

Teil I

Occupation Diary and Private Correspondence

From Potsdam to Paris

June 1945 – August 1946

Ann Arbor, June 1, 1945

Dear Folks:¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Love,
James

Department of State, Washington, July, 11, 1945

My Dearest Mother:

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

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

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

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

James

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

Dearest Mother –

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

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

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

*Lovingly,
James*

Paris, July 15, [1945]

My Dearest –

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jim

Frankfurt-Hoechst, July 17, 1945

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

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

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

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

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

My Darling –

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

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

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

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

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

*Love,
Jim*

July 18

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

July 19

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

Hoechst, Germany, July 20, 1945

My Dearest –

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Love and Kisses,
Jim*

July 21

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

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

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

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

July 22

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

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

July 23

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

July 24

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

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

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

My Dearest –

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

July 25

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

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

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

July 26

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

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

Berlin, July 26, 1945

My Dearest –

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Love and Kisses,
Jim*

July 27

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

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

July 28

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

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

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

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

Berlin, July 29, 1945

My dear Family –

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

July 30

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

July 31

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

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

Spent the afternoon at Babelsberg. More later.

August 2

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

August 3

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

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

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

August 4

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

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

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

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

August 5

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

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

Berlin, Aug. 5, 1945

My darling Wife and Children –

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

August 6

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

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

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

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

August 8

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

August 9

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

August 10

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

August 11

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

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

Berlin, Aug. 11, 1945

My dear Wife and Children –

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

August 12

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

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

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

August 14

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

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

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

August 15

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

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

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

Frankfurt, Thurs. Aug. [15]¹²

My Dearest –

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

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

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

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

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

*Hugs & Kisses
Jim*

August 16

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

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

August 17

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

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

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

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

August 18

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

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

August 19

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

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

Regensburg, Aug. 19, 1945

My Dearest –

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Kiss my dear kiddies
Love,
Jim*

August 20

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

August 21

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

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

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

August 22

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

August 24

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

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

Heidelberg, Aug. 24, 1945

My dear Family –

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We will go to Mannheim and Darmstadt to visit Military Government

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

August 25

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

Heidelberg, August 25, 1945

Dearest Mother –

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

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

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

*Love and Kisses,
James*

August 26

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

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

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

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

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

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

Frankfurt, Aug. 26, 1945

My Darling –

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

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

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

August 27–29

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

August 30

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

August 31

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

Visited the submarine plant at Vegesack and the unfinished pens at

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

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

Sept. 1

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

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

Sept. 2

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

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

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

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

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

Berlin, Sept. 2, 1945

My Darling Family –

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Sept. 4

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

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

¹⁶ Familienname von Frau Pollock hschr. hinzugefügt.

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

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

Sept. 5

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

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

Sept. 6

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

Sept. 7

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

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

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

Berlin, Sept. 7, 1945

My Darling Family:

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁹ Nicht ermittelt.

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Love and Kisses,
Jim*

Berlin, Sept. 7, 1945

Dearest Mother:

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

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

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

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
James*

Sept. 8

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

Sept. 9

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

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

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

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

Sept. 10

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

Sept. 11

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

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

Berlin, Sept. 11, 1945

My Sweetheart!

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hugs and Kisses,
Jim

Sept. 13

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

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

Sept. 14

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

Berlin, Sept. 16, 1945

My darling Wifey –

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

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

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Sept. 18

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

Sept. 20

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

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

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

Berlin, Sept. 20, 1945

My Dearest –

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

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

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Sept. 21

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

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

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

Bremen, Sept. 23, 1945

My Darling -

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Sept. 24

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

Sept. 25

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

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

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

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

Sept. 26

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

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

Sept. 27

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

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

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

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

Sept. 28

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

Berlin, Sept. 30, 1945

My Darling Family:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Oct. 1

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

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

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

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

Oct. 2

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

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

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

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

Berlin, Oct. 3, 1945

My Dearest –

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

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Oct. 4

Off to Denmark for a week of change!

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

Oct. 6

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

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

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

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

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

My darling –

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Oct. 10

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

Oct. 11

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

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

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

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

Berlin, Oct. 11, 1945

My Darling Wifey –

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Love,
Jim*

Oct. 12

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

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

Oct. 13

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

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

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

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

[Berlin,] Oct. 13, 1945

My Darling –

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Oct. 14

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

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

Oct. 16

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

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

Berlin, Oct. 16, 1945

My Dearest –

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

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

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

*Love,
Jim*

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

Oct. 17

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Oct. 18

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

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

What busy and eventful two days these have been!

Oct. 19

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

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

²⁹ Ebenda.

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

Berlin, Oct. 19, 1945

My Darling Family:

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

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

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

Hugs and Kisses,

Jim

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

Oct. 20

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

Oct. 21

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

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

Oct. 22

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

Berlin-Dahlem, Oct. 22, 1945

My Darling Wife and Family:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Much Love,

Jim

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

Oct. 24

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

Oct. 25

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

Oct. 26

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

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

Oct. 27

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

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

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

Stuttgart, Oct. 27, 1945

Dear Sister:

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

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

*Love and Kisses,
Jim*

Oct. 28

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

Stuttgart, Oct. 28, 1945

My Darling –

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

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

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

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

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

*Much Love and many, many Kisses,
Jim*

Oct. 30, 1945

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

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

Oct. 31, 1945

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

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

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

Stuttgart, Nov. 2, 1945

My Dearest –

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

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

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

*Love,
Jim*

Nov. 2

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

Nov. 4

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

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

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

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

Stuttgart, Nov. 5, 1945

My Darling Family –

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

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Nov. 6, 1945

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

Nov. 8, 1945

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

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

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

Nov. 10, 1945

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

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

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

Berchtesgaden, Nov. 11, 1945

My Darling –

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

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

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

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Nov. 11

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

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

My Darling –

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

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

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

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

I will write soon again.

*Love n'everything
Jim*

Nov. 16

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

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

Nov. 17

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

Berlin, Nov. 17, 1945

My Darling –

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Nov. 18

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

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

November 19

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

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

Frankfurt, Nov. 20, 1945

My Dearest –

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

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

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

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

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

November 22

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

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

November 25

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

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

Stuttgart, Nov. 27, 1945

My Darling –

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

November 28

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

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

November 29

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

Stuttgart, Dec. 2, 1945

My Darling Wifey –

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

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

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Dec. 3

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

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

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

Dec. 4

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

clarifications of American policy and approving or disapproving their decisions.

Dec. 6

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

Dec. 8

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

Stuttgart, Dec. 9, 1945

My Darling –

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

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Dec. 11

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

Stuttgart, Dec. 11, 1945

My Dearest –

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

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Dec. 14

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

Dec. 15, 1945

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

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

Dec. 15, 1945

*My Dear, Sweet Wife:*³⁹

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

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

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

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

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

Dec. 17, 1945

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

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

Dec. 18

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

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

Dez. 19

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

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

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

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

Stuttgart, Dec. 19, 1945

My Dearest –

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Dec. 20

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

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

Dec. 21

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

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

⁴⁰ Erich Roßmann.

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

Dec. 23

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

Dec. 25

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

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

Lucerne, Christmas Morning

My Darling –

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Big Christmas Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Dec. 28

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

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

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

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

My Darling –

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

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

Love and Kisses,
Jim

Dec. 30

My Sweetheart –

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

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

Hugs and Kisses,
Jim

Stuttgart, Dec. 30, 1945

Dearest Mother –

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

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

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

*Love and Kisses,
James*

Jan. 1, 1946

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

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

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

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

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

Jan. 3, 1946

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

Jan. 6, 1946

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

Stuttgart, Sunday, Jan. 6, 1946

My Sweetheart –

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

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

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

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Stuttgart, Jan. 6, 1946

Dearest Mother –

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

*Hugs and Kisses,
James*

Jan. 8

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

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

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

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

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

Jan. 9

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

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

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

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

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

Jan. 10

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

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

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

Berlin, Jan. 11, 1946

My Darling –

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

*Love and Kisses,
Jim*

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

[Anlage]

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

10 January 1946

Dear Dr. Pollock:

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

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

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

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

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

Jan. 12

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jan. 13

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

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

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

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

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

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

Berlin, Jan. 15, 1946

My Sweetheart –

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

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

*Love and Kisses,
Jim*

Jan. 15

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

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

Jan. 17

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

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

Jan. 20

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

Jan. 24

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

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

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

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

Jan. 26

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

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

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

I received several disquieting reports about the care of internees and about the activities of the Counter Intelligence Corps. I shall have to inquire further.

A great Dürer exhibition in the Hitler-built Haus der deutschen Kunst deserved more time than I was able to give to it. But I did enjoy a performance of Fidelio at the Prinz Regenten Theatre – I'm sorry to say the first opera I have had time to see in seven months in Germany. Something of the old Munich came back to me on these two occasions. But when I saw a GI night club in one part of the great Deutsches Museum and a DP institute in another part, I realized that Munich was still occupied!

Jan. 27

This was election day all over the American zone in the small villages. I drove from Munich to Stuttgart via Fürstenfeldbruck, Augsburg, Leipheim, and Geislingen and visited a number of polling places to watch the voting and to question the officials and the voters. It took me back to 1932 when I last observed a free German election. It was extremely gratifying to note the efficiency of the whole election machinery and the undoubted interest of the German voters. They knew what they were doing and did it with some enthusiasm. We watched the complicated count in Geislingen, in Württemberg where under the law the voters could scratch their tickets, cumulate, and write in names. It was surprising how most of them altered the ballots presented to them in order to express their own individual opinions.

Without question these early elections have been justified. The whole process of government has been speeded up and a sound beginning in the revival of democratic institutions has been made. There is no reason why the later elections cannot come off equally well. The few bugs in the machinery can easily be eliminated before the next round of elections occurs in March.

Stuttgart, Jan. 27, 1946

My Dearest –

I've been in another whirl the past week. I even forget when I last wrote you. The reason is this. We are now in the midst of our first elections and Clay is relying on me to give him first hand information. So last Sunday, a week ago today, I went up to Wiesbaden and other points in Hessen. Then Wednesday I was able to arrange a long-planned trip to the famous Nürnberg trials. Wednesday and Thursday there, and then on to Munich [...]. I drove around to see where we spent happy weeks in a Pension in Munich. Everything blown to bits, I can only sketch what all my impressions were at the trials. There were all of the Nazi leaders – Göring, Hess, Papen, Keitel, Doenitz, Schacht, Streicher and the others –. Several JAG friends oriented me in the preparation and procedure of the Tribunal. Four languages used with automatic mechanical translator earphones; I talked to Judges Parker and Biddle; found another student who was United Press correspondent and he introduced me to his newspaper friends. All very exciting, but I'm not sure what the outcome of the trials will be. You know I would have shot all of them without wasting time on the trials. But we will see. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Jan. 29

During my brief absence from the RGCO, the constructive work being performed every day by the 30 odd committees of the Länderrat adds up to an impressive result. Every day two or three committees or sub-committees meet and discuss pressing problems, and more often than not, agree on certain recommendations to the Länderrat. The record of each committee is something of a saga in itself.

Take the Transport Committee as an example. Through its able efforts the Germans were able to assume partial responsibility for the railroads after Jan. 1. General Clay had told them he was turning the railroads over to their management. But the army in Frankfurt acting through General Adcock, rightly or wrongly, decided to limit German control. After much double talk it was finally made clear to the Germans that they had to locate their railway control center in Frankfurt, and that they could not appoint or remove top personnel. Col. Gottlieb on our staff had the unpalatable job of backing and filling for the Frankfurt transport people before the German committee. The Germans told us that many Nazis were employed in high railroad positions and that they wanted to get rid of them – including Dr. Bauer who headed the railroad organization for the army. Frankfurt was adamant until I called the situation to General Clay's attention. Then things began to happen. But instead of giving our Transport Committee the credit for cleaning Nazis out of the railroads, all the publicity released made it appear that Frankfurt was doing the purifying! Empires die hard.

Our experience in negotiating the transfer of the railroads has taught us to insist on written instructions from the functional experts who appear from Military Government before our German committees. The communications people are now ready to turn the posts over to the Germans, and I anticipate no hemming and hawing from them. With regard to giving the German authorities responsibility for operations, I feel like the song: "Either you got it or you ain't." I don't believe in continuing to tell them how to do a job when it is perfectly apparent they know much more about running their own administration services than we will ever know. And what's more – we aren't supposed to be operating – we ought to be supervising. With the Germans so willing to take orders and so many of our eager beavers anxious to order them around, one can understand why, at this late hour, we are still knee-deep in operations. All this despite General Clay's constantly whipping every functional chief to turn operations over to the Germans.

Jan. 31

I am now getting a steady stream of intelligence from excellent German sources about all aspects of the occupation of Germany. German officials who come here to Stuttgart for committee meetings send or bring valuable information received by them from other zones, or acquired in the course of their own duties. I try to embody this information in special letters and memoranda to Berlin, but in the rush of running this big operation I can't find the time to do a very thorough job. I must ask Mr. Murphy to send me a good man to help me in this field.

Jan. 31, 1946

My Darling –

[...] I am in a terrible rush now getting ready for our next big meeting on Tuesday. And then to top it off, General Clay – following my suggestion – has invited the British to bring their German officials here for the day after our Länderrat meeting. That means I'll have all the top German officials of both the American and British zone, and the top British and American generals as my guests! Wow! But you should see my layout and my loyal staff. We have really accomplished an awful lot. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Feb. 2

Busy with preparations for the next Länderrat meeting on the 5th. Made an inspection of the whole building, including all the offices occupied by the German Secretariat. They have shaken down very nicely and with typical German efficiency have organized their Kanzlei, their translating staff, their work staffs of stenographers and statisticians, and not least of all with adequate offices for the Bevollmächtigte (plenipotentiaries) from the three states. All of these people had to be cleared by our Special Branch, Public Safety, to make sure that they have no Nazi or militarist taint. It has been quite a relief to me to have old Roßmann as Secretary-General, because he is so completely above suspicion himself. I was gratified to see that a German mess has been set up to take care of the visiting experts and committee members from the three Länder. Housing is still scarce but we are now able to allocate a few houses for German official occupancy near the Villa.

Feb. 5

Today we have the fifth meeting of the Länderrat.⁴⁶ The building and both staffs, ours and the German, are on their toes. There was a buzzing of activity and the large corridors of the Villa found good use as more and more officials arrived for the meeting. Punctually at 10 o'clock the Chairman called the meeting to order and this smoothly working zonal legislative and executive body – half cabinet, half parliament – got down to work on a large agenda. General Clay flew in from Berlin at eleven thirty and went into a conference with our staff and the three Directors of Military Government from Hessen, Württemberg-Baden and Bavaria. The Secretary-General learning that General Clay had arrived in the building appeared at my office, and when I brought him to the General he said: "Sir, the Länderrat is in session and awaits the pleasure of the Deputy Military Governor." Clay was pleased and replied that he did not intend to make a speech this time, but would like to have a brief conference with the three Minister-Presidents after lunch.

At lunch the General was in a very genial mood, and he kidded everybody. He told us how he and Sokolovsky had a mutual exchange arrangement by which he got caviar in return for pineapple to the Russian General. He was very kind to me, as he has always been, unfailingly courteous, sparing but very genuine in praise.

In the conference with the three Minister-Presidents,⁴⁷ he spoke concisely about prisoners of war, about what the Germans could expect from us next year by way of help, and how he hoped progress could be made in re-education. When he asked the Minister-Presidents if they had any questions, Dr. Hoegner the Bavarian Prime Minister asked about denazification, and Dr. Geiler (Hessen) asked about the trade pact he had negotiated between his state of Hessen and the Russian controlled state of Thuringia. With reference to the latter General Clay remarked that it was against sound principle to have to approve a pact between two parts of the same country, but that under the circumstances he probably had to do it. This kind of informal meeting with Clay made a greater impression on them than a public speech would have done, and all three of them afterwards expressed to me their great admiration of his ability. "He has such a deep understanding", remarked Dr. Geiler. "I like his frank yet kindly manner," said Dr. Hoegner. "He gives us confidence", added Dr. Maier. In a few hours Clay had given all of us a boost, had been briefed about our operations, and was on his way back to Berlin.

⁴⁶ Protokoll der 5. Länderratssitzung vom 5. 2. 1946 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 1, Dok. 10.

⁴⁷ Über die fortan im Anschluß an die Länderratssitzungen stattfindenden Besprechungen zwischen Clay und den Ministerpräsidenten gibt es keine Aufzeichnungen.

Feb. 6

The pre-arranged meeting of German officials from the British zone with our Minister-Presidents occurred today.⁴⁸ It was an interesting – possibly a momentous gathering. Here for the first time since the war responsible German officials from two of the zones came together to discuss mutual problems. It was a source of no small gratification to me that the German officials from the British zone were amazed at the progress we have made here in pulling all governmental agencies together in a coordinated whole. They wanted to say so in a joint public resolution. But the British officers who accompanied them looked embarrassed and suggested they merely make a statement to each Military Government. This they did and clearly indicated that they thought the British zone should have a Länderrat too. Aside from the mutual exchange of opinions, the most concrete result of the meeting was the decision to have a joint meeting in Frankfurt of German officials in economics and agriculture from the two zones. Thus begins the break-down of zonal boundaries. If a central government cannot be built from the top, maybe it can be built from the bottom! If the Russians and the French could also come here, maybe we could end the deadlock which is strangling Germany and holding back the economic recovery of Europe.

Feb. 7

Went to Frankfurt for a meeting to evaluate the recent elections. Didn't learn much but found it stimulating to hear various people, some informed and some not, bring up standard questions of election administration. General Clay asked me to remain a few hours longer to listen to organization and personnel problems being discussed by General Adcock and the three Land Directors. I told him about the meeting with the British and he was pleased. One remark he made was: "How long will people believe that British colonial administrators can do a better job than Military Government?"

⁴⁸ Protokoll der Konferenz der Ministerpräsidenten der US-Zone mit den Oberpräsidenten Kopf und Lehr (britische Zone) vom 6. 2. 1946 in Frankfurt, AVBRD 1. Dok. 11.

Feb. 9

Returning to Stuttgart I found the Denazification Committee headed by Mr. Fahy hard at work trying to iron out the differences between the American and German drafts.

I was presented with a copy of an important petition which was framed here when the officials from the British zone were present. It deals with the Nürnberg trials and requests the right to try these same criminals in a German court in order to show the world and the German people that justice will also be done by the Germans themselves. The petition is to be signed by the top officials in every unit within both zones. When signed and presented, it should create a minor sensation.

Stuttgart, Feb. 9, 1946

My Sweetheart –

I have not written you since last Sunday, and I feel guilty. But what could I do? This has really been a week! Tuesday the Länderrat meeting with General Clay flying down for the day. Wednesday the British and their German officials – Clay delegating complete responsibility to me – arrived for a joint meeting with our Germans. I had to entertain the British officers and see that everything came off right, and I'm happy to say it did! I left at seven o'clock Thursday morning to attend two important meetings in Frankfurt. Got back here at midnight. Friday the legal adviser and four officers came to negotiate a new plan for denazification. I had to take care of them and see that the negotiations with the German committee came off all right. Today a really big development occurred as a result of the meeting Wednesday of the German officials from our zone with those from the British. They are asking to take over the trial and punishment of the war criminals after the Nürnberg Trials are finished. It is one of the big news stories of the occupation and General Clay is sending his plane down to get the papers tomorrow afternoon. I may have to go back to Berlin with them.⁴⁹ So you see your little Jimmie has had much to do and no time to write. [...]

*Kisses,
Jim*

⁴⁹ Im Brief vom 10.3.1946 an seine Frau schrieb Pollock hierzu ergänzend: "You see telephones across the Russian zone may still be tapped and I take no chances with secret material." Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll.

Stuttgart, Feb. 10, 1946

Dear Mother –

This has been one of my busiest and, I also believe, one of my most constructive weeks. We not only had our regular monthly meeting of the three Minister-Presidents in our zone, but also a joint meeting between our German top officials and those from the British zone. It may lead to very important developments for if the stalemate continues at the center in Berlin, some other way must be found to bring about cooperation between the four occupied zones into which Germany is divided. The U. S. couldn't operate if each state was separate, and neither can Germany. General Clay has given me complete support, and both the British officers and their German officials were amazed at the progress we have been able to make here in pulling administrative services together. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Feb. 12

Today being Lincoln's birthday, I asked Ted Cox to draft me a letter to the Secretary-General calling his attention to the universal significance of our great President. Ted, for reasons best known to himself, expanded my idea to include Washington, and came up with a corking good note. I added a paragraph or two and sent it off. In a few hours I had a most charming reply from Roßmann.

Stuttgart, Feb. 13, 1946

My Darling –

This is an unlucky day for me. I had come home from the office to wash up for lunch when the phone rang and it was Ambassador Murphy's secretary in Berlin. He read me your cable and I felt pretty bad.⁵⁰ But I understand and I will try to adjust myself to the inevitable. You have no idea how I've kept myself going on the hope that you would soon be with me. Now all that is blasted. [. . .]

⁵⁰ Mrs. Pollocks Telegramm vom 12.2. lautet: "Backer Lichty advice stay here account Ann infections disease. Agree. Sorry. Love Agnes." Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll. – Pollocks Tochter Ann litt an schwerer Diabetes.

I am arranging for a telephone call on Saturday to you from Stuttgart and I hope we can get good connections. [...]

Your heart-broken hubby
Jim

Feb. 14

Negotiations were carried forward today with the appropriate officials of the Länderrat to turn over both post and telecommunications to complete German operation – with a few military exceptions. This will be another great step forward and I hope we can avoid the uncertainty which characterized a similar operation in connection with the railroads. I gulp once in a while when I realize what a simple machinery we have devised to effectuate the transfer of an exceedingly large and complicated administrative service from military to civilian hands. No wonder everyone in Berlin is turning toward Stuttgart to accomplish that which he has himself been unable to bring about. Of course we could not have been successful if we had not continuously had General Clay's sympathetic support; if we had not been able to secure efficient German cooperation; and if our own functional administrators had not realized how everything would sooner or later have bogged down if they did not get out of operations themselves.

Sidney Hillman and other trade union leaders from six countries were here today. Col. Dawson and General McSherry invited me to dine with the delegation and I sat between Hillman and the Soviet leader. I was a bit surprised to find that the Soviet trade union leader had not been elected to the Supreme Soviet in the recent election. Hillman talked mostly about denazification. Dawson and I tried to make him realize that we had done a much more thorough job in our zone than had been done in any other zone. He seemed to think the Russians had done better. I was not impressed with his ability as a fact-finder. He was more interested in telling us what he thought. I hadn't recently realized what a gulf there is between those of us who are up to our necks in the job and the casual fleeting visitor who at best can only get certain incomplete impressions. But with all of us eager to tell what we know, why aren't there investigators and observers who are equally ready to listen, digest the information, and come up with some sound observations for the American public? Byron Price seems to have been the only one thus far who has acquired a sound, comprehensive grasp of the German problem and [sent a] report about it to the President. But what has happened to his report?

Feb. 15

A very thrilling chapter has been written here in the field of food and agriculture. Phil Mettger on my staff has done an outstanding job in supervising the German plans for food distribution and all the other aspects of keeping the Germans in our zone alive. Seeds, fertilizer, horses, beer – everything has been thrown into our hopper for solution. The interzonal difficulties have been immense. Col. Andrews, who was here today, told us at dinner about how a money transfer to pay for some seeds purchased in the Russian zone was finally worked out after they found it would take two C-47's full of military currency to fly to Halle to make payment. For the first time a credit from the Reichsbank in Frankfurt was transferred through Berlin to Halle, and thus the clumsy transfer of huge quantities of military currency was avoided. It is seldom realized how every little transaction involves a whole series of complicated moves and that every aspect of economic life has to be slowly and laboriously rebuilt. Whoever was responsible for the four zone arrangement has much to answer for in increased costs to the American taxpayer and in a dangerous retardation in the economic recovery of Europe.

Feb. 16

I heard the sweet voices of my wife and children over the transatlantic phone today – three minutes of real joy! It gave me a real boost and helped to offset my disappointment in learning that they could not come to Switzerland to be near me. I hope other lonesome husbands will have better luck, and according to recent reports, wives will be coming to Germany after April 1. This will be a good move and will help morale among American officers and civilians more than anything else. The French and Russians have for some time had their families with them, and the British are not far from home.

Feb. 16, 1945

My Sweetheart –

[. . .] Now don't worry about money. I learn that I am to [be] transferred to the War Department payroll and that some increase - maybe another \$ 1,000 is to be added to my base pay. I will tell you when I know exactly. [. . .]

It has been a strenuous week here with lots accomplished. I decided against going to Berlin, and with a half dozen calls each day to Berlin, I save time. I received the most wonderful commendation from General Clay this

week. I enclose a copy of it and will send you the whole letter later. When I was low because of bad news from you, it helped to get his letter the same day. [...]

*Your devoted hubby,
Jim*

*[Anlage]
[Abschrift]*

6 Feb. 1946

Dear Dr. Pollock

"Once again I would like to congratulate you and your staff for the remarkable job which you have done in establishing the Council of Minister-Presidents. I believe that you have given it the confidence to proceed, while at the same time keeping it fully cognizant of the supervisory responsibility of Military Government. That is no mean achievement."

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

Febr. 16, 1946

Dearest Mother –

I have just finished talking with Agnes over the transatlantic telephone and I feel a little nearer now that I know direct connections can be established. There have been times when I felt pretty far away. [...]

The past week has brought big developments here. My office has become the real center of Military Government in the American zone, and General Clay sent me a beautiful commendation which encouraged me this week. It's difficult for me to give you a complete picture of how Germany is being rebuilt out of the chaos into which she was plunged.

The railways are beginning to run better; the rubble is being gradually cleaned up and many of the normal activities of life are being resumed. But disorganization and dislocation is still the rule rather than the exception. Our zone is in relatively good shape, but as long as Germany is divided into four zones and does not become an economic unit, recovery can only be very limited. [...]

*With deepest love,
James*

Feb. 18

Final arrangements for the meeting in Frankfurt of German economic and agricultural officials from both the American and British zones were completed today in the Secretariat, and confirmed by British authorities in Minden. This meeting is the first fruit of our Stuttgart session two weeks ago.

The Bavarian government gave me a special invitation to be present at the opening of their *Beratende Bayerische Landesausschuß* or Temporary Legislature. This is the revival of democratic discussion at the policy-making level, and gives some popular foundation to the Land Cabinets we have set up.

Had talks with several German officials who came to the office to give me information and to ask questions about various phases of American policy in the three *Länder*. They want to cooperate fully, but they are puzzled sometimes by confusions in directives. They also deplore some of our efforts to disturb old, well-established political and administrative forms. For instance Graf von Wedel, the plenipotentiary from Hessen, who himself has served as a *Landrat*, came in with Dr. Binder, the Minister for Reconstruction for Hessen, to ask why Mil. Gov. wanted the *Landrat* in a county to be elected by the *Kreistag* instead of being appointed by the Minister of the Interior as during the last hundred years. I was unable to get a good reason when I called Berlin, but I made it clear that I thought it was very bad for us to upset a well-functioning institution because of some vague desire to promote democracy.

Feb. 20

Received an invitation from the British through General Gailey to bring our Minister-Presidents to Bremen to attend a meeting of all the top administrative officials in the British zone. This is the second fruit of our Stuttgart meeting with German officials from the British zone on Feb. 6 last. I am very pleased even though it makes a very crowded week. The Germans here received the news with great satisfaction. General Clay approved my acceptance of the invitation and told me to go ahead with the plans in any way I saw fit.

One becomes more and more disturbed at the economic outlook as one studies the data presented at our various economic committee meetings.⁵¹

⁵¹ Zur ökonomischen Situation in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone siehe Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. (IfZ Bde. 42–46). Am 26. 3. 1946 beschloß der Alliierte Kontrollrat den Level of Industry Plan, durch den Deutschland nur ein reduziertes Industrieniveau und ein eingeschränkter Lebensstandard zugebilligt wurde.

Raw materials are running out; the delay in completing the list of plants marked for reparations; plus the inconceivable difficulties of transport, fuel, and communications render constructive action most difficult. Some hope was injected into the gloomy economic picture by our export-import officers who came forward this week with quite a list of commodities approved for export, including Bavarian hops to the U. S.

Stuttgart, Feb. 20, 1946

My Darling –

[. . .] I had a nice letter from Everett and John Perkins. Also from Charlie Jamison. I guess there's plenty of turmoil still in the University. It doesn't make me very anxious to return to squabbles. When I come back I think I will have a different perspective. Some things look awfully small to me now compared to what I'm doing. I can say that to you. Others might think I was boasting.

