The Paramount Issue before the world today is the preservation of peace with freedom. This is a crucial period. We are faced again, a few years after the close of the most destructive war in history, with the menace of a powerful police state. We have seen one country after another, neighbors of this state, absorbed by means of a widespread secret police system into a dull, single party community where divergence is the arch crime. Fortunately, at the other side of the world there is another state, a free state, prepared to resist the encroachments and the doctrine of totalitarianism.

Between these two well-defined forces are the British Isles and Europe. In this area lie many nations which have been important sources of the technical development, the culture and the political liberty of our civilization. Yesterday these nations were torn by wars and bitterness. Today they are coming together to defend their common freedom. Defense, and not aggression, is the sole purpose of their united action. These free nations will never undertake a military adventure. They are uniting solely to preserve the peace.

Before long the free nations of Europe will have developed a strong political, economic and military defense system. Until maximum defense power is achieved, however, Europe will be compelled to look across the Atlantic for additional aid and support. In the final analysis, therefore, the relationship between the American continent and Europe will determine the grave issue of peace and freedom.

It is in regard to the relationship between these two great areas that I wish to say a few words with particular emphasis upon the attitude of the United States toward Germany.

I will not dwell upon the revolutionary aspect of American policy which has resulted in many commitments in Europe — commitments that would have been utterly inconceivable only a few years ago. I think it is well to examine, however, the motivation for these commitments and for the further proposals, particularly regarding Germany, which are now current.

After the war it became apparent that though the total resources of the European nations were tremendous and their total potentialities very great, no single country was able alone to protect its own boundaries against possible aggression. Moreover, individual national economies had been so jarred by the shocks of war that help had to be forthcoming from abroad if fatal ills were to be avoided.

At the same time the enormous military power of Soviet Russia remained mobilized. In the shadow of this threat came the coup d'état in Czechoslovakia, the suppression of Poland, of Hungary, and of other nations. These events created a paralyzing sense of fear of the strength and intentions of the monolithic Soviet system.

Action in the free world was imperative. The United States put forward the Marshall Plan — one of the great concepts of modern times — in order to give the nations of Europe a chance to collect their political, economic and financial forces. The Marshall Plan was designed to provide to these nations the missing margin between their own economic capacities and resources and their minimum needs. All European countries were invited to participate in the plan. Certain of the satellites deeply desired to join, but their participation was forbidden by the Soviet rulers.

The Marshall Plan gave the nations of Europe a start. They themselves organized the OEEC (Organization for European Economic Cooperation). A strong advance was thereby made on the road to European economic unity.

In addition to economic unity the need was great for an integration of the defense forces of the West. The United States joined in creating the defensive alliance of the Atlantic Community, known as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. During this period many Europeans who believed integration was necessary if Europe were to survive carried on their efforts under the symbol of Strasbourg.

In June 1950, the Communists attacked in Korea. Here was bauld proof that the Communists were prepared to use their military strength to grab off further territory. Europe shuddered anew. The problem of defense of the free peoples became immediate and urgent. Again there was evidence of the pressing need for a great cooperative endeavor for the sake of preserving freedom. The problem of how to achieve a European community was no longer an exercise in Utopianism; it became a practical and concrete task to assure that freedom would survive.

The European community is not yet fully achieved. Nationalistic urges and cynicism are large barriers in its way. But we should not underestimate the great progress that has been made. France has given support to far-reaching proposals for European strength in the form of the Schuman Plan on the economic side and of the European Defense Force on the military side. If the great coal and steel resources of Europe are unified, the continent will have a firm industrial base. If common defense is added, Europe will become a strong community.

The United Kingdom, traditionally reluctant about any continental grouping, has now recognized the need for a European community. The United States is wholehearted-
ly behind the concept of a united, free Europe. It has not only declared its support of the Atlantic and European community but it has also stationed forces within the European area and provided a large part of the means by which a through-going defense system can be erected.

