Speeches of US High Commissioner Delivered in Stuttgart and Boston

Full text of the address of US High Commissioner McCoy at the opening of the US Information Center (Amerika Haus) in Stuttgart on Feb. 6, follows:

I AM GLAD to be here today to help open the new home of the Amerika Haus in Stuttgart. It is well to state at the outset what purpose such a house is intended to serve.

Simply put, this house is meant to provide a meeting place where men and women can find interests and information generally related, though by no means exclusively, to the thought and activities of the people of the United States.

The Amerika Haus is not a house of propaganda. It is a house for free men and free women to exchange views, to learn and to reach understanding. Above all, it is a house for the young. In the Amerika Haus you will find a reflection of a youthful people.

It has been frequently suggested that the culture of the United States leaves something to be desired in its relation to the cultural refinements of older Europe. I do not suggest that the American culture is inferior to that of Europe or that we do not have much to learn from the older cultures.

But I do hope that you will be able to discern from your visits to the Amerika Haus some of the vast energy and thought which the United States represents today. It is here that you may gain a conception of what a youthful nation can accomplish in the way of living peaceably with its neighbors under a constitutional system, a system which permits the fullest expansion of the economy, the science and the religion of the country, all without suppression of personal liberty.

Here, I hope you can find reflected in the books, periodicals and other media, the achievements of a people enjoying freedom of thought and expression, free speech and free press.

It is not all to be blindly admired and imitated. It is here to be judged and appraised for its true worth.

It would take more than this house to portray America or to understand it. The American university, for example, is not merely a workshop for scholar and research. It is a vast training ground for democratic thought. In American universities, hundreds of thousands of students from all walks of American life become acquainted with the vast history of world civilization. Not all of them become doctors, lawyers, teachers or civil servants. The great majority return to farms, industry and commerce. Here is a phenomenon to be observed and appraised, quite as much as American methods of scholarship and research.

But whatever may be learned from a visit to Amerika Haus, it is there to be utilized to the extent you wish. We hope you will make yourselves at home in it.

THE DEDICATION of this Haus in Stuttgart also gives me an opportunity to report to you on my recent trip to the United States. I want to tell you something of the impressions I received from the people and officials while there. I want also to restate, as simply as I can, certain fundamentals of American policy in Germany.

As you know, I returned to the United States to talk with the President, the members of the Congress particularly concerned with our foreign affairs and other public officials. Also, through radio talks and other means I spoke to a very large sector of the American people.

In the past two weeks, I not only answered questions put to me by the President and the Secretary of State, by members of Congress, by newspaper publishers, editors, correspondents and columnists, but also as a public servant, I stood before many hundreds of people in Washington, New York and Boston to give my appraisal of German developments and to answer their questions.

I came back here much aided and encouraged by these contacts.

May I, in a frank and friendly manner, recommend this healthy, if rather exacting, process to the people and officials of Germany. It would be good for all of us.

My deepest impression from my visit to the United States is of the intensity and extent of the interest in Germany. There are almost daily reports from Germany on the front pages of our newspapers. Our civic organizations devote a large amount of their time to German questions, and it is easy to understand the reasons for that interest. The people of the United States have expended an enormous amount of human and material treasure to defeat Hitler, to wipe out Nazism and restore decent living in Germany.

ALL GENERATIONS in the United States, as is true of many other countries, have been deeply affected by the former German aggressions. They are concerned over any signs of a resurgence of those forces which led to Nazi domination. They know that Germany is a critical factor in Europe and in the world today.

