FROM THEIR RECENT all-HICOG conference in Frankfurt, US resident officers returned to their home counties to “study, master, learn!” In the same spirit, a state-wide seminar for resident officers was held in January in Wuerstemberg-Baden. Forty speakers met with 29 resident officers for nine days of intensive discussion. To say it was a “refresher course” would be to call a long, hard, soaking rain a shower.

Staff specialists of the Office of the State Commissioner for Wuetternberg-Baden (OLCWB) outlined and interpreted HICOG policies during the two phases — one of three days in Stuttgart and the other of six days in Esslingen. The resident officers were literally pelleted with action programs to be implemented in the counties in which they are the representatives of the United States.

Maj. Gen. Charles P. Gross, US state commissioner for Wuetternberg-Baden, opened the first phase devoted to the history of Germany, her economic, social, cultural and governmental institutions. These points were covered during the Stuttgart sessions:

1. German history since Roman times.
3. Development of political parties and electoral systems, rise of the civil service and bureaucracy, history of social legislation.
4. Background in German law, legal rules and practices.
5. Introduction to German economic history, taxation, money and banking, and significant stages in the development of German agriculture.
6. The school system and its influence on the formation of German character.
7. German community organizations and how they were formed; history of German culture.
8. Review of pertinent books recently published, available in English or German. (A condensed list of the recommended publications is printed at the end of this article.)
9. The German mind.
10. The occupation mission, the history of which was described by Harvey M. Coverley, deputy state commissioner, who has been “with the outfit” since 1945.

THE SECOND PHASE of the seminar was devoted to practical programs undertaken in line with US policy by the divisions and branches of OLCWB. Points were emphasized where the cooperation and assistance of the ROs were urgently desired. This phase of the seminar lasted six days, the meetings being held in Esslingen.

Zinn Garrett, chief of Field Operations Division and chairman of the seminar, outlined in broad strokes the new program and work of the resident officers. Four general categories of functions were listed:

Promotion of Democracy. The resident officers were urged to work more with the people and especially to confine their contacts to officials. They were to assist citizens’ organizations and to encourage the formation of new ones.

The Reporting Functions. This would remain important but to a lesser degree than the promotion of democracy.

Liaison with Troops. While this was essential, it was hoped that the time spent by resident officers located in troop areas on this function would be reduced.

Administration of the Office. The opinion was expressed that “if contacts with the office staff take up a considerable amount of his time, the resident officer is a poor administrator.”

MR. GARRETT STRUCK the keynote of the conference by describing the manner in which the various democratic organizations at community and county level were to be coalesced into citizens’ committees and community councils to serve as instruments of the people in their efforts to promote reforms.

In communities of approximately 5,000 or more inhabitants, the organizations that have been formed should be encouraged to establish community councils made up of representatives from all local organizations. The purpose of the community council would be to unify and strengthen the efforts of the various organizations. Councils would be encouraged to promote citizen participation in public affairs, to resist all actions that do not respect the rights of the individual, and to promote a genuinely democratic way of life.

Resident officers were urged by Mr. Garrett to bring about by suggestion and persuasion the formation of citizens’ committees in as many communities as feasible. It would be desirable that the citizens elect these committees at public meetings. The primary purpose of the citizens’ committee would be to schedule and conduct public forums and meetings, to bring decisions made in public meetings to the attention of the local government and to press for remedial action.

In towns where community councils are established, the duties of the citizens’ committees would be limited to forum activities, but in smaller communities where
Members of panel at rear table, left to right, are Dr. Ralph E. Berry (Education), Don Ferrens (Legal), Dr. John P. Steiner (Education), Zinn Garrett, chief, Field Operations Division, Chester B. Lewis, chief, Political Affairs Division, A. M. Garrison, chief, Transportation, and Newton S. Friedman, chief, Labor Division. Front table, second from left, Dwight Horner, chief, America House Section, John Van Strum, chief, Finance Division, Paul F. Taggart, chief, Agriculture and Food Branch, Robert D. King and Harold A. Wyatt, both of Political Affairs Division.

(Photos by PRB OL CWB)

few if any organizations exist, the citizens' committee should be encouraged to assume the functions of a community council to the extent that such functions are appropriate to a small community.

IN THE BEGINNING citizens' committees should be encouraged to hold public meetings and forums in addition to the present town hall meeting program, which might be seriously impaired if the attempt were made to transfer the responsibility for these meetings from the county administrators and mayors to citizens' committees before the latter have had some experience. The goal, however, was in so far as possible to have public assemblies scheduled by the citizens themselves and the discussions at such meetings guided by the chairman of the citizens' committee rather than by a government official.