All in all things are moving in the right direction, even if slower than we would wish. And with each step forward in the direction of a strong European community, there is a growing sense of security in the free world.

I WOULD LIKE NOW to talk about Germany's role and the policy of the United States regarding Germany.

It is against this background of developing European and Atlantic integration that the future status and role of Germany must be viewed. For Germany the threat of Communist aggression is not merely a theoretical consideration. Already Communist dictatorship is encamped upon German soil. Under the protection of Soviet arms an alien economic and political system has been forced upon 18,000,000 Germans in the Soviet Zone.

In the West, under the leadership of men they have freely chosen to represent them and in cooperation with the Western Allies, the German people have progressively constructed a system of democratic government. They have given the world an amazing exhibition of physical and political rehabilitation. The Federal Republic has developed a government with leaders of wide vision and a parliament capable of serious consideration of serious issues. The criticisms cast at the Allied Powers by political leaders in and out of parliaments are evidences of the independence of the government — even though at times, if I may say so, the practice is a bit overdone.

The time has now come for the Federal Republic to achieve equal status with the other free nations of Europe. With the exception of certain rights which we must maintain in connection with our troops in Germany and with the exposed position of the Federal Republic and of Berlin vis-a-vis Soviet Russia, we are prepared to relinquish remaining occupational controls.

An essential factor in the new arrangements is the proposal to include the Federal Republic in the defense system of the European community. It would be of little service to the German people if they were set adrift without power to help defend themselves against the threat from the East. Consequently we propose, in connection with the liquidation of the occupation status of the Federal Republic, a defense contribution on a basis of equal partnership within the European Defense Force.

The arrival of the S.S. America at Bremerhaven Nov. 3, marking the inauguration of postwar first-class passenger service to Germany by the United States Lines, was described by Mr. McCloy in the introductory remarks to his major policy address at the dinner meeting that evening of the Bremerhaven Chapter of the National Defense Transportation Association, as "a striking symbol of the restoration of normal peacetime relations between the United States and Germany — a relationship which we are seeking to solidify in our current negotiations with the leaders of the new German state in Bonn."

"The S.S. America is a commercial vessel, built to carry people on peaceful missions throughout the world," the US High Commissioner continued. "In that role we greeted her entrance into this harbor today. The America, however, was once a troop ship. This thought reminds us that it is our task to insure that she keeps her present character — and that her reconversion becomes forever unnecessary.

"To do this will require a world community dedicated to the peaceful exchange of ideas as well as of people and goods. And just as this ship requires an international community in which to prosper, so the future of this port depends upon a world in which the seas are broad highways of commerce rather than areas of conflict. War may bring temporary activity to the ports of the world, but in the end port cities usually suffer more than others, as the people of Bremerhaven and Bremen have learned so tragically. "Whether or not we shall have a peaceful world will depend upon the solution of many grave problems which now plague us in our international relations. Even more fundamentally it will depend upon the number of individual men and women who can see beyond their own borders and beyond their own personal interests in choosing their governments.

"To the people of Bremerhaven and Bremen — I except the misguided minority which would apparently once more set Germany upon a totally ruinous course — an international outlook should be as natural as breathing for it is vital to their life. Their life interest makes them Internationalists, and the people of this community have instinctively chosen for high office a man with the broad outlook of Senate President Wilhelm Kaisen. I wish there were more like him."

The major portion of Mr. McCloy's policy address is printed in the article on these pages. The photograph, made by Claude Jacoby of the Public Relations Division, HICO, shows the S.S. America, tied up at its dock in Bremerhaven, being admired by German customs officials. +END
IT IS APPARENT that a German contribution to the defense of Germany's own freedoms would help protect the freedom of Europe and more remotely the freedoms of the United States. This fact is not a reflection upon the value of the proposal or upon the motives of those who make it. The German people and others would make a serious mistake if they failed to appreciate the idealism which enters into much of United States policy in regard to Germany and to Europe.