Among the almost infinite variety of questions I was asked, a few con-

Reference
Amerika Haus is the German term for US Information Center.
Land is the German term for a governmental area corresponding to a state in the United States. In the plural it is Laender.
"A scene at Canossa" refers to the incident in 1077 when the German king, Henry IV, stood barefooted three days and nights in the courtyard of the castle of Canossa in northern Italy to plead submission to Pope Gregory after his excommunication. The term has come to signify submitting to humiliation.
Text of the speech of Secretary of State Byrnes in Stuttgart in 1946 is printed under the title "We Want a Lasting Peace" in the Information Bulletin, Issue No. 59, Sept. 16, 1946.
stantly recurred. These are samples of the main line of questioning:

- What are the chances of a revival of Nazism?
- How important are nationalistic trends? Who is behind these movements?
- What are certain German officials trying to achieve with their recurrent nationalistic statements?
- How strong are the extreme Rightist movements, the extreme Left; what are the German people and authorities doing about them?
- How strong is the will to democracy, the will to peace in Germany?
- Are the Germans sincerely interested in joining the western European community of nations?
- Are significant groups and individuals working to make Germany a peaceful, democratic state?
- How long will it require before one can be certain of the emergence of a sound and peaceful state?

These were questions of deepest concern. But as persistent as these inquiries were, there were also such questions as: How can we help the German people recover? What can we do, as private citizens, as private organizations, to help the Germans meet the great problems before them?

In other words, along with deep concern over Germany, I repeat there was hope and a most amazing eagerness to help. Moreover, the number of people in the United States, many Germans and many Americans, who suffered or whose relatives suffered from Nazi barbarism, and who still are prepared to aid Germany, never fails to amaze me.

You know, I believe, how I answered these questions. I told the American people that I was concerned over the reemergence of nationalist groups; that there was in my judgment still too much traditionalism and authoritarianism in German life; that many undesirable former Nazis and nationalists were finding their way back into important places; that there was still resistance to reforms long overdue; that too many German people were apathetic or negative in their approach to their political responsibilities.

BUT I ALSO said that in my judgment the picture was positive rather than negative. I pointed out that there is today in Germany a freely elected government and parliament; that there are excellent men to be found in public life, sincere in their devotion to freedom; that there is an accumulation of progressive legislation in the Laender; that the German newspapers are showing an increasing alertness and tendency to give the people the facts.

I stated that it was my conviction that the great majority of the German people want peace and would deplore the remilitarization of Germany; that they have faith in the unity of western Europe; and that they see themselves as a responsible part of western Europe. I mentioned some of the very fine spirits, whom I had met in Germany during the time I have been here and who gave me great encouragement for the future of the country.

I did not minimize the dangers in Germany. I pointed out that the millions of refugees, the homeless youth, the unemployed, added to these dangers. I said that beneath their superficial differences the extremists on the Right in Germany, and the Communists on the Left are totalitarian allies and that they would not hesitate to exploit for their own benefit the distress of these groups.

Now I want to make a few more over-all points. One is that the people of the West are united in regard to Germany. There are differences of opinion and some differences of interest which appear from time to time, but fundamentally the guiding purpose of the officials and peoples of the other three Occupying Powers is the same. All are members of the Western World, all speak peace, all seek freedom. Moreover, the Western peoples are bound together by very vivid recollections of common sacrifices endured in many fields. In short, there is no likelihood of wide discrepancies and there is strong likelihood of sustained and collective support for each other and toward a peaceful Germany.

SECONDLY, MAY I say a word or two on the subject of collective guilt? This is a term over which much ink has been spilled, and I hesitate, knowing the propensity of politicians to harry the subject, even to mention it.

There is no need to tiot at windmills. No one, least of all the people of the United States, is charging all Germans with the responsibility for Hitler's crimes. Their enormity alone would preclude this. No one demands a beating of the breast or a scene at Canossa. But what I do expect is an end to the arguments of those Germans who would not only deny their own guilt, but also seek to place the responsibility for the consequences of that guilt exclusively upon the shortcomings of other peoples.

There has been recently a tendency of certain spokesmen in this country to jump all the way from a denial of collective guilt to an assertion that other peoples and countries are responsible for Germany's postwar difficulties and problems. In all seriousness I want you to know that such utterances do incalculable harm and set back the cause of Germany. They display a deep misunderstanding of the events of the past 17 years. They call to mind what people are now disposed to forget, that is, the amazing docility and acquiescence of the greater part of the German population toward Nazi outrages. After all, it was these outrages which brought about the distress from which Germany now suffers, and much more besides.

