sure the package is not too large or heavy. [. . .]

Another thing if it doesn't bother you. I seem to remember that at the State Department they had a way to send a case of whiskey. If so, please order a case of rye or Scotch [to be] sent to me. It is rare here. Just make sure that it will arrive. I think there is some method of insuring packages. I still have my bottles, but people are beginning to drop in to see me, and there's nothing to do but talk and sip something and I'm spending no money. There's no transportation to speak of, so you stay right in the American area. [. . .]

I haven't been able to start my Diary but I'm going to make myself work several hours today on it.⁸

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

August 6

The Berlin Declaration has had a big effect in straightening out many points of American and allied policy toward Germany. Steps were ordered to activate the German departments mentioned in the Declaration such as transport and communications. It is none too soon.

General Smith had planned a three weeks' trip for me throughout the American zone but suggested today that I should remain until Sunday in order to pass upon the soundness of the proposals due to be presented Friday for the creation of new German central government departments. This is a vitally important subject on which much depends.

There are so many complicated angles to the occupation coming daily to my attention. Many difficulties arise out of locating the control center in Berlin completely surrounded by the Russian zone. The Russians do odd things which interfere with our restoration of normal communications with our zone and the outside world. Had discussions today about the German patent office, the problem of a new communications ministry, top German administrative personnel, local government codes – among other things! A broad education indeed! Heard one good story today. It seems a visiting civilian investigator being intrigued by the pistol carried by the officer who accompanied him, asked if he couldn't try it out. The officer spoke to a GI on guard in the area asking if it would be all right to shoot at a target across the river. The GI with a southern drawl replied: "I guess it's all right, suh. There's nothing over there except Germans."

⁸ Im Brief vom 14. 8. 1945 berichtet Pollock seiner Frau: "*Got my Diary started and will try to keep it going.*" Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll.

August 8

Col. Marcus, General Echols' very intelligent and efficient executive officer, took me to see the old Berlin Kammergericht building which is being refurbished to serve as the Allied Building. Here will be centered all Central Control Council activities. In three weeks under the able and energetic American engineers, this badly battered building has been reconditioned most acceptably. In two more days the members of the CC will meet to carry forward the work of the occupation. The U.S. is providing everything for the equipment of the building and is also furnishing the administrative services. The expenses will be shared jointly and of course charged to the costs of occupation. Col. Marcus pointed out a set of carvings around the huge entrance hall of famous lawgivers, and one of them was Moses! How do you suppose the Nazis missed this one? Four flag poles were erected in the front of the building. Four switchboards were provided for communications. This is indeed a great experiment in international co-operation. This aspect of the occupation has far greater consequences than whether we handle Germany satisfactorily. But if we are able to work out a basis of real co-operation, the tasks of occupation will necessarily be dealt within a more efficient and prompt manner. I trust that separate zonal administration by the four powers does not become necessary. So much is gained by uniform control from Berlin. This does not mean of course that the policies so agreed upon will interfere with a sound policy of decentralization.

August 9

Organization problems today. Talked with Mr. Fish, General Clay's organization expert and later with General Smith and Ambassador Murphy about procedures to assure proper consideration being given to problems of government and politics on which the success of the occupation primarily depends. I do not find much difference of opinion among thinking people here about what should be done to assure an efficient occupation. But it is certainly difficult to get certain things done. With twice as large a personnel as is needed and with every resource at their disposal, the powers that be can't yet accomplish very much. USFET is still issuing policy directives and Germany after three months is still languishing in chaos so far as the population is concerned. Maybe things will begin to happen once the Group Hdq. are put in shape and everyone shakes down in his job. I hope, I hope, I hope.

August 10

A party of Congressmen flew in today and were received with military honors. Talked with Representative Dondero of Michigan who comes from the district adjoining my own. He was interested to learn my views and to have some of his own impressions sharpened up. I'm not sure how much real information such official visits can uncover. Travelling rapidly with a large party one has difficulty in digging in very deeply on any subject. I hope the M.C.'s at least got some correct impressions about Germany and the problems of occupation. I told them to talk to some GI's as well as the brass hats.

August 11

Went down to the center of Berlin today with Col. Looney and others to wander around in the ruins of Wilhelmstrasse, the Reichstag, and the Pariser Platz. As I passed the place where the Hotel Adlon once stood, I noticed a sign on an entrance which was boarded up. It advertised lunch and tea around the corner! When I walked to the address given, there in the midst of the ruins of this famous hostelry an area had been cleaned out of the ruins and the management of the Adlon was attempting to start up business! It seemed to me to be symbolic of Berlin's determination to rise again.

Watched the Russians bargaining for watches with American soldiers. Phenomenal prices were offered for very ordinary wristwatches – \$ 300 to \$ 500 – in occupation marks of course. I still have my watch! Little girls were offering 100 marks (\$ 10) for a package of American cigarettes.

Berlin, Aug. 11, 1945

My dear Wife and Children –

With your pictures in front of me as I sit at my desk which folds out of one of those big, funny German cabinets, I want to write about developments since my last letter. I think I sent you a V-mail the first of the week.⁹

Tomorrow I'm off – weather permitting on my tour. We fly to Frankfurt first. That takes about an hour and a half. There I will remain for a couple of days and pick up the cars. General Clay is sending a young Captain with me to learn about administrative problems so we will be seven counting the two drivers and a secretary – quite a caravan. [. . .]

⁹ Antwort Pollocks vom 7. 8. 1945 auf den ersten Brief seiner Frau. Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll.

I have spent a good deal of time with Mr. Donald Heath, the Ambassador's Counsellor of Embassy, who really does the work in running the Political Division. I've seen Mr. Murphy three times and he is fine. He does so much that no one but Mr. Heath sees him very often. But he has a good mind and I can work with him very well indeed. Mr. Heath is one of those well-mannered, cultured diplomats who appreciates brains and good ideas. He too is a companion spirit. [. . .]

General Smith who is my closest superior is wonderful to me. Tuesday I went to lunch and when I returned I wish you could have seen the desk and office furniture he had ordered put in my office. Wednesday he took me to lunch with the other Generals and proved to be most delightful. We understand each other perfectly and he is leaning heavily on me. Really there are so few people here who know much about Germany.

Toward the end of August and the end of my trip there is being held in Frankfurt a Military Government conference at which all the problems of occupation will be discussed. Both the Ambassador and the General want me to be there.

Now for some everyday things. I don't believe I've told you that each officer is rationed certain articles each week. We get 7 packs of cigarettes, 5 or 6 candy bars, 1 pack of gum, 1 package of fruit drops, 1 bar of soap, and we are supposed to get 1 bar of laundry soap but it hasn't been available for 3 weeks. This week we could buy 5 bottles of beer and did it taste good. Since we have to be careful about the water, we don't drink much of it except at meals or at home where we use Halosen tablets in it to purify it. I've gotten along fine with my clothes and if I could have brought along all I bought with you in Washington, it would have been easier. [. . .] I've not had time to move around over the city very much so far. When I return it will still be here.

Major Harold Zink will be assigned to me from the Political Division so General Smith told me today. Howard Jones is also in the Division and I have the former secretary of the Harvard Law School as my executive officer. I've had only very brief contacts so far with the British and the Russians. That will come later.

The news about the end of the Japanese war¹⁰ is not too complete here. If it's really over, I'm very happy. That will speed up lots of things and save so many lives. I guessed pretty good about Russia coming in, didn't I? When they came in I felt the war would end momentarily and it did.

The Germans are acting as I expected them to – obedient, hard-working, but still thick-headed and foggy about where they are going. They will do

¹⁰ Das Kapitulationsangebot Japans erfolgte am 10. 8. 1945.

what we tell them if we know enough to tell them the right way. I'm still hopeful that many things can be done uniformly in all zones but that remains to be seen. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

August 12

Flew to Frankfurt this afternoon to begin a tour by motor of the entire American zone. Col. Joe Starnes (former Congressman from Alabama) is to be my military adviser and companion. The Russians prescribe an air route and a land route from and to Berlin through their zone which we must follow.

Walking around Frankfurt in the evening I hunted for the Römer, the Goethe house and other spots of historic interest I had previously visited in years gone by. Crawling over and through piles of rubble I finally found the old 16th century edifices pretty much in ruins. I was approached by an old man who said: "We have Hitler to thank for this." I was pleased to find a German who himself would voluntarily admit this.

Although SHAEF was dissolved a month ago its successor USFET seems to be a lusty successor! There are more military people here now than ever.

August 14

The Carlton Hotel opposite the station where we are quartered seems to be a miniature United Nations what with French, English, Belgians, Poles, Czechs and Russians buzzing in and out. The huge I.G. Farben building where USFET is located stands in stark magnificence compared to the rubble and ruin all around. Its modern and comfortable offices and its large and elaborate mess including a snack bar where real American ice cream can be had, seem exotic in the midst of destruction.

Watched some little boys across the street this morning scrambling for scraps of bread and other food being dumped out as hotel refuse. It is anticipated that the winter will be rugged indeed for Germans.

Conferred with the local Military Government officers of Frankfurt and received much documentary material on local conditions – food, finance, housing etc.

August 15

Worked on memo dealing with the troublesome subject of decentralization for consideration for presentation at a Military Government conference here in ten days.¹¹

Had a very pleasant and stimulating talk with the Ambassador who arrived from Berlin. He is very fair and level-headed. He told me the French were objecting to the setting up of central departments in Berlin under the Control Council with State Secretaries to head them up. They want another name for the top German official – Staatssekretär sounds to them too much like a revival of German government, and they want to fight this at every step. Fundamentally I believe the French desire dismemberment of Germany – a position which if persisted in may wreck any constructive plans for rebuilding Germany. Mr. Murphy also raised the questions of an independent Ruhr, a proposal being bruited in high quarters. This seems to be a new version or even a part of the so-called Morgenthau plan which met such unfavorable response from the American people. Here we have two stumbling blocks to a successful occupation of Germany: French opposition and amateur American planners.

Drove to Marburg to inquire into the reasons for the delay in setting up a regional government for the whole Hessen area. Found Col. Johnson and Major Barger on top of the situation knowing all its aspects. It is unfortunate that an agreed solution has been held up at high levels and a number of unnecessary administrative difficulties will be created. When the Germans themselves want to combine the two Hessens, and the best advice is supporting the move, why can't the right decision be made. Ask General Clay. Now it looks as if battered and dismembered Land Hessen will languish in its own battered autonomy in its wrecked capital of Darmstadt.

Frankfurt, Thurs. Aug. [15]¹²

My Dearest –

[. . .] We start in a few minutes for Würzburg, Ansbach and Nürnberg. We will stay overnight at Ansbach. From Nürnberg we will go to Bamberg (remember the cathedral on the hill etc.), Bayreuth and Hof. Then to Regensburg – I'll try to find Ned Bennett if he's near there – then to Berchtesgaden, Chiemsee, Bad Tölz where we see General Patton, Garmisch and Munich.

¹¹ Memorandum on Decentralization, Entwurf vom 15. 8. 1945, hschr. korrigiert in 26. mit Zusatz "presented to him on Aug. 27, 1945", Memo Pollock – Smith, 26. 8. 1945, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 64–9 (IfZ Bd. 58).

¹² Hschr. Korrektur des Datums 26. mit Bemerkung "miss date".

Yesterday I drove to Marburg to deliver a message for the Ambassador. The captured German Foreign Office archives are there in the old castle on the hill. I was working in Murphy's office here in the morning, in fact at his desk, when he bolted in. He had just flown in from Berlin. He was so kind and gracious and he began to talk to me about many things such as certain conversations at the Potsdam Conference, the proposal to make a separate state out of the Ruhr etc. He wanted to know what I thought etc. I finished a memo for him on the basic subject of Decentralization. That is, how to develop a German Government which would not concentrate so much power at the center in Berlin. [. . .]

I'll be back here for the 27th for a Military Government Conference. Must close now. We're off – lovely morning.

*Hugs & Kisses
Jim*

August 16

Visited Würzburg and studied the Mainfranken district of Bavaria. Had an interesting interview with old Dr. Stegerwald, former Reichstag leader and Minister under the Republic. He has been installed as District President. He gave me some of the old clichés but I do not doubt his sincerity and democratic sympathies. The old Schloss and Residenz which I remembered so well are being restored under the supervision of a special arts and monuments officer. The magnificent ceiling in the Residenz, the chapel, and the staircase are still intact but most of the great building is wrecked.

Arrived in Ansbach, another charming and historic spot, quite undamaged by war. Military Government uses the former administrative districts, and this is the district capital. Another capable German has been installed as District President, Dr. Reichard. Enjoyed a long visit with him in Col. Haight's home this evening. We discussed the reorganization of Germany, improvement in administrative areas, political activity and other leading questions.

August 17

Came to Nürnberg to see with my own eyes the extent of the destruction Hitler brought on his gaudy party city. It is 95 per cent destroyed. I could scarcely find my way through the rubble and yet some street cars were running and other municipal services have been resumed. My respect for the Military Government officers grows.

At Bamberg I had the privilege of speaking with the Archbishop, Excellenz Kolb. He was everything, one might expect of a great church leader

and I was impressed with his personality. His political views were a bit ancient and disappointing. He even suggested the possibility of a monarchy for Germany with a Habsburg! He was not very definite about whether his church had purged itself of many priests who were Nazis.

This being V-day Col. Haight, a very efficient officer and perfect host, had arranged a real treat at the local detachment commander's house in Bayreuth. Occupying the house formerly used by one of Hitler's Gauleiters, Wächtler by name, the Bayreuth MG detachment lived well and gave us a very happy evening. A delicious Mosel wine helped the dinner a lot.

August 18

In Hof, Selb, and Wunsiedel we looked into border problems. Very competent MG officers, Major Giroux and Captain White were discouraged about our policy which has lost us already a great deal of respect from the Germans. Scores of factories equipped with looms and material are idle, thanks to what seems to be our policy of economic strangulation of Germany. It seems not to matter that tons of useful clothing could have been made for needy people, and work provided for Germans. The border problems are difficult because of Russian policy and the absence of a joint allied policy. I wonder what winter will bring. The great porcelain industry centered around Selb is also languishing not because there is no demand for its priceless materials but because army production control won't allow the Germans and the Czechs to exchange coal for porcelain.

Found out for myself how difficult it is for MG officers to function because of interference by tactical officers who always outrank MG officers. A very conscientious captain was nearly breaking down because he found himself stopped at so many points from doing what should be done.

August 19

Regensburg on the Danube, Valhalla, St. Peter's Cathedral with its Boys' Choir were the objects of my interest this beautiful Sunday.

Another competent team of MG officers running this Niederbayern and Oberpfalz district disturbed also by interferences by tactical commanders.

Regensburg, Aug. 19, 1945

My Dearest –

We are spending Sunday here in this lovely old medieval town which rivals Nürnberg in beauty – except that Nürnberg is smashed completely and little damage has been done here to the old part of town. Just returned from

services in the Cathedral where I heard the famous Boys' Choir. It was quite impressive and mighty good to see the altar filled with GI's listening to an American army chaplain read the service and preach.

Since leaving Frankfurt we visited pleasantly in Würzburg where I found the old Residenz badly damaged but the famous ceiling frescoes and chapel and staircase intact. Remember our few pleasant days there? Then to Ansbach where District Military Government headquarters were located. Here a very fine officer Col. Haight was a fine host and I talked with his chief German official, the District President. I had talked with another one at Würzburg – old Dr. Stegerwald who was in the Reichstag and in Brüning's cabinet. Some of these good men are still available to run the government. Here I found two Michigan CAT school graduates who helped me a lot.

Next morning Col. Haight accompanied us to Nürnberg which is about 95% destroyed. I could hardly recognize it it was so flat in spots. Friday being declared V-J day it was supposed to be a holiday. But at lunch and an hour after, we got the low-down on the local situation and drove on to Bamberg where they brought the Archbishop of Bamberg to talk with me. While in Bamberg I had a chance to buy a liqueur set, decanter and 12 glasses in colored crystal. I got it for a song and I hope it will arrive safely. Then to Bayreuth for dinner and the night. Here Col. Haight had prepared a surprise for us. We were put up in the local commander's huge house which stood next to the Festspielhaus used for the Wagnerian festivals. It was an amazing house and had been used by one of Hitler's Gauleiters, Wächtler by name. We had a real banquet with chicken and fresh vegetables and wine etc. It was all very jolly and a good way to celebrate the end of the war.

Next morning after questioning the local Mayor and County Manager we drove up to the corner of Bavaria nearest to Czechoslovakia and the Russian zone to a town called Hof. Here also were two of my former students as Military Governor and Deputy. Serious problems with refugees and displaced persons. Got a real low-down on several problems.

Now you will begin to laugh. Col. Joe Starnes who is my military escort is always looking out for things to buy. He had been told of a supply of Rosenthal – the finest Bavarian china. We paid a visit to a warehouse and here for another song I sent you two more boxes – one containing an interesting 3 piece coffee set, and one containing 27 pieces – cups, saucers, pot, cream & sugar bowl. The postage cost was almost as much as the dishes. I hope you like them.

Now laugh some more! We drove on to Selb, the home of the Rosenthal china factory to see why the factories were not running and to check on border problems. Here the two colonels took me to a display room the like of which I had never seen. Special dinner sets for 36 people for the Shah of Persia etc. Well the upshot was that I invested about \$ 100 in what I hope you will think is a beautiful dinner set for 12. It will not arrive until December because it has to be specially made and initialed. Shipping is the problem but

the colonel in charge of the district will take [care] of that for me. Please let me know when the boxes arrive.

Then a long drive through beautiful country I had never been over down here on the Danube to Regensburg. [. . .]

This morning the local commander drove us down the Danube to the great building built by Louis of Bavaria known as Valhalla – a hall of fame in German style high on a hill overlooking the river.

I've rested or written some notes and in general tried to relax today. I tell you of course about the interesting sights I see and not about the interviews, conferences both in English and German I go through every day. It's pretty strenuous but I'm bearing up well!

Toward noon tomorrow after some conferences we will go to Munich. [. . .] I've never travelled this way before, meals and lodgings in the best places and transportation all furnished! [. . .]

*Kiss my dear kiddies
Love,
Jim*

August 20

Munich where der schöne Adolf began his dirty work has received full punishment from the air force. Relatively it is better off than Nürnberg but it is still clogged up. The Braun Haus, the Frauenkirche, the Opera, the Parliament Building are all in ruins. Strangely enough Hitler's new party buildings and his memorial to 1923 Putsch victims are still standing, as is also the Rathaus. It seemed odd indeed to listen to an orchestra play Schubert in the old Fürstenhof cafe and eat coffee and donuts there under Red Cross auspices while everywhere in the neighborhood was destruction.

August 21

A day of interviews with MG officials who are running the state of Bavaria. Regret the absence of my colleague Bromage who I learn had a complete breakdown and has been sent home. Talked with Dr. Schäffer who has been designated acting Minister-President. He is a quiet and yet confident man, experienced in government, not at all progressive, but reliable and with good luck capable of rebuilding Bavarian government along democratic lines. He has an interesting proposal for a Treuedankgesetz under which citizens acquire Bavarian citizenship if they are reliable or after a period of

probation.¹³ Questioned him about decentralization and found that he was thinking in terms of 8 or 9 Reichsländer based on natural areas of approximately equal population. In a discussion with the acting Minister of the Interior I found that his thinking about elections was exactly like my own. Begin slowly in the Kreise after proper preparation and finally elect a state legislature. In the meantime utilize advisory councils of citizens to begin citizen participation.

Found confirmation of opinions earlier expressed about army difficulties, about uncertainty in directives, about changeable staffs etc.

August 22

A delightful and refreshing visit to Garmisch-Partenkirchen and to Innsbruck gave me a fresh breath of mountain air and an opportunity for reflection and some relaxation from the rigors of travel. No war destruction here and lots of fresh vegetables! Talked with the Abbot at the old Benedictine monastery at Ettal and enjoyed his hospitality in the form of a glass of what he called his medicine – the famous Benedictine liqueur. He thought there would be a swing to Communism, but he was more concerned about starting up his school again, getting in supplies of food and fuel.

August 24

On the way to Augsburg passed through Landsberg on the Lech where Hitler was incarcerated for eight short months in 1924 after being sentenced to five years. Perhaps the history of the world would have been different if he had been made to serve out his full sentence. Augsburg was damaged but not like other German cities. Heard about border problems with the French at Lindau where this Bavarian county was included in the French zone to give them a corridor into Austria. Also about the French policy of recuperation or just plain scrounging of German cattle and goods and sending them back to France.

¹³ Es wurde ein Bayerisches Treuedankgesetz diskutiert, das die Möglichkeit bieten sollte, das bayerische Landesbürgerrecht neben der deutschen Staatsbürgerschaft zu erwerben als Anerkennung für gegen das Dritte Reich geleisteten Widerstand.

Heidelberg, Aug. 24, 1945

My dear Family –

I've just had a hot tub and rub with one of those yard long German bath towels in the Schloss Hotel here in Heidelberg, and I must drop you a line before I go to bed. My last letter written, I believe, last Sunday was from Regensburg. Since then we visited Munich which is horribly battered, only the Rathaus remaining standing. The two narrow streets running from it back to the Opera and the wide Ludwig Strasse out which we walked to our Pension are still clogged with debris. The Brown House is a heap of ruins. Some of the museums were saved. But strangely enough I dropped into a Red Cross officers' Club a block from the Cathedral – also ruined – and it was the old coffee house, the Fürstenhof! And there I sat and listened to Schubert and ate doughnuts.

Poor Arthur [Bromage] I learned had a complete nervous breakdown and I assume is still in an institution. He must have done a good job while he was here but he couldn't take it somehow and went to pieces.

Our tripping has been so strenuous that the Colonel planned a day and two nights in Garmisch-Partenkirchen in the Bavarian Alps where we could rest and see some Alpine scenery. We drove even to Innsbruck in the French zone of Austria and to Oberammergau. It was familiar to me but most enjoyable. Everywhere we get the best accommodations the army can give – which so far has been tops.

Then to Augsburg, Ulm, and Stuttgart, all badly smashed. You remember the beautiful castle and museums etc. in the center of Stuttgart – all gone! Then thru the Black Forest to Baden-Baden where the French headquarters are located.

Then to Karlsruhe – also wrecked – to Heidelberg which is untouched save for the old bridge the Nazis themselves blew up. Tonight after a good dinner I walked along the path which overlooks the town and over to the Schloss, just at sunset. It is one of the great sights of the world and now an island of normal life in a sea of wreckage.

Everywhere I go I meet many of my officer trainees – at Stuttgart today four of them. In Munich when I met Col. Reese, the Military Governor of Bavaria, he said: "I brought your study right in with me and couldn't have gotten along without it." It is very gratifying. You remember big red-faced Scammon – one of my prospective Ph.D.'s? Well he was in Stuttgart and helped me a lot. I certainly hope the rest of my year can be as pleasant as these last six weeks.

I also want to tell you another point I learned. When the Potsdam Conference was on, Pres. Truman wanted some information on East Prussia, and the only thing they could find for him was our survey on East Prussia – and this filled his needs.

We will go to Mannheim and Darmstadt to visit Military Government

Detachments tomorrow, but return to this lovely hotel for another night. Then back to Frankfurt for several days of the conference before resuming our trip to Kassel, Bremen and Berlin.

I'm standing the strenuous schedule better than the others.

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

August 25

At Stuttgart learned about the impossible task given to Mil. Govt. officials in trying to govern Württemberg and Baden both of which have been cut in two by the boundary separating the French from the American zone. Stuttgart is the administrative and economic center for all of Württemberg and the French have the hind tit. The great Autobahn provided the most cogent reason for the boundary. What a commentary on statesmanship! Topside will not permit joint arrangements with the French and will not run a telephone line from Frankfurt to Baden-Baden. If we can't work with one ally in adjoining zones, how can we expect to work with three allies on the Control Council in Berlin?

Heidelberg, August 25, 1945

Dearest Mother –

I am sitting at a desk writing to you from a beautiful hotel high above the Neckar river in this university town which was spared the destruction of war. It is one of the few German cities which was spared. The others through which I have come – Munich, Würzburg, Augsburg and others have been smashed to empty walls and rubble. It is pitiful to see thousands of refugees walking along the highways carrying their few remaining possessions in carts. But they are a patient and hard-working people and they carry their burdens quite cheerfully thus far. The winter will be hard for them and I'm not sure all of them will be able to survive it. The trains are just beginning to run. More than half the living quarters have been destroyed. There will be little or no coal for the people and food will be scarce. On top of this there are still hundreds of thousands of displaced persons – Poles, Czechs, Hungarians – still waiting transportation home. It is simply fantastic how life seems to go on quite usual. The street cars run and people are clean as usual.

Of course the army has taken over the best places and that is why I've been put up at the best places remaining. [. . .] Tomorrow afternoon we return to Frankfurt. [. . .]

I am having a great experience and am very fortunate to be a part of this great experiment in trying to govern another nation which has been defeated. [...]

*Love and Kisses,
James*

August 26

A delightful Sunday in Heidelberg completely untouched by war except the bridges. Time to reflect about the panorama which has been spread before me in recent days.

One wonders how life can go on in the midst of destruction and yet it does. How can the cities ever be rebuilt and yet the currents of trade, the habits of centuries will not be destroyed even by saturation bombing.

There is much interference of tactical troops with Military Government officials. There is also still some looting and other violations of discipline. One group of American soldiers under a special service officer had loaded up the priceless furniture of Schloss Linderhof near Oberammergau and was about to take it away to furnish an officers' club when an MG officer stopped them.

The DP's are one of the serious problems. Many Poles don't want to go home, and yet they won't work, and they go around looting and raping making a serious public safety problem. If the hundreds of thousands of DP's could be promptly shipped out or made to work, conditions would be improved. Also if our troops could be sent home except the garrison force it would ease many situations. Germans are crowding the roads trying to get home with their remaining earthly goods in the best way they can find. Four months after V-E Day German transport and communication are still paralyzed – though operating here and there for the army. German industry has been stopped from resuming work under a misguided production control policy.

German government officials have been well selected on the whole but the blanket denazification directive has caused much harm and has interfered seriously with reconstruction.

I am deeply concerned about the winter months. The army doesn't seem to realize that it will be held responsible if civil government breaks down. Others fail to realize that a failure on our part in Germany will throw the Germans in desperation right into the arms of the Communists. We have a great opportunity because the Germans want to work with us. Will we measure up? I hope so, but I am not encouraged after seeing this portion of the American zone. In any case I now have the feel of the situation, the specific and grass roots data I needed to inform me about the problems of the occupation.

Frankfurt, Aug. 26, 1945

My Darling –

When I arrived here late this afternoon one of the officers had brought a whole batch of your letters from Berlin. To say that I was overjoyed is to put it mildly. [...]

You ask about whether Berlin and the other places are clean or smelly. They are just like they always were – clean and spotless. Since the canals have not been put in order yet they are smelly, but none is near our district. The people too are clean and oh so patient to wait in long lines for a little black bread, and fruit.

Tonight General Smith has asked me out to what they call the Victory Club – a swanky general officers' club – to hear about my trip.

I'm really feeling fine after the little rest at Heidelberg. Perhaps I've even gained a pound or two, but I'll level off when I get adjusted. I've been so hungry.

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

August 27–29

The three-day Military Government conference here at Frankfurt was highlighted by General Eisenhower's opening remarks.¹⁴ With General Patton and lots of brass sitting in front of him, he told the assembled MG officers that the only purpose of having the army here was to give support to Military Government. He repeated the same sentence as he said, to make the point perfectly clear. Ike looked well and has developed great power in speaking. He is clear, direct and impressive – with it all friendly and human.

Met many friends, former students, officers I had talked with in the field and important cogs in our occupation machine. One can be very comfortable in the Frankfurt area what with fine officers, good mess, snack bar, pleasant surrounding neighborhood and good company.

Had a pleasant evening at Victory Club at Königstein with General Smith and General Keating. Keating commanded the 102nd Division which got across the Elbe and, according to him, reached the Havel before being recalled. He is a real fighting General and very personable.

My good friend Col. Charles Fairman of Stanford, now J.A.G. dept., took me out to dinner at General Betts' comfortable villa at Bad Homburg.

¹⁴ Aufzeichnungen über die Military Government Conference vom 27.–28. 8. 1945 in Frankfurt in: Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 62–13 (IfZ Bd. 30).

Met Col. Springer whom I had seen several times at the J.A.G. School in Ann Arbor. General Betts presides at table like a true lord of the manor, a perfect gentleman, and father to this flock of colonels who live with him.

Lunched one day with Col. Phelps the D.M.G.O. for Frankfurt. He has a difficult job trying to please all the brass in and around his district. He and two of his officers painted a gloomy – but I find an accurate picture of the German situation. They feel neglected in promotions, forgotten by topside, and quite out of sympathy with prevailing policy. It's too bad the conference wasn't organized to permit the men in the field to raise their problems frankly with the policy makers.

A visit to Offenbach demonstrated what can be done for a community when its industry is revived. It seemed that every GI and officer in Germany was there to buy some of the beautiful leather goods for his friends.

Drove over to Wiesbaden to see my friend Col. Malcolm Hay who runs the town. He has in a few weeks cleaned up a bad situation bequeathed to him by his predecessor. Border problems with the French who were ceded four counties of the great Hessen wine area – presumably to give them a bridgehead opposite Coblenz. Against whom I wonder – us? Now they have all the important wine areas of Germany and together with their own will be able to ship so much wine to the United States that California might well begin to howl.

August 30

Kassel is a shambles but military government carries on in the castle at Wilhelmshöhe! Talked with an exceedingly able German official Dr. Hoch, the Regierungspräsident, who undoubtedly wonders what we are trying to do in the Hessen area and why, and well he might! We screw up the whole administrative organization and four months after V-E Day we are still trying to set up a state government in what was once Provinz Hessen. For a time SHAEF had actually carved out an enclave all around Frankfurt which was to be outside of any military government control.

August 31

Bremen is also in ruins but the Rathaus is intact. Many, many problems here. In setting up an American port of entry, the Navy insisted on controlling both shores of the Weser. This meant including two counties on the east shore from Provinz Hannover, and one on the west from Land Oldenburg with the Free City of Bremen. British territory surrounds the enclave on all sides, and all former administrative lines are cut. No solution has yet been worked out. Why do we have to do such stupid things?

Visited the submarine plant at Vegesack and the unfinished pens at

Farge. Never have I seen such a monument to German war ambition! It was the biggest pile of cement I ever hope to see – capable of making 17 large subs at one time. It was never finished – thanks to a bomb or two from allied aircraft.

I saw the *Europa* ready to sail for the U. S. carrying thousands of GI's. Bremerhaven is buzzing with American activity – a vital spot in our supply line.

Sept. 1

Back to Berlin only to be confronted with a rush assignment. General Clay wants to issue a directive on elections – right away or sooner! I wonder if he read my memo of a month ago?¹⁵

Chatted with some newspapermen in General Smith's office. Tried to collect my thoughts for a conference with General Clay in the morning.

Sept. 2

Two hours with General Clay and Ambassador Murphy in company with General Smith, Col. Starnes, and Ken Dayton. General Smith asked me to review my findings from the trip. I did so briefly and then began to discuss the problem of holding elections. As I feared General Clay had not seen my memo on the subject of a month ago. Military channels – ye gods. What is a general's staff for – to keep information from him? After outlining all the difficulties in the way of early elections – not to mention the question of politics involved – General Clay made it clear that something had to be started by January first. I think his idea is thoroughly unsound because I don't think the Germans should be rushed into democratic elections. I've just talked to dozens of responsible German officials and they all have urged a delay at least until spring. But although the General obviously had not thought through all of the implications of holding elections, it was very clear what he wanted. After advising against his approach, I then agreed to get the best plan possible. But I don't like to be made responsible for a plan which I disapprove. But orders are orders and Clay is running the show. I've only spent 20 years studying elections! Maybe Mr. Murphy will work for a change before a directive is finally issued.

We also discussed the Hessen problem. Here the General also was quite averse to all the best opinion in favor of a unification of the two Hessen areas. He was angered by Joe Starnes' strong and frank disagreement with the prevailing American policy of economic suppression, and unfortunately his irritation carried over into the questions we were raising for decision.

¹⁵ Memo Pollock – Smith vom 26. 8. 1945, siehe Anm. 11.

General Smith tactfully proposed a postponement to permit us to gather more ammunition. We came away from the conference rather crestfallen. Ambassador Murphy whispered me an invitation to dinner as we were leaving and perhaps this will lighten up my feelings.

Had an interesting talk with our French counterparts this afternoon. Find them to be away behind us in plans and ideas. Only a skeleton staff is here in Berlin.

Berlin, Sept. 2, 1945

My Darling Family –

I arrived back in Berlin from Bremen yesterday evening by car, and did I have a wonderful feast on all your letters. [. . .]

I will send you and the children for your birthdays some leather goods from Offenbach near Frankfurt. [. . .] I shall also send along some little brooches I bought at Innsbruck in Austria, and some German trinkets and medals including an iron cross and a Nazi flag! I hope you like them all, and will acknowledge receipt. [. . .]

Now for my last week. The first three days were at Frankfurt attending the conference. General Ike was wonderful. Patton, Haislip, Keating and numerous other top Generals were there. I was just a listener – believe it or not – but scores of officers came up to me. I made important contacts at headquarters and everyone wants my advice. The accommodations at Frankfurt are so good, it is very pleasant indeed to be there. One evening General Smith had me out to what they call Victory Club – a huge 40 room country house now used to entertain dignitaries. Met General Keating – 2 stars – who first reached the Elbe. Another evening Col. Fairman – J.A.G. from Stanford – drove me to Bad Homburg – remember? – for dinner at General Betts' villa. One morning drove to Wiesbaden to visit Col. Malcolm Hay who was married in Ann Arbor on our wedding anniversary. Remember? He is the Military Government officer for Wiesbaden. Also had lunch with Col. Phelps from Saginaw – the Mil. Govt. officer for Frankfurt. All doors are open to me! Side trip to Offenbach where I got your leather goods.

Thursday to Kassel. You should see the ruins! Military Government headquarters were in the castle on the hill west of town – Wilhelmshöhe – remember. Then down the Weser valley – remember? – to Bremen. Everything smashed except the wonderful Rathaus and Cathedral which were spared. I had a bottle of wine in the Ratskeller! Serious administrative problems to study in Bremen due to the stupid drawing of the boundary between British zone and the port of entry. Visited Bremerhaven and Wesermünde and believe it or not I visited the Europa which is all ready to carry troops home!

They will use the former Captain Scharf and some of his officers but an

American navy crew. Bunks built on promenade deck, in huge sitting rooms, etc.

Then back to Berlin yesterday over the great Autobahn through Hannover, Braunschweig, and Magdeburg – all smashed – to Berlin in 6 hours! This was all through the British and Russian zones. No difficulties at all.

Upon arrival there were urgent tasks to perform. General Clay wants important advice about elections right away. So instead of having a quiet Sunday I've worked all day – mostly with General Smith. Helped him with a New York Times interview this afternoon. Roger Wells arrived Thursday. It's good to have him next to me for we think alike and he is a good worker. Shook hands with Red Heneman¹⁶ at dinner today. He will come to see me tomorrow. Wait till he sees how I am set up! When I returned I had been moved into another more beautiful office, rug on the floor and everything!

I go the first thing in the morning with General Smith to report on my trip to General Clay. I will then be questioned about several aspects of my trip. After tomorrow I will get busy on a written report.¹⁷ I am so lucky to have had such a wonderful trip. But you have no idea how disorganized everything is. Tomorrow afternoon I go to visit my French opposite on Central Control Council matters. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Sept. 4

A new directive requires our concurrence to all changes in German governmental structure. Almost immediately General Thomas brought in the proposal for a central German government department for Post and Communications as provided in the Berlin agreement. I am to say whether the proposal accords with American policy and fits into an orderly pattern for a future German government.

Worked hard on a new directive for democratic elections.¹⁸ Happy to have my friend Roger Wells here to help.

¹⁶ Familienname von Frau Pollock hschr. hinzugefügt.

¹⁷ Inspection Trip through the American Zone, 12 August – 1 September, Memo Pollock – Director Civil Administration (Smith), 5.9.1945, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 62–13 (IfZ Bd. 29).

¹⁸ Material und Entwurf zur Wahldirektive von Anfang September 1945 in: Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 60–10, 63–13 (IfZ Bd. 65).

Sept. 5

Red Heneman going home because of a recurrence of his stomach ulcer. No wonder! Anyone who can get by on this chow has to have a cast iron stomach and be not easily perturbed or frustrated.

Saw a little boy this morning coming back with a pot of coffee from the GI mess up the street. As he gave it to his mother he said with an angelic expression: „Mutter ich sah das schönste weisse Brot!“ He may never have seen white bread before and he will certainly see little this winter. Such scenes are touching, but of course the poor French suffered at least as much for several years. It is too bad the children have to pay for it.

Sept. 6

Ambassador invited me to lunch at the “Chateau Murphy” 19 Specht Strasse. Very interesting people including Bruce Hopper who is historian for General Spaatz and who told us about Sally. From this he launched into a tirade against the influence of women on important men. One would have thought he was a misogynist. I told the story about Mr. Dooley’s book on women. Agnes were you listening. DeWitt Clinton Poole, an acquaintance of former years and long in the Foreign Service delivered himself of an able criticism of too much outside influence deciding State Department personnel and policy. The excellent martinis we had before lunch really unlimbered his tongue. The Ambassador and one other guest told about how Marshal Tito, coming to dinner with General Alexander at Bari, brought three bodyguards along who followed them right into the dining room with their tommy guns.

Sept. 7

The election directive is now cleared with the Ambassador and Mr. Fahy and only requires USFET concurrence. Helped with the press release.

Another central German department organization brought in today – Transport. Why do the days go so fast.

Went through the building and library formerly used by the Reichsverwaltungsgericht – now in the British sector. Quite certainly the reestablishment of a genuine Rechtsstaat will require the reopening of administrative courts, but not likely any national administrative court. The policy of decentralization will require several state administrative courts rather than one national court.

Berlin, Sept. 7, 1945

My Darling Family:

This has been another hectic week for me and I'm sorry to say that I have been utterly unable to write you a coherent letter since Sunday. I don't like to write just to say I am well without telling you something. Hence I wait until I can give you an evening or an hour at least of comprehensive coverage of what I am doing. [...]

I no sooner arrived here than General Smith told me that General Clay wanted me to get to work on directives for elections. Hence I worked Sunday and Monday, both holidays here when I hoped I would be able to rest up from my trip. Monday morning General Smith, Ambassador Murphy and I spent two hours with General Clay talking over my trip and the elections he wants scheduled. It was most interesting and gratifying. I did not get my way in every respect but I kept him from making several mistakes. The rest of the week I have been busy working out the details and you will read the results in the newspapers probably before you get this. General Eisenhower and General Clay want to rush elections a little faster than I think is desirable, but I want you to know that I am the guy who worked out the whole program.

Another very significant development of the week is this. I will enclose a paper to establish the point.¹⁹ General Clay has ordered that no proposals for setting up any part of the government of Germany can be approved until I have given my concurrence. This means that every part of the Group Control Council which draws up a directive to create a department, or any other part of the German governmental structure, must come to me and secure my approval. This gives me an unsurpassed opportunity to direct all the rebuilding of the German government so far as the American side is concerned. This week I have passed upon two proposals to set up central government departments to control post and transportation. When these are concurred in by the other three powers, the departments will be set up. I hope I have the wisdom to make the right decisions.

Also this week the Ambassador has invited me to lunch one day to meet some very interesting visiting foreign service officers including DeWitt Clinton Poole – remember? – Then to dinner tomorrow when he is entertaining some visiting Congressmen. Needless to say the food and wine are superb, the conversation is interesting, and little Jimmie is well entertained.

But just in case I give you the wrong impression by all these wonderful things, let me now relate some of the more mundane sides of my life in Berlin. I rise at 7. Inge the maid brings up a pan of hot water for me to shave with. Since there is very little wood or coal in the cellar we hesitate to use it up too fast until we get more and so we only heat the hot water on the stove.

¹⁹ Nicht ermittelt.

A bath comes once a week. In this case it doesn't cost a mark as it used to cost us in Pension Brunke. My room is nice, or rather will be nice when I get some glass in the windows. Until that time, probably tomorrow, probably next week, I am out in the woods really. These nights are getting cool too if you ask me. Hence I was overjoyed to finally receive the three boxes you sent in the pouch which contained the sheets, pyjamas, and underwear. These are the only three parcels which have come to date.

My lights are not very good because they have not yet been repaired. I then walk a block to the corner where I catch a bus which takes me a mile and a half to the officers' mess where this morning I had a small glass of grapefruit juice, two pieces of German toast, a small dish of cornflakes which I eat with coffee. Some mornings we are offered pineapple juice and then I don't drink. Prunes and apricots rarely. Porridge, rolled oats, and cream of wheat occasionally. Eggs once in a while – I should add powdered eggs – not bad if they are cooked right. Then a block to the office. My office is one of the best. It is beautifully furnished with a huge desk and with a rug and comfortable desk and reclining chair. I'm writing this letter from the office after supper in my office because I have a typewriter here and lots of light, and it is a bit warmer than at home. I left the area Tuesday for a few hours to be driven over to the French zone to talk with my French counterparts. Next week we will return a British visit and then the Russians whom I am very anxious to meet. This afternoon I accompanied a colonel down to the region of the Zoo to inspect a court building and discuss some problems of judicial administration. I then had the driver take us down town through the Leipzigerstrasse, over the Friedrichstrasse and up the Linden through the Brandenburg gate and back to Dahlem. The day was lovely and I enjoyed the sun. You can hardly recognize the area. The Potsdamer Platz area is probably the worst. Some streets are only slightly damaged in other sectors, but the Kurfürstendamm is a shambles. Nevertheless stores are opening up, people are walking around and lots of work is being done. [. . .]

I had hoped to have a picture or two for you but everyone who has promised me a picture thus far has failed to send it on to me. My only confession is that I'm afraid I'm getting a bit stouter. Eating so much food of a starchy nature and being so hungry, I've gained a few pounds I'm sure. But I will watch myself from now on. My stomach has been very good, and I've only had one headache in two months. I'm still getting my system adjusted to heavy foods and that is why when you send a box you might include a bottle of Sal Hepatica, they don't seem to have anything quite like it here. Also Nescafe is welcome because you would be surprised how good a hot cup of coffee tastes at home on Sunday morning, or even late in the afternoon, or even going to bed. To have something at home to nibble on or drink helps to cheer one up. A little bit goes a long way. I still have one of the jars of coffee you bought me. [. . .]

I talked with Red Heneman yesterday at last. It took him a long time to

come to see me and now I know why. He is going home in another week or two. Just as we thought, his stomach ulcers started up and he can't stay. I think too he saw he was not as important as he thought he was going to be. The Ambassador gives him no attention, and yet he has gotten a trip out of it which may be what he had in mind in the first place. This is just between ourselves. Roger Wells finally arrived and I am happy to have him at my side. Also Howard Jones is here in the Division but both without my connections with Murphy. I think I told you that I have an executive officer, a lieutenant colonel, a personal aide who is a first lieutenant, and several majors and Lt. Cols. in my branch.

Mail seems to come faster to me when addressed to the Civil Administration Division than when addressed to the Political Division. But occasionally send something to me in the pouch and letters addressed to the Political Division so I will be kept in both places. I'm a State Department official and I want to remain one for all its rights and privileges. Siehst Du? I'm willing to accept favors from both the army and the State Department for I am working for both of them.

Love and Kisses,
Jim

Berlin, Sept. 7, 1945

Dearest Mother:

[. . .] I have been too negligent myself, but really Mother I am really gasping for breath because I have done so much, seen so much in the short space of two months since I left home. My time has been so fully occupied that I really can't quite keep up with myself. From now on maybe I will be more settled and become a better correspondent.

My trip through the entire American zone was most interesting and enlightening. You have no idea [of] the destruction which exists. Every big city of Germany completely smashed. I don't know how they can live but life goes on and everyone works hard. This will be a grim winter for them without adequate food or shelter and no fuel. Thousands of refugees on the roads walking hundreds of miles home. A little child this morning who had been given some food by some American soldiers came back to his Mother and said, "Oh Mother I saw some of the most beautiful white bread". He probably never had seen white bread before. But the French and the English have suffered at least as much as the Germans and we must not get sentimental about their difficulties. They brought it on themselves and they are now having to pay for it.

I have been placed in an enviable position where my advice is sought from all quarters. I can watch the whole thing unfold and will have a part to play

in every important decision. I do not always get my way but perhaps I can keep Ambassador Murphy and General Clay from making a few mistakes. Wednesday Mr. Murphy had me to lunch with some very important people. He includes me in his parties very often. General Smith, with whom I work most closely is most kind and considerate and respectful. I have an executive officer, a personal aide, and several majors and colonels working for me. Upon my return from my trip I had a two hour conference with General Clay and the Ambassador, and I have been busy ever since working on directives to give effect to some of my suggestions. A directive has now been issued that I must concur in every change in the German governmental structure before it is ordered to take effect. This is a great responsibility. [...]

I am trying to keep a Diary so I won't forget all the things I do. When I come home next summer I will want you to read it and then you will have a more adequate picture of what your boy has been doing. It is a great experience for me, one in a lifetime. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
James*

Sept. 8

We have run into the one serious difficulty in the organization of the occupation. Army hdqs. known as USFET has refused to concur in our election directive. General Adcock, the G-5, and his vague and dreamy adviser, Walter Dorn, are fighting to preserve their empire. I am watching the struggle with great interest. Here is a real issue. Will General Smith take it lying down. If he does we will continue to have two instead of one policy-making group.

Sept. 9

General Smith asked me to sit in [on] an interview with Sen. Pepper who is here. He is a keen listener – a good student. I told him the conference reminded me of a seminar at Michigan only he was a better pupil than I usually have.

Also talked with my friend Bill Elliott of Harvard who is here with the House Committee on Post War Economic Policy. I tried to orient the brethren at Bill's suggestion and a very pleasant time was had by all. They seem to be on the right track.

In the afternoon took a ride to Potsdam with Col. Jensen to have a look at the Sehenswürdigkeiten. The old Garrison church which contained the sarcophagus of Frederick the Great was totally demolished. I could not

forget that it was here Hitler staged his constitutional coup d'état which marked the end of free government in Germany. At Sanssouci the gardens are of course neglected but one can still get the grand vista up the terraces toward the palace. The Russians permit guarded parties to go through the palace and a good deal is still there to remind one of the old Fritz. The emptiness and shabbiness impressed me for I had seen it before in better days.

Sept. 10

Walter Dorn flew up from Frankfurt to argue for changes in our election directive. General Smith stood by us magnificently. Roger Wells and I had ready answers for every point, and when Dorn had exhausted his arguments, General Smith asked him to sign on the dotted line. After talking with Gen. Adcock in Frankfurt, he signed. The papers were then completed and one of the really constructive moves in our occupation was started. Many aspects of Military Government will be speeded up. I still think it would have been better to put all elections off until spring, but we will see. Who can tell what will happen. They will certainly be misery elections but Gen. Clay said that you don't learn how to swim until you're thrown into the cold water! It will certainly be cold for the Germans in January!

Sept. 11

Saw more of the congressional party at dinner. They are a good committee. People are unfair to dub these strenuous investigation trips "junkets". The Congressmen travel so fast, see so much, hear so much, and eat all kinds of food, it's a wonder the casualty rate is not higher. While I was talking to Cong. Zimmerman of Missouri, a sincere, intelligent man, an aide handed him a small box of sodium bicarbonate! Poor man had been burping all over Europe without any medicament!

Joel Sayre of the *New Yorker* and Vandivert of *Life* came to see me. Sayre is a most jovial and charming person, and Vandivert demonstrated his great skill when he showed me his Munich pictures. Having recently been in Munich I was amazed how much real interpretation he had been able to pull together in his pictures. I hope the American public will appreciate his efforts. We talked about many phases of the German problem over a couple of bottles of good Rhine wine I had been able to pick up on my trip.

Berlin, Sept. 11, 1945

My Sweetheart!

[. . .] I spent some time again yesterday with the Congressmen including Wolcott of Port Huron. But the big thing yesterday was the great victory we won here over my election plans. The army at Frankfurt which we call USFET – US Forces European Theatre – is still trying to preserve its policy making powers. I framed the proposals for General Smith in accordance with General Clay's wishes and they refused to concur. We made them come up here and Roger Wells and I had their so-called expert tied up in no time in front of General Smith, the General supporting my position 100%. The matter was then laid before General Clay and you will read about it. I preferred to postpone elections till a little later but I accomplished the same result by developing a sequence going from the smallest village up to the largest cities. This is one of the biggest things I have done so far and I'm tickled. [. . .]

I have not seen any publicity about myself and frankly I have not encouraged it. The General has twice asked for a sketch and each time I gave him one but I don't know what use he has made of it. Tomorrow night however, a Life photographer and correspondent is coming to see me and also later one from the New Yorker. I saw Pat Conger in Frankfurt you can tell his wife, Homer Heath's daughter Barbara.

You might enjoy continuing the Washington Post. It is a very good newspaper. I don't seem to get time to read anything except the Stars and Stripes which comes out daily in small form. I haven't read a book, although of course I am constantly reading reports and memoranda.

The watch mania has subsided a bit but it is still possible to dispose of them with great profit. If you can buy a relatively cheap one which has a sweep second hand that goes all around the face and with illuminated dial, have Hudson's pack it strong and insure it and send it. Even the Mickey Mouse ones they like if they can hear it tick! If you pay ten or fifteen dollars I might get a hundred! Let's try anyway if it isn't too much trouble. The whiskey would be nice to have but I'm afraid it might be too much trouble to arrange.

I'm hopeful of getting up to Denmark in a few weeks to look the situation over. Reports are very good. I'd like to have a few days in London too before bad weather just to look around.

Well I've made this longer than I intended but you are such an interesting correspondent that you encourage me to write. I came back quickly after lunch to write this. Tonight I have dinner with Mr. Heath, the Ambassador's Counsellor of Embassy. They use me and depend on me and that's fine.

Hugs and Kisses,
Jim

Sept. 13

Finished a new memo on Hessen to reopen the case with Gen. Clay. This time I argued for the consolidation of the two Hessen areas on grounds of developing a new state which could be a strong unit in a new federal Germany. Also because all responsible German officials supported it.²⁰

Pat Conger of the U[nited] P[ress], one of my former students and now the Berlin representative of this agency dropped in to check with me about the significance in the recent Russian move in creating a government for their zone with German officials heading the various departments. He had it right that it was quite natural and proper – even necessary for the Russians to do this because they have to rely on German officials to do the job. So do we, but we haven't come around to it completely as yet – to our discredit. Some people felt the Russians were setting up a government of their own which they hoped would become later a central govt. for all Germany. Maybe so but I doubt it. I know they have Dr. Friedensburg as one of their department heads, and we wanted him very badly to become Minister-President of Land Hessen-Nassau.

Sept. 14

General Clay today approved our plan for a consolidated Hessen area to make one instead of two states. This is another great victory for sound administration. The action will gradually clear up the doubt and confusion which has irked MG officers for two months. I feel very happy indeed. If something can be done now to improve the Württemberg-Baden mess, we will be able to get down to some serious work in the American zone. We have tabled a proposal for a study committee to visit this area and make an early report. Another committee is already at Bremen.

Berlin, Sept. 16, 1945

My darling Wifey –

[. . .] Unfortunately about 100 of us got poisoned Friday in our mess on some food and I spent a most uncomfortable night. Hence I remained at home yesterday and so far today. I have to keep close to the bathroom! The rest gives me time to catch up on correspondence and reading, and write some in my Diary. [. . .]

This week brought me another great victory. For two months efforts have

²⁰ Material zu Land Hessen in: Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 62–12 (IfZ Bd. 73); enthält auch einige Denkschriften von deutscher Seite, so z. B. von Fritz Hoch vom 27. 8. 1945 und von Ludwig Bergsträsser vom 10. 8. 1945.

been made to unite Land Hessen and Hessen-Nassau into one state. Memos of all kinds have been prepared. Finally General Smith and I found out what was bothering General Clay and I prepared a new document. On Friday he approved our paper! It made me very happy. The Ambassador asked me to prepare a special dispatch on the subject for the State Department to which he appended a personal note giving me the credit for the achievement. [. .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Sept. 18

The military subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee is here. My good friend Albert Engel of Michigan is with them. General Echols asked me to ride with him and Engel and Snyder, the Chairman. After a sightseeing tour General Clay gave a dinner – incidentally the best I've had for some time and was it welcome – and conversation covered many phases of the occupation. A comprehensive report is to be sent forward to the committee because their visit is much too short to give them more than a glimpse. The Congressmen asked Joe Starnes and me to oversee the preparation of the report. My, how I admire Albert Engel. If ever there was a fearless, energetic, devoted public servant, it is he. General Clay, making a pleasantry said to me that he didn't understand how such a kindly and amiable gentleman as I was could be so friendly with such a two-fisted, hard-hitting fighter like Engel! He has everybody's respect because he never lets anyone cover up. I wish he could have remained longer, for his own investigations would certainly have uncovered some of our administrative muddling.

Sept. 20

The Central Control Council met today. Sometimes I think more progress is being made in feeling out a technique in international management than in getting the Germans to work. Frictions and hitches are numerous but there is progress each day in getting along with our allies. We get along very well with the Russians. When the Allied Authority Building was put into condition, the problem of allocation of rooms to the four generals necessarily came up. The British of course insisted on four equal rooms. But there weren't four equal rooms. So Marshal Shukov suggested the generals shoot craps to decide! When it was later decided to draw lots, Shukov won and immediately came over to Eisenhower to offer him the best room which he had just drawn!

I am not happy about the slowness in reviving certain essential central

government services such as those provided for in the Potsdam Agreement. I think governmental chaos has lasted too long already.

Berlin, Sept. 20, 1945

My Dearest –

[. . .] I was supposed to get a plane for Bremen this afternoon at three, but the plane never came in from London. So after waiting at Tempelhof airfield for two hours I was driven back to headquarters in time for dinner. I will expect to go tomorrow either by car or plane. I didn't have enough time in Bremen on the trip so I'm glad to return.

You will be interested to know that we operate Tempelhof field, and that is probably four times larger than when you and I were there. Of course most of the permanent structures which ringed the field were burned or restored. But the runways are perfect. It is a huge place and I enjoyed sitting there today in the sun and watching planes come and go. But not my plane! [. . .]

I have intended to enclose an old ration card for you to see how the system works. Each week we are entitled to so much – if it's on hand. One gradually gets greedy and buys all he is entitled to, but it only adds up to about \$ 1.25 a week for everything you buy. Meals add up to 90 cents a day. I can now have a bottle of wine for dinner – 30 to 50 cents – which I take turns in buying. I spend almost as much on postage, don't I? [. . .]

Have I said that General Clay and General Echols see me more often as the time goes on, and that Clay had me to his lovely dinner party last night for the Congressmen. Martinis, real canapes, steak with red wine, champagne, brandy & coffee! [. . .] I will have a busy time as long as I'm here, and fascinating vital problems thrown at me everyday. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Sept. 21

Flew to Bremen today to help with an investigation into the difficulties of the Enclave. Sat with the Oberbürgermeister and received a wonderful illustration of a restrained official who didn't suggest what we should do, but expressed the hope that we should let the German officials know our decision at once.

The Enclave is a monstrosity and this is no time to set up a new state government to effectuate coordination with the outlying counties. I have recommended a return to British control of everything except Bremen proper and its port facilities at Bremerhaven. This is all we need. It worked in Ireland and England. Why can't we work with the British here. It is

really fantastic for us to have some 27,000 occupation troops in the area occupying space which could be used to house Germans. The sinuosities of military bureaucracy are well illustrated here: Navy, Port Command, Military Gov't etc., etc. I feel sure something will have to be done to simplify the situation.

Bremen, Sept. 23, 1945

My Darling -

I'm seated in a beautiful officers' club located in the reception rooms of the old Rathaus, and I want to commune with you for a few minutes and keep you up to date.

I flew here Friday and have been participating in conferences with Military Government officers and German officials. Yesterday we met in the Oberbürgermeister's office, and I thought what a change – to be ordering Germans around. Bremen is the port of entry for all American goods, but it is surrounded by British occupied territory. The original agreement made by Roosevelt and Churchill was very ill-advised and it has raised several difficulties not merely with the British but in upsetting traditional German administration. My advice was called for and that's why I'm here.

It is a very pleasant change of diet to get out of Berlin, and we always did like Bremen didn't we? [. . .]

I shall return to Berlin by car via Hamburg to have a look Monday or Tuesday. I am supposed to review the findings of the special army committee which is here, and offer any solutions I may have. This is another interesting study for me of government in operation, and it is all very fascinating experience.

I've met a couple of officers here who knew me, and all the time I hear of their experience up to date. One of them came into Bremen with the fighting troops in April. There is widespread destruction but somehow life goes on. The port of Bremerhaven is now in full operation, but the river up to Bremen has not yet been cleared completely of mines, and all the bridges have not been rebuilt. The marvel is that the old Rathaus and Cathedral still stand – almost undamaged.

They take wonderful care of the officers and men here. I've never seen such sumptuous places of recreation and entertainment.

I will close with one interesting note. When I arrived on Friday I was quartered with a Major Gelperin who offered to share his beautiful apartment with me. His wife is Dr. Kahn's secretary and of course lives in Ann

Arbor. Will you call up Mrs. Reuben Kahn and tell her please that we have met and that the Major is well and doing a grand job here. He had been in one of our CAT school classes and remembered me.

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Sept. 24

After a week-end of North German Lloyd food in the officers' club – waiters, service, food just like I've had on the *Europa* – the enclave problem seems clearer. The committee including Major Gresh, Major Cox and Lt. Col. Mott – all former academicians – have done a very thorough job and the report to General Clay will be an excellent one. Perhaps prompt action now in accepting the committee's recommendation to restrict American control only to the port of Bremen will retrieve the mistake which was originally made in setting up the curious enclave.²¹ The helpless position in which Military Government has been trying to operate accounts for the lack of progress in preparing the population for the winter. With two star Generals commanding the 29th Division and the "flossy" Port Command, how can the poor MG boys be expected to function with complete satisfaction? Labor and materials for a recreation field for the Port Command takes precedence over roofing and food for the Bremen population.

Sept. 25

A brief visit to Hamburg presents me with an interesting contrast to conditions in the American zone. Despite almost unparalleled destruction, the town is buzzing with activity. Along the Alsterdamm and the Jungfernstieg shops are open and the supply of goods although not plentiful is encouraging. A visit to the Rathaus disclosed that it was untouched. One of the attendants remarked to me by way of explanation of Hamburg's activity: "Just clear the streets and give us a chance to move about, and we will have everything going again in no time. We are Hamburgers."

Brigadier Bridge who heads the Civil Administration work for the British Control Council invited us to dinner at the Atlantic Hotel. This luxurious hostelry was untouched and the Brigadier provided us not only with interesting conversation about the German problem but also with fine hospitality beginning with cocktails and ending with a floor show at dinner.

²¹ Material und Entwürfe zu Bremen in: Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 62-19 (IfZ Bd. 72).

All this in the midst of a wrecked city! I told the Brigadier that I thought the British were accomplishing more than we were largely because they let the Germans do the work and make them accept full responsibility. The Germans are building the bridges and repairing the roads in the British zone, and they have had no destructive economic control policy such as we pursued for many months. The result is that factories are producing in Hamburg, trains are running, mail is being distributed and the German officials are carrying the whole responsibility.

Sept. 26

Back in Berlin after a fast drive over the Autobahn from Bremen. I don't know what we would have done without these magnificent roads since the railroads are only running on a limited basis.

Mr. Heath invited me to lunch with Sobolev the Russian Political Adviser to Marshal Shukov. He is a very clear-headed and pleasant man. Gave us some impressions of Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco!²² Spoke about how helpful Pasvolsky had been to him at both meetings. I could not find that we were at odds with Russian policy toward Germany except that the Soviets are determined to squeeze as much reparations out of Germany as possible.

Sept. 27

General Clay asked me to see him this morning ostensibly to hear about the Bremen situation, but actually I found, to talk about all aspects of the occupation. He seemed quite different to me than when I last talked with him. He said: "Doctor, how do you think we're doing?" This enabled me to raise a number of important points. With remarkable perception and a keen ability to grasp your point, General Clay listened attentively, argued quite a bit, and came to a number of quick decisions. In fact his lightning-like propensity to action made me very cautious in suggestion. Out of the conference came two orders – given to General Smith and me later in the day. General Clay had thought over what I discussed with him, was ready for action, and bingo the orders were given. First, a plan to hand over the running of the government to the Germans – to get Mil. Govt. out of the position of governing into the position it ought to occupy, namely one of supervision. This means working out a feasible plan of withdrawing functional experts from the localities in order to prevent local interference by

²² Konferenz von Dumbarton Oaks, 21. 8.–28. 9. 1944 I, FRUS 1944, S. 713–849. Konferenz von San Francisco, 25. 4. – 26. 6. 1945 (Gründung der UNO), FRUS 1945 III, S. 112.

us with the German chain of authority in civil government. The second suggestion of mine which General Clay wanted put into a directive is to work out a plan to pull together the present disparate parts of the governmental structure in the American zone. In other words to pull the states together and to get the various special administrative services working in unison. Both of these subjects are of the most vital importance and when the directives can be worked out and put into effect we will have taken perhaps the greatest step forward yet made in our occupation.²³

General Smith had me to dinner in his mansion on the Wannsee. These elaborate establishments for Generals provide an agreeable form of indoor relief for many Germans who might otherwise be cold and hungry! I hope it also keeps the Generals in circumstances to which they are accustomed! Perhaps a little more sharing of comforts and luxuries would develop a better morale. But in the army a General is a General and that means preferment. All this is not to berate General Smith who uses his facilities to entertain our allies as well as to keep himself comfortable. He is a charming man and seems to appreciate what I'm doing.

Sept. 28

Attended a meeting of the Civil Administration Committee of the Control Council with General Smith. Brigadier Bridge was in the chair for the British and managed the meeting with distinction and astuteness. The translation into French and Russian is necessarily laborious, and a little progress is made at each meeting. But the pace is slow. I hope it is making a strong foundation for so much depends on the success of the quadrupartite mechanism.

Berlin, Sept. 30, 1945

My Darling Family:

You are probably getting tired hearing me say that I have been so busy that I almost forget what I've done since I last wrote you. But unfortunately it is true. [...] I'm still hopeful that in the near future my work can be more regularized and I can then set aside definite periods when I can regularly commune with you by letter.

[...] My Bremen stay was most pleasant and interesting. I was able to point up the work of the investigating committee report, and manage to learn

²³ Material zur Organisation der Militärregierung in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone in: Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 62-12, 14, (IfZ Bde. 29-30). z. B. Weisung "Organization of Western Military District", 26. September 1945. Material zu Länderrat siehe Anm. 25.

a great deal myself. [. . .] One of the nice experiences was a side trip to Hamburg in the British zone to be the guest at dinner of Brigadier Bridge, the British General who corresponds to General Smith. We drove over the new Autobahn to Hamburg in about an hour and a half, and had time to look over the city. Although there is tremendous destruction, I was amazed to see the city busy as usual. [. . .] Most amazing of all was the Atlantic Hotel which is the Adlon of Hamburg, was untouched and I felt like being entertained in the Adlon. It was lovely from cocktails to dinner to even a floor show afterwards. We returned to Bremen very happy. When the British General and his colonel met me in the lobby they both said, "We have read your book and now we want to imbibe some of your knowledge." I was supposed to be flattered but it is always pleasant to have important foreigners recognize your reputation. [. . .]

Upon returning here there was much work to get caught up with and the General had much he wanted to talk over with me. Also my friend Col. Charles Fairman of Stanford was here for a week, and two of my officers were going home. Reports had to be made to the Office of Political Affairs, to the Ambassador and to Mr. Heath, his Counsellor of the Embassy. Thursday General Clay asked me to lunch with him and he really for the first time seemed friendly and anxious to have lots of advice. I was slow and careful, and he then asked me to see him Friday morning. Thursday evening General Smith took me out to his mansion for dinner and a pleasant time was had with some other guests including the Chief of Staff to General Clay, a Col. Marcus who seems to have taken quite a liking to me. Next morning I went in to see General Clay as he had asked me, and he kept me for over an hour. First I reported on Bremen and then with great humility which he had not heretofore displayed he said, "Doctor, how do you think we're doing?" I replied cautiously that six weeks ago I was discouraged but that now we seemed to be on the up and up. I cited instances and also indicated what I thought were still some of our problems. He was much interested and questioned me closely, arguing about some of them. I tried to go several times because I saw a couple of Generals waiting outside to see him, but he kept holding on to me. All in all it was my most pleasant and profitable discussion with him since I have been here. Then lo and behold late that afternoon he summoned General Smith and me and gave the General orders to draw up directives on the two most important points I had presented to him in the morning! Both are of fundamental importance and he repeated almost my exact words back to General Smith. The exposure in the morning had been completely successful! The result was that I have been pounding out action papers for presentation the first of this week. The first has to do with withdrawing military government personnel from the counties and cities so the Germans will do more work and we will do less. You will recognize this as one of my ideas. The second had to do with developing stronger Länder governments in the three states in our zone and bringing them all together in

a cooperative arrangement. In other words tying together a number of tag ends which no one had been paying any attention to. Then to top it all off yesterday morning at the Directors' meeting General Clay announced that these things were to be done at once and again using my own words! Well, although today is Sunday I'm here at the office conferring between times with representatives of the different divisions and with an officer sent up from Frankfurt.

Oh I've forgotten two other things. Sandwiched in some time, I think it was Friday, Mr. Heath asked me to lunch with him and his important Russian guest, Sobolev, who is General Shukov's political adviser just like Murphy is Eisenhower's. It was very pleasant and I gained an excellent impression of the Russian.

Also General Smith took me down to the Allied Authority Building as his adviser in a meeting of one of the directorates of the Central Control Council. Here were the Russians, the British and the French and I got my first experience in international negotiation on the quadrupartite level. It was also most interesting. Three languages were used and everything had to be translated into all three.

Last night I took Charlie Fairman, who is an old stick-in-the-mud Professor like I am, down to the Femina which is Berlin's only night club. You may remember it was in the Kurfürstendamm area. It was untouched and we watched the dancing and the floor show until it closed at 9:30. It was quite a lively international group but tawdry and noisy, I suppose like all such places. It pleased him and gave me some relaxation.

There's some talk of shifting some people back to Frankfurt and I wouldn't mind. But I feel sure that I will have to stay here except for occasional trips out into the American zone. It is turning cold here and everything is uncomfortably chilly and damp. No heat in the buildings or houses as yet. I was able to bring back from Bremen a little electric heater for my room at home and it takes the chill off very well. [. . .]

*Another reorganization is underway but such things won't bother me. I guess I'm pretty solid with the top men and where I work is not important. More and more this show will become civilian and things are moving much more rapidly now than a couple of months ago. [. . .]
Time to stop!*

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Oct. 1

The directives on withdrawing MG detachments and on setting up coordinating machinery within the American zone are at last ready.²⁴ Col. Hatch has done a splendid job of putting these two difficult topics into military language and Col. Van Wagoner and my faithful aide Lt. Bolten worked long and hard to provide the tabs which the military logician likes to have attached to his action papers.

After a conference with General Adcock, the G-5 of USFET, the concurrences of all interested divisions were secured, and the final paper presented for General Clay's signature. I am very happy and now I can go to Denmark for a few days with a feeling that some really constructive action has been taken.

An interesting development in securing the concurrence of the Public Safety Division occurred. Acting under a Joint Chiefs of Staff directive of August, 1944, the Public Safety people felt that decentralization meant only local control of the police with not even state supervising control. Col. Wilson even said that they thought this war was caused by the failure to break up the police after the last war. I explained that it was not the fact of centralization – France and Britain have centralized police systems – but rather the inflated German conception of the police function which was basically at fault.

I realize of course that the Public Safety people are extremely important in the present picture but there is no reason why they should think that they can accomplish something which does not even exist in our own country – namely, a completely independent local police. This is another indication of the primitive mind at work. The economic destructionists have friends with the Public Safety people. However necessary this negative attitude was in the first months of occupation, it is certainly not wise now when we are trying to reconstruct a new and democratic Germany.

Oct. 2

My friend David Harris is here from the State Department. It's good to have another wise head which is full of knowledge about Germany. I tried to point out to him, how utterly unprepared the State Department is to take over the responsibility for the occupation when the army steps out. He

²⁴ Organization of Military Government, o. D. wirksam zum 1. 10. 1945, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 62–12 (IfZ Bd. 29). Die Direktive von USFET Headquarter – Comm. General Western and Eastern Military District vom 5. 10. 1945 nennt als Ziel der Reorganisation der Militärregierung u. a. "Control to Develop German Responsibility and Self-Government" sowie einen Zeitplan für den Abzug von MG-Einheiten in folgenden Etappen: 15. 11. – 15. 12. – 31. 12. 1945.

of course agreed. But it will take something beside our thinking here. Wonder what's happening in the Department in Washington.

More reorganizations in the US Group CC. We are now called "Office of Military Government for Germany, US" (OMGUS). Many officers are going home and the group is shaking down to something like reasonable size. The bugs are still not all out of the machinery. And the so-called Operations Office at Frankfurt (USFET) remains a bottleneck and furnishes much duplication of effort.

Berlin, Oct. 3, 1945

My Dearest –

I leave by car in the morning for Denmark. Col. Jensen has made all the arrangements and we have a pass from both the British and Russians to travel through their zones. Ambassador Murphy was kind enough when he knew I was going to telegraph Monett Davis, our Minister in Copenhagen, Gale's friend, that I was coming. We go via Hamburg, Kiel, Flensburg, up the Jutland Pensinsula, cross on a ferry to Copenhagen.

I'm as tickled as a kid because I need a change from the hurly-burly of headquarters, the destruction, routine etc. I will be away for a whole week! I expect to relax, enjoy some good Danish food, and take in the scenery. How I wish you were along!

I wrote you at such length on Sunday that this is only to let you know what I'm doing. As I leave General Clay has approved the two most important pieces of work I have done: 1) a plan to withdraw Mil. Govt. detachments from the local areas by the end of the year; and 2) a plan for a conference of the top German officials of our zone and the creation of a joint German staff to pull all the government of our zone together.²⁵ I am very happy and think I have well earned a brief rest. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Oct. 4

Off to Denmark for a week of change!

²⁵ Material und Entwürfe zum Aufbau der deutschen Verwaltung und Errichtung des Länderrats in: Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 59–5, 60–10, 11 (IfZ Bd. 60).

Oct. 6

Denmark is like another world after being three months in the midst of the shambles which is Germany. It is merely a land of milk and honey – and cheese and butter and white bread and pastries, and all the other things which have disappeared from Germany. It is like a breath of spring to be in an area where there is no destruction and where the shops are full. The countryside was very pretty and Copenhagen as formerly is a very attractive city. At present it is very crowded and there is no coal. Otherwise one feels everything is normal. There are still several hundred thousand German refugees who belong in Soviet occupied territory but whom the Russians will not accept.

Elections have been called for the lower house or Folketing. The old party alignment seems likely to hold with the Communists gaining a little and perhaps becoming the fourth party. The Social Democrats are still the strongest party and will remain so.

The Russians are still in the island of Bornholm with probably 5,000 troops. They seem to be preparing to remain for the winter. The Danes are properly apprehensive.

There is deep hatred for the Germans and one can hardly get a Dane to speak German. I must say they stood up well to the Germans and have been the most fortunate of all German occupied countries.

Berlin, Oct. 9, 1945, 10 P. M.

My darling –

It's a wonderful army and some fantastic things happen. Yesterday in Copenhagen the Legation handed me a message saying General Clay was sending up his own plane to fly me back to Berlin this afternoon! No reason given but here I am. [. . .] When Col. Jensen and I got back we found that Gen. Parks, the Berlin city commandant wanted him and that General Clay really didn't have anything urgent for me at all! But I shall never forget the experience. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Oct. 10

A delightful flight back to Berlin in General Parks' plane – flying time just one hour and forty-five minutes. We must have clipped a corner or two of the Russian zone!

Oct. 11

Discussions today with Gen. Clay and Ambassador Murphy. Talked over with the General various aspects of the proposed Conference of German Minister-Presidents to be held at Stuttgart Oct. 17. With the placing of a capstone on the structure of German civil government in our zone, he thought the coordination which Military Government had done at USFET could be largely eliminated. He wanted me to work out a plan by which a few American officers could function beside the German joint coordinating staff to be set up after the Stuttgart Conference. Thus when the Germans had been able to smooth out wrinkles in the administrative machine in the various parts of the American zone through their coordinating staff at Stuttgart, orders could be passed on to Mil. Gov. officers to work in the same direction. I am more and more impressed not only with Gen. Clay's grasp of the whole problem but also with the soundness of his thinking.

The discussion with Mr. Murphy covered many topics on which we had not had recent conversations – Bremen, the refugee problem, denazification, Bavaria. One amazing disclosure he made to me was that at the Potsdam Conference Stalin had gotten up and personally handed to President Truman and to Churchill a map of the proposed Polish-German boundary. Stalin kept one copy of the map for himself and without objection from either the President or Prime Minister Poland was awarded the territory east of the Oder-Neisse line. But the original map given to the President was taken back to Washington by him, and despite requests from Murphy for copies of the map, none had been forthcoming. He had then asked Sobolev, Shukov's political adviser, for a copy of the map! When your own department doesn't furnish you with basic information, get it from your allies! Unknown to most people, the Polish territory includes the city of Stettin which is on the west bank of the Oder, and also Swinemünde at the entrance into the Baltic. Most maps just use the Oder river line without including this significant slice of territory west of the river.

I raised with the Ambassador the problems created by the slicing of Württemberg and Baden into two parts and asked what could be done to rectify the awful mistake which had been made. I gather that discussions in the Department on the subject are being had, and perhaps French failure and neglect in their zone will soon become public and force the issue. When one adds to this the French policy of non-cooperation in the important proposals before the Central Control Council, there looms up the greatest issue in the occupation of Germany. Are the French going to be allowed to stymie the reconstruction of Germany along the national lines laid down at the Potsdam Agreement? I have always thought it a mistake to make the French an equal controlling partner in the occupation of Germany, and what they are doing now both in their zone and on the Central Control Council lends support to my view. General Clay, three

weeks ago, cabled the War Department for power to cut the French out of the discussions and run the rest of Germany together if they persisted in their present position. No reply has been given to him. This brings up another point in the occupation of Germany which is basic. Is our government at home properly organized to handle the policy problems connected with this unprecedented problem of occupying Germany and cooperating with other allies? My answer is No. I called the attention of both General Clay and Ambassador Murphy to the recent action of the British Government in creating a new office to deal with occupation problems. General Clay said he had recommended similar action to President Truman and Secretary of State Byrnes at Potsdam, but nothing has been done. I am convinced that the least thing which can be done is to set up a special division in the State Department under an Assistant Secretary or perhaps under an Under Secretary, and with a small, but high-powered staff, to give prompt attention to and make prompt decisions about the policies raised in the occupation of enemy countries. General Clay never hesitates to act quickly within the scope of his jurisdiction. But he is constantly delayed and embarrassed by inaction in Washington. Why should this greatest of all tasks which ever confronted the United States be carried along as a sort of incidental activity of two old line Departments. The British and Russians are not similarly handicapped.

Berlin, Oct. 11, 1945

My Darling Wifey –

I had a perfect feast on all your letters which were awaiting me upon my return. [. . .]

My fingers are tired writing, so let me finish this little book on the typewriter which I have here at home – issued to me by the army. I can write more in a short time and more legibly.

Having answered and commented on all the lovely items in your letters, let me now say a few words by way of summarizing my trip to Denmark. Copenhagen is as beautiful a city as ever – clean, attractive, interesting and comfortable. However, it is crowded and living accommodations seem to be hard to find at the present time. They may be better in a few months. To live out on the shore drive north of the city would be lovely and everything can be purchased in the way of food products, but they will probably be short of coal. There was, for instance, no hot water in the hotels. If the crowded condition continues and coal is not available, Denmark is out for you. All reports from Switzerland, however, are very favorable as to living conditions, food, heat and everything. I shall hope to investigate personally some time in the next two months. Many officers returning from leaves in Switzerland have told me about conditions there.

Germany is still out of the question. You have no idea the chaos and disorder which still continues. No trains, no mail, no hotels except for the military, few restaurants, little food, nothing to buy, no telephones etc. In three months there will be some improvement, but it would not be attractive to bring you all here in the midst of this destruction except to see it and then move on. Even military people still carry their own rations when they travel and also carry their own blankets. I never have because I have always travelled de luxe and have been well taken care of. You know I always know how to travel well! You may be sure that I will not disturb your comfort unless I can be sure that you will be well taken care of. But I could hardly stand it to be away from you much longer than February, and so I am still definitely hoping and planning on you all being with me. But we will see in a few months.

Since returning I have resumed my interesting experiences here. I met General Eisenhower for the first time personally and he said when General Clay introduced me as the man who was advising them on governmental affairs: "God, but we need lots of advice!" He is most pleasant. I have had long talks with both Clay and Murphy about half a dozen aspects of the total problem. They are both friendlier and more dependent upon me. A big reorganization of the whole Control Group is under way and I have heard of three different important spots into which people say I am to be placed. But we will see. I'm happy doing just what I'm doing. I think I must have said that although I am Special Assistant to Ambassador Murphy, actually I am Chief of the Governmental Structure Section of the Division of Civil Administration. Murphy told me yesterday that the minute anything disturbed my present very satisfactory status, that he would pull me right back into his personal office. General Clay told me he was thinking of making me the top American representative at Heidelberg in the new joint coordinating machinery for the German states in our zone which I have been instrumental in setting up. And today General Smith said he was retiring as Director of Civil Administration and had recommended me for his successor. Well, you can see they think I'm useful! I'll be in a position to work out my status as I did when I arrived.

It looks now as if General Smith will fly me down to Heidelberg Saturday or Sunday for a look see in the state of Baden down to Karlsruhe and perhaps into the French zone at Baden-Baden. I'm trying to get Roger Wells to be included because he hasn't been out in the field but once. So you see there is never a dull moment. [. . .]

*Love,
Jim*

Oct. 12

General Clay asked me to go along with him to his conference with the press at which he was going to announce our plan to shift responsibility for civil government to the Germans. Despite very nasty, impolite and half inebriated badgering from Ray Daniell of the *New York Times*, Gen. Clay gave a straightforward, sincere, clear discussion of almost every phase of the occupation. No one could have handled the situation better than he did. It was really a magnificent performance which will redound to his credit. Pat Conger, Russel Hill, John Scott, Morgan and others were there and raised very intelligent questions which Clay replied to with frankness and plenty of information.

