

The Three Great Steps

Address

By JOHN J. McCLOY

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I AM REALLY WARMED to be in Bernkastel again. Some 33 or 34 years ago, as a young officer, I was billeted in Trier just up the river from here. I did not have any onerous official duties and I made many visits to Bernkastel. During that time I never ceased to enjoy the beauty of this valley.

It was here that I first heard of a man called *Bernkasteler Doktor*. One pleasant afternoon I met a young lady here who condescended to teach me a little German while we stood together on the bridge. It was a delightful lesson and I hope she is now in the audience to judge for herself how much I have progressed since that far-off time.

In those days I was here in a different capacity. No doubt I had many cares, which were as important to me then as present ones are now, but somehow I have quite forgotten what they were. Now I come back with little hair, with wife and children, and meanwhile great forces have intervened to make the world look different too. Yet so many things are the same.

The Mosel still flows and the Porta Nigra still stands. Bernkastel itself looks about the same as it did to me in the spring of 1919. The *Doktor* is still here. We talked about the Saar then as we do now. Now my wife and children struggle to teach me the language. I could grow very sentimental about it all if I let myself go.

I DO NOT WISH to spoil this joyous day by making a speech or by talking politics. Nevertheless, there are a few points I would like to discuss because decisions of great importance for our future are about to be made. It is essential that the German people fully understand them.

First, I would like to say a few words about the contractual arrangements and the European Defense Community. It is important for all of us, particularly for every German, to see the entire picture. We are engaged in taking three great steps at the same time: we are liquidating war, we are making peace and we are concluding a great alliance.

Liquidation of the war is inescapable. It is essential if we are to have a platform upon which to build our alliance of peace. Liquidation means that the German people will be expected to meet certain obligations, to carry certain burdens and to observe certain limitations

that result from the terrible war which, under Hitler's rule, was waged for almost six years against the world. Liquidation of this war requires the recognition by Germans of certain principles which will not be given up.

KEEP IN MIND also that the war imposed tremendous burdens on all nations. Today France, Britain, the United States, to mention only three countries, are carrying and will continue to carry crushing burdens as the aftermath of that war. Moreover, the establishment of a partnership to maintain the peace will mean burdens and obligations for all Western nations. For my own country, the commitments being made in the contractual agreements are unprecedented in our history. In the weeks ahead Germans must look at the agreements as a whole and not only at those provisions which cover obligations the Federal Republic will assume. The commitment to stand together is mutual and in our mutual interest.

The governments and public opinion in the Western countries have come a long way since 1945 in extending friendship to the German people. They have given the German people vital support in the rebuilding of this country. They honestly wish to see the Federal Republic associated with them in equal partnership. The agreements we are soon to sign are solid proof of our desire for peaceful alliance.

In the face of the Communist threat, I believe the people of the Federal Republic know that their personal liberties and peace would be jeopardized if they did not join in partnership with the West. They recognize that in partnership there is give and take, there are burdens and rewards. In our peaceful alliance Germany will not dominate or be dominated. We must all work together. Above all, the German people know, I am sure, that in the partnership of the European-Atlantic community there is the best chance of security, liberty, prosperity — and the reunification of the German people.

NOW MAY I SAY a few words about German reunification and the exchange of notes that is presently going on.

We have had many deep disappointments in our relations with the Soviet Union since 1945. The 19,000,000 Germans in the East Zone of Germany and in East Berlin have had their own bitter experience of life under Soviet control.

All of us know — if we look at Communist aggression in Korea, if we observe the Armistice negotiations there, if we consider the conference on German unification at the Palais Rose — that dealing with the Communists is difficult, time-consuming and frustrating. That is why in

Printed here is the text, without introductory remarks, of a speech delivered May 10 by Mr. McCloy at the dedication of the new school at Bernkastel, Rhineland-Palatinate.

the present exchange of notes we are not prepared to play the role of Alice in Wonderland. We want firm evidence, firm facts. We have all suffered too much — Germans included — to jeopardize the progress we have made.

