Germany's Future

Address

By JOHN J. McCLOY
US High Commissioner for Germany

I AM DEEPLY MOVED by the honor you show me in inviting me to speak before the state legislature of Wuerttemberg-Baden. Naturally, I realize that I receive this honor by reason of my being the chief representative of the government of the United States in Germany. Nevertheless, I am most happy that I should be the personal recipient of it. Your invitation is an act of courtesy and of friendship which I warmly appreciate.

The city of Stuttgart has always been particularly close to Americans in the postwar period because it was from this community that some of the most significant German-American efforts to help rebuild this country politically and economically were initiated. I associate your Minister-President Maier* with the names of Colonel Dawson, General Clay, Professor Pollock, Mr. Sewall, Mr. LaFolette, General Gross** and many other Germans and Americans here who together created one of the main piers of the new German state.

I have visited this beautiful state of Wuerttemberg-Baden several times, and each time I am impressed by the signs of reconstruction that are evident everywhere. I do not mean only the new buildings going up but also the way people look and the way they are dressed. There is a forward-looking spirit here. And I think if you could see yourselves as outsiders see you, you would realize that this community is a stimulating example of one of the greatest achievements in reconstruction that has taken place anywhere in the postwar world.

IT IS ALSO WORTHY of note that the energy and cooperativeness of the people of Wuerttemberg-Baden have not been limited to the solution of their own internal problems. I need only mention the fine response to the appeal for voluntary aid for the victims of the Italian flood disaster, the help extended by women's groups in this state to less fortunate Germans in the Soviet Zone — and an act which strikes a particularly warm response with my compatriots — the Christmas invitations extended by so many German families to the American soldiers who find themselves stationed among you.

May I also express my pleasure at the recent settlement of the restitution problem with the JRSO*. This was a matter close to our hearts, and it is hoped that the fine spirit which motivated your action will carry this program to a successful conclusion.

In casting about for ideas to discuss with you today, I came to the conclusion that it was easier to decide what I should not say to you than what I should say. I promptly concluded I would not talk about the Southwest State** or the liquidation of the Occupation Statute, Potsdam, Yalta, the Oder-Neisse line, or even Frederick the Great and Barbarossa. I hope I have enlightened opinions on all these subjects, but, with your permission, I will not deliver them today.

What I do want to talk with you about is the deep significance of the development of a European community and the future of Germany within that community. To my mind nothing is so vital as this. I have the conviction that once this development takes place, most of the issues that agitate us today will solve themselves, for they will then certainly fall into perspectives which will permit their more rational solution.

The decisions that the parliamentarians and governments of the Federal Republic and the other free European states are now being called upon to make are profoundly important. I dislike cliches, but I earnestly believe that the decisions to be made in the next six months will be crucial for the future of Europe and for the future relations of my country to Europe.

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** New German state being formed by merger of current states of Wuerttemberg-Baden, Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern and South Baden.

At the invitation of the state government of Wuerttemberg-Baden, High Commissioner John J. McCloy and Mrs. McCloy paid an official visit to Stuttgart, the state capital, on Dec. 17. After a formal introduction to state officials and other German leaders, Mr. McCloy delivered the accompanying address at a plenary meeting of the state legislature, marking the first time the US High Commissioner officially addressed a German parliament. Mr. McCloy spoke in German.
FOUR BASIC REASONS why the European community must be established present themselves:

1. It is the only reasonable prospect for European peace.
2. It is the only reasonable prospect for lasting European freedom.
3. It is the only way by which the people of Europe can achieve and maintain a substantially higher standard of living.
4. It is the way to assure the continuing interest of the United States.

Within Europe the old nationalisms have produced war every other generation and sometimes every generation for hundreds of years. Common interests have been subordinated to narrow national interests. Alliances have been formed and broken with such regularity that European statesmen have, until the present, taken it for granted that their policy must accept the concept of recurrent wars.