After the press conference I went to the Press Club and there through the courtesy of John Scott met a German who heads the Department of Industry in the Russian Zone Government. He gave me a very clear picture of Russian administration of their zone – the essence of which is to give a few orders to their German Department Presidents in Berlin and give them complete authority to carry out their decisions right down to the Kreise. If local Russian military authorities interfere with the channels of German administration, the Department Presidents report such interference to Shukov, and appropriate action to stop such interference is taken. In other words the Russians offer only a very minimum of supervision and control to the constituted German authorities.

Oct. 13

General Echols raised with me a very vital point. He said that the breakdown of the Conference of Foreign Ministers in London had had serious effects upon cooperation with our allies,²⁶ particularly the Russians here in the Control Council. A very auspicious start had been made in working with the Russians here in Berlin. But since the London disagreements, a wet blanket has been thrown over discussions about German occupational problems. The development serves to emphasize that it is not merely a great experiment in carrying on the government of a great country in which we are engaged here, but that we are also involved in an exceedingly significant experiment in international collaboration. Failure to agree on policies outside of Germany has its evil effects upon the progress of occupation in Germany.

Have not had time to attend the opera, performances of which are now regularly given in reconstituted premises – both the Staatsoper and the

²⁶ Londoner Außenministerkonferenz, 10. 9. – 2. 10. 1945, FRUS 1945 II, S. 99–559.

Charlottenburger Oper having been bombed out. Nor have I had time to examine closely the operation of the Berlin Metropolitan Government known as the Kommandatura. There simply are not enough hours to my day!

[Berlin,] Oct. 13, 1945

My Darling –

I'm waiting to learn where I am flying and with what General! Literally that is true [...]

These last few days have been exciting and in some ways the most gratifying yet. General Clay sees me now every morning and took me to his big press conference last night. He introduced me wonderfully and then told the Directors this morning how helpful I had been. The newspapermen flocked to me and now I'm really set up. I told General Clay I didn't ever want any publicity, but he assured me that he wanted me to help him inform the press. God knows they need it. Ray Daniell in the N[ew] Y[ork] Times is terrible. Russel Hill's stories in Herald Tribune are good. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Oct. 14

A Sunday at home to read and reflect and write a few letters. The leaves are coming down and winter is soon upon us. My quarters are now heated, but there will be no coal for space heating of German houses this winter. I wonder what the consequences will be.

Many of the thoughtful people here express the hope that General Eisenhower will spend more time here instead of at Frankfurt. He is so felicitous in his relations with the Russians, and his reputation is so great that he could give a big boost all along the line if he made Berlin his principal headquarters. I hope there will be no rush in taking him back to Washington. I don't know who could replace him. Is it time for a civilian? Perhaps, if a very superior one could be found.

Oct. 16

Busy with preparations for the forthcoming conference of Minister-Presidents at Stuttgart. This may prove to be of great significance both in our relations with the Germans and in getting our zone in shape to carry on whatever happens to central government in Berlin.

Another reorganization of our Control Group is under way. Instead of the US Group CC we are now called OMGUS or Office of Military Government for Germany-U.S. Somehow it seems difficult to reduce the size of the Group without moving everybody out of one office into another one and thus disrupting for a week most of the headquarters' operations. The reductions appear uneven. Civil Administration which looms so important is torn to pieces while the various Economics Divisions seem larger than ever.

Berlin, Oct. 16, 1945

My Dearest –

The bad weather seems to have delayed the mail. When the planes don't fly from Paris and Frankfurt, we have to wait for mail, and I don't like it. Now I leave in the morning with General Clay for Stuttgart and I'll not have any word from my sweetheart until I return.

Since writing you the other day I have gone from one conference to another – but all very pleasant and interesting. Also I moved my quarters in order to live with Col. Starnes. My new address is 9 Föhrenweg and Starnes and I had breakfast at home this morning. It looks as if this can be a regular thing when I get back. He also has a car assigned to us and that will help. My room is pleasant and the house is comfortable like the other one. And there is running hot water! No heat yet except from electric heaters but it will be turned on soon. [. . .]

I sent today by registered mail a copy of a Berlin German-language newspaper which gave a complete résumé of the press conference General Clay took me to last Friday.²⁷ It contains a very satisfactory reference to me in two places, identifying me as his adviser and the one who drew up the plan for German government in our zone. [. . .] Aside from the reference to me, the article gives the best over-all review of our occupation I have seen. See if Everett gives it any local publicity. [. . .]

*Love,
Jim*

²⁷ Von Zeit zu Zeit schickte Pollock Zeitungsausschnitte an seine Frau, damit sie sie aufheben oder an Bekannte weitergeben sollte. In den Pollock Papers befindet sich eine umfangreiche Sammlung von Zeitungsausschnitten, die jedoch nicht alle mit Datum und Zeitungsnamen versehen sind. – Ein Resümee der Pressekonferenz von General Clay vom 12. 10. 1945 wurde in der *Berliner Zeitung* veröffentlicht.

Oct. 17

Flew down to Stuttgart with General Clay in his plane the "Susan Ann". I had a delightful talk with him about people and things but mostly about his reflections on government and administration. He impresses me more and more with his breadth of view, his soundness, and his deep sincerity. In a few minutes he had prepared some notes for an extemporaneous speech at the conference and tried them out on me. When I expressed great satisfaction not only with the speech but with his method of preparation and delivery he remarked that no one should talk about a subject unless he was thoroughly acquainted with it, and if he knew his subject, a written speech was both superfluous and cramping.

When we arrived at Military Government Headquarters the Minister-Presidents from the three states in the American zone, plus the Bürgermeister for Bremen, and the heads of the detachments in these areas were already assembled.²⁸ In concise, clear language General Clay outlined American policy, and explained that within this policy the German officials we had selected were to have complete freedom of action. He then directed them to prepare a charter setting up a joint coordinating staff to pull together the three state governments and all the special administrative services which formerly were controlled from Berlin. Leaving me and Roger Wells and Walter Dorn to answer any questions, General Clay withdrew from the room.

After lunch in less than two hours the German officials in open discussion with us as observers drew up a brief charter of organization and agreed upon a Secretary General to head it. It was a most gratifying experience because it was an earnest of German cooperation, and a remarkable demonstration of German administrative capacity. I thought as I listened to these top German officials whether three of our Governors could have drawn up an ad hoc organization for their mutual relations in two hours. I was also impressed with the ideas expressed by the Minister-Presidents. They wanted no organization to dictate to them; they wanted no old bureaucratic edifice; they wanted an organization which would promote coordination without interfering with the independence of each state.

When I informed General Clay that a report was ready he returned to the meeting, received the report, approved the action taken, and then threw into the council just created as one of its first tasks the handling of our share of 2 million Germans who would soon be put in the American

²⁸ Protokoll der Konstituierenden Sitzung des Länderrats vom 17. 10. 1945 in Stuttgart in: Akten zur Vorgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1945-1949 (AVBRD) Bd. 1, Dok. 2. Material zum Länderrat und seiner Organisation in Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 59-4, 5, 60 (IfZ Bd. 75, Sitzungsprotokolle Bde. 77, 82, 89).

zone from the Sudetenland, Austria and elsewhere. The Germans took the assignment without blinking and the meeting adjourned.

This Council of Minister-Presidents and the Secretariat set up under them may well prove to be of vast importance. The meeting held in friendly Württemberg, and participated in by three able Minister-Presidents recently inducted into office has historical significance. It marks a turning point in our relations with the Germans; we are now placing the responsibility squarely on their shoulders. Furthermore, we have now in a sense put a capstone on the structure of government in our zone.

Oct. 18

Last night we spent in Heidelberg. General Keyes had a dinner at his residence for General Clay and Ambassador Murphy and others. I was fortunately included. Much interesting conversation not to mention the superb food and wine. General Keyes was a very genial host and when the party was over I walked down the hill to the Schloss Hotel to enjoy the beautiful moonlight over the Neckar.

A meeting of the Commanding Generals with General Clay, talks with Seventh Army G-5 officers, a brief conversation with old Prof. Radbruch, a fine lunch with General Keyes and guests, and then to General Clay's plane with the Ambassador and General Adcock. A smooth flight to Berlin after dropping General Adcock off at Frankfurt.

What busy and eventful two days these have been!

Oct. 19

Presented General Clay with proposed orders to set up a small supervisory staff of Americans to approve or disapprove the actions of the Council of Minister-Presidents.²⁹ Also gave him a report on Bremen which Majors Cox and Towe had brought up from Frankfurt after much delay.³⁰ He took both matters under advisement.

Studied the Baden situation in the light of word received from Washington. Roger Wells will be back in the morning with the latest information.

²⁹ Ebenda.

³⁰ Zu Bremen Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 69-19 (IfZ Bd. 72).

Berlin, Oct. 19, 1945

My Darling Family:

[. . .] I dropped you a note from Heidelberg before I left there yesterday. Here is what happened. I left Berlin with General Clay in his private plane called Susan Ann – a late model C-47 – on Wednesday morning. We reached Stuttgart two hours and twenty minutes later. The meeting of the Minister-Presidents of the three states in the American zone had already assembled according to orders we had made earlier. I entered with General Clay and was given a place of honor. He then made a speech which I had helped him with on the plane flying down. After his remarks he told the German officials that he would withdraw and that he had designated me to remain to answer any of their questions and help them to set up the organization we wanted to coordinate government in the whole American zone. After lunch I met with them and told them to work it out in their own way – that I was just there to listen. They proceeded in the most business-like way to do just what was necessary to set up a suitable organization. It was an amazing example of German willingness to cooperate and their great ability in administrative matters. In two hours I was able to report to General Clay that the job was done, he had told me he thought it might take them a couple of days. He returned to the meeting, approved the action taken after I had so recommended and for the first time he shook hands with a German by calling up one by one the Minister-Presidents of the three states and telling them that they now had complete freedom within the bounds of American policy to work out their own problems. We then got in General Clay's plane and flew to Heidelberg for the night. The Ambassador and about half of the Generals in the army in Germany were with us. I was taken to the Schloss Hotel and invited with the rest to dinner with Lt. Gen. Keyes, the Commander of the 7th Army. Oh, what a feast and what a wonderful time. General Keyes has one of those huge castle-like houses away up on the hill overlooking the river, way above the old Schloss. I sat down to dinner in a dining room so large that I strained my eyes to see the people at the other end of the table! There were four Lieutenant Generals, two Major Generals, three Brigadier Generals, Ambassador Murphy and a number of junior officers who were aides to the Generals – and little me! After the party I spurned a ride down the hill to the Hotel and walked through the moonlight thinking of my wifey! Next morning a conference of the commanding Generals, a lovely lunch, a couple of interviews and at three we flew back to Berlin – just the Ambassador, Clay and little me! The trip made me really well acquainted with everyone who is running Germany on our side, and they certainly were all nice to me.

This morning General Clay told me he would like me to return to Stuttgart and oversee the setting up of this new German coordinating staff. He charac-

terized the job as "the number two job in Germany." He said he did not know how he could spare me from Berlin more than a few weeks! In fact these were the exact words he had told the newspapermen in Stuttgart. The importance of the assignment lies in the fact that in case no central German government is set up, the one I will be supervising in our zone then will become exceedingly important. They have set aside a house for me in Stuttgart way up on the hill and I anticipate a busy and interesting time for the next few weeks. In a way it will be a great change from Berlin. [. . .] I expect to leave here this coming Wednesday. Meanwhile Clay has officially designated me as his Consultant in Civil Administration "in addition to any other duties previously assigned" as the order reads. So you see my experiences are becoming greater all the time. I have to pinch myself sometimes to see if it is real. But this is all tinsel beside the love of my dear family which is more important to me than all the Generals in the world! [. . .]

Hugs and Kisses,
Jim

[P.S.] Is Lichtfield coming or not? I have a place for him.

Oct. 20

Attended the regular Saturday morning meeting of Directors with General Clay. General Eisenhower was present and, as always, his presence is felt, and he had good suggestions to make. One is able to grasp the hugeness of the occupation problem only as one hears in such a meeting as this one the multifarious aspects of trying to govern another nation. I doubt if anyone except General Clay has the whole picture.

Oct. 21

After a long talk in the morning with the Ambassador about a dispatch received from Washington requesting information in a revision of the French and American zones in the Baden-Württemberg area, I went to a football game in the huge stadium of the Olympic sport area. It seemed exotic in a Berlin environment to see two American army teams fight it out on the grid-iron. The whole game with the cheering, the excellent team play, the good sportsmanship was very refreshing to me and cleared my mind of many cobwebs. I thought how the empty seats might have been filled with Germans who could have been given several good lessons arising out of the great American game. There's nothing like a football game in all the world. If the Germans could understand its contribution in giving us some qualities the Germans have always lacked, their younger generation might be improved. I wonder why we have not made an effort to

explain football to the young Germans who seem very eager to learn about American ways?

Oct. 22

Gave the Ambassador a memo on the Württemberg-Baden zone revision question to assist him in replying to the State Department dispatch.³¹ I argued strongly against giving the French North Baden in return for South Württemberg. We would lose much and gain little. The French should never have been given territory on the east side of the Rhine in the first place. In the second place it was exceedingly ill-advised to cut up two such promising democratic areas as Württemberg and Baden. I think it's about time we said what we want and quit waiting for others to make demands. I also suggested a return of Rheinhessen with its port of Mainz to us. I gather that the military are definitely opposed to giving up North Baden – Heidelberg being the headquarters of the Seventh Army, and North Baden being athwart our lines of communication from north to south in our zone. I hope the Department in Washington will hold firm against any extension of French administration in Germany. What they have done in their present zone is enough to show their inability. It is one thing to control German reconstruction in such a way as to prevent a revival of military strength. It is another thing to mistreat human beings on whom you must rely for a revival of responsible democratic government. Thousands will starve to death this winter in the French zone.

Berlin-Dahlem, Oct. 22, 1945

My Darling Wife and Family:

Since writing you a few days ago after my return from Stuttgart, I have had a number of interesting times which I will tell you about. [. . .]

As I indicated in my previous letter, General Clay has ordered me to Stuttgart to supervise the setting up of this new German Secretariat to serve the Minister-Presidents of the states in our zone. [. . .] It will be a rather exciting assignment, and knowing the people in the Military Government detachment at Stuttgart will make my stay here more pleasant. General Clay considers this a big job and I am delighted that he has selected me for it. [. . .]

Sunday morning I spent an hour with the Ambassador on an urgent matter referred from Washington. Then last night I worked late to give him a memo so that he could send a dispatch to Washington this morning. If you

³¹ Revision of the French and the American Zones of Occupation with particular reference to Württemberg-Baden, Memo Pollock – Murphy, 22. 10. 1945, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 61–8 (IfZ Bd. 75).

read that we have given the French all of Baden, I want you to know that Murphy accepted my advice and was against it, whatever the Department in Washington finally decides to do. Murphy is a prince of a fellow and a joy to work with. I would enjoy being with him all the time, but until we get some of the fundamental problems of the occupation solved, it is more important and valuable to me to actually be in on the formulation end of the proposals. Perhaps in a few months Murphy will insist that I give all my time to him. I think you see why my work has been so interesting – I'm working directly and personally with the two top men.

Saturday Clay asked me to attend the Directors' meeting and report on the Stuttgart meeting. General Eisenhower was there and you can feel his presence and influence in a meeting. He was nice to me and said I parted my hair in the middle like he did – meaning that neither of us has much hair. He said he almost went to Michigan like his brother Milton who is now the President of the University of Kansas. Since he only comes in now and then for a Council meeting, I have not yet actually had a long talk with him. He only sees Clay and Murphy and they tell him what to do.

The reorganization has made me a Deputy but it is understood that I am always on special assignment to Clay and Murphy and I won't be bothered with administrative work. My young Lieutenant Bolten will handle details. Actually I now hold the position General Smith held before. Roger Wells is a big comfort to me and we work perfectly together. We make a good team and when I am away I know that he will carry on with sound advice. Mr. Heath, Murphy's Counsellor of Embassy, is having both of us to dinner tonight. Tomorrow I will be busy attending a meeting of the representatives of the other nations – another interesting experience in international negotiation.

Much Love,

Jim

[P.S.] Be sure to tell me whether this particular letter arrives safely.

Oct. 24

Left Berlin this morning by car for Frankfurt on my way to Stuttgart where General Clay is sending me to supervise the setting up of a German joint coordinating staff for all three Länder in our zone. The day was beautiful and after leaving the Autobahn at Brunswick we drove into Bad Harzburg and Goslar, both undamaged by war. The Harz was lovely with its autumn colors, and the views over the hills were charming. The villagers are certainly cutting wood for the winter, and the fields all full of workers getting in the potatoes and sugar beets.

Oct. 25

A busy day in Frankfurt and Wiesbaden. Discussed the Baden situation at length with Walter Dorn finally convincing him that Baden – or rather North Baden could not under present circumstances become a separate state. He was quite correct in urging attention be given to Baden differences and sensibilities. But if we intend to develop a strong federal system we should work toward the creation of states with sufficient size and resources to survive in a new Bundesstaat. Württemberg and Baden together would make a good, strong state. In any case, today with both of them cut in two, there's nothing left but to put them together and help them to cooperate. This is no time for German separatism or particularism to become controlling.

Oct. 26

Col. Newman, the Regional Military Government Officer for Land Hessen, brought me into his discussions in appointment of three ministers to the new Land Cabinet. He wanted advice and I was impressed with the seriousness and care with which he approached the question. I agreed with his capable Major Landin in urging more representation in the cabinet for the parties of the Left. They had requested another Socialist be added to the cabinet, and Prof. Geiler, the Minister-President was inclined to give greater weight to sheer competence rather than to consider popular support. This is both a German and an academic shortcoming!

At Col. Newman's invitation joined General Keyes and General Cannon in a visit to Kloster Eberbach where we all enjoyed several pleasant hours tasting the exquisite wines from the area. The Weinbaudirektor was a picturesque and delightful person explaining with great pride the qualities of the various wines. The Regierungspräsident Nischalke in whose jurisdiction the vineyards are located and the Minister-President Dr. Geiler made felicitous speeches. General Keyes replied with a very appropriate Californian story, and believe it or not, we all walked very soberly, albeit very happily, to our cars.³²

Oct. 27

After an overnight stop in Heidelberg and conferences with Col. Edwards and others at Seventh Army headquarters, I continued to Stuttgart. Col.

³² In einem Brief an seine Frau vom 27. 10. 1945 schildert Pollock die Weinprobe in Kloster Eberbach wesentlich ausführlicher und farbiger, Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll.

Dawson and I talked over the problem at lunch and afterwards I had a brief interview with Dr. Sitzler who is to be the Secretary-General of the German staff to be set up here. He made a good impression and appeared intelligent and business-like.

Stuttgart, Oct. 27, 1945

Dear Sister:

[. . .] I am glad to get out of Berlin for a change and only hope that I can do an outstanding job here. Then I will return to Berlin for I am needed there. I'm in no hurry to get back. [. . .]

You don't know how much a word from home helps. You spoke about Christmas. Please don't bother to send a thing. Shipments are so slow and uncertain and I really don't need a thing but your good news now and then. Mail is slow at times when the weather is bad but I will always keep in touch. Still use the Berlin address below.

*Love and Kisses,
Jim*

Oct. 28

Took a pleasant drive through the countryside to Gmünd and thence to Göppingen. The Bishop of Rottenburg was visiting the Münster in Gmünd and crowds of eager and devout people were assembled around the church. Noticed German young people playing soccer in several places. Upon later enquiry learned that an effort had been made by the army to promote sports of all kinds.

Stuttgart, Oct. 28, 1945

My Darling –

While I have the opportunity, I want to write you another letter even though I just mailed one to you at Heidelberg yesterday morning. [. . .]

You ask about me. I have at last gotten rid of my cold and I feel fine. Yes, I have been tense at times and have driven myself a bit too hard up to now. But coming here is a break for me and the tempo is slower. I have not slept too well, but that is getting better. It takes a certain time to get used to a new bed – especially a German bed – and I haven't been long enough in any one place. [. . .]

Col. Dawson, who was a law professor at Western Reserve in Cleveland, is the Regional Military Government Officer for Württemberg and Baden.

He took me into his beautiful house way up on the hill overlooking Stuttgart. His colonels eat here and it makes a nice big table of ten or twelve. I will stay with him until they get a separate house ready for me in about a week. General Adcock in Frankfurt wants me to have a house and my own mess. It looks as if I will be here for several weeks anyway. It is going to be much pleasanter than Berlin. General Clay told me in Frankfurt he is leaving for the U. S. on a fast trip on Oct. 31st. He will be away two weeks. [. . .]

Just took a 3 hour ride to Gmünd to see the country. A lovely day.

*Much Love and many, many Kisses,
Jim*

Oct. 30, 1945

Have enjoyed the hospitality of Col. Dawson and have had much good conversation with him about all phases of the German problem. He is very sound, so experienced and level-headed. I wish we had more MG officers like him. It is a serious question whether we can retain the services of other capable officers. No replacement and training program is visible, and our policy is not clear. If men knew that we were to remain two years, five years, ten years they could make plans accordingly. As it is everybody wants to get home. I trust heroic measure will be taken promptly to prevent a complete run-away of Americans from occupation responsibilities. This is probably the most important job in the world and we must not shirk our responsibility.

A drive to Tübingen in the late afternoon was refreshing. The old university town, as charming as ever, was untouched by war. The quaint, picturesque streets, the view from the castle along the Neckar, the people busy everywhere chopping wood for winter. Undertones against the French, many shops closed, the main University building used for French headquarters.

Oct. 31, 1945

A fine discussion this evening with General Meade and Col. Story present. The General had had enough of French do-nothingness in Berlin, and soon we were castigating French policy in general. Major Reache, the French liaison officer together with Major Cox tried to defend French action, but the General and I held our ground. I'm afraid French action may lead to a break-up of the occupation plan. This aspect is of more significance than the treatment of Germany, for if the Allies fall apart over Germany, international relations may go into a tailspin.

During the day had conferences in Col. Dawson's office with the Mini-

ster-President of Württemberg and Dr. Köhler from Baden over a better working arrangement in the two tressicated states which we have perforce made into one Land. It is interesting how strong particularistic feeling still is. But this is no time for Kirchturmpolitik or for Baden separatism, and Col. Dawson had to make it very clear that there was to be one policy throughout the whole area.

Stuttgart, Nov. 2, 1945

My Dearest –

I'm leaving after lunch for Frankfurt to report to General Adcock. In General Clay's absence in the U. S. he is the boss. I drive up with Col. Dawson the Military Governor here of Württemberg. I will return in time for dinner tomorrow. The day is sunny and the ride should be pleasant. [. . .]

I hope I am making clear enough to you what all I'm doing. I can hardly keep track of it myself and want you to have as complete a record as possible. I manage to keep up my Diary quite well. If you find another book like the one I bought in Washington for the Diary – if you can remember – you might send it in a package. Things like that seem very scarce here. The book I have is about half full now!

I have more leisure here, more comfort, less tension and I'm feeling better. I have with me to help a Major Cox who is a Michigan man and the Dean of Law School at William & Mary. I will write soon again. [. . .]

Love,
Jim

Nov. 2

Drove to Frankfurt to confer with General Adcock. Enjoyed a wonderful evening with him at his house near Kronberg castle on the Taunus range about ten miles from town. Our conversation roamed over nearly every subject of military government importance. I have previously admired his keen, incisive mind. Tonight I enjoyed his charming hospitality and friendliness. I'm glad to see him enjoying the comfort of a beautiful lodge as partial reward for hard, sustained work.

Nov. 4

Thanks to Col. Dawson I joined the American party headed by General Keyes driving to Strasburg to celebrate the return of the priceless glass to the Cathedral. It was a wonderful day full of ceremony and beauty. The

drive to the Rhine through the Black Forest was lovely, alternating between fog and sunshine.

What a gorgeous sight is the facade of the great Cathedral looming up in the fog in front of us! As we walked toward it through lines of people I saw the quaint colorful dresses of the Alsatian girls. The great red carpet was down to add a final touch, and the Cathedral was packed with eager townsfolk.

A military parade, a delicious luncheon, and a *vin d'honneur* in the City Hall were all included in this happy day. The French have a wonderful sense of ceremony, and were unusually cordial and appreciative of American military achievements. I was very proud of General Keyes who in fluent French replied to the greetings and thanks of the French government.

Stuttgart, Nov. 5, 1945

My Darling Family –

*[. . .] Tonight I go to bed relieved. All my plans of the past week will work out tomorrow at the meeting of all the high officials both military and German in the American zone. I feel confident everything will go according to plan. I have had wonderful help and cooperation. Everyone realizes how important it is to get all our zone officials working together. We call the new organization I have set up the *Länderrat* or Council of States. I am the responsible and direct representative of General Clay in supervising its work. I anticipate being here for some time. It is all very pleasant and probably one of the biggest jobs I will do. General Clay says I am his "roving center" backing up the line wherever it is weak! Really it is very gratifying to be treated with such a great respect everywhere I go.*

I enclose a couple of snaps I picked up in Tübingen the other day – pronounced Tee-bingen. I will send my programs from the Strasburg ceremony when I get a bigger envelope.

[Es folgt eine ähnliche, aber etwas ausführlichere Schilderung des Straßburger Festaktes als im Tagebuch]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Nov. 6, 1945

The meeting of the new Länderrat came off very well indeed and I felt rewarded for my preparatory work.³³ I am most gratified with the way in which the Minister-Presidents have taken the ball so to speak, and have carried it forward. They are a very capable trio of German officials and we are fortunate in having them. We've put our money on them and it's up to us now to back them to the limit. For if they fail, we will have no alternative but to take back the job ourselves, and of course we can't possibly handle it alone. At this stage, however, the outlook is promising. The Bavarian Minister-President Dr. Hoegner contributed a good line when he said that he was glad to come to Stuttgart where he would be treated as an equal, rather than to go to Berlin where he would have to take orders. Württemberg, as Dr. Maier the Minister-President of Württemberg-Baden pointed out, had provided a refuge for democrats and liberals in 1849 after the failure of the Frankfurt Parliament, and again in 1920 when the Weimar government was threatened by a putsch. I hope we can preserve the present spirit of cooperation among the three Länder. I also hope I can continue to successfully resist pressures from all sides to build up another empire at this new sub-capital of the American zone.

Nov. 8, 1945

A trip to Ulm, Munich and Berchtesgaden. Everywhere the DP problem is brought up as a real headache. I can't see how we can continue to make these displaced people into another huge WPA project. If they don't work, they shouldn't be given rations. If they don't want to go home, they should then be absorbed into the German population and treated accordingly. But to take care of them indefinitely is wrong. It is also clear that many of them were collaborators with the Nazis. The Baltics are very clean and orderly. The Poles are a serious problem and they break out and commit depredations against the people of the surrounding areas.

Stayed overnight with Gen. Muller the Director of Military Government of Bavaria. He is gruff but very kindly and sincere. His house was built by Ley's secretary and was very modern. How the Nazis bigwigs did live! Death is too kind for all of them.

³³ Protokoll der 2. Länderratssitzung vom 6.11.1945 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 1, Dok. 4.

Nov. 10, 1945

We took advantage of the Armistice Day holiday to spend the week-end in Berchtesgaden. Snow was falling as we drove over the new Alpine highway Hitler had built to his mountain retreat. Rarely have I had a more beautiful ride through mountains. Berchtesgaden was different than when I was there in 1934 but still a most charming and lovely spot. General Slack sent his aide to conduct Col. Dawson and me up to the mountain top where Hitler had built his huge and fantastic establishment. Complete with hotel, barracks, and numerous houses and underground passages, Adolf looked out from his own chalet down the Salzburg valley or rode an elevator to the Eagle's Nest two thousand feet higher up to commune with himself. British bombers had made a shambles of the place – a fitting end to a terrible nightmare.

We were also taken through the elaborate underground offices and passages constructed under the chancellery buildings which had been erected to conduct business when Hitler was around.

A drive to Salzburg disclosed only slight destruction in that old city. The great residence of the Archbishop overlooking is of course still there in all its majesty.

Berchtesgaden, Nov. 11, 1945

My Darling –

[. . .] General Slack [. . .] has given us every courtesy which means a room with bath in a wonderful mountain hotel, etc. He had us to lunch today at his own house, and last night entertained us at dinner here in the hotel where they put on a very interesting Bavarian show with yodelling and folk dancing. I tell you I feel almost pampered!

Yesterday after arrival we were taken up to Hitler's fantastic establishment up the mountain. The British bombed the whole layout just before the end of the war, but the ruins are impressive. I shall mail you a plan of the whole mountain top with some other mementoes. It had been snowing all the way from Munich, and the new Alpine highway which Hitler had built through the mountains from the end of the Autobahn to here, provided some of the most beautiful mountain scenery I have ever seen. The snow made it particularly scenic.

A few miles from here is the Königssee – a lovely, deep mountain lake completely surrounded with mountains covered with snow. It is an army rest area now and is ideal for the purpose. A little boat ride provided an admirable view of the scenery. It was something like Lake St. Marys in Glacier. [. . .]

I enclose a couple of postcards and will send you some mementoes in a

larger envelope later – such as a seating chart for one of Hitler's dinner parties which was found here. By the way, ask Ralph Byers some time if his office ever returned my set of pictures of the Hitler office buildings here. I was in them today and the General took us through the most fantastic set of underground passage ways, offices etc. you ever heard of. All were heated, lighted, air conditioned and went down about 400 ft. to a railroad. At Hitler's mountain retreat there was a similar set of connecting underground passage ways. It took 3,000 men three years to build his extraordinary set of houses and buildings. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Nov. 11

Returning to Stuttgart we traversed the road through Bad Reichenhall, Kitzbühel to Innsbruck. The mountains were glorious in the sunshine with their snow capped peaks and slopes. And then to Garmisch with another view of the Bavarian Alps.

Berlin, Nov. 15, 1945, 10 P. M.

My Darling –

Just a note to tell you I am well and travelling again! [. . .]

Monday we drove through Kitzbühel and Innsbruck in the Austrian Alps, over the pass in the Austrian Alps, over the pass into Garmisch and thence to Stuttgart in time for dinner! [. . .]

Tuesday a busy day at my new office – with my new staff – at Stuttgart. Then a call from General Clay who had just returned from the U.S. – “I would like you, Doctor, to come up and talk things over.” So Wednesday afternoon I got in my car – a Col. Tobey with me – drove to Frankfurt. Stayed there last night, had a conference with Gen. Adcock this morning, and left for Berlin about ten o'clock, arriving here at seven-thirty just in time for dinner. [. . .]

I can't begin to tell you how marvellous my experiences have been. I hope my letters give you something of the picture I am working in. If not, please ask specific questions. [. . .]

I will write soon again.

*Love n'everything
Jim*

Nov. 16

Back in Berlin to report to General Clay. What a busy but confused center! I had to get several action papers ready for the General to study, make changes and approve. At this point it is essential that the policy makers and administrators in Berlin understand the possibilities but also the limitations of our new German organization in Stuttgart. Also it is important that the channels of communication and command are clearly established and understood. I learn that some of the strict West Pointers were opposed to putting the Stuttgart office directly under the Deputy Military Governor and even presented a paper to Clay in protest. Of course I wanted our work to be right under Clay's close observation and I was not interested in military channels. But this is still a military show and it must be made clear by Clay in the military manner that I am his representative and that proposals to organize German officials must either go through the Land governments or through our coordinating office if they involve more than one Land.

Worked on a paper "to strengthen German Land governments" which is another aspect of utilizing German channels and administration.³⁴ It looks now as if we are really in earnest in turning administration of their own affairs over to the responsible German officials we have selected.

Nov. 17

Attended Gen. Clay's weekly conference of Directors and reported briefly on my work in Stuttgart. The remarks seemed to be well received and General Clay both prefaced and concluded my report with the clearest and strongest support. There can't be any confusion now about who's doing what and why.

*Berlin, Nov. 17, 1945**My Darling –*

[. . .] I've had two very busy days but exceedingly happy and gratifying. This morning General Clay had me report to the Directors' Conference – a group of about thirty of the top men heading up all the Divisions of the Office of Military Government for Germany. I was well received, and about a dozen Generals gathered around afterwards to congratulate me on what I have done in Stuttgart. General Clay backed me to the limit calling this the

³⁴ Material zu Landgovernment in: Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 59–4 (IfZ Bd. 61).

“Number Two job”. Others said this was the best thing we had done. Don Heath, Murphy’s Counsellor, took me to lunch afterwards in order to get my ideas for his trip to Washington tomorrow.

I spend the whole morning tomorrow – Sunday – with General Clay. Then lunch with Ambassador Murphy and the afternoon with him ! Really I could be terribly puffed up, but I’m really frightened sometimes how both of them rely upon my judgment.

I shall leave Tuesday by car for Frankfurt and with stops there and in Heidelberg – I can’t avoid stopping there – expect to arrive in Stuttgart Thursday. I expect to remain in Stuttgart for another month with perhaps a trip back here in the meantime. Clay wants me here but I must first finish setting up the new Council of States in Stuttgart. I now have a house of my own there with maid, butler, housekeeper, cook, car and driver! Don’t you think I will be spoiled. I shall have several of my officers live with me and we will have our own mess. I now have access to everything including liquor, and all I need now are the sweet little things you keep sending me. [. . .]

I found on my return that I had missed out on Marshal Shukov’s lavish party at the Crown Prince’s Palace on the Soviet anniversary, Nov. 7. Also a dinner by General Koenig, the French Council member. But I can’t be everywhere at once, can I? And I haven’t missed much, have I? Really it’s amazing how I’ve moved from one great experience to another. I hope I can remember it all. I’m behind on my Diary.

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Nov. 18

Spent this Sunday morning with Clay talking over elections, Land governments, Bremen and numerous smaller aspects of Military Government. I am more and more impressed with his perception and administrative capacity.

Lunched with Bob Murphy who is unfailing in his hospitality, genial in his friendship, and sincere and hardworking. He has a difficult assignment but despite many rumors, he works well with Clay and is able to prevent many mistakes from occurring. I only wish the Office of Political Affairs which is a part of the Office of Military Government could be a more effective agency in directing and managing American policy in Germany.

November 19

Completed work with General Adcock on the necessary action papers to give effect to the new program of turning administration over to the Germans.³⁵ Now we will see how hard some of our eager beavers die!

I return to Stuttgart in the morning. I regret to find my colleagues in Civil Administration utterly disorganized by the recent administrative shake-up. The one function upon which so much depends has been upset in part because two general officers – one senior to the other – couldn't serve effectively together, and military reorganizers just moved bodies around.

Frankfurt, Nov. 20, 1945

My Dearest –

[...] Since writing you [...] I spent a busy day with General Clay and Ambassador Murphy. Then Gen. Smith had me for cocktails and my friend Dave Harris for dinner. Monday was a terrific day but somehow I got everything done and packed up again to leave this morning.

Mr. Murphy handed me a dispatch signed by "Byrnes", the Secretary of State, saying my base pay effective Nov. 1 was \$ 8,000 instead of \$ 7,000. I guess that will take care of any adjustments and it is certainly a good will offering! I will be anxious to learn if your checks are larger now.

General Clay is grand with me and said as I left that he wanted me back with him as soon as the Stuttgart job is nicely started. He is having what they call a Red Line established to my office in Stuttgart so he can communicate instantly with me!

The drive down today was pleasant for Roger Wells came along. He works very hard but he doesn't know how to get along quite as well as I seem to, and therefore doesn't stand out. But I help him and work well with him. Litchfield is due any time now. I will coach him and he can be a big help. He will get \$ 6,500 plus overseas allowance.

Tell Mrs. Nordmeyer that it isn't likely that I can go to the Russian zone for some time. They haven't opened up their territory as easily as we have to the representatives of the other powers.

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

³⁵ Material zur Reorganisation der Militärregierung siehe S. 96, Anm. 23 u. S. 99, Anm. 24.

November 22

Back in Stuttgart in time for Thanksgiving turkey at Col. Dawson's mess. How I miss the holiday with my family!

On the way back I cleared several matters in Frankfurt and with the Seventh Army at Heidelberg, besides having a pleasant evening with General Willems and General Keyes at a Thanksgiving eve party at the Wolkenkur which Seventh Army has made into a night club.

November 25

Had the rare privilege of accompanying General Slack, the Artillery Commander of the 20th Corps which captured Metz, to the ceremony there celebrating the first anniversary. General Giraud, General Juin and the one and only General Patton were present together with General Walker and other lesser military commanders. The reception at the Governor's palace and at the town hall, the special service in the Cathedral, the parade, the luncheon were both interesting to me and very enjoyable. General Slack was decorated with the others and I was happy to see such a modest man receive just rewards. General Patton stole the show. He is every inch a soldier, and despite all criticisms – some of which are justified – I want to state strongly that our country needs and can profitably use a great showman soldier like Patton. I was very proud of him. He stood out above every other man of both armies all day long.

On the way home General Slack gave me a personally conducted tour over a portion of the battlefield where his troops had fought showing me his observation and command posts, some of the forts around Metz and in the Maginot line, and then the Siegfried line. I also had the chance to see Saarbrücken where ten years before I had functioned as an election official in the plebiscite. I didn't have time to ask the inhabitants whether they now believed in ballots or bullets. The city is a wreck but the great Völklingen steel plant appeared to be largely untouched.

Stuttgart, Nov. 27, 1945

My Darling –

[Dieser Brief enthält einen ähnlichen, aber ausführlicheren Bericht Pollocks über seine Erlebnisse in Metz und von der Führung durch General Slack, die er folgendermaßen zusammenfaßte:] *It was a great privilege – a unique experience I shall never forget. [. . .]*

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

November 28

Busy with preparations for the next meeting of the Länderrat. We have at last been able to clear three candidates for Secretary-General, one of whom the German Minister-Presidents may now elect. It is amazing how much work has been done by the Germans out of crowded offices, with little help, one typewriter, and poor telephone connections.

I am concerned now that everybody in Berlin and Frankfurt, seeing how well this experiment is going, wants to choke it with too many proposals. Also I have to be continuously on guard to preserve the small size and high quality of my staff and not permit Stuttgart to become another military center. With Frankfurt and army passing out of the picture, lots of people are looking around for a place to jump.

November 29

I'm having the opportunity, living and eating with Col. Dawson and his senior officers, to hear discussed – and of course occasionally to “butt” in myself – the operating details of Military Government. I see many things I don't like, but no fair man could avoid having great admiration for what our Military Government detachments have been doing. Of course we are not capable and no country is able to take over the government of a great modern nation and carry it on ourselves. The sooner we throw the ball to the Germans and then just sit back and supervise, the better it will be for all of us.

Stuttgart, Dec. 2, 1945

My Darling Wifey –

[. . .] After lunch today I drive to Frankfurt to be with General Clay and to come back here with him on Tuesday for our regular big meeting of the three Minister-Presidents. I am tickled to death that General McNarney, who has succeeded Eisenhower, is also coming, giving the new top man a chance to see what we're doing here and giving me an opportunity to get acquainted with him. Preparations are all made before I leave, for the Tuesday meeting, and I hope everything comes off fine. I have some excellent officers on my staff helping me. It looks as if I will remain here until after the first of the year anyway. Personally I'm in no hurry to get back to Berlin although I know that General Clay wants me near him where I am available to help him.

*Have I described my present quarters and my life in Stuttgart?*³⁶ *I am occupying with two other officers, both majors, the downstairs of a large house overlooking the city on No. 44 Richard Wagner Strasse. The villa is called Sonnenburg. We still eat across the street at Colonel Dawson's mess until our own is ready next week. We are taking over another large house across the street for the other officers and to use as our mess. I will stay here because it is so homey and comfortable.*

My new offices will be ready this week also. You ought to see them – almost like a museum! I have a direct line to General Clay in Berlin and to the other key centers. My executive officer is a young Major Kane from Philadelphia, a graduate of Virginia Military Institute who has been through all the campaigns and until he came to me was stationed at Bremen. He looks after all the details.

I talked with Litchfield over the phone this week. He arrived in Berlin and I asked my Lt. Bolten up there to bring him down here after a few days. I am happy to have him here and I want to fit him in to a useful place. I can set him up right with Clay and Murphy. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Dec. 3

In Frankfurt at General Clay's request to sit in on the monthly conference of the Commanding Generals. Met General McNarney for the first time and General Clay nearly swept me off my feet when he told me that both he and McNarney were coming down to Stuttgart for the Länderrat meeting tomorrow. The meeting held in the huge impressive War Room dealt with general vital transitional problems not the least important of which was the place and the power of the occupation troops as against Military Government. General Keyes argued well and strongly to maintain army's power and position, but General Clay's plans went through.

I rushed back to Stuttgart to make certain that plans were in order to receive our two top-ranking Generals.

³⁶ Bereits in seinem Brief vom 27. 11. 45 hatte Pollock seiner Frau berichtet: "*I have been moved into the most comfortable place I've occupied thus far [. . .] The house was owned by an antique art dealer in Philadelphia whose wife was German. She lives upstairs.*" Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll.

Dec. 4

What a day this was! After receiving the Generals at the special train³⁷, we went to Military Government Headquarters. The German officials were arriving and there was an air of expectancy. Ambassador Murphy was in the party and he brought Freeman (Doc) Matthews from the State Department with him. My small staff had everything well in hand and at ten o'clock the session of the Länderrat which had been called to order by its chairman, Dr. Maier the Minister-President of Württemberg-Baden, was turned over to General McNarney and General Clay.³⁸ McNarney spoke briefly saying that he realized Military Government was his greatest responsibility. Clay then made another of his important programmatic speeches indicating among other things his satisfaction with the work of the Länderrat. He announced that the U. S. would supply enough food to maintain a 1550 calorie average ration and he threw another big assignment into their laps when he said that on January first the railroads would be placed in their hands.

General McNarney had asked me to invite on his behalf the three Minister-Presidents to lunch with him. This was a fine gesture and it was not lost on these top German executives. The luncheon came off beautifully, Bob Murphy and I acting as interpreters between Generals Clay and McNarney and the Minister-Presidents. At one point over our coffee General McNarney inquired of the Minister-Presidents about the behavior of his troops. The replies from each of the Germans were favorable and given thoughtfully and sincerely.

Dr. Geiler told of his difficulties in getting his property in Baden-Baden where the French have their headquarters. Dr. Maier related how Rommel's widow had come to him complaining about her treatment and disclosed that the French had offered to inter the remains of her late Field Marshal husband in the French zone if she had any difficulty with the Americans. "Kulturelle Propaganda" remarked Dr. Geiler.

We have every reason to be happy about the three top German officials we have been able to select. Each one is different but they are working together remarkably well under the quiet chairmanship of Dr. Maier.

Due to my responsibilities to Clay and McNarney and the other important guests I was unable to follow the whole session of the Länderrat, but the reports from my staff show an abundance of constructive action. I predict that in another month or two they will keep us all busy getting

³⁷ In seinem Brief vom 7. 12. 1945 an seine Frau bemerkt Pollock hierzu ergänzend: "They use Hitler's train." Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll.

³⁸ Protokoll der 3. Länderratssitzung vom 4. 12. 1945 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 1, Dok. 6.

clarifications of American policy and approving or disapproving their decisions.

Dec. 6

Spent a couple of hours today talking to two intelligent young officers – one from Michigan – from the office of the Theatre Historian, my good friend Col. Sam Marshall. They wanted orientation especially in the problem of the relation between the tactical troops and Military Government, and in an evaluation of Military Government to date. I cited chapter and verse and concluded with a favorable and creditable appraisal of what we have done thus far in Germany.

Dec. 8

Went to Heidelberg today at General Willems' invitation to speak to the headquarters staff of the Seventh Army. I dealt with the topic: "Some Problems of Quadrupartite Occupation." I presented the administrative areas into which the four powers have divided Germany for their own purposes, and explained the difficulties of four-power occupation. In discussing the length of our occupation – a point on which there is naturally the greatest interest – I could not be very definite because American policy has not yet been clarified in this regard. I opined that the Potsdam Agreement obligated us for at least two years in the matter of reparations, and that a peace conference was not yet in the offing. I tried to stimulate thinking about the territorial and administrative basis of a future federal Germany.

Stuttgart, Dec. 9, 1945

My Darling –

[. . .] I am always interested to receive serious comment in the press as written by Lippmann, Marquis Childs, or others dealing with Germany. Or any good editorial comment from Anne O'Hare McCormick or in newspapers. No one has hit the nail on the head except Byron Price who was Truman's representative here some weeks ago. I advised him on his trip. You might even send to the State Department to get a copy of his report. It is really good. [. . .]

The wonderful meeting Tuesday of the three Minister-Presidents with McNarney and Clay both here was really something. But best of all everything went smoothly. Clay could not be nicer. Including me in the Generals' meeting in Frankfurt on Monday was great for me. It really set me up with

all the top figures in the Army and Military Government. I shall enclose a few clippings which will give you some idea of what I am doing. One of the cabinet ministers from Bavaria came up to me and said, "The Germans are all saying that the Americans have a Professor up in Stuttgart who knows all about Germany. We will cooperate with him." At any rate we have made a very auspicious start here, and I shall hold on until it is operating on a permanent basis. Clay said I could not be doing anything more important. Between ourselves my greatest concern is that they will set me up too high. I only want to advise Clay and give him all the credit and stay out of the limelight myself. All the ambitious army people see what I have done with a small staff and they would like to tie up to me. But I am pleasant to all of them and send them back where they came from. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Dec. 11

This has been an amazingly busy week with no less than nine different committees of the Länderrat in session. I wish everyone could see how some of them have taken hold of their respective problems. In other cases they have had to be led by the hand; in others pretty strong insistence on our part was necessary. The German officials first had to get acquainted with each other. Then they had to make sure of their power and responsibility, and finally they and we had to surmount endless physical difficulties – working space, equipment, transport, overnight accommodation, etc. Despite all these, a real record of accomplishment is being written here. We are being able to facilitate the transfer of administration from our side to theirs with a minimum of delay – the greatest difficulty being with our own people who still want to hold on and tell the Germans how they can best handle their own affairs. An instance of this was the case of a young naval lieutenant, attached to the Food and Agriculture Branch in Berlin who spent some time telling the German expert agricultural committee how to handle their problem of small gardens! Ye gods, the Germans have been working out plans for gardens for fifty years, and one mild German remarked that they really understood gardens pretty well.

Stuttgart, Dec. 11, 1945

My Dearest –

[. . .] Today I talked with Berlin twice on the phone – Clay and Murphy. Murphy now calls me "Jim" and I call him "Bob". Clay is a little more formal. Also I had two talks with General Adcock in Frankfurt. I am in a

marvellous position to watch the impact of American directives on German officials, and when the results aren't good, I pick up the phone and talk right to the top men. I'm oh so happy about how this baby of mine down here has developed. It has great possibilities for the future development of our program and the rebuilding of Germany.

Personally I'm awfully glad to miss a few months of the worst weather in Berlin. Here one feels freer and less depressed. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Dec. 14

General Echols arrived unexpectedly with General Hester who came down for a conference on food and agriculture. He told me about the standstill in Berlin in quadrupartite matters due to French opposition. He said he had suggested to General Clay that he put his cards all on the table before Secretary Byrnes who was to stop in Berlin en route to the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Berlin. I agree. Either Germany is to be treated as an economic unit according to the Potsdam Agreement, or the whole control machinery for Germany might as well be junked. In that case the American zone – and our new sub-capital here at Stuttgart – will have to stand by itself. This means that the U. S. will have a poorhouse on its hands indefinitely, because our zone in Germany cannot subsist by itself. At the very time when we are very much encouraged by our progress in Stuttgart in pulling all German agencies in the American zone together, the tempo in Berlin toward four power agreement is very slow indeed.

Dec. 15, 1945

My dear wife's birthday, but instead of being able to celebrate the occasion with her, I have to worry about where I am to work – and what is now more important – where the infant German Secretariat is to perform the sizeable tasks we have thrown upon it. It seems that this is just another case of the tactical commanders making Military Government sweat out a tight housing situation. We shall see. I'm quite ready to fight for adequate space to do the job which has been put upon us. Security considerations are no longer paramount and I seem to remember General Eisenhower's words last August that "the sole reason for the presence of tactical troops is to give support to Military Government." General Burres the Commander of the Seventh Corps in this area seems very reasonable. But General Allen of the First Armored which has recently moved in, seems anxious to gobble up all available facilities including a building which has been reserved for

our purposes. He was given the Schloss for his own personal comfort – in addition to the one he has at Gmünd. I have an order now, signed by McNarney, allotting us the Villa Reitzenstein which was the command post of the 100th Division, now redeployed. Will subordinate army commanders agree to follow the commanding general's orders or isn't this an army after all?

Dec. 15, 1945

*My Dear, Sweet Wife:*³⁹

[. . .] really I don't seem to get time to do all the writing I should.

Yesterday and Friday were typical. General Hester came down from Berlin in General Clay's train and brought General Echols with him. General Echols is Clay's Assistant Deputy. I didn't know they were coming, so I had to take most of the day off and arrange various meetings and conferences for them and of course arrange for their entertainment. It was an interesting and for me very important day but it just flew. Then yesterday we were notified that they had approved my request to locate both my staff and the German staff in a huge residence where we would all be adequately housed. So I spent the afternoon making a survey of the premises so we could move in Monday. You ought to see the place. I hope I can secure pictures of some rooms, including the one where I have my office. I smile to myself when I think of all the top German officials coming to me now to pay their respects and to work out the various aspects of transferring to their hands the actual administration of government. Of course you understand we still have to supervise and approve or disapprove. But we have been doing too much ourselves and getting in the way of the Germans who of course can make their various affairs run more smoothly than we can. And when General Clay, after strong urgings from me for two months, finally saw that things were bogging down and that we never would be able to handle everything we were trying to handle, then he began the process of throwing the ball to the Germans to do their own work – which is of course what we should have been doing from the beginning like the British. But to get the Germans to take the responsibility and realize that we are no longer going to just order them, but want them to do it in their own way and hold them responsible for results, is a very delicate task. And what I am doing here is to facilitate the transfer of work to German hands at the top level. I don't think everyone yet realizes what I have been able to accomplish. The military people rather assume that things occur just as a matter of course. But I know that if I had

³⁹ Dieser Brief ist nur noch gekürzt vorhanden. Offensichtlich wurden einige Absätze herausgeschnitten und der Rest zusammengeheftet.

not approached the Germans in their own way, and won their respect and confidence, things would have bogged down terribly. My trouble now is to get Berlin to realize that they must not feed me too much stuff all at once to choke the new machinery before it really gets operating. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses and Much Love and Many Thanks,
Jim*

Dec. 17, 1945

A very interesting conference called by General Burrell to decide on the allocation of real estate in the Stuttgart area. After some fencing our needs were fully met, and I am pleased.

Moved into our new headquarters which will now for the first time provide us with adequate working space, the German secretariat also, and with conference rooms – all in the same building. The huge, ornate, lavishly furnished structure has served successfully as the villa of the Freifrau von Reitzenstein, as the Staatsministerium of Württemberg, as the office of the Reichsstatthalter and Gauleiter for Württemberg under the Nazis, and then headquarters for the French and latterly for the 100th Division. Perhaps our taking over now marks a new epoch – one in which the Germans have begun to take over the administration of their own affairs.

Dec. 18

A meeting of the Ministers of Justice of the three Länder in the American zone marks, I hope, the beginning of the restoration of the rule of law in Germany. Much time was consumed in discussing a uniform de-nazification law, but many other aspects of legal procedure and substantive law were aired.

Another meeting which went on simultaneously dealt with the problems involved in turning over the railways to the Germans on January 1. What a sense of humor one must have in negotiating these tremendous transfers of authority and still please both the technicians and the politicians – the military and the German civilians. It will be interesting to see whether the Germans can actually get more out of the railway net than the army.

Dez. 19

January 1 marks another milestone in Military Government with the elimination of the army. Henceforth Berlin (OMGUS) will deal directly

with the three Land Detachments instead of clearing through army. If USFET could now be eliminated, we would have a simple and direct channel of command.

Good news today from the Food Branch in Berlin suggested a three Länder conference on beer! The Bavarian contention that beer would improve morale in that area seems to have won out!

I haven't yet shaken down in my elaborate office in the villa Reitzenstein. Major (Ted) Cox wouldn't let me select the lovely library as my office for he said the newspapers would headline me something like this – "Professor chooses great library as office!" I might add – both places are cold! Ted has been wrestling with the problem of the Hungarian horses which seem to have been left in Bavaria! He didn't like it, however, that the subject appeared in the list of decisions of the Länderrat between two other topics – food and fertilizer!

Stuttgart, Dec. 19, 1945

My Dearest –

I want to say hello to you before I go to bed. I have had three busy days. Monday was a great day for me. The 100th Division was re-deployed to the U.S. Its Command Post was the finest public building in Stuttgart. The Seventh Army had promised it to us as soon as the 100th moved out. But two Major Generals in the area had designs on it. But I was sent an order from McNarney giving the building to me. At a conference Monday it was all settled and we moved in Monday afternoon. For the first time our activities are adequately housed. My staff and the German secretariat will be accommodated in the same building and several large conference rooms are included. I wish you could see my office! There's nothing like it in Germany! I will try to send pictures. And a direct line to General Clay in Berlin. The building is called the Villa Reitzenstein and was built in 1912. It became the seat of the Württemberg cabinet and during the Hitler period was used by the Nazi Reichsstatthalter and Gauleiter. Then it was French headquarters, then headquarters for the 100th Division, and now the Regional Government Coordinating Office headed by your Jimmie who is called Senior Representative of the Deputy Military Governor.

My liaison officers from Bavaria and Hessen come in tomorrow. The past few days we have had the Ministers of Justice, Transportation, and Economics here for committee meetings. I am very happy with the progress, and most of all with German cooperation with me. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Dec. 20

I've been evaluating the work of the Länderrat during its first two months. Although it has received little or no attention in the press, its achievements are very gratifying. Take for instance only the three most important matters which General Clay presented to them for solution, namely the problem of working out a plan to receive two and a quarter million evacuees; the problem of taking over the operation of the railways; and the problem of a uniform denazification law for the whole zone. The first one has been completed and at the last meeting of the Evacuee Committee, the German officials expressed readiness to receive more evacuees than our Military Government officials wanted to send them. The second problem is of huge proportions and our own railway technicians still want to keep their hands on the control. But on January first, as General Clay requested, the Germans will once more be operating their own transport system. Many aspects of this big problem will have to be worked out slowly. But no one can accuse German officials of backing away from their responsibilities. The third problem will be met and answered when the Länderrat holds his next meeting and receives the report of its committee.

In some respects the results of this interesting experiment in facilitating the transfer of more operating responsibility to the Germans are quite imponderable. What are the Germans thinking? How far has Berlin adjusted its future plans to accord with developments here? Have we not rendered Frankfurt quite superfluous in the organization of Military Government?

Dec. 21

The Secretary-General of the Länderrat⁴⁰, a former Reichstag Deputy of the Social Democratic party just told me that he was finding his position the most interesting assignment he had ever had. Every decision he said involved a reappraisal of the basis of German government, its administrative procedures, and all the political implications. He is of course in the middle of all the pulling and hauling between Bavaria and the other two states. He can see the difficulties in rebuilding a new Germany on a sound federal basis. But a good start in this direction is being made under the Länderrat. I have suggested that our three states as now organized meet with the states composing the other international zones, and thus lay the foundation for a working federal system. I will be interested to see what topside does with the idea.

In meeting the other day with the three plenipotentiaries or permanent,

⁴⁰ Erich Roßmann.

resident delegates from the three states, I was pleased to see how capable and willing they are to serve as direct representatives of their states between the meetings of the Länderrat. Dr. Seelos, the Bavarian representative was formerly in the Foreign Service and he acts in every way like a full-fledged diplomatic agent of the state. This is in the best German and Bavarian tradition, but of course too much independence will wreck any union of the German states, and I must always keep this in mind.

Dec. 23

How glorious it is to be in a free country again! We came to Switzerland for a brief Christmas holiday, and the stores in Basel where we entered were brilliantly lighted and beautifully decorated. How intriguing they are to a starved American who has been looking at bombed-out stores and buildings. It is a real Christmas treat to see life and business on a normal basis.

Dec. 25

Christmas Day in Luzern after a pleasant day and night in Bern. My eyes nearly bulge out at the abundance of food and beautiful articles of all kinds. The drive here was inspiring as mountains always are to me, and the peaks were snow covered.

It is a strange feeling to be away from one's dear family at the Christmas season. But it can't be helped this year for me as for thousands of others. The hotel has done everything to make us happy and comfortable. The view over the lake is obscured today and you wouldn't know the mountains were in the background.

Lucerne, Christmas Morning

My Darling –

[. . .] Let me sketch my Swiss holiday tour for you now. At the last moment on Friday General Willems with whom I was going called to say that he could not leave Heidelberg because General Patton had taken a turn for the worse. I decided to go anyway not knowing when I would be free to go again. I found Lt. Col. Dawalt from General Hilldring's office in Washington was anxious to go with me. I was glad because it always helps to have a senior officer with you. We left Stuttgart Saturday morning passing through Karlsruhe, Strassburg, Kolmar and came to Mühlhausen which is the point at which all tours to Switzerland start. Here the army has organized a leave center and you get Swiss money and make any other arrangements. With my special passport I only needed permission for the driver and the car and Col.

Dawalt. It is very difficult for persons in uniform to get through the frontier unless they have passports. I arranged it all and by late afternoon we were in Basel.

What joy it was to walk up and down the streets and see the beautiful store windows ready for Christmas! And to eat the wonderful food and to be so pleasantly received by the Swiss. A few GI's are around on leave parties, otherwise Switzerland looks like it always has. [. . .]

Let me now describe in more detail how everything is in Switzerland. I have asked many people, officials, hotel managers and others in the Legation and the Consulates about living conditions. I find that life is now almost normal. There is no crowding and of course the hotels are quite empty except for Americans. Good pensions are more difficult to find, but only in the bigger cities. Here in Luzerne there's lots of room, and in every other medium and small sized town. [. . .]

About food I was astonished. There is an abundance of everything except sugar. Some things are rationed like butter and meat, but there is no shortage. Fruits and vegetables of all kinds are in abundance [. . .].

It all adds up to this. You and the children could be very comfortable and happy almost any place in Switzerland. If everything else can be arranged [. . .] then take steps with Mr. Will at the State Department, and come as soon as you can around February first. [. . .]

*Big Christmas Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Dec. 28

Back in Stuttgart at my desk in the Villa Reitzenstein. The German officials are still on vacation. I suppose they need it, but you would think at an emergency period like this they would want to remain on duty. But if a holiday improves their morale after six years of war, I will be content.

I'm learning more about army administration. It is certainly fearful and wonderful! Lots of cars but no transport! Lots of coal but not where you want it. Abundance of food but try to get it. Abundant personnel but where is it? Yet despite everything things somehow get done.

I haven't yet, in about six months of residence among the Germans, quite gotten to the bottom of certain dominant trends in their thinking. I must find more time to accept invitations to discuss matters with representative Germans. So few among us are doing this because we are so busy with our day to day work. I also miss the opportunity to move about at will, sticking my nose in here and there to see what is actually going on right down through the whole German administration.

Stuttgart, Sat. aft., Dec. 29, 1945

My Darling –

[. . .] *I shall now have a couple of days of rest to get caught up, and to get ready for our next big Council meeting on January 8.*

As I said earlier, Ed Litchfield came down here at my request and it is good to compare notes with him and have his friendly assistance. I have kept him free so that he could form a sound judgment of just what we are doing. I will now send him to General Clay with some ideas, and see what happens. He has a big contribution to make if the powers that be can see it his way. We shall see. [. . .]

*Love and Kisses,
Jim*

Dec. 30

My Sweetheart –

[. . .] *I got lots of joy buying things for all of you and I thought you would like them. I keep myself poor buying things but that's all this money is worth and I think it ought to be transferred into substantial gifts. The Danish silver, as you noticed, cost a lot of money but it's worth it. [. . .]*

Your Dec. and Jan. checks were larger. Mine here are smaller because they have further reduced the overseas allowance. But I am making out all right because board is almost nothing and house is nothing. I get a General's allocation of liquor, which the army calls Class VI supplies – but it doesn't cost much, and I have many important guests to entertain and they all like a nip! [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Stuttgart, Dec. 30, 1945

Dearest Mother –

[. . .] *I am having the greatest experience in my life and what I am learning here will enrich my knowledge for years to come. It will be another feather in my cap. I wish you could see the palace in which my office is located. It was formerly the office of the Nazi Gauleiter, and before that of the State Government of Württemberg. I have a staff of eight officers and five enlisted men, and we supervise the work being done by the top German officials. I*

have a direct line to Berlin and General Clay under whom I work directly. I have to pinch myself sometimes to realize where I am, and I always pray for the wisdom to make right decisions. [. . .]

The best to you and the whole family for the New Year!

*Love and Kisses,
James*

Jan. 1, 1946

I begin the New Year with a mixture of doubts and hopes. If the stalemate in Berlin can be broken and Germany can be treated as an economic unit, then great progress can be made this year. If the French persist in their opposition to central government departments and succeed in having the Ruhr internationalized, then the German situation will go from bad to worse, and all of our hard work in reviving self-government in our zone will become less significant. We will then be forced to set up a zone government, and what we have constructed here in Stuttgart as a coordinating agency will be transformed into a strong central authority for the American zone. The U. S. will then be forced to treat this part of Germany as an effective poorhouse – a European colony – and to feed it indefinitely.

All competent observers agree that our zone is far and away ahead of the other zones. Despite all the criticism of Military Government, and in spite of all handicaps of redeployment, etc. – the American record in Germany to date is a very creditable one. After a very late start due to the restraints – actually the straight-jacket of JCS 1067⁴¹ as interpreted – American Military Government under General Clay's enlightened and highly intelligent leadership has put our zone in a condition one could not have imagined even two months ago. I cannot avoid saying that the developments here in Stuttgart have played a big part in expediting the strengthening of German government, and in directing Military Government into more proper channels. I look back on the past two months as very gratifying to me personally because I have seen with my own eyes how much has been done because German abilities have been released and properly guided – not interfered with and restrained.

If Germany cannot be rebuilt from the center, maybe it can pull itself together as our three states have pulled themselves together in the Länder-rat. The next few months will tell. I have suggested the extension of the idea of interstate cooperation to the other zones.

⁴¹ Direktive JCS 1067, Text and Press Release of the Directive to the Commander in Chief of the U.S. forces of occupation in Germany (JCS 1067) von April 1945, in: Germany 1947–1949. The Story in Documents. Department of State Publication NR. 3556 (March 1950) S. 21–33 und FRUS 1945 III, S. 484–503.

I wanted to go to the opera today but like so many other worldly desires of mine I just simply couldn't find the time to gratify this one. Maybe life this year will not be so strenuous. I hope so.

Jan. 3, 1946

Encouraging work performed by two German committees, one on economics, the other on legal affairs. The Germans always have been demons for work. Now they are re-learning the art of compromise after thorough, open, uninhibited discussions. Had the Ministers of Economics of the three Länder to lunch. They are very keen and capable men. We had much interesting discussion about leading German personalities and the future of German industry. They all look toward close collaboration with the U. S.

Jan. 6, 1946

At last "a day of rest and spiritual edification" as the Weimar Constitution described Sunday. I have straightened out a number of matters in my mind which have been bothering me. I see some of our immediate problems more clearly and General Clay is going to get two more memoranda from me proposing fundamental changes! Ed Litchfield has been with me and I've had the benefit of his keen and vigorous mind in arguing out several propositions. Only lately arrived in Germany, his views are not yet colored by his environment and associations like so many of the old-timers.

Stuttgart, Sunday, Jan. 6, 1946

My Sweetheart –

Another chance to spend a couple of happy hours writing to you. [. . .]

Your letters were all so good and told me much that I wanted to know. Your trip to New Castle, your doings in New Castle and what is going on in Ann Arbor. I love your attitude toward other people and I agree 100 % with you. Walter's remark was so stupid. How does he think people are going to be fed unless the government machinery is in operation to receive it, store it, transport it, distribute it etc.? It so happens that one of the important jobs I have been doing down here is to get the German officials organized to receive and distribute 150,000 tons of wheat soon to arrive in Bremen from America for our zone. Can't people realize what utter chaos has existed until we carefully and slowly have gotten all the complicated processes of modern civilization patched up and running again. And of course everything has to be done through government action. Private individuals can't do anything

without the government approval. No factories can operate – few even are left standing – no coal can be shipped, no food distributed, no space allocated in houses – nothing, without German officials have permitted it, and we have had to screen all of them to be sure they are not Nazis. Everything is so scarce that without tight control, there would be chaos and violence. As it is, everything is orderly and our zone is so much better than the other ones that there's no comparison.

Incidentally Walter gave Litchfield a lot of letters to distribute to his relatives even though I told him (Walter) it was still forbidden to send such mail. It is still impossible to send food to individuals in Germany. If I were you, I would just express surprise that people don't seem to realize that everything has had to be re-built from the ground up, and that what I am doing is to reconstruct German government and then to pull all its parts together in one harmonious whole in our zone – despite lack of agreement among our allies in Berlin. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Stuttgart, Jan. 6, 1946

Dearest Mother –

We have shifted nearly complete responsibility to the German officials, and with nearly half of the winter gone, no serious difficulties have arisen. I don't know how they get along with no heat and an average ration of 1550 calories, but they do. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
James*

Jan. 8

The big day has come and gone, I'm now on General Clay's special train returning to Berlin.

The fourth meeting of the Länderrat showed considerable progress.⁴² First, it was held in our own building which is ideal for the purpose. Second, the deliberations were more thorough, and the results both numerous and important. A real discussion on subsidies occurred which would have done credit to an American Congressional Committee.

General Clay, as previously, added much to make the meeting a success.

⁴² Protokoll der 4. Länderratssitzung vom 8.1.1946 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 1, Dok. 8.

He gave a complete review of actions taken by Military Government on the proposals previously made by the Länderrat, and added in his firm but kindly way, a few words of advice and warning. He permitted his picture to be taken for the first time with the German Minister-Presidents in my office and newsreel men took shots of Clay, Murphy and the German officials on the terrace and at the entrance to the Villa. The Germans both showed and expressed their pleasure in this revival of free deliberation, and this re-assumption of responsibility. One visiting American newspaperman observed that we were the capital but without the dome!

Jan. 9

Arrived in Berlin at noon after several delays en route. It took five hours for the special train to travel from Helmstedt where the Russian zone begins to Wannsee. We sat nearly an hour in the depot at Potsdam.

I was amused and pleased as we left Frankfurt at midnight. General Clay had told my staff at Stuttgart that for a transitional period he was going to permit the Frankfurt Transport Division to control railroad personnel, thus keeping the Germans from assuming complete responsibility for the railways. When this train didn't leave on schedule he learned that his own movements people had permitted General Koenig's train to leave ahead of his – this at the center of American railway control! I never will forget the General's remark as he returned from the telephone: "I'll bet the Germans would have gotten me out on time" – and he was right! I felt like saying "I told you so."

I don't like this half-way business in the case of the railways or anything else. Either you give them full power or you don't. You can't hold the Germans responsible or expect efficient results until you make perfectly clear that they are in control – subject only to our supervision. I'm afraid our army railway people are anxious to hold on as long as possible, and are supporting a group of questionable (former Nazis) German railway experts. It will be interesting to watch what happens.

Clay, Bob Murphy and I had quite an argument over the Nürnberg trials. I precipitated the discussion by asking Clay if he wanted me to arrange for the visit of the Minister-Presidents to Nürnberg as Mr. Biddle had suggested with Mr. Fahy's approval. The mention of Nürnberg made Clay a bit warm under the collar. I agreed that the whole proceeding had many questionable aspects. Murphy defended the war trials although he would have preferred, I believe, to have disposed of the major war criminals by political rather than by a so-called judicial proceeding. He said we had agreed to this procedure and were in duty bound to give it support. Clay argued – like many army men and quite understandably – that the German generals' treatment would most certainly be applied to our gener-

als if we ever lost a war! The argument was a draw – everybody agreeing that of course we had to go through with what we have started. Clay and I didn't feel like forcing the Minister-Presidents to attend the trials, and so they will merely be invited – not ordered – to attend. It will be interesting to see how many of them go to Nürnberg with their Ministers.

Jan. 10

This was a big day for quadrupartite agreement. After months of discussion and negotiation in which as usual General Clay took the leading part, the British and Russians compromised their differences over German steel production. Monty said that it was absurd for two great powers to haggle any longer over 300,000 tons of steel and he offered to meet the Russian figure if Sokolovsky did not care to meet the British figure. Sokolovsky promptly agreed to the British figure and Monty invited him to have a cup of tea with him. Sokolovsky promptly replied he would rather have a whiskey! Whereupon Monty said he would depart from his accustomed habits for this special occasion and drink a glass of wine!

The agreement to limit Germany's steel output to a ceiling of 7,500,000 tons a year⁴³ will now permit other agreements which will together clarify just what kind of an economy Germany will be allowed to have. At present German steel production is practically zero and it will be another year before Germany will be able to reach its allowed output.

This important agreement in the Control Council highlights another phase of General Clay's remarkable activity. He has been the driving force in the Coordinating Committee and the whole machinery might have broken down if he had not exercised great force and astuteness in discussion and negotiation. Another Clay – this time Lucius and not Henry – but of the same mettle and refined and developed to deal successfully with epoch making international matters.

Berlin, Jan. 11, 1946

My Darling –

[. . .] I enclose a letter from Clay which I want you to keep for me. It is very encouraging. I remembered him with a pretty cigarette case I got in Switzerland. [. . .]

*Love and Kisses,
Jim*

⁴³ Control Council Agreement on Steel Production vom 10. 1. 1946, FRUS 1946 V, S. 482–484.

[Anlage]

OFFICE OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT FOR GERMANY (U. S.)
Office of the Deputy Military Governor

10 January 1946

Dear Dr. Pollock:

I am grateful for your Christmas remembrance. The cigarette case is something I have needed for a long time.

Above all, I am grateful for the thought that accompanied it. I think you know how much I have appreciated your advice and services.

Come "hell or high water", we can give decent liberal people in Germany a chance to implant democratic ideals and throughout the year to come, truly destroy war potential.

Associates like yourself with vision and faith make it possible to continue straight ahead to what seems to so many an "idealistic" goal.

Sincerely yours,
Lucius D. Clay
Lieutenant General, U. S. Army
Deputy Military Governor

Jan. 12

Another very busy day. Attended Directors' meeting, conferred with numerous division chiefs, advised with Clay about half a dozen matters. Late afternoon rode out to Schwanen Insel with Col. "Mickey" Marcus and Gen. Echols to attend the wedding of General Clay's son to General Casey's daughter. It was a story book wedding and I wish I could do it justice. General Casey was Clay's room-mate at West Point and was best man at Clay's wedding. Now their children are being married in this beautiful military setting. Patricia Casey was a very lovely bride as she stepped forward on the arm of her handsome, erect father. General Clay was visibly moved by the ever-appealing words of the marriage ceremony. Only the mothers were missing.

The company – about sixty – was very select and interesting. I had quite a long talk with Sobolev and later with General Sokolovsky through his highly efficient interpreter. I explained to her about sleeping on the wedding cake, and the bride throwing her bouquet and she promptly put a piece of the wedding cake in her purse to put under her pillow.

I asked both Sobolev and Sokolovsky about the forthcoming Soviet elections. They discouraged me from going to Moscow, however, by telling

me how slow and uncertain transportation was. “Technically”, said Sobolev, we go from Berlin to Moscow in six hours by air. Actually, he added, it takes six to seven days unless one is very fortunate with the weather. Travel by rail is very slow and one has to remain all night in the station at Brest Litovsk where the trains go from narrow to broad gauge.

General Robertson asked me about the Länderrat and said the British were looking forward to a joint meeting of their top German officials with ours in Stuttgart. I expressed the hope that it could soon be arranged.

Mickey didn't want to go home, so after much champagne at the wedding we had a sort of progressive party going from one party group to another until the wee hours. It was the first fun I have had for a long time.

Jan. 13

This Sunday morning – after his son's wedding – General Clay was nevertheless at his desk as usual. He gave me the best picture of the evolution of Military Government I have ever had. First the elimination of the corps and divisions; then the army group, and finally the army from Military Government responsibility. I have seen what a struggle this has been to establish the position and powers of Military Government as against the tactical troops. I had suggested to Clay in a memorandum that the Frankfurt headquarters of Military Government should be combined with Berlin, except a small Division of Field Administration which should be located at Stuttgart thus shifting General Adcock there.⁴⁴ But Clay persuaded me that it was still necessary for Adcock to represent him on McNarney's staff in order to maintain proper contact and support from the army.

Bob Murphy invited me to one of his lovely luncheons together with General Milburn, the French Ambassador, and Don Heath who had just returned from Washington. Much interesting conversation.

Over a couple of highballs I gave General Gailey my views on German government and also on our own organization to supervise it. He is very anxious for advice and strikes me very favorably as a good addition to top management.

Had dinner with Col. Hall and Mr. Ingrams, the top British officials in Civil Administration at their mess. A Home Office election expert was with them and we had a very pleasant time. They all expressed much interest in our coordination efforts in our zone and it was very clear that the British zone is away behind ours in the organization of its government-

⁴⁴ Reorganization and revitalization of civil administration, Memo Pollock – Clay, 10. 1. 1946, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. (IfZ Bd. 29).

tal affairs. They were just beginning to pull their different areas together and they had not gone very far in preparing for German elections.

Berlin, Jan. 15, 1946

My Sweetheart –

[. . .] We leave at seven this evening – just a few hours away and arrive in Frankfurt at seven tomorrow morning. I sent my car on ahead and it will take me to Stuttgart tomorrow afternoon after I do some business in Frankfurt.

Really life here is so strenuous when I come back just for a week that I'm glad to get back to Stuttgart. But it is certainly gratifying how Clay listens to me, and now everybody knows it and wants to tell me what I should tell Clay. But don't worry, I'm very retiring and modest and keep myself out of the picture as much as possible. [. . .] I'll write soon again.

*Love and Kisses,
Jim*

Jan. 15

Returned to Frankfurt with the General tonight after a strenuous week in Berlin. But I believe I have straightened out some difficulties in the handling of our work and the proposals of the Länderrat at the Berlin end.

On the General's train he, Bob Murphy and I studied and discussed the report on denazification prepared by Mr. Fahy's committee and presented to us just before we left. The problem now is to harmonize this draft with the proposals drafted by the Minister-Presidents.⁴⁵

Jan. 17

Back to Stuttgart and a pile of accumulated work. The staff has carried on in my absence most faithfully and I am amazed at the amount of work we are now performing. We are still trying to get out from under the 60 odd pages of proposals which the Länderrat passed on to us for decision after their Jan. 8th meeting. It's hard not to have all the help I need, but I'm happy that I have been able to keep my staff small and composed of persons of high quality.

⁴⁵ Material zur Entnazifizierung in: Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 60–7, 8 (IfZ Bd. 55, 86).

Jan. 20

I drove up to Wiesbaden to observe the first round of the Gemeinde elections. It seems a long time since I prepared the original election directive back in the late summer! But here was the real thing. How gratifying to see the Germans trooping to the polls, and to know what efforts both by Military Government and the German civil administration had made a successful handling of these elections a fact of great significance. I had serious doubts about the advisability of holding elections so early. But now I am happy to take off my hat to General Clay's judgement. He saw what the rest of us didn't see, that to schedule elections would speed up the whole process of German government and would put Military Government as well as the German people to the test. Col. Newman had reason to be proud of the showing made by his election experts, especially Major Landin.

Jan. 24

I came to Nürnberg via Rothenburg and Ansbach, to witness the trial of the leading German war criminals. Ted Cox and Bill Dawson were with me, so I was well protected by legal talent! A short visit of two days could only leave certain impressions, but I'm very glad to have seen this momentous undertaking.

First of all I was struck with the excellent, even elaborate, physical and procedural arrangements. The difficulties of language have largely been overcome by the automatic translator earphones. Second, one cannot ever forget the scene with so many leading Nazis in the defendants' stall: Göring, Hess, Ribbentrop, Sauckel et. al. Many of them seemed to be enjoying the proceedings. Others looked sour or bored. But here they were before the International Military Tribunal to hear themselves charged with the most heinous crimes.

Von Papen and von Neurath were the defendants under particular attack while I was there. It was strange and ominous to listen to the careful presentation of evidence by the British prosecutor. Ted Cox remarked that it proved that Germany had conspired to wage aggressive war and that we knew all about it!

Until all the evidence is in and until the defense has its time, it is difficult to form a very definite opinion of the whole proceeding. I must confess at this stage to a certain skepticism which was not lessened by conversations with friends on the staff and among the press. But I reserve final judgment.

Jan. 26

A couple of busy days in Munich with Bavarian government and politics as my interest. Had a profitable discussion with Dr. Hoegner, the Minister-President, in which I brought up Bavaria's unnecessary particularism. I believe I was able to reassure him that the Länderrat was not a sinister super-government, and that it had not only added to his and Bavaria's stature, but that it has made government in the zone more efficient.

I also had the opportunity to discuss many general matters with an old acquaintance Dr. Anton Pfeiffer who is now Staatssekretär to the Minister-President. I was able to get inside German reactions to the American occupation.

While in General Muller's office I was importuned over the phone by topside Berlin officials to express an opinion about a recent approval of the Monarchist party in Bavaria. Was I not deeply concerned about it? I answered "No". We have wanted to revive political activity and discussion, so why be surprised when a deep-seated feeling for monarchy finds natural expression? I would worry if such feelings were not openly expressed, because it is clear to me that most Bavarians now and even under the Republic have great admiration not only for the institution of a monarchy but for Crown Prince Rupprecht in particular. They consider him the first citizen of the state, and now when everyone is confused and bewildered, it is only natural that they cling to the one institution which seems to provide an anchor for them. No well-informed person thinks that the Wittelsbachs desire anything more than a mild constitutional monarchy. It seems out of date to me, but if the Bavarians want a monarchy and by democratic means give clear expression to this desire, how can we properly interfere?

I received several disquieting reports about the care of internees and about the activities of the Counter Intelligence Corps. I shall have to inquire further.

A great Dürer exhibition in the Hitler-built Haus der deutschen Kunst deserved more time than I was able to give to it. But I did enjoy a performance of *Fidelio* at the Prinz Regenten Theatre – I'm sorry to say the first opera I have had time to see in seven months in Germany. Something of the old Munich came back to me on these two occasions. But when I saw a GI night club in one part of the great Deutsches Museum and a DP institute in another part, I realized that Munich was still occupied!

