
CIVIL ADMINISTRATION DIVISION

party policy. It is also he who decides to a large extent the party's nominees for office..

Correlated to the problem of political parties is the problem of elections. Theoretically, in a representative government the average voter is free to choose his representative. In practice, his choice is prejudiced by the parties' selections of candidates. The normal voter seldom ventures beyond the list of party nomination. Elections objectives are, therefore, conditioned by: (1) the judicial use by the political parties of their nomination privileges and, (2) by the effectiveness with which the given election method is able to crystalize a functioning governmental majority. The prevailing electoral systems in Germany tend to encourage the formation of many parties, prevent the crystalization of a majority, strengthen party bureaucracy and discourage independent participation in governmental offices.

2. Objectives

The general objective of the proposed project is to resuscitate and strengthen those forces in German public life which may counteract the above-mentioned abuses. Its specific aims are:

a. To kindle popular interest not only in government but also in party affairs; to encourage intra-party democracy; to encourage the democratization of the party structure by diminishing the ex-officio functions performed by the paid party functionary and by the submission of the party hierarchies to effective membership control.

b. To acquaint the German public with the less rigid party control systems over the membership and to inform them of the other methods of party enrollment than those practiced in Germany.

c. To acquaint German parliamentarians with parliamentary procedures, relations between caucuses and parliaments, and with the advantages of open discussions.

d. To acquaint the German public with the importance and functions of the independent groups and their indispensibility to good government.

e. To acquaint the German public with nominating procedures as practiced in other countries.

f. To acquaint the German political and governmental leaders as well as the German public with the election systems used in other countries and to analyze the experiences which other countries have made with such systems.

3. Method

The project can be split into several sub-projects according to the objectives listed above. By means of lectures and round-table conferences before academic, political and governmental circles, and groups of politically-interested citizens they will acquaint their audiences with political, electoral and governmental methods as practiced in the U. S. and other democratic countries.

Some of the experts are also to devote some time to the preparation of comparative analyses, for German consumption, of party organization and electoral methods.

CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM

PROJECT: TRAINING FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

1. Problem

The training of German administrative personnel is, on the whole, limited either to the study of law or to such technical professional education as engineering, medicine, and forestry. To this professional background have been added rather haphazard in-service training courses. The absence of any specialized and well-developed training in administration, personnel management, police administration, and related fields is one of the reasons for the obvious shortcomings of German administration.

2. Objective

It is necessary to encourage the establishment of administrative schools and, particularly, the setting up of well-integrated curricula for courses on different levels. The actual teaching must, of course, be left to German instructors but the organization of programs, the integration of faculties, and the awareness of students for the skills to be developed can be greatly helped from outside.

3. Method

Expert teachers in the field of public administration should visit some of the existing schools of administration and stay with the German faculty, preferably without definite assignment, but with access to all classes, opportunities for occasional lectures and seminars, and close contacts with the student body. Their task would be to survey the teaching program, to suggest the development of courses on different levels, to familiarize both faculty and students with international achievements in their field and, at the same time, to counteract the spirit of arrogant self-satisfaction and narrow specialization so characteristic of bureaucracy in Germany.

These expert teachers, who would work out of the Institute of Public Affairs, should also assist the professional associations in governmental fields to establish in-service training programs which could be conducted either at the Institute itself or at a variety of decentralized locations or through correspondence. At the present time such in-service programs as are in existence reach only a fraction of the people engaged in professional government work and through this technique of in-service training it is hoped that a much broader group of government people can be reached and can be oriented on the latest developments in their several fields.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION DIVISION

PROJECT: ORGANIZATION SURVEY OF LAND MINISTRIES

1. Problem

The Land ministries are faced with the same problems encountered by the ministries in Paris and London with respect to internal organization, de-concentration and decentralization. They are, however, characterized by more than the usual amount of bureaucratic delay, irresponsibility and arbitrariness.

2. Objectives

To improve the efficiency of the Land governments to discharge the particularly heavy responsibilities imposed upon them in this period of crisis. To advise as to the means of discharging the public business in a more democratic manner.

3. Method

To survey the present administrative organization, talk with cabinet ministers and their subordinate officials, suggest changes in the light of experience elsewhere, and prepare a report with recommendations resulting from their observations. A team of experts should be chosen which would be briefed together and develop a common plan of analysis. The members of the team should then proceed, at least one to each of the several Länder, and complete their work in the Land capitals with such field instructions as may be appropriate.

CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM

PROJECT: GERMAN MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATIONS

1. Problem

The German Staedtetag, Landkreisverband and Land Gemeindetag, and similar organizations on a Land level, have quickly reorganized. They have offices and regular meetings and are regaining a certain influence in advising governments and Parliaments on problems within their competence. However, they are without any popular support, manned exclusively by officials who serve the interests of their profession rather than of the communities they represent.

2. Objective

It is most important to add to the representation of public interests in the respective Land Parliaments an additional influence, because a considerable number of members of Parliaments are themselves public officials and legislate with a view to their own professional interests and advantages. Pressure groups ought to be encouraged in Germany. But they should be different from the strongest pressure group already existing, which is the large body of public officials. Therefore, it is important to make these municipal organizations truly representative of the communities which they claim to serve.

3. Method

One consultant each for the main German organizations - Staedtetag, Gemeindetag, and Landkreisverband - should spend some time with the headquarters of each of them, some time in individual visits with members of the board, and some time finding out to what extent the proposed policies of these bodies are backed by the local people who are supposed to support them. Such surveys could well contribute to a less bureaucratic organization of and representation within these groups and a closer democratic relation between the membership and professional secretaries and directors.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION DIVISION

PROJECT: EXERCISE OF GOVERNMENTAL POWER BY NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

1. Problem

Germany has a long history of both authoritarian controls over and suppression of individual rights in the economic sphere and of denial of popular control dating back to the rigid guild system of the Middle Ages. Military Government has insisted on free associations of persons and enterprises which involves democratic organization, voluntary and non-discriminatory membership, unrestricted free trade and competition, and non-exercise of governmental powers by the associations and chambers.

2. Objective

To make German trade associations and chambers free, voluntary and democratic organizations representing and promoting the lawful interests of their members.

3. Method

To explain to rank and file members of the vocations as well as to leaders of chambers and trade associations the advantages of free associations and free competition and to familiarize them with the system of public hearings; to investigate functions and activities of such vocational groups and their relationships to members and non-members of their trade as well as to public authorities.

CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM

PROJECT: ASSIMILATION OF EXPELLEES INTO THE GERMAN COMMUNITY

1. Problem

Three million persons in the U.S. Zone of Germany who were expelled from surrounding countries and seeking refuge in Germany are living under conditions of extreme discrimination with respect to: (a) housing, (b) land reform, (c) occupational opportunities, (d) financial status, and (e) social security.

