An International Aspect

Texts of the three speeches delivered by US High Commissioner John J. McCloy before a student audience at Kiel University Nov. 24, before a group of labor leaders and trade-union members in the Town Hall in Hamburg Nov. 25 and at the dedication of a new studio at Radio Bremen Nov. 26 follow.

Kiel Speech

I AM VERY HAPPY to be here tonight to meet with the students and faculty of Kiel University.

During the past year nothing has given me so much satisfaction, and so much hope, as the meetings I have had with the young people of Germany. Tonight I take particular pleasure in acknowledging the fine record of the students and faculty of Kiel in raising this institution from the ruins and establishing it in such vigor in its new site.

Study in a great university, whether in Germany or in any other country, is a real privilege. You have been told this frequently, but it bears repeating. Our universities today, and particularly the German universities, must understand the significance of life and help us find satisfaction in it. While they must train us for our professions, they must more than ever meet and solve the political and social challenges of our era.

There are many principles and many problems I should like to discuss with you tonight. Unfortunately, there is not time to touch on all of them. I shall, therefore, concentrate on a few of immediate concern.

The overriding issue of our time is the issue of freedom versus oppression. Whether we live in Kiel or Frankfurt, Berlin or New York, London or Bonn, each of us must squarely face this problem. We must meet the issue as individuals; we must meet it as nations. The threat of totalitarianism is again so great that equivocation and temporizing will not do. The peoples in the free world must make their choice.

IN MAKING OUR CHOICE we must keep in mind certain lessons that have emerged from the history of the last 35 years and particularly since 1945. These lessons are:

1. We are responsible for our fellow men. We must not stand by in fear when other men and women, because of nationality, race or creed, are made to suffer. We must act together in defense of freedom.

2. Just as no man is an island to himself so is no nation. All peaceful nations are interdependent. All nations must act together in the preservation of freedom, in the effort for social justice.

In the Hitler period many of us did not recognize these basic facts in time. The result was an outbreak of barbarism; horrible death for millions; cities laid in ruin. This time, with new dictators threatening us, we must not fail to recognize the problem and to act to meet it.

I am certain that you young men and women recognize that mankind is interdependent. And I am sure you read the signs that tell us no nation alone can preserve itself economically, indeed no European nation alone can defend itself militarily. No people or nation can be preserved by a thought or a wish alone. Action is necessary. Ideas must be implemented.

LET US OPEN-MINDEDLY see the facts as they are. In all likelihood, were it not for the Marshall Plan, the individual economies of the European nations would not have survived. When we consider the pressing problem of defense against Communist aggression the necessity for a combined effort is clear. We all know that only common defense and common participation will permit us to defend our freedom and to preserve peace. Never, therefore, has an international or world outlook been more essential.

These are the broad principles I want to advance tonight. They provide the background for a few specific problems to which I should like to refer. Though seemingly unrelated these problems tie together because there is no solution to them other than the international. These problems concern the refugees, defense and the political direction Germany will take in the years ahead to solve these and other issues.

First, I shall discuss briefly the refugee problem which is here on your doorstep in Schleswig-Holstein. Certainly there is no immediate and complete solution of the problem. But it is obvious that German economic revival is helping many refugees find an important place in the community, and it is also apparent that the refugees can and do contribute talents and new methods which can greatly advance the economic health of Germany.

As you know, there have been set aside millions from Marshall Plan funds for projects designed to open new opportunities for refugees. And at the present time, an important group of American experts is in Germany studying further economic solutions to the problem. We shall naturally give careful consideration to their recommendations.

WHAT I HAVE SAID indicates, I think, that we recognize fully the international ramifications of the refugee problem. Here, again, it is apparent that local solutions are not sufficient. Here, again, it is obvious that the narrow outlook is not enough.

I should like to add one more thought on the refugees. We know that the refugee problem is the heritage of the Nazi attack on Europe in 1939. We know that many refu-
gees, driven from their homes, are bitter and without hope. It is important, therefore, for the sake of the refugees themselves and for the sake of Germany that their disappointments and frustrations should not lead them to dangerous political undertakings. Neither the refugees nor the rest of Germany can ever afford another period of demagoguery. Ruin as before would be the inevitable result.

I now come to the question which, in the long run, is most important of all for the German people. It is the question of the political direction Germany will take in the years ahead. You young men and women will have a decisive influence on the answer.

It is appropriate to take up the problem at this time for in the coming weeks and months the German government and people will be assuming new responsibilities and increased sovereignty.

Today Germany is entering a new period of development as a democratic state. For all practical purposes the Federal Republic, in internal matters covering great political, economic and social areas, will be proceeding on its own. In foreign affairs, Germany will be quickly assuming a role of equality with other nations.