Jan. 27

This was election day all over the American zone in the small villages. I drove from Munich to Stuttgart via Fürstenfeldbruck, Augsburg, Leipheim, and Geislingen and visited a number of polling places to watch the voting and to question the officials and the voters. It took me back to 1932 when I last observed a free German election. It was extremely gratifying to note the efficiency of the whole election machinery and the undoubted interest of the German voters. They knew what they were doing and did it with some enthusiasm. We watched the complicated count in Geislingen, in Württemberg where under the law the voters could scratch their tickets, cumulate, and write in names. It was surprising how most of them altered the ballots presented to them in order to express their own individual opinions.

Without question these early elections have been justified. The whole process of government has been speeded up and a sound beginning in the revival of democratic institutions has been made. There is no reason why the later elections cannot come off equally well. The few bugs in the machinery can easily be eliminated before the next round of elections occurs in March.

Stuttgart, Jan. 27, 1946

My Dearest –

I've been in another whirl the past week. I even forget when I last wrote you. The reason is this. We are now in the midst of our first elections and Clay is relying on me to give him first hand information. So last Sunday, a week ago today, I went up to Wiesbaden and other points in Hessen. Then Wednesday I was able to arrange a long-planned trip to the famous Nürnberg trials. Wednesday and Thursday there, and then on to Munich [. . .]. I drove around to see where we spent happy weeks in a Pension in Munich. Everything blown to bits, I can only sketch what all my impressions were at the trials. There were all of the Nazi leaders – Göring, Hess, Papen, Keitel, Doenitz, Schacht, Streicher and the others –. Several JAG friends oriented me in the preparation and procedure of the Tribunal. Four languages used with automatic mechanical translator earphones; I talked to Judges Parker and Biddle; found another student who was United Press correspondent and he introduced me to his newspaper friends. All very exciting, but I'm not sure what the outcome of the trials will be. You know I would have shot all of them without wasting time on the trials. But we will see. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Jan. 29

During my brief absence from the RGCO, the constructive work being performed every day by the 30 odd committees of the Länderrat adds up to an impressive result. Every day two or three committees or sub-committees meet and discuss pressing problems, and more often than not, agree on certain recommendations to the Länderrat. The record of each committee is something of a saga in itself.

Take the Transport Committee as an example. Through its able efforts the Germans were able to assume partial responsibility for the railroads after Jan. 1. General Clay had told them he was turning the railroads over to their management. But the army in Frankfurt acting through General Adcock, rightly or wrongly, decided to limit German control. After much double talk it was finally made clear to the Germans that they had to locate their railway control center in Frankfurt, and that they could not appoint or remove top personnel. Col. Gottlieb on our staff had the unpalatable job of backing and filling for the Frankfurt transport people before the German committee. The Germans told us that many Nazis were employed in high railroad positions and that they wanted to get rid of them – including Dr. Bauer who headed the railroad organization for the army. Frankfurt was adamant until I called the situation to General Clay's attention. Then things began to happen. But instead of giving our Transport Committee the credit for cleaning Nazis out of the railroads, all the publicity released made it appear that Frankfurt was doing the purifying! Empires die hard.

Our experience in negotiating the transfer of the railroads has taught us to insist on written instructions from the functional experts who appear from Military Government before our German committees. The communications people are now ready to turn the posts over to the Germans, and I anticipate no hemming and hawing from them. With regard to giving the German authorities responsibility for operations, I feel like the song: "Either you got it or you ain't." I don't believe in continuing to tell them how to do a job when it is perfectly apparent they know much more about running their own administration services than we will ever know. And what's more – we aren't supposed to be operating – we ought to be supervising. With the Germans so willing to take orders and so many of our eager beavers anxious to order them around, one can understand why, at this late hour, we are still knee-deep in operations. All this despite General Clay's constantly whipping every functional chief to turn operations over to the Germans.

Jan. 31

I am now getting a steady stream of intelligence from excellent German sources about all aspects of the occupation of Germany. German officials who come here to Stuttgart for committee meetings send or bring valuable information received by them from other zones, or acquired in the course of their own duties. I try to embody this information in special letters and memoranda to Berlin, but in the rush of running this big operation I can't find the time to do a very thorough job. I must ask Mr. Murphy to send me a good man to help me in this field.

Jan. 31, 1946

My Darling –

[. . .] I am in a terrible rush now getting ready for our next big meeting on Tuesday. And then to top it off, General Clay – following my suggestion – has invited the British to bring their German officials here for the day after our Länderrat meeting. That means I'll have all the top German officials of both the American and British zone, and the top British and American generals as my guests! Wow! But you should see my layout and my loyal staff. We have really accomplished an awful lot. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Feb. 2

Busy with preparations for the next Länderrat meeting on the 5th. Made an inspection of the whole building, including all the offices occupied by the German Secretariat. They have shaken down very nicely and with typical German efficiency have organized their Kanzlei, their translating staff, their work staffs of stenographers and statisticians, and not least of all with adequate offices for the Bevollmächtigte (plenipotentiaries) from the three states. All of these people had to be cleared by our Special Branch, Public Safety, to make sure that they have no Nazi or militarist taint. It has been quite a relief to me to have old Roßmann as Secretary-General, because he is so completely above suspicion himself. I was gratified to see that a German mess has been set up to take care of the visiting experts and committee members from the three Länder. Housing is still scarce but we are now able to allocate a few houses for German official occupancy near the Villa.

Feb. 5

Today we have the fifth meeting of the Länderrat.⁴⁶ The building and both staffs, ours and the German, are on their toes. There was a buzzing of activity and the large corridors of the Villa found good use as more and more officials arrived for the meeting. Punctually at 10 o'clock the Chairman called the meeting to order and this smoothly working zonal legislative and executive body – half cabinet, half parliament – got down to work on a large agenda. General Clay flew in from Berlin at eleven thirty and went into a conference with our staff and the three Directors of Military Government from Hessen, Württemberg-Baden and Bavaria. The Secretary-General learning that General Clay had arrived in the building appeared at my office, and when I brought him to the General he said: "Sir, the Länderrat is in session and awaits the pleasure of the Deputy Military Governor." Clay was pleased and replied that he did not intend to make a speech this time, but would like to have a brief conference with the three Minister-Presidents after lunch.

At lunch the General was in a very genial mood, and he kidded everybody. He told us how he and Sokolovsky had a mutual exchange arrangement by which he got caviar in return for pineapple to the Russian General. He was very kind to me, as he has always been, unfailingly courteous, sparing but very genuine in praise.

In the conference with the three Minister-Presidents,⁴⁷ he spoke concisely about prisoners of war, about what the Germans could expect from us next year by way of help, and how he hoped progress could be made in re-education. When he asked the Minister-Presidents if they had any questions, Dr. Hoegner the Bavarian Prime Minister asked about denazification, and Dr. Geiler (Hessen) asked about the trade pact he had negotiated between his state of Hessen and the Russian controlled state of Thuringia. With reference to the latter General Clay remarked that it was against sound principle to have to approve a pact between two parts of the same country, but that under the circumstances he probably had to do it. This kind of informal meeting with Clay made a greater impression on them than a public speech would have done, and all three of them afterwards expressed to me their great admiration of his ability. "He has such a deep understanding", remarked Dr. Geiler. "I like his frank yet kindly manner," said Dr. Hoegner. "He gives us confidence", added Dr. Maier. In a few hours Clay had given all of us a boost, had been briefed about our operations, and was on his way back to Berlin.

⁴⁶ Protokoll der 5. Länderratssitzung vom 5. 2. 1946 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 1, Dok. 10.

⁴⁷ Über die fortan im Anschluß an die Länderratssitzungen stattfindenden Besprechungen zwischen Clay und den Ministerpräsidenten gibt es keine Aufzeichnungen.

Feb. 6

The pre-arranged meeting of German officials from the British zone with our Minister-Presidents occurred today.⁴⁸ It was an interesting – possibly a momentous gathering. Here for the first time since the war responsible German officials from two of the zones came together to discuss mutual problems. It was a source of no small gratification to me that the German officials from the British zone were amazed at the progress we have made here in pulling all governmental agencies together in a coordinated whole. They wanted to say so in a joint public resolution. But the British officers who accompanied them looked embarrassed and suggested they merely make a statement to each Military Government. This they did and clearly indicated that they thought the British zone should have a Länderrat too. Aside from the mutual exchange of opinions, the most concrete result of the meeting was the decision to have a joint meeting in Frankfurt of German officials in economics and agriculture from the two zones. Thus begins the break-down of zonal boundaries. If a central government cannot be built from the top, maybe it can be built from the bottom! If the Russians and the French could also come here, maybe we could end the deadlock which is strangling Germany and holding back the economic recovery of Europe.

Feb. 7

Went to Frankfurt for a meeting to evaluate the recent elections. Didn't learn much but found it stimulating to hear various people, some informed and some not, bring up standard questions of election administration. General Clay asked me to remain a few hours longer to listen to organization and personnel problems being discussed by General Adcock and the three Land Directors. I told him about the meeting with the British and he was pleased. One remark he made was: "How long will people believe that British colonial administrators can do a better job than Military Government?"

⁴⁸ Protokoll der Konferenz der Ministerpräsidenten der US-Zone mit den Oberpräsidenten Kopf und Lehr (britische Zone) vom 6. 2. 1946 in Frankfurt, AVBRD 1. Dok. 11.

Feb. 9

Returning to Stuttgart I found the Denazification Committee headed by Mr. Fahy hard at work trying to iron out the differences between the American and German drafts.

I was presented with a copy of an important petition which was framed here when the officials from the British zone were present. It deals with the Nürnberg trials and requests the right to try these same criminals in a German court in order to show the world and the German people that justice will also be done by the Germans themselves. The petition is to be signed by the top officials in every unit within both zones. When signed and presented, it should create a minor sensation.

Stuttgart, Feb. 9, 1946

My Sweetheart –

I have not written you since last Sunday, and I feel guilty. But what could I do? This has really been a week! Tuesday the Länderrat meeting with General Clay flying down for the day. Wednesday the British and their German officials – Clay delegating complete responsibility to me – arrived for a joint meeting with our Germans. I had to entertain the British officers and see that everything came off right, and I'm happy to say it did! I left at seven o'clock Thursday morning to attend two important meetings in Frankfurt. Got back here at midnight. Friday the legal adviser and four officers came to negotiate a new plan for denazification. I had to take care of them and see that the negotiations with the German committee came off all right. Today a really big development occurred as a result of the meeting Wednesday of the German officials from our zone with those from the British. They are asking to take over the trial and punishment of the war criminals after the Nürnberg Trials are finished. It is one of the big news stories of the occupation and General Clay is sending his plane down to get the papers tomorrow afternoon. I may have to go back to Berlin with them.⁴⁹ So you see your little Jimmie has had much to do and no time to write. [. . .]

*Kisses,
Jim*

⁴⁹ Im Brief vom 10.3.1946 an seine Frau schrieb Pollock hierzu ergänzend: "You see telephones across the Russian zone may still be tapped and I take no chances with secret material." Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll.

Stuttgart, Feb. 10, 1946

Dear Mother –

This has been one of my busiest and, I also believe, one of my most constructive weeks. We not only had our regular monthly meeting of the three Minister-Presidents in our zone, but also a joint meeting between our German top officials and those from the British zone. It may lead to very important developments for if the stalemate continues at the center in Berlin, some other way must be found to bring about cooperation between the four occupied zones into which Germany is divided. The U. S. couldn't operate if each state was separate, and neither can Germany. General Clay has given me complete support, and both the British officers and their German officials were amazed at the progress we have been able to make here in pulling administrative services together. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Feb. 12

Today being Lincoln's birthday, I asked Ted Cox to draft me a letter to the Secretary-General calling his attention to the universal significance of our great President. Ted, for reasons best known to himself, expanded my idea to include Washington, and came up with a corking good note. I added a paragraph or two and sent it off. In a few hours I had a most charming reply from Roßmann.

Stuttgart, Feb. 13, 1946

My Darling –

This is an unlucky day for me. I had come home from the office to wash up for lunch when the phone rang and it was Ambassador Murphy's secretary in Berlin. He read me your cable and I felt pretty bad.⁵⁰ But I understand and I will try to adjust myself to the inevitable. You have no idea how I've kept myself going on the hope that you would soon be with me. Now all that is blasted. [. . .]

⁵⁰ Mrs. Pollocks Telegramm vom 12.2. lautet: "Backer Lichty advice stay here account Ann infections disease. Agree. Sorry. Love Agnes." Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll. – Pollocks Tochter Ann litt an schwerer Diabetes.

I am arranging for a telephone call on Saturday to you from Stuttgart and I hope we can get good connections. [. . .]

*Your heart-broken hubby
Jim*

Feb. 14

Negotiations were carried forward today with the appropriate officials of the Länderrat to turn over both post and telecommunications to complete German operation – with a few military exceptions. This will be another great step forward and I hope we can avoid the uncertainty which characterized a similar operation in connection with the railroads. I gulp once in a while when I realize what a simple machinery we have devised to effectuate the transfer of an exceedingly large and complicated administrative service from military to civilian hands. No wonder everyone in Berlin is turning toward Stuttgart to accomplish that which he has himself been unable to bring about. Of course we could not have been successful if we had not continuously had General Clay's sympathetic support; if we had not been able to secure efficient German cooperation; and if our own functional administrators had not realized how everything would sooner or later have bogged down if they did not get out of operations themselves.

Sidney Hillman and other trade union leaders from six countries were here today. Col. Dawson and General McSherry invited me to dine with the delegation and I sat between Hillman and the Soviet leader. I was a bit surprised to find that the Soviet trade union leader had not been elected to the Supreme Soviet in the recent election. Hillman talked mostly about denazification. Dawson and I tried to make him realize that we had done a much more thorough job in our zone than had been done in any other zone. He seemed to think the Russians had done better. I was not impressed with his ability as a fact-finder. He was more interested in telling us what he thought. I hadn't recently realized what a gulf there is between those of us who are up to our necks in the job and the casual fleeting visitor who at best can only get certain incomplete impressions. But with all of us eager to tell what we know, why aren't there investigators and observers who are equally ready to listen, digest the information, and come up with some sound observations for the American public? Byron Price seems to have been the only one thus far who has acquired a sound, comprehensive grasp of the German problem and [sent a] report about it to the President. But what has happened to his report?

Feb. 15

A very thrilling chapter has been written here in the field of food and agriculture. Phil Mettger on my staff has done an outstanding job in supervising the German plans for food distribution and all the other aspects of keeping the Germans in our zone alive. Seeds, fertilizer, horses, beer – everything has been thrown into our hopper for solution. The interzonal difficulties have been immense. Col. Andrews, who was here today, told us at dinner about how a money transfer to pay for some seeds purchased in the Russian zone was finally worked out after they found it would take two C-47's full of military currency to fly to Halle to make payment. For the first time a credit from the Reichsbank in Frankfurt was transferred through Berlin to Halle, and thus the clumsy transfer of huge quantities of military currency was avoided. It is seldom realized how every little transaction involves a whole series of complicated moves and that every aspect of economic life has to be slowly and laboriously rebuilt. Whoever was responsible for the four zone arrangement has much to answer for in increased costs to the American taxpayer and in a dangerous retardation in the economic recovery of Europe.

Feb. 16

I heard the sweet voices of my wife and children over the transatlantic phone today – three minutes of real joy! It gave me a real boost and helped to offset my disappointment in learning that they could not come to Switzerland to be near me. I hope other lonesome husbands will have better luck, and according to recent reports, wives will be coming to Germany after April 1. This will be a good move and will help morale among American officers and civilians more than anything else. The French and Russians have for some time had their families with them, and the British are not far from home.

Feb. 16, 1945

My Sweetheart –

[. . .] Now don't worry about money. I learn that I am to [be] transferred to the War Department payroll and that some increase - maybe another \$ 1,000 is to be added to my base pay. I will tell you when I know exactly. [. . .]

It has been a strenuous week here with lots accomplished. I decided against going to Berlin, and with a half dozen calls each day to Berlin, I save time. I received the most wonderful commendation from General Clay this

week. I enclose a copy of it and will send you the whole letter later. When I was low because of bad news from you, it helped to get his letter the same day. [. . .]

*Your devoted hubby,
Jim*

*[Anlage]
[Abschrift]*

6 Feb. 1946

Dear Dr. Pollock

"Once again I would like to congratulate you and your staff for the remarkable job which you have done in establishing the Council of Minister-Presidents. I believe that you have given it the confidence to proceed, while at the same time keeping it fully cognizant of the supervisory responsibility of Military Government. That is no mean achievement."

*Lucius D. Clay
Lieutenant General, U. S. Army
Deputy Military Governor*

Febr. 16, 1946

Dearest Mother –

I have just finished talking with Agnes over the transatlantic telephone and I feel a little nearer now that I know direct connections can be established. There have been times when I felt pretty far away. [. . .]

The past week has brought big developments here. My office has become the real center of Military Government in the American zone, and General Clay sent me a beautiful commendation which encouraged me this week. It's difficult for me to give you a complete picture of how Germany is being rebuilt out of the chaos into which she was plunged.

The railways are beginning to run better; the rubble is being gradually cleaned up and many of the normal activities of life are being resumed. But disorganization and dislocation is still the rule rather than the exception. Our zone is in relatively good shape, but as long as Germany is divided into four zones and does not become an economic unit, recovery can only be very limited. [. . .]

*With deepest love,
James*

Feb. 18

Final arrangements for the meeting in Frankfurt of German economic and agricultural officials from both the American and British zones were completed today in the Secretariat, and confirmed by British authorities in Minden. This meeting is the first fruit of our Stuttgart session two weeks ago.

The Bavarian government gave me a special invitation to be present at the opening of their *Beratende Bayerische Landesausschuß* or Temporary Legislature. This is the revival of democratic discussion at the policy-making level, and gives some popular foundation to the Land Cabinets we have set up.

Had talks with several German officials who came to the office to give me information and to ask questions about various phases of American policy in the three *Länder*. They want to cooperate fully, but they are puzzled sometimes by confusions in directives. They also deplore some of our efforts to disturb old, well-established political and administrative forms. For instance Graf von Wedel, the plenipotentiary from Hessen, who himself has served as a *Landrat*, came in with Dr. Binder, the Minister for Reconstruction for Hessen, to ask why Mil. Gov. wanted the *Landrat* in a county to be elected by the *Kreistag* instead of being appointed by the Minister of the Interior as during the last hundred years. I was unable to get a good reason when I called Berlin, but I made it clear that I thought it was very bad for us to upset a well-functioning institution because of some vague desire to promote democracy.

Feb. 20

Received an invitation from the British through General Gailey to bring our Minister-Presidents to Bremen to attend a meeting of all the top administrative officials in the British zone. This is the second fruit of our Stuttgart meeting with German officials from the British zone on Feb. 6 last. I am very pleased even though it makes a very crowded week. The Germans here received the news with great satisfaction. General Clay approved my acceptance of the invitation and told me to go ahead with the plans in any way I saw fit.

One becomes more and more disturbed at the economic outlook as one studies the data presented at our various economic committee meetings.⁵¹

⁵¹ Zur ökonomischen Situation in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone siehe Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. (IfZ Bde. 42–46). Am 26. 3. 1946 beschloß der Alliierte Kontrollrat den Level of Industry Plan, durch den Deutschland nur ein reduziertes Industrieniveau und ein eingeschränkter Lebensstandard zugebilligt wurde.

Raw materials are running out; the delay in completing the list of plants marked for reparations; plus the inconceivable difficulties of transport, fuel, and communications render constructive action most difficult. Some hope was injected into the gloomy economic picture by our export-import officers who came forward this week with quite a list of commodities approved for export, including Bavarian hops to the U. S.

Stuttgart, Feb. 20, 1946

My Darling –

[. . .] I had a nice letter from Everett and John Perkins. Also from Charlie Jamison. I guess there's plenty of turmoil still in the University. It doesn't make me very anxious to return to squabbles. When I come back I think I will have a different perspective. Some things look awfully small to me now compared to what I'm doing. I can say that to you. Others might think I was boasting.

We can wear civilian clothes beginning March 1. I'm puzzled to know what to do because I don't want to be bothered with clothes. But if you could send me two fairly old suits like my old blue and old grey heavy tweed in packages via State Department pouch with about three shirts and a few ties, I would then be ready. [. . .]

I'm worried tonight about two big problems which are hanging in the balance, and about my big week ahead. I go to Munich Sunday for a special meeting Monday on denazification. Then Tuesday and Wednesday I guide a joint conference of German officials in food and economics from the British and American zones in Frankfurt. Then Thursday I travel to Bremen with our Minister-Presidents on invitation of the British to attend a joint conference of their top German officials – a sort of return engagement to the one I had here two weeks ago. General Clay offered me his plane to make all these engagements and let me pick my company. I asked General Gailey to go with me and two from my own staff. Quite exciting events I think you will agree. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Feb. 22

The Denazification Committee re-assembled yesterday and the three Minister-Presidents came in today. It was a dramatic session. Dr. Maier took the chair but it was not until later in the morning that Dr. Geiler arrived. Yesterday Maier was off the reservation, but due to the clever and painstaking work of Lt. Col. Oppenheimer, the objections of the Württem-

berg Minister-President were eliminated. He wanted it to be made clear that Control Council Law No. 24 was not their contribution even though they were in duty bound to obey it and incorporate it in their law. But today Geiler was not ready to agree. It turned out that he would have been included under the term activist if the statute under discussion were not modified and he very properly felt that he could not sign a law which would put him in a presumptively guilty category. He came to me very agitated. He had been sick, he was deeply aggrieved by the dismissal of one of his Ministers and by the threat of four others to resign. I reasoned with him as I had earlier reasoned with Pfeiffer from Bavaria and Maier. But it was not until Oppenheimer came into my office and joined in the discussion that Geiler seemed to waver. Tenseness characterized the later sessions and it became very clear how the Germans were deeply conscious of the importance of the law. They didn't want a statute for which they could not feel genuinely responsible. They didn't like the idea of making large numbers of people presumptively guilty. They were afraid of the great political consequences of keeping hundreds of thousands of people on the anxious seat for a period of time. At no time, and no one of them, ever showed any disposition to shrink from punishing Nazis. They wanted to be sure the machinery of persecution and adjudication would work. If agreement is finally secured among the three Länder, as now seems likely, then General Clay is in a position to act on the draft proposal. I hope his legal advisers do not begin to find fault with small points here and there in the law, for the proposal is the result of laborious, painstaking deliberations over a period of weeks, and if we want to turn the problem over to the Germans, we should only be sure that our objectives are properly protected in it, and not be picayunish with its minor details. It would be a shame to throw away the sincere labor which the Germans have put on this proposal. One could not wish for a better exhibition of responsible cooperation than we have seen in connection with this work on denazification. We have been carrying out a denazification program with fair success but with much injustice. Even so we have done better than the other zones, and it is made very difficult for us when we know that fifteen kilometers away in the French zone large numbers of prominent Nazis are still employed in important positions by the French. But we have reached the stage now where it is no longer a security problem but one which affects the success or failure of our whole program of reviving democratic processes. We need to strengthen those forces within the country who are likely to carry the burden of democratic revival. It is interesting to note that the Bavarians, led by Dr. Pfeiffer who has the best political mind I have found in Germany, provided most of the push behind the denazification proposal. They wanted to be shown what its effects would be, but they had more courage than the representatives of the other states.

I have learned a lot out of all the conferences about German abilities and

German weaknesses, and by how narrow a margin the fate of a whole program is determined. Two state cabinets were on the verge of breaking up. Our whole program of reviving democracy was jeopardized. Individuals like Pfeiffer, Ehard, and Binder stood out among their colleagues, and personal contacts with individual Germans counted for much. If we had not built up in the last three months an abundance of good will, we never would have gotten the Germans to construct and assume responsibility for a new program – this time a German program – of denazification.

Stuttgart, Feb. 24, 1946

My Dear Family –

[. . .] Fortunately the Munich meeting was put off until March 5. [. . .]

This has been a week of great accomplishments here. I can only indicate what we have done. The drafting of a new denazification law by the Germans themselves – a great achievement which involved intricate negotiations between the three Minister-Presidents, Berlin, and our own legal people. I hope I can find time to write it all up. Then the planning for turning the railroads and telephones and telegraphs back to German operation – that is all being worked out in my office and under my direction. Up to now the army has been running everything because they didn't know how to organize the Germans to do the job. I've been able to work out a system of securing German cooperation and the army people are amazed. That's why my stock is now so high. I've been able to do in a couple of months what they couldn't do in eight. My theory is very simple – the Germans know more about their own country than we do, so let them do the job and let us watch them, instead of trying to do it ourselves. Of course if I hadn't won their confidence and secured their cooperation, nothing would have worked. But the point is – I have! Maybe this sounds like boasting but I must tell you, and it is now well recognized by our Military Government people from Clay down the line. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Feb. 25

Left Stuttgart this afternoon for Frankfurt to supervise the joint meeting of German officials from the British and American zones which was arranged several weeks ago when the first meeting between officials of the two zones met in Stuttgart. The meeting, which is scheduled for tomorrow and Wednesday, deals with economic and agricultural subjects.

Stopped at Heidelberg on the way for dinner with Major Mahder of my

staff and to our pleasant surprise found the drinks were in the house and there was plenty of Scotch! Seventh Army is merged into the Third Army on April 1 which will mean another simplification both for Mil. Gov. and army administration. I hate to see General Keyes and General Willems leaving, however. They have done a fine job in giving support to Mil. Gov. in an understanding way, and they are both officers of whom our country can be proud.

Feb. 26

The conference got right down to work after brief preliminary speeches.⁵² They divided themselves into two subcommittees, one on economics and one on agriculture. With a great scarcity of buildings in Frankfurt we had to hop from one place to another to keep track of everything. Discussions were serious and by tomorrow resolutions will emerge.

The British sent Mr. Alexander of H. M. Foreign Service who is Economic Controller at headquarters in Minden. Also Dr. Friedman who had worked with American Mil. Gov. during the SHAEF period, and who is not only a very kindly person but also a very keen observer and clear reporter. Mr. Alexander has had most of his service in China and India.

It was interesting to note the contrast in attitude between the German officials from the British zone and from ours. The British Germans kept looking out of the corners of their eyes at Mr. Alexander to see if they were talking all right. Our Germans needed no prompting and had an excellent sense of discretion and responsibility.

Feb. 27

A set of helpful resolutions have emerged from the discussions. Requests are made to permit liaison officers to be exchanged between our Länderrat and the British zonal authorities in food and agriculture and economics.

After lunch I took the Minister-Presidents and their permanent representatives to the airport at Hanau where General Clay had kindly put his plane at my disposal for the trip to Bremen. The flight was pleasant and I enjoyed the wonderment and admiration of the Germans for the American airplane and its appointments. Our courtesy to them was deeply appreciated.

We landed at Bremen on a snowy field. Had some discussions with Col. Welker, the Mil. Gov. officer, and with officers of the Bremen Port Com-

⁵² Zur Konferenz der Wirtschafts- und Landwirtschaftsverwaltungen der amerikanischen und britischen Besatzungszonen vom 26. – 27. 2. 1946 in Frankfurt siehe AVBRD 1, Dok. 11 Anm. 49, Dok. 12 Anm. 8 und Dok. 14 Anm. 14.

mand. Met Gen. Christmas at dinner, and was taken to the Stork Club afterwards – a fancy American night club to entertain weary American officers. I found it rather dull!

Highlight Summary of the Day
28 February 1946

The discussions today between our Minister-Presidents and the top German officials from the British zone took place in the guest house of the City of Bremen.⁵³ Some of the officials from the British zone did not arrive until the afternoon, but an exceedingly illuminating discussion took place all the afternoon. It was very gratifying indeed to hear the top German officials in the British zone express a strong desire to their British Military Government officers for an organization similar to our own Länderrat. At one point they were rebuked by a British colonel, who was present, who thought they were going too far. Later in the afternoon when Captain Thomas, another British officer arrived, who was responsible for the meeting on behalf of British headquarters, he had to take back all that the British colonel had said in the morning – a rather humiliating experience. It was easy to see that the British are probably six months behind us.

In the evening we were entertained at a very delightful dinner in the banquet hall of the Rathaus, which by a strange fate escaped the bombing. Interesting speeches by our Minister-Presidents and by the Mayor of Bremen and others from the British zone dealt with special themes as how happy they were at being able to speak freely once more and how desirable it was to pull Germany together in one economic unit. I talked with dozens of German officials from all over the British zone long into the night, having been bolstered up at dinner with copious drafts of an excellent Château Neuf du Pape.

J.K.P.

⁵³ Protokoll der Konferenz der Länderchefs der britischen und amerikanischen Zone vom 28.2.1946 in Bremen, AVBRD 1, Dok. 12.

Highlight Summary of the Day
2 March 1946

Flew back yesterday from Berlin but could not land here because of the fog. Much business to attend to in preparation for a departure tomorrow for Munich where the Länderrat will meet in an extraordinary session to approve the new denazification law.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, Sunday Morning, March 3, 1946

My Darling—

I've had to neglect you for a whole week but I've been thinking of you all the time. When I tell you what I've done I hope you will understand.

Monday afternoon I drove to Frankfurt, stopping in Heidelberg for a very pleasant dinner. The purpose of the trip was to supervise a conference of German officials from both the British and American zones on economic and agricultural subjects being held on Tuesday and Wednesday. I had to take care of the British officers who came with their German officials and see that our Germans ran the conference right. I've trained our Germans right and they do just what I say, so everything went beautifully. Mixed in between the conferences I had to see General Adcock and others, talk with General Clay in Berlin, and arrange for our flight to Bremen on Wednesday. I had one of my staff as an aide, Lt. Pabsch of Syracuse, who is a great help and a loyal worker. There was a dinner for the visiting German officials Tuesday night, and mixed in with all of it, Edgar Mowrer blew in and of course I had to see as much of him as possible. I helped him arrange his tour, gave him some tips, and argued with him as long as time permitted.

Wednesday noon General Clay had turned his plane, the Susan Ann – a C-47 – over to me for my use in going to Bremen where we were invited to attend a meeting of top German officials from the two zones. I took our Minister-Presidents with me and in two hours we were in Bremen – a wonderful flight in a deluxe plane with your own pilot and crew! I was well taken care of in the house of the Chief of Staff, studied the plans for the meeting next day, looked in on the Stork Club – an officers' club and went to bed early.

Next day was the meeting and I spent all day listening to the most interesting discussions between our Germans (my team!) and the British Germans. It was almost embarrassing how far ahead we are of the British, and their own Germans told them so. Our plan of a coordinating council to integrate everything in our zone is in stark contrast to the muddled administrative situation in the British zone. We are nearly six months ahead of the British,

and I can say to you – only to you – that it is because I understood German administration and how to secure German cooperation. The Chief President of Hannover Province in the British zone came to me and carefully questioned me about my experience, and then he said: “Now I understand why you know so much about German administration.” All of the Germans in the most proper and respectful way crowded around me as if to see and talk with “this clever man” who had organized South Germany so admirably. These were their words. In this case it was not flattery because it is a fact. I have to tell you. In my report to Clay I only need to include the official resolutions and papers and need to say nothing myself. The record speaks for itself.

We had a fine dinner in the Rathaus – yours truly sitting between the Oberbürgermeister of Bremen and Hamburg with the British officers opposite. I learned very much in all my conversations with these German officials – a very high grade group of people whom the British were dealing with as if they were natives of some British colony. It was really amusing and what their Germans told me will keep me busy for a week writing intelligence reports.

Thursday morning I had to call in several of our officers in Bremen and after lunch we flew back to Stuttgart. In two hours we were over Stuttgart but we couldn't find it for the fog and so flew back to Frankfurt and landed and then drove to Stuttgart. What a splendid and profitable trip! Our Germans, having seen with their own eyes how much better off they are in our zone, are now ready to work even harder than before in cooperating with us.

Yesterday I worked all day until midnight and this morning is the only time I have to tell you again how much I love you, because after lunch I drive to Munich to see that all arrangements are made for our special Länderrat meeting which I have moved there for Tuesday. The Germans have prepared a thorough-going denazification law which they will adopt at the Munich meeting – in the town which Hitler called the Principal City of the Nazi Movement. I wish I could tell you all the planning of mine which has gone into this one subject. General Clay will come down Tuesday and approve the proposal, and it will be the biggest news story of the day in Germany. I may ride back with him to Berlin for a few days – I'm not sure. But you see my life is never dull. I'm still hoping for a less strenuous life. But I'm afraid Clay wants me now to divide my time between here and Berlin. We shall see! [. . .] Will write as soon as I can.

Love,
Jim

Highlight Summary of the Day
4 March 1946

Arrived in Munich yesterday afternoon to stay with General Muller during the events of today and tomorrow. I found the Germans had made excellent preparations for the meeting of the Länderrat which is to be held in the Rathaus.

Enjoyed a pleasant hour in the Haus der deutschen Kunst where they have a rather remarkable Dürer and Holbein exhibition.

General Clay and Ambassador Murphy arrived on the General's special train about four o'clock, and after sometime at General Muller's headquarters and an inspection of the new Consulate General we drove General Clay past the place where the Brown House was and through some of the ruins of Munich. He was not particularly interested in seeing these relics but Bob Murphy and I persuaded him to give the old town the once over. We had a pleasant drink and an excellent dinner with General Muller.

J.K.P.

Highlight Summary of the Day
5 March 1946

This was the big day of the Länderrat Session⁵⁴ and I went early in the morning to the Rathaus Hall where the session is to take place to see that everything was in order for General Clay's arrival. Most careful arrangements to the last detail had been made by the Germans and about 12:30 General Clay entered the crowded room under a flood of lights and amid the click of cameras. He, Ambassador Murphy, General Muller and I occupied a slightly raised platform seat where we could listen to the discussions on the denazification law by the German officials from the three Länder. In due course all three Minister-Presidents approved the law, signed the official copies, and Director Roßmann brought them to me for presentation to General Clay.⁵⁵

General Clay had been impressed with the seriousness and dignity of the whole proceeding and leaned over to me in the course of the discussion to say that he was not going to read the letter of approval which had been

⁵⁴ Protokoll der 6. Länderratssitzung vom 5. 3. 1946 in München, AVBRD 1, Dok. 14. – Material zur Entnazifizierung in: Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 60–7, 8 (IfZ Bde. 55, 86) – Gesetz zur Befreiung vom Nationalsozialismus und Militarismus vom 9. 9. 1945/5. 3. 1946, LRGS, S. 95.

⁵⁵ In einem Brief Pollocks an seine Frau vom 6. 3. 1946 über die Münchner Ereignisse heißt es: "which was all previously arranged". Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll.

prepared but instead would make his remarks extemporaneously. This he did with great impressiveness. Various Germans remarked to me about his extraordinary performance, about his strong, firm eyes, but his fair manner. He used many quotable sentences in the course of his speech, among which the most remarkable as it seemed to me was the following: "The responsibility for self-government of a people carries with it the responsibility for determining those who would destroy self-government, and for taking measures which would prevent such measures ever happening again." Another sentence was, "The rights of a people can be protected only when there is a leadership that has the vision and courage to protect those rights". He spoke from a few scratched lines on a piece of paper which I have in my possession.

After an excellent lunch with General Muller, after which General Clay was gracious enough to pin the Bronze Star on Ted Cox, we went to the train and I returned to Berlin with him and Bob Murphy.

J.K.P.

Highlight Summary of the Day
8 March 1946

Three busy days in Berlin. General Clay took me with him to the Coordinating Committee meeting yesterday and to the meeting of the Control Council today. They had under discussion the basic problem of the level of German industry. I saw again what few people seemed to have realized that the leadership and the drive behind quadripartite action is General Clay. Without him and his American co-workers at the quadripartite level the experiment of Four Power Occupation in Germany might have broken up long before now. In at least four points in the discussions in the Coordinating Committee General Clay saved the day by his resourcefulness and determination.

General Sokolovsky turned to General Clay whenever he got into a hole. The French continue a purely negative attitude. It is an interesting sight to see the Four Power representatives in action, each with their interpreters conducting a discussion in three languages. Actually the Control Council is a great school of international government. A genuine atmosphere of cooperation has been worked out slowly and an agreement has been reached on a great majority of the problems. Every power except the French has made concessions. In most instances the United States, Russia, and Britain are together; the French constitute the chief barrier to rapid agreement. General Clay one time summed up the progress thus far made in these clear words, "We have a situation where we can get mad and argue about one point, reach a compromise and not have it affect our personal relations or any subsequent points we might take up". Generally

speaking, the Russian position appears to be closer to the United States than that of the other two Powers.

J.K.P.

Highlight Summary of the Day
9 March 1946

Attended the Directors' meeting and at General Clay's request made a brief report on the Länderrat. I went to lunch with Bob Murphy who had the French Ambassador as his guest, and then flew to Frankfurt in General Clay's plane and came on to Stuttgart by car.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, March 10, 1946

My Darling –

Well here I am back again after a tremendous time in Berlin. I sometimes think I'm dreaming. But here's what happened. [. . .] Well, these past three and a half days have been wonderful. Edgar Mowrer was still there and assembled a dozen newspapermen for me to talk to. But I never allow a quote. I'm working for Clay and he is the one to talk. I could be in the papers every day but I'm not here to advertise myself. Then both Thursday and Friday General Clay took me with him to the meetings of the Coordinating Committee and the Control Council. There were Shukov, Sokolovsky, Koenig, Robertson, Montgomery and all the big shots. I sat right back of him and Murphy. They always have a big buffet after the meetings are over and with the Russians presiding this month there was vodka, caviar, etc., etc. After the Thursday meeting Clay took Murphy and me home to dinner with him – at a small table in front of the fire. It was so friendly and intimate. I wish I could remember every word which was said. Friday evening General Gailey in Civil Administration, who still considers me his adviser too, took me to his house to dinner. Saturday morning Clay had me come to the Directors' meeting and make a brief report and then before the whole group of top executives he gave me a beautiful, sincere compliment. I had generals holding my coat and colonels shaking my hands. I hope this doesn't go to my head! Then to top it all off after the meeting Clay said: "I'm sending you back to Stuttgart in my plane – when would you like to go?" Murphy then took me to lunch with the French Ambassador and drove me to Tempelhof. We could not land at Stuttgart – only 2 hours' flight from Berlin – so went back to Frankfurt landing there about 5:30. One of my cars and a lieutenant was waiting for me at the airport and I drove here last evening. [. . .]

Now let me tell you what I talked over with Clay and Murphy. I said I only had four – at the most five months more to serve. They didn't like it and said I had to stay. But I said no, it couldn't be, but that I would be willing to advise the State Department when I returned, on a consultant basis. So we left it there. You see I'm now planning for my return. [. . .]

As of Feb. 10 I am transferred to the War Department payroll. As near as I can tell, I will be drawing a base salary of \$ 8750 at least from Jan 1, 1946 – maybe retroactive to July 1, 1945. Then I am to get 25 % or \$ 1250 for overseas allowance making \$ 10,000 total. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Highlight Summary of the Day
11 March 1946

This is another busy week with a considerable number of our 49 committees holding sessions. It is getting to be a tremendously big operation and I am finding it increasingly difficult to keep on top of everything.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, Mar. 12, 1946

My Darling –

[. . .] I sent yesterday a large envelope of papers, ballots etc., which I didn't want to lose. I'll do that from time to time so things won't accumulate.

My three days since returning have been full but very interesting. I think I must have about the most interesting spot in which to work. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Stuttgart, Mar. 12, 1946

Dear Mother and Sister –

[. . .] The food situation for the Germans is very serious. But our zone is ahead of the others.

The French are holding everything up by their refusal to permit central government departments to be set up in Berlin. Clay provides most of the

leadership and initiative which keeps the Central Control Council going. He took me with him to the meeting last Friday – Shukov, Montgomery, Koenig and McNarney. Very interesting experience. [. . .]

*Love and Kisses,
Jim*

Highlight Summary of the Day
13 March 1946

Major Mahder impressed upon me today in a very keen summary report how practically all of the discussions in the economic field get down to two basic problems, namely, raw materials and currency. Unless something is done in the next couple of months most of the factories in the American zone will close down. The uncertainty regarding the currency is having wide repercussions in the employment field, both public and private.

J.K.P.

Mar. 14, 1946

My Darling –

[. . .] I had my enlisted men for cocktails this afternoon – 10 GI's who have worked faithfully for me, and they enjoyed it a lot. Tuesday I had coffee for our 12 German translators and secretaries. I had been so busy I never had time to make them feel I knew they were around. It helps to give them recognition and I am really grateful for their fine cooperation. [. . .]

*Love,
Jim*

Highlight Summary of the Day
15 March 1946

An important meeting took place today between Colonel Andrews and the Ministers of Food and Agriculture with regard to the critical food situation. The Germans appreciate the problem and are willing to go at least as far as our officials think necessary.

J.K.P.

Highlight Summary of the Day
17 March 1946

I have been disturbed for a long time with our poor Public Relations program. It is very clear that American Military Government has had a very bad press in the United States. For this we are not primarily to blame but it is significant to me that such an operation as has been going on here has received almost no attention up to the present. American newspapermen have been content to sit in Frankfurt or Berlin and get their information second-hand. The Berlin picture has been played up out of all proportion to the actual situation. The very earthy and practical side of Military Government has escaped most of them.

J.K.P.

Sunday Morning, Mar. 17, 1946

My Darling –

A batch of wonderful letters arrived yesterday in the pouch from Berlin. [...] I'm glad to have you enclose clippings. The one by Victor Bernstein from P.M. is terrible and a perversion of the truth. The article in Reader's Digest for January is incorrect in almost every sentence. It made me boil. It's simply not true. Ray Daniell in the New York Times is very bad – almost always wrong. Russel Hill in the Herald Tribune is probably the best. Edd Johnson in the Chicago Sun is also terrible. It's hard for me to understand how they can loaf around drinking with their mistresses and never try to find out the truth. The sort of solid work I'm doing they are not interested in. They look for small surface stuff. I will have seven newspaper publishers here on the 29th. Clay is sending them down for me to orient them, and I will have a good opportunity to tell the complete story. [...]

You ask about my food arrangements. I now have a staff of eleven officers and nine enlisted men. We occupy three houses and the management of the houses, the mess and the office administration is taken care of by a First Lieutenant and a couple of enlisted men. They hire a cook, an assistant cook, a housekeeper, six maids, two butlers, three gardeners, and a furnace man. They are all Germans. Our food, except some greens, comes out of a big Quartermaster Depot about ten miles away. Our wines and liquors we get through the Seventh Army at Heidelberg. We pay 45 marks a week for everything including drinks before dinner and entertainment of guests of whom we have many. I also now have about fifteen Germans, mostly girls, working in our office as secretaries and translators. I don't worry about any of these housekeeping details and you know how good German service is. I'm a General to them and they jump and run for anything I ask. I eat breakfast in my own house and go across the street to my own mess for other

meals. I'm the Papa and sit at the head of the table which usually has 12 or 15 people eating at it. I hope this gives you a more adequate picture. My office is five to ten minutes walk away and I like that too. [. . .]

Jim

Highlights of the Day
19 March 1946

Had a visit today from Dr. Hans Luther, former German Chancellor and German Ambassador to the United States. I had not seen him since 1937 and was somewhat surprised to find him looking much older and not as plump and vigorous as formerly. There was nothing wrong with his mind, however, and he presented me two interesting memoranda dealing with the currency problem. He is probably the most eminent of all living Germans and presumably is free of Nazi taint. He told me about giving evidence at the Nürnberg trials and of having kept himself quietly on a farm in Bavaria after the termination of his ambassadorship in the United States. He is worried, like all thinking people are worried, about the present drift in the whole field of Public Finance. Everything must await quadripartite action and there is no agreement yet in the Control Council.

Dr. Luther proposes a series of measures for the transitional period which would be such as not to prejudice a final solution. I suppose he knows more about the previous experience with inflation in 1923 and 1924 in Germany than any other person. I am personally very much distressed at the slowness of our own Finance Division in proposing adequate measures. Mr. Dodge has been in the U.S. for several months and everything has been held up pending his return.

Highlights of the Day
20 March 1946

This was a big day at the RGCO with committees working on Transportation problems, Power, Voluntary Relief, Police Registration and Denazification. After considerable discussion with the Transport representatives, headed by Colonel Niles, we worked out a few clarifying points which I hope will overcome the confusion into which the German Railway officials have been thrown by the intervention of several of our military people in what was supposed to be a picture of complete German responsibility.

In the morning I had an interesting talk with the Bavarian Transport Minister in which I learned of their strong desire to keep a controlling hand over their own railways. This desire does not accord with present American policy to unify the operation of German railways. I explained to him

that General Clay was still thinking of the possibility of vesting ownership of the railways in the various states. I added that they had had two months to come up with plans in this field and I had not yet seen them.

The preliminary discussions on police registration and registration under the new denazification law got under way. I am watching this very closely because I do not want our own Public Safety people to continue to divide responsibility in this matter with the Germans. I think the chances for effective administration are so much greater if we throw complete responsibility on to the Germans and hold them strictly accountable, giving them as much assistance as possible.

The Germans were given quite a lift in the Voluntary Relief Committee in the news imparted to them by Captain Clark that the large quantity of sugar would be made available for German consumption by the Irish Free State. In the light of impending reduction in the ration, this was news which was doubly welcomed. I was amused the other day by the remark made by Colonel Andrews, the very able Food and Agriculture expert from Berlin, who was eating a hearty lunch at my table when he remarked, "I have to eat up my 3,000 calories in order to be fortified to tell the Germans to cut theirs to 1,000".

J.K.P.

March 20

My Darling –

[. . .] With General Draper – head of Economics – here Monday and Tuesday I had a strenuous time. Today was a blinger – Railroads, Voluntary Relief, Electric Power and Denazification! Tomorrow six Russian newspapermen arrive for 24 hours. It is all very interesting and I now have a very hard working and faithful and loyal staff. They all realize their privileged position and we are producing super results. My stock is still high. But I realize, as few do, what an overwhelming problem this is. It won't be finished when I go home, I assure you! But I should not give any more time away from my family. I must say the university sounds pretty tame to me, but my family sounds more and more wonderful, and that's what counts. I will be a different man so far as university activities are concerned, I assure you! [. . .]

Last evening I accepted a dinner invitation from the Bavarian representative here and with my Executive Officer and Aide had a profitable evening talking very seriously about Germany's future. You know how properly they treat a dignitary, and I am top man to them. [. . .]

Love and Kisses,
Jim

Stuttgart, Friday Morning, March 22, 1946

My Dearest –

[. . .] Last evening I entertained six Russian officers at dinner [. . .] and now this morning they come here to the office to talk to our German officials. Don't worry, we have nothing to hide and we will tell them what they ought to know. Their presence here caused some excitement among the Germans. They thought the Soviets were going to take over. [. . .]

Love and Kisses,
Jim

Highlight Summary of the Day
22 March 1946

Delegation of Russian newspapermen paid us a visit yesterday and today. They represented *Pravda*, *Isvestia*, *Red Star*, and other official publications. They were a rather attractive and intelligent group and I enjoyed the contact with them both at dinner and this morning.

In the session we had this morning in my office they asked a number of interesting questions, mostly relating to economic and agricultural production and to political personages. They seemed to be interested to know more about me and asked me about my family and my politics. They seemed disappointed when I explained as a scholar, an expert in the field of politics, I did not consider it proper to be an active member of any party. When they pressed me further on this point I told them I was a “mug-wump” and then enjoyed the difficulty the interpreters had in trying to explain this American term.

I was not too much impressed with the incisiveness of their questions and it was obvious they have much to learn and do not have that complete knowledge of and assurance about the German problems which many people give them credit for. I took the occasion to chide them on their policy of limited travel through their zone and pointed out on the map how difficult they made it for us to travel from here to Berlin. The Russian colonel's replies were very lame and he knew it.

As a result of the deliberations over the last three days of the Länderrat Committee working on registration and implementation of the denazification law, very satisfactory results have been obtained. The whole problem of registration of Germans for identification purposes has been formulated and much progress has been made in setting up the special registration necessary under the denazification law.

I was amused with Captain Sturgis, who was here with Major Wilson representing Public Safety. He came in one morning and indicated his

desire of “burning” the Germans up if they didn’t come across right away with what he wanted. Our Major Mahder indicated that we were quite as much to blame as the Germans for the delay, and if we were just patient for a little while the hoped for results would be achieved. By the end of the day everybody was happy at the sincere and complete cooperation which the Germans had given. A man from the Legal Division at Berlin had come down with serious doubts of the sincerity of the Germans in this denazification matter. As he went back to Berlin with the concrete provisions in his briefcase ready for consideration by Berlin he very willingly admitted that he now had a high regard for German sincerity and competence.

J.K.P.

Highlight Summary of the Day
23 March 1946

I learned today that the French have expressed a desire to bring their German officials here for a joint meeting on April 17th. This will be another step toward inter-zonal cooperation. As yet, no definite word from the Russians.

Spent two hours with Director Roßmann talking over the organizational problems of the Secretariat. He continues to impress me with his sincerity and reliability. He is in a difficult position, in the very center of the pulling and hauling which is going on between the three states in our zone. I have decided to help him out to the extent of writing a strong letter to the three Minister-Presidents saying that we can not allow petty state interests and personalities to interfere with the successful administration of the enormously important problems now being handled by the Länderrat. We took up with him the inadequacies of his present system of records and reports and learned a great deal about the growing pains of this lusty infant known as the Länderrat.

J.K.P.

Highlight Summary of the Day
24 March 1946

I had a pleasant drive this afternoon to Burg Hohenzollern, near Hechingen. As we approached Hechingen we saw the turrets of the castle rising almost fairy-like above a fog bank which had started to move in. After winding up a very steep grade we came eventually to the first drawbridge, and from thereon wandered up to the entrance. The castle is very modern and had at least one interesting room – The Family Tree Room – which showed all the branches of this very prolific Hohenzollern Family. The

Crown Prince was not living there at the time and we were directed to the Villa Wolf in Hechingen where we were received by the Crown Prince in his rather modest but comfortable dwelling. He was rather nattily dressed in knickers, and although he did not appear to be particularly well-fed he did look strong and hearty. We questioned him about many things, including the Nürnberg trial and his relations with the Nazis. He told us of one occasion in 1933 when Hitler came to him at Cäcilienhof and told him of his plans to develop a great German Empire and put a Hohenzollern on the throne. When Phil Mettger said, "Well, this indicated that Hitler, as early as 1933, was planning an aggressive war; otherwise, he could not have made a new German Empire". This took the Crown Prince aback and he recovered by saying, "Perhaps, he intended to accomplish his ends by political arrangements".

He spoke rather scornfully of Göring – "A young flier in my Army in the last war who was a bit stuck-up".

I inquired about his children and his brother and sister, and learned of their whereabouts. His youngest boy, Fritz, is in England and is married to a Guinness. His brother, Auwi, he said was the only member of the family who joined the Nazis, and he is now doing quite badly in an internment camp.

The Crown Prince told me of his residence at Cäcilienhof during most of the War, but that in January 1945 he had gone to his shooting box in Warburg where he was taken by General DeLatre and brought to Landau where he said he was kept "in a very disagreeable hotel". From there he came to Burg Hohenzollern and thanks to present humble abode. He was still very much the gentleman and when I left him a package of cigarettes he rose and said he was sorry he had not been able to offer us a drink. He evinced close interest in German political developments and said the time was not ripe for him to take any active part.

I felt almost as if he were a page out of an old book, a representative of a past generation extending its old cliches into a modern dynamic setting. So far had the House of Hohenzollern come that three brash Americans could intrude themselves into the presence of a scion of this old family and be welcomed with open arms in return for a few cigarettes.

Talked with General Clay this afternoon, finding him as usual at work on Sunday. He suggested that he might be down here Thursday to make an important announcement to the Minister-Presidents on the food situation.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, Mar. 24, 1946

My Sweetheart –

It is Sunday morning, I have just finished talking to the General in Berlin, and now I am to have the pleasure of writing my regular Sunday letter to you [. . .] I have no complaints at all except that I can't get done everything I want to do. Clay is simply wonderful to me and really what we are accomplishing here makes my head swim. Our work is paying dividends now in this food crisis. Whereas in the British zone food riots are occurring, in our zone we have the most complete cooperation from the top officials down to the people. Last week, when we presented to our German food committee the latest figures, they, of their own motion without any urging from us, proposed a food cut more than we thought was necessary. You can't buy that kind of cooperation, and it has been probably the most important result of the confidence I have been able to develop here among the top German officials.

A week from Tuesday, namely April 2, we have the next meeting of the Länderrat. The following day there will be another joint meeting with the Germans from the British zone. On the 17th the French come with their Germans. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Highlight Summary of the Day
25 March 1946

I had a visit this morning with Drs. Colm and Goldsmith, who have come to Germany at General Clay's request for several months to study the many aspects of the financial problem. I explained to them how our Finance Committee here had been beating time, awaiting some instructions from Berlin. It is a welcomed sign that we are, at last, beginning to formulate a plan to deal with the public debt, currency, taxation and all these allied problems.

Colonel Moe Edwards is here now to carry on in Württemberg-Baden in Colonel Dawson's absence. I am delighted to have him here for I have always rated him very high as a capable, regular army officer, who has grown and developed in Military Government.

J.K.P.

Highlight Summary of the Day
26 March 1946

Had an important meeting here today dealing with the problems connected with settling some 2 1/4 million evacuees from Czechoslovakia, Austria and Hungary into the American zone of Germany. Colonel Mickelsen made a statement to the German committee and told me he was impressed with their work. In many ways this has been one of our prized committees, having been started back in October when General Clay gave this assignment to the Länderrat as its first task. The way in which these hundreds of thousands of evacuees, who have lived for hundreds of years in other countries, are settled in Germany will have a tremendous effect upon the whole social stratification of the German nation. Up to the present too many German refugees from Hungary, for instance, have been moved as communities and settled down somewhere in the American zone together. This practice is bad and I believe now will be discontinued. Another point which has had to be watched is the settlement of Sudeten Germans too close to the border in Bavaria. I was relieved to learn, however, that a better distribution of these Sudetens has been made and most of them are now settled in Western and Northern Bavaria, and in the other two states in our zone.

Colonel Mickelsen now becomes the G-5 for General McNarney with the virtual folding-up of the Frankfurt office when Gen. Adcock moves to Berlin. He retains his responsibility for Displaced Persons and Prisoners of War.

Entertained a very charming British colonel Robinson for dinner and learned some more about the very complicated organization of British Military Government. Colonel Robinson has had many interesting experiences, including entering Paris with de Gaulle. We are rather close together in our common desire to break down the barriers which prevent a normal exchange of goods between zones.

J.K.P.

Highlight Summary of the Day
27 March 1946

Had discussions today about food problems with Dr. Karl Brandt who has been in Germany as special advisor on food problems. He was very fearful of famine catastrophe and we talked about specific measures which could be presented to Gen. Clay for his presentation on Friday. Mettger and I have felt that the Minister-Presidents should appoint an outstanding food official as special food commissioner during the emergency. I am not sure whether General Clay will care to make such a recommendation, nor am I

sure that the Minister-Presidents would want to place full powers in the hands of such a commissioner, but a competent organization is certainly necessary to deal with the crisis and someone somewhere has to centrally direct the food program of the zone.

Straightened out some of the difficulties connected with establishing a Senior Post Directorate for the American zone, as in the transport situation so in this communications situation we run into the desire of Bavaria to appoint and control all of its communications personnel, but if operation is to be uniform throughout the zone the Senior Post President must at least be given authority to approve all appointments. The birth pains in turning back operations to the Germans appear to be very severe with some of our own functional people and the Germans have a lot to learn about inter-state cooperation. Dr. Bode came down from Berlin to secure the cooperation of German officials on the projected cotton program. The plan is to import from the United States raw cotton which can then be processed and the finished products not only pay for the raw cotton but also provide work and extra finished products for use among the Germans or in an export program. He did not realize the heavy schedule of committees and the large amount of work which is carried on, making it impossible to summon German officials from all three states upon short notice.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, March 27, 1946

My Darling –

[. . .] After I wrote to you Sunday I decided to take two of my staff and drive into the French zone and visit Tübingen and Burg Hohenzollern. It is only an hour's drive away. I enclose a postcard. Really it is a story book castle and just as we approached it, fog enveloped most of it except the towers. I never will forget the sight. Then to top it off I learned that Crown Prince Wilhelm – the old Kaiser's son – was living in the nearby village. I thought it might be interesting to see him and, as luck would have it, he was home and received us. I enclose a report I made to Murphy about it.⁵⁶ It was like a page out of a history book. Here was I giving a package of cigarettes to a Hohenzollern and having him take them like a beggar. It was another interesting experience and a change for me.

This week has been very strenuous and look what is coming up! General Clay is coming down Friday and asked me to summon the three Minister-Presidents for a special session so he could make an important announce-

⁵⁶ Bericht Pollocks über seinen Besuch bei Kronprinz Wilhelm in Hechingen/Hohenzollern vom 26. 3. 1946, Pollock – Murphy, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 61–8.

ment about the food situation. He had told the Germans in December that we would maintain a 1550 daily ration. Now our government has let him down and the food is not coming and he is man enough to come here himself and explain why. His coming, however, deprived me of a lovely trip. General Willems at Heidelberg Monday invited me to fly down to Rome with him for a few days! [. . .]

*Love,
Jim*

Highlight Summary of the Day
28 March 1946

Busy today with preparation for the special Länderrat meeting tomorrow. Discussed with Mettger the various steps which we want to call to General Clay's attention in connection with the food crisis. We both felt the desirability of having the Länderrat appoint a special food commissioner.

In one of the committees there was a lively discussion on aspects of labor law. It appears that the policy of our own Manpower Division to build up an independent position of the Trade Unions runs counter to a lot of German officials' thinking. In any case, the Labor Ministers came up with some very advanced notions of associating our employees in the management of industry. I have felt that we have been a bit late in lining up the labor people in the right way.

J.K.P.

Highlight Summary of the Day
29 March 1946

General Clay arrived on his special train at 8 o'clock bringing with him Ambassador Murphy, Colonel Hester, and Mr. and Mrs. Walter Lippman. It was a lovely day and when we came up to my office Clay, Murphy, the Lippmans and I had an interesting hour of discussion about Germany in general, and the Länderrat in particular. Mr. Lippman wanted to talk personally with the Minister-Presidents and I arranged this quickly. Meanwhile, the General and I had discussions about various topics, and I got the chance to tell Bob Murphy about several matters of political importance. We had coffee on the terrace before General Clay made his speech before the Minister-Presidents. He entered the Länderrat room a few minutes after 11 o'clock and in his usual concise, direct and sincere manner told the

Minister-Presidents that the food ration would have to be cut to 1275 calories a day.⁵⁷

The German officials, in turn, expressed their strong desire to do everything to alleviate the crisis and in general exhibited the finest kind of cooperation. General Clay concluded the meeting by promising to eliminate the curfew so that Germans could spend time working in their gardens.

After a very pleasant lunch at my house the General returned to the office, where I assembled the staff, in order to present several problems to him. He felt very strongly about a few matters, including giving the Army everything it needed in the way of supplies and housing. He also cleared up some points for us by explaining what was being done in Berlin and how difficult and slow it was to secure quadripartite approval. The difficulties of getting the German economic machine back on a peaceful productive basis are indeed great. I think we were able to stimulate the General's thinking a little on a few points and I know he gave both to us and to the Germans a great inspiration to carry on.

No sooner had he departed in the late afternoon than we received six newspaper publishers who are visiting Germany. Walter Dorn was their escort, and although by that time I was quite weary I gave them about an hour's discussion on American Military Government. We continued our discussions through dinner and into the evening. I was impressed with their sincerity and desire to get at the bottom of things. I felt all along that if only competent observers could come here to see the real situation that it would not be so difficult for General Clay to get his requisitions honored in Washington.

The Denazification Ministers were here today meeting with Colonel Oppenheimer and Major Wilson in working out the negotiations under the denazification law. It was good news to hear that the Bavarians have already lined up almost 2,000 qualified persons to serve on review boards. The Meldebogen which everyone will be required to fill out was finally agreed upon and approved for publication and distribution. An ingenious feature of this questionnaire is an attached receipt which each German will have to have before he can secure his ration card.

J.K.P.

⁵⁷ Hinweis auf die außerordentliche Sitzung des Länderrats am 29. 3. 1946 in Stuttgart in AVBRD 1, Dok. 17.

Highlights of the Day
30 March 1946

Left after lunch for Heidelberg to take part in the deactivation ceremonies when the 7th Army passes out of the picture and the 3rd Army takes over. It was a very well staged affair, but there was a certain note of sadness in seeing part of our military forces fold up after such a distinguished record. General Keyes invited the party to his house overlooking the Neckar for cocktails and there I enjoyed conversation with General McNarney, General Burress, General Adcock, General Allen, and others. Later a beautiful dinner was served in the Schloss Hotel and General Truscott and General McNarney both made very appropriate speeches in appreciation of the services of General Keyes.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
31 March 1946

Returned home in time for lunch to which I had invited my old friend, John Elliott of the *New York Herald Tribune*, and Colonel Onthank of Berlin. General Gailey had come to talk to me about Public Relations policy inasmuch as he has just been made the head of Public Relations in Berlin. I gave General Gailey my very frank views about the short-comings of our Public Relations policy thus far and found that he had already had a number of the same points made to him by other people. He spoke of establishing a Press Camp here in Stuttgart, indicating that it is at last realized that Stuttgart is the real center of the American zone and the place in which our activities can best be observed and reported.

J.K.P.

Highlight Summary of the Day
1 April 1946

Another beautiful spring day and another extremely busy day for the work of our committees. Four committees met and deliberated on aspects of Information Control, Finance, Banking, and Iron and Metals. The turning over to the Germans of control over publications, theater, music, etc., is going to be a slower process than in technical fields like railroads. They have been ordered and propagandized so long that it is slow business getting them to appreciate some of the serious responsibilities which people in the information field must carry. I am a bit perturbed, however, that some of our people as, for instance, those in the theater and music fields do

not give enough emphasis to what the Germans have always done in these fields and we tend to expect them to conform to our own more private approach.

J.K.P.

2 April 1946

Seventh meeting of the Länderrat today,⁵⁸ Dr. Hoegner in the chair. All in all, it was the most successful session we have yet had. The agenda was well prepared; Hoegner was extremely efficient in conducting the business and it was adequate in all important points. More newspapermen were present and the only person who was lacking was General Clay who had asked me to extend his greeting to the Minister-Presidents and for me to say that since he was here Friday, it was not possible to attend this meeting. Professor Nawiasky came with Dr. Hoegner to observe the session. He is helping the Bavarians in the drafting of their state constitution. He told me during the coffee hour I had for the Minister-Presidents after the meeting that he found this Länderrat development to be one of the most creative and promising contributions in the field of constitutional law in a long time. Late in the afternoon two planes arrived from the British zone bringing along the top German officials and two British officers, Major Gibbs and Captain Thomas. We entertained the British officers at dinner in the evening.

3 April 1946

A joint session between the Germans from the British zone and our own Minister-Presidents was held today.⁵⁹ Among the Germans from the British zone were Dr. Schumacher, the leader of the Social Democrats in the Western Zone, Dr. Adenauer, former Oberbürgermeister of Cologne, Dr. Petersen, the Oberbürgermeister of Hamburg, and the Oberpräsidenten of all the provinces in the British zone. In the discussions, a great deal of ground was cleared and although there were no concrete decisions, the meeting served a very important purpose in giving the German officials a lift and in bringing them closer to the realities of the total German situation. When the meeting was over they desired to make public a joint resolution and a press communique. Both were quite innocuous and we were all highly amused at the nervousness of the British officers lest some

⁵⁸ Protokoll der 7. Länderratssitzung vom 2. 4. 1946 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 1, Dok. 17.

⁵⁹ Protokoll der gemeinsamen Tagung des Länderrats mit Vertretern der britischen Zone vom 3. 4. 1946 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 1, Dok.18.

slight word of criticism either of their administration or of quadripartite action would get out. Our newspapermen were anxious to get off a story at once, but everything had to be held up until the British could communicate with their headquarters at Lübbecke and have everything cleared. The Württemberg-Baden gave a little party out in Endersbach, a small Swabian village replete with historic associations. In the evening I gave a Beer-Abend at the Villa Reitzenstein for all the visitors and for a number of local military and civilian officials: approximately 100 guests in all. We learned a great deal from our conversations with Germans from the British zone, in particular I was interested in a proposal with elaborate exhibits presented to me by Dr. Kopf, the Oberpräsident of Hannover. The Bavarian permanent representative here, Consul Seelos, brought along with him the former German ambassador to the United States, von Prittwitz.

4 April 1946

The liaison officers were here today from the three Land detachments and we had an interesting discussion about the organization of American Military Government. There is still some feeling on the part of the Land detachments that the policy-makers in Berlin do not consult the men in the field before issuing directives. Major Mahder impressed upon the liaison officers in his report on economic conditions that the full effects of the war have not yet been felt and that the next six months will be probably the most critical period. He reported quite pessimistically on the raw material situation, predicting stoppage of many German industries in the next few weeks, if raw materials do not become available. Mr. Mettger brought in a shocking bit of news about conditions bordering on starvation in the Bavarian palatinate which is in the French zone. We had an interesting discussion about the momentous action of the Länderrat in approving the so-called Lubahn for house and garden settlements.⁶⁰ This is one of the most constructive efforts which has been developed here and seems to promise a great deal in the very difficult adjustments which have to be made in Germany in connection with the resettlement of millions of evacuees. Of no small interest was the fact that the principles of Henry George are embodied in this proposal.

⁶⁰ Im Rahmen der Bodenreform war von Johannes Lubahn das „Gesetz zur Beschaffung billigen Bodens und zur Schaffung von Volksheimstätten“ entworfen worden, das dem Länderrat zur Genehmigung vorgelegt wurde. Es wurde dann als „Gesetz zur Beschaffung von Siedlungsland und zur Bodenreform“ erlassen, 13. 8./17. 9. 1946, LRGS, S. 133.

Stuttgart, April 4, 1946

My Dearest:

I am dead tired tonight – tired but happy. These past few days have been momentous and vastly interesting but I'm just about worn out tonight. [. . .]

You see on Tuesday the regular Länderrat meeting was held and on Wednesday we have British officers and ten of their top German officials from their zone. With it all came a group of newspapermen including our old friend John Elliott of the Herald Tribune. It is a joy to talk to an intelligent newspaperman who knows Germany. But from now on I'm afraid I will have to spend an increasing amount of my time on what might be called public relations. I gave a dinner for the British officers Tuesday and Wednesday I have a Bierabend at the Villa for the visiting German officials. I guess this is once I was able to entertain like a prince. You should have seen the Villa! The beautiful rooms filled with guests – about a hundred – and the terraces and gardens illuminated. It was a warm evening. My administrative officer had arranged for dancers and everything. It was about the first real party the Germans had had for a long time and they were greatly impressed. My ears burned all evening as my officers kept repeating to me what the visiting Germans were saying about me, namely, that they wished they had such a far-sighted controller in their zone!

The meeting on Tuesday was the best yet: well organized, well led, and astonishingly productive. It is almost embarrassing the amount of work I have been able to get out of the Germans. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

5 April 1946

The Secretary General presented me today with the original text of a declaration which had been signed by all of the top officials in the British and American zones. This declaration asked the Control Council to permit the Germans themselves to try the so-called "War Criminals" after the trial has been finished at Nuremberg, in order to give the sanction of German law to their punishment. After talking with General Clay about the matter, I sent the original document up to him for such use as he cares to make of it. The declaration seems to me not only to provide the basis for a great news story, but also to demonstrate the commendable attitude of our responsible German officials both in the British and in the American zone. With regard to this matter of punishing war criminals, the Denazification Committee, working closely under the excellent guidance of Colonel Oppenheimer, have now finished their work on the detailed regulations to give effect to the denazification law. Gratifying progress has been made

and within a few weeks every German in our zone over 18 years of age will be required to fill out a complete Meldebogen, which will permit the review boards to sift the Nazis and other guilty Germans from the others.

6 April 1946

I learned today about an approach which had been made by a French officer to Dr. Maier, the Minister-President of Württemberg-Baden. The French colonel tried to induce Dr. Maier to move to Baden-Baden in the French zone and he promised him the proper entrée in Paris. Obviously, the French are trying to bring Württemberg-Baden into their orbit, and their French colonel assured Dr. Maier that the French were more interested in this southwest area than they were in the Ruhr. Dr. Maier was quite indignant about the matter and so the Frenchman returned empty-handed. I wish the French could learn that they would be much better off without attempting to annex large chunks of German territory which they could not properly digest. I resent their intrusions into areas under our jurisdiction. I still think it was a great mistake ever to have associated the French with the occupation of Germany.

Stuttgart, April 7, 1946

My Dearest –

My days here continue to be very busy and productive. We are writing quite a story of accomplishment which I think is being more and more appreciated by everybody. I enclose some recent clippings and I will send a package of papers and booklets some time this week. The General is sending a number of very important persons down here soon, among them Henry Luce of Fortune. The British are sending me an officer to study my work and the French are coming over from Baden-Baden this week to arrange for a meeting. I have interesting guests all the time and how my little head keeps up with so many technical fields, I don't know. Thus far I haven't slipped and General Clay's confidence in me is one of the finest tributes I have ever had. It will be difficult for a time to drop back into small-minded academic selfishness. But I'm resolved to come back late this summer and be with my family.

By the way, please make arrangements for me to have an absent voters' ballot so I can vote for Jeffries in the primary which I believe is held in June this year. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

8 April 1946

General Clay called this morning and asked me to bring the Minister-Presidents and the Ministers of Agriculture to Berlin to meet with ex-President Hoover. In this way, Mr. Hoover can secure the informed opinions of the responsible German officials in our zone regarding the present food crisis. Our machinery here worked smoothly and in a very short time all of the arrangements for the trip and the notification of the parties involved had been completed.

9 April 1946

Received a Monsieur Mathieu who was sent here from Baden-Baden to arrange for a meeting between the German officials of the French zone and our own. At any rate, this was the way I understood it from my telephone conversation with General Gailey in Berlin. However, the Frenchman must have been misinformed, because he was talking about a joint meeting between French and American Military Government officers. I promptly straightened him out on the purpose and functioning of the Länderrat and then he decided to return to Baden-Baden for new instructions. He was somewhat relieved when I told him that, of course, any discussions engaged in by German officials from his zone with ours would always be open to his observation. He seemed to be afraid that discussions would take place that he would not be permitted to follow. Obviously, the status of German civilian administration in the French zone is quite backward, but I was glad to be able to assure him that we would be happy at any time to tell the French or their German officials about our operations here.

I had a brief but interesting discussion with a German Price Control officer from the British zone.

Herr Roßmann and the three permanent representatives of the Länder worked hard yesterday and today to try to select a special food commissioner so that he could accompany us to Berlin on Thursday.⁶¹ It is very interesting to watch the maneuvering between the three States which goes on whenever an important appointment or decision has to be made. The Chief of Staff sent us today for consideration by the Länderrat the huge problem of property control and although the American committee has been working on this question for over two months, they are asking the Germans to come up with a plan by May 15. We shall see.

⁶¹ Dr. Hermann Dietrich, bis 1932 Reichsfinanzminister, wurde vom Länderrat Anfang Mai 1946 zum Sonderbevollmächtigten für Ernährung und Landwirtschaft in der US-Zone ernannt.

10 April 1946

Received a steady stream of people including Mr. Bigge, formerly of the Social Security Board, Colonel Duehring from the War Department, and Colonel Potter from the Statistics Branch in Berlin. Dr. Maier also called about the arrangements for the trip to Berlin, and was anxious to learn what kind of questions Mr. Hoover would be interested in. The Germans are much interested in the trip because they have not seen Berlin since the bombing and are anxious to have this opportunity, although I think they are glad that it will be only for one day. All of the necessary regulations, forms, and instructions for a uniform identification card have now been worked out and are ready for approval. This is another instance of prompt and efficient German action in carrying out a request made about a month ago by General McNarney.

Late in the afternoon O'Reagan of the Associated Press came in to find out something about the food situation. I told him that I was always flattered when American newspapermen came after solid information. His reply was, "Well, you know that all our papers want are stories about sex, crime, and revolution." I endeavored to put the food situation in the American zone in proper perspective by indicating what a deficit area it always had been and how the situation at present had been kept from being more critical by an efficient and even-handed administration of rationing, price control and distribution of food. He kept returning to the question of how much the farmers were holding out and I kept emphasizing that even assuming a 100 per cent collection of food, there would still be a very large deficit which had to be supplied from outside the zone, otherwise, the people would starve.

Stuttgart, April 10, 1946

My Darling –

[. . .] My days are so full I can't keep track of myself. Today an Associated Press correspondent came to interview me and when I expressed pleasure in seeing him he said: "Well it is a great compliment to you, because all our American papers are interested in getting from Germany, is crime, sex, and revolution!" I quote him exactly! What chance have we to get our story of solid achievement told to the American people. I think, however, that John Elliott of the Herald Tribune and Dana Smith of the Times will write some good stories about us which you may see. [. . .]

*Love and Kisses,
Jim*

11 April 1946

Travelled today by car to Frankfurt and thence by plane in the afternoon to Berlin, taking the Minister-Presidents and their Ministers of Agriculture along to meet with ex-President Hoover. I had three hitchhikers in the persons of three of our top German officials who wanted a glimpse of Berlin. Perfect arrangements had been made for the party and I spent a pleasant and profitable time with Bob Murphy, seeing some papers he wanted me to look over and talking over current aspects of the German situation. In the evening I made myself useful at a party which General Hester had arranged at the guest house for the Germans and ended the day with a talk with Don Heath, at his house around midnight.

Our Germans were taken on a tour of the city after they landed at Tempelhof, including a visit to the Reichskanzlei. When Director Roßmann entered Hitler's former room, he remarked, "Sic transit gloria mundi." Dr. Hoegner was much sought after by the responsible men who wanted to have his views about a possible Socialists-Communists merger. More and more we must consider our Minister-Presidents as political as well as administrative officials.

12 April 1946

A conference between Mr. Hoover and our German officials came off very satisfactorily.⁶² I was happy to see the ex-President looking very well despite his seventy-two years. In fact, he had not changed very much since I last saw him at his house in Palo Alto in 1938 after his return from Europe. He appeared to be much interested in the brief factual reports given by our German officials, and when they had finished he said that he wanted to make a few general observations and then to ask a few questions. In concise, clear language he gave an admirable overview of the world situation, and then he posed several questions to the Germans related principally to infant mortality, nourishment of children and related matters, thus showing a deep interest in this phase of the problem. He left the conference with what I thought was an unusually friendly and sincere promise to do everything he could to improve the critical situation.

Murphy told me that Mr. Hoover had sent a message back to Washington suggesting that until the French agreed to the establishment of central agencies, no further wheat should be sent to them. I cannot understand why our Washington people can't begin to use economic pressure to accomplish the objectives of our foreign policy.

⁶² Material über das Treffen Hoovers mit den Ministerpräsidenten in: Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. (IfZ Bd. 88).

General Clay asked me to bring the German officials to call on him after we finished with Mr. Hoover and with his usual sincere and friendly manner he received the Germans in his office and gave them a few words of guidance and encouragement. Afterwards Dr. Hoegner said to me, "General Clay is always very kind to us and we appreciate it." There is no doubt that he is held in the deepest respect by all of our German officials.

After working out a few administrative details with General Milburn, who seemed to be a terribly overworked man, we went to Tempelhof and boarded the plane, arriving in Frankfurt just before dark. All in all, the trip served a very useful purpose, not only in informing Mr. Hoover, but in giving our responsible German officials a little larger glimpse of the total German situation. I learned many interesting facts on the side from the Germans and got a very keen report from Dr. Mueller, the Economics Minister of Hessen, who had just returned from a stay in the Russian zone. I thought it was so good that I arranged for him while in Berlin to report directly on the matter to the General.

13 April 1946

Berlin has submitted to me for study by the Länderrat the whole question of the control of blocked property in the American zone. An OMGUS committee has been working on the subject for over two months and having come to no solution, they now want our Germans to give them a plan by 15 May! This is a vast field of great importance to the future economic and social development of Germany and it will be interesting to see what plans the Germans come up with.

My absence yesterday from Stuttgart prevented my attendance at the memorial service which Director Roßmann had arranged in honor of President Roosevelt. It was a very impressive occasion, according to all reports, and, I believe, served a very good purpose. Since the Germans themselves thought it up and carried it through, it is all the more significant that they should have singled out President Roosevelt for particular commendation and to make him a striking contrast to Hitler, who brought Germany to its destruction.

Stuttgart, April 14, 1946

My Darling –

As I told you in my last letter, I flew to Berlin Thursday arriving at Tempelhof at 4. P.M. From then on for 24 hours I was really on the go. While the German officials I had brought were taken for a drive through the city, I went direct to Clay's office with the Headquarters' Commandant who had

met me. Clay was just about to leave for a conference with Hoover, and so I went in to see Bob Murphy. We talked for an hour and then he took me home for a little refreshment before dinner and to show me a couple of papers he wanted me to look over. I was supposed to go to Gen. McNarney's dinner, but I had to take care of the Germans at the guest house. About ten I went around the corner to visit with Don Heath, Murphy's assistant, and then about twelve to bed. I saw Clay at 8 in the morning, then I took the German officials out to see Hoover. He was friendly and seemed to remember me. The conference between him and our top German officials was quite dramatic. He asked me to have each one of them speak briefly. Then he summarized the world food situation for them most admirably in about five minutes. Then he asked a number of good questions, all of them about children. He was given prompt and factual information about how much milk, sugar, etc. children and babies get. Nobody else gets milk or sugar! He was very sincere in saying he will do everything he can to help. I'm sure he was impressed.

Then I took the Germans to call on Clay. He always has a kind, helpful word for them. Then from that time – about 11:30 until 1:30 – I talked with Clay. He seemed quite tired and harassed with all the guests and great problems. I tried to help him and he seemed to want me to stay over, but he wouldn't ask me. He said very kindly – “I haven't given you an order yet – you always know what to do.” I felt I should come right back, and will return to help him again when there aren't so many important guests around. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

15 April 1946

The Voluntary Relief met today and there was present for the first time a group of nine or ten Americans representing the various cooperating American organizations. I was very favorably impressed with these group representatives and took the occasion to explain to them what we were trying to do here and how important it was that they understand the necessity of working within the framework of Military Government. Like all free-wheeling Americans, some of them were inclined to want to go their own way without conforming to necessary Military Government regulations. They seemed to be impressed with the dutiful work of the Germans and gave the Germans something of a boost or an uplift.

J.K.P.