2. Objective

To promote positive action on the part of the German government to alleviate the burden under which the "new" population is living, and to foster their assimilation by the community.

3. Method

To examine the social, economic and political environment of expellees with a view toward recommending these practical measures within the scope of action of German government which will aid these persons to become productive and acceptable members of the German community.

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CIVIL ADMINISTRATION DIVISION
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PROJECT: MEDICAL EDUCATION

1. Problem

German medical educational methods at one time were outstanding and set a standard that was generally aspired to throughout the rest of the world. Since World War I, and particularly during the Nazi regime, advancements in this field have lagged, partly because of adherence to tradition and partly because of enforced, and probably to some extent voluntary isolation from more progressive countries. There is a definite need for a comprehensive revision and modernization of the German concept of medical training.

2. Objective

To make available to the medical faculties in the U.S. Zone, curricula, methods and procedures used in the United States and other countries having advanced systems, in order that German leaders in the field of medical education can bring about a higher standard of training.

3. Method

The proposed specialists from the United States would make a survey of the medical schools and by use of lectures to the faculties as well as personal contact with individual faculty members attempt to inform them of methods, procedures and curricula used in the United States.

CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM

PROJECT: MENTAL HEALTH PRACTICES

1. Problem

Due to the isolation of the German medical profession and related medical-social groups during the Nazi regime and because of the enforced Nazi ideology, the development of principles and practices in the field of mental hygiene, psychiatric social work, and closely related fields concerned with the prevention of and the care of borderline psychiatric cases has been seriously retarded. Military Government has not attempted to date to provide assistance to the German medical profession or substantial aid to related professions in this problem.

2. Objective

To make available within the U.S. Zone of Germany, through the use of specialists in these fields, information about the problems and up-to-date thinking and developments in order to stimulate the appropriate German agencies to develop comprehensive programs.

3. Method

The proposed specialists would, after being briefed carefully in Military Government policy, visit the Laender Public Health and Public Welfare Departments, the faculties of the medical and social work schools, and the professional personnel of agencies and institutions in the U.S. Zone to determine what is now being done; and by lectures and personal contacts with German personnel concerned with such programs, attempt to implement the basic principles of the modern concept of prophylaxis and care in this field.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION DIVISION

PROJECT: DEVELOPMENT OF ADVANCED TRAINING IN SOCIAL WORK

1. Problem

Social work training in Germany deteriorated rather than improved during the Nazi regime. Personnel experienced in social welfare, deprived of the opportunity for international contacts, deprived of the opportunity to teach or to practice progressive methods, are for the most part old public servants carrying on an outmoded legalistic public welfare program. Relatively few promising young people are attracted to a field having no facilities for advanced training and inadequate opportunity for advancement to top administrative positions.

2. Objective

The aim is to assist German social work school and agency staffs in their establishment of a professional social service school in one of the universities of the American zone, where a Social Science Department is already in existence. Plans for such a school have already been begun by leading German social workers, but stimulation, advice, and assistance are needed from a country where great strides in the profession have been made in recent years. A carefully selected specialist from the United States will bring knowledge of up-to-date methods and point the way on a practical basis to development of ways and means for creating a sound, advanced educational program.

3. Method

a. The specialist selected would first review with OMGUS and Laender welfare officials the extent of MG authority and MG policy, and ascertain their point of view as to the type of contribution that can be made, the German leaders in the field, and the facilities available;

b. Survey conditions throughout the US area by visit and observation, by interview with public officials, agency, and school representatives, and by group discussion;

c. Interpret basic principles;

d. Formulate a proposed plan of action.

CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM

PROJECT: CHILD GUIDANCE AND COUNSELLING SERVICES

1. Problem

Under the socio-economic conditions that exist in Germany today, with its thousands of broken and impoverished homes, behavior problems among children are becoming increasingly apparent. On the premise that mental diseases and neuroses later in life have their roots in early life, emphasis needs to be placed on:

- a. the development of a preventive program, and
- b. the recognition and treatment of maladjustments occurring in childhood.

Very little progress, if any, in this field has been made in Germany in the last 15 years. MG assistance given to postwar Germany that is unable to cope with these difficulties will further the democratization program in very fundamental terms.

2. Objective

The aim is to furnish stimulus and concrete assistance in the development of child guidance facilities and services in one or two centers of the US zone and to increase the understanding of children on the part of agency and institutional supervisors.

3. Method

- a. Surveying of conditions in the US zone by the consultant and conferring with German leaders in the field;
- b. Interpreting basic principles through discussions with directors of institutions, day care centers, and schools of social work;
- c. Formulating a proposed plan of action in accordance with the findings.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION DIVISION

PROJECT: MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH AND WELFARE SURVEYS

1. Problem

Though the German agencies under the Nazi regime put considerable emphasis upon the obligation of German citizens to fulfill their patriotic responsibilities by producing large families, and though much care was given to institutional services the government could offer in the case of mothers and children, much is left to be desired in the present condition of maternal and child care. The havoc of war and the collapse of Nazi maternal and child programs and more particularly the total lack of community participation in these problems make it urgent to initiate a medical and welfare program by a project for improving maternal and child health. It is not merely a question of reducing infant mortality but of helping German communities to develop a program to this end.

2. Objective

a. To promote the study of problems causing the present high infant mortality rate in Germany, the solution of which will alleviate suffering and lessen morbidity and mortality associated with child bearing.

b. To help the Germans develop medical, psychiatric and social facilities and standards to be used in the supervision of all phases of maternity and child care.

c. To introduce a program of mental hygiene and psychiatric social work, and of public health techniques and practices by facilitating the development of community clinics, community councils and health centers through which the community as a whole as well as private and governmental agencies may render coordinated and effective services in the improvement of maternal and child care.

3. Method

a. Through conferences with the medical profession, social workers and community leaders to stimulate interest in providing better maternal, infant, and child care by the demonstration of techniques and of clinical and institutional services.

b. Through printed materials, films, and other media to educate professional and lay people to the need of better obstetrical care both in institutions and homes.

CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM

PROJECT: INTRODUCTION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES INTO GERMAN UNIVERSITIES

1. Problem

During the Empire, contemporary matters were carefully kept out of university teaching in Germany. With a few exceptions, teachers preferred to stay within the safe limits of the past, in spite of the fact that lectures on current affairs were generally popular with the students. State control over universities saw to it that nobody was appointed to a chair in economics, modern history, philosophy of law and related fields, who did not give assurance that his views coincided with the official attitude on such matters.

Not very much changed in this situation during the Weimar republic. Then it was less a matter of state supervision but more the reactionary attitude of most of the professors who preferred to avoid even academic polemics on contemporary problems and withdrew into the presentation and interpretation of the past. So little did the university offer in terms of integrated courses in the social sciences that attempts had to be made to substitute extra-university education in these fields.