Whether or not Germany accepts the plans for a European Defense Force, it is obvious, I hope, that we intend to defend our own freedoms. The measures we now contemplate are not based on the desire for a few German divisions lined up with the West rather than with the East. The aim of United States policy in this country, an aim shared, I know, by Britain and France, is to help Germany to provide itself with a protective shield to assure its continued democratic development. The Federal Republic is not in a position to forge this shield by itself.

The United States welcomes the full association of Germany with the Western European countries. Among the deeper reasons for our support is the belief that such association will help the development of a democratic Germany and that this association will be a guarantee for peace.

In connection with the first point it is apparent that despite strong democratic developments in the past six years there are certain disquieting signs in Germany. The small neo-Fascist groups that have emerged are evidence that some Germans still subscribe to the barbaric principles of National Socialism. Here and there posts are held by former Nazis who were not merely followers but beneficiaries of the Nazi system. Some former officers are talking in the spirit of obsolete militarism. Certain officials and party leaders are trying to gain support by cheap attacks on the Allies. In some universities and schools and in other institutions old influences are being brought to bear to suppress new and progressive ideas.

IN SPITE OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS the time has come for the German people to assume the responsibility for their own future. The German people alone are in a position to generate a truly democratic spirit in this country. Nobody can do that for them. It is our belief, however, that democratic institutions in Germany will be nurtured by German integration in the European community.

One of the real benefits to be derived from the European community would be the association with constitutional and democratic governments, with long-established democratic institutions and traditions. Such association, and the countless individual contacts that such association would bring with it, would undoubtedly strengthen the democratic processes within Germany itself.

Association with the European community would also, as I have said, be a guarantee for peace. It would destroy the misgivings of many Germans and of others who understandably fear that German rearmament may take a false direction. It is fantastic to suppose that the European De-

fense Community would permit, or that the other NATO countries would support, any aggressive venture.

It is significant to observe that both the Communists and the neo-Nazis oppose the European Defense Force and Western integration. The former oppose it because it places a roadblock against further Communist aggression in Europe; the latter because it does not permit of irresponsible military adventure. I submit those are two good reasons for its adoption rather than its rejection—particularly from the point of view of the German citizen who desires to live in freedom and in peace.

LET ME NOW SUMMARIZE, as I see them, the main points of United States policy regarding Germany.

1. The United States believes that Germany is entitled to the opportunity to govern itself in freedom. Therefore, the occupation status should now be terminated and the Allied troops in Germany be regarded as defense troops.

2. The United States believes that in the present world situation Germany cannot be set adrift without protection against aggression. It is therefore necessary for the Western Powers to help defend Germany and for the Germans to contribute to their own defense.

3. The United States, which is already a strong supporter of the Atlantic community, believes that the best way of achieving security for Germany will be through the European Defense Force built into the defense system of the Atlantic community.

4. The United States believes that in going forward with European integration we must use every means to achieve the unification of Germany on the basis of genuinely free elections.

GERMANS IN THE SOVIET ZONE must be permitted to join their countrymen in the Federal Republic in electing representatives of their own choosing to develop an all-German constitution and government. This will not be easy to accomplish in the face of Communist resistance to genuine elections. But I believe that the integration of the Federal Republic into the Western community as a full partner will hasten the day of German reunification, for behind the justifiable desire of the German people for unification will stand the unity of purpose and peaceful determination of the entire free world.

Already this purpose and determination have forced Soviet Zone authorities to talk about all-German elections after refusing for more than a year to answer Western proposals to this end. But deeds rather than words are needed. We will not relent in our purpose to bring about Germany unity in freedom.

I said that I thought this was a crucial period. I profoundly believe it. The time has come when we must move away from the cynicisms and suspicions which pervade so much of the thinking of this tortured continent and move toward positive accomplishment.

A narrow approach to our problems can only lead to disaster. What we now need is an act of faith on all sides. If we continue to move forward, we shall soon be living in a solid European and Atlantic community in which peace and freedom will be assured. 

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