Community councils and citizens' committees could be urged to support the taxpayers' association in its efforts to get officials to make wise use of public money. These over-all organizations could also line up behind the trade unions in the fight for civil service reform, encourage election reform and support the movement toward local autonomy in government. The civil liberties program, because each community cannot form a special committee, will have to be carried out by interested Germans through the committees in conjunction with the state civil liberties committee.

The integration of expellees and refugees into community life as a labor force could also be effected through the committees. The needs of all youth, not just the organized, could best be studied and met through the coordinating activities of citizens' committees and community councils.

In Waiblingen County several community councils have been effectively organized and have undertaken such practical projects as the establishment of thrift shops, day nurseries, community wash houses for the underprivileged, and the like. Local citizens' committees are already functioning in Nuerlingen County as the organized voice of the people, especially in conducting and in doing the spade work for many town hall meetings.

A NOETHER THEME, emphasized during the conference, was cultural exchange. The resident officers were urged to promote public meetings at which persons who have gone to the United States and other countries could report their findings. US experts, films, books and magazines from abroad were to be used whenever possible. Exchanges Division, HICOG, has several carloads of books available to German institutions on request by competent state officials.

Dr. Ralph Burns, chief of the Exchanges Division, HICOG, was present to answer questions concerning the exchange of persons program. All applicants are to appear before the local resident officers and to turn in their application blanks to them. These will be forwarded through Field Operations Division to the cultural exchange officer of the state. Applicants will be interviewed and screened by a division panel, later by the

General view of Wuerttemberg-Baden US Resident Officers' seminar. At right is Mr. Headrich, author of this article.
state selection committee. The filled out blanks will be forwarded to HICOG and to the United States for final selection.

The privilege of notifying winning candidates will be reserved to the resident officers. This will enable them to be in closer contact with persons selected and to lay the foundation for later cooperation. The resident officers were urged to screen their areas for the best persons in each field.

In the field of agriculture, assistance was requested for the recently organized extension service, set up after the American pattern. The agricultural program could be promoted in the counties by the organization of model 4-H clubs, by getting acquainted with the county agricultural committee, by taking a paternal interest in boarding houses established for agricultural apprentices and by assisting organized farmers and farm women groups.

American policy on labor and the trade unions and their relationships with the employers' associations was explained. Resident officers were to maintain contact and liaison with both groups and to further collective bargaining at every opportunity.

Adult German groups and governmental agencies were to be urged, along with the Americans, to assist youth groups and the unorganized youth, both directly and through youth organizations and the county youth committees. The Boy Scouts were to receive special attention.

IN WOMEN'S AFFAIRS the resident officers were asked to prepare lists of outstanding women for county conferences and to back up the OLC staff in the promotion of women's organizations.

Teachers organizations, parent-teacher associations, student councils and other school groups were to receive full support.

Various reform programs were discussed. For example, public sentiment should be organized in favor of more local fiscal autonomy and more county and community freedom control by the Ministry of Interior. Good government could be promoted also through civil service reform and election reform. German administrative courts were described as exceedingly effective instruments to alleviate grievances involving usurpation and misuse of power by bureaucrats.

In the realm of the press, reports should be turned in on evidence of emotional appeals to nationalistic sentiments and of instances of cultivated hate; formal complaints against a newspaper are to be coordinated with the OLC press officer and submitted to HICOG by the state commissioner. Reform by persuasion on the part of the resident officers was encouraged in their contacts with local editors.

CONCERNING SCHOOL reform, the long-range American policy was to see a single-track school system established. In the curriculum there should be an increase in social education. More personal and vocational guidance should be given, and health instruction and physical education should be emphasized. The movement to make schools into community centers should be pushed by the resident officers, and the spirit of self-criticism of the school system by leading Germans should be cultivated.

In working for democratic reforms, how overt should the efforts of the resident officers be? It was the consensus that each officer should be as overt in promoting changes as he found to be workable. Much leeway was given to individual initiative.

A myriad of special projects were proposed for implementation by the resident officers. They were to be informed about and should in turn disseminate information pertaining to the ERP program; they should advise Germans about the program and observe installations which receive loans. They would assist the Military Security Board in making factory inspections. Original activities on the county level in this field will be confined to observations.

In political affairs, the resident officers were requested to send in the names of local legislators and newspapermen to take part in a special school set up in Etlingen.

AS TO RETURNING prisoners of war, the resident officers should observe and report on their physical condition, their propaganda activities and any discrimination toward PWs. The resident officers were asked to inspect personally the graves of United Nations' nationals every nine months, to authorize no opening of graves or body removals without written approval at OLC level.

The resident officers were to obtain copies of local legislation and, when convinced of undemocratic tendencies, to file a report. The duties and functions of the resident officers as committing magistrates were outlined and discussed in detail.

The importance of the local press as an effective instrument for promoting democracy was stressed. Editors should be encouraged to give publicity to the American mission. It was agreed that material and information received by the resident officers from HICOG and OLCWB of interest to local populations, unless classified, could be released for publication.

