

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 Schlußkomuniqués 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 Oeynhausen, 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[operation] A[dministration] 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*