THE PEOPLE of the United States have a heavy stake in our policy in Germany, where over the past 10 years they have expended an enormous amount of human and material treasure. For that reason it is important that they should be constantly and fully informed of the state of their investment in Germany and of the progress of their policy.

As the United States High Commissioner in Germany I have come home after six months to make a report to the President and to the people. I have also come home to get the feeling of American public opinion. Tonight, in the short time at my disposal, I shall try to give you my best estimate of conditions and trends in a country which is a center point of most of the great world issues today.

In analyzing what is going on in Germany we must remember that current developments are only superficially the result of what has been happening in the last six months. They are the outgrowth of what has and has not been done in Germany since 1945. More important, they result from causes and conditions that are deep-rooted in the German character and in German and European history.

With this in mind consider for a moment what we have undertaken to accomplish since 1945 in Germany. It is not only to undo the 12-year rule of Hitler, a rule which probably represented the most profound indoctrination effort ever inflicted on a country. We have been and we are trying to encourage the Germans to do some things perhaps even more difficult. The removal, for example, of those instincts of the German people and their leaders toward authoritarianism and aggression which mark a much longer period of German history than Hitler’s 12 years.

NOW WHAT ARE the good and bad in the German picture — how much progress have we made toward our goal? I shall start with the darker side of the picture:

1. There is nationalism in Germany. There is a nationalist fringe on the extreme right which is more active than it has been. There is a communist fringe that plays the Soviet game and there is the persistent tendency of both these fringes to work together.

2. There are persons in important, though not top, governmental jobs who held similar positions under the Nazi regime. A number of undesirable persons have found their way back into leading positions in the business life of the country. In this connection I do not include thousands of former Nazis who were school teachers, mail carriers, tax officials, etc., under the Weimar Republic who became party members under Hitler and are now back at the old stand. These people have gone through a denazification process — which may well leave much to be desired — and they have been reinstated after paying their penalties or after having been acquitted.

The denazification process predated my assumption of office in Germany and I do not feel called upon to defend it. But I do feel that our denazification program was by far the most sweeping attempt made in Germany to deal with this difficult problem. I believe the time has come to permit these so-called little Nazis to demonstrate their loyalty to the new Germany and judge them on that basis rather than on their past weaknesses and misdeeds. They can not and should not be excluded forever from normal life in the community. Obviously this does not refer to major Nazi offenders who are still paying and should continue to pay for their unspeakable crimes.

3. Traditionalism still largely influences German thinking. There is a considerable resistance to reform, ranging from passive opposition in some cases to outright obstruction. There is, for example, in many quarters reluctance to adopt civil service reforms and resistance to major school reforms.

4. A majority of Germans are gripped by political and social inertia. Many Germans continue to divorce themselves from the interest and responsibility necessary to the functioning of democratic government. There is an exasperating willingness to leave responsibility and direction to others. German political leaders are prone to take advantage of this apathy.

SUCH ARE THE various nationalist and traditionalist forces and attitudes in Germany. I have deliberately placed the negative forces first in my account. I firmly believe, however, that positive forces are at work which are stronger than the negative. Here are my reasons:

1. In western Germany there is today a free-elected government and parliament. This government is new, it has much to learn — how could it be otherwise after the Hitler years? But, whether its trend is a little left of center or a little right of center, it is headed in a democratic direction.

2. This German parliament is made up in large part of representatives who resisted Hitler, men who were in concentration camps, men associated with the Weimar
Republic which Hitler liquidated, labor representatives and other liberal-minded citizens.

3. In the Laender, which correspond roughly to our states, the officials for the most part were originally selected by American Military Government for positions of authority because of their anti-Nazi and pro-democratic records. These leaders have since been confirmed in free elections by the German people.

4. Another cause for considerable satisfaction is the growing vigor of the German press. Though there are weaknesses in it, the press which we helped start after Hitler’s collapse has demonstrated an instinct to catch political abuses, to expose them and to help develop public opinion. It has demonstrated a growing sense of public responsibility.

5. The Laender parliaments have passed an impressive total of liberal and progressive pieces of legislation that show a strong and voluntary tendency to draw away from Hitlerian concepts. There are other factors. Despite their apathy, the German people prefer representative government as opposed to dictatorship of either the Nazi or Communist type. A vast majority of Germans are deeply opposed to militarism and war. The German people want no more military adventures. Moreover, in economic matters, the Germans indicate that they prefer a liberalized economy over a planned system.