When National Socialism came into power there was no dearth of courses dealing with current affairs but all of them were mere propaganda. Those not in favor with the regime had to limit themselves to purely technical aspects of their disciplines. Economists turned to econometrics, professors of modern history to the Middle Ages, philosophers of law to court procedures and social psychologists to individual psychology. Students also tried to escape the boredom and dogmatism of general courses by early and narrow specialization in their respective fields.

This tendency was superimposed on the traditional character of legal training which while theoretically requiring some economic and historical knowledge, was in fact highly technical with emphasis on the interpretation of written law. At the same time, this was the required education for the vast majority of those entering the so-called higher civil service. The results are still conditioning German public life. On the one hand there is a tendency to solve administrative and political problems by referring to rules and regulations, to look into the statute books instead of into the matter itself, to legislate and regulate innumerable details and to be dogmatic in application. On the other hand, the public became more and more incapable of understanding the maze of rules under which it had to live and therefore cared less and less about influencing them.

A similar chasm developed between academic life and popular interests. This is particularly dangerous today because of the large number of students, most of them past the middle twenties, who have to accept the same kind of training and are thereby pushed into the same direction of isolation and professional arrogance. Already the jurists are regaining the monopoly not only of public service but also of political activities.

2. Objective

a. It should be possible to help German universities to make current problems the object of academic teaching and academic studies. This in itself would tend to break the monopoly of legal training. It would also widen the horizon of students in the social sciences and restore to them a sense of proportion. Matters of world-wide importance, such as the E. R. P. and the

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United Nations, which have a direct bearing on German interests, should be given increased emphasis in the universities.

b. Supporting stimuli should be brought from the outside to promote cross-fertilization of the social sciences. It will be necessary to convey to German academic circles an understanding for basic problems which are common to all the social sciences and for the great advantages which can be gained from approaching a particular problem from the angles of different disciplines.

c. In order to make such a process meaningful, it will be necessary to close the gap between the universities and the reality of social and political life outside of the classroom through extension courses and expanded adult education programs. Such contact between integrated study of the social sciences on the academic level, and carefully planned and subsidized adult education resulting from it, would be a major contribution to improving German democratic life.

3. Method

(N.B. This project will be carried out in close coordination with the Education and Cultural Relations Division which has the primary responsibility in the education field.)

a. Carefully selected faculties of law and of social sciences should be offered an opportunity to invite without cost to themselves one or several members of American universities to join them in their work for a period of at least one academic year. Preferably the proposal of individual names should come from the faculties concerned. In discussions with the Germans, it should be explained that the type of colleague whom they should invite should be chosen not in terms of his professional excellence in a limited field but rather because of his familiarity with a wider area and because of his interest in those marginal fields where different disciplines of the social sciences overlap.

While such men or women should be added to the faculty on a completely equal status with their German colleagues, they should not be burdened with too heavy a teaching load and particularly should be kept completely free from the chores of examinations and any administrative tasks. They should be left to pick their own topics and their own teaching methods. Their main work should be in seminars where they can introduce to qualified German students both foreign literature and foreign documentary material. The latter in particular needs to be studied by students of social science in Germany because the technique of assembling data and presenting them for public scrutiny is far behind in Germany while particularly well developed in the United States.

b. It would be necessary to plan the presence of an American guest with any German university far ahead of time. Every effort should be made to establish personal contacts before the visiting professor takes up residence in Germany. This can possibly be done in relation with the exchange program under which German professors go to the States. An actual exchange from university to university, with a German residing in the States for one year, thereby becoming familiar with the background and life of this institution, and then an American from this institution visiting the university from which the German comes, would be the ideal procedure.

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c. If possible, it would be desirable to coordinate the visit of these guest-professors with some of their best students who might be coming to Germany under the program for U. S. students in German universities, described in an earlier part of this paper. These students could assist in class discussion, in reviewing papers, in giving guidance to the German students with their reading and research, and in conducting "bull sessions" which in Germany, where there is no campus life and where students retire into their individual isolation, need to be encouraged and organized.

d. One of the best possible implementations of this project would be the forming of small working teams composed of German and American students under the general direction of the American guest -- who in turn would have to cooperate closely with some of his German colleagues. These teams should investigate concrete problems arising in the area where the university is located, such as social tensions, difficulties of expellee assimilation, improper financial procedures of local authorities, and similar problems of which there is of course no lack in Germany. Reports on the findings and preferably concrete proposals should be submitted by these teams to the seminar, and the group of students should discuss them and try to work them into a basis for concrete civic action.

In this way a close contact could be established between the university and the community of which it forms a part. To the discussion of such studies, experts or people directly concerned -- party leaders, mayors or Landraete, leaders of the community or representatives of the man in the street -- could be invited to present their viewpoints and offer their criticism. For the German public the combination of a detached and scientific analysis with a concrete proposal, of German investigation with U. S. advice, of local concern and foreign detachment would offer all the advantages of both indigenous initiative and foreign assistance.

If such a scheme were successful it could easily be expanded and developed into a program of adult education which would bring the foreign guests into direct contact with the population at large and thereby increase their effectiveness many fold.

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APPENDIX B: PROJECTS FOR GERMANS GOING TO THE UNITED STATES

30 OCTOBER 1948

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PROJECT: VISITS OF GERMAN OFFICIALS FROM STATE AND, WHEN ESTABLISHED, FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO UNITED STATES

1. Problem

In spite of their unquestionable technical competence, German executives on the higher levels of government are subject to a number of limitations which are the result of environment rather than of personal shortcomings. Impressions gained in close contact with members of Land cabinets and high officials in Land ministries make it likely that the future federal ministers and state secretaries who will be drawn from the same group of persons who show the identical traits.

a. German officials have a tendency to regard their positions as a claim to certain privileges and immunities. While this is an almost unavoidable feature of any hierarchical system -- and the German administration with its ranks, titles and closely protected careers is an extreme example of such a system -- it is particularly dangerous in a country where generally low standards of living turn even the necessary facilities of office into enormous advantages. German officials more than others tend to consider these advantages as a result of their own outstanding qualities and acquire a superiority complex which expresses itself in their whole attitude towards the public.

b. Consequently, they are most intolerant of criticism. They regard any public criticism of their activities as disrespectful or even dangerous. They rely on the authority of their offices and insist on compliance out of obedience rather than on acceptance out of agreement. This is particularly evident in German official relations to newspapers and to the radio.

c. There is no understanding of publicity as a means of informing the public, of giving account on the performance of a public service and of making the citizen realize his own vital interest in good government. Administration becomes an end in itself. It is regarded as the preserve of experts into which laymen should not try to enter. Regular reports to the people are unknown. Information has to be forced from officials and is given reluctantly and often quite incompletely.