Use was to be made by the resident officers of HICOG information and reprint services. Articles and books may be suggested by the resident officers for use by the translation reprint services. Articles offered in translation to German publishers, which are subject to negative criticism, should be reported.

GENERAL GROSS closed the conference with an impressive speech in which he said, in part:

"I regard the resident officers as the most important cog in the organization. Every effort will be made to back you up. We are to start fires at the grass roots to stir up interest. A long history has to be overcome, and this requires courage and patience. Seize upon local problems, work upon them as illustrations."

General Gross expressed his hope that the seminar had been successful. He cautioned the resident officers
on the danger of being inundated by printed matter and urged: "Get out on your feet."

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LIST OF BIBLIOGRAPHICAL reference for study of German history and contemporary problems, as given to resident officers of Wurtemberg-Baden during recent seminar, follows:

The German People by Veit Valentine (Alfred Knopf, New York, 1949). One of the most comprehensive histories of Germany in the English language. The book starts with the year 781, the reign of Charlemagne, and concludes with the collapse of Nazism.

Germany's Three Reichs by Edmond Vermeil (Andrew Dakers, London, 1945). This book is a shrewd analysis of the German character and national psychology, starting with the Holy Roman Empire and concluding with the Hitler Reich. Vermeil devoted considerable time to the Reformations and its consequences, the rise of the German states, the transition from romanticism to nationalism and the Bismarckian Empire.

The Course of German History (development of Germany since 1815) by A. J. P. Taylor (Howard-McCann, New York, 1946). Taylor, one of England's leading authorities on central European politics, prefaces his book with a consideration of the great schism of Germany which he considers the legacy of the Holy Roman Empire. This book is especially recommended for its treatise on the year 1848, its review of the ascendency of Prussia, the republican interregnum from 1919 to 1933 and the triumph of Hitler's demagogy.

The Growth of Modern Germany by Prof. Roy Pascal (Cobbett Press, London, 1946). Professor Pascal covers roughly the same period discussed by Taylor, beginning with the emergence of German nationalism in the early 19th century. The struggle between liberalism and reaction in the years following the Congress of Vienna is treated and studied in detail. The personalities and influence of Hegel, Fichte and Freiherr v. Stein are appraised, and the pattern of the Weimar Republic is analyzed in detail.

Germany and Europe (Political Tendencies from Frederic the Great to Hitler) by F. Darmstaedter (Meinhuen & Co., London, 1945). Especially recommended for its survey of the role of the church in German history, and for a rather extensive presentation of German education, Karl Marx and the class struggle.

In Tyrranos (A Symposium of Four Centuries of Struggle against Tyranny in Germany), edited by Hans Rehfsch (Lindsay Drummond, London, 1944). An excellent survey of democratic uprisings and literature directed against feudalism, militarism and authoritarianism. Contributors are all continental authors exiled from their countries by the Nazis.

Germany: from Defeat to Defeat by Karl Spiecker (McDonald & Co., London, 1943). A fairly reasonable treatise of the German problem between wars by a former member of the Christian Democratic League of the Center Party, ardent fighter against Nazism who carried on from England during the war. The bulk of this book is devoted to the aspirations, defects, friends and enemies and ultimate failures of the Weimar Republic.

Politisches Lesebuch by Hans von Eckardt (Hans Guenther Verlag, Stuttgart). This is a useful anthology of German documents, letters, literary and historical excerpts relating to Germany's political and moral development. Although it contains opinions of non-German authors on ethics, politics, the state, freedom of expression, etc., the bulk of the material is German. The contents include the famous 12 articles of the Bauernschult in 1525, the Grundrechte of the German people in the constitution of 1849, Stresemann's addresses, etc. The book is of further value for the inclusion of celebrated American, French and British documents of liberty such as the Preamble to the Declaration of Independence.

Der Irrweg einer Nation by Alexander Abusch (Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin, 1946). An interesting book of general background information by an anti-militarist and participant in the German underground against Hitler. He reviews the nature of the Prussian State and analyzes the ideological conflicts between Prussia and Germany. A detailed history on the early 19th century, Germany after 1815 and the work of Freiherr vom Stein.


Deutschlands vergessene Freiheit by A. E. Zucker. Collection of quotations, poems, letters, etc. by Goethe, Lessing, Humboldt and other great liberal Germans, showing that Germany does have such a tradition which reaches back into the centuries.

The German Mind and Outlook, edited by Dr. Morris Ginsberg (Chapman & Hall, London, 1945). A valuable symposium by six professors of British universities, analyzing the German mind, and discussing in detail the myths and romanticism which underlie German political and cultural development. Contains an excellent
essay on Goethe, an extensive tabulation of German opinions of themselves and the Nazi propaganda build-up from 1929-1939.