With the elimination of such nationalism, these intra-European issues would fall into their proper perspective, and outside Europe countries which have heretofore been drawn into European struggles would gain some hope of avoiding further need for intervention. Moreover, with the organization of Europe there would be an offset of the monolithic-totalitarian pressure from the East and the temptation of easy conquest would be eliminated.

It is nonsense to say that the United States seeks war or seeks to integrate Europe in order to make this continent a cat's-paw of American policy. We are pressing for European unification solely so that Europe, and thus the United States, can avoid war; so that Europe can live in freedom and dignity. Our whole policy is the policy of defense to maintain the peace. It is the antithesis of a design for war.

LET US FACE THE FACTS of the present situation — facts that have been presented in stark outline to American officials periodically by European statesmen, political and party leaders during the past six years.

No single European nation is strong enough to stand alone against the threat of totalitarianism posed by the Kremlin. No single European nation is strong enough to withstand the social and economic pressures within its own boundaries. Not one is in a position to maintain its own strength a developing standard of living for its people. Not one is able to meet its own financial needs for defense purposes; not one is able to defend itself alone.

Something, you will agree, is basically wrong. Yet in Europe there exist immense economic and spiritual resources, noble talents and fine skills. They are fully adequate to any purpose. Within a large, unified community these resources, talents and skills — these spiritual qualities — would have room to prosper. Within this community there would be room for local differences, various cultures, many interests. Within this community there would be the wide horizon, the large markets, the great opportunities for youth. In other words — in this European community there would be hope.

The great Europeans have stressed this concept and need for centuries. In this country Goethe, who knew neither boundaries nor local patriotism, recognized it; Schiller embraced the millions; Beethoven was a spirit who soared above the nations. Your own greatest statesmen accept and support it, as do millions of Germans. Today the opportunity presents itself as never before in European history. And at no time in German history was the time more propitious for constructive political action in this field.

THE GERMAN PEOPLE can play a leading role. Their geographic position, their need for support and friends from among other nations, their need for outlets for their young people, for their products, all point to the urgency of the problem from the German point of view.

The division of this country provides an additional impetus, for the only way in which German unification can be achieved on the basis of freedom and democracy is German partnership with the free Western nations. No division through the middle of Germany can persist in the face of the strength and moral pressure such an integration would present.

The time for decision approaches. The Federal Parliament, the leaders of all parties, the people of this country will soon have to throw their weight for or against the first definite steps to be taken toward European integration, of which the Schuman Plan and the European army are only the first.

The German people would, I feel, fail to live up to their own best tradition if they did not take affirmative action on these great undertakings. The great contributions made by Germans to our common civilization have been positive acts of faith. German science and industry, German music, philosophy and poetry were not the creations of men who were narrow, provincial, always negative, always saying "No." They were the achievements of men who had a world outlook, men who knew the ways of life. And this generation of Germans now emerging from the most destructive, and in many respects the most provincial chapter in German history, should be the first to become good Europeans.

I STRONGLY SUGGEST that the significant steps must be taken in the next six months. If they are not, the totalitarian pressures to which each individual nation is exposed will increase. Moreover, the continued interest and support of the people of the United States cannot be taken for granted if a reorganization of this economic and political system, which has required so much sacrifice and treasures on the part of the outside world, does not take place.

It should also be remembered that a political year of great decisions, such as the presidential election, is coming up in the United States and that these decisions will not remain unaffected by the positive or negative attitude which the European peoples and leaders are showing.
The deep conviction we have that Germany should become integrated in the European community is based on our confidence that Germany can develop into a firmly democratic state and that its cultural and economic institutions will have a better chance to flourish inside the wide European community than within the confines of a single country.

I am frequently asked by Germans and Americans alike to evaluate the prospects of the German Federal Republic as a strong democratic state. My reply is that only 10 years from now we will have an adequate answer to such questions. Nevertheless, I believe that strong roots are being planted, that democratic institutions are growing and that there are valid reasons for belief and hope that should attacks be made on the democratic order in Germany, they will be withstood. But I would be quite certain of my views if Germany were a partner in a Western community of nations where German political development as well as that of the others would be assured of continued contact and nourishment from the democratic instincts of the entire community.