2. Objective

It is hoped to make German state and federal administrators more responsive to the citizenry by becoming more aware of their obligations as public servants, including a more humble and helpful attitude towards the public and a more adequate public reporting of their activities.

3. Method

It is proposed to enable leading German state and federal officials (when the Federal Government is established), preferably those in a position of direct responsibility for governmental action, to visit the U. S. and to observe U. S. government on the federal and state level, particularly in the field of public relations.

a. In personal interviews with federal administrators and state officials, the German guests will be able to observe how accessible high functionaries in the States have to be if they are to retain the confidence of the public, how they are held accountable by the taxpayer, and how they accept this accountability as a matter of course.

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b. For a German visitor the direct and sometimes reckless criticism of officials would be a shocking experience. Equally surprising will be the spirit of fair play in which it is accepted and answered.

c. Particularly revealing will be a study of the methods by which representatives of radio and newspapers gather their information on public affairs, and by which the government on its own initiative provides easy opportunities to them. The amount of time given by officials to participation in publicity programs, the media through which a continuous stream of factual data is sent out to interested groups and to the public at large, will be observed and unavoidably compared with the practice in Germany.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION DIVISION

PROJECT: VISITS OF GERMAN POLICE ADMINISTRATORS TO THE UNITED STATES

1. Problem

Although large numbers of police personnel were removed under the Denazification Program, many of the traditions which had existed even before the Nazi time - and which of course were strengthened during the Nazi period - still show their effect. These traditions which stand in the way of a more democratic influence in police administration may be briefly identified as follows:

a. The police have always been the enforcement arm of a government which considered itself the master of the people, which regulated the daily lives of its citizens in the minutest detail and which could not be called upon to give an accounting of its acts.

b. There was always a degree of centralization of control of the police in Germany. Prior to the Nazi era they were generally controlled by state governmental agencies, while under Hitler the entire police system, including all of its branches, was centralized at the national level. Over the years the German police officials have been so accustomed to centralized police administration that they frequently tend to consider this method of organization the only efficient and effective one.

c. Militarism has dominated the training of German policemen. The relationship of the individual policeman to his superior was that of soldier to officer. In fact police reserves were kept in garrisons where they lived and were trained to function as military units. While these features have been erased by Military Government order an occasional tendency can be seen on the part of some police officials to conduct their forces as military units and to attempt to re-establish the military system of training.

d. Under the old German police system, police officers possessed substantial judicial powers. They could assess and collect on-the-spot fines from the violator without formality; in the United States such misdemeanors are handled by courts of primary jurisdiction. This granting of judicial power to an executive agent of the government added of course to the powerful position of the police over the public.

e. Compared to Anglo-Saxon standards the German police have always possessed excessive powers in the performance of their duties without adequate safeguards or controls to prevent abuse in their exercise. For example, German police were empowered to arrest without warrant, to conduct searches without warrant and to put people in jail without a hearing. These powers when coupled with the absence of adequate judicial relief (habeas corpus, etc.) placed the German police in an almost dictatorial position where their acts could not be challenged by the aggrieved person. These unbridled police powers have naturally caused the average German citizen to hate and fear the police. The German policeman was not considered as the servant and protector of the citizen but as his all-powerful master whose orders had to be implicitly obeyed.

f. Prior to the occupation the German police performed a number of miscellaneous control and regulatory functions involving the everyday activity of the citizen. For instance, the policeman checked on fire prevention, sanitation, weights and measures, pure food and drug control, business licensing, alien registration and change of residence. Although these functions have been eliminated from the regular police activities and assigned to more appropriate governmental offices, the feeling still persists, not only on the part of the police but also on the part of the agencies who assumed these functions, that these functions could be more efficiently performed by the police.

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Quite apart from the negative effect which these traditions assert upon German police administration, the German police today are not competent to perform their job as adequately as should be expected. This is true for several reasons. While it is true that a completely decentralized police force performs its tasks less efficiently than one centralized, this fact is particularly true when only three and one-half years have elapsed since the conversion from a highly centralized system. It is difficult even with the best of training facilities for a small police force to adequately equip itself with trained personnel, to plan organizational and operational methods and to provide the expert technical knowledge necessary to cope with its daily problems. Many of the former higher professional policemen as well as the technical police experts who might have been expected to fill this gap had to be removed from the police service by the Denazification Program because of their criminal activities during the Nazi regime. The lack of adequate police training facilities in Germany today has of course made it virtually impossible to fill this gap. Moreover, the German police have been out of touch with their professional colleagues in the outside world for over fourteen years. In the following paragraphs are indicated some of the more serious shortcomings in which the German police require professional assistance.

a. The police in Germany today have no realization of the seriousness of the modern traffic problem and no conception of the modern system of traffic management. German cities, being medieval in structure and layout, are not designed for the volume of modern traffic or for its smooth movement. In none of the German cities in the U.S. Zone is the routing of traffic or the separation of cargo from passenger traffic attempted. Adequate systems of traffic safety education are not provided. The German people generally are not conscious of the dangers of traffic nor of the need for correction.

b. In the United States there have been many developments in methods of police department organization, personnel utilization, parole systems, etc., which make possible a high degree of police efficiency and protection, with a minimum of police personnel. The German police, without adequate knowledge to guide them in reorganizing their police departments along these lines, find it necessary to use large numbers of policemen without providing an adequate degree of police protection to the community. Similarly, a lack of modern equipment, such as mobile radio patrol units, makes it difficult for them to meet the standards of police of other democratic countries of the world.

c. The investigative techniques of German police are entirely different from those of democracies such as the United States, because in Germany the rights of the individual under investigation, or involved in the investigation as witnesses, have not had to be considered. When faced by the limitations placed upon their activities by their new and more democratic constitutions, police investigators have lost in efficiency. Only by a study of investigative techniques such as developed in the United States, where every consideration must be given to the protection of the individual, will the German police be able to equip themselves properly.

d. While the German police were quite advanced in making the police service a career and in providing formal training for the new police officer, they are not acquainted with late developments in the field of police training and today do not have adequate instructors for police training courses. Then too, the old German training systems followed a militaristic pattern with students receiving as much training in military discipline and activity as in actual professional police subjects. The elimination of military training and practices has left a void yet unfilled.

2. Objective

a. It is intended to provide the German police with an understanding and realization that a municipal police force, even if small, can be

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entirely independent of control by police authorities on a higher level of government and yet efficiently provide the community with all needed police protection. It is intended to show them the advantages of a system which limits the authority and jurisdiction of the police and which protects the individual citizen from arbitrary police action. While accomplishing this main objective the police can simultaneously acquire a knowledge of modern police techniques in the field of organization, operation and training and renew their contact with members of their profession in the outside world.