We can wear civilian clothes beginning March 1. I'm puzzled to know what to do because I don't want to be bothered with clothes. But if you could send me two fairly old suits like my old blue and old grey heavy tweed in packages via State Department pouch with about three shirts and a few ties, I would then be ready. [. . .]

I'm worried tonight about two big problems which are hanging in the balance, and about my big week ahead. I go to Munich Sunday for a special meeting Monday on denazification. Then Tuesday and Wednesday I guide a joint conference of German officials in food and economics from the British and American zones in Frankfurt. Then Thursday I travel to Bremen with our Minister-Presidents on invitation of the British to attend a joint conference of their top German officials – a sort of return engagement to the one I had here two weeks ago. General Clay offered me his plane to make all these engagements and let me pick my company. I asked General Gailey to go with me and two from my own staff. Quite exciting events I think you will agree. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Feb. 22

The Denazification Committee re-assembled yesterday and the three Minister-Presidents came in today. It was a dramatic session. Dr. Maier took the chair but it was not until later in the morning that Dr. Geiler arrived. Yesterday Maier was off the reservation, but due to the clever and painstaking work of Lt. Col. Oppenheimer, the objections of the Württem-

berg Minister-President were eliminated. He wanted it to be made clear that Control Council Law No. 24 was not their contribution even though they were in duty bound to obey it and incorporate it in their law. But today Geiler was not ready to agree. It turned out that he would have been included under the term activist if the statute under discussion were not modified and he very properly felt that he could not sign a law which would put him in a presumptively guilt category. He came to me very agitated. He had been sick, he was deeply aggrieved by the dismissal of one of his Ministers and by the threat of four others to resign. I reasoned with him as I had earlier reasoned with Pfeiffer from Bavaria and Maier. But it was not until Oppenheimer came into my office and joined in the discussion that Geiler seemed to waver. Tenseness characterized the later sessions and it became very clear how the Germans were deeply conscious of the importance of the law. They didn't want a statute for which they could not feel genuinely responsible. They didn't like the idea of making large numbers of people presumptively guilty. They were afraid of the great political consequences of keeping hundreds of thousands of people on the anxious seat for a period of time. At no time, and no one of them, ever showed any disposition to shrink from punishing Nazis. They wanted to be sure the machinery of persecution and adjudication would work. If agreement is finally secured among the three Länder, as now seems likely, then General Clay is in a position to act on the draft proposal. I hope his legal advisers do not begin to find fault with small points here and there in the law, for the proposal is the result of laborious, painstaking deliberations over a period of weeks, and if we want to turn the problem over to the Germans, we should only be sure that our objectives are properly protected in it, and not be picayunish with its minor details. It would be a shame to throw away the sincere labor which the Germans have put on this proposal. One could not wish for a better exhibition of responsible cooperation than we have seen in connection with this work on denazification. We have been carrying out a denazification program with fair success but with much injustice. Even so we have done better than the other zones, and it is made very difficult for us when we know that fifteen kilometers away in the French zone large numbers of prominent Nazis are still employed in important positions by the French. But we have reached the stage now where it is no longer a security problem but one which affects the success or failure of our whole program of reviving democratic processes. We need to strengthen those forces within the country who are likely to carry the burden of democratic revival. It is interesting to note that the Bavarians, led by Dr. Pfeiffer who has the best political mind I have found in Germany, provided most of the push behind the denazification proposal. They wanted to be shown what its effects would be, but they had more courage than the representatives of the other states.

I have learned a lot out of all the conferences about German abilities and

German weaknesses, and by how narrow a margin the fate of a whole program is determined. Two state cabinets were on the verge of breaking up. Our whole program of reviving democracy was jeopardized. Individuals like Pfeiffer, Ehard, and Binder stood out among their colleagues, and personal contacts with individual Germans counted for much. If we had not built up in the last three months an abundance of good will, we never would have gotten the Germans to construct and assume responsibility for a new program – this time a German program – of denazification.

Stuttgart, Feb. 24, 1946

My Dear Family –

[...] Fortunately the Munich meeting was put off until March 5. [...]

This has been a week of great accomplishments here. I can only indicate what we have done. The drafting of a new denazification law by the Germans themselves – a great achievement which involved intricate negotiations between the three Minister-Presidents, Berlin, and our own legal people. I hope I can find time to write it all up. Then the planning for turning the railroads and telephones and telegraphs back to German operation – that is all being worked out in my office and under my direction. Up to now the army has been running everything because they didn't know how to organize the Germans to do the job. I've been able to work out a system of securing German cooperation and the army people are amazed. That's why my stock is now so high. I've been able to do in a couple of months what they couldn't do in eight. My theory is very simple – the Germans know more about their own country than we do, so let them do the job and let us watch them, instead of trying to do it ourselves. Of course if I hadn't won their confidence and secured their cooperation, nothing would have worked. But the point is – I have! Maybe this sounds like boasting but I must tell you, and it is now well recognized by our Military Government people from Clay down the line. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Feb. 25

Left Stuttgart this afternoon for Frankfurt to supervise the joint meeting of German officials from the British and American zones which was arranged several weeks ago when the first meeting between officials of the two zones met in Stuttgart. The meeting, which is scheduled for tomorrow and Wednesday, deals with economic and agricultural subjects.

Stopped at Heidelberg on the way for dinner with Major Mahder of my

staff and to our pleasant surprise found the drinks were in the house and there was plenty of Scotch! Seventh Army is merged into the Third Army on April 1 which will mean another simplification both for Mil. Gov. and army administration. I hate to see General Keyes and General Willems leaving, however. They have done a fine job in giving support to Mil. Gov. in an understanding way, and they are both officers of whom our country can be proud.

Feb. 26

The conference got right down to work after brief preliminary speeches.⁵² They divided themselves into two subcommittees, one on economics and one on agriculture. With a great scarcity of buildings in Frankfurt we had to hop from one place to another to keep track of everything. Discussions were serious and by tomorrow resolutions will emerge.

The British sent Mr. Alexander of H.M. Foreign Service who is Economic Controller at headquarters in Minden. Also Dr. Friedman who had worked with American Mil. Gov. during the SHAEF period, and who is not only a very kindly person but also a very keen observer and clear reporter. Mr. Alexander has had most of his service in China and India.

It was interesting to note the contrast in attitude between the German officials from the British zone and from ours. The British Germans kept looking out of the corners of their eyes at Mr. Alexander to see if they were talking all right. Our Germans needed no prompting and had an excellent sense of discretion and responsibility.

Feb. 27

A set of helpful resolutions have emerged from the discussions. Requests are made to permit liaison officers to be exchanged between our Länderrat and the British zonal authorities in food and agriculture and economics.

After lunch I took the Minister-Presidents and their permanent representatives to the airport at Hanau where General Clay had kindly put his plane at my disposal for the trip to Bremen. The flight was pleasant and I enjoyed the wonderment and admiration of the Germans for the American airplane and its appointments. Our courtesy to them was deeply appreciated.

We landed at Bremen on a snowy field. Had some discussions with Col. Welker, the Mil. Gov. officer, and with officers of the Bremen Port Com-

⁵² Zur Konferenz der Wirtschafts- und Landwirtschaftsverwaltungen der amerikanischen und britischen Besatzungszonen vom 26. – 27. 2. 1946 in Frankfurt siehe AVBRD 1, Dok. 11 Anm. 49, Dok. 12 Anm. 8 und Dok. 14 Anm. 14.

mand. Met Gen. Christmas at dinner, and was taken to the Stork Club afterwards – a fancy American night club to entertain weary American officers. I found it rather dull!

Highlight Summary of the Day
28 February 1946

The discussions today between our Minister-Presidents and the top German officials from the British zone took place in the guest house of the City of Bremen.⁵³ Some of the officials from the British zone did not arrive until the afternoon, but an exceedingly illuminating discussion took place all the afternoon. It was very gratifying indeed to hear the top German officials in the British zone express a strong desire to their British Military Government officers for an organization similar to our own Länderrat. At one point they were rebuked by a British colonel, who was present, who thought they were going too far. Later in the afternoon when Captain Thomas, another British officer arrived, who was responsible for the meeting on behalf of British headquarters, he had to take back all that the British colonel had said in the morning – a rather humiliating experience. It was easy to see that the British are probably six months behind us.

In the evening we were entertained at a very delightful dinner in the banquet hall of the Rathaus, which by a strange fate escaped the bombing. Interesting speeches by our Minister-Presidents and by the Mayor of Bremen and others from the British zone dealt with special themes as how happy they were at being able to speak freely once more and how desirable it was to pull Germany together in one economic unit. I talked with dozens of German officials from all over the British zone long into the night, having been bolstered up at dinner with copious drafts of an excellent Château Neuf du Pape.

J.K.P.

⁵³ Protokoll der Konferenz der Länderchefs der britischen und amerikanischen Zone vom 28.2. 1946 in Bremen, AVBRD 1, Dok. 12.

Highlight Summary of the Day
2 March 1946

Flew back yesterday from Berlin but could not land here because of the fog. Much business to attend to in preparation for a departure tomorrow for Munich where the Länderrat will meet in an extraordinary session to approve the new denazification law.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, Sunday Morning, March 3, 1946

My Darling—

I've had to neglect you for a whole week but I've been thinking of you all the time. When I tell you what I've done I hope you will understand.

Monday afternoon I drove to Frankfurt, stopping in Heidelberg for a very pleasant dinner. The purpose of the trip was to supervise a conference of German officials from both the British and American zones on economic and agricultural subjects being held on Tuesday and Wednesday. I had to take care of the British officers who came with their German officials and see that our Germans ran the conference right. I've trained our Germans right and they do just what I say, so everything went beautifully. Mixed in between the conferences I had to see General Adcock and others, talk with General Clay in Berlin, and arrange for our flight to Bremen on Wednesday. I had one of my staff as an aide, Lt. Pabsch of Syracuse, who is a great help and a loyal worker. There was a dinner for the visiting German officials Tuesday night, and mixed in with all of it, Edgar Mowrer blew in and of course I had to see as much of him as possible. I helped him arrange his tour, gave him some tips, and argued with him as long as time permitted.

Wednesday noon General Clay had turned his plane, the Susan Ann – a C-47 – over to me for my use in going to Bremen where we were invited to attend a meeting of top German officials from the two zones. I took our Minister-Presidents with me and in two hours we were in Bremen – a wonderful flight in a deluxe plane with your own pilot and crew! I was well taken care of in the house of the Chief of Staff, studied the plans for the meeting next day, looked in on the Stork Club – an officers' club and went to bed early.

Next day was the meeting and I spent all day listening to the most interesting discussions between our Germans (my team!) and the British Germans. It was almost embarrassing how far ahead we are of the British, and their own Germans told them so. Our plan of a coordinating council to integrate everything in our zone is in stark contrast to the muddled administrative situation in the British zone. We are nearly six months ahead of the British,

and I can say to you – only to you – that it is because I understood German administration and how to secure German cooperation. The Chief President of Hannover Province in the British zone came to me and carefully questioned me about my experience, and then he said: “Now I understand why you know so much about German administration.” All of the Germans in the most proper and respectful way crowded around me as if to see and talk with “this clever man” who had organized South Germany so admirably. These were their words. In this case it was not flattery because it is a fact. I have to tell you. In my report to Clay I only need to include the official resolutions and papers and need to say nothing myself. The record speaks for itself.

We had a fine dinner in the Rathaus – yours truly sitting between the Oberbürgermeister of Bremen and Hamburg with the British officers opposite. I learned very much in all my conversations with these German officials – a very high grade group of people whom the British were dealing with as if they were natives of some British colony. It was really amusing and what their Germans told me will keep me busy for a week writing intelligence reports.

Thursday morning I had to call in several of our officers in Bremen and after lunch we flew back to Stuttgart. In two hours we were over Stuttgart but we couldn't find it for the fog and so flew back to Frankfurt and landed and then drove to Stuttgart. What a splendid and profitable trip! Our Germans, having seen with their own eyes how much better off they are in our zone, are now ready to work even harder than before in cooperating with us.

Yesterday I worked all day until midnight and this morning is the only time I have to tell you again how much I love you, because after lunch I drive to Munich to see that all arrangements are made for our special Länderrat meeting which I have moved there for Tuesday. The Germans have prepared a thorough-going denazification law which they will adopt at the Munich meeting – in the town which Hitler called the Principal City of the Nazi Movement. I wish I could tell you all the planning of mine which has gone into this one subject. General Clay will come down Tuesday and approve the proposal, and it will be the biggest news story of the day in Germany. I may ride back with him to Berlin for a few days – I'm not sure. But you see my life is never dull. I'm still hoping for a less strenuous life. But I'm afraid Clay wants me now to divide my time between here and Berlin. We shall see! [. . .] Will write as soon as I can.

Love,
Jim

Highlight Summary of the Day
4 March 1946

Arrived in Munich yesterday afternoon to stay with General Muller during the events of today and tomorrow. I found the Germans had made excellent preparations for the meeting of the Länderrat which is to be held in the Rathaus.

Enjoyed a pleasant hour in the Haus der deutschen Kunst where they have a rather remarkable Dürer and Holbein exhibition.

General Clay and Ambassador Murphy arrived on the General's special train about four o'clock, and after sometime at General Muller's headquarters and an inspection of the new Consulate General we drove General Clay past the place where the Brown House was and through some of the ruins of Munich. He was not particularly interested in seeing these relics but Bob Murphy and I persuaded him to give the old town the once over. We had a pleasant drink and an excellent dinner with General Muller.

J.K.P.

Highlight Summary of the Day
5 March 1946

This was the big day of the Länderrat Session⁵⁴ and I went early in the morning to the Rathaus Hall where the session is to take place to see that everything was in order for General Clay's arrival. Most careful arrangements to the last detail had been made by the Germans and about 12:30 General Clay entered the crowded room under a flood of lights and amid the click of cameras. He, Ambassador Murphy, General Muller and I occupied a slightly raised platform seat where we could listen to the discussions on the denazification law by the German officials from the three Länder. In due course all three Minister-Presidents approved the law, signed the official copies, and Director Roßmann brought them to me for presentation to General Clay.⁵⁵

General Clay had been impressed with the seriousness and dignity of the whole proceeding and leaned over to me in the course of the discussion to say that he was not going to read the letter of approval which had been

⁵⁴ Protokoll der 6. Länderratssitzung vom 5. 3. 1946 in München, AVBRD 1, Dok. 14. – Material zur Entnazifizierung in: Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 60–7, 8 (IfZ Bde. 55, 86) – Gesetz zur Befreiung vom Nationalsozialismus und Militarismus vom 9. 9. 1945/5. 3. 1946, LRGS, S. 95.

⁵⁵ In einem Brief Pollocks an seine Frau vom 6. 3. 1946 über die Münchner Ereignisse heißt es: "which was all previously arranged". Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll.

prepared but instead would make his remarks extemporaneously. This he did with great impressiveness. Various Germans remarked to me about his extraordinary performance, about his strong, firm eyes, but his fair manner. He used many quotable sentences in the course of his speech, among which the most remarkable as it seemed to me was the following: "The responsibility for self-government of a people carries with it the responsibility for determining those who would destroy self-government, and for taking measures which would prevent such measures ever happening again." Another sentence was, "The rights of a people can be protected only when there is a leadership that has the vision and courage to protect those rights". He spoke from a few scratched lines on a piece of paper which I have in my possession.

After an excellent lunch with General Muller, after which General Clay was gracious enough to pin the Bronze Star on Ted Cox, we went to the train and I returned to Berlin with him and Bob Murphy.

J.K.P.

Highlight Summary of the Day 8 March 1946

Three busy days in Berlin. General Clay took me with him to the Coordinating Committee meeting yesterday and to the meeting of the Control Council today. They had under discussion the basic problem of the level of German industry. I saw again what few people seemed to have realized that the leadership and the drive behind quadripartite action is General Clay. Without him and his American co-workers at the quadripartite level the experiment of Four Power Occupation in Germany might have broken up long before now. In at least four points in the discussions in the Coordinating Committee General Clay saved the day by his resourcefulness and determination.

General Sokolovsky turned to General Clay whenever he got into a hole. The French continue a purely negative attitude. It is an interesting sight to see the Four Power representatives in action, each with their interpreters conducting a discussion in three languages. Actually the Control Council is a great school of international government. A genuine atmosphere of cooperation has been worked out slowly and an agreement has been reached on a great majority of the problems. Every power except the French has made concessions. In most instances the United States, Russia, and Britain are together; the French constitute the chief barrier to rapid agreement. General Clay one time summed up the progress thus far made in these clear words, "We have a situation where we can get mad and argue about one point, reach a compromise and not have it affect our personal relations or any subsequent points we might take up". Generally

speaking, the Russian position appears to be closer to the United States than that of the other two Powers.

J.K.P.

Highlight Summary of the Day
9 March 1946

Attended the Directors' meeting and at General Clay's request made a brief report on the Länderrat. I went to lunch with Bob Murphy who had the French Ambassador as his guest, and then flew to Frankfurt in General Clay's plane and came on to Stuttgart by car.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, March 10, 1946

My Darling –

Well here I am back again after a tremendous time in Berlin. I sometimes think I'm dreaming. But here's what happened. [. . .] Well, these past three and a half days have been wonderful. Edgar Mowrer was still there and assembled a dozen newspapermen for me to talk to. But I never allow a quote. I'm working for Clay and he is the one to talk. I could be in the papers every day but I'm not here to advertise myself. Then both Thursday and Friday General Clay took me with him to the meetings of the Coordinating Committee and the Control Council. There were Shukov, Sokolovsky, Koenig, Robertson, Montgomery and all the big shots. I sat right back of him and Murphy. They always have a big buffet after the meetings are over and with the Russians presiding this month there was vodka, caviar, etc., etc. After the Thursday meeting Clay took Murphy and me home to dinner with him – at a small table in front of the fire. It was so friendly and intimate. I wish I could remember every word which was said. Friday evening General Gailey in Civil Administration, who still considers me his adviser too, took me to his house to dinner. Saturday morning Clay had me come to the Directors' meeting and make a brief report and then before the whole group of top executives he gave me a beautiful, sincere compliment. I had generals holding my coat and colonels shaking my hands. I hope this doesn't go to my head! Then to top it all off after the meeting Clay said: "I'm sending you back to Stuttgart in my plane – when would you like to go?" Murphy then took me to lunch with the French Ambassador and drove me to Tempelhof. We could not land at Stuttgart – only 2 hours' flight from Berlin – so went back to Frankfurt landing there about 5:30. One of my cars and a lieutenant was waiting for me at the airport and I drove here last evening. [. . .]

Now let me tell you what I talked over with Clay and Murphy. I said I only had four – at the most five months more to serve. They didn't like it and said I had to stay. But I said no, it couldn't be, but that I would be willing to advise the State Department when I returned, on a consultant basis. So we left it there. You see I'm now planning for my return. [...]

As of Feb. 10 I am transferred to the War Department payroll. As near as I can tell, I will be drawing a base salary of \$ 8750 at least from Jan 1, 1946 – maybe retroactive to July 1, 1945. Then I am to get 25 % or \$ 1250 for overseas allowance making \$ 10,000 total. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Highlight Summary of the Day
11 March 1946

This is another busy week with a considerable number of our 49 committees holding sessions. It is getting to be a tremendously big operation and I am finding it increasingly difficult to keep on top of everything.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, Mar. 12, 1946

My Darling –

[...] I sent yesterday a large envelope of papers, ballots etc., which I didn't want to lose. I'll do that from time to time so things won't accumulate.

My three days since returning have been full but very interesting. I think I must have about the most interesting spot in which to work. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Stuttgart, Mar. 12, 1946

Dear Mother and Sister –

[...] The food situation for the Germans is very serious. But our zone is ahead of the others.

The French are holding everything up by their refusal to permit central government departments to be set up in Berlin. Clay provides most of the

leadership and initiative which keeps the Central Control Council going. He took me with him to the meeting last Friday – Shukov, Montgomery, Koenig and McNarney. Very interesting experience. [...]

*Love and Kisses,
Jim*

Highlight Summary of the Day
13 March 1946

Major Mahder impressed upon me today in a very keen summary report how practically all of the discussions in the economic field get down to two basic problems, namely, raw materials and currency. Unless something is done in the next couple of months most of the factories in the American zone will close down. The uncertainty regarding the currency is having wide repercussions in the employment field, both public and private.

J.K.P.

Mar. 14, 1946

My Darling –

[...] I had my enlisted men for cocktails this afternoon – 10 GI's who have worked faithfully for me, and they enjoyed it a lot. Tuesday I had coffee for our 12 German translators and secretaries. I had been so busy I never had time to make them feel I knew they were around. It helps to give them recognition and I am really grateful for their fine cooperation. [...]

*Love,
Jim*

Highlight Summary of the Day
15 March 1946

An important meeting took place today between Colonel Andrews and the Ministers of Food and Agriculture with regard to the critical food situation. The Germans appreciate the problem and are willing to go at least as far as our officials think necessary.

J.K.P.

Highlight Summary of the Day

17 March 1946

I have been disturbed for a long time with our poor Public Relations program. It is very clear that American Military Government has had a very bad press in the United States. For this we are not primarily to blame but it is significant to me that such an operation as has been going on here has received almost no attention up to the present. American newspapermen have been content to sit in Frankfurt or Berlin and get their information second-hand. The Berlin picture has been played up out of all proportion to the actual situation. The very earthy and practical side of Military Government has escaped most of them.

J.K.P.

*Sunday Morning, Mar. 17, 1946**My Darling –*

A batch of wonderful letters arrived yesterday in the pouch from Berlin. [...] I'm glad to have you enclose clippings. The one by Victor Bernstein from P.M. is terrible and a perversion of the truth. The article in Reader's Digest for January is incorrect in almost every sentence. It made me boil. It's simply not true. Ray Daniell in the New York Times is very bad – almost always wrong. Russel Hill in the Herald Tribune is probably the best. Edd Johnson in the Chicago Sun is also terrible. It's hard for me to understand how they can loaf around drinking with their mistresses and never try to find out the truth. The sort of solid work I'm doing they are not interested in. They look for small surface stuff. I will have seven newspaper publishers here on the 29th. Clay is sending them down for me to orient them, and I will have a good opportunity to tell the complete story. [...]

You ask about my food arrangements. I now have a staff of eleven officers and nine enlisted men. We occupy three houses and the management of the houses, the mess and the office administration is taken care of by a First Lieutenant and a couple of enlisted men. They hire a cook, an assistant cook, a housekeeper, six maids, two butlers, three gardeners, and a furnace man. They are all Germans. Our food, except some greens, comes out of a big Quartermaster Depot about ten miles away. Our wines and liquors we get through the Seventh Army at Heidelberg. We pay 45 marks a week for everything including drinks before dinner and entertainment of guests of whom we have many. I also now have about fifteen Germans, mostly girls, working in our office as secretaries and translators. I don't worry about any of these housekeeping details and you know how good German service is. I'm a General to them and they jump and run for anything I ask. I eat breakfast in my own house and go across the street to my own mess for other

meals. I'm the Papa and sit at the head of the table which usually has 12 or 15 people eating at it. I hope this gives you a more adequate picture. My office is five to ten minutes walk away and I like that too. [. . .]

Jim

Highlights of the Day
19 March 1946

Had a visit today from Dr. Hans Luther, former German Chancellor and German Ambassador to the United States. I had not seen him since 1937 and was somewhat surprised to find him looking much older and not as plump and vigorous as formerly. There was nothing wrong with his mind, however, and he presented me two interesting memoranda dealing with the currency problem. He is probably the most eminent of all living Germans and presumably is free of Nazi taint. He told me about giving evidence at the Nürnberg trials and of having kept himself quietly on a farm in Bavaria after the termination of his ambassadorship in the United States. He is worried, like all thinking people are worried, about the present drift in the whole field of Public Finance. Everything must await quadripartite action and there is no agreement yet in the Control Council.

Dr. Luther proposes a series of measures for the transitional period which would be such as not to prejudice a final solution. I suppose he knows more about the previous experience with inflation in 1923 and 1924 in Germany than any other person. I am personally very much distressed at the slowness of our own Finance Division in proposing adequate measures. Mr. Dodge has been in the U.S. for several months and everything has been held up pending his return.

Highlights of the Day
20 March 1946

This was a big day at the RGCO with committees working on Transportation problems, Power, Voluntary Relief, Police Registration and Denazification. After considerable discussion with the Transport representatives, headed by Colonel Niles, we worked out a few clarifying points which I hope will overcome the confusion into which the German Railway officials have been thrown by the intervention of several of our military people in what was supposed to be a picture of complete German responsibility.

In the morning I had an interesting talk with the Bavarian Transport Minister in which I learned of their strong desire to keep a controlling hand over their own railways. This desire does not accord with present American policy to unify the operation of German railways. I explained to him

that General Clay was still thinking of the possibility of vesting ownership of the railways in the various states. I added that they had had two months to come up with plans in this field and I had not yet seen them.

The preliminary discussions on police registration and registration under the new denazification law got under way. I am watching this very closely because I do not want our own Public Safety people to continue to divide responsibility in this matter with the Germans. I think the chances for effective administration are so much greater if we throw complete responsibility on to the Germans and hold them strictly accountable, giving them as much assistance as possible.

The Germans were given quite a lift in the Voluntary Relief Committee in the news imparted to them by Captain Clark that the large quantity of sugar would be made available for German consumption by the Irish Free State. In the light of impending reduction in the ration, this was news which was doubly welcomed. I was amused the other day by the remark made by Colonel Andrews, the very able Food and Agriculture expert from Berlin, who was eating a hearty lunch at my table when he remarked, "I have to eat up my 3,000 calories in order to be fortified to tell the Germans to cut theirs to 1,000".

J.K.P.

March 20

My Darling –

[. . .] With General Draper – head of Economics – here Monday and Tuesday I had a strenuous time. Today was a blinger – Railroads, Voluntary Relief, Electric Power and Denazification! Tomorrow six Russian newspapermen arrive for 24 hours. It is all very interesting and I now have a very hard working and faithful and loyal staff. They all realize their privileged position and we are producing super results. My stock is still high. But I realize, as few do, what an overwhelming problem this is. It won't be finished when I go home, I assure you! But I should not give any more time away from my family. I must say the university sounds pretty tame to me, but my family sounds more and more wonderful, and that's what counts. I will be a different man so far as university activities are concerned, I assure you! [. . .]

Last evening I accepted a dinner invitation from the Bavarian representative here and with my Executive Officer and Aide had a profitable evening talking very seriously about Germany's future. You know how properly they treat a dignitary, and I am top man to them. [. . .]

Love and Kisses,
Jim

Stuttgart, Friday Morning, March 22, 1946

My Dearest –

[. . .] Last evening I entertained six Russian officers at dinner [. . .] and now this morning they come here to the office to talk to our German officials. Don't worry, we have nothing to hide and we will tell them what they ought to know. Their presence here caused some excitement among the Germans. They thought the Soviets were going to take over. [. . .]

Love and Kisses,
Jim

Highlight Summary of the Day
22 March 1946

Delegation of Russian newspapermen paid us a visit yesterday and today. They represented *Pravda*, *Isvestia*, *Red Star*, and other official publications. They were a rather attractive and intelligent group and I enjoyed the contact with them both at dinner and this morning.

In the session we had this morning in my office they asked a number of interesting questions, mostly relating to economic and agricultural production and to political personages. They seemed to be interested to know more about me and asked me about my family and my politics. They seemed disappointed when I explained as a scholar, an expert in the field of politics, I did not consider it proper to be an active member of any party. When they pressed me further on this point I told them I was a “mug-wump” and then enjoyed the difficulty the interpreters had in trying to explain this American term.

I was not too much impressed with the incisiveness of their questions and it was obvious they have much to learn and do not have that complete knowledge of and assurance about the German problems which many people give them credit for. I took the occasion to chide them on their policy of limited travel through their zone and pointed out on the map how difficult they made it for us to travel from here to Berlin. The Russian colonel's replies were very lame and he knew it.

As a result of the deliberations over the last three days of the Länderrat Committee working on registration and implementation of the denazification law, very satisfactory results have been obtained. The whole problem of registration of Germans for identification purposes has been formulated and much progress has been made in setting up the special registration necessary under the denazification law.