16 April 1946

Made brief remarks before the Military Government officers from all over the Land Württemberg-Baden. I explained to them the Work of the Länderrat and ended with a few words of suggestion about the changed status and function of the local Military Government officers at the present time.⁶³ I tried to indicate that they had just as important a function as when they were actually engaged in operations and indicated that they ought to pay particular attention to developing proper respect without attempting to share the responsibility with the German civilian administrators. I am sure some of them feel that the local detachments are too small, but experience seems to indicate that a large detachment will inevitably try to find something to do which will interfere with the performance of governmental services by the Germans themselves. It will take constant attention by the MGO's to hold the balance even.

A report was given to me of a very foolish effort by the Army to take over the hotel Graf Zeppelin and make it into a Rest Center for replacement troops. It is a bit irritating at this late date to find that so little consideration is given by certain elements in the Army to the work of Military Government and the various civilian organizations working with it. I threw the whole matter into General Adcock's lap when he paid us his first visit.

J.K.P.

17 April 1946

A distinguished party of American newspaper and magazine editors arrived this afternoon. The party included Henry Luce, Gardner Cowles, Julius Ochs Adler, Paul Bellamy, and my former student, Bob Fuoss, managing editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*. I received them in my office and for nearly two hours we had a most delightful seminar. I was delighted at the type of questions they raised because they all showed a desire to get to the heart of some of the most important problems. Between questions I tried to give them an outline of the total picture and to put some of the more important problems in proper perspective. They seemed particularly interested in my observation that General MacArthur's job in Japan was child's play compared with Clay's task here in Germany, and another opinion which I asseverated: That military occupation does not solve very much and becomes more difficult as the years go by. Not having been prepared to state my own opinions on some of the bigger aspects of the

⁶³ "The Länderrat and the Regional Government Coordinating Office" Memo o. U. (Pollock) vom 16. 4. 1946, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 60-11 (IfZ Bd. 89).

German problem for some time, I was rather cautious and, I hope, precise in saying what I thought. Later, as I reflected on my statements, I found that they did not vary much from what I had written some years ago. That means that either my mind is static or my experiences have only served to bolster my earlier opinions.

I had to cut off the discussion rather abruptly as time was passing rapidly, in order to take the editors to an Export – Import Committee meeting of the Länderrat which was about to conclude. This gave them an opportunity to see how our German committees work.

In the evening we gave the editors a nice dinner at the Villa Reitzenstein and the whole occasion was given added luster and importance by the presence of General Clay and Ambassador Murphy, who came down by special train from Frankfurt to be present. We had some delightful after-dinner speaking from Mr. Bellamy and Mr. Luce, after I had started them going with a perhaps too-acid remark about newspapermen's being only interested in crime, sex, and revolution – a sentence which had been given to me by an Associated Press correspondent only a few days before. I was more than happy that my remark seemed to call forth very positive promises on the part of the spokesmen for the editors that they appreciated what was being done in Germany and would do all they could to see that the American people gave an understanding support to our activities. General Clay, with his usual modesty, would not allow me to call on him for a speech, since he preferred merely to be present and talk individually with the editors. Bob Murphy took the occasion of his visit here to have me arrange a talk for him with Landesbischof Wurm about a couple of important religious matters. All in all, it was a very delightful evening and the Villa was not only adequate to the occasion, but also quite resplendent.

J.K.P.

18 April 1946

Bob Fuoss had breakfast with me in my quarters and raised many interesting questions about occupation policy. I wish we could have more young clear-headed persons like him in positions of influence and responsibility.

We invited the editors to attend our regular weekly briefing for the liaison officers, but due to a late change in their schedule, only Mr. Gannett, and Mr. Barth of the *Washington Post* were present. Pulvermacher had arranged a very excellent exhibit of a daily German food ration. Major Mahder, also, was able to emphasize concretely how the raw material situation was gradually approaching a crisis.

Colonel Oppenheimer came in to report upon a supplementary law dealing with Nazi crimes which the Denazification Committee had just agreed to. This is another instance of what careful negotiation can do and how

some of the most important matters can become bogged down in endless procedures, if the right man with understanding and knowledge is not present to straighten them out.

Before leaving Mr. Luce called in person to say that as a pupil, he had never enjoyed a class more than the one I had held yesterday. He was kind enough to say that the conference with me was a highlight in his trip and that he was most grateful for what we had done for the whole group.

J.K.P.

April 18, 1946

My Dearest –

I seem to go from one superlative experience to another! I don't blame you if you think my imagination is conjuring up stories to tell you. But really, these things are true.

Wednesday there arrived in Stuttgart as my guests 14 of the leading newspaper and magazine men in America. Henry Luce of Time-Life-Fortune, Frank Gannett, Gardner Cowles, Adler of the New York Times, etc. I gave them a chance to ask me questions which they did for more than two hours. Then coffee on the terrace. At seven I used the Villa for the first time for a formal dinner. I wish you could have seen that state dining room. In the morning General Clay called up from Frankfurt and said he and Murphy would like to come down if I would invite them. So I really had a galaxy of stars. I was host and sat between Adler of NY Times and Frank Gannett. Then Clay, and Luce on my right, Murphy and Muir of Newsweek on my left. We had fifty guests and what a dinner my staff put on with all the wines, champagne and coffee and liquors on the terrace afterwards. I gave a few words of greeting and stimulated two fine speeches by Bellamy of the Cleveland Plain Dealer and Henry Luce of Fortune. I replied and Clay wouldn't let me call on him. He is so modest and just wanted to be at my party where he was free to talk with the guests without the responsibility of being host. Everyone was complimentary about my remarks and, although I didn't quite satisfy myself, Clay & Murphy and the others were pleased. They will remember the evening, I am sure. I went home exhausted at one o'clock, tired but happy. Clay left on his special train about 11:30 remarking that he always enjoyed himself so much in Stuttgart that he was always late in leaving.

Today another meeting with several of the group including Bob Fuoss, managing editor of Saturday Evening Post – a former student of mine! My liaison officers from the three Military Government Detachments were in today for a briefing and tonight I'm ready to quit for a while and go to bed as soon as I send my love to you.

And guess what I'm going to do? I'm leaving in the morning for Switzerland to spend the Easter week-end, taking along three of my hard-working staff. It will be a change for all of us and a much needed rest. I plan to return Monday evening. I shall luxuriate in the Dolder Hotel overlooking the Lake at Zürich. The others can do what they want. You see with my special diplomatic passport and the people at the Legation in Bern knowing me, I can arrange to go to Switzerland. It is not easy for others. I feel a little guilty running away but I've done more work than any two people except Clay himself. [. . .]

*Lots of Love,
Jim*

Highlights of the Day
Good Friday, 19 April 1946

Left Stuttgart this morning with three of the hardworking members of my staff for a weekend in Switzerland. It was not easy to arrange everything for the party, but I managed somehow to get all of us past the Swiss frontier guards who are always very cooperative, but very firm. We stopped en route at Rottweil to look in on a service in the old cathedral; arriving in Zürich, we felt we had come into a paradise after the destruction and grimness of Germany. We were all gaga in looking at the beautiful shops, well-dressed people, and the gorgeous lake and mountains. With the American Express Company closed over the holiday, we could not completely gratify all our desires for purchases, with Swiss currency so scarce. Ran into Henry Luce and Gardner Cowles in a watch shop and had a brief conversation with Hubbard, the Consul.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
21 April 1946

Yesterday we had a debauch of shopping and did a lot of walking and loafing around the beautiful hotel. Today we took one of the most beautiful drives I have ever enjoyed. Leaving Zürich and following the lake, we cut to Zug and Schwyz and then to Brunnen on Lake Luzerne. Following the gorgeous drive along the lake with the historic field of Rütli on the opposite shore, we climbed up in the shadow of the great Saint Gotthard to Andermatt where we had an appetizing lunch outdoors in the sunshine with the snow all around. It made us all forget our

troubles in Germany in communing so closely with the inimitable Swiss scenery.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Easter Monday, 22 April 1946

Returned this evening to Stuttgart after a pleasant and uneventful drive from Zürich via Constance and Sigmaringen. We had an interesting glimpse of border difficulties at Constance where both the Swiss and French, who now occupy southern Baden, keep a strict control at the frontier. As one passed from Switzerland back into Germany one had a feeling of returning to a prison or an effective poorhouse. The towns, the country, the people, on the German side, were in such terrible contrast with the happy, well-housed, well-fed Swiss, who have learned the lesson of how to get along with their neighbors and with themselves, which is the lesson the Germans still have to learn.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
23 April 1946

I spent the time today worrying about proper procedures to effectuate policies originating in Berlin. Thus far, we have carefully avoided getting ourselves into operations and I think we have successfully established proper liaison with the Land Detachments, but as this operation becomes larger and more important, I will have to be constantly on the alert to avoid duplication on the one hand, or any possible circumventing of the Land Detachments on the other. I have called the whole problem to General Clay's attention and, at his suggestion, will now talk the matter over with the three Directors of the Land Detachments. It is always interesting to find any problems for which ready solutions are not at hand.

Joe Dodge sent me a letter today about the bank law which passed the Länderrat two weeks ago. Back in November I had originally asked the three Land Governments to draw up a proper banking law, but because of his absence and considerable misunderstanding on the part of the German finance officials, a proposal was not completed until this month. Now he feels that it does not suit his ideas of what the German banking system should be like. I am afraid that he is carrying over his knowledge of American political conditions and making the assumption that similar political conditions will prevail in Germany – an assumption which is quite

incorrect. We can go so far in imposing our ideas on the Germans, but I think it is fatuous to believe that we can completely alter the whole economic and culture pattern.

A supplementary proposal dealing with National-Socialists' crimes – that is, crimes committed during the Nazi regime, which, because of Nazi legislation, were not punishable – received the approval ad interim of the Minister-Presidents. It is another aspect of retribution and recovery which should be welcomed; coming right after the denazification law, it will permit the German courts to begin the restoration of sound judicial procedures.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
24 April 1946

I was happy today to be able to move one step forward toward an athletic program for German children. When General Clay was here last week and I introduced him to Matt Mann, the great swimming coach, General Clay shortly thereafter dropped the suggestion about what a fine thing it would be if the coaches here for a GI athletic program could give a half hour each day of their own time to coach German children. I took the matter up with Coach Mann and found that he and the other coaches had been thinking along the same line. They came today to my office and I called General Clay, expressing their willingness to conduct such a program, in addition to their other responsibilities. They asked me to tell him that they thought this investment would pay big dividends in the future, and the General said he would immediately get busy to secure the proper permission. There is no doubt but that the German children need a great deal of careful attention and guidance and this is a step in the right direction.

Oberpräsident Kopf of Hannover sent to me today a very remarkable Atlas of Lower Saxony. Having found me interested in the territorial reorganization of Germany along federal lines, he has prepared a very remarkable collection of data, pointing toward the desirability of a single state in the old Niedersachsen area.

I talked with Colonel Brown who came down from G-5 USFET and with Ed Litchfield over the telephone, Berlin. I am gratified to learn what Litchfield has done in putting together a set of coordinated plans for central German agencies. If only our Government could bring enough pressure on the French to force them to recede from their negative position, many problems would be solved.

I had a brief interview with Mr. Brown of the AFL who came, presumably, to get my views, but seemed more intent on expressing his. I had to worry today about job descriptions for the staff.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
25 April 1946

The liaison officers were here today and we talked both broadly and specifically about relations in Military Government and how to improve coordinating among all the different parts of the machinery. Colonel Oppenheimer was working with the Denazification Committee which had just finished a proposal for the punishment of crimes committed under the National Socialists' regime which were not punished because of interfering legislation. I had suggested to Oppenheimer that although he had been given the power to approve this particular law, that he would be well advised to submit it beforehand to General Clay personally. Interestingly enough – and it shows what a keen mind the General has – he immediately raised the objection of double jeopardy, which neither Colonel Oppenheimer nor Mr. Fahy, his two legal advisers, had detected. Consequently, some new approach will have to be worked out. Colonel Drury called and presented to me the head chaplains of the Theater, Father Tierman and Father Martin. Both of them impressed me very much and I was sorry to have been so rushed that I could only have a brief conversation with them. In the course of the afternoon, Director Roßmann brought Dr. Fehr of Bavaria in to see me. The Länderrat had authorized the appointment of a special Food Commissioner in the present crisis and had made a tender of position to Dr. Fehr who had previously been Reichsminister of Agriculture and a member of the Reichstag. He was a distinguished and sincere old man, but he proceeded to give all kinds of petty personal reasons for not accepting. He had lost his son and his wife, and he was an old man, and the situation looked black, and he would be held responsible for reducing the ration. I interceded with some vigor, drawing a comparison between ex-President Hoover's willingness at seventy-two to leave his lovely California residence and romp all over the world to try to get some improvement in the world food situation. I also pointed out to him that I should much prefer to be at home with my family, and that although Military Government could order him to take a responsible position, that if he could not be impelled by a sense of patriotic responsibility in a great crisis like this, that certainly Military Government would not want him.

I told him to pray over it tonight and come up with a proper decision. I was much interested that Director Roßmann and Dr. Seelos, the Bavarian

plenipotentiary, both argued very convincingly that there was an exceedingly important psychological aspect to the food crisis, which should not be overlooked and that they would be in a bad situation if such a prominent man as Dr. Fehr turned them down.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
26 April 1946

The Russians have taken some more of our German officials off our Military train running between Berlin and Frankfurt. This is proof of the continued disorganization both in transportation and in quadripartite relations. General Clay has raised the question repeatedly and has given orders to shoot any Russians getting on the train, but the matter is much deeper than that. This is only the rash, not the disease. Amusingly enough, one of the German officials taken off the train was the Labor Minister of Greater Hesse who, himself, is a Communist. I think if I were a Communist, I would feel that the Red Army was my worst enemy. All of these inter-zonal difficulties make one feel that, after all, Germany is really a torso without a head or limbs, attended by four physicians, who, unless they take emergency measures, will soon find that the patient is going to die of anemia. I like what General Echols said in a recent speech in New York, that unless a quadripartite plan for a peaceful German economy is quickly implemented, objectives of the occupation may never be achieved. He said very keenly that "Every passing day without a resolution of these problems weakens the chance of a democratic Germany in the future." As he pointed out, "Failure to treat Germany as an economic entity is already aggravating her serious food problems and is shaping her economy along grotesquely unnatural lines."

Litchfield came down with a proposed paper prepared by an inter-divisional committee on the problem of creating central German agencies. I spent the evening and also into the early morning with him talking about the various aspects of the problem. I suggested that if I were approaching the problem now, almost a year after Potsdam, instead of stirring up dead fish, I would approach the problem from an entirely fresh angle. At this stage Germany needs a central government which can be supervised by the Control Council. The steps proposed at Potsdam were necessary then, they are utterly inadequate now and I hope the Foreign Ministers during their conferences in Paris⁶⁴ will not only be able to set-

⁶⁴ Außenministerkonferenz in Paris, 25. 4. – 15. 5. und 15. 6. – 12. 7. 1946, FRUS 1946 II, S. 88–441 u. S. 493–941.

tle the problem of the Ruhr and the status of the western Germany boundaries, but will also come up with a new approach in administering occupied Germany.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
27 April 1946

I came to Bavaria to confer with General Muller about the problem of coordinating Länderrat action with the Regional Military Government Detachments. After some discussion of the problem, he did not have much trouble in convincing me to accept his invitation to fly down for a weekend on the Riviera.

Nice, April 28, 1946

My Darling –

Little did I think last Sunday that I would be writing you from the Riviera this Sunday morning. But here I am in a front corner suite in the Negresco Hotel looking out over the Mediterranean and thinking of you. It came about this way. General Clay wanted me to visit each of the three Directors of Military Government to talk over problems of coordinating our activities. I began with General Muller in Munich having as an added reason the county elections which come off today. I thought I would kill two birds with one stone. I got to Munich Friday evening in time for dinner with the General, taking my public relations officer with me for company. After dinner Muller said: "You're not going to go back to Stuttgart until Monday because I'm taking you to the Riviera in the morning!" He had a special plane and everything set. Well, of course how could I turn down such an invitation, so I came. Again I have been transported in a few hours into another world.

We left Munich airport yesterday morning at nine and flew over Stuttgart, the Black Forest, the Rhine near Strassburg, Lyons, down the Rhône valley, over Avignon to Marseille where we came down for fuel. I rode up with the pilot part of the time and the day was beautiful. The flight took about 3 1/2 hours! Then on to Nice in a flight of 45 minutes along the Riviera past where the invasion occurred near San Raphael, Cannes, Antibes, to Nice. At the blue water, the picturesque coast was unbelievably beautiful. We were met at the airport and brought here for a late lunch. I soon got out on the Promenade des Anglais which was fairly well filled with the usual type of resort people and a few GI's. This happens to be the end of Nice as an army rest center. Hereafter people who come will travel in an American Express tour

and pay for it! I really walked my feet off and then sat down on the hotel terrace and basked in the sun. In the evening after dinner there was dancing and floor show and I went to bed about twelve and went to sleep listening to the waves pounding on the shore. It's raining this morning but it's nice to loaf and just look out over the sea. General Muller went to church but I wanted to write you and just relax and enjoy this beautiful suite.

About noon we drive along the Grande Corniche to Monte Carlo and Mentone. We will have lunch at Monte Carlo and get back for a siesta late this afternoon. [. . .] The plan is to fly back tomorrow a different route along the coast to Genoa, the Po Valley, Venice, and over the Brenner pass to Munich – weather of course permitting. Really this is another experience of a life time. General “Maude” Muller is such a fine officer and gentleman and seems really to like me. Only four of us came in his plane, the General, his aide, his driver, and little Jimmie. If everything goes according to plan, I expect to be back in Stuttgart tomorrow for dinner! Isn't the age of flying simply amazing? [. . .]

*Forever!
Jim*

Highlights of the Day
28 April 1946

Yesterday I had a beautiful flight over the Black Forest and down the Rhône Valley to Marseille and Nice, landing in this Mediterranean paradise in the midst of sunshine and palm trees. There were still numerous signs of the fighting which had taken place along the Promenade.

This morning we had a beautiful drive over the Grande Corniche from Nice to Mentone, stopping off at Monte Carlo for a gorgeous lunch. The Casino was full with its usual customers. In the evening met a number of General Muller's friends and in odd moments just stared out of the hotel window across the beautiful Mediterranean.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
29 April 1946

After a pleasant walk along the Promenade, we took off from the airport at about noon for Munich. On the return trip we flew along the Italian Riviera with the Maritime Alps in the background, down the Po Valley and over the Brenner. It was fantastically beautiful and a flight which I shall never forget. We landed in Munich just two hours and ten minutes after leaving Nice; and after a short conference with Maud and a few telephone

calls to Berlin, I took off with Grant Lyons who was waiting for me to drive to Stuttgart, where I arrived in time for dinner feeling very guilty for having run away, but very relaxed and happy.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
30 April 1946

Everyone is terribly let down by the news from Washington that President Truman postponed the date for closing the DP camps. It was hoped that by August 1, at the latest, we could liquidate this very vexing questions. It seems not to be generally understood what a disrupting influence it has been for many months to give preferential treatment to all kinds of DP's, long after there was any need to do so. Either they should be sent to their homes or be treated as other residents of the country in which they remain. Not only have they been a serious food problem, but equally important, they have constituted a serious public safety problems. Black market activities and crime of various sorts have centered in the DP camps. It is not understandable to us why Washington should have overruled the strong desire of the Army to liquidate this outstanding problem of the occupation. The Germans in the Länderrat seem to have at last come to an agreement on a Food Commissioner for the zone and perhaps within a week Dr. Dietrich, former Reichsminister and member of the Democratic Party, now residing in the French zone, will be here to give the prestige of his name and his administrative ability to an improvement in the agricultural situation. It is interesting how these old figures of the Weimar Republic are gradually reappearing as the only persons with sufficient prestige and experience to cope with the current pressing problems.

The elections for the Kreistage came off very well indeed on Sunday. The figures show a gradual elimination of the non-party vote, which means that voters are once more gravitating to the four principal parties. The Christian Social Union in Bavaria, the Christian Democratic Union in Württemberg-Baden and the Social Democrats in Hesse came off best. In no state did the Communists make even a fair showing. The participation was very high, rising to 72 per cent in Bavaria. Thus, this second round of popular elections in the American zone has been carried through successfully and we now can look forward to the Stadtkreis elections at the end of May.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
1 May 1946

Took advantage of the German holiday to confer with Colonel Newman in Wiesbaden about problems of coordination with Military Government. As I drove along the west bank of the Rhine from Mannheim to Wiesbaden, I reflected on how deceiving appearances must be, for one would not gain the impression from looking at the countryside or even the people that they were on the verge of starvation. It is a grim sight to drive through Ludwigs-haven and Worms, which have been so thoroughly destroyed. Returned in time for dinner, in order to talk to Hauser of the *Saturday Evening Post*, who had come to see me.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
2 May 1946

A interesting point came up today in our briefing of our liaison officers which shows what happens when complicated international machinery is superimposed upon another nation's economy. A considerable amount of surplus hydraulic electric power is available for use, but cannot be used because of penalties imposed under Control Council Law No. 7.⁶⁵ In other words, water is going over the dam, unused, because of some quadripartite regulations. To show the assiduous way in which the Germans are seeking to utilize every possible means of recovery, the Electrical Committee gave serious attention to the possibility of utilizing wind power, but due to the shortage of machinery, found the project unfeasible.

We had an interesting illustration of the interconnection between Holland and Germany when lumber people from Holland proposed coming to Bavaria with their own workers, feed them and let them cut whatever wood they desired to buy for Holland. With the big wood cutting program now under way, which required all the German labor which is available, the Dutch thought their kind of proposal would be acceptable.

The Works Council Law, which has caused so much discussion in the Labor Committee, is ready for submission by the Länderrat to the temporary parliaments of the Länder for discussion. This is a new wrinkle which demonstrates the desire of the Germans to make use of all the deliberative machinery which we have provided.

J.K.P.

⁶⁵ Kontrollratsgesetz Nr. 7 vom 30.11.1945, Amtsblatt des Kontrollrats in Deutschland Nr. 2 vom 30. 11. 1945, S. 32.

Highlights of the Day
3 May 1946

Professor Dr. Steidle, who has been selected by the Länderrat to be the President of the Senior Post in Munich, was presented to me today. He is a very vigorous old man who impressed me favorably. I do not envy him his job in trying to please all three Länder, but I am amused at the reluctant admissions now made by our communications people – after all, they now think the Germans might be able to do the job better than they can.

Colonel Hester flew down today from Berlin with his “raiders” and seemed to be satisfied with what he had learned. After jealously protecting the German working committees from too much interference, I confess to considerable irritation at the way in which Colonel Hester attempted to go his own way, regardless of how disturbing his approach might be to our total operations.

An amusing remark was made in one of the committees the other day by a Bavarian official who likened his state to the body and referred to Württemberg-Baden and Hesse as just two little pimples.

A minute which has just come to my hand from the British zone describing discussions which took place in the second meeting of their Zonal Advisory Council contains a very interesting observation by Dr. Steltzer, Oberpräsident of Schleswig-Holstein. Dr. Steltzer, in urging administrative reconstruction in the British zone, stated that this was a central problem to which a reasonable answer had been found. He said that it was not just a question of administration, but of the final political structure of Germany. He added that what was needed was not a theoretical solution, but a formula in accordance with German historical and administrative tradition. He referred to the meeting in Stuttgart on 6 February at which time the administrative heads of the provinces in the British zone had expressed their views. It is encouraging to find such an eminent administrator being impressed with what we have done here in the American zone and urging similar action in the British zone.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
4 May 1946

Dr. Hermann Dietrich, former Reichsminister, was presented to me this morning by the Secretary General who imparted the good news that Dietrich had accepted the invitation of the Länderrat to become the emergency Food Commissioner in the American zone. I was very favorably impressed with him and I am pleased that we have been able to

attract such an experienced and capable public servant from his residence in the French zone.

A very significant development has been taking place in the dissolutions of the big Kohlenkontor, a monopoly which once controlled more than 85 per cent of all the coal dealers in the U.S. zone. The Länderrat has designated Dr. Walter Bauer as trustee and all of the obvious features of the old cartel are now being gradually eliminated.

J.K.P.

May 5, 1946

My Darling:

This was another interesting day for me but I could not go to sleep if I had not written to you my usual Sunday letter.

This was the day of the plebiscite in France on their new constitution. Naturally I wanted to see the voting. Since Strassburg was the nearest French city of any importance it seemed best to go there. It is only about three and one half hours from here so we left in good time this morning and returned in time for a later dinner. We went through the Black Forest going and coming, returning through Baden-Baden. It was a beautiful drive and the woods were wonderful. In Strassburg I followed my long-established practices and went from one polling place to another to watch the voting. This time women were permitted to vote and it was all very interesting to me. With a little extra effort I was thus able to add further to my experience. Tonight I am listening to the returns but the issue is not yet clearly decided.

I enter another busy week with Clay and Murphy coming down for the Länderrat meeting on Tuesday. On Wednesday Joe Dodge, the Detroit banker who is the head of the Finance Division of OMGUS will be here. On Thursday my plan is to accept the Russian invitation to the Leipzig Fair in order to see another part of the country I have not yet been in since the war. I will then probably be in Berlin for the next week-end. It is all very strenuous and I would prefer to stay here, but I have duties and opportunities and I don't want to miss anything. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
[ohne Unterschrift]*

P.S. I enclose a good clipping quoting Clay. Also a wonderful letter from State Dept.

[Anlage]
Copy
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 15, 1946

Dr. James K. Pollock
Care of the United States
Political Adviser for Germany
Berlin

My dear Dr. Pollock:

It has come to my attention that, as a consequence of routine budgetary procedures, you were transferred to the War Department's roll from that of the Department of State.

This mechanical process, I am sure you will have recognized, carries with it not the slightest implication of a lessening of the Department of State's interest in your very fine work in Germany. Numerous reports, particularly those on the superb progress of the Länderrat, have given us a picture of your activity as the presiding genius of that experiment in reviving German political and administrative life. Ambassador Murphy in his personal letters has also expressed his appreciation of your splendid job – as did David Harris when he returned from Berlin.

I can only say that we are greatly pleased with these reports and want you to know that we shall continue, regardless of budgetary technicalities, to follow with liveliest concern the further course of your labors. I need hardly add that we want to assist in any way that we can from here.

Sincerely yours,
James W. Riddleberger
Chief, Division of
Central European Affairs

Highlights of the Day
6 May 1946

An interesting meeting took place today on cooperatives. The Germans were happy to learn that we had definite plans for reviving and strengthening these institutions, which, during the Republic, constituted an important bulwark of democratic strength.

In transportation it becomes clear that if we are to secure efficiency in operations, that the Director must report directly to the Minister-Presi-

dents, rather than through the Transport Director. This points up a very important development in the Länderrat now; it is handling actual operations not only in rails, but in post and communications, food and the weather service. In these fields, it now becomes clear, the Minister-Presidents will have to give more time and personal attention to the Directors of these operations. The Transport Ministers who constitute the Transport Committee are only slowing up matters with their agreements back and forth on behalf of their respective states. It will be interesting to see if the Länderrat itself recognizes that it has come to a turning point in its development which requires rather extensive alterations in its organization and structure.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
7 May 1946

The eighth meeting of the Länderrat occurred today with General Clay, as usual, in attendance.⁶⁶ This time he was accompanied by Mrs. Clay who is a very charming and lovely person. The General was very clear-headed and understanding when I presented to him the many problems which come before us here. He took my suggestions and later put them in his own clear diction and presented them in his speech to the Minister-Presidents. After lunch he talked personally to the three Minister-Presidents and also had a few minutes to meet the new Food Commissioner, Dr. Dietrich, the Director of Railroads, Dr. Fischer, and the Director of the Senior Post Directorate, Dr. Steidle. The General has a very sincere and very sympathetic manner in talking to his top German officials and he has succeeded to a very remarkable degree in winning their deep respect and complete confidence and cooperation. Bob Murphy and General Adcock were delayed by weather in arriving and missed the meeting. I did not have time, therefore, to talk to Bob about a number of things which I shall have to raise in the near future. The more I see of him, the more I wonder how some sections of the American press could have been so bitter in denunciation of him in connection with the North African campaign. He has a very high sense of duty, a quietly effective manner, and a keen perception of the German problem and the interests of the U.S. in it. He has been of very great assistance to General Clay and together they constitute an indispensable pair.

After the Länderrat meeting which was terminated somewhat earlier than usual, thanks to the energetic direction of Dr. Hoegner, I had the

⁶⁶ Protokoll der 8. Länderratssitzung vom 7. 5. 1946 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 1, Dok. 20.

Minister-Presidents and their permanent representatives for a cup of coffee and gave them an opportunity to tell me privately about a good many of their problems. They always give me information which is not obtainable elsewhere and which gives me a deeper insight than I would otherwise have into German activities and thinking. Dr. Maier showed me a telegram he had received from the Landesminister of Thüringen inviting his state government to send their top planners to a meeting in Weimar. This is the first direct invitation from officials in the Soviet zone and may be a good omen, indicating that the Russians are now willing to permit more inter-zonal communication. General Clay had previously indicated in his speech approval of such inter-zonal contacts, provided they are cleared through the Länderrat.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
8 May 1946

Joe Dodge came down from Berlin to have a confidential meeting with the Ministers of Finance and two of the Minister-Presidents who remained over for the meeting. He wanted to present the whole currency and inflation problem and get the reactions of our responsible German officials to his proposals. He brought his experts with him and they all seemed satisfied with the comprehension of the problem which the Germans exhibited and also their ready response to his requests for opinions.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
9 May 1946

Came to Nürnberg last night on my way to visit the Leipzig Fair. Took in the War Trials and received some new impressions about their value and significance. Dönitz was on the stand and one could not help but be impressed with the way in which the defendants are being given every opportunity to present their cases. It looks now as if the trials will end this summer and subsequent proceedings dealing with industrialists will soon be ready to start. Nürnberg is now a very depressing town to me and I was happy to get out on the Autobahn going northward to Leipzig.

When we came to the border of the Russian zone we were somewhat apprehensive of encountering difficulties, even though we possessed Russian passes for the Fair, but after about an hour's delay at the Rus-

sian border post, we were admitted. It was amusing how the Russian officer who first appeared in partial uniform and in his bare feet, had to put on his boots and perfume himself in order to sign our passes.

We drove with some care through Plauen and other towns on the way and found from talking to the Germans that they were four to six weeks behind in their rations. Transport was quite scarce and although a good many factories were going, it was almost touching, the eagerness with which we were surrounded by the Germans from all walks of life in all kinds of stops, both in the countryside and in various cities and villages. They all expressed the wish that the Americans were coming back.

Upon reaching Leipzig, we were well received and located in one of the better hotels. Received a formal call at about eleven o'clock at night from the Russian colonel in command of the Russian Kommandatura.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
10 May 1946

Spent the whole day visiting the various exhibits at the Leipzig Fair. Compared with the Fair as I once saw it in 1928, I should say that it was about fifty per cent complete. The Russians have done a good job, although they, of course, could not have put it on. What they did was to permit the Germans to stage the Fair according to the old pattern established during the last one hundred years. It was satisfaction, nevertheless, to see all kinds of consumers' goods on exhibit. Of course, it was a ghost fair because no one could promise delivery on the models on display. Upon questioning numerous exhibitors, we learned that many of them were there by compulsion and all of them realized the emptiness of displaying articles without being able to produce the goods. The Russians used every opportunity for propaganda purposes and the town was bedecked with red banners advocating Volkssolidarität. Also, they combined quite cleverly slogans about the unity of Germany and the need for unity in the Party. There were many amusing incidents showing that the Russians, in supporting their own Communist friends both in politics and industry, are really doing about the same thing the Nazis did in forcing everybody either to be in the Nazi Party or to conform with Nazi ideology. Although we had little opportunity to talk with ordinary people, I did not gain the impression that the Russians were making too much headway with their propaganda.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
11 May 1946

Upon returning to Berlin today I was quite impressed with the very considerable improvement in the physical setting, both around headquarters and throughout the city. More streetcars were running, more rubble is cleared, the Tiergarten is a bog with the trees eliminated, and the Allied Control Building now looks like a real international headquarters.

I had a brief talk with Colonel Onthank who is returning home about an apprentice program in which we are both interested. Such a program is so badly needed to make available to the American Government the services of the cream of our educational crop. Now that we have deep responsibilities all over the world, there is a crying need to bring into our Foreign Service more and better people.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
12 May 1946

I had my usual Sunday morning talk with General Clay who still insists on working all the time. I was interested to have him again display a lot of vision in connection with planning for the future. He is always looking forward and sees the line of future development more clearly than anybody else. While I was with him Secretary Byrnes called to invite him and Bob Murphy to come to Paris and he was, of course, pleased that at last he would have an opportunity to give a report on the true situation in Germany.

I had lunch with Bob Murphy who had the Tittmans from Rome visiting him. It was a lovely day. We sat in the garden and settled a lot of problems to our satisfaction. I had dinner with Henry Parkman out at Wannsee and I am so happy that he has returned to head up the Civil Administration work.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
13 May 1946

General Clay took me to the Coordinating Committee meeting which lasted until about six o'clock. There were many new faces, among them being General Dratvin who replaces Sokolovsky, now promoted to be a Control Council member. Semenov is there in place of Sobolev and General Adcock now takes the place formerly occupied by General Echols.

General Clay still provides the drive, initiative and resourcefulness necessary to make this very complicated bit of international machinery operate successfully. Progress is still very halting, pending the establishment of a central German government. I have wondered for months whether it is even worth the effort, but I realize this has all been great practice in international government, which may pay dividends in the future.

Before going to the Coordinating Committee meeting, General Clay visited Sokolovsky to tell him of the recommendations he would make to Mr. Byrnes in Paris. In other words, as always, Clay is playing his cards face up on the table and wants his close friend, Sokolovsky, to know exactly what he thinks. If everyone could deal as frankly and directly with the Russians as Clay, there would be much better cooperation and far less suspicion. Too often Russian opposition could be avoided if our government knew its own mind and was able to speak clearly and vigorously.

Ed Litchfield had a memo which I thought would be helpful for Clay and Murphy to have as they flew to Paris. And so, he worked most of the night to get it ready for presentation to them at the plane as they left at six o'clock in the morning. I had insisted that what we need now was not just a refurbishing of Potsdam, but a central German government. In the intervening ten months since Potsdam, the whole situation has changed for the worse and I am afraid that if something is not done soon to break down the zone barriers, that the whole edifice will come crashing down on our heads.

J.K.P.

Berlin, [May 13, 1946]

My Darling –

You must begin to think that all I do is travel, and I must admit I'm pretty weary. But things pile up and here I am in Berlin. I could not write you sooner and here's why.

Tuesday was our big day – the 8th meeting of the Länderrat. Clay was due Tuesday morning. Then we were informed he and Mrs. Clay would arrive Monday night. You can imagine my rushing around. But they didn't actually arrive until early Tuesday morning. Meanwhile the three Military Government Directors in our three states arrived. General Adcock and Bob Murphy flew in Tuesday noon. Clay & party flew away at 5 P.M. Tuesday and I still had some left-overs. The day was perfect and not a hitch developed anywhere. Clay was wonderful as usual and did it do me good to see a beautiful American wife! Mrs. Clay is charming!

Then a busy day Wednesday and after an early dinner I drove to Nürnberg for the night en route to the Leipzig Fair which the General wanted me to visit to get some information out of the Russian zone. I took two of my

officers with me. I took them to the trials Thursday morning and right after lunch we took off for Leipzig direct by Autobahn. Lots of interesting observations I haven't time to write now. Arrived in Leipzig at seven.

Official calls from Russian Commandant who appeared in a white uniform. Did the Fair Friday – and it really wore me out!! – and drove here this morning in time for General Clay's conference at noon. Clay took McNarney to his plane and I'm waiting in his office now for him to return. What happens to me over the week-end depends on his desires. I plan to stay here until Monday afternoon or Tuesday morning and then probably fly back to Stuttgart. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Highlights of the Day
14 May 1946

Colonel Niles of the Transport Division, who has cooperated so loyally in turning over actual operations of the railways to German hands, was kind enough to facilitate our return to Stuttgart by setting up his train for our use. Leaving in the evening gave me another full day which I put to good advantage in straightening out the innumerable administrative snarls which seem to be an inevitable part of any army installation. As we pulled out of Wannsee, we passed a trainload of wives, the first to arrive in Berlin.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
16 May 1946

We had today a very interesting meeting on cooperatives. I have been distressed that we have been unable to make much progress thus far in the revival of these formerly democratic groups. The German committee members were not all in agreement with our Military Government representatives from Berlin, but the Germans will now come up with a plan which, in the course of the next few months, can be brought into effect. Thus, another democratic force will have been revitalized.

Another meeting on handicrafts produced a rather serious difference of opinion between the American and German representatives, our people being very anxious to promote free access to the various professions and thus overcome the rather rigid social stratification which has heretofore existed in Germany, sometimes overlook the fact that Germany is not a free market and that the experience of several hundred years in the handi-

craft industry has developed a number of practical regulations which the Germans are loath to change. This is another instance of coming to grips with a very vital problem of German life and being turned back by the accumulated experience of centuries. I never have felt that we could do very much ourselves to change the German culture pattern. I feel that all we can do is to create the moral climate and the political environment within which the Germans themselves can adjust to new situations.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
18 May 1946

The Ogden Reids⁶⁷ left this afternoon for Paris, after having paid us a visit of twenty-four hours. I believe we were able to put some of Mrs. Reid's impressions and observations into a proper perspective. At any rate, she was very kind to say that the day with us had pulled together her German impressions in a very satisfactory way. She is a very remarkable woman and I hope that she, like the other publishers who were here earlier, will be able to do something to show the American people what the exact situation is in Germany.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, [May 19, 1946]

My Darling:

[. . .] The Ogden Reids came Friday before dinner and left after lunch yesterday. They invited me to fly to Paris with them but I sent my executive officer instead. I was just too tired. I think we made a great impression and I have not only helped General Clay but I have made a good contact for myself. General McNarney has asked me to come to Frankfurt for Tuesday and Wednesday evening to lecture before 1500 of the headquarters command. I will also take part in the meeting of the army commands on Wednesday and probably return here early Thursday morning. I have avoided making speeches but when the Commanding General asks you a refusal is not in order. I had intended to make only one lecture in Germany and that one to my high German officials when I was about to leave.

By the way when I was in Berlin General Clay and Bob Murphy said they didn't see how they could let me go. I was expecting this and they did not

⁶⁷ "The owners of the New York Herald Tribune", Brief Pollocks an seine Mutter vom 19. 5. 1946, Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll.

shake my determination to return home sometime in August. They both wanted me to return home and bring my family back with me for another year. Now if you would like to do this, please let me know. I don't want to take fundamental decisions without you. But I still feel that I have made my contribution, and that if after another year, they need me to return for a time, that I could come again. But it is bad, I think, to remain away from my regular duties any longer. Don't you? It is of course flattering to have everyone's high regard, but maybe it's wise to get out while your stock is high. I do feel bad that my family has not been able to get the benefits I have had, but it was probably safer and better at home. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Highlights of the Day
20 May 1946

Had a meeting today with the Secretary General and the three plenipotentiaries permanently here representing the three Länder at Länderrat. They reported to me about their discussions on organization problems which they had had in Bavaria over the week-end. I am gratified at their comprehension of the problem and hope that when the Minister-Presidents come together next week they will be able to take such action as is necessary to meet the increased load which is now put upon the Länderrat.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
21 May 1946

Came to Frankfurt today at the request of General McNarney to speak before the headquarters' staff of USFET on aspects of the German problem. I was somewhat flabbergasted to find over a thousand officers in attendance at the lecture and although I am never satisfied with a speech before so many people, I was well received and did not notice anybody going to sleep.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
22 May 1946

Went with General Clay to the regular monthly meeting of the Commanding Generals in the War Room at headquarters. General McNarney stressed problems of discipline and was very specific and definite in his orders to the Commanders to improve present conditions. There was considerable discussion about specific problems with General Keyes, as usual, raising a number of pointed questions. When General McNarney quoted a G-2 report on German universities, indicating that they were hotbeds of Nazism and reaction, General Clay promptly replied that every complaint of this sort had been carefully investigated and that he thought the reporters were prejudiced and the reports grossly exaggerated.

When the perennial DP problem came up, everyone was fearful that if the camps could not be eliminated before September, that we might have the problem on our hands through another winter. General Clay said he saw no reason why DP's from Poland and other countries should receive in our camps higher rations than they would be receiving if they were at home – a point which seemed to me to be well taken.

J.K.P.

22 May (Cont'd)

After lunch I had an hour's talk with General Clay about his Paris trip, during which he very modestly discussed what he had told Mr. Byrnes. He explained that the German problem could be solved after a number of questions were answered. He then listed the questions as follows:

- 1) What will be the decision with respect to the Rhineland and the Ruhr?
- 2) What will be the decision with respect to the Saar?
- 3) Can central administrative agencies be established promptly to permit the operation of the treatment of Germany as an economic unit?
- 4) Will zonal boundaries be regarded as boundaries which delineate areas of occupation only, rather than as barriers to the free movement of goods in Germany.
- 5) Will the resources of all of Germany be available throughout Germany with the surplus resources to be used for export and the proceeds to be used as imports for Germany as a whole.

The General gave these questions to Mr. Byrnes, who then propounded them to the Council of Foreign Ministers and, although no decisions were reached, at any rate, the questions are now before the chancellors of the Great Powers and perhaps the Council, when it resumes on 15 June, can go forward with the discussion of them.

The General pointed out the clash of interests which arose the minute these questions were raised, and although he was naturally disappointed that deputies were not left in Paris with specific instructions to recommend solutions of these questions, he did feel that it was a gain to have been able to raise the questions for discussion.

I am afraid that if he had not been called to Paris at the last moment, the conference might well have broken up without giving any attention to the German problem, which certainly is the central problem of world peace. The fussing about Austria, Yugoslavia and Italy is, in a sense, shadow boxing, when the Great Powers should be dealing, as Walter Lippmann pointed out, "With first things first."

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, May 23, 1946

My Sweetheart –

I've just said goodbye to Matt Mann who returns to Ann Arbor tomorrow. I had him to dinner. He is kind enough to deliver some precious gifts to you which I'm afraid to keep any longer. [...] Matt will give you a first hand picture of me and my work. I told him to tell the President, Dean & Everett that it was going to be difficult to get me back. But to you my darling alone I can say that I'm coming in August. You appreciate what I'm doing and I'm afraid they don't. I don't want the University to think I'm too cheap or too anxious to return. Understand?⁶⁸ [...]

*Hugs & Kisses,
Jim*

Highlights of the Day
24 May 1946

Had an interesting visit today from [a] high Bavarian official who has just returned from a rather extensive visit to the Russian and British zones. He brought a message to me from Herr Kopf, the Oberpräsident of Hannover

⁶⁸ "But keep that to yourself and let him worry the University a little bit about me! See?" Brief Pollocks an seine Frau vom 24. 5. 1946, Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll.

province. Kopf feels strongly the need of help in the British zone in bringing to the realization of British Military Government the need for prompt development of proper democratic institutions to ward off the Communists' developments in the Russian zone.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
25 May 1946

This was my birthday and I shall long remember it as one of the happiest occasions in my life. The kindness of everyone from members of my staff on down to the German officials who kept coming into my office with good wishes and birthday gifts – I would not ask for anything else. I hardly need any further evidence of the good will of the Germans on which so much of the success of our work here has been founded.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
26 May 1946

Made an election tour through Pforzheim and Stuttgart in order to observe the voting and the count in the big cities. This was the first time they had voted and the political interest was very great. The German officials did a remarkable job in preparing the voting lists and in managing the whole election. Everything came off with promptness and dispatch. I was interested to note that almost half of the people in Stuttgart availed themselves of the privilege of scratching their tickets when they voted. The results are very gratifying in several respects. First of all, an unprecedented high voting participation for elections of this kind was achieved, running as high as 86.8 per cent in Bavaria. Second, the Social Democrats made substantial gains and the Christian Social Union and its counterpart in Freiburg, the Christian Democratic Union, received wide support. The Communists, on the other hand, prove to be very weak, even in such former centers of Communism like Mannheim and Heilbronn. It is now rather amusing in retrospect to see how right General Clay was in his original insistence last fall that elections should be held as early as possible. If anyone thinks that the Germans were unable to rekindle their political interests, he should have been here for this election. The parties are now reasonably well organized - they brought out their leading men as speakers at election

meetings; they developed and published their platforms and prepared some very attractive and effective posters.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
27 May 1946

The Minister-Presidents assembled in special session this morning to discuss problems of internal organization.⁶⁹ They asked to see me to get my advice about what was needed to improve the efficiency of the Länderrat. We had a very interesting discussion during which I pointed out that the problem was essentially administrative and not political, and that they had the opportunity to set a shining example to the other zones. Hoegner was unusually cooperative and Maier and Geiler, altogether representing different points of view, appeared to be anxious to come to an agreement. It is exceedingly interesting to me in retrospect to see how the Länderrat has developed and now to find that all that is necessary is to call certain things to the attention of the Minister-Presidents in order to have them make further progressive steps. After their morning session, I invited them to lunch and it was a pleasant occasion. Geiler was in a very delightful mood and there was plenty of good humored banter back and forth. They told me that they had come to complete agreement on steps to be taken and this was naturally good news to me. Later in the afternoon I talked with Dr. Pfeiffer, Staatssekretär to Dr. Hoegner and the keenest politician in Bavaria. He will now be more closely associated with the Länderrat, coming here weekly, and I could ask for no better sign of Bavarian cooperation.

Mr. Bonneville from the CARE (Coordinated American Relief for Europe) organization in New York appeared today at the request of General Clay to see if the German relief agency set up here to handle the CRALOG program is able to undertake the responsibility for administering his program. The nub of the matter is whether food parcels can be delivered to specially designated persons. This is the wish of the CARE program, but General Clay and the German committee as well, up to now, have felt that too many administrative difficulties would be encountered by permitting groups or individuals to be especially designated by the donors as recipients. Everyone knows that the Germans in our zone need all the help they can get by the way of food, but it would be very unsound to bog down such a program with distribution problems, which, in the present disorganized situation, are so important.

⁶⁹ Protokoll der Sondersitzung des Länderrats vom 27.5.1946 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 1, Dok. 21 (über die Neufassung des Länderratsstatuts).

Our good friend, Colonel Edmunds, Director of Administrative Services in Berlin, came to check up on the organization and equipment of our office, although we have now been operating for six months on a full strength, this is the first time a proper administrative official has actually made a personal investigation.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
28 May 1946

We were visited this afternoon by a group of Russian newspapermen who were interested in seeing something of our operations and having the opportunity to ask me some questions. Their questions belied their interests and it was quite amusing to me how they concentrated on economics and politics. I had quite a discussion with one of the colonels over one of the provisions of the Hessian election law aimed at eliminating splinter parties. The provision kept a party from getting a seat in a community if it cast less than 15 % of the votes. The colonel had noticed that the Communists' vote was down in Hesse and was trying to make a point of discrimination against them, but I think I straightened him out. They also wanted to know about denazification and seemed surprised when I gave them our total figures of removals and arrests. They also wanted to know whether Military Government replaced a removed factory manager or whether that was the responsibility of the Germans. I took the opportunity, as always, to harp upon the need for the economic unity of Germany and for the elimination of zonal boundaries.

A very exciting proposal was being discussed today in one of the Länder-rat committees. It seems that we have a half million tons of captured German ammunition which we have been dumping in the North Sea. This ammunition can be converted into fertilizer, scrap metal, and all sorts of useful products. In a time of great raw material shortage, it could come as a great boom to the German economy. The Germans eagerly worked out plans and if all the security and public relations aspects can be ironed out in Berlin, we will have saved the American taxpayer some \$ 40,000,000.

Dr. Dorn came with Colonel Wilson to meet with the Denazification Committee. We are at a rather crucial point now in this program and it will be necessary to give close attention to any wrinkles which are developing in the denazification machinery.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, May 28, 1946

My Darling:

I have been in a whirl since Friday and just now have been able to come down to earth. On my birthday my staff, which learned about the great day somehow, gave me a big party here in the Villa – a party which I will long remember. At our dinner before the party Major Mahder nearly made me weep when he proposed a toast with a glass of champagne “to the one person, who if she could be present, would make this a perfect party – Mrs. Pollock.” And that was true. I thought of you all the time and also of the kiddies who would be singing happy birthday. All the Americans in the neighborhood came to the dance in the evening and we had a fashion show, a floor show and a marvellous buffet at midnight. I hope to have you and Ann made a beautiful peasant type dress which was exhibited at the fashion show. The Villa was resplendent with flowers, and my office was a picture.

During the morning and the early afternoon I was kept busy receiving official German delegations and reading telegrams and letters of good wishes on my birthday. I was really quite touched with the kindness everyone showed. To top it off, the Bavarian cabinet sent me the most gorgeous piece of Nymphenburg porcelain you ever saw. I hope I can get it packed safely to send home to you soon. A lot of other lesser gifts came to me from the German staff and from my own staff, including a new Zeiss Ikon camera which I will keep for Bob. It is the most perfect and complicated thing you ever saw and would be worth probably \$ 250 at home. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Stuttgart, May 28, 1946

Dearest Mother:

[. . .] Sunday was another election day in the American zone and I took a long tour to visit several of the bigger cities including Karlsruhe, Pforzheim and Stuttgart to watch the voting and the count. It took me back many years when I first came to Germany to do just this same thing. There has been a remarkable revival of political interest among the Germans and over 80 % of the qualified voters went to the polls. That is of course a much better record than we ever have in the United States.

Yesterday I had a very important session with the three top German officials in the American zone working out a most significant change in the organization of civil government in our zone. It was what you would call putting my own theories in political science into effect. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
James*

Highlights of the Day
29 May 1946

Former Governor Sewall of Maine, now the Director of the IA & C Division of OMGUS, came here today to pay us a visit. I had him visit the Denazification Committee and talk with the various members of my staff. He seems very interested to make a contribution here in Germany, although, like all newcomers, it will take him quite some time to get the feel of the problem. He very quickly saw the importance of what we are trying to do here and of keeping closely in touch with field operations in the American zone.

Ed Litchfield flew down from Berlin with a special paper which he had prepared for a committee of which I am supposed to be a member – a paper dealing with the re-establishment of a German central government – a subject in which I have a very lively interest and on which I was very glad to express my opinions. Ed had done an excellent job in this preliminary draft and had carried along the other members of the committee with him. I was able to see a number of places where the manuscript could be strengthened and he flew back to Berlin the same afternoon to complete the job in time to meet General Clay's deadline.

I was a bit concerned today with developments in the denazification field. The trouble is not on the German side, but with certain failures on our own side, both to develop a proper administrative organization to help the Germans, and second, with the perhaps over-eager attitude on the part of some of our Public Safety people to interfere too much with German operations.

June 1 is a deadline in the denazification law and several emergency actions will have to be taken in the next couple of days to avoid disruption of work in a couple of fields, namely, forestry and railroads. I am sorry to say that I think we have been overly anxious to denazify at the expense of efficient operations. No other occupying power has gone nearly as far as we have.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
29 May 1946

Attended a party this evening in honor of Major General Ernie Harmon, the Commanding General of the newly organized Constabulary. General Harmon told me that the idea was originally General Handy's and that

General McNarney had, on very short notice, selected him to draw up a plan which would put the idea into effect of having a mobile elite corps of American soldiers who could effectively deal with any security threat in the entire American zone. General Harmon is a hard-bitten, rough-riding soldier who seems admirably fitted to perform this very exacting task. I, for one, welcome the presence of some well-disciplined American soldiers. I am sure the effect on the German population will be a good one.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
30 May 1946

I had some more talks with Governor Sewall and Dr. Dorn about denazification and re-education. In the afternoon, this being a holiday, took a short drive out to Marbach, the birthplace of Schiller, and I had a very delightful time talking about his work and his life with members of the staff who went along and who, I regret to say, knew a great deal more about Schiller than I did.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
31 May 1946

Dr. Dietrich, the new Food Commissioner, presided today for the first time over the Food and Agriculture Committee. There was a very important discussion of ration scales with a decision to make an adjustment in the caloric level, to give special attention to people living in cities of over 20,000. The three Food and Agriculture Commissioners were very respectful of Dietrich, always referring to him as Reichsminister. There was a good deal of discussion but no fundamental disagreement and all in all, the committee provided an admirable example of cooperations by the three Länder.

Litchfield called to read to me over the phone the final wording of the paper on the creation of a central German government which is being forwarded tomorrow to Washington.

I had a visit from O'Donnell of *Newsweek* who has always impressed me as being a very intelligent person with a good understanding of the German problem.

I hope we got Dr. Dorn straightened out in his new position as special assistant in denazification matters. It is very important that all Military Government people look to him for decisions on all controversial points. I sincerely hope that our Public Safety people will not interfere with the

Germans in the administration of their own law, but rather, will assist and cooperate.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
1 June 1946

I had an interesting conversation this morning with Dr. Maier, Minister-President of Württemberg-Baden, about the reorganization of the Länderrat. He explained [the] rationale behind the reorganization in a most admirable fashion. If anyone thinks the Germans are deficient in organization and management problems, they have another think coming. I was amused to learn that the Minister-Presidents had decided to put a time limit on the grant of powers they are giving to the new Direktorium which is to serve as an interim committee between sessions of the Länderrat. I had told them in our private conversations on Monday that if they were afraid to make a grant of powers, that a good American democratic device was to put a time limit upon the exercise of the power. This they have done, limiting the power to the period up to December 31, 1946. I was interested to have Dr. Maier point out how the new Direktorium can proceed by majority vote, which decision becomes effective unless a Minister-President interposes a veto within three days. What a paradise it is for a political scientist to observe these embryo democratic developments.

In the afternoon Phil Mettger took up with General Clay over the phone the question of the food rationing for the next ration period. With unerring political instinct, the General immediately hopped on the German proposal because it provided differential treatment for big cities, as against the rest of the population. He opined that this was just another indication that the Germans lack some political sense. I argued for a brief period that after all, the food problem was most acute in the big cities and that black market activities were being encouraged by the low ration in those cities, but he took his stand that a ration system had to be uniform to be successful. After more discussion with the food experts in Berlin, I am hopeful that the recommendation of Dr. Dietrich and his three Ministers of Food and Agriculture will be permitted to stand.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day

2 June 1946

I have at last had time to study with some care the three articles which recently came to me from Walter Lippmann. They are based on his observations during his recent trip to Germany.

I find them in many respects extremely penetrating and even masterful. He has stated more clearly than anyone else within my knowledge during the past year how the German problem is paramount in the making of peace. Somehow, as he points out, "That elementary, but enormous idea has eluded the State Department – at Potsdam, at London in September and in January, in New York and now again in Paris –." He points out "We have been diverted, but not distracted, enbroiled and excited by relatively small questions – which have been magnified and rendered insoluble – because we are not at grips with the great questions."

I was particularly happy to find that he feels that we are on the right path in the U.S. zone. He emphasizes that the American conception of how to deal with Germany is the best one which has been suggested, but I do not quite follow him when he seems to feel that we are not promoting this principle outside our zone. There is nothing particularly inconsistent between advocating the re-establishment of a central German government and in working on a problem of decentralization in our zone. Every modern government must centralize certain functions – the important thing is that there be a strong regional underpinning which will anchor a decentralized system and not allow it to be captured by an efficient centralized bureaucracy.

Nor do I follow Mr. Lippmann when he points out that the French have been following our own principle. Actually, what the French want is a permanently disorganized Germany – ever since the time of Francis the Second. One cannot see in the French pose any constructive principle at all. Even the articles written by François-Poncet are very hazy about how many German states there should be and how they should be organized. Actually, therefore, Lippmann does not give the Devil his due. He tends to emphasize too much the clash of interests between the British and the Russians, without also emphasizing that if we had, last fall, forced the French into implementation of the Potsdam Agreement, all of this pulling and hauling which is now going on would have been eliminated.

I think it is also correct to say that the British are interested in a federal and not in a centralized Germany. And, interestingly enough, the Russians, next to ourselves, have developed territorial units which might well become states after the American pattern, if a united Germany were established.

I am glad to have Lippmann bait both the British and the Russians, but it seems to me that he somewhat overdoes the point. It is really not a ques-

tion of the Prussian part of Germany against the other part. Prussia is irretrievably destroyed. The only question is whether out of the residue, there can emerge a federal pattern for Germany which will serve as a solid foundation for a decentralized system.

It also seems to me that Lippmann stresses too much the talk of another war. Perhaps this is for dramatic effect. I, personally, feel that though there is such talk, that it relates not to a war which is imminent, but one which will certainly occur in 25 years if proper solutions are not developed to prevent it in the meantime.

One final thought about the Lippmann articles is this: He refers to Americans in Germany as being backseat drivers. This completely overlooks the tremendously important role which General Clay has played in the work of the Allied Control Authority. Incidentally, the newspapermen are excluded from observing this work, and although there has been tedious and tiresome labor, the whole control machinery has been a very interesting school of international government, and General Clay has not been a backseat driver – he, alone, has held the whole machinery together. Furthermore, Lippmann is not too clear about who is responsible for what he calls the lack of information in Washington. He should make it perfectly clear that if Washington has failed to take the right steps in the German matter it is not because of any lack of information or good advice from the responsible American officials in Germany. Again and again, General Clay and Ambassador Murphy have tried to get Washington to do something and not allow the situation to drift.

I heartily agree with Lippmann's conclusion that something will have to be done about the German problem and that we will have to do it, otherwise, the consequences will be fearful.⁷⁰

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, June 2, 1946

My Darling –

[...] this coming week will be a big one with Clay coming down on Tuesday. I will give him my final word about coming home. I'm convinced that August will be a good time to make a break, and if I'm so essential they will find it out in the next six months or a year and ask me to come back. The job over here won't be finished for a few years at best. I hope Matt Mann also gave you my letter. I'm glad to have him talk

⁷⁰ Pollocks Stellungnahme vom 4. 6. 1946 zu den Zeitungsartikeln von Lippmann auch in: Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 61–4 (IfZ Bd. 34).

around the University about me but between ourselves I'm definitely planning to come home some time in August! [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Stuttgart, June 2, 1946

Dearest Mother and Sister –

[. . .] My work is fascinating and is now recognized by everyone as being very important in reviving democratic self-government. Germany is still the central problem of world peace and recovery, and the problem is not yet solved. We have made the greatest contribution of anyone of the four powers, but it still takes four to get a complete solution.

*Love & Kisses,
Jim*

*Highlights of the Day
3 June 1946*

Dr. Paul, the Landespräsident of Thuringia, arrived today to attend the session of the Länderrat tomorrow. I was invited to a little party given in his honor by the Secretary General in the course of which I had some interesting discussions with Professor Lange of Jena, and Director Staas, about their ideas of reorganized Germany. I was interested to hear that Jena had resumed its operations and that some academic exchanges were going on between Jena and Frankfurt.

Dr. Paul was a "smoothie" and did not give out too much information. He knows, of course, which side his bread is buttered on, but he did express great admiration for the work which had been done here, especially the valuable spirit of informal and trustful cooperation between American Military Government and German civil administration. He seemed very anxious for me to visit Weimar and at one point, he went so far as to express the hope that the present zonal boundaries would become less of a barrier.

An amusing aspect of his visit was the way in which his party arrived in two cars, accompanied by four German officers in resplendent uniforms, who jumped out of their cars to a stiff Prussian attention whenever Dr. Paul appeared. This contrasts strikingly with the modesty and simplicity of General Clay and of our total operations here at the Länderrat. General Clay at one time remarked that the Germans did not need any encouragement in matters of protocol or

soldierly attention or discipline, but they did need to learn more about democratic behavior.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
4 June 1946

The ninth meeting of the Länderrat was held today.⁷¹ It hardly seems possible to me in retrospect how much has been accomplished by this organization in so short a time. General Clay, Bob Murphy and General Adcock, together with the Military Government Directors and Henry Parkman all came down for the occasion. General Clay made his usual brief, but pointed and encouraging remarks to the Minister-Presidents and then had an informal discussion with them afterwards in my office, at which time he raised a few questions which he was not yet ready to make public, including some plan for the care of scientific personnel whose services are not now being utilized in the American zone. The General remarked that these visits to Stuttgart were a big help to him and I could see how his direct contacts with his three principal German officials gave him a feel of the actual situation, which he could not possibly get in Berlin. He studied the faces and attitudes of the Minister-Presidents very closely and at lunch remarked that he now thought Dr. Maier had as enigmatic a look as any of the other two. It was apparent that the conference was mutually beneficial.

In the conference between the General, the three Military Government Directors and our staff, General Clay emphasized a number of Military Government objectives which he urged the Directors to follow, one of which included keeping down entertainment costs. I spent a little time explaining the significance of the new Länderrat organization plan and its bearing upon Military Government operations in the three Länder, indicating that transfer of greater responsibilities to the Germans was essentially a change in procedure and no decrease in the actual power of Military Government. So many Military Government officers seem to feel that when they cease to be involved in operations, that they are without power, when, actually, all they were ever intended to do was to supervise German operation.

After the General's departure for Berlin by plane, I gave my usual coffee hour to the Minister-Presidents and the other visiting dignitaries after the Länderrat adjourned. I was quite interested to note that the occasion this time was quite interzonal in character, since Dr. Paul from Thuringia, the

⁷¹ Protokoll der 9. Länderratssitzung vom 4. 6. 1946 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 1, Dok. 23.

Landespräsident, with two of his colleagues, were present, as was also a representative of Dr. Lehr, the Oberpräsident of the Northern Rhine Province and a representative of Kopf, the Oberpräsident of Hannover Province.

I had [an] interesting conversation with Dr. Hoegner about Social Democratic politics and with Dr. Geiler about future interzonal developments. The Germans from the British zone were very anxious to tell me about impending territorial and administrative changes in the British zone and to bespeak my help in favor of the creation of three really large states in the British zone in place of five or more, which some of the Germans from the smaller states like Oldenburg were sponsoring.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
5 June 1946

In reviewing the work of the Länderrat yesterday, I am amazed at the amount and quality of their output. It will take them and us about two weeks to put in proper form all the requests which they are sending up to Military Government, as well as the decisions on internal matters which they themselves are entitled to make. Perhaps the most significant decision – one which had been worked in the preceding weeks – was the complete reorganization of the Länderrat machinery. This involved putting into the new organization statute most of the experience which had been acquired in actual operations during the past six months. They have created a new Directorate to act as an interim committee between the sessions of the Länderrat, in order to expedite decisions. General Clay very aptly characterized the new Directorate as being something like the coordinating committee under the Control Council. The plan very neatly compromises the interests and fears of the Bavarians with the stronger unitary ideas of the Hindenburgers. It will be interesting to see how the plan actually operates. I am very happy that the Germans, in their own way, have provided for the increased load of responsibility which has been put upon them.

Dr. Asmis, the German liaison officer from the Food Board in the British zone at Hamburg, came in to invite me to the interzonal meeting on food which is to be held in Hamburg next week. In the course of the conversation, he expressed amazement at the accomplishments of the Länderrat in the past six months. He compared his own food organization which was set up last July with our Länderrat food staff and then said that we had done twice as much in half the time.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
6 June 1946

Entertained the three permanent representatives at the Länderrat and the Secretary General this evening. They all seemed to have a good time and like most Germans, did not know when to go home, but they have so little social life these days and they seem so interested to talk over all aspects of our joint labors, that I found the evening exceedingly helpful. Walter Kerr of the *Herald Tribune*, who had come to see us for a few days, was also guest and we had much interesting discussion about Germany's future and what they could look forward to by the way of international cooperation and in general, fitting into the European economy.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, June 6, 1946

My Darling –

Well, the big day – Tuesday – is past. Clay, Murphy, Adcock and all the other big shots were here and everything came off quite perfectly. But it was such a strenuous day that I had a reaction yesterday afternoon, and I'm glad today is a holiday so I can loaf and read. Clay left by plane at 4, and at 5 I had my customary coffee hour for the Minister-Presidents and visitors from other zones. My big, ornate office has come to something of an international salon where big questions are discussed. This time a top German official from the Russian zone was present. Maybe we are breaking down the so-called Iron Curtain which hides the Russian zone from the others. That was one of my hopes when I started this experiment last fall – that if we couldn't achieve a unified government from the top, maybe we could work it out from the bottom up. Oh, I wish I could tell you all the satisfaction I have had in seeing my ideas and plans work out so well! But I will.

Clay was again so insistent that I stay, but I gave him another letter which suggested what should be done when I leave.⁷² I assure you it is mighty hard to step out of the very unique and enviable position I occupy. But my love for you and the family and my total evaluation of the situation convince me to come home at least for a period. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

⁷² Suggestions regarding the future status and regulations of the RGCO which I organized and over which I have had the privilege of presiding, Memo Pollock – Clay, 3. 6. 1946, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 61–8 (IfZ Bd. 89).

Highlights of the Day

7 June 1946

Walter Kerr of the *Herald Tribune* came to spend a few days with us to study the Länderrat. He came from Paris where he has been covering the Foreign Ministers' Conference. He is an unusually intelligent person and I was happy to give him a great deal of my time to explain how the Länderrat came into existence and what it has accomplished. He was interested also in comparisons between our zone and the other zones and I was able to adequately explain the differences and the relative progress. I wish all newspapermen were as keenly interested in what is really important as he is. I was happy to get from him some of the inside picture of the recent Paris Conference and to compare notes as to future prospects.

Dr. Bode, formerly of Stanford, arrived to join my staff, with the transfer of so much responsibility to the German staffs in the economics field and with the consequent expansion of work in interzonal trade, his experienced aid will be desirable. Up to now, Berlin has been working furiously with about one per cent of the foreign trade which Germany will require to support her population.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day

8 June 1946

The proposed new ration scale seems now to have been straightened out, between here and Berlin, and almost everyone is satisfied that it is now possible to increase slightly the food allocated to the big cities where the need is urgent. The calculations, of course, are based upon expected food imports from the United States, which, if they should not arrive, will cause a serious recalculation to be made. I am amazed at the skill, thoroughness and balance with which the German food experts are able to distribute their scanty supply with such an equitable hand.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day

10 June 1946

A Sunday pause gave me opportunity for a little reflection and reading. I found myself going back over the year I have been in the occupation and after seeing so many large problems nicely on the way to solution, I confess to be terribly burned up over having to fight over a TO with some of the small routiners at OMGUS.

It is gratifying to read that the British are at last stirring in the question of Länder reform, a problem we faced squarely last fall. I trust they will be able to develop out of the British zone three sizable states, rather than a larger number of small ones.

I have been much pleased with the vitality of the temporary legislative bodies which were set up last January following the Länderrat proposal of a month earlier. It is very gratifying to see how representative Germans appointed to these so-called four Vorparlamente come to grips with the most urgent domestic problems. Party politics often come to the fore, but there is plenty of genuinely factual discussion. My principal criticism of their activity consists in the common German fault of having too many long speeches and not enough brief, pointed across-the-table discussions.

We heard today that the CARE program for the distribution of food packages to individual Germans had been approved. This is another achievement of our Voluntary Relief Committee which may make a considerable difference in the relief of distress.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
11 June 1946

Spent part of the morning studying some articles about Germany submitted to me for criticism by recent newspaper visitors. Ann Stringer of the U. P. was here for a brief glimpse into our activities. She was particularly interested in investigating the position of German women in the present situation. I was able to furnish her with some information about [the] activity of some professionally trained women who have been working here on our committees. She was not very hopeful about the outcome of the Foreign Ministers' Conference which resumes on June 15.

After reading the last edition of the thinking of our Berlin people about the financial question, I am discouraged in another direction. Perhaps the weather has me down!

General Clay flew up to Bremen today to see what could be done to straighten out some of the difficulties which have necessarily arisen in that interesting old Hanseatic port, which is now functioning in such a unique, one might even say, exotic, political and administrative framework. Only last Tuesday he promised a German senator from Bremen that he would look into the matter. I wish all of his subordinates were as prompt and efficient in getting things done.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
12 June 1946

It was forcibly brought to my attention today what a serious problem it is for us to assist so materially in the feeding of the Berlin metropolitan area. If our zone did not have to contribute so generously to the feeding of the Berlin population, our food problem here in the zone would be greatly simplified. I never could understand the justice of the agreement by which the Berlin metropolitan area, which formerly was fed by its hinterland, Russian [zone], should now have to be fed from the scarcest food area in Germany, now the American zone.

We have had a remarkable illustration since Friday of how a vast quantity of work can be turned out by the German economic experts when it is necessary. General Draper's people in Berlin wanted to have a plan for requirements and allocations for the third quarter. I can not imagine a more difficult assignment, in a chaotic economic situation in which Germany now is, than to try to work out a plan of what is needed and what is available.

I am distressed about the expellee and refugee problem. We have between 7 and 8 hundred thousand German refugees from other zones, who, finally, must return before September 1 to their native homes in other occupied zones. Having already to receive some 6 hundred thousand expellees from the Sudetenland and Volksdeutsche from Hungary, the living space in the American zone is just about at a saturation point, if that point has not already been exceeded.

J.P.K.

Flew this afternoon to Berlin and after picking up Colonel Hester, on to Hamburg. On the way up to Berlin I had a fine talk with Walter Dorn about the administrative problems in connection with the enforcement of the denazification law. It is difficult for one to realize the infinite number of exceedingly complex and intimate problems connected with a punitive measure of this sort and it makes the German contribution seem all the greater.

In Hamburg from the Atlantic Hotel, which has not been touched, one would get the impression that life was quite normal. Actually, however, the city is seriously destroyed and they are filling up part of the Binnenalter with the debris from wrecked buildings. It is fortunate from the point of view of the work of city administration that the Rathaus is also intact.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
13 June 1946

This morning at the opening session of the joint conference of food administrators and experts from both the British and American zones,⁷³ General Robertson and General Clay appeared to lend great importance to the occasion. Almost in the shadow of a large bust of Bismarck, General Robertson made an important announcement of British policy toward Germany. He read his speech which had first been cleared with London, while General Clay in about half the time and entirely extemporaneously said nearly twice as much. The difference in applause for the two men was perceptible. Clay received a much heartier response. Unlike Robertson, who used a good many weasel words and never put any time limit on his promises, Clay promised support of the actions of the conference and found in it an important step in the direction of breaking down zonal barriers.

It was satisfying to note the universal respect with which our Zone Food Commissioner, Dr. Dietrich, was received.

At lunch I had the opportunity of talking for quite a period with General Robertson, particularly about the territorial and administrative reorganization within the British zone. I urged him to give his approval to a small number of states, rather than a larger number, indicating that I thought three to be sufficient for their zone. He stated quite categorically that this was also his view and under no circumstances would he approve more than four.

It was evident that at last British Military Government officials are aware that they are still too deep in operations and that it is high time more operating responsibilities be turned over to the Germans. General Clay told me that in conversation with Robertson that Robertson had rather boasted about reducing the number of British Military Government personnel to 21,000. Clay told him that our latest figures were only 6,900 and that he even thought that our figures were twenty-five per cent too high. One could not have a more striking comparison, indicating the economy and efficiency with which the two Military Administrations have been doing their respective jobs.

I foresee difficulties on the British side in working out satisfactory administrative arrangements in food matters between the two zones, for in the British zone they have a zonal authority which does not go through nor

⁷³ Bericht über die Interzonenkonferenz der Landwirtschaftssachverständigen aus der britischen und der amerikanischen Zone vom 13.–14. 6. 1946 in Hamburg, AVBRD 1, Dok. 24 und Anm. 35 dazu. – Bericht über die Interzonenhandelskonferenz zwischen Wirtschaftsvertretern der amerikanischen und der russischen Zone vom 13.–14. 6. 1946 in Berlin in: AVBRD 1, Dok. 24.

is a part of the general administration of each state or province. If the British zone can be reorganized along the lines of the American zone, then all functional fields, including food, can be handled administratively in a much more satisfactory manner. In Schlange-Schöningen the British have an experienced Food Commissioner, but he is hamstrung at every turn by the fact that he is a part of the general administration of the states and provinces in the British zone.

I suggested to General Clay that if he wanted to avoid any possible inferences that his joint appearance with Robertson was just another indication of the formation of an Anglo-American block, that he could take advantage of the meeting now going on in Berlin between our Economic Ministers and those from the Russian zone to show his interest in the Russian as well as the British zone. He promptly communicated with Sokolosky and proposed that they appear jointly in Berlin on Friday at the Joint Economic Conference. Unfortunately, Sokolosky was tied up with Molotov who was on his way to Paris and their joint appearance could not be arranged. Of course, the matter might also have been interpreted as Sokolosky's not wanting to make this appearance.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
14 June 1946

Flew back late yesterday afternoon to Berlin, arriving just ahead of a rather violent windstorm and thunderstorm. Spent the morning on personnel problems which never exhilarate me, particularly when I see them handled in a slow and unsatisfactory manner. General Adcock, however, was helpful, as usual, and promised to get the numerous tangles straightened out. I had lunch with Bob Murphy. We argued at some length about various aspects of a future federal Germany and I reported to him about my conversations with Robertson and he reported to me about his with Sir William Strang.

In the afternoon I attended the meeting of the Coordinating Committee, which, so it seemed to me, hit a new low for dullness. The meeting lasted four and a half hours and again and again discussions were stymied by the stubborn way in which General Dratvin kept following his instructions, which were laid out in front of him. He either wanted to send matters down to the Directorates or up to the Control Council. General Clay, as usual, highlighted the session with several forceful remarks. The one point in discussing trade unions to which he objected to a Soviet proposal which would have permitted judges and prosecutors to join trade unions was reflected in his observation that however interested other people might be in protecting the impartiality of courts and judges an American principle

was to preserve this impartiality and that we insisted that any associations of judges and prosecutors should be of a professional nature and not part of a trade union organization. The Soviet delegation failed again to report the number of Marks in circulation and again refused to give support to General Clay's plan for a joint disarmament commission to visit all zones. General Robertson made a good move in presenting to the other powers, by aiming in particular at the Soviets, an especially prepared report on demilitarization and disarmament in the British zone. General Koeltz announced his retirement from the Coordinating Committee and there were the usual facilitations on the service he has performed. Actually, he has said "No" on so many occasions that it would take a careful search of the records to determine whether he or the Soviet delegation had been the most negative members.

I had a delightful dinner with the Clays with General Keating present. We had much good conversation about the war and the relations of the Army with Military Government. General Clay made the startling statement apropos of American achievement in producing the materials of war, that on VE Day there were more ammunition and weapons in Europe produced by American plants than Germany had produced in two and a half years. General Keating could not understand how his division had been pulled back so quickly when it was within striking distance of Berlin and General Clay then reviewed the times and circumstances under which most of the major decisions conditioning the occupation of Germany were made. Among other interesting points, the General brought out that he had been in Quebec at work with British representatives on the German problems when Mr. Morgenthau flew in there and they were all told that it was no longer necessary for them to continue their work.

I had several wonderful talks with the General in which he explained to me what I have never completely understood, namely, his relations with all the various agencies in Washington such as Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint State-War-Navy Committee, Civil Affairs Division of the War Department, and the Office of Occupied Territories in the State Department. A man with less fortitude and resourcefulness might have given up the struggle long before this in having to use so many devious agencies in order to get his views across or his actions approved.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
15 June 1946

Attended the Directors' Meeting which did not develop anything particularly new or exciting. General Clay referred to the two interzonal meetings that had taken place and he ended his conference with a very sound bit of

advice about how to treat Germans. He said that we were not forget that we are still an occupying power, but that we should treat Germans with courtesy and friendliness, at the same time with correctness and propriety. He frowned upon any entertainment of Germans and also put his stamp of approval upon General McNarney's orders to cut down on the scale of living of occupation forces.

The General read me a dispatch which he had sent on May 26 to the Chief of Staff summarizing the whole German problem in a most admirable fashion.⁷⁴ This may well become a great state paper and yet, to make certain that it received proper attention, he sent it to the Chief of Staff through channels, hoping that it would reach the Secretary of State. Later in the day before I left, he told me of receiving a carefully worded reply from the State Department which informed him that his dispatch not only had been received, but would be acted upon by the Secretary of State. Also, when he had telegraphed Washington upon learning that the British contemplated presenting a proposal on a federated Germany, that he hoped any proposal on this subject would come from the United States, inasmuch as we were the only power in Germany which had actually accomplished anything along this line, he was informed that this would be arranged through Mr. Byrnes at the Paris Conference of Foreign Ministers. Meanwhile, he was asked not to make public the contents of his paper.

In the afternoon, flew back to Stuttgart, bringing Dr. Dietrich, the Food Minister, and his experts along.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, June 16, 1946

My Sweetheart –

[. . .] My trip was simply perfect. I still think I'm really dreaming. Clay sent his beautiful plane for me to use, with pilot, co-pilot and crew. I took two staff members and the top German officials with me for the two interzonal meetings in Hamburg and Berlin. We flew to Tempelhof to pick up an officer I wanted along and then to Hamburg in another hour. Next day General Clay came with General Robertson, his British opposite. They both spoke at the meeting in the Rathaus. Robertson invited me to his lunch in honor of Clay and they flew back to Berlin in Robertson's plane – little Jimmie all by his lonesome in Clay's plane. Dinner with Don Heath, busy morning, lunch with Bob Murphy, Coordinating Committee with Clay all afternoon, and then a beautiful dinner with the Clays in the evening. General

⁷⁴ Memo Clay – State Department, 26. 5. 1946, Text des Telegramms Nr. 5797 in: Clay, Decision in Germany, S. 73 ff., Entscheidung in Deutschland, S. 90–96.

Keating and others were there. Mrs. Clay is so sweet and her vivacity and genuineness remind me so much of you. She confided a lot in me because she knows how intimate I have been with the General.

Saturday morning I introduced the German officials to Clay – my staff members had brought them back from Hamburg – attended the Directors' meeting – had two wonderful, long talks with Clay and then in the late afternoon flew back to Stuttgart – 2 hours and 10 minutes! It's going to be the hardest thing I ever did to leave Clay and the work I am doing. Really darling, between ourselves, here is what has happened. I showed Clay how to organize our zone into states which would later fit into a pattern of a future federal Germany. I helped him to set up proper governments in those states. Then I told him how to tie them altogether in a coordinated whole along democratic lines. I knew German administration. I knew how to handle the Germans. Clay gave me full authority and a privileged position. Everything clicked as I thought it would, but even better. Our zone now becomes a model for the others, and now suddenly Walter Lippmann, the British, and even Secretary of State Byrnes are proposing to use what I have done as a basis for a new Germany! Clay sent a secret dispatch to Byrnes embodying my ideas completely. It will become a famous state paper. Byrnes has now accepted Clay's suggestion. It only remains for the Paris conference to do something about it. Maybe it will – maybe it won't. But in any case I have been able to lay the foundation for what progress has been made, and to chart out the pattern for future developments. I am very happy about it all and I had to tell you. Everyone now recognizes what I have done, and I don't have to tell them. But I'm still coming home to you in August and if things break right, I may have to return – with all of you, of course. But I'm still counting on staying in Ann Arbor. The main thing is, I'm coming home!