3. Method

It is proposed to send groups of selected police personnel to the United States to visit and study police organization, techniques and professional behavior in American communities whose police problems are comparable to those of the average German community. By working with the American police in these communities and by observing their operation at first-hand, the Germans will understand some of the basic elements of the American police system and its role in democratic society. In brief, their program in the United States will be planned to give them a general perspective of American municipal police administration. At the same time they will acquaint themselves with new professional techniques in their special fields and establish contacts with the outstanding professional figures in the United States in police administration and in the effectiveness of democratic methods and techniques.

Personnel selected to go to the United States will consist of experts who are not only engaged in police administration but who intend to continue their services in that field. The first group will consist of the chiefs of police and other police experts from among the larger cities in the U.S. Zone. Subsequent groups will consist of experts in the fields of police organization, scientific methods of crime detection, police training and police personnel administration. These groups will at the same time receive technical instruction in these specialized fields while they study the general character of police administration in a typical community.

The programming in the United States will be accomplished by direct personal contact between representatives of the Office of Military Government and the police officials in the American communities concerned. The itinerary which will be arranged by the sponsoring police officials will provide for the proper contact with city officials as well as with specialized police experts. To supplement these arrangements local police officials who are to serve as hosts for the German visitors will be asked to implement these programs.

CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM

PROJECT: VISITS OF PUBLIC HEALTH OFFICIALS TO THE UNITED STATES

1. Problem

German medical educational methods were considered at one time to be on a par with those of the most advanced civilized nations in the world. German methods served as models for programs in medical education in many other countries. Similarly, German medical research and scientific methods had at one time reached a standard that was generally aspired to throughout the rest of the world. In addition to her reputation in these phases of medicine, Germany had a highly developed health insurance plan and medical care program. Since World War I, and particularly during the Nazi regime, advancements in these fields lagged, due, in part, to interference on the part of the government, enforcement of strict adherence to Nazi doctrine, philosophy, and organizational structure, and the almost complete isolation from the scientific work of the rest of the world, and due also, in part, to the voluntary adherence to historical methods and techniques. Enforced Nazi ideology made impossible objective work in such fields as mental health and psychiatric social work. War and the chaos occasioned by the defeat of the Third Reich and subsequent dislocations have resulted in the further breakdown of established medical practices which had already suffered at the hands of the Nazi regime and adherence to German tradition. Present-day Germany is, therefore, faced with a number of urgent problems in the fields of medicine and public health. Among the most pressing are:

- a. The presence of German medical faculties which are traditionally hide-bound and for the most part unaware of advances in medicine and public health or reluctant to accept new ideas and techniques.
- b. An over-supply of doctors and medical students, but a lack of well-trained personnel. This is a direct result of physicians trained prior, during, and subsequent to the war who were rapidly passed through the overcrowded, inadequately staffed and poorly equipped institutions of medical learning.
- c. A dire need for better qualified nurses to fill teaching and supervisory positions.
- d. A serious lack of properly qualified and experienced personnel in the governmental health departments resulting in a serious overlapping in the functions of voluntary and official agencies and vying among the various agencies for control of certain public health responsibilities. This situation has been largely responsible for the almost complete breakdown of the comprehensive health insurance plan and medical care program which once existed in Germany.
- e. An infant mortality rate in the U.S. Zone of Germany considerably higher than normal for Germany and much higher than that in the United States.
- f. Uninspired and non-progressive medical research and scientific programs.
- g. The seriously retarded position of the mental hygiene and psychiatric social work programs.
- h. An alarming increase in drug addiction.
- i. The domination of the Aertzekammer over the German medical profession. Fostered under the Nazi regime this agency performs functions of government, by issuing licenses to practice and conducting the Courts of Discipline and Honor. Membership in the Aertzekammer is requisite to receiving a license to practice.

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2. Objective

To make available recent developments and discoveries in the medical field and the related fields of public health and public hygiene. To overhaul, democratize, and bring up to date German practices of medical education and German organization in the public health and public hygiene fields, and to attempt to re-educate or replace present personnel in order to bring the quality of medical care up to pre-Nazi standards.

3. Method

German public health officials, physicians, nurses, students, teachers in medical schools and laboratories, and research workers should be sent to the United States for periods of from six to twelve months of study. These periods will be utilized to acquaint the Germans with the latest surgical methods and techniques and medical education. They will also be acquainted with the latest developments in research in the field of the medical sciences, with the organization of a democratic medical society, with the latest developments in providing efficient medical care, with developments in the field of medical science in the universities, and with the principles of public health administration as followed by federal, state and local agencies. Of great importance will be their contact with the professional and community life in America.

CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM

PROJECT: VISITS OF GERMAN PUBLIC WELFARE OFFICIALS

1. Problem

The quality of social work and the quality of training for social work deteriorated dangerously in Germany during the Nazi regime. The basis of the democratic system is its emphasis on the individual, his opportunity to develop his greatest capacity and make the fullest possible contribution to society. The emphasis in the U. S. in the field of social work has been, increasingly, toward a recognition of the individual, the final objective being to allow him to retain his self-respect and to enable him to resume his place as an independent member of his community. Interviewing and investigating procedures in public and private social agencies in Germany have always been routine and mechanical processes, more geared to groups of people and to the needs of groups than to those of the individual. This type of orientation was tremendously intensified during the Third Reich when increasing emphasis was placed on the development of the State, and the role of the individual in all spheres of activity was reduced to insignificance. In addition to this basic difference between the German and the American concept of the role or purpose of social work, the destruction of all international contacts, the absence of all emphasis on research in the field, the lack of any interest in the mental welfare of individuals, the socio-economic and the moral crisis resulting from the war, and the drastic reduction in both numbers and functions of welfare agencies under the Nazi regime are all contributing factors to the present urgent problems in the field of social welfare today. Some of the most serious problems are:

- a. Outmoded, legalistic programs for training in the field of social work, resulting in inadequate and poorly trained personnel now available and extreme difficulty in attracting promising young people into the field.
- b. The absence of any preventive program in the fields of child delinquency or any program for treatment of maladjustments occurring during childhood which lead to neuroses and mental disorders in later life. The disruption of family life resulting from the war and the lack of facilities to provide even basic necessities to children has intensified this problem.
- c. The lack of any coordinated, community-wide welfare programs which can achieve maximum utilization of community resources.
- d. The absence of any program or facilities for dealing with problems in the mental health field.
- e. The bureaucratic and arbitrary management of existing public and private welfare organizations.
- f. The absence of any social research facilities for locating areas of greatest need, dovetailing and coordinating services, etc.

2. Objective

To bring to the Germans knowledge of modern techniques, methods, organization and utilization of resources in order to provide adequate service in all phases of public welfare work.

