We are closing out a great adventure that began in the days when we literally set about helping the Germans to bury their dead down to the present when we see a rehabilitated economy and a rehabilitated political system not only capable but eager to solve its own problems.

To be sure, many Germans ascribe most of this recovery to their own regenerative power and in this they are quite right. But objective persons among them, and there are many, realize — it only takes a glance at conditions in the Eastern zone of Germany to see what might have been the situation here — that without generous foreign aid, without a spirit of helpfulness, without full opportunity given them to develop their own capacity's rehabilitation, Germany would not be where it is today.

We shall soon abolish the High Commission and the state commissions. The only functions we shall retain in our new setup are those which enable us to maintain some control of our own affairs, such as the security of our troops. Philosophically and actually this is a great change; but it is not one to be regretted — it is one rather to be welcomed. It is a sign of our advance. One of our objectives has been to create a free democratic community in Germany, able to progress under its own steam. We are not going to make that objective more likely of attainment by continued control. We must be prepared to put our theories of democracy to the test.

There are heavy risks in our policy. Democracy itself is a great risk. It presumes a great deal of faith and a confidence in our fellow men. Considering the dissenion and the political immaturity that was evidenced in Germany after the close of the first world war, considering the spectacle of what followed after the breakdown of the Weimar Republic and considering the aberrations of the Nazi period, it makes one hesitate to give guarantees for the future, particularly when some are ostentatiously trying to revive the old Nazi propaganda. Sometimes I don't wonder that Germany's friends get a sudden sinking feeling. I must confess, I do.

We have come to the period, however, when we must permit the Germans to take action themselves in the protection of their own freedom. Otherwise we run the risk that the Germans will never develop the instincts of freedom. Against these risks there are many promising signs. The many good elements among the Germans do react against these excesses. The Federal Parliament and the Federal Government have shown great evidence, in my judgment, of political development. Forward-looking people in the government see the future role of Europe quite clearly and they seek for Germany a participating and a contributing partnership in it.

In spite of the most difficult problems and the necessity for taking steps of enormous significance to the future of Germany, they face their decisions with courage and with dignity. When I consider that when I first came to Germany that government still had to be erected, I gain faith in the future of this country. I think we must realize that some of the disturbing incidents that occur from time to time are conspicuous because they do not represent the basic feeling of the people of Germany. We must provide the opportunity for the average man and woman of Germany to express themselves in regard to these excesses and to show their own sober and determined resistance to them.

The economy of the country certainly justifies hope in the future. We still have unemployment but the general standard of living in this country is in some respects higher than that in some of the victorious countries. I also take great faith from the fact that so many Germans recognize the interdependence of the nations of Europe.

If a European community, which is a chief objective of our policy, is to be successfully erected, Germany must be a part of it. Germany cannot successfully be a party to it nor could it be a successful democratic community if it were only a second-class member.

And it is by association in such a community, in my judgment, that we have the greatest guarantee, certainly a greater guarantee than we could possibly have by means of continued control.

So I feel that we should look upon our work as having been constructive and capable of being tested. We are closing out this great adventure which has involved so much American wealth and so much American energy. In doing so, however, we do not abandon our principles. We will continue to propagate them in every manner and through every agency which is compatible with a free German society. The embassy, when it comes, will continue through its influence to work toward the maintenance of a democratic community. Our goals remain the same; our methods have to be altered with the times.

You (the resident officers) heard something this morning of the plans we have by which these aims and principles can be continued. We all hope that they will be effective. If the energy and devotion which you have applied to the propagation of these principles is conveyed to the individuals who will carry on American policy in Germany, there is no doubt

The following are excerpts from ex temporaneous remarks Mr. McCloy made before the US Resident Officers' conference held in Frankfurt Dec. 10.
that our influence will continue to be felt. And there are many who will continue with these efforts. Many of you, however, will be going home as most of us will be before many months are gone by.