Humility leads to strength and not to weakness. It is the highest form of self-respect to admit mistakes and to make amends for them. In this critical time of German and world history the people and the leaders of Germany have a great opportunity to demonstrate that they have learned these lessons of the past. They can demonstrate their good will by attacking in a democratic manner, the deeply serious but not insurmountable domestic problems now facing them. Agitation of foreign issues, however tempting, cannot distract attention from vital domestic issues and from the pressing need for domestic reforms.

In the months ahead it is imperative that the German people, their leaders and parliaments, deal with the
problems of unemployment, of the refugees, of the youth. These are major problems. If they are attacked in a state-manlike manner, if German leaders will remember that everything they say reaches a world audience as well as a local one, the problems will be nearer solution. And Germany will find that the American people and their representatives in this country will help in their solution.

THE WESTERN NATIONS have already made unprecedented efforts to help. The high commissioners are prepared, in conjunction with the federal and Land governments, to study and seek means to aid in the solution of these problems. I am prepared to say, for myself at least, that unemployment, for example, is not exclusively a German problem because, if for no other reason, it is so greatly aggravated by the influx of the refugees from the terror to the East. In view of the fact that the United States has already done so much to help Germany, it is difficult to think of what more we can be reasonably asked to do. Nevertheless, given a full measure of German endeavor, we are certainly prepared to cooperate to the utmost.

Let me emphasize, however, and this I say particularly to the political leaders of Germany: we Americans are not here exclusively to feed the German people and promote economic recovery. Nor merely to see that tanks and planes are not built. Our main purpose is to help Germany achieve political recovery. By that I mean to help the German people establish a political democracy in which they can live as free men and enjoy the benefits of their freedom. That is my answer to those who occasionally say that we have no right to mix into the political problems confronting this country.

And now I think you are entitled to know certain lines of American policy today. Somewhat more than three years ago, the then Secretary of State, James F. Byrnes, sounded a note of encouragement in this city to the German people. In making the following statements, I want to add to that hope. Here, as I see it, are the leading principles of our policy in this country.

The German people should be enabled to develop their political independence along democratic lines in close association with the free people of western Europe. They should be integrated into a free Europe.

The German people should, when they and their governments have demonstrated their readiness and responsibility, share fully in free Europe's economic benefits and correspondingly assume its obligations.

The German people and government should take an increasingly active part themselves in the political and economic organization of Europe. Germany cannot be allowed to develop political conditions or a military status which would threaten other nations or the peace of the world. That means there will be no German army or air force. German security will be best protected by German participation in a closely-knit Western European community.

The German people, subject to the foregoing considerations, should have the widest freedom to shape their future. The controls exercised by the Occupation Authorities should be exercised so as not to hamper the full development of German political, economic and cultural life.

Full support and encouragement will be given to democratic forces in Germany. The powers reserved in the Occupation Statute are available and intended to prevent any resurgence of ultra-nationalistic or anti-democratic forces which would be a threat to the peace of Europe.

Full support will be given to the development of the Federal Republic of Germany. All constructive efforts to help toward the goal of the unification of Germany on a democratic and federal basis will be made. In spite of many obstacles we shall continue to seek a way to advance this unity.

The city of Berlin which has already found such a sympathetic response among the free people of the world will continue to receive the aid and support of the people of the United States. Its strength and spirit can give vigor and life to the new Germany and all measures to bring it closer to the people of the western republic will be encouraged.

It is American policy to foster fair trade practices through a program of decartelization and deconcentration of industry.

It is American policy that persons and organizations deprived of their property as a result of Nazi racial and political discrimination should either have their property returned to them or adequate compensation given; that persons who suffered personal damage or injury through Nazi persecution because of racial, religious or ideological reasons should be indemnified. Their wrongs can never be completely redressed but in all decency they must be faced and dealt with without evasion or subterfuge. A recovery built on a disregard of these obligations would be false and would constitute an omen of future disaster.

IN CONNECTION WITH these policies, I should like to emphasize the following: we have all been shocked by the recurrence of the Soviet efforts to depress the life of the people of Berlin by interruptions in and the slowing down of the normal traffic between the western zones and that city. It is quite clear that protests or expressions of indignation at the callousness of such action have no effect on those who employ these measures.