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3. Method

The attention of social welfare in the U. S. has centered primarily on the individual and his personal development or adjustment. Specific methods have been further developed in the U. S. than in Germany or Europe, particularly in the fields of community organization, social research, social case work and social group work. The utilization of scientific findings for the benefit of general human welfare and day by day living has been highly developed in the U. S. in such areas as mental hygiene and parent and child guidance.

It is of great importance, therefore, to provide German public welfare personnel with the opportunity of studying first hand the public welfare system which has been developed in the U. S.

Institutions, agencies, and schools in which studies will be made will depend upon the background, special interests, areas of competence and the type of employment of the individual expert selected. A special program should be developed for each visitor to meet the individual's background. At the outset a brief period of orientation in the U. S. is essential, and introduction into the American setting under the guidance of a welfare specialist familiar with both German and U. S. practices. Important differences exist in the pattern of social work, the concepts, and terminology of the two countries. These differences must be understood by the German before he can benefit fully from study in the States.

Following the period of orientation, the visitor can utilize in his work the facilities of a variety of institutions and agencies, projects, and numerous individual contacts which will be invaluable. Some of the most useful institutions for this study are the leading schools of social work, national and local conferences of welfare groups, the American Association of Schools of Social Work, the Family Welfare Association of America, the Child Welfare League of America, the U. S. Children's Bureau, the Child Study Association of America, the National Education Association, the Child Guidance Clinic, Community Survey Projects, the Federal Security Agency, the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, the Social Service Department of the Veterans' Administration, Private Welfare Organizations, the Russel Sage Foundation, the American Public Welfare Association, the National Probation Association, and the Society Security Board.

CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM

PROJECT: VISITS OF GERMAN LEGISLATORS TO UNITED STATES

1. Problem

a. German legislative bodies, on both a state and national (bizonal) level, fail to function adequately as popular representative bodies. Issues tend to be settled on the basis of compromises between party factions, rarely on the basis of an objective consideration of the merits of the case. While this is no doubt partly due to the system of proportional representation, which could only be corrected through changes in election laws, it is also due to the lack of available information for the individual legislator enabling him to make up his mind as an individual, and lack of procedures whereby members of the public and representatives of legitimate interest groups may express their views during the legislative process.

b. German legislation when passed often fails to correspond with the constitutional and democratic principles on which it is supposed to be based. Frequently the purposes of the law are unclear; more frequently the legislative body exceeds its constitutional powers or delegates to administrative bodies such extensive rule-making power as to constitute actually a delegation of legislative authority. Too seldom is there contained in a law adequate protection of the individual against excessive exercise of the administrative power granted by it.

c. German laws have a tendency to be extremely fragmentary, repealing piecemeal sections of previous laws, or incorporating sections of earlier laws (which may or may not have been repealed in their entirety) by reference. The result is that a major task of research may be necessary in order to find out what a law really means. Also insufficient attention is given to informing the citizen of his rights and duties under the law.

2. Objective

a. It is desired to encourage practices in German legislative bodies which will increase their effectiveness as organs representing the public and of bodies where issues are discussed and decided upon their merits. To accomplish the first, it is hoped to develop a regular practice of public hearings on all pending legislation. These should be adequately publicized in advance, and those who have legitimate interests in the matter or who can contribute technical information should be invited (where necessary subpoenaed) to attend the sessions. In addition there is necessary the establishment of legislative reference services, with the object of providing legislators and the public with all pertinent information on existing and pending legislation.

b. It is also desirable to introduce better standards of legislation, as to clarity and consistency of purpose, conformity with democratic principles and the constitution, and avoidance of excessive grants of authority to the executive. Such standards should also operate to restrict the passage of unreasonable laws, that is laws which impose requirements that cannot reasonably be expected from an individual. The standard should also require that all laws be complete within themselves, and readily understandable by the public, or in the case of legislation on technical subjects, by those persons who are to be governed by the law or are to enforce it. Incorporation of previous legislation by reference should be kept to a minimum.

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c. It is also desirable to introduce a philosophy as to the necessity of laws, so as to avoid regulating a subject by law simply because it has always been regulated. Laws should be passed only when there is an urgent and demonstrable social need for them, and provisions should be made for the periodic review and repeal of obsolete legislation which is no longer needed.

3. Method

a. It is proposed to send to the United States a small group of about 15 Germans who are in a position to influence the improvement of German legislative practices. This group should include officials of State and bizonal legislatures, chairmen or secretaries of factions, and ministerial officials responsible for preparing laws. The group should spend approximately three months in the United States, observing legislative procedures and practices which may be of value in fulfilling the objectives discussed above.

b. The group should spend an initial period in Washington, under the guidance of an agency such as the legislative reference service in the Library of Congress. This period should include careful study of the legislative procedure in the United States government, including the preparation of government bills in the departments, their clearance through the Budget Bureau, submission to Congress, hearings, floor procedures and debates, and conferences. Attention should also be given to the types of material provided by the legislative reference service, requests by congressmen and senators for information, and participation of administration representatives in the legislative process. Visits should be paid to offices of "lobbies," such as the American Public Power Association, American Forestry Association, National Education Association, Association of Retail Grocers, etc.

c. Following the stay in Washington, the group should proceed to the Public Administration Clearing House for discussions with representatives of the constituent organizations on problems of securing public participation in the legislative process, on standards of legislation, as well as on inter-State cooperation for the adoption of standard legislation on matters reserved to the States. In conjunction with PACH, and such universities as are in a position to cooperate, visits should be paid to state legislatures, with a program parallel to that carried out in Washington. Visits should also be paid to regional offices of federal agencies which advance grants-in-aid for expenditure under state laws, such as the Federal Security Agency and Bureau of Public Roads, inasmuch as the areas in this type of operation approximate the administrative and legislative problems arising under the German system of delegated functions.

CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM

PROJECT: VISITS OF GERMAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS TO THE UNITED STATES

1. Problem

An essential feature of democratic society is the building of a firm democracy on the local (county and municipal) level. Local governments have a vital function to fulfill in creating democratic attitudes and in providing scope for citizen participation in public life, as well as serving as a training ground for public officials and politicians who will later emerge on the state or national level.

Germany has a long tradition of democracy and home-rule in local government, and since the occupation commendable progress has been made by the Germans themselves in restoring at least the forms of local democratic institutions. So far as the content is concerned, in terms of democratic attitudes and practices, the picture is spotty -- some local governments show a high appreciation of what democracy means, others relatively little.

