American Policy in Germany

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I KNOW OF NO better introduction to any discussion involving children, especially an address to those entrusted with the responsibility of their education, than the unforgettable and inspiring thought of Wordsworth:

Than that a child, more than all other gifts,
That earth can offer to declining man
Brings hope with it, and forward looking thoughts.

Particularly do I feel honored by being entrusted with the responsibility of outlining to you this afternoon American policy in Germany and your relationship to it. Before we discuss your relationship to this American policy in Germany, obviously you may want to know just what are the components of that policy. Just so as to be certain I do not misstate them, permit me to read to you what I, at least, conceive to be American policy in Germany:

First, enabling the German people to develop their political independence along democratic lines, in close association with the free people of Western Europe.

Second, support and encouragement of the democratic elements in Germany. However, the powers reserved in the Occupation Statute are intended to prevent the development of a military potential or a resurgence of ultranationalist or anti-democratic forces which would be a threat to the peace of Europe.

Third, gradual withdrawal of controls exercised by Occupation Authorities so as not to hamper the full development of German political, economic and cultural life; and, simultaneously, the encouragement of the German people to exercise the widest latitude of freedom to shape their own future.

Fourth, assisting the German people in sharing the economic benefits of free Europe and, correspondingly, assuming their obligations toward the reconstruction of Europe, because, let me remind you — with privileges go responsibilities. When one is accorded benefits, one must assume obligations toward helping the source from which those benefits flow.

Fifth, the making of every effort toward the achievement of the goal of a unified Germany on a democratic and federal basis.

Sixth, the fostering of fair-trade practices through a program of decartelization and deconcentration of industry.

Seventh, active steps to prevent Germany from falling prey to a new Soviet imperialism.

THESE PRINCIPLES of American policy will be primarily implemented not through force but by means of education and precept. One cannot overemphasize that education and precept are an important factor in the implementation of American policy. Need I, therefore, remind you or point up to you the important role that you play as the teachers of our children in the implementation of this policy.

Although you, the teachers and administrators employed in Dependents' Schools in the US Zone, number only 450, you play a vital role in the occupation, far beyond what your proportion of the Occupation Forces would indicate. As the teachers and mentors of the children ranging from six to 16 of the American Forces in Germany, you shoulder a heavy responsibility. you are required to teach these boys and girls the American way of life under unusually difficult circumstances.

All of us, by the force of our example, can perform a vital task in demonstrating to our German neighbors the meaning of true democracy. This applies especially to our children, whose relations with their teachers and with their parents are under close scrutiny by their German neighbors, young and old.

Without meaning to betray any state secret, let me tell you that my closest adviser or at least the one in whose observations I place the greatest faith with respect to the degree of success with which our occupation is achieving its objectives is my German chauffeur, because I find that I get information from him on a "homey" basis, without guile. Once he said to me, "You know, the basic difference between you Ameri-
cans and we Germans (and my ears perked up) is in the family relationship." I thought that was a rather profound observation.

He said, "I was one of several children. Before driving for you I drove for the American Consul General. He had several children. The difference between the authoritarianism of the father in the family life in which I grew up and the spirit of mutual understanding and camaraderie in the family life as I saw it in the home of this Consul General constitutes the basic difference between the American way of life and the German which permits of the Fuehrer system." I think that is an observation which you in your experience with Germans may likewise find valid and profound.

Mr. McCloy, in his Washington address on January 23, 1950, said:

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 are the bulwarks of freedom.

However, all these efforts must be exercised within the framework of an understanding of the German scene. Such understanding, I submit, can only be achieved by an intermingling of peoples and discussion of their ideas and ideals in an atmosphere of freedom, unshackled by physical or mental barriers. You as educators know far better than I that most noticeable to children are barriers of the physical type. Segregation is an anathema wherever it is practiced. In this sense, I submit the time has come — or in fact has long since passed — when we should no longer see signs in front of our Dependents' Schools' playgrounds — and elsewhere — to the effect "Eintritt verboten fuer Deutsche Kinder" (Entry by German children forbidden).

"Stone walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage," but the poet Lovelace was not alluding to children at play. It is difficult, if not impossible, to set an example for democracy or to reorient people's thinking within the framework of such barriers of exclusion.

Let me point out to you, in alluding to democracy, that another nation is trying to create a Germany in its own image. The Soviet Union would call that democracy too. Their democracy, in our eyes, is an abomination of the term.

However, I want equally to point out, "Democratize" does not necessarily mean "Americanize," even though the reverse is true. It is for the Germans themselves to determine what form and substance democracy is to take in their country. So long as the wrongs and abuses of Nazism and super-nationalism are avoided, we can well leave the ultimate creation of democracy to them.