I am not going to threaten or to speak of what specific measures the commission may, in conjunction with the Federal Republic, apply to this situation if it continues. All I feel I should add is that the present harassment will no more succeed than did the former. Whatever the high commissioners and the western republic find it necessary to do to aid the city and to destroy the effect of these interferences will, I know, have the support of the people of the United States.

I would also like to say a few words about the Saar. Whatever the solution, it must not stand in the way of
the great concept of Germany’s participation in the organization of western Europe. A sensible, statesmanlike solution can readily be found and far too much is at stake to permit this issue to become again the starting point for internal political maneuvering leading only to embittered Franco-German misunderstanding.

Whatever our policies may be in whatever aid we may render, it cannot be too often repeated that only the German people hold the key to their own peaceful and prosperous future. They must, therefore, do some very straight thinking regarding their position in the world.

**GERMANS RIGHTLY** take pride in the world citizenship represented by men like Goethe and Beethoven. These men did not think in terms of Frankfurt, Bonn, Stuttgart, Hamburg or even Germany. They were men of the world. Today, after a disaster of such enormous dimensions as World War II, extraordinary opportunities exist in Germany for a reappraisal of values and a break with the traditions which hitherto have resulted in misery and disaster.

The future of Germany is not a local national question. It is an integral part of a great world problem. It requires maturity of thought and expression as well as stability of action. Germany can readily acquire a position in the world by giving the sign of a regenerated spirit, a spirit to which free peoples all over the world would quickly respond.

By such action Germany can acquire a world position which no amount of German political maneuvering between two great world powers could ever create. It is this world concept and world responsibility which the politician, the teacher, the pastor, the philosopher of new Germany, must present. It is the antithesis of the concept of world domination with which false leaders deluded the German people to the point of destruction and even disgrace.

One other admonition, if I may venture to state it. I say this with the earnestness derived from experiences in my own country. If the people of the United States, with their long tradition of democracy, must remain vigilant, certainly the German people, who have so recently emerged from one of the worst abuses of individual freedom in history, must be ever on the alert. It is essential that every German and not only a courageous few, should recognize his own responsibility in the protection of individual rights of the processes of justice. It is the price of all security, but most particularly of the security of the individual. It is so easy to let things drift, to ignore the danger signs until only heroes and martyrs dare oppose the accumulated force of oppression.

HERE I WISH to emphasize that one of the primary purposes of the occupation has been and is to eradicate Nazi influence and leadership from German political, economic and cultural life. That principle is written into the federal and Land constitutions. The federal and Land governments have the duty to take adequate measures to protect the German people against a revival of Nazism in any form.

We will work with and support the efforts of those who honestly and sincerely seek to accomplish that purpose. On the other hand, we shall not hesitate to use all our power and influence to expose and counteract any subversive influences which condone or encourage the revival of Nazism in German life. If the German people hope again to take their place in the community of free nations, they must demonstrate their will to insist upon an honest and vigorous enforcement of that policy.

In the life of each nation there are critical periods of decision. Today, five years after the war, such a period has arrived for Germany. If the German people take full advantage of it, they will find the road to unification, the unification of all Germany. They will receive the full support of the democratic peoples of the West.

**Boston Speech, Jan. 26**


I AM VERY HAPPY to be in Boston tonight and to be able to discuss our progress in Germany. Germany presents a vast problem, and a serious one. There are many facets to it. For that reason I shall not try to survey the entire situation. Instead, I shall take up a few questions that are uppermost in your minds, and then try to draw some over-all conclusions.

Before I take up those specific questions, however, I want to fill in the background. Without this background it is impossible to put day by day developments in their proper place.

We, the people of the United States, are in Germany to help the German people take a democratic road as they go forward towards political independence.

We are in Germany to help the German people find a close association with the peoples of western Europe.

We are in Germany to encourage the Germans and their leaders to eliminate authoritarianism from their government, from their social structure, from their daily lives.

We are in Germany to persuade the Germans to overcome the legacy left by 12 years of Hitler and the aggressive acts of earlier regimes, and we are there to see that Germany does not rearm.