I was amused with Captain Sturgis, who was here with Major Wilson representing Public Safety. He came in one morning and indicated his

desire of "burning" the Germans up if they didn't come across right away with what he wanted. Our Major Mahder indicated that we were quite as much to blame as the Germans for the delay, and if we were just patient for a little while the hoped for results would be achieved. By the end of the day everybody was happy at the sincere and complete cooperation which the Germans had given. A man from the Legal Division at Berlin had come down with serious doubts of the sincerity of the Germans in this denazification matter. As he went back to Berlin with the concrete provisions in his briefcase ready for consideration by Berlin he very willingly admitted that he now had a high regard for German sincerity and competence.

J.K.P.

Highlight Summary of the Day
23 March 1946

I learned today that the French have expressed a desire to bring their German officials here for a joint meeting on April 17th. This will be another step toward inter-zonal cooperation. As yet, no definite word from the Russians.

Spent two hours with Director Roßmann talking over the organizational problems of the Secretariat. He continues to impress me with his sincerity and reliability. He is in a difficult position, in the very center of the pulling and hauling which is going on between the three states in our zone. I have decided to help him out to the extent of writing a strong letter to the three Minister-Presidents saying that we can not allow petty state interests and personalities to interfere with the successful administration of the enormously important problems now being handled by the Länderrat. We took up with him the inadequacies of his present system of records and reports and learned a great deal about the growing pains of this lusty infant known as the Länderrat.

J.K.P.

Highlight Summary of the Day
24 March 1946

I had a pleasant drive this afternoon to Burg Hohenzollern, near Hechingen. As we approached Hechingen we saw the turrets of the castle rising almost fairy-like above a fog bank which had started to move in. After winding up a very steep grade we came eventually to the first drawbridge, and from thereon wandered up to the entrance. The castle is very modern and had at least one interesting room – The Family Tree Room – which showed all the branches of this very prolific Hohenzollern Family. The

Crown Prince was not living there at the time and we were directed to the Villa Wolf in Hechingen where we were received by the Crown Prince in his rather modest but comfortable dwelling. He was rather nattily dressed in knickers, and although he did not appear to be particularly well-fed he did look strong and hearty. We questioned him about many things, including the Nürnberg trial and his relations with the Nazis. He told us of one occasion in 1933 when Hitler came to him at Cäcilienhof and told him of his plans to develop a great German Empire and put a Hohenzollern on the throne. When Phil Mettger said, "Well, this indicated that Hitler, as early as 1933, was planning an aggressive war; otherwise, he could not have made a new German Empire". This took the Crown Prince aback and he recovered by saying, "Perhaps, he intended to accomplish his ends by political arrangements".

He spoke rather scornfully of Göring – "A young flier in my Army in the last war who was a bit stuck-up".

I inquired about his children and his brother and sister, and learned of their whereabouts. His youngest boy, Fritz, is in England and is married to a Guinness. His brother, Auwi, he said was the only member of the family who joined the Nazis, and he is now doing quite badly in an internment camp.

The Crown Prince told me of his residence at Cäcilienhof during most of the War, but that in January 1945 he had gone to his shooting box in Warburg where he was taken by General DeLattre and brought to Landau where he said he was kept "in a very disagreeable hotel". From there he came to Burg Hohenzollern and thanks to present humble abode. He was still very much the gentleman and when I left him a package of cigarettes he rose and said he was sorry he had not been able to offer us a drink. He evinced close interest in German political developments and said the time was not ripe for him to take any active part.

I felt almost as if he were a page out of an old book, a representative of a past generation extending its old clichés into a modern dynamic setting. So far had the House of Hohenzollern come that three brash Americans could intrude themselves into the presence of a scion of this old family and be welcomed with open arms in return for a few cigarettes.

Talked with General Clay this afternoon, finding him as usual at work on Sunday. He suggested that he might be down here Thursday to make an important announcement to the Minister-Presidents on the food situation.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, Mar. 24, 1946

My Sweetheart –

It is Sunday morning, I have just finished talking to the General in Berlin, and now I am to have the pleasure of writing my regular Sunday letter to you [. . .] I have no complaints at all except that I can't get done everything I want to do. Clay is simply wonderful to me and really what we are accomplishing here makes my head swim. Our work is paying dividends now in this food crisis. Whereas in the British zone food riots are occurring, in our zone we have the most complete cooperation from the top officials down to the people. Last week, when we presented to our German food committee the latest figures, they, of their own motion without any urging from us, proposed a food cut more than we thought was necessary. You can't buy that kind of cooperation, and it has been probably the most important result of the confidence I have been able to develop here among the top German officials.

A week from Tuesday, namely April 2, we have the next meeting of the Länderrat. The following day there will be another joint meeting with the Germans from the British zone. On the 17th the French come with their Germans. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Highlight Summary of the Day
25 March 1946

I had a visit this morning with Drs. Colm and Goldsmith, who have come to Germany at General Clay's request for several months to study the many aspects of the financial problem. I explained to them how our Finance Committee here had been beating time, awaiting some instructions from Berlin. It is a welcomed sign that we are, at last, beginning to formulate a plan to deal with the public debt, currency, taxation and all these allied problems.

Colonel Moe Edwards is here now to carry on in Württemberg-Baden in Colonel Dawson's absence. I am delighted to have him here for I have always rated him very high as a capable, regular army officer, who has grown and developed in Military Government.

J.K.P.

Highlight Summary of the Day
26 March 1946

Had an important meeting here today dealing with the problems connected with settling some 2 1/4 million evacuees from Czechoslovakia, Austria and Hungary into the American zone of Germany. Colonel Mickelsen made a statement to the German committee and told me he was impressed with their work. In many ways this has been one of our prized committees, having been started back in October when General Clay gave this assignment to the Länderrat as its first task. The way in which these hundreds of thousands of evacuees, who have lived for hundreds of years in other countries, are settled in Germany will have a tremendous effect upon the whole social stratification of the German nation. Up to the present too many German refugees from Hungary, for instance, have been moved as communities and settled down somewhere in the American zone together. This practice is bad and I believe now will be discontinued. Another point which has had to be watched is the settlement of Sudeten Germans too close to the border in Bavaria. I was relieved to learn, however, that a better distribution of these Sudetens has been made and most of them are now settled in Western and Northern Bavaria, and in the other two states in our zone.

Colonel Mickelsen now becomes the G-5 for General McNarney with the virtual folding-up of the Frankfurt office when Gen. Adcock moves to Berlin. He retains his responsibility for Displaced Persons and Prisoners of War.

Entertained a very charming British colonel Robinson for dinner and learned some more about the very complicated organization of British Military Government. Colonel Robinson has had many interesting experiences, including entering Paris with de Gaulle. We are rather close together in our common desire to break down the barriers which prevent a normal exchange of goods between zones.

J.K.P.

Highlight Summary of the Day
27 March 1946

Had discussions today about food problems with Dr. Karl Brandt who has been in Germany as special advisor on food problems. He was very fearful of famine catastrophe and we talked about specific measures which could be presented to Gen. Clay for his presentation on Friday. Mettger and I have felt that the Minister-Presidents should appoint an outstanding food official as special food commissioner during the emergency. I am not sure whether General Clay will care to make such a recommendation, nor am I

sure that the Minister-Presidents would want to place full powers in the hands of such a commissioner, but a competent organization is certainly necessary to deal with the crisis and someone somewhere has to centrally direct the food program of the zone.

Straightened out some of the difficulties connected with establishing a Senior Post Directorate for the American zone, as in the transport situation so in this communications situation we run into the desire of Bavaria to appoint and control all of its communications personnel, but if operation is to be uniform throughout the zone the Senior Post President must at least be given authority to approve all appointments. The birth pains in turning back operations to the Germans appear to be very severe with some of our own functional people and the Germans have a lot to learn about inter-state cooperation. Dr. Bode came down from Berlin to secure the cooperation of German officials on the projected cotton program. The plan is to import from the United States raw cotton which can then be processed and the finished products not only pay for the raw cotton but also provide work and extra finished products for use among the Germans or in an export program. He did not realize the heavy schedule of committees and the large amount of work which is carried on, making it impossible to summon German officials from all three states upon short notice.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, March 27, 1946

My Darling –

[. . .] After I wrote to you Sunday I decided to take two of my staff and drive into the French zone and visit Tübingen and Burg Hohenzollern. It is only an hour's drive away. I enclose a postcard. Really it is a story book castle and just as we approached it, fog enveloped most of it except the towers. I never will forget the sight. Then to top it off I learned that Crown Prince Wilhelm – the old Kaiser's son – was living in the nearby village. I thought it might be interesting to see him and, as luck would have it, he was home and received us. I enclose a report I made to Murphy about it.⁵⁶ It was like a page out of a history book. Here was I giving a package of cigarettes to a Hohenzollern and having him take them like a beggar. It was another interesting experience and a change for me.

This week has been very strenuous and look what is coming up! General Clay is coming down Friday and asked me to summon the three Minister-Presidents for a special session so he could make an important announce-

⁵⁶ Bericht Pollocks über seinen Besuch bei Kronprinz Wilhelm in Hechingen/Hohenzollern vom 26. 3. 1946, Pollock – Murphy, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 61–8.

ment about the food situation. He had told the Germans in December that we would maintain a 1550 daily ration. Now our government has let him down and the food is not coming and he is man enough to come here himself and explain why. His coming, however, deprived me of a lovely trip. General Willems at Heidelberg Monday invited me to fly down to Rome with him for a few days! [. . .]

*Love,
Jim*

Highlight Summary of the Day 28 March 1946

Busy today with preparation for the special Länderrat meeting tomorrow. Discussed with Mettger the various steps which we want to call to General Clay's attention in connection with the food crisis. We both felt the desirability of having the Länderrat appoint a special food commissioner.

In one of the committees there was a lively discussion on aspects of labor law. It appears that the policy of our own Manpower Division to build up an independent position of the Trade Unions runs counter to a lot of German officials' thinking. In any case, the Labor Ministers came up with some very advanced notions of associating our employees in the management of industry. I have felt that we have been a bit late in lining up the labor people in the right way.

J.K.P.

Highlight Summary of the Day 29 March 1946

General Clay arrived on his special train at 8 o'clock bringing with him Ambassador Murphy, Colonel Hester, and Mr. and Mrs. Walter Lippman. It was a lovely day and when we came up to my office Clay, Murphy, the Lippmans and I had an interesting hour of discussion about Germany in general, and the Länderrat in particular. Mr. Lippman wanted to talk personally with the Minister-Presidents and I arranged this quickly. Meanwhile, the General and I had discussions about various topics, and I got the chance to tell Bob Murphy about several matters of political importance. We had coffee on the terrace before General Clay made his speech before the Minister-Presidents. He entered the Länderrat room a few minutes after 11 o'clock and in his usual concise, direct and sincere manner told the

Minister-Presidents that the food ration would have to be cut to 1275 calories a day.⁵⁷

The German officials, in turn, expressed their strong desire to do everything to alleviate the crisis and in general exhibited the finest kind of cooperation. General Clay concluded the meeting by promising to eliminate the curfew so that Germans could spend time working in their gardens.

After a very pleasant lunch at my house the General returned to the office, where I assembled the staff, in order to present several problems to him. He felt very strongly about a few matters, including giving the Army everything it needed in the way of supplies and housing. He also cleared up some points for us by explaining what was being done in Berlin and how difficult and slow it was to secure quadripartite approval. The difficulties of getting the German economic machine back on a peaceful productive basis are indeed great. I think we were able to stimulate the General's thinking a little on a few points and I know he gave both to us and to the Germans a great inspiration to carry on.

No sooner had he departed in the late afternoon than we received six newspaper publishers who are visiting Germany. Walter Dorn was their escort, and although by that time I was quite weary I gave them about an hour's discussion on American Military Government. We continued our discussions through dinner and into the evening. I was impressed with their sincerity and desire to get at the bottom of things. I felt all along that if only competent observers could come here to see the real situation that it would not be so difficult for General Clay to get his requisitions honored in Washington.

The Denazification Ministers were here today meeting with Colonel Oppenheimer and Major Wilson in working out the negotiations under the denazification law. It was good news to hear that the Bavarians have already lined up almost 2,000 qualified persons to serve on review boards. The Meldebogen which everyone will be required to fill out was finally agreed upon and approved for publication and distribution. An ingenious feature of this questionnaire is an attached receipt which each German will have to have before he can secure his ration card.

J.K.P.

⁵⁷ Hinweis auf die außerordentliche Sitzung des Länderrats am 29. 3. 1946 in Stuttgart in AVBRD 1, Dok. 17.

Highlights of the Day
30 March 1946

Left after lunch for Heidelberg to take part in the deactivation ceremonies when the 7th Army passes out of the picture and the 3rd Army takes over. It was a very well staged affair, but there was a certain note of sadness in seeing part of our military forces fold up after such a distinguished record. General Keyes invited the party to his house overlooking the Neckar for cocktails and there I enjoyed conversation with General McNarney, General Burrell, General Adcock, General Allen, and others. Later a beautiful dinner was served in the Schloss Hotel and General Truscott and General McNarney both made very appropriate speeches in appreciation of the services of General Keyes.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
31 March 1946

Returned home in time for lunch to which I had invited my old friend, John Elliott of the *New York Herald Tribune*, and Colonel Onthank of Berlin. General Gailey had come to talk to me about Public Relations policy inasmuch as he has just been made the head of Public Relations in Berlin. I gave General Gailey my very frank views about the short-comings of our Public Relations policy thus far and found that he had already had a number of the same points made to him by other people. He spoke of establishing a Press Camp here in Stuttgart, indicating that it is at last realized that Stuttgart is the real center of the American zone and the place in which our activities can best be observed and reported.

J.K.P.

Highlight Summary of the Day
1 April 1946

Another beautiful spring day and another extremely busy day for the work of our committees. Four committees met and deliberated on aspects of Information Control, Finance, Banking, and Iron and Metals. The turning over to the Germans of control over publications, theater, music, etc., is going to be a slower process than in technical fields like railroads. They have been ordered and propagandized so long that it is slow business getting them to appreciate some of the serious responsibilities which people in the information field must carry. I am a bit perturbed, however, that some of our people as, for instance, those in the theater and music fields do

not give enough emphasis to what the Germans have always done in these fields and we tend to expect them to conform to our own more private approach.

J.K.P.

2 April 1946

Seventh meeting of the Länderrat today,⁵⁸ Dr. Hoegner in the chair. All in all, it was the most successful session we have yet had. The agenda was well prepared; Hoegner was extremely efficient in conducting the business and it was adequate in all important points. More newspapermen were present and the only person who was lacking was General Clay who had asked me to extend his greeting to the Minister-Presidents and for me to say that since he was here Friday, it was not possible to attend this meeting. Professor Nawiasky came with Dr. Hoegner to observe the session. He is helping the Bavarians in the drafting of their state constitution. He told me during the coffee hour I had for the Minister-Presidents after the meeting that he found this Länderrat development to be one of the most creative and promising contributions in the field of constitutional law in a long time. Late in the afternoon two planes arrived from the British zone bringing along the top German officials and two British officers, Major Gibbs and Captain Thomas. We entertained the British officers at dinner in the evening.

3 April 1946

A joint session between the Germans from the British zone and our own Minister-Presidents was held today.⁵⁹ Among the Germans from the British zone were Dr. Schumacher, the leader of the Social Democrats in the Western Zone, Dr. Adenauer, former Oberbürgermeister of Cologne, Dr. Petersen, the Oberbürgermeister of Hamburg, and the Oberpräsidenten of all the provinces in the British zone. In the discussions, a great deal of ground was cleared and although there were no concrete decisions, the meeting served a very important purpose in giving the German officials a lift and in bringing them closer to the realities of the total German situation. When the meeting was over they desired to make public a joint resolution and a press communique. Both were quite innocuous and we were all highly amused at the nervousness of the British officers lest some

⁵⁸ Protokoll der 7. Länderratssitzung vom 2. 4. 1946 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 1, Dok. 17.

⁵⁹ Protokoll der gemeinsamen Tagung des Länderrats mit Vertretern der britischen Zone vom 3. 4. 1946 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 1, Dok.18.

slight word of criticism either of their administration or of quadripartite action would get out. Our newspapermen were anxious to get off a story at once, but everything had to be held up until the British could communicate with their headquarters at Lübbecke and have everything cleared. The Württemberg-Baden gave a little party out in Endersbach, a small Swabian village replete with historic associations. In the evening I gave a Beer-Abend at the Villa Reitzenstein for all the visitors and for a number of local military and civilian officials: approximately 100 guests in all. We learned a great deal from our conversations with Germans from the British zone, in particular I was interested in a proposal with elaborate exhibits presented to me by Dr. Kopf, the Oberpräsident of Hannover. The Bavarian permanent representative here, Consul Seelos, brought along with him the former German ambassador to the United States, von Prittwitz.

4 April 1946

The liaison officers were here today from the three Land detachments and we had an interesting discussion about the organization of American Military Government. There is still some feeling on the part of the Land detachments that the policy-makers in Berlin do not consult the men in the field before issuing directives. Major Mahder impressed upon the liaison officers in his report on economic conditions that the full effects of the war have not yet been felt and that the next six months will be probably the most critical period. He reported quite pessimistically on the raw material situation, predicting stoppage of many German industries in the next few weeks, if raw materials do not become available. Mr. Mettger brought in a shocking bit of news about conditions bordering on starvation in the Bavarian palatinate which is in the French zone. We had an interesting discussion about the momentous action of the Länderrat in approving the so-called Lubahn for house and garden settlements.⁶⁰ This is one of the most constructive efforts which has been developed here and seems to promise a great deal in the very difficult adjustments which have to be made in Germany in connection with the resettlement of millions of evacuees. Of no small interest was the fact that the principles of Henry George are embodied in this proposal.

⁶⁰ Im Rahmen der Bodenreform war von Johannes Lubahn das „Gesetz zur Beschaffung billigen Bodens und zur Schaffung von Volksheimstätten“ entworfen worden, das dem Länderrat zur Genehmigung vorgelegt wurde. Es wurde dann als „Gesetz zur Beschaffung von Siedlungsland und zur Bodenreform“ erlassen, 13. 8./17. 9. 1946, LRGS, S. 133.

Stuttgart, April 4, 1946

My Dearest:

I am dead tired tonight – tired but happy. These past few days have been momentous and vastly interesting but I'm just about worn out tonight. [...]

You see on Tuesday the regular Länderrat meeting was held and on Wednesday we have British officers and ten of their top German officials from their zone. With it all came a group of newspapermen including our old friend John Elliott of the Herald Tribune. It is a joy to talk to an intelligent newspaperman who knows Germany. But from now on I'm afraid I will have to spend an increasing amount of my time on what might be called public relations. I gave a dinner for the British officers Tuesday and Wednesday I have a Bierabend at the Villa for the visiting German officials. I guess this is once I was able to entertain like a prince. You should have seen the Villa! The beautiful rooms filled with guests – about a hundred – and the terraces and gardens illuminated. It was a warm evening. My administrative officer had arranged for dancers and everything. It was about the first real party the Germans had had for a long time and they were greatly impressed. My ears burned all evening as my officers kept repeating to me what the visiting Germans were saying about me, namely, that they wished they had such a far-sighted controller in their zone!

The meeting on Tuesday was the best yet: well organized, well led, and astonishingly productive. It is almost embarrassing the amount of work I have been able to get out of the Germans. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

5 April 1946

The Secretary General presented me today with the original text of a declaration which had been signed by all of the top officials in the British and American zones. This declaration asked the Control Council to permit the Germans themselves to try the so-called "War Criminals" after the trial has been finished at Nuremberg, in order to give the sanction of German law to their punishment. After talking with General Clay about the matter, I sent the original document up to him for such use as he cares to make of it. The declaration seems to me not only to provide the basis for a great news story, but also to demonstrate the commendable attitude of our responsible German officials both in the British and in the American zone. With regard to this matter of punishing war criminals, the Denazification Committee, working closely under the excellent guidance of Colonel Oppenheimer, have now finished their work on the detailed regulations to give effect to the denazification law. Gratifying progress has been made

and within a few weeks every German in our zone over 18 years of age will be required to fill out a complete Meldebogen, which will permit the review boards to sift the Nazis and other guilty Germans from the others.

6 April 1946

I learned today about an approach which had been made by a French officer to Dr. Maier, the Minister-President of Württemberg-Baden. The French colonel tried to induce Dr. Maier to move to Baden-Baden in the French zone and he promised him the proper entrée in Paris. Obviously, the French are trying to bring Württemberg-Baden into their orbit, and their French colonel assured Dr. Maier that the French were more interested in this southwest area than they were in the Ruhr. Dr. Maier was quite indignant about the matter and so the Frenchman returned empty-handed. I wish the French could learn that they would be much better off without attempting to annex large chunks of German territory which they could not properly digest. I resent their intrusions into areas under our jurisdiction. I still think it was a great mistake ever to have associated the French with the occupation of Germany.

Stuttgart, April 7, 1946

My Dearest –

My days here continue to be very busy and productive. We are writing quite a story of accomplishment which I think is being more and more appreciated by everybody. I enclose some recent clippings and I will send a package of papers and booklets some time this week. The General is sending a number of very important persons down here soon, among them Henry Luce of Fortune. The British are sending me an officer to study my work and the French are coming over from Baden-Baden this week to arrange for a meeting. I have interesting guests all the time and how my little head keeps up with so many technical fields, I don't know. Thus far I haven't slipped and General Clay's confidence in me is one of the finest tributes I have ever had. It will be difficult for a time to drop back into small-minded academic selfishness. But I'm resolved to come back late this summer and be with my family.

By the way, please make arrangements for me to have an absent voters' ballot so I can vote for Jeffries in the primary which I believe is held in June this year. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

8 April 1946

General Clay called this morning and asked me to bring the Minister-Presidents and the Ministers of Agriculture to Berlin to meet with ex-President Hoover. In this way, Mr. Hoover can secure the informed opinions of the responsible German officials in our zone regarding the present food crisis. Our machinery here worked smoothly and in a very short time all of the arrangements for the trip and the notification of the parties involved had been completed.

9 April 1946

Received a Monsieur Mathieu who was sent here from Baden-Baden to arrange for a meeting between the German officials of the French zone and our own. At any rate, this was the way I understood it from my telephone conversation with General Gailey in Berlin. However, the Frenchman must have been misinformed, because he was talking about a joint meeting between French and American Military Government officers. I promptly straightened him out on the purpose and functioning of the Länderrat and then he decided to return to Baden-Baden for new instructions. He was somewhat relieved when I told him that, of course, any discussions engaged in by German officials from his zone with ours would always be open to his observation. He seemed to be afraid that discussions would take place that he would not be permitted to follow. Obviously, the status of German civilian administration in the French zone is quite backward, but I was glad to be able to assure him that we would be happy at any time to tell the French or their German officials about our operations here.

I had a brief but interesting discussion with a German Price Control officer from the British zone.

Herr Roßmann and the three permanent representatives of the Länder worked hard yesterday and today to try to select a special food commissioner so that he could accompany us to Berlin on Thursday.⁶¹ It is very interesting to watch the maneuvering between the three States which goes on whenever an important appointment or decision has to be made. The Chief of Staff sent us today for consideration by the Länderrat the huge problem of property control and although the American committee has been working on this question for over two months, they are asking the Germans to come up with a plan by May 15. We shall see.

⁶¹ Dr. Hermann Dietrich, bis 1932 Reichsfinanzminister, wurde vom Länderrat Anfang Mai 1946 zum Sonderbevollmächtigten für Ernährung und Landwirtschaft in der US-Zone ernannt.

10 April 1946

Received a steady stream of people including Mr. Bigge, formerly of the Social Security Board, Colonel Duehring from the War Department, and Colonel Potter from the Statistics Branch in Berlin. Dr. Maier also called about the arrangements for the trip to Berlin, and was anxious to learn what kind of questions Mr. Hoover would be interested in. The Germans are much interested in the trip because they have not seen Berlin since the bombing and are anxious to have this opportunity, although I think they are glad that it will be only for one day. All of the necessary regulations, forms, and instructions for a uniform identification card have now been worked out and are ready for approval. This is another instance of prompt and efficient German action in carrying out a request made about a month ago by General McNarney.

Late in the afternoon O'Reagan of the Associated Press came in to find out something about the food situation. I told him that I was always flattered when American newspapermen came after solid information. His reply was, "Well, you know that all our papers want are stories about sex, crime, and revolution." I endeavored to put the food situation in the American zone in proper perspective by indicating what a deficit area it always had been and how the situation at present had been kept from being more critical by an efficient and even-handed administration of rationing, price control and distribution of food. He kept returning to the question of how much the farmers were holding out and I kept emphasizing that even assuming a 100 per cent collection of food, there would still be a very large deficit which had to be supplied from outside the zone, otherwise, the people would starve.

Stuttgart, April 10, 1946

My Darling –

[. . .] My days are so full I can't keep track of myself. Today an Associated Press correspondent came to interview me and when I expressed pleasure in seeing him he said: "Well it is a great compliment to you, because all our American papers are interested in getting from Germany, is crime, sex, and revolution!" I quote him exactly! What chance have we to get our story of solid achievement told to the American people. I think, however, that John Elliott of the Herald Tribune and Dana Smith of the Times will write some good stories about us which you may see. [. . .]

*Love and Kisses,
Jim*

11 April 1946

Travelled today by car to Frankfurt and thence by plane in the afternoon to Berlin, taking the Minister-Presidents and their Ministers of Agriculture along to meet with ex-President Hoover. I had three hitchhikers in the persons of three of our top German officials who wanted a glimpse of Berlin. Perfect arrangements had been made for the party and I spent a pleasant and profitable time with Bob Murphy, seeing some papers he wanted me to look over and talking over current aspects of the German situation. In the evening I made myself useful at a party which General Hester had arranged at the guest house for the Germans and ended the day with a talk with Don Heath, at his house around midnight.

Our Germans were taken on a tour of the city after they landed at Tempelhof, including a visit to the Reichskanzlei. When Director Roßmann entered Hitler's former room, he remarked, "Sic transit gloria mundi." Dr. Hoegner was much sought after by the responsible men who wanted to have his views about a possible Socialists-Communists merger. More and more we must consider our Minister-Presidents as political as well as administrative officials.

12 April 1946

A conference between Mr. Hoover and our German officials came off very satisfactorily.⁶² I was happy to see the ex-President looking very well despite his seventy-two years. In fact, he had not changed very much since I last saw him at his house in Palo Alto in 1938 after his return from Europe. He appeared to be much interested in the brief factual reports given by our German officials, and when they had finished he said that he wanted to make a few general observations and then to ask a few questions. In concise, clear language he gave an admirable overview of the world situation, and then he posed several questions to the Germans related principally to infant mortality, nourishment of children and related matters, thus showing a deep interest in this phase of the problem. He left the conference with what I thought was an unusually friendly and sincere promise to do everything he could to improve the critical situation.

Murphy told me that Mr. Hoover had sent a message back to Washington suggesting that until the French agreed to the establishment of central agencies, no further wheat should be sent to them. I cannot understand why our Washington people can't begin to use economic pressure to accomplish the objectives of our foreign policy.

⁶² Material über das Treffen Hoovers mit den Ministerpräsidenten in: Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. (IfZ Bd. 88).

General Clay asked me to bring the German officials to call on him after we finished with Mr. Hoover and with his usual sincere and friendly manner he received the Germans in his office and gave them a few words of guidance and encouragement. Afterwards Dr. Hoegner said to me, "General Clay is always very kind to us and we appreciate it." There is no doubt that he is held in the deepest respect by all of our German officials.

After working out a few administrative details with General Milburn, who seemed to be a terribly overworked man, we went to Tempelhof and boarded the plane, arriving in Frankfurt just before dark. All in all, the trip served a very useful purpose, not only in informing Mr. Hoover, but in giving our responsible German officials a little larger glimpse of the total German situation. I learned many interesting facts on the side from the Germans and got a very keen report from Dr. Mueller, the Economics Minister of Hessen, who had just returned from a stay in the Russian zone. I thought it was so good that I arranged for him while in Berlin to report directly on the matter to the General.

13 April 1946

Berlin has submitted to me for study by the Länderrat the whole question of the control of blocked property in the American zone. An OMGUS committee has been working on the subject for over two months and having come to no solution, they now want our Germans to give them a plan by 15 May! This is a vast field of great importance to the future economic and social development of Germany and it will be interesting to see what plans the Germans come up with.

My absence yesterday from Stuttgart prevented my attendance at the memorial service which Director Roßmann had arranged in honor of President Roosevelt. It was a very impressive occasion, according to all reports, and, I believe, served a very good purpose. Since the Germans themselves thought it up and carried it through, it is all the more significant that they should have singled out President Roosevelt for particular commendation and to make him a striking contrast to Hitler, who brought Germany to its destruction.

