GERMAN eyes and ears were so thoroughly bombarded for a dozen years by the Goebbels press and radio that the average German no longer believes what he reads or hears. The gullible Germans of the Thirties have thus become skeptical Germans of the Forties.

Nearly every worker in Military Government could give examples of this trend among some of the Germans with whom he comes in contact. Tell a certain stenographer that people of an Allied nation get hardly more food than she does, and her raised eyebrows express her doubt. After all, London is far away. What she knows is the potato situation in Berlin.

"Maybe what you say is true, but I have not seen it, so I can't be sure."

We have all received this reply—a common one—after reminding some German acquaintance that Warsaw and Rotterdam were bombed, too; or after informing him that thousands of Chinese go coatless.

T IS GENERAL knowledge, of course, that many Germans label as "propaganda" and refuse to credit phenomena which lie only a bus ride from their homes, such as the gas chambers in the concentration camp at Dachau, outside Munich. Even higher, therefore, is the mental wall they erect against events across the Rhine or across the Atlantic.

Back up your facts by pointing them out in black and white, and you run up against another obstacle: some postwar Germans will not believe even a newspaper clipping.

"Yes, it says so there on paper," they may admit, and then add cynically, "but paper is patient."

Fortunately, countless Germans, disheartened by their country's past, now hunger for new ideas and recognize their country's need to catch up with the West. Trying to minister to their appetite, several OMGUS divisions are therefore sending good selected Germans on carefully planned voyages. The route: west to the New World. The mission: to see for themselves.

OUR RESPONSIBILITY in the Civil Administration Division is to aid and abet by every means at our command the democratic political forces which are beginning to struggle for life in Western Germany.

The framework of German democracy has already been erected at the community and state level. Soon it will be built up to the trizonal level too. Millions of Germans have now cast the first free ballots of their lives. They are examining their new political machine, pulling a lever here and there, trying to make the thing run. And they are finding that there is no standard instruction book in self-government.

Every community in the history of democracy has operated its controls in a different manner. Throughout German history, the Germans have found German roads to culture, philosophy and science. Building their democracy must be a German job, too.

There are, however, certain basic rules of procedure common to self-government. Unless the administrators to whom you entrust your public power have heard about these rules, they may wreck, in their ignorance, the whole machinery of government. When the complex democratic machine known as the Weimar Republic was thus wrecked, the explosion that ensued shook the world.

IN TODAY's Germany, the time for oratory has largely passed and the time for the teaching of techniques has arrived. Defeated, disillusioned, the Germans by and large are afraid to experiment with a new tyranny, whether home-grown or imported from the East. They see democracy as the (Continued on next page)
only safe road. But if they are convinced of the road to take, they still need our help in order to anticipate its forks, its dangerous curves and its obstacles.

To us, the rules of democratic procedure are almost second nature. They begin when father, mother and children conduct a forum at the breakfast table. They are developed in sixth grade, when we elect a committee to buy refreshments for the Hallowe'en party. They become consciously political in ninth-grade civics class. They bear fruit in adult life when we go out to elect the administration of our club, of our city and of our nation.

The Germans, cheated by history of most of this training in self-government, need to begin almost at the beginning. To help them off to a faster start, we are making available to them—for acceptance or rejection—the techniques which have been tested throughout the western world.

One way by which we are introducing foreign techniques is to bring experts from the United States and other nations to work for short terms inside Germany. What these specialists in such fields as public health and local government hope to accomplish, and how they are going about it, deserve a discussion in itself.

The other half of the program of cultural exchange in the field of governmental affairs is the procedure which allows Germans to visit the United States and, eventually, other western democracies too, to see democratic action for themselves.

Unfortunately, the many Germans who now want proof of "how it works abroad" cannot all go. Our funds allow us to "show" it to only a comparatively handful. So we try to select a representative handful of individuals who will, on their return to Germany, be in the best position to spread convincingly the reports of what they have seen.

Under the governmental affairs program, about 150 Germans are therefore scheduled to be selected by mid-1949 for visits to the United States.

How should they go? What should they see?

The easiest way would be to bring the 150 together, take them to Bremerhaven, supply them with an escort, wish them "Bon Voyage" at the gangplank, and hope for the best. On such a conducted joy-ride we might show them Manhattan's skyline; let them hear a Philadelphia Orchestra concert to convince them that America has culture too; invite them to sit through a double-feature movie on a small town's main street; show them a southern cotton field, a Vermont maple-sugar grove, a Midwest farm, a California vineyard, the Chicago stockyards; let them attend a New England town meeting; show them irrigation projects in the West, slum clearance in the East—and then bring them home again.

On the basis of such an experience they might report that America is youthful, democratic, comparatively happy, strong, purposeful, peace-minded. Our purpose, however, is not merely to convince Germans that the United States is a going democratic concern but also to let them observe American techniques which they may find worthy of transplanting to German soil. Their interest is not in evaluating America as a pleasant place to live, but in bringing back ideas and processes to modify the public administration of a land which has contributed largely to most of the world's political and military misery for the past hundred years.

Our first step, then, was to decide whom to send to the United States. Germany needs help in many fields. Here are the principal groups we chose for our project:

1. Political leaders in general.
2. Women political leaders in particular.
3. Local government officials in general.
4. Civil servants.
5. Public health workers.
6. Police executives.
7. Public welfare directors.
8. Legislators.

Each of these groups requires a specially planned tour to fit its particular professional interests. Not sightseeing, but learning, is the goal, and the lessons differ in each field.

Farsighted women political leaders, for example, have asked help in learning how women of the western world organize themselves for democratic action. Studying the social pattern of the majority of German women, it is easy to see what these leaders are trying to correct.

With homes broken and husbands scarce, the normal pattern of the three K's of Kinder-Kirche-Kueche (children-church-kitchen) has become largely a memory. The women of postwar Germany outnumber the men by some 6,000,000. Thousands of them, if properly encouraged, can do public work according to their talents, ranging from supervising a local office for the rehabilitation of refugees to running a state child welfare bureau or even holding a ministerial post in a busy state government.

More important, German women can, if properly encouraged, bring their political influence to bear where it will have a direct impact on the course of German history. One of the activities which Germans have called men's work, the science of government, has a way, once it disintegrates into warfare, of hurting the women survivors most.

Aside from war and peace, many intermediate political issues, from