We are seeking this objective at a time when, despite some striking economic advances in the western zone:

- Germany is a divided country, with 43,000,000 Germans on one side and 18,000,000 on the other side of the line that separates free from communist Europe;
- Scores of German cities still lie in heavy ruins;
- Nine million refugees from the east are in the western zone without adequate homes or hopeful prospects;
- More than 1,500,000 Germans between the ages of 14 and 35 are homeless, and
- More than 1,700,000 Germans in western Germany are unemployed.
Such is a part of the physical and psychological background against which we are trying to help the Germans remake Germany. It is not an altogether healthy atmosphere for new and liberal ideas.

NOW IN THE ATTEMPT to find out how far or near we are to our goal, I shall try to answer the following major questions:

How much nationalism is there in Germany and how dangerous is it?

Have we given up our control too soon?

How strong are the Nazis?

What is the outlook for the future in Germany?

I shall start with the question of nationalism. I use the word in its broadest sense. My answer is this: There is nationalism in Germany. Yet a majority of the German people are not nationalistic in an aggressive sense. Let me try to explain.

Politically, extreme nationalism now expresses itself in the extreme rightist parties. The number of votes these parties have in the Bundestag, the lower house of parliament, is small. This nationalist fringe has a counterpart on the far left in the Communist Party. The communists attempt at one and the same time to play the pro-Soviet as well as the nationalist game. There is a tendency of these two fringes to work together.

There are other objectionable attitudes in Germany which permeate the structure of German society. There is still too much authoritarianism in German thinking and behavior, but bear in mind this trait has been there for a long time and it takes some years and considerable democratic experience to moderate it. There is a resistance to reform, ranging from passive opposition to obstruction. There is resistance, for example, to civil service reform, resistance to school reform.

There is also political and social inertia. Many Germans lack the interest and responsibility which are necessary to the functioning of a democratic government. There is a deep tendency to leave responsibility to others. There is only a thin belief as yet that the government belongs to the people and not the people to the government, that civil servants are servants of the people and not their masters.

LONG WITH THIS inertia goes cynicism. Most Germans feel that their political parties are made up of selfish men, whose interests are personal and not public.

Here then is the ground from which either of the extremist parties might gain strength. Nevertheless, when we summarize the situation we find that at the present time—I emphasize the present time—the nationalist forces do not present a serious threat in western Germany. Their combined strength, as I have said, is small. They are not fully organized. They do not have an effective formula. They now, at least, lack political support. They do not have an outstanding leader. But in view of the serious economic problems in Germany—growing unemployment, influx of refugees from the east, inadequate housing—the potentialities of any extremist movement cannot be discounted.

This picture is not too bright. I have purposely painted it first in rather dark colors. I now want to tell you why, nevertheless, I think the positive side of the picture in Germany is brighter than the negative, and why I have hope for the creation of a democratic Germany. Before I do, however, I want you to keep the following in mind:

The nationalist forces you have recently been reading about were not born overnight. The only change is that now, with a constitution and parliament, and the freedoms that go with them, the nationalist forces are more vocal.

The Germans now have a public forum. It is better for us, better for the new-born German democratic system to have these nationalist elements express themselves and disclose their feelings. They are less dangerous above ground than below.

Moreover, we are not without our sources of information about these and other groups and we have important reserve powers in the event dangerous trends should develop: I would not hesitate to exercise those powers firmly and swiftly if the emergency should justify it.

I WANT TO MAKE that point clear before taking up the encouraging and positive factors that prevail in Germany.

1. Let us keep in mind that today in western Germany there is a freely-elected government and parliament. This government is new, and it has much to learn. It could not be otherwise after the insidious years of Hitler. But whether this government, in its political and social legislation, tends to the right or left or center, its direction is generally democratic. It needs experience, it needs stability. Occasionally it may need a warning but all in all it has the basis for democratic growth.

2. The 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 union representatives and other liberal-minded citizens. Dr. Adenauer, the head of the government, was removed from office by the Nazis. His wife died as a result of her experiences in a concentration camp. Kurt Schumacher, head of the powerful Social Democratic Party, spent seven years in a concentration camp. Werner Hilpert, one of the most prominent members of the Christian Socialist Party and deputy minister president of Hesse, spent seven years in Buchenwald. I could list many more.