Stuttgart, April 14, 1946

My Darling –

As I told you in my last letter, I flew to Berlin Thursday arriving at Tempelhof at 4. P.M. From then on for 24 hours I was really on the go. While the German officials I had brought were taken for a drive through the city, I went direct to Clay's office with the Headquarters' Commandant who had

met me. Clay was just about to leave for a conference with Hoover, and so I went in to see Bob Murphy. We talked for an hour and then he took me home for a little refreshment before dinner and to show me a couple of papers he wanted me to look over. I was supposed to go to Gen. McNarney's dinner, but I had to take care of the Germans at the guest house. About ten I went around the corner to visit with Don Heath, Murphy's assistant, and then about twelve to bed. I saw Clay at 8 in the morning, then I took the German officials out to see Hoover. He was friendly and seemed to remember me. The conference between him and our top German officials was quite dramatic. He asked me to have each one of them speak briefly. Then he summarized the world food situation for them most admirably in about five minutes. Then he asked a number of good questions, all of them about children. He was given prompt and factual information about how much milk, sugar, etc. children and babies get. Nobody else gets milk or sugar! He was very sincere in saying he will do everything he can to help. I'm sure he was impressed.

Then I took the Germans to call on Clay. He always has a kind, helpful word for them. Then from that time – about 11:30 until 1:30 – I talked with Clay. He seemed quite tired and harassed with all the guests and great problems. I tried to help him and he seemed to want me to stay over, but he wouldn't ask me. He said very kindly – "I haven't given you an order yet – you always know what to do." I felt I should come right back, and will return to help him again when there aren't so many important guests around. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

15 April 1946

The Voluntary Relief met today and there was present for the first time a group of nine or ten Americans representing the various cooperating American organizations. I was very favorably impressed with these group representatives and took the occasion to explain to them what we were trying to do here and how important it was that they understand the necessity of working within the framework of Military Government. Like all free-wheeling Americans, some of them were inclined to want to go their own way without conforming to necessary Military Government regulations. They seemed to be impressed with the dutiful work of the Germans and gave the Germans something of a boost or an uplift.

J.K.P.

16 April 1946

Made brief remarks before the Military Government officers from all over the Land Württemberg-Baden. I explained to them the Work of the Länderrat and ended with a few words of suggestion about the changed status and function of the local Military Government officers at the present time.⁶³ I tried to indicate that they had just as important a function as when they were actually engaged in operations and indicated that they ought to pay particular attention to developing proper respect without attempting to share the responsibility with the German civilian administrators. I am sure some of them feel that the local detachments are too small, but experience seems to indicate that a large detachment will inevitably try to find something to do which will interfere with the performance of governmental services by the Germans themselves. It will take constant attention by the MGO's to hold the balance even.

A report was given to me of a very foolish effort by the Army to take over the hotel Graf Zeppelin and make it into a Rest Center for replacement troops. It is a bit irritating at this late date to find that so little consideration is given by certain elements in the Army to the work of Military Government and the various civilian organizations working with it. I threw the whole matter into General Adcock's lap when he paid us his first visit.

J.K.P.

17 April 1946

A distinguished party of American newspaper and magazine editors arrived this afternoon. The party included Henry Luce, Gardner Cowles, Julius Ochs Adler, Paul Bellamy, and my former student, Bob Fuoss, managing editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*. I received them in my office and for nearly two hours we had a most delightful seminar. I was delighted at the type of questions they raised because they all showed a desire to get to the heart of some of the most important problems. Between questions I tried to give them an outline of the total picture and to put some of the more important problems in proper perspective. They seemed particularly interested in my observation that General MacArthur's job in Japan was child's play compared with Clay's task here in Germany, and another opinion which I asseverated: That military occupation does not solve very much and becomes more difficult as the years go by. Not having been prepared to state my own opinions on some of the bigger aspects of the

⁶³ "The Länderrat and the Regional Government Coordinating Office" Memo o. U. (Pollock) vom 16. 4. 1946, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 60-11 (IfZ Bd. 89).

German problem for some time, I was rather cautious and, I hope, precise in saying what I thought. Later, as I reflected on my statements, I found that they did not vary much from what I had written some years ago. That means that either my mind is static or my experiences have only served to bolster my earlier opinions.

I had to cut off the discussion rather abruptly as time was passing rapidly, in order to take the editors to an Export – Import Committee meeting of the Länderrat which was about to conclude. This gave them an opportunity to see how our German committees work.

In the evening we gave the editors a nice dinner at the Villa Reitzenstein and the whole occasion was given added luster and importance by the presence of General Clay and Ambassador Murphy, who came down by special train from Frankfurt to be present. We had some delightful after-dinner speaking from Mr. Bellamy and Mr. Luce, after I had started them going with a perhaps too-acid remark about newspapermen's being only interested in crime, sex, and revolution – a sentence which had been given to me by an Associated Press correspondent only a few days before. I was more than happy that my remark seemed to call forth very positive promises on the part of the spokesmen for the editors that they appreciated what was being done in Germany and would do all they could to see that the American people gave an understanding support to our activities. General Clay, with his usual modesty, would not allow me to call on him for a speech, since he preferred merely to be present and talk individually with the editors. Bob Murphy took the occasion of his visit here to have me arrange a talk for him with Landesbischof Wurm about a couple of important religious matters. All in all, it was a very delightful evening and the Villa was not only adequate to the occasion, but also quite resplendent.

J.K.P.

18 April 1946

Bob Fuoss had breakfast with me in my quarters and raised many interesting questions about occupation policy. I wish we could have more young clear-headed persons like him in positions of influence and responsibility.

We invited the editors to attend our regular weekly briefing for the liaison officers, but due to a late change in their schedule, only Mr. Gannett, and Mr. Barth of the *Washington Post* were present. Pulvermacher had arranged a very excellent exhibit of a daily German food ration. Major Mahder, also, was able to emphasize concretely how the raw material situation was gradually approaching a crisis.

Colonel Oppenheimer came in to report upon a supplementary law dealing with Nazi crimes which the Denazification Committee had just agreed to. This is another instance of what careful negotiation can do and how

some of the most important matters can become bogged down in endless procedures, if the right man with understanding and knowledge is not present to straighten them out.

Before leaving Mr. Luce called in person to say that as a pupil, he had never enjoyed a class more than the one I had held yesterday. He was kind enough to say that the conference with me was a highlight in his trip and that he was most grateful for what we had done for the whole group.

J.K.P.

April 18, 1946

My Dearest –

I seem to go from one superlative experience to another! I don't blame you if you think my imagination is conjuring up stories to tell you. But really, these things are true.

Wednesday there arrived in Stuttgart as my guests 14 of the leading newspaper and magazine men in America. Henry Luce of Time-Life-Fortune, Frank Gannett, Gardner Cowles, Adler of the New York Times, etc. I gave them a chance to ask me questions which they did for more than two hours. Then coffee on the terrace. At seven I used the Villa for the first time for a formal dinner. I wish you could have seen that state dining room. In the morning General Clay called up from Frankfurt and said he and Murphy would like to come down if I would invite them. So I really had a galaxy of stars. I was host and sat between Adler of NY Times and Frank Gannett. Then Clay, and Luce on my right, Murphy and Muir of Newsweek on my left. We had fifty guests and what a dinner my staff put on with all the wines, champagne and coffee and liquors on the terrace afterwards. I gave a few words of greeting and stimulated two fine speeches by Bellamy of the Cleveland Plain Dealer and Henry Luce of Fortune. I replied and Clay wouldn't let me call on him. He is so modest and just wanted to be at my party where he was free to talk with the guests without the responsibility of being host. Everyone was complimentary about my remarks and, although I didn't quite satisfy myself, Clay & Murphy and the others were pleased. They will remember the evening, I am sure. I went home exhausted at one o'clock, tired but happy. Clay left on his special train about 11:30 remarking that he always enjoyed himself so much in Stuttgart that he was always late in leaving.

Today another meeting with several of the group including Bob Fuoss, managing editor of Saturday Evening Post – a former student of mine! My liaison officers from the three Military Government Detachments were in today for a briefing and tonight I'm ready to quit for a while and go to bed as soon as I send my love to you.

And guess what I'm going to do? I'm leaving in the morning for Switzerland to spend the Easter week-end, taking along three of my hard-working staff. It will be a change for all of us and a much needed rest. I plan to return Monday evening. I shall luxuriate in the Dolder Hotel overlooking the Lake at Zürich. The others can do what they want. You see with my special diplomatic passport and the people at the Legation in Bern knowing me, I can arrange to go to Switzerland. It is not easy for others. I feel a little guilty running away but I've done more work than any two people except Clay himself. [. . .]

*Lots of Love,
Jim*

Highlights of the Day
Good Friday, 19 April 1946

Left Stuttgart this morning with three of the hardworking members of my staff for a weekend in Switzerland. It was not easy to arrange everything for the party, but I managed somehow to get all of us past the Swiss frontier guards who are always very cooperative, but very firm. We stopped en route at Rottweil to look in on a service in the old cathedral; arriving in Zürich, we felt we had come into a paradise after the destruction and grimness of Germany. We were all gaga in looking at the beautiful shops, well-dressed people, and the gorgeous lake and mountains. With the American Express Company closed over the holiday, we could not completely gratify all our desires for purchases, with Swiss currency so scarce. Ran into Henry Luce and Gardner Cowles in a watch shop and had a brief conversation with Hubbard, the Consul.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
21 April 1946

Yesterday we had a debauch of shopping and did a lot of walking and loafing around the beautiful hotel. Today we took one of the most beautiful drives I have ever enjoyed. Leaving Zürich and following the lake, we cut to Zug and Schwyz and then to Brunnen on Lake Luzerne. Following the gorgeous drive along the lake with the historic field of Rütli on the opposite shore, we climbed up in the shadow of the great Saint Gotthard to Andermatt where we had an appetizing lunch outdoors in the sunshine with the snow all around. It made us all forget our

troubles in Germany in communing so closely with the inimitable Swiss scenery.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Easter Monday, 22 April 1946

Returned this evening to Stuttgart after a pleasant and uneventful drive from Zürich via Constance and Sigmaringen. We had an interesting glimpse of border difficulties at Constance where both the Swiss and French, who now occupy southern Baden, keep a strict control at the frontier. As one passed from Switzerland back into Germany one had a feeling of returning to a prison or an effective poorhouse. The towns, the country, the people, on the German side, were in such terrible contrast with the happy, well-housed, well-fed Swiss, who have learned the lesson of how to get along with their neighbors and with themselves, which is the lesson the Germans still have to learn.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
23 April 1946

I spent the time today worrying about proper procedures to effectuate policies originating in Berlin. Thus far, we have carefully avoided getting ourselves into operations and I think we have successfully established proper liaison with the Land Detachments, but as this operation becomes larger and more important, I will have to be constantly on the alert to avoid duplication on the one hand, or any possible circumventing of the Land Detachments on the other. I have called the whole problem to General Clay's attention and, at his suggestion, will now talk the matter over with the three Directors of the Land Detachments. It is always interesting to find any problems for which ready solutions are not at hand.

Joe Dodge sent me a letter today about the bank law which passed the Länderrat two weeks ago. Back in November I had originally asked the three Land Governments to draw up a proper banking law, but because of his absence and considerable misunderstanding on the part of the German finance officials, a proposal was not completed until this month. Now he feels that it does not suit his ideas of what the German banking system should be like. I am afraid that he is carrying over his knowledge of American political conditions and making the assumption that similar political conditions will prevail in Germany – an assumption which is quite

incorrect. We can go so far in imposing our ideas on the Germans, but I think it is fatuous to believe that we can completely alter the whole economic and culture pattern.

A supplementary proposal dealing with National-Socialists' crimes – that is, crimes committed during the Nazi regime, which, because of Nazi legislation, were not punishable – received the approval ad interim of the Minister-Presidents. It is another aspect of retribution and recovery which should be welcomed; coming right after the denazification law, it will permit the German courts to begin the restoration of sound judicial procedures.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
24 April 1946

I was happy today to be able to move one step forward toward an athletic program for German children. When General Clay was here last week and I introduced him to Matt Mann, the great swimming coach, General Clay shortly thereafter dropped the suggestion about what a fine thing it would be if the coaches here for a GI athletic program could give a half hour each day of their own time to coach German children. I took the matter up with Coach Mann and found that he and the other coaches had been thinking along the same line. They came today to my office and I called General Clay, expressing their willingness to conduct such a program, in addition to their other responsibilities. They asked me to tell him that they thought this investment would pay big dividends in the future, and the General said he would immediately get busy to secure the proper permission. There is no doubt but that the German children need a great deal of careful attention and guidance and this is a step in the right direction.

Oberpräsident Kopf of Hannover sent to me today a very remarkable Atlas of Lower Saxony. Having found me interested in the territorial reorganization of Germany along federal lines, he has prepared a very remarkable collection of data, pointing toward the desirability of a single state in the old Niedersachsen area.

I talked with Colonel Brown who came down from G-5 USFET and with Ed Litchfield over the telephone, Berlin. I am gratified to learn what Litchfield has done in putting together a set of coordinated plans for central German agencies. If only our Government could bring enough pressure on the French to force them to recede from their negative position, many problems would be solved.

I had a brief interview with Mr. Brown of the AFL who came, presumably, to get my views, but seemed more intent on expressing his. I had to worry today about job descriptions for the staff.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
25 April 1946

The liaison officers were here today and we talked both broadly and specifically about relations in Military Government and how to improve coordinating among all the different parts of the machinery. Colonel Oppenheimer was working with the Denazification Committee which had just finished a proposal for the punishment of crimes committed under the National Socialists' regime which were not punished because of interfering legislation. I had suggested to Oppenheimer that although he had been given the power to approve this particular law, that he would be well advised to submit it beforehand to General Clay personally. Interestingly enough – and it shows what a keen mind the General has – he immediately raised the objection of double jeopardy, which neither Colonel Oppenheimer nor Mr. Fahy, his two legal advisers, had detected. Consequently, some new approach will have to be worked out. Colonel Drury called and presented to me the head chaplains of the Theater, Father Tierman and Father Martin. Both of them impressed me very much and I was sorry to have been so rushed that I could only have a brief conversation with them. In the course of the afternoon, Director Roßmann brought Dr. Fehr of Bavaria in to see me. The Länderrat had authorized the appointment of a special Food Commissioner in the present crisis and had made a tender of position to Dr. Fehr who had previously been Reichsminister of Agriculture and a member of the Reichstag. He was a distinguished and sincere old man, but he proceeded to give all kinds of petty personal reasons for not accepting. He had lost his son and his wife, and he was an old man, and the situation looked black, and he would be held responsible for reducing the ration. I interceded with some vigor, drawing a comparison between ex-President Hoover's willingness at seventy-two to leave his lovely California residence and romp all over the world to try to get some improvement in the world food situation. I also pointed out to him that I should much prefer to be at home with my family, and that although Military Government could order him to take a responsible position, that if he could not be impelled by a sense of patriotic responsibility in a great crisis like this, that certainly Military Government would not want him.

I told him to pray over it tonight and come up with a proper decision. I was much interested that Director Roßmann and Dr. Seelos, the Bavarian

plenipotentiary, both argued very convincingly that there was an exceedingly important psychological aspect to the food crisis, which should not be overlooked and that they would be in a bad situation if such a prominent man as Dr. Fehr turned them down.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
26 April 1946

The Russians have taken some more of our German officials off our Military train running between Berlin and Frankfurt. This is proof of the continued disorganization both in transportation and in quadripartite relations. General Clay has raised the question repeatedly and has given orders to shoot any Russians getting on the train, but the matter is much deeper than that. This is only the rash, not the disease. Amusingly enough, one of the German officials taken off the train was the Labor Minister of Greater Hesse who, himself, is a Communist. I think if I were a Communist, I would feel that the Red Army was my worst enemy. All of these inter-zonal difficulties make one feel that, after all, Germany is really a torso without a head or limbs, attended by four physicians, who, unless they take emergency measures, will soon find that the patient is going to die of anemia. I like what General Echols said in a recent speech in New York, that unless a quadripartite plan for a peaceful German economy is quickly implemented, objectives of the occupation may never be achieved. He said very keenly that "Every passing day without a resolution of these problems weakens the chance of a democratic Germany in the future." As he pointed out, "Failure to treat Germany as an economic entity is already aggravating her serious food problems and is shaping her economy along grotesquely unnatural lines."

Litchfield came down with a proposed paper prepared by an inter-divisional committee on the problem of creating central German agencies. I spent the evening and also into the early morning with him talking about the various aspects of the problem. I suggested that if I were approaching the problem now, almost a year after Potsdam, instead of stirring up dead fish, I would approach the problem from an entirely fresh angle. At this stage Germany needs a central government which can be supervised by the Control Council. The steps proposed at Potsdam were necessary then, they are utterly inadequate now and I hope the Foreign Ministers during their conferences in Paris⁶⁴ will not only be able to set-

⁶⁴ Außenministerkonferenz in Paris, 25. 4. – 15. 5. und 15. 6. – 12. 7. 1946, FRUS 1946 II, S. 88–441 u. S. 493–941.

tle the problem of the Ruhr and the status of the western Germany boundaries, but will also come up with a new approach in administering occupied Germany.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
27 April 1946

I came to Bavaria to confer with General Muller about the problem of coordinating Länderrat action with the Regional Military Government Detachments. After some discussion of the problem, he did not have much trouble in convincing me to accept his invitation to fly down for a weekend on the Riviera.

Nice, April 28, 1946

My Darling –

Little did I think last Sunday that I would be writing you from the Riviera this Sunday morning. But here I am in a front corner suite in the Negresco Hotel looking out over the Mediterranean and thinking of you. It came about this way. General Clay wanted me to visit each of the three Directors of Military Government to talk over problems of coordinating our activities. I began with General Muller in Munich having as an added reason the county elections which come off today. I thought I would kill two birds with one stone. I got to Munich Friday evening in time for dinner with the General, taking my public relations officer with me for company. After dinner Muller said: "You're not going to go back to Stuttgart until Monday because I'm taking you to the Riviera in the morning!" He had a special plane and everything set. Well, of course how could I turn down such an invitation, so I came. Again I have been transported in a few hours into another world.

We left Munich airport yesterday morning at nine and flew over Stuttgart, the Black Forest, the Rhine near Strassburg, Lyons, down the Rhône valley, over Avignon to Marseille where we came down for fuel. I rode up with the pilot part of the time and the day was beautiful. The flight took about 3 1/2 hours! Then on to Nice in a flight of 45 minutes along the Riviera past where the invasion occurred near San Raphael, Cannes, Antibes, to Nice. At the blue water, the picturesque coast was unbelievably beautiful. We were met at the airport and brought here for a late lunch. I soon got out on the Promenade des Anglais which was fairly well filled with the usual type of resort people and a few GI's. This happens to be the end of Nice as an army rest center. Hereafter people who come will travel in an American Express tour

and pay for it! I really walked my feet off and then sat down on the hotel terrace and basked in the sun. In the evening after dinner there was dancing and floor show and I went to bed about twelve and went to sleep listening to the waves pounding on the shore. It's raining this morning but it's nice to loaf and just look out over the sea. General Muller went to church but I wanted to write you and just relax and enjoy this beautiful suite.

About noon we drive along the Grande Corniche to Monte Carlo and Mentone. We will have lunch at Monte Carlo and get back for a siesta late this afternoon. [. . .] The plan is to fly back tomorrow a different route along the coast to Genoa, the Po Valley, Venice, and over the Brenner pass to Munich – weather of course permitting. Really this is another experience of a life time. General “Maude” Muller is such a fine officer and gentleman and seems really to like me. Only four of us came in his plane, the General, his aide, his driver, and little Jimmie. If everything goes according to plan, I expect to be back in Stuttgart tomorrow for dinner! Isn't the age of flying simply amazing? [. . .]

Forever!

Jim

Highlights of the Day
28 April 1946

Yesterday I had a beautiful flight over the Black Forest and down the Rhône Valley to Marseille and Nice, landing in this Mediterranean paradise in the midst of sunshine and palm trees. There were still numerous signs of the fighting which had taken place along the Promenade.

This morning we had a beautiful drive over the Grande Corniche from Nice to Mentone, stopping off at Monte Carlo for a gorgeous lunch. The Casino was full with its usual customers. In the evening met a number of General Muller's friends and in odd moments just stared out of the hotel window across the beautiful Mediterranean.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
29 April 1946

After a pleasant walk along the Promenade, we took off from the airport at about noon for Munich. On the return trip we flew along the Italian Riviera with the Maritime Alps in the background, down the Po Valley and over the Brenner. It was fantastically beautiful and a flight which I shall never forget. We landed in Munich just two hours and ten minutes after leaving Nice; and after a short conference with Maud and a few telephone

calls to Berlin, I took off with Grant Lyons who was waiting for me to drive to Stuttgart, where I arrived in time for dinner feeling very guilty for having run away, but very relaxed and happy.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
30 April 1946

Everyone is terribly let down by the news from Washington that President Truman postponed the date for closing the DP camps. It was hoped that by August 1, at the latest, we could liquidate this very vexing questions. It seems not to be generally understood what a disrupting influence it has been for many months to give preferential treatment to all kinds of DP's, long after there was any need to do so. Either they should be sent to their homes or be treated as other residents of the country in which they remain. Not only have they been a serious food problem, but equally important, they have constituted a serious public safety problems. Black market activities and crime of various sorts have centered in the DP camps. It is not understandable to us why Washington should have overruled the strong desire of the Army to liquidate this outstanding problem of the occupation. The Germans in the Länderrat seem to have at last come to an agreement on a Food Commissioner for the zone and perhaps within a week Dr. Dietrich, former Reichsminister and member of the Democratic Party, now residing in the French zone, will be here to give the prestige of his name and his administrative ability to an improvement in the agricultural situation. It is interesting how these old figures of the Weimar Republic are gradually reappearing as the only persons with sufficient prestige and experience to cope with the current pressing problems.

The elections for the Kreistage came off very well indeed on Sunday. The figures show a gradual elimination of the non-party vote, which means that voters are once more gravitating to the four principal parties. The Christian Social Union in Bavaria, the Christian Democratic Union in Württemberg-Baden and the Social Democrats in Hesse came off best. In no state did the Communists make even a fair showing. The participation was very high, rising to 72 per cent in Bavaria. Thus, this second round of popular elections in the American zone has been carried through successfully and we now can look forward to the Stadtkreis elections at the end of May.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
1 May 1946

Took advantage of the German holiday to confer with Colonel Newman in Wiesbaden about problems of coordination with Military Government. As I drove along the west bank of the Rhine from Mannheim to Wiesbaden, I reflected on how deceiving appearances must be, for one would not gain the impression from looking at the countryside or even the people that they were on the verge of starvation. It is a grim sight to drive through Ludwigs-haven and Worms, which have been so thoroughly destroyed. Returned in time for dinner, in order to talk to Hauser of the *Saturday Evening Post*, who had come to see me.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
2 May 1946

A interesting point came up today in our briefing of our liaison officers which shows what happens when complicated international machinery is superimposed upon another nation's economy. A considerable amount of surplus hydraulic electric power is available for use, but cannot be used because of penalties imposed under Control Council Law No. 7.⁶⁵ In other words, water is going over the dam, unused, because of some quadripartite regulations. To show the assiduous way in which the Germans are seeking to utilize every possible means of recovery, the Electrical Committee gave serious attention to the possibility of utilizing wind power, but due to the shortage of machinery, found the project unfeasible.

We had an interesting illustration of the interconnection between Holland and Germany when lumber people from Holland proposed coming to Bavaria with their own workers, feed them and let them cut whatever wood they desired to buy for Holland. With the big wood cutting program now under way, which required all the German labor which is available, the Dutch thought their kind of proposal would be acceptable.

The Works Council Law, which has caused so much discussion in the Labor Committee, is ready for submission by the Länderrat to the temporary parliaments of the Länder for discussion. This is a new wrinkle which demonstrates the desire of the Germans to make use of all the deliberative machinery which we have provided.

J.K.P.

⁶⁵ Kontrollratsgesetz Nr. 7 vom 30.11.1945, Amtsblatt des Kontrollrats in Deutschland Nr. 2 vom 30. 11. 1945, S. 32.

Highlights of the Day
3 May 1946

Professor Dr. Steidle, who has been selected by the Länderrat to be the President of the Senior Post in Munich, was presented to me today. He is a very vigorous old man who impressed me favorably. I do not envy him his job in trying to please all three Länder, but I am amused at the reluctant admissions now made by our communications people – after all, they now think the Germans might be able to do the job better than they can.

Colonel Hester flew down today from Berlin with his “raiders” and seemed to be satisfied with what he had learned. After jealously protecting the German working committees from too much interference, I confess to considerable irritation at the way in which Colonel Hester attempted to go his own way, regardless of how disturbing his approach might be to our total operations.

An amusing remark was made in one of the committees the other day by a Bavarian official who likened his state to the body and referred to Württemberg-Baden and Hesse as just two little pimples.

A minute which has just come to my hand from the British zone describing discussions which took place in the second meeting of their Zonal Advisory Council contains a very interesting observation by Dr. Steltzer, Oberpräsident of Schleswig-Holstein. Dr. Steltzer, in urging administrative reconstruction in the British zone, stated that this was a central problem to which a reasonable answer had been found. He said that it was not just a question of administration, but of the final political structure of Germany. He added that what was needed was not a theoretical solution, but a formula in accordance with German historical and administrative tradition. He referred to the meeting in Stuttgart on 6 February at which time the administrative heads of the provinces in the British zone had expressed their views. It is encouraging to find such an eminent administrator being impressed with what we have done here in the American zone and urging similar action in the British zone.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
4 May 1946

Dr. Hermann Dietrich, former Reichsminister, was presented to me this morning by the Secretary General who imparted the good news that Dietrich had accepted the invitation of the Länderrat to become the emergency Food Commissioner in the American zone. I was very favorably impressed with him and I am pleased that we have been able to

attract such an experienced and capable public servant from his residence in the French zone.

A very significant development has been taking place in the dissolutions of the big Kohlenkontor, a monopoly which once controlled more than 85 per cent of all the coal dealers in the U.S. zone. The Länderrat has designated Dr. Walter Bauer as trustee and all of the obvious features of the old cartel are now being gradually eliminated.

J.K.P.

May 5, 1946

My Darling:

This was another interesting day for me but I could not go to sleep if I had not written to you my usual Sunday letter.

This was the day of the plebiscite in France on their new constitution. Naturally I wanted to see the voting. Since Strassburg was the nearest French city of any importance it seemed best to go there. It is only about three and one half hours from here so we left in good time this morning and returned in time for a later dinner. We went through the Black Forest going and coming, returning through Baden-Baden. It was a beautiful drive and the woods were wonderful. In Strassburg I followed my long-established practices and went from one polling place to another to watch the voting. This time women were permitted to vote and it was all very interesting to me. With a little extra effort I was thus able to add further to my experience. Tonight I am listening to the returns but the issue is not yet clearly decided.

I enter another busy week with Clay and Murphy coming down for the Länderrat meeting on Tuesday. On Wednesday Joe Dodge, the Detroit banker who is the head of the Finance Division of OMGUS will be here. On Thursday my plan is to accept the Russian invitation to the Leipzig Fair in order to see another part of the country I have not yet been in since the war. I will then probably be in Berlin for the next week-end. It is all very strenuous and I would prefer to stay here, but I have duties and opportunities and I don't want to miss anything. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
[ohne Unterschrift]*

P.S. I enclose a good clipping quoting Clay. Also a wonderful letter from State Dept.

[Anlage]
Copy
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 15, 1946

Dr. James K. Pollock
Care of the United States
Political Adviser for Germany
Berlin

My dear Dr. Pollock:

It has come to my attention that, as a consequence of routine budgetary procedures, you were transferred to the War Department's roll from that of the Department of State.

This mechanical process, I am sure you will have recognized, carries with it not the slightest implication of a lessening of the Department of State's interest in your very fine work in Germany. Numerous reports, particularly those on the superb progress of the Länderrat, have given us a picture of your activity as the presiding genius of that experiment in reviving German political and administrative life. Ambassador Murphy in his personal letters has also expressed his appreciation of your splendid job – as did David Harris when he returned from Berlin.

I can only say that we are greatly pleased with these reports and want you to know that we shall continue, regardless of budgetary technicalities, to follow with liveliest concern the further course of your labors. I need hardly add that we want to assist in any way that we can from here.

Sincerely yours,
James W. Riddleberger
Chief, Division of
Central European Affairs

Highlights of the Day
6 May 1946

An interesting meeting took place today on cooperatives. The Germans were happy to learn that we had definite plans for reviving and strengthening these institutions, which, during the Republic, constituted an important bulwark of democratic strength.