The difficulties which exist in making local governments more democratic can be grouped under a variety of subjects, as follows:

a. Legislative problems

- (1) There is a need for clearer definition of the field in which a local legislature (Kreistag or Gemeindeversammlung) should operate -- what kinds of decisions it should make itself and what it should delegate to the executive. Some local executives tend to operate their governments too autocratically, resenting legislative "interference", while others do not like to make decisions and tend to pass to the legislature responsibility which they should assume themselves.
- (2) There is a need for improved legislative procedure. The agenda for legislative meetings is often unrealistic or inadequately planned in terms of the number of questions to be decided in a single session. Members come to the meetings without sufficient background information on or preparation for the subjects to be discussed.
- (3) Chairmanship is often unskilled, so that the discussion wanders from the point and fails to result in a coherent conclusion.
- (4) There is a lack of sufficient legislative control over the executive, and a failure to use committees as "sounding boards" to interpret public desires to the executives and executive problems to the public. The public hearing as used in the United States is practically unknown in Germany.

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b. Relations between the citizen and his government

- (1) There is a tendency for German government to be too paternalistic and to treat the citizen as if he were somehow inferior to the public official. The philosophy and psychology of public contacts do not reflect democratic principles. The citizen is often made to feel that he is a mere passive object of government activity rather than a part of his government.
- (2) The number of contacts which the citizen, as consumer, as worker or as business-man, has to make with various agencies, the time spent in waiting or in "hand-carrying" applications and the number of forms he has to fill out are excessive and should be radically reduced. German government has a tendency to regulate things which, from an American point of view, do not need to be regulated.
- (3) There is a tendency to make unenforceable and unreasonable laws and ordinances, to interpret them rigorously, but to "wink at" violations. The citizen who "gets away" with something is likely to receive at least tacit popular approval. This condition produces an anti-democratic contempt and antagonism toward government as such.

c. Public participation in government

- (1) The public, particularly the young people, are apathetic toward local politics, with the result that local governments are often run by small cliques with little or no opposition.
- (2) Public reports of German local authorities are usually dull and uninformative. Little is known about popular reports which tell the citizen, with charts and pictures, a story about his government which interests him and which he can understand.
- (3) There is a lack of non-partisan organizations such as citizens and taxpayers associations which in the United States play an important role in stimulating better local government.
- (4) Civic training in the schools, in the sense of giving young people experience and active participation in government, is almost entirely lacking.
- (5) Relationships with the press are in general inadequate and reflect a lack of responsibility to the public.

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d. Local government finance

- (1) German budgets, as prepared according to the "Reichshaushaltsordnung", are abstruse and uninformative. They do not tell the taxpayer what he is getting for his money.
- (2) Financial reporting is correct, and probably adequate to control misappropriation of funds, but does not give up-to-date and usable information as to the actual financial state of affairs at a given time.
- (3) German measurements of fiscal ability -- the power of local governments to raise revenues in relation to effects of taxation on the supporting economy -- and advance estimates of tax yields are not accurate enough for intelligent financial planning.

e. Local government personnel

- (1) Personnel administration tends to be formalistic, job requirements being conceived in terms of stereotyped patterns of education and apprenticeship. There is no concept of scientific job-analysis and selection criteria.
- (2) Germans are in general completely unfamiliar with the use of tests adapted to job requirements.
- (3) Although some in-service training is being provided through state-operated schools and correspondence courses, more needs to be done in developing training at the local level, particularly "on-the-job" training.

f. Administrative management

- (1) Germans are unfamiliar with methods of job-load analysis and control, organizational simplification and procedural studies.
- (2) There is a tendency to consider legislation as an end in itself, rather than as a means to accomplish a task in the public interest, and therefore administration takes a legalistic rather than a management point of view.

2. Objective

a. It is desirable to provide German local government officials and politicians with an opportunity to observe at first hand practices in American local governments in the fields indicated above, with particular emphasis on those phases which, as indicated, constitute "problem areas" for the Germans. In some cases they will be able to find techniques which they can use for their own governments. In other cases where structural, legal or psychological reasons make this impossible, they will be able to learn a methodology, a means of identifying and solving the problem, which will enable them later to work out their own solutions adapted to German conditions.

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b. Even more important than technique is the American philosophy of the public service, as it exists in our better municipal and county governments. Many of the problems cited above can only be solved through the inculcation of progressive attitudes, that is a creative and scientific approach to the job, and a feeling of being servant of the public rather than its master. These can best be developed by "living with" American officials who practice this philosophy in their daily work.

3. Method

a. It is proposed to select approximately 30 local government officials for periods of study in the United States. These should be distributed between local government heads (Landraete, Oberbuergermeister, and full-time Buergermeister of larger Gemeinden), younger department heads, and promising local politicians (members of local legislatures). These should be generalists rather than specialists, and should go to the United States to observe local government as a whole, with reference to all of the problem areas discussed in section 1.

b. Each official should be assigned to the office of the mayor, city or county manager, or possibly the budget commissioner in a local government selected because of its reputation for progressive public administration. There should be planned for him a program consisting of sitting in on council and committee meetings, interviews with members, a general survey of the government as a whole, and short "internships" in several departments. Contacts should also be arranged with taxpayers' associations, municipal bureaus, and with other groups influential in community affairs, so that the German official may secure an "outside" as well as an "inside" view of the local government and how it works.

c. Where schools of public administration are available within reach of the local governments to which the German officials are assigned, they should attend (not for credit) a seminar or course on public administration.

d. If possible, the German officials should travel to the United States together, and receive at some central point (for instance Harvard, Syracuse or Chicago) a short indoctrination course of a week on the essential features of American local government and its divergencies from the German system. They should return to the same point for a summing up session, which might well consist of committee reports on the various subject matters.

e. This program of generalized study is not intended to preclude specialized programs in any of the subjects indicated above. However, such special programs could best be undertaken by individuals from the Ministries of Interior, local government associations or administrative schools, who could make the results of their studies available for local governments as a whole.

CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM

PROJECT:

VISITS OF GERMAN PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATORS IN THE UNITED STATES

1. Problem

The problems of a reactionary bureaucracy, based on antidemocratic traditions, and the absence of knowledge of or training in modern personnel techniques, indicates a lack of contact with the outside world, and a tendency to cling to the outmoded and legalistic traditions of the "Beamten". New concepts of public management have not been introduced into Germany for many years. This has stopped the progressive development of public service, and results in Germany having more expensive government than it can afford.

2. Objective

a. In order to provide a solid foundation of well-trained personnel administrators and technicians for the various German personnel jurisdictions, a program should be established to provide for study by responsible Germans in the United States.

b. The purpose here is not to transplant practices now prevalent in various jurisdictions in the United States, but rather to introduce to German teachers, to German personnel administrators and to German trainees the democratic point of view in carrying on the operation of the service, and to train the administrators and technicians in the modern personnel techniques designed to operate under and to protect the public service in a democratic state.

