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Report on Germany
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CHAPTER XII

RECOMMENDATIONS

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What things would contribute to the development of a peaceful, democratic Germany, that lie within the scope of Foundation practise? It is immediately apparent that the Foundation will have to operate at a simpler level than it has in the past, in Europe. Reconstruction rather than new knowledge must be the purpose. Scientific journals rather cyclotrons. Teachers and youth leaders must be aided rather than Nobel Prize winners. Probably these are the needs of other war-devastated countries, too.

Speed is more important than quantity of assistance, just now. Small foundation grants will have great symbolic value, and will do as much for the building of democratic morale as large grants might do.

There are three promising avenues of work which are familiar, and a fourth, somewhat novel, that might be considered.

1. HELP RESTORE COMMUNICATION BETWEEN GERMANY AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD

Communication can be restored through promoting the flow of books and periodicals into and out of Germany, and through promoting the movement of people into and out of Germany.

It will be desirable to subsidize a small flow of books and periodicals into and out of Germany until Germany possesses foreign exchange and is sufficiently recovered to permit individuals to use their money freely to purchase things from abroad. This probably means three or four years, until 1951 or 1952.

A beginning has been made, with shipments of back numbers of periodicals to Heidelberg, Goettingen, and Tuebingen, and with the sending of a set of books to Heidelberg. Subscriptions should be entered for a minimum list of periodicals on behalf of about ten German universities, chosen so as to get geographical coverage, and to build up the institutions which appear to be most promising. This should be done without delay. As for books, there may have to be some delay, for the Germans do not know enough about what has been published abroad to make economical selections. Probably a visit to Heidelberg in a few months to find out what use has been made of the book collection sent there, would help in the formulation of a standard set of books that might be sent to the same universities that were receiving periodicals. The new librarian at Heidelberg may be a key man in the rebuilding of library services in Germany. In any case, the flow of books into Germany should be channelled partly through individual Germans who receive grants for study in the USA.

In addition to supplying a small group of libraries with books and periodicals, one or more centers of distribution in Germany might be assisted to develop a microfilm or photostat service that would open up secondary

channels of communication within Germany. A project of this sort should emerge from German sources, and I am sure the Germans will come forward with ideas once they see that initiative on their part is welcomed.

Another approach to the problem of restoring the flow of ideas between Germany and the rest of the world lies through an international organization such as UNESCO. Admittedly, the problem in Germany is only the extreme of a world-wide problem of stoppage of the channels of communication. If UNESCO should develop a plan for promoting international exchange of books and periodicals, Germany should be included in the plan. This should not be difficult to work out, for Germany can already export a large quantity of periodicals in return for imports, as well as a growing quantity of books. Germany would very soon become a creditor nation in relation to an international clearing-house for book and periodical exchange.

The reestablishment of communication through people has two aspects, travel of Germans to foreign countries, and travel of foreigners into Germany.

Grants for study and travel should immediately be made to permit Germans to come to the USA and to go to other countries, such as England, Switzerland, and Scandinavia.

The age-group from which most of the fellows come should be 25-35, but more mature people, in the age range of 35 to 50, should also be given grants for visits of six months to a year.

In general these grants should be made to people who work in the areas where leadership training is most important (to be described later), but there should also be a small number of fellowships available for excellent people, without regard to their field of special interest.

To promote the flow of books into Germany, all people receiving stipends who have an institutional connection in Germany should be given a drawing account for the purchase of books that would be sent to Germany to become the property of their respective institutions. The Foundation has had experience with this kind of arrangement, and could easily extend it, if necessary, to cover more people or to provide a larger sum of money than has been customary.

Americans should also be given grants to enable them to go to Germany for teaching and study. This is desirable for two reasons: first, it would serve to introduce ideas and knowledge from the outside world into Germany quite rapidly; and second, it would give non-Germans some important information and understanding of the German problem which they, in turn, could pass on to their countrymen. I became more and more impressed with the importance of this aspect of communication with Germany, the longer I was there.