In transportation it becomes clear that if we are to secure efficiency in operations, that the Director must report directly to the Minister-Presi-

dents, rather than through the Transport Director. This points up a very important development in the Länderrat now; it is handling actual operations not only in rails, but in post and communications, food and the weather service. In these fields, it now becomes clear, the Minister-Presidents will have to give more time and personal attention to the Directors of these operations. The Transport Ministers who constitute the Transport Committee are only slowing up matters with their agreements back and forth on behalf of their respective states. It will be interesting to see if the Länderrat itself recognizes that it has come to a turning point in its development which requires rather extensive alterations in its organization and structure.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
7 May 1946

The eighth meeting of the Länderrat occurred today with General Clay, as usual, in attendance.⁶⁶ This time he was accompanied by Mrs. Clay who is a very charming and lovely person. The General was very clear-headed and understanding when I presented to him the many problems which come before us here. He took my suggestions and later put them in his own clear diction and presented them in his speech to the Minister-Presidents. After lunch he talked personally to the three Minister-Presidents and also had a few minutes to meet the new Food Commissioner, Dr. Dietrich, the Director of Railroads, Dr. Fischer, and the Director of the Senior Post Directorate, Dr. Steidle. The General has a very sincere and very sympathetic manner in talking to his top German officials and he has succeeded to a very remarkable degree in winning their deep respect and complete confidence and cooperation. Bob Murphy and General Adcock were delayed by weather in arriving and missed the meeting. I did not have time, therefore, to talk to Bob about a number of things which I shall have to raise in the near future. The more I see of him, the more I wonder how some sections of the American press could have been so bitter in denunciation of him in connection with the North African campaign. He has a very high sense of duty, a quietly effective manner, and a keen perception of the German problem and the interests of the U.S. in it. He has been of very great assistance to General Clay and together they constitute an indispensable pair.

After the Länderrat meeting which was terminated somewhat earlier than usual, thanks to the energetic direction of Dr. Hoegner, I had the

⁶⁶ Protokoll der 8. Länderratssitzung vom 7. 5. 1946 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 1, Dok. 20.

Minister-Presidents and their permanent representatives for a cup of coffee and gave them an opportunity to tell me privately about a good many of their problems. They always give me information which is not obtainable elsewhere and which gives me a deeper insight than I would otherwise have into German activities and thinking. Dr. Maier showed me a telegram he had received from the Landesminister of Thüringen inviting his state government to send their top planners to a meeting in Weimar. This is the first direct invitation from officials in the Soviet zone and may be a good omen, indicating that the Russians are now willing to permit more inter-zonal communication. General Clay had previously indicated in his speech approval of such inter-zonal contacts, provided they are cleared through the Länderrat.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
8 May 1946

Joe Dodge came down from Berlin to have a confidential meeting with the Ministers of Finance and two of the Minister-Presidents who remained over for the meeting. He wanted to present the whole currency and inflation problem and get the reactions of our responsible German officials to his proposals. He brought his experts with him and they all seemed satisfied with the comprehension of the problem which the Germans exhibited and also their ready response to his requests for opinions.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
9 May 1946

Came to Nürnberg last night on my way to visit the Leipzig Fair. Took in the War Trials and received some new impressions about their value and significance. Dönitz was on the stand and one could not help but be impressed with the way in which the defendants are being given every opportunity to present their cases. It looks now as if the trials will end this summer and subsequent proceedings dealing with industrialists will soon be ready to start. Nürnberg is now a very depressing town to me and I was happy to get out on the Autobahn going northward to Leipzig.

When we came to the border of the Russian zone we were somewhat apprehensive of encountering difficulties, even though we possessed Russian passes for the Fair, but after about an hour's delay at the Rus-

sian border post, we were admitted. It was amusing how the Russian officer who first appeared in partial uniform and in his bare feet, had to put on his boots and perfume himself in order to sign our passes.

We drove with some care through Plauen and other towns on the way and found from talking to the Germans that they were four to six weeks behind in their rations. Transport was quite scarce and although a good many factories were going, it was almost touching, the eagerness with which we were surrounded by the Germans from all walks of life in all kinds of stops, both in the countryside and in various cities and villages. They all expressed the wish that the Americans were coming back.

Upon reaching Leipzig, we were well received and located in one of the better hotels. Received a formal call at about eleven o'clock at night from the Russian colonel in command of the Russian Kommandatura.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
10 May 1946

Spent the whole day visiting the various exhibits at the Leipzig Fair. Compared with the Fair as I once saw it in 1928, I should say that it was about fifty per cent complete. The Russians have done a good job, although they, of course, could not have put it on. What they did was to permit the Germans to stage the Fair according to the old pattern established during the last one hundred years. It was satisfaction, nevertheless, to see all kinds of consumers' goods on exhibit. Of course, it was a ghost fair because no one could promise delivery on the models on display. Upon questioning numerous exhibitors, we learned that many of them were there by compulsion and all of them realized the emptiness of displaying articles without being able to produce the goods. The Russians used every opportunity for propaganda purposes and the town was bedecked with red banners advocating Volkssolidarität. Also, they combined quite cleverly slogans about the unity of Germany and the need for unity in the Party. There were many amusing incidents showing that the Russians, in supporting their own Communist friends both in politics and industry, are really doing about the same thing the Nazis did in forcing everybody either to be in the Nazi Party or to conform with Nazi ideology. Although we had little opportunity to talk with ordinary people, I did not gain the impression that the Russians were making too much headway with their propaganda.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
11 May 1946

Upon returning to Berlin today I was quite impressed with the very considerable improvement in the physical setting, both around headquarters and throughout the city. More streetcars were running, more rubble is cleared, the Tiergarten is a bog with the trees eliminated, and the Allied Control Building now looks like a real international headquarters.

I had a brief talk with Colonel Onthank who is returning home about an apprentice program in which we are both interested. Such a program is so badly needed to make available to the American Government the services of the cream of our educational crop. Now that we have deep responsibilities all over the world, there is a crying need to bring into our Foreign Service more and better people.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
12 May 1946

I had my usual Sunday morning talk with General Clay who still insists on working all the time. I was interested to have him again display a lot of vision in connection with planning for the future. He is always looking forward and sees the line of future development more clearly than anybody else. While I was with him Secretary Byrnes called to invite him and Bob Murphy to come to Paris and he was, of course, pleased that at last he would have an opportunity to give a report on the true situation in Germany.

I had lunch with Bob Murphy who had the Tittmans from Rome visiting him. It was a lovely day. We sat in the garden and settled a lot of problems to our satisfaction. I had dinner with Henry Parkman out at Wannsee and I am so happy that he has returned to head up the Civil Administration work.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
13 May 1946

General Clay took me to the Coordinating Committee meeting which lasted until about six o'clock. There were many new faces, among them being General Dratvin who replaces Sokolovsky, now promoted to be a Control Council member. Semenov is there in place of Sobolev and General Adcock now takes the place formerly occupied by General Echols.

General Clay still provides the drive, initiative and resourcefulness necessary to make this very complicated bit of international machinery operate successfully. Progress is still very halting, pending the establishment of a central German government. I have wondered for months whether it is even worth the effort, but I realize this has all been great practice in international government, which may pay dividends in the future.

Before going to the Coordinating Committee meeting, General Clay visited Sokolovsky to tell him of the recommendations he would make to Mr. Byrnes in Paris. In other words, as always, Clay is playing his cards face up on the table and wants his close friend, Sokolovsky, to know exactly what he thinks. If everyone could deal as frankly and directly with the Russians as Clay, there would be much better cooperation and far less suspicion. Too often Russian opposition could be avoided if our government knew its own mind and was able to speak clearly and vigorously.

Ed Litchfield had a memo which I thought would be helpful for Clay and Murphy to have as they flew to Paris. And so, he worked most of the night to get it ready for presentation to them at the plane as they left at six o'clock in the morning. I had insisted that what we need now was not just a refurbishing of Potsdam, but a central German government. In the intervening ten months since Potsdam, the whole situation has changed for the worse and I am afraid that if something is not done soon to break down the zone barriers, that the whole edifice will come crashing down on our heads.

J.K.P.

Berlin, [May 13, 1946]

My Darling –

You must begin to think that all I do is travel, and I must admit I'm pretty weary. But things pile up and here I am in Berlin. I could not write you sooner and here's why.

Tuesday was our big day – the 8th meeting of the Länderrat. Clay was due Tuesday morning. Then we were informed he and Mrs. Clay would arrive Monday night. You can imagine my rushing around. But they didn't actually arrive until early Tuesday morning. Meanwhile the three Military Government Directors in our three states arrived. General Adcock and Bob Murphy flew in Tuesday noon. Clay & party flew away at 5 P.M. Tuesday and I still had some left-overs. The day was perfect and not a hitch developed anywhere. Clay was wonderful as usual and did it do me good to see a beautiful American wife! Mrs. Clay is charming!

Then a busy day Wednesday and after an early dinner I drove to Nürnberg for the night en route to the Leipzig Fair which the General wanted me to visit to get some information out of the Russian zone. I took two of my

officers with me. I took them to the trials Thursday morning and right after lunch we took off for Leipzig direct by Autobahn. Lots of interesting observations I haven't time to write now. Arrived in Leipzig at seven.

Official calls from Russian Commandant who appeared in a white uniform. Did the Fair Friday – and it really wore me out!! – and drove here this morning in time for General Clay's conference at noon. Clay took McNarney to his plane and I'm waiting in his office now for him to return. What happens to me over the week-end depends on his desires. I plan to stay here until Monday afternoon or Tuesday morning and then probably fly back to Stuttgart. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Highlights of the Day
14 May 1946

Colonel Niles of the Transport Division, who has cooperated so loyally in turning over actual operations of the railways to German hands, was kind enough to facilitate our return to Stuttgart by setting up his train for our use. Leaving in the evening gave me another full day which I put to good advantage in straightening out the innumerable administrative snarls which seem to be an inevitable part of any army installation. As we pulled out of Wannsee, we passed a trainload of wives, the first to arrive in Berlin.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
16 May 1946

We had today a very interesting meeting on cooperatives. I have been distressed that we have been unable to make much progress thus far in the revival of these formerly democratic groups. The German committee members were not all in agreement with our Military Government representatives from Berlin, but the Germans will now come up with a plan which, in the course of the next few months, can be brought into effect. Thus, another democratic force will have been revitalized.

Another meeting on handicrafts produced a rather serious difference of opinion between the American and German representatives, our people being very anxious to promote free access to the various professions and thus overcome the rather rigid social stratification which has heretofore existed in Germany, sometimes overlook the fact that Germany is not a free market and that the experience of several hundred years in the handi-

craft industry has developed a number of practical regulations which the Germans are loath to change. This is another instance of coming to grips with a very vital problem of German life and being turned back by the accumulated experience of centuries. I never have felt that we could do very much ourselves to change the German culture pattern. I feel that all we can do is to create the moral climate and the political environment within which the Germans themselves can adjust to new situations.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
18 May 1946

The Ogden Reids⁶⁷ left this afternoon for Paris, after having paid us a visit of twenty-four hours. I believe we were able to put some of Mrs. Reid's impressions and observations into a proper perspective. At any rate, she was very kind to say that the day with us had pulled together her German impressions in a very satisfactory way. She is a very remarkable woman and I hope that she, like the other publishers who were here earlier, will be able to do something to show the American people what the exact situation is in Germany.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, [May 19, 1946]

My Darling:

[. . .] The Ogden Reids came Friday before dinner and left after lunch yesterday. They invited me to fly to Paris with them but I sent my executive officer instead. I was just too tired. I think we made a great impression and I have not only helped General Clay but I have made a good contact for myself. General McNarney has asked me to come to Frankfurt for Tuesday and Wednesday evening to lecture before 1500 of the headquarters command. I will also take part in the meeting of the army commands on Wednesday and probably return here early Thursday morning. I have avoided making speeches but when the Commanding General asks you a refusal is not in order. I had intended to make only one lecture in Germany and that one to my high German officials when I was about to leave.

By the way when I was in Berlin General Clay and Bob Murphy said they didn't see how they could let me go. I was expecting this and they did not

⁶⁷ "The owners of the New York Herald Tribune", Brief Pollocks an seine Mutter vom 19. 5. 1946, Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll.

shake my determination to return home sometime in August. They both wanted me to return home and bring my family back with me for another year. Now if you would like to do this, please let me know. I don't want to take fundamental decisions without you. But I still feel that I have made my contribution, and that if after another year, they need me to return for a time, that I could come again. But it is bad, I think, to remain away from my regular duties any longer. Don't you? It is of course flattering to have everyone's high regard, but maybe it's wise to get out while your stock is high. I do feel bad that my family has not been able to get the benefits I have had, but it was probably safer and better at home. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Highlights of the Day
20 May 1946

Had a meeting today with the Secretary General and the three plenipotentiaries permanently here representing the three Länder at Länderrat. They reported to me about their discussions on organization problems which they had had in Bavaria over the week-end. I am gratified at their comprehension of the problem and hope that when the Minister-Presidents come together next week they will be able to take such action as is necessary to meet the increased load which is now put upon the Länderrat.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
21 May 1946

Came to Frankfurt today at the request of General McNarney to speak before the headquarters' staff of USFET on aspects of the German problem. I was somewhat flabbergasted to find over a thousand officers in attendance at the lecture and although I am never satisfied with a speech before so many people, I was well received and did not notice anybody going to sleep.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
22 May 1946

Went with General Clay to the regular monthly meeting of the Commanding Generals in the War Room at headquarters. General McNarney stressed problems of discipline and was very specific and definite in his orders to the Commanders to improve present conditions. There was considerable discussion about specific problems with General Keyes, as usual, raising a number of pointed questions. When General McNarney quoted a G-2 report on German universities, indicating that they were hotbeds of Nazism and reaction, General Clay promptly replied that every complaint of this sort had been carefully investigated and that he thought the reporters were prejudiced and the reports grossly exaggerated.

When the perennial DP problem came up, everyone was fearful that if the camps could not be eliminated before September, that we might have the problem on our hands through another winter. General Clay said he saw no reason why DP's from Poland and other countries should receive in our camps higher rations than they would be receiving if they were at home – a point which seemed to me to be well taken.

J.K.P.

22 May (Cont'd)

After lunch I had an hour's talk with General Clay about his Paris trip, during which he very modestly discussed what he had told Mr. Byrnes. He explained that the German problem could be solved after a number of questions were answered. He then listed the questions as follows:

- 1) What will be the decision with respect to the Rhineland and the Ruhr?
- 2) What will be the decision with respect to the Saar?
- 3) Can central administrative agencies be established promptly to permit the operation of the treatment of Germany as an economic unit?
- 4) Will zonal boundaries be regarded as boundaries which delineate areas of occupation only, rather than as barriers to the free movement of goods in Germany.
- 5) Will the resources of all of Germany be available throughout Germany with the surplus resources to be used for export and the proceeds to be used as imports for Germany as a whole.

The General gave these questions to Mr. Byrnes, who then propounded them to the Council of Foreign Ministers and, although no decisions were reached, at any rate, the questions are now before the chancellors of the Great Powers and perhaps the Council, when it resumes on 15 June, can go forward with the discussion of them.

The General pointed out the clash of interests which arose the minute these questions were raised, and although he was naturally disappointed that deputies were not left in Paris with specific instructions to recommend solutions of these questions, he did feel that it was a gain to have been able to raise the questions for discussion.

I am afraid that if he had not been called to Paris at the last moment, the conference might well have broken up without giving any attention to the German problem, which certainly is the central problem of world peace. The fussing about Austria, Yugoslavia and Italy is, in a sense, shadow boxing, when the Great Powers should be dealing, as Walter Lippmann pointed out, "With first things first."

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, May 23, 1946

My Sweetheart –

I've just said goodbye to Matt Mann who returns to Ann Arbor tomorrow. I had him to dinner. He is kind enough to deliver some precious gifts to you which I'm afraid to keep any longer. [...] Matt will give you a first hand picture of me and my work. I told him to tell the President, Dean & Everett that it was going to be difficult to get me back. But to you my darling alone I can say that I'm coming in August. You appreciate what I'm doing and I'm afraid they don't. I don't want the University to think I'm too cheap or too anxious to return. Understand?⁶⁸ [...]

*Hugs & Kisses,
Jim*

Highlights of the Day
24 May 1946

Had an interesting visit today from [a] high Bavarian official who has just returned from a rather extensive visit to the Russian and British zones. He brought a message to me from Herr Kopf, the Oberpräsident of Hannover

⁶⁸ "But keep that to yourself and let him worry the University a little bit about me! See?" Brief Pollocks an seine Frau vom 24. 5. 1946, Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll.

province. Kopf feels strongly the need of help in the British zone in bringing to the realization of British Military Government the need for prompt development of proper democratic institutions to ward off the Communists' developments in the Russian zone.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
25 May 1946

This was my birthday and I shall long remember it as one of the happiest occasions in my life. The kindness of everyone from members of my staff on down to the German officials who kept coming into my office with good wishes and birthday gifts – I would not ask for anything else. I hardly need any further evidence of the good will of the Germans on which so much of the success of our work here has been founded.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
26 May 1946

Made an election tour through Pforzheim and Stuttgart in order to observe the voting and the count in the big cities. This was the first time they had voted and the political interest was very great. The German officials did a remarkable job in preparing the voting lists and in managing the whole election. Everything came off with promptness and dispatch. I was interested to note that almost half of the people in Stuttgart availed themselves of the privilege of scratching their tickets when they voted. The results are very gratifying in several respects. First of all, an unprecedented high voting participation for elections of this kind was achieved, running as high as 86.8 per cent in Bavaria. Second, the Social Democrats made substantial gains and the Christian Social Union and its counterpart in Freiburg, the Christian Democratic Union, received wide support. The Communists, on the other hand, prove to be very weak, even in such former centers of Communism like Mannheim and Heilbronn. It is now rather amusing in retrospect to see how right General Clay was in his original insistence last fall that elections should be held as early as possible. If anyone thinks that the Germans were unable to rekindle their political interests, he should have been here for this election. The parties are now reasonably well organized - they brought out their leading men as speakers at election

meetings; they developed and published their platforms and prepared some very attractive and effective posters.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
27 May 1946

The Minister-Presidents assembled in special session this morning to discuss problems of internal organization.⁶⁹ They asked to see me to get my advice about what was needed to improve the efficiency of the Länderrat. We had a very interesting discussion during which I pointed out that the problem was essentially administrative and not political, and that they had the opportunity to set a shining example to the other zones. Hoegner was unusually cooperative and Maier and Geiler, altogether representing different points of view, appeared to be anxious to come to an agreement. It is exceedingly interesting to me in retrospect to see how the Länderrat has developed and now to find that all that is necessary is to call certain things to the attention of the Minister-Presidents in order to have them make further progressive steps. After their morning session, I invited them to lunch and it was a pleasant occasion. Geiler was in a very delightful mood and there was plenty of good humored banter back and forth. They told me that they had come to complete agreement on steps to be taken and this was naturally good news to me. Later in the afternoon I talked with Dr. Pfeiffer, Staatssekretär to Dr. Hoegner and the keenest politician in Bavaria. He will now be more closely associated with the Länderrat, coming here weekly, and I could ask for no better sign of Bavarian cooperation.

Mr. Bonneville from the CARE (Coordinated American Relief for Europe) organization in New York appeared today at the request of General Clay to see if the German relief agency set up here to handle the CRALOG program is able to undertake the responsibility for administering his program. The nub of the matter is whether food parcels can be delivered to specially designated persons. This is the wish of the CARE program, but General Clay and the German committee as well, up to now, have felt that too many administrative difficulties would be encountered by permitting groups or individuals to be especially designated by the donors as recipients. Everyone knows that the Germans in our zone need all the help they can get by the way of food, but it would be very unsound to bog down such a program with distribution problems, which, in the present disorganized situation, are so important.

⁶⁹ Protokoll der Sondersitzung des Länderrats vom 27.5.1946 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 1, Dok. 21 (über die Neufassung des Länderratsstatuts).

Our good friend, Colonel Edmunds, Director of Administrative Services in Berlin, came to check up on the organization and equipment of our office, although we have now been operating for six months on a full strength, this is the first time a proper administrative official has actually made a personal investigation.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
28 May 1946

We were visited this afternoon by a group of Russian newspapermen who were interested in seeing something of our operations and having the opportunity to ask me some questions. Their questions belied their interests and it was quite amusing to me how they concentrated on economics and politics. I had quite a discussion with one of the colonels over one of the provisions of the Hessian election law aimed at eliminating splinter parties. The provision kept a party from getting a seat in a community if it cast less than 15 % of the votes. The colonel had noticed that the Communists' vote was down in Hesse and was trying to make a point of discrimination against them, but I think I straightened him out. They also wanted to know about denazification and seemed surprised when I gave them our total figures of removals and arrests. They also wanted to know whether Military Government replaced a removed factory manager or whether that was the responsibility of the Germans. I took the opportunity, as always, to harp upon the need for the economic unity of Germany and for the elimination of zonal boundaries.

A very exciting proposal was being discussed today in one of the Länder-rat committees. It seems that we have a half million tons of captured German ammunition which we have been dumping in the North Sea. This ammunition can be converted into fertilizer, scrap metal, and all sorts of useful products. In a time of great raw material shortage, it could come as a great boom to the German economy. The Germans eagerly worked out plans and if all the security and public relations aspects can be ironed out in Berlin, we will have saved the American taxpayer some \$ 40,000,000.

Dr. Dorn came with Colonel Wilson to meet with the Denazification Committee. We are at a rather crucial point now in this program and it will be necessary to give close attention to any wrinkles which are developing in the denazification machinery.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, May 28, 1946

My Darling:

I have been in a whirl since Friday and just now have been able to come down to earth. On my birthday my staff, which learned about the great day somehow, gave me a big party here in the Villa – a party which I will long remember. At our dinner before the party Major Mahder nearly made me weep when he proposed a toast with a glass of champagne “to the one person, who if she could be present, would make this a perfect party – Mrs. Pollock.” And that was true. I thought of you all the time and also of the kiddies who would be singing happy birthday. All the Americans in the neighborhood came to the dance in the evening and we had a fashion show, a floor show and a marvellous buffet at midnight. I hope to have you and Ann made a beautiful peasant type dress which was exhibited at the fashion show. The Villa was resplendent with flowers, and my office was a picture.

During the morning and the early afternoon I was kept busy receiving official German delegations and reading telegrams and letters of good wishes on my birthday. I was really quite touched with the kindness everyone showed. To top it off, the Bavarian cabinet sent me the most gorgeous piece of Nymphenburg porcelain you ever saw. I hope I can get it packed safely to send home to you soon. A lot of other lesser gifts came to me from the German staff and from my own staff, including a new Zeiss Ikon camera which I will keep for Bob. It is the most perfect and complicated thing you ever saw and would be worth probably \$ 250 at home. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Stuttgart, May 28, 1946

Dearest Mother:

[...] Sunday was another election day in the American zone and I took a long tour to visit several of the bigger cities including Karlsruhe, Pforzheim and Stuttgart to watch the voting and the count. It took me back many years when I first came to Germany to do just this same thing. There has been a remarkable revival of political interest among the Germans and over 80 % of the qualified voters went to the polls. That is of course a much better record than we ever have in the United States.

Yesterday I had a very important session with the three top German officials in the American zone working out a most significant change in the organization of civil government in our zone. It was what you would call putting my own theories in political science into effect. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
James*

Highlights of the Day
29 May 1946

Former Governor Sewall of Maine, now the Director of the IA & C Division of OMGUS, came here today to pay us a visit. I had him visit the Denazification Committee and talk with the various members of my staff. He seems very interested to make a contribution here in Germany, although, like all newcomers, it will take him quite some time to get the feel of the problem. He very quickly saw the importance of what we are trying to do here and of keeping closely in touch with field operations in the American zone.

Ed Litchfield flew down from Berlin with a special paper which he had prepared for a committee of which I am supposed to be a member – a paper dealing with the re-establishment of a German central government – a subject in which I have a very lively interest and on which I was very glad to express my opinions. Ed had done an excellent job in this preliminary draft and had carried along the other members of the committee with him. I was able to see a number of places where the manuscript could be strengthened and he flew back to Berlin the same afternoon to complete the job in time to meet General Clay's deadline.

I was a bit concerned today with developments in the denazification field. The trouble is not on the German side, but with certain failures on our own side, both to develop a proper administrative organization to help the Germans, and second, with the perhaps over-eager attitude on the part of some of our Public Safety people to interfere too much with German operations.

June 1 is a deadline in the denazification law and several emergency actions will have to be taken in the next couple of days to avoid disruption of work in a couple of fields, namely, forestry and railroads. I am sorry to say that I think we have been overly anxious to denazify at the expense of efficient operations. No other occupying power has gone nearly as far as we have.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
29 May 1946

Attended a party this evening in honor of Major General Ernie Harmon, the Commanding General of the newly organized Constabulary. General Harmon told me that the idea was originally General Handy's and that

General McNarney had, on very short notice, selected him to draw up a plan which would put the idea into effect of having a mobile elite corps of American soldiers who could effectively deal with any security threat in the entire American zone. General Harmon is a hard-bitten, rough-riding soldier who seems admirably fitted to perform this very exacting task. I, for one, welcome the presence of some well-disciplined American soldiers. I am sure the effect on the German population will be a good one.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
30 May 1946

I had some more talks with Governor Sewall and Dr. Dorn about denazification and re-education. In the afternoon, this being a holiday, took a short drive out to Marbach, the birthplace of Schiller, and I had a very delightful time talking about his work and his life with members of the staff who went along and who, I regret to say, knew a great deal more about Schiller than I did.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
31 May 1946

Dr. Dietrich, the new Food Commissioner, presided today for the first time over the Food and Agriculture Committee. There was a very important discussion of ration scales with a decision to make an adjustment in the caloric level, to give special attention to people living in cities of over 20,000. The three Food and Agriculture Commissioners were very respectful of Dietrich, always referring to him as Reichsminister. There was a good deal of discussion but no fundamental disagreement and all in all, the committee provided an admirable example of cooperations by the three Länder.

Litchfield called to read to me over the phone the final wording of the paper on the creation of a central German government which is being forwarded tomorrow to Washington.

I had a visit from O'Donnell of *Newsweek* who has always impressed me as being a very intelligent person with a good understanding of the German problem.

I hope we got Dr. Dorn straightened out in his new position as special assistant in denazification matters. It is very important that all Military Government people look to him for decisions on all controversial points. I sincerely hope that our Public Safety people will not interfere with the

Germans in the administration of their own law, but rather, will assist and cooperate.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day

1 June 1946

I had an interesting conversation this morning with Dr. Maier, Minister-President of Württemberg-Baden, about the reorganization of the Länder-rat. He explained [the] rationale behind the reorganization in a most admirable fashion. If anyone thinks the Germans are deficient in organization and management problems, they have another think coming. I was amused to learn that the Minister-Presidents had decided to put a time limit on the grant of powers they are giving to the new Direktorium which is to serve as an interim committee between sessions of the Länderrat. I had told them in our private conversations on Monday that if they were afraid to make a grant of powers, that a good American democratic device was to put a time limit upon the exercise of the power. This they have done, limiting the power to the period up to December 31, 1946. I was interested to have Dr. Maier point out how the new Direktorium can proceed by majority vote, which decision becomes effective unless a Minister-President interposes a veto within three days. What a paradise it is for a political scientist to observe these embryo democratic developments.

In the afternoon Phil Mettger took up with General Clay over the phone the question of the food rationing for the next ration period. With unerring political instinct, the General immediately hopped on the German proposal because it provided differential treatment for big cities, as against the rest of the population. He opined that this was just another indication that the Germans lack some political sense. I argued for a brief period that after all, the food problem was most acute in the big cities and that black market activities were being encouraged by the low ration in those cities, but he took his stand that a ration system had to be uniform to be successful. After more discussion with the food experts in Berlin, I am hopeful that the recommendation of Dr. Dietrich and his three Ministers of Food and Agriculture will be permitted to stand.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
2 June 1946

I have at last had time to study with some care the three articles which recently came to me from Walter Lippmann. They are based on his observations during his recent trip to Germany.

I find them in many respects extremely penetrating and even masterful. He has stated more clearly than anyone else within my knowledge during the past year how the German problem is paramount in the making of peace. Somehow, as he points out, "That elementary, but enormous idea has eluded the State Department – at Potsdam, at London in September and in January, in New York and now again in Paris –." He points out "We have been diverted, but not distracted, enbroiled and excited by relatively small questions – which have been magnified and rendered insoluble – because we are not at grips with the great questions."