3. In the Laender, which correspond roughly to our states, the officials, for the most part, are men originally selected by Military Government for positions of authority because of their anti-Nazi records. These leaders have since been confirmed in their offices in free elections.

4. The Laender parliaments have passed many liberal and progressive pieces of legislation. This legislation reflects a strong and voluntary tendency to draw away from Nazi concepts.

5. The German press is demonstrating growing vigor. It has weaknesses, and some newspapers play the nationalist game. But it is important to understand that the democratic press which we helped start in Germany
after the war is more than holding its own, in circulation and in advertising, against publishers of the Nazi period who have recently returned to business. The democratic press has demonstrated an instinct to catch political abuses, to expose them and to help develop public opinion. It is teaching the politicians of Germany that they are under the public spotlight.

6. There are many individuals in Germany and many small groups of people who are working faithfully and intelligently to break authoritarian habits. They include students and teachers, editors and politicians, social workers and trade-union leaders and they are extending their influence.

**THERE ARE OTHER** general trends of a positive nature. Despite their apathy the German people prefer representative government as opposed to dictatorship of the Nazi or Communist type. A majority of Germans are opposed, certainly for the present, to any form of militarism and war. The German people today have no desire for further military adventures.

And most encouraging is the fact that the Germans in general are interested in the European idea, in the attempts to consolidate Europe. They are willing to give up elements of real sovereignty to achieve this end. It may well be that this willingness to renounce sovereignty and to turn their backs on militarism is the result of their defeat. Whatever the cause, the willingness exists, and its existence can serve as the basis for constructive measures if they are taken in time. Today the idea of western European consolidation represents to many Germans, and particularly to the youth, one of the best hopes for the future.

Such are the positive factors. It is unfortunate that the positive work going on in Germany is frequently undramatic and often goes unreported.

I NOW TURN to the second question. Have we given up our controls too soon? I have already indicated, I think, the answer to that question. This was a decision deliberately taken by the Allied powers after careful consideration about one year ago. Though that decision was one with which I had nothing to do, I definitely believe it to have been a wise decision. I feel that it was right to give the Germans a chance to demonstrate their ability to govern themselves. Democracy is a gradual process; it has to be lived and breathed. It can never be imposed and it can never, without exercise, be developed.

And here it is important to point out that though we have given up many controls we still retain the ultimate controls. We have reserved, under the Occupation Statute, certain powers that enable us to take action when action is necessary. These reserve powers include such fields as disarmament, demilitarization, decartelization and foreign affairs. And in cases of grave emergency, we retain the power to resume the exercise of complete authority.

We have organized in conjunction with our French and British allies a Military Security Board. This board is charged with preventing the revival of military and paramilitary organizations. It also guards against German manufacture or import of arms and war materials. It guards against the emergence of scientific research directed to war-like industries. It insures, for example, that there will be no construction of airplanes in Germany. Last month (December) the Allied High Commission took a further step by issuing a decree forbidding all German military organizations, semi-military organizations and any organizations which require their members to be war veterans.

We have further sought to safeguard democratic interests by the institution of the International Authority of the Ruhr. Although this organization has not yet assumed its full status, it will play in the future an important role. Through this authority we want to make certain that the resources of the Ruhr will be developed not only to contribute to a stable German economy, but also that in the future they will not be used for purposes of aggression. I have made it clear that we still have power to act in Germany and I also hope I have made it clear why we do not act every time the jarring note of a nationalist voice is raised.

I TURN NOW to the third question — is Nazism re-surgent in Germany? My answer to that is that it is not — that Nazism as such no longer has an appeal to the German people. That does not mean that a considerable number of former Nazi Party members are not coming back into the general community life. It would be strange and unnatural if they were not. I should like to repeat here what I recently said on this problem.

There are persons in important, though not top governmental jobs, who held similar positions under the Nazi regime. A number of undesirable people have found their way back into leading positions in the business life of Germany. Then again there has been the general return of the follower type to their former jobs, the thousands of Germans who were school teachers, mail carriers, government clerks, tax officials under the Weimar Republic, who were forced to join the Nazi Party to hold their jobs or who climbed on the Nazi bandwagon, and who today are back in similar positions.