The German people must decide in the days ahead whether the spirit and guiding principles of their new state shall be patterned after old models or if a new spirit, a European, international spirit, shall be the motivating force. The German people now face the choice between the old ways, the old politics, the idea of the old national state in Europe and the European, international way.

This is the crucial decision before the German people. Other nations and peoples must soon make similar decisions. The fact that so much of the old was destroyed in Germany, the fact that Germany's basic problems can only be solved with the help of others, should make it easier for the German people to find the adequate answer. A true European community is the only goal that holds promise. On the road to its achievement there are high barriers, there will be many rebuffs, but they can and must be overcome.

There are some Germans who will say that Germany can only take this road if it receives absolute equality, if there is no discrimination, if it has the same rights as France and other countries. The Allied Powers in Germany are working toward a situation in which Germany will have an equal and honorable part. But even if the Allies were lax or too restrictive, young and vigorous spirits in Germany, recognizing the needs of the times, might well say: "We do not wish to wait for others, we shall go the European way because it is the only way for peace, for freedom, for social justice."

Germany today has an opportunity to provide a great stimulus to European unity. This will require the abandonment of old ideas of national pride and honor, of narrow conceptions of sovereignty. It will require the wide horizon, the big view and, above all, the willingness to recognize and tolerate the interests and rights of others. It will require action and not only words or articles in a constitution. It will require sometimes that Germany and the German people show a wider conception and a greater willingness to try the new than their European neighbors. It will mean that Germans do not hold with the restrictive, nationalist spirit of Treitschke, that they prefer the bold, wide-ranging ideals of Kant.

The Federal Republic today faces the great challenge of playing a leading role in the creation of a free and peaceful Europe. The geographical location of Germany, the ability and skill of the German people, the vigor of the men and women of this country combine to create this opportunity. The world hopes you will take advantage of it.

An American, I think, has some right to take the point of view I have just advanced. For in recommending to you that you break with tradition it is not amiss that I remind you of the choice which has been facing my country and its youth.

A traditionally isolationist area, nationalist throughout its history, with vast resources, with almost impenetrable natural boundaries, with a standard of living which is generally recognized as being the highest of any in the world — the United States suddenly finds itself the center of appeals for aid from practically all the nations of the world. To meet these appeals and at the same time to maintain its own social structure, the United States is contracting an astronomical national debt. It is enforcing a tax burden as heavy if not heavier than any in the world.

Whether it is the result of altruism or self-interest, America's response to these appeals has been international in outlook. As a result of that response Europe has achieved a large measure of economic, social and political recovery.

May I give another example of America's international outlook? American troops are today fighting in Korea. No one will seriously contend that in fighting aggression in Korea the United States covets one inch of Korean, Asiatic or any other territory in the world. American troops are fighting in Korea because the United States is convinced that Communist aggression had to be stopped before a chain of events set in which would threaten free people everywhere, particularly in Europe. It is pertinent to recall the powder train which was lighted when Japanese aggression took place in Manchuria before the last World War. The first results of that explosion were not felt in the United States — they were felt in Europe.

The issue today is one of principle involving good international behavior. The people of the United States have already suffered 30,000 casualties in the preservation of the principle and no conditions have been imposed upon this action. All free peoples are in a position to benefit from that action.

American university students are now the first to experience the interruption of their studies; the first to have their careers checked. You can be quite sure that not a single one of them is any less loath than any one of you to see this occur. I believe it can be said that the
young America has adopted this revolutionary attitude because it has come to the conclusion that it must have an international outlook if there is to be peace and progress in this world. I refer to these things because it is important that you and those like you, privileged above your fellows, should look the facts straight in the face and think in terms of those facts.

No one can preserve your freedoms for you. The most others can do is help you to preserve them. In Germany you have all seen what the oppression of individual freedom has meant. You understand it because it has been brought home to you.

The people of Germany, particularly the young people, face a big test. Peace, freedom and progress are dependent upon recognition by the people of Germany, particularly the young people, that a challenge to one of us is a challenge to us all.

I want to state my belief that young Germany will meet the test.

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**Hamburg Speech**

I AM DEEPLY GRATEFUL to you for the reception you have given me in this magnificent Rathaus (town hall). I am honored to be permitted to speak in this great chamber.

The city of Hamburg with its rich Hanseatic tradition, is one of the world's great centers. Like all big ports this is a cosmopolitan city, a city with a European and international outlook. May I say, as an adopted New Yorker, Berliner and Frankfurter, that I likewise feel at home here along the Alster.

Much of Hamburg is intact and retains its beauty. And in the areas so heavily damaged by the war it is impressive to see how much has been done to clean up, to rebuild. This could not have been done without the vision and determination of the city's officials and citizens.