Whether you go or whether you stay, you have a duty to perform. You have been a part of one of the great phases of American and European history and you can be thankful you have had a part in this. You have frequently heard some Germans say: "Sie haben so viele Fehler gemacht" (You have made so many mistakes). I hear it too frequently. But you can be quite certain that you and your predecessors have made an impression and a contribution. Both have been good.

IT IS PARTICULARLY to those who are going home that I say that you must face your new task with the same inspiration and the same devotion and loyalty which you have displayed here. For your own country also needs such examples. Whether you find yourselves in government or whether you find yourselves simply as members of the community, you must realize that your country faces great problems and difficulties such as the American Republic has never faced before, problems realized by too few of those nations and peoples that the United States has aided. But you must appreciate them. And just as you have set an example in the county where you have worked, so it is necessary when you go back to the United States or wherever you go to exert the same example.

Our country is now in an era of history in which it is one of the great moral factors in this world. If our country is to continue great, it must continue to exert this moral leadership. No country, however great in physical power, has ever long continued great unless it could exert such moral force.

You and your wives have been a part of an era. You are better prepared than most of your fellow citizens to exert leadership. You have seen the impact and the importance of American helpfulness in periods of great stress — and great distress — in an area far from home. I ask you to look back on your service with satisfaction and look forward to your new tasks with faith — faith in the work you have done for the future of a democratic Germany, and faith in the moral strength of the United States which you have served so well.

Youth Games in Berlin Backfire on Reds

EAST GERMAN YOUNG PEOPLE, herded to Berlin last summer for a ballyhooed Communist youth festival*, returned home stronger allies of the West and more dissatisfied with their life behind the Iron Curtain. The influence of their favorable impressions of Western democracy has spread widely throughout the Soviet Zone.

This was the consensus of a series of confidential surveys carried out by the Reactions Analysis Staff of HICOG during and after the youth festival and made public Dec. 12. A random sampling of opinion was made among the hundreds of thousands of youths who visited West Berlin despite strict Communist precautions to keep them in the East. Two hundred were interviewed for each of five surveys. Most of the surveys were made among recent Soviet Zone visitors to West Berlin to determine how widely the impressions of festival participants had spread.

The latest survey declared: "The youth rally (Aug. 5-19) had considerable impact on the East Zone population, but its repercussions were almost entirely favorable to the West. The youthful visitors apparently had not hesitated to talk about their experiences to friends and acquaintances on their return home. Especially they had stressed ... what they had heard, seen and done in West Berlin. Freedom, prosperity and hospitality sum up the over-all impressions of the West which they had passed on to their East Zone neighbors."

EARLIER SURVEYS, MADE among the visiting youths themselves, showed that 50 percent of those who attended the festival were compelled to attend. Only three percent came enthusiastically. The other 47 percent came for personal reasons, generally unflattering to the East. Of those who visited West Berlin, nearly two out of three were better impressed by the city than they had expected. Only one percent were disappointed.

Among the reasons given for visiting West Berlin during the festival were the following: To see what it's really like in the West; to get away from the pressure in the East for awhile; to buy some leather for shoes; to see if it was really as bad as the Communists said; to see the shopswindows and movies; to get a breath of fresh air.

The young people displayed an almost unanimous opinion that Western information is factual and honest, while the Communist output is distorted, dishonest and fictitious. One survey declared: "The youths appear to be fully aware that they are not only being deceived and deliberately misinformed by the Communists, but that they are being forced to accept misinformation. In contrast, they feel that the West makes no effort to coerce them into accepting Western views."

On the other hand, the report added, "it is equally clear that a far from negligible fraction of the East Zone youth advance views which reveal some degrees of absorption of Eastern propaganda themes." A survey of radio-listening behavior of East German youth (aged 15-30) showed that the American sponsored RIAS station in Berlin is the favorite of nearly three-fourths of all radio-listening young people in the Soviet Zone. RIAS, the survey said, is regularly heard by more than three times as many youths as any Communist station. Three-fifths of those interviewed urged that more information and commentary should be made available.

* See articles on the Communist youth festival in the Information Bulletin, September 1951.