These people have gone through a denazification process which was generally completed before I took office. They have now been reinstated after paying their penalties or after being acquitted. This process may have left much to be desired.

I believe, however, that the time has come to permit these so-called little Nazis to demonstrate their loyalty to the new Germany and to judge them on that basis rather than on their past weaknesses and misdeeds. They cannot and should not be excluded forever from the normal life of the community. Obviously all this does not refer to the major Nazi offenders who are paying and should continue to pay for their unspeakable crimes.

NOW YOU WILL ASK me what is our program for the future. I shall try to state it briefly:

We must 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 idea and practice of free methods of trade in Germany. By this I do not mean that we desire to impose any specific economic system on the Germans. But a free economy in Germany is the key to the development of free social and political institutions. This means we must oppose all monopolies and cartels designed to strangle competition. At the same time we must take measures to prohibit Germany from joining any international cartels.

We should maintain, as far as lies within our power, a unification 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 governments 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 and 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 can be made the bulwarks of freedom. Here we Americans in Germany are taking, as we should, the lead, and in the year ahead it is my hope that we shall make real progress in this field.

AND NOW, LET me strike a balance. There will be new evidences of nationalism in Germany. There will be setbacks. As I have said before there are still some evil embers lying about in Germany and embers are always dangerous. They are particularly dangerous when inflammatory material is nearby. Such material exists, if nowhere else, in the growing number of unemployed in western Germany, in the millions of German refugees from the Soviet Zone and the lands beyond the OderNeisse line, in the homeless youth.

There is danger in Germany. But if there were no danger 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. But despite the dangers I find strong basis for hope.

I have given you some of my reasons for hope. These reasons do not justify counsel of despair. Nor does the record of the earlier German contribution to world culture and thought, nor does the record of our own citizens of German origin who have so widely given us the example of good citizenship. To succeed, however, we Americans must now redouble our efforts to solve the German problem. Those of us in Germany need your support. In particular, we need your support in the field of education and the spiritual development of the country. We need the help of all of you — private groups, colleges, universities, foundations, churches. Those who give us aid will have our fullest support.

FOR EXAMPLE, I wish you could see the people of the western sector of Berlin. They know totalitarianism and they have stood and are standing firmly against its threat. That stand and our own interest demand that we shall maintain our post in Berlin and aid that city. I know of no better place than Boston to tell the people of Berlin — we shall stand firmly with them against the attempts to overcome their freedom.

To the example of Berlin I should like to add the story of an individual. I think it will reveal why many of us working in Germany have faith in the future of the German people. It is the story of a girl, her inspiration and her work.

Back in 1943, when Hitler's ruthless control in Germany was uncontested, a small group of students at the University of Munich decided that they must take their stand against Hitlerism. They dared to spread anti-Hitler propaganda, they dared to persuade others. Among them were a brother and sister from Ulm, a city not far from Munich. The Gestapo caught these students, and the brother and sister were publicly hanged as a warning to the German people.

Those two martyrs left behind a sister. In the name of the dead so dear to her, the sister is now devoting her life to enlightening the German people. After the war, she started a night adult education school in Ulm. She had little or no money, there were no rooms available in that badly damaged city, there were no teachers. But the girl had an idea and she never gave up.

Today her school has 2,500 students between the ages of 17 and 70. It is a school dedicated to the democratic idea. By the power of her example and spirit she is able to find lecturers and teachers, who come for a pittance to instruct the students.

Last week this girl with a mission came to my house near Frankfurt. At the dinner table she told us about her plans to expand the school to a day institution, where students would be welcomed from the rest of Germany. I have not the power to describe her voice and her manner.

THERE ARE OTHERS equally inspiring and whose attachment to freedom and the democratic concept has been tested by persecution of a character I hope neither you nor I shall ever be called upon to endure. Though
these constitute only a pitifully few compared with the great majority of the German people there are enough of them still alive who, taken with similar courageous ones, now dead, constitute such a sufficiently large number as to give one faith that a new Germany can develop on the basis of their example and sacrifice.