Have you seen Walter Kerr's three articles on the Länderrat in the Herald Tribune – I believe June 12, 13, 14? They were wonderful. Also Lippmann's article entitled "On Doing Something About It" which appeared, I think, June 12. [. . .]⁷⁵

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Highlights of the Day
17 June 1946

Tackling the pile of papers which had accumulated on my desk, I soon realized the important shifts which were taking place in Military Government in throwing responsibility upon the Germans. In the economics field,

⁷⁵ Kommentar zu den 3 Artikeln von Kerr in *New York Herald Tribune* in: Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 64–13 (IfZ Bd. 113).

in particular, it is only a matter of a short time until we have to greatly expand the working staffs in interzonal trade, price control, and production. I am now confronted with something like the same kind of problem I faced last fall, namely, to keep every division in OMGUS from wanting to attach some of their functional officers to my staff.

There has been some pressure from the Civil Administration Division to get the Land Governments to formulate new civil service codes. While it is true that we have lost some time in this basically important field, after several false starts, I feel strongly that civil service is a matter which should be left to the individual states, with, of course, a federal civil service law for whatever civil service departments are established. The Germans, however, feel that the present situation is so difficult and they are having so much trouble getting competent people, that they would prefer not to freeze or stabilize the present emergency group of employees into a new legal framework. I am inclined to agree with them, and thus to wait for at least a few months until new state constitutions have been drawn up. I was gratified to learn today in one of our highlight summaries of committee deliberations that the Denazification Committee was preparing a reply to the recent outburst of Landesbischof Wurm of the Lutheran church against the denazification program. His statement was so full of misrepresentation and showed so little knowledge, both of the law and of its background, that it will be relatively easy to tear his statement to pieces. On the other hand; I suppose there is always danger in getting mixed up in a church conflict. I liked the spirit, however, which was shown by the Denazification Ministers in rising to the defense of their program, even against the head of the Protestant church.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
18 June 1946

We had an important session today of the main Economics Committee with all of the Economics Ministers in attendance, following their recent conference with the Germans from the Russian zone in Berlin. Minister Erhard of Bavaria came in to tell me about his being wined and dined by the French at Baden-Baden and how anxious they seemed to be to arrange a conference with representatives from the American zone. When I questioned him whether this meant Military Government or German officials, he was not too sure. Later in the day when I talked with General Clay, I asked him what he wanted me to do in relationships with the French zone and he replied, very properly, I think, that until such time as French Military Government has its German civil administration organized in such a way that they can deal directly with our German officials, that the only

correct line to follow is to have any invitations from the French come directly to me or through General Koeltz in Berlin to General Clay. After all, we have invited the French previously without any noticeable response. If they now desire discussions in the economics field with our Germans, they will have to come through regular Military Government channels.

I had a succession of visitors, including Mr. Wilson, who was interested in the problem of organizing scientific research in the American zone; Mr. Rude, who was here to put the finishing touches on the plan to utilize captured German ammunition and commercial problems; and Mr. Merrill from the Communications Division, who was not satisfied with the slowness of our democratic processes in getting agreement between the three states in setting up a zonal postal and telegraphic service.

Brigadier Dennison Ross, who is an economic adviser from the British zone, had lunch with me and visited part of the afternoon. He was a very delightful gentleman and I found him to be a companion spirit in the matter of rebuilding democratic Germany. He had just been to Baden-Baden where he was well entertained by the French and pretty thoroughly stuffed full of French professions of faith. He did not seem to realize that, regardless of what the French say – and, of course, they are doing very little – they are really interested only in continuing the present disorganization in Germany.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
19 June 1946

I was happy today to find that a special Länderrat committee which had been hastily constituted only three weeks ago to consider the disposition of about 500,000 tons of high explosive and toxic ammunition stored in the U.S. zone had completed a plan which entirely satisfied the representatives from OMGUS who had the matter in charge. This is really an amazing story, for up to this time the ammunition has been transported to the North Sea and dumped into the sea – with a tremendous waste of material and loss of transportation. Under the plan, as soon as the Army has turned over the ammunition and rendered it useless for military purposes, the Germans will proceed to process the ammunition and it is anticipated that from the supply turned over, it will be possible for the Germans to extricate 200,000 tons of scrap steel, 55,000 tons of fertilizer, 55 tons of TNT for use as explosives in mines, 50,000 tons of various chemicals required for the production of matches, dye stuffs and plastics, 5,000 tons of non-ferrous metals, 30,000 tons of smokeless powder for production of plastics and adhesives, and approximately 100,000 tons of miscellaneous items used in the production of paper, wood and containers. These raw materials are

expected to meet a number of critical domestic requirements for more than a year.

I had a very pleasant French officer, Lieutenant De Bourbon-Busset, to lunch today. He was anxious for his headquarters in Baden-Baden to make the proper approaches for arrangements for a meeting between officials in our zone and theirs. I am convinced that it is not only French administrative inefficiency, as usual, but it is also a deliberate policy to delay everything as long as possible, thus preserving the present state of disorganization in Germany.

The budget bureau has sent an intelligent young man here to study Military Government at first hand. I wish more of the people in Washington could come here and actually get a feel of the problem. They would then be in a position to expedite the requests that come from the Theater to their desks and usually rest there an unconscionable length of time.

Received an interesting and somewhat evasive memorandum from the Economics Division today on the question of interzonal trade. The memorandum states that it is Military Government policy to oppose barter transactions, but later they indicate the necessity of “balancing trade between the zones” and “global allocations between zones” and the memorandum ends by saying that headquarters “may, in certain cases, give approval for the transaction to be consummated on a barter basis.” I wonder sometimes whether there is any use trying to attempt to make any trade program effective on the basis of the present division of Germany into four utterly unnatural zones. Now that we have reached the bottom of the barrel, insofar as raw materials are concerned, perhaps a total collapse of trade in Germany might call the critical situation to the attention of Europe and the world.

Colonel Dawson is back in charge of Military Government for Württemberg-Baden and I am happy to have his mature judgement again on Military Government problems.

A tremendous increase in the work load of the Länderrat Secretariat is impending now that applications for interzonal trade are no longer handled by Military Government in Berlin. It means that the Germans will have to develop their own staff to take care of these applications. What with the shortage of houses and office space, as well as competent workers, I do not know now how it can be done, but there always seems to be a way.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
20 June 1946

The perennial question of importing raw materials in order to prevent a breakdown in industrial production was highlighted by Dr. Bode today in our briefing of the liaison officers. The endless circle of problems connected with the rehabilitation of Germany leaves one quite groggy. In order to import the needed materials for production, the Germans must develop import credits, but production cannot be had until critical materials are made available and with the zones still presenting an insupportable barrier, even within Germany, the situation becomes ever more critical.

We had an excellent illustration today of how the Control Council can labor and bring forth a completely impossible law. In attempting to establish a new rate of taxation on tobacco, the law will result in increasing the cost of a regular tobacco ration for a Bavarian from 4.80 RM to 24 RM. This charge is not only unbearable for the budget of a working class family, but will have far-reaching social and economic consequences.

The activities of the Länderrat have become so important in the economics field that there will now be appointed a special commissioner for interzonal trade and a special price commissioner.

J.K.P.

June 20, 1946

My Sweetheart!

[. . .] I have set Ed [Litchfield] up nicely in General Clay's good graces, and he has done excellent work following my suggestions. [. . .]

I've rested up a bit and felt better today than I have felt for weeks. I'm going to try to shift some responsibilities and take more time to myself. I had word today that another group of newspaper editors will be my guests here on July 2 and 3rd. That means another big dinner party in the Villa. But I was able to do so much good with the previous group that they want me to repeat. Clay will come down for the Länderrat meeting and stay over that night for the dinner. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Highlights of the Day

21 June 1946

The members of the new Directorate paid me a call this morning and I took the occasion to make several suggestions about their new responsibilities. I emphasized where there had been inefficiency and how the Directorate could greatly expedite decisions and clear up a number of organization difficulties. I stressed the fact that this was no place for politics, inasmuch as we were primarily an administrative mechanism and that simply because some more machinery had been set up was no proof that it would work. I pointed out that it was up to them to add additional luster to the already impressive record they had made and that they should have their organizational program prepared and ready for any eventuality. I had in mind possible developments arising out of the Conference of Foreign Ministers in Paris. Dr. Pfeiffer, who is the first chairman of the new Directorate, replied to me most properly and intelligently, indicating how heavy the burden of government was these days, considering the shortage of competent personnel.

The evacuee problem is becoming another tremendous headache. The exchange of evacuees between the various zones is assuming such dimensions that a collapse of the entire evacuee exchange system may be expected in the near future, if prompt action is not taken. Similarly, with expellees we are presented with almost unsurmountable problems of housing and care. Some 500,000 expellees have already been absorbed in the American zone, but there are slightly under two million remaining to be absorbed if present plans are followed through. If all of the evacuees from the other zones, totalling over 400,000, could be moved out of our zone and a reduction made in the number of additional expellees who must be absorbed, perhaps they could all be settled and fed. I still feel that the decisions at Potsdam which have resulted in moving millions of people hither and yon will, in the end, have tremendous international consequences.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day

22 June 1946

Called Ed Litchfield today about the most recent paper prepared by the so-called Inter-Divisional Committee on Governmental Structure, of which he is chairman and of which I am supposed to be a member. Unfortunately, my participation has been limited to telephone conversations, although the committee has been very good to pay attention to suggestions I have made. This paper dealt with German government for world organization

and seems to have arisen out of a suggestion made by Governor Sewall. I told Ed that, although I should not object to the report's going in, that I thought it was defective in several respects. First of all, I did not care for the proposal that Germany should be handled by the United Nations under Chapter 12, the so-called International Trusteeship System. Second, I was not clear that this trusteeship system was ever intended to apply to an area like Germany. Third, that although in my own thinking I have felt that eventually the United Nations organization should take over responsibility for watching Germany into the indefinite future, that I did not believe that the first steps in recreating a new German government should be taken by any organization, except the present Allied Control Authority. In other words, Germany needs a central government at once. Such a government should be established under the direction of the present Control Council. Then, when that central government has developed a constitutional underpinning and the Control Council gradually passes out of the picture, in my opinion, the continuing problems of watching Germany becomes a United Nations' responsibility. But I have not yet thought through precisely how this United Nations' responsibility can best be exercised and judging by the slowness of present developments, I believe I have plenty of time to think this latter phase through very carefully. The trusteeship system, in any case, referred to in this memorandum, would not be the proper way for the United Nations organization to meet its responsibility. Some special organization would have to be devised for the purpose.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
23 June 1946

Colonel Gunn from the Civil Affairs Division, Washington, came down to show me a paper he had prepared and was taking back to Washington.

Ted Clark, a former student of mine now with the United Press, was here for the weekend and wanted to interview me about several matters of current interest.

I spent several hours studying the constitutional problems in the three states in our zone which have just come from the preparatory study commissions. They give evidence of careful work and they will certainly provide a good foundation for the discussions in the forthcoming constitutional conventions.

J.K.P.

June 23, 1946

My Darling –

*[. . .] I enclose the third article in the series which appeared in the Paris Herald Tribune. I didn't have it when I sent the other clippings. It is really wonderful and the three together provide the best picture anyone has given of our work here. [. . .]*⁷⁶

*Hugs & Kisses,
Jim*

Stuttgart, June 23, 1946

Dearest Mother –

My usual quiet Sunday was badly interrupted today by several visitors. Two colonels who were flying to Washington tomorrow brought down a paper from Frankfurt which I was supposed to see. Then two newspapermen – one a former student of mine – came for interviews, and finally several officers from Berlin had to see me in preparation for meetings tomorrow. The only way I can have any rest is to get out of town or better yet, out of the country. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
James*

Highlights of the Day
24 June 1946

Further study of the report dealing with proposals for an anti-inflationary program for Germany gives me added reason for worry about the present financial demoralization. Although the German Price Control system has done an excellent job in holding prices and wages, still the important fact remains that too many people are resorting to barter in order to obtain food and too many workers are staying away from their jobs because money is not important to them. There has been a steady decline of the incentive both to work and to sell and since there is an abundance of money or bank deposits, there is a reduction in the incentive to work. Until confidence can be developed in the currency, an upswing in productive power can hardly occur. Hence, to prevent economic chaos, as well as to stimulate production, finance reform is necessary. Such reform, however, must be achieved through combined action of the four occupying powers

⁷⁶ Ebenda.

and can only be effectively implemented by a central German government. At present, neither condition exists. I am glad, however, that General Clay has at last been able to pry loose a really intelligent and constructive report in this present field. I sincerely hope that effect will be given to it at the earliest possible moment.

I had a brief discussion today on the problem of Länderreform with a German official from Bavaria who was on his way to the British zone.

Also discussed the implications of the present evacuee problem with a Military Government officer from Bavaria and Guradze of my staff. We all agree that this problem is coming to be the biggest one confronting American Military Government.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
25 June 1946

Walter Dorn came in last night and related to me his experiences in Bavaria where he has been investigating the administration of the denazification law. He was quite excited about the fact that the Denazification Minister Schmitt, who is himself a Communist, has also filled most of the important posts with other Communists and on top of it all, has not pulled the whole system together. Some six weeks ago General Muller had called this to the attention of Minister-President Hoegner, but apparently he has done nothing about it in the meantime. Walter wanted to move Dr. Pfeiffer into the post and oust Minister Schmitt. I was against this because I can not see where a disruption of a program right in the middle of its execution would be very helpful. It is true that Pfeiffer is the power behind the CSU in Bavaria and can probably be considered as a prospective Minister-President. I can also see why Hoegner would like to push him into the mess which Minister Schmitt seems to have cut up. I feel sure some other way than the one Walter is proposing will be more constructive and less disrupting.

General Clay called this morning to say that he is going to Paris on Thursday. I rejoice that Mr. Byrnes is again calling him into the Conference and I await the outcome with great expectancy.

Drove to Munich this afternoon to talk over a number of problems with General Muller.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
26 June 1946

Munich seems to have picked up a great deal since my last visit. I was pleased to find the Bavarian government adequately housed and when I called on Dr. Hoegner he showed me with considerable satisfaction the rooms that had been fixed up for cabinet meetings in the old house of the Prussian Minister.

I had the privilege of visiting Nymphenburg and later to the handicraft exhibition in the Haus der Deutschen Kunst. I was perfectly amazed at the abundance of really beautiful things – leather, crystal, glass, linen, plastics and silver. If we could only supply the Germans with the raw materials to produce these beautiful products, they could hardly meet the demand for the next ten years.

I took the occasion to inquire rather closely into the Bavarian political movements and personalities and found that the Christian Socialists Union is indisputably the leading and majority party, but its leadership is somewhat divided and its membership is very heterogeneous. Preparations for the forthcoming constitutional Conventions were quite perfect and although it is not likely that there will be as high a popular participation as in the big city elections, nevertheless, it seems quite certain that a big vote will be cast. The delegates when elected will assemble about the middle of July and will use the Aula of the badly damaged Munich University as their meeting place.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
27 June 1946

I had a long talk with Dr. Pfeiffer who was here for a meeting of the Directorate. He explained the whole situation with regard to denazification and promised me that something definite would be done within ten days to get rid of the Communist Minister who, although very sympathetic with the denazification program, has been administratively a huge mistake and politically under the domination of his own Communist party.

The members of the Directorate paid me a visit to get my suggestions about the state compact on railways on which they were working. Their meeting lasted from ten o'clock in the morning until seven-thirty in the evening, demonstrating, I believe, the great need to have such a working committee meeting together every week.

In the liaison officers' meeting we discussed a number of important issues, including civil service, exchange of refugees, and the organization of the railroad system.

General Clay told me that he was going to Paris on Sunday and if he finished with Mr. Byrnes, would try to reach Stuttgart on Tuesday in time for a regular conference with the Minister-Presidents. He told me that even if he could not come Tuesday, he would come to tell me about developments in Paris as soon as Mr. Byrnes was finished with him. I reported to Bob Murphy two or three of the interesting aspects of Bavarian politics, which he understands so well.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
28 June 1946

Guradze brought up an interesting point today which arose in the Welfare Committee, namely, the problem of illegitimate children. It appears that Nazis who are held in internment camps cannot be reached or charged for the support of illegitimate children, nor is there any provision to give equal care to the illegitimate children of the displaced persons or refugees who happen to be in the zone. We were somewhat startled when he told us that the percentage of illegitimate children in Bavaria was thirty per cent, but he explained that this was not abnormal.

Another point came up regarding the release of gold and silver to be used in making parts for much needed electrical equipment. There is also a big field, especially in places like Pforzheim and Gmünd, for the manufacture of all kinds of silver, jewelry and silverware. Under existing directives, large stocks of silver and gold are lying idle near Frankfurt under guard, when they could be contributing materially to the reactivation of the German economy.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
30 June 1946

This being another election day, this time for the election of delegates to state constitutional conventions, I took a tour through northern and eastern Württemberg to watch the voting and the counting. Stopping at Gmünd, Heidenheim and other points, I was impressed with the orderliness and the businesslike way in which the voting was being conducted. I had a stimulating talk with the Military Government Officer at Heidenheim, Captain Bloom, about the care and use of an important

group of scientific workers who had been evacuated from the Russian zone and who are now quartered in Kreis Heidenheim.

J.K.P.

June 30, 1946

My Dearest –

As I think I told you in my letter last Sunday, I went to Munich Tuesday and came back Wednesday evening. It was a very pleasant trip of about three hours on the Autobahn and General Muller is always so nice to me. You will probably laugh but when he took me out to the famous Nymphenburg porcelain manufacturing plant which was built in the 18th century, I bought some more dishes! I couldn't resist because it was a chance of a lifetime. I bought a basket shape pattern decorated very sparingly with flowers. I also purchased a dozen gorgeous fruit plates – all different, and a dozen place plates with open work. It will probably take a couple of months to make because it is all hand work, but they will be shipped to me when ready. Total cost to me was only 1151 marks or \$ 115! They could sell for a thousand easily! You see where my allowance money goes, but it is really an investment and I think you will love this set. It's so sweet and dainty.

This will be a very busy and important week for me. Tuesday the Länderrat meets and that evening I entertain a group of 20 visiting newspaper editors including Roy Howard of Scripps-Howard, Sulzberger of the Times, Doc Gilmore of the Detroit News, etc. Clay and Murphy plan to fly in from Paris if Mr. Byrnes is through with them. Clay even hinted he would like to bring Mr. Byrnes with him. Wouldn't that be something? In any case, Clay said that he would fly here from Paris to tell me what happened. I thought that was awfully nice of him.

I am still planning a trip through the Rhineland and the Ruhr on my way to the meeting in Hamburg. I also hope to dip into Holland for a couple of days to check into Rhine shipping problems. Clay's arrival will determine when I can leave – maybe the 4th or 5th. I will be away from Stuttgart for probably two weeks.

I hope you have been able to see the article about Clay and me in Newsweek for June 24. It was really wonderful and informing. Also the reference to me in Time [Magazine] for June 24 in the chart on p. 12. Unfortunately someone wrote a "Smear" article about me in a publication put out by an organization known as the Society to Prevent World War III. Rex Stout and other German haters run it.⁷⁷ I suppose Bill Eaton and Hobbs gave them

⁷⁷ Schriftwechsel Pollocks mit dem Herausgeber Rex Stout über dessen Artikel ebenda sowie in: Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence-Clippings, Mich. Hist. Coll.

some of the dope about me in Ann Arbor. It sounds like them. I guess you have to expect the bitter with the sweet.

It looks now as if August 10 is about the right time for me to start moving toward the good old U.S.A. When I'm in Berlin next week I will make the arrangements. I don't know whether I'll go by plane or boat and I still would like to have a few days in London. I'll keep you informed of course. I think it would be nice for you all to meet me when I land if I can be certain when & where I will arrive. Do you agree?

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Highlights of the Day
1 July 1946

Received two French officers from Baden-Baden who brought with them two of their top German officials from the Palatinate to make a moving appeal to me on behalf of the starving Germans in the French zone. They wondered why we could not send them from the American zone ten thousand tons of potatoes which were needed to maintain life in this benighted portion of the French zone of occupation. I assured the very sincere Germans that it was not because of any lack of humanity that such transfers from our zone to the French zone could not be allowed and I told them that American taxpayers who were paying for large quantities of food to be sent to the American zone in Germany would not understand it if Germans in the American zone could then find enough extra to give to other zones. I also told them that the responsibility for feeding the Germans in the French zone rested with the French Military Government and that we had worked consistently for the elimination of zonal boundaries, but had not secured the support of the French.

It seemed a bit odd to me that the French should have brought their Germans over to us to beg for food.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
2 July 1946

This was Länderrat day and we all missed General Clay very much.⁷⁸ He called from Paris to explain that he could not leave and would I present to the Minister-Presidents two matters for him. These related to a proposal

⁷⁸ Protokoll der 10. Länderratssitzung vom 2. 7. 1946 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 1, Dok. 24.

for an amnesty for youthful offenders under the denazification law, provided they were not Class I or Class II offenders; and a request for suggestions from the Minister-Presidents about how best to handle the exchange of refugees with other zones. The regional directors and also Mr. Parkman came as usual for the meeting and we utilized their presence to discuss many problems of practical interest in Military Government. The Minister-Presidents received the word about amnesty with undisguised pleasure and Dr. Geiler, who is now presiding over the Länderrat, seemed rewarded for his suggestion along this line about a month ago.

After lunch I called in the three Minister-Presidents to raise with them a number of problems which hardly warranted public presentation, but which require attention on their part: The first was the transport problem, where I urged them to take a more direct personal interest to see that operations improved; the second was why American Military Government could not approve transfers of food out of the American zone to the French zone; and third, to urge them to expedite the conclusion of statutes regulating both rails and posts.

In the evening entertained a group of visiting newspaper editors, including my good friend "Doc" Gilmore, of the *Detroit News*, Mr. Sulzberger of the *New York Times*, Roy Howard, and a dozen others. I took the occasion to make some observations about the shortcomings of the American press in reporting on American Military Government and drew a comparison with the British press which has done a comparatively better job. Some of them did not like the criticism, but none of them rose to their defense.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day 3 July 1946

Spent the morning in what proved to be a very pleasant seminar session with the visiting editors. I tried to pull together a number of tag ends of information which they had been picking up and to put it in the total framework of Military Government. They seemed very interested and appreciative and later I took them to several Länderrat committee meetings so that they could see part of our operation, and then introduced the Secretary General and the Food Commissioner and the plenipotentiaries from the three states to them. Dr. Seelos, the plenipotentiary from Bavaria, regaled them with a spirited defense of Bavarian state's rights, which, I think, was a good point to make, inasmuch as we had been discussing the development of a decentralized federal Germany.

Tomorrow's being the Fourth of July, the liaison officers came in the afternoon and when the session was over, I was ready to jump in the

lovely outdoor swimming pool the Tenth Constabulary Regiment has provided and try to forget about all my troubles.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
4 July 1946

Today was Independence Day and General Harrold invited me to be with him in the reviewing stand to review the various motorized units of the Constabulary. It was what I would call a quietly impressive display of American power and the affair was concluded with forty-eight salvos, which sounded off in front of the former palace of the kings of Württemberg.

Secretary Roßmann sent me a letter this morning with greetings for the Fourth of July. He adverted to the great contribution of Thomas Jefferson and how important it was for the Germans to understand the significance of the powerful ideas and words contained in the Declaration of Independence. He showed his appreciation of the great document by calling in all of his German employees at a meeting in which he explained for a half hour the meaning of the Declaration. I find this a very encouraging sign that the Germans are trying to jump away from some of their own traditional thinking to benefit from the democratic experience of the United States.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, July 4, 1946

My Darling –

[. . .] I have been so pleased with all the favorable – even flattering publicity – but I am simply overwhelmed with terribly difficult problems, and I'm very weary. Perhaps my trip to Hamburg and other points will refresh me. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Highlights of the Day
5 July 1946

An interesting point came up in the Finance Committee meeting the other day which shows how German administration is gradually getting back on its own feet. The Bavarians proposed reestablishing the old Reichsfinanzhof, which formerly had its seat in Munich. They proposed to make, for the

time being, this the zonal tax appeal board and make it available to other zones.

The regulations of the press and of the radio have caused extensive discussions here during the past three months. The differences of opinion on critical points are very numerous and in the radio field the German postal officials have been insisting that all of the technical aspects of radio should be controlled by the post-office. Other points of view have been expressed which would put the radio under a sort of BBC. It is interesting and encouraging to find a pretty realistic and quite democratic approach to the settlement of these vitally important questions. The Germans have been assisted materially by the understanding assistance which has been given to them by my own staff member, Lieutenant Haller, and a very intelligent representative from the Information Control Division in Berlin, Mr. Davison. In these fields the Germans need much help and it will be a long time before the German press and radio approximate the American or the British standards.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Saturday, 6 July 1946

General Clay called to ask me to meet him in Frankfurt, where he was conferring with General McNarney and the visiting newspapermen, to fly with him to Berlin. We boarded his plane together with Bob Murphy and Mr. Lightner from the State Department. It seemed like a very short flight because we had an interesting talk about the Paris Conference from which they had just come. The General was on call in case the German problem came up. Since it did not come up and General McNarney wanted Clay with him at the press conference in Frankfurt, Clay took the opportunity to go back to Berlin to catch up with the more pressing problems which had arisen during his absence. Clay and Murphy kidded me about the smear article which had appeared in the publication of the so-called Society to Prevent World War III, and the General, never missing an opportunity, said that this was just another reason why I could not go home – that I would not want to finish my work under fire.

The week in Paris had not developed anything constructive on the German side, although the General had talked several times with Mr. Byrnes, who, fortunately, is receptive to Clay's suggestions. After arriving in Tempelhof, Bob Murphy took Ernie Linde and me to dinner at his house where

we went into the Paris conversations quite exhaustively in the presence of Lightner and Don Heath.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Sunday, 7 July 1946

Although the General was tremendously busy catching up with urgent cables, we had an hour's talk, part of which related to me and my plans to return home. It is extremely hard for me to go and the General said that he would only give me leave of absence for six months. He was not satisfied with the work the Länderrat had done on land reform. When we talked about the Hamburg conference with the British which I am attending on Thursday, he thought it was a good idea for me to canvass the situation in the British zone with a view to any future combination. In the afternoon I took a drive around Berlin with Ernie Linde who had not been there since 1937. It is a grim spectacle at any time and the more I see of Berlin, the less I want to be there. It still seems to me to have been a great mistake to have centered everything there.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Monday, 8 July 1946

I had a long conference this morning with Colonel Edmunds, the new head of the Transport Division. We went over the German organization for transport in the American zone and I explained how we were now deeming it advisable to press the Germans for improvements in their top management and operations. There has been a tendency all along for the transport people to blame the Germans, while actually at least half of the trouble has been due to the failure of our own transport people to give the Germans clear instructions, and not to get them confused with all kinds of contradictory orders from different officers. I pointed out the need which has been present for some months of a competent German-speaking liaison officer from the Transport Division to the German Transport Directorate.

Spent several disagreeable hours trying to untangle the terrible personnel situation. It is too bad that such an important operation is being severely handicapped by an unsatisfactory personnel branch. For the first time my whole staff has been unsettled by a number of unjustifiable classification decisions.

I had a brief conference with General Harper who is in charge of headquarters while General Clay is away. He remarked that everybody in Ber-

lin was pushing papers around until they knew the outcome of the Paris discussions. General Clay flew back to Paris last night.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Tuesday, 9 July 1946

Berlin seems to be full of all kinds of rumors about the Russians and about the food situation and about possible American withdrawal. Nerves are very much on edge and one can hardly blame the Germans for being nervous in the midst of so much uncertainty.

J.K.P.

Berlin, July 9, 1946

My Darling –

I leave in the morning, as I have already written to you, for Hamburg where I have a joint meeting with the British. Then on Friday to British headquarters at Bad Oeynhausen (remember?) and Minden. Then to Holland for the weekend – which I will need and enjoy.

I've had several strenuous days here but have accomplished a good deal. Everyone is pushing papers around awaiting the outcome of the Paris conference. Clay called me today and seemed hopeful. We will see. I look for little progress at this time. That's another reason why I'm coming home!! [. . .] I am well and now counting the days until I see you. The next Länderrat meeting is August 6th. I will get away as soon after that as possible. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Highlights of the Day
Wednesday, 10 July 1946

We drove today to Hamburg, taking the long way around because the short way is still through the Russian zone and it takes several days to get proper clearances. We arrived in time to go to a dinner given by the German officials in the Zonal Advisory Council and Brigadier Britten was there representing British Control Commission headquarters.⁷⁹ Dr. Schumacher,

⁷⁹ Protokoll der Sitzung des Zonenbeirats vom 10./11. 7. 1946 in Hamburg, an der Vertreter des Länderrats teilnahmen, AVBRD 1, Dok. 25.

who is now president of the Zonal Advisory Council, made a few pleasant remarks which were replied to by our Secretary General, Mr. Roßmann. In the course of the evening I had a warm discussion with Dr. Weisser who is the German secretary of the Zonenbeirat. He, of course, is interested in justifying the existence of his own ineffective organization and did not seem to be aware of how much actual difference there was between our Länderrat and his Zonenbeirat. The dinner was at the Fährhaus on the Außenalster, from which one can still get the same magnificent view back toward the Rathaus, which, by a strange freak of fortune, still remains standing.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Thursday, 11 July 1946

Our Secretary General, Roßmann, made an excellent speech in which he gave as good a description of the work of the Länderrat as I have heard. Schumacher was in the chair for the British Germans and there was a lot of discussion, but very little action. No one could be impressed with this British effort at the revival of German self-government. After talking with Brigadier Britten, Colonel Pearson, Brigadier Armytage and others from the British side both at lunch and at dinner, I began to wonder what value there would be in combining our two zones, since they are run so differently. I received a more complete idea of how British Military Government is organized, but I confess my admiration does not grow as I learn more about it. The food situation in Hamburg is critical and everywhere my car stopped it was surrounded with hungry people who were begging for bread. The workmen on the streets and on construction projects were all grumbling and looked, to say the least, fagged out.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Friday, 12 July 1946

On the way to Bremen this morning on the Autobahn we passed the most amazing assembly of vehicles I have ever seen. For twenty-five miles, on both sides of the double highway probably one hundred thousand of every kind of war vehicle were neatly lined up. One got an impressive idea of the magnitude as well as the waste of modern warfare. It was good to lunch once more in an American mess in Bremen and to learn about current developments in this bit of American controlled territory. The Bremen Port Command is now liquidated and things have settled down to a more

normal basis. The Bremen Senate, however, is not happy in its rather analogous position with American Military Government in actual occupation, overriding British policy being determining. The situation is, however, so much better than last fall that there is no comparison.

Upon our arrival at Minden at the headquarters of the British Economic Control Commission, I had a meeting with Dr. Agartz, who heads their German economic organization. When I raised the question about how our two zones could work more effectively together and what was needed to improve cooperation, Dr. Agartz, in the presence of Brigadier Cowley, very frankly replied that nothing was needed on the American side, but on the British side more authority had to be granted to the Germans with less interference from individual branch chiefs in British Military Government. Brigadier Cowley was very anxious to bring about more effective cooperation between the two zones, but was not too clear as to how it should be accomplished. At dinner at Brigadier Cowley's mess, General Balfour came up from British zone headquarters at Lübbecke and General Grimsdale and Colonel Robinson were present. We had a long and interesting discussion after dinner about joining up the two zones. The more we talked, the more convinced I became of the practical difficulty in amalgamating two utterly dissimilar administrative systems. General Balfour pointed out how the British were going to make certain changes along lines similar to what has already been done in the American zone, but when I asked what could be done in the next three months, I got no answer. The British have acted on the theory that the Land economics officers should not be integrated into provincial administration because they were formerly controlled from Berlin and should continue to be under a future government. This might be a good theory but it was, in effect, a rationalization of their own centralized control of economic affairs. General Balfour brushed me the wrong way once when he implied that there was nothing democratic about what we were doing in the Länderrat, meaning that our Minister-Presidents were not popularly elected. Coming from a responsible British officer who, with his colleagues, have done almost nothing to revive democratic procedures in their own zone, I could not restrain myself from replying, with some heat, I fear, that, although there could not be anything democratic about Military Government, that, actually, we had progressed very far toward the re-establishment, both of democratic procedures and the development of democratic thinking in the American zone, not to mention the whole cycle of democratic elections through which we have come.

In discussing the questions of treating Germany as an economic unit, I discovered that the British use the word "whole" instead of unit and Ernie

Linde very cleverly observed that if they spelled it without the “w” it would be a more accurate description of the present situation.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Saturday, 13 July 1946

Drove to Amsterdam for a few days of change. It was like coming from darkness to daylight when one crossed the border into Holland. There were still numerous signs of the fighting which had taken place through Holland and a bitter feeling against the Germans. Amsterdam was an extremely pleasant sight to my eyes after having seen so many destroyed German cities. Although food seems to be quite plentiful, everything is rationed and there is considerable scarcity of consumer goods.⁸⁰

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Sunday, 14 July 1946

After a pleasant motor launch trip around the canals and through the harbors, drove to The Hague by way of Haarlem and Leyden.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Tuesday, 16 July 1946

Saw Stanley Hornbeck, our Ambassador, and had a pleasant lunch with him and his wife. We talked about how the Dutch view the German problem and I learned with considerable interest that the Dutch are not interested in annexing any German territory, but would be interested in certain rectifications of frontier, particularly around Cleves. The Dutch, who have lost the trade and hinterland in Germany, are quite anxious to resume their normal commerce with Germany and their extensive carrying trade on the Rhine. They look with considerable anxiety at our rebuilding the port of Bremen for fear that it will compete too strongly with Rotterdam.

The Peace Palace is undisturbed and quite as handsome a building as

⁸⁰ “*What a paradise compared to Germany! Food is good but very expensive,*” Brief Pollocks an seine Frau vom 16. 7. 1946, Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll.

ever. However, the newly organized International Court of Justice does not yet have any business and thus is not in session. The newly elected Dutch parliament is now organized and there has been a recent reshuffling of the Ministry. I learned that some 90,000 Dutch collaborators are still in internment camps where they have been without trial for over a year. The new Prime Minister promises to remove most of them after a review in the near future.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Wednesday, 17 July 1946

Drove through Rotterdam, Breda, Eindhoven and Roermond to Düsseldorf where British Military Government Regional Headquarters for the Northern Rhine Province are located.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Thursday, 18 July 1946

After talking with the Regional Commissioner, Mr. Asbury, I drove to the great inland port at Duisburg and to the headquarters of the Northern German Coal Control at Essen. Approximately 50 per cent of the facilities of the great Ruhrort are now able to be used and the facilities of the port are adequate to handle all present shipments of coal and other goods coming into it.

I was impressed in Essen with the efficient and business-like manner in which Brigadier Marley and his associates had handled the coal problem. Operating in the huge and ornate Villa Hügel they have gone further than other parts of Military Government in getting the Germans to do the work. They are, of course, conscious of the central importance of coal in the total German and European economy and they are doing everything possible to increase production by improving the ration and status of the miner.

Brigadier Marley observed that the coal miners were saying that Hitler gave them vitamins, the British are now giving them calories, and they wonder when they are going to get some bloody food.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Friday, 19 July 1946

Arrived in Koblenz last night and was quartered in Bad Ems, twenty kms away because of the shortage of rooms in Koblenz. Had a very revealing discussion with the French Governor, Monsieur de Bois Lambert, who explained how they had organized what they call the province of Rhénane. They have created a new administrative district out of the four wine growing counties of Hessen on the east bank of the Rhine, which has been referred to euphoniouly as the Koblenz bridgehead. They call it Regierungsbezirk Montabaur, presumably after the French general. The Governor very frankly admitted that he saw little hope for effective cooperation between the different zones until there was a change in French policy.

Arrived back in Stuttgart in time for dinner.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Saturday, 20 July 1946

In making a quick review of developments at the Länderrat during my absence, I notice that the Welfare Committee is getting in some good work. It means that another constructive aspect of German administration is getting under way. In some respects Germany as a whole can be considered a welfare case and we should never forget how expensive it is to rehabilitate welfare cases when they are neglected too long.

I also find progress in putting the land reform law into final shape. It is really amazing the amount of work which is turned out here every week.

J.K.P.

July 21, 1946

Dearest Mother and Sister –

*[. . .] My trip was vastly interesting and I am now ready to advise General Clay about future developments in the light of the failure of the Paris conference to develop any program. I am quite discouraged about the outlook.
[. . .]*

*My love to all of you,
James*

Highlights of the Day
Monday, 22 July 1946

I had an opportunity over Sunday to think through the problem of inter-zonal amalgamation which is now in the air since Mr. Byrnes' announcement at Paris.⁸¹ I prepared a letter for General Clay expressing my views which, in general, did not look with too much favor on any kind of formal amalgamation which would involve setting up new machinery. I fear that the British are so far behind us that it would be administratively very difficult to get two utterly diverse administrative systems to work closely together. Hence, I have recommended that existing avenues of cooperation between the two zones be further utilized.

A report today on leather presents the fact that for every child between three and fourteen there is just enough leather to make three-fourths of a pair of shoes per year. A similar shortage in paper is impeding the dissemination of desirable factual information to the Germans and preventing a normal development of newspapers and magazines.

General Draper, Colonel Hester, Colonel Wilkinson arrived late this afternoon from Berlin and were our guests for dinner. General Draper gave me his impressions of the Paris conference and told me about the conferences which had been held in Berlin following General Clay's and General Robertson's return. Talked over the phone with General Clay who had just returned from Bremen and Hamburg. When I asked him which road he had used from Hamburg to Berlin, he said the regular road through the Russian zone and that he had been held up about an hour at the border.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Tuesday, 23 July 1945

The Reparations Subcommittee has suggested that the reparations question needs to be reconsidered, inasmuch as the economic structure of Germany has completely changed since the end of the war and also because the figures of 1936 are not adequate to the present situation. The fact is, of course, that what is done in one zone is not very well known in the

⁸¹ Erklärung des amerikanischen Außenministers Byrnes auf der Außenministerkonferenz in Paris am 11. 7. 1946 zur amerikanischen Deutschlandpolitik. Er forderte den Zusammenschluß der vier Besatzungszonen zu einer ökonomischen Einheit, Deutschlands Wiederaufbau und einen Friedensvertrag, FRUS 1946 II, S. 880–898 (S. 881–882 u. 897–898). Siehe auch A Summary of United States Policy and Objectives in Germany, 19. 7. 1946, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. (IfZ Bd. 34).

other zones and the Level of Industry Plan which was agreed upon for the Allied Control Council does not take into consideration the fact that the population of Germany has considerably increased on account of the influx of expellees. The density of population in the western zones has increased to 190 people per square kilometer and because of the loss of the territories east of the Oder, Germany will have to import more food than she did in pre-wartimes.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Wednesday, 24 July 1946

Received a group of British visitors today who were interested in getting a more complete understanding of the operations of the Länderrat. The party included General Balfour, General Robertson's deputy in the British zone, Colonel Grimsdale of the Economic Control Council in Minden, Colonel Robinson, also from Minden, and Mr. Ingrams from Berlin. I think we were able to explain some of the procedures and accomplishments of the Länderrat and they all expressed considerable admiration. In the evening we had dinner for them at the Villa and I suppose most of the discussion related to possible ways and means of combining the British and American zones. I must say, however, that I have no illusions about how difficult this would be and I got very few helpful suggestions from our British colleagues.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Thursday, 25 July 1946

General Clay arrived last night and had an early breakfast with me to talk over the question of my successor. His choice has very wisely fallen upon Colonel Dawson who is at present the Director of Military Government for Württemberg-Baden and who has had a long and distinguished experience in Military Government. The General, in talking about my going home, expressed some concern about his own position in the emerging situation. He felt quite properly that following the next discussions of the Foreign Ministers on Germany that the whole world will be focusing its attention on the solution of this problem. However, he is in the Military Government, and with most of the Army redeployment and disciplinary problems solved, may well be expected to interfere more and more in Military Government.

General Clay's relations with General McNarney have always been of

the best and he has deferred to him on every occasion, but with such momentous issues in the foreground, it seems only fitting and proper that General Clay, as representing Military Government, should have the decisive influence for the Army, but handled as a contributing and not as a controlling force.

We also talked about the new situation in which Military Government would find itself after the election of the Land legislators in October. The Länderrat would then be the only agency which Military Government has left to which to issue directives.

At the liaison officers' meeting this morning after the General had flown back to Berlin we had the usual briefing in the various functional fields and I had the difficult task of telling the staff and the liaison officers that I would not be with them in another two weeks.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, July 25, 1946

My Darling –

Tonight I am tired and weary but very happy because I'm going home! The General was here last night and this morning to see me and after asking me if my intention to return was irrevocable, he named Col. Dawson as my successor. He then said that he would arrange to let me fly home and I indicated around the 15th of August as the time. So it's all set, my dearest, and I'm now busily cutting all my connections in preparation to go home. The General insisted that he wants me back at some future time and will probably have the orders read in such a way that it will be easy to return. But we will see about that. I'm home with you until February at least and I won't come back without you! [. . .]

I still plan a trip of a few days to London. I will probably be here until the Länderrat meeting on the 6th, then fly to Berlin with the General, fly to London and back and then leave Stuttgart for Paris. [. . .]

There are so many things I must do – you have no idea what it means to pass on to another man what you have been doing. Col. Dawson is the most experienced Military Government officer in the theatre and I am happy to have him carry on in my place. I'll write soon again –

*Love,
Jim*

Highlights of the Day
Friday, 26 July 1946

I had an interesting discussion this morning with representatives of DANA, the German newspaper agency. They brought me an interesting criticism of some of the procedures of the Länderrat which appeared in the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, a Communist organ. I took the occasion to point out to them that it was the desire of Military Government to give as much publicity as possible to the work of the German governments everywhere and that if the German press were dissatisfied with the internal procedures of the Länderrat, that they should openly criticize them and endeavor to eliminate any undue secrecy which may exist. I pointed out, however, that the publicity arrangements in the Länderrat are quite usual and normal. The sessions of the Länderrat are open to the public and news about the committee meetings is given out each week in a press conference. Committee sessions, of course, are closed as they usually are in all legislative bodies, and the Minister-Presidents occasionally have executive sessions to talk over personnel and other intimate matters not particularly suitable to public discussion.

I also pointed out to them that every effort had been made in the course of formulating definite proposals to bring in interested persons and groups and I threw in a little barb at the German press by expressing disappointment that it had taken them some six months to discover and pay any attention to the most important development which had been going on in the American zone. I was pleased, however, to see that they were alert to the responsibilities of the press in securing full information.

Dr. Maier, the Minister-President of Württemberg-Baden, called to discuss the proposed agrarian reform law. He pointed out how difficult it was for them in North Württemberg, where there are very few large estates, to apply a drastic reform law to their own area, while South Württemberg, which has a considerable number of large estates, is unaffected because it is in the French zone and the French are doing nothing about the problem. I took occasion to question him about how he felt on the question of merging the British and American zones in accordance with General McNarney's invitation. He pointed out what a difficult thing it would be to merge two utterly different administrative systems and he clearly indicated that it would really be up to the British zone to make such fundamental alterations in its structure so that it could measure up to the present organization in the American zone. He also expressed some doubt about the feasibility of two Military Governments working together on some joint organization to supervise the Germans, apparently referring to the less satisfactory experience which the Germans in the British zone have had with their own Military Government.

Great progress has been achieved this week toward the final formulation

of basic agreements, not only with regard to agrarian reform, but also in the management of transportation matters and in the acceptance of a new press law.

The next Länderrat meeting promises to be one of the most fruitful we have had thus far.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, July 27, 1946

My Darling –

[. . .] *Everyone here is just too nice to me. It will be hard to leave so many loyal friends and admirers, but my family comes first and this is a good time to leave.*⁸²

*Love,
Jim*

Highlights of the Day
Monday, 29 July 1946

Received a report today from the interzonal trade commissioner of the Länderrat on his work since 19 July, when OMGUS transferred responsibilities in this field to the Germans. In the period since 19 June von Maltzan, who is a nephew of the former German ambassador to the United States, has handled 255 applications, of which 212 were approved, representing 1,848,000 marks. Compared to the trade necessary to put the zone on its feet, this is, of course, a mere drop in the bucket. But the successful handling of so many applications demonstrates again the ability of our German officials to handle an assignment which was, in this case, literally thrown at them without any advance preparation.

An intelligent looking personnel analyst was at last sent down to us today to look over our entire operation. I wish we had had more capable personnel men in the earlier stages. We could then have avoided a lot of improper classification problems and we would have been able to retain many very capable men who have already gone home. This chap was

⁸² An seine Mutter schrieb Pollock am 26. 7. 1946: *"I leave when my stocks are very high and that's a good time. It will take me a long time to realize exactly what I've done. It's been a magnificent experience – the greatest of my life."* Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll.

trained under Don Sublette in Detroit, than whom there is no better personnel technician in the United States.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Tuesday, 30 July 1946

It is very interesting to watch foreign and interzonal trade being reborn in Germany amidst tremendous difficulties. Up to now the German exporter in the American zone is not permitted to communicate with foreign buyers, and thus one of the successful conditions to foreign trade is not yet present. The French and the Russians have already permitted this. Then, too, U.S. import duties constitute an important barrier to the successful completion of German trade with the U.S. Fundamentally, of course, there can be no economic revival in Germany and also in Europe until Germany can acquire export dollars to pay for necessary imports.

I received a report today of an interzonal meeting at Bad Godesberg held in the middle of the month with the Ministers of Justice, judges and professors of law from the three zones in attendance. The meeting provided a satisfactory medium for the exchange of information about the status of the law and the courts in the various zones. The judicial officials in the British zone explained the curious system developed there by which the judges of the Oberlandesgerichte promulgate binding legislation within their respective jurisdictions. Since there are no states or cabinets within those states in the British zone, they have utilized judicial officials for legislative purposes, I suppose being influenced by that strange analogy, the British Lord Chancellor.

One cannot read about the reopening of the courts, including the staffing and reconstruction of court buildings, without realizing that there is a deeply imbedded sense of justice in responsible Germans, which, if operated within proper political framework, will provide the necessary judicial guarantees of life, liberty and property.

Mr. Ostrander, the Chief of the Price Formation Branch, OMGUS, has been here trying to get agreement on many aspects of price policy. It is a singular thing to find that price administration in a defeated country has been better run than in the United States, Canada, or any other normally functioning economy. It is really a tribute to the German price control agencies that they have been able to hold the line so effectively. They have maintained price stops, wage stops, but, unfortunately, a veritable volcano has been threatening to cover them up because of the uncertainty about the

currency. Mr. Ostrander will send down a couple of his experts to assist the Länderrat's new Price Commissioner.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Wednesday, 31 July 1946

At the special liaison officers' meeting today we were able to report considerable progress in several fields. The land reform law seems at last to be rounding into shape, although the difficulty about the size of forests to be subdivided is still a moot question, the foresters insisting that a thousand hectares are not large enough parcels for proper forest management. The Germans were pleased that a shipment of cotton is arriving from the U.S. and that Washington has now receded from its original position and will permit high-quality textiles to be processed.

The news, also, of forty tons of silver which will revive the silver industry in Württemberg-Baden was another bit of good news.

The social insurance field presents an interesting commentary on the way in which so many important matters have to be decided under the present quadripartite arrangements. After our committees have been working several months on a social insurance law, there now emerges from the Allied Control authority in Berlin a new social insurance law which, although it embodies some of the provisions recommended by our Germans, is nevertheless different in a number of particulars. The sooner the Allied Powers can allow the Germans to work out their own problems, the better it will be for all of us.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Thursday, 1 August 1946

An interesting interzonal meeting was held here today dealing mostly with post and telegraph in the British and Russian zones. Although the French were invited, they did not appear. It will not be too difficult for the two senior post directorates in the two zones to work out a common administration. The Germans from the British zone explained the differences in their operation and ours, consisting mainly in a large number of British Military Government officers rather closely controlling their operations. We have one liaison officer in PTT to our Senior Post Directorate in Munich. The British have about 150 Military Government officers at their Senior Post Directorate in Bad Salzflun.

In the Directorate meeting today there was a very interesting discussion

about the establishment of an economic council for the more expeditious handling of joint economic matters. Our Germans want to leave no stone unturned at having their house in perfect order when any moves are made to join up the two zones. It was a keen appreciation of the administration problems involved and a close regard for the autonomy of the several states. It is very interesting for me to look back for six months and note the remarkable improvement in the manner in which the Germans are conducting their meetings.

The question of restitution of the property of persecutees is being wrestled with by the Property Control Committee. There is a good deal of property formerly owned by Jews where no heirs are known. Considerable pressure from Washington on behalf of these persecutees is being exerted, although there is what seems to me a very proper judicial attitude on the part of the German committee to make any possible amends for the dastardly acts of the Hitler regime.

Colonel Drury gave me a tank review this morning, much to my surprise. It was very encouraging to see such a fine group of well-drilled American soldiers looking so snappy and impressing the population.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, August 1, 1946

My Dearest –

So many things are happening that it is difficult for me to keep track of it all. Yesterday I had quite a thrill when an armored car and a platoon of five tanks rolled up and the Lieutenant in command came into my office and asked for orders. I told him to deploy his tanks in such a way as to isolate the hilltop and then report back. By that time my friend Col. Drury, who commands the Constabulary in this area, appeared and explained it all and took me with him to inspect the tanks. The tanks crews – very snappy soldiers – gave me a wonderful drill in front of my house and then I had them all in for a cup of coffee. Drury said I acted like a veteran tank commander.

Today is a holiday – Air Force Day – but I have two important meetings – one an interzonal meeting between British & American German officials on postal matters, and the second – a meeting of the Länderrat Directorate which does the important work in the weeks between the Länderrat meetings. Also General Draper, who is head of Economics in Berlin, and Mr. Winant, another important man are in town, and I entertain them tonight at dinner. But my working days here are soon over and I will be flying back to you!

I'm really embarrassed with all the fuss which is being made over my departure. The staff is planning a big farewell party for me on Monday and

General and Mrs. Clay, Ambassador Murphy, Don Heath, the three Military Government Directors and about a dozen other important people are flying here from all over the zone to pay me respect. It will be wonderful, of course, but I don't know whether I can take it! If you were by my side it would be different.

No change in plans except maybe 17th or 18th from Paris instead of 15th. Time is so short for me to do so much! [. . .]

[Schluß des Briefes fehlt]

Highlights of the Day
Friday, 2 August 1946

My attention has again been called to interferences by CIC with the work of the German denazification tribunals. I can think of nothing which will so thoroughly mess up the good work which has been done as much as this kind of gratuitous interference. No one questions the need for counter-intelligence work, but the continued control of this function by one branch of the Army outside of Military Government leads to a great deal of working at cross-purposes.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, Sunday, Aug. 4

My Darling –

[. . .] It has been lovely these past few days and yesterday afternoon I spent at the swimming pool in the sun. It's the most relaxation I've had all year.⁸³ Actually what I should do is take two weeks rest in Switzerland, but I'm too anxious to come home! [. . .]

*Love,
Jim*

⁸³ Im Brief vom 28. 7 1946 hatte Pollock seiner Frau geschrieben: "I've been blessed with good health although lots of people around me have had appendectomies, stomach ulcers, high blood pressure, bealed teeth etc." Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll.

Highlights of the Day
Monday, 5 August 1946

In studying the agenda for the Länderrat meeting tomorrow,⁸⁴ I am amazed at its importance and the large number of very significant proposals which are up for adoption. After several months' work there will be presented an administrative court law which will bring back into existence on a regular basis the excellent system of administrative courts which functioned in Germany before the Nazis. The rail compact, the proposal for an economic council, the press law, and new liaison channels with the British zone are all topics on the agenda.

My loyal and hardworking staff, which will be attended at the Villa by the General, Bob Murphy and a plane load who are flying down this afternoon, are giving me a farewell dinner this evening.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Tuesday, 6 August 1946

I shall never forget the party last night where I am sure I received a great deal of undeserved praise. General Clay's comments were particularly touching because he associated my work with the best in American idealism. I am afraid that I replied in a very slobbering fashion because I was deeply touched. Everyone seemed to have a good time and the party was still going on when I left with "Maud" Muller at about two in the morning. When I asked Bob Murphy this afternoon when he went home, he asked me if I did not remember, inasmuch as I had taken him to the door!

General Clay presented the question of interzonal cooperation to the Minister-Presidents in one of his brief and effective speeches. Afterwards in private conversation with the Minister-Presidents he stated more fully what his ideas were about land reform, always making it clear that he wanted their judgment in this important field. He announced to the Minister-Presidents that I was returning home and that Colonel Dawson would take over. Whereupon Dr. Geiler expressed regret at my leaving, but pleasure in having Colonel Dawson succeed me and said that he would have more to say in appreciation of my work on a later occasion.

In the regular conference with the Directors of Military Government, the General, and later, General Adcock, discussed several matters of current importance in the administration of the Länder.

At about one-thirty we took off for Berlin, arriving two hours later. Bob

⁸⁴ Protokoll der 11. Länderratssitzung vom 6. 8. 1946 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 1, Dok. 26.

Murphy took me to his house and after straightening out several matters connected with my forthcoming departure for home, he invited Ed Litchfield to dinner so that we could talk over all of the implications involved in the approaching merger of the two zones. I met Bob's second daughter and Mrs. Murphy for the first time and had, as usual, a most delightful time with them. I expressed to both Bob and Ed that I took a rather dim view of the proposed merger of the two zones because I think I understand all of the administrative problems which will inevitably arise.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Wednesday, 7 August 1946

I had long discussions with General Clay about all of the aspects of cooperation with the British zone. I tried to point out all the possible dangers and pitfalls and also my general conclusion that there is little to be gained, even by a successful merger. Of course, I feel that we have to go through with it. Nevertheless, if we cannot join up our two zones, diverse as they are, how are we ever going to set up a central government involving all four zones?

Left at noon for Wiesbaden in General Clay's plane so that I could meet Colonel Newman for the flight to London. From Wiesbaden it was just two hours' pleasant flight to Bovington, where we arrived at about 4:30. I got a great thrill out of returning to the English countryside and driving into London where I was pleased to see much less destruction than I had anticipated. I walked my legs off trying to get a glimpse of familiar landmarks and retired in a comfortable English bed at the Connaught, tired but happy.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Friday, 9 August 1946

I had very interesting discussions yesterday and today with several of the British officials connected with the Control Commission for Germany and Austria. I was happy to learn that they seemed only too anxious to measure up to the procedures developed in the American zone in order to make the interzonal merger operate successfully. They had just had something of a spanking in Parliament the end of July where it was brought out how overstuffed British Military Government is and how slow they have been in devolving power on the Germans.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Saturday, 10 August 1946

Renewed some of my contacts at Labor Party headquarters at the Transport House and at the Conservatives' central office. I got a picture of complete confusion at the Conservative headquarters and one of quiet confidence at Transport House. There are no signs that the Labor Party's hold is slipping and it becomes clear that they are rapidly developing many capable and intelligent young party leaders to follow in due course in the places of the superannuated trade union leaders. Laski was in Moscow, and, hence, I could not see him. I was also sorry to miss my British cousin, Sir John Pollock.

I got a tremendous kick out of the performance of A. P. Herbert's new operetta, "Big Ben", which sent me, after the performance, out on the Strand full of the lilting tunes and clever lines with which the play abounded.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Sunday, 11 August 1946

Flew back to Frankfurt today and was met there by George, who drove me back to Stuttgart where it was very pleasant to be greeted by the staff at supper.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Monday, 12 August 1946

General Adcock, General Draper, Colonel Hester, Mr. Bennett, et al. flew down to give some instructions to the Directorate with regard to plans for uniting the two zones. It became quickly apparent that the topsiders had not thought through many of the important aspects of the merger, but General Adcock made a clear presentation to the Germans and asked them to prepare their plans within two weeks. At subsequent meetings in the afternoon, however, General Draper left the Germans somewhat confused and a bit sad by his omission of proper reference to their work in developing self-governing institutions in the American zone and their preservation in the future situation. He made them fear that all that we had accomplished to date might be lost in the approaching eagerness to join up with the British. We took pains, however, to tell Papa Roßmann and the other leading Germans that

they should not recommend anything which did not seem to them to be administratively sound.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Tuesday, 13 August 1946

Colonel Hasty called from Berlin today to say that I had a seat on the plane from Orly Field, Paris, on the evening of the seventeenth.

More discussion about the impending interzonal merger and more big shots arriving for discussions with the Germans, including Mr. Hughes, head of Food and Agriculture in the British zone.

J.K.P.

I gave my swan song to the German officials of the Länderrat tonight at a Bierabend.⁸⁵ Minister-President Hoegner had come up from Munich for the occasion and also Minister Pfeiffer. Hilpert represented Geiler who was visiting the Russian zone. Maier and his alter ego Staatsrat Witwer, and Gögler and many other ministers were present. I emphasized the need for a new emphasis on the individual citizen and less dependence on the trained civil service. I also gave a brief evaluation of their work in the Länderrat. Speaking in my very best German (with Ernie as my tutor and interpreter) I was followed with rapt attention. Roßmann, the Secretary General speaking for himself and the Minister-Presidents followed me with a most felicitous speech in which he pointed out that I had never given him an order although all my letters to him had not been love letters! Afterwards the Germans – there must have been 200 of them in the Villa – had a grand time drinking our beer and eating our sandwiches. They were obviously starved both for food and a little social life. I might add with what I hope is pardonable pride that American Military Government could not buy or order such wholehearted cooperation as we have received here at the Länderrat.

At dinner with my staff – the last one – I had a hard time saying what was in my heart to say by way of appreciation for their loyal and capable service which accomplished so much. I was able to say that they had been the best damn staff a man ever had.

⁸⁵ Pollock's farewell address to the Laenderrat and Rossmann's reply, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 64–5, sowie Bundesarchiv Koblenz, Bestand Länderrat Z 1/65, S. 267ff. und Z 1/698, S. 34–43.

August 14

Somehow with lots of help from Ray and Louisa, and George and Emily I managed to get packed up this morning. Major Concannon, the General's aide and pilot, came for me at noon and flew me to Frankfurt where the General was attending the Commanding General's Conference. He and Bob Murphy arrived at the field about three and we flew to Berlin. Clay looked worn out and slept most of the way. He kept me with him at his house overnight, and we had a wonderful dinner and long discussion with Bob Murphy joining us. I learned about the problems, arising more frequently of late, with the Army. It is very clear to me that it is much too late for the Army to be interfering with Military Government. With difficult and important problems arising every day, and with critical issues looming in the immediate future, Clay's powers and position must be strengthened and clarified. It is both awkward and dangerous to have an army commander be the Military Governor. General McNarney and General Clay worked well together, but it is now inevitable that the Military Governor will step more and more in the picture as the limelight begins to shine on Germany. The problems today are political not military.

Furthermore our interests in Germany cannot be run by committees in Washington totally unfamiliar with the problems in the field. Clay is naturally restive under a system which either gives him no reply or delays a reply to vital questions submitted for review. I am not absolutely clear in my own mind how occupation problems can best be controlled and centered in the American government. I am however certain that occupation problems, and particularly the German problem, deserve the highest status in Washington, and that General Clay is the only man with the prestige, experience, and insight to handle the job in Germany during the next few critical years.

August 15

After a good talk with Clay about difficult aspects of joining up the British and American zones, and a round of goodbye calls, I left in Clay's plane for Paris where I arrived in the late afternoon. The city seemed quite deserted except for the flurries around the hotels where the various delegations were quartered.

August 17

Talked yesterday and today with Matthews and Bohlen of the American delegation at the Meurice. I told Matthews I thought something should be done to clarify Washington's position about our policy in Germany. I told him frankly that in my opinion Clay could not continue unless something was done. Later in the day he told me that he had reported this to Mr. Byrnes who had immediately telephoned Clay to come to Paris for a talk tomorrow. This is good news. Had dinner with Walter Kerr and Ed Beattie and got the low-down on the Conference. Also saw Hal O'Flaherty and Edgar Mowrer. After attending a session and learning some more about it, I am quite discouraged. The Conference is badly managed. It needs an experienced Secretariat like the League had to help smooth out incidental difficulties. I'm afraid that if something doesn't happen pretty soon, no agreement will be reached before the scheduled UNO meeting. If we can't agree on the peripheral problems what are we going to do when the central German problem comes up for solution? Or will it ever come up?

At sundown I boarded a plane at Orly for home. Happy day!

August 18

How restful it is, but how strange after such a strenuous time in Germany, to be flying peacefully over the ocean. I have started at least to get caught up with myself. I hope my darling wife and children will be at the field to meet me. I couldn't wait much longer.

Teil II

Itinerary and Private Correspondence

German Trip

Jan[uary] – Apr[il] 1947

Itinerary

Lv [leave] A[nn] A[bor]	Jan. 21
Washington	Jan. 22–24
Left Wash[ington]	Jan. 24 (Friday) 9.30 PM
Ar[rived] Azores	2 AM
Ar[rived] Frankfurt	Jan. 26 10 PM
Jan. 26	Frankfurt Berliner to Berlin – Mickelsen, Rath, Bernstein, Haller
Jan. 27–Feb. 3	Berlin dinner with Clay first night. Gen. Sverdrup – Mr. S. F. – same suite in Harnack House work on memo for State Dept. ⁸⁶ – discussion with Clay about Moscow – OMGUS now a smooth operation
Feb. 3	Left with Gen[eral] on his train for Stuttgart
Feb. 4	Länderrat meeting ⁸⁷ – visiting newsmen – Clay's usual interview with Ger[man] press & conf[erence] with Min[ister]-Pres[idents] – Bill Dawson in hospital
Feb. 5,6,7	in Stuttgart Interviews with Maier, Roßmann, ⁸⁸ Dietrich & my staff – changed situation – begin to find some bugs in machinery
Feb. 7.	drove to Wiesbaden – transport still bad
Feb. 8–9	Wiesbaden – Stock, Geiler – characterize Press party in Frankfurt 8th – Pat Conger – Ernie Harmon
Feb. 10	lunch with Helen Kirkpatrick in Frankfurt drive to Fulda

⁸⁶ Memo Pollock – Hilldring (State Department) vom 3.2.1947, Anhang, Dokument V.

⁸⁷ Protokoll der Länderratssitzung vom 4.2.1947 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 2, Dok. 6.

⁸⁸ Bericht über die Unterredung Pollocks mit Roßmann in AVBRD 2, Dok. 7.

- Feb. 11 Kissingen, Würzburg, Bayreuth – Col. Fiske
Wagner's guest house –
news of Dawson's death
- Feb. 12 Weiden, Nürnberg, Munich
Dug out of snow in Fränkische Alb
Infiltees in Weiden
Dinner with Muller & visiting British party
- Feb. 13 Rode to Stuttgart for Dawson's funeral services with
Mullers – Services in Stuttgart –
Entrained for Luxemburg
- Feb. 14 Burial in Luxemburg
- Feb. 15 Back in Munich
interviews Ehard, Pfeiffer
- Feb. 16 Rudolf Mueller
- 17 Hoegner, Müller, von Knoeringen
- 18 Baumgartner – drove to Stuttgart
a circus
- Feb. 19 drove to Rhein-Main for plane
arrival in Berlin – big dis[cussion] with Clay – home to
dinner with him till 1.30 AM
- Feb. 20 CORC [Coordinating Committee] meeting – Clay still
dominates
what a sacrifice to good int[ernational] rel[at]ions] –
- Feb. 21 Reported on bizonal difficulties – big argument – Hester –
Draper
- Feb. 22 CORC meeting – argument about – is Brit[ish] better –
McNarney reception
- Feb. 23 CORC meeting & Soviet party – Rosmistrov.
Tank Marshall – Noiret.

- Meeting with Min[ister]-Pres[idents]⁸⁹ – Clay’s marvelous performance – how he rushed in from CORC – coffee – lunch before with Gailey, Directors & Min.-Pres[idents]
Clay’s house & a bite first to fortify
- Feb. 24 final CORC meeting – Clay’s tiff with Robertson – Noiret’s squeak about not being bound by Potsdam
- Feb. 25 Control Council meeting to approve – Sokolovsky’s outburst & Clay’s reply – Gen[eral] left for Frankfurt for Army Com[manders’] meeting – A day now for catching my breath, etc.
- Feb. 26 Lunch with Ed – Moscow talk
dinner with Brewster Morris – talk of State Dep[artmen]t & del[egation] to Moscow – Dulles, Clark there – not Clay
- Feb. 27 State Dept. Strategy plan has arrived –
Talk with Dr. Glum about future const[itution] for Ger[many] & transitional period – anchor the states – no nat[ional] Parl[iament] at first – let politics dev[elop] first in states.
- Feb. 28 meeting of Transport & Econ[omic] officers from the two zones – convinced no other power or powers can run Germany – instance of R[ail] R[oads] general from British – you don’t bother Board of Directors with routine operations.
Robertson, Clay. Pleased to hear Sir Cecil Weir speak German
- March 1 Staff meeting – newest panel of judges from Nürnberg present – Report that Russians wouldn’t approve Salvation Army because they thought it was a para-military organ[ization].
Dinner with Bob Murphy. Fritz & Bob talking about surrender terms at Rheims. Bedell Smith didn’t use the ones agreed to on Eur[opean] Ad[visory] C[ommission].
Talk about Murphy’s suggestion for an int[ernational]

⁸⁹ Protokoll der Besprechungen Clays mit den Ministerpräsidenten der US-Zone vom 23. 2. 1947 in Berlin, AVBRD 2, Dok. 9.

- statute and not a peace treaty to avoid making a German government sign. He talked with Churchill about Yalta.
- March 2 lunch with John Elliott – discussion about Berlin politics – Ernst Reuter – SPD leader
Russian interference – hope we will learn from the experience.
- Mar. 3 Worked on State Dept. papers – another talk with Murphy – what I emphasized – no national election until state politics a while – reich[s]eigene Verwaltung – Auftragsverwaltung – his talks with French in London – Fr[ench] more interested in Ruhr than in type of national government
– Oder-Neisse movement of people not authorized at Potsdam – only from Poland.
- Mar. 4 Discussion with Clay about papers – CORC meeting – dinner with Ed & British. Simson – Last papers prepared here & C.C. for For[eign] Min[ister]. Comment on them. How Gen[eral] works – dictated draft – I heard it & worked it over. Then he revised.
- Mar. 5 Why wasn't Clay invited to Moscow – Gen. Smith suggested to State Dept. to have passports ready – Dept. said this was necessary – no official word to be ready for Marshall
- Mar. 7 Talked with Gen[eral] about our future in Germany – he said he had a 6 months' job reorg[anizing] army here – then he seemed to think we needed a civilian commissioner – he wasn't interested.
Lunched with Dic Van Wagoner at ACA – what an interesting experiment in int[ernational] gov[ernment] – thousands of people of the 4 nationalities have gained valuable experience.
- Mar. 8 Gen. Clay with Marshall. Dinner with Mrs. Clay & Mrs. Dawson.
General returns – Dulles presented a paper elaboration of speech – too much French leaning – Gen[eral] argued against it – had other support.
Marshall taken to house – after a while asked – where is Clay – isn't this his town – sudden invitation to dinner.

Talk with Riddleberger – he said wished my cable had come sooner – my reply. Emphasized Clay's importance – prestige to Germans going to Moscow. Expressed no disagreement with me.

- Mar. 9 Trip to Leipzig – flat at Leute – discussion with German family. Fair – Auerbachkeller – Intourist Americans were everywhere eagerly received – how man helped me when I had a flat – wonderful to ride a good Mil[itary] train back.
- Mar. 10 Clay's farewell dinner to McNarney. Left for Stuttgart & Länderrat – Filled out form for travel to Soviet Union just in case – questions asked
- Mar. 11 McNarney's off at Frankfurt – Stuttgart warm sunny – Villa buzzing with activity as usual. Gen[eral's] speech – presence of new legislators – private session with M[inister]-P[resident]s – News conf[erence] – M[ilitary] G[overnment] Directors –
- Mar. 13 2 days of conf[erences] with various Germans & my old staff – convinced another crisis has been passed – discussion with liaison officers about L[and] legis[lation] – procedure to be followed – my press conf[erences] with Ger[man] press.
- Mar. 14 met with Newman's staff – health picture bad – housing for German agencies – visit of Pieck & Grotewohl – can Soviets get SED going in our zone?
- Mar. 15 Drove from Wiesbaden for ceremony – impressions – flew back to Berlin with Gen[eral] and Mrs. C[lay] – Gen[eral] called to Moscow – did about a week's work in 3 hours after returning – dinner at home – what his household staff had done.
- Mar. 17 Worked on papers all day – dinner with Gaileys and Mrs. Clay – she was vibrant – St. Patrick's day.
- Mar. 18 Talks with Heath, . . .⁹⁰, about Moscow.

⁹⁰ Ein Wort unleserlich, möglicherweise coffee oder office.

Mar. 19 Talks with Miss Lamb & intell[igence] people – lunch with Szymczak – cocktails with John Scott & the Craig Thompsons returning from Moscow – dinner with Col. Niles – Transport

Mar. 20

Anmerkung der Herausgeberin

Ergänzung des Itinerars nach Pollocks Briefen:

March 25 Special Car to Bad Oeynhausen – Sleeper to Calais

March 26 Calais – Dover – afternoon arrival London

March 28 Sailing date Southampton – S. S. *America*

March 29 Cobh, Ireland

April 3/4 Arrival New York

Private Correspondence

Washington, Thursday, 5 PM [Jan. 23, 1947]

My Darling –

There's been a few hours delay and it's welcome. Now I can catch up with myself before I take off.

I picked up your sweet note this morning on my way to the Senate Office Building where I had over an hour's talk – very intimate – with Sen[ator] Vandenberg. I was then called to the State Department by Asst. Secy. [Assistant Secretary] Hilldring who told me that he was just about to telegraph me when he found I was in Washington. He said the top people in the Department were preparing to brief Gen[eral] Marshall on the German problem prior to the Moscow Conference and they found that I was badly needed! Would I remain over a week in order to help them? I thought fast and I told them I wanted to be as helpful as possible but that my obligation was to Clay and I couldn't think of letting him down. I've been in the country five months and now when they get in a mess with a new Secretary [of State] they want me to do their job! I said I would send them a memo of my views and would be glad to see Marshall in Berlin on his way to Moscow. They seemed disappointed but appreciated my position. I feel like Vandenberg – I pity Marshall in his new position – he has so much to learn and such poor people around him. [. . .]

I got through my processing quite promptly yesterday, but there are a lot

of sloppy details still. Everyone is nice to me, however, and my name seems to be magic.

I had a brief talk with Meader. There will be no investigation in Germany now. [...]

*With all my love –
Jim*

[Berlin,] Jan. 29, 1947

My Darling –

[...] This is the first time I've had to write you. I took off from Washington Friday evening at nine-thirty very suddenly with little advance notice. I had spent the morning with Senator Vandenberg – very interesting; and the afternoon in the State Department. I had dinner with Al Freeman and then summoned to the airfield where they held the plane for me. At one-thirty in the morning we arrived after a rough trip at Bermuda. After some waiting they asked me if I wanted to go to bed and of course I said yes. I didn't get much rest because of noisy people around and at 8 I was up. At ten in the morning we finally took off for the long hop over the ocean. It lasted twelve and a half hours! – too much for me. Most of it was smooth but they had inadequate food and coffee and when we reached the Azores toward midnight I was exhausted and too tired for food. The food was terrible and then three hours wait. Then 9 1/2 hours to Paris arriving about two-thirty Sunday afternoon. They are de-activating the airfield and everything was disorganized and oh so cold. I finally decided to get some action and called Frankfurt. We took off at eight and arrived about nine-thirty – the most pleasant hop of the trip. At Frankfurt everything clicked for me. I was taken to the hotel where I had a good rest – the first since Thursday. Planes were grounded Monday so I used the day to visit at headquarters in Frankfurt. I forgot to say that General Smith's pilot was to meet me in Paris but slipped up. Monday afternoon then, I took the sleeper to Berlin arriving here Tuesday morning. I was met by General Clay's aide and the photographers! Everybody gave me a wonderful reception and they put me up in Harnack House in the best suite. Last night General and Mrs. Clay had prominent out-of-town guests and included me in the dinner party. Today I've been getting my feet on the ground. Ed Litchfield invited a group of the younger men I liked to lunch and tonight I see Stella and Roger Wells.

I expect to be here until Monday night when I will go with General Clay on his train back to Stuttgart to the Länderrat meeting. He wants me to survey the situation in the zone for a week or two and then return to Berlin. It's going to be very interesting. Bob Murphy called me from London and wants me to go there if I can. It's very clear that I can go to Moscow if I wish,

but unless the time and conditions are favorable I won't do it. I know when I've had enough.

I will try to come home on the boat to get caught up with myself – probably the America. The plane trip really wore me out this time and not even today do I feel quite like myself. I've had some good wine and that will help in time!

[...] The General just called me into his office for a talk. He's certainly wonderful to me and I try to help him as much as possible. They gave me an office right opposite his, a secretary – efficient but not good-looking! – a car and a negro driver from Detroit! I even got my PX [Einkaufserlaubnis für U.S. Armeeeangehörige] and whiskey ration yesterday.

My Diary hasn't started yet – I hope, I hope I'll get time! Several long distance calls just came in from Stuttgart, Munich & Wiesbaden. It's nice to be appreciated. Please send me any suggestions.

*Love and Kisses,
Jim*

Berlin, Sunday, Feb. 2, 1947

My Dearest –

[...] My life here has been very active. It doesn't take Clay very long to use me. Principally however I have been working on a long memo to the State Department embodying my views on German questions for the Moscow Conference. It will be sent tomorrow after Clay sees it.⁹¹

I have been getting around to see people in the various offices and many have come in to see me. The General's aide took me to dinner with his family one night, the Wells another, the Litchfields another. Tomorrow I will see Murphy who flew back from London for a day or two.

Tomorrow evening I will leave with the General on his special train for Stuttgart to be present for the Länderrat meeting. After a few days there I will begin a tour through the zone for about ten days.

It has been unusually cold – so cold that I wear everything warm I have. But unlike the fall of 1945 the offices are warm and my rooms are warm. I'm [not] going to expose myself any more than I have to. I pity the poor people however. The schools all over Germany have been closed all month for lack of coal. It has been around zero⁹² for weeks. All the rivers and canals are frozen solid.

⁹¹ Siehe Anm. 86.

⁹² 0 Grad Fahrenheit = minus 17,8 Grad Celsius.

I took a ride around town late yesterday afternoon. More rubble is cleaned up but the center of the city – Potsdamer Platz, Leipziger Straße, Unter den Linden are still deserted.

I'm getting myself reoriented rather fast. After returning from the zone, I can perhaps settle down here for the few remaining weeks. I'm trying to come home on the Queen Elizabeth, if it can be arranged. I will not go to Moscow unless I can go there for, say, ten days and then leave.⁹³ No one is too hopeful about the outcome and in any case it will take a long time.

It's very gratifying to be back and to be so well received. Clay called on me for a speech at his Directors' meeting yesterday. But I don't want any more responsibility [. . .].

I enclose a couple of clippings from the Stars and Stripes and the Observer,

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

[P. S.] Clay takes over the top command March 15.

Stuttgart, Feb. 7, 1947

My Darling –

Back to my old stamping ground and very well received by everyone. I arrived here Tuesday morning with the General and Mrs. Clay on his train. The day was filled as usual with several conferences. At his press conference with the German press, one newspaperman said they saw Dr. Pollock in the room and could they ask how long I would stay and what I would be doing. The General replied: "Dr. Pollock is a wise counsellor and close personal friend and I would like him to stay a long time. But he is here for 60 days to advise me." There were ten leading American newspapermen in the room too. Later yesterday the German press asked to interview me and fifty appeared! They kept me for over an hour.

I have stayed with my former staff not accepting any invitations out. Each evening one of the wives would have the whole group over for coffee and dessert or for drinks and that way I would pick their brains and in a short time learn what is happening.

The General returned Tuesday night and I'm leaving for Wiesbaden at noon. I will be there until Monday when I go into Bavaria at Würzburg and then along the zone border to Munich where I hope to arrive about

⁹³ Außenministerkonferenz in Moskau, 10.3. – 24.4.1947, FRUS 1947 II, S. 391–501.

Thursday noon. A few days there and then back to Berlin where I hope there will be letters waiting for me.

In many ways the situation is not good. It has been and still is a severe winter. This joining up with the British zone is a mess as I predicted it would be, I am delighted to see everything again at first hand, but I'll be glad to be home again without all the worries I would have here.

Did I tell you the State Dep[artmen]t will pay me over here? It will be a big check and I'll probably send it home.

My only unhappiness is that my old friend and successor Col. Dawson is in the hospital with high blood pressure and likely to die any time. He waited too long and wouldn't stop. [. . .]

Hugs and Kisses,
Jim

Wiesbaden, Sunday, Feb. 9, 1947

My Darling –

I wrote you last from Stuttgart. Friday after lunch I drove here from Stuttgart. Phil Mettger, the best man on my staff, wanted to take the trip with me and of course I am delighted to have company and the help of a very keen young man. Of course I had the usual car trouble on the way up, but Col. Newman here has fixed me up with a good car with a heater, and now the rest of the trip through Bavaria should be very comfortable.

I talked with many people Friday evening and yesterday including the former Minister-President Geiler and the new one named Stock. Also with lots of our people. I feel already back in the picture and I have many things to recommend to Clay.

Col. Newman – now Dr. Newman – is the Regional Director and has always been very nice to me. He gave me the most beautiful briefcase you ever saw. I hope I can get it home safely.

Yesterday afternoon late I drove in with him to Frankfurt to see Col. Phelps, the director there. He is a Michigan man and an old friend. His daughter had been at school in Switzerland and found it quite bad – cold, poor teaching, bad food, very expensive.

We then went to the opening of the press club where I had been specially invited by Pat Conger. He wanted me to meet his fiancée – a Miss Dahl – whom he is going to marry next week. She is a very nice girl – a graduate of Wisconsin who is in personnel work at headquarters. It was quite a party with General McNarney and the other big shots attending. We got back here about midnight and I slept until nearly ten o'clock. Newman has one of those huge houses but very warm and comfortable. Breakfast was brought to me and here I am now writing to my sweet wife.