INCIDENTALLY, MAY I SAY a word about the appearance of what is sometimes referred to as neo-Nazism. I suppose, as the chancellor (Dr. Konrad Adenauer) has indicated, we are bound to be plagued from time to time with such expressions, but every German should realize that they are, if not promptly repudiated, most damaging to the cause of friendship for Germany in the world. Every time a German minister or political leader tries to get votes by bowing before the swastika or any such symbol, every man, woman and child in Germany suffers — for such talk and activities dry up the hearts, the minds and the amazing instincts to help which have characterized so much of the outer world’s relationship to Germany in the last five years.

There is another aspect of German life which I sense as a hindrance to the rapid growth of a healthy, prosperous state — not only to Germany’s internal development but also with respect to the constructive role Germany should and can play in the world. That threat lies in the rather deep skepticism and cynicism that prevail among many sections of the German people. I say to those who believe that everything which one has tried to do has been dictated by reasons of expediency that they are wrong.

There are many complaints in Germany about taxes, lack of coal, inadequate housing, requisitioned houses, lack of sovereignty and so on, but with all the many pressing problems still upon us we have witnessed a modern fairy tale in terms of the reconstruction of Germany and the good will of Germany’s former enemies. In the light of this miracle and above all in the light of the needs of Europe, I would urge a positive philosophy on the people of the new Germany.

My old chief, a man who was a great American public servant for many years, the former secretary of war and secretary of state, Henry L. Stimson, closed his biography “On Active Service in Peace and War” with these words: “For there is good as well as evil, and the man who tries to work for the good, believing in the eventual victory, while he may suffer setbacks and even disaster will never know defeat. The only deadly sin I know is cynicism.”

IT IS UP TO YOU, ladies and gentlemen, leaders in the political life of this country; it is up to the editors, the churchmen, the business and trade union leaders, and particularly to the people of Wuerttemberg-Baden, with the inspiration of their own rise from the ruins, to counteract skepticism of a better European order.

This is no time for cynicism or skepticism. This is a time for positive decisions and deeds. You need only adhere to the noble ideas and ideals of your own greatest thinkers, and the future of the Federal Republic, of a united Germany within a great, prosperous and peaceful European community is assured. +END

Court Upholds Israeli Mortgage Claims

Citizens of Israel who have mortgage restitution claims in Germany are entitled to have the mortgages or parts thereof reinstated at a rate of one Reichsmark to one Deutsche mark, according to a ruling handed down by the US Court of Restitution Appeals in Nurnberg.

Citing Allied High Commission Law No. 54, which became effective June 7, 1951, the court held that the state of Israel is in the United Nations category for the purpose of Allied laws relating to currency conversion, restitution and reservation of claims. Law No. 54 is not retroactive, however, and it is not expected to enable Israeli citizens and others in their category who have already settled mortgage claims to reopen their cases for settlement on a conversion rate of one to one.

The ruling was handed down in November in a case involving a claim made by Ludwig Loewenhaupt, a former Czech national who emigrated to Palestine in 1938, for the restitution of a mortgage which he was forced to sell at a discount in 1938 because of Nazi pressure.

The court ruled that the claim would have to be converted at the rate of 10 Reichsmarks for one Deutsche mark because Mr. Loewenhaupt was not a national of any of the United Nations on the decisive date of May 8, 1945. UN nationals are authorized by Regulation 40 of the Currency Conversion Law to convert Reichmark mortgage claims into Deutsche marks at the rate of one to one, and to reserve other claims.

The court held that on May 8, 1945, Mr. Loewenhaupt was a citizen of that part of Palestine which has since become Israel and that this territory was administered by Great Britain, a member of the United Nations. Allied High Commission Law 54, Article 1, the court said, places such individuals in the same category as UN nationals.