We shall as long as we are in Germany see that these spirits are not ground down by any resurgent forces of nationalism or Nazism. Our task is to give the survivors and the youth of the country aid and encouragement. But in the last analysis the Germans themselves must make the choice. It cannot be imposed by force or propaganda if it is to be the right choice and if it is to be lasting.

I know that in future our task will be difficult. But, if we encourage the best Germans, if we stand firm as we will against any retreat into the past, I have real faith that Germany will become a peaceful member of the western world.

Grandparents Set Inspiring Example in Aid to Refugees

WHEN TWO AMERICAN grandparents went abroad last spring for a first-hand glimpse of postwar Europe, they were so deeply touched by the misery and suffering they saw in Bavaria's refugee camps that they decided to do something constructive to ease the plight of these homeless unhappines.

Since their return to America, Louis A. Weil, president and editor of the Port Huron (Mich.) Times Herald, and his wife, Blanche, faithfully kept their vow. Together they have devoted considerable time and effort to bringing some cheer and comfort to countless war victims.

In addition to their own generous contributions of dollars and gifts, Mr. and Mrs. Weil have rallied the support of many of their friends and readers of their newspaper behind the help-the-refugee drive they conceived. The result has been a steady stream of money and gifts of toys and sorely-needed garments.

Fees they received in recounting their European travel experiences and observations before various Michigan organizations and clubs were forwarded to the Office of the State Commissioner for Bavaria to be used in buying necessities for Bavaria's refugee camp children. And to top of their assistance, the couple published a book, appropriately entitled "Grandparents Go Abroad," and are donating all profits from the literary venture to further ease the refugee children's problems.

William R. Gosser, chief of the Public Welfare and Displaced Persons Branch, OLCB, said that the couple's generous efforts were invaluable in the recent Christmas toy fund drive conducted by Americans in Munich for refugee camp children.

"They have been an inspiration to us in our work among the refugees," Mr. Gosser declared. "Without the commendable aid of Mr. and Mrs. Weil and the many friends they induced to assist our toy drive, we would have found it difficult indeed to meet our pledge of at least one toy and an article of clothing for the 25,000 refugee children in Bavarian camps."

Mr. Gosser said money contributions from the couple alone have exceeded $800 to date. And the checks are still coming in.

"Mr. and Mrs. Weil more than did their share in our Christmas fund campaign," he added, "but they haven't stopped at that. They are continuing their tireless efforts because they are well aware the needy children's problems accumulate not only at Christmas time but, unfortunately, are year around."

The Michigan couple came to Europe in May 1949 in response to a personal invitation from Murray D. Van Wagoner, then director of OMG Bavaria, who was anxious that they see Germany. They accepted the invitation, and at their own expense made a thorough study of political, economic and social conditions.

During their four-week tour, they provided their friends with a vivid running account of the things they did and saw in a series of newsletters which were published in the Port Huron Times Herald and other Michigan newspapers.

17 Germans "Transplanted"

Seventeen "transplanted" Germans — West Germany's ERP representation in Washington, D.C. — have weathered the initial handicaps of a foreign land and are now "a well qualified team which is doing an excellent job in carrying out its important liaison functions."

"All of them speak good English and are generally well-adjusted to their new surroundings," according to Carl R. Mahder of the ECA Special Mission to Germany. "They have found out that although life is very different in the United States than Germany, the difference is not so great that they are handicapped in their work."

The 17 were selected and are paid by the German government. They now handle all requests for ECA aid from Germany, maintaining a liaison between the ERP Ministry in Bonn and ECA in Washington.

Mr. Mahder returned to Frankfurt from Washington in January after launching the German liaison crew on its work in the US capital.

Photos Taken at Mt. Palomar Shown

A series of lectures on astronomy, with a showing of the first pictures taken with the new high powered telescope at Mt. Palomar in California, were held in US information centers of the US occupied area in February.

With his lectures, Dr. Werner Sandner of the Munich observatory, showed photographs to illustrate the newest achievements of the American super telescope. He also discussed observatories in the United States.