Tomorrow morning I will leave for Fulda, stopping for lunch with two correspondents in Frankfurt. I want to see a couple of important Germans in Fulda and confer with some of our local Military Government officers.

Tuesday I plan to drive to Bad Kissingen with lunch at Würzburg and then to Bayreuth for night. Then along the border and end up in Munich by Thursday noon. This is quite strenuous and I may not get to write you again until I get to Munich.

I'm getting adjusted gradually and of course am exceedingly interested in everything. The severe winter is tragic. The Rhine and all other rivers are frozen solid thus preventing shipment of coal by barge. Hence the railways are overloaded and unable to handle the increased traffic. But somehow the people stand it. The shift of command to Clay necessitates many changes. It is a period of crisis but I think will gradually get better. [. . .]

Love,
Jim

Munich, Feb. 16, 1947

My Darling Wife and Children –

I have not had time to write since I sent you a letter last Sunday from Wiesbaden. I'm grateful for Sundays because they allow me to get caught up with myself. But the real reason why I couldn't write sooner is this. My old friend and successor at Stuttgart, Col. Dawson, died on Tuesday. I was at Bayreuth in Northern Bavaria when the news reached me. After being dug out of the snow drifts three times, I reached Munich Wednesday evening in time to travel up to Stuttgart with General Muller for the services there on Thursday. After the Stuttgart services a special train took the party to Luxemburg where Bill was buried in the same military cemetery where General Patton was buried. The Clays came from Berlin and it was a formal military burial – interesting to me but very sad to see such a capable and devoted man die so young. His wife whom you remember I called from New Castle when I got home, had only been with him about two months. She was very brave and Mrs. Clay and the other women were all very nice to her.

The trip on the beautiful train from Stuttgart to Luxemburg – it used to be Göring's train – was interesting to me. It went through Heidelberg, Frankfurt, Mainz, Kaiserslautern, Saarbrücken, Trier, and Luxemburg. I was an honorary pall bearer with Clay and the three directors of Military Government.

We returned here yesterday morning in General Muller's special car from Stuttgart and I resumed my study trip with interviews with German and American officials. I continue today and tomorrow and hope to return direct to Berlin on Tuesday or Wednesday.

The tour has been strenuous but very interesting. I seem to stand it somehow and it doesn't take me long to get caught up with what has happened. I will now be able to tell Clay many things he doesn't know,⁹⁴ and in general argue main policies with him.

With Col. Dawson's death, Clay taking over supreme command on March 15, and the Moscow Conference, my services are much sought after. I could have several jobs, but Ann Arbor and my lovely family still look best to me. [...]

Love,
Jim

Berlin, Feb. 19, 1947, 1 A.M.

My Darling –

I've just returned from dinner with General and Mrs. Clay privately at their home after arriving back in town only at five this afternoon. The General took me immediately into conference, kept me with him at his office until eight and then to his home for dinner. I can't go to sleep until I've written you because when I arrived your cablegram was waiting for me. I'm simply heart-sick to hear that Ann is still in the hospital. What is wrong? [...]

When I returned I had to decide on a departure date and don't whisper a word – I'm booked on the Queen Elizabeth sailing March 15! I had to decide on an early or late departure and when I got your cable I wanted to get home.

Clay is very down-hearted. State Dep[artmen]t has not asked him to go to Moscow. It's not even sure that Marshall will stop here. I got Clay to select Ed Litchfield as one of OMGUS men to go to Moscow but it doesn't look good to me. I'm deep in several matters and will see them through and then come home to you. If you want me to telephone you, cable me.

Your loving hubby,
Jim

Berlin, Feb. 23, 1947

My Sweetheart –

[...] I am deep in several important matters. I have had several strong disagreements with Lucius about matters of fundamental importance. I don't know whether I can restrain him from making some bad mistakes, but I'm

⁹⁴ Siehe u. a. Study Trip through the American Zone, Memo Pollock – Clay, 26.2.1947: Anhang, Dokument VI.

trying hard and worrying a good deal about it. The truth is he has had no one to advise him about long run problems who has the feel of the situation. He is still wonderful to me and I have everything I want and everyone shows the deepest respect for me. But he is angry about Moscow and the economic pressures are terrific. I'm the only one who can talk up to him. Right now I'm not a bit happy. Today will show something for he has ordered the Minister-Presidents up here for a conference this afternoon. What he tells them will determine a lot.

Murphy returns Wednesday from London. I was able to avoid that trip. I'll be going there anyway on my way to the boat! Doesn't that sound good? [...]

Yesterday afternoon being Washington's birthday, General McNarney gave a reception for all the allied top people. It was very pleasant to meet with scores of people I knew. John Elliott sends his best regards to you.

In the morning and through lunch I was with the General at the Allied Coordinating Committee meeting. They are finally endeavoring to agree on a report to the Moscow Conference on what has been and what has not been accomplished since Potsdam. They are meeting this morning too, and tomorrow but I didn't have to go.

Friday Ed and Anne Litchfield had me to dinner and last evening I was invited with a party of people to the Lakeside Club for dinner. Had a good opportunity to talk with General Gailey, the chief of staff, and others whom I had not seen.

It looks as if I'll be right here in Berlin until I leave, with a possible trip to Stuttgart on March 4. Travelling these winter days is not pleasant and I'm comfortable here. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Berlin, Feb. 24, 1947

My Darling –

[...] I wrote yesterday morning. Lots happened afterwards. I was worried about General Clay's apparent views. But lo and behold, after arguing bitterly with me for three days, he went into the meeting with the Minister-Presidents and said just what I had suggested.⁹⁵ What a man! A real crisis in Military Government was thus avoided.

He then took me off to one of the big Soviet parties of the year out at Cecilienhof – the former Crown Prince's residence at Potsdam where the Potsdam Conference was held. It was the 29th anniversary of the Red Army. I was taken into the inner sanctum with Field Marshall Sokolowsky, Clay,

⁹⁵ S. Anm. 89.

McNarney, Noiret, etc. It was really something! I'll have to tell you all about it. I never drank so much vodka before but it didn't seem to hurt me for today I'm fine.

Today I spent most of the day with Clay attending the Coordinating Committee meeting where the reports for Moscow were finally approved.⁹⁶ It was most interesting.

Tonight John Elliott came here to eat dinner with me and of course get a story or two. He is a grand chap. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Feb. 27, 1947

My Darling

[...] I am not absolutely sure about my sailing date. When Murphy returns from London I will know for sure and will then cable you. I know I am not going to go to Moscow because, believe it or not, the State Department has not invited Clay. I'm glad I didn't agree to go when I was in Washington. Without him they can't get very far. But I got Clay to send Litchfield in the small group going from here. I well enjoy reading about it all in dear little Ann Arbor!

I'm learning all I can learn but I'm only busy by spurts. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Berlin, Sunday, March 2

My Dearest

I'm now back in my suite at the Harnack House after a mixed-up but very interesting day. I stayed in bed – I didn't sleep good – until nine and was due at the Parks' for breakfast at ten. The driver got stuck in the snow – we had a real blizzard this morning – and didn't come till eleven. Then John Elliott had me to lunch with some other newsmen and at three I knew Clay would be wanting me and sure enough when I went to his office he did. I spent about an hour with him and then two hours studying important papers I'll tell you about in a minute. Now I'm back here I hope for the evening.

Yesterday evening Bob Murphy had me to dinner and I had a most pleasant time as always at his house. All three of his daughters are with him

⁹⁶ Material zur Moskauer Konferenz in: Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 61 und 62 (IfZ Bde. 8–10).

now and of course Mrs. Murphy. They had been with him in London and they report conditions there to be most uncomfortable. Apparently almost nothing was accomplished by the Deputies' meetings there. Bob looks fine. In fact I think he is riding very high now that Clay is not going to Moscow at first.

The American party to Moscow is beginning to come through here on the way.

But this is very important! Yesterday, the State Department papers for Moscow arrived, marked "Secret". Clay immediately called me in and asked me to study them for him, analyze the replies to them he had asked a few others like Draper to make and then discuss it all with him tomorrow.⁹⁷ He will then write a brief comment to Marshall to give to him when he comes through here on the 7th or 8th on his way to Moscow. I was simply tickled to pieces when I saw that the American position at Moscow follows almost exactly what I had proposed in my cable to the State Department when I first arrived.⁹⁸ It was the first thing I worked on after I arrived you may remember. In other words I can have the private satisfaction of having influenced the American position at the forthcoming conference. How successful our delegation will be in pushing it through at Moscow, is another matter. I will enjoy reading about it in the papers after I get home!

I'm really a bit homesick tonight and time can't pass too quickly for me. Present plans are to remain here until March 11 when I will accompany Clay to Stuttgart for the Länderrat meeting. Returning to Berlin I will then take off the 13th for London. That is, assuming my passage on the Queen Elizabeth can be obtained. I will know definitely about that probably tomorrow. I still want to go by boat and if I can't make the Elizabeth I will definitely be coming on the America sailing March 28. But that will get me home too late. [. . .]

Love and Kisses,
Jim

Berlin, March 6, 1947

My Darling –

I've been in such confusion and uncertainty the last few days I hardly know were I am. But the skies are clearing. [. . .]

I was planning, as I told you, to sail on the Elizabeth on the 15th. I actually had not yet gotten a confirmed reservation and I had not told Clay. When I brought the matter up yesterday morning he said: "Jim you simply

⁹⁷ Comments on State Department Plans and Proposed Directives, Memo Pollock – Clay, 4.3.1947, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 62–19 (IfZ Bd.10).

⁹⁸ Anhang, Dokument V.

can't go that soon and leave me alone while Moscow has just started." I saw he was very disappointed and was leaning on me more than I thought. Then Bob Murphy saw me and said he would like to know that I could be called in when needed. Hence there was nothing to do but agree to stay until March 28 when I have a definite booking on the S.S. America of the U.S. Lines. That is final and I won't stay longer, Moscow or no Moscow. Now that I've agreed to stay a little longer I hope I will get to Moscow for a few days. If the General goes, I know I will go. But the whole arrangement of the conference and our delegation do not suit me. It's a weak delegation and it's loaded on the economic side. Even Bob Murphy was not allowed to take some of his own people here.

However it is quite exciting to be here now and see everyone going through Berlin on the way to Moscow. Yesterday we met Bevin; today Bidault from Paris. McNarney arrives this afternoon and General Marshall and his party tomorrow. They will remain for a day or two. The General has wanted to go to the Leipzig Fair but there has been no time. We might go Sunday.

I had a letter from Meisel and one from Sam telling me about progress on the two books they are running through for me.⁹⁹ I'm still hoping to have time to finish my chapter but right now I don't see how I can do it. Maybe, on the boat going home! Doesn't that sound good? [. . .]

I think I should tell you that I have been helping the General pull together all the papers and materials prepared here for the Moscow Conference. He prepared an important summary for General Marshall which I helped him with. So I know all the documents and plans, the background, personalities, and prospects. Don't expect too much from Moscow. It will only make a start which will have to be followed up for at least another year. It's been a wonderful experience to have been so intimately associated with all the planning. Many of my own ideas are written all over the plans. [. . .]

We will probably go to Stuttgart on the train Monday night. Clay is giving a farewell dinner for McNarney that evening.

I hope to have it a little quieter thereafter but you never know.

When people ask whether I'm going to Moscow, you can say I've been asked to go but you suppose I won't go unless Clay goes. I'll tell you all about it when I get home. Clay is my man and he's the only one capable of getting a proper solution. The rest are small potatoes. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

⁹⁹ James H. Meisel and Samuel J. Eldersveld bereiteten jeweils eine Publikation Pollocks vor; siehe Anm. 101.

Berlin, March 8, 1947

My Darling –

Secretary Marshall and party arrived yesterday afternoon and Clay and Murphy had dinner with him last night. Clay is with him again this morning. I believe the Secretary is staying long enough to be exposed to Clay's thinking. We shall see. I shall probably be included in some small parties today. I've already seen the other members of the party except the Secretary.

Tomorrow, if all goes well, I'm driving to Leipzig for a day at the Fair. The roads have thawed and it will be an interesting change. I'm still planning on the trip to Stuttgart with the General Monday night or Tuesday morning.

Since you want me to go to Moscow I think I can easily arrange to go for a few days even if the General doesn't go before I return home. Planes are going both ways every day. It is about a seven hours' flight.

*I haven't seen Mr. Dulles who was here in town but I hope today.
[...]*

*Love,
Jim*

Stuttgart, Mar. 12, 1947

My Darling –

I want to write you a brief note from here where I feel more at home than anywhere else in Germany. General Clay gave a farewell dinner to General McNarney Monday night in Berlin. At ten o'clock we got on General Clay's train and started for Frankfurt and Stuttgart. The McNarneys got off at Frankfurt and we reached Stuttgart at eleven. The General went through the same routine which I set up for him more than a year ago.¹⁰⁰ First a speech to the Länderrat. I had given him suggestions on the train. Then he receives the Minister-Presidents in private conference. Then the German press representatives and then the American. After lunch a conference with the Military Governor of the states and thence to his train.

Since this is the week he takes over supreme command, he will be running back and forth to Frankfurt. So I decided I could be of more use here and in Wiesbaden, joining him again at Frankfurt for the

¹⁰⁰ Protokoll der Länderratssitzung vom 10.–11.3.1947 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 2, Dok. 10.

ceremony Saturday morning. Then back to Berlin for my last ten days. Perhaps it will be Moscow next week. I don't know.

[. . .] This morning I'm trying to finish the chapter for the book which is already late.

I will leave here Friday morning in time to get to Wiesbaden for lunch, staying that night in Wiesbaden.

I've been able to straighten out several things and the General was happy yesterday and made a good speech. The new state legislators were here for the first time. [. . .]

Hugs and Kisses,
Jim

Berlin, March 16, 1947

My Darling –

So much has happened to me since I last wrote you from Stuttgart that I'm not sure I can remember it all. I was there until Friday morning when I drove to Wiesbaden to attend a staff conference of the top M[ilitary] G[overnment] men in Hesse. My old staff threw me a party Thursday night which was very pleasant. It is simply amazing how information rolls in to me when I'm around, so it doesn't take me long to size up a situation. Friday I spent in Wiesbaden with Newman, the Director, finding time late afternoon to take one of the famous Wiesbaden baths at the Schwarzer Bock. I have been so tired and haven't slept well and thought it might help and it did.

Saturday morning I drove over with Newman to the ceremony in Frankfurt when Clay took over command. It was a beautiful day, I was on the reviewing stand and there was an air show overhead. A reception afterwards in the War Room and then I flew back to Berlin yesterday afternoon with General Clay and Mrs. Clay. They invited me to dinner with them and their German staff had prepared a marvellous dinner in celebration of the occasion. (I forget how to spell!) He wanted to talk with me right up to his departure for Moscow this morning. He wanted to take me along but the State Department people hadn't asked for me yet and conditions in Moscow are so crowded that they can't take care of people. I may get a call this week. If not, I can be very well satisfied to read the secret cables here in comfort. I'm so happy he was called so soon and if he can't do something, nobody can. [. . .]

This week I shall spend winding things up. I enclose some clippings and a recent passport picture they took of me preparatory to going to Moscow. [. . .]

I'm coming home faster than the mail!
Jim

Berlin, March 18, 1947

My Dearest –

[. . .] Clay has been in Moscow for 2 days and no call for me yet. They are in a mess, but I would like to look in for two or three days. But I leave here in any case for London just one week from today! Clay is probably trying to play a game with me and wait until next week to call me in the hope that I will remain longer. But he will be fooled this time. Moscow or no Moscow, I am going home!

Tell Sam Eldersveld that I have finished my chapter¹⁰¹ and will send it off this week or bring it with me – whichever is faster.

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Berlin, March 22, 1947

My Darling –

I'll try one more letter before I leave and then cable you later. I'm all set up to leave on a special car Tuesday morning to Bad Oeynhausen in the British zone where I get a sleeper to Calais. Then to Dover across the Channel and on to London arriving there Wednesday afternoon. Sailing is set for Friday. Happy day!

I'm rushing around trying to see everybody and everybody is trying to see me. Talked with Moscow yesterday. Can't say anything. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Cobh, Ireland, Saturday, 10 A.M. [March 29, 1947]

My Darling –

I find that I can send you an air letter which will be posted from here when we call to pick up passengers. Hence I want you to know that I received your sweet letter and cable when I boarded ship at Southampton yesterday about noon. [. . .]

I will tell you about how hard it was for me to leave. Clay even called me

¹⁰¹ Germany under Military Occupation, Manuskript von 26 Seiten, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. (IfZ Bd. 35). Siehe die Veröffentlichungen von Pollock (Hg.) Change and Crisis in European Government, (Verlag Rinehart) New York 1947, in der Pollocks Beitrag diesen Titel trägt, sowie Pollock und James H. Meisel (Hg.), Germany under Military Occupation, Ann Arbor 1947, ²1949.

in London from Moscow! But I'm on my way and very happy to be returning to you and the kids. But the University must realize what a sacrifice I've made. [...]

I've just discovered that next Friday is Good Friday. I plan to go to Washington immediately on landing after perhaps an hour with Rinehart publishers. If the War Department people are all on holiday I will go at once to you and then return to Washington the next week. We will see. I'll call or telegraph when I land. Happy days are coming, dearie.

*All my Love,
Jim*

Teil III

Occupation Diary and Private Correspondence

May–July 1948

May 13, 1948

Took off this afternoon for another tour of duty in Germany. Secretary Royall in requesting my services from the University referred to the fact that I had “been of invaluable assistance to this Department and to General Lucius Clay in solving problems which arise in occupied Germany,” and that I was urgently needed again to act as General Clay’s personal advisor on political and governmental affairs. I contemplate the mission with deep interest but also with some apprehension. The London agreements are not yet signed and the Russians are continuing their pinpricks in Berlin after having walked out of the Control Council.

The trip to Stephenville was smooth and uneventful. I was met at the plane and taken up to the officers’ club for a very welcome drink and a good steak. The base is in good shape and is thoroughly equipped for every emergency.

Another long hop over the Atlantic and we arrived at the Azores just ahead of a big blow. A delay of seven hours occurred – various vague reasons were given – but I was quite comfortable in the little club on top of the hill. I continued to read Stimson’s biography which I had started over the ocean. One gets quite weary at this stage and becomes quite confused with all the time changes. One eats when one should sleep, and one tries to sleep when one should be eating. I guess one, however, cannot expect too much as long as everything is safe. Certainly there is an emphasis on safety and one feels very secure – at least as secure as one can be in the air. It seems a nuisance to have to put on a Mae West and a parachute at every take-off and landing, but the regulation is sound.

The long hop to Frankfurt was made longer by the pilot’s decision to come down at Paris. We were offered a meal but who wants to eat at three in the morning after nine hours on a plane? It was good to walk around and to see that Orly field was greatly improved. In two hours we were off again for Frankfurt.

All in all the flight was very smooth and uneventful – all one can ask. But it seemed long this time and I was very weary as we came into Paris. But I have saved time and I shall soon be once again in Germany.

[Anlage aus Private Correspondence]
Copy

Dr. Alexander G. Ruthven
President, University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Dr. Ruthven:

Dr. James K. Pollock has, through the generosity of the University of Michigan, been of invaluable assistance to this Department and to General Lucius Clay in solving problems which arise in occupied Germany. General Clay has informed me that he is again in need of Dr. Pollock's assistance for a short period to act as his personal advisor on political and governmental affairs.

In view of Dr. Pollock's outstanding qualifications for this service and of his thorough understanding of the problems which are confronting General Clay, I shall be deeply grateful if Dr. Pollock can be made available to depart for Germany on or about 10 May 1948 to assist General Clay for six or seven weeks. His services are urgently needed.

Your consideration of this request and an early indication of the decision reached will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,
Kenneth C. Royall
Secretary of the Army

15 May 1948

Arrived at Rhein/Main just as the sun was coming up shortly before 6. A car was sent for me, and a message from General Clay saying that he wanted me to come to Victory House and have breakfast with him. On arrival, after freshening up a bit, I came down to breakfast, and Bob Murphy and Capt. Donnan were there with the General. It was a very happy homecoming for me, and Lucius began immediately to plunge right into the serious issues raised at the London Conference,¹⁰² from which he and Bob had returned the day before. Both at breakfast and on the way to the office in his car, I received a rather complete report of the progress made at London. I was pleased to hear that most of the points dealing with the proposed government for Western Germany have been pretty well ironed out, and I was particularly satisfied that the plan is to utilize the

¹⁰² Londoner Sechsmächtekonferenz über Deutschland, 23. 2. – 6. 3. und 20. 4. – 2. 6. 1948, FRUS 1948 II, S. 75ff.

Minister-Presidents as the conveners and preparers of the Constitutional Assembly. I raised some question about the method of choosing the delegates – a point which has not been finally decided. I also raised a question about a provisional government and got the very quick response that they didn't want any. Also, an inquiry about the possibility of including the French prior to the formation of a new German government elicited the further response that the French didn't want to come in and we didn't want them, for it would upset the functioning of Bizonia and cause more confusion than it would eliminate. All in all, I got a pretty good picture, not merely of the main issues, but also of the personalities and the procedures being followed at London. I conveyed to Lucius the various messages which had been given to me by Hoover, Lovett, Draper and Forrestal.

At the General's office, I saw my old colleague Ken Dayton, who is now assisting Gen. Adcock in bizonal matters, and my Michigan colleague Haber, who is now adviser for Jewish affairs. He was all enthused about the setting up of the new Palestine State and thought that this development would facilitate the departure of the thousands of Jewish DP's who are still in the American zone.¹⁰³ I also talked with Hawkins, who is the acting head of the Economic Division and Draper's son-in-law about decartelization matters which I impressed upon him were not clearly understood at home. I also had a pleasant chat with Gen. Huebner, who made some wise observations about how we had not consolidated our military gains at the end of the war, referring particularly to our letting the Russians take both Berlin and Prague.

After lunch I flew with the General in his plane to Berlin, and in the course of the flight he and Bob and I went over a good many other matters in order to bring me up to date. After a very happy dinner with the General in the evening and a long talk afterwards, I now feel that I am getting back into the picture. How I managed to stay awake all day, I don't know.

16 May 1948

I had a very illuminating talk with Clay about the general problem of over-seas administration: How one recruits capable people, and how one also retains their services over a period of time. Obviously he had thought a great deal about this problem and he expressed the opinion that the State Department was the only place where there could properly be an administration center for the administration of an over-seas corps. He thought, however, that the best approach was to have each department concerned pay particular attention to having on their staffs men of over-seas experience who, on call, could be assigned to some particular operation. In other

¹⁰³ 14. 5. 1948 Gründung des Staates Israel.

words, he felt that a separate so-called Colonial Staff needed specialists from departments more than anything else, and that the only effective way to hold such specialists in the service of the government was to attach them to individual departments and have them assigned on request to any given operation. He was concerned about the high rate of turn-over in top personnel in Military Government but felt that nothing could be done about it and that such a rapid turn-over was inevitable in any situation where permanent career prospects could not be available.

We discussed the Ruhr problem more intensively and he expressed his deep concern with the present state of the discussion of this problem at London. Curiously, it is not now the French, but rather the British who are causing us difficulty, the British endeavoring by means of a different wording to end the present control over coal which is pretty strongly placed in our own hands. The General seems to be alone in fighting against the relinquishment of the present control because he feels very deeply that this would be giving up the most effective instrument which has been left in our hands. The establishment of an international authority would definitely weaken our present control, and he also feels, might not meet with the kind of German cooperation which is so essential to a successful operation of that valuable area. He was not particularly sanguine about the prospects of his winning his battle. I expressed the opinion that if the Congress knew about this issue, they would certainly back up Clay's position.

We also talked about the future of Bizonia and of the American zone Länderrat. He had secured the agreement of General Robertson to dissolve the British zonal Advisory Council if we would dissolve our American zone Länderrat. When, however, he proposed this question to the eight Minister-Presidents, Ehard of Bavaria said that he was not anxious to give up an existing useful institution until he saw another equally promising one in existence. I had to agree with this sentiment myself and, of course, found it gratifying that our German leaders still considered the Länderrat to have a useful purpose. It is, of course, only a matter of time until the Länderrat will have to go out of existence and be merged in a larger governmental organization for the three zones.

The General gave me his ideas of what he wanted me to do, and suggested a rather extensive trip through both the British and American zones. He feels quite out of touch with the Germans' thinking and the actual situation in the two zones due to his preoccupation with the London Conference. He referred to how valuable his regular conferences with the Minister-Presidents at Stuttgart had been in keeping him in touch with current developments.

I had a very pleasant dinner with Ed Litchfield and saw the new baby. Ed explained the recent organizational changes in OMGUS and underlined several of the principal points which came up at London. I was

extremely happy to hear the General give him very sincere praise and credit for his excellent work.

I went with the General to see the Sunday review of the troops in front of Truman Hall and I have never been so impressed in all my life with the performance of American troops. The transformation which has come over our Army contingents in the year since Clay has become Commander-in-Chief is simply miraculous. The Honor Guard company of negroes is the best I ever saw.

Berlin, May 16, 1948

My Darling:

[. . .] *In the course of the morning I saw many people, members of my old Stuttgart staff, General Huebner the Chief of Staff, General Adcock who is the American member of the Bi-partite Board, and finally Bill Haber who came in to see Clay. I also talked over the phone with Pat Van Wagoner and Litchfield who called up while I was there in Clay's office. There are many changes in Frankfurt since the army headquarters including the Habers have moved to Heidelberg or are in process of doing so in order to make way for the British-American supervisory staffs of Bizonia. Bill seemed glad to see me, had been flitting about a great deal, and was all excited about the Palestine developments. I asked Clay how Bill was doing and Clay said, "All right, but you can't trust him! I knew him from Washington and when anything Jewish comes up he is utterly unscrupulous. I am convinced that he inspired an ugly news story recently and just this morning he wanted me to admit Rumanians – Jews of course – simply because I was admitting Czechs who were slipping across the border to save their lives. I told him no." This was Clay. Bob Murphy entirely agreed. He said Bill was just like all the other Jewish advisers – no better, and worse than two of them! I tell you all this naturally in confidence because I think you want to know. I did not see Fanny nor hear much about them, but will try to see them later when my plans shake down.*

I had lunch with General Huebner, the Chief of Staff in charge of the troops, and he told me how pleased General Clay was to have me back. Clay doesn't eat lunch. I also ran into the newspapermen who were waiting to see Clay. Several of them I knew and there may be a few lines in the Tribune and the Times. I will enclose a clipping from this morning's Stars and Stripes.

About three we took off in Clay's plane for Berlin – Murphy and Clay playing some gin rummy on the way. Maybe I'll have to learn how to play that game after all. We talked over many things in between. The day was beautiful but the riding was rough. About four-thirty, we landed at Tempelhof and there were many people there to meet us. Ed came and a picture was taken of Ed, Clay and me just after we landed. I rode to the office with

Clay and when I came past my old office just opposite his, my name was hanging on the door, a stenographer was ready, flowers in the room and everything. [. . .]

I don't know what my plans will be. I may go to London with Clay and Murphy when they return there on Tuesday or I may start a tour of the British and American zones or I may remain a while in Berlin. There are no present difficulties in Berlin and Clay is not a bit worried. He knows just what to do and will do it, if anything happens. Road and air traffic are moving as usual. Only railroad traffic out of Berlin is held up because Clay will not ask the Russians for permission to move it. He doesn't have to ask them for traffic coming in. But the Autobahn is open as usual subject to the usual check of permits.

Berlin is very pretty in its spring garb. The flowers are planted once more and blooming, and in the year since Clay has been Commander-in-Chief the whole tone of our troops and activities has measurably improved. [. . .]

It is going to be a very interesting and profitable experience for me and you need not worry about my being in Berlin. I arranged to get my steamship ticket in Frankfurt so you can still count on my sailing home July 2.

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

P.S. [. . .] After another talk with Clay it looks as if I will not need to go to London and will begin a trip through our zone & the British some time next week.

17 May 1948

More talk today about London and about the impact of the ECA on the conduct of the occupation. Clay is genuinely apprehensive about the possibility that the new Marshall Plan administration may want to interfere unduly with economic controls under the occupation. Both he and Bob are worried about Harriman's possible activities and could not understand why Marshall Plan grants could not be utilized in such a way to contribute to the support of the American position in the London Conference. He reverted again to his disagreements with Lou Douglas, who he feels too anxious to give away the American position.

18 May 1948

Saw the General off to the London Conference and had breakfast with Ed in order to plan my forthcoming tour of the Western zones. He explained more fully some of the recent changes in the organization of Military Government. Today is a half-holiday on account of the celebration honoring the 1848 revolution in Germany.

19 May 1948

Enjoyed a good briefing by Ed Litchfield's branch chiefs.¹⁰⁴ Was glad to get the latest information about denazification progress. Compared to the other zones, as well as on an absolute basis, we have done a thorough and complete job. Probably by the end of July all the cases will have been cleaned up, except some of the Class I offenders. It is interesting to look back and review the highlights of the whole experience from the beginning of the occupation through the enactment of the Law for Liberation down through the amnesties and the administrative changes in the Law.

It was interesting to me to be informed that there is still some difficulty with the Army in the development of the German police. As our Public Safety people withdrew from any command function, the community commanders began to move in, and now the Army has interposed objections to any further development of complete responsibility by the German police. This is a dying gasp, because with the development of a constitution for Western Germany the occupation forces will inevitably be left in the position of a garrison force.

A review of the recent local elections demonstrates continuing German interest in this basic activity of the democratic citizen. Some improvements in electoral procedures and practices are noticeable, and also a few lapses from sound democratic practice. The incident in Schwäbisch-Gmünd, where a former Nazi Kreisamtsleiter was elected Bürgermeister, put us in an awkward position which, it seems to me, we did not handle very well. I find that there are not very many new leading political personalities developed in the last year. Schumacher is quite ill and there seems no effective substitute in the offing. I shall see as many of the party leaders as possible on my forthcoming trip.

I was interested to be informed about the so-called democratization program, which involves bringing as many leaders in various fields of thought from the United States and Western European countries as possible and utilizing them in discussion groups throughout the zone.

¹⁰⁴ Edward Litchfield war 1947–1949 Director of Civil Administration Division, OMGUS.

German committees are now being formed all over the zone. Men like Brecht will soon arrive to participate in this program.

Mrs. Clay returned from a brief holiday in Bavaria and invited me to have dinner with her and her sister, Mrs. Dwyer and the Rands. Mrs. Rand is Gen. Franklin's daughter. Mrs. Clay seems to have completely recovered from her illness and is her usual charming self. She told me about her African trip with Gen. LeMay.

20 May 1948

Continuing my re-orientation in occupation affairs, I received the latest figures about population changes in our zone, figures which are little less than startling. In the past year there has been a 2% increase in the population, with about 500,000 completely new people coming into the zone. The excess of females over males is 17 to 10, especially in the age group 20-30. The movement of population is now back to the towns, indicating, I presume, an improvement both in the food and housing situation. No adequate housing figures are yet available. The tremendous sociological significance of population changes can only be guessed at. What it is doing to the morale of the people is quite incalculable.

Regarding the DP population, everyone seems to be waiting for either action by Congress or developments in Palestine. The present DP population in camps has for the first time dropped just below 300,000.

Had lunch with J. Anthony Panuch and learned about the various developments in administrative matters since last summer, including the problems which were expected to be involved in the transfer from War to State, which never came off. He raised several serious questions about JEIA and sent me a memo which he had prepared on the subject. I found him to be very keen and approaching the various organization problems of Military Government with a wide experience and great energy.

I was also informed about the handling of Länder, Länderrat and bizonal legislation. This procedure is a great improvement over the hit-and-miss system which used to obtain. I found that this allowance of legislation is very rare at all levels and that the Minister-Presidents in our zone had taken advantage of their power under Proclamation 4 to decree most of the important Länderrat legislation instead of referring it to their Landtage.

I had a good deal of discussion with Ed Litchfield about the nature and content of the proposed occupation statute and also about the size and quality of MG staffs in the next stage of the occupation. He expressed some support for larger and more adequate supervisory staffs than what seems to be envisaged in present plans. Some of these matters will have to await the final determinations in London.

21 May 1948

Worked on plans for my forthcoming trip through the Western zones. There is noticeable improvement in all the administrative arrangements regarding travel, as compared to the old days when one had to waste so much time. It shows what the military can do under proper leadership.

I had lunch with Bill Babcock, and our conversation centered around Berlin District affairs. He wanted to know what I thought of the possibility of establishing a free university in our sector – could we get a staff and assure them of reasonable tenure? The Soviets, of course, are utilizing the University of Berlin as a propaganda center and it has ceased to be a real university. He gave me a very intimate picture of the Kommandatura and the relationships with the German municipal officials.

Talked with Phil Hawkins and Don Humphrey about economic matters generally, especially on the organization side. Learned more about JEIA and about the tie-in with British administration at Essen. Both of them anticipated considerable difficulty with the Russians as a result of our non-shipment of goods from the Berlin area. Humphrey in particular mentioned the heavy cost which would rest upon us in feeding the German population of the western sectors of the city if we were not able to offset these costs with the shipment of various manufactured goods to the Western zones.

At dinner I talked with the head of the French Commerce and Finance Division about Länder affairs, and hope to follow up this conversation with a more intimate look into the French zone in the course of my trip.

The General arrived back from London about 1:30 a.m. looking quite haggard and feeling quite disappointed.

22 May 1948

Attended the weekly staff conference, which I found a bit dull. Gen. Hays made a friendly greeting to me, saying how pleased he was to have me back. Found little in the reports which were significant. In the fields such as intelligence and political, where there should always be something to report, no reports were given.

23 May 1948

Flew to Frankfurt to begin my tour through the Western zones. Asked Jim Newman to come over to Victory House to have lunch with me so that I could be brought up to date with developments in his bailiwick. While we were eating lunch, former Senator Burton Wheeler came into the room and I had a brief conversation with him. Later in the day I saw him again

and learned that he was interesting himself in the Thyssen case and was travelling with a Pole who is now living in Argentina. He spoke vaguely about how the President had asked him to give Military Government a onceover, and it was clear that he pretty well knew what he wanted to find.

Frankfurt (Königstein), Sunday Noon, May 23, 1948

My Darling –

I have waited to write you until my plans could be definitely set. I am back in Frankfurt where I begin an extensive trip through the three Western zones. I enclose a copy of my orders so you may know where I am going. The General wants me to find out how the land lies and what the general situation is. He came back from London Friday night quite discouraged. The French (very confidentially) came up to the point of agreement and then refused to go ahead right now. It is being thrashed out now in Washington & Paris, and maybe something will be salvaged from the disagreement.

After being quite upset for a couple of days after I landed, I'm fine now. Everyone is wonderful to me and I will have a most interesting time. My trip which I am now beginning will be in a special railway car which means I will not have to pound myself driving hundreds of miles. I have an escort officer with me in addition to the train commander and crew, and also a good friend from Ed's division you may remember – Rowland Myers. We will eat & sleep on the train – there are four compartments – and I will get on and off at the various stops or have people come to see me at the train. I will end up my trip at Hamburg where a plane will be sent for me. So you see, I am well taken care of!

We flew here this morning and I am staying at what is called Victory Guest House. It is a huge mansion with formal garden and fountains overlooking the Taunus range of hills west of Frankfurt and right near an old ruined castle known as Königstein. [...]

I shall try to drive out to Bad Homburg this afternoon to see the Habers. Remember when we went out there to see the Kaiser's castle?

We start our trip from here Wednesday morning going to Baden-Baden for a night with the French. Berlin is quiet and normal – but no rail traffic for us in or out. We may fly or drive. I will be staying about two weeks only in Berlin after my trip. Then to London. I pick up my boat ticket here tomorrow.

*Love,
Jim*

24 May 1948

Began my study of Frankfurt bizonal administration, starting with Gen. Adcock, who is our member in the Bipartite Control Office. Addy was his usual vigorous self but had altogether different and, so it seems to me, more satisfactory attitudes toward German administration than he evinced a couple of years ago.

Ernie Linde, who was my Information and Reports Officer at Stuttgart, is now the American member of the Joint Secretariat of the bizonal administration, and he was able to give me a very valuable orientation in many of the inner workings of the Control Office. He summed up his opinion as follows: "We are not yet sure what kind of a child we are raising or whether it will become an orphan." He introduced me to Dr. Fliess, who is the British Governmental Affairs Officer and who kindly furnished me with some of the latest information about constitutional and governmental progress in the British zone.

Bill Kane, my former executive, had a supper party for me and invited a number of members of my former staff who are now associated with the bizonal administration. It was a very happy and informing occasion.

25 May 1948

Attended a meeting of the Wirtschaftsrat¹⁰⁵ and met the president, Dr. Köhler, and the Oberdirektor, Dr. Pünder, who used to be in the chancellery with Dr. Brüning. When I came in the room a number of the delegates recognized me and began to come over one by one to shake hands and volunteer interesting information. Had talks with Dahrendorf, who heads the Social Democratic faction in the Council, and also spoke briefly with some of the directors of the administrative departments.

I was quite impressed with the businesslike way in which the Council went about to do its business, even though it was certainly not the same smooth operation to which I was accustomed at the Länderrat in Stuttgart. There is a strong rivalry between the upper house or Länderrat of the bizonal organization and the Economic Council which may cause some difficulty and even embarrassment in the interim period before the establishment of a West German government.

After lunching with Ken Dayton I interviewed a number of other Germans in his house, including Dr. Seelos, the Bavarian representative who formerly represented his state when I was at Stuttgart. He was quite explosive about the present situation, but as I argued with him I found that he was not really too unhappy with the situation, all factors considered.

¹⁰⁵ Tagung des Wirtschaftsrats am 25. 5. 1948 in Frankfurt, AVBRD 4, Dok. 51.

Toward 6 o'clock, being reminded that it was my birthday, we went to Kronberg Castle for a few drinks and then to the Victory House at Königstein for a very quiet but most excellent dinner.

May 26, 1948

My Darling –

As I leave Frankfurt on my little train, I want to send my love and say that everything is going well with me. Yesterday and Monday I had very strenuous and interesting interviews with scores of our own people, British and Germans. I was staying at the Victory Guest House and word got around that it was my birthday. So there was a very good dinner. We went to Kronberg Castle for a couple of drinks before dinner. A quiet evening, a good bath and then to bed – that was my 50th birthday. It was lonesome without you!

I visited the sessions of the new Economic Council yesterday morning. Many Germans recognized me and came over to give me their opinions. Best of all, I have my steamship ticket in my pocket for the sailing from Southampton on July 2 on the S.S. America of the U.S. Lines!

I am looking forward to a very interesting trip through about two-thirds of Germany – all three Western zones. Today we stop at Darmstadt and drive out to Dieburg to see a camp of Czech refugees. Then to Heidelberg for lunch and conferences. This afternoon we go to Karlsruhe for a brief stop and then to Baden-Baden for the night. Tomorrow we go to Stuttgart for a day and a half and then to Munich.

I notice much improvement. This depot is bustling with people and activity. There has been a lot of cleaning up and repairs. All they need is a go ahead sign. Clay returned to London yesterday, so there is still some hope that the negotiations will yet succeed.

We're off at 8:30. I'll mail this from Heidelberg –

*Love,
Jim*

26 May 1948

Started my trip this morning on a very comfortable diesel train, well equipped to take us through the Western zones. Stopped at Darmstadt and saw Lloyd, who is now the Military Government Officer at Darmstadt, formerly Liaison Officer to me from Wiesbaden. He drove us out to Dieburg where we inspected one of the recently created camps for Czechish refugees. I was appalled to find how many were there and how many more we might expect to come in the immediate future. If we are not careful we

will be developing another DP problem before we have solved the one already in our hands.

Stopped at Heidelberg for lunch to confer with Col. West and looked the town over once more, now that it has become the headquarters for EUCOM.

Proceeding toward the French zone, stopped at Karlsruhe and had old Köhler, the Deputy Minister-President of Württemberg-Baden and its Finance Minister, come to the train with the Military Government Officer to give me an opportunity to talk to them. Köhler astonished me by explaining that he was now strongly in favor of a union of Württemberg with Baden, both parts north and south, and that, if put to a vote of the people, such a union would receive at least a 75% affirmative vote. He spoke of the sedulous efforts of the French in many ways to detach Baden and what had been done to completely recolonize the Baden city of Kehl opposite Strassburg.

Walters, one of the Military Government staff at Karlsruhe, gave me a most encouraging picture of the progress of our reorientation program. Karlsruhe itself is the best cleaned-up city I have seen in Germany.

Arriving in Baden-Baden, we were taken to the Stephanie and then to dinner with the chief of the French administration, Monsieur Sabatier. It was a lovely dinner in a beautiful house, with very interesting company. Sabatier seemed most anxious to talk to me and, with what seemed to me to be unusual frankness, he spoke with some admiration of what we had done through the Länderrat and otherwise to keep alive and to stimulate the federal solution of the German problem. He told me about the fact that they too had recently created a Länderrat for the French zone. In economic matters, he and the other members of his staff were delightfully vague, especially with regard to transfers from the zone to France proper. They were afraid that currency reform, if accomplished too soon, would disturb the economy of their zone.

I learned that French Military Government still has a personnel of about 9,000, and in the city of Baden-Baden alone, there are approximately 15,000 French residents. Three years after the occupation began, this seems unconscionable, and I trust that when the Marshall Plan subventions to the French zone are made we will insist upon economy all along the line.

I sensed a degree of cordiality and sympathy with the American position which I had not heretofore discovered.

27 May 1948

Back in Stuttgart among old friends; Chet Lewis had arranged a dinner at his house so that I could have an intimate talk with Minister-President Maier, Staatsrat Witwer, and Landtagspräsident Keil. We talked particularly about the next stages in the development of Germany, and I admired the frankness and logic with which they presented their views.

I also visited in the afternoon with the Oberbürgermeister of Stuttgart, Dr. Klett, who impresses me as being one of the most promising of the younger municipal administrators in Germany. He is active in the new Gemeindetag and he has been pushing vigorously for more home rule for German cities. I talked with him about his plans for rebuilding Stuttgart and the progress which had been made already in reconstruction.

28 May 1948

Went to the Villa Reitzenstein and into my old office to meet with Roßmann, the General Secretary of the Länderrat, and the three plenipotentiaries accredited to the Länderrat from the Länder in the American zone. We talked principally about the best way to handle the dissolution of the Länderrat and how the transition could best be made to a West German government. Roßmann was naturally a bit sad, but he showed his same political insight whenever I raised matters having deep political import.

I lunched with Mr. LaFollette, the Director of Military Government for Württemberg-Baden who succeeded Sumner Sewall. We talked principally about his handling of the case of the mayor of Schwäbisch-Gmünd and about other administrative problems connected with his management of the Land detachment.

Left Stuttgart at 3, and arrived in Munich, where I was met by my good friend Pat Van Wagoner, presently the Director of Military Government in Bavaria. Spent a very pleasant evening with his family and thus had the opportunity to learn more about his activities and the situation in Bavaria.

29 May 1948

A very busy morning, beginning with discussion at Military Government headquarters and ending with long talks at the Bavarian State Chancellery with Minister-President Ehard and Dr. Pfeiffer. I have a very good understanding with both these gentlemen and continue to be impressed with their political sagacity and judgment. Dr. Pfeiffer told me that his party was going to lose in the elections tomorrow, and both he and Ehard talked with me about their ideas of a future government for Western Germany, Pfeiffer promising to get me a copy of the so-called Ellwangen draft of a

new constitution.¹⁰⁶ Ehard was very apprehensive about the administrative difficulties connected with the forthcoming currency reform. Neither was too much concerned about the growth of the Bavarian Party and the internecine struggle in their own party.

I sent Myers to talk with Josef Müller who is the titular leader of the CSU and Deputy Minister-President, and also with von Knoeringen, the vigorous young leader of the Social Democratic Party in Bavaria.

After lunch with Pat and Kennedy and other members of his staff during which we talked over the problems of Military Government in Bavaria, I found that it would be useless to remain in Munich on Monday since Monday was a holiday. I therefore planned a trip to Berchtesgaden over Sunday so that we would be in that portion of Bavaria to begin our trip on Monday.

Arriving in Berchtesgaden before dinner, it was inspiring as always to see the beautiful snow-capped mountains once more and to get away from the bustle and hustle of travel.

Munich, May 29, 1948

My Darling –

[. . .] I'm standing up pretty well and really enjoying this unusual opportunity to look into things. Everything is better than last year – the people look better and there is a lot of activity. But there are serious political problems which I will try to settle with the General before I come home.

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

30 May 1948

This was election day for local councils in Bavaria, and Myers went over to Bad Reichenhall to watch the voting. We had a lovely trip on Königsee in the morning and a beautiful dinner on the Predigtstuhl above Bad Reichenhall in the evening. It was a fantastically beautiful view from this eminence, with the clouds and the snow and clear parts interspersed.

¹⁰⁶ „Ellwanger Entwurf“ der CDU/CSU für eine deutsche Bundesverfassung vom 13. 4. 1948 in: W. Benz (Hg.) „Bewegt von der Hoffnung aller Deutschen“. Zur Geschichte des Grundgesetzes. Entwürfe und Diskussionen 1941–1949, München 1979, S. 333ff. Siehe auch den Bayerischen Verfassungsentwurf in: Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 61–11 (IfZ Bd. 69).

Berchtesgaden, May 30, 1948

My Dearest –

[. . .] General Clay is still having to go back and forth to London. Tuesday he will come to Stuttgart and I will meet him there for the last meeting of the Länderrat. You will be interested to know that the Germans still cling to it, and recognize its great contribution to German recovery. Clay must of course work with the British for bizonal fusion, and therefore wants our zonal organization to merge. He has not always been given good advice and the situation is so confused by the slowness of the London negotiations.

I am gradually getting back into the picture and am seeing some things more clearly. It is obvious that I can help to straighten out some of the difficulties. It is very gratifying how cooperative everyone is with me. This trip is going to be wonderful – it has been already and promises to be even more so from now on. [. . .]

*Love,
Jim*

31 May 1948

Drove to Salzburg for a couple of hours and rejoined the train at Freilassing. We had a most interesting and informing trip through Bavaria, beginning at Regensburg and stopping also at Nürnberg, Bamberg, and ending about dinnertime at Coburg. The countryside was very beautiful and clean, with every promise of a bumper crop. Everywhere there was bustle and activity, contrasting with the bad situation of a year ago. I found an enterprising group of liaison and security officers everywhere I went, even though this was a holiday for Americans.

1 June 1948

Back in Stuttgart for the last Länderrat meeting.¹⁰⁷ It was wonderful to be a guest and not to be on the receiving end. There was much the old bustle and sparkle as the German leaders assembled for their discussions and to hear the speech of General Clay. I had a few words with the General and with Bob Murphy, and then went into the Länderrat meeting where my face was soon made very red by some very kind remarks made by Minister-President Maier and responded to by the General.

It was rather interesting that the full cycle, one might say, of the Länder-

¹⁰⁷ Protokoll der letzten Länderratssitzung vom 31. 5. – 1. 6. 1948 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 4, Dok. 54.

rat had started and now was ending under my eyes, Dr. Maier presiding at the first meeting in October 1945 and being once again by rotation in the chair at this last meeting. The members of the Parliamentary Advisory Council were in attendance, and also old Dr. Dietrich who had rendered such yeoman service in agricultural matters a year ago. The General was very generous in his reference to Dr. Dietrich and gave a rather cheering speech, afterwards answering several important questions directed to him by the members of the Parliamentary Advisory Council.

After the Länderrat meeting, the old procedure which I had established was still followed. There was first an internal meeting with Clay and the Minister-Presidents; then a press conference with the German and American press, and then lunch at Charles Winning's house. The luncheon was a most pleasant affair, although to me it had a note of sadness since Winning still occupies the same house which Bill used and in which I lived for many weeks. I was even put at my same place at the table, which brought back many happy recollections with Bill Dawson.

The lunch was followed by a conference with the Directors of Military Government, during which the General was explaining the progress which had been made at London. Midway in his discussion there was a rather dramatic interruption when he was called to the telephone and informed by Ambassador Douglas in London that the French had finally capitulated and come to an agreement on the principal points.¹⁰⁸

I rode to Frankfurt with the General and Bob, which gave me an opportunity to report on my trip and to discuss a variety of emerging problems. We stopped at Heidelberg so the General could talk once more to Ambassador Douglas, and when he returned to the train we had the gratifying news that the agreements were all successfully sewed up, thus bringing to a very successful conclusion the long negotiations at London. Tremendous credit belongs to the General for his persistence and ability in handling every aspect of the whole complicated problem. In effect, everyone has come around in three years to pretty much the position which the General has held all along.

Upon arrival in Frankfurt I drove to Wiesbaden to spend the night with Jim Newman.¹⁰⁹ As I went to sleep I recalled a line which Bob had spoken to me in my old office at the Villa: "Jim," he said, "you blend into this office just as the mother of pearl harmonizes with the walnut panelling."

¹⁰⁸ Six Power Recommendation, 2. 6. 1948, FRUS 1948 II, S. 76–83. Die deutsche Übersetzung des Schlußkommuniqués in Parl. Rat 1, Dok. 1. Siehe auch "London Report of June 1, 1948, Talks on Germany", Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 62–8 (IFZ Bd. 11). Die Londoner Beschlüsse enthielten vornehmlich die Teilnahme Deutschlands am Wiederaufbau Europas and die Einigung über eine internationale Ruhrkontrolle.

¹⁰⁹ Der folgende Satz ist von Pollock hschr. dem mschr. Text hinzugefügt.

2 June 1948

After two hours with Newman and the members of his staff I left for Mainz, where I was met by the French Political Advisor, Monsieur Hardouin and other members of his staff. We had a drive through the city, which is very much improved, and had a glimpse at the new university. The Ambassador joined me on the train and rode along the Rhine to Coblenz where he had arranged a very delightful lunch which took about three hours to devour. He remarked that he was sending me off to the British zone in a happy mood.

We stopped at Bonn and arrived in Cologne in time for dinner which the British had arranged so that I could have a talk with Dr. Adenauer. At the dinner, I discussed a whole variety of problems with him, getting his views about territorial reorganization, the new constitution, the interim period, and relations with the French. He is very sound in many of his positions and was very frank to argue for his points with considerable ability as usual.¹¹⁰ He was still very anti-British but he was not pro-French as has been alleged. Rather was he pro-Benelux. His plan for a greater Rhineland and Westphalia demonstrated his political shrewdness but it will likely not be allowed under the London terms.

I was irritated as I was riding along the Rhine with Saint Hardouin to have Clevenski, his attache, hand me a copy of *Figaro* in which Lippmann's article which was more French than the French, was reprinted. He asked me what I thought of it and I told him very frankly how unsound I thought it was, and how typical of Lippmann was the last condescending sentence about Clay and Douglas.

3 June 1948

Rode from Cologne to Düsseldorf, having breakfast on the train in order to save time. Attended a session of the Landtag of Nordrhein-Westphalia and talked with Minister-President Arnold and several leaders of the party groups in the legislature. Conferences with British Military Government officers, particularly with Mr. Emck, who impressed me very favorably. Went to the Minister of the Interior to talk with Dr. Menzel, who used to work for me in the early days of the occupation in Berlin and who is now Minister of the Interior of his State. He recited case after case of continued British operating control, particularly in the police field, for which he was in German law responsible.

At dinner in the evening with Brigadier Barraclough, he told me how he

¹¹⁰ Ab hier sind die restlichen Tageseintragungen hschr. hinzugefügt worden.

had fired Dr. Adenauer as Oberbürgermeister of Cologne. I am afraid he didn't realize the difficulties he had brought down upon British Military Government by this action, for I am convinced that Adenauer has been a very strong force militating against German cooperation with the British.

Düsseldorf, June 3, 1948

My Dearest –

[. . .] We arrived in Stuttgart Tuesday morning. The General & Bob Murphy arrived simultaneously by plane. A strenuous but exciting day for me. When the Länderrat met, Minister-President Maier of Württemberg who was Chairman – (same as at the first meeting in November 1945) after greeting the General said he wanted to express their appreciation of my work – how I had taught them democracy, how my principles had proved to be right, etc.! Was my face red? The General then said to make it even stronger that he too had taken lessons from me and every now and then needed more and so he brought me back to teach him! Imagine! It certainly set me up.

Late afternoon he asked me to ride with him & Bob to Frankfurt – dinner in the train. It gave me a fine opportunity to report & talk everything over. Quite dramatically he was called to the train phone at Heidelberg; Ambassador Douglas calling from London that agreement had been reached. We were all happy. [. . .]

*Love & Kisses,
Jim*

4 June 1948

Came to Essen this morning and viewed once more the desert of ruins, particularly the principal Krupp plant. It is amazing how a person like Shirer can make the statement that German industry has not even been nicked. In the Villa Hügel, the former Krupp mansion which is now used as the headquarters for the Coal Control Board, I discussed with Mr. Estill, the American member, and Mr. Collins, his British counterpart, the various aspects of the Ruhr coal problem. Both of them appeared to be very much on top of the situation but are considerably handicapped, first by their rather anomalous and detached administrative position within their respective Military Governments, and second, because they have no control over dismantlings for reparations purposes of plants making essential materials for the mines.

Leaving Essen, we went to Dortmund, Hamm, and on to Bad Oeynhausien, which is the headquarters for the British Army of the Rhine. We were met there and taken to Lübbecke for conferences and dinner with

Brigadier Knapton, who is the acting Deputy for the British zone. I liked the Brigadier very much and enjoyed his charming dinner party, but the net result of our visit was to demonstrate rather clearly that the British really don't know what their organization is or what their various staffs are doing. They have, however, made a considerable adaptation to our practice in the course of the past year.

5 June 1948

Arrived in Hannover in the Hauptbahnhof, which was a crowded scene, with hundreds of persons milling around carrying hundred-pound bags of potatoes which, thanks to the poor collecting and distributing system, now suddenly appear.

I had a very helpful conference with Minister-President Kopf, who is very much his own self and who talked very frankly about his desire to bring the position of the Länder in the British zone up to the level of those in the American zone. Like Menzel, he too testified of his lack of control over the police and explained his difficulties in forming a new coalition in Hannover. He continued to express his desire for territorial annexations to Hannover, including Regierungsbezirk Minden, now a part of Westphalia, and also Bremen.

At lunch with Brigadier Lingham, the Resident Commissioner, I had a very amusing conference regarding his own attitude toward supervising or controlling the Germans. When I asked him how he went about to form a new cabinet in Hannover I made an analogy between himself and the king, and without ever batting an eye, he replied, "Yes, I function just like the king." He seemed to resent any questions about the size of his staff or the method of supervising German agencies.

In the afternoon we were taken to the Hannover Fair, which impressed me very much, particularly because of the improved quality of the goods exhibited.

Arrived in Bremen in time for dinner with our Military Government Director, Mr. Dunn, and his deputy, Capt. formerly Commodore, Jeffs. It seemed good to be back again under American auspices.

6 June 1948

On this anniversary of D-Day¹¹¹ I had a very delightful lunch with Capt. Jeffs and his sister, in the course of which we were given some real American apple pie!

After lunch drove out to Oldenburg to see Dr. Wegmann, who is the

¹¹¹ Tag der alliierten Landung in der Normandie, 6. 6. 1944.

President of the administration of Oldenburg, now a part of Hannover. I noticed a picture in his room autographed by Dr. Brüning, and we discussed the possibilities of Dr. Brüning's return to Germany. He was not at all reconciled to Oldenburg's administrative connection with Hannover, and reverted to the proposal made by his predecessor, old Dr. Tantzen for a smaller state which would include the western part of Hannover and a slice of Westphalia and Bremen. This plan now seems destined to disappear. He spoke of the delays of getting action from Hannover, but, on the whole, he seemed resigned to the present situation.

Returned to Bremen for cocktails and dinner with the Bürgermeister, Dr. Kaisen, an occasion which Mr. Dunn had carefully arranged both at his house and later in the Rats-Keller. Kaisen, as always, was very genuine and practical in his discussions of German political problems. I rate him very high among present German leaders. He had just returned from the conference of Minister-Presidents which was held in Düsseldorf. He did not feel that the presence of the French leaders was of any value, but he took the occasion to go down into the mines and talk with the miners. He said very frankly that he now had no fears regarding the professional loyalty and competence of these men, but he elaborated the difficulties, mechanical and otherwise, under which they labor.

He was very eager to hear about the London decisions and what would follow therefrom. He was very proud of the achievement in Bremen, which is now handling a greater tonnage than before the war.

7 June, 1948

Arrived in Hamburg this morning, and after a round of conferences with British Military Government officials from whom I was unable to learn very much, I invited a number of German officials to my train for lunch. I also invited Prof. Laun, who is now Rector Magnificus of Hamburg University. He was at one time at Ann Arbor and seemed very happy to see me, and particularly happy to eat my food, because he looked quite undernourished and unhappy. He is the type of German who is faring very badly on the limited rations.

After lunch we went to the Rathaus for further conferences, during which the Oberbürgermeister, Herr Brauer, appeared. I also talked with former Bürgermeister, Dr. Petersen, who was primarily interested to discuss foreign trade matters, with which he has a wide experience. He pointed out the curious results of the electoral system imposed on the Germans by the British, under which the Social Democrats, with a 44% vote, secured nearly 70% of the seats in the Bürgerschaft.

The Deputy Regional Commissioner gave me a dinner which was attended by a number of Hamburg officials and our own Consul General

[sic!], Mr. Gross. Despite a number of polite suggestions I did not secure in the course of the day the information I had requested about all the zonal offices which were located in Hamburg, but the information was very adequately given by the Germans, who seemed to have a more accurate picture than their British supervisors. Brauer told me that the British still have 2,000 Military Government officers in Hamburg and 40,000 Germans working for them.¹¹² Hamburg has picked up a lot and for the first time shows signs of coming to life. The port is still quite dead and the Czechish developments are not likely to help traffic on the Elbe.

The Zonal Advisory Council is on its last legs, if it ever had any, and poor Dr. Weisser was very sad when I saw him.

After a good rest at the Atlantik which was untouched in the bombing, we took off for Lübeck and Kiel. Everywhere the impact of the refugee problem was apparent, there being almost as many refugees in Schleswig as indigenous population. Lübeck, the old Hanseatic port, was bulging out at the seams, having just about doubled its population since the war. I drove past the old Schifferhaus where I saw once more the inscription on the old stone plaque, "Allen zu gefallen ist unmöglich."

Arriving in Kiel, I saw the steamship *New York* on its side in the harbor, the target of many bombs. It was pleasant to renew acquaintance with Mr. Asbury, who is now the Regional Commissioner in Schleswig, having been transferred from Düsseldorf. I viewed the Kiel Canal from the high bridge which was not destroyed. I learned that the Schleswig movement is not particularly strong.

I had a series of conferences with Minister-President Lüdemann and members of his cabinet, all of them belonging to the Social Democrats. They stressed the weak position of the Land all its serious problems of over-crowding, poor housing, dangerous health conditions, etc. It is very interesting to compare a Land in the British zone like this one with any of the Länder in the American zone. Here they are only considering such things as a municipal code, a new electoral law, and a police and civil service law.

We also discussed the territorial problem, and they indicated how Schleswig really should be joined to other areas bordering on the mouth of the Elbe, including Hamburg, and perhaps also Mecklenburg.

Returning in the late afternoon to Hamburg, I had Bürgermeister Brauer and Syndicus Sieveking for dinner on the train. Brauer told me the very exciting story of his escape from Germany after the Nazis came into power. After dinner we left the train and flew to Berlin. It was a beautiful flight up the Elbe and we arrived at Berlin just at sunset.

¹¹² Die folgenden drei Sätze sind von Pollock hschr. in den maschr. Text eingefügt worden.

9 June 1948

Spent several hours reporting to the General on my trip and began the preparation of a written report. Also had discussions with Gen. Gailey, Bob Murphy, and others.

Berlin, June 9

My Darling –

I arrived back safely from my wonderful trip last night by plane from Hamburg. This morning I will take just a moment to say how overjoyed I was to have all your sweet birthday letters. [. . .]

I shall be here until Monday when I go again with the General to Frankfurt to start the first moves toward a new Western German Government. You have no idea how thrilling it has been to me to be here at this time and to find so many of my ideas growing stronger among the Germans and among all national occupational groups. I enclose the record of the last Länderrat meeting.¹¹³ Please keep it for me – show it if you wish to others. It was a genuine tribute.

I am still quite tired but am now lodged in a huge mansion where I shall have every comfort. [. . .]

*Hugs & Kisses,
Jim*

10 June 1948

Continued work on the report. I had a pleasant dinner in the evening with Phil Mettger, who had invited John Hay, Dale Noble and Ed Litchfield. Our discussions covered a wide field, but I was particularly interested in getting their views regarding the problems of a corps of over-seas administrators.

¹¹³ Highlight Summary of the Länderrat Meeting 1948, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 60–23 (IfZ Bd. 82). Siehe auch Anm. 107.

11 June 1948

Finished my report and sent it in to the General.¹¹⁴ Had dinner with Roger Wells, during which we discussed principally educational and Military Government problems. I am so happy that he has returned for the summer.

Berlin, June 11, 1948

My Darling –

[. . .] Did I say that I am in a big, comfortable, cool guest house where I can relax and have my own meals. How I thought of you when they served me fresh strawberries from the garden today. The German kind is quite mild and not so acid as ours.

I've been busy since returning Tuesday evening briefing the General from time to time on my trip. Now I have prepared a long written report which I will bring home with me. Sunday I go with him to Munich to see the exhibition of the returned pictures, some of those we saw in Washington. Then back to Frankfurt for Sunday evening, Monday and Tuesday. These will be interesting days for me since the meetings between the Military Governors and the German Minister-Presidents will occur. This will start off the rebuilding of a new German government. You will read about it in the papers. I will be there! [. . .]

You asked about Mrs. Clay. They live here and when he's out of town she stays or vice versa, so no one will think we are pulling out. Occasionally she makes a trip to the zone with him for a few days.

It is now very hot – like that summer of 1932. Remember? But it isn't like Washington. I'm even going to try a swim tomorrow if I can find time. I won't have to work so hard now and I hope to get caught up with my rest.

*Love,
Jim*

12 June 1948

There was a very interesting staff conference, in the course of which Col. Holmer reported that the Russians were holding up a number of cars of coal which were in the Anhalter Bahnhof. Gen. Clay ordered the Colonel to use whatever measures were necessary, including the use of the Con-

¹¹⁴ Summary Report of the principal findings and observations arising out of my recent trip to the three Western Zones, 23 May – 8 June 1948, Memo Pollock – Clay, 11. Juni 1948, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 62–18 (IfZ Bd. 37): Anhang, Dokument VII.

stabulary, to move their cars wherever we want them. Later in the day, after being obstreperous for a while, the Russians yielded, and no incident occurred.

The General seemed to me to be unusually acid in his comments, especially when it applied to slowness or lack of activity on the part of the Germans.

In connection with the typhoid situation in Bavaria, he was ready to order everybody vaccinated, and when Col. Textor reported that little progress was being made in Bavaria on the Radio Law, he told him that we would go ahead anyway.

I am puzzled sometimes to find that many people seem to forget that we have now been here three years and should be operating under an altogether different attitude. I am more than ever convinced that we could have been more effective and would be more effective today if we abandoned all our operations and retired to a purely supervisory position.

13 June 1948

The General asked me to accompany him to Munich where he was to turn back to the Germans a portion of the famous paintings which had been taken to the United States for safe-keeping.¹¹⁵ I had a good talk on the plane with Mrs. Clay, and on arrival in Munich we went directly to the Haus der Kunst where, after very felicitous speeches by Gen. Clay and Minister-President Ehard, we drove out to Pat Van Wagoner's house for some refreshments.

Ehard spoke about the impossibility of having culture without law, linking the two words "Kultur" and "Recht" together. Apparently old Hundhammer intended to steel the show himself, because the Minister-President was not notified until a very short time before he was supposed to speak.

We left Munich at 6 and arrived in Frankfurt for the night. It was one of the most beautiful evenings I have ever known when we arrived at the Victory House and saw the sunset over the Taunus range.

14 June 1948

This was a very crowded day, and the General didn't finish until about 7:30 in the evening, as usual taking no time out for lunch. At 11 o'clock the

¹¹⁵ Am 14. 6. 1948 schrieb Pollock an seine Frau: "At Munich the General went to the Haus der Kunst – an art museum Hitler built facing the English Garden which has been used for a mess – in order to present to the Bavarian Prime Minister about 1/4 of the German pictures we saw at the Mellon Gallery in Washington." Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll.

regular meeting with the bizonal German officials took place¹¹⁶ and the General went after them with his heavy guns when he found that they had not come in with an agreed paper on currency reform and tax reform. Detecting the difference between the opinions of the Economic Council and those of the Länderrat, he suggested that the two houses of the bizonal administration had better get together on an agreed program, and he added with sarcasm that it would be a good idea if they were occasionally seen together in public. He was quite annoyed at the whole meeting since it displayed a complete lack of careful advance preparation. Unimportant matters received an inordinate amount of attention, and acerbities were promoted rather than avoided. Again I found what appeared to me to be entirely too strong an attitude of criticism of the Germans by the General. He learned from them, however, what I had been trying to tell him; namely, that they were not informed about at least the administrative side of the proposed currency reform measures. When all the Germans assured him that they knew nothing about our currency reform plan, he then directed that they arrange for a conference the first thing the next morning.

Had lunch with Stanley Andrews who has now most fortunately resumed his Food and Agriculture position with Military Government. He has more good sense and understanding than anybody I find here.

In the afternoon the General conferred with the four Minister-Presidents from our zone – Gen. Robertson doing the same with his Minister-Presidents – during which period he told them in a fairly complete way about the London decisions. They received his report most favorably, and he told them to begin thinking and planning about what they would do once the French Parliament has acted favorably on the London decisions.

15 June 1948

This was the most crowded day I think I have ever gone through. Gen. Koenig came for an informal call and returned later in the afternoon. Dispatches from Washington indicated that the State Department was hoping that the General would be very reasonable in yielding to French requests. He talked with Ambassador Douglas and sent off one of the strongest cables he has ever written, indicating that he had no interest in the job if we had to back down now.

Because of numerous conferences dealing with currency reform, the reconvened session of the bizonal officials had to be postponed until 9:30. At the time they came in with agreed recommendations which the Gener-

¹¹⁶ Protokoll der Besprechungen der Militärgouverneure mit Vertretern der Bizone vom 14.–15. Juni 1948 in Frankfurt, AVBRD 4, Dok. 60.

al received and commented upon, indicating the imponderables in the situation.

At 2:30 the General and Gen. Robertson met with the eight Minister-Presidents of the Länder and talked over various matters.¹¹⁷ Clay chided them on their failure to put into the German economy huge quantities of army supplies which had been turned over to them months ago. They said that they would have a report for him at the next meeting.

Due to the failure of the French Parliament to act in time, it was not possible for the Minister-Presidents to discuss London, but they were directed to think the matter over very carefully and be prepared for an early meeting. At 5 o'clock Gen. Koenig returned, having conferred with Paris in the meantime. This conference lasted until 8 o'clock, during which the General was very critical in his handling of Koenig and the French position.

After this long conference, the newspapermen were still waiting to see him, and he came out after this terrifically gruelling day quite as jaunty as if he were just starting out in the morning. He very cleverly parried a lot of pointed questions, and finally said they knew he couldn't say anything about the developments at this time.

Riding home, he was at first quite bitter and disconsolate but then his mood changed, and we had a very pleasant time reminiscing about Military Government and earlier important incidents. In the course of our chat he told me that he always destroyed his cables to Washington and that therefore the only copies available would be in the War Department files. What a marvelous record these cables would provide of the whole gamut of Military Government activities!

Königstein, June 16

Dearest Agnes –

Since last writing you, I have had two of the busiest days yet. Conference after conference with the Germans, with the British, with the damn French etc. I wish I could recapture some of the thrilling moments like when Clay lit into General Koenig, when the newspapermen surrounded me and didn't get any news, etc. We are all disappointed at French delay when everything is ready to go.

It is about 20 miles out here and I ride back and forth with the General. These are really precious, intimate moments when he really lets his hair down.

Today he has gone on an inspection trip of military installations and I am

¹¹⁷ Protokoll der Konferenz der Militärgouverneure mit den Ministerpräsidenten am 15. 6. 1948 in Frankfurt, AVBRD 4, Dok. 61.

driving to Wiesbaden as soon as I finish this note. I will then meet him at the Frankfurt Rhein-Main airport later this afternoon. He wants to talk to the German Minister-President of Hesse and I shall bring him to the airport to see the General. [...]

*Love,
Jim*

16 June 1948

While the General went off to Northern Bavaria for some military inspection, I took the opportunity to go to Wiesbaden and see Dr. Newman, who was unfortunately in the hospital. Sheehan, his very capable deputy, had arranged for Minister-President Stock to have lunch with me so that we could talk over a number of matters, including the setting up of the new West German government and also the controversial Works Council Law which had been passed by the Hessian Landtag a couple of weeks ago.

I met the General's plane at Frankfurt at 3:30, and although he looked tired, and I was content to relax myself, we argued most of the way to Berlin about the Works Council Law. I indicated what seemed to me to be the political dangers inherent in a disapproval and he argued most strongly for smacking the law down, regardless of consequences. We shall see what happens.

At 5:30, immediately upon our return, the General went into a conference with Gen. Noiret and Gen. Robertson, continuing the discussions on currency reform which had been started in Frankfurt. These discussions lasted until 3 in the morning and, despite all efforts, ended in a failure to secure French agreement to carry on tax reform simultaneously with currency reform. It is hard to tell whether the French are bluffing or not. These delays and arguments about currency reform will delay the meeting of the Minister-Presidents to implement the London decisions. Tonight the French Parliament, by a small margin, agreed to the London decisions.

There were also big developments in the Kommandatura, from which meeting the Russians finally walked out.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ Am 16. 6. 1948 verließ die Sowjetunion den Kontrollrat.

17 June 1948

At the Kommandatura session, Col. Howley finally went home at 11:30, following which the Russians walked out. The General jumped on him pretty hard for this careless action which gave the Russians an opening, remarking that if he could stay up until 3, the Colonel was hardly justified in leaving at 11:30.

This morning we received the good news that the French Assembly had upheld the London agreements by a small margin. In confirming the agreements, however, it invited the government to take further steps to protect French security and to further the French position with reference to the Ruhr, the German industrial potential, and a centralized Reich. We must now await the action of the cabinet in implementing this Assembly resolution before we can go ahead with calling the Minister-Presidents to start the London agreements on the way. Presumably this will occur in the next few days.

In the afternoon Gen. Noiret returned, and after a brief discussion gave in on the pointed issue regarding tax reform, so that, all in all, it was a day which marked a turning point in the French position and therefore in progress toward a solution of the German problem.

Probably best of all was the cable from the State Department which the General received replying to one which he had sent on Monday, indicating very clearly their general agreement with and support of his position. On Monday we were mightily disturbed at what appeared to be a weakening in Washington vis-a-vis the French. This led to the General's sending off a very strong cable, the reply to which came in such gratifying terms this morning. Ambassador Douglas, who was rather difficult during the London Conference, has now proved to be a bulwark of strength in standing behind the agreements as arrived at. Similarly, the British Foreign Office has stood firm, and the result now is that the French have finally approved the London accord and presumably will move forward with us in implementing the provisions of the London agreement.

The General asked me to see that the decision on the Hessian Works Council Law which we had argued about so strongly, should be postponed until a later date, due to the pressure of more important affairs and the likelihood that any action taken on it now might lead to untoward developments. I communicated this decision to Col. Sheehan at Wiesbaden and he informed me that Minister-President Stock had accepted the delay without any question.¹¹⁹

Spent some time looking over an extensive paper which has been worked up listing all the violations by the Soviets of the provisions of the Potsdam

¹¹⁹ In der amerikanischen Besatzungszone bedurften alle Gesetze der Landesregierungen und des Länderrats der Zustimmung durch die Militärregierung.

agreement. Coming over on the plane I had been thinking about how important such a document could be, and now I find that Ed Litchfield's division had already under way such a study. The list of some 37 different violations is very impressive indeed and I hope something can be made of the document in any propaganda war against the Soviets at home or abroad.¹²⁰

Bob Murphy and I talked at some length about the French situation, and Sundquist of the Control Office came in to tell me about his work with the setting up of the E[conomic] C[oo]peration] A[dm]inistration] in Washington.

18 June 1948

The Russians tried another stunt today, arresting our liaison man at police headquarters. The General promptly issued orders to arrest all the Soviet officials who were working on the rail towers in our Sector. Almost immediately the Russians released our liaison man and apologized.

Furious work was done today on the final preparations for currency reform.¹²¹

June 18, 1948

My Darling –

[. . .] I'm in my last days in Berlin. It looks now as if I will leave here or Frankfurt on Wednesday, spending Thursday in Paris conferring with our Ambassador Cafferey and Mr. Harriman. The General wants me to look into the new E.C.A. program and its possible impact on Germany. Friday I will take the day train to London arriving there late that afternoon – the 25th. I shall then be there until I sail on July 2.

It is very difficult to close out here and get moving. You have no idea how I am involved in everything. Everyone wants to see me, tells me this and that etc. Fortunately everything has gone well these last two days. With the French Parliament accepting the London agreements and also our proposals about currency reform, the dark curtain of doubt has lifted and I believe we will move forward again. I believe I have helped the General by my presence during this very critical time, and as far as I am concerned it has been another invaluable experience. [. . .]

¹²⁰ Eine Aufstellung der „Soviet Violations“ wurde sogar im Department of State Bulletin vom 6. 6. 1948 veröffentlicht.

¹²¹ Die Währungsreform wurde in den Westzonen am 20. 6. 1948 durchgeführt.

You may be interested to know that I have been able to keep my Diary which you will be able to read when I come home. [. . .]

*Hugs & Kisses,
Jim*

19 June 1948

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Berlin is the front line and we must hold it. It is not merely a matter of prestige with the Germans, but we have here a good many hostages to fortune whom it would be very unwise to abandon to the tender mercies of the Russians. As many as 50,000 of them would probably be taken away or disposed of if we withdrew. The question is, of course, what measures can be taken which will effectively eliminate the squeeze which is getting tighter day by day.

20 June 1948

Studied the cable from Washington telling of the exact form of French ratification of the London agreements. The General was very conservative in his estimate of the meaning of the words. It sounds as if the reservations are not conditions and that the French are merely reserving the right to argue their point from time to time. Washington seems to have decided to stand firm, although there was one rather loose sentence which troubled the General which said that the French points would be dealt with as they arise. This could mean that agreements already made might be reopened, or it could merely mean that we will let the French talk, but hold firm to the original agreement.

We talked about the Republican nomination and the effect a Dewey nomination would have on the situation in Germany. He promptly related Dulles with Dewey and put a time limit on his own period of service in Germany if Dulles should become Secretary of State.

After the military review, I had a pleasant two hours at the Clays' – with Gen. Sverdrup and the Gaileys.

I had dinner with Dave Nichol and Thompson of *Newsweek*, and Julie Barden of the *Sun*. I was interested to learn from them the press reaction to the General and to receive from them suggestions that somehow he provide more opportunity for background so that they can more completely tell the story of the present Berlin situation.

21 June 1948

The General ordered a military train through today, notifying his Soviet counterpart that he had done so. We will have to see what happens.¹²² The whole question of what measures short of war can be taken is a very big one, and how far Washington will go in supporting effective measures. In talking with Biel, who keeps very close contact with the Germans, he strongly emphasized the necessity of staying here in order not to abandon our present position.

Had lunch with Col. Robbins, a former student of mine who is now Executive in the Armed Forces Division, and was invited to the banquet in honor of the visiting Turkish generals. Gen. Clay made a very felicitous speech in which he referred to our admiration of all peoples who prized and were willing to fight for their independence.

Made a record at AFN explaining how German government had been revived and developed up to date. Gave a briefing to about 30 pressmen at the Press Club covering the London Conference and the developments which are likely to follow from this point forward. The questions were in strange contrast to the type I used to have to answer in the early days of the occupation when the press seemed, as O'Reagan once put it to me, interested only in sex, crime and revolution.

Berlin, June 21, 1948

My Sweetheart --

[. . .] Tomorrow is my last day here and it will be a busy one. Mrs. Clay has me to lunch and the Chief of Staff General Gailey to dinner. According to present plans I will fly in a special plane to Paris Wednesday morning – 23rd. I understand that Mrs. Clay's sister, a Mrs. Dwyer from Cape Cod, will go with me to Paris. She has been visiting Mrs. Clay for about a month.

After a quick day and half visit in Paris looking over the new European Recovery Administration and other federal agencies there, I plan to go by train to London on Friday morning. It looks now as if the General will send a plane to London for me on the 30th so that I may return to Frankfurt just for the day to see the beginning of what I have been working on – the conference of Minister-Presidents who will start to work in a new German government. [. . .]

The situation here is quite uncertain – in Berlin I mean. But now that

¹²² Ab 18. 6. 1948 hatte die sowjetische Militärregierung den Berlinverkehr auf Straßen und Schienen sowie auf den Wasserstraßen blockiert, am 24. 6. richteten die Amerikaner die Luftbrücke nach Berlin ein, um die Versorgung der eigenen Truppen und die der Westberliner Bevölkerung sicherzustellen.

currency reform has been issued and the French have ratified the London agreements, I think everything in the Western zones will move forward. [...]

*Hugs & Kisses,
Jim*

22 June 1948

I had another talk with the General about the impact of the ECA on our operation here in Germany. The General hopes that the head of his Economics Division, Wilkinson, can be designated as the ECA representative in Germany or, failing that, that the ECA should designate a representative who could be given an office beside Wilkinson and would work through him. The point is that it would be a very bad administrative arrangement to have the ECA people operate directly on the Bipartite Board or directly with the Germans. Gen. Clay is in a position on the Bipartite Board in the financial and economic field to protect the American position the best and it would only confuse things and perhaps even weaken the American position if ECA representatives dealt directly with the bipartite machinery.

There was another point regarding the actual procedure to be followed in the transfer of ECA funds. It seems now as if Mr. Hoffman has agreed to have leading American banks handle a letter of credit against which funds may be drawn in the usual private, commercial manner, thus avoiding setting up here an excessive exchange office or even of utilizing army procurement.

The General told me how much he valued my report,¹²³ but hoped I would realize it would take some months to carry it out. He has directed Joe Panuch to get busy on the problem of re-organizing Military Government.

June 23¹²⁴

Left for Paris this morning, Mrs. Clay and her sister Mrs. Walter Dwyer, and Mrs. Gailey, riding with me in the plane. My farewell to Lucius was not easy, for he is in the midst of the currency reform crisis and as I was leaving Jack Bennett brought the discouraging news that the French had

¹²³ Summary Report vom 11. 6. 48: Anhang VII, besonders Teil D über die Notwendigkeit, bei Verringerung der Militärregierung höher qualifiziertes Personal einzustellen, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 62–18 (IfZ Bd. 37).