For Americans to live in Germany under present economic conditions requires special arrangements for securing housing and food, which should be facilitated by the U. S. Army. General Clay has approved a plan whereby a limited number of Americans may teach at German universities and be given Army

billets and access to the Army commissary stores for a period of three months. This is not long enough, but it is enough to make a start on. No American could live and work on German rations, and the effort to secure a steady flow of food packages from home would take so much of his time that it would cut into his working efficiency. But a sensible and workable plan will surely evolve if Americans make a success of work in German universities, and, in any case, the economic situation in Germany should improve enough to lessen the magnitude of the problem considerably in a year or two.

The type of interchange of persons most likely to be of permanent value is one which involves a one-to-one relationship between American and German institutions, and which might develop later into an exchange relation that would finance itself. Therefore, individual American institutions should be encouraged to enter into relationships with individual German institutions. University A in America might be helped to cooperate with University A' in Germany. This would mean that the students of University A would be sending shoe-leather and notebooks to the students of University A', and that student exchanges would be established in due course. It would also mean that German scholars would be invited to University A from University A', which is exceedingly important to the self-respect of the German universities.

2. HELP TRAIN LEADERS IN AREAS OF MOST IMPORTANCE TO GERMANY

When I started in Germany I put up my guard against suggestions that the way to solve the German problem was to find some promising young Germans and bring them to the USA where they would find out how to run things in Germany. I was and still am convinced that the Germans must solve their own problems, assuming that they are given economic and political conditions that make a democratic and peaceful solution possible. We must avoid "propagandizing" the Germans for specifically American ways of governing, or of teaching, or of running newspapers and radio stations.

But I became convinced: (1) that the level of knowledge and techniques in certain areas essential to German reconstruction is so low that help must be given from outside to raise this level, and (2) that German individuals and German public opinion will welcome such help if it is given with genuine modesty and recognition that the task of democratic reconstruction in Germany and all of Europe is one of common concern and mutual responsibility. Consequently, the training of leaders becomes the second principal suggestion I have to make for Foundation action.

The areas in which leadership training is most important appear to be:

Social Sciences and Human Relations

Four or five German universities should be selected as places where American help will be most effective in rebuilding research and teaching in the fields of government, economics, sociology, psychology, and social anthropology. Young instructors from these universities should be given stipends for

study abroad (not only in the USA), and the few men of ability in the middle-age range should be given grants for travel and for rebuilding their seminar libraries. Money should be provided to pay lecturers from abroad who are invited to German universities.

An example of the type of project which might be aided is the following, which was described to me by Professor Franz Sauermann, Dean of the Social Science Faculty of the University of Frankfurt. Sauermann said that the only way he saw of raising the quality of work in the social sciences quickly was to send several young men to the USA for training and then to bring them back to teach at Frankfurt. He proposed that he or one of the other senior faculty members in social sciences be given a travel grant and that similar awards be made to four young people who have taken their PhD's in social sciences at Frankfurt or elsewhere. These five people would go to the USA and spend the first month or two together, getting a general orientation. Then each of the young people would go to a different university and commence intensive study in one of the social sciences. One person might specialize in political science, another in sociology at another university, another in economics, and another in social anthropology. The senior member of the group would spend a month with each of the junior members in turn, orienting himself to the work in the junior member's special area of interest, and working out with him a list of books to be purchased and sent to Frankfurt. At the end of six months the senior member would return to his work at Frankfurt. The junior members would return at the end of a year and form a teaching and research team at the University. Sauermann thought that this would have the special advantage of producing a group who might carry on cooperative multi-discipline research, which he thought was desirable in the social sciences.

One or more centers of practical research and training for practical application of social research should be assisted with small grants for books and equipment and with stipends for staff members. The importance of such centers is especially great in Germany, where the tradition of empirical social research is not strong.

Teacher Training

Three or four teacher-training institutions should be selected which promise to be in closest touch with new developments in German education. A few key people in these institutions should be given grants for brief periods of study in the USA or England, and several young people should be given stipends for a year or two of intensive study in the USA of such subjects as: child and adolescent development; educational measurement; the school curriculum. Books and periodicals should be provided for the libraries of the institutions selected.

Youth Work

A few people who expect to spend their lives in youth work in Germany should receive stipends for travel and study--a minimum of six months--in England or the USA. At the same time, through the German leaders of youth organizations in the several state governments and in collaboration with the Youth Activities Officers of the British and American military governments, several British or American experts in youth work should be brought to Germany for lectures in leadership-training institutes.