THE GERMANS in general are receptive to plans for consolidating Europe and they are willing to give up elements of real sovereignty to achieve this end. Today the idea of western European consolidation represents to the average German, and particularly to the youth, the best hope for the future.

There are in Germany many individuals and many small groups of people who are working faithfully and intelligently to break authoritarian habits. They include editors and teachers, politicians and trade union leaders, students and youth leaders. They have the idealism and energy, the goal and the hope.

LET ME NOW strike a balance. There are evil and nationalist embers in Germany and embers are always dangerous. They are particularly dangerous when inflammatory material is nearby. Such material exists, if nowhere else, in the vast number of German refugees from the east, in the unemployed, and in the homeless youth. There have been nationalist incidents and there will be new incidents and situations that will be both deplorable and alarming. But no one could contend, as the Socialist Mayor Reuter put it to me the other day in Berlin, that all the evils of Hitler’s 12-year rule can be removed in five.

In other words there is danger, but if there were no danger in Germany we would not be there. Germany constitutes a danger within itself and an even more fearful danger if allied with, or subordinated to, the interests of the Soviet Union. And as I have said, the Communist and rightist extremists in Germany seem prepared to get together with the totalitarianism of the Soviet, should a good opportunity present itself.

In this connection let me state the following: There has been talk that we have given up power too soon and that we do not have the means to cope with a serious revival of German aggressive attitudes. I understand this apprehension. Naturally, we are not without information about extremist trends. Furthermore, we have ample powers to deal with any dangerous nationalist revival. Our powers are both positive and negative, positive in the specific authority to intervene if a serious threat to our objectives develops, and negative in our right to deny concessions from the existing status if liberal tendencies do not develop. If necessary, I would not hesitate to apply these remedies swiftly and firmly.

But I contend that some of the alarming incidents you may read about are not representative of present German conditions or of German attitudes as a whole. Every day there are many unreported evidences of courage, of determination, of the will to prevail over the past. In them there is great potential for good and I feel that these elements and forces will prevail, if they continue to have our encouragement and support.

IN CONCLUSION here is what I view as the things of chief importance in connection with our German policy:

It is our government’s policy to seek a unification of all occupation zones of Germany on a democratic and federal basis, and we shall assist all efforts of the Federal Republic of Germany toward that end. We will, likewise, do everything in our power to prevent a unification of Germany under Soviet or Communist domination.

We must continue to be alert and uncompromising on true security issues.

We must continue to insist on the equitable treatment of Hitler’s victims and their heirs.
We must help the Germans solve as rapidly as possible the critical social and economic problems of Germany — serious problems which the rise in production figures tends to conceal. We must encourage the establishment of a free economy. At the same time we must take measures to prohibit Germany from joining any international cartel.

We should maintain, as far as lies within our power, a unified policy with respect to Germany among the three occupying powers of the West — Britain, France and the United States.

We should bend every effort to encourage Germany to take, if need be, the first steps to bring about a true partnership of Western Europe and induce the other Western European powers to accept this principle for themselves and for Germany. I feel convinced that this concept of Western European unity and partnership is the desire and will of the common people of Europe and it should not be denied them.

We should continue to press and encourage the German government and people to adopt liberal, progressive measures throughout Germany, whether or not these measures are within our powers to dictate.

We must encourage and stimulate every effort to give the youth of Germany justified hope in the future. Here I think is our greatest challenge and hope. We Americans are peculiarly fitted to help the Germans toward the goal of democratization. It is my intention that of my staff in Germany to reinvigorate our whole program in this field. We shall use all our power and resources — and they are large — to help the schools and universities, the trade unions and churches, the press and radio, in other words all those institutions which are the bulwarks of freedom. Here we Americans in Germany are taking, as we should, the lead and in the year it is my hope that we shall make real progress in this.

I KNOW THERE will be setbacks, and you must be prepared for them. But I have tried to give you tonight the reasons why I have hope that the Germany of tomorrow will not be the Germany of yesterday.