¹²⁴ Vom 23. 6. bis 2. 7. 1948, also bis zum Ende wurde das Tagebuch wieder hsch. geführt. Nach seiner Abreise aus Berlin stand Pollock keine Sekretärin mehr zur Verfügung.

not yet agreed to join in the Berlin currency measures. Lucius wants me to fly back to Frankfurt from London if the meeting of the three Military Governors with the Minister-Presidents takes place in time and I agreed to do so. As usual he had no particular instructions for me but expressed deep and generous thanks for my services. This is all very gratifying but I hope I can do something to make his position easier. Very few people realize the tremendous strain and tension under which he must work day and night. I don't know how he stands it, and if I can give him friendly advice and encouragement I am most happy to be able to do so. Mrs. Clay told me that he had said how he missed my occasional pat on the back. I always have the feeling, however, that I should like to do more. The record shows nevertheless that his judgment is almost unfailingly good, and that his own way of doing things is the best. After three years we have moved forward to a new threshold from which a new Germany for the first time seems about to emerge. Only the most pertinacious kind of argument, and the utmost courage and persistence in constructive measures could have brought about this situation. The credit belongs to Lucius not merely for holding the situation together, but for getting the three western powers to agree on a forward-looking program.

Lucius insists that he is enjoying himself and seems to resent any suggestions that he should ease up his schedule. He rarely seems tired and often sauntered over to my office and put his feet up on the desk in complete relaxation. Anyone who can do as much and particularly accomplish as much as he does, is certainly entitled to do it in his own way. But I still wish as I leave him that he could let up a bit and save himself. So much depends on his personal leadership that I want it to continue right up to the end of the occupation.

On arrival in Paris after dropping my luggage at the hotel (Lotti) I went to the Embassy. I was quickly in discussions about General Koenig who, up to the time I left Berlin, had not consented to a joint meeting in Frankfurt to implement the London decisions. Douglas MacArthur contributed what seemed to me to be a plausible explanation, namely that Koenig had come to Paris trying to get Bidault to give him instructions which were not consonant with the London agreements and that Bidault had refused. A crisis seemed to be in the offing involving others beside Koenig, particularly Couve de Murville whose actions during the ratification debate in the Assembly are reliably reported to have been disloyal and reprehensible. The information was clarifying but it didn't get us forward with the projected meeting in Frankfurt. Later in the afternoon I learned that Paris had given instructions for the French to go along with the Berlin currency plans of the other two western powers.

After making appointments for tomorrow, I went to the restaurant Perigordine overlooking Notre Dame where my dear wife and I had in

earlier years enjoyed many a good meal. The food was good but very expensive.

June 24

This has been a terrifically busy day. I had talks with Ambassador Caffery and Mr. Harriman among many others, getting their ideas about reorganization and Germany principally. Caffery seemed quite content with his position and did not seem to worry about the impact of the ECA on the regular diplomatic mission. He kept referring to how difficult a struggle it had been to secure the ratification by the Assembly of the London agreements. When I mentioned Paul Reynaud he suggested that I arrange to see him because he had been of indispensable service in securing a favorable vote.

After visiting the Assembly for an hour or so I called on Reynaud and had a most pleasant and helpful interview. He could not understand General Koenig's actions, and he promised to see Schuman about it. He recalled his visit to Ann Arbor in 1928 and promised to send me the newest edition of his Memoirs. He looked very fit indeed and has a stronger pro-American position than any leading Frenchman I have met.

I had a pleasant lunch with Sam Lovell and then a interview with Mr. Harriman. We talked principally about two things, one the impact of ECA on the regular diplomatic machinery; and two, his plans for an ECA mission in Germany. I warned him that this mission should not deal with the Germans except through Clay and that he should not have any direct dealings with the British part of BICO. This he agreed to, seeming to have a very conciliatory attitude toward Lucius and the German operation. I had him explain the European organization of ECA and was impressed with the quality of the men he had been able to attract for his principal advisers.

The Ambassador and Mrs. Caffery had invited me to cocktails, and afterwards I had dinner with Robert Trier at Josephs, when I learned about the problems of the German delegation to OEEC. It is amazing how one can digest disagreeable problems when one has wonderful food and superb wine!

June 25

After a busy morning at the Embassy – interrupted only by an hour of shopping – I took the London train at noon. I was sorry to leave Paris for there were many interesting things to do and Paris is beautiful once more, having lost most of its shabby war appearance. But time is

pressing. I learned before departing that Koenig had not yet agreed to a definite date for the Frankfurt meeting.

The ride through northern France to Calais was interesting and pleasant, and the crossing to Dover very smooth. I was quickly passed through customs and in due course continued the ride to London on the Golden Arrow. My introduction to English food on the train was only a warning of the austerity regime in which England finds herself. I was met at the station by an Embassy car and was soon at the Dorchester. A young attache presented me with some papers I had requested so I could study them before morning. A long walk and then to bed.

June 26

The Berlin situation having become "very delicate" as Mr. Bevin put it, Ambassador Douglas was anxious to have my views and to try out his own on me before he went off to the Foreign Office. I described as accurately as I could what had been happening in recent weeks, and how Clay felt about it. I was much relieved to find that Douglas was prepared to take a strong stand against Soviet pressure and that the British too were determined not to surrender our position in Berlin. I emphasized that resistance now would not be enough and that unless we followed up our present stand with something which would assure our continued occupation of the German capital, that we would be confronted in a few weeks or months with another Soviet move. Douglas was very grave when he said – "You are right and we will see what can be done."

There began a series of discussions at the Foreign Office with Bevin and Sir William Strang the outcome of which will not be known until Bevin speaks to the Commons on Wednesday.

Bill Draper and a big party of Americans arrived from Paris, including Bob Bowie and Don McLean, on their way to the Ruhr. General Wedemeyer was also in the party and Wisner from Saltzman's office in the State Department. Draper and Wisner had seen high French officials in Paris and Bill seemed confident that everything would be ironed out. I hope he's right but there are no signs yet.

Took the evening off and saw Noel Coward's "Present Laughter" which was highly entertaining – just what a tired "expert" on official mission needed.

London, Saturday, June 26

My Darling –

Well here I am in London after a very pleasant trip from Paris, [. . .]

I was met at the train by an Embassy car and the First Secretary who took me here – a very pleasant, modern hotel with good beds! [. . .]

I've just had breakfast – shredded wheat, if you please – I was offered porridge, cold toast, bad coffee for 4/6! French & German food is still better, but these few days may reduce my waistline!

Now about coming home. It depends in part on the boat. If it's in time arriving Thursday the 8th as scheduled, I will go at once to Washington. If Mr. Hoover is in New York, I'll call on him, but that's all. I'll spend Friday in Washington trying to do everything and take the plane to Willow Run that evening as usual. [. . .]

I still expect to fly back to Frankfurt Wednesday – but not to Berlin. The situation is tense and difficult there, but I do not look for anything to happen. Clay told the Russians very bluntly that if they started to push us out of Berlin, it meant war – and the Russkis don't want war. The meeting in Frankfurt is with the Minister-Presidents and Clay wants me there. It will be just for the day – 2 h[ou]rs flight from here – over & back with the Military Attache. [. . .]

*Love,
Jim*

June 27

Came to Oxford to see Mary and Herbert Seddon and spent a very pleasant few hours going over the town and rather thoroughly inspecting Merton College. Dr. Lawson, a reader in comparative law there and a friend of Dr. Seddon arranged it so that we could climb up to the top of the tower and get an unexcelled view of Oxford. At one point the sun came out and seemed to put its direct rays on Magdalen which was an unforgettable sight. I lingered in the library whose 13th century collection is probably the best and all in all had a real academic debauch which took my tired mind away from the international tensions of the moment. Even so a call came from Berlin which said “No word from Koenig,” meaning of course that no agreement had yet been able to be reached on a date for the meeting which would start the London agreements to work.

Arriving back in London had dinner with Bob Bowie, Don McLean and two others.

June 28

After some preliminary discussions at the Embassy about American personnel in London, I had a very valuable interview with Sir Edward Bridges, the Permanent Secretary of the Treasury, the Head of His Majesty's Civil Service. I wanted to learn more about Treasury organization and control, and also what progress, if any, was being made to reorganize the machinery of government. Sir Edward was most obliging and helpful explaining that they had a Cabinet committee of department heads under his chairmanship which is working on the problem. I was much impressed with him, and as a result of the interview had my own view strengthened that Britain is very fortunate to be able to attract and hold such high grade civil servants. Since he had been Secretary of the Cabinet during the war, he was able to give me further enlightenment about the Cabinet Secretariat and how it functions. He promised to answer any other questions I might send to him, and displayed a warm interest in the work of our Commission in Washington.¹²⁵

June 29

The Chief of Staff called from Berlin to say that a plane would be sent for me today if I could [come] to Frankfurt. General Clay passed on the information that there was only one chance in four that the three Military Governors would meet with the German Minister-Presidents as originally hoped for on the 30th. Due to my appointments in London and wanting to be available for Ambassador Douglas – he had no one competent in the German field on his own staff – I reluctantly declined the trip as much as I would have enjoyed being present for what might be an historic occasion.

I had two wonderful interviews with high British civil servants, one with Sir Norman Brook who is Secretary to the Cabinet, and the other with Sir Alexander Maxwell, the Permanent Secretary to the Home Office. I came away from the interview with Brook with a greater admiration than ever of the institution of the Cabinet Secretariat. I am now in a position to decide whether I think such a device is feasible in the United States to service the President. With Sir Alexander I learned more about the new Representation of the People Act¹²⁶ and secured maps of the new constituencies. He explained why the Home Office which, similar to our Department of the Interior, contains a congeries of oddly assorted divisions and functions, is able to operate harmoniously as a unit.

¹²⁵ Pollock war seit 1947 Mitglied der sog. Hoover Commission, eines vom amerikanischen Kongreß eingerichteten Committee on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government.

¹²⁶ Representation of the People Act von 1948.

Discussions with Douglas about the increasingly serious Berlin situation were continued. Bevin will give a strong statement to the House tomorrow and Washington will take a similar position.

June 30

The three Military Governors met in Frankfurt today and despite the forebodings, General Koenig turned out to be reasonably complaisant. Hence the projected meeting will take place tomorrow with the Germans.

Had lunch with Dr. William Robson at Lincoln's Inn and enjoyed a most stimulating discussion with him about reorganization problems in Britain and America. Also spent some time in Conservative party headquarters and in their excellent reference library.

Went to the Commons in time for the question period and to remain for the scheduled debate on Germany. Eden was concise and very clear in leading off in the debate. He was particularly good in emphasizing our moral obligation to the hostages to fortune whom we have used in Berlin as opponents of the Soviets. He received strong support from both sides of the house when he concluded by saying: "If ever there was a time to stand firm, it is now; if ever there was a cause in which to stand firm, it is this." Bevin, I thought, was a bit heavy and restrained. He read from complete notes and this method of speaking held him down. But he said the right words and he indicated that we were only taking first steps now to relieve Berlin and that the question of dealing directly with Moscow "at the appropriate moment is very much in our minds." The fact is that he and Douglas and Massigli have been working with their respective governments on an appropriate note to Moscow which will be sent in due course.

The rest of the debate was interesting and demonstrated a lively interest of scores of members who had been to Germany to try to understand the situation on the spot. The whole House was united in support of the Government – a very reassuring fact. The same may be said for the newspapers and the country. Mr. Churchill listened attentively to Eden and Bevin and at one point intervened to point out that the U.S. and the British had retired to a depth of 150 miles on a front of more than 400 miles in order to allow the Russians to occupy a portion of their zone.

Apparently someone had notified the Clerk of the House, Sir Gilbert Campion, that I was in the gallery for he sent a note inviting me to tea in the Earl Marshall's room. I had a most illuminating discussion about House of Commons procedure, and later at Sir Gilbert's suggestion I went to the House of Lords to see a Royal Commission give the King's assent to a number of bills. The Lords are using the Robing Room and the Commons still use the old House of Lords chamber pending the repair of the House of Commons. It was ten thirty when the House adjourned.

London, June 30, 1948

My Darling –

[. . .] Tonight I am exceedingly tired but very happy that I have been able to do so much in a short time. I have not only gotten the information I wanted for the Commission, but I have been useful to Ambassador Douglas in the Berlin crisis. I was the only man here who knew the present situation. It is a long story I will tell you in detail.

Fortunately I decided last night against flying back to Germany for a day. The plane was ready to be sent, but I can explain later why I thought it best to stay here. The result was that today has been one of the best days of my whole trip. I was in the House of Commons to hear Foreign Minister Bevin on Germany and Churchill & Eden were there!

I was received by the Clerk of the House of Commons, Sir Gilbert Campion, and saw a Royal Commission in the House of Lords. I had lunch with Dr. Robson at Lincoln's Inn. Tonight the Duke of Edinburgh came into the hotel for a benefit and I got a glimpse of him.

I'm really so full of things to tell and so confused right now about everything, that I'll need a week on the boat to sort everything out in my mind and see what I think. [. . .]

Your tired but devoted hubby
Jim

July 1

Spent most of the day dealing with matters of interest to the Commission. Mr. Douglas gave me his views about the Foreign service and the problems of the Embassy in London. He emphasized the absolute necessity of having the most capable possible Ambassadors, and that he and Mr. Finletter would work out any ECA problems on an amicable basis because they were good friends. Mr. Finletter told me of his difficulties with the State Department and it was clear that he was apprehensive about future administrative difficulties. I secured the figures of all federal government agencies having personnel in London.

Had a delightful lunch at the Athenaeum Annex with Sir John and Lady Pollock. We talked mostly about the Soviets since he has a wide knowledge of and a lively interest in Russia. He wants us forthwith to drop our atom bombs on the Soviets.

London, July 1, 1948

My Sweetheart –

[. . .] The last ten days have been so eventful and even exciting that I cannot exactly remember when I did what. But I always knew what I was doing, you can bet, and I have the satisfaction of knowing that I helped out in a great international crisis – which is not settled yet to my satisfaction. I was more use here than in Frankfurt. Hence I did not fly back as originally planned for the meeting which was finally held today. [. . .]

*Love,
Jim*

July 2

Took the boat train for Southampton at nine thirty. Was met upon arrival by our Consul General Mr. Beck who took me to his office so that I could put through a call to General Clay in Berlin. The line was soon cleared and Lucius gave me a last report on the Frankfurt meeting with the Minister-Presidents.¹²⁷ He indicated that it had come off smoothly, but he seemed a bit puzzled why the Germans received it so gravely and why they had scheduled their next meeting in Coblenz. I suggested they wanted to make a gesture toward their newly acquired French zone Minister-Presidents. He said Berlin was unchanged but that he was a bit puzzled about all the orders he was getting from several sources. I assured him Douglas was his friend and very sympathetic and that I had tried to help out during the past week. He hoped I could help at the Washington end, and he assured me that his views about the Berlin situation had not changed.

Boarded the ship about one o'clock after a drive through Southampton. I was happy to learn from the General before my departure that the London agreements after some delays were now on the way toward being carried out. Many serious problems will have to be worked out in adapting Military Government to the changed German governmental situation, in preparing the Occupation Statute, in guiding and helping the Germans in drawing new state boundaries and in preparing their new constitution. Heavy hands will not suffice, and I do not envy anyone the jobs which lie ahead.

¹²⁷ Konferenz der Militärgouverneure mit den Ministerpräsidenten der westdeutschen Besatzungszonen vom 1. 7. 1948 in Frankfurt, Parl. Rat 1, Dok. 3, mit Übergabe der „Frankfurter Dokumente“ (Dok. I Verfassungsrechtliche Bestimmungen, Dok. II Länderneugliederung, Dok. III Grundzüge eines Besatzungsstatuts), Parl. Rat 1, Dok. 4. – Siehe auch Material zu Besatzungsstatut und “Political Working Group on the Implementation of the London Decision” von Juni 1948 in: Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 62–8 (IfZ Bde. 11, 32, 106).

Nevertheless for the first time since the occupation began a constructive program and policy are now in process of implementation. If the Berlin situation can be settled, if currency reform is successful, and if the new governmental framework can be worked out, western Germany will move forward rapidly and make its necessary contribution to the success of the Marshall plan. But don't forget the "ifs."

At Sea, July 2, 1948

My Darling –

[. . .] I left London on the boat train at 9.23 arriving at the dock in Southampton two hours later. I was met there by the Consul General who drove me to his office where a top priority call – “clear the line” – had been booked for me to Berlin to General Clay. He wanted to tell me about the meeting in Frankfurt and I wanted to ask him about Berlin and other things. It was a happy farewell and as before, he said he needed me badly and to come back whenever I could arrange it – but he added – “don't come without your wife”. Wasn't that nice? Well, the job over here is of course not finished, but I've done my bit, and I now have other equally important assignments, haven't I?

[. . .] and now I'm writing this so it can be posted in the morning in Ireland at Cobh and reach you ahead of me. [. . .]

*Love and Kisses n'everything,
Jim*

Dokument I

Pollock an Brown¹

Berlin, Aug. 7, 1945

Dear Everett² and Colleagues –

I have at last been able to find time to write you a brief note. Time has passed so quickly that I can scarcely realize I've been away from the U.S. nearly a month. My flight to Paris was quite perfect and took only 23 hours with stops at Newfoundland and the Azores. I could have gone by way of Britain but the Paris route was faster and got me to Frankfurt quicker. My two days in Paris were pleasant although without taxis or busses one is dependent on military transport. Between the Embassy and the Army I managed to crowd a lot into a short time. I met many people I knew including Lovell who was getting ready to go to Warsaw.

My arrival in Frankfurt was timely for in another week the movement of the Control staff to Berlin began. I was received with every courtesy. General Milburn, who is General Clay's Chief of Staff sent his aide with me to see that I got a good billet. I was taken to the Chief Forester's Lodge in the woods near Hofheim about 7 miles from Hoechst, the suburb of Frankfurt in which the US Group Control Council had its headquarters. Hence I had every comfort in a spacious modern lodge with maid service. The week in Frankfurt was devoted largely to orientation in policies and problems of the American zone. I had two trips, one to Wiesbaden and Mannheim, the other to Heidelberg and Darmstadt. The extensive destruction I was prepared for, but my powers of description are inadequate to give you an adequate picture. Heidelberg alone remains as it was except for the bridges. Darmstadt and Mannheim and Frankfurt are almost useless. I one time spent two weeks in Frankfurt and knew the city well. I drove around for a whole hour one day trying to find a single landmark which would help me to locate certain spots. The huge I.G. Farben buildings in Frankfurt and in Hoechst were conspicuous exceptions – completely untouched. Hence the Americans staffs were well provided with modern offices.

¹ Dieses Schreiben ist dem Occupation Diary, Teil I beigegefügt, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 58–11, 12 (IfZ, Bd. 2).

² Everett S. Brown, Professor, Chairman of the Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Ambassador Murphy and General Clay having gone to Berlin for the Conference,³ I found myself in the midst of what might be called a jurisdictional dispute over my humble services. It seems that both the Army and the State Department had asked for me and with the two principals in Berlin, their subordinates didn't want me to be permanently assigned. That suited me and now that I have seen Murphy and Clay I have a broad assignment in planning for the reconstruction of German government along democratic lines. Every facility and courtesy have been extended to me. I couldn't ask for more.

After a week in Frankfurt I was sent up here with the first echelon of staff people. Landing at Tempelhof I was met and driven to the headquarters in Dahlem. Berlin is indescribable – nearly 80 % destroyed. Our area which is the best residential section is damaged but only about 20 % destroyed. I was put up at Harnack House which used to be the club for the whole Kaiser Wilhelm Gesellschaft. Later I was assigned to a rather beautiful modern residence – incidentally just across the street from Himmler's former house.

The Ambassador called me out to Babelsberg where the Conference staffs were housed. He asked me to remain for lunch with Sir William Strang, Will Clayton, Pauley and others. I returned several other times for consultation while the Conference was on, got a glimpse of the President⁴ and Stalin, and enjoyed the opportunity of seeing how a great international conference was run. The actual sessions of the Big Three were held in the Crown Prince's former residence at Cecilienhof in Potsdam a few miles away.

A week ago Monday the Central Control Council held its first real business meeting here at our headquarters. It was really quite an historic occasion. I saw Eisenhower, Shukov, Monty and Koenig. The next meeting is Friday and I am busily at work passing upon several proposals which General Clay plans to present. More anon. I have already come to grips with several basic governmental problems involving both top planning and operations. I'm happy I arrived in time to have a part in some of these early basic decisions. I disclaim any responsibility for the zones which I don't like! There are other earlier policy directives which I disapprove, but I think the Berlin Declaration⁵ will straighten many of them out. I hope you liked the procedure outlined in it for the eventual re-establishment of self-government. I'm now engaged in implementing the policy and procedure – a big order.

The end of the week the General is sending me out on a three weeks tour of the entire American zone. I shall then be able to see Arthur⁶ in Munich. I tried to call him from Frankfurt but the connections were not good. Some-

³ Zur Potsdamer Konferenz siehe S. 51, Anm. 3.

⁴ Harry S. Truman.

⁵ Siehe S. 61 Anm. 6.

⁶ Arthur W. Bromage.

one in Hoechst said that Red⁷ was coming to work in Economics but he hasn't shown up here. My only complaint is that I haven't been able to have enough good German wine, but may be this situation will improve. I've met many officers I know and I'm gradually getting used to wearing a uniform again and following army routine. Fortunately I'm in a special category with high assimilated rank and free in my activities.

I've certainly started on a perfectly fascinating experience and I only hope my dear family will get along without difficulty while I'm away from them. I know the Department will get along fine. Let me hear the news. I'm always interested to know what's going on.

In case Agnes⁸ hasn't given you my address, here it is: Political Division, Hq. US Group CC (Germany), APO 742, Postmaster, New York. My cable address is Amseta. Always specify a cable to be sent via RCA – it comes faster.

*Kind regards to all,
Jim*

[P.S.] Sir William Strang related this story to me. Churchill at one of the big dinners offered a toast to Attlee as follows: "To the Leader of the Opposition – whoever he may be!" This was of course before the election results were announced. Did he have a premonition?

⁷ Harlow J. Heneman.

⁸ Mrs. Pollock.

Dokument II

Paper on Länderrat⁹ Regional Government Coordinating Office

Stuttgart, 19 February 1946

THE LÄNDERRAT

The Länderrat, or Council of States, located at Stuttgart, is the coordinating agency for all matters of German administration affecting more than one Land within the U.S. Zone. Established in October 1945, and at that time called the Council of Minister-Presidents it was designed to fill the need resulting from the lack of a central German administration. Subject to the approval of Military Government, the decision of the Länderrat is final as to all matters within its jurisdiction. It is essentially a coordinating agency and not a zonal government. The action necessary to effectuate the policies agreed to in the Länderrat is taken by the Ministers in the several Länder.

The Länderrat is composed of the Minister-President of Bavaria, Greater Hesse, Württemberg-Baden, and the Mayor of Bremen. The latter, however, has no vote except when the interests of his area are concerned. Stationed at Stuttgart is a permanent representative of each of the three Minister-Presidents. Stated meetings of the Länderrat are held the first Tuesday in each month. During the interval between meetings, the permanent representatives possess ad interim authority to act on matters which can not be postponed. Such action is taken following consultation between the permanent representatives and their respective Minister-Presidents, and the action when taken must be confirmed by the Länderrat, at its next meeting.

The Secretariat, with a Secretary General at its head, constitutes the administrative agency of the Länderrat. The Secretary General possesses no executive power, but is responsible for preparation of the several agenda, for preparing necessary data and reports, and for generally supervising the administrative functions of the Länderrat. He is assisted by a small technical and clerical staff. As might be expected, the Minister-Presidents are dependent largely on committees, to which are referred for study and recommendation various matters presented to the Länderrat. These com-

⁹ Diese Aufzeichnung ist dem Occupation Diary, Teil I beigelegt, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 58-11, 12 (IfZ, Bd. 2).

mittees are appointed by the Länderrat on recommendation by the Secretary General. Starting with four committees the Länderrat now has approximately thirty. In several instances working staffs have been created to assist the committees in their activities. The normal procedure by which questions requiring coordination through U.S. zone is decided is substantially as follows: A matter is presented to the Länderrat by either U.S. or German authorities; it receives preliminary consideration at a stated meeting of the Länderrat and, as a general rule, is of such a character that reference to a committee is necessary; the question is referred to the appropriate committee for study and report; the committee submits its report at a stated meeting of the Länderrat; the Länderrat adopts, rejects, or modifies the committee's report and forwards its recommendation to Military Government. Military Government then acts on the recommendation of the Länderrat and notifies it of the action taken. Throughout this whole procedure the channel of communication between Military Government and the Länderrat is the Regional Government Coordinating Office which, together with the Länderrat, occupies the Villa Reitzenstein at 15 Richard Wagnerstrasse, Stuttgart.

Many problems of great importance have been referred to the Länderrat by Military Government during the few months of its existence. Among them are questions concerning Food and Agriculture, Transportation, Post and Communications, Evacuation of Germans from the East, the many aspects of Economics, Electric Power, Labor, and the drafting of new laws, including a uniform law on Denazification. After each meeting of the Länderrat, Military Government receives many proposals from it. As the Länderrat has organized itself more efficiently, as it has gained in experience, and as Military Government has submitted more and more matters to it for action, the number of proposals presented to Military Government, naturally, has increased. Among the proposals made by the Länderrat, which have been approved by Military Government, are the virtual elimination of the agricultural subsidy; the transportation, reception, care and settlement of evacuees from the East; the establishment at Munich of a Senior Post Directorate for the U.S. zone; the creation for the U.S. zone of a Transportation Directorate, which will exercise a supervisory power over transportation; the beginnings of economic rehabilitation within the limits of U.S. and Allied policy; and the increase in production of electric power and its conservation. The uniform Denazification Law is awaiting action by Military Government.

JAMES K. POLLOCK
*Senior Representative
of the Deputy Military Governor*

Dokument III

Pollock an Brown¹⁰

Stuttgart, 14 March 1946

*Professor Everett S. Brown
Department of Political Science
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan*

My dear Everett:

I have been trying to find time to answer your letter of February 1st. It came about three weeks ago as I was about to depart for Frankfurt and Bremen to take charge of interzonal meetings between the German officials in our zone and those from the British. Although General Clay was very kind to put his plane at my disposal to go to Bremen and back, I still was terribly rushed upon my return because we had arranged to move the sixth meeting of the Länderrat to Munich. This involved some rather serious problems but turned out to be a big success. The Germans had over a period of two months worked out a very thorough-going Denazification Law and I was anxious that this German proposal to eradicate Nazism should be formally adopted in Munich, die Hauptstadt der Bewegung.¹¹

General Clay and the Ambassador¹² came down for the occasion and I went back to Berlin with the General in his train and stayed there for several days, during which time I had the opportunity of going with him to a meeting of the Coordinating Committee and the Control Council, neither of which I had been able to attend in several months.

I am now back in Stuttgart getting caught up with my work here. I wish I could give you a more accurate and detailed notion of just what I am doing but I shall have to reserve that until I get home.

I was interested to have all the news about the Department but quite disappointed to hear that "Red"¹³ had treated you somewhat shabbily. I can see how difficult it is going to be to handle the tremendous rush of students.

¹⁰ Dieses Schreiben ist dem Occupation Diary, Teil I beigelegt, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 58-11, 12 (IfZ, Bd. 2).

¹¹ Siehe S. 167, Anm. 54.

¹² Murphy.

¹³ Harlow J. Heneman.

My own plans are not yet clear but I would like to ask you to give me as soon as possible information about the exact time when the fall term begins. General Clay and the Ambassador both want me to stay and, perhaps, I should, but my present intention is not to request an extension of leave but to return in the fall. Exactly what time, remains to be worked out. It is rather hard to be away from the family so long and Agnes, I think quite wisely, decided to stay at home, although they could be very comfortable in Switzerland. The situation is not yet in Germany good enough that I personally would want to bring anyone here. I don't mean to imply that I am not well taken care of because I am, but I couldn't understand how families would enjoy present conditions.

I have had so many letters about the situation in Michigan and I am somewhat distressed to learn that we can find 6 1/2 Millions for buildings but not one cent for salaries.

Please write me as soon as possible, giving information about the fall term and what you are expecting of me.¹⁴ I am assuming that you are counting on having me back, and it would probably be a good idea to say so in case I have to tell the General about it.

Please give my best to May and let me hear the news.

My best regards to everybody!

*Sincerely,
Jim*

P.S. – The picture I sent to you showed the 3 top officials in the American zone, namely, The Minister-President of each of the three States. They were not Municipal officials as your letter seemed to indicate.

¹⁴ Hschr. Randvermerk Pollocks: "Mon[day] 19 orientation[,] Registration Sept 19–21 [,] Classes begin Mon[day] Sept 23".

Dokument IV

Pollock an Brown¹⁵

Stuttgart, 27 July 1946

*Professor Everett S. Brown, Chairman
Department of Political Science
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan*

My dear Everett:

General Clay came to see me on Thursday and it is now finally determined that I can come home and resume my duties at the beginning of the fall term. I regret any inconveniences which the uncertainty about my return may have caused you, but I think I will be able to explain to your satisfaction when I return how difficult it has been for me to extricate myself from the handling of this German problem.

In any case, I want you to know at the earliest possible moment that my present plans are to fly from Paris around 15 August and to be in Ann Arbor in good time for the opening of the term, which I understand begins around 25 September. I shall probably have to spend about a week in Washington in conferences with War Department and State Department officials and I will, of course, want to get re-acquainted with my family who will probably meet me in Washington or New York. I shall be in Ann Arbor in time to arrange for any last-minute adjustments in courses, but I assume that I shall be teaching European Government, British Government and some kind of advanced seminar to be determined, probably dealing with postwar political developments in Europe.

Cordially yours,

Jim

JAMES K. POLLOCK

Senior Representative

of the Deputy Military Governor

¹⁵ Dieses Schreiben ist dem Occupation Diary, Teil I beigelegt, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 58–11, 12 (IfZ, Bd. 2).

Dokument V

Memorandum Pollocks für das State Department¹⁶

Cable

[Berlin,] 3 February 1947

Draft

MEMORANDUM TO: John Hilldring
Assistant Secretary
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Complying with your request I present a brief summary of my personal views regarding (1) the organization of a provisional government for Germany, (2) certain problems involved in setting up a new constitutional system for Germany, (3) proposed international boundaries, (4) Ruhr, (5) the French Memorandum relative to the provisional organization of Germany, and (6) procedure to be followed in the conference in the achievement of American objectives.

1. Because of the critical conditions in Germany due to the failure to implement the Potsdam Agreement,¹⁷ there is urgent need for the establishment of a Provisional Central Government for the whole country. The Control Council is not now, nor is it likely to become, a substitute for a German Central Government. The Potsdam Agreement pointed toward the establishment of central administrative agencies and toward the gradual restoration of Germany as a member of the international community. Under the circumstances, therefore, early agreement among the Four Powers looking toward the establishment of a Provisional Central Government is not only urgently needed, but also would give effect to previous agreements.

Before presenting a suggested procedure for setting up a Provisional Central Government, the following essential preconditions should be listed on which agreement must first be had:

¹⁶ Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 64-9 (IfZ, Bd. 35).

¹⁷ Siehe S. 61, Anm. 6.

- a. the common utilization throughout Germany of its indigenous resources including agreed allocations for experts and for reparations;
- b. an agreed import-export program with full understanding as to the financial responsibility of each of the occupying powers;
- c. a financial reform program to be made applicable throughout Germany under quadripartite control;
- d. free accessibility in Germany for the personnel of its occupying powers and for all Germans engaged in legitimate pursuits;
- e. as free a German press and radio as security will permit under quadripartite and not under zonal control;
- f. freedom for approved political parties and trade unions and quadripartite supervision of elections in all zones;
- g. definition of zonal boundaries as limitations for security responsibility only; and
- h. exercise of German responsibility in the central agencies through German Land or provincial administrations and not through zone commanders.

Unless agreement can be secured on the above points, the creation of the Central Provisional Government may only lead to interminable arguments at the quadripartite level.

The most feasible and satisfactory plan for creating a provisional government emanated from the Conference of Minister-Presidents in Bremen last October.¹⁸ Because of the soundness of this suggestion and because it implements the Byrnes Stuttgart address,¹⁹ I am ready to suggest it as part of the plan to follow. After agreement has been reached among the Four Powers to set up central German agencies, the Control Council should invite the Minister-Presidents of the existing administrative areas into which the four zones are presently divided, to form a National Laenderrat or National Council of States. Later on this German executive body could be supplemented with a Volksrat consisting of representatives from the various political parties seated in the state legislatures, this latter body to serve merely in an advisory capacity. The National Laenderrat or Council could then be authorized to set up the administrative agencies envisaged by the Potsdam Declaration plus any others which are needed. Using the successful experiment of the Laenderrat in the American zone, the National Council should create a small Secretariat headed by a Secretary General. The Control Council could then designate a representative to deal with the National Council through its Secretary General. This procedure would

¹⁸ Protokoll der Interzonenkonferenz der Ministerpräsidenten und der Chefs der Länder und Freien Städte vom 4.–5. 10. 1946 in Bremen, AVBRD 1, Dok. 36.

¹⁹ Rede des amerikanischen Außenministers Byrnes am 6. 9. 1946 in Stuttgart, in: Germany 1947–1949. The story in documents. Hrsg. vom Department of State (Publication 3556, European and British Commonwealth Series 9), Washington 1950, S. 3–13.

avoid captious interference by anyone of the members of the Control Council and would expedite administrative action.

After the National Council composed of the heads of the various German States had gotten forward with the task of setting up and coordinating the necessary central administrative agencies, they should be instructed to set up a preparatory constitutional committee to begin work on a proposed draft of a national constitution. This parliamentary constitutional work could take place best at some convenient research center outside of Berlin, such as Heidelberg, Tübingen or Jena.

The National Council, acting as a coordinating body for the various administrative agencies, would have to approve all important actions proposed to be taken by the individual administrative agencies and then pass them on to the Control Council. If such administrative measures, having been proposed by a central administrative agency approved by the National Council are not disapproved by the Control Council, the National Council could then issue orders to the existing State governments which would then carry out the orders. An exception might well be made in only two cases, namely, transportation and post and telegraphs, where orders might more appropriately go directly from the administrative agency to the individual RBD's and RPD's.

In this transition stage Regional Military Government in the various zones would be expected to observe and report to their respective Zone Commanders and through them to the Control Council on the effectiveness with which orders are being carried out in the various States in the four zones. The exact pattern for the relationship between civil and military authority has been spelled out very satisfactorily in the American zone by the Directive of September 30, 1946.²⁰

Any action by the Zone Commanders in these central agency fields must be notified to the Control Council and subject to its revocation. It should, of course, be understood that the Control Council is able at any time to issue orders to the German National Council in the same way in which American Military Government issued orders to the Laenderrat in the American zone in the early months of its operation.

The principal point about the above suggestion is that the burden of responsibility for setting up and operating the central German agencies and pulling them together would rest upon the top German officials who have either been elected or designated in the various zones. Experience in both the American and British zones shows that this is a relatively certain and satisfactory way by means of which to get forward with the reestablishment of necessary central institutions. Probably the most difficult problem in the

²⁰ Military Government Directive, 30 September 1946: Relationship between military and civil government (U.S. Zone) subsequent to adoption of Land constitutions; in: Germany 1947-1949, S. 155-157.

achievement of this plan is the securing of agreement with the French and possibly with the Russians, the French appearing to favor a constant and detailed control over all aspects of administration. The experience in Austria and in the Kommandatura should be used to advantage in keeping the Control Council out of detailed intrusions into German administration.

A timetable might well be established which would point toward approximately April 1, 1948, as a date for a national election of delegates to a National Constitutional Assembly. The Assembly so elected should meet around May 1, 1948 at some proper place outside of Berlin, and because of the preparatory work above referred to might reasonably be expected to have a proper constitution ready for a referendum around September 1, 1948. Simultaneously with the referendum an election should be held for members of the National Parliament provided for in the constitution. Two months after the establishment of the new governmental system under the adopted constitution, the Control Council should be superseded by high commissioners and as soon as Germany is admitted to the United Nations the high commissioners should be succeeded by regular ambassadors.

2. In the creation of a new constitutional system for Germany, the first point which has to be decided is the extent to which the Germans are to be allowed freedom of choice. My very strong opinion is that the United States should insist upon the Germans having complete freedom of action in the formulation of their new governmental system. This is the plan we followed in our own zone with the State constitutions. American policy has favored a decentralized federal form of government and we can be quite sure the Germans, even without instructions, will follow our policy. It is probably necessary, however, for the Four Powers, acting through the Control Council, to decide upon a territorial organization for Germany without leaving this problem for German decision. There is reason to believe that even the Germans would prefer to have this done by the Occupying Powers rather than leave the decision to them. I favor the so-called big state plan of having around ten substantial federal units.

Even though I think that the American policy should be essentially a "hands off" policy in the formulation of a new constitution for Germany, it is necessary that the American delegation have a pretty definite idea of what kind of a central government we would favor. The basis point here is to be clear on the division of powers between the central government and the State governments. My own recommendation is that the American position should be midway between the French position, as expressed in the reference memorandum, and the apparent Russian position as expressed in Article 75 of SED proposal which appeared in November²¹ and in the recent State constitutions of Thuringia, Sachsen-Anhalt, and Mecklen-

²¹ Verfassungsentwurf der SED für eine Deutsche Demokratische Republik vom 14. 11. 1946, siehe dazu *Neues Deutschland* vom 15. und 16. 11. 1946.

burg. Actually the best detailed enumeration of powers of a central government which I have seen and approve is the list of powers given in Schedule A of the British Ordinance No. 57, dealing with the powers of the Laender in the British zone.²² All of the central government powers listed in this Schedule I agree with, excepting No. 13, which would vest wide control over highways and highway traffic in the central government, a power which I think should more properly be vested in the State governments.

My view is that the central government which is to be established should possess all those powers necessary to deal with essentially national problems, and that the second important point is to see that the Parliament which is set up, is organized, presumably into two Houses, so that one of the Houses could resemble the United States Senate or the Swiss Council of States, and thus give the States effective control over the exercise of whatever national powers are conferred on the central government. In other words, I do not favor a central government which is inadequately equipped with all the necessary powers which modern central governments require. I am insistent however, that the exercise of these powers be sufficiently controlled by a Parliament which is composed in such a way as to guarantee that it will be as interested in protecting State rights as it is in using the federal powers which are granted. On this point I am convinced that the Germans themselves are quite capable of devising constitutional provisions which will at the same time set up an effective central government and at the same time effectively safeguard the rights of the States.

3. The question of Germany's international boundaries need not interfere with the early stages of setting up a provisional central government. But before the Control Council, as suggested above, can work out a satisfactory territorial organization for a future federal system, there will have to be a determination of just what areas are going to be included in the new Germany. On this point I feel very strongly that the present Oder-Neisse boundary should be discarded, and that in addition to East Prussia and Danzig the Poles should only be given Upper Silesia and minor boundary rectifications along the former Corridor boundary. Adequate papers exist to document this point. The Eastern boundary question is of the utmost importance to the organization of a proper German State both territorially and economically, and to the preservation of the peace.

With regard to the Saar, I feel that it would be better to give the French exclusive control with the right of exploitation for a stated period,

²² British Military Government Ordinance No. 57: Powers of Länder in the British Zone, 1 December 1946, *Military Government Gazette*, No. 15 (1945/46), S. 344f., zit. nach B. Ruhm von Oppen (Hg.), *Documents on Germany under Occupation 1945-54*, S. 192-195.

say ten years, rather than actually incorporate the territory permanently in the French State.

4. Secretary Byrnes' Stuttgart speech settled the problem of the political disposition of the Ruhr but it did not settle the question of whether there should or should not be some kind of special international control over this area which is to remain a part of Germany. I have not been able to convince myself that any type of international control over the Ruhr would be successful, but assuming that there must be some form of international control, then I am certain that the international agency established should under no circumstances attempt to be an operation agency. It should rather be similar to the Federal Trade Commission in the United States, a body which has wide powers of investigation and also the power to issue an order to cease and desist when the public interest so requires. Such an international Commission in the Ruhr would be there to vote any German action which would tend either to violate the peace or discriminate against other nations. I am firmly convinced that only German administration of the Ruhr would produce satisfactory economic results. Only the Germans are capable of getting the most out of the Ruhr, and aside from this point the Occupying Powers only have an interest in seeing that the economic benefits are properly distributed and not utilized for any potentially warlike purpose.

My further suggestion is that if an international control is insisted upon for the Ruhr area that we insist upon a similar control over the Upper Silesian area.

5. On the French memorandum relative to the provisional organization of Germany, my views are as follows:²³

The French proposal is fantastic. A government so constituted could not work. It would have neither the powers, resources, machinery nor personnel to effectuate its necessary functions. No modern state has ever had an administrative organization anywhere comparable to the proposed one, and one would have to go back to the eighteenth century in Germany to find even a remote analogy. All the administrative experience of modern states, including that of the French, is utterly disregarded in this flight into unreality and wishful thinking. For the present atomization of the four zones would be substituted a further atomization into perhaps twelve states. I cannot imagine anything better calculated to produce economic and political chaos in Germany than this French proposal.

The French have never had any experience with federalism, and by this memorandum prove that they know little about the general subject. For instance to deny to Germany a central Parliament elected by the people in

²³ Dieser Kommentar war bereits früher abgefaßt worden: "Comment by Dr. Pollock on the French Memorandum relative to the organization of Germany" vom 30. 1. 1947, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 64-9 (IfZ, Bd. 7).

the constituent states is utterly impractical. Every modern state, even tiny Switzerland, has its central Parliament which is absolutely necessary for the proper functioning of modern government. Instead of proposing a Parliament in which state interests are strongly and adequately or even dominantly represented, the French proposal would establish a singularly weak, indirectly chosen Staatenhaus. Every reasonable protection of state powers and state control and influence can be much better accomplished through a strong upper house – like our Senate or the Swiss Council of States, without sacrificing administrative efficiency or producing political chaos. The proposed Staatenhaus could not even coordinate effectively, let alone make decisions in purely national matters.

Furthermore, the French proposal suggests an impractical system of allied supervision over proposed German agencies. American Zone experience is utterly convincing on this point. Also present in the French plan is a curious and confusing set of central committees with wide administrative powers. The theory seems to be that you can run a government with a series of Sanhedrins! The relationship between the Control Council and the German agencies is not clearly marked out, and despite much writing about principles, none is given which would properly settle the division of powers between the central government and the states. In fact the French memo can hardly be said to envisage a central government at all.

The really absurd attempt to divide the powers of finance and economics, of transport and communications between the states and the federal government leads one to question the sincerity, at least the competence, of the authors of this plan. Independent state railroad systems would exist, owning their own property. The states would have control over coastal navigation and their own telephone systems. Reference is made to the *national economy* of a *state* – a contradiction in terms. Wide powers over bank rates and the money market and notes is proposed for the states. These unsound allocations of power, when added to the weak and disorganized structure of the central agencies, render the whole proposal utterly useless as a basis of discussion. Under the guise of decentralizing government, the French propose to create an administrative morass which would make the present quadripartite confusion seem like efficiency.

There is a sane suggestion or two in the memo. One would establish a Supreme Court; another would emphasize a proper territorial organization; another emphasizes basic constitutional principles. But the numerous other suggestions such as state citizenship, no federal officials – only officials designated by the states, a council to head the department of national economy, a state appointed Parliament and a Ministry of Supply (not described) more than cancel out the few sensible suggestions.

I find the plan wrong and unsound in itself; I disagree with the proce-

ture and method by which it is to be set up; and I dissent absolutely from what it sets out to achieve. The whole proposal is the acme of political and administrative nonsense.

6. My suggestions regarding the procedure to be followed in the conference in discussing the various points are as follows:

I would endeavor to secure as quick an agreement as possible to the establishment of the central German agencies provided for in the Potsdam Declaration – in other words, to get the Russians to carry out what they have already agreed to, and to secure such agreement from the French for the first time. Second, I would raise the question of Germany's international boundaries, taking a strong position opposed to the perpetuation of the present Eastern boundary. Following this the various problems, such as the territorial organization of Germany, the Ruhr, reparations, and other matters can follow. I suggest this order, first, because of critical need for a central German government and second, because nothing is more important to the establishment of a proper German State than the inclusion of sufficient territory to sustain the population and develop a healthy national economy. Unless we get forward very rapidly with the reintegration of Germany we may be confronted with a chaotic situation. Furthermore, unless the new Germany can have the prospect of a reasonably adequate economy, no democratic system of government, federal or otherwise, will have a chance of succeeding.

7. Very adequate papers on most of the above subjects are being prepared in OMGUS.

James K. Pollock

Dokument VI

Study Trip Through the American Zone²⁴

26 February 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR: General Clay

1. In the period from February 3 to February 19, 1947, I made a study trip through considerable portions of the American zone. In the course of my investigation I interviewed leading officials in all state governments, including the three Minister-Presidents and members of their cabinets, and also numerous local German officials. I used the occasion also to acquaint myself with the various aspects of Military Government and had the benefit of the counsel of the three Land Directors, members of their staffs, and of approximately a dozen Liaison and Security Officers.

2. I find that German civil administration at all levels is now operating very smoothly and satisfactorily. Lines of authority are well established, staffs are reasonably well organized, and fairly adequate facilities such as offices, transport and communication are now available. However, the offices available in Stuttgart to the German Ministries, particularly the State Ministry, are lacking both in adequacy and dignity. On the side of American Military Government, I am convinced that it is decidedly on top of its job and appears to be properly utilizing its accumulated experience in its present supervisory capacity. The quality of the personnel is still not as high as it should be and continued attention is needed to weed out incompetent people, and attract and promote able people.

3. It is very clear that German morale is at a very low ebb, and this is not due merely to the unusually severe winter but also to the German uncertainty about the future. The Germans feel extremely pessimistic and quite desperate. Unless a boost of some kind can be given to them in the form of some definite plan for improving the general situation in the country, I would not want to predict what might happen. The low state of morale plus the uncertainties and artificialities of the economic situation might well be pondered.

4. Although I was primarily interested, in accordance with your instructions, in paying particular attention to the political and governmental situa-

²⁴ Dieses Memorandum ist dem Occupation Diary, Teil II, beigelegt, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 58-12 (IfZ, Bd. 2) sowie 62-18 (IfZ, Bd. 37).

tion within the zone, I soon found that the problem of economic unification of the two zones dominated all discussions and came up without any stimulation from me. The various aspects of the bizonal problem have already been presented orally to you and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the bizonal difficulties were causing very considerable confusion in both German and Military Government circles. As a result of your conference with the Minister-Presidents, it appears that the major difficulties will be removed.

5. I was generally satisfied with the state of political development. I find responsible Germans have a considerable feeling of pride in having accomplished so much in our zone in a relatively short period of time in the revival of democratic institutions. Considerable concern, however, is expressed about the over-centralization of party structure and discipline as being incompatible with the federal idea. There continues to be considerable political activity, more on the organizational than on the programmatic side. All parties are finding it rather difficult to enlist the active interest and support of persons in the younger age groups so that party activity is still largely carried on by veterans of the republican period. The absence of a party press is a handicap to normal party activity.

6. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed to make a very dependable judgment of the relations between the state cabinets and their respective parliaments. I did, however, get the definite impression that the legislatures are feeling their importance and intend to play as active a part as possible in the redevelopment of democracy. It will take a little time for the legislatures to learn their limitations and to lose their present zeal for governing everything. The legislatures themselves consist very largely of inexperienced persons although there is an adequate group in each one of them consisting of experienced officials and politicians from the earlier republican regime. It is interesting to note the presence of considerable numbers of Landraete (county managers) and Buergermeisters in the membership of the legislatures. There appears to be a healthy atmosphere of both cooperation and friendly competition in the working out of responsible cabinet government in the various states.

7. In local administration I found few complaints or serious administrative failures. In Hesse they are working out an improved territorial organization of administrative areas. Several Landraete, however, referred to the fact that up to recently they had been prevented from employing trained officials because they had not yet been cleared by the Spruchkammer. They also raised a question about their present lack of police authority, having to rely upon the voluntary cooperation of the local police authorities whenever this is necessary. All of them expressed dissatisfaction with the present system of having the Kreistag elect the Landraete rather than having them appointed as formerly by the state ministry.

8. In the field of Denazification, which I made no effort to investigate, I

heard much criticism of the recording on the Kennkarte of the decisions of the Spruchkammer. Also, the heavy administrative burden imposed upon the Denazification Tribunals appears to be still unsolved.

9. The present status and functioning of the Laenderrat came in for considerable attention and I find that, despite the uncertainty about bizonal agencies, the Laenderrat continues to be looked upon by responsible Germans in our zone as a very necessary anchor to windward. They would strongly oppose any efforts to eliminate the Laenderrat from the present governmental picture as long as a provisional central government is lacking. The experience accumulated in the year-and-a-half's operation of the Laenderrat has been of great benefit to our Germans and this fact is universally recognized. The fact that they have recently reorganized the Laenderrat to include an advisory committee consisting of members of the three state legislatures is indicative of their desire to adapt their machinery to the changed constitutional position. Although the Laenderrat is clearly marked for extinction after the establishment of a provisional central government or the political merger of the Western zones, there is no question in my mind of its continuing usefulness in this transitional period. Similarly, the Regional Government Coordinating Office, which supervises the Laenderrat, should not be cut out of the Military Government picture, but rather should continue to be utilized for purposes of information, coordination, and conference. It has become a useful point of direct contact between yourself and the top German officials and the German press, and as such contributes materially to creating respect for and cooperation with Military Government. The weekly meeting at the RGCO of liaison officers from the three Land Military Government detachments is still a very useful device. This meeting might even be expanded to include reports from the bizonal agencies, since information about and liaison between these bizonal agencies and the Land detachments appears unsatisfactory.

10. With regard to problems of Military Government I naturally heard many complaints about the policy of rotation, and I must confess that I have considerable sympathy with these objections. The type of work performed by Military Government officers is hardly comparable to other military situations and hence previous Army rotation practice is not necessarily applicable. If the work of a Military Government officer is unsatisfactory, he should be rotated home, not to another station in Germany.

11. With regard to the transfer of housekeeping functions to the Army, I should urge caution in the case of the cities in which the Land Directors are located unless it can be clearly understood that present Military Government installations are not to be disturbed. There is considerable uneasiness among Military Government personnel about repeated efforts made at all levels, by various Army units, to acquire facilities which Military Government, after much time and labor, have been able to bring to their use. If the Land Directors had the rank of Lieutenant General given British

Regional Commissioners, they would not be outranked by local Army commanders and no question would arise. Since this is not the case in American Military Government, it would be unfortunate at this late date to have anything occur which would unsettle the established physical position of the Land Director.

12. I am also ready to question any serious reduction in the present size of personnel both at the Land level and in the field. The task of supervising German Government is in many respects more difficult than in the earlier stages when it was only necessary to issue orders. I am holding no brief for certain patent instances of over-staffing. I am only expressing my opinion with regard to the undesirability of cutting supervisory personnel to a point beyond which it will not be possible to do an effective job. I cannot see how field personnel can be further reduced as long as there are about two people in Berlin issuing instructions to every one in the Land detachments. Much of the work of Land detachments consists of tasks which must be done for Berlin. The need for which has long been felt of bringing the field officers more often into effective contact with the policy making officials in Berlin is still present. In other words, it is still desirable to associate the field more closely with the policy making process in Berlin.

13. I have not had time to check up on the three following questions which were raised in the course of my investigation. The first relates to police organization in the states; the second, to the need for so many well-staffed RTO's; the third, to trade union organization. With regard to the first question, the point is whether there is at present too highly centralized a control over the Land Polizei, or whether there should not be a change in the direction of restoring the formerly held police powers of the Landraete and Regierungspraesidenten. With regard to the RTO's, the question is why, with the Germans operating the railways, it is necessary to have more than a skeleton staff to perform the work of the RTO's. With regard to trade unions a question arises about why they have not organized on a zone basis as in the British zone.

14. Lively interest on the part of all top German officials is expressed in plans for a provisional central government. Without exception they are thinking in terms of the Bremen resolutions of last October which emanated from a joint conference of the Minister-Presidents of the American and British zones. I found but one influential politician, namely Josef Mueller, whom I would characterize as a centralist, the others are convinced federalists.

Respectfully submitted,
James K. Pollock

Dokument VII

Summary Report on the Principal Findings and Observations Arising Out of my Recent Trip to the Three Western Zones²⁵

Confidential

11 June 1948

My dear General Clay:

In addition to the verbal reports which I have previously given to you, I am now presenting a summary report of the principal findings and observations arising out of my recent trip to the three Western zones.

A. General Observations

1. The prestige of the United States as an Occupying Power remains higher than that of any other Occupying Power. Not only does the German population admire the American approach to economic recovery and the rebuilding of democratic institutions, but they have great respect for our power as a nation and in particular for its Military Governor in Germany. The appearance, behavior, and discipline of the troops are excellent – a great advance over a year ago.

2. Throughout all three zones there is a general improvement in economic and social conditions. The physical condition of the cities, the promising condition of the crops in the rural areas, and the physical improvement in the people show marked progress in the last year. With regard to the mental attitudes of the Germans, it is more difficult to speak with any assurance, but I have no reason to think that there is anything abnormal or disquieting about their psychological attitudes. Everyone is convinced that this is the year of decision. One disturbing element seems to be the large number of young men who are unemployed, and the sociological effect of the overcrowding of expellees gives me cause for great concern.

²⁵ Dieses Memorandum ist dem Occupation Diary, Teil II, beigelegt, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 58–12 (IfZ, Bd. 2) sowie 62–18 (IfZ, Bd. 37).

3. A comparison of the three zones makes it very clear that the American zone is not only in better shape economically, but that it has also made relatively greater progress in all aspects of reconstruction, economic, governmental and social, than any of the other zones. In both the French and British zones there is an undoubted longing among the leading German officials to bring their zones up to the standard of achievement already obtained in the American zone.

4. So far as the German population have any time to think about public matters over and above their struggle for food and shelter, one can say that their principal subjects of discussion today are three: first, currency reform; second, the creation of a West German government; and third, the Soviets. Leading Germans have already done a great deal of thinking regarding the steps necessary to develop a West German state. In fact, almost every leading German has a constitution in his pocket. I found many complaints about the dollar standard even though many understood why it was necessary and the good it has done. I am not sure that the good explanation you gave to the Germans at Stuttgart²⁶ has gotten around in the German press.

B. Government in the Three Western Zones

1. The American Zone

a. Considerable progress has been made in many fields. The new Bavarian electoral law which was used in the recent local elections represents a distinct step in advance. Procedure in the state legislatures is now quite smooth and also represents an improvement over a year ago. Local governments are functioning smoothly. I feel, however, that there is not enough emphasis being given to the development of local home rule.

b. Similarly, I am not satisfied that we have made any headway in improving the civil services of the various states. Nor has there been quite enough progress in the direction of a proper territorial reorganization within the various states to achieve economy and efficiency. Hesse is a conspicuous exception. I am aware that the preoccupation of the German governments with other more pressing matters in part explains their slowness in coming to grips with the above-mentioned problems. The state and local governments are now reasonably well housed, and their channels of communication well established and operating efficiently. The difficulty of securing competent public servants is still present, but not as acute as a year ago. The termination of denazification has removed one disturbing factor, and the denazification process as a whole has avoided the rather

²⁶ Protokoll der Internen Besprechung der Ministerpräsidenten mit General Clay während der Länderratssitzung vom 1. 6. 1948 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 4, Dok. 54 C.

serious situation which exists in both the French and British zones of having in prominent public positions men who had bad Nazi records. Allowing for all criticisms and mistakes, the denazification process in the American zone has not only carried out our original policy but it has effectively brought home to the Germans the seriousness of their crimes. Despite deep forebodings which were heard earlier, we have now purged the public services and German life in general of a considerable amount of Nazi taint, and our achievement is not likely to react in any unsatisfactory way. In the British and French zones many unhappy developments are bound to occur in the future.

c. The presence in the Landtage of an inordinate number of Beamte is an unhealthy condition of which the Germans are aware and about which something needs to be done. Upwards of a third of the members of the state legislatures in the American zone hold state or local positions. However much one may defend the practice of permitting local officials to sit in the state legislatures, it seems to me to be a dangerous practice to allow state officials employed in the various state ministries to have seats in the legislature and thus to pass judgment upon their department heads and Minister-President. In the British zone it is prohibited.

d. I found no sign of any lack of cooperation by German officials with American authorities. We continue to enjoy the kind of cooperation which one could not possibly buy or command. This imponderable of the occupation remains one of its outstanding achievements.

e. Your handling of the dissolution of the Laenderrat was very astute and entirely satisfactory to the Germans. If the zonal Advisory Council in Hamburg can similarly be taken out of the picture, the Minister-Presidents of the two zones should not be impeded in their efforts toward a complete merger of the three zones. I have, however, no indication of French intentions with reference to any of their zonal agencies, including their recently created Laenderrat.

2. The British Zone

a. The most notable observation regarding this zone is the reduction in the powers and functions of the so-called zonal agencies. In every case, the former zonal offices which dealt with the various governmental functions which were reserved to British Military Government are being slowly liquidated. This is true of the Budget and Accounting Office at Hamburg, the Manpower Office at Lemgo, the Railway Office at Bielefeld, and a number of other zonal functional offices spread through the zone. The most notable dissolution of a zonal office was that accomplished by Ordi-

nance No. 142,²⁷ which transferred to the Laender activities which had formerly been exercised directly by British Military Government. There is, however, one important exception in the case of the German police. Although Ordinance No. 135 was effective 1 March 1948, the fact is that the control of the German police, with the exception of Land Hamburg, is still not effectively in the hands of the German officials. Three German Ministers of the Interior pointed out by chapter and verse how they were prevented from dealing effectively with the police officials who had been put into office by British Military Government. One Minister of the Interior referred to a police chief in a principal city who had a very bad Nazi record, and despite many complaints from the Minister was still in office, and he, the Minister, was unable to do anything about it.

b. With regard to constitutional development in the zone, I find that all the Laender have draft constitutions in various degrees of completion. In a very short time all of them could adopt satisfactory constitutions if this were encouraged by British Military Government. The present attitude of British Military Government seems to be to defer any constitutional activity until the nature of the new German government is more precisely known and until there is a clearer definition of the real spheres of action of Military Government on the one hand and the Laender on the other. The top German officials themselves, without exception, are anxious to bring about as near an approximation in the British zone of the constitutional position of the Laender in the American zone as is possible, not merely to strengthen their own Laender governments but to facilitate the transition to a new West German government.

c. The Laender governments in the British zone are far behind those in the American zone in their democratic development and in their accomplishments. They are still working on legislation which has been enacted months ago in the American zone, and they are still very unclear as to what they can do and what they cannot do. It should be emphasized, therefore, even though the British are gradually and slowly withdrawing themselves from operations and even making rather substantial reductions in their Military Government staffs, that there still persists, mostly in the higher levels of British Military Government, an attitude toward German officials which leaves the Germans in very grave doubt as to what they can do and what they cannot do. In other words, there is bound to be a considerable lag in the accomplishments of German officials in the British zone until British Military Government is able to achieve a degree of conformity or similarity to the operational practice of American Military Government. Despite the prior work of numerous zonal organizations one still does not find in the British zone an evenness of regulation and practice, not to

²⁷ Siehe für die British Military Government Ordinances: Military Government Gazette, 1945–1948.

mention achievement, which one finds uniformly throughout the American zone. It should also be added that British Military Government organization is still somewhat amorphous and disconnected, the different parts of the organization being utterly unacquainted with each other's operations, and the top maintaining a very tenuous and uncertain hold over the whole organization. This large, loose British organization contrasts strikingly with the small, closely-knit organization of American Military Government.

d. Elections are contemplated on the Gemeinde and Kreis level in various Laender of the British zone. In Niedersachsen it is doubted that a new election law can be promulgated before September or October, at which time elections are expected. If the Germans do not succeed in passing their own law, they will be forced to operate under British Military Government Ordinance No. 31. In Schleswig-Holstein elections are expected on October 24, although an election law is still in the mill.

e. The proper documentation of sailors is a matter which concerns a sovereign nation. In the British zone they have kept control of it and are understood to have a central registration bureau in Berlin. All registrations are passed on by British intelligence. They register them and give them certifications. Lately it has been proposed that this British bureau undertake the job for all German seamen. Bremen is anxious that such documentation be bipartite.

3. The French Zone

a. The French zone is still in a very backward state, democratically speaking. Despite the creation of states operating under constitutions, the French Military Government practice has been so rigid as to prevent the proper development of self-governing institutions. The recent creation of a Laenderrat in the French zone and its rather powerless and useless position is merely an indication of the relative backwardness of German agencies in the French zone. Only in Mainz, where there is a very enlightened and vigorous French Military Government officer, does one discover even an equivalent physical improvement which is a common feature of the cities in the other two zones. Cologne is a striking example of little physical improvement in the British zone.

b. A safe estimate of the strength of French Military Government may be set at 9,000. There is talk of further reduction, but it may be expected to move very slowly. There is an excessive number of French dependents, conservatively estimated in Baden-Baden alone at 15,000. It would seem to me to be a matter of some urgency for our

economics and financial people to determine the exact financial and economic position of the French zone in the light of the proposed subventions to the French zone under the Marshall Plan.

C. Bizonal Problems

1. The present German bizonal organization at Frankfurt is operating under considerable difficulty, but represents a distinct improvement over the situation a year ago. The Frankfurt organization is tolerated, but hardly accepted by the Laender governments, and because of its lack of direct contact with the people is largely bureaucratic, inevitable as this is. The Economic Council, however, is a fairly businesslike body, but its organization lacks the experience and polish observable in the Landtage of the American zone and in the American zone Laenderrat. A definite rivalry exists between the various Laender and their Minister-Presidents and the leaders of the Frankfurt organization. Such rivalry is, I presume, inevitable, and can be eliminated with the establishment of a West German government. Meanwhile, very little can be done during the interim period until a constitution is adopted to alter the position of the Economic Council. Through the greater activity of the Minister-Presidents, Frankfurt can become the real center of the three zones and thus achieve a higher degree of recognition than is at present possible. The whole JEIA organization is not very well understood by many people and perhaps, like the Frankfurt German organization, is something which must be endured until a better solution presents itself.

2. The American side of BICO appears to be functioning with reasonable smoothness and represents a distinct advance over the situation, for instance, which existed at Minden a year ago. Nevertheless, serious problems of liaison between Frankfurt and Berlin are arising which will have to be solved in some way. Presumably the orders which are being given by BICO to the Germans are necessary in the circumstances even though they do conflict with our policy of supervision only.

3. The US/UK Coal Control group at Essen supervising the German coal mines administration operates in a rather difficult administrative situation, but seems to be doing a good job even though it is a different type of assignment than that being performed either in Frankfurt or in the Laender. It is, of course, desirable in any new German organization to tie all aspects of economic life into this new German organization and thus avoid the different types of administration control which are presently in existence.

D. Problems of American Military Government

1. I am very gratified to find that despite recent personnel changes and the development of Bizonia, American Military Government continues to maintain a very high standard of efficiency in performing its mission of supervision over German governmental agencies. The recent reductions in personnel, although complained about, do not appear to be seriously preventing the performance of satisfactory work.

2. The Directors suggested that, if it were consonant with top policy, they should have closer liaison with BICO. They also feel that they should have more discretion in personnel allocations within their own detachments, thus giving effect to our own preachment about decentralization. They feel rather strongly that the old system under which the Military Governor convenes regularly with the Directors of Military Government at the time of the Laenderrat meeting in Stuttgart, should be carried on under the new bipartite arrangements so that they would not be deprived of this personal association and valuable informational contact with the Military Government. How this can be achieved is a matter of opinion, but it would seem entirely possible to arrange a proper meeting between the Military Governor and the Directors of Military Government in Frankfurt at the time of the bizonal Laenderrat meeting with the two Military Governors, or at any rate at some other appropriate time. The meeting of the Military Governor with the Military Commanders at which the Directors of Military Government are present would hardly fill the bill. There is a temporary problem of a channel to be used for the transmission of any Laenderrat requests during the period of the dissolution of that German organization.

3. It is obvious that the approaching amalgamation on the German side of the three Western zones, with consequent elimination of zone boundaries, presents the three Military Governments with a very difficult and serious problem of adapting the organization of Military Government in the three Western zones to the changed legal position which will follow the adoption of a new West German government. If the occupation statute and the German constitution can define with sufficient precision the exact position of Military Government in the ensuing period, it then becomes a matter of developing a tripartite organization in the various Laender which will give proper effect to the German and Allied positions.

4. It seems to me, as we pass into the later stages of Military Government, that it becomes increasingly necessary to improve our research and intelligence services and to make every effort to retain and to secure the most competent possible personnel. I do not believe that it takes a large staff in each Land to keep on top of the German situation, but it necessarily follows that with the reduction of staff one must be increasingly insistent upon the quality of the personnel which remains.

5. Despite much emphasis on our mission, it is still desirable to indoctrin-

nate our I.S.O.'s about what our policy is and exactly how we propose to carry it out. With the new program of democratization it is particularly desirable to have a carefully coordinated, and administratively efficient program.²⁸

6. I regret to find much complaint, as in the past, concerning the failures of army administration in providing for Military Government the tools with which to execute programs – especially when these require something out of the ordinary. I find that transportation is still one of the biggest difficulties, and in this connection the suggestion has been made that since many Military Government personnel now have their own private vehicles which they can use on official trips to the zone, that consideration be given to providing personnel driving their own cars on official business a 5-cent mileage rate such as is the practice in the United States. In any case, I am convinced that the army concept of administrative services needs some revamping under present Military Government conditions.

E. Emerging Problems

1. With regard to the numerous problems which will arise in the transition period between now and the adoption of a West German constitution, attention should be given, prior to the meeting of the Minister-Presidents, to the problem of the territorial organization of the Western zones. Under the London agreements,²⁹ boundaries were to be studied by the Minister-Presidents, and their proposals, when approved by the Military Governors, are to be decided by popular vote. My inquiries among numerous German officials elicited the fact that several of them, principally Dr. Adenauer, are looking toward a fusion of not merely Nordrhein with Westphalia, but also the southern districts of the Rhein province which are now under French control. If it is the desire of the Military Governors in the words of the London agreements, to avoid states that are either too large or too small, it might be well, in presenting the matter in the first place to the Minister-Presidents, to lay down certain pre-conditions under which they would have to operate in drawing up their proposals regarding Land boundaries. I find general agreement among German political leaders in Baden and Württemberg that the two states will join together, and that the Pfalz should be added to the combined Württemberg-Baden area. There also seems to be little question but that the former Hessian counties east of the Rhine, now in the French zone, will vote to rejoin Hesse, and the same is true with Rheinhessen which includes Mainz.

2. In the question of the timing of the elections for the constitutional

²⁸ Der folgende Absatz 6 wurde hier eingefügt. Er ist in der Vorlage als offensichtlich nachträglich abgefaßter Absatz dem Dokument angehängt worden.

²⁹ Siehe S. 317, Anm. 108.

convention, and in other details and procedures, attention should be paid to the wishes of the Minister-Presidents because of the possible political repercussions arising out of currency reform and the changed international position of Germany, the more so because they were not given the first word about London.

3. Presumably the Minister-Presidents will feel called on to form themselves into a sort of "care-taker" government or, as the Germans call it, a "Geschäftsregierung". This should be done in such a way as not to disturb any of the constructive activity of the economic organization in Frankfurt, but also to mitigate any of the differences within the zones which might militate against a common German administration.

4. A suggestion which came to me from several Minister-Presidents might well be adopted. They feel the need for setting up immediately a preparatory commission to work on a draft constitution so that something will be ready when the convention meets. This is not only a prudent procedure but it will expedite the work of the convention and thus get a new constitution more quickly.

F. Conclusion

1. In conclusion, I should like to add that I was given every opportunity by British Military Government to look into the operations in their zone, both on the British and on the German side. In the French zone there continues to be a certain hesitation to permit the curtain over the German government to be lifted up – a curtain which in the French zone is referred to as "the velvet curtain". Nevertheless, I found a somewhat changed French attitude and the change is for the better. There is now at last a recognition of the correctness of the American position in restoring German self-government, and I believe there is also a recognition of the contribution which we have made in preserving and developing the federal idea in the American zone. Among the British there is a somewhat reluctant but nevertheless a genuine admission that they have been much too slow in turning over responsibility to the Germans, and also they evince a somewhat stronger desire to cooperate in the developments which lie ahead. The atmosphere at least is favorable for future administration and political cooperation.

2. The American government and the American people have every reason to be proud of the achievements of their occupying forces in Germany, and as the future amalgamation of the three zones occurs, it should become clearer what a superior job we have done, not only relative to that of the other powers, but also absolutely.

Respectfully submitted,
JAMES K. POLLOCK

Dokument VIII

Gedicht über die amerikanische Deutschlandpolitik bis Ende 1946

Dieses Gedicht wurde von ehemaligen Mitarbeitern der amerikanischen Militärregierung in Erinnerung an ihre große Zeit und Aufgabe in Deutschland auf einer Weihnachtsfeier Ende 1946, vermutlich in Ann Arbor, vorgetragen. Es befindet sich in: Pollock Papers, Mich.Hist.Coll. 98.

Char[les] Jamison in Quadrangle

A state of grave emergency
will mark this date in history.
The world is tossing to and fro
because it lost its status quo.
And now we may as well confess
We're in a very frightful mess.
We tore the world apart, and then
we could not build it up again.
In vain, to set the world aright,
we got into a sordid fight.
Now that our energy is spent,
we view with disillusionment
the shattered fragments of the wreck,
and wonder how to hold in check
the world's complete disintegration,
deep despair and sheer frustration.

We wish that we could clarify
what's wrong in India – and why.
And other problems in the East –
the rampage of the Russian beast,
the future of the Yellow Sea,
and Japanese democracy.
But this is clear, without a doubt,

they have no zones to think about.
In Europe, on the other hand,
four rival nations rule Deutschland.
To understand their inane acts,
we should observe some background facts.

The Allies planned to march right in
– and in, and in, straight to Berlin.
They planned this action in advance,
ourselves, Great Britain and un-great France.
The German Reich we'd occupy;
the Hun's resistance we'd defy,
with no surrender at the border,
as stated in the Allied order.

But after little France had fallen,
we made a deal with Joseph Stalin.
Roosevelt backed up the Russian Nation
with plans for zonal occupation.
But Churchill made a different point –
the occupation should be joint.

At Yalta Russia had intruded
and France was thereupon excluded.
But Frank and Winnie at Quebec
thought France had got it in the neck,
and Roosevelt thought it time to alter
the plan he made with Jo at Yalta.
But Stalin would not budge an inch.
To get France in was not a cinch.
If part by France was occupied,
our own two zones we must divide.
And that is how it came about
the zonal boundaries worked out
have made the zones a crazy quilt
where unity could not be built.
The Russian zone was very good;
they had the land that raised the food.
Great Britain, as we now can see,
got all of German industry.
But scenery is all we got,
a feature that won't help a lot
when German people must be fed,
and clothed and housed and put to bed.

The Potsdam plan for occupation
 raised another complication.
France, no party to the pact,
 felt she had nothing to retract,
and steadfastly would disagree
 and irritate the other three.
The Control Council in Berlin
 was not all that it might have been;
and yet one plan was crystalized –
 the Germans were demobilized.
Sub-committees here and there
 added to the Hun's despair
by speeding up disarmament
 with complete accomplishment.
Otherwise the occupation
 drifted into sheer frustration,
when each occupation zone
 had a program of its own.

In spite of all these disaffections,
 Lucius Clay called for elections.
But ere this could be applied,
 voters must be qualified –
must come up for registration
 in our zone of occupation.
When this job had been effected,
 village councils were elected,
followed by the counties then,
 looking for judicious men.

Then big cities had their turn,
 each one voting with concern
for their new democracy,
 which they guarded jealously.
Let this fact be fully noted;
 nine-tenths of the people voted.
One more thing we ought to mention
 is the constitutional convention,
called upon to formulate
 a constitution for each state –
charters making chances littler
 for return of men like Hitler.
To sum it up in language terse,
 the situation might be worse.

And though our foreign policy
is not as good as it might be,
we here at home are far from peace
with labor strikes that never cease.
We wonder how the world will view us
for being paralyzed by Lewis.
But while we have some coal to burn,
we by the fire our thoughts now turn
to Christmas season jollity,
forgetful of world polity.