I was particularly happy to find that he feels that we are on the right path in the U.S. zone. He emphasizes that the American conception of how to deal with Germany is the best one which has been suggested, but I do not quite follow him when he seems to feel that we are not promoting this principle outside our zone. There is nothing particularly inconsistent between advocating the re-establishment of a central German government and in working on a problem of decentralization in our zone. Every modern government must centralize certain functions – the important thing is that there be a strong regional underpinning which will anchor a decentralized system and not allow it to be captured by an efficient centralized bureaucracy.

Nor do I follow Mr. Lippmann when he points out that the French have been following our own principle. Actually, what the French want is a permanently disorganized Germany – ever since the time of Francis the Second. One cannot see in the French pose any constructive principle at all. Even the articles written by François-Poncet are very hazy about how many German states there should be and how they should be organized. Actually, therefore, Lippmann does not give the Devil his due. He tends to emphasize too much the clash of interests between the British and the Russians, without also emphasizing that if we had, last fall, forced the French into implementation of the Potsdam Agreement, all of this pulling and hauling which is now going on would have been eliminated.

I think it is also correct to say that the British are interested in a federal and not in a centralized Germany. And, interestingly enough, the Russians, next to ourselves, have developed territorial units which might well become states after the American pattern, if a united Germany were established.

I am glad to have Lippmann bait both the British and the Russians, but it seems to me that he somewhat overdoes the point. It is really not a ques-

tion of the Prussian part of Germany against the other part. Prussia is irretrievably destroyed. The only question is whether out of the residue, there can emerge a federal pattern for Germany which will serve as a solid foundation for a decentralized system.

It also seems to me that Lippmann stresses too much the talk of another war. Perhaps this is for dramatic effect. I, personally, feel that though there is such talk, that it relates not to a war which is imminent, but one which will certainly occur in 25 years if proper solutions are not developed to prevent it in the meantime.

One final thought about the Lippmann articles is this: He refers to Americans in Germany as being backseat drivers. This completely overlooks the tremendously important role which General Clay has played in the work of the Allied Control Authority. Incidentally, the newspapermen are excluded from observing this work, and although there has been tedious and tiresome labor, the whole control machinery has been a very interesting school of international government, and General Clay has not been a backseat driver – he, alone, has held the whole machinery together. Furthermore, Lippmann is not too clear about who is responsible for what he calls the lack of information in Washington. He should make it perfectly clear that if Washington has failed to take the right steps in the German matter it is not because of any lack of information or good advice from the responsible American officials in Germany. Again and again, General Clay and Ambassador Murphy have tried to get Washington to do something and not allow the situation to drift.

I heartily agree with Lippmann's conclusion that something will have to be done about the German problem and that we will have to do it, otherwise, the consequences will be fearful.⁷⁰

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, June 2, 1946

My Darling –

[...] this coming week will be a big one with Clay coming down on Tuesday. I will give him my final word about coming home. I'm convinced that August will be a good time to make a break, and if I'm so essential they will find it out in the next six months or a year and ask me to come back. The job over here won't be finished for a few years at best. I hope Matt Mann also gave you my letter. I'm glad to have him talk

⁷⁰ Pollocks Stellungnahme vom 4. 6. 1946 zu den Zeitungsartikeln von Lippmann auch in: Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 61–4 (IfZ Bd. 34).

around the University about me but between ourselves I'm definitely planning to come home some time in August! [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Stuttgart, June 2, 1946

Dearest Mother and Sister –

[...] My work is fascinating and is now recognized by everyone as being very important in reviving democratic self-government. Germany is still the central problem of world peace and recovery, and the problem is not yet solved. We have made the greatest contribution of anyone of the four powers, but it still takes four to get a complete solution.

*Love & Kisses,
Jim*

*Highlights of the Day
3 June 1946*

Dr. Paul, the Landespräsident of Thuringia, arrived today to attend the session of the Länderrat tomorrow. I was invited to a little party given in his honor by the Secretary General in the course of which I had some interesting discussions with Professor Lange of Jena, and Director Staas, about their ideas of reorganized Germany. I was interested to hear that Jena had resumed its operations and that some academic exchanges were going on between Jena and Frankfurt.

Dr. Paul was a "smoothie" and did not give out too much information. He knows, of course, which side his bread is buttered on, but he did express great admiration for the work which had been done here, especially the valuable spirit of informal and trustful cooperation between American Military Government and German civil administration. He seemed very anxious for me to visit Weimar and at one point, he went so far as to express the hope that the present zonal boundaries would become less of a barrier.

An amusing aspect of his visit was the way in which his party arrived in two cars, accompanied by four German officers in resplendent uniforms, who jumped out of their cars to a stiff Prussian attention whenever Dr. Paul appeared. This contrasts strikingly with the modesty and simplicity of General Clay and of our total operations here at the Länderrat. General Clay at one time remarked that the Germans did not need any encouragement in matters of protocol or

soldierly attention or discipline, but they did need to learn more about democratic behavior.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
4 June 1946

The ninth meeting of the Länderrat was held today.⁷¹ It hardly seems possible to me in retrospect how much has been accomplished by this organization in so short a time. General Clay, Bob Murphy and General Adcock, together with the Military Government Directors and Henry Parkman all came down for the occasion. General Clay made his usual brief, but pointed and encouraging remarks to the Minister-Presidents and then had an informal discussion with them afterwards in my office, at which time he raised a few questions which he was not yet ready to make public, including some plan for the care of scientific personnel whose services are not now being utilized in the American zone. The General remarked that these visits to Stuttgart were a big help to him and I could see how his direct contacts with his three principal German officials gave him a feel of the actual situation, which he could not possibly get in Berlin. He studied the faces and attitudes of the Minister-Presidents very closely and at lunch remarked that he now thought Dr. Maier had as enigmatic a look as any of the other two. It was apparent that the conference was mutually beneficial.

In the conference between the General, the three Military Government Directors and our staff, General Clay emphasized a number of Military Government objectives which he urged the Directors to follow, one of which included keeping down entertainment costs. I spent a little time explaining the significance of the new Länderrat organization plan and its bearing upon Military Government operations in the three Länder, indicating that transfer of greater responsibilities to the Germans was essentially a change in procedure and no decrease in the actual power of Military Government. So many Military Government officers seem to feel that when they cease to be involved in operations, that they are without power, when, actually, all they were ever intended to do was to supervise German operation.

After the General's departure for Berlin by plane, I gave my usual coffee hour to the Minister-Presidents and the other visiting dignitaries after the Länderrat adjourned. I was quite interested to note that the occasion this time was quite interzonal in character, since Dr. Paul from Thuringia, the

⁷¹ Protokoll der 9. Länderratssitzung vom 4. 6. 1946 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 1, Dok. 23.

Landespräsident, with two of his colleagues, were present, as was also a representative of Dr. Lehr, the Oberpräsident of the Northern Rhine Province and a representative of Kopf, the Oberpräsident of Hannover Province.

I had [an] interesting conversation with Dr. Hoegner about Social Democratic politics and with Dr. Geiler about future interzonal developments. The Germans from the British zone were very anxious to tell me about impending territorial and administrative changes in the British zone and to bespeak my help in favor of the creation of three really large states in the British zone in place of five or more, which some of the Germans from the smaller states like Oldenburg were sponsoring.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
5 June 1946

In reviewing the work of the Länderrat yesterday, I am amazed at the amount and quality of their output. It will take them and us about two weeks to put in proper form all the requests which they are sending up to Military Government, as well as the decisions on internal matters which they themselves are entitled to make. Perhaps the most significant decision – one which had been worked in the preceding weeks – was the complete reorganization of the Länderrat machinery. This involved putting into the new organization statute most of the experience which had been acquired in actual operations during the past six months. They have created a new Directorate to act as an interim committee between the sessions of the Länderrat, in order to expedite decisions. General Clay very aptly characterized the new Directorate as being something like the coordinating committee under the Control Council. The plan very neatly compromises the interests and fears of the Bavarians with the stronger unitary ideas of the Hindenburgers. It will be interesting to see how the plan actually operates. I am very happy that the Germans, in their own way, have provided for the increased load of responsibility which has been put upon them.

Dr. Asmis, the German liaison officer from the Food Board in the British zone at Hamburg, came in to invite me to the interzonal meeting on food which is to be held in Hamburg next week. In the course of the conversation, he expressed amazement at the accomplishments of the Länderrat in the past six months. He compared his own food organization which was set up last July with our Länderrat food staff and then said that we had done twice as much in half the time.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day

6 June 1946

Entertained the three permanent representatives at the Länderrat and the Secretary General this evening. They all seemed to have a good time and like most Germans, did not know when to go home, but they have so little social life these days and they seem so interested to talk over all aspects of our joint labors, that I found the evening exceedingly helpful. Walter Kerr of the *Herald Tribune*, who had come to see us for a few days, was also guest and we had much interesting discussion about Germany's future and what they could look forward to by the way of international cooperation and in general, fitting into the European economy.

J.K.P.

*Stuttgart, June 6, 1946**My Darling –*

Well, the big day – Tuesday – is past. Clay, Murphy, Adcock and all the other big shots were here and everything came off quite perfectly. But it was such a strenuous day that I had a reaction yesterday afternoon, and I'm glad today is a holiday so I can loaf and read. Clay left by plane at 4, and at 5 I had my customary coffee hour for the Minister-Presidents and visitors from other zones. My big, ornate office has come to something of an international salon where big questions are discussed. This time a top German official from the Russian zone was present. Maybe we are breaking down the so-called Iron Curtain which hides the Russian zone from the others. That was one of my hopes when I started this experiment last fall – that if we couldn't achieve a unified government from the top, maybe we could work it out from the bottom up. Oh, I wish I could tell you all the satisfaction I have had in seeing my ideas and plans work out so well! But I will.

Clay was again so insistent that I stay, but I gave him another letter which suggested what should be done when I leave.⁷² I assure you it is mighty hard to step out of the very unique and enviable position I occupy. But my love for you and the family and my total evaluation of the situation convince me to come home at least for a period. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

⁷² Suggestions regarding the future status and regulations of the RGCO which I organized and over which I have had the privilege of presiding, Memo Pollock – Clay, 3. 6. 1946, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 61–8 (IfZ Bd. 89).

Highlights of the Day

7 June 1946

Walter Kerr of the *Herald Tribune* came to spend a few days with us to study the Länderrat. He came from Paris where he has been covering the Foreign Ministers' Conference. He is an unusually intelligent person and I was happy to give him a great deal of my time to explain how the Länderrat came into existence and what it has accomplished. He was interested also in comparisons between our zone and the other zones and I was able to adequately explain the differences and the relative progress. I wish all newspapermen were as keenly interested in what is really important as he is. I was happy to get from him some of the inside picture of the recent Paris Conference and to compare notes as to future prospects.

Dr. Bode, formerly of Stanford, arrived to join my staff, with the transfer of so much responsibility to the German staffs in the economics field and with the consequent expansion of work in interzonal trade, his experienced aid will be desirable. Up to now, Berlin has been working furiously with about one per cent of the foreign trade which Germany will require to support her population.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day

8 June 1946

The proposed new ration scale seems now to have been straightened out, between here and Berlin, and almost everyone is satisfied that it is now possible to increase slightly the food allocated to the big cities where the need is urgent. The calculations, of course, are based upon expected food imports from the United States, which, if they should not arrive, will cause a serious recalculation to be made. I am amazed at the skill, thoroughness and balance with which the German food experts are able to distribute their scanty supply with such an equitable hand.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day

10 June 1946

A Sunday pause gave me opportunity for a little reflection and reading. I found myself going back over the year I have been in the occupation and after seeing so many large problems nicely on the way to solution, I confess to be terribly burned up over having to fight over a TO with some of the small routiners at OMGUS.

It is gratifying to read that the British are at last stirring in the question of Länder reform, a problem we faced squarely last fall. I trust they will be able to develop out of the British zone three sizable states, rather than a larger number of small ones.

I have been much pleased with the vitality of the temporary legislative bodies which were set up last January following the Länderrat proposal of a month earlier. It is very gratifying to see how representative Germans appointed to these so-called four Vorparlamente come to grips with the most urgent domestic problems. Party politics often come to the fore, but there is plenty of genuinely factual discussion. My principal criticism of their activity consists in the common German fault of having too many long speeches and not enough brief, pointed across-the-table discussions.

We heard today that the CARE program for the distribution of food packages to individual Germans had been approved. This is another achievement of our Voluntary Relief Committee which may make a considerable difference in the relief of distress.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
11 June 1946

Spent part of the morning studying some articles about Germany submitted to me for criticism by recent newspaper visitors. Ann Stringer of the U. P. was here for a brief glimpse into our activities. She was particularly interested in investigating the position of German women in the present situation. I was able to furnish her with some information about [the] activity of some professionally trained women who have been working here on our committees. She was not very hopeful about the outcome of the Foreign Ministers' Conference which resumes on June 15.

After reading the last edition of the thinking of our Berlin people about the financial question, I am discouraged in another direction. Perhaps the weather has me down!

General Clay flew up to Bremen today to see what could be done to straighten out some of the difficulties which have necessarily arisen in that interesting old Hanseatic port, which is now functioning in such a unique, one might even say, exotic, political and administrative framework. Only last Tuesday he promised a German senator from Bremen that he would look into the matter. I wish all of his subordinates were as prompt and efficient in getting things done.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
12 June 1946

It was forcibly brought to my attention today what a serious problem it is for us to assist so materially in the feeding of the Berlin metropolitan area. If our zone did not have to contribute so generously to the feeding of the Berlin population, our food problem here in the zone would be greatly simplified. I never could understand the justice of the agreement by which the Berlin metropolitan area, which formerly was fed by its hinterland, Russian [zone], should now have to be fed from the scarcest food area in Germany, now the American zone.

We have had a remarkable illustration since Friday of how a vast quantity of work can be turned out by the German economic experts when it is necessary. General Draper's people in Berlin wanted to have a plan for requirements and allocations for the third quarter. I can not imagine a more difficult assignment, in a chaotic economic situation in which Germany now is, than to try to work out a plan of what is needed and what is available.

I am distressed about the expellee and refugee problem. We have between 7 and 8 hundred thousand German refugees from other zones, who, finally, must return before September 1 to their native homes in other occupied zones. Having already to receive some 6 hundred thousand expellees from the Sudetenland and Volksdeutsche from Hungary, the living space in the American zone is just about at a saturation point, if that point has not already been exceeded.

J.P.K.

Flew this afternoon to Berlin and after picking up Colonel Hester, on to Hamburg. On the way up to Berlin I had a fine talk with Walter Dorn about the administrative problems in connection with the enforcement of the denazification law. It is difficult for one to realize the infinite number of exceedingly complex and intimate problems connected with a punitive measure of this sort and it makes the German contribution seem all the greater.

In Hamburg from the Atlantic Hotel, which has not been touched, one would get the impression that life was quite normal. Actually, however, the city is seriously destroyed and they are filling up part of the Binnenalster with the debris from wrecked buildings. It is fortunate from the point of view of the work of city administration that the Rathaus is also intact.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
13 June 1946

This morning at the opening session of the joint conference of food administrators and experts from both the British and American zones,⁷³ General Robertson and General Clay appeared to lend great importance to the occasion. Almost in the shadow of a large bust of Bismarck, General Robertson made an important announcement of British policy toward Germany. He read his speech which had first been cleared with London, while General Clay in about half the time and entirely extemporaneously said nearly twice as much. The difference in applause for the two men was perceptible. Clay received a much heartier response. Unlike Robertson, who used a good many weasel words and never put any time limit on his promises, Clay promised support of the actions of the conference and found in it an important step in the direction of breaking down zonal barriers.

It was satisfying to note the universal respect with which our Zone Food Commissioner, Dr. Dietrich, was received.

At lunch I had the opportunity of talking for quite a period with General Robertson, particularly about the territorial and administrative reorganization within the British zone. I urged him to give his approval to a small number of states, rather than a larger number, indicating that I thought three to be sufficient for their zone. He stated quite categorically that this was also his view and under no circumstances would he approve more than four.

It was evident that at last British Military Government officials are aware that they are still too deep in operations and that it is high time more operating responsibilities be turned over to the Germans. General Clay told me that in conversation with Robertson that Robertson had rather boasted about reducing the number of British Military Government personnel to 21,000. Clay told him that our latest figures were only 6,900 and that he even thought that our figures were twenty-five per cent too high. One could not have a more striking comparison, indicating the economy and efficiency with which the two Military Administrations have been doing their respective jobs.

I foresee difficulties on the British side in working out satisfactory administrative arrangements in food matters between the two zones, for in the British zone they have a zonal authority which does not go through nor

⁷³ Bericht über die Interzonenkonferenz der Landwirtschaftssachverständigen aus der britischen und der amerikanischen Zone vom 13.–14. 6. 1946 in Hamburg, AVBRD 1, Dok. 24 und Anm. 35 dazu. – Bericht über die Interzonenhandelskonferenz zwischen Wirtschaftsvertretern der amerikanischen und der russischen Zone vom 13.–14. 6. 1946 in Berlin in: AVBRD 1, Dok. 24.

is a part of the general administration of each state or province. If the British zone can be reorganized along the lines of the American zone, then all functional fields, including food, can be handled administratively in a much more satisfactory manner. In Schlange-Schöningen the British have an experienced Food Commissioner, but he is hamstrung at every turn by the fact that he is a part of the general administration of the states and provinces in the British zone.

I suggested to General Clay that if he wanted to avoid any possible inferences that his joint appearance with Robertson was just another indication of the formation of an Anglo-American block, that he could take advantage of the meeting now going on in Berlin between our Economic Ministers and those from the Russian zone to show his interest in the Russian as well as the British zone. He promptly communicated with Sokolosky and proposed that they appear jointly in Berlin on Friday at the Joint Economic Conference. Unfortunately, Sokolosky was tied up with Molotov who was on his way to Paris and their joint appearance could not be arranged. Of course, the matter might also have been interpreted as Sokolosky's not wanting to make this appearance.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
14 June 1946

Flew back late yesterday afternoon to Berlin, arriving just ahead of a rather violent windstorm and thunderstorm. Spent the morning on personnel problems which never exhilarate me, particularly when I see them handled in a slow and unsatisfactory manner. General Adcock, however, was helpful, as usual, and promised to get the numerous tangles straightened out. I had lunch with Bob Murphy. We argued at some length about various aspects of a future federal Germany and I reported to him about my conversations with Robertson and he reported to me about his with Sir William Strang.

In the afternoon I attended the meeting of the Coordinating Committee, which, so it seemed to me, hit a new low for dullness. The meeting lasted four and a half hours and again and again discussions were stymied by the stubborn way in which General Dratvin kept following his instructions, which were laid out in front of him. He either wanted to send matters down to the Directorates or up to the Control Council. General Clay, as usual, highlighted the session with several forceful remarks. The one point in discussing trade unions to which he objected to a Soviet proposal which would have permitted judges and prosecutors to join trade unions was reflected in his observation that however interested other people might be in protecting the impartiality of courts and judges an American principle

was to preserve this impartiality and that we insisted that any associations of judges and prosecutors should be of a professional nature and not part of a trade union organization. The Soviet delegation failed again to report the number of Marks in circulation and again refused to give support to General Clay's plan for a joint disarmament commission to visit all zones. General Robertson made a good move in presenting to the other powers, by aiming in particular at the Soviets, an especially prepared report on demilitarization and disarmament in the British zone. General Koeltz announced his retirement from the Coordinating Committee and there were the usual facilitations on the service he has performed. Actually, he has said "No" on so many occasions that it would take a careful search of the records to determine whether he or the Soviet delegation had been the most negative members.

I had a delightful dinner with the Clays with General Keating present. We had much good conversation about the war and the relations of the Army with Military Government. General Clay made the startling statement apropos of American achievement in producing the materials of war, that on VE Day there were more ammunition and weapons in Europe produced by American plants than Germany had produced in two and a half years. General Keating could not understand how his division had been pulled back so quickly when it was within striking distance of Berlin and General Clay then reviewed the times and circumstances under which most of the major decisions conditioning the occupation of Germany were made. Among other interesting points, the General brought out that he had been in Quebec at work with British representatives on the German problems when Mr. Morgenthau flew in there and they were all told that it was no longer necessary for them to continue their work.

I had several wonderful talks with the General in which he explained to me what I have never completely understood, namely, his relations with all the various agencies in Washington such as Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint State-War-Navy Committee, Civil Affairs Division of the War Department, and the Office of Occupied Territories in the State Department. A man with less fortitude and resourcefulness might have given up the struggle long before this in having to use so many devious agencies in order to get his views across or his actions approved.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
15 June 1946

Attended the Directors' Meeting which did not develop anything particularly new or exciting. General Clay referred to the two interzonal meetings that had taken place and he ended his conference with a very sound bit of

advice about how to treat Germans. He said that we were not forget that we are still an occupying power, but that we should treat Germans with courtesy and friendliness, at the same time with correctness and propriety. He frowned upon any entertainment of Germans and also put his stamp of approval upon General McNarney's orders to cut down on the scale of living of occupation forces.

The General read me a dispatch which he had sent on May 26 to the Chief of Staff summarizing the whole German problem in a most admirable fashion.⁷⁴ This may well become a great state paper and yet, to make certain that it received proper attention, he sent it to the Chief of Staff through channels, hoping that it would reach the Secretary of State. Later in the day before I left, he told me of receiving a carefully worded reply from the State Department which informed him that his dispatch not only had been received, but would be acted upon by the Secretary of State. Also, when he had telegraphed Washington upon learning that the British contemplated presenting a proposal on a federated Germany, that he hoped any proposal on this subject would come from the United States, inasmuch as we were the only power in Germany which had actually accomplished anything along this line, he was informed that this would be arranged through Mr. Byrnes at the Paris Conference of Foreign Ministers. Meanwhile, he was asked not to make public the contents of his paper.

In the afternoon, flew back to Stuttgart, bringing Dr. Dietrich, the Food Minister, and his experts along.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, June 16, 1946

My Sweetheart –

[...] My trip was simply perfect. I still think I'm really dreaming. Clay sent his beautiful plane for me to use, with pilot, co-pilot and crew. I took two staff members and the top German officials with me for the two interzonal meetings in Hamburg and Berlin. We flew to Tempelhof to pick up an officer I wanted along and then to Hamburg in another hour. Next day General Clay came with General Robertson, his British opposite. They both spoke at the meeting in the Rathaus. Robertson invited me to his lunch in honor of Clay and they flew back to Berlin in Robertson's plane – little Jimmie all by his lonesome in Clay's plane. Dinner with Don Heath, busy morning, lunch with Bob Murphy, Coordinating Committee with Clay all afternoon, and then a beautiful dinner with the Clays in the evening. General

⁷⁴ Memo Clay – State Department, 26. 5. 1946, Text des Telegramms Nr. 5797 in: Clay, Decision in Germany, S. 73 ff., Entscheidung in Deutschland, S. 90–96.

Keating and others were there. Mrs. Clay is so sweet and her vivacity and genuineness remind me so much of you. She confided a lot in me because she knows how intimate I have been with the General.

Saturday morning I introduced the German officials to Clay – my staff members had brought them back from Hamburg – attended the Directors' meeting – had two wonderful, long talks with Clay and then in the late afternoon flew back to Stuttgart – 2 hours and 10 minutes! It's going to be the hardest thing I ever did to leave Clay and the work I am doing. Really darling, between ourselves, here is what has happened. I showed Clay how to organize our zone into states which would later fit into a pattern of a future federal Germany. I helped him to set up proper governments in those states. Then I told him how to tie them altogether in a coordinated whole along democratic lines. I knew German administration. I knew how to handle the Germans. Clay gave me full authority and a privileged position. Everything clicked as I thought it would, but even better. Our zone now becomes a model for the others, and now suddenly Walter Lippmann, the British, and even Secretary of State Byrnes are proposing to use what I have done as a basis for a new Germany! Clay sent a secret dispatch to Byrnes embodying my ideas completely. It will become a famous state paper. Byrnes has now accepted Clay's suggestion. It only remains for the Paris conference to do something about it. Maybe it will – maybe it won't. But in any case I have been able to lay the foundation for what progress has been made, and to chart out the pattern for future developments. I am very happy about it all and I had to tell you. Everyone now recognizes what I have done, and I don't have to tell them. But I'm still coming home to you in August and if things break right, I may have to return – with all of you, of course. But I'm still counting on staying in Ann Arbor. The main thing is, I'm coming home!

*Have you seen Walter Kerr's three articles on the Länderrat in the Herald Tribune – I believe June 12, 13, 14? They were wonderful. Also Lippmann's article entitled "On Doing Something About It" which appeared, I think, June 12. [...]*⁷⁵

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Highlights of the Day
17 June 1946

Tackling the pile of papers which had accumulated on my desk, I soon realized the important shifts which were taking place in Military Government in throwing responsibility upon the Germans. In the economics field,

⁷⁵ Kommentar zu den 3 Artikeln von Kerr in *New York Herald Tribune* in: Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 64-13 (IfZ Bd. 113).

in particular, it is only a matter of a short time until we have to greatly expand the working staffs in interzonal trade, price control, and production. I am now confronted with something like the same kind of problem I faced last fall, namely, to keep every division in OMGUS from wanting to attach some of their functional officers to my staff.

There has been some pressure from the Civil Administration Division to get the Land Governments to formulate new civil service codes. While it is true that we have lost some time in this basically important field, after several false starts, I feel strongly that civil service is a matter which should be left to the individual states, with, of course, a federal civil service law for whatever civil service departments are established. The Germans, however, feel that the present situation is so difficult and they are having so much trouble getting competent people, that they would prefer not to freeze or stabilize the present emergency group of employees into a new legal framework. I am inclined to agree with them, and thus to wait for at least a few months until new state constitutions have been drawn up. I was gratified to learn today in one of our highlight summaries of committee deliberations that the Denazification Committee was preparing a reply to the recent outburst of Landesbischof Wurm of the Lutheran church against the denazification program. His statement was so full of misrepresentation and showed so little knowledge, both of the law and of its background, that it will be relatively easy to tear his statement to pieces. On the other hand; I suppose there is always danger in getting mixed up in a church conflict. I liked the spirit, however, which was shown by the Denazification Ministers in rising to the defense of their program, even against the head of the Protestant church.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
18 June 1946

We had an important session today of the main Economics Committee with all of the Economics Ministers in attendance, following their recent conference with the Germans from the Russian zone in Berlin. Minister Erhard of Bavaria came in to tell me about his being wined and dined by the French at Baden-Baden and how anxious they seemed to be to arrange a conference with representatives from the American zone. When I questioned him whether this meant Military Government or German officials, he was not too sure. Later in the day when I talked with General Clay, I asked him what he wanted me to do in relationships with the French zone and he replied, very properly, I think, that until such time as French Military Government has its German civil administration organized in such a way that they can deal directly with our German officials, that the only

correct line to follow is to have any invitations from the French come directly to me or through General Koeltz in Berlin to General Clay. After all, we have invited the French previously without any noticeable response. If they now desire discussions in the economics field with our Germans, they will have to come through regular Military Government channels.

I had a succession of visitors, including Mr. Wilson, who was interested in the problem of organizing scientific research in the American zone; Mr. Rude, who was here to put the finishing touches on the plan to utilize captured German ammunition and commercial problems; and Mr. Merrill from the Communications Division, who was not satisfied with the slowness of our democratic processes in getting agreement between the three states in setting up a zonal postal and telegraphic service.

Brigadier Dennison Ross, who is an economic adviser from the British zone, had lunch with me and visited part of the afternoon. He was a very delightful gentleman and I found him to be a companion spirit in the matter of rebuilding democratic Germany. He had just been to Baden-Baden where he was well entertained by the French and pretty thoroughly stuffed full of French professions of faith. He did not seem to realize that, regardless of what the French say – and, of course, they are doing very little – they are really interested only in continuing the present disorganization in Germany.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
19 June 1946

I was happy today to find that a special Länderrat committee which had been hastily constituted only three weeks ago to consider the disposition of about 500,000 tons of high explosive and toxic ammunition stored in the U.S. zone had completed a plan which entirely satisfied the representatives from OMGUS who had the matter in charge. This is really an amazing story, for up to this time the ammunition has been transported to the North Sea and dumped into the sea – with a tremendous waste of material and loss of transportation. Under the plan, as soon as the Army has turned over the ammunition and rendered it useless for military purposes, the Germans will proceed to process the ammunition and it is anticipated that from the supply turned over, it will be possible for the Germans to extricate 200,000 tons of scrap steel, 55,000 tons of fertilizer, 55 tons of TNT for use as explosives in mines, 50,000 tons of various chemicals required for the production of matches, dye stuffs and plastics, 5,000 tons of non-ferrous metals, 30,000 tons of smokeless powder for production of plastics and adhesives, and approximately 100,000 tons of miscellaneous items used in the production of paper, wood and containers. These raw materials are

expected to meet a number of critical domestic requirements for more than a year.