3. Method

a. At least one top-ranking personnel man from each Land should be sent to the United States for three months of intensive study and observation of modern governmental personnel methods. One also should be included for the Bizonal government. At the federal level the visiting expert might spend his time with two or more such agencies as the following: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Federal Council of Personnel Administration, Tennessee Valley Authority, State Technical Advisory Service of the Social Security Administration. At the state level, the trainee-expert might spend his time with such agencies as the Michigan, New York or California state civil service agencies. At the municipal level, time might be spent with the Detroit, Los Angeles or Berkeley city governments, or studying the contractual relationships of the New York State, California State, or Los Angeles County civil service agencies with municipalities.

b. To back up the top level men and to provide a nucleus for the future development of a specialized professional personnel, younger persons from each Land and the Bizonal government should be given a three-to six-month training assignment in the United States. Preferably, the trainees selected should be young men or women of high intelligence, good academic background, and should have leadership qualities. Jobs in the personnel program should be assured these trainees on their return.

The training period should be a combination of university seminars plus work assignments in a public jurisdiction. Suggested combinations which now provide such facilities are shown below for illustrative purposes: University of California with practice work in the California state service at Sacramento; University of Michigan with practice work at Detroit; Syracuse University with practice in New York State; University of California at Los Angeles with practice work at Los Angeles City; University of Chicago with practice assignment with the

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Chicago Perks or the Illinois State Service; New York University with practice assignments in New York City Service; and George Washington University with practice assignments in Federal agencies. This latter assignment might be under the guidance of the National Institute of Public Affairs at Washington.

c. Selected instructors from the civil service administrative schools and from the area of public administration teaching in the universities should be sent on a three-month study and observation tour in the United States. This tour would provide the instructors with the opportunity to observe teaching methods and subject matter in the schools of public administration in the United States. Particular attention will be paid to various types of specialized training at the upper division and graduate levels, in contrast to the extensive training in specialized theory which is a characteristic part of such training in Germany. Also to be pointed out is the contrast between the heavy emphasis on legal training in Germany as compared to training in the social sciences in America.

The travellers would visit one of the better known schools of public administration such as the Maxwell School at Syracuse University, the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of California (Berkeley), the Littauer School at Harvard, or the Schools of Public Administration at the Universities of Michigan and Minnesota. The individual traveller may well spend thirty days in one of the above schools and perhaps seven days in one or more of the other schools for contrast and comparison. While in the school he should observe class room methods, discuss teaching techniques, familiarize himself with texts and materials available in the field, and perhaps carry on a brief research project in his own area of specialization.

The group could profitably spend a few days at Public Administration Clearing House in Chicago, where detailed examination can be made of the structure and methods of the public administration professional societies and the ways in which they contribute to the advancement of various techniques in the field of government. The remaining half of the tour could be devoted to detailed observation of government departments in operation at the federal, state and city levels.

CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM

PROJECT: DEMOCRACY ORIENTATION COURSES

1. Problem

One of the difficulties which Germany shares with other technically developed countries is extreme specialization. Although a general feature of modern civilization, it is carried to an extreme in a country where tens of thousands of professional people have to make up for the loss of seven war years, where the present need for trained specialists puts a premium on concentrated and narrowly technical studies, and where the complexity of the problems and the confusion of public opinion make reliance on the expert a generally accepted attitude. It is necessary to restore to Germans who are in a key position to influence public life a sense of politics as the ordering of human relations in the public sphere. There is sufficient interest in power politics, in foreign affairs and in the struggle of parties to gain positions and privileges for their members. All these are viewed with a cynical detachment and with no sense of participation. There is little understanding however and no faith whatsoever in the role of the citizen in a democracy and in democratic policies as a result of civic action. Such understanding can hardly be gained under the abnormal conditions of Germany which militate against communal pride, local initiative and independence of political thought.

2. Objectives

Germans who do not want to become professional politicians but as persons of promise or achievement in their fields are in a position to influence their neighbors should be given as complete a background as possible on what the forms and procedures of democracy are in countries where there is a democratic tradition, a vivid sense of public duty, individual initiative for common causes and a way of achieving political ends without waiting for the legislator or administrator. Qualified Germans should be exposed to the complete and concentrated influence of the kind of world from which they have been isolated for so long--to its traditions, its modes of thought, and its practices in the whole field of democratic life.

3. Method

It is proposed to suggest to several universities such as Duke, Yale, California, Michigan, Harvard and Bryn Mawr, and to some especially well-equipped colleges and schools to organize a special course of studies designed to give democratic orientation to a selected group of mature students initially from Germany, and later perhaps also from other countries, where such orientation is needed.

a. Selection of students. Students should be selected on the basis of their political past, their professional achievement, their prospects for an influential part in local life, for their character, and for their educational background. They ought to be able to follow academic courses, have sufficient knowledge of English, be able to express themselves orally and in writing and have a minimum training, though not necessarily gained in universities, in methods of analysis and research. Their stay in the States must be financed completely out of available funds. However, it is important that those who are in a position to do so, contribute from their own resources to the expenses incurred.

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b. Program. While each university will have its own way of attacking the task, the following suggestions are made to indicate the kind of program envisaged. The year's course should center around a number of basic courses dealing with the main problems of comparative democracy; a comparative description of the making of citizens and their role in different democracies; comparative government with emphasis on change from procedural and formal democracy to social democracy; the development of civil rights, their guarantee in constitutions and their actual protection; the means of mass communication, their influence on public opinion, and their control through self-restraint or through government regulation; pressure groups; the role of parties in different democracies and the effect of election procedures on party structure; the political influence of non-political organizations, especially trade unions, chambers of commerce and other economic associations; the relations between government and social institutions like churches; organized education, etc. From this list only a limited number of courses should be chosen. Some of them should be planned for this particular group of students. Others may be offered as part of the regular curriculum, and the Germans could sit in on them. It is however most important that the teaching program is not too heavy and that emphasis is on seminars and tutoring, including guidance on reading materials because there is always a definite danger that German students will become completely lost in the mass of unfamiliar literature which faces them on their arrival in the States.

Sufficient time should be left to make it possible for the individual student to get in contact with his American colleagues in the particular field where he is working. Field trips and prolonged visits with organizations, institutes, or governmental agencies should be possible.

It seems most important that the group, while kept together for the particular purpose of its stay, should not become isolated from the general life of the campus. Therefore students should be housed with American students and should be encouraged to participate to the greatest extent possible in extra-curricular activities on the campus.

c. Administration. One member of the faculty should be in complete charge of the program. He must be in a position to coordinate activities of several departments and to call on members of the faculty for a kind of cooperation they are not usually expected to give. He should limit himself however to the over-all direction. The details should be handled by at least one instructor who should devote full time to the job. He should if at all possible sit through all the lectures and seminars of the group and supplement them with whatever additional information may be required. He must be completely familiar with German history and present German conditions so that he can relate the material discussed by the teachers to the experiences of the German students. He will also have to take charge of a carefully considered system of appraising what the students get out of the program.

At the end of the course all students should be encouraged to write down their experiences and impressions and to use these papers for publication and presentation after their return to Germany.