The Moral Conquest of Germany by Emil Ludwig (Doubleday Doran & Co., New York, 1945). An interesting source book, if one allows for Ludwig’s prodigality of generalization and embittered personal opinion. 38 pages are given over to a discussion of the German character, followed by portraits of militarists, crackpots, kings and Junkers. Much attention is given to the Jews in Germany. Ludwig’s prescription for winning over or merely containing the Germans is interesting if frequently unrealistic.


Germany’s Underground by Allen Dulles (McMillian Co., New York, 1947). An American review of the same period covered by the Von Hassell diaries by the former chief of the OSS Mission in Germany, and contact man with the German underground via Switzerland from 1942 until V-E Day.

Deutscher Widerstand by Rudolf Pechel (Eugen Rentsch Verlag, Zurich). A complete narrative of the German underground activities by one of its members now resident in Stuttgart. Valuable background material for an understanding of the weaknesses of the resistance against the Hitler Reich.

The Fateful Years by Andre Francois-Poncet (Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1949). The Francois-Poncet diary covers the years 1931-1938 when the present French high commissioner was ambassador to Berlin. It is especially significant and challenging in view of the repetition today of problems confronting the Allies during those years, and for the dissipation of several fallacies regarding the resistance of the church and labor.

The French Yellow Book (Reynal & Hitchcock, New York, 1940). This is a collection of French diplomatic documents for the years 1938-1939 which throw considerable light on the negotiations between Germany on the one hand and France, Great Britain and Poland on the other. Extremely pertinent is the careful German avoidance of any discussion of exchange of letters which would have prolonged peace.

German Realities by Gustav Stolper (Reynal & Hitchcock, New York, 1948). This book by Herbert Hoover’s economic expert on his presidential mission to Germany, is stimulating but should be read with care. Hitler’s rise to power is carefully analyzed and the moral destruction of Germany eloquently depicted. Stolper’s historical background of Germany is not too reliable, but his proposals for maintenance of peace are worth reading.

The Conservative Revolution by Hermann Rauschnung (G.P. Putnam’s Sons, New York). An intensely interesting and somewhat surprising review of German history during the past hundred years. The unexpected development is Rauschnung’s thesis that the real and only foundation of stability and constitutional democracy in Germany is the Junker system. He sets out to prove that Prussianism has been misrepresented, and attempts to attribute the rise of Hitler and the collapse of German morality to the decline of Junker authority.

Die Deutsche Frage by Wilhelm Roepke (Eugen Rensch Verlag, Zurich). This is another treatise which, like Stolper’s work, must be read on guard. Roepke is pro if not pan-German. He is a skillful apologist for German excesses since 1914 but he makes no attempt to condone directly the savagery of the Nazi regime. The anesthetic instruments with which he operates upon the reader are the Versailles treaty and the provocative misbehavior of other nations before World War II. He recommends a threefold revolution as the solution of the German problem, a cleansing of the moral, political and economic-social spheres of German society.

German Opposition to Hitler by Hans Rothfels (Henry Regnery, Chicago). This is an academic but easily readable history of the many factions opposed to Hitler, but who were not able to get very far because of disagreement among themselves. Hans Rothfels is a German-American, now a professor at the University of Chicago.

Civil Life in Wartime Germany by Max Seydewitz (Viking Press, New York, 1945). As the title implies, here is a carefully documented story of life behind the lines in a chronological and diary-like narrative. The life of enthusiasm for the war at its outbreak, the role of German students, the July revolt of 1944 and the logistic struggle to supply two fronts, provide advantageous references in working with Germans today.

Germany and Europe: a Spiritual Dissension by Benedetto Croce (Random House, New York, 1944). An outstanding monograph by the great Italian liberal philosopher. In 83 short pages, Croce penetrates to the core of the German dilemma. His thesis is the limitless and abstract ambition and dream of the “Kolossal,” which Germans set as their goal in all phases of life, and their inevitable resort to violence to achieve it when all other means prove hopelessly inadequate.

Public Opinion and the Last Peace by R. B. McCallum (Oxford University Press, London-New York, 1946). This is a skillful historical investigation, and tract for political guidance, on German-Allied relations. Working only with the manipulation of public opinion, the author traces the devious way in which the hard determination of 1918 was softened by Allied fatigue and interminable controversy, as well as the uneasy conscience which was transformed into an enormous sympathy for the defeated. Many of the events recorded in this book, like those in Francois-Poncet’s diary are remarkably and prophetically the same as those we experience today.

Autobiography of a German Pastor by Hans Ehrenberg (Student Christian Movement Press, London). Stimulating viewpoints of a member of the German church, exiled in England during the war, primarily interesting for his views on the German-Russian conflict.

Homage to Goethe (UNESCO 1949). A brilliant tribute to Goethe, and his qualities as humanist and scholar, by six celebrated scholars of our time.