I had a very pleasant French officer, Lieutenant De Bourbon-Busset, to lunch today. He was anxious for his headquarters in Baden-Baden to make the proper approaches for arrangements for a meeting between officials in our zone and theirs. I am convinced that it is not only French administrative inefficiency, as usual, but it is also a deliberate policy to delay everything as long as possible, thus preserving the present state of disorganization in Germany.

The budget bureau has sent an intelligent young man here to study Military Government at first hand. I wish more of the people in Washington could come here and actually get a feel of the problem. They would then be in a position to expedite the requests that come from the Theater to their desks and usually rest there an unconscionable length of time.

Received an interesting and somewhat evasive memorandum from the Economics Division today on the question of interzonal trade. The memorandum states that it is Military Government policy to oppose barter transactions, but later they indicate the necessity of "balancing trade between the zones" and "global allocations between zones" and the memorandum ends by saying that headquarters "may, in certain cases, give approval for the transaction to be consummated on a barter basis." I wonder sometimes whether there is any use trying to attempt to make any trade program effective on the basis of the present division of Germany into four utterly unnatural zones. Now that we have reached the bottom of the barrel, insofar as raw materials are concerned, perhaps a total collapse of trade in Germany might call the critical situation to the attention of Europe and the world.

Colonel Dawson is back in charge of Military Government for Württemberg-Baden and I am happy to have his mature judgement again on Military Government problems.

A tremendous increase in the work load of the Länderrat Secretariat is impending now that applications for interzonal trade are no longer handled by Military Government in Berlin. It means that the Germans will have to develop their own staff to take care of these applications. What with the shortage of houses and office space, as well as competent workers, I do not know now how it can be done, but there always seems to be a way.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
20 June 1946

The perennial question of importing raw materials in order to prevent a breakdown in industrial production was highlighted by Dr. Bode today in our briefing of the liaison officers. The endless circle of problems connected with the rehabilitation of Germany leaves one quite groggy. In order to import the needed materials for production, the Germans must develop import credits, but production cannot be had until critical materials are made available and with the zones still presenting an insupportable barrier, even within Germany, the situation becomes ever more critical.

We had an excellent illustration today of how the Control Council can labor and bring forth a completely impossible law. In attempting to establish a new rate of taxation on tobacco, the law will result in increasing the cost of a regular tobacco ration for a Bavarian from 4.80 RM to 24 RM. This charge is not only unbearable for the budget of a working class family, but will have far-reaching social and economic consequences.

The activities of the Länderrat have become so important in the economics field that there will now be appointed a special commissioner for interzonal trade and a special price commissioner.

J.K.P.

June 20, 1946

My Sweetheart!

[. . .] I have set Ed [Litchfield] up nicely in General Clay's good graces, and he has done excellent work following my suggestions. [. . .]

I've rested up a bit and felt better today than I have felt for weeks. I'm going to try to shift some responsibilities and take more time to myself. I had word today that another group of newspaper editors will be my guests here on July 2 and 3rd. That means another big dinner party in the Villa. But I was able to do so much good with the previous group that they want me to repeat. Clay will come down for the Länderrat meeting and stay over that night for the dinner. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Highlights of the Day

21 June 1946

The members of the new Directorate paid me a call this morning and I took the occasion to make several suggestions about their new responsibilities. I emphasized where there had been inefficiency and how the Directorate could greatly expedite decisions and clear up a number of organization difficulties. I stressed the fact that this was no place for politics, inasmuch as we were primarily an administrative mechanism and that simply because some more machinery had been set up was no proof that it would work. I pointed out that it was up to them to add additional luster to the already impressive record they had made and that they should have their organizational program prepared and ready for any eventuality. I had in mind possible developments arising out of the Conference of Foreign Ministers in Paris. Dr. Pfeiffer, who is the first chairman of the new Directorate, replied to me most properly and intelligently, indicating how heavy the burden of government was these days, considering the shortage of competent personnel.

The evacuee problem is becoming another tremendous headache. The exchange of evacuees between the various zones is assuming such dimensions that a collapse of the entire evacuee exchange system may be expected in the near future, if prompt action is not taken. Similarly, with expellees we are presented with almost unsurmountable problems of housing and care. Some 500,000 expellees have already been absorbed in the American zone, but there are slightly under two million remaining to be absorbed if present plans are followed through. If all of the evacuees from the other zones, totalling over 400,000, could be moved out of our zone and a reduction made in the number of additional expellees who must be absorbed, perhaps they could all be settled and fed. I still feel that the decisions at Potsdam which have resulted in moving millions of people hither and yon will, in the end, have tremendous international consequences.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day

22 June 1946

Called Ed Litchfield today about the most recent paper prepared by the so-called Inter-Divisional Committee on Governmental Structure, of which he is chairman and of which I am supposed to be a member. Unfortunately, my participation has been limited to telephone conversations, although the committee has been very good to pay attention to suggestions I have made. This paper dealt with German government for world organization

and seems to have arisen out of a suggestion made by Governor Sewall. I told Ed that, although I should not object to the report's going in, that I thought it was defective in several respects. First of all, I did not care for the proposal that Germany should be handled by the United Nations under Chapter 12, the so-called International Trusteeship System. Second, I was not clear that this trusteeship system was ever intended to apply to an area like Germany. Third, that although in my own thinking I have felt that eventually the United Nations organization should take over responsibility for watching Germany into the indefinite future, that I did not believe that the first steps in recreating a new German government should be taken by any organization, except the present Allied Control Authority. In other words, Germany needs a central government at once. Such a government should be established under the direction of the present Control Council. Then, when that central government has developed a constitutional underpinning and the Control Council gradually passes out of the picture, in my opinion, the continuing problems of watching Germany becomes a United Nations' responsibility. But I have not yet thought through precisely how this United Nations' responsibility can best be exercised and judging by the slowness of present developments, I believe I have plenty of time to think this latter phase through very carefully. The trusteeship system, in any case, referred to in this memorandum, would not be the proper way for the United Nations organization to meet its responsibility. Some special organization would have to be devised for the purpose.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
23 June 1946

Colonel Gunn from the Civil Affairs Division, Washington, came down to show me a paper he had prepared and was taking back to Washington.

Ted Clark, a former student of mine now with the United Press, was here for the weekend and wanted to interview me about several matters of current interest.

I spent several hours studying the constitutional problems in the three states in our zone which have just come from the preparatory study commissions. They give evidence of careful work and they will certainly provide a good foundation for the discussions in the forthcoming constitutional conventions.

J.K.P.

June 23, 1946

My Darling –

*[...] I enclose the third article in the series which appeared in the Paris Herald Tribune. I didn't have it when I sent the other clippings. It is really wonderful and the three together provide the best picture anyone has given of our work here. [...]*⁷⁶

*Hugs & Kisses,
Jim*

Stuttgart, June 23, 1946

Dearest Mother –

My usual quiet Sunday was badly interrupted today by several visitors. Two colonels who were flying to Washington tomorrow brought down a paper from Frankfurt which I was supposed to see. Then two newspapermen – one a former student of mine – came for interviews, and finally several officers from Berlin had to see me in preparation for meetings tomorrow. The only way I can have any rest is to get out of town or better yet, out of the country. [...]

*Hugs and Kisses,
James*

Highlights of the Day
24 June 1946

Further study of the report dealing with proposals for an anti-inflationary program for Germany gives me added reason for worry about the present financial demoralization. Although the German Price Control system has done an excellent job in holding prices and wages, still the important fact remains that too many people are resorting to barter in order to obtain food and too many workers are staying away from their jobs because money is not important to them. There has been a steady decline of the incentive both to work and to sell and since there is an abundance of money or bank deposits, there is a reduction in the incentive to work. Until confidence can be developed in the currency, an upswing in productive power can hardly occur. Hence, to prevent economic chaos, as well as to stimulate production, finance reform is necessary. Such reform, however, must be achieved through combined action of the four occupying powers

⁷⁶ Ebenda.

and can only be effectively implemented by a central German government. At present, neither condition exists. I am glad, however, that General Clay has at last been able to pry loose a really intelligent and constructive report in this present field. I sincerely hope that effect will be given to it at the earliest possible moment.

I had a brief discussion today on the problem of Länderreform with a German official from Bavaria who was on his way to the British zone.

Also discussed the implications of the present evacuee problem with a Military Government officer from Bavaria and Guradze of my staff. We all agree that this problem is coming to be the biggest one confronting American Military Government.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
25 June 1946

Walter Dorn came in last night and related to me his experiences in Bavaria where he has been investigating the administration of the denazification law. He was quite excited about the fact that the Denazification Minister Schmitt, who is himself a Communist, has also filled most of the important posts with other Communists and on top of it all, has not pulled the whole system together. Some six weeks ago General Muller had called this to the attention of Minister-President Hoegner, but apparently he has done nothing about it in the meantime. Walter wanted to move Dr. Pfeiffer into the post and oust Minister Schmitt. I was against this because I can not see where a disruption of a program right in the middle of its execution would be very helpful. It is true that Pfeiffer is the power behind the CSU in Bavaria and can probably be considered as a prospective Minister-President. I can also see why Hoegner would like to push him into the mess which Minister Schmitt seems to have cut up. I feel sure some other way than the one Walter is proposing will be more constructive and less disrupting.

General Clay called this morning to say that he is going to Paris on Thursday. I rejoice that Mr. Byrnes is again calling him into the Conference and I await the outcome with great expectancy.

Drove to Munich this afternoon to talk over a number of problems with General Muller.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day

26 June 1946

Munich seems to have picked up a great deal since my last visit. I was pleased to find the Bavarian government adequately housed and when I called on Dr. Hoegner he showed me with considerable satisfaction the rooms that had been fixed up for cabinet meetings in the old house of the Prussian Minister.

I had the privilege of visiting Nymphenburg and later to the handicraft exhibition in the Haus der Deutschen Kunst. I was perfectly amazed at the abundance of really beautiful things – leather, crystal, glass, linen, plastics and silver. If we could only supply the Germans with the raw materials to produce these beautiful products, they could hardly meet the demand for the next ten years.

I took the occasion to inquire rather closely into the Bavarian political movements and personalities and found that the Christian Socialists Union is indisputably the leading and majority party, but its leadership is somewhat divided and its membership is very heterogeneous. Preparations for the forthcoming constitutional Conventions were quite perfect and although it is not likely that there will be as high a popular participation as in the big city elections, nevertheless, it seems quite certain that a big vote will be cast. The delegates when elected will assemble about the middle of July and will use the Aula of the badly damaged Munich University as their meeting place.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day

27 June 1946

I had a long talk with Dr. Pfeiffer who was here for a meeting of the Directorate. He explained the whole situation with regard to denazification and promised me that something definite would be done within ten days to get rid of the Communist Minister who, although very sympathetic with the denazification program, has been administratively a huge mistake and politically under the domination of his own Communist party.

The members of the Directorate paid me a visit to get my suggestions about the state compact on railways on which they were working. Their meeting lasted from ten o'clock in the morning until seven-thirty in the evening, demonstrating, I believe, the great need to have such a working committee meeting together every week.

In the liaison officers' meeting we discussed a number of important issues, including civil service, exchange of refugees, and the organization of the railroad system.

General Clay told me that he was going to Paris on Sunday and if he finished with Mr. Byrnes, would try to reach Stuttgart on Tuesday in time for a regular conference with the Minister-Presidents. He told me that even if he could not come Tuesday, he would come to tell me about developments in Paris as soon as Mr. Byrnes was finished with him. I reported to Bob Murphy two or three of the interesting aspects of Bavarian politics, which he understands so well.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
28 June 1946

Guradze brought up an interesting point today which arose in the Welfare Committee, namely, the problem of illegitimate children. It appears that Nazis who are held in internment camps cannot be reached or charged for the support of illegitimate children, nor is there any provision to give equal care to the illegitimate children of the displaced persons or refugees who happen to be in the zone. We were somewhat startled when he told us that the percentage of illegitimate children in Bavaria was thirty per cent, but he explained that this was not abnormal.

Another point came up regarding the release of gold and silver to be used in making parts for much needed electrical equipment. There is also a big field, especially in places like Pforzheim and Gmünd, for the manufacture of all kinds of silver, jewelry and silverware. Under existing directives, large stocks of silver and gold are lying idle near Frankfurt under guard, when they could be contributing materially to the reactivation of the German economy.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
30 June 1946

This being another election day, this time for the election of delegates to state constitutional conventions, I took a tour through northern and eastern Württemberg to watch the voting and the counting. Stopping at Gmünd, Heidenheim and other points, I was impressed with the orderliness and the businesslike way in which the voting was being conducted. I had a stimulating talk with the Military Government Officer at Heidenheim, Captain Bloom, about the care and use of an important

group of scientific workers who had been evacuated from the Russian zone and who are now quartered in Kreis Heidenheim.

J.K.P.

June 30, 1946

My Dearest –

As I think I told you in my letter last Sunday, I went to Munich Tuesday and came back Wednesday evening. It was a very pleasant trip of about three hours on the Autobahn and General Muller is always so nice to me. You will probably laugh but when he took me out to the famous Nymphenburg porcelain manufacturing plant which was built in the 18th century, I bought some more dishes! I couldn't resist because it was a chance of a lifetime. I bought a basket shape pattern decorated very sparingly with flowers. I also purchased a dozen gorgeous fruit plates – all different, and a dozen place plates with open work. It will probably take a couple of months to make because it is all hand work, but they will be shipped to me when ready. Total cost to me was only 1151 marks or \$ 115! They could sell for a thousand easily! You see where my allowance money goes, but it is really an investment and I think you will love this set. It's so sweet and dainty.

This will be a very busy and important week for me. Tuesday the Länderrat meets and that evening I entertain a group of 20 visiting newspaper editors including Roy Howard of Scripps-Howard, Sulzberger of the Times, Doc Gilmore of the Detroit News, etc. Clay and Murphy plan to fly in from Paris if Mr. Byrnes is through with them. Clay even hinted he would like to bring Mr. Byrnes with him. Wouldn't that be something? In any case, Clay said that he would fly here from Paris to tell me what happened. I thought that was awfully nice of him.

I am still planning a trip through the Rhineland and the Ruhr on my way to the meeting in Hamburg. I also hope to dip into Holland for a couple of days to check into Rhine shipping problems. Clay's arrival will determine when I can leave – maybe the 4th or 5th. I will be away from Stuttgart for probably two weeks.

I hope you have been able to see the article about Clay and me in Newsweek for June 24. It was really wonderful and informing. Also the reference to me in Time [Magazine] for June 24 in the chart on p. 12. Unfortunately someone wrote a "Smear" article about me in a publication put out by an organization known as the Society to Prevent World War III. Rex Stout and other German haters run it.⁷⁷ I suppose Bill Eaton and Hobbs gave them

⁷⁷ Schriftwechsel Pollocks mit dem Herausgeber Rex Stout über dessen Artikel ebenda sowie in: Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence-Clippings, Mich. Hist. Coll.

some of the dope about me in Ann Arbor. It sounds like them. I guess you have to expect the bitter with the sweet.

It looks now as if August 10 is about the right time for me to start moving toward the good old U.S.A. When I'm in Berlin next week I will make the arrangements. I don't know whether I'll go by plane or boat and I still would like to have a few days in London. I'll keep you informed of course. I think it would be nice for you all to meet me when I land if I can be certain when & where I will arrive. Do you agree?

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Highlights of the Day
1 July 1946

Received two French officers from Baden-Baden who brought with them two of their top German officials from the Palatinate to make a moving appeal to me on behalf of the starving Germans in the French zone. They wondered why we could not send them from the American zone ten thousand tons of potatoes which were needed to maintain life in this benighted portion of the French zone of occupation. I assured the very sincere Germans that it was not because of any lack of humanity that such transfers from our zone to the French zone could not be allowed and I told them that American taxpayers who were paying for large quantities of food to be sent to the American zone in Germany would not understand it if Germans in the American zone could then find enough extra to give to other zones. I also told them that the responsibility for feeding the Germans in the French zone rested with the French Military Government and that we had worked consistently for the elimination of zonal boundaries, but had not secured the support of the French.

It seemed a bit odd to me that the French should have brought their Germans over to us to beg for food.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
2 July 1946

This was Länderrat day and we all missed General Clay very much.⁷⁸ He called from Paris to explain that he could not leave and would I present to the Minister-Presidents two matters for him. These related to a proposal

⁷⁸ Protokoll der 10. Länderratssitzung vom 2. 7. 1946 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 1, Dok. 24.

for an amnesty for youthful offenders under the denazification law, provided they were not Class I or Class II offenders; and a request for suggestions from the Minister-Presidents about how best to handle the exchange of refugees with other zones. The regional directors and also Mr. Parkman came as usual for the meeting and we utilized their presence to discuss many problems of practical interest in Military Government. The Minister-Presidents received the word about amnesty with undisguised pleasure and Dr. Geiler, who is now presiding over the Länderrat, seemed rewarded for his suggestion along this line about a month ago.

After lunch I called in the three Minister-Presidents to raise with them a number of problems which hardly warranted public presentation, but which require attention on their part: The first was the transport problem, where I urged them to take a more direct personal interest to see that operations improved; the second was why American Military Government could not approve transfers of food out of the American zone to the French zone; and third, to urge them to expedite the conclusion of statutes regulating both rails and posts.

In the evening entertained a group of visiting newspaper editors, including my good friend "Doc" Gilmore, of the *Detroit News*, Mr. Sulzberger of the *New York Times*, Roy Howard, and a dozen others. I took the occasion to make some observations about the shortcomings of the American press in reporting on American Military Government and drew a comparison with the British press which has done a comparatively better job. Some of them did not like the criticism, but none of them rose to their defense.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day 3 July 1946

Spent the morning in what proved to be a very pleasant seminar session with the visiting editors. I tried to pull together a number of tag ends of information which they had been picking up and to put it in the total framework of Military Government. They seemed very interested and appreciative and later I took them to several Länderrat committee meetings so that they could see part of our operation, and then introduced the Secretary General and the Food Commissioner and the plenipotentiaries from the three states to them. Dr. Seelos, the plenipotentiary from Bavaria, regaled them with a spirited defense of Bavarian state's rights, which, I think, was a good point to make, inasmuch as we had been discussing the development of a decentralized federal Germany.

Tomorrow's being the Fourth of July, the liaison officers came in the afternoon and when the session was over, I was ready to jump in the

lovely outdoor swimming pool the Tenth Constabulary Regiment has provided and try to forget about all my troubles.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
4 July 1946

Today was Independence Day and General Harrold invited me to be with him in the reviewing stand to review the various motorized units of the Constabulary. It was what I would call a quietly impressive display of American power and the affair was concluded with forty-eight salvos, which sounded off in front of the former palace of the kings of Württemberg.

Secretary Roßmann sent me a letter this morning with greetings for the Fourth of July. He adverted to the great contribution of Thomas Jefferson and how important it was for the Germans to understand the significance of the powerful ideas and words contained in the Declaration of Independence. He showed his appreciation of the great document by calling in all of his German employees at a meeting in which he explained for a half hour the meaning of the Declaration. I find this a very encouraging sign that the Germans are trying to jump away from some of their own traditional thinking to benefit from the democratic experience of the United States.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, July 4, 1946

My Darling –

[. . .] I have been so pleased with all the favorable – even flattering publicity – but I am simply overwhelmed with terribly difficult problems, and I'm very weary. Perhaps my trip to Hamburg and other points will refresh me. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Highlights of the Day
5 July 1946

An interesting point came up in the Finance Committee meeting the other day which shows how German administration is gradually getting back on its own feet. The Bavarians proposed reestablishing the old Reichsfinanzhof, which formerly had its seat in Munich. They proposed to make, for the

time being, this the zonal tax appeal board and make it available to other zones.

The regulations of the press and of the radio have caused extensive discussions here during the past three months. The differences of opinion on critical points are very numerous and in the radio field the German postal officials have been insisting that all of the technical aspects of radio should be controlled by the post-office. Other points of view have been expressed which would put the radio under a sort of BBC. It is interesting and encouraging to find a pretty realistic and quite democratic approach to the settlement of these vitally important questions. The Germans have been assisted materially by the understanding assistance which has been given to them by my own staff member, Lieutenant Haller, and a very intelligent representative from the Information Control Division in Berlin, Mr. Davison. In these fields the Germans need much help and it will be a long time before the German press and radio approximate the American or the British standards.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Saturday, 6 July 1946

General Clay called to ask me to meet him in Frankfurt, where he was conferring with General McNarney and the visiting newspapermen, to fly with him to Berlin. We boarded his plane together with Bob Murphy and Mr. Lightner from the State Department. It seemed like a very short flight because we had an interesting talk about the Paris Conference from which they had just come. The General was on call in case the German problem came up. Since it did not come up and General McNarney wanted Clay with him at the press conference in Frankfurt, Clay took the opportunity to go back to Berlin to catch up with the more pressing problems which had arisen during his absence. Clay and Murphy kidded me about the smear article which had appeared in the publication of the so-called Society to Prevent World War III, and the General, never missing an opportunity, said that this was just another reason why I could not go home – that I would not want to finish my work under fire.

The week in Paris had not developed anything constructive on the German side, although the General had talked several times with Mr. Byrnes, who, fortunately, is receptive to Clay's suggestions. After arriving in Tempelhof, Bob Murphy took Ernie Linde and me to dinner at his house where

we went into the Paris conversations quite exhaustively in the presence of Lightner and Don Heath.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Sunday, 7 July 1946

Although the General was tremendously busy catching up with urgent cables, we had an hour's talk, part of which related to me and my plans to return home. It is extremely hard for me to go and the General said that he would only give me leave of absence for six months. He was not satisfied with the work the Länderrat had done on land reform. When we talked about the Hamburg conference with the British which I am attending on Thursday, he thought it was a good idea for me to canvass the situation in the British zone with a view to any future combination. In the afternoon I took a drive around Berlin with Ernie Linde who had not been there since 1937. It is a grim spectacle at any time and the more I see of Berlin, the less I want to be there. It still seems to me to have been a great mistake to have centered everything there.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Monday, 8 July 1946

I had a long conference this morning with Colonel Edmunds, the new head of the Transport Division. We went over the German organization for transport in the American zone and I explained how we were now deeming it advisable to press the Germans for improvements in their top management and operations. There has been a tendency all along for the transport people to blame the Germans, while actually at least half of the trouble has been due to the failure of our own transport people to give the Germans clear instructions, and not to get them confused with all kinds of contradictory orders from different officers. I pointed out the need which has been present for some months of a competent German-speaking liaison officer from the Transport Division to the German Transport Directorate.

Spent several disagreeable hours trying to untangle the terrible personnel situation. It is too bad that such an important operation is being severely handicapped by an unsatisfactory personnel branch. For the first time my whole staff has been unsettled by a number of unjustifiable classification decisions.

I had a brief conference with General Harper who is in charge of headquarters while General Clay is away. He remarked that everybody in Ber-

lin was pushing papers around until they knew the outcome of the Paris discussions. General Clay flew back to Paris last night.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Tuesday, 9 July 1946

Berlin seems to be full of all kinds of rumors about the Russians and about the food situation and about possible American withdrawal. Nerves are very much on edge and one can hardly blame the Germans for being nervous in the midst of so much uncertainty.

J.K.P.

Berlin, July 9, 1946

My Darling –

I leave in the morning, as I have already written to you, for Hamburg where I have a joint meeting with the British. Then on Friday to British headquarters at Bad Oeynhausen (remember?) and Minden. Then to Holland for the weekend – which I will need and enjoy.

I've had several strenuous days here but have accomplished a good deal. Everyone is pushing papers around awaiting the outcome of the Paris conference. Clay called me today and seemed hopeful. We will see. I look for little progress at this time. That's another reason why I'm coming home!! [. . .] I am well and now counting the days until I see you. The next Länder-rat meeting is August 6th. I will get away as soon after that as possible. [. . .]

*Hugs and Kisses,
Jim*

Highlights of the Day
Wednesday, 10 July 1946

We drove today to Hamburg, taking the long way around because the short way is still through the Russian zone and it takes several days to get proper clearances. We arrived in time to go to a dinner given by the German officials in the Zonal Advisory Council and Brigadier Britten was there representing British Control Commission headquarters.⁷⁹ Dr. Schumacher,

⁷⁹ Protokoll der Sitzung des Zonenbeirats vom 10./11. 7. 1946 in Hamburg, an der Vertreter des Länderrats teilnahmen, AVBRD 1, Dok. 25.

who is now president of the Zonal Advisory Council, made a few pleasant remarks which were replied to by our Secretary General, Mr. Roßmann. In the course of the evening I had a warm discussion with Dr. Weisser who is the German secretary of the Zonenbeirat. He, of course, is interested in justifying the existence of his own ineffective organization and did not seem to be aware of how much actual difference there was between our Länderrat and his Zonenbeirat. The dinner was at the Fährhaus on the Außenalster, from which one can still get the same magnificent view back toward the Rathaus, which, by a strange freak of fortune, still remains standing.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Thursday, 11 July 1946

Our Secretary General, Roßmann, made an excellent speech in which he gave as good a description of the work of the Länderrat as I have heard. Schumacher was in the chair for the British Germans and there was a lot of discussion, but very little action. No one could be impressed with this British effort at the revival of German self-government. After talking with Brigadier Britten, Colonel Pearson, Brigadier Armytage and others from the British side both at lunch and at dinner, I began to wonder what value there would be in combining our two zones, since they are run so differently. I received a more complete idea of how British Military Government is organized, but I confess my admiration does not grow as I learn more about it. The food situation in Hamburg is critical and everywhere my car stopped it was surrounded with hungry people who were begging for bread. The workmen on the streets and on construction projects were all grumbling and looked, to say the least, fagged out.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Friday, 12 July 1946

On the way to Bremen this morning on the Autobahn we passed the most amazing assembly of vehicles I have ever seen. For twenty-five miles, on both sides of the double highway probably one hundred thousand of every kind of war vehicle were neatly lined up. One got an impressive idea of the magnitude as well as the waste of modern warfare. It was good to lunch once more in an American mess in Bremen and to learn about current developments in this bit of American controlled territory. The Bremen Port Command is now liquidated and things have settled down to a more

normal basis. The Bremen Senate, however, is not happy in its rather analogous position with American Military Government in actual occupation, overriding British policy being determining. The situation is, however, so much better than last fall that there is no comparison.

Upon our arrival at Minden at the headquarters of the British Economic Control Commission, I had a meeting with Dr. Agartz, who heads their German economic organization. When I raised the question about how our two zones could work more effectively together and what was needed to improve cooperation, Dr. Agartz, in the presence of Brigadier Cowley, very frankly replied that nothing was needed on the American side, but on the British side more authority had to be granted to the Germans with less interference from individual branch chiefs in British Military Government. Brigadier Cowley was very anxious to bring about more effective cooperation between the two zones, but was not too clear as to how it should be accomplished. At dinner at Brigadier Cowley's mess, General Balfour came up from British zone headquarters at Lübbecke and General Grimsdale and Colonel Robinson were present. We had a long and interesting discussion after dinner about joining up the two zones. The more we talked, the more convinced I became of the practical difficulty in amalgamating two utterly dissimilar administrative systems. General Balfour pointed out how the British were going to make certain changes along lines similar to what has already been done in the American zone, but when I asked what could be done in the next three months, I got no answer. The British have acted on the theory that the Land economics officers should not be integrated into provincial administration because they were formerly controlled from Berlin and should continue to be under a future government. This might be a good theory but it was, in effect, a rationalization of their own centralized control of economic affairs. General Balfour brushed me the wrong way once when he implied that there was nothing democratic about what we were doing in the Länderrat, meaning that our Minister-Presidents were not popularly elected. Coming from a responsible British officer who, with his colleagues, have done almost nothing to revive democratic procedures in their own zone, I could not restrain myself from replying, with some heat, I fear, that, although there could not be anything democratic about Military Government, that, actually, we had progressed very far toward the re-establishment, both of democratic procedures and the development of democratic thinking in the American zone, not to mention the whole cycle of democratic elections through which we have come.