I am certain that in the forthcoming reply to the last Soviet note we will do everything possible to explore honest moves in the direction of German unity.

WHAT I SHALL NOW say will not be included in any note. The Soviets would demonstrate much more sincerity, if, instead of spreading their so-called peace and unity propaganda, they would do something or other along the following lines:

Immediately release all German prisoners of war from Soviet Camps.

Immediately release all political prisoners from the jails of the East Zone.

Permit the free and unlimited circulation of West Berlin, West German and other newspapers and magazines in the East sector and East sector and East zone of Germany.

If the Soviets are sincere about unification they will free all innocent German men and women from their places of detention. Certainly they should not object to the free exchange of published material between both parts of Germany, now throttled by their policy of censorship and control. German uni-

fication would be nearer if the citizens of Dresden, Leipzig and all parts of the Soviet Zone of Germany could read without any fear or punishment the newspapers of West Berlin, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Munich and Hamburg.

BEFORE I CLOSE I want to say a few words to the young people here. Our participation in the building of this *Berufsschule* (vocational school) is an indication of the faith we have in the youth of this country. It has been a deep satisfaction to me that the United States has been able to aid in the building of hundreds of projects for youth in Germany — youth centers, student dormitories, teacher-training institutes and many others.

We have one idea only — to help free boys and girls become citizens of Europe, citizens of the world.

To me this river is a symbol. It flows from the hills of France, along the border of Luxembourg, between these beautiful vineyards on its way to the Rhine. Romans, Celts, French, Luxembourgers, Germans have all helped to build a flourishing civilization in this magnificent valley.

Is there any doubt that this river is truly European? Can there be any doubt that the young people growing up along its banks should look upon themselves first, and above all, as citizens of Europe?

In the coming weeks the agreements we are to sign will be an act of faith — faith in a free Europe and a free world. All of us, particularly the youth, now have the opportunity to transform this faith into living reality. +END

25,000 Books Given Free University

DURING THE PAST six months more than 25,000 volumes of scientific books and journals have been sent to the Free University of Berlin as a special gift from the World Brotherhood Organization it was announced today by Hermann Ebeling, American liaison representative of World Brotherhood.

The books were collected by the US Division of World Brotherhood in a nationwide drive known as the "Books for Freedom Campaign" from American universities, technical societies and professional organizations. They will be housed in the new library now being constructed with the aid of a Ford Foundation grant of \$1,309,000.

The books, in both English and German, range in subject from political science, economics, physics and geography, to philosophy, religion and history. There are also books and annual journals from the fields of engineering, law, social service and medicine. A special book collection on human relations, dealing with problems of racial, religious and nationality relations, has been included in the shipments.

American universities gave large numbers of books from their libraries in response to an appeal by Dr. Arthur H. Compton, chancellor of Washington University and general chairman of World Brotherhood. The University

of Pennsylvania, one of the larger contributors, gave 600 books in a ceremony at which its president, Harold Stassen, presented the books to Benson Ford, US co-chairman of World Brotherhood.

In addition, gifts of books and money were made by US labor unions, foundations, religious societies, book publishers and business firms. Students at universities took part in the campaign as did librarians throughout the United States. The thousands of books were received and indexed before shipping by volunteer committees of citizens of Perth Amboy, N. J.

Paul Hoffman, Ford Foundation president, stated that the grant for the new library was made "in recognition of the great contribution being made by the Free University, against heavy odds, to the strengthening of intellectual leadership in West Germany, and to democratic education for responsible leadership."

In reference to the "Books for Freedom Campaign," Dr. Compton stated: "This is more than a gesture of friendship to the people of Germany who are aligned with us in our fight against tyranny. It is an expression of concern for the future of scholarship in Free Europe and for the development of intellectual freedom in a country that stands as the first dike against the threatening floods of dictatorship."