We face a hard task in Germany. But if we remain firm and united against any backsliding, if we continue at the same time to encourage the best Germans, we have good reason for hope. Within Germany itself, I firmly believe, there exist spiritual resources from which can emerge a peaceful, democratic state, prepared to take its place as a true member of the western world.

Displaced Persons

 replacements, and language training is available to all who need or desire it. Artificial limbs are provided by IRO.

AFTER THE PATIENT'S physical condition is improved and his morale lifted, he is transferred to a regular vocational training course, where he is equipped to do the best job possible of providing for himself and his family.

At a small school in the buildings of an 18th century monastery at Weyarn, south of Munich, the IRO maintains a special center for blind or partially blind persons.

There are in the US Zone 59 totally blind persons who have 50 dependents. In addition, the IRO cares for 171 who are partially blind. At Weyarn they are taught to read and write in Braille and learn leather working, weaving and brushmaking.

Because the IRO will close its residence camps on or before the end of June 1950, and will withdraw the last of its personnel and services before April 1, 1951, special attention is being given to the problems of the displaced persons who are unwilling to return to their home lands because of fear of political, racial or religious persecution, and who have had no opportunity to resettle in new countries.

THE IRO POSITION is that a displaced person who remains in Germany should do so under the best possible conditions, according to J. Donald Kingsley, director general in Geneva. In a statement to the IRO general council last September, Mr. Kingsley stressed the desirability of obtaining assurances that the "German authorities will continue to provide a satisfactory status for both self-supporting DP/refugees and those who require to be maintained or assisted out of public funds."

"We feel that displaced persons remaining here should enjoy equal privileges with German citizens to seek employment, to enter business, to secure housing and, when they require it, to receive public assistance or institutional care," explained Phillip E. Ryan, chief of operations for IRO in the US Zone.

"The problem of the displaced persons is reserved to HICOG under terms of the Occupation Statute. It is our hope that through the cooperation and understanding of these officials, and officials of the German government, this principle will be recognized and those who must remain here may do so with the minimum difficulty to themselves and to the German people."

+ END

Dr. Ludwig Weickman, director of the German Zonal Meteorological Organization (US), is presented scroll by Col. Nicholas H. Chevassus, commanding officer of the 2105th Air Weather Group, in ceremony at USAFE headquarters at Wiesbaden. The scroll gratefully acknowledged the zonal organization's contribution in "volunteering both personnel and facilities which assisted in providing the exacting meteorological service for the Berlin Airlift."

(USAFE photo)
Death was right around the corner for little Frederick Staden, until a US Resident Officer in Frederick's Wuerttemberg-Baden home town came to his aid. At the age of one and a half, Frederick (at left) was suffering a rare disease which threatened his life unless bananas could be obtained in constant supply. Out of the Resident Officer's pocket, and as a result of a zone-wide appeal came enough funds to buy the needed bananas. The picture at right shows Frederich chubby and smiling happily six months later — completely recovered and with his weight increased eight pounds.

Resident Officer Saves Child

LITTLE FREDERICH STADEN, two-year-old German orphan, is alive and healthy today after being reprieved from death by the intervention of a US Resident Officer.

Frederich, suffering from "Coeliakie," a rare disease, was despaired of by doctors in the Ludwigsburg County Hospital, in Wuerttemberg-Baden, unless a sufficient quantity of bananas could be made available to cure his fatal ailment.

Thomas D. Griswold, US Resident Officer for Ludwigsburg, hearing of the youngster’s plight, began supplying the essential banana diet with fruit purchased out of his own pocket from the local PX. An appeal by Griswold to American personnel of the Office of the Land Commission, Wuerttemberg-Baden netted $164.85 within four hours, and brought the case to the attention of Stars and Stripes, the American Forces Network and Radio Stuttgart.

From then on donations rolled into Griswold for the little boy. Americans in Berlin, Frankfurt, Giessen and other cities sent contributions while Germans in the area came forward with Deutsche marks and varied offers of help. British personnel telephoned offers of assistance from their zone while a special package of bananas was rushed from the Saar.

As gifts and contributions mounted up, it became necessary to broadcast an appeal to stop the flow of money and bananas. Six months after Frederich entered the county hospital, desperately ill, he was discharged, completely restored to health.

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