In discussing the questions of treating Germany as an economic unit, I discovered that the British use the word "whole" instead of unit and Ernie

Linde very cleverly observed that if they spelled it without the "w" it would be a more accurate description of the present situation.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Saturday, 13 July 1946

Drove to Amsterdam for a few days of change. It was like coming from darkness to daylight when one crossed the border into Holland. There were still numerous signs of the fighting which had taken place through Holland and a bitter feeling against the Germans. Amsterdam was an extremely pleasant sight to my eyes after having seen so many destroyed German cities. Although food seems to be quite plentiful, everything is rationed and there is considerable scarcity of consumer goods.⁸⁰

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Sunday, 14 July 1946

After a pleasant motor launch trip around the canals and through the harbors, drove to The Hague by way of Haarlem and Leyden.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Tuesday, 16 July 1946

Saw Stanley Hornbeck, our Ambassador, and had a pleasant lunch with him and his wife. We talked about how the Dutch view the German problem and I learned with considerable interest that the Dutch are not interested in annexing any German territory, but would be interested in certain rectifications of frontier, particularly around Cleves. The Dutch, who have lost the trade and hinterland in Germany, are quite anxious to resume their normal commerce with Germany and their extensive carrying trade on the Rhine. They look with considerable anxiety at our rebuilding the port of Bremen for fear that it will compete too strongly with Rotterdam.

The Peace Palace is undisturbed and quite as handsome a building as

⁸⁰ "What a paradise compared to Germany! Food is good but very expensive," Brief Pollocks an seine Frau vom 16. 7. 1946, Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll.

ever. However, the newly organized International Court of Justice does not yet have any business and thus is not in session. The newly elected Dutch parliament is now organized and there has been a recent reshuffling of the Ministry. I learned that some 90,000 Dutch collaborators are still in internment camps where they have been without trial for over a year. The new Prime Minister promises to remove most of them after a review in the near future.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Wednesday, 17 July 1946

Drove through Rotterdam, Breda, Eindhoven and Roermond to Düsseldorf where British Military Government Regional Headquarters for the Northern Rhine Province are located.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Thursday, 18 July 1946

After talking with the Regional Commissioner, Mr. Asbury, I drove to the great inland port at Duisburg and to the headquarters of the Northern German Coal Control at Essen. Approximately 50 per cent of the facilities of the great Ruhrort are now able to be used and the facilities of the port are adequate to handle all present shipments of coal and other goods coming into it.

I was impressed in Essen with the efficient and business-like manner in which Brigadier Marley and his associates had handled the coal problem. Operating in the huge and ornate Villa Hügel they have gone further than other parts of Military Government in getting the Germans to do the work. They are, of course, conscious of the central importance of coal in the total German and European economy and they are doing everything possible to increase production by improving the ration and status of the miner.

Brigadier Marley observed that the coal miners were saying that Hitler gave them vitamins, the British are now giving them calories, and they wonder when they are going to get some bloody food.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Friday, 19 July 1946

Arrived in Koblenz last night and was quartered in Bad Ems, twenty kms away because of the shortage of rooms in Koblenz. Had a very revealing discussion with the French Governor, Monsieur de Boislambert, who explained how they had organized what they call the province of Rhénane. They have created a new administrative district out of the four wine growing counties of Hessen on the east bank of the Rhine, which has been referred to euphoniously as the Koblenz bridgehead. They call it Regierungsbezirk Montabaur, presumably after the French general. The Governor very frankly admitted that he saw little hope for effective cooperation between the different zones until there was a change in French policy.

Arrived back in Stuttgart in time for dinner.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Saturday, 20 July 1946

In making a quick review of developments at the Länderrat during my absence, I notice that the Welfare Committee is getting in some good work. It means that another constructive aspect of German administration is getting under way. In some respects Germany as a whole can be considered a welfare case and we should never forget how expensive it is to rehabilitate welfare cases when they are neglected too long.

I also find progress in putting the land reform law into final shape. It is really amazing the amount of work which is turned out here every week.

J.K.P.

July 21, 1946

Dearest Mother and Sister –

[...] My trip was vastly interesting and I am now ready to advise General Clay about future developments in the light of the failure of the Paris conference to develop any program. I am quite discouraged about the outlook. [...]

*My love to all of you,
James*

Highlights of the Day
Monday, 22 July 1946

I had an opportunity over Sunday to think through the problem of inter-zonal amalgamation which is now in the air since Mr. Byrnes' announcement at Paris.⁸¹ I prepared a letter for General Clay expressing my views which, in general, did not look with too much favor on any kind of formal amalgamation which would involve setting up new machinery. I fear that the British are so far behind us that it would be administratively very difficult to get two utterly diverse administrative systems to work closely together. Hence, I have recommended that existing avenues of cooperation between the two zones be further utilized.

A report today on leather presents the fact that for every child between three and fourteen there is just enough leather to make three-fourths of a pair of shoes per year. A similar shortage in paper is impeding the dissemination of desirable factual information to the Germans and preventing a normal development of newspapers and magazines.

General Draper, Colonel Hester, Colonel Wilkinson arrived late this afternoon from Berlin and were our guests for dinner. General Draper gave me his impressions of the Paris conference and told me about the conferences which had been held in Berlin following General Clay's and General Robertson's return. Talked over the phone with General Clay who had just returned from Bremen and Hamburg. When I asked him which road he had used from Hamburg to Berlin, he said the regular road through the Russian zone and that he had been held up about an hour at the border.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Tuesday, 23 July 1945

The Reparations Subcommittee has suggested that the reparations question needs to be reconsidered, inasmuch as the economic structure of Germany has completely changed since the end of the war and also because the figures of 1936 are not adequate to the present situation. The fact is, of course, that what is done in one zone is not very well known in the

⁸¹ Erklärung des amerikanischen Außenministers Byrnes auf der Außenministerkonferenz in Paris am 11. 7. 1946 zur amerikanischen Deutschlandpolitik. Er forderte den Zusammenschluß der vier Besatzungszonen zu einer ökonomischen Einheit, Deutschlands Wiederaufbau und einen Friedensvertrag, FRUS 1946 II, S. 880–898 (S. 881–882 u. 897–898). Siehe auch A Summary of United States Policy and Objectives in Germany, 19. 7. 1946, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. (IfZ Bd. 34).

other zones and the Level of Industry Plan which was agreed upon for the Allied Control Council does not take into consideration the fact that the population of Germany has considerably increased on account of the influx of expellees. The density of population in the western zones has increased to 190 people per square kilometer and because of the loss of the territories east of the Oder, Germany will have to import more food than she did in pre-wartimes.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Wednesday, 24 July 1946

Received a group of British visitors today who were interested in getting a more complete understanding of the operations of the Länderrat. The party included General Balfour, General Robertson's deputy in the British zone, Colonel Grimsdale of the Economic Control Council in Minden, Colonel Robinson, also from Minden, and Mr. Ingrams from Berlin. I think we were able to explain some of the procedures and accomplishments of the Länderrat and they all expressed considerable admiration. In the evening we had dinner for them at the Villa and I suppose most of the discussion related to possible ways and means of combining the British and American zones. I must say, however, that I have no illusions about how difficult this would be and I got very few helpful suggestions from our British colleagues.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Thursday, 25 July 1946

General Clay arrived last night and had an early breakfast with me to talk over the question of my successor. His choice has very wisely fallen upon Colonel Dawson who is at present the Director of Military Government for Württemberg-Baden and who has had a long and distinguished experience in Military Government. The General, in talking about my going home, expressed some concern about his own position in the emerging situation. He felt quite properly that following the next discussions of the Foreign Ministers on Germany that the whole world will be focusing its attention on the solution of this problem. However, he is in the Military Government, and with most of the Army redeployment and disciplinary problems solved, may well be expected to interfere more and more in Military Government.

General Clay's relations with General McNarney have always been of

the best and he has deferred to him on every occasion, but with such momentous issues in the foreground, it seems only fitting and proper that General Clay, as representing Military Government, should have the decisive influence for the Army, but handled as a contributing and not as a controlling force.

We also talked about the new situation in which Military Government would find itself after the election of the Land legislators in October. The Länderrat would then be the only agency which Military Government has left to which to issue directives.

At the liaison officers' meeting this morning after the General had flown back to Berlin we had the usual briefing in the various functional fields and I had the difficult task of telling the staff and the liaison officers that I would not be with them in another two weeks.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, July 25, 1946

My Darling –

Tonight I am tired and weary but very happy because I'm going home! The General was here last night and this morning to see me and after asking me if my intention to return was irrevocable, he named Col. Dawson as my successor. He then said that he would arrange to let me fly home and I indicated around the 15th of August as the time. So it's all set, my dearest, and I'm now busily cutting all my connections in preparation to go home. The General insisted that he wants me back at some future time and will probably have the orders read in such a way that it will be easy to return. But we will see about that. I'm home with you until February at least and I won't come back without you! [...]

I still plan a trip of a few days to London. I will probably be here until the Länderrat meeting on the 6th, then fly to Berlin with the General, fly to London and back and then leave Stuttgart for Paris. [...]

There are so many things I must do – you have no idea what it means to pass on to another man what you have been doing. Col. Dawson is the most experienced Military Government officer in the theatre and I am happy to have him carry on in my place. I'll write soon again –

*Love,
Jim*

Highlights of the Day
Friday, 26 July 1946

I had an interesting discussion this morning with representatives of DANA, the German newspaper agency. They brought me an interesting criticism of some of the procedures of the Länderrat which appeared in the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, a Communist organ. I took the occasion to point out to them that it was the desire of Military Government to give as much publicity as possible to the work of the German governments everywhere and that if the German press were dissatisfied with the internal procedures of the Länderrat, that they should openly criticize them and endeavor to eliminate any undue secrecy which may exist. I pointed out, however, that the publicity arrangements in the Länderrat are quite usual and normal. The sessions of the Länderrat are open to the public and news about the committee meetings is given out each week in a press conference. Committee sessions, of course, are closed as they usually are in all legislative bodies, and the Minister-Presidents occasionally have executive sessions to talk over personnel and other intimate matters not particularly suitable to public discussion.

I also pointed out to them that every effort had been made in the course of formulating definite proposals to bring in interested persons and groups and I threw in a little barb at the German press by expressing disappointment that it had taken them some six months to discover and pay any attention to the most important development which had been going on in the American zone. I was pleased, however, to see that they were alert to the responsibilities of the press in securing full information.

Dr. Maier, the Minister-President of Württemberg-Baden, called to discuss the proposed agrarian reform law. He pointed out how difficult it was for them in North Württemberg, where there are very few large estates, to apply a drastic reform law to their own area, while South Württemberg, which has a considerable number of large estates, is unaffected because it is in the French zone and the French are doing nothing about the problem. I took occasion to question him about how he felt on the question of merging the British and American zones in accordance with General McNarney's invitation. He pointed out what a difficult thing it would be to merge two utterly different administrative systems and he clearly indicated that it would really be up to the British zone to make such fundamental alterations in its structure so that it could measure up to the present organization in the American zone. He also expressed some doubt about the feasibility of two Military Governments working together on some joint organization to supervise the Germans, apparently referring to the less satisfactory experience which the Germans in the British zone have had with their own Military Government.

Great progress has been achieved this week toward the final formulation

of basic agreements, not only with regard to agrarian reform, but also in the management of transportation matters and in the acceptance of a new press law.

The next Länderrat meeting promises to be one of the most fruitful we have had thus far.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, July 27, 1946

My Darling –

[. . .] Everyone here is just too nice to me. It will be hard to leave so many loyal friends and admirers, but my family comes first and this is a good time to leave.⁸²

*Love,
Jim*

Highlights of the Day
Monday, 29 July 1946

Received a report today from the interzonal trade commissioner of the Länderrat on his work since 19 July, when OMGUS transferred responsibilities in this field to the Germans. In the period since 19 June von Maltzan, who is a nephew of the former German ambassador to the United States, has handled 255 applications, of which 212 were approved, representing 1,848,000 marks. Compared to the trade necessary to put the zone on its feet, this is, of course, a mere drop in the bucket. But the successful handling of so many applications demonstrates again the ability of our German officials to handle an assignment which was, in this case, literally thrown at them without any advance preparation.

An intelligent looking personnel analyst was at last sent down to us today to look over our entire operation. I wish we had had more capable personnel men in the earlier stages. We could then have avoided a lot of improper classification problems and we would have been able to retain many very capable men who have already gone home. This chap was

⁸² An seine Mutter schrieb Pollock am 26. 7. 1946: *"I leave when my stocks are very high and that's a good time. It will take me a long time to realize exactly what I've done. It's been a magnificent experience – the greatest of my life."* Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll.

trained under Don Sublette in Detroit, than whom there is no better personnel technician in the United States.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Tuesday, 30 July 1946

It is very interesting to watch foreign and interzonal trade being reborn in Germany amidst tremendous difficulties. Up to now the German exporter in the American zone is not permitted to communicate with foreign buyers, and thus one of the successful conditions to foreign trade is not yet present. The French and the Russians have already permitted this. Then, too, U.S. import duties constitute an important barrier to the successful completion of German trade with the U.S. Fundamentally, of course, there can be no economic revival in Germany and also in Europe until Germany can acquire export dollars to pay for necessary imports.

I received a report today of an interzonal meeting at Bad Godesberg held in the middle of the month with the Ministers of Justice, judges and professors of law from the three zones in attendance. The meeting provided a satisfactory medium for the exchange of information about the status of the law and the courts in the various zones. The judicial officials in the British zone explained the curious system developed there by which the judges of the *Oberlandesgerichte* promulgate binding legislation within their respective jurisdictions. Since there are no states or cabinets within those states in the British zone, they have utilized judicial officials for legislative purposes, I suppose being influenced by that strange analogy, the British Lord Chancellor.

One cannot read about the reopening of the courts, including the staffing and reconstruction of court buildings, without realizing that there is a deeply imbedded sense of justice in responsible Germans, which, if operated within proper political framework, will provide the necessary judicial guarantees of life, liberty and property.

Mr. Ostrander, the Chief of the Price Formation Branch, OMGUS, has been here trying to get agreement on many aspects of price policy. It is a singular thing to find that price administration in a defeated country has been better run than in the United States, Canada, or any other normally functioning economy. It is really a tribute to the German price control agencies that they have been able to hold the line so effectively. They have maintained price stops, wage stops, but, unfortunately, a veritable volcano has been threatening to cover them up because of the uncertainty about the

currency. Mr. Ostrander will send down a couple of his experts to assist the Länderrat's new Price Commissioner.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Wednesday, 31 July 1946

At the special liaison officers' meeting today we were able to report considerable progress in several fields. The land reform law seems at last to be rounding into shape, although the difficulty about the size of forests to be subdivided is still a moot question, the foresters insisting that a thousand hectares are not large enough parcels for proper forest management. The Germans were pleased that a shipment of cotton is arriving from the U.S. and that Washington has now receded from its original position and will permit high-quality textiles to be processed.

The news, also, of forty tons of silver which will revive the silver industry in Württemberg-Baden was another bit of good news.

The social insurance field presents an interesting commentary on the way in which so many important matters have to be decided under the present quadripartite arrangements. After our committees have been working several months on a social insurance law, there now emerges from the Allied Control authority in Berlin a new social insurance law which, although it embodies some of the provisions recommended by our Germans, is nevertheless different in a number of particulars. The sooner the Allied Powers can allow the Germans to work out their own problems, the better it will be for all of us.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Thursday, 1 August 1946

An interesting interzonal meeting was held here today dealing mostly with post and telegraph in the British and Russian zones. Although the French were invited, they did not appear. It will not be too difficult for the two senior post directorates in the two zones to work out a common administration. The Germans from the British zone explained the differences in their operation and ours, consisting mainly in a large number of British Military Government officers rather closely controlling their operations. We have one liaison officer in PTT to our Senior Post Directorate in Munich. The British have about 150 Military Government officers at their Senior Post Directorate in Bad Salzungen.

In the Directorate meeting today there was a very interesting discussion

about the establishment of an economic council for the more expeditious handling of joint economic matters. Our Germans want to leave no stone unturned at having their house in perfect order when any moves are made to join up the two zones. It was a keen appreciation of the administration problems involved and a close regard for the autonomy of the several states. It is very interesting for me to look back for six months and note the remarkable improvement in the manner in which the Germans are conducting their meetings.

The question of restitution of the property of persecutees is being wrestled with by the Property Control Committee. There is a good deal of property formerly owned by Jews where no heirs are known. Considerable pressure from Washington on behalf of these persecutees is being exerted, although there is what seems to me a very proper judicial attitude on the part of the German committee to make any possible amends for the dastardly acts of the Hitler regime.

Colonel Drury gave me a tank review this morning, much to my surprise. It was very encouraging to see such a fine group of well-drilled American soldiers looking so snappy and impressing the population.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, August 1, 1946

My Dearest –

So many things are happening that it is difficult for me to keep track of it all. Yesterday I had quite a thrill when an armored car and a platoon of five tanks rolled up and the Lieutenant in command came into my office and asked for orders. I told him to deploy his tanks in such a way as to isolate the hilltop and then report back. By that time my friend Col. Drury, who commands the Constabulary in this area, appeared and explained it all and took me with him to inspect the tanks. The tanks crews – very snappy soldiers – gave me a wonderful drill in front of my house and then I had them all in for a cup of coffee. Drury said I acted like a veteran tank commander.

Today is a holiday – Air Force Day – but I have two important meetings – one an interzonal meeting between British & American German officials on postal matters, and the second – a meeting of the Länderrat Directorate which does the important work in the weeks between the Länderrat meetings. Also General Draper, who is head of Economics in Berlin, and Mr. Winant, another important man are in town, and I entertain them tonight at dinner. But my working days here are soon over and I will be flying back to you!

I'm really embarrassed with all the fuss which is being made over my departure. The staff is planning a big farewell party for me on Monday and

General and Mrs. Clay, Ambassador Murphy, Don Heath, the three Military Government Directors and about a dozen other important people are flying here from all over the zone to pay me respect. It will be wonderful, of course, but I don't know whether I can take it! If you were by my side it would be different.

No change in plans except maybe 17th or 18th from Paris instead of 15th. Time is so short for me to do so much! [. . .]

[Schluß des Briefes fehlt]

Highlights of the Day
Friday, 2 August 1946

My attention has again been called to interferences by CIC with the work of the German denazification tribunals. I can think of nothing which will so thoroughly mess up the good work which has been done as much as this kind of gratuitous interference. No one questions the need for counter-intelligence work, but the continued control of this function by one branch of the Army outside of Military Government leads to a great deal of working at cross-purposes.

J.K.P.

Stuttgart, Sunday, Aug. 4

My Darling –

[. . .] It has been lovely these past few days and yesterday afternoon I spent at the swimming pool in the sun. It's the most relaxation I've had all year.⁸³ Actually what I should do is take two weeks rest in Switzerland, but I'm too anxious to come home! [. . .]

*Love,
Jim*

⁸³ Im Brief vom 28. 7 1946 hatte Pollock seiner Frau geschrieben: "I've been blessed with good health although lots of people around me have had appendectomies, stomach ulcers, high blood pressure, bealed teeth etc." Pollock Papers, Private Correspondence, Mich. Hist. Coll.

Highlights of the Day
Monday, 5 August 1946

In studying the agenda for the Länderrat meeting tomorrow,⁸⁴ I am amazed at its importance and the large number of very significant proposals which are up for adoption. After several months' work there will be presented an administrative court law which will bring back into existence on a regular basis the excellent system of administrative courts which functioned in Germany before the Nazis. The rail compact, the proposal for an economic council, the press law, and new liaison channels with the British zone are all topics on the agenda.

My loyal and hardworking staff, which will be attended at the Villa by the General, Bob Murphy and a plane load who are flying down this afternoon, are giving me a farewell dinner this evening.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Tuesday, 6 August 1946

I shall never forget the party last night where I am sure I received a great deal of undeserved praise. General Clay's comments were particularly touching because he associated my work with the best in American idealism. I am afraid that I replied in a very slobbering fashion because I was deeply touched. Everyone seemed to have a good time and the party was still going on when I left with "Maud" Muller at about two in the morning. When I asked Bob Murphy this afternoon when he went home, he asked me if I did not remember, inasmuch as I had taken him to the door!

General Clay presented the question of interzonal cooperation to the Minister-Presidents in one of his brief and effective speeches. Afterwards in private conversation with the Minister-Presidents he stated more fully what his ideas were about land reform, always making it clear that he wanted their judgment in this important field. He announced to the Minister-Presidents that I was returning home and that Colonel Dawson would take over. Whereupon Dr. Geiler expressed regret at my leaving, but pleasure in having Colonel Dawson succeed me and said that he would have more to say in appreciation of my work on a later occasion.

In the regular conference with the Directors of Military Government, the General, and later, General Adcock, discussed several matters of current importance in the administration of the Länder.

At about one-thirty we took off for Berlin, arriving two hours later. Bob

⁸⁴ Protokoll der 11. Länderratssitzung vom 6. 8. 1946 in Stuttgart, AVBRD 1, Dok. 26.

Murphy took me to his house and after straightening out several matters connected with my forthcoming departure for home, he invited Ed Litchfield to dinner so that we could talk over all of the implications involved in the approaching merger of the two zones. I met Bob's second daughter and Mrs. Murphy for the first time and had, as usual, a most delightful time with them. I expressed to both Bob and Ed that I took a rather dim view of the proposed merger of the two zones because I think I understand all of the administrative problems which will inevitably arise.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Wednesday, 7 August 1946

I had long discussions with General Clay about all of the aspects of cooperation with the British zone. I tried to point out all the possible dangers and pitfalls and also my general conclusion that there is little to be gained, even by a successful merger. Of course, I feel that we have to go through with it. Nevertheless, if we cannot join up our two zones, diverse as they are, how are we ever going to set up a central government involving all four zones?

Left at noon for Wiesbaden in General Clay's plane so that I could meet Colonel Newman for the flight to London. From Wiesbaden it was just two hours' pleasant flight to Bovington, where we arrived at about 4:30. I got a great thrill out of returning to the English countryside and driving into London where I was pleased to see much less destruction than I had anticipated. I walked my legs off trying to get a glimpse of familiar landmarks and retired in a comfortable English bed at the Connaught, tired but happy.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Friday, 9 August 1946

I had very interesting discussions yesterday and today with several of the British officials connected with the Control Commission for Germany and Austria. I was happy to learn that they seemed only too anxious to measure up to the procedures developed in the American zone in order to make the interzonal merger operate successfully. They had just had something of a spanking in Parliament the end of July where it was brought out how overstuffed British Military Government is and how slow they have been in devolving power on the Germans.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Saturday, 10 August 1946

Renewed some of my contacts at Labor Party headquarters at the Transport House and at the Conservatives' central office. I got a picture of complete confusion at the Conservative headquarters and one of quiet confidence at Transport House. There are no signs that the Labor Party's hold is slipping and it becomes clear that they are rapidly developing many capable and intelligent young party leaders to follow in due course in the places of the superannuated trade union leaders. Laski was in Moscow, and, hence, I could not see him. I was also sorry to miss my British cousin, Sir John Pollock.

I got a tremendous kick out of the performance of A. P. Herbert's new operetta, "Big Ben", which sent me, after the performance, out on the Strand full of the lilting tunes and clever lines with which the play abounded.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Sunday, 11 August 1946

Flew back to Frankfurt today and was met there by George, who drove me back to Stuttgart where it was very pleasant to be greeted by the staff at supper.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Monday, 12 August 1946

General Adcock, General Draper, Colonel Hester, Mr. Bennett, et al. flew down to give some instructions to the Directorate with regard to plans for uniting the two zones. It became quickly apparent that the topsiders had not thought through many of the important aspects of the merger, but General Adcock made a clear presentation to the Germans and asked them to prepare their plans within two weeks. At subsequent meetings in the afternoon, however, General Draper left the Germans somewhat confused and a bit sad by his omission of proper reference to their work in developing self-governing institutions in the American zone and their preservation in the future situation. He made them fear that all that we had accomplished to date might be lost in the approaching eagerness to join up with the British. We took pains, however, to tell Papa Roßmann and the other leading Germans that

they should not recommend anything which did not seem to them to be administratively sound.

J.K.P.

Highlights of the Day
Tuesday, 13 August 1946

Colonel Hasty called from Berlin today to say that I had a seat on the plane from Orly Field, Paris, on the evening of the seventeenth.

More discussion about the impending interzonal merger and more big shots arriving for discussions with the Germans, including Mr. Hughes, head of Food and Agriculture in the British zone.

J.K.P.

I gave my swan song to the German officials of the Länderrat tonight at a Bierabend.⁸⁵ Minister-President Hoegner had come up from Munich for the occasion and also Minister Pfeiffer. Hilpert represented Geiler who was visiting the Russian zone. Maier and his alter ego Staatsrat Witwer, and Gögler and many other ministers were present. I emphasized the need for a new emphasis on the individual citizen and less dependence on the trained civil service. I also gave a brief evaluation of their work in the Länderrat. Speaking in my very best German (with Ernie as my tutor and interpreter) I was followed with rapt attention. Roßmann, the Secretary General speaking for himself and the Minister-Presidents followed me with a most felicitous speech in which he pointed out that I had never given him an order although all my letters to him had not been love letters! Afterwards the Germans – there must have been 200 of them in the Villa – had a grand time drinking our beer and eating our sandwiches. They were obviously starved both for food and a little social life. I might add with what I hope is pardonable pride that American Military Government could not buy or order such wholehearted cooperation as we have received here at the Länderrat.

At dinner with my staff – the last one – I had a hard time saying what was in my heart to say by way of appreciation for their loyal and capable service which accomplished so much. I was able to say that they had been the best damn staff a man ever had.

⁸⁵ Pollock's farewell address to the Laenderrat and Rossmann's reply, Pollock Papers, Mich. Hist. Coll. 64-5, sowie Bundesarchiv Koblenz, Bestand Länderrat Z 1/65, S. 267 ff. und Z 1/698, S. 34-43.

August 14

Somehow with lots of help from Ray and Louisa, and George and Emily I managed to get packed up this morning. Major Concannon, the General's aide and pilot, came for me at noon and flew me to Frankfurt where the General was attending the Commanding General's Conference. He and Bob Murphy arrived at the field about three and we flew to Berlin. Clay looked worn out and slept most of the way. He kept me with him at his house overnight, and we had a wonderful dinner and long discussion with Bob Murphy joining us. I learned about the problems, arising more frequently of late, with the Army. It is very clear to me that it is much too late for the Army to be interfering with Military Government. With difficult and important problems arising every day, and with critical issues looming in the immediate future, Clay's powers and position must be strengthened and clarified. It is both awkward and dangerous to have an army commander be the Military Governor. General McNarney and General Clay worked well together, but it is now inevitable that the Military Governor will step more and more in the picture as the limelight begins to shine on Germany. The problems today are political not military.

Furthermore our interests in Germany cannot be run by committees in Washington totally unfamiliar with the problems in the field. Clay is naturally restive under a system which either gives him no reply or delays a reply to vital questions submitted for review. I am not absolutely clear in my own mind how occupation problems can best be controlled and centered in the American government. I am however certain that occupation problems, and particularly the German problem, deserve the highest status in Washington, and that General Clay is the only man with the prestige, experience, and insight to handle the job in Germany during the next few critical years.

August 15

After a good talk with Clay about difficult aspects of joining up the British and American zones, and a round of goodbye calls, I left in Clay's plane for Paris where I arrived in the late afternoon. The city seemed quite deserted except for the flurries around the hotels where the various delegations were quartered.

August 17

Talked yesterday and today with Matthews and Bohlen of the American delegation at the Meurice. I told Matthews I thought something should be done to clarify Washington's position about our policy in Germany. I told him frankly that in my opinion Clay could not continue unless something was done. Later in the day he told me that he had reported this to Mr. Byrnes who had immediately telephoned Clay to come to Paris for a talk tomorrow. This is good news. Had dinner with Walter Kerr and Ed Beattie and got the low-down on the Conference. Also saw Hal O'Flaherty and Edgar Mowrer. After attending a session and learning some more about it, I am quite discouraged. The Conference is badly managed. It needs an experienced Secretariat like the League had to help smooth out incidental difficulties. I'm afraid that if something doesn't happen pretty soon, no agreement will be reached before the scheduled UNO meeting. If we can't agree on the peripheral problems what are we going to do when the central German problem comes up for solution? Or will it ever come up?

At sundown I boarded a plane at Orly for home. Happy day!

August 18

How restful it is, but how strange after such a strenuous time in Germany, to be flying peacefully over the ocean. I have started at least to get caught up with myself. I hope my darling wife and children will be at the field to meet me. I couldn't wait much longer.