After all, there are various types of democracy and it has many facets. Let me cite you an example. At the time of the balloting on the question of whether the capital of the Federal Republic should be in Bonn or in Frankfurt, the elected representatives of the German people resorted to the use of the secret ballot. To our American way of thinking, that was disquieting. We raised the point in the High Commission, and amazingly enough our French and British colleagues, who I think you will agree, are equally as democratic as we, were astounded that we took any umbrage at the use of the secret ballot. They contended that the very essence of democracy is to permit a secret vote. They pointed out that if a dictator wants to enforce his will he can best do it by noting and having it noted how each representative votes.
There is something to that point. There is even a great
difference of opinion among great students of political
science as to what is the role of an elected representa-
tive. Without digressing unduly from our present dis-
cussion, I might indicate that Edmund Burke, in his famous
address to the Electors of Bristol, enunciated some very
decided views on what the role of an elected representa-
tive should be and his responsibilities to his constituents.
Equally, George Washington had considerable cor-
respondence with his cousin Bushrod Washington, on this
same subject. For a time we had secret balloting in our
own Congress. My point is that one cannot necessarily
impress, as such, the American concept of democracy,
say that it preempts the field and all other types fall
short.

Obviously, we Americans cannot reorient, we can-
not recast the attitudes and thinking of the German
people. We can, I reiterate, achieve much by example,
by advice, by assistance. Above all, we can help those
Germans of liberal mind and public spirit — and there
are many such Germans — in their efforts to reach our
common goal and to guide others of their countrymen
along pathways leading to that goal.

The Bible says that "He who saves one life may be
considered to have saved the world." We are reorienting
some lives, and thus may be reorienting the world.

Now as to our economic and financial means toward
accomplishing our major objectives; they are:

First, the establishment of a viable German economy.
This will serve the concomitant purpose of permitting a
reduction of US aid to Germany. This is of great interest
to all of us as taxpayers. Your question naturally may
arise — how is Germany progressing economically?
Without meaning to state too many statistics, let me just
hastily review the situation for you:

Production is exceeding the projected figures and even
ECA prognostications of recovery: at present Germany is
producing at about 98 percent of the 1936 level; however,
lest you be too encouraged by that, I must add that other

European countries are producing at about 150 percent
of the 1936 level.

Foreign trade is not as satisfactory. Even though ex-
ports are at the rate of about $100,000,000 per month,
they are only about 40 percent of 1936. I apologize for
citing either of those figures, because you will appreciate
how difficult it is to make an accurate comparison be-
tween the truncated Germany of today and the united
Germany of 1936, but this is about as close an approxi-
amation as we have been able to achieve.

Berlin is an exception to this general, satisfactory
improvement. There are trade difficulties in Berlin,
where budgetary and other subsidies are still required.
The very mention of Berlin brings into sharp focus the
Russian situation. Personally, I do not think there is much
danger of Germany going communist, because I believe
that exposure to communism is probably the greatest
antidote against it; and certainly, in Berlin, they are the
closest exposed to it.

Likewise, I think, when the annals of history are writ-
en, it may well be demonstrated that the success of the
aerial marked the point in Europe at which Russian ag-
gression was contained.

You may ask what are the ECA objectives?
First, the promotion of free trade and free enterprise.
Second, the removal of controls within Germany.
Third, elimination of cartels and discriminatory trade
practices.

Here again, if I may digress, cartelization is a sort of
generic term. Examine our concept of cartels, then the
British and French concepts of cartels. You will find that
the term is not synonymous in our three minds. So there
has to be a good deal of compromise on what decarteliza-
tion really entails.

Another important facet of the ECA program is to
foster cooperation with the other participating countries.
Another part of the implementation of our policy here
in Germany rests on security measures to prevent her
from again becoming a military menace. First, there is the
Military Security Board, which is on a tripartite basis.
Demilitarization is entirely completed. There are no
"armed forces" of Germany today. The responsibility
for the protection of Germany lies with the Occupying
Powers.

Third, there was the dismantling of the war plants,
either destroyed or shipped per reparations. That whole
question was settled once and for all, I trust, by the
Petersberg Protocol of November 1949. Dismantling is
practically completed.

Fourth, there are the Prohibited and Limited Industries,
like aircraft and munitions, which are completely pro-
hibited and others, like the steel and the chemical in-
dustries, which are limited.

Fifth, there is the International Authority of the Ruhr.

What is the German reaction to the American
and, in fact, the entire Allied program? Generally,
I think, the German people accept and support all parts
of it, except that I do not think we are winning any

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