It has been inspiring today to see the port and breathe its air. Ports were made for shipping. Ports were made to send ships down the ways, to load and unload their cargoes. I hope the day will be speeded when all restrictions on the building of ships for peaceful purposes will be removed so that Hamburg and the other Hanseatic cities can again make their rich contribution to the world's commerce.

I am particularly happy tonight to talk with so many people associated with the German labor movement. I know that it is the working man in Hamburg, as elsewhere in Germany, who is doing so much to build a free and more peaceful future. I am sure that the working man, who has found strength in the trade union, knows the future cannot be secure unless we unite to protect it.

**THE BASIC FACT OF OUR TIMES** is the Communist threat against freedom. I think we should ask ourselves: What does freedom mean and is it worthwhile? If the answer is positive we face a second question: How can we defend it?

First, then, what does freedom mean? It means the right to live one's own life; it means an opportunity to work and to have a decent living; it means tolerance, respect and good will toward our fellow men. It means the right to vote in accordance with one's interests and convictions.

Freedom does not mean the police state. Freedom does not mean forced labor. Freedom does not mean suppression. Freedom does not mean regimentation. Freedom does not mean dictatorship.

It is not sufficient, however, to define freedom or to talk about it. Freedom must have real content. In every country it requires constant vigilance to protect it and make it prosper. It must include economic opportunity and reasonable security. It must provide a fair chance to every man, woman and child. In Germany it must help speed up economic and political democracy.

I think the Marshall Plan has given us an excellent example of how freedom can be implemented. For that reason I should like to talk for a few minutes about the ERP, the part labor plays in it, and to make a few remarks on general economic and social conditions.

It is unnecessary to describe here the achievements of the Marshall Plan in Germany. I wish to emphasize, however, that we recognize American funds alone would not be sufficient to make ERP successful. The contribution of German labor is of equal importance. From the North Sea to the Bavarian Alps and from Berlin to Aachen the two have been combined in a mighty effort of construction and employment. There are few people in Germany who have not been benefited by this creative undertaking.

**T**HE END GOAL of the Marshall Plan is an economically independent Europe which can maintain a higher level of employment with a rising income and a rising standard of living for the people. It is our deep hope with improved economic conditions the standard of living of the German worker will rise. It was not and is not the intention of the Marshall Plan to favor special interests. I repeat the goal is to help all groups, to help the peoples of Europe as a whole.

One achievement, above all, of the Marshall Plan gives us deep satisfaction. It is the growing number of housing projects that are rising in Germany. Each unit of each housing project means that one more family will live decently, that more men, women and children will be able to enjoy life instead of merely existing. We could readily absorb in housing projects all counterpart funds made available through Marshall aid and still be confronted with a large housing problem. But, as I have said, much is being done.

Here in the Nordmark area, the Schleswig-Holstein project is a wonderful example of how Marshall Plan funds can help create modern and decent housing for thousands of underprivileged people. Throughout Germany I would like to see the development, if it is possible, of many similar projects. I would like to see the low income groups, the refugees and others who have lost their homes during the war provided with low-rent housing. I would like to see low-cost housing provided
Young Berliners queue up for noon-time hot meals served to 325,000 students daily under the school feeding program. American funds exceeding $2,000,000 were contributed, as was DM 5,000,000 ($1,190,000) by the Berlin City Council, to continue program in West Berlin’s educational institutions for third successive year. (PRB HICOG-BE photo)

in areas where jobs are waiting for workers and where housing construction on a large scale would help considerably toward reduction of unemployment in Germany.

These and other things must be done before we find the full answer to Germany’s social and economic problems. I am convinced, for instance, that if Germany is to continue to improve the standard of living and solve its pressing export-import problem, German production machinery will have to be modernized and improved. Moreover, increased productivity can be achieved only if labor and management co-operate to reach the necessary goal — and it is essential that this co-operation be one of equals.

Nor is increased productivity itself enough. In the United States we have learned that continuous improvement of production methods makes it possible to achieve desired production goals. We have also learned that this increased productivity must lead to a higher output of goods at lower prices, and that labor must get its proper share of the fruits of increased productivity. It would be dangerous indeed if better methods led only to reducing production costs, if cartel-like agreements prevented an increase in the flow of goods. We have learned that measures which benefit only one partner in the social process are shortsighted and in the long run disastrous.

I HOPE THAT WHAT I have said makes clear to you what I think freedom is and what it must provide. Although we may still have a long way to go, the democratic nations and peoples have made large strides toward freedom. And when we look at the oppressed areas of the world, when we see what is happening not many miles east of this free city of Hamburg, we know that our way of life is worth defending.

If it is worth defending, how shall we defend it? We cannot defend it with slogans, with political maneuvers. We cannot defend it without making sacrifices, though I firmly believe Germany can make its contribution without decreasing the standard of living of the German worker.