Zeittafel

1945

- 7./8.5. Bedingungslose Kapitulation der deutschen Wehrmacht in Reims und Berlin-Karlshorst
- 5.6. Vier Berliner Deklarationen der Siegermächte über die Niederlage Deutschlands und die Übernahme der obersten Regierungsgewalt in Deutschland durch die Oberbefehlshaber der vier Mächte USA, UdSSR, Großbritannien und Frankreich, Einteilung Deutschlands in vier Besatzungszonen und Berlins in vier Sektoren, Bildung eines Alliierten Kontrollrats für Deutschland in Berlin
- 22.–26.6. Verhandlungen der drei Westmächte über den französischen Anteil an den westlichen Besatzungszonen
- 1.–4.7. Rückzug der amerikanischen und britischen Armee aus den westlichen Teilen Sachsens, Sachsen-Anhalts, Mecklenburgs und Thüringens, die vereinbarungsgemäß von sowjetischen Truppen besetzt werden, sowie am 3.7. Einmarsch amerikanischer und britischer Truppen in die Westsektoren von Berlin
- 7.7. Frankreich übernimmt die Verwaltung des Saargebiets von den Amerikanern
- 9.7. Stuttgart wird von den Franzosen geräumt und von den Amerikanern übernommen
- 11.7. Erste Sitzung der Alliierten Kommandatura in Berlin
- 13.7. Gemeinsames britisch-amerikanisches Oberkommando SHAEF wird aufgelöst, das amerikanische Oberkommando heißt nunmehr USFET
- 14.7. Milderung des Fraternalisierungsverbots in der US-Zone
- 17.7.–2.8. Potsdamer Konferenz der drei Siegermächte USA, Sowjetunion, Großbritannien
- 26.7. Endgültiges Zonenabkommen über die Besatzungszonen und die Berliner Sektoren

- 27.7. Die Sowjetische Militäradministration (SMAD) errichtet 11 Deutsche Verwaltungen in der sowjetischen Besatzungszone
- 30.7. Erste Sitzung des Alliierten Kontrollrats in Berlin
- 2.8. Potsdamer Abkommen: Einrichtung eines alliierten Kontrollrats für Deutschland, Behandlung Deutschlands in politischer und wirtschaftlicher Hinsicht, Reinigung vom Nationalsozialismus und Militarismus, Einrichtung deutscher Landesregierungen, Deutschland als ökonomische Einheit, Reparationen, Abtretung deutscher Gebiete im Osten, Umsiedlung der deutschen Bevölkerung aus den abgetretenen Ostgebieten und aus osteuropäischen Ländern, Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher
- 6.8. Abwurf der ersten Atombombe auf Hiroshima
- 7.8. Die französische Regierung tritt dem Potsdamer Abkommen bei
- 9.8. Abwurf der zweiten Atombombe auf Nagasaki
- 2.9. Unterzeichnung der japanischen Kapitulation
- 10.9.–2.10. Erste Konferenz des Rats der Außenminister in London – ergebnislos in der Deutschlandfrage
- 19.9. Bildung der Länder Bayern, (Groß-)Hessen und Württemberg-Baden durch Proklamation der amerikanischen Militärregierung
- 20.9. Zulassung politischer Parteien auf Kreisebene in der US-Zone
- 17.10. Konstituierende Sitzung des Länderrats der US-Zone in Stuttgart
- 1.11. Office of Military Government for Germany US (OMGUS) übernimmt die Militärregierung von USFET
- 6.11. Der Länderrat nimmt seine Arbeit in Stuttgart auf – Bearbeitung aller über den Rahmen eines einzelnen Landes hinausgehenden Fragen
- 20.11. General McNarney wird Militärgouverneur der US-Zone als Nachfolger von General Eisenhower
- 20.11. Beginn der Verhandlungen des Internationalen Militärgerichtshofs (IMT) zur Aburteilung der Hauptkriegsverbrecher in Nürnberg

- 30.11. Viermächteabkommen über drei Luftkorridore zwischen Berlin und den westlichen Besatzungszonen vom Kontrollrat bestätigt
- 16.–26.12. Konferenz des Rats der Außenminister in Moskau – ohne Ergebnis in der Deutschlandfrage
- 1946
- 12.1. Kontrollrats-Direktive Nr. 24 über die Entfernung von Nationalsozialisten aus Ämtern und Stellungen
- 20.1./27.1. Erste freie Wahlen in der US-Zone (Gemeindewahlen)
- 26.1. Erstes Treffen der Länderchefs der britischen und der US-Zone in Bremen
- 5.3. Gesetz zur Befreiung von Nationalsozialismus und Militarismus in der US-Zone
- 6.3. Erste Sitzung des Zonenbeirats der britischen Zone in Hamburg
- 26./28.3. Industrieplan des Alliierten Kontrollrats: Produktionsbeschränkungen und Höchstkapazitäten für die deutsche Industrie sowie Demontage von 1800 Industriebetrieben
- 25.4.–12.7. (25.4.–16.5., 15.6.–12.7.) Konferenz des Rats der Außenminister in Paris – keine Einigung in der Deutschlandfrage
- 30.6. Wahlen zu den verfassunggebenden Landesversammlungen in den Ländern der US-Zone
- 30.7. Schließung der Grenzen zwischen der sowjetischen und den westlichen Besatzungszonen auf Verlangen der SMAD
- 6.9. Stuttgarter Rede von US-Außenminister Byrnes zur amerikanischen Deutschlandpolitik
- 10.9.–1.10. Abschluß von fünf Abkommen zur Bildung bizonaler deutscher Verwaltungen (Ernährung, Wirtschaft, Finanzen, Post, Verkehr)
- 1.10. Urteile im Nürnberger Prozess
- 24.10. Landesverfassung von Württemberg-Baden verabschiedet
- 26.10. Landesverfassung von Bayern verabschiedet

- 29.10. Landesverfassung von Groß-Hessen verabschiedet
- 4.11–11.12. Konferenz des Rats der Außenminister in New York – Friedensverträge mit den ehemaligen Verbündeten Deutschlands
- 24.11. Landtagswahlen und Volksentscheid über die Landesverfassung in Bayern und Groß-Hessen
- 1.12. Landtagswahlen und Volksentscheid über die Landesverfassung in Württemberg-Baden
- 2.12. Abkommen über den wirtschaftlichen Zusammenschluß der britischen und amerikanischen Besatzungszone zum Vereinigten Wirtschaftsgebiet (Bizone) in New York von Byrnes und Bevin unterzeichnet
- 1947*
- 1.1. Bizone tritt offiziell in Kraft
- 21.1. Marshall wird US-Außenminister als Nachfolger von Byrnes
- 25.2. Auflösung Preußens durch Kontrollratsgesetz Nr. 46
- 10.3.–24.4. Konferenz des Rats der Außenminister in Moskau – keine Einigung in der Deutschlandfrage
- 12.3. Truman-Doktrin: materielle Hilfe der USA gegen alle totalitären Bedrohungen
- 16.3. General Clay wird Militärgouverneur und Oberbefehlshaber der US-Streitkräfte in Europa als Nachfolger von McNarney
- 29.5. Abkommen der Militärgouverneure der Bizone über die Bildung eines Wirtschaftsrats und eines Exekutivrats in Frankfurt
- 5.6. Ankündigung des Marshall-Plans: Hilfsprogramm für den europäischen Wiederaufbau (European Recovery Program)
- 6.–8.6. Münchner Ministerpräsidentenkonferenz
- 25.6. Konstituierung des Wirtschaftsrats als Parlament des Vereinigten Wirtschaftsgebiets in Frankfurt
- 29.8. Revidierter Industrieplan für die Bizone erlaubt Wirtschaftspotential nach dem Stand von 1936

25.11.–15.12. Konferenz des Rats der Außenminister in London – wegen Uneinigkeit in der deutschen Frage abgebrochen

1948

9.2. Erweiterung des Wirtschaftsrats, Errichtung eines Länderrats und Verwaltungsrats sowie eines deutschen Obergerichts

23.2.–6.3.

und 20.4.–2.6. Londoner Sechsmächtekonferenz (USA, Großbritannien, Frankreich und die Beneluxstaaten) über die politische Gestaltung Westdeutschlands

1.3. Gründung der Bank deutscher Länder der drei Westzonen

20.3. Marschall Sokolowskij verläßt den Alliierten Kontrollrat aus Protest gegen die Londoner Sechsmächtekonferenz: Ende der Viermächteverwaltung Deutschlands

1.4. Erste Behinderungen des Berlinverkehrs durch sowjetische Kontrollen

16.4. Gründung der OEEC durch 16 Staaten, Westdeutschland wird Mitglied, vertreten durch die Militärgouverneure

16.6. Sowjetische Vertreter stellen Mitarbeit in Berliner Kommandatura ein

2.6. Londoner Empfehlungen: Teilnahme Deutschlands am Wiederaufbau Europas, Einigung über eine internationale Ruhrkontrolle, Korrekturen der deutschen Westgrenze

20.6. Währungsreform in den drei Westzonen

24.6. Beginn der Berlin-Blockade durch die sowjetischen Besatzungsbehörden

24.6. Gesetz über „Leitsätze für die Bewirtschaftung und Preispolitik“ vom Wirtschaftsrat verabschiedet

26.6. Beginn der Luftbrücke: Versorgung der Berliner Westsektoren durch amerikanische und britische Flugzeuge

1.7. Die Frankfurter Dokumente werden von den Militärgouverneuren der drei Westzonen den 11 westdeutschen Ministerpräsidenten überreicht: Auftrag zur Staatsgründung – I. Verfassungsrechtliche Bestimmungen, II. Länderneugliederung, III. Besatzungsstatut

6.7. Note der Westmächte an die UdSSR: Recht auf freien

- Zugang nach Berlin. Keine Gewalt werde sie zur Aufgabe ihrer Rechte zwingen
- 8.–10.7. Konferenz der westdeutschen Ministerpräsidenten in Koblenz: Annahme des alliierten Auftrags zur Staatsgründung unter bestimmten Bedingungen
- 14.7. Kritik Clays am Verhalten der Ministerpräsidenten
- 17.7. Sowjetische Antwort-Note an die Westmächte: Londoner Empfehlungen stellen Bruch des Potsdamer Abkommens dar
- 21./22.7. Konferenz der westdeutschen Ministerpräsidenten in Niederwald bei Rüdesheim: Kompromiß zur Annahme der Frankfurter Dokumente
- 26.7. Konferenz der Militärgouverneure mit den westdeutschen Länderchefs: Zustimmung zur Einsetzung eines Parlamentarischen Rats zur Ausarbeitung eines Grundgesetzes
- 10.–23.8. Herrenchiemseer Verfassungskonvent erstellt den Entwurf für ein Grundgesetz
- 1.9. Konstituierung des Parlamentarischen Rats in Bonn

Abkürzungen

ACA	Allied Control Authority
ACC	Allied Control Council
AFL	American Federation of Labor
AFN	American Forces Network
A.M.	ante meridiem – before noon – vor 12 Uhr mittags
APO	Army Post Office
ATC	Air Transport Command
BBC	British Broadcasting Service
B.G.	Brigadier General
BICO	Bipartite Control Office
Brig.	Brigadier
CAD	Civil Administration Division
CARE	Coordinated American Relief for Europe
	Cooperative for American Remittance to Europe
CAT	Civil Affairs Training School
CC	Control Council
CC	Coordinating Committee of the Control Council
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union
CFM	Council of Foreign Ministers
CIC	Counter Intelligence Corps
CINC	Commander-in-Chief
Col.	Colonel
Cong.	Congressman
CRALOG	Council of Relief Agencies Licensed for Operation in Germany
CSU	Christlich Soziale Union
DANA	Deutsche Allgemeine Nachrichten-Agentur
D-Day	Tag der alliierten Landung in der Normandie: 6. Juni 1944
DDR	Deutsche Demokratische Republik
Dep.	Deputy
Dept.	Department
DMG	Deputy Military Governor
DMGO	Deputy Military Government Officer
DPs	Displaced Persons
DVP	Demokratische Volkspartei
EAC	European Advisory Commission
ECA	Economic Cooperation Administration
E&CR	Education and Cultural Relations
E&RA	Education and Religious Affairs
ERP	European Recovery Program
ETO	European Theater of Operations
ETOUSA	European Theater of Operations, US Army
EUCOM	European Command
Exec.	Executive
FDP	Freie Demokratische Partei Deutschlands
G-1 – G-5	Das Oberkommando der amerikanischen Armee war in fünf Abteilungen eingeteilt: G-1: Personnel, G-2: Intelligence, G-3: Operations, G-4: Supply, G-5: Civil Administration
Gen.	General
GI	Government Issue

Govt.	Government
HICOG	Office of the US High Commissioner for Germany
H.M.	His Majesty
Hqu.	Headquarters
hschr.	handschriftlich
IA&C	Internal Affairs and Communications
ICD	Information Control Division
IfZ	Institut für Zeitgeschichte
I.G.	Interessengemeinschaft
ISO	Information Service Officer
JAG	Judge Advocate Generals
JAS	Judge Advocates' School
JEIA	Joint Export Import Agency
KPD	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands
K Ration	US Army Feldration
LR	Länderrat
LSO	Liaison and Security Office/Officer
Lt.	Lieutenant
Lt. Col.	Lieutenant Colonel
Maj.	Major
M.C.	Member of Congress
MG	Military Government
Mich. Hist. Coll.	Michigan Historical Collections
Mil. Govt.	Military Government
OEEC	Organization for European Economic Cooperation
OMG	Office of Military Government
OMGH	Office of Military Government Greater Hesse
OMGHE	Office of Military Government Hesse
OMGBD	Office of Military Government Berlin District
OMGBR	Office of Military Government Bremen
OMGBS	Office of Military Government Berlin Sector
OMGBY	Office of Military Government Bavaria
OMGWB	Office of Military Government Württemberg-Baden
OMGUS	Office of Military Government for Germany, United States
OSS	Office of Strategic Service
OSS/OMGUS	Office of the Staff Secretary, OMGUS
PH&PW	Public Health and Public Welfare
P.M.	post meridiem – after noon – nach 12 Uhr mittags
PoW	Prisoners of War
PoW&DP	Prisoners of War and Displaced Persons
PTT	Post, Telephone and Telegraph Administration
PX	Post Exchange: Einkaufsläden für die amerikanischen Streitkräfte
RBD	Reichsbahndirektion bzw. -direktor
RCA	Radio Corporation of America
RGCO	Regional Government Coordinating Office
RPD	Reichspostdirektion bzw. -direktor
RTO	Railway and Transport Office/Officer
S.B.Z.	Sowjetische Besatzungszone
SED	Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands
Sen.	Senator
SHAEF	Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces
SMAD	Sowjetische Militäradministration

SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
SS	Schutzstaffel
S.S.	Steam Ship
TNT	Trinitrotoluol: Sprengstoff
TO	Table of Organization
UK	United Kingdom
UNO	United Nations Organization
US	United States
USFET	United States Forces European Theater
USGCC	United States Group, Control Council
V-Day	Victory Day
V-E Day	Victory Europe Day: 8. Mai 1945
V-J	Victory Japan Day: 15. August 1945
V-mail	Victory Mail, War and Navy Department V-Mail Service, photo- mechanisch übermittelte Kurzbriefe
VIP	Very Important Person
VWG	Vereinigtes Wirtschaftsgebiet
WPA	Work Project Administration
WPA	Wirtschaftspolitischer Ausschuß
ZK	Zentralkomitee

Personenregister

- Adams, Lynn, Public Safety Officer, Headquarters Hoechst, 47, 49, 52
- Adams Schmidt, Dana, Journalistin, *New York Times*, 1946 Press Camp Nürnberg, 189
- Adcock, Clarence L., Brig.General/Maj.General, 1945 Assistant Chief of Staff USGCC, G-5 USFET, 1946 Assistant DMG OMGUS, Jun.1947–Aug.1949 US Chairman of Bipartite Control Office Frankfurt, 87f., 99, 109, 116f., 121, 124, 130, 145, 150, 153, 165, 179, 183, 193, 208, 211f., 228, 230, 235, 270, 272, 303, 305, 311
- Adenauer, Konrad, 1945 Oberbürgermeister von Köln, Vorsitzender der CDU der britischen Besatzungszone, 184, 318f., 370
- Adler, Julius Ochs, Journalist, Vice-President and General Manager of New York Times Printing Company, 193, 195
- Agartz, Viktor, Vorsitzender der Wirtschaftskommission der britischen Besatzungszone, Zentralamt für Wirtschaft Minden, 257
- Alexander, Head of Economic Control Commission, British Headquarters Minden, 163
- Alexander, Sir Harold Rupert, britischer Feldmarschall, 83
- Allen, Frank A., Jr., Brig. General, First Armored Corps area Stuttgart, G-2 Headquarters 6th Army Group, 131, 183
- Anderson, Denis, 33
- Andrews, Stanley, Colonel, Chief Food & Agriculture Branch OMGUS, 1948 Director Food, Agriculture and Forestry Group BICO, 157, 171, 174, 326
- Armytage, H. W. H., Brig. General, British Military Government, 256
- Arnold, Karl, seit 17.7.1947 Ministerpräsident von Nordrhein-Westfalen, 318
- Asbury, William, British Military Government, 1946–1948 Regional Commissioner Nordrhein-Provinz/Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1948–1950 Regional Commissioner Schleswig, 259, 322
- Asmis, Walter, Ständiger Delegierter des Zentralamts für Ernährung und Landwirtschaft Hamburg, 229
- Attlee, Clement R., seit 26.7.1945 britischer Premierminister, 56, 61, 345
- August Wilhelm, Prinz von Preußen, 177
- Auwi siehe August Wilhelm
- Babcock, William T., Colonel, 1946–1949 Department Director OMGBS, Berlin, 309
- Balfour, Michael P., Maj. General, ab April 1946 Director Information Service Control, Control Commission for Germany, British Element, Deputy British Military Governor, 257, 262
- Barden, Julie, Journalistin, *Sun*, 331
- Barger, Major, 1945 Regional Military Government for Hessen-Nassau, Marburg, 69
- Barracrough, John A., Brig. General, British Military Government, 1945–1946 Commander Nordrhein-Provinz, 1946–1950 Deputy Commander Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf, 318f.
- Barth, Journalist, *Washington Post*, 194
- Baruch, Bernard M., Adviser to Secretary of State and President, 50
- Bauer, Walter, Generaltreuhänder für den süddeutschen konzerngebundenen Kohlen-großhandel, Dekartellisierungskommission, 206
- Baumgartner, Josef, bayerischer Landwirtschaftsminister, 280
- Beattie, Edward W., Journalist, 275
- Beck, William H., amerikanischer Generalkonsul in Southhampton, 341f.
- Bellamy, Paul, Journalist, Publisher and Editor, *The Evening Star, Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 193–195
- Benner, Colonel, 1945 Executive Officer of the Division, Wiesbaden, 53

- Bennett, Jack, ab 1946 Director Finance Division OMGUS, Special Adviser to Clay, 272, 333
- Bennett, Nett, 1945 MG Officer OMGBY, Regensburg, 69
- Bergsträsser, Ludwig, Regierungspräsident von Darmstadt, 90
- Bernstein, Victor H., Journalist, *P.M.*, 172, 279
- Betts, Edward C., Brig. General, Judge Advocate ETO, Director of Department for War Crimes OMGUS, 78f., 81
- Bevin, Ernest, seit 1945 britischer Außenminister, 24, 294, 336, 339f., 380
- Bidault, Georges, 1948 französischer Außenminister, 294, 334
- Biddle, Francis, 1945–1946 United States Judge on the International Military Tribunal Nürnberg, 142, 149
- Biel, 332
- Bigge, George E., Professor of Economics, Director of Federal Security Agency, former Social Security Board, 189
- Binder, Gottlob, 1945–1946 hessischer Staatsminister für Wiederaufbau und Befreiung, 1946–1949 hessischer Minister für politische Befreiung, 159, 162
- Bishop, Richard E., 1945 Adviser on Production Control, USFET Headquarters Hoechst, 52
- Bismarck, Otto Fürst von, deutscher Reichskanzler 1871–1890, 234
- Bloom, Captain, MG Officer Heidenheim, 248
- Bode, Karl F., Professor for Economics, Stanford, 1945–1946 Special Adviser to Secretary of State, 1946 Special Adviser on Economics to RGCO Stuttgart, 1947 US Member of Bipartite Economic Control Group "Plannings and Statistics", 180, 231, 242
- Bohlen, Charles E., Special Assistant to Secretary of State, 275
- Boislambert siehe Hettier de Boislambert
- Bolten, Seymore R., Lieutenant, 1945 IA&C Division USGCC, 1946 Government Structure and Administration Branch, CAD OMGUS, 99, 113, 127
- Bonnevalle, R. W., Colonel, Deputy Director Care Organization New York, 219
- de Bourbon-Busset, Jacques Comte de, Lieutenant, französische Militärregierung, Baden-Baden, 241
- Bowie, Robert R., Lt. Colonel, Special Assistant to Deputy Military Governor OM-GUS, 336f.
- Brandt, Karl, Professor for Agriculture, New School for Social Research, University in Exile New York, 1945–1946 Food & Agriculture Branch, Economic Division OM-GUS, Special Adviser on Food Problems to DMG OMGUS, 179
- Brauer, Max, seit 15.11.1946 Erster Bürgermeister von Hamburg, 321f.
- Brecht, Arnold, Professor for Political Science and Economics, New School for Social Research, University in Exile New York, 1948 Special Adviser to DMG OMGUS, 308
- Bridge, Charles E. D., Brig. General, 1945 Head Civil Administration and Local Government, Control Commission for Germany, British Element, 94–97
- Bridges, Sir Edward, bis Juni 1945 Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of H.M.'s Civil Service, ab Juli 1945 Secretary of the Treasury, 338
- Brisbine, D. E., Colonel, 1945 Director Transport Division OMGUS, 59
- Britten, G. V., Brig. General, British Military Government Headquarters, 255f.
- Bromage, Arthur W., Professor for Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Lt. Colonel, bis Juli 1945 Chief of Administration & Local Government Section, CAD OMGBY München, 57, 73, 75, 344
- Brook, Sir Norman L., ab 1947 Secretary of the Cabinet, Head of H. M.'s Civil Service, 338
- Brown, Colonel, G-5 USFET, 198
- Brown, Everett S., Professor for Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor,

- 1945/46 Chairman of the Department of Political Science, 38f., 107, 160, 217, 343, 348, 350
- Brown, May, Ehefrau von Everett S. Brown, 349
- Brüning, Heinrich, deutscher Reichskanzler 1930–1932, 72, 321
- Burruss, Withers A., Maj. General, 1945–1946 Commander of 7th Army Corps, Stuttgart, 1946–1947 Director Intelligence European Command, 1947–1948 Commanding General US Constabulary Germany, 131, 133, 183
- Byers, Ralph, Editor and Publisher of *The Ann Arbor News*, 121
- Byrnes, James F., 1.7.1945–20.1.1947 Secretary of State, 20, 26, 103, 124, 131, 211f., 216f., 237f., 246, 248f., 253, 261, 275, 352, 356, 379f.
- Caffery, Jefferson, 1944–1949 US Ambassador in Paris, 330, 335
- Campion, Sir Gilbert, Clerk of the House of Commons, 339f.
- Canby, Colonel, 1945 G-5 of Seventh Army Heidelberg, 53
- Cannon, John K., Lt. General, bis 1945 Commander-in-Chief Allied Air Forces in Mediterranean and European Theater, danach Commanding General US Air Force Europe, 114
- Casey, Hugh J., Maj. General, 1945–1946 Chief Engineer General, Headquarters US Armed Forces in Pacific Area, 144
- Casey, Patricia, Tochter von General Casey, 144
- Chamberlain, Sir Austen, 1924–1929 britischer Außenminister, 52
- Childs, Marquis W., Journalist, *New York Herald Tribune*, 129
- Christmas, Brig. General, Port Command Bremen, 164
- Churchill, Sir Winston S., bis Juli 1945 britischer Premierminister, 1940–1955 Führer der britischen Konservativen, 24, 56, 93, 102, 339f., 345, 373
- Clark, Captain, Voluntary Relief Committee, 174
- Clark, Mark W., General, Commander-in-Chief of US Occupation Forces in Austria and US High Commissioner to Austria, 281
- Clark, Ted, Journalist, United Press, 244
- Clay, Henry, (1777–1852), amerikanischer Politiker, the „Great Compromiser“, 143
- Clay, Lucius D., Lt. General, Deputy Military Governor (DMG), März 1947–Mai 1949 Military Governor for Germany and Commander-in-Chief European Command (Nachfolger von McNarney), US Member of Allied Control Council, 2, 7–14, 16–26, 28f., 43, 48, 51, 60, 63, 65–67, 69, 80, 82, 84, 88–92, 94–113, 116–118, 121, 123f., 126–132, 134f., 138–147, 149–163, 165, 167–170, 174, 177–182, 184, 186–188, 191–201, 206, 208f., 211–219, 222, 224, 226–230, 232, 234–238, 242, 246, 248, 250, 253–255, 260–263, 269–271, 274f., 279–297, 301–308, 310, 312, 315–319, 323–338, 341–344, 348–350, 359, 363f., 374, 380, 382
- Clay, Lucius D., Jr., Sohn von Lt. General Lucius D. Clay, 144
- Clay, Marjorie, Ehefrau von Lt. General Lucius D. Clay, 208, 212, 237f., 269, 282f., 285, 287, 289f., 296, 308, 324f., 332–334
- Clayton, William L., 1945 Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, 1947 Undersecretary of State in charge of Economic Affairs, 55, 57, 344
- Clevinski, attaché to Tarbé de Saint Hardouin, 318
- Collins, Harry E., 1948 British Chairman of US/UK Coal Control Group Essen, 319
- Colm, Gerhard, Assistant Chief of Fiscal Division, Bureau of the Budget Washington, Special Adviser on Währungsreform to Clay, 178
- Concannon, Major, Pilot und Clay's aide, 274
- Conger, Barbara, Tochter von Homer Heath and Ehefrau von Pat Conger, 89
- Conger, Pat, Journalist, Berlin Representative of United Press, 89
- Conger, (Seymour) Beach III, Journalist, *New York Herald Tribune*, 89f., 105, 279, 288
- Couve de Murville, Maurice, Botschafter, Generaldirektor der Politischen Abteilung des französischen Außenministeriums, 334

- Coward, Noel P., britischer Schriftsteller und Schauspieler, 336
- Cowles, Gardner, Publisher, Des Moins Register and Tribune Company, Cowles Broadcasting Company and Cowles Magazines, 193, 195 f.
- Cowley, J. G., Brig. General, British Economic Control Commission Minden, UK Member of Bipartite Economic Group, 257
- Cox, Theodor S., Major/Lt. Colonel, 1945 Government Structure and Administration Branch CAD USGCC/OMGUS, seit Okt. 1945 IA&C Division and Legal Adviser to RGCO Stuttgart (Staff Pollock), 94, 109, 116 f., 134, 147, 155, 168
- Dahl, Miss, Personnel Division USFET Headquarters, 288
- Dahrendorf, Gustav, Vizepräsident des Wirtschaftsrats des Vereinigten Wirtschaftsgebietes (SPD), 311
- Daniell, Francis Raymond, Journalist, *New York Times*, 1945–1946 Chief Berlin Bureau, 105 f., 172
- Davis, Monett B., 1945 amerikanischer Gesandter in Kopenhagen, 100
- Davison, E. P., Lieutenant, Information Control Division OMGUS Berlin, 243
- Dawalt, Lt. Colonel, Director CAD General Staff US Army, 136 f.
- Dawson, Marguerite, Ehefrau von William W. Dawson, 282
- Dawson, William W., Colonel, Regional Military Government Officer for Württemberg and Baden/Director OMGWB Stuttgart, Aug. 1946–Febr. 1947 Director RGCO Stuttgart, 115–117, 120, 125–127, 147, 156, 178, 241, 262 f., 270, 279 f., 288–290, 317
- Dayton, Kenneth A., Okt. 1945–Dez. 1946 Chief Government Structure Branch CAD OMGUS, Jan.–Jul. 1947 OMGBY München, 1947–1948 Department Director Bizonal Affairs CAD OMGUS, 80, 303, 311
- Dewey, Thomas E., Governor of New York, 1948 Präsidentschaftskandidat der Republikanischen Partei, 331
- Dietrich, Hermann, ehemaliger Reichsfinanzminister, ab Mai 1946 Sonderbevollmächtigter für Ernährung und Landwirtschaft des Länderrats der US-Zone, 188, 203, 205, 208, 223 f., 234, 237, 251, 279, 317
- Dimmitt, Harrison S., Lt. Colonel, Executive Officer of Pollock, 53
- Dingley, Nelson, Colonel, 1945 Acting Chief Administrative Officer USGCC, 52
- Dodge, Joseph M., former President of the Detroit Bank, Director of Finance Division OMGUS, Special Adviser to Clay, 173, 197, 206, 209
- Dönitz, Karl, ehemaliger Großadmiral und Oberbefehlshaber der deutschen Kriegsmarine, 2.5.1945 Nachfolger Hitlers, 7.5. und 8.5.1945 Unterzeichnung der deutschen Kapitulation in Reims und Karlshorst in seinem Namen, im Nürnberger Kriegsverbrecherprozeß am 1.10.1946 zu 10 Jahren Haft verurteilt, 149, 209
- Dondero, George A., 1933–1953 Congressman (Republican Representative of Michigan), 66
- Donnan, Captain, 302
- Dooley, amerikanischer Schriftsteller, 83
- Dorn, Walter L., Special Adviser to G–5 USFET (Adcock), seit Mai 1946 Special Assistant on Denazification matters, 83 f., 108, 114, 182, 220, 223, 233, 246, 319
- Douglas, Lewis W., McCloy's brother-in-law, former Congressman of Arizona 1929–33, 1933–34 Director of the Budget unter Roosevelt, 1945 Special Assistant to DMG USGCC/OMGUS, Economic Adviser to Clay, 1947–1949 US Ambassador in London, 24, 306 317–319, 326, 329, 336, 338–340
- Draper, William H., Jr., Brig.General, 1945–1946 Director Economic Division USGCC/OMGUS, 1947 Maj.General and Economic Adviser to Commander-in-Chief European Theater ETO (Special Adviser to Clay), Sept. 1947 Undersecretary of the Army, 174, 233, 261, 268, 272, 280, 293, 303, 336
- Dratwin, Michail Iwanowitsch, Generalleutnant, ab 1946 Stellvertretender so-

- wjetischer Militärgouverneur in Deutschland, Mitglied im Coordinating Committee of ACC, 211, 235
- Drury, F. W., Colonel, Commanding Officer 10th Constabulary Regiment Stuttgart, 199, 268
- Duehring, Colonel, CAD War Department, Washington, 189
- Dulles, John Foster, Lawyer, Special Adviser to State Department, 281f., 295, 331
- Dunn, Thomas F., Director OMGBR Bremen, 320f.
- Dwyer, Mrs. Walter, Schwester von Mrs. Clay, 308, 332f.
- Eaton, John W., Professor of German, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 249
- Echols, Oliver P., Maj. General, Mai–Juli 1945 Director IA&C Division USGCC, Juli 1945–Apr. 1946 Assistant to Clay DMG, Apr. 1946–1947 Chief CAD Department of the Army Washington, 48, 60, 65, 91f., 105, 131f., 200, 211
- Eden, Sir Anthony, bis 1945 britischer Außenminister, 1945–1950 britischer Oppositionsführer, 24, 339f.
- Edinburgh, Duke of, 340
- Edmunds, James B., Colonel, Director Administrative Services Division OMGUS, ab Juli 1946 Director Transport Division, 220, 254
- Edwards, Morris, Lt. Colonel, G–5 of 7th Army Heidelberg, März 1946–Febr. 1947 Deputy Director, Febr. 1947–Mai 1948 Director OMGWB Stuttgart, 114, 278
- Ehard, Hans, Staatssekretär im bayerischen Finanzministerium, seit 21.12.1946 bayerischer Ministerpräsident, 162, 279f., 283, 295, 304, 314f., 317, 325
- Eisenhower, Dwight D., General of the Army, Supreme Commander SHAEF/USFET, bis Nov. 1945 US Military Governor for Germany, US Member of Allied Control Council, Dez. 1945 Chief of Staff US Army, 32, 43, 47, 59f., 63, 78, 81, 84, 91, 98, 104, 106, 111, 113, 126, 131, 344, 378
- Eisenhower, Milton St., President of the University of Kansas, Bruder von Dwight D. Eisenhower, 113
- Eldersveld, Samuel J., Student, Assistant and Successor to Pollock, Professor for Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 32, 294, 297
- Elliott, John, Journalist, bis 1945 OSS, 1946–47 Berlin Correspondent of *New York Herald Tribune*, 1947 Consultant to CAD OMGUS, 1948–1949 Chief Political Activities Branch OMGUS, 1948 Member of editorial board of *Die Neue Zeitung*, 183, 186, 189, 281, 291f.
- Elliott, William Y., Professor of Government Harvard, 1945–1946 House Special Committee on Post War Economic Policy and Planning, 1947–1948 Staff Director of House Select Committee on Foreign Aid, 87
- Emck, British Military Government Officer Düsseldorf, 318
- Engel, Albert, Member of Congress, House of Representatives, Member of Military Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, 91
- Erhard, Ludwig, Professor, Okt. 1945–Dez. 1946 bayerischer Wirtschaftsminister, 1947 Leiter der Sonderstelle Geld und Kredit, 1948 Direktor der Wirtschaftsverwaltung des Vereinigten Wirtschaftsgebiets, 30, 239
- Estill, Robert L., US Chairman of US/UK Coal Control Group Essen, 319
- Fahy, Charles, Lawyer, Judge, 1945–1946 Director Legal Division OMGUS, Special Adviser to Clay, ab Juni 1946 Legal Adviser to Department of State, 1947 US Representative to General Assembly of UNO, 83, 142, 146, 154, 199
- Fairman, Charles, Professor of Law Stanford, Colonel, 1943–1945 Professor JAG's School Stanford, ab 1945 Legal Adviser to G–5 US Army, Chief of International Law Division, Office of Theater Judge Advocate ETO, 78, 81, 97f.
- Fehr, Anton, ehemaliger Reichsernährungsminister, 199f.

- Finletter, Thomas K., Lawyer, 1948–1949 Minister in charge of ECA Mission to United Kingdom, 340
- Fischer, Eugen, Generaldirektor des Verkehrswesens in der US-Zone, 208
- Fischer, Karl, 7.6.–1.9.1945 bayerischer Innenminister, 74
- Fish, Special Assistant to Clay (organization expert), 65
- Fiske, Colonel, 1947 MG Officer Bayreuth, 280
- Fliess, Walter, 1948 British Governmental Affairs Officer BICO, 311
- Forrestal, James V., 1944–1947 Secretary of the Navy, July 1947–1949 Secretary of Defense, 303
- François-Poncet, André, Ambassadeur de France, französischer Sonderbeauftragter für deutsche Angelegenheiten, 1948 Berater des französischen Militärgouverneurs, 225
- Franklin, John M., Maj. General, 1943–1946 Assistant Chief of Transportation, War Department, Washington, 308
- Franz II., letzter Kaiser des Hl. Römischen Reiches 1792–1806, 225
- Freeman, Al, 285
- Friedensburg, Ferdinand, seit Aug. 1945 Präsident der Zentralverwaltung für Brennstoffindustrie in der SBZ, im Sept. 1946 amtsenthoben von der SMAD, 90
- Friedman, Milton, British Military Government, 163
- Friedrich, Prinz von Preußen, 177
- Friedrich II., König von Preußen, 87f.
- Fritz siehe Friedrich Prinz von Preußen
- Fuoss, Robert, Managing Editor *Saturday Evening Post*, 193–195
- Gailey, Charles K., Brig. General, War Department General Staff, ab Jan. 1946 Director CAD OMGUS, Apr.–Dez. 1946 Director Public Relations OMGUS, Dez. 1946–1948 Chief of Staff OMGUS, 145, 159f., 169, 183, 188, 281, 283, 291, 323, 331f.
- Gailey, Mrs. Charles K., 333
- Gannett, Frank E., Editor and Publisher, President of Gannett Newspapers, New York, 194f.
- de Gaulle, Charles, bis 24.1.1946 französischer Ministerpräsident, 179
- Geiler, Karl, 1945–Dez. 1946 hessischer Ministerpräsident, 108–110, 114, 119, 128, 142, 152f., 160f., 164, 167, 181f., 184, 190, 208f., 219, 228f., 250f., 270, 273, 288, 349
- Gelperin, Abraham MC, Major, bis Dez. 1945 PH&PW Officer OMGBR Bremen, 93
- George, Henry, (1839–1897), amerikanischer Journalist und Sozialtheoretiker, Propagandist des „American System“, 185
- Gibbs, Major, British Military Government, 184
- Gilmore, W. Steel, Journalist, Editor, Director of North American Newspaper Alliance, 249, 251
- Giraud, Henri-Honoré, französischer General, 125
- Giroux, Archibald R., Major, 1945 MG Officer OMGBY Hof, 71
- Glum, Friedrich, Professor, Ministerialdirigent in der bayerischen Staatskanzlei, 281
- Gögler, Hermann, Ministerialdirektor, Okt.–Dez. 1945 Leitung des Generalsekretariats des Länderrats in Stuttgart, danach Bevollmächtigter des Landes Württemberg-Baden beim Länderrat, ab Juli 1946 Staatssekretär im württemberg-badischen Staatsministerium, 188, 215, 230, 251, 273
- Göring, Hermann, ehem. Reichsmarschall und Reichsluftfahrtminister, am 1.10.1946 im Nürnberger Kriegsverbrecherprozeß zum Tode verurteilt, am 15.10.1946 Selbstmord, 147, 149, 177, 289
- Goldsmith, Raymond W., März 1946 Special Adviser to Clay (Währungsreform), 178
- Gottlieb, Albert J., Lt. Colonel, RGCO Stuttgart (Staff Pollock), 150
- Greenfield, Albert M., Real Estate Broker and Banker, Geschäftsmann in Philadelphia, 58

- Gresh, Levi D., Major, Government Structure and Administration Branch CAD OM-GUS (Staff Pollock), 94
- Grimsdale, G. E., Colonel, British Military Government, Bipartite Economic Control Council Minden, 257, 262
- Gross, Harold B., Lawyer, 1947–1949 Assistant General Counsel Navy Department, 321f.
- Grotewohl, Otto, ab Apr. 1946 gemeinsam mit Pieck Vorsitzender der SED, Mitglied des Politbüros und des Zentralkomitees der SED, 283
- Guinness, Lady Brigid, Ehefrau von Prinz Friedrich von Preußen, 177
- Gulick, Luther H., 1945–1946 Member of US Reparations Mission to Moskau, Potsdam, Paris, (Staff of Ambassador Pauly), 61
- Gunn, Colonel, CAD Washington, 244
- Guрадze, Heinz, Adviser on Labor and Welfare RGCO Stuttgart (Staff Pollock), 246, 248
- Haber, Fanny, Ehefrau von William Haber, 305, 310
- Haber, William, Professor for Economics, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1945–1949 Special Adviser on Jewish Affairs to OMGUS (Clay) and to CINC US Forces in Germany and Austria, 303, 305, 310
- Haight, Edward M., Lt. Colonel, 1945 MG Officer Ober- und Mittelfranken, 1947 LSO Officer OMGBY Ansbach, 70–72
- Haislip, Wade H., Lt. General, Juni–Aug. 1945 Commander 7th Army Heidelberg, Sept. 1945–Apr. 1946 President of Secretary of War's Personnel Board, 81
- Hall, Colonel, British Military Government, 145
- Haller, Werner, Lieutenant, Aug. 1946–Mai 1947 Finance Adviser to RGCO Stuttgart and Director Civil Affairs (Staff Pollock), 253, 279
- Hamilton, Thomas J., Journalist, *New York Times*,
- Handy, Thomas T., General, 1944–1947 Deputy Chief of Staff War Department Washington, 222
- Hardouin siehe Tarbé de Saint Hardouin
- Harmon, Ernest N., Maj. General, 1946–1947 Commanding General of US Constabulary Germany, Stuttgart, 1947 Deputy Commander of US Ground Forces, 222f., 279
- Harper, Robert W., Maj. General, 1945–1947 Director Armed Forces Division OM-GUS, 254
- Harriman, W. Averell, 1943–1946 US Ambassador in Moskau, Apr.–Okt. 1946 US Ambassador in London, Okt. 1946–Apr. 1948 Secretary of Commerce, 1948–1950 US Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary for ECA and ERP in Europe, Paris, 24, 306, 330, 335
- Harris, David, Professor for History, Cornell, 1945–1947 Division of Central European Affairs, State Department, 1945–1946 Special Assistant to US Political Adviser Berlin (Murphy), 1947 US Deputy to Council of Foreign Ministers, 99, 124, 207
- Harrold, Thomas L., Brig. General, 1946–1947 3rd Constabulary Brigade Stuttgart, 1947–1949 Director CAD General Staff Headquarters EUCOM Frankfurt, 252
- Hasty, Colonel, 273
- Hatch, Colonel, 1945 USGCC, 99
- Hauser, Ernest O., Journalist, *Saturday Evening Post*, 204
- Hawkins, Philip, 1945–1947 Chief Decartellization Branch Economic Division OMGUS, 1948 Chief Property Control Branch and Dep. Director Economic Division OMGUS, 303, 309
- Hay, John, 323
- Hay, Malcolm, Colonel, 1945 MG Officer for Wiesbaden OMGHE, 54, 79, 81
- Hays, Georges P., Brig. General, ab 1947 Deputy Military Governor, 309
- Heath, Donald R., Councillor of Embassy, bis 1947 Director Political Affairs Division,

- Office of the Political Adviser to Germany, OMGUS, 1947–1949 US Envoy in Sofia, 55, 57, 67, 89, 95, 113, 123, 145, 190, 192, 237, 254, 269, 283
- Heath, Homer, Geschäftsmann und Industrieller, Ann Arbor, 89
- Helmerich, Michael, Febr.–Dez. 1946 bayerischer Verkehrsminister, 173
- Heneman, Harlow J., 1945/46 Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, bis Sept. 1945 Political Division OMGUS, 4, 82f., 97f., 345, 348
- Herbert, Sir Alan Patrick, britischer Schriftsteller, 272
- Hess, Rudolf, ehemaliger Reichsminister und „Stellvertreter des Führers“, im Nürnberger Kriegsverbrecherprozeß am 1.10.1946 zu lebenslanger Haft verurteilt, 147, 149
- Hester, Hugh B., Brig. General, 1945–1947 Chief Food & Agriculture Branch Economic Division USGCC/OMGUS, 131f., 181, 190, 205, 261, 272, 280
- Hettier de Boislambert, Claude, 1945–1946 französischer Gouverneur von Rheinland und Hessen-Nassau, 1946–1951 französischer Militärgouverneur in Deutschland, 260
- Heuss, Theodor, Professor, 1945 Lizenzträger der *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 1945–1946 Kultusminister in Baden, 1946 Vorsitzender der DVP und Landtagsabgeordneter, 1948 Vorsitzender der FDP, Mitglied des Parlamentarischen Rats, 1949 erster Präsident der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 30f.
- Hill, Russel J., Journalist, 1945–1946 Berlin bureau of *Herald Tribune*, 1947–1948 Editorial staff of *Herald Tribune*, 195f., 172
- Hilldring, John H., Maj. General, 1943–Apr. 1946 Director CAD War Department, Apr. 1946 Assistant Secretary of State for Occupied Areas, 20, 43, 47, 136, 279, 284, 351
- Hillman, Sidney, Gewerkschaftsführer, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, 156
- Hilpert, Werner, hessischer Finanzminister und stellvertretender Ministerpräsident, 273
- Himmler, Heinrich, ehemaliger Reichsführer SS, im Nürnberger Kriegsverbrecherprozeß am 1.10. 1946 zum Tode verurteilt, 58, 344
- Hitler, Adolf, 1933–1945 deutscher Reichkanzler, 30.4.1945 Selbstmord, 4, 55f., 68, 70–74, 88, 120f., 128, 148, 166, 177, 190f., 259, 325
- Hobbs, William H., Professor of Geology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1941–1945 Adviser to OSS, 249
- Hoch, Fritz, Regierungspräsident von Kassel, 79, 90
- Hoegner, Wilhelm, Sept.1945–Dez.1946 bayerischer Ministerpräsident, Dez. 1946 –Sept.1947 Stellvertretender Ministerpräsident und bayerischer Justizminister, 12, 108–110, 119, 128, 142, 148, 152f., 160f., 164, 167, 181f., 184, 190f., 208f., 219, 228f., 246f., 250f., 270, 273, 280, 349
- Hoffman, Paul G., 1948 Chief of Economic Cooperation Administration, 333
- Holmer, Hans W., Colonel, 1946 Acting Director, 1947–1948 Director Transport Division OMGUS, 324
- Hoover, Herbert C., ehem. Präsident der Vereinigten Staaten, 1946 coordination of world food supplies, 1947 Head of Mission to Study Germany's Food Supply and Economic Situation of Germany and Austria, 32, 188–192, 199, 303, 337
- Hopper, Bruce C., Professor for History, Official Historian US Strategic Forces Europe (Historian for General Spaatz), 83
- Hornbeck, Stanley K., 1944–1947 US Ambassador in Den Haag, 258
- Hornbeck, Mrs. Stanley K., 258
- Howard, Roy W., Editor and Publisher, Scripps-Howard Newspapers Company, 249, 251
- Howley, Frank L., Colonel/Brig. General, Jul. 1945–1949 US Dep. Commander on Berlin Allied Commandatura and Director OMGBS Berlin, 58f., 329
- Hubbard, Phil H., 1945–1946 amerikanischer Konsul in Zürich, 196
- Huebner, Clarence R., Maj. General, 1947 Lt. General, Commanding General US Army Europe, 303, 305

- Hughes, Guy E., Colonel, 1946–1948 Chief Food, Agriculture & Forestry Division, British Control Commission for Germany, Department Chief BICO, 273
- Humphrey, Don D., Deputy Director Economic Division OMGUS, 309
- Hundhammer, Alois, seit Dez. 1946 bayerischer Kultusminister, 325
- Ingrams, William, 1945–1947 Assistant Secretary of Allied Control Commission for Germany, British Element, Berlin, 145, 262
- Jamison, Charles L., Professor of Business Administration and Business Policy, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 160, 372
- Jefferson, Thomas, Präsident der Vereinigten Staaten 1801–1809, 252
- Jeffries, E. J., Jr., Mayor City of Detroit, Kandidat der Republikaner bei den Wahlen in den USA 1946, 187
- Jeffer, Charles R., Captain, Deputy Commander of US Naval Force Germany and Commander Navel Base Weser River, seit März 1947 Deputy Director of OMGBR Bremen, 320
- Jensen, Clarence G., Colonel, Government Structure and Administration Branch USGCC/OMGUS, ab Okt. 1945 RGCO Stuttgart (Staff Pollock), 52f., 87, 100f.
- Johnson, Charles T., Colonel, 1945 Regional Government Officer for Hessen-Nassau Marburg, 69
- Johnson, Edd, Journalist, *Chicago Sun*, 172
- Jones, Howard P., Lt. Colonel, Government Structure and Administration Branch USGCC/OMGUS, ab Okt. 1945 Executive Officer RGCO Stuttgart (Staff Pollock), 1946–1948 Chief Public Finance Branch, Finance Division OMGUS, 48, 67, 86
- Juin, Alphonse Pierre, Maréchal de France, bis Mai 1947 französischer Generalstabschef, ab Mai 1947 Generalresident in Marokko, 125
- Kahn, Reuben L., Professor of Bacteriology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 93f.
- Kahn, Mrs. Reuben L., 94
- Kaisen, Wilhelm, seit Aug. 1945 Erster Bürgermeister von Bremen, 1947 Senatspräsident von Bremen, 92, 108, 164, 166, 321
- Kane, William M., Major, Executive Officer RGCO Stuttgart (Staff Pollock), 127, 311
- Keating, Frank A., Maj. General, bis 1947 Assistant to Clay, März–Dez. 1947 Deputy Military Governor for Germany, 78, 81, 236, 238
- Keil, Wilhelm, 1946–1952 Landtagspräsident von Württemberg-Baden, Abgeordneter im Parlamentarischen Rat, 314
- Keitel, Wilhelm, ehemaliger Generalfeldmarschall und Chef des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht, im Nürnberger Kriegsverbrecherprozeß am 1.10.1946 zum Tode verurteilt, 149
- Kennedy, Edward F., 1948–1949 Special Adviser to OMGBY, 315
- Kerr, Walter B., Journalist, *New York Herald Tribune*, Chief Paris Bureau, 231, 238, 375
- Keyes, Geoffrey, Lt. General, 1945–1946 Commanding General of 7th Army Heidelberg, 109f., 114, 117f., 125, 127, 163, 183, 216
- Kirkpatrick, Helen P., Journalistin, 1946 *New York Post* in Paris, 279
- Klett, Arnulf, Oberbürgermeister von Stuttgart, 314
- Knapton, Brig. General, British Military Government, 320
- Knoering, Waldemar Freiherr von, Vorsitzender der bayerischen SPD, 280
- Köhler, Erich, Juni 1947–Sept. 1949 Präsident des Wirtschaftsrats, 311
- Köhler, Heinrich, Sept. 1945 Leitung der Verwaltung von Nordbaden, 1946 Wirtschaftsminister, danach Finanzminister und stellvertretender Ministerpräsident von Württemberg-Baden, 117, 313
- Koeltz, Louis-Marie, General, bis Juni 1946 stellvertr. französischer Militärgouverneur, französ. Mitglied im Coordinating Committee of ACC, 236, 240

- Koenig, Pierre-Marie Joseph, Lt. General, französischer Militärgouverneur und Oberbefehlshaber der franz. Besatzungstruppen in Deutschland, franz. Mitglied des Aliierten Kontrollrats, 60, 63, 123, 142, 169, 171, 326f., 334–337, 339, 344
- Kolb, Josef Otto, Erzbischof von Bamberg, 70, 72
- Kopf, Hinrich Wilhelm, Mai 1945 Regierungspräsident von Hannover, Sept. 1945 Oberpräsident von Hannover, Aug. 1946 Ministerpräsident von Hannover, Nov. 1946 Ministerpräsident von Niedersachsen, 153, 166, 185, 198, 217f., 229, 320
- LaFollette, Charles M., Congressman, Dez. 1947–1948 Director OMGWB Stuttgart, 314
- Lamb, Miss, Berlin 1947, 284
- Landin, Harold W., Major, Juli–Dez. 1945 Civil Administration and Local Government Section OMGHE, Dez. 1945–1947 Director CAD OMGHE Wiesbaden, 114, 147
- Lange, Richard, Professor, Dekan der rechts- und wirtschaftswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Jena, 227, 229
- Laski, Melvin J., Lieutenant, OMGUS Berlin, ab 1946 freier Journalist, 272
- de Lattre de Tassigny, Jean, General, Oberbefehlshaber der französischen Besatzungstruppen in Deutschland, 177
- Laun, Rudolf von, Professor für Völkerrecht, Rektor der Universität Hamburg, 321
- Lawson, Reader in Comperative Law, Oxford, 337
- Lehr, Robert, stellvertretender Oberpräsident, Okt. 1945–Aug. 1946 Oberpräsident der Nordrheinprovinz, 153, 229
- LeMay, Curtis E., Lt. General, Commanding General of the American Air Force in Europe, Aug. 1945 Chief of Staff US Army Strategic Air Force, Okt. 1945 assigned to Headquarters, 1948 Commanding General Strategic Air Command, 308
- Lewis, Chester B., Major, 1945–1946 Administration and Local Government Officer OMGWB, 1946 Liaison Officer OMGWB to RGCO Stuttgart, 1946–1948 Director CAD OMGWB Stuttgart, 314
- Lewis, John L., Gewerkschaftsführer, United Coal Miners, 375
- Ley, Robert, Leiter der Deutschen Arbeitsfront 1933–1945, 25.10.1945 Selbstmord, 119
- Lichty, Backer, Arzt Ann Arbor, 155
- Lightner, Edwin A. Jr., 1945–1948 Division of Central European Affairs, State Department Washington, 253f.
- Lincoln, Abraham, Präsident der Vereinigten Staaten 1861–1865, 155
- Linde, Ernest, Information and Reports Officer RGCO Stuttgart (Staff Pollock), 1947–1948 Chief Secretariat of US Chairman BICO 253f., 257f., 273, 311
- Lingham, John, Brig. General, 1945–1949 British Military Government, 1948 Resident Commissioner Hannover, 320
- Lippmann, Walter, Journalist, *New York Herald Tribune*, *Time*, *Life*, *Fortune*, 129, 181, 217, 225f., 238, 318
- Lippmann, Mrs. Walter, 181
- Litchfield, Anne, Ehefrau von Edward H. Litchfield, 286, 291
- Litchfield, Edward H., Political Scientist, Ende 1945–1946 Special Adviser to Ambassador Murphy, 1946–1947 Deputy Director, 1947–1949 Director CAD OMGUS Berlin, 19, 22, 30f., 111, 124, 127, 138, 140f., 198, 200, 212, 222f., 242–244, 271, 281f., 285f., 290–292, 304f., 307f., 310, 323, 330
- Lloyd, Charles E., Lieutenant, 1945–1946 Liaison Officer OMGHE to RGCO Stuttgart, 1948 MG Officer Darmstadt, 312
- Looney, Colonel, 1945 USGCC Headquarters Hoechst, 47f., 52, 54, 66
- Louis, Alexander, 1945 MG Darmstadt
- Lovell, Sam, 24, 335, 343
- Lovett, Robert A., Juni 1947–Jan. 1948 Undersecretary of State, 303
- Lubahn, Johannes, Bodenreformer, 185

- Lubin, Isador, American Member of Allied Reparations Commission (Staff Pauley), 61
 Luce, Henry R., Editor and Publisher, Founder and Editor-in-Chief of *Time*, *Life*,
Fortune, 187, 193–196
 Ludwig I., König von Bayern, 73
 Lüdemann, Hermann, Mai 1947–Aug. 1949 Ministerpräsident von Schleswig-Holstein,
 322
 Luther, Hans, deutscher Reichskanzler 1925–1926, ehemaliger Botschafter und Reichs-
 bankpräsident, 173
 Lyons, Grant, 203
- MacArthur, Douglas, General of the Army, Supreme Commander of Allied Forces
 S. W. Pacific, Aug. 1945 Allied Supreme Commander, Commander of US Occupation
 Forces Japan, 193, 224
 Mahder, Carl A., Major, Liaison Officer on Economics RGCO Stuttgart (Staff Pollock),
 162, 171, 176, 185, 194, 221
 Maier, Reinhold, Ministerpräsident von Württemberg-Baden, 29f., 108–110, 117, 119,
 128f., 142, 152f., 160f., 164, 167, 181f., 184, 187, 189f., 208f., 219, 224, 228, 250f.,
 264, 270, 273, 279, 283, 295, 314, 316f., 319, 349
 Maltzan, Vollrath Freiherr von, Ministerialdirektor, Leiter der Abteilung Außenhandel
 und Interzonenhandel im großhessischen Wirtschaftsministerium, ab Juli 1946 Bevoll-
 mächtigter für den Interzonenhandel beim Länderrat, 265
 Maltzan, Adolf Georg Otto (Ago), Freiherr zu Wartenberg und Penzlin, ehemaliger
 Staatssekretär und Deutscher Botschafter in Washington, 265
 Mann, Matt, Schwimm-Trainer, Ann Arbor, 198f., 217, 226
 Marcus, David, Colonel, Executive Officer of General Echols, Sept. 1945–Apr. 1946
 Chief of Staff to General Clay, 65, 97, 144f.
 Marley, Cuthbert David, Brig. General, British Military Government, 1945–1946 British
 Chairman of US/UK Coal Control Group Essen, 259
 Marshall, George C., Maj. General, 21. Jan. 1947–Jan. 1949 Secretary of State, 20f., 24,
 26, 280–282, 284, 290, 293–295, 380
 Marshall, Samuel L. A., Lt. Colonel, Apr. 1945–May 1946 Office of the European
 Theater Historian, 129
 Martin, Father, Chaplain of the Theater USFET, 199
 Massigli, René, 1948 französischer Botschafter in London, 339
 Mathieu, französische Militärregierung Baden-Baden, 188
 Matthews, H. Freeman, Director of European Affairs Division, State Department, Polit-
 ical Adviser to Council of Foreign Ministers, 128, 275
 Maxwell, Sir Alexander, 1938–1948 Secretary of the Home Office, London, 338
 McCloy, John J., General, bis 1945 Assistant Secretary of War, Febr. 1947–Apr. 1949
 President of World Bank, 31
 McCormick, Anne O'Hare, Journalistin, *New York Times* und *Chicago Herald Tribune*,
 129
 McLean, Donald S., Lt. Colonel, CAD Department of War, Washington, Okt.
 1945–1948 Special Assistant to Clay, 336f.
 McNarney, Joseph T., General, Nov. 1945–März 1947 US Military Governor for Ger-
 many and Commander-in-Chief European Command, US Member of Allied Control
 Council (Nachfolger von Eisenhower), 126–129, 134, 145, 171, 183, 189, 192, 213–216,
 223, 237, 253, 262, 264, 274, 280, 283, 288, 291f., 294f., 378, 380
 McNarney, Mrs. Joseph T., 295
 McSherry, Frank J., Brig. General, 1944–1945 G–5 SHAEF, Juli 1945–1946 Director of
 Manpower Division OMGUS Berlin, seit 1946 Labor Consultant, 156
 Meade, Frank C., Brig. General, IA&C Division USGCC bis Juni 1945, dann CAD
 OMGUS Berlin, 56, 116

- Meader, George S., Congressman, 1945–1947 Councilor of Special US Senate Committee Investigating National Defense Program, Washington, 285
- Meisel, James H., 1945 Lecturer, 1947 Assistant Professor for Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 294, 297
- Menzel, Walter, 1945–1946 Generalreferent für Allgemeine Verwaltung bei der Provinzialregierung Westfalen, ab Aug. 1946 Innenminister und stellvertretender Ministerpräsident von Nordrhein-Westfalen, 318, 320
- Merrill, Eugene H., Chief of Communications Branch, IA&C Division OMGUS Berlin, 240
- Mettger, H. Philip, 1946–1947 Special Adviser to RGCO Stuttgart (Staff Pollock), 1947–1948 Chief Legislation Branch CAD OMGUS, 157, 177, 181, 185, 224, 228, 323
- Mickelsen, Stanley R., Colonel/Brig. General, 1945–1946 Director PoW&DP Division OMGUS, ab März 1946 G-5 USFET (Nachfolger von Adcock), 179, 279
- Milburn, Bryan L., Brig. General, Chief of Staff USGCC, Juli 1945–Okt. 1946 Director of Administrative Service OMGUS, ab Okt. 1946 Chief of Staff Office of DMG OMGUS, 47f., 145, 191, 343
- Moehlman, Arthur B., Professor of School Administration and Supervision, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 59
- Molotow, Wjatscheslaw Michajlowitsch, sowjetischer Außenminister, 235
- Montgomery of Alamein, Sir Bernard L., 1. Viscount, Fieldmarshall, 1945–1946 British Military Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the British Occupation Forces in Germany, British Member of Allied Control Council, 1946–1948 Chef des britischen Generalstabs, 60, 63, 143, 169, 171, 344
- Monty siehe Montgomery
- Morgan, Carlyle, Journalist, *Christian Science Monitor*, 105
- Morgenthau, Henry J. Jr., 1934–Juli 1945 amerikanischer Finanzminister, 69, 236
- Morris, Brewster H., Foreign Service Officer, 1944–1948 Staff of Political Adviser for US Military Government in Germany (Staff Murphy) OMGUS Berlin, 281
- Mosely, Philip E., 1942–1946 Division of Political and Territorial Studies State Department, 1945–46 Political Adviser to European Advisory Commission in London and Council of Foreign Ministers, 55
- Mott, Rodney L., Professor for Political Science, Lt. Colonel, OMGUS Berlin, 94
- Mowrer, Edgar Ansel, Journalist, Advisory Council *New York Post*, Member of Society for the Prevention of World War III, 165, 169, 275
- Muccio, John J., Foreign Service Officer, 1945–1947 Member of American Mission to Germany, Political Division USGCC/OMGUS, 49f.
- Muelder, Milton E., Lieutenant, 1945 Analytical Section of Political Division, USGCC, 49
- Müller, Josef, Vorsitzender der CSU, ab Sept. 1947 Justizminister und stellvertretender Ministerpräsident von Bayern, 280, 315, 362
- Mueller, Rudolf, 1945–1946 Wirtschaftsminister von Großhessen, 191, 280
- Muir, Malcolm, Publisher and Editor of *Newsweek*, 195
- Muller, Walter J., Brig. General, 1945–1947 Director OMGBY München, 119, 148, 167f., 201f., 246, 249, 270, 280, 289
- Murphy, Robert D., Ambassador, 1944–1948 Political Adviser for Germany Supreme Headquarters, 1945–1948 Director of Political Affairs/Political Division USGCC/OMGUS Berlin, 2, 17, 43, 47–57, 63, 65, 67, 69f., 80–84, 86, 91, 97f., 100, 102–104, 109–113, 123f., 127f., 130, 142, 145f., 167–170, 180f., 190, 194f., 206–208, 211f., 214, 226, 228, 230, 235, 237, 248f., 253, 269–271, 281f., 285f., 291–295, 302f., 305f., 316f., 319, 323, 330, 344, 348f.
- Murphy, Mrs. Robert D., 293
- Myers, Rowland, 1948 CAD OMGUS, 310, 315,

- Nawiasky, Hans, Professor für Staatsrecht, St. Gallen, Sachverständiger im bayerischen Vorbereitenden Verfassungsausschuß, 184
- Neurath, Konstantin Freiherr von, ehemaliger Reichsaußenminister, im Nürnberger Kriegsverbrecherprozeß am 1. 10. 1946 zu 15 Jahren Haft verurteilt, 147
- Newman, James R., Colonel, Director OMGHE Wiesbaden, 114, 147, 271, 283, 288, 296, 309, 317f., 328
- Nichol, Francis David, Journalist, Editor, *Review and Herald*, 331
- Niles, John S., Colonel, Director Transport Division OMGUS, 173, 213, 284
- Nischalke, Martin, 1945 Regierungspräsident von Wiesbaden, 114
- Noble, Dale, Director CAD OMGHE Wiesbaden, 323
- Noiret, Roger, General, ab Juni 1946 stellvertretender französischer Militärgouverneur in Deutschland (Nachfolger von Koeltz), 280f., 292, 329
- Nordmeyer, Henry W., Professor of German, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1945/46 Chairman of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, 124
- Nordmeyer, Mrs. Henry W., 124
- O'Donnell, Journalist, *Newsweek*, 223
- O'Flaherty, Hal, Journalist, *Chicago Daily News*, 275
- Onthank, Arthur H., Colonel, 1945–1946 Personnel Officer OMGUS Berlin, 183
- Oppenheimer, Fritz E., Lt. Colonel, Legal Adviser to Clay on Denazification, 1946–1948 Office of Legal Adviser to Secretary of State, 160f., 182, 186, 194, 199
- O'Reagen, Journalist, *United Press*, 189, 332
- Ostrander, Taylor, Chief Price Formation Branch, Economic Division OMGUS Berlin, 266f.
- Pabsch, Anton F., Lieutenant, Economic Adviser RGCO Stuttgart, 165
- Panuch, J. Anthony, 1947–1949 Special Adviser on Administrative Questions to Commander-in-Chief, 308, 333
- Papen, Franz von, deutscher Reichskanzler 1932, im Nürnberger Kriegsverbrecherprozeß am 1.10.1946 freigesprochen, 147, 149
- Parker, John J., Judge, Sept. 1945–1946 US Judge on the International Military Tribunal Nürnberg, Deputy of Judge Biddle, 149
- Parkman, Henry J., Brig. General, Apr.–Dez. 1946 Director CAD OMGUS Berlin, 1946–1947 Special Adviser on Government Affairs to Clay, 211, 228, 251
- Parks, Floyd L., Maj. General, July–Oct. 1945 Berlin US City Commandant, Dez. 1945–1948 Chief Public Information Division War Department Washington, 58, 101, 292
- Pasvolski, Leo, Wirtschaftsexperte, 95
- Patton, George S., General, Aug. 1945 Commanding General Eastern Military District US-Zone, ab April 1946 Commanding General 3rd US Army, 69, 78, 81, 125, 136, 289
- Paul, Rudolf, Präsident der Landesverwaltung von Thüringen, 227–230
- Pauley, Edwin W., 1945–1947 Special Ambassador for Reparations, Special Adviser to Secretary of State, Sept. 1947–Febr. 1948 Special Assistant to Secretary of the Army, 61, 344
- Pearson, Lt. Colonel, 1946 British Military Government, 256
- Pepper, Claude D., 1936–1951 US Senator for Florida, 87
- Perkins, John A., 1946/1947 Assistant Professor for Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1946–48 Budget Director of the State of Michigan, 160
- Petersen, Rudolf, Mai 1945–Nov. 1946 Erster Bürgermeister von Hamburg, 166, 184, 321
- Pfeiffer, Anton, 1945–Juli 1946 Staatssekretär beim bayerischen Ministerpräsidenten, Juli–Dez. 1946 Sonderminister für Entnazifizierung, ab Dez. 1946 Leiter der bayerischen Staatskanzlei, 148, 161f., 219, 243, 246f., 273, 280, 314

- Phelps, Robert K., Colonel, 1945–1946 Department Director OMGHE Frankfurt, 1947–1948 BICO Frankfurt, 79, 81, 288
- Pieck, Wilhelm, ab April 1946 gemeinsam mit Grotewohl Vorsitzender der SED, Mitglied des ZK und des Politbüros der SED, 283
- Pollock, Agnes M., Ehefrau von James K. Pollock, 11 f., 16, 21, 24–27, 29, 33–38, 44 f., 48, 50, 54, 56, 59, 62, 64, 66, 69, 71, 75, 78, 81 f., 84, 89, 92 f., 96, 100 f., 103, 106 f., 110, 112, 114 f., 117 f., 120–123, 125–132, 134, 136–138, 140 f., 143, 146, 149, 151, 154 f., 157 f., 160, 162, 165, 167, 169–172, 174 f., 178, 180, 186 f., 189, 191, 195, 201, 206, 212, 214, 217, 221, 226, 230, 237, 242, 245, 249 f., 252, 255, 258, 263, 265, 268 f., 284–298, 305, 310, 312, 315 f., 319, 323–325, 327, 330–332, 334, 337, 340–342, 345, 349
- Pollock, Anne A., Tochter von James K. Pollock, 33, 155, 221
- Pollock, Ella M., Mutter von James K. Pollock, 13, 27, 29, 33, 36 f., 43–45, 76, 86, 138, 141, 155, 170, 221, 227, 245, 260, 265
- Pollock, Hoke, Major, Wiesbaden, 53, 59
- Pollock, James Kerr, Professor for Political Science University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1935 amerikanischer Vertreter in der Volksabstimmungskommission des Völkerbunds für das Saargebiet, 1935–1937 Vorsitz Michigan Civil Service Commission, 1942–1943 Unterricht an der Provost Marshal General's School, 1943–1945 Unterricht an Civil Affairs Training School und Judge Advocate General's School of the Army in Ann Arbor, 1945–1946, 1947 u. 1948 Tätigkeit für die amerikanische Militärregierung in Deutschland im Rang eines Colonel: Juli–Okt. 1945 Chief Government Structure and Administration Branch, CAD USGCC/OMGUS Berlin, Okt. 1945–Aug. 1946 Director RGCO Stuttgart and Senior Representative of Deputy Military Governor, 1947 und 1948 Inspection Trips through the Western Zones of Occupation as Special Adviser to Clay. Einzelne Seitenzahlen werden nicht genannt, da alles von Pollock selbst geschrieben ist; die Briefe an seine Frau, an seine Mutter und an seine Schwester sind unter den jeweiligen Namen aufgeführt.
- Pollock, Schwester von James K. Pollock, 36, 43, 115, 170, 227, 260
- Pollock, Robert N., Sohn von James K. Pollock, 34, 36, 44, 221, 260
- Pollock, Sir (Frederick) John, Schriftsteller und Journalist, 1940 Associate Editor of *France*, the London French Daily, 272, 340
- Poole, DeWitt Clinton, Diplomat, 1945 Special Representative of Secretary of State on Mission to Germany, 83 f.
- Potter, Colonel, Statistics Branch, OMGUS Berlin, 189
- Price, Byron, 1945 on Special Mission to Germany as Personal Representative of the President, 129, 156
- Prittitz und Gaffron, Friedrich W. von, ehemaliger deutscher Botschafter in Washington, ab 1946 stellvertr. Vorsitzender der CSU-Fraktion im Bayerischen Landtag, 185
- Pünder, Hermann, ehemaliger Staatssekretär in der Reichskanzlei, Okt. 1945–1948 Oberbürgermeister von Köln, 1948–1949 Oberdirektor des Verwaltungsrats des Vereinigten Wirtschaftsgebiets der Bizone, 311
- Pulvermacher, RGCO Stuttgart (Staff Pollock), 194
- Radbruch, Gustav, Professor für Strafrecht und Rechtsphilosophie, ehemaliger Reichsjustizminister (SPD), 109
- Rand, 308
- Rand, Emily Laura, Rands Ehefrau und Tochter von General Franklin, 308
- Rath, Wilhelm, 1946 Mitglied der Verfassungsgebenden Versammlung in Württemberg-Baden, Nov. 1946–Aug. 1949 Mitglied des württemberg-badischen Landtags, 279
- Reache, Major, französischer Verbindungsoffizier, 116
- Reese, Robert A., Lt. Colonel, 1945 Department Director OMGBY München, 75
- Reichard, Hans, 1945 Regierungspräsident von Ansbach, 70, 72
- Reichart, Walter A., Professor for German, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 140 f.

- Reid, Helen Rogers, Mrs. Ogden Mills Reid, 214
- Reid, Ogden Mills, Owner of the *New York Herald Tribune*, President of *New York Tribune Inc.* and *Mills Estate Inc.*, verstorben Januar 1947, 214
- Reuter, Ernst, Professor, Vorsitzender der SPD Berlin, 1947 zum Oberbürgermeister von Berlin gewählt, jedoch von SMAD abgelehnt, Amt erst nach Teilung der Stadt 1948 in West-Berlin angetreten, 282
- Reynaud, Paul, Nov. 1947–Jul. 1948 französischer Finanzminister, 335
- Ribbentrop, Joachim von, ehemaliger Reichsaußenminister, im Nürnberger Kriegsverbrecherprozeß am 1.10.1946 zum Tode verurteilt, 147
- Riddleberger, James W., 1944–1947 Director Division of Central European Affairs State Department, Okt. 1947–1949 Director Office of Political Affairs OMGUS, 56f., 207, 283
- Robbins, G. B., 1948 Chief Executive Branch, Armed Forces Division OMGUS, 332
- Robertson, Sir Brian H., Lt. General, Deputy British Military Governor for Germany, British Control Commission for Germany, 145, 169, 234–237, 261, 281, 304, 327
- Robinson, Colonel, British Military Government Minden, 179, 262
- Robson, William A., Professor of Public Administration London, 339f.
- Rommel, Witwe des Feldmarschalls Rommel, 128
- Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, Präsident der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika 1933–1945, 93, 191, 373
- Rosmistrov, 280
- Ross, Dennison, Brig. General, British Military Government, 240
- Roßmann, Erich, seit Dez. 1945 Generalsekretär des Länderrats, 19, 135, 151f., 155, 167, 176, 186, 188, 191f., 199, 205, 215, 227, 230, 251f., 256, 272f., 279, 314
- Royall, Kenneth C., Nov. 1945–July 1947 Undersecretary of War, Juli 1947–1949 Secretary of the Army, 301f.
- Rude, 240
- Rupprecht, Kronprinz von Bayern, 148
- Ruthven, Alexander G., Professor for Zoology, President of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 43, 302
- Sabatier, Maurice, 1944–1948 Generaldirektor der Verwaltung der französischen Militärregierung in Deutschland, ab 1948 Berater des französischen Militärgouverneurs, 313
- Saltzman, Charles E., Juli 1947–1949 Assistant Secretary of State for Occupied Areas, State Department, Washington, 336
- Sauckel, Fritz, ehemalige Reichsstatthalter von Thüringen und Generalbevollmächtigter für den Arbeitseinsatz, im Nürnberger Kriegsverbrecherprozeß am 1.10.1946 zum Tode verurteilt, 147
- Sayre, Joel G., Journalist, *The New Yorker*, 88
- Scammon, Richard M., 1. Lieutenant, 1945–1946 Administration and Local Government Officer OMGWB Stuttgart, 1946–1948 CAD OMGUS Berlin, 75
- Schacht, Hjalmar, ehemaliger Reichswirtschaftsminister und Reichsbankpräsident, im Nürnberger Kriegsverbrecherprozeß am 1.10.1946 freigesprochen, jedoch von deutschen Behörden bis 1948 inhaftiert, 149
- Schäffer, Fritz, Mai–Sept. 1945 bayerischer Ministerpräsident und Finanzminister, 73
- Scharf, Kapitän der *Europa*, 81
- Schlange-Schöningen, Hans, Zentralamt für Ernährung der britischen Zone, ab 1947 Direktor der Verwaltung für Ernährung und Landwirtschaft im Vereinigten Wirtschaftsgebiet, 235
- Schmidt siehe *Adams Schmidt*
- Schmitt, Heinrich, (KPD) bis Juli 1946 Minister für Entnazifizierung in Bayern, 246f.

- Schukow, Georgij Konstantinowitsch, Marschall, bis 1946 sowjetischer Militärgouverneur und Oberkommandierender der sowjetischen Besatzungstruppen in Deutschland, 60, 63, 91, 95, 98, 102, 105, 123, 169, 344
- Schumacher, Kurt, Vorsitzender der SPD in der britischen Zone, ab 10.7.1946 Vorsitzender des Zonenbeirats der britischen Zone, 184, 255f., 307
- Schuman, Robert, 1946–1947 französischer Finanzminister, 1947–1948 Ministerpräsident, ab Juli 1948 französischer Außenminister, 335
- Scott, John, Journalist, *Time* and *Life*, 105, 284
- Scripscinski, Leo, Leiter der Zentralverwaltung für Industrie in der SBZ, 105
- Seddon, Herbert and Mary, Oxford, 337
- Seelos, Gebhard, Ministerialrat/Ministerialdirektor/Staatsrat, Ständiger Vertreter Bayerns beim Länderrat, ab 1947 Vertreter Bayerns im Wirtschaftsrat, 136, 151, 174, 185, 188, 199, 215, 230, 251, 311
- Semjonow, Wladimir Semjonowitsch, Diplomat, 1945 Stellvertreter, ab 1946 Politischer Berater der Sowjetischen Militäradministration in Deutschland im Range eines Generalobersten, Stellvertreter von Sokolowski im Kontrollrat, 211
- Sewall, Sumner, ab Mai 1946 Director IA&C Division OMGUS, Nov. 1946–Dez. 1947 Director OMGWB Stuttgart, 222, 244, 314
- Sheehan, Francis E., Lt. Colonel, Deputy Director OMGHE Wiesbaden, 328f.
- Shirer, William L., Journalist, Columbia Broadcasting System, 1947 Mutual Network, 319
- Sievekings, Kurt, Senatssyndikus in Hamburg, 322
- Simson, 282
- Sitzler, Friedrich Georg, ehemaliger Ministerialdirektor im Reichsarbeitsministerium, 115
- Slack, General, Army Commander for Berchtesgaden, 120, 125
- Smith, Luther Stevens, Brig. General, Director CAD USGCC/OMGUS, June 1945–Aug. 1946 Chief Liaison and Protocol Allied Control Authority OMGUS, 47f., 51, 54, 58–67, 69, 78, 80–82, 84, 87–91, 95–98, 104, 113, 124, 282
- Smith, Walter Bedell, Lt. General, 1944–1945 Chief of Staff SHAEF, June–Dec. 1945 USFET, 1946–1949 US Ambassador in Moskau, 281
- Snyder, Lieutenant, aide to General Luther Stevens Smith, 47
- Snyder, John W., Member of Congress, Chairman of the Military Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, June 1946 Secretary of the Treasury, 91
- Sobolew, Arkadij A., Botschafter, bis 1946 Politischer Berater der Sowjetischen Militäradministration in Deutschland, 95, 98, 102, 144, 211
- Sokolowskij, Wasilij Danilowitsch, General, bis 1946 stellvertretender sowjetischer Militärgouverneur in Deutschland, ab 1946 sowjetischer Militärgouverneur in Deutschland, 1947 Marschall der Sowjetunion, 143f., 152, 168f., 211f., 235, 281, 291, 381
- Spaatz, Carl, General, 1945 Commander-in-Chief US Strategic Air Force, Oct. 1945 Headquarters Army Air Force, 83
- Springer, Robert M., Colonel, 1945 Deputy Theater Judge Advocate ETO, 1946–1947 UN War Crime Commission London, 1948–1949 Judge Advocate Fifth Army, 79
- Sproul, Robert G., President of the University of California, Berkeley, 1945 Adviser to American Group on Allied Reparations Commission, 61
- Staas, Hans, Leiter der Präsidialkanzlei der thüringischen Landesverwaltung, 227, 229
- Stalin, Josef Wissarionowitsch, Generalsekretär des Zentralkomitees der KPdSU, 61, 102, 344, 373
- Starnes, Joe, Colonel, 1945 Military Adviser to Pollock, 60, 68, 72, 75, 80, 91, 107
- Stegerwald, Adam, ehemaliger Reichsarbeitsminister und Vorsitzender der Christlichen Gewerkschaften, 1945 Regierungspräsident von Mainfranken, Mitbegründer der CSU, 70, 72

- Steidle, Hans, Professor, ab März 1946 Präsident der Oberpostdirektion München, 205, 208
- Steltzer, Theodor, Oberpräsident, ab Aug. 1946 Ministerpräsident von Schleswig-Holstein, 205
- Stimson, Henry L., 1940–Sept. 1945 Secretary of War, 301
- Stock, Christian, ab Dez. 1946 Ministerpräsident von (Groß)Hessen, 279, 283, 288, 295, 317, 328f.
- Story, Colonel, 116
- Stout, Rex T., Society to Prevent World War III, 249
- Strang, Sir William, Ambassador, 1945–1947 Political Adviser to British Military Government in Germany, ab 1947 Permanent Undersecretary of the Foreign Office, German Section, 55–57, 235, 336, 344f.
- Streicher, Julius, ehemaliger Herausgeber von *Der Stürmer*, im Nürnberger Kriegsverbrecherprozeß am 1.10.1946 zum Tode verurteilt, 149
- Streik, 49
- Stringer, Ann, Journalistin, United Press, 232
- Sturgis, Captain, Public Safety Officer, 175
- Sublette, Don, Personnel Technician Detroit, 266
- Sulzberger, Arthur H., President and Director of New York Times Company, 249, 251
- Sundquist, James L., 1947–1948 Director of Management Control Office of CINCEUCOM, Juni 1948 Control Office ECA, 330
- Sverdrup, Leif J., Maj. General, 1945 Chief Engineer Overseas Southwest Pacific, 1947 Commanding General 102d Reserve Infantry Division, 279, 331
- Symczak, Menc S., Chief Trade & Commerce Branch, Economic Division OMGUS, 1947 Director Economic Division OMGUS Berlin, Special Adviser on Finance to Clay, 284
- Tantzen, Theodor, Regierungspräsident von Oldenburg, Mitglied des Zonenbeirats, 11.1.1947 verstorben, 321
- Tarbé de Saint Hardouin, Jacques, französischer Botschafter, politischer Berater der französischen Militärregierung, 145, 169, 318
- Textor, Gordon E., Colonel, 1947–1949 Director Information Control Division OMGUS, 325
- Thomas, Michael A., Captain, British Military Government Headquarters, 164, 184
- Thomas, Samuel M., Colonel, Director Communications and Postal Service USGCC/OMGUS, 82
- Thompson, Craig, Journalist, 1945–1947 Moskau Bureau of *Time Magazine*, seit 1948 free lance writer, 284, 331
- Tierman, Father, Chaplain of the Theater, 199
- Tito, Josip (Broz), Marschall, Ministerpräsident von Jugoslawien, 83
- Tittman, Harold H., Foreign Service Officer, 1941–1946 Assistant to Personal Representative of the President to the Vatican, Rom, 211
- Tobey, James, Lt. Colonel, 1945 OMGWB, 121
- Towe, Major, 1945 bei G-5 USFET, 109
- Trier, Robert, 335
- Trivers, Howard, 30
- Truman, Harry S., seit 12.4.1945 Präsident der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, 43, 61, 75, 102f., 129, 156, 203, 310, 344, 380
- Truscott, Lucian K., Lt. General, ab April 1946 Commanding General Third Army, 183
- Van Wagoner, Murray D., Construction Engineer and former Governor of Michigan, Colonel, 1947–1949 Director of OMGBY München, 99, 282, 305, 314f., 325

Vandenberg, Arthur H., US Senator, Chairman of Committee on Foreign Relations of the US Senate, 1946 Special Congressional Adviser to Secretary Byrnes in Paris 284f.
Vandivert, Journalist, *Life*, 88

Walker, Walton H., Lt. General, ab 1946 Commanding General Fifth Army, 125

Walters, Eugene P., Lt. Colonel, 1946–1948 OMGWB Stuttgart, 1948 OMGWB Karlsruhe, 313

Washington, George, Präsident der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika 1789–1797, 155, 291

Wächtler, Fritz, Gauleiter von Bayreuth, 71f.

Wedel, Emil Graf von, Ministerialrat, Ständiger Vertreter des Landes Hessen beim Länderrat, 151, 159, 188, 215, 230

Wedemeyer, Albert C., Lt. General, 1947–1948 Director Plans and Operations Division of General Staff, 1948 Department Chief of Staff Plans and Operations Division, Department of the Army, Washington, 336

Wegmann, Bernhard, ab 1947 Regierungspräsident von Oldenburg, 320

Weir, Sir Cecil, 1946–1949 Economic Adviser to British Military Governor in Germany, Head of Economic Subdivision of British Control Commission, 281

Weisser, Gerhard, Ministerialdirektor, 1945–1946 Stellvertreter des Ministerpräsidenten von Braunschweig, seit März 1946 Generalsekretär des Zonenbeirats, 256, 322

Welker, Bion D., Lt. Colonel, bis Sept. 1946 Director OMGBR Bremen, 163

Wells, Roger H., Professor for Political Science, 1945–1947 Government Structure and Administration Branch, CAD USGCC/OMGUS, 1948–1949 Deputy Director CAD OMGUS Berlin, 82, 86, 88f., 104, 108f., 113, 124, 285f., 324

Wells, Stella, Ehefrau von Roger Wells, 285f.

West, Charles J., Lt. Colonel, 1947–1948 Liaison Officer OMGWB Heidelberg, 313

Wheeler, Burton K., 1923–1947 US Senator for Montana, 309

White, Beverly, Captain, 1945 MG Officer Hof, OMGBY, 71

Wilhelm, Kronprinz von Preußen, 177, 180

Wilkinson, Lawrence, Banker, Colonel, 1946–1949 Chief Industry Branch, Economic Division OMGUS, 1947 Director Economic Division OMGUS and Economic Adviser to Clay, 261, 333

Will, State Department Washington, 137

Willems, General, bis Apr. 1945 7th Army Heidelberg, 125, 129, 136, 163, 181

Williams, James L., Lt. Colonel, Adjutant to General Milburn,

Wilson, scientific research in US Zone 1946, 240

Wilson, Orlando W., Criminologist, Colonel, Chief Public Safety Branch USGCC/OMGUS bis Dez. 1946, 99, 175, 182, 220

Winant, Frederick, 1945–1946 Acting Director Trade & Commerce Division USGCC/OMGUS, 268

Winning, Charles D., Lt. Colonel, 1945–1947 Director E&CR Division OMGWB, Febr. 1947–Juni 1948 Director of RGCO Stuttgart, 317

Wisner, State Department Washington, 336

Wittwer, Konrad, Staatsrat in der württemberg-badischen Staatskanzlei, 273, 314

Wolcott, Jesse P., Congressman, Republican Representative of Michigan, 89

Wurm, Theophil, Landesbischof von Württemberg, 239

Zimmerman, Orville, Congressman, Democratic Representative of Missouri, 88

Zink, Harold, Professor for Political Science, Major, seit 1945 Special Adviser to Political Division USGCC/OMGUS (bei Murphy), 49, 67