Communication

In the field of communication, which includes radio, film, newspapers, theatre, and the fine arts, promising young people should be sought out and given opportunity to travel and study abroad, and also perhaps for work at home under more favorable economic circumstances. The attitudes of German people will be shaped partly by what reaches them through the media of communication. What reaches the German public will depend largely on what the young German practitioner of the arts of communication thinks is good and true and beautiful.

Medicine and Public Health

Since Foundation officers in these divisions have been in Germany recently, I have ventured to make no specific recommendations. But the need for improvement in research and practice in these areas is obvious.

3. PROVIDE ESSENTIAL EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES

The material needs of Germany are so great that the efforts of private agencies cannot begin to take their measure. Yet there are certain acute shortages in areas of great strategic importance for reconstruction, where a relatively small effort would be magnified many times.

One such shortage is paper. Because of the paper shortage, textbooks are a black market commodity, newspapers must often skip publication, and the circulation of facts and ideas which are essential to German reconstruction is seriously impeded. The purchase abroad of paper and supplying it for specific uses in Germany might be a possibility.

It has been proposed, for example, that paper be purchased abroad and given to the publishers of textbooks, on their assurance that they will not divert their normal supply from textbook production. Another proposal is that paper should be provided for schoolbooks in certain important subjects.

These are possibilities which might be explored further by Foundation representatives.

Scientific Equipment and Supplies

A small amount of dollar assistance would go a long way toward stimulating scientific research in Germany. There are many irritating little shortages of such things as photographic paper, quartz glass, parts for electroscopes, and specific chemicals. Probably every one of the best twenty research laboratories in Germany could improve its efficiency substantially if it had a few hundred dollars available for purchases in Switzerland or Holland. Consequently, if aid to scientific research is thought of as desirable in Germany, one of the first steps should be to set up a fund to provide for small purchases for people in a number of institutions. Probably this could be done through a

German organization of the Notgemeinschaft type. Such an organization could collect and evaluate requests and transmit them to an agent in Switzerland or Holland who could purchase and send the material into Germany.

4. A CONTINUING COMMISSION TO STUDY AND REPORT ON DEMOCRATIC RECONSTRUCTION IN GERMANY

If there is to be a long-term United States program of educational and cultural work along democratic lines in Germany and other parts of the world, and if such work is to be thought of as part of an overall effort to work for peace and good international relations, it might be desirable to establish a commission which is non-governmental and perhaps international in character which could make critical analyses and recommendations for the work of development and reconstruction in various parts of the world.

Such a commission might be thought of as a continuation on a somewhat better basis of the educational and cultural missions which were sent under the auspices of military government to Germany and Japan. Certainly critical analysis by the best and most independent people in America is desirable for a program of democratic cultural reconstruction in several parts of the world such as our government seems about to launch on.

There are issues and problems of broad educational and social policy which I have barely touched on in this report, but which underlie and condition the success of educational reconstruction wherever it is undertaken by the United States. For example, the problem of displaced persons has a bearing on democratic education in Germany, but it is no business of the Education and Religious Affairs Branch of the military government. To take another example, the supply of paper available for textbooks is determined on economic considerations with which the Educational Branch of the military government has nothing to do. Then there are questions of basic educational policy which the Education Branch must decide but which should properly be scrutinized and discussed outside of the military government. And there are also questions about the size and the quality of education personnel in the military government which must be decided outside of the Education Branch itself.

These are illustrations of matters with which a non-governmental Commission on Educational Reconstruction might properly deal. Such a Commission also would be in a good position to make direct contact with educational and cultural leaders in countries where Americans are working; namely, Germany, Austria, Japan, Korea, Greece, China, and others, and to work with these people on a basis of equality and thus to avoid the dangers of development of a "colonial" policy.

Clearly, such a Commission would have to be backed financially by organizations which are above suspicion and it would have to be sponsored by organizations which represent unquestionable leadership in educational and cultural affairs in the USA. Although this idea can hardly be put in the form of a specific recommendation, I believe it is worth discussion by the Foundation representatives with people in the organizations that would naturally be involved in such a project.