A Communist threat hangs over Germany and Europe and that threat is real. Germany alone is no match for the threat; neither is any other European nation. United, the free nations of the world can meet it. It is our job therefore to set up an area of freedom, secure from aggression. It is our purpose to preserve the peace through strength.

We know that the free nations can deter any aggression if they act together, if they all participate in a common effort. Common action would drive away the pall of fear. Concern and hesitation would give way to confidence and security.

For its part the United States, in the knowledge that all free countries must stand together and recognizing the limitations upon the capacity of the countries of Western Europe to defend themselves, has offered to make a sizable contribution in men and money to the common cause. All resources that can be made available, while at the same time maintaining the economic and political stability of the Western community will have to be used in this effort. Obviously this will mean all of us will have to make sacrifices.

THIS BRINGS US to the question which is uppermost in your minds — the question of the German part in the great democratic defense effort. It is clear that Germany’s geographical location in the middle of Europe, Germany’s large potential manpower and industrial resources, Germany’s overwhelming stake in the preservation of peace and freedom pose the question of Germany’s participation in the combined enterprise.

The proposals that Germany should contribute to an integrated defense force have not been made without qualms. It would be much simpler if the state of Europe were such that we did not have to look to our defenses. The Soviet armies, the Bereitschalten (alert units), the Volkspolizei (East zone German “People’s Police”) leave us no alternative.

In making proposals for German participation in European defense there is no thought of reversing our fundamental policy of helping to establish a free, democratic, united and peaceful Germany. On the contrary it is the urgent necessity of defending freedom and of preventing the frustration of our combined efforts since 1945 which has led to these proposals. It is precisely because we firmly believe that we can preserve peace and freedom by a strong defense that these proposals have been made.

I wish to emphasize that a strong European defense force, with German participation, would be a threat to no one. Such a force by its nature could not be an aggressive force. It would be possible to give a guarantee that this force, collectively and individually, would never act except in defense. This force would have only one mission — peace.

The decision as to whether or what sort of a defense contribution Germany will make can only be made by the German people. If the decision is in favor of partici-
In the days ahead Radio Bremen will have to carry a heavy load. We know that radio stations in Western Germany, such as this one, are not the kind of radio stations permitted in the East zone, in the areas dominated by totalitarian concepts. In fact, there have already been noticeable attempts on the part of the Soviets to disturb the effectiveness of the broadcasts from Western German stations. The Communists fear the truth and try to prevent its dissemination.

In conclusion I want to make it clear that we all recognize that the German people and their democratic leaders, like those of other countries, carry heavy responsibilities. They will have to look facts squarely in the face. There is no longer time for equivocation or indecision.

Nobody can change the fact that Germany is the crucial area. No one contends that Germany should be called upon to defend the interests of others except as it finds that such interests are inextricably woven into its own. No nation can for long avoid standing up to defend its own freedom.

I repeat, therefore, what I have said before: we are not and shall not try to buy or much less to coerce German participation. The German people must, and in due time will, decide for themselves if they will participate. That is the democratic way.

German labor, I think, sees the full picture. German labor, I believe, is prepared to share heavy responsibilities in guiding Germany's destiny. For that reason I hope that the progressive voice of German labor will be stronger in Germany's political life.

In the United States we know that labor is one of the pillars of our democratic structure. The trade unions play a decisive part in our society. During recent years, the American trade unions have firmly supported the foreign policy of the United States. They have made a large contribution to the development of the Marshall Plan.

The trade union contribution, the workers' contribution in Germany will be equally great. The German worker and farmer, the German citizen of all groups will join, I am sure, in the great enterprise of freedom. If they do there is no doubt — and those who would attack us will not be in doubt — that freedom and peace will prevail.

Bremen Speech

I am very happy to participate in today's ceremony. Radio Bremen is an outstanding example of community radio. For that reason it is gratifying for the American people to lend a helping hand so that Radio Bremen may strengthen and extend its public service.

Public service means contributing to the welfare of the local community. In press and radio it means informing the public, establishing a feeling of identity between the public and its government. It means full reporting of the facts, complete and unbiased news, not only about the community but about the world at large. It means keeping itself free from those persons and groups that would make of it a tool for evil.

A display of 180 examples of old primitive art at Frankfurt's US Information Center brings together Dr. Hermann Niggemeyer (left), of the Frobenius Institute, from which the exhibit was borrowed, and Paul G. Lutzeder, coordinator of US Information Centers, OLC Hesse. The primitives embracing Indian, native art of North and South America, African works, and Oceanic art were found stored in bunkers in the Frankfurt area. Shield is from Australia, backdrop from Bali